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Title: The First Four Books of Xenophon's Anabasis

Author: Xenophon

Translator: J. S. Watson

Release date: July 6, 2007 [eBook #22003]

Most recently updated: January 2, 2021

Language: English

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Handy Literal Translations

**THE
FIRST FOUR BOOKS
OF
XENOPHON'S ANABASIS**

Literally Translated

With Explanatory Notes

BY

J. S. WATSON

**ARTHUR HINDS & CO
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XENOPHON'S ANABASIS, OR EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

Parentage of Cyrus the Younger. After the death of his father he is accused of plotting against his brother Artaxerxes, who imprisons him, but releases him on the intercession of his mother, and sends him back to his province, where he secretly collects forces, of which a large proportion are from Greece, to make war on his brother.

1. Of Darius^[1] and Parysatis were born two sons,^[2] the elder Artaxerxes,^[3] and the younger Cyrus. After Darius had fallen sick, and suspected that the end of his life was approaching, he was desirous that both of his sons should attend him.

2. The elder then happened to be present; Cyrus he sent for from the province of which he had made him satrap. He had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus.^[4]

Cyrus accordingly went up, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend, and having also with him three hundred heavy-armed Greeks,^[5] and Xenias of Parrhasia,^[6] their captain.

3. But when Darius was dead, and Artaxerxes was placed upon the throne, Tissaphernes brought an accusation against Cyrus before his brother, saying that he was plotting against him. Artaxerxes was induced to give credit to it, and had Cyrus arrested, with the intention of putting him to death; but his mother, having begged his life, sent him back to his province.

4. When Cyrus had departed, after being thus in danger and disgrace, he began to consider by what means he might cease to be subject to his brother, and make himself king, if he could, in his stead. Parysatis, their mother, was well disposed towards Cyrus,^[7] as she loved him better than Artaxerxes, who was on the throne. 5. Whatever messengers from the king^[8] came to visit him, he let none of them go till he had inclined them to be friends to himself, rather than the monarch.^[9] He also paid such attention to the Barbarians^[10] that were with him, that they were in a condition to take the field, and well inclined towards himself. 6. His Greek force he collected as secretly as he could, that he might surprise the king as little prepared as possible.

He collected troops in the following manner. Whatever garrisons he had in his towns, he sent orders to the commanders of them to procure respectively as many Peloponnesians as they could, of the best class of soldiers, on pretence that Tissaphernes was forming designs upon those

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towns. For the cities of Ionia had formerly been, under the government of Tissaphernes, having been assigned to him by the king, but had at this time all revolted to Cyrus except Miletus. 7. Tissaphernes, discovering that the people of Miletus were forming a similar design, [to go over to Cyrus,^[11]] put some of them to death, and sent others into banishment. Cyrus, receiving the exiles under his protection, and assembling an army, laid siege to Miletus by land and sea, and used every exertion to restore these exiles; and he had thus another pretext for augmenting the number of his forces. 8. He then sent to the king, and requested that, as he was his brother, these cities should be given to him rather than that Tissaphernes should govern them; and in this application his mother supported him. Thus the king had no suspicion of the plot against him, but supposed that Cyrus, from being at war with Tissaphernes, was spending the money upon troops; so that he was not at all concerned at the strife between them, especially as Cyrus remitted to him the tribute arising from the cities which Tissaphernes had had.

9. Another army was collected for him in the Chersonesus opposite Abydos, in the following method. Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, happened to be in exile. Cyrus, having met with him, was struck with admiration for him, and made him a present of ten thousand darics.^[12] Clearchus, on receiving the gold, raised, by means of it, a body of troops, and making excursions out of the Chersonesus, made war upon the Thracians that are situated above the Hellespont, and was of assistance to the Greeks; so that the towns on the Hellespont willingly contributed money for the support of his men. This too was a force thus secretly maintained for Cyrus.

10. Aristippus, also, a Thessalian, happened to be a guest-friend^[13] of Cyrus, and, being pressed by an adverse faction at home, came to him, and asked him for two thousand mercenary troops, and three months' pay for them, representing that he would thus be enabled to overpower his enemies. Cyrus granted him four thousand, and six months' pay, desiring him not to terminate the strife until he should consult him. Thus another body of troops was clandestinely supported for him in Thessaly.

11. He then requested Proxenus a Bœotian, who was also his guest-friend, to join him with as many men as he could procure, stating that he intended to make war on the Pisidians, as they molested his territories. He also desired Sophænetus of Stymphalus,^[14] and Socrates, an Achæan, both of them his guest-friends, to come to him, and bring as many men as possible, pretending that he was going to war with Tissaphernes on behalf of the Milesian exiles; and they acted as he wished.

CHAPTER II.

Cyrus begins his march, proceeding from Sardis through Lydia into Phrygia, where he is joined by new forces. The city of Celænaë; the plain of Caystrus, where the soldiers demand their arrears of pay, which Cyrus discharges with money received from the queen of Cilicia. The town of Thymbrium; the fountain of Midas. Cyrus enters Cilicia, and is met at Tarsus by Syennesis, the king of the country.

1. When it seemed to him time to march up into the country, he made it his pretext for doing so that he wished to expel the Pisidians entirely from the territory, and mustered, as if for the purpose of attacking them, the whole of the troops, as well Barbarian as Greek, that were on the spot.^[15] He also sent word to Clearchus to join him, bringing whatever force was at his command; and to Aristippus, as soon as he had come to terms with the party at home, to send him back the troops that he had. He also desired Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenaries in the several towns, to bring him all his men except such as would be required to garrison the citadels. 2. He summoned, too, the army that was besieging Miletus, and invited the exiles to accompany him on his expedition; promising them, that if he successfully accomplished the objects for which he undertook it, he would never rest till he had re-established them in their country. They cheerfully consented, as they had confidence in him, and, taking their arms, joined him at Sardis.

3. To Sardis also came Xenias, bringing with him the troops from the several towns, to the number of four thousand heavy-armed men. Thither came also Proxenus, with heavy-armed men to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed; Sophænetus the Stymphalian with a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates the Achæan with five hundred; and Pasion of Megara with three hundred heavy-armed, and the same number of peltasts.^[16] Both Pasion and Socrates were among those serving in the army at Miletus.

4. These joined him at Sardis. Tissaphernes, observing these proceedings, and considering the force to be greater than was necessary to attack the Pisidians, set out, with all possible speed, to give notice of the matter to the king, taking with him about five hundred cavalry; 5. and the king, as soon as he heard from Tissaphernes of the preparations of Cyrus, made arrangements to oppose him.

Cyrus, at the head of the force which I have stated, commenced his journey from Sardis,^[17] and proceeded through Lydia, three days' march,^[18] a distance of twenty-two parasangs,^[19] as far as

the river Mæander. The breadth of this river is two plethra,^[20] and a bridge was thrown over it, constructed of seven boats. 6. Having crossed the stream, he went forward through Phrygia, one day's march, eight parasangs, till he reached Colossæ, a populous city, wealthy and of considerable magnitude. Here he halted seven days; when Menon the Thessalian joined him with a thousand heavy-armed troops and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians.

7. Hence he proceeded in three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Celænæ, a populous, large, and rich city of Phrygia. Here Cyrus had a palace, and an extensive park full of wild beasts, which he was accustomed to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the river Mæander; its springs issue from the palace itself; and it runs also through the city of Celænæ. 8. There is also at Celænæ a palace of the Great King,^[21] situated near the source of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river too runs through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The breadth of the Marsyas is twenty-five feet. Here Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, after conquering him in a trial of musical skill, and to have hung up his skin in the cave, where the source of the stream rises: and on this account the river is called the Marsyas. 9. Xerxes is said to have built both this palace and the citadel of Celænæ, when he was returning from Greece after his discomfiture in battle.

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Cyrus remained here thirty days; during which time Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian exile, joined him with a thousand heavy-armed men, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosis^[22] of Syracuse arrived with three hundred heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus, an Arcadian, with a thousand. Here Cyrus held a review of the Greeks in the park, and took their number; and they were in all eleven thousand heavy-armed troops, and about two thousand peltasts.^[23] 10. Hence he proceeded two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to Peltæ, a well-peopled city, where he halted three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the sacred rites of Lycæan Jove,^[24] and held public games on the occasion; in which the prizes were golden strigiles.^[25] Cyrus was present at the games as a spectator. Thence he proceeded, two days' march, twelve parasangs, to Ceramon Agora, a populous city, the last on the side of Mysia.

11. Hence he proceeded, in three days' march, the distance of thirty parasangs, to the Plain of Caystrus, a populous city. Here he halted five days; and at this time more than three months' pay was due to the troops, which they frequently went to his tent to demand. Cyrus put them off, giving them hopes, but was evidently distressed; for it was no part of his character not to pay when he had the means. 12. But while he was there, Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis king of the Cilicians, paid him a visit, and was said to have presented him with a large sum of money. He in consequence gave the troops pay for four months. The Cilician queen had with her a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and it was reported that Cyrus had connexion with her.

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13. Hence he proceeded two days' march, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, a populous city. Here, by the road-side, was a fountain, called the fountain of Midas, king of Phrygia; at which Midas is said to have captured the Satyr,^[26] by mixing wine with the water.

14. Hence he proceeded, two days' march, ten parasangs, to Tyriæum, a well-peopled city, where he stayed three days. The Cilician queen is said to have requested Cyrus to show her his army. With the desire therefore of exhibiting it to her, he reviewed his troops, as well Greek as Barbarian, in the plain. 15. He ordered the Greeks to be marshalled, and to take their places, as they were accustomed to do for battle, each captain arranging his own men. They were accordingly drawn up four deep; Menon and his troops took the right wing; Clearchus and his men the left; and the other captains occupied the centre. 16. First of all, then, Cyrus reviewed the Barbarians, who marched past him, drawn up in troops and companies;^[27] and afterwards the Greeks, riding by them in his chariot, with the Cilician queen in her car.^[28] They had all brazen helmets, scarlet tunics, greaves, and polished shields. 17. When he had ridden past them all, he stopped his chariot in front of their phalanx, and sent Pigres the interpreter to the Greek officers, with orders for them to present arms,^[29] and to advance with their whole phalanx. The officers communicated these orders to their soldiers; and, when the trumpeter gave the signal, they presented arms and advanced. Then, as they proceeded with a quicker pace and loud shouts, the soldiers of their own accord took to running, bearing down upon the tents of the Persians. 18. Upon this, there arose great terror among the rest of the Barbarians; the Cilician queen fled from her car; and the people in the market deserted their goods and took to their heels; while the Greeks marched up to the tents with laughter. The Cilician queen, on beholding the splendour and discipline of the army, was struck with admiration; and Cyrus was delighted when he saw the terror with which the Greeks inspired the Barbarians.

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19. Hence he advanced, three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last town of Phrygia; where he halted three days. He then went forward through Lycaonia, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs; and this country, as being that of an enemy, he permitted the Greeks to ravage.

20. From hence Cyrus despatched the Cilician queen, by the shortest road, into Cilicia; and sent with her the troops which Menon had, and Menon himself. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, proceeded through Cappadocia, four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, a populous, large, and wealthy city. Here he stayed three days; in the course of which he put to

death a Persian, named Megaphernes, a wearer of the royal purple,^[30] and a certain other person in power, one of the provincial governors having accused them of conspiring against him.

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21. They then made an attempt to enter Cilicia; but the sole entrance was a road broad enough only for a single carriage, very steep, and impracticable for an army to pass, if any one opposed them. Syennesis, besides, was said to be stationed on the heights, guarding the defile; on which account Cyrus halted for a day in the plain. The next day, a messenger came to inform him that Syennesis had quitted the heights, on receiving information that Menon's army was already in Cilicia within the mountains, and hearing that Tamos had a number of galleys, belonging to the Lacedæmonians and Cyrus himself, sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia. 22. Cyrus accordingly ascended the mountains without any opposition, and saw^[31] the tents in which the Cilicians kept guard. Hence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of trees, as well as vines. It also produced great quantities of sesamum, panic, millet,^[32] wheat, and barley. A chain of hills, strong and high, encompasses it on all sides from sea to sea. 23. Descending through this plain, he proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and opulent city of Cilicia. Here was the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians; and through the midst of the city runs a river, called the Cydnus, the breadth of which is two plethra. 24. This city the inhabitants, with Syennesis, had deserted for a strong-hold upon the mountains, except those who kept shops.^[33] Those also remained behind, who lived near the sea at Soli and at Issi.

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25. Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. But in passing over the mountains which skirt the plain, two companies of Menon's troops had perished; some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians, while committing some depredations; others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the army or their road, they had been destroyed while wandering about. They amounted to a hundred heavy-armed men. 26. When the rest of Menon's troops came up, full of resentment at the fate of their comrades, they plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace in it. Cyrus, on entering the city, sent for Syennesis to come to him; but Syennesis answered, that he had never yet put himself in the power of one stronger than himself; nor would he then consent to go to Cyrus, until his wife prevailed upon him, and he received solemn assurances of safety. 27. Afterwards, when they had met, Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for the support of his army, and Cyrus in return presented him with such gifts as are held in estimation by a king, a horse with a golden bit, a golden chain and bracelets, and a golden scimitar and Persian robe. He also engaged that his country should no more be plundered, and that he should receive back the captured slaves, if they anywhere met with them.

CHAPTER III.

Cyrus is forced to stay twenty days at Tarsus by a mutiny of the Greek soldiers, who, suspecting that they were led against the king, refuse to go farther, and offer violence to Clearchus, who endeavours to force them to proceed. But being told by Cyrus that the expedition is directed against Abrocomas, and promised an increase of pay, they agree to continue their march.

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1. Here Cyrus and the army remained twenty days; for the soldiers refused to proceed farther, as they now began to suspect that they were marching against the king, and said that they had not been hired for this purpose. Clearchus, first of all, endeavoured to compel his soldiers to proceed; but, as soon as he began to advance, they pelted him and his baggage-cattle with stones. 2. Clearchus, indeed, on this occasion, had a narrow escape of being stoned to death. At length, when he saw that he should not be able to proceed by force, he called a meeting of his soldiers; and at first, standing before them, he continued for some time to shed tears, while they, looking on, were struck with wonder, and remained silent. He then addressed them to this effect:

3. "Wonder not, soldiers, that I feel distressed at the present occurrences; for Cyrus engaged himself to me by ties of hospitality, and honoured me, when I was an exile from my country, both with other marks of esteem, and by presenting me with ten thousand darics. On receiving this money, I did not treasure it up for my own use, or squander it in luxury, but spent it upon you. 4. First of all, I made war upon the Thracians, and, in the cause of Greece, and with your assistance, took vengeance upon them by expelling them from the Chersonesus, when they would have taken the country from its Grecian colonists. When Cyrus summoned me, I set out to join him, taking you with me, that if he had need of my aid, I might do him service in return for the benefits that I had received from him. 5. But since you are unwilling to accompany him on this expedition, I am under the obligation, either, by deserting you, to preserve the friendship of Cyrus, or, by proving false to him, to adhere to you. Whether I shall do right, I do not know; but I shall give you the preference, and will undergo with you whatever may be necessary. Nor shall any one ever say, that, after leading Greeks into a country of Barbarians, I deserted the Greeks, and adopted, in preference, the friendship of the Barbarians.

6. "Since, however, you decline to obey me, or to follow me, I will go with you, and submit to whatever may be destined for us. For I look upon you to be at once my country, my friends, and my fellow-soldiers, and consider that with you I shall be respected, wherever I may be: but that, if

separated from you, I shall be unable either to afford assistance to a friend, or to avenge myself upon an enemy. Feel assured, therefore, that I am resolved to accompany you wherever you go."

7. Thus he spoke; and the soldiers, as well those under his own command as the others, on hearing these assurances, applauded him for saying that he would not march against the king; and more than two thousand of the troops of Xenias and Pasion, taking with them their arms and baggage, went and encamped under Clearchus.

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8. Cyrus, perplexed and grieved at these occurrences, sent for Clearchus; who, however, would not go, but sending a messenger to Cyrus without the knowledge of the soldiers, bade him be of good courage, as these matters would be arranged to his satisfaction. He also desired Cyrus to send for him again, but, when Cyrus had done so, he again declined to go.^[34] 9. Afterwards, having assembled his own soldiers, and those who had recently gone over to him, and any of the rest that wished to be present, he spoke to the following effect:

"It is evident, soldiers, that the situation of Cyrus with regard to us is the same as ours with regard to him; for we are no longer his soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, nor is he any longer our paymaster. 10. That he considers himself wronged by us, however, I am well aware; so that, even when he sends for me, I am unwilling to go to him, principally from feeling shame, because I am conscious of having been in all respects false to him; and in addition, from being afraid, that, when he has me in his power, he may take vengeance on me for the matters in which he conceives that he has been injured. 11. This, therefore, seems to me to be no time for us to sleep, or to neglect our own safety; but, on the contrary, to consider what we must do under these circumstances.^[35] As long as we remain here, it seems necessary to consider how we may best remain with safety; or, if we determine upon going at once, how we may depart with the greatest security, and how we may obtain provisions; for without these, the general and the private soldier are alike inefficient.^[36] 12. Cyrus is indeed a most valuable friend to those to whom he is a friend, but a most violent enemy to those to whom he is an enemy. He has forces, too, both infantry and cavalry, as well as a naval power, as we all alike see and know; for we seem to me to be encamped at no great distance from him. It is therefore full time to say whatever any one thinks to be best." Having spoken thus, he made a pause.

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13. Upon this, several rose to speak; some, of their own accord, to express what they thought; others, previously instructed by Clearchus, to point out what difficulty there would be, either in remaining or departing, without the consent of Cyrus. 14. One of these, pretending to be eager to proceed with all possible haste to Greece, proposed that they should choose other commanders without delay, if Clearchus were unwilling to conduct them back; that they should purchase provisions, as there was a market in the Barbarian camp, and pack up their baggage; that they should go to Cyrus, and ask him to furnish them with ships, in which they might sail home; and, if he should not grant them, that they should beg of him a guide, to conduct them back through such parts of the country as were friendly towards them.^[37] But if he would not even allow them a guide, that they should, without delay, form themselves in warlike order, and send a detachment to take possession of the heights, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians, ("of whom," said he, "we have many prisoners, and much money that we have taken,") may be the first to occupy them. Such were the suggestions that he offered; but after him Clearchus spoke as follows:

15. "Let no one of you mention me, as likely to undertake this command; for I see many reasons why I ought not to do so; but be assured, that whatever person you may elect, I shall pay the greatest possible deference to him, that you may see that I know how to obey as well as any other man."

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16. After him another arose, who pointed out the folly of him who advised them to ask for ships, just as if Cyrus were not about to sail back,^[38] and who showed, too, how foolish it would be to request a guide of the very person "whose plans," said he, "we are frustrating. And," he added, "if we should trust the guide that Cyrus might assign us, what will hinder Cyrus from giving orders to occupy the heights before we reach them? 17. For my own part, I should be reluctant to embark in any vessel that he might grant us, lest he should send us and the galleys to the bottom together; I should also be afraid to follow any guide that he may appoint, lest he should conduct us into places, from whence there would be no means of escape; and I had rather, if I depart without the consent of Cyrus, depart without his knowledge; but this is impossible. 18. I say then that such proposals are absurdities; and my advice is, that certain persons, such as are fit for the task, should accompany Clearchus to Cyrus, and ask him in what service he wishes to employ us; and if the undertaking be similar to that in which he before employed foreign troops,^[39] that we too should follow him, and not appear more cowardly than those who previously went up with him. 19. But if the present design seem greater and more difficult and more perilous than the former, that they should ask him, in that case, either to induce us to accompany him by persuasion, or, yielding himself to our persuasions, to give us a passage to a friendly country; for thus, if we accompany him, we shall accompany him as friends and zealous supporters, and if we leave him, we shall depart in safety; that they then report to us what answer he makes to this application; and that we, having heard his reply, take measures in accordance with it."

20. These suggestions were approved; and, having chosen certain persons, they sent them with Clearchus to ask Cyrus the questions agreed upon by the army. Cyrus answered, that he had heard that Abrocomas, an enemy of his, was on the banks of the Euphrates, twelve days' march distant; and it was against him, he said, that he wished to march; and if Abrocomas should be

there, he said that he longed to take due vengeance on him; but if he should retreat, "we will consider there," he added, "how to proceed."

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21. The delegates, having heard this answer, reported it to the soldiers, who had still a suspicion that he was leading them against the king, but nevertheless resolved to accompany him. They then asked for an increase of pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they received before, that is to say, instead of a daric, three half-darics a month for every soldier. But no one heard there, at least publicly, that he was leading them against the king.

CHAPTER IV.

The army reaches Issi, the last city in Cilicia, at which the fleet then arrives. Cyrus proceeds into Syria, where two of the Greek captains, Xenias and Pasion, desert the expedition; the good feeling of Cyrus, in forbearing to pursue them, renders the other Greeks more willing to accompany him. He arrives at Thapsacus on the Euphrates, where he discloses the real object of his expedition to the Greek troops, who express discontent, but are induced by fresh promises, and the example of Menon, to cross the river.

1. Hence he proceeded, two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to the river Psarus, the breadth of which was three plethra. He then went forward, one day's march, five parasangs, to the river Pyramus, the breadth of which is a stadium. Hence he advanced in two days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to Issi, the last city in Cilicia, situate upon the sea-coast, a populous, large, and rich place.

2. Here Cyrus remained three days, in which time the ships from Peloponnesus, thirty-five in number, arrived, Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian being their commander. But Tamos, an Egyptian, had conducted the fleet from Ephesus, who had also with him five-and-twenty other ships, belonging to Cyrus, with which he had blockaded Miletus when it was in the interest of Tissaphernes, and had fought against him on behalf of Cyrus. 3. In these vessels came also Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, who had been sent for by Cyrus, and who had with him seven hundred heavy-armed troops, which he commanded as part of the army of Cyrus. The ships were moored opposite Cyrus's tent. Here, too, the Greek mercenaries, who were in the pay of Abrocomas, four hundred heavy-armed men, deserted him and came over to Cyrus, and joined in the expedition against the king.

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4. Hence he proceeded, one day's march, five parasangs, to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses;^[40] of the part within them, towards Cilicia, Syennesis and a guard of Cilicians had the charge; the part without, towards Syria, a garrison of the king's soldiers was reported to occupy. Between the two runs a river, called Carsus, a plethrum in breadth. The whole space between the fortresses was three stadia; and it was impossible to pass it by force; for the passage was very narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. At each of the fortresses were gates. 5. It was on account of this passage that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, that he might disembark heavy-armed troops within and without the Gates,^[41] who might force a passage through the enemy, if they still kept guard at the Syrian gates; a post which he expected Abrocomas would hold, as he had under his command a numerous army. Abrocomas however did not attempt this; but, when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, retreated out of Phœnicia, and proceeded to join the king, having with him, as was said, three hundred thousand men.

6. Hence he proceeded through Syria, one day's march, five parasangs, to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by Phœnicians; this place was a public mart, and many merchant-vessels lay at anchor there. 7. Here they remained seven days; and here Xenias the Arcadian captain, and Pasion the Megarean, embarking in a vessel, and putting on board their most valuable effects, sailed away; being actuated, as most thought, by motives of jealousy, because Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to retain under his command their soldiers, who had seceded to Clearchus in the expectation of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the king. Upon their disappearance, a rumour pervaded the army that Cyrus would pursue them with ships of war; and some wished that they might be taken, as having acted perfidiously; while others pitied their fate, if they should be caught.

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8. But Cyrus, calling together the captains, said to them, "Xenias and Pasion have left us: but let them be well assured, that they have not fled clandestinely; for I know which way they are gone; nor have they escaped beyond my reach; for I have triremes that would overtake their vessel. But, by the gods, I shall certainly not pursue them; nor shall any one say, that as long as a man remains with me, I make use of his services, but that, when he desires to leave me, I seize and ill-treat his person, and despoil him of his property. But let them go, with the consciousness that they have acted a worse part towards us than we towards them. I have, indeed, their children and wives under guard at Tralles; but not even of them shall they be deprived, but shall receive them back in consideration of their former service to me." 9. Thus Cyrus spoke; and the Greeks, even such as had been previously disinclined to the expedition, when they heard of the noble conduct of Cyrus, accompanied him with greater pleasure and alacrity.

After these occurrences, Cyrus proceeded four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Chalus, which is a plethrum in breadth, and full of large tame fish, which the Syrians looked upon as gods, and allowed no one to hurt either them or the pigeons. The villages, in which they fixed their quarters, belonged to Parysatis, having been given her for her girdle.^[42]

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10. Thence he advanced, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs, to the source of the river Dardes, which is a plethrum in breadth. Here was the palace of Belesys, the governor of Syria, and a very large and beautiful garden, containing all that the seasons produce. But Cyrus laid it waste, and burned the palace.

11. Hence he proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, which is there four stadia in breadth, and on which is situated a large and rich city, named Thapsacus. The army remained there five days; and Cyrus sent for the Greek captains, and told them, that his march was directed to Babylon, against the Great King; and he desired them to make this announcement to the soldiers, and to persuade them to accompany him.

12. The leaders, assembling their troops, communicated this information to them; and the soldiers expressed themselves much displeased with their officers, and said that they had long known this, but concealed it; and they refused to go, unless such a donative was granted them, as had been given to those who had before gone up with Cyrus to his father, and that, too, when they did not go to fight, but merely attended Cyrus when his father summoned him. 13. This state of things the generals reported to Cyrus; who in consequence promised to give every man five minæ of silver,^[43] when they should arrive at Babylon, and their full pay besides, until he should bring back the Greeks to Ionia again. The greatest part of the Grecian force was thus prevailed upon to accompany him. But before it was certain what the other soldiers would do, whether they would accompany Cyrus or not, Menon assembled his own troops apart from the rest, and spoke as follows:

14. "If you will follow my advice, soldiers, you will, without incurring either danger or toil, make yourselves honoured by Cyrus beyond the rest of the army. What, then, would I have you do? Cyrus is at this moment urgent with the Greeks to accompany him against the king; I therefore suggest that, before it is known how the other Greeks will answer Cyrus, you should cross over the river Euphrates. 15. For if they should determine upon accompanying him, you will appear to have been the cause of it, by being the first to pass the river; and to you, as being most forward with your services, Cyrus will feel and repay the obligation, as no one knows how to do better than himself. But if the others should determine not to go with him, we shall all of us return back again; but you, as having alone complied with his wishes, and as being most worthy of his confidence, he will employ in garrison duty and posts of authority; and whatever else you may ask of him, I feel assured that, as the friends of Cyrus, you will obtain it."

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16. On hearing these proposals, they at once complied with them, and crossed the river before the others had given their answer. And when Cyrus perceived that they had crossed, he was much pleased, and despatched Glus to Menon's troops with this message: "I applaud your conduct, my friends; and it shall be my care that you may applaud me; or think me no longer Cyrus." 17. The soldiers, in consequence, being filled with great expectations, prayed that he might succeed; and to Menon Cyrus was said to have sent most magnificent presents. After these transactions, he passed the river, and all the rest of the army followed him; and, in crossing the stream, no one was wetted by its waters above the breast. 18. The people of Thapsacus said, that this river had never, except on that occasion, been passable on foot, but only by means of boats; which Abrocomas, going before, had burnt, that Cyrus might not be able to cross. It seemed, therefore, that this had happened by divine interposition, and that the river had plainly made way for Cyrus as the future king.

19. Hence he advanced through Syria, nine days' march, a distance of fifty parasangs, and arrived at the river Araxes, where were a number of villages, stored with corn and wine. Here the army remained three days, and collected provisions.

CHAPTER V.

The army proceeds through Arabia, having the Euphrates on the right. They suffer from want of provisions, and many of the beasts of burden perish; but supplies are procured from the opposite bank of the Euphrates. A dispute occurs between Clearchus and Menon, which is quelled by Cyrus.

1. Cyrus now advanced through Arabia, having the Euphrates on his right, five days' march through the desert, a distance of thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was entirely a plain, level as the sea. It was covered with wormwood, and whatever other kinds of shrub or reed grew on it, were all odoriferous as perfumes. But there were no trees. 2. There were wild animals, however, of various kinds; the most numerous were wild asses; there were also many ostriches, as well as bustards and antelopes; and these animals the horsemen of the army sometimes hunted. The wild asses, when any one pursued them, would start forward a considerable distance, and then stand still; (for they ran much more swiftly than the horse;) and again, when the horse approached, they did the same; and it was impossible to catch them,

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unless the horsemen, stationing themselves at intervals, kept up the pursuit with a succession of horses. The flesh of those that were taken resembled venison, but was more tender. 3. An ostrich no one succeeded in catching; and those horsemen who hunted that bird, soon desisted from the pursuit; for it far outstripped^[44] them in its flight, using its feet for running, and its wings, raising them like a sail.^[45] The bustards might be taken, if a person started them suddenly; for they fly but a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire. Their flesh was very delicious.

4. Marching through this region, they came to the river Mascas, the breadth of which is a plethrum. Here was a large deserted city, of which the name was Corsote, and which was entirely surrounded by the Mascas. Here they stayed three days, and furnished themselves with provisions.

5. Thence he proceeded, thirteen days' march through the desert, a distance of ninety parasangs, still keeping the Euphrates on the right, and arrived at a place called the Gates.^[46] In this march many of the beasts of burden perished of hunger; for there was neither grass, nor any sort of tree, but the whole country was completely bare. The inhabitants, who quarried and fashioned millstones near the river, took them to Babylon, and sold them, and lived upon corn which they bought with the money. 6. Corn, too, failed the army, and it was not possible to buy any, except in the Lydian market among Cyrus's Barbarian troops, where they purchased a capithe^[47] of wheat-flour or barley-meal for four sigli. The siglus is equivalent to seven Attic oboli and a half,^[48] and the capithe contains two Attic chœnices. The soldiers therefore lived entirely upon flesh.

7. There were some of these marches which he made extremely long, whenever he wished to get to water or forage. On one occasion, when a narrow and muddy road presented itself, almost impassable for the waggons, Cyrus halted on the spot with the most distinguished and wealthy of his train, and ordered Glus and Pigres, with a detachment of the Barbarian forces, to assist in extricating the waggons. 8. But as they appeared to him to do this too tardily, he ordered, as if in anger, the noblest Persians of his suite to assist in expediting the carriages. Then might be seen a specimen of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple cloaks, in the place where each happened to be standing, they rushed forward, as one would run in a race for victory, down an extremely steep declivity, having on those rich vests which they wear, and embroidered trowsers, some too with chains about their necks and bracelets on their wrists, and, leaping with these equipments straight into the mud, brought the waggons up quicker than any one would have imagined.

9. On the whole, Cyrus evidently used the greatest speed throughout the march, and made no delay, except where he halted in order to obtain a supply of provisions, or for some other necessary purpose; thinking that the quicker he went, the more unprepared he should find the king when he engaged him, and that the more slowly he proceeded, the more numerous would be the force collected by the king. And an attentive observer might see that the empire of the king was strong indeed in extent of territory and number of inhabitants, but weak through the length of the roads, and the dispersion of its forces, if an enemy invaded it with rapid movements.

10. On the other side of the Euphrates, over against their course through the desert, was an opulent and extensive city, called Charmande; from this place the soldiers purchased provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following manner. They filled the skins, which they had for the coverings of their tents,^[49] with dry hay, and then closed and stitched them together, so that the water could not touch the hay. Upon these they went across, and procured necessaries, such as wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree, and panic^[50] corn; for this was most plentiful in those parts. 11. Here the soldiers of Menon and those of Clearchus falling into a dispute about something, Clearchus, judging a soldier of Menon's to be in the wrong, inflicted stripes upon him, and the man, coming to the quarters of his own troops, told his comrades what had occurred, who, when they heard it, showed great displeasure and resentment towards Clearchus. 12. On the same day, Clearchus, after going to the place where the river was crossed, and inspecting the market there, was returning on horseback to his tent through Menon's camp, with a few attendants. Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on his way thither. One of Menon's soldiers, who was employed in cleaving wood, when he saw Clearchus riding through the camp, threw his axe at him, but missed his aim; another then threw a stone at him, and another, and afterwards several, a great uproar ensuing. 13. Clearchus sought refuge in his own camp, and immediately called his men to arms, ordering his heavy-armed troops to remain on the spot, resting their shields against their knees, while he himself, with the Thracians, and the horsemen that were in his camp, to the number of more than forty, (and most of these were Thracians,) bore down towards the troops of Menon, so that they and Menon himself were struck with terror, and made a general rush to their arms; while some stood still, not knowing how to act under the circumstances. 14. Proxenus happened then to be coming up behind the rest, with a body of heavy-armed men following him, and immediately led his troops into the middle space between them both, and drew them up under arms, begging Clearchus to desist from what he was doing. But Clearchus was indignant, because, when he had narrowly escaped stoning, Proxenus spoke mildly of the treatment that he had received; he accordingly desired him to stand out from between them.

15. At this juncture Cyrus came up, and inquired into the affair. He then instantly took his javelins in his hand, and rode, with such of his confidential officers as were with him, into the midst of the Greeks, and addressed them thus: 16. "Clearchus and Proxenus, and you other Greeks who are here present, you know not what you are doing. For if you engage in any

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contention with one another, be assured, that this very day I shall be cut off, and you also not long after me; since, if our affairs go ill, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will prove more dangerous enemies to us than even those who are with the king." 17. Clearchus, on hearing these remonstrances, recovered his self-possession; and both parties, desisting from the strife, deposited their arms in their respective encampments.

CHAPTER VI.

Traces of the king's troops are perceived. Orontes, a Persian nobleman, a relation of Cyrus, offers to go forward with a body of cavalry, and lay an ambush for the king's army. Before he sets out, however, he is found to be in correspondence with the king, and is put to death.

[Pg 25] 1. As they advanced from this place, the footsteps and dung of horses were observed, and the track was conjectured to be that of about two thousand cavalry. These, as they went before, had burnt all the fodder, and whatever else might have been of use to Cyrus. And here Orontes, a Persian, by birth connected with the king, and reckoned one of the ablest of the Persians in the field, turned traitor to Cyrus; with whom, indeed, he had previously been at strife, but had been reconciled to him. 2. He now told Cyrus, that if he would give him a thousand horse, he would either cut off, by lying in ambush, the body of cavalry that were burning all before them, or would take the greater number of them prisoners, and hinder them from consuming everything in their way, and prevent them from ever informing the king that they had seen the army of Cyrus. Cyrus, when he heard his proposal, thought it advantageous; and desired him to take a certain number of men from each of the different commanders.

3. Orontes, thinking that he had secured the cavalry, wrote a letter to the king, saying that he would come to him with as many horse as he could obtain; and he desired him to give directions to his own cavalry to receive him as a friend. There were also in the letter expressions reminding the king of his former friendship and fidelity to him. This letter he gave to a man, upon whom, as he believed, he could depend, but who, when he received it, carried it to Cyrus. 4. Cyrus, after reading the letter, caused Orontes to be arrested, and summoned to his own tent seven of the most distinguished Persians of his staff, and desired the Greek generals to bring up a body of heavy-armed men, who should arrange themselves under arms around his tent. They did as he desired, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed soldiers. 5. Clearchus he called in to assist at the council, as that officer appeared, both to himself and to the rest, to be held most in honour among the Greeks. Afterwards, when Clearchus left the council, he related to his friends how the trial of Orontes was conducted; for there was no injunction of secrecy. He said, that Cyrus thus opened the proceedings:

[Pg 26] 6. "I have solicited your attendance, my friends, in order that, on consulting with you, I may do, with regard to Orontes here before you, whatever may be thought just before gods and men. In the first place, then, my father appointed him to be subject to me. And when afterwards, by the command, as he himself states, of my brother, he engaged in war against me, having possession of the citadel of Sardis, I, too, took up arms against him, and made him resolve to desist from war with me; and then I received from him, and gave him in return, the right-hand of friendship. 7. And since that occurrence," he continued, "is there anything in which I have wronged you?" Orontes replied that there was not. Cyrus again asked him, "And did you not then subsequently, when, as you own yourself, you had received no injury from me, go over to the Mysians, and do all the mischief in your power to my territories?" Orontes answered in the affirmative. "And did you not then," continued Cyrus, "when you had thus again proved your strength, come to the altar of Diana, and say that you repented, and, prevailing upon me by entreaties, give me, and receive from me in return, pledges of mutual faith?" This, too, Orontes acknowledged. 8. "What injury, then," continued Cyrus, "have you received from me, that you are now, for the third time, discovered in traitorous designs against me?" Orontes saying that he had received no injury from him, Cyrus asked him, "You confess, then, that you have acted unjustly towards me?" "I am necessitated to confess it," replied Orontes. Cyrus then again inquired, "And would you yet become an enemy to my brother, and a faithful friend to me?" Orontes answered, "Though I should become so, O Cyrus, I should no longer appear so to you." 9. On this, Cyrus said to those present, "Such are this man's deeds, and such his confessions. And now, do you first, O Clearchus, declare your opinion, whatever seems right to you." Clearchus spoke thus: "I advise, that this man be put out of the way with all despatch; that so it may be no longer necessary to be on our guard against him, but that we may have leisure, as far as he is concerned, to benefit those who are willing to be our friends." 10. In this opinion, Clearchus said, the rest concurred. Afterwards, by the direction of Cyrus, all of them, even those related to the prisoner, rising from their seats, took Orontes by the girdle,^[51] in token that he was to suffer death; when those to whom directions had been given, led him away. And when those saw him pass, who had previously been used to bow before him, they bowed before him as usual, though they knew he was being led to execution.

[Pg 27] 11. After he had been conducted into the tent of Artapatas, the most confidential of Cyrus's sceptre-bearers,^[52] no one from that time ever beheld Orontes either living or dead, nor could any one say, from certain knowledge, in what manner he died. Various conjectures were made;

CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus enters Babylonia, and reviews his troops; he addresses the Greeks, and promises them great rewards in case of victory. He advances in order of battle, but afterwards, supposing that his brother had no immediate intention to engage, proceeds with less caution.

1. Hence Cyrus proceeded through Babylonia, three days' march, a distance of twelve parasangs; and at the end of the third day's march, he reviewed his army, both Greeks and Barbarians, in the plain, about midnight; for he expected that with the ensuing dawn the king would come up with his army to offer him battle. He desired Clearchus to take the command of the right wing, and Menon the Thessalian that of the left, while he himself drew up his own troops.

2. After the review, at the dawn of day, some deserters from the Great King came and gave Cyrus information respecting the royal army. Cyrus, assembling the generals and captains of the Greeks, consulted with them how he should conduct the engagement, and then encouraged them with the following exhortations: 3. "It is not, O Greeks, from any want of Barbarian forces, that I take you with me as auxiliaries; but it is because I think you more efficient and valuable than a multitude of Barbarians, that I have engaged you in my service. See, then, that you prove yourselves worthy of the liberty of which you are possessed, and for which I esteem you fortunate; for be well assured, that I should prefer that freedom to all that I possess, and to other possessions many times as great. 4. But, that you may know to what sort of encounter you are advancing, I, from my own experience, will inform you. The enemy's numbers are immense, and they make their onset with a loud shout; but if you are firm against this, I feel ashamed to think what sort of men, in other respects, you will find those in the country to be. But if you are true men, and prove yourselves stout-hearted, I will enable those of you, who may wish to go home, to return thither the envy of their fellow-countrymen; but I think that I shall induce most of you to prefer the advantages of remaining with me to those in your own country."

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5. Upon this, Gaulites, an exile from Samos, a man in the confidence of Cyrus, being present, said, "Yet some say, O Cyrus, that you make many promises now, because you are in such a situation of approaching danger; but that if things should turn out well, you will not remember them;^[53] and some, too, say, that even if you have both the memory and the will, you will not have the power of bestowing all that you promise."

6. Hearing this, Cyrus said, "We have before us, my friends, the empire that was my father's, extending, on the south, to the parts where men cannot live for heat; and on the north, to the parts where they cannot live for cold; and over all that lies between these extremes, the friends of my brother are now satraps. 7. But if we conquer, it will be proper for us to make our own friends masters of these regions. So that it is not this that I fear, that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if things turn out successfully, but that I shall not have friends enough to whom I may give it. And to each of you Greeks, I will also give a golden crown."

8. The Greeks who were present, when they heard these assurances, were much encouraged, and reported what he had said to the rest. The captains, too, and some others of the Greeks, went into his tent, desiring to know for certain what would be their reward if they should be victorious; and he did not let them go without satisfying the minds of all.

9. But all, who conversed with him, urged him not to engage in the battle personally, but take his station behind their line. About this time, also, Clearchus put a question to Cyrus to this effect: "And do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will come to battle with you?" "By Jupiter," replied Cyrus, "if he be indeed the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall not gain possession of these dominions without a struggle."

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10. In mustering the Greeks under arms, their numbers were found to be ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed men, and two thousand four hundred peltasts; of Barbarian troops under Cyrus, there were one hundred thousand, with about twenty chariots armed with scythes.

11. Of the enemy the number was said to be one million two hundred thousand, with two hundred scythed chariots. There were, besides, six thousand cavalry, of whom Artagerses had the command; these were drawn up in front of the king himself. 12. Of the royal army there were four commanders, or generals, or leaders,^[54] each over three hundred thousand men; that is to say, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of this number only nine hundred thousand were present at the battle, and one hundred and fifty scythed chariots; for Abrocomas, who was marching from Phœnicia, did not arrive till five days after the battle.

13. This information was brought to Cyrus by some of the enemy who deserted from the Great King before the battle; and such of the enemy as were taken prisoners after the battle gave the same account.

14. Hence Cyrus proceeded one day's march, a distance of three parasangs, with all his forces, as well Greek as Barbarian, drawn up in order of battle; for he expected that on this day the king

would give him battle; as about the middle of the day's march, there was a deep trench dug; the breadth of it was five fathoms,^[55] and the depth three. 15. This ditch extended up through the plain, to the distance of twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media.^[56] Here are the canals which are supplied from the river Tigris;^[57] there are four of them, each a plethrum in breadth, and very deep; boats employed in conveying corn sail along them. They discharge themselves into the Euphrates, are distant from each other one parasang, and there are bridges over them. Near the Euphrates was a narrow passage between the river and the trench, about twenty feet in breadth. 16. This trench the Great King had made to serve as a defence, when he heard that Cyrus was marching against him. By this passage Cyrus and his army made their way, and got within the trench.

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17. On this day the king did not come to an engagement, but there were to be seen many traces of men and horses in retreat.

18. Cyrus sent for Silanus, the Ambracian soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics,^[58] because, on the eleventh day previous, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the king would not fight for ten days; when Cyrus exclaimed, "He will not then fight at all, if he does not fight within that time; but if you shall prove to have spoken truly, I promise to give you ten talents." This money, therefore, he now paid him, the ten days having elapsed.

19. As the king made no attempt, at the trench, to prevent the passage of Cyrus's army, it was thought both by Cyrus and the rest that he had given up the intention of fighting; so that on the day following Cyrus proceeded on his march with less caution. 20. On the day succeeding that, he pursued his journey seated in his chariot, and having but a small body of troops in line before him; while the far greater part of the army observed no order on their march, and many of the soldiers' arms were carried on the waggons and beasts of burden.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The enemy are seen advancing in order of battle, and the army of Cyrus hastily prepare for action. The Greeks, in the right wing, put to flight the troops opposed to them, and pursue them some distance. Cyrus, in the centre, directs his attack against the king, and is killed.

1. It was now about the time of full market,^[59] and the station, where he intended to halt, was not far off, when Pategyas, a Persian, one of Cyrus's confidential adherents, made his appearance, riding at his utmost speed, with his horse in a sweat, and straightway called out to all whom he met, both in Persian and Greek, "that the king was approaching with a vast army, prepared as for battle." 2. Immediately great confusion ensued; for the Greeks and all the rest imagined that he would fall upon them suddenly, before they could form their ranks; 3. and Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his breastplate, and, mounting his horse, took his javelin in his hand, and gave orders for all the rest to arm themselves, and to take their stations each in his own place. 4. They accordingly formed with all expedition; Clearchus occupying the extremity of the right wing close to the Euphrates, Proxenus being next to him, and after him the other captains in succession. Menon and his troops occupied the left wing of the Greeks.

5. Of the Barbarian forces, about one thousand Paphlagonian cavalry were stationed near Clearchus, and the Grecian peltasts on the right; and on the left was Ariæus, Cyrus's lieutenant, with the rest of the Barbarian troops. 6. In the centre^[60] was Cyrus, and with him about six hundred cavalry, the men all armed with breastplates, defences for the thighs, and helmets, except Cyrus alone; for Cyrus presented himself for battle with his head unprotected. [It is said, too, that the other Persians expose themselves in battle with their heads uncovered.]^[61]

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7. All the horses of the cavalry, that were with Cyrus, had defensive armour on the forehead and breast; and the horsemen had also Grecian swords.

8. It was now mid-day, and the enemy was not yet in sight. But when it was afternoon,^[62] there appeared a dust, like a white cloud, and not long after, a sort of blackness, extending to a great distance over the plain. Presently, as they approached nearer, brazen armour began to flash, and the spears and ranks became visible. 9. There was a body of cavalry, in white armour, on the left of the enemy's line; (Tissaphernes was said to have the command of them;) close by these were troops with wicker shields; and next to them, heavy-armed soldiers with long wooden shields reaching to their feet; (these were said to be Egyptians;) then other cavalry and bowmen. These all marched according to their nations, each nation separately in a solid oblong.^[63] 10. In front of their line, at considerable intervals from each other, were stationed the chariots called scythed chariots; they had scythes projecting obliquely from the axletree, and others under the driver's seat, pointing to the earth, for the purpose of cutting through whatever came in their way; and the design of them was to penetrate and divide the ranks of the Greeks.

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11. As to what Cyrus had said, however, when, on calling together the Greeks, he exhorted them to sustain unmoved the shout of the Barbarians, he was in this respect deceived; for they now approached, not with a shout, but with all possible silence, and quietly, with an even and slow

step. 12. Cyrus in the mean time, riding by with Pigres the interpreter, and three or four others, called out to Clearchus to lead his troops against the enemy's centre, for that there was the king; "and if," said he, "we are victorious in that quarter, our object is fully accomplished." 13. But though Clearchus saw that close collection of troops in the centre of the enemy's line, and heard from Cyrus that the king was beyond the left of the Greeks, (for so much the superior was the king in numbers, that, while occupying the middle of his own line, he was still beyond Cyrus's left,) nevertheless, he was unwilling to draw off his right wing from the river, fearing lest he should be hemmed in on both sides; and in answer to Cyrus he said, "that he would take care that all should go well."

[Pg 34] 14. During this time the Barbarian army advanced with a uniform pace; and the Grecian line, still remaining in the same place, was gradually forming from those who came up from time to time. Cyrus, riding by at a moderate distance from his army,^[64] surveyed from thence both the lines, looking as well towards the enemy as to his own men. 15. Xenophon, an Athenian, perceiving him from the Grecian line, rode up to meet him, and inquired whether he had any commands; when Cyrus stopped his horse, and told him, and desired him to tell everybody, that the sacrifices and the appearances of the victims were favourable.^[65] 16. As he was saying this, he heard a murmur passing through the ranks, and asked what noise that was. He answered,^[66] "that it was the watchword, passing now for the second time."^[67] At which Cyrus wondered who had given it, and asked what the word was. He replied that it was, "\$1 and VICTORY." 17. When Cyrus heard it, "I accept it as a good omen," said he, "and let it be so." Saying this, he rode away to his own station; and the two armies were now not more than three or four stadia distant from each other, when the Greeks sang the pæan, and began to march forward to meet the enemy. 18. And as, while they proceeded, some part of their body fluctuated out of line,^[68] those who were thus left behind began to run: and at the same time, they all raised just such a shout as they usually raise to Mars, and the whole of them took to a running pace. Some say, that they made a noise with their spears against their shields, to strike terror into the horses. 19. But the Barbarians, before an arrow could reach them, gave way, and took to flight. The Greeks then pursued them with all their force, calling out to each other, not to run, but to follow in order. 20. The chariots, abandoned by their drivers, were hurried, some through the midst of the enemies themselves, and others through the midst of the Greeks. The Greeks, when they saw them coming, opened their ranks to let them pass; some few, however, were startled and caught by them, as might happen in a race-course; but these, they said, suffered no material injury; nor did any other of the Greeks receive any hurt in this battle, except that, on the left of their army, a man was said to have been shot with an arrow.

[Pg 35] 21. Cyrus, though he saw the Greeks victorious, and pursuing those of the enemies who were opposed to them, and though he felt great pleasure at the sight, and was already saluted as king by those about him, was not, however, led away to join in the pursuit; but keeping the band of six hundred cavalry, that were with him, drawn up in close order around him, he attentively watched how the king would proceed; for he well knew that he occupied the centre of the Persian army. 22. All the commanders of the Barbarians, indeed, lead^[69] their troops to battle occupying the centre of their own men; thinking that they will thus be most secure, if they have the strength of their force on either side of them, and that if they have occasion to issue orders, their army will receive them in half the time. 23. On the present occasion, the king, though he occupied the centre of his own army, was nevertheless beyond Cyrus's left wing. But as no enemy attacked him in front, or the troops that were drawn up before him, he began to wheel round, as if to enclose his adversaries. 24. Cyrus, in consequence, fearing that he might take the Greeks in the rear, and cut them in pieces, moved directly upon him, and charging with his six hundred horse, routed the troops that were stationed in front of the king, and put the guard of six thousand to flight, and is said to have killed with his own hand Artagerses, their commander.

25. When this flight of the enemy took place, Cyrus's six hundred became dispersed in the eagerness of pursuit; only a very few remaining with him, chiefly those who were called "partakers of his table."

[Pg 36] 26. While accompanied by these, he perceived the king and the close guard around him; when he immediately lost his self-command, and exclaiming, "I see the man," rushed upon him, struck him on the breast, and wounded him through the breastplate, as Ctesias, the physician, relates, stating that he himself dressed the wound. 27. As Cyrus was in the act of striking, some one hit him violently with a javelin under the eye; and how many of those about the king were killed, (while they thus fought, the king, and Cyrus, and their respective followers in defence of each,) Ctesias relates; for he was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of his principal officers lay dead upon his body. 28. Artapates, the most faithful servant to him of all his sceptre-bearers,^[70] when he saw Cyrus fall, is said to have leaped from his horse, and thrown himself upon the body of his master; 29. and some say, that the king ordered some one to kill him on the body of Cyrus; but others relate, that he drew his scimitar, and killed himself upon the body; for he had a golden scimitar by his side, and also wore a chain and bracelets, and other ornaments, like the noblest of the Persians; since he was honoured by Cyrus for his attachment and fidelity to him.

The character of Cyrus. All his personal friends are killed, except Ariæus, who takes to flight.

1. Thus then died Cyrus; a man who, of all the Persians since Cyrus the elder, was the most princely and most worthy of empire, as is agreed by all who appear to have had personal knowledge of him. 2. In the first place, while he was yet a boy, and when he was receiving his education with his brother and the other youths, he was thought to surpass them all in everything. 3. For all the sons of the Persian nobles are educated at the gates of the king;^[71] where they may learn many a lesson of virtuous conduct, but can see or hear nothing disgraceful. 4. Here the boys see some honoured by the king, and others disgraced, and hear of them; so that in their very childhood they learn to govern and to obey.

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5. Here Cyrus, first of all, showed himself most remarkable for modesty among those of his own age, and for paying more ready obedience to his elders than even those who were inferior to him in station; and next, he was noted for his fondness for horses, and for managing them in a superior manner. They found him, too, very desirous of learning, and most assiduous in practising, the warlike exercises of archery, and hurling the javelin. 6. When it suited his age, he grew extremely fond of the chase, and of braving dangers in encounters with wild beasts. On one occasion, he did not shrink from a she-bear that attacked him, but, in grappling with her, was dragged from off his horse, and received some wounds, the scars of which were visible on his body, but at last killed her. The person who first came to his assistance, he made a happy man in the eyes of many.

7. When he was sent down by his father, as satrap of Lydia and Great Phrygia and Cappadocia, and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he soon showed that if he made a league or compact with any one, or gave a promise, he deemed it of the utmost importance not to break his word. 8. Accordingly the states that were committed to his charge, as well as individuals, had the greatest confidence in him; and if any one had been his enemy, he felt secure that if Cyrus entered into a treaty with him, he should suffer no infraction of the stipulations. 9. When, therefore, he waged war against Tissaphernes, all the cities, of their own accord, chose to adhere to Cyrus in preference to Tissaphernes, except the Milesians; but they feared him, because he would not abandon the cause of the exiles; 10. for he both showed by his deeds, and declared in words, that he would never desert them, since he had once become a friend to them, not even though they should grow still fewer in number, and be in a worse condition than they were.

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11. Whenever any one did him a kindness or an injury, he showed himself anxious to go beyond him in those respects; and some used to mention a wish of his, that "he desired to live long enough to outdo both those who had done him good, and those who had done him ill, in the requital that he should make." 12. Accordingly to him alone of the men of our days were so great a number of people desirous of committing the disposal of their property, their cities, and their own persons.

13. Yet no one could with truth say this of him, that he suffered the criminal or unjust to deride his authority; for he of all men inflicted punishment most unsparingly; and there were often to be seen, along the most frequented roads, men deprived of their feet, or hands, or eyes; so that in Cyrus's dominions, it was possible for any one, Greek or Barbarian, who did no wrong, to travel without fear whithersoever he pleased, and having with him whatever might suit his convenience.

14. To those who showed ability for war, it is acknowledged that he paid distinguished honour. His first war was with the Pisidians and Mysians; and, marching in person into these countries, he made those, whom he saw voluntarily hazarding their lives in his service, governors over the territory that he subdued, and distinguished them with rewards in other ways. 15. So that the brave appeared to be the most fortunate of men, while the cowardly were deemed fit^[72] only to be their slaves. There were, therefore, great numbers of persons who voluntarily exposed themselves to danger, wherever they thought that Cyrus would become aware of their exertions.

16. With regard to justice, if any appeared to him inclined to display that virtue, he made a point of making such men richer than those who sought to profit by injustice. 17. Accordingly, while in many other respects his affairs were administered judiciously, he likewise possessed an army worthy of the name. For it was not for money that generals and captains came from foreign lands to enter into his service, but because they were persuaded that to serve Cyrus well, would be more profitable than any amount of monthly pay. 18. Besides, if any one executed his orders in a superior manner, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded; consequently, in every undertaking, the best qualified officers were said to be ready to assist him.

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19. If he noticed any one that was a skilful manager, with strict regard to justice, stocking the land of which he had the direction, and securing income from it, he would never take anything from such a person, but was ever ready to give him something in addition; so that men laboured with cheerfulness, acquired property with confidence, and made no concealment from Cyrus of what each possessed; for he did not appear to envy those who amassed riches openly, but to endeavour to bring into use the wealth of those who concealed it.

20. Whatever friends he made, and felt to be well-disposed to him, and considered to be capable of assisting him in anything that he might wish to accomplish, he is acknowledged by all to have been most successful in attaching them to him. 21. For, on the very same account on which he thought that he himself had need of friends, namely, that he might have co-operators in his

undertakings, did he endeavour to prove an efficient assistant to his friends in whatever he perceived any of them desirous of effecting.

22. He received, for many reasons, more presents than perhaps any other single individual; and these he outdid every one else in distributing amongst his friends, having a view to the character of each, and to what he perceived each most needed. 23. Whatever presents any one sent him of articles of personal ornament, whether for warlike accoutrement, or merely for dress, concerning these, they said, he used to remark, that he could not decorate his own person with them all, but that he thought friends well equipped were the greatest ornament a man could have. 24. That he should outdo his friends, indeed, in conferring great benefits, is not at all wonderful, since he was so much more able; but, that he should surpass his friends in kind attentions, and an anxious desire to oblige, appears to me far more worthy of admiration. 25. Frequently, when he had wine served him of a peculiarly fine flavour, he would send half-emptied flagons of it to some of his friends, with a message to this effect: "Cyrus has not for some time met with pleasanter wine than this; and he has therefore sent some of it to you, and begs you will drink it to-day, with those whom you love best." 26. He would often, too, send geese partly eaten, and the halves of loaves, and other such things, desiring the bearer to say, in presenting them, "Cyrus has been delighted with these, and therefore wishes you also to taste of them."

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27. Wherever provender was scarce, but he himself, from having many attendants, and from the care which he took, was able to procure some, he would send it about, and desire his friends to give that provender to the horses that carried them, so that hungry steeds might not carry his friends. 28. Whenever he rode out, and many were likely to see him, he would call to him his friends, and hold earnest conversation with them, that he might show whom he held in honour; so that, from what I have heard, I should think that no one was ever beloved by a greater number of persons, either Greeks or Barbarians. 29. Of this fact the following is a proof; that no one deserted to the king from Cyrus, though only a subject, (except that Orontes attempted to do so; but he soon found the person whom he believed faithful to him, more a friend to Cyrus than to himself,) while many came over to Cyrus from the king, after they became enemies to each other; and these, too, men who were greatly beloved by the king; for they felt persuaded, that if they proved themselves brave soldiers under Cyrus, they would obtain from him more adequate rewards for their services than from the king.

30. What occurred also at the time of his death, is a great proof, as well that he himself was a man of merit, as that he could accurately distinguish such as were trust-worthy, well disposed, and constant in their attachment. 31. For when he was killed, all his friends, and the partakers of his table who were with him, fell fighting in his defence, except Ariæus, who had been posted, in command of the cavalry, on the left; and, when he learned that Cyrus had fallen in the battle, he took to flight, with all the troops which he had under his command.

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CHAPTER X.

The head and right-hand of Cyrus cut off. Artaxerxes pursues Ariæus, plunders the camp of Cyrus, and then returns to attack the victorious Greeks, who put him to flight, recover what he had seized, and return to their camp.

1. The head and right-hand of Cyrus were then cut off. The king, and the troops that were with him, engaging in pursuit, fell upon the camp of Cyrus; when the soldiers of Ariæus no longer stood their ground, but fled through their camp to the station whence they had last started; which was said to be four parasangs distant. 2. The king and his followers seized upon many other things, and also captured the Phocæan woman, the mistress of Cyrus, who was said to be both accomplished and beautiful. 3. His younger mistress, a native of Miletus, being taken by some of the king's soldiers, fled for refuge, without her outer garment, to the party of Greeks,^[73] who were stationed under arms to guard the baggage, and who, drawing themselves up for defence, killed several of the pillagers; and some of their own number also fell; yet they did not flee, but saved not only the woman, but all the rest of the property and people that were in their quarters.

4. The king and the main body of Greeks were now distant from each other about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing those that had been opposed to them, as if they had conquered all; the Persians engaged in plundering, as if they were wholly victorious. 5. But when the Greeks found that the king with his troops was amongst their baggage; and the king, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes, that the Greeks had routed that part of his line which had been opposed to them, and were gone forward in pursuit, the king, on his part, collected his forces, and formed them in line again; while Clearchus, on the other side, calling to him Proxenus, who happened to be nearest to him, consulted with him whether they should send a detachment to the camp, or proceed, all of them together, to relieve it. 6. In the mean time, the king was observed again approaching them, as it seemed, in their rear. The Greeks, wheeling round, prepared to receive him, in the belief that he would attack them on that quarter; the king, however, did not lead his troops that way, but led them off by the same route by which he had before passed on the outside of their left wing; taking with him both those who had deserted to the Greeks during the engagement, and Tissaphernes with the troops under his command.

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7. Tissaphernes had not fled at the commencement of the engagement, but had charged through the Greek peltasts, close to the banks of the river. In breaking through, however, he killed not a single man, for the Greeks, opening their ranks, struck his men with their swords, and hurled their javelins at them. Episthenes of Amphipolis had the command of the peltasts, and was said to have proved himself an able captain. 8. Tissaphernes, therefore, when he thus came off with disadvantage, did not turn back again, but, proceeding onwards to the Grecian camp, met the king there; and thence they now returned together, with their forces united in battle-array. 9. When they were opposite the left wing of the Greeks, the Greeks feared lest they should attack them on that wing, and, enclosing them on both sides, should cut them off; they therefore thought it advisable to draw back this wing,^[74] and to put the river in their rear. 10. While they were planning this manœuvre, the king, having passed beyond them, presented his force opposite to them, in the same form in which he had at first come to battle; and when the Greeks saw their enemies close at hand, and drawn up for fight, they again sang the pæan, and advanced upon them with much greater spirit than before. 11. The Barbarians, on the other hand, did not await their onset, but fled sooner^[75] than at first; and the Greeks pursued them as far as a certain village,^[76] where they halted; 12. for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight, and though there were no longer any infantry^[77] there, the height was filled with cavalry; so that the Greeks could not tell what was doing. They said, that they saw the royal standard, a golden eagle upon a spear,^[78] with expanded wings.^[79]

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13. But as the Greeks were on the point of proceeding thither, the cavalry too left the hill; not indeed in a body, but some in one direction and some in another; and thus the hill was gradually thinned of cavalry, till at last they were all gone. 14. Clearchus, however, did not march up the hill, but, stationing his force at its foot, sent Lycius the Syracusan and another up the hill, and ordered them, after taking a view from the summit, to report to him what was passing on the other side. 15. Lycius accordingly rode thither, and having made his observations, brought word that the enemy were fleeing with precipitation. Just as these things took place, the sun set.

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16. Here the Greeks halted, and piling their arms, took some rest; and at the same time they wondered that Cyrus himself nowhere made his appearance, and that no one else came to them from him; for they did not know that he was killed, but conjectured that he was either gone in pursuit of the enemy, or had pushed forward to secure some post. 17. They then deliberated whether they should remain in that spot and fetch their baggage thither, or return to the camp; and it was resolved to return, and they arrived at the tents about supper-time. 18. Such was the conclusion of this day.

They found almost all their baggage, and whatever food and drink was with it, plundered and wasted; the waggons, too, full of barley-meal and wine, which Cyrus had provided, in order that, if ever a great scarcity of provisions should fall upon the army, he might distribute them amongst the Grecian troops, (and the waggons, as was said, were four hundred in number,) these also the king's soldiers had plundered. 19. Most of the Greeks consequently remained supperless; and they had also been without dinner; for before the army had halted for dinner, the king made his appearance. In this state they passed the ensuing night.

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks are surprised to hear of the death of Cyrus. Ariæus resolves to return to Ionia, contrary to the advice of Clearchus, who incites him to make an attempt on the throne of Persia. Artaxerxes sends a message to the Greeks; their reply.

1. How the Grecian force was collected for Cyrus, when he undertook his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred in his march up the country, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and went to rest, in the belief that they were completely victorious, and that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the preceding book.

2. When it was day, the generals met together, and expressed their surprise that Cyrus had neither sent any person to give directions how they should act, nor had made his appearance himself. It seemed best to them, therefore, to pack up what baggage they had, and, arming themselves, to march forward till they could effect a junction with Cyrus. 3. But when they were on the point of starting, just as the sun was rising, there came to them Procles, the governor of Teuthrania, (who was descended from Damaratus, the Lacedæmonian,) and with him Glus, the son of Tamos, who told them that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus, having fled, was, with the rest of the Barbarians, at the station whence they started the day before; and that he said he would wait for the Greeks that day, if they would come to him; but on the morrow, he said, he should set off for Ionia, from whence he had come.

4. The generals, on hearing this intelligence, and the other Greeks, on learning it from them,^[80] were grievously afflicted; and Clearchus spoke thus: "Would that Cyrus were still alive; but since

he is no more, carry back word to Ariæus, that we at least are victorious over the king, and that, as you see, no enemy any longer offers us battle; and if you had not come, we should have marched against the king; and we promise Ariæus that, if he will come hither, we will seat him on the royal throne: for to those who conquer, it belongs also to rule." 5. Saying this, he dismissed the messengers, and sent with them Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself desired to go, as he was connected with Ariæus by ties of friendship and hospitality.

6. While they departed on their mission Clearchus waited where he was; and the troops supplied themselves with food, as well as they could, from the carcasses of their baggage-cattle, slaughtering their oxen and asses; and, going a little way in front of the line, to the place where the battle was fought, they collected and used as fuel, not only the arrows, which lay in great quantities, and which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw down, but also the wicker shields of the Persians, and the wooden ones of the Egyptians; and there were also many other light shields, and waggons emptied of their contents^[81] to be taken away; using all which materials to cook the meat, they appeased their hunger for that day.

7. It was now about the middle of the forenoon,^[82] when some heralds arrived from the king and Tissaphernes, all of them Barbarians, except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who chanced to be with Tissaphernes, and was highly esteemed by him, for he had pretensions to skill in the arrangement of troops, and in the exercise of heavy arms. 8. These persons having approached, and asked to speak with the commanders of the Greeks, told them, "that the king, since he had gained the victory and slain Cyrus, required the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and go to the gates of the king,^[83] and try to obtain, if they could, some favour from him." 9. Thus spoke the king's heralds; and the Greeks heard them with no small concern: but Clearchus only said, "that it was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms; but," he continued, "do you, fellow-captains, give these men such an answer as you think most honourable and proper; and I will return immediately;" for one of the attendants just then called him away to inspect the entrails which had been taken out of the victim, as he happened to be engaged in sacrifice. 10. Cleanor the Arcadian, the oldest of them, then answered, that "they would die before they would deliver up their arms." "For my part," said Proxenus the Theban, "I wonder, Phalinus, whether it is as conqueror that the king asks for our arms, or as gifts in friendship; for if as conqueror, why should he ask for them at all, and not rather come and take them? But if he wishes to get them from us by means of persuasion, let him say what will be left to the soldiers, if they gratify him in this particular." 11. To this Phalinus replied, "The king considers himself the conqueror, since he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now that disputes the sovereignty with him? And he also looks upon yourselves as his captives, having you here in the middle of his dominions, and enclosed within impassable rivers; and being able to lead such multitudes against you, as, though he gave them into your power, it would be impossible for you to destroy."

12. After him, Theopompus,^[84] an Athenian, spoke thus: "O Phalinus, we have now, as you see, nothing to avail us, except our arms and our valour. While we retain our arms, we may hope to profit by our valour; but if we were to give them up, we should expect to be deprived also of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only things of value that we possess; but, with these in our hands, we will even fight for whatever of value you possess." 13. On hearing him speak thus, Phalinus smiled, and said, "You seem like a philosopher, young man, and express yourself not without grace; but be assured that you are out of your senses if you imagine that your valour will prove victorious over the might of the king." 14. But it was reported that certain others of the generals, giving way to their fears, said that they had been faithful to Cyrus, and might likewise prove of great service to the king, if he were willing to become their friend; and that whether he might wish to employ them in any other service, or in an expedition against Egypt, they would assist him in reducing it.

15. In the mean time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given their answer. Phalinus, in reply, said, "Your companions, O Clearchus, give each a different answer; and now tell us what you have to say." 16. Clearchus then said, "I was glad to see you, O Phalinus, and so, I dare say, were all the rest of us; for you are a Greek, as we also are; and, being so many in number as you see, and placed in such circumstances, we would advise with you how we should act with regard to the message that you bring. 17. Give us then, I entreat you by the gods, such advice as seems to you most honourable and advantageous, and such as will bring you honour in time to come, when it is related, that Phalinus, being once sent from the king to require the Greeks to deliver up their arms, gave them, when they consulted him, such and such counsel; for you know that whatever counsel you do give, will necessarily be reported in Greece."

18. Clearchus craftily threw out this suggestion, with the desire that the very person who came as an envoy from the king, should advise them not to deliver up their arms, in order that the Greeks might be led to conceive better hopes. But Phalinus, adroitly evading the appeal, spoke, contrary to his expectation, as follows: 19. "If, out of ten thousand hopeful chances, you have any single one, of saving yourselves by continuing in arms against the king, I advise you not to deliver up your arms; but if you have not a single hope of safety in opposing the king's pleasure, I advise you to save yourselves in the only way in which it is possible." 20. Clearchus rejoined, "Such, then, is your advice; but on our part return this answer, that we are of opinion, that, if we are to be friends with the king, we shall be more valuable friends if we retain our arms, than if we surrender them to another; but that if we must make war against him, we should make war better if we retain our arms, than if we give them up to another." 21. Phalinus said, "This answer, then, we will report: but the king desired us also to inform you, that while you remain in this

place, a truce is to be considered as existing between him and you; but, if you advance or retreat, there is to be war. Give us, therefore, your answer on this point also; whether you will remain here, and a truce is to exist, or whether I shall announce from you, that there is war." 22. Clearchus replied, "Report, therefore, on this point also, that our resolution is the same as that of the king." "And what is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, "If we stay here, a truce; but if we retreat or advance, war." 23. Phalinus again asked him, "Is it a truce or war that I shall report?" Clearchus again made the same answer: "A truce, if we stay; and if we retreat or advance, war." But of what he intended to do, he gave no intimation.

CHAPTER II.

The Greeks, joining Ariæus, form an alliance with him, and take counsel with him in reference to their return. During the night following the first day's march they are seized with a panic, which Clearchus allays.

1. Phalinus and his companions departed; and there now returned, from their interview with Ariæus, Procles and Cheirisophus; Menon had remained there with Ariæus. They reported, "that Ariæus said that there were many Persians, of superior rank to himself, who would not endure that he should be king; but," he adds, "if you wish to return with him, he desires you to come to him this very night; if you do not, he says that he will set out by himself early in the morning." 2. Clearchus rejoined, "And we must certainly do as you say, if we determine to go to him; but if not, adopt for yourselves such measures as you may think most for your advantage;" for not even to them did he disclose what he intended to do.

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3. But afterwards, when the sun was setting, having assembled the generals and captains, he spoke as follows: "My friends, when I offered a sacrifice with reference to marching against the king, the signs of the victims were not favourable, and indeed it was with good cause that they were not so; for as I now learn, there is between us and the king the river Tigris, a navigable river, which we could not cross without vessels; and vessels we have none. Yet it is not possible to remain here; for we have no means of procuring provisions. But for going to the friends of Cyrus, the sacrifices were extremely favourable. 4. We must accordingly proceed thus: when we separate, we must sup, each of us on what he has; when the signal is given with the horn as if for going to rest, proceed to pack up your baggage; when it sounds the second time, place it on your baggage-cattle; and, at the third signal, follow him who leads the way, keeping your baggage-cattle next the river, and the heavy-armed troops on the outside." 5. The generals and captains, after listening to this address, went away, and did as he directed; and thenceforth he commanded, and the others obeyed, not indeed having elected him commander, but perceiving that he alone possessed such qualifications as a leader ought to have, and that the rest of them were comparatively inexperienced.

6. The computation of the route which they had come from Ephesus in Ionia to the field of battle, was ninety-three days' march, and five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia;^[85] and the distance from the field of battle to Babylon was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia.

7. Here, as soon as it was dark, Miltocythes the Thracian deserted to the king, with about forty horse that he commanded, and nearly three hundred of the Thracian infantry. 8. Clearchus led the way for the rest, in the prescribed order; and they followed, and arrived at the first halting-place,^[86] to join Ariæus and his troops about midnight; and the generals and captains of the Greeks, having drawn up their men under arms, went in a body to Ariæus; when the Greeks on the one hand, and Ariæus and his principal officers on the other, took an oath not to betray each other, and to be true allies; and the Barbarians took another oath, that they would lead the way without treachery. 9. These oaths they took after sacrificing a bull, a wolf,^[87] a boar, and a ram, over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword, and the Barbarians a lance, into the blood.

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10. When these pledges of mutual fidelity were given, Clearchus said: "Since then, Ariæus, our route and yours is now the same, tell us, what is your opinion with respect to our course; whether we shall return the way we came, or whether you consider that you have thought of a better way." 11. Ariæus replied: "If we were to return the way we came, we should all perish of hunger; for we have now no supply of provisions; and for the last seventeen days' march, even when we were coming hither, we could procure nothing from the country through which we passed; or, if anything was to be found there, we consumed it ourselves in our passage. But now we propose to take a longer road, but one in which we shall not want for provisions. 12. We must make the first days' marches as long as we can, that we may remove ourselves to the greatest possible distance from the king's army; for if we once escape two or three days' journey from him, the king will no longer be able to overtake us; since he will not dare to pursue us with a small force; and, with a numerous army, he will not be able to march fast enough, and will probably experience a scarcity of provisions." "Such," he concluded, "is my opinion."

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13. This scheme for conducting the army was calculated for nothing else than to effect an escape, clandestinely or openly, by flight.^[88] But fortune proved a better leader; for as soon as it was day they began their march, with the sun on their right, expecting to arrive about sunset at some

villages in the Babylonian territory; and in this expectation they were not disappointed. 14. But, in the afternoon, they thought that they perceived some of the enemy's cavalry; and those of the Greeks who happened not to be in their ranks, ran to their places in the ranks; and Ariæus (for he was riding in a waggon because he had been wounded) came down and put on his armour, as did those who were with him. 15. But while they were arming themselves, the scouts that had been sent forward returned, and reported that they were not cavalry, but baggage-cattle grazing; and every one immediately concluded that the king was encamped somewhere near. Smoke also was seen rising from some villages not far distant. 16. Clearchus however did not lead his troops against the enemy; (for he was aware that his soldiers were tired and in want of food; and besides it was now late;) yet he did not turn out of his way, taking care not to appear to flee, but continued his march in a direct line, and took up his quarters with his vanguard, just at sunset, in the nearest villages, from which even the wood-work of the houses had been carried off by the king's troops. 17. These, therefore, who were in advance, encamped with some degree of regularity; but those who followed, coming up in the dark, took up with such quarters as they chanced to find, and made so much noise in calling to each other, that even the enemy heard them; and those of the enemy who were stationed the nearest, fled from their encampments. 18. That this had been the case, became apparent on the following day; for there was no longer a single beast of burden to be seen, nor any camp, nor smoke anywhere near. The king had been alarmed, as it seemed, by the sudden approach of the Grecian army; and of this he gave proof by what he did on the following day.

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19. However, in the course of this night, a panic fell upon the Greeks themselves, and there arose such noise and commotion in their camp as usually ensues on the occurrence of sudden terror. 20. Upon this, Clearchus ordered Tolmides, an Eleian, whom he happened to have with him, the best^[89] herald of his time, to command silence; and proclaim, that "the generals give notice, that whoever will give information of the person who turned the ass among the arms,^[90] shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." 21. On this proclamation being made, the soldiers were convinced that their alarm was groundless, and their generals were safe. At break of day, Clearchus issued orders for the Greeks to form themselves under arms, in the same order in which they had been when the battle took place.

CHAPTER III.

The king proposes a truce, and supplies the Greeks with provisions during the negotiation. Three days after he sends Tissaphernes to them, to ask why they had engaged in hostilities against him; he is answered by Clearchus. A treaty is then concluded, the king engaging to send home the Greeks under the conduct of Tissaphernes, and the Greeks promising to do no injury to the countries through which they should pass.

1. What I just now stated, that the king was alarmed at the approach of the Greeks, became evident by what followed; for though, when he sent to them on the preceding day, he desired them to deliver up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce. 2. These heralds, upon arriving at the outposts, requested to speak with the commanders. Their request being reported by the guards, Clearchus, who happened then to be inspecting the several divisions, told the guards to desire the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure. 3. When he had arranged the army in such a manner as to present on every side the fair appearance of a compact phalanx, and so that none of the unarmed were to be seen, he called for the heralds, and came forward himself, having about him the best-armed and best-looking of his soldiers, and told the other leaders to do the same. 4. When he drew near the messengers, he asked them what they wanted. They replied, "that they came to negotiate a truce, with full powers to communicate with the Greeks on behalf of the king, and with the king on behalf of the Greeks." 5. Clearchus answered, "Tell the king, then, that we must come to battle first; for we have no breakfast;^[91] and there is no one who will dare to talk to the Greeks of a truce, without first supplying them with breakfast."

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6. On hearing this answer, the messengers departed, but soon returned; from whence it was apparent that the king, or some other person to whom a commission had been given to conduct the negotiation, was somewhere near. They brought word, "that the king thought what they said was reasonable, and that they now came with guides, who, in case the truce should be settled, would conduct the Greeks to a place where they might procure provisions." 7. Clearchus then inquired, whether the king would grant the benefit of the truce to those only who went to him, on their way thither and back, or whether the truce would be with the rest as well.^[92] The messengers replied, "With all; until what you have to say is communicated to the king." 8. When they had said this, Clearchus, directing them to withdraw, deliberated with the other officers; and they proposed to conclude the truce at once, and to go after the provisions at their ease, and supply themselves. 9. And Clearchus said, "I too am of that opinion. I will not, however, announce our determination immediately, but will wait till the messengers begin to be uneasy lest we should determine not to conclude the truce. And yet," said he, "I suspect that a similar apprehension will arise among our own soldiers." When he thought therefore that the proper time had arrived, he announced to the messengers that he agreed to the truce, and desired them

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to conduct him forthwith to the place where the provisions were.

10. They accordingly led the way; and Clearchus proceeded to conclude the truce, keeping his army however in battle-array; the rear he brought up himself. They met with ditches and canals so full of water that they could not cross without bridges; but they made crossings of the palm-trees which had fallen, and others which they cut down. 11. Here it might be seen how Clearchus performed the duties of a commander, holding his spear in his left hand, and a staff in his right; and if any of those ordered to the work seemed to him to loiter at it, he would select a fit object for punishment,^[93] and give him a beating, and would lend his assistance himself,^[94] leaping into the midst, so that all were ashamed not to share his industry. 12. The men of thirty and under only had been appointed by him to the work; but the older men, when they saw Clearchus thus busily employed, gave their assistance likewise. 13. Clearchus made so much the more haste, as he suspected that the ditches were not always so full of water; (for it was not the season for irrigating the ground;) but thought that the king had let out the water upon the plain, in order that even now there might appear to the Greeks to be many difficulties in the march.

14. Proceeding on their way, they arrived at some villages, from which the guides signified that they might procure provisions. In these villages there was great plenty of corn, and wine made from dates, and an acidulous drink obtained from them by boiling. 15. As to the dates themselves, such as those we see in Greece were here put aside for the use of the servants; but those which were laid by for their masters, were choice fruit, remarkable for beauty and size; their colour was not unlike that of amber; and some of these they dried and preserved as sweetmeats. These were a pleasant accompaniment to drink, but apt to cause headache. 16. Here too the soldiers for the first time tasted the cabbage^[95] from the top of the palm-tree, and most of them were agreeably struck both with its external appearance and the peculiarity of its sweetness. But this also was exceedingly apt to give headache. The palm-tree, out of which the cabbage had been taken, soon withered throughout.

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17. In this place they remained three days, when Tissaphernes arrived from the Great King, and with him the brother of the king's wife, and three other Persians; and a numerous retinue attended them. The generals of the Greeks having met them on their arrival, Tissaphernes first spoke by an interpreter, to the following effect: 18. "I myself dwell, O Greeks, in the neighbourhood of your country; and when I perceived you fallen into many troubles and difficulties, I thought it a piece of good fortune if I could in any way press a request upon the king to allow me to conduct you in safety back to Greece. For I think that such a service would be attended with no want of gratitude either from yourselves or from Greece in general. 19. With these considerations, I made my request to the king, representing to him that he might reasonably grant me this favour, because I had been the first to give him intelligence that Cyrus was marching against him, and at the same time that I brought him the intelligence, had come to him with an auxiliary force; because I alone, of all those opposed to the Greeks, did not flee, but, on the contrary, charged through the midst of them, and joined the king in your camp, whither he came after he had slain Cyrus; and because, together with these who are now present with me, and who are his most faithful servants, I engaged in pursuit of the Barbarian part of Cyrus's army. 20. The king promised to consider of my request; and in the mean time desired me to come and ask you, on what account it was that you took the field against him; and I advise you to answer with moderation, in order that it may be easier for me to secure you whatever advantage I can from the king."

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21. The Greeks then withdrew, and, after some deliberation, gave their answer, Clearchus speaking for them: "We neither formed ourselves into a body, with the view of making war upon the king, nor, when we set out, was our march directed against him; but Cyrus, as you yourself are well aware, devised many pretences for his proceedings, that he might both take you by surprise, and lead us up hither. 22. But when we afterwards saw him in danger, we were ashamed, in the face of gods and men, to desert him, as we had before allowed him to bestow favours upon us. 23. As Cyrus, however, is now dead, we neither dispute the sovereignty with the king, nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the king's territory; nor would we wish to kill him, but would proceed homeward, if no one molest us; but we will endeavour, with the aid of the gods, to avenge ourselves on any one that may do us an injury; while, if any one does us good, we shall not be behind-hand in requiting him to the utmost of our power." Thus spoke Clearchus. 24. Tissaphernes, having heard him, said, "I will report your answer to the king, and bring back to you his reply; and till I return, let the truce remain in force; and we will provide a market for you."

25. On the following day he did not return; so that the Greeks began to be anxious; but on the third day he came, and said, that he returned after having obtained the king's permission to be allowed to save the Greeks; although many spoke against it, saying that it did not become the king to suffer men to escape who had engaged in war against him. 26. In conclusion he said, "You may now receive from us solemn promises that we will render the country, through which you will pass, friendly to you; and will, without treachery, conduct you back to Greece, affording you opportunities of purchasing provisions; and wheresoever we do not afford you an opportunity of purchasing, we will allow you to take for yourselves necessaries from the adjacent country. 27. On the other hand, it will be incumbent upon you to swear to us, that you will march, as through a friendly territory, without doing harm, only taking a supply of meat and drink, whenever we do not give you an opportunity of purchasing, but that if we give you such opportunity, you will procure your supplies by purchase." 28. These conditions were assented to; and they took the oaths, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the king's wife gave their right-hands to the generals

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and captains of the Greeks, and received from the Greeks theirs in return. 29. After this, Tissaphernes said, "And now I shall go back to the king; and as soon as I have accomplished what I wish, I will come again, after making the necessary preparations, for the purpose of conducting you back to Greece, and returning myself to my province."

CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks conceive distrust both of Tissaphernes and Ariæus, and resolve to march apart from the Persians. They commence their march under the guidance of Tissaphernes, pass the wall of Media, and cross the Tigris.

[Pg 59] 1. After these occurrences, the Greeks and Ariæus, encamping near each other, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days;^[96] in the course of which there came to visit Ariæus both his brothers and other relations, and certain other Persians, to see his companions, and gave them encouraging hopes; some too were the bearers of assurances^[97] from the king, that he would not remember to their disadvantage their expedition against him under Cyrus, or anything else that was past. 2. On these things taking place, the followers of Ariæus evidently began to pay the Greeks less attention; so that, on this account, they rendered most of the Greeks dissatisfied with them; and many of them, going to Clearchus and the other generals, said, 3. "Why do we remain here? are we not aware that the king would wish above all things to destroy us, in order that a dread of going to war with the Great Monarch may fall upon the rest of the Greeks? For the present, he craftily protracts our stay, because his forces are dispersed; but, when his army is re-assembled, it is not possible but that he will attack us. 4. Perhaps, too, he is digging some trench, or building some wall, that the way may be rendered impassable; for he will never consent, at least willingly, that we should go back to Greece, and relate how so small a number as we are have defeated the king at his own gates, and returned after setting him at nought."

5. To those who thus addressed him, Clearchus answered, "I have been considering all these things as well; but I think that, if we now go away, we shall be thought to go with a view to war, and to act contrary to the terms of the truce. Moreover, in the first place, there will be no one to provide us a market, or any means of procuring provisions; and, in the next place, there will be no one to guide us; besides, the moment that we do this, Ariæus will separate himself from us so that not a friend will be left us; and, what is more, our former friends will then become our enemies. 6. Whether there is any other river for us to cross, I do not know; but as for the Euphrates, we know that it is impossible to cross that, if the enemy try to prevent us. Nor yet, if it should be necessary to fight, have we any horse to support us; while the enemy's cavalry is most numerous and efficient; so that, though we were victorious, how many of our enemies should we be able to kill? And, if we were defeated, it would not be possible for a man of us to escape. 7. With regard to the king, therefore, who is aided by so many advantages, I know not, if he wishes to effect our destruction, why he should swear, and give his right-hand, and perjure himself before the gods, and render his pledges faithless both to Greeks and Barbarians." He said much besides to the same effect.

[Pg 60] 8. In the mean time Tissaphernes arrived, with his army, as if with the view of returning home; and Orontes came with his army. Orontes also brought^[98] with him the king's daughter, whom he had received in marriage.^[99] 9. From hence they now proceeded on their march, Tissaphernes being their guide, and securing them opportunities of buying provisions; Ariæus also, with the Barbarian troops of Cyrus, marched in company with Tissaphernes and Orontes, and encamped in common with them. 10. But the Greeks, conceiving a suspicion of these men, began to march by themselves, taking guides of their own; and they always encamped at the distance of a parasang, or little less, from each other; and both parties kept on their guard against one another, as if they had been enemies, and this consequently increased their mistrustful feelings. 11. More than once, too, as they were gathering fuel, or collecting grass and other such things, in the same quarter, they came to blows with each other;^[100] and this was an additional source of animosity between them.

[Pg 61] 12. After marching three days, they arrived at the wall of Media,^[101] as it is called, and passed to the other side of it. This wall was built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen; it was twenty feet in thickness, and a hundred in height, and the length of it was said to be twenty parasangs; and it was not far distant from Babylon. 13. Hence they proceeded, in two days' march, the distance of eight parasangs; crossing two canals, the one by a permanent bridge, the other by a temporary one formed of seven boats. These canals were supplied from the river Tigris; and from one to the other of them were cut ditches across the country, the first of considerable size, and the next smaller; and at last diminutive drains, such as are cut in Greece through the panic^[102] fields. They then arrived at the Tigris; near which there was a large and populous city, called Sitace, distant from the banks of the river only fifteen stadia. 14. In the neighbourhood of this city the Greeks encamped, close to an extensive and beautiful park, thickly planted with all kinds of trees. The Barbarians, though they had but just crossed the Tigris, were no longer in sight.

15. After supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking in front of the place where the arms were piled, when a man approached, and inquired of the sentinels where he could see

Proxenus or Clearchus. But he did not ask for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, Menon's intimate friend. 16. Proxenus replying, "I am the person whom you seek," the man said, "Ariæus and Artaozus, the faithful friends of Cyrus, who are interested for your welfare, have sent me to you, and exhort you to beware lest the Barbarians should fall upon you in the night; for there is a considerable body of troops in the adjoining park. 17. They also advise you to send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris, as Tissaphernes designs to break it down in the night, if he can, in order that you may not be able to cross the river, but may be hemmed in between the river and the canal." 18. On hearing the man's message, they conducted him to Clearchus, and told him what he had said. When Clearchus heard it he was greatly agitated and alarmed.

[Pg 62] 19. But a young man,^[103] one of those who were present, after reflecting a little on the matter, observed, "that the imputed designs of making an attack, and of breaking down the bridge, were not consistent; for," said he, "if they attack us, they must certainly either conquer or be conquered; if then they are to conquer us, why should they break down the bridge? for even though there were many bridges, we have no place where we could save ourselves by flight; 20. but if, on the other hand, we should conquer them, then, if the bridge is broken down, they will have no place of retreat; nor will any of their friends on the other side of the river, however numerous, be able to come to their assistance when the bridge is destroyed." 21. After listening to these observations, Clearchus asked the messenger what was the extent of the country that lay between the Tigris and the canal. He replied, "that it was of considerable extent, and that there were several villages and large towns in it." 22. It was then immediately concluded, that the Barbarians had sent this man with an underhand object, "being afraid lest the Greeks, having taken to pieces^[104] the bridge, should remain in the island, where they would have, as defences, the river Tigris on the one side, and the canal on the other; and might procure a sufficient supply of provisions from the country which lay between, and which was extensive and fertile, with people in it to cultivate it; and which would also serve as a place of refuge to any that might be inclined to annoy the king.

23. They then prepared for rest, but did not neglect, however, to send a guard to the bridge; but neither did any one attempt to attack them on any quarter, nor did any of the enemies come near the bridge, as those who were stationed on guard there reported.

24. As soon as it was day they crossed the bridge, which was constructed of thirty-seven boats, with every precaution in their power; for some of the Greeks, who came from Tissaphernes, stated that the enemy meant to attack them as they were crossing; but this report was also false. However, as they were going over, Glus made his appearance, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river; and when they saw they were, he immediately rode away.

[Pg 63] 25. From the Tigris they proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Phycus, which was a plethrum in breadth, and over which was a bridge. Here was situate a large town, called Opis; near which an illegitimate brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a numerous army from Susa and Ecbatana, with the intention of assisting the king, met the Greeks, and, ordering his troops to halt, took a view of the Greeks as they passed by. 16. Clearchus marched his men two abreast, and halted occasionally on the way; and as long as the van of the army halted, so long there was necessarily a halt throughout the whole of the line; so that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed very large, and the Persian was amazed at the sight of it.

27. Hence they proceeded through Media,^[105] six days' march through a desert country, a distance of thirty parasangs, when they arrived at the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king; which Tissaphernes, in mockery of Cyrus, gave permission to the Greeks to plunder of everything except the slaves. There was found in them a great quantity of corn, and sheep, and other property. 18. Hence they advanced in a march of five days more through the desert, a distance of twenty parasangs, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of the first day's march there was situate on the opposite bank of the river a large and opulent city, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians brought over, on rafts made of hide a supply of bread, cheese, and wine.

CHAPTER V

After a three days' halt on the river Zabatus, Clearchus endeavours to put an end to the distrust between the Persians and the Greeks by an interview with Tissaphernes. He is received so plausibly that he is induced to return on the following day, accompanied by five other generals and twenty captains, in expectation of being informed of the persons who had excited, by false reports, ill feelings between the two armies. The generals are conducted into the tent and put to death; the captains and those with them are massacred on the outside, one only escaping to tell the tale. Ariæus calls on the rest of the Greeks to surrender their arms, but is answered with defiance.

[Pg 64] 1. Soon after, they arrived at the river Zabatus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Here they remained three days; during which the same suspicions continued, but no open indication of treachery appeared. 2. Clearchus therefore resolved to have a meeting with Tissaphernes, and, if it was at all possible, to put a stop to these suspicions, before open hostilities should arise from

them. He accordingly sent a person to say, that he wished to have a meeting with Tissaphernes; who at once requested him to come. 3. When they met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I am aware, O Tissaphernes, that oaths have been taken, and right-hands pledged between us, that we will do no injury to each other: nevertheless, I observe you on your guard against us, as though we were enemies; and we, perceiving this, stand on our guard against you. 4. But since, upon attentive observation, I can neither detect you in any attempt to injure us, and since, as I am certain, we have no such intentions towards you, it seemed proper for me to come to a conference with you, that we may put an end, if we can, to our distrust of one another. 5. For I have, before now, known instances of men, who, being in fear of another, some through direct accusations, and others through mere suspicion, have, in their eagerness to act before they suffered, inflicted irremediable evils upon those who neither intended nor wished anything of the kind. 6. Thinking, therefore, that such misunderstandings may be best cleared up by personal communications, I have come here, and am desirous to convince you that you have no just ground for mistrusting us. 7. In the first and principal place, the oaths, which we have sworn by the gods, forbid us to be enemies to each other; and I should never consider him to be envied who is conscious of having disregarded such obligations; for from the vengeance of the gods I know not with what speed any one could flee so as to escape,^[106] or into what darkness he could steal away, or how he could retreat into any stronghold, since all things, in all places, are subject to the gods; and they have power over all everywhere alike. 8. Such are my sentiments respecting the gods, and the oaths which we swore by them, in whose keeping we deposited the friendship that we cemented; but among human advantages, I, for my own part, consider you to be the greatest that we at present possess; 9. for with your assistance, every road is easy, every river is passable, and there will be no want of provisions; but without you all our way would lie through darkness, (for we know nothing of it,) every river would be difficult to pass, and every multitude of men would be terrible, but solitude most terrible of all, as it is full of extreme perplexity. 10. And even if we should be so mad as to kill you, what else would be the consequence, than that, having slain our benefactor, we should have to contend with the king as your most powerful avenger?^[107] For my own part, of how many and how great expectations I should deprive myself, if I attempted to do you any injury, I will make you acquainted. 11. I was desirous that Cyrus should be my friend, as I thought him, of all the men of his time, the most able to benefit those whom he wished to favour. But I now see that you are in the possession both of the power and the territory of Cyrus, while you still retain your own province, and that the power of the king, which was opposed to Cyrus, is ready to support you, 12. Such being the case, who is so mad as not to wish to be your friend?

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"But I will mention also the circumstances from which I derive hopes that you will yourself desire to be our friend. 13. I am aware that the Mysians give you much annoyance, and these, I have no doubt, I should be able, with my present force, to render subservient to you; I am aware also that the Pisidians molest you; and I hear that there are many such nations besides, which I think I could prevent from ever disturbing your tranquillity. As for the Egyptians, against whom I perceive you are most of all incensed. I do not see what auxiliary force you could use to chastise them better than that which I now have with me. 14. If, again, among the states that lie around you, you were desirous to become a friend to any one, you might prove the most powerful of friends; and if any of them gave you any annoyance, you might, by our instrumentality, deal with them^[108] as a master, as we should serve you not for the sake of pay merely, but from gratitude, which we should justly feel towards you if we are saved by your means. 15. When I consider all these things, it appears to me so surprising that you should distrust us, that I would most gladly hear the name^[109] of him who is so persuasive a speaker as to make you believe that we are forming designs against you."

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Thus spoke Clearchus. Tissaphernes replied as follows: 16. "I am delighted, O Clearchus, to hear your judicious observations; for, with these sentiments, if you were to meditate anything to my injury, you would appear to be at the same time your own enemy. But that you may be convinced that you have no just cause for distrusting either the king or me, listen to me in your turn. 17. If we wished to destroy you, do we appear to you to be deficient in numbers either of cavalry or infantry, or in warlike equipments, with the aid of which we might be able to do you injury, without danger of suffering any in return? 18. Or do we seem to you likely to be in want of suitable places to make an attack upon you? Are there not so many plains, which, as the inhabitants of them are friendly to us,^[110] you traverse with exceeding toil? See you not so many mountains before you to be crossed, which we might, by pre-occupying them, render impassable to you? Or are there not so many rivers, at which we might parcel you out^[111] as many at a time as we might be willing to engage? Some of these rivers, indeed, you could not cross at all, unless we secured you a passage. 19. But even supposing that we were baffled in all these points, yet fire at least would prove its power over the produce of the soil; by burning which, we could set famine in array against you, which, though you were the bravest of the brave, you would find it difficult to withstand. 20. How then, having so many means of waging war with you, and none of them attended with danger to ourselves, should we select from amongst them all this mode, the only one that is impious in the sight of the gods, the only one that is disgraceful in the sight of men? 21. It belongs, altogether, to men who are destitute of means, deprived of every resource, and under the coercion of necessity, and at the same time devoid of principle, to seek to effect their purposes by perjury towards the gods, and breach of faith towards men. We, O Clearchus, are not so foolish or so inconsiderate; 22. or why, when we have the opportunity of effecting your destruction, have we made no such attempt? Be well assured, that the cause of this was my desire to prove myself faithful to the Greeks, and, in consequence of doing them service, to return supported by that very body of foreign troops, to whom Cyrus, when he went up, trusted

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only on account of the pay that he gave them. 23. As to the particulars in which you will be of service to me, some of them you have enumerated, but of the greatest of all I am myself fully conscious; for though it is permitted to the king alone to wear the turban upright on the head, yet perhaps another than he may, with your assistance, wear that upright which is on the heart."^[112]

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24. Tissaphernes, in speaking thus, seemed to Clearchus to speak with sincerity, and he replied, "Do not those, then, who endeavour by calumny to make us enemies, when there are such strong inducements to friendship between us, deserve the severest of punishment?" 25. "Well, then," said Tissaphernes, "if you will come to me, as well generals as captains, in a public manner, I will inform you who they are that tell me that you are forming plots against me and my army." 26. "I will bring them all," said Clearchus, "and, on my part, will let you know the quarter whence I hear reports respecting you." 27. After this conversation, Tissaphernes, behaving to Clearchus with much courtesy, desired him to stay with him, and made him his guest at supper.

On the following day, when Clearchus returned to the camp, he plainly showed that he considered himself to be on the most friendly footing with Tissaphernes, and stated what he had proposed; and he said that those must go to Tissaphernes, whose presence he required, and that whoever of the Greeks should be proved guilty of uttering the alleged calumnies, must be punished as traitors, and persons ill-affected to the Greeks. 28. It was Menon that he suspected of making the charges, as he knew that he had had an interview with Tissaphernes in company with Ariæus, and was forming a party and intriguing against himself, in order that, having gained the whole army over to his own interests, he might secure the friendship of Tissaphernes. 29. Clearchus likewise wished the whole army to have their affections fixed on himself, and troublesome rivals to be removed out of his way.

Some of the soldiers urged, in opposition to his advice, that all the captains and generals should not go, and that they ought to place no confidence in Tissaphernes. 30. But Clearchus pressed his proposal with great vehemence, till he at length succeeded in getting five generals and twenty captains to go; and some of the other soldiers followed them, to the number of about two hundred, as if for the purpose of marketing.^[113]

31. When they had arrived at the entrance of Tissaphernes' tent, the generals, who were Proxenus the Bœotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, and Socrates the Achæan, were invited to enter; but the captains waited at the door. 32. Not long after, at one and the same signal, those within were seized, and those without massacred; and immediately afterwards a body of Barbarian cavalry, riding through the plain, killed every Greek, slave or freeman, that they met.

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33. The Greeks, observing the motions of these cavalry from the camp, were filled with astonishment, and wondered what they could be doing, till Nicarchus an Arcadian came fleeing thither, wounded in the belly and holding his intestines in his hands, and related all that had occurred. 34. The Greeks, in consequence, ran to their arms in a state of general consternation, expecting that the enemy would immediately march upon the camp. 35. They however did not all come, but only Ariæus and Artaozus and Mithridates, who had been Cyrus's most confidential friends; and the interpreter of the Greeks said, that he saw with them, and recognised, the brother of Tissaphernes. Other Persians, equipped with corslets, to the number of three hundred, were in attendance on them. 36. As they approached the camp, they called for whatever general or captain of the Greeks might be there, to come out to them, that they might deliver a message from the king. 37. There accordingly went forth to them, with much caution, Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophænetus the Stymphalian, generals of the Greeks, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, that he might learn news of Proxenus. As for Cheirisophus, he happened to be absent at some village looking for provisions.

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38. When they had stopped just within hearing, Ariæus said to them: "Clearchus, O Greeks, having been found guilty of perjury, and of violating the truce, has received his just punishment, and is dead; Proxenus and Menon, as having denounced his treachery, are in great honour; but the king demands of you your arms; for he says that they are his, as they belonged to Cyrus his subject." 39. To this the Greeks answered, (Cleanor the Orchomenian spoke for them,) "O Ariæus, most wicked of men, and the rest of you, as many as were the friends of Cyrus, have you no regard either for gods or men, that, after having sworn that you would consider our friends and enemies to be likewise yours, you have thus,^[114] after treacherously deserting us in concert with Tissaphernes, the most godless and most unprincipled of human beings, murdered the very men to whom you swore alliance, and, abandoning us who are left, have come against us in conjunction with our enemies?" 40. Ariæus replied, "Clearchus had been previously detected in treacherous designs against Tissaphernes and Orontes, and all of us who accompany them." 41. To this Xenophon rejoined, "Clearchus, then, if he infringed the truce in violation of his oath, is deservedly punished; for it is just that those who violate their oaths should suffer death; but as for Proxenus and Menon, as they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither; for it is clear that, being friends to both parties, they will endeavour to advise what is best both for you and for us." 42. The Barbarians, after conversing among themselves for some time, departed without making any answer to this proposal.

CHAPTER VI.

The characters of the five generals that were put to death.

1. The generals, who were thus made prisoners, were taken up to the king, and put to death by being beheaded.

One of them, Clearchus, by the general consent of all who were acquainted with him, appears to have been a man well qualified for war, and extremely fond of military enterprise. 2. For as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he remained in the service of his country; but when the peace took place, having induced his government to believe that the Thracians were committing ravages on the Greeks, and having gained his point, as well as he could, with the Ephori, he sailed from home to make war upon the Thracians that lie above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. 3. But when the Ephori, after he was gone, having for some reason changed their mind, took measures to oblige him to turn back from the Isthmus, he then no longer paid obedience to their commands, but sailed away to the Hellespont, 4. and was in consequence condemned to death, for disobedience, by the chief magistrates at Sparta. Being then an exile, he went to Cyrus; and by what methods he conciliated the favour of Cyrus, has been told in another place. Cyrus presented him with ten thousand darics; 5. and he, on receiving that sum, did not give himself up to idleness, but having collected an army with the money, made war upon the Thracians, and conquered them in battle, and from that time plundered and laid waste their country, and continued this warfare till Cyrus had need of his army; when he went to him, for the purpose of again making war in concert with him.

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6. These seem to me to have been the proceedings of one fond of war, who, when he might have lived in peace without disgrace or loss, chose war in preference; when he might have spent his time in idleness, voluntarily underwent toil for the sake of military adventure; and when he might have enjoyed riches in security, chose rather, by engaging in warfare, to diminish their amount. He was indeed led by inclination to spend his money in war, as he might have spent it in pursuits of gallantry, or any other pleasure; to such a degree was he fond of war. 7. He appears also to have been qualified for military undertakings, as he liked perilous adventure, was ready to march day and night against the enemy, and was possessed of great presence of mind in circumstances of difficulty, as those who were with him on all such occasions were universally ready to acknowledge.

8. For commanding troops he was said to be qualified in as great a degree as was consistent with his temper; for he was excelled by no one in ability to contrive how an army might have provisions, and to procure them; and he was equally fitted to impress on all around him the necessity of obeying Clearchus. 9. This he effected by severity; for he was of a stern countenance and harsh voice; and he always punished violently, and sometimes in anger, so that he occasionally repented of what he had done. He punished too on principle, for he thought that there could be no efficiency in an army undisciplined by chastisement. 10. He is also reported to have said, that a soldier ought to fear his commander more than the enemy, if he would either keep guard well, or abstain from doing injury to friends, or march without hesitation against foes. 11. In circumstances of danger, accordingly, the soldiers were willing to obey him implicitly, and wished for no other leader; for they said, that the sternness in his countenance then assumed an appearance of cheerfulness, and that what was severe in it seemed undauntedness against the enemy; so that it appeared indicative of safety, and not of austerity. 12. But when they were out of danger, and were at liberty to betake themselves to other chiefs, they deserted him in great numbers; for he had nothing attractive in him, but was always forbidding and repulsive, so that the soldiers felt towards him as boys towards their master. 13. Hence it was, that he never had any one who followed him out of friendship and attachment to his person; though such as followed him from being appointed to the service by their country, or from being compelled by want or other necessity, he found extremely submissive to him. 14. And when they began under his command to gain victories over the enemy, there were many important circumstances that concurred to render his troops excellent soldiers; for their perfect confidence against the enemy had its effect, and their dread of punishment from him rendered them strictly observant of discipline. 15. Such was his character as a commander. But he was said to have been by no means willing to be commanded by others. When he was put to death, he was about fifty years of age.

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16. Proxenus the Bœotian, from his earliest youth, felt a desire to become a man capable of great undertakings; and through this desire paid Gorgias of Leontium for instruction. 17. When he had passed some time with him, and thought himself capable of command, and, if honoured with the friendship of the great, of making no inadequate return for their favours, he proceeded to take a part in this enterprise with Cyrus; and expected to acquire in it a great name, extensive influence, and abundant wealth. 18. But though he earnestly wished for these things, he at the same time plainly showed, that he was unwilling to acquire any of them by injustice, but that he thought he ought to obtain them by just and honourable means, or otherwise not at all.

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19. He was indeed able to command orderly and well-disposed men, but incapable of inspiring ordinary soldiers with either respect or fear for him; he stood even more in awe of those under his command, than they of him; and evidently showed that he was more afraid of being disliked by his soldiers, than his soldiers of being disobedient to him. 20. He thought it sufficient both for being, and appearing, capable of command, to praise him who did well, and withhold his praise from the offender. Such, therefore, of his followers, as were of honourable and virtuous character, were much attached to him, but the unprincipled formed designs upon him, as a man easy to manage. He was about thirty years old when he was put to death.

21. As for Menon the Thessalian, he ever manifested an excessive desire for riches, being desirous of command that he might receive greater pay, and desirous of honours that he might obtain greater perquisites; and he wished to be well with those in power, in order that when he did wrong he might not suffer punishment. 22. To accomplish what he desired, he thought that the shortest road lay through perjury, falsehood, and deceit; while sincerity and truth he regarded as no better than folly. 23. He evidently had no affection for any man; and as for those to whom he professed to be a friend, he was unmistakably plotting mischief against them. He never ridiculed an enemy, but always used to talk with his associates as if ridiculing all of them. [115] 24. He formed no designs on the property of his enemies, (for he thought it difficult to take what belonged to such as were on their guard against him,) but looked upon himself as the only person sensible how very easy it was to invade the unguarded property of friends.

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25. Those whom he saw given to perjury and injustice, he feared as men well armed; but sought to practise on those who were pious and observant of truth, as imbeciles. 26. As another might take a pride in religion, and truth, and justice, so Menon took a pride in being able to deceive, in devising falsehoods, in sneering at friends; and thought the man who was guileless was to be regarded as deficient in knowledge of the world. He believed that he must conciliate those, in whose friendship he wished to stand first, by calumniating such as already held the chief place in their favour. 27. The soldiers he tried to render obedient to him by being an accomplice in their dishonesty. He expected to be honoured and courted, by showing that he had the power and the will to inflict the greatest injuries. When any one deserted him, he spoke of it as a favour on his own part that, while he made use of his services, he did not work his destruction.

28. As to such parts of his history as are little known, I might, if I were to speak of them, say something untrue of him; but those which every one knows, are these. While yet in the prime of youth he obtained, at the hands of Aristippus, the command of his corps of mercenaries. He was also, in his prime, most intimate with Ariæus, though a Barbarian, as Ariæus delighted in beautiful youths. He himself, too, while yet a beardless youth, made a favourite of Tharypas, who had arrived at manhood.

29. When his fellow-officers were put to death, because they had served with Cyrus against the king, he, though he had done the same, was not put to death with them; but after the death of the other generals, he died under a punishment inflicted by the king, not like Clearchus and the other commanders, who were beheaded (which appears to be the speediest kind of death); but after living a year in torture, like a malefactor, he is said at length to have met his end.

30. Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achæan were also put to death. These no one ever derided as wanting courage in battle, or blamed for their conduct towards their friends. They were both about five and thirty years of age.

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BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Dejection of the Greeks. How Xenophon was led to join in Cyrus's expedition. His dream, and reflections. He rouses the captains of the division that Proxenus had commanded, and exhorts them to take measures for their safety. Apollonides deprived of his captaincy. A general meeting of the surviving generals and captains, at which Xenophon persuades them to choose new commanders in the room of those that they had lost. Xenophon is one of those elected.

1. What the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, until the time of the battle, and what occurred after Cyrus was dead, when the Greeks set out to return with Tissaphernes in reliance on a truce, has been related in the preceding part of the work.

2. After the generals were made prisoners, and such of the captains and soldiers as had accompanied them were put to death, the Greeks were in great perplexity, reflecting that they were not far from the king's residence; [116] that there were around them, on all sides, many hostile nations and cities; that no one would any longer secure them opportunities of purchasing provisions; that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia; that there was no one to guide them on the way; that impassable rivers would intercept them in the midst of their course; that the Barbarians who had gone up with Cyrus had deserted them; and that they were left utterly alone, having no cavalry to support them, so that it was certain, even if they defeated their enemies, that they would kill not a man of them, and that, if they were defeated, none of themselves would be left alive;—3. reflecting, I say, on these circumstances, and being disheartened at them, few of them tasted food for that evening, [117] few kindled fires, and many did not come to the place of arms [118] during the night, but lay down to rest where they severally happened to be, unable to sleep for sorrow and longing for their country, their parents, their wives and children, whom they never expected to see again. In this state of mind they all went to their resting-places.

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4. There was in the army a certain Xenophon, an Athenian, who accompanied it neither in the

character of general, nor captain, nor common soldier, but it had happened that Proxenus, an old guest-friend of his, had sent for him from home, giving him a promise that, if he came, he would recommend him to the friendship of Cyrus, whom he considered, he said, as a greater object of regard than his own country. 5. Xenophon, on reading the letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian, as to the propriety of making the journey; and Socrates, fearing that if he attached himself to Cyrus it might prove a ground for accusation against him with his country, because Cyrus was thought to have zealously assisted the Lacedæmonians in their war with Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi, and consult the god respecting the expedition. 6. Xenophon, having gone thither accordingly, inquired of Apollo to which of the gods he should sacrifice and pray, in order most honourably and successfully to perform the journey which he contemplated, and, after prosperously accomplishing it, to return in safety. Apollo answered him that "he should sacrifice to the gods to whom it was proper for him to sacrifice."^[119] 7. When he returned, he repeated the oracle to Socrates, who, on hearing it, blamed him for not asking Apollo in the first place, whether it were better for him to go or stay at home; whereas, having settled with himself that he would go, he only asked how he might best go; "but since you have," said he, "put the question thus, you must do what the god has directed." 8. Xenophon, therefore, having sacrificed to the gods that Apollo commanded, set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis, just setting out on their march up the country, and was presented to Cyrus. 9. Proxenus desiring that he should remain with them, Cyrus joined in the same desire, and said that as soon as the expedition was ended, he would send him home again. The expedition was said to be intended against the Pisidians. 10. Xenophon accordingly joined in the enterprise, being thus deceived, but not by Proxenus; for he did not know that the movement was against the king, nor did any other of the Greeks, except Clearchus. When they arrived in Cilicia, however, it appeared manifest to every one that it was against the king that their force was directed; but, though they were afraid of the length of the journey, and unwilling to proceed, yet the greater part of them, out of respect^[120] both for one another and for Cyrus, continued to follow him; of which number was Xenophon.

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11. When this perplexity occurred, Xenophon was distressed as well as the other Greeks, and unable to rest, but having at length got a little sleep, he had a dream, in which, in the midst of a thunder-storm, a bolt seemed to him to fall upon his father's house, and the house in consequence became all in a blaze. 12. Being greatly frightened, he immediately awoke, and considered his dream as in one respect favourable, (inasmuch as, being in troubles and dangers, he seemed to behold a great light from Jupiter,) but in another respect he was alarmed, (because the dream appeared to him to be from Jupiter who was a king, and the fire to blaze all around him,) lest he should be unable to escape from the king's territories, but should be hemmed in on all sides by inextricable difficulties.

13. What it betokens, however, to see such a dream, we may conjecture from the occurrences that happened after the dream. What immediately followed was this. As soon as he awoke, the thought that first occurred to him was, "Why do I lie here? The night is passing away. With daylight it is probable that the enemy will come upon us; and if we once fall into the hands of the king, what is there to prevent us from being put to death with ignominy, after witnessing the most grievous sufferings among our comrades, and enduring every severity of torture ourselves? 14. Yet no one concert measures, or takes thought, for our defence, but we lie still, as if we were at liberty to enjoy repose. From what city, then, do I expect a leader to undertake our defence? What age am I waiting for to come to myself? Assuredly I shall never be older, if I give myself up to the enemy to-day." 15. After these reflections he arose, and called together, in the first place, the captains that were under Proxenus.

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When they were assembled, he said, "For my part, captains, I cannot sleep, nor, I should think, can you, nor can I lie still any longer, when I consider in what circumstances we are placed; 16. for it is plain that the enemy did not openly manifest hostility towards us, until they thought that they had judiciously arranged their plans; but on our side no one takes any thought how we may best maintain a contest with them. 17. Yet if we prove remiss, and fall into the power of the king, what may we not expect to suffer from a man who cut off the head and hand of his own brother by the same mother and father, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake? What may not we, I say, expect to suffer, who have no relative^[121] to take our part, and who have marched against him to make him a subject instead of a monarch, and to put him to death if it should lie in our power? 18. Will he not proceed to every extremity, that by reducing us to the last degree of ignominious suffering, he may inspire all men with a dread of ever taking the field against him? We must however try every expedient not to fall into his hands. 19. For myself, I never ceased, while the truce lasted, to consider ourselves as objects of pity, and to regard the king and his people as objects of envy, as I contemplated how extensive and valuable a country they possessed, how great an abundance of provisions, how many slaves and cattle, and how vast a quantity of gold and raiment; 20. while, on the other hand, when I reflected on the condition of our own soldiers, that we had no share in any of all these blessings, unless we bought it, and knew that few of us had any longer money to buy, and that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions otherwise than by buying, I sometimes, on taking all these circumstances into consideration, feared the continuance of peace more than I now fear war. 21. But since they have put an end to peace, their own haughtiness, and our mistrust, seem likewise to be brought to an end; for the advantages which I have mentioned lie now as prizes between us, for whichsoever of us shall prove the better men; and the gods are the judges of the contest, who, as is just, will be on our side; 22. since the enemy have offended them by perjury, while we, though seeing many good things to tempt us, have resolutely abstained from all of them through regard to our oaths; so that, as it seems to me, we may advance to the combat with much greater confidence than

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they can feel. 23. We have bodies, moreover, better able than theirs to endure cold and heat and toil; and we have, with the help of the gods, more resolute minds; while the enemy, if the gods, as before, grant us success, will be found more obnoxious to wounds and death^[122] than we are. 24. But possibly others of you entertain the same thoughts; let us not, then, in the name of heaven, wait for others to come and exhort us to noble deeds, but let us be ourselves the first to excite others to exert their valour. Prove yourselves the bravest of the captains, and more worthy to lead than those who are now leaders. 25. As for me, if you wish to take the start in the course, I am willing to follow you, or, if you appoint me to be a leader, I shall not make my youth an excuse, but shall think myself sufficiently mature to defend myself against harm."

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26. Thus spoke Xenophon; and the captains, on hearing his observations, all desired him to be their leader, except a certain Apollonides, who resembled a Bœotian in his manner of speaking; this man said that "whoever asserted they could gain safety by any other means than by obtaining, if he could, the king's consent to it, talked absurdly;" and at the same time began to enumerate the difficulties surrounding them. 27. But Xenophon, interrupting him, said, "O most wonderful of men! you neither understand what you see, nor remember what you hear. Yet you were on the same spot with those here present, when the king, after Cyrus was dead, being in high spirits at the circumstance, sent to demand that we should deliver up our arms; 28. and when we, refusing to deliver them up, and appearing in full armour, went and encamped over against him, what means did he not try, sending deputies, asking for a truce, and supplying us with provisions until he obtained a truce? 29. But when, on the other hand, our generals and captains went to confer with the Barbarians, as you now advise us to do, without their arms, and relying on the truce, were they not beaten, goaded, insulted, and are they not unable, wretched men, to die, though, I should think, greatly longing for death? And do you, knowing all these occurrences, say that those who exhort us to defend ourselves talk absurdly, and advise us to go again to try persuasion? 30. To me, O captains, it seems that we should no longer admit this man into the same service with ourselves, but take from him his captaincy, and laying baggage on his back, make use of him in that capacity; for he disgraces both his own country and all Greece, inasmuch as, being a Greek, he is of such a character." 31. Here Agasias of Stymphalus, proceeding to speak, said, "But this man, assuredly, has nothing to do either with Bœotia or with Greece at all, for I have observed that he has both his ears bored, like a Lydian." Such indeed was the case; and they accordingly expelled him.

32. The rest, proceeding to the different divisions of the troops, called up the general wherever there was a general surviving, and the lieutenant-general^[123] where the general was dead, and the captain wherever there was a captain surviving. 33. When they were all come together, they sat down before the place where the arms were piled;^[124] and the generals and captains assembled were about a hundred in all. The time when the meeting took place was about midnight.

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34. Hieronymus, a native of Elis, the oldest of all the captains that had served under Proxenus, was the first to speak, as follows: "It has seemed proper to us, O generals and captains, on contemplating the present state of our affairs, to meet together ourselves, and to call upon you to join us, that we may determine, if we can, on some plan for our benefit. But do you, Xenophon, first represent to the assembly what you have already observed to us." 35. Xenophon accordingly said, "We are all aware that the king and Tissaphernes have made prisoners of as many of us as they could; and it is evident that they are forming designs against the rest of us, that they may put us to death if they can. But on our parts I think that every means should be adopted in order that we may not fall into the Barbarians' hands, but rather that they, if we can accomplish it, may fall into ours. 36. Be well assured, then, that you, who have now met together in such numbers, have upon you a most important responsibility;^[125] for all the soldiers look to you, and, if they see you dispirited, they will themselves lose courage, but if both you yourselves appear well prepared to meet the enemy, and exhort others to be equally prepared, be certain that they will follow you, and strive to imitate you. 37. Perhaps, too, it is right that you should show some superiority over them; for you are their generals, their officers, and their captains, and, when there was peace, you enjoyed advantages over them in fortune and honour; and now, in consequence, when war arises, you ought to prove yourselves pre-eminent over the multitude, and to take the lead in forming plans for them, and, should it ever be necessary, in toiling for them. 38. And, in the first place, I think that you will greatly benefit the army, if you take care that generals and captains be chosen as soon as possible in the room of those whom we have lost; for without commanders nothing honourable or advantageous can be achieved, I may say in one word, anywhere, but least of all in the field of battle. Good order conduces to safety, but want of order has already proved fatal to many. 39. Again, when you have appointed as many commanders as are requisite, I consider that if you were to assemble and encourage the rest of the soldiers, you would act very suitably to the occasion; 40. for you perhaps observe, as well as myself, how dejectedly they have now come to the place of arms,^[126] and how dejectedly they go upon guard, so that, while they are in such a condition, I know not for what service any one could employ them, whether required by night or by day. 41. But if any one could change the direction of their thoughts, so that they may not merely contemplate what they are likely to suffer, but what they may be able to do, they will become much more eager for action; 42. for you are certain that it is neither numbers nor strength which gives the victory in war, but that whichever side advances on the enemy with the more resolute courage, their opponents, in general, cannot withstand their onset. 43. I have also remarked, fellow-soldiers, that such as are eager in the field to preserve their lives at any rate, for the most part perish wretchedly and ignominiously, while I see that such as reflect that death is to all men common and inevitable,

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and seek in battle only to fall with honour, more frequently, from whatever cause, arrive at old age, and live, while they live, with greater happiness. 44. Being aware, then, of these facts, it behoves us, such are the circumstances in which we are placed, both to prove ourselves to be brave soldiers, and to exhort others to be so likewise." 45. Having spoken thus, he stopped.

After him Cheirisophus said, "Till the present moment, O Xenophon, I knew nothing of you, except having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I have to praise you both for what you say and what you do and could wish that there were very many like you; for it would be a general good. 46. And now," he added, "let us not delay, my fellow-soldiers, but proceed at once, you who want them, to choose commanders, and when you have elected them, come to the centre of the camp, and bring those that are chosen; and we will then call the rest of the soldiers together there. And let Tolmides the herald," said he, "come with us." 47. As he said this, he rose up, that the necessary measures might not be delayed, but carried at once into execution. There were accordingly chosen commanders, Timasion a Dardanian in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles an Achæan in that of Socrates, Cleanor an Arcadian in that of Agias, Philesius an Achæan in that of Menon, and Xenophon of Athens in that of Proxenus.

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CHAPTER II.

The new generals hold a council of war. The speeches of Cheirisophus, Cleanor, and Xenophon. The order of march is settled, and the duties of each commander appointed.

1. When the officers were chosen, and day was just dawning, they met in the centre of the camp, and it was resolved to station sentinels at the out-posts, and to call together the soldiers. When the rest of the troops came up, Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian rose first, and spoke as follows: 2. "Our present circumstances, fellow-soldiers, are fraught with difficulty, since we are deprived of such able generals, and captains, and soldiers, and since, also, the party of Ariæus, who were formerly our supporters, have deserted us; 3. yet it behoves us to extricate ourselves from these difficulties as brave men, and not to lose courage, but to endeavour to save ourselves, if we can, by an honourable victory; but if we cannot do so, let us at least die with honour, and never, while we live, put ourselves into the power of the enemy; for I think that, in that case, we should endure such sufferings as I wish that the gods may inflict on our adversaries."

4. After him Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke thus: "You see, soldiers, the perjury and impiety of the king; and you see also the faithlessness of Tissaphernes, who, after telling us that he was a neighbour of the Greeks, and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us, and after having given us his right hand as a pledge, has himself deceived and made prisoners our generals, and has not respected even Jupiter, the protector of the rights of hospitality, but, entertaining Clearchus at his own table, has, by this very means, inveigled and destroyed our officers. 5. Ariæus, too, whom we offered to make king, to whom we gave and from whom we received pledges, that we would not betray one another, even he, neither fearing the gods, nor respecting the memory of Cyrus, though honoured by him in the highest degree while he was alive, has now gone over to his bitterest enemies, and endeavours to distress us who were his friends. 6. But on these men may the gods take vengeance; for ourselves, it is incumbent upon us, having this conduct before our eyes, not to be deceived again by them, but, after fighting as bravely as we can, to bear with patience such fortune as the gods may appoint us."

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7. Next stood up Xenophon, who had accoutred himself for war as splendidly as he could, thinking that if the gods should grant them victory, the finest equipment would be suitable to success, or that, if it were appointed for him to die, it would be well for him to adorn himself with his best armour,^[127] and in that dress to meet his end. He proceeded to speak thus: 8. "Of the perjury and perfidy of the Barbarians Cleanor has just spoken, and you, I am sure, are well aware of it. If, then, we think of coming again to terms of friendship with them, we must of necessity feel much distrust on that head, when we see what our generals have suffered, who, in reliance on their faith, put themselves into their hands; but if we propose to inflict on them vengeance with our swords for what they have done, and, for the future, to be at war with them at all points, we have, with the help of the gods, many fair hopes of safety." 9. As he was uttering these words, somebody sneezed, and the soldiers, hearing it, with one impulse paid their adoration to the god; ^[128] and Xenophon continued, "Since, soldiers, while we were speaking of safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, it seems to me that we should vow to that god to offer sacrifices for our preservation on the spot where we first reach a friendly country; and that we should vow, at the same time, to sacrifice to the other gods according to our ability. And to whomsoever this seems reasonable, let him hold up his hand." All held up their hands; and they then made their vows, and sang the pæan. When the ceremonies to the gods were duly performed, he recommenced thus: 10. "I was saying that we had many fair hopes of safety. In the first place, we have observed our oaths made to the gods; but the enemy have perjured themselves, and broken the truce and their oaths. Such being the case, it is natural that the gods should be unfavourable to our enemies, and should fight on our side; the gods, who are able, whenever they will, to make the mighty soon weak, and to save the weak with ease, although they be in grievous perils. 11. In the next place, I will remind you of the dangers in which our ancestors were, that you may feel conscious how much it becomes you to be brave, and how the brave are preserved, even from the greatest troubles, by the aid of the gods. For when the

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Persians, and those united with them, came with a numerous host, as if to sweep Athens from the face of the earth,^[129] the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, gave them a defeat; 12. and having made a vow to Diana, that whatever number they should kill of the enemy, they would sacrifice to her divinity the same number of goats, and not being able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and to this day they still continue to sacrifice them. 13. Again, when Xerxes, having collected that innumerable army of his, came down upon Greece a second time, our ancestors on that occasion, too, defeated the ancestors of these Barbarians, both by land and sea; of which exploits the trophies are still to be seen as memorials; the greatest of all memorials, however, is the liberty of the states in which you were born and bred, for you worship no man as master, but the gods alone. Of such ancestors are you sprung.

14. "Nor am I going to say that you dishonour them. It is not yet many days since you arrayed yourselves in the field against the descendants of those Barbarians, and defeated, with the help of the gods, a force many times more numerous than yourselves. 15. On that occasion you showed yourselves brave men to procure a throne for Cyrus; and now, when the struggle is for your own lives, it becomes you to be more valiant and resolute. 16. At present, too, you may justly feel greater confidence against your adversaries; for even then, when you had made no trial of them, and saw them in countless numbers before you, you yet dared, with the spirit of your fathers, to advance upon them, and now, when you have learned from experience of them, that, though many times your number, they shrink from receiving your charge, what reason have you any longer to fear them? 17. And do not consider it any disadvantage, that the troops of Cyrus, who were formerly arrayed on our side, have now left us; for they are far more cowardly than those who were defeated by you; at least^[130] they deserted us to flee to them, and those who are so ready to commence flight it is better to see posted on the side of the enemy than in our own ranks.

18. "If, again, any of you are disheartened because we have no cavalry, and the enemy have a great number, consider that ten thousand cavalry are nothing more than ten thousand men; for no one ever perished in battle of being bitten or kicked by a horse; it is the men that do whatever is done in the encounter. 19. Doubtless we, too, rest upon a surer support than cavalry have, for they are raised upon horses, and are afraid, not only of us, but also of falling, while we, taking our steps upon the ground, shall strike such as approach us with far greater force, and hit much more surely the mark at which we may aim. In one point alone, indeed, have the cavalry the advantage, that it is safer for them to flee than for us.

20. "But if, though you have courage for battle, you are disquieted at the thought that Tissaphernes will no longer guide you, and that the king will no longer supply you with provisions, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for our guide, who is manifestly plotting our destruction, or such persons as we ourselves may seize and compel to be our guides, who will be conscious that if they go wrong with regard to us, they go wrong with regard to their own lives and persons. 21. And as to provisions, whether is it better for us to purchase, in the markets which they provide, small measures of food for large sums of money, (no longer, indeed, having the money,) or, if we are successful in the field, to take supplies for ourselves, adopting whatever measure each of us may wish to use?

22. "Again, if you think, that this state of things will be better, but imagine that the rivers will be impassable, and that you were greatly misled when you came across them, reflect whether the Barbarians have not acted most unwisely also in this respect.^[131] For all rivers, though they may be impassable at a distance from their sources, are easy to be forded by those who go to their springs, wetting them not even to the knees. 23. But even if the rivers shall not afford us a passage,^[132] and no guide shall appear to conduct us, we still need not be in despair; for we know that the Mysians, whom we should not call more valiant than ourselves, have settled themselves, against the king's will, in many rich and large cities in the king's territory; we know that the Pisidians have acted similarly; and we have ourselves seen^[133] that the Lycaonians, having seized on the strongholds in the plains, enjoy the produce of the land of these Barbarians; 24. and I should recommend that we, for the present, should not let it be seen that we are eager to start homewards, but should apparently make arrangements as if we thought of settling somewhere in these parts; for I am sure that the king would grant the Mysians many guides, and give them many hostages to send them out of the country safely, and even make roads for them, though they should desire to depart in four-horse chariots; and for ourselves, too, I am convinced that he would with thrice as much pleasure do the same, if he saw us making dispositions to remain here. 25. But I am afraid that if we should once learn to live in idleness, to revel in abundance, and to associate with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we should, like the lotus-eaters,^[134] think no more of the road homewards. 26. It seems to me, therefore, both reasonable and just, that we should first of all make an attempt to return to Greece, and to the members of our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since they might see those, who are now living at home without due means of subsistence, enriched on betaking themselves hither. But I need say no more on this head, for it is plain, my fellow-soldiers, that all these advantages fall to the conquerors.

27. "I must also suggest to you, however, in what manner we may proceed on our way with the greatest safety, and how we may fight, if it should be necessary to fight, to the greatest possible advantage. First of all, then," he continued, "it seems to me that we ought to burn whatever carriages we have, that our cattle may not influence our movements, but that we may march whithersoever it may be convenient for the army; and then that we should burn our tents with

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them, for tents are troublesome to carry, and of no service either for fighting or in getting provisions. 28. I think also that we ought to rid ourselves of whatever is superfluous in the rest of our baggage, reserving only what we have for war, or for meat and drink, that as many of us as possible may be under arms, and as few as possible baggage-bearers; for you are aware that whatever belongs to the conquered becomes the property of others; and, if we are victorious, we ought to look upon the enemy as our baggage-carriers.

[Pg 89] 29. "It only remains for me to mention a particular which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see that the enemy did not venture openly to commence war against us, until they had seized our generals, thinking that as long as we had commanders, and were obedient to them, we should be in a condition to gain the advantage over them in the field, but, on making prisoners of our generals, they expected that we should perish from want of direction and order. 30. It is incumbent, therefore, on our present commanders to be far more vigilant than our former ones, and on those under command to be far more orderly, and more obedient to their officers, at present than they were before. 31. And if you were also to pass a resolution, that, should any one be disobedient, whoever of you chances to light upon him is to join with his officer in punishing him, the enemy would by that means be most effectually disappointed in their expectations, for, on the very day that such resolution is passed, they will see before them ten thousand Clearchuses instead of one, who will not allow a single soldier to play the coward. 32. But it is now time for me to conclude my speech,^[135] for in an instant perhaps the enemy will be upon us. Whosoever, therefore, thinks these suggestions reasonable, let him give his sanction to them at once, that they may be carried into execution. But if any other course, in any one's opinion, be better than this,^[136] let him, even though he be a private soldier, boldly give us his sentiments; for the safety, which we all seek, is a general concern."

[Pg 90] 33. Cheirisophus then said, "Should there be need of any other measure in addition to what Xenophon proposes, it will be in our power to bring it forward by and by; what he has now suggested we ought, I think, to vote at once to be the best course that we can adopt; and to whomsoever this seems proper, let him hold up his hand;" and they all held them up. 34. Xenophon then, rising again, said, "Hear, soldiers, what appears to me to be necessary in addition to what I have laid before you. It is plain that we must march to some place from which we may get provisions; and I hear that there are some good-looking villages not more than twenty stadia distant; 35. but I should not wonder if the enemy, (like cowardly dogs that run after such as pass by them, and bite them if they can, but flee from those who pursue them,) I should not wonder, I say, if the enemy were to follow close upon us when we begin to march. 36. It will, perhaps, be the safer way for us to march, therefore, forming a hollow square of the heavy-armed troops, in order that the baggage and the large number of camp-followers, may be in greater security within it; and if it be now settled who is to lead the square, and regulate the movements in front, who are to be on each flank, and who to have charge of the rear, we shall not have to consider of these things when the enemy approach, but may at once act according to what has been arranged. 37. If, then, any one else sees anything better to recommend, let it be settled otherwise; if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedæmonian;^[137] let two of the oldest generals take the command on each of the flanks; and let Timasion and myself, the youngest of the officers, take charge, at least for the present, of the rear. 38. After a time, when we have tried this arrangement, we will consider, as occasion may require, what may seem best to be done. If any one thinks of any better plan than this, let him speak." As nobody made any objection, he said, "Whosoever likes these proposals, let him hold up his hand." The proposals were approved. 39. "And now," he added, "it belongs to you to go and carry into execution what has been decided upon; and whosoever of you wishes to see his friends and relations, let him prove himself a man of valour, for by no other means can he succeed in attaining that object; whoever of you desires to preserve his life, let him strive to conquer, for it is the part of conquerors to kill, but of the conquered to die; and if any one of you covets spoil, let him endeavour to secure victory for us, for it is the privilege of victors at once to save their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished."

CHAPTER III.

The Greeks are visited by Mithridates as a friend, but he soon shows that he is an enemy, and they resolve to enter into no further negotiations with the Persian king. They pass the Zabatus, are harassed by Mithridates, and suffer from the want of slingers and cavalry. Volunteers are enrolled for these services.

[Pg 91] 1. When this speech was concluded, they rose up, and went off to burn their carriages and tents; of their superfluous baggage they divided among themselves such portions as any needed, and threw the rest into the fire. Having done this, they went to breakfast. While they were at their meal, Mithridates rode up to them with about thirty horsemen and requesting the generals to come within hearing, spoke as follows: 2. "I was faithful to Cyrus, O men of Greece, as you yourselves know; I am now well disposed towards you; and I am living here under great apprehensions; if therefore I should find that you are concerting any safe scheme for your deliverance, I would come and join you, bringing with me all my followers. Let me know, therefore, what you have in contemplation, as one who is your friend and well-wisher, and who is

willing to march along with you." 3. The generals, after consulting together, resolved on returning the following answer; and Cheirisophus delivered it: "It is our determination, if no one hinders us from returning home, to proceed through the country with as little injury to it as possible; but if any one opposes us on our march, to fight our way against him as vigorously as we can." 4. Mithridates then endeavoured to convince them how impracticable it was to escape without the king's consent. But it was now concluded that he was insidiously sent; for one of the followers of Tissaphernes was in attendance on him to insure his fidelity.^[138] 5. In consequence, it was thought right by the generals to pass a resolution that the war should be such as to admit of no intercourse by heralds;^[139] for those that came tried to corrupt the soldiers, and succeeded in seducing one of the captains, Nicarchus an Arcadian, and he deserted in the night with about twenty men.

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6. Having then dined, and crossed the river Zabatus, they marched on in regular order, keeping the baggage-cattle and camp-followers in the centre. But before they had gone far, Mithridates made his appearance again with about two hundred cavalry and about four hundred archers and slingers, very light and active troops. 7. He advanced towards the Greeks as a friend, but, when he came near, some of his men, both horse and foot, suddenly discharged their arrows, and others used their slings, and wounded some of our men. The rear of the Greeks indeed was much harassed, and could do nothing in return; for the Cretan bowmen shot to a less distance than the Persians, and had also, as being lightly armed, sheltered themselves within the heavy troops; and the javelin-men did not hurl far enough to reach the slingers. 8. Upon this it seemed to Xenophon that it would be well to pursue them; and such of the heavy-armed and peltasts as happened to be with him in the rear, began to pursue, but could overtake in the pursuit not a single man of the enemy; 9. for the Greeks had no cavalry,^[140] nor could their infantry, in a short distance, overtake the infantry of the enemy, who took to flight when they were a long way off, since it was impossible for the Greeks to follow them to a great distance from the rest of the army. 10. The Barbarian cavalry, too, inflicted wounds in their retreat, shooting backwards as they rode, and however far the Greeks advanced in pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat fighting. 11. Thus during the whole day they did not advance more than five-and-twenty stadia; however, they arrived at the villages in the evening.

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Here again there was much dejection; and Cheirisophus and the oldest of the generals blamed Xenophon for pursuing the enemy apart from the main body, endangering himself, and yet being unable to hurt the assailants. 12. Xenophon, hearing this charge, acknowledged that they blamed him justly, and that the result bore testimony in their favour. "But," said he, "I was under the necessity of pursuing, as I saw that we suffered great damage while remaining at our posts, and were unable to retaliate. 13. But when we began to pursue," continued he, "the truth was as you say; for we were none the better able to injure the enemy, and we could not retreat without great difficulty. 14. Thanks are due to the gods, therefore, that the Barbarians did not come upon us in great force, but only with a few troops, so that, whilst they did us no great harm, they showed us of what we stand in need: 15. for at present the enemy shoot their arrows and sling their stones such a distance, that neither can the Cretans return their shots, nor can those who throw with the hand reach them; and when we pursue them, we cannot go after them any great distance from the main body, and in a short space a foot-soldier, even if ever so swift, cannot overtake another foot-soldier, starting at bow-shot distance. 16. If therefore we would keep off the enemy, so that they may be unable to hurt us on our march, we must at once provide ourselves with slingers and cavalry. There are, I hear, some Rhodians in our army, the greater number of whom, they say, understand the use of the sling, while their weapon carries even double the distance of the Persian sling, 17. which, as they sling with large stones, reach only a short distance, while the Rhodians know how to use leaden bullets. 18. If then, we ascertain which of them have slings, and give money to each of them^[141] for them; and pay money also to any one who is willing to plait more, and find some other privilege^[142] for him who consents to serve in the troop of slingers,^[143] possibly some will offer themselves who may be able to be of service to us. 19. I see also that there are horses in the army, some in my possession, and some left by Clearchus, besides many others taken from the enemy which are employed in carrying the baggage. If, then, we collect all these, and put ordinary baggage-cattle in their place, and equip the horses for riders, they will perhaps annoy the enemy in their flight." 20. These suggestions were approved; and that very night there came forward slingers to the number of two hundred. The next day, as many as fifty horsemen and horses were pronounced fit for service; leathern jackets^[144] and breastplates were furnished to them; and Lycius the son of Polystratus an Athenian, was appointed their captain.

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CHAPTER IV

Mithridates again pursues the Greeks, but is repulsed. They reach the Tigris, encamp at Mespila, and are attacked by Tissaphernes with a numerous force. They repel him, and alter their order of march. Traversing a mountainous part of the country, they are harassed by the enemy, till, on getting possession of a height, they are enabled to reach the plain beyond it in safety.

1. Having halted for that day, they went forward on the next, rising earlier in the morning than usual; for they had a ravine formed by a torrent to pass, at which they were afraid that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. 2. It was not till they had got over, however, that Mithridates again made his appearance, having now with him a thousand horse, and archers and slingers to the number of four thousand; for he had solicited and obtained that number from Tissaphernes, promising that, if he received them, he would deliver the Greeks into his hands; for he had conceived a contempt for them, because, in his previous attack on them, though he had but a small force with him, he had suffered no loss, and thought that he had caused them great annoyance. 3. When the Greeks, having crossed, were distant about eight stadia from the ravine, Mithridates also passed over it with his force. Instructions had been issued to such of the peltasts and heavy-armed troops as were to pursue, and a charge had been given to the horsemen to pursue with boldness, as a sufficient force would follow to support them. 4. When therefore Mithridates overtook them, and the slings and arrows began to take effect, a signal was given to the Greeks with the trumpet, and those who had been ordered immediately hastened to charge the enemy, the cavalry riding forward at the same time. The enemy however did not wait to receive their charge, but fled back to the ravine. 5. In the pursuit several of the Barbarian foot were killed, and about eighteen of the horse were made prisoners in the defile. The Greeks, of their own impulse, mutilated the dead bodies, in order that the sight of them might be as horrible as possible to the enemy.

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6. The enemy, after faring thus, went off, and the Greeks, advancing the rest of the day without molestation, arrived at the river Tigris. 7. Here was a large deserted city, the name of which was Larissa, and which the Medes had formerly inhabited. The breadth of its wall was five and twenty feet, and the height of it a hundred; its circuit was two parasangs. It was built of bricks made of clay, but there was under it a stone foundation,^[145] the height of twenty feet. 8. This city the king of the Persians,^[146] at the time when the Persians wrested^[147] the empire from the Medes, was unable by any means to take; a cloud, however, having covered the sun, hid it from view,^[148] till the people deserted it,^[149] and so it was taken. 9. Near the city was a stone pyramid of the breadth^[150] of one plethrum, and the height of two plethra. Upon it^[151] were many of the Barbarians who had fled from the neighbouring villages.

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10. Hence they proceeded one day's journey, six parasangs, to a large unoccupied fortress,^[152] situated near a city, the name of which was Mespila; the Medes had formerly inhabited it. The foundation of the wall was of polished stone, full of shells,^[153] the breadth fifty feet, and the height fifty; 11. and on it was constructed a wall of bricks, fifty feet broad, and a hundred high; the circumference of it was six parasangs. Here Medea, the king's wife, is said to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. 12. The king of the Persians, on besieging this city, was unable to reduce it either by length of time or by assault, but Jupiter, as with a thunder-stroke,^[154] deprived the inhabitants of their senses, and thus it was taken.

13. Hence they proceeded one day's journey, a distance of four parasangs. In the course of this day's march Tissaphernes made his appearance, having with him the cavalry which he himself commanded, the force of Orontes, who had married the king's daughter, the Barbarian troops with which Cyrus went up, the troops with which the king's brother came to assist him, and, besides these, all that the king himself had given him; so that his army appeared extremely numerous. 14. When he came near, he stationed some of his companies in the rear, and brought others round upon our flanks, but did not venture to make a charge, or show any disposition to endanger himself, but ordered his men to use their slings and bows. 15. But when the Rhodians, who were dispersed among the ranks, began to use their slings, and the Scythian archers^[155] discharged their arrows, no one failing to hit a man, (for it would not have been easy to do so, even if they had been ever so desirous,) Tissaphernes hastily retreated beyond reach of the missiles, and the other divisions drew off at the same time. 16. During the rest of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the enemy followed; but the Barbarians no longer harassed them with their usual skirmishing; for the Rhodians sent their missiles to a greater distance than the Persians, and than most of the bowmen. 17. The bows of the Persians, too, were large, so that such of their arrows as were taken up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to use the enemy's arrows, and practised shooting by sending them far up into the air.^[156] A great number of bowstrings were also found in the villages, and some lead, so that they could use it for their slings.

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18. For that day, therefore, as soon as the Greeks reached the villages and encamped, the Barbarians went off, having had the worst in the skirmish; and during the next the Greeks remained where they were, and collected provisions, for there was plenty of corn in the villages. The day after, they proceeded through the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, hurling missiles at them from a distance. 19. Here the Greeks found that a square was a bad disposition for an army when the enemy was behind them: for it must necessarily happen, that if the flanks of the square close together from the road being narrow, or from hills or a bridge making it necessary, that the heavy-armed men must be pushed out of their places, and march with difficulty,^[157] being at the same time crowded together and thrown into confusion; so that when in such disorder they must be nearly useless. 20. And when, again, the flanks divide, those who were previously forced out of their places, must now of necessity separate, and the space between the flanks be left empty; and men who are thrown into such a condition must doubtless lose heart, if the enemy are behind them. Whenever, too, they had to pass a bridge, or any other

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crossing-place, each hastened on to get first, and the enemy had then a fine opportunity of attacking them.^[158] 21. The generals, seeing that such was the case, formed six companies of a hundred men each, and appointed captains of these companies, as well as captains of fifty and captains of twenty-five.^[159] These captains and their companies, on the march, whenever the flanks of the square closed together, fell behind, so as to cause no disorder in the flanks, and then led on outside the flanks; 22. and whenever the sides of the square opened, they filled up the centre, if the opening was narrow, by companies; if rather wide, by fifties; if very wide, by twenty-fives;^[160] so that the centre was always full. 23. If, then, it was necessary to pass any defile or bridge, they were not thrown into confusion, but the captains and companies went over in succession,^[161] and if anything was needed in any part of the main body, these were at hand. In this order they advanced four days' journey.

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24. As they were pursuing the fifth day's march, they observed a kind of palace, and several villages round it. The way to this place, they perceived, lay among high hills, which reached down from a mountain, at the foot of which the village was.^[162] These hills the Greeks were glad to see, as was natural, when the enemy's force consisted of cavalry. 25. But when, after leaving the plain, they had ascended the first hill, and were descending in order to mount the second, the Barbarians came upon them, and from the eminence began, under the lash,^[163] to hurl darts, use their slings, and shoot arrows, on the ground below; 26. they wounded many, and had the advantage over the light-armed Greeks, and shut them up within the heavy-armed; so that both the slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with the crowd that had charge of the baggage. 27. When the Greeks, on being hard pressed, attempted pursuit, they mounted the height but slowly, as being heavily armed, while the enemy sprang up speedily. 28. When, again, they retreated back to the rest of the force, they fared equally ill. The same occurrences took place on the second hill; so that they thought it proper not to move the soldiers from the third hill, until they led up a body of peltasts to the mountain from the right wing of the square. 29. When these had got above the pursuing enemy, they no longer attacked them in their descent, fearing that they might be cut off from their own body, and that enemies might assail them on both sides. 30. Marching in this manner for the rest of the day, some by the route among the hills, and others advancing abreast of them along the mountain, they arrived at the villages, and appointed eight surgeons,^[164] for there were many wounded.

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31. Here they remained three days, both for the sake of the wounded, and because they found, at the same time, abundance of provisions, wheat-flour, wine, and a great quantity of barley laid up for horses; supplies which had been collected for the satrap of the country. On the fourth day they went down into the plain. 32. But as Tissaphernes overtook them with his forces, necessity taught them to encamp where they first saw a village, and not to march on still fighting; for there were many unfitted for action, some wounded, some carrying the wounded, and some bearing the arms of those that carried them. 33. When however they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the village, attempted to skirmish with them, the Greeks had greatly the advantage; for they found a great difference^[165] between sallying from their own ground to repulse the enemy, and fighting with a pursuing enemy on their march.

34. When evening approached, it became time for the enemy to retire; for the Barbarians never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, fearing lest the Greeks should attack them in the night. 35. For in the night a Persian army is difficult to manage; as their horses are tied, and for the most part fastened by the feet, that they may not run away if they should be untied; and if any sudden attack takes place, the Persian has^[166] to put the housings^[167] on his horse, and to bridle him, and then, when he has put on his armour, to mount; but all these things are troublesome by night and in the midst of an alarm. On this account they encamped at a distance from the Greeks.

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36. As soon as the Greeks saw that they intended to retire, and were passing the order for doing so, proclamation was made among the Greeks, in the hearing of the enemy, that they were to collect their baggage; when the Barbarians, for some time, delayed their march; but, when it grew late, they went off; for they did not think it expedient to march and arrive at their camp^[168] in the night. 37. When the Greeks observed them evidently moving away, they themselves also decamped^[169] and began to march, and accomplished as much as sixty stadia. There was thus so great a distance between the armies, that the enemy did not appear on the following day or on the third; but on the fourth, the Barbarians, having gone forward in the night, occupied an elevated position on the right, on the route by which the Greeks were to pass; the brow of a mountain, beneath which was the descent into the plain. 38. As soon as Cheirisophus saw that this eminence was pre-occupied, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and ordered him to bring his peltasts and come to the front. 39. Xenophon however did not bring the peltasts, (for he saw Tissaphernes, and all his force, in full view,) but, riding up alone, asked, "Why do you call me?" Cheirisophus replied, "You may see; for the eminence above the descent has been pre-occupied against us, and it is impossible to pass, unless we cut off those who are on it. But why did you not bring the peltasts?" 40. Xenophon replied that he did not think it right to leave the rear unguarded when the enemy were in sight. "But it is high time," he continued, "to consider how some of us may dislodge those men from the hill." 41. Xenophon now noticed that the summit of the mountain^[170] was above their own army, and that there was a way from it to the hill where the enemy were, and exclaimed, "It is best for us, Cheirisophus, to hasten as quickly as possible to the summit, for if we gain this, those who are above our road will be unable to maintain their

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ground. But do you, if you please, remain with the army; I have a desire to go forward; or, if you prefer it, proceed on to the mountain, and I will stay here." 42. "I leave you," replied Cheirisophus, "to choose which of the two you please." Xenophon, observing that he was the younger, decided on advancing, but requested Cheirisophus to send with him a detachment from the front, as it was too great a distance to bring one from the rear. 43. Cheirisophus then sent with him the peltasts from the front; and he took those that were in the middle of the square. Cheirisophus also ordered the three hundred that he had with him at the head of the square, consisting of picked men, to follow Xenophon.

44. The party then marched forward with all possible speed. But the enemy on the heights, when they perceived that the Greeks were directing their course towards the summit, hurried forward also themselves to contend for the possession of the summit. 45. There was then great shouting from the Grecian army, cheering their men, and great shouting also from the troops of Tissaphernes, cheering on theirs. 46. Xenophon, riding along on horseback, encouraged his party, saying, "Consider, soldiers, that you are now contending for Greece; that after a brief struggle now, we shall march the rest of the way without fighting, to join our children and our wives." 47. Soterides, a Sicyonian, cried out, "We are not upon an equality, Xenophon; for you are carried on a horse, while I have hard work to carry my shield." 48. Xenophon, on hearing this remark, leaped from his horse, pushed Soterides from the ranks, took from him his shield, and marched on with it as fast as he was able. He happened however to have on his horseman's corslet, so that he was distressed. Yet he continued to exhort the men in front to lead on gently, and those behind, who followed with difficulty, to come up. 49. But the rest of the soldiers beat and threw stones at Soterides, and reviled him, till they obliged him to resume his shield and march in his place. Xenophon, remounting, led the way, as long as it was passable for his horse, on horseback, but when it became impassable, he left his horse behind, and hastened forward on foot. Thus they got the start of the enemy, and arrived first at the summit.

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CHAPTER V.

The Greeks arrive at a point where the Carduchian mountains overhang the river, and, as they are still harassed by the enemy, the generals hold a consultation, and determine to march across the mountains.

1. The Barbarians, in consequence, turned their backs and fled every one as he could, and the Greeks took possession of the top of the hill. Tissaphernes and Ariæus turned aside, and went off in another direction. Cheirisophus and his forces, going down into the plain, encamped in a village abounding with acceptable supplies; and there were also in this plain many other villages stored with excellent provisions, lying along the river Tigris. 2. When it was evening, the enemy suddenly showed themselves in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks who were dispersed over the ground foraging; for several herds of cattle had been intercepted as they were being transported to the other side of the river. 3. Here Tissaphernes and his party attempted to set fire to the villages, and some of the Greeks were much disheartened, being apprehensive that, if they should burn them, they would have no place whence to procure supplies.

4. Cheirisophus and his men now returned from giving succour,^[171] and Xenophon, when he came down, riding past the ranks, as the Greeks, coming in from affording aid, met him, said, 5. "You see, Greeks, that the enemy admit that the country is now ours, for whereas they stipulated, when they made the truce, that we should not burn the king's country, they now burn it themselves, as being no longer theirs. But wherever they leave supplies for themselves, thither also they shall see us direct our march. 6. I think, however, Cheirisophus," continued he, "that we ought to resist these burners, as if in defence of our own territory." "I," replied Cheirisophus, "am of a different opinion; rather let us burn also," said he, "and thus they will the sooner cease."

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7. When they returned to their quarters,^[172] the soldiers busied themselves about their provisions, but the generals and captains held a council. There was now much perplexity; for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river of such depth, that, when they sounded it, their spears did not rise above the water. 8. While they were in doubt how to act, a Rhodian came to them, and said, "I am willing to convey you across, O Greeks, by four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you will furnish me with what I require for the purpose, and give me a talent as a remuneration." 9. Being asked what he should require, he replied, "I shall want two thousand hides made into bags; and I see here many sheep, goats, oxen, and asses, the hides of which, being blown out,^[173] would easily furnish the means of crossing. 10. I shall want also the ropes which you use for the baggage-cattle; joining, with these, the bags to one another, steadying each bag by attaching stones to it, letting the stones down like anchors into the water, extending the bags across the stream, and securing them to both banks, I will then lay wood upon them, and strew earth over the wood. 11. That you will not sink, you will at once see; for each skin will prevent two men from sinking, and the wood and earth will keep them from slipping off." 12. The generals, on hearing this proposal, thought the invention ingenious, but the execution of it impossible, for there were numerous cavalry on the other side to hinder their passage, who, at the commencement, would not have allowed the first that made the attempt to effect their purposes.

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13. The next day they retreated back towards Babylon, to some unburnt villages, having first set fire to those which they abandoned; so that the enemy did not come up to them, but watched them, and seemed to be wondering which way the Greeks would turn themselves, and what they had in their mind. 14. The rest of the soldiers then turned their thoughts to getting supplies; but the generals and captains held another council, and, bringing together the prisoners, questioned them as to the whole country around, what each part was. 15. They said that the parts toward the south were on the road towards Babylon and Media, through which the Greeks had come; that the road towards the east led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king was said to pass the summer and spring; that the one across^[174] the river, towards the west, led to Lydia and Ionia; and that the other over the mountains, towards the north, led to the Carduchi. 16. This people, they said, lived among the mountains, were very warlike, and did not obey the king; that on one occasion, a royal army of a hundred and twenty thousand men had penetrated into their country, whence, from the impracticability of the ground, not one of them returned; but that, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap of the plain, some of them had intercourse with the Carduchi, and some of the Carduchi with them. 17. The generals, having heard these statements, kept apart by themselves those who said that they knew the road in each direction, not letting it be known which way they intended to go. It appeared necessary to the generals, however, to make their way over the mountains into the country of the Carduchi; for the prisoners said that after passing through this they would come to Armenia, a large and rich country, of which Orontes was governor, whence it would be easy for them to go whichever way they pleased.

18. With reference to this proceeding, they made a sacrifice, in order that, when it should seem time, they might commence their march; for they were afraid that the passage over the mountains might be pre-occupied by the enemy; and they gave orders, that when the soldiers had supped, they should all pack up their baggage and go to rest, and follow their leaders whenever the signal should be given.

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BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi, where they suffer greatly from the wind and cold, as well as from the Barbarians, who harass them with frequent attacks on their march.

1. What occurred in the expedition up the country to the time of the battle, and what took place after the battle during the truce which the king and the Greeks that went up with Cyrus concluded, and what hostilities were committed against the Greeks after the king and Tissaphernes had violated the truce, and while the Persian army was pursuing them, have been related in the preceding part of the narrative.

2. When they had arrived at a spot where the Tigris was quite impassable from its depth and width, and where there was no passage along, its banks, as the Carduchian mountains hung steep over the stream, it appeared to the generals that they must march over those mountains, 3. for they had heard from the prisoners that "if they could but cross the Carduchian mountains, they would be able to ford, if they wished, the sources of the Tigris in Armenia, or, if they declined doing so, to make a circuit round them." The sources of the Euphrates, too, they said were not far from those of the Tigris; and such is the truth.^[175]

4. Their entrance upon the territory of the Carduchi they made in the following manner, endeavouring at once to escape observation, and to anticipate the enemy in getting possession of the heights. 5. When it was about the last watch, and enough of the night was left to allow them to cross the plain under cover of the darkness, they arose at a given signal, and, marching onwards, reached the hills by break of day. 6. Here Cheirisophus took the lead of the army, having with him both his own men and all the light-armed; while Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed troops, having not a single light-armed soldier; for there seemed to be no danger that any of the enemy would attack them in the rear as they were marching up the mountains. Cheirisophus indeed mounted the summit before any of the enemy perceived him; he then led slowly forward; 7. and each portion of the army, as it passed the summit in succession, followed him to the villages which lay in the windings and recesses of the mountains.^[176] 8. The Carduchi, in consequence, quitting their dwellings, and taking with them their wives and children, fled to the hills. There was plenty of provisions left for the Greeks to take; and the houses were furnished with great numbers of brazen utensils, none of which the Greeks took away. Nor did they pursue the people, being inclined to spare them, if perchance the Carduchi, since they were enemies to the king, might consent to allow them to pass through their country as that of friends; 9. the provisions, however, as many as fell in their way, they carried off; for it was a matter of necessity to do so. But as for the Carduchi themselves, they would neither listen when they called, nor did they give any other sign of friendly feeling.

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10. But when the rear of the Greeks was descending from the hills into the villages, being now overtaken by darkness, (for, as the way was narrow, their ascent of the heights, and descent to

the villages, had lasted the entire day,) some of the Carduchi, collecting together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They were but few; for the Greek troops had come on them unawares; 11. but had they assembled in greater numbers, a great part of the army would have been in danger of being destroyed. For this night, accordingly, they took up their abode in the villages; and the Carduchi lighted a number of fires around them on the hills, and observed the positions of one another.^[177] 12. As soon as it was day, the generals and captains of the Greeks, meeting together, resolved, when they should march, to reserve only such of the baggage-cattle as were most necessary and most able, abandoning the rest, and to dismiss all the slaves in the army that had been recently captured; 13. for the cattle and the slaves, being numerous, rendered their progress slow, and the number of men in charge of them were unable to take part in any encounter; and besides, when the men were so numerous, it was necessary to procure and carry with them a double quantity of provisions. This resolution being passed, they made proclamation that the troops should act accordingly.

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14. When they had breakfasted, and were on the march, the generals, taking their stand in a narrow part of the way, took from the soldiers whatever of the things mentioned they found had not been left behind; and the men submitted to this, unless any of them, smitten with desire of a handsome boy or woman, conveyed them past secretly.^[178] Thus they proceeded during this day, sometimes having to fight a little, and sometimes resting themselves. 15. On the next day a great storm arose; but they were obliged to pursue their march, for they had not a sufficient supply of provisions. Cheirisophus continued to lead, and Xenophon had charge of the rear. 16. The enemy pressed steadily upon them, and, where the passes were narrow, came close up, and used their bows and their slings; so that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing and sometimes retreating, were compelled to march but slowly; and Xenophon, when the enemy attacked them violently, had frequently to pass the word for a halt. 17. Cheirisophus, at other times, when the order was passed, halted, but on one occasion he did not halt, but hurried on rapidly, and passed the word to follow; so that it was manifest that there was something extraordinary; but there was no time to go forward and ascertain the cause of the haste; and the march of the rear-guard became like a flight. 18. On this occasion a brave soldier, Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, met his death, being shot with an arrow in the side through his shield and corslet;^[179] and also Basias, an Arcadian, shot right through the head.

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19. When they arrived at the place of encampment, Xenophon immediately proceeded, just as he was, to Cheirisophus, and blamed him for not having halted, as the men had been compelled to flee and fight at the same time. "Two honourable and brave soldiers," said he, "have now been killed, and we have been unable either to carry off their bodies or bury them." 20. To this remark Cheirisophus answered, "Cast your eyes upon those mountains, and observe how impassable they all are. The only road which you see is steep; and close upon it you may perceive a great multitude of men, who, having occupied the pass, keep guard at it. 21. For these reasons I hastened on, and therefore did not wait for you, to try if I could get the start of the enemy before the pass was seized; and the guides whom we have say that there is no other road." 22. Xenophon rejoined, "I have two prisoners; for when the enemy molested us, we placed an ambush, which enabled us to recover breath, and killed some of them; and we were also anxious to take some alive for this very purpose, that we might use them, as being well acquainted with the country, for guides."

23. Immediately after, bringing forward the two men, they inquired of them separately whether they knew of any other road than that which was open to their view. The one denied that he knew of any other, though many threats were held out to him; and as he would give no useful information, he was put to death in sight of the other. 24. The survivor said that the other had denied any knowledge of a road, because he had a daughter there married to somebody, but stated that he himself would lead them by a road that might be passed even by beasts of burden. 25. Being then asked if there was any spot in it difficult to be passed, he replied that there was one height, and that unless a party secured it before-hand, it would be impossible for them to pass. 26. Upon this it was thought proper to call together the captains, both of the peltasts and of the heavy-armed men,^[180] and to acquaint them with the prospect of affairs, and ask whether any of them was willing to prove himself a man of valour, and engage to go on this service as a volunteer. 27. Of the heavy-armed, Aristonymus of Methydrum, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians, offered themselves; and Callimachus of Parrhasia, also an Arcadian, disputed the honour with them, and said that he himself was eager to go, taking with him volunteers from the whole army; "for I am sure," said he, "that, many of the young men will follow if I take the lead." 28. They then asked if any of the officers of the light-armed troops were willing to join in the attempt; and Aristetas of Chios presented himself, a man who had often proved himself of great value to the army for similar services.

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CHAPTER II.

One of the prisoners is forced to guide them to an eminence, from which they dislodge the Carduchi. But they are still harassed, and the rear suffers severely.

1. It was now afternoon, and the generals^[181] desired the party to take some refreshment and set

forward. Having bound the guide, they put him into their hands, and arranged with them, that, if they should gain the summit, they should keep guard at that post during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at break of day, and that those on the height should then charge the enemy in possession of the apparent egress,^[182] and those below should issue forth and come in a body to their assistance as soon as they were able.

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2. When they had made this arrangement, the party set out, being in number about two thousand; and there was heavy rain at the time. Xenophon, taking the rear-guard, led them towards the apparent egress, in order that the enemy might turn their attention in that direction, and that those who were going round might as much as possible escape notice. 3. But when the rear-guard came to a ravine, which they had to pass to gain the ascent, the Barbarians then rolled down masses of rock,^[183] each big enough to load a waggon, with other stones greater and smaller, which, striking in their descent against the rocks, were hurled abroad in all directions;^[184] and it was utterly impossible even to approach the pass. 4. Some of the captains, when they could not succeed in this part, made attempts in another, and continued their efforts till darkness came on. When they thought that they might retire unobserved, they went to get their supper; for the rear-guard had been dinnerless that day. The enemy, however, being evidently in fear, continued to roll down stones through the whole of the night, as it was easy to conjecture from the noise. 5. Those, meanwhile, who had the guide, taking a circuitous route, surprised a guard of the enemy sitting round a fire, and, having killed some of them, and put the rest to flight, remained on the spot, with the notion that they were in possession of the summit. 6. But in possession of it they were not; for there was a small hill above them, round which lay the narrow pass, at which the guard had been posted. However, there was a way from thence to that party of the enemy who were stationed at the open egress. 7. Here they remained during the night.

As soon as day began to dawn, they advanced in regular order, and with silence, against the enemy; and as there was a mist, they came close upon them before they were perceived. But when they caught sight of one another, the trumpet sounded on the side of the Greeks, who, raising the shout of battle, rushed upon the enemy. The Barbarians did not stand their charge, but quitted the pass and fled; only a few of them were killed, for they were active in moving off. 8. At the same time the party of Cheirisophus, hearing the sound of the trumpet, marched immediately up the plain track; while others of the officers proceeded by untrodden paths, where each happened to be, and, climbing up as well as they could, drew up one another with their spears; 9. and these were the first to join those who had secured the position. Xenophon, with the half of the rear-guard, went up by the same way as those who had the guide; for it was the most practicable for the baggage-cattle; the other half he ordered to come up behind the cattle. 10. In their way they came to a hill overhanging the road, which was occupied by the enemy, whom they must either dislodge or be separated from the rest of the Greeks. The men themselves, indeed, might have gone the same way as the rest of the army, but the baggage-cattle could ascend by no other route than this. 11. Encouraging one another, therefore, they made an attack upon the hill in files,^[185] not on every side, but leaving a way of escape for the enemy, if they should be inclined to flee. 12. For a while, as they were making their way as each best could, the Barbarians shot arrows and threw stones at them, but did not receive them in close encounter, and at last abandoned the place entirely.

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The Greeks had no sooner passed the hill, than they caught sight of another before them occupied also by the enemy. Upon this hill it was resolved likewise to make an assault. 13. But Xenophon, apprehending that, if he left the hill which they had taken unguarded, the enemy, recovering it, might attack the baggage-cattle as they were passing, (for the train of baggage-cattle reached a great distance, as they were marching along a narrow path,) left upon the hill the captains Cephisodorus the son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, Amphicrates the son of Amphidemus, an Athenian, and Archagoras, an exile from Argos, while he himself, with the others, directed his march upon the second hill, which they also captured in a similar manner. 14. However, there was still a third hill left for them to take, which was by far the steepest of the whole; this was an eminence that overhung the post where the guard was surprised in the night by the volunteers. 15. But as the Greeks came up, the Barbarians deserted the hill without attempting any defence, so that all were surprised, and suspected that they had left their position from fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. But the truth was, that having observed from the eminence what had passed behind, they all went off with the intention of attacking the rear.

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16. Xenophon, with the youngest of his men, ascended to the top, and ordered the rest to march on slowly, so that the companies in the rear might join them; and he directed them, after proceeding some distance, to halt under arms, on a level piece of ground. 17. At this juncture Aristagoras the Argive came fleeing from the enemy, and said that the Greeks were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus, and Amphicrates, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the rock, and joined the rear-guard, had been killed. 18. The Barbarians, after this success, appeared upon an eminence opposite the third hill, and Xenophon began to treat with them, through an interpreter, about making a truce, and called upon them to give up the dead. 19. They replied, that they would give them up on condition that he would not burn their villages. To this Xenophon agreed. But while the rest of the army was passing on, and these were discussing the terms of a truce, all the Barbarians from that part of the country had flocked together. Here the enemy made a stand; 20. and when Xenophon's party began to descend the hill, to join the others where the heavy-armed troops were drawn up,^[186] they came forward in great numbers and with loud shouts. When they had reached the top of the hill from which Xenophon was descending, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one man; and Xenophon's shield-bearer deserted

him, carrying off his shield, 21. but Eurylochus, an Arcadian from Lusua,^[187] a heavy-armed soldier, ran to his support, and went on holding his shield before them both; and the rest went to join those who were already drawn up.

[Pg 114] 22. The entire Grecian force was now together, and took up their quarters in a number of good houses, and in the midst of abundance of provisions. Wine was so abundant, that they kept it in excavations under ground, which were plastered over.^[188] 23. Xenophon and Cheirisophus now made an agreement with the enemy, that on receiving the dead bodies they should give up the guide; and they performed all funeral rites for the deceased, as far as they could, according to what is usually done at the interment of brave men. 24. The next day they proceeded without a guide; and the enemy, sometimes by skirmishing, and sometimes, where there was a narrow pass, by pre-occupying it, endeavoured to obstruct their progress. 25. Whenever therefore they impeded the front, Xenophon, ascending the hills from the rear, endeavoured to break through the opposition made in that quarter, trying always to reach higher ground than the obstructing enemy; 26. and when they assailed the rear, Cheirisophus, quitting his place, and striving also to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction that was offered to the passage of that part of the army. Thus they relieved and supported each other with effect. 27. Sometimes, too, when the Greeks had ascended eminences, the Barbarians gave them great annoyance in their descent; and, as they were nimble, they could escape, though they had but a very short start of us,^[189] for they were encumbered with no other weapons than bows and slings. 28. As archers they were very expert, and had bows nearly three cubits long, and arrows above two cubits; and they drew the string, whenever they discharged their arrows, advancing the left foot^[190] against the lower extremity of the bow. Their arrows penetrated through shields and corslets; and the Greeks, taking them up, made use of them as javelins, fixing thongs to them.^[191] In these parts the Cretans were of the greatest service. Stratocles, a Cretan, had the command of them.

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CHAPTER III.

The Greeks arrive at the river Centrites, which divides the Carduchi from Armenia. They see the Persians drawn up on the opposite bank, while the Carduchi threaten their rear. They are encouraged by a dream of Xenophon's to try a ford, and effect a safe passage across the stream.

[Pg 116] 1. This day the Greeks abode in the villages above the plain near the river Centrites, the breadth of which is about two hundred feet, and which forms the boundary between Armenia and the territory of the Carduchi. Here they took some rest, being glad to see a piece of level country. The river is distant from the mountains of the Carduchi about six or seven stadia. 2. It was with great satisfaction that they stayed here, as they had a sufficiency of provisions, and were frequently reflecting on the difficulties that were past, for, during seven days that they had been marching among the Carduchi, they had been constantly fighting, and had suffered more evils than all those which they had endured from the king and Tissaphernes.^[192] Having escaped from such hardships, they gladly took repose.

3. At day-break, however, they perceived on the other side of the river a body of cavalry, in complete armour, ready to prevent them from crossing, and on the high banks above the cavalry, another of foot prepared to hinder them from entering Armenia. 4. These were Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldæans, mercenary troops of Orontes and Artuchas.^[193] The Chaldæans were said to be a free people, and warlike; for arms they had long shields and spears. 5. The high banks on which these forces were drawn up, were three or four hundred feet from the river; and the only road that was visible was one that led upward, apparently a work of art. Here the Greeks endeavoured to cross, 6. but as, on making trial, the water rose above their breasts, and the bed of the river was rough with large and slippery stones, and as it was impossible for them to carry their arms in the water, or, if they attempted to do so, the river swept them away, (while, if any of them took their arms on their heads, they became exposed to the arrows and other missiles of the enemy,) they in consequence retreated, and encamped at the side of the river.

[Pg 117] 7. They now perceived the Carduchi assembled in great numbers under arms on the spot where they themselves had been on the previous night. Hence great despondency was felt by the Greeks, as they knew the difficulty of passing the river, and saw the Carduchi ready to attack them if they attempted to cross. 8. This day, therefore, and the following night, they remained where they were in great perplexity. Xenophon however had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that they fell off him of their own accord, so that he was set at liberty, and walked securely^[194] whithersoever he pleased. 9. When the morning approached, he went to Cheirisophus, told him that he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. Cheirisophus was much pleased, and, as soon as it was day, all the generals who were present offered sacrifice, and the victims were favourable at the very first. As soon as they left the place of sacrifice, the generals and captains gave directions to the troops to take their breakfast.

10. While Xenophon was at breakfast, two young men came running up to him, for every one knew that it was allowable to approach him whether breakfasting or supping, and to wake him and speak to him even when asleep, if they had anything to tell of affairs relating to the war. 11.

The youths informed him that they had been gathering sticks for their fire, and had chanced to see, on the opposite side of the river, among the rocks that reached down to the stream itself, an old man, a woman, and some girls, depositing in a cavernous rock what appeared to be bags of clothes; 12. that when they saw this, they thought it would be safe to cross, as the ground at that point was inaccessible to the enemy's horse; that having taken off their clothes, and taken their daggers in their hands, they went over undressed, in expectation of having to swim, but that, as they went on, they reached the other side before they were wet to the middle, and, having thus forded the stream, and taken the clothes, they came back again. 13. Xenophon immediately therefore made a libation, and ordered the young men to join in it,^[195] and to pray to the gods who had sent the dream and pointed out the ford, to complete what was wanting to their success. After the libation, he at once conducted the youths to Cheirisophus, and to him they gave the same account. Cheirisophus, on hearing it, made a libation also.

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14. When the libation was over, they gave orders to the soldiers to get their baggage ready; while they themselves, calling the rest of the generals together, consulted with them how they might cross the river to the best advantage, and how they might defeat the enemy in front, and suffer no damage from those in the rear. 15. It was then resolved that Cheirisophus should take the lead, and cross over with half of the army, that the other half should stay behind with Xenophon, and that the baggage-cattle and camp-followers should go over between the two. 16. When these matters were fairly arranged, they began to move, the young men acting as guides, and keeping the river on the left, the distance to the ford being about four stadia. 17. As they proceeded, the lines of the enemy's cavalry advanced abreast of them on the opposite bank; and when they came to the ford, and the margin of the river, they halted, laying down their arms; and then Cheirisophus himself, placing a chaplet upon his head,^[196] and laying aside his outer garments, took up his arms and commanded the rest to follow his example, directing the captains to lead their troops in files,^[197] some on his left hand, and some on his right. 18. The augurs at the same time sacrificed victims over the river,^[198] while the enemy plied their bows and slings, but did not reach the Greeks. 19. As the sacrifices appeared favourable, all the soldiers sung the pæan and raised a shout, and all the women (for there were a number of the men's mistresses in the army) joined in the cry.

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20. Cheirisophus and his men then entered the stream; and Xenophon, taking the most active of the rear-guard, marched at full speed back to the ford^[199] opposite the outlet into the mountains of Armenia, making a feint that he meant to cross the river there, and thus cut off the cavalry that were on the bank; 21. when the enemy, seeing Cheirisophus and his men crossing over with ease, and Xenophon and his party hurrying back, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to gain the outlet that led up from the river, and as soon as they came to that passage, they directed their course up into the mountains. 22. Lycius, who had the command of the troop of horse, and Æschines, who commanded the band of peltasts attending on Cheirisophus, seeing the enemy retreating with so much haste, set off in pursuit of them; and the rest of the soldiers called to each other not to stay behind,^[200] but to go along with them up the mountains. 23. But Cheirisophus, when he had crossed the river, did not follow the cavalry, but made his way up the high banks that reached down to the river, to attack that portion of the enemy that were on the more elevated ground.^[201] This party on the heights, however, seeing their cavalry take to flight, abandoned their commanding position above the stream.

24. Xenophon, when he saw that all was going well on the other side, returned with all possible speed to join that part of the army which was crossing over; for the Carduchi were evidently descending into the plain, with the view of falling upon the rear. 25. Cheirisophus was now in possession of the heights, and Lycius, who, with his small party, had proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, had captured some of their baggage that they had left behind, and amongst it some rich garments and drinking-cups. 26. The baggage and camp-followers of the Greeks were still in the act of crossing; and Xenophon, turning towards the Carduchi, halted under arms over against them, and ordered the captains to form each his own company into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing round each division in line^[202] towards the left; and he directed both the captains, and the officers of the divisions of five and twenty, to advance facing the Carduchi, and the rearmost to halt facing the river.

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27. The Carduchi, when they observed that the rear-guard of the camp-followers was diminished in number, and that they seemed now indeed to be but few, advanced at a quicker pace, singing at the same time certain songs. Cheirisophus, when he saw that all was safe on his own side, sent the peltasts, and the slingers and archers, to Xenophon, desiring them to do whatsoever he should direct. 28. Xenophon, seeing them beginning to cross, sent a messenger to desire that they should remain by the river where they were, without crossing, and that, when his own party should begin to cross, they should come forward into the water on each side opposite to him, the javelin-men holding their weapons by the thong,^[203] and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if with the intention of crossing over, but not to advance far into the river. 29. His own men he ordered, as soon as a sling should reach them and a shield should ring,^[204] to raise the pæan and rush towards the enemy; and he directed that when the enemy should take to flight, and the trumpeter should sound the signal of attack^[205] from the river, the rear should wheel to the right and take the lead, and that they should then all run forward as fast as possible, and cross over at the part where each happened to be stationed, so as not to impede one another; telling them that he would be the best man who should first reach the opposite side. 30. The Carduchi, seeing that those who were left were but few, (for many even of those who had been

ordered to stay had gone away, some to take care of the cattle, some of their baggage, and others of their mistresses,) began, in consequence, to press forward boldly, and to use their slings and bows. 31. The Greeks then sang the pæan, and rushed upon them at full speed; and the Barbarians did not stand their charge; for though they were well enough equipped for a sudden onset and retreat upon the mountains, they were by no means sufficiently armed to receive an enemy hand to hand. At this juncture the trumpeter sounded, 32. when the enemy fled still faster, and the Greeks, turning in the opposite direction, made their way over the river with all possible speed. 33. Some of the enemy, perceiving this movement, ran back to the river, and wounded a few of our men with their arrows; but the greater number of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, were observed to continue their flight. 34. The troops, meanwhile, that came to meet Xenophon, being carried away by their courage, and advancing too far, repassed the river in the rear of Xenophon's men; and some of these also were wounded.

CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks enter Armenia, pass the sources of the Tigris, and arrive at the Teleboas. They make a treaty with Tiribazus, the governor of the province, and discover his insincerity.

1. When they had crossed, and had ranged themselves in order about noon, they proceeded through the country of Armenia, consisting wholly of plains and gently sloping hills, a distance of not less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river, in consequence of the hostilities with the Carduchi. 2. The village, however, at which they at length arrived, was of considerable size, and contained a palace for the satrap; ^[206] upon most of the houses there were towers ^[207], and provisions were in great plenty.

3. Hence they proceeded, two days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, until they passed round the sources of the river Tigris. From hence they advanced, three days' journey, fifteen parasangs, to the river Teleboas, a stream not large, indeed, but of much beauty ^[208]; and there were many villages on its banks. 4. This part of the country was called Western Armenia. The deputy-governor of it was Tiribazus, who was an intimate friend of the king; and no one else, when he was present, assisted the king to mount his horse. 5. He now rode up with a body of cavalry, and sending forward an interpreter, said that he wished to speak with the commanders. The generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and, advancing within hearing, asked what he wanted. 6. He replied, that he wished to make a treaty with them, on the conditions that he himself should not hurt the Greeks, and that the Greeks should not burn the houses, but should be at liberty to take such provisions as they required. This proposal was agreeable to the generals, and they concluded a treaty upon these terms.

7. Hence they proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, through a plain; and Tiribazus followed them with his troops, keeping at the distance of about ten stadia. They then came to a palace, ^[209] with several villages around it stored with abundance of provisions. 8. While they were encamped, there fell a great quantity of snow ^[210] in the night; and in the morning it was thought advisable that the companies and officers should take up their quarters in the neighbouring villages; for they perceived no enemy, and it appeared to be safe on account of the quantity of the snow. ^[211] 9. Here they found all kinds of excellent provisions, cattle, corn, old wines of great fragrance, dried grapes, and vegetables of all kinds.

Some of the soldiers, however, who had strolled away from the camp, brought word that they had caught sight of an army, and that many fires had been visible during the night. 10. The generals thought it unsafe, therefore, for the troops to quarter apart, and resolved to bring the whole army together again. They accordingly assembled, for it seemed to be clearing up. ^[212] 11. But as they were passing the night here, there fell a vast quantity of snow, so that it covered both the arms and the men as they lay on the ground. The snow cramped the baggage-cattle, and they were very reluctant to rise; for, as they lay, the snow that had fallen upon them served to keep them warm, when it had not dropped off. 12. But when Xenophon was hardy enough to rise without his outer garment, and to cleave wood, some one else then rose, and, taking the wood from him, cleft it himself. Soon after, the rest got up, and lighted fires and anointed themselves; 13. for abundance of ointment was found there, made of hog's-lard, sesamum, ^[213] bitter almonds, and turpentine, which they used instead of oil. Of the same materials also an odoriferous unguent was found.

14. After this it was resolved to quarter again throughout the villages, under shelter; and the soldiers went off with great shouting and delight to the cottages and provisions. Those who had set fire to the houses, when they quitted them before, paid the penalty of having to encamp uncomfortably in the open air. 15. Hence they despatched in the night Democrates of Temenos, giving him a detachment of men, to the hills where the stragglers said that they had seen the fires; they selected him because he was thought on several former occasions to have brought exact information concerning such matters, reporting what was, just as it appeared, and what was not, as not existing. 16. Having gone, he said that he saw no fires, but he brought with him a captive that he had taken, having a Persian bow and quiver, and a short battle-axe, such as the

Amazons have. 17. Being asked of what country he was, he said that he was a Persian, and that he was going from the army of Tiribazus to get provisions. They then asked him how large the army was, and for what purpose it was assembled. 18. He said that Tiribazus had his own troops, and some mercenaries from the Chalybes and Taochians; and that he was prepared to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, at a narrow defile through which lay their only road.

19. The generals, on hearing this, resolved to collect the army, and, leaving a guard, with Sophænetus the Stymphalian as commander over those who stayed behind, proceeded to march without delay, taking the man that had been captured for their guide. 20. After they had passed the mountains, the peltasts, who went before the rest, and were the first to discover the enemy's camp, did not wait for the heavy-armed men, but ran forward with a shout to attack it. 21. The Barbarians, hearing the noise, did not stand their ground, but fled; some of them however were killed, and about twenty horses taken, as was also the tent of Tiribazus, and in it some couches with silver feet, and drinking-cups, and some prisoners, who said that they were bakers and cup-bearers. 22. When the officers of the heavy-armed troops heard what had taken place, they resolved upon marching back as fast as possible to their own camp, lest any attempt should be made on those who had been left there. Calling in the men immediately, therefore, by sound of trumpet, they returned to the camp the same day.

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CHAPTER V.

The Greeks march through an uninhabited tract of country, suffering greatly from cold winds, snow, and want of provisions. At length they reach some well-stored villages, where they rest seven days.

1. The next day it was thought necessary to march away as fast as possible, before the enemy's force should be re-assembled, and get possession of the pass. Collecting their baggage at once, therefore, they set forward through a deep snow, taking with them several guides; and, having the same day passed the height on which Tiribazus had intended to attack them, they encamped. 2. Hence they proceeded three days' journey through a desert tract of country, a distance of fifteen parasangs,^[214] to the river Euphrates, and passed it without being wet higher than the middle. The sources of the river were said not to be far off. 3. From hence they advanced three days' march, through much snow and a level plain, a distance of fifteen parasangs; the third day's march was extremely troublesome, as the north-wind blew full in their faces, completely parching up everything and benumbing the men. 4. One of the augurs, in consequence, advised that they should sacrifice to the wind; and a sacrifice was accordingly offered; when the vehemence of the wind appeared to every one manifestly to abate. The depth of the snow was a fathom,^[215] so that many of the baggage-cattle and slaves perished, with about thirty of the soldiers. 5. They continued to burn fires through the whole night, for there was plenty of wood at the place of encampment. But those who came up late could get no wood; those therefore who had arrived before, and had kindled fires, would not admit the late comers to the fire unless they gave them a share of the corn or other provisions that they had brought. 6. Thus they shared with each other what they respectively had. In the places where the fires were made, as the snow melted, there were formed large pits that reached down to the ground; and here there was accordingly opportunity to measure the depth of the snow.

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7. From hence they marched through snow the whole of the following day, and many of the men contracted the *bulimia*.^[216] Xenophon, who commanded in the rear, finding in his way such of the men as had fallen down with it, knew not what disease it was. 8. But as one of those acquainted with it, told him that they were evidently affected with *bulimia*, and that they would get up if they had something to eat, he went round among the baggage, and, wherever he saw anything eatable, he gave it out, and sent such as were able to run to distribute it among those diseased, who, as soon as they had eaten, rose up and continued their march. 9. As they proceeded, Cheirisophus came, just as it grew dark, to a village, and found, at a spring in front of the rampart, some women and girls belonging to the place fetching water. 10. The women asked them who they were; and the interpreter answered, in the Persian language, that they were people going from the king to the satrap. They replied that he was not there, but about a parasang off. However, as it was late, they went with the water-carriers within the rampart, to the head man of the village; 11. and here Cheirisophus, and as many of the troops as could come up, encamped; but of the rest, such as were unable to get to the end of the journey, spent the night on the way without food or fire; and some of the soldiers lost their lives on that occasion. 12. Some of the enemy too, who had collected themselves into a body, pursued our rear, and seized any of the baggage-cattle that were unable to proceed, fighting with one another for the possession of them. Such of the soldiers, also, as had lost their sight from the effects of the snow, or had had their toes mortified by the cold, were left behind. 13. It was found to be a relief to the eyes against the snow, if the soldiers kept something black before them on the march, and to the feet, if they kept constantly in motion, and allowed themselves no rest, and if they took off their shoes in the night; 14. but as to such as slept with their shoes on, the straps worked into their feet, and the soles were frozen about them; for when their old shoes had failed them, shoes of raw hides had been made by the men themselves from the newly-skinned oxen. 15. From such unavoidable sufferings, some of the soldiers were left behind, who, seeing a piece of ground of a

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black appearance, from the snow having disappeared there, conjectured that it must have melted; and it had in fact melted in the spot from the effect of a fountain, which was sending up vapour in a woody hollow close at hand. Turning aside thither, they sat down and refused to proceed farther. 16. Xenophon, who was with the rear-guard, as soon as he heard this, tried to prevail on them by every art and means not to be left behind, telling them, at the same time, that the enemy were collected, and pursuing them in great numbers. At last he grew angry; and they told him to kill them, as they were quite unable to go forward. 17. He then thought it the best course to strike a terror, if possible, into the enemy that were behind, lest they should fall upon the exhausted soldiers. It was now dark, and the enemy were advancing with a great noise, quarrelling about the booty that they had taken; 18. when such of the rear-guard as were not disabled, started up, and rushed towards them, while the tired men, shouting as loud as they could, clashed their spears against their shields. The enemy, struck with alarm, threw themselves among the snow into the hollow, and no one of them afterwards made themselves heard from any quarter.

19. Xenophon, and those with him, telling the sick men that a party should come to their relief next day, proceeded on their march, but before they had gone four stadia, they found other soldiers resting by the way in the snow, and covered up with it, no guard being stationed over them. They roused them up, but they said that the head of the army was not moving forward. 20. Xenophon, going past them, and sending on some of the ablest of the peltasts, ordered them to ascertain what it was that hindered their progress. They brought word that the whole army was in that manner taking rest. 21. Xenophon and his men, therefore, stationing such a guard as they could, took up their quarters there without fire or supper. When it was near day, he sent the youngest of his men to the sick, telling them to rouse them and oblige them to proceed. 22. At this juncture Cheirisophus sent some of his people from the villages to see how the rear were faring. The young men were rejoiced to see them, and gave them the sick to conduct to the camp, while they themselves went forward, and, before they had gone twenty stadia, found themselves at the village in which Cheirisophus was quartered. 23. When they came together, it was thought safe enough to lodge the troops up and down in the villages. Cheirisophus accordingly remained where he was, and the other officers, appropriating by lot the several villages that they had in sight, went to their respective quarters with their men.

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24. Here Polycrates, an Athenian captain, requested leave of absence, and, taking with him the most active of his men, and hastening to the village which Xenophon had been allotted, surprised all the villagers, and their head man, in their houses, together with seventeen^[217] colts that were bred as a tribute for the king, and the head man's daughter, who had been but nine days married; her husband was gone out to hunt hares, and was not found in any of the villages. 25. Their houses were under ground, the entrance like the mouth of a well, but spacious below; there were passages dug into them for the cattle, but the people descended by ladders. In the houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young; all the cattle were kept on fodder within the walls.^[218] 26. There was also wheat, barley, leguminous vegetables, and barley-wine,^[219] in large bowls; the grains of barley floated in it even with the brims of the vessels, and reeds also lay in it, some larger and some smaller, without joints; 27. and these, when any one was thirsty, he was to take in his mouth, and suck.^[220] The liquor was very strong, unless one mixed water with it, and a very pleasant drink to those accustomed to it.

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28. Xenophon made the chief man of his village sup with him, and told him to be of good courage, assuring him that he should not be deprived of his children, and that they would not go away without filling his house with provisions in return for what they took, if he would but prove himself the author of some service to the army till they should reach another tribe. 29. This he promised, and, to show his good-will, pointed out where some wine^[221] was buried. This night, therefore, the soldiers rested in their several quarters in the midst of great abundance, setting a guard over the chief, and keeping his children at the same time under their eye. 30. The following day Xenophon took the head man and went with him to Cheirisophus, and wherever he passed by a village, he turned aside to visit those who were quartered in it, and found them in all parts feasting and enjoying themselves; nor would they anywhere let them go till they had set refreshments before them; 31. and they placed everywhere upon the same table lamb, kid, pork, veal, and fowl, with plenty of bread both of wheat and barley. 32. Whenever any person, to pay a compliment, wished to drink to another, he took him to the large bowl, where he had to stoop down and drink, sucking like an ox. The chief they allowed to take whatever he pleased, but he accepted nothing from them; where he found any of his relatives, however, he took them with him.

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33. When they came to Cheirisophus, they found his men also feasting in their quarters,^[222] crowned with wreaths made of hay, and Armenian boys, in their Barbarian dresses, waiting upon them, to whom they made signs what they were to do as if they had been deaf and dumb. 34. When Cheirisophus and Xenophon had saluted one another, they both asked the chief man, through the interpreter who spoke the Persian language, what country it was. He replied that it was Armenia. They then asked him for whom the horses were bred; and he said that they were a tribute for the king, and added that the neighbouring country was that of the Chalybes, and told them in what direction the road lay. 35. Xenophon then went away, conducting the chief back to his family, giving him the horse that he had taken, which was rather old, to fatten and offer in sacrifice, (for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun,) being afraid, indeed, that it might die, as it had been injured by the journey. He then took some of the young horses, and gave one of them to each of the other generals and captains. 36. The horses in this country were

smaller than those of Persia, but far more spirited. The chief instructed the men to tie little bags round the feet of the horses, and other cattle, when they drove them through the snow, for without such bags they sunk up to their bellies.

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks leave the villages under conduct of a guide, who, on being struck by Cheirisophus, deserts them. After wandering through the country for seven days, they arrive at the Phasis, and in two days more at some mountains occupied by the Phasiani, Taochi, and Chalybes, whom, by skilful manœuvring, they dislodge.

[Pg 131] 1. When the eighth day was come, Xenophon committed the guide to Cheirisophus. He left the chief^[223] all the members of his family, except his son, a youth just coming to mature age; him he gave in charge to Episthenes of Amphipolis, in order that if the father should conduct them properly, he might return home with him. At the same time they carried to his house as many provisions as they could, and then broke up their camp, and resumed their march. 2. The chief conducted them through the snow, walking at liberty. When he came to the end of the third day's march, Cheirisophus was angry at him for not guiding them to some villages. He said that there were none in that part of the country. Cheirisophus then struck him, but did not confine him; 3. and in consequence he ran off in the night, leaving his son behind him. This affair, the ill-treatment and neglect of the guide, was the only cause of dissension between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the march. Episthenes conceived an affection for the youth, and, taking him home, found him extremely attached to him.

4. After this occurrence they proceeded seven days' journey, five parasangs each day, till they came to the river Phasis,^[224] the breadth of which is a plethrum. 5. Hence they advanced two days' journey, ten parasangs; when, on the pass that led over the mountains into the plain, the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasians were drawn up to oppose their progress. 6. Cheirisophus, seeing these enemies in possession of the height, came to a halt, at the distance of about thirty stadia, that he might not approach them while leading the army in a column. He accordingly ordered the other officers to bring up their companies, that the whole force might be formed in line.^[225]

[Pg 132] 7. When the rear-guard was come up, he called together the generals and captains, and spoke to them as follows: "The enemy, as you see, are in possession of the pass over the mountains; and it is proper for us to consider how we may encounter them to the best advantage. 8. It is my opinion, therefore, that we should direct the troops to get their dinner, and that we ourselves should hold a council, in the mean time, whether it is advisable to cross the mountain to-day or to-morrow." 9. "It seems best to me," exclaimed Cleanor, "to march at once, as soon as we have dined and resumed our arms, against the enemy; for if we waste the present day in inaction, the enemy who are now looking down upon us will grow bolder, and it is likely that, as their confidence is increased, others will join them in greater numbers."

10. After him Xenophon said, "I am of opinion, that if it is necessary to fight, we ought to make our arrangements so as to fight with the greatest advantage; but that, if we propose to pass the mountains as easily as possible, we ought to consider how we may incur the fewest wounds and lose the fewest men. 11. The range of hills, as far as we see, extends more than sixty stadia in length; but the people nowhere seem to be watching us except along the line of road; and it is therefore better, I think, to endeavour to try to seize unobserved some part of the unguarded range, and to get possession of it, if we can, beforehand, than to attack a strong post and men prepared to resist us. 12. For it is far less difficult to march up a steep ascent without fighting than along a level road with enemies on each side; and, in the night, if men are not obliged to fight, they can see better what is before them than by day if engaged with enemies; while a rough road is easier to the feet to those who are marching without molestation than a smooth one to those who are pelted on the head with missiles. 13. Nor do I think it at all impracticable for us to steal a way for ourselves, as we can march by night, so as not to be seen, and can keep at such a distance from the enemy as to allow no possibility of being heard. We seem likely, too, in my opinion, if we make a pretended attack on this point, to find the rest of the range still less guarded; for the enemy will so much the more probably stay where they are. 14. But why should I speak doubtfully about stealing? For I hear that you Lacedæmonians, O Cheirisophus, such of you at least as are of the better class,^[226] practise stealing from your boyhood, and it is not a disgrace, but an honour, to steal whatever the law does not forbid; 15. while, in order that you may steal with the utmost dexterity, and strive to escape discovery, it is appointed by law that, if you are caught stealing, you are scourged. It is now high time for you, therefore, to give proof of your education, and to take care that we may not receive many stripes." 16. "But I hear that you Athenians also," rejoined Cheirisophus, "are very clever at stealing the public money, though great danger threatens him that steals it; and that your best men steal it most, if indeed your best men are thought worthy to be your magistrates; so that it is time for you likewise to give proof of your education." 17. "I am then ready," exclaimed Xenophon, "to march with the rear-guard, as soon as we have supped, to take possession of the hills. I have guides too; for our light-armed men captured some of the marauders following us by lying in ambush; and from them I learn that the mountains are not impassable, but are grazed over by goats and oxen, so that if we once gain

possession of any part of the range, there will be tracks also for our baggage-cattle. 18. I expect also that the enemy will no longer keep their ground, when they see us upon a level with them on the heights, for they will not now come down to be upon a level with us." 19. Cheirisophus then said, "But why should you go, and leave the charge of the rear? Rather send others, unless some volunteers present themselves." 20. Upon this Aristonymus of Methydría came forward with his heavy-armed men, and Aristéas of Chios and Nicomachus of Cæta^[227] with their light-armed; and they made an arrangement, that as soon as they should reach the top, they should light a number of fires. 21. Having settled these points, they went to dinner; and after dinner Cheirisophus led forward the whole army ten stadia towards the enemy, that he might appear to be fully resolved to march against them on that quarter.

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22. When they had taken their supper, and night came on, those appointed for the service went forward and got possession of the hills; the other troops rested where they were. The enemy, when they saw the heights occupied, kept watch and burned a number of fires all night. 23. As soon as it was day, Cheirisophus, after having offered sacrifice, marched forward along the road; while those who had gained the heights advanced by the ridge. 24. Most of the enemy, meanwhile, stayed at the pass, but a part went to meet the troops coming along the heights. But before the main bodies came together, those on the ridge closed with one another, and the Greeks had the advantage, and put the enemy to flight. 25. At the same time the Grecian peltasts ran up from the plain to attack the enemy drawn up to receive them, and Cheirisophus followed at a quick pace with the heavy-armed men. 26. The enemy at the pass, however, when they saw those above defeated, took to flight. Not many of them were killed, but a great number of shields were taken, which the Greeks, by hacking them with their swords, rendered useless. 27. As soon as they had gained the ascent, and had sacrificed and erected a trophy, they went down into the plain before them, and arrived at a number of villages stored with abundance of excellent provisions.

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks, entering the country of the Taochi, storm a fort, capturing a great number of cattle, on which they subsist while traversing the region of the Chalybes. They cross the Harpasus, and, marching through the territory of the Scythini, arrive at a town called Gymnias, whence they are conducted to Mount Theches, from the top of which they see the Euxine.

1. From hence they marched five days' journey, thirty parasangs, to the country of the Taochi, where provisions began to fail them; for the Taochi inhabited strong fastnesses, in which they had laid up all their supplies. 2. Having at length, however, arrived at one place which had no city or houses attached to it, but in which men and women and a great number of cattle were assembled, Cheirisophus, as soon as he came before it, made it the object of an attack; and when the first division that assailed it began to be tired, another succeeded, and then another; for it was not possible for them to surround it in a body, as there was a river about it. 3. When Xenophon came up with his rear-guard, peltasts, and heavy-armed men, Cheirisophus exclaimed, "You come seasonably, for we must take this place, as there are no provisions for the army, unless we take it."

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4. They then deliberated together, and Xenophon asking what hindered them from taking the place, Cheirisophus replied, "The only approach to it is the one which you see; but when any of our men attempt to pass along it, the enemy roll down stones over yonder impending rock, and whoever is struck, is treated as you behold;" and he pointed, at the same moment, to some of the men who had had their legs and ribs broken. 5. "But if they expend all their stones," rejoined Xenophon, "is there anything else to prevent us from advancing? For we see, in front of us, only a few men, and but two or three of them armed. 6. The space, too, through which we have to pass under exposure to the stones, is, as you see, only about a hundred and fifty feet in length; and of this about a hundred feet is covered with large pine trees in groups, against which if the men place themselves, what would they suffer either from the flying stones or the rolling ones? The remaining part of the space is not above fifty feet, over which, when the stones cease, we must pass at a running pace." 7. "But," said Cheirisophus, "the instant we offer to go to the part covered with trees, the stones fly in great numbers." "That," cried Xenophon, "would be the very thing we want, for thus they will exhaust their stones the sooner. Let us then advance, if we can, to the point whence we shall have but a short way to run, and from which we may, if we please, easily retreat."

8. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus of Parrhasia, one of the captains, who had that day the lead of all the other captains of the rear-guard, then went forward, all the rest of the captains remaining out of danger. Next, about seventy of the men advanced under the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as he could. 9. Agasias of Stymphalus, and Aristonymus of Methydría, who were also captains of the rear-guard, with some others, were at the same time standing behind, without the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to stand under them. 10. Callimachus then adopted the following stratagem: he ran forward two or three paces from the tree under which he was sheltered, and when the stones began to be hurled, hastily drew back; and at each of his sallies more than ten cartloads of stones were spent.

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11. Agasias, observing what Callimachus was doing, and that the eyes of the whole army were upon him, and fearing that he himself might not be the first to enter the place, began to advance alone, (neither calling to Aristonymus who was next him, nor to Eurylochus of Lusias, both of whom were his intimate friends, nor to any other person,) and passed by all the rest. 12. Callimachus, seeing him rushing by, caught hold of the rim of his shield, and at that moment Aristonymus of Methydria ran past them both, and after him Eurylochus of Lusias, for all these sought distinction for valour, and were rivals to one another; and thus, in mutual emulation, they got possession of the place, for when they had once rushed in, not a stone was hurled from above. 13. But a dreadful spectacle was then to be seen; for the women, flinging their children over the precipice, threw themselves after them; and the men followed their example. Æneas of Stymphalus, a captain, seeing one of them, who had on a rich garment, running to throw himself over, caught hold of it with intent to stop him. 14. But the man dragged him forward, and they both went rolling down the rocks together, and were killed. Thus very few prisoners were taken, but a great number of oxen, asses, and sheep.

[Pg 137] 15. Hence they advanced, seven days' journey, a distance of fifty parasangs, through the country of the Chalybes. These were the most warlike people of all that they passed through, and came to close combat with them. They had linen cuirasses, reaching down to the groin, and, instead of skirts,^[228] thick cords twisted. 16. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdles a short faulchion, as large as a Spartan crooked dagger, with which they cut the throats of all whom they could master, and then, cutting off their heads, carried them away with them. They sang and danced when the enemy were likely to see them. They carried also a spear of about fifteen cubits in length, having one spike.^[229] 17. They stayed in their villages till the Greeks had passed by, when they pursued and perpetually harassed them. They had their dwellings in strong places, in which they had also laid up their provisions, so that the Greeks could get nothing from that country, but lived upon the cattle which they taken from the Taochi.

[Pg 138] 18. The Greeks next arrived at the river Harpasus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Hence they proceeded through the territory of the Scythini, four days' journey, making twenty parasangs, over a level tract, until they came to some villages, in which they halted three days, and collected provisions. 19. From this place they advanced four days' journey, twenty parasangs, to a large, rich, and populous city, called Gymnias, from which the governor of the country sent the Greeks a guide, to conduct them through a region at war with his own people. 20. The guide, when he came, said that he would take them in five days to a place whence they should see the sea; if not, he would consent to be put to death. When, as he proceeded, he entered the country of their enemies, he exhorted them to burn and lay waste the lands; whence it was evident that he had come for this very purpose, and not from any good will to the Greeks. 21. On the fifth day they came to the mountain;^[230] and the name of it was Theches. When the men who were in the front had mounted the height, and looked down upon the sea, a great shout proceeded from them; 22. and Xenophon and the rear-guard, on hearing it, thought that some new enemies were assailing the front, for in the rear, too, the people from the country that they had burnt were following them, and the rear-guard, by placing an ambuscade, had killed some, and taken others prisoners, and had captured about twenty shields made of raw ox-hides with the hair on. 23. But as the noise still increased, and drew nearer, and as those who came up from time to time kept running at full speed to join those who were continually shouting, the cries becoming louder as the men became more numerous, it appeared to Xenophon that it must be something of very great moment. 24. Mounting his horse, therefore, and taking with him Lycius and the cavalry, he hastened forward to give aid, when presently they heard the soldiers shouting, "The sea, the sea!" and cheering on one another. They then all began to run, the rear-guard as well as the rest, and the baggage-cattle and horses were put to their speed; 25. and when they had all arrived at the top, the men embraced one another, and their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes. Suddenly, whoever it was that suggested it, the soldiers brought stones, and raised a large mound, 26. on which they laid a number of raw ox-hides,^[231] staves, and shields taken from the enemy. The shields the guide himself hacked in pieces,^[232] and exhorted the rest to do the same. 27. Soon after, the Greeks sent away the guide, giving him presents from the common stock, a horse, a silver cup, a Persian robe, and ten darics;^[233] but he showed most desire for the rings on their fingers, and obtained many of them from the soldiers. Having then pointed out to them a village where they might take up their quarters, and the road by which they were to proceed to the Macrones, when the evening came on he departed, pursuing his way during the night.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Greeks proceed unmolested through the country of the Macrones, and enter Colchis. Putting to flight the Colchians who obstructed their passage, they arrive at Trebisond, a Greek city, where they perform whatever vows they had made, and celebrate games.

[Pg 139] 1. Hence the Greeks advanced three days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, through the country of the Macrones. On the first day they came to a river which divides the territories of the Macrones from those of the Scythini. 2. On their right they had an eminence extremely difficult of

access, and on their left another river,^[234] into which the boundary river, which they had to cross, empties itself. This stream was thickly edged with trees, not indeed large, but growing closely together. These the Greeks, as soon as they came to the spot, cut down,^[235] being in haste to get out of the country as soon as possible. 3. The Macrones, however, equipped with wicker shields, and spears, and hair tunics, were drawn up on the opposite side of the crossing-place; they were animating one another, and throwing stones into the river.^[236] They did not hit our men, or cause them any inconvenience.

4. At this juncture one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, saying that he had been a slave at Athens, and adding that he knew the language of these men. "I think, indeed," said he, "that this is my country, and, if there is nothing to prevent, I should wish to speak to the people." 5. "There is nothing to prevent," replied Xenophon; "so speak to them, and first ascertain what people they are." When he asked them, they said that they were the Macrones. "Inquire, then," said Xenophon, "why they are drawn up to oppose us, and wish to be our enemies." 6. They replied, "Because you come against our country." The generals then told him to acquaint them that we were not come with any wish to do them injury, but that we were returning to Greece after having been engaged in war with the king, and that we were desirous to reach the sea. 7. They asked if the Greeks would give pledges to this effect; and the Greeks replied that they were willing both to give and receive them. The Macrones accordingly presented the Greeks with a Barbarian lance, and the Greeks gave them a Grecian one; for they said that such were their usual pledges. Both parties called the gods to witness.

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8. After these mutual assurances, the Macrones immediately assisted them in cutting away the trees, and made a passage for them, as if to bring them over, mingling freely among the Greeks; they also gave such facilities as they could for buying provisions, and conducted them through their country for three days, until they brought them to the confines of the Colchians. 9. Here was a range of hills,^[237] high, but accessible, and upon them the Colchians were drawn up in array. The Greeks, at first, drew up against them in a line,^[238] with the intention of marching up the hill in this disposition; but afterwards the generals thought proper to assemble and deliberate how they might engage with the best effect. 10. Xenophon then said it appeared to him that they ought to relinquish the arrangement in line, and to dispose the troops in columns,^[239] "for a line," pursued he, "will be broken at once, as we shall find the hills in some parts impassable, though in others easy of access; and this disruption will immediately produce despondency in the men, when, after being ranged in a regular line, they find it dispersed. 11. Again, if we advance drawn up very many deep, the enemy will stretch beyond us on both sides, and will employ the parts that outreach us in any way they may think proper; and if we advance only a few deep, it would not be at all surprising if our line be broken through by showers of missiles and men falling upon us in large bodies. If this happen in any part, it will be ill for the whole extent of the line. 12. I think, then, that having formed our companies in columns, we should keep them so far apart from each other as that the last companies on each side may be beyond the enemy's wings. Thus our extreme companies will both outflank the line of the enemy, and, as we march in file, the bravest of our men will close with the enemy first, and wherever the ascent is easiest, there each division will direct its course. 13. Nor will it be easy for the enemy to penetrate into the intervening spaces, when there are companies on each side, nor will it be easy to break through a column as it advances; while, if any one of the companies be hard pressed, the neighbouring one will support it; and if but one of the companies can by any path attain the summit, the enemy will no longer stand their ground." 14. This plan was approved, and they threw the companies into columns. Xenophon, riding along from the right wing to the left, said, "Soldiers, the enemy whom you see before you, are now the only obstacle to hinder us from being where we have long been eager to be. These, if we can, we must eat up alive."^[240]

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15. When the men were all in their places, and they had formed the companies into columns, there were about eighty companies of heavy-armed men, and each company consisted of about eighty men. The peltasts and archers they divided into three bodies, each about six hundred men, one of which they placed beyond the left wing, another beyond the right, and the third in the centre. 16. The generals then desired the soldiers to make their vows^[241] to the gods; and having made them, and sung the pæan, they moved forward. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, and the peltasts that they had with them, who were beyond the enemy's flanks, pushed on; 17. and the enemy, observing their motions, and hurrying forward to receive them, were drawn off, some to the right and others to the left, and left a great void in the centre of their line; 18. when the peltasts in the Arcadian division, whom Æschines the Acarnanian commanded, seeing them separate, ran forward in all haste, thinking that they were taking to flight; and these were the first that reached the summit. The Arcadian heavy-armed troop, of which Cleanor the Orchomenian was captain, followed them. 19. But the enemy, when once the Greeks began to run, no longer stood their ground, but went off in flight, some one way and some another.

Having passed the summit, the Greeks encamped in a number of villages containing abundance of provisions. 20. As to other things here, there was nothing at which they were surprised; but the number of bee-hives was extraordinary, and all the soldiers that ate of the combs, lost their senses, vomited, and were affected with purging, and none of them were able to stand upright; such as had eaten only a little were like men greatly intoxicated, and such as had eaten much were like mad-men, and some like persons at the point of death. 21. They lay upon the ground, in consequence, in great numbers, as if there had been a defeat; and there was general dejection. The next day no one of them was found dead; and they recovered their senses about the same

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hour that they had lost them on the preceding day; and on the third and fourth days they got up as if after having taken physic.^[242]

22. From hence they proceeded two days' march, seven parasangs, and arrived at Trebisond, a Greek city, of large population, on the Euxine Sea; a colony of Sinope, but lying in the territory of the Colchians. Here they stayed about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, 23. whence they made excursions and plundered the country of Colchis. The people of Trebisond provided a market for the Greeks in the camp, and entertained them in the city; and made them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine. 24. They negotiated with them also on behalf of the neighbouring Colchians, those especially who dwelt in the plain, and from them too were brought presents of oxen.

25. Soon after, they prepared to perform the sacrifice which they had vowed. Oxen enough had been brought them to offer to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, for their safe conduct, and whatever they had vowed to the other gods. They also celebrated gymnastic games upon the hill where they were encamped, and chose Dracontius a Spartan, (who had become an exile from his country when quite a boy, for having involuntarily killed a child by striking him with a dagger,) to prepare the course and preside at the contests. 26. When the sacrifice was ended, they gave the hides^[243] to Dracontius, and desired him to conduct them to the place where he had made the course. Dracontius, pointing to the place where they were standing, said, "This hill is an excellent place for running, in whatever direction the men may wish." "But how will they be able," said they, "to wrestle on ground so rough and bushy?" "He that falls," said he, "will suffer the more." 27. Boys, most of them from among the prisoners, contended in the short course, and in the long course above sixty Cretans ran; while others were matched in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. It was a fine sight; for many entered the lists, and as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. 28. Horses also ran; and they had to gallop down the steep, and, turning round in the sea, to come up again to the altar. In the descent, many rolled down; but in the ascent, against the exceedingly steep ground, the horses could scarcely get up at a walking pace. There was consequently great shouting, and laughter, and cheering from the people.

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FOOTNOTES:

- [1] Darius II., surnamed Nothus, who reigned from B. C. 423 to B. C. 404, the year in which Cyrus went up to Babylon.
- [2] Several children of his are mentioned by Plutarch, Life of Artax. c. i. 27.
- [3] Afterwards Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon; he began his reign B. C. 405.
- [4] Εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου.] In each of the provinces of the Persian empire, certain open places, plains or commons, were appointed for the assembly and review of troops. See [i. 2. 11](#); 9. 7; Hellen. 43. Heeren, *Ideen*, vol. ii. p. 486. Castolus is mentioned as a city of Lydia by Stephanus of Byzantium. *Kühner*.
- [5] Τῶν Ἑλλήνων — ὀπίτις — τριακοσίους.] Three hundred of the Greeks that were in his pay, or of such as he could then procure.
- [6] A city and district in the south-western part of Arcadia.
- [7] Ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ.] "Partibus et consiliis ejus [Cyri] favebat." *Schneider*. "Cyro addicta et adjumento erat." *Kühner*. Compare v. 6. 23; Hellen. vii. 5. 5.
- [8] Ὅστις — τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως.] We must understand those who are called ἔφοδοι, Cyrop. viii. 6. 16: compare *Econ*. iv. 6. *Zeune*. They were officers appointed to visit the satrapies annually, and make a report respecting the state of them to the king.
- [9] Οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο, κ. τ. λ.] "He sent them all away (after) so disposing them, that they were friends rather to himself than the king."
- [10] By this term are meant chiefly the Asiatics that were about Cyrus. The Greeks called all people Barbarians that were not of their own nation.
- [11] Ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον.] These words are regarded as spurious by Schneider, on the suggestion of Wolf and Wyttenbach. Krüger and Kühner retain them, as added *explicationis causá*.
- [12] The daric was a Persian gold coin, generally supposed to have derived its name from Darius I.; but others think this doubtful. From c. vii. 18, it appears that three hundred darics were equal to a talent. If the talent be estimated therefore, as in Mr. Hussey's *Essay on Anc. Weights and Money*, ch. iii. sect. 12, at £243 15s., the value of the daric will be 16s. 3d. The sum given to Clearchus will then be £8125.
- [13] Ἐένος.] I have translated this word by *guest-friend*, a convenient term, which made its appearance in our language some time ago. The ξένοι were bound by a league of friendship and hospitality, by which each engaged to entertain the other, when he visited him.
- [14] A town of Arcadia, on the borders of Achaia.
- [15] Τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τὸ ἐνταῦθα στράτευμα.] There has been much dispute about the exact signification of ἐνταῦθα in this place. *Zeune* would have it mean

"illuc, in illum locum ubi sunt Pisidæ;" and Krüger thinks that "towards Sardis" is intended. But this is to do violence to the word; I have followed Weiske and Kühner, who give it its ordinary signification. "Barbarorum et Græcorum [exercitum]," says Kühner, "quem Cyrus ibi, ubi versabatur, collectum habebat." The τὸ before ἐνταῦθα is an addition of Dindorf's, which Kühner pronounces unnecessary.

- [16] The πελτασταὶ were troops armed with a light shield, called πέλτη, holding a middle place between the ὀπλίται and ψιλοί. They were first made an efficient part of the Greek forces by Iphicrates: see his Life in Corn. Nep.; and Xen. Hellen. iv. 4. 16; 3. 12.
- [17] Xenophon begins his account of the expedition from Sardis, because he there joined the army, but afterwards constantly computes from Ephesus, the sea-port from whence he began his journey. *Stanford*.
- [18] Σταθμοός.] The word σταθμός means properly a *station* or *halting-place* at the end of a day's march, of which the length varied, but was generally about five parasangs.
- [19] The parasang in Xenophon is equal to thirty stadia; see [ii. 2. 6](#). So Herodotus, ii. 6; v. 53. Mr. Ainsworth, following Mr. Hamilton and Colonel Leake, makes the parasang equal to 3 English miles, 180 yards, or 3 geographical miles of 1822 yards each. *Travels in the Track*, pref. p. xii. Thus five parasangs would be a long day's march; these marches were more than seven; and the next day's was eight. But Rennell thinks the parasang not more than 2.78 English miles. Mr. Hussey, *Anc. Weights, &c.*, Append. sect. 12, makes it 3 miles, 787-1/2 yards.
- [20] The *plethrum* was 100 Greek or 101.125 English feet. See Hussey, Append. sect. 10, p. 232.
- [21] The king of Persia was called the Great King by the Greek writers, on account of the great extent of his dominions, or of the number of kings subject to him; a title similar to that of the successors of Mahomet, Grand Signior.
- [22] This is the reading of the name adopted by Dindorf and Kühner; most other editors have *Socrates*, which occurs in four manuscripts; two have *Sosias*, and one *Sostes*.
- [23] The word is here used, as Spelman observes, in a more general sense than ordinary, to signify all that were not heavy-armed.
- [24] Τὰ Λύκαια.] The festival of Lycæan Jove is mentioned by Pausanias, viii. 2. 1, and the gymnastic contests held in it by Pindar, Ol. ix. 145; xiii. 153; Nem. x. 89. *Schneider*.—Mount Lycæum was sacred to both Jupiter and Pan. *Kühner*.
- [25] Στλεγγίδες.] Generally supposed to be the same as the Latin strigilis, a flesh-scraper; an instrument used in the bath for cleansing the skin. To this interpretation the preference seems to be given by Kühner and Bornemann, to whom I adhere. Schneider, whom Krüger follows, would have it a head-band or fillet, such as was worn by women, and by persons that went to consult oracles. Poppo observes that the latter sort of prizes would be less acceptable to soldiers than the former. There were, however, women in the Grecian camp, as will afterwards be seen, to whom the soldiers that gained the prizes might have presented them. The sense of the word must therefore be left doubtful. The sense of *strigilis* is supported by Suidas; see Sturz's Lex. s. v.
- [26] Τὸν Σάτυρον.] Silenus. See Servius ad Virg. Ecl. vi. 13.
- [27] Κατὰ ἵλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις.] Ἴλη signifies properly a troop of horse, consisting of 64 men; and τάξις, a company of foot, which Xenophon, in the Cyropædia, makes to consist of 100 men.
- [28] Ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης.] The *harmamaxa* was a Persian carriage, probably covered, for women and children. See Q. Curt. iii. 3, 23; Wesseling ad Herod. vii. 41.
- [29] Προβάλεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα.] "To hold out the shield and the spear, the one to defend the person, and the other to repel or attack an adversary." *Kühner*.
- [30] Φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον.] Æmilius Portus, on the authority of Zonaras, Lex. p. 1818, interprets this "dyer of the king's purple;" an interpretation repugnant to what follows. Morus makes it *purpuratus*; Larcher, *vexillarius*, because in Diod. Sic. xiv. 26 a standard is called φοινικίς: Brodæus gives 'unus è regiis familiaribus, puniceâ veste indutus, non purpurea.' "Without doubt he was one of the highest Persian nobles, as he is joined with the ὑπαρχοὶ δυνάσται." *Kühner*.
- [31] Εἶδε.] This seems to be the reading of all the manuscripts, and is retained by Poppo, Bornemann, Dindorf, and Kühner. But Schneider and Weiske read εἶλε, "took possession of," on the suggestion of Muretus, Var. Lect. xv. 10, who thought it superfluous for Xenophon to say that Cyrus merely *saw* the tents. Lion, however, not unreasonably supposes this verb to be intended to mark the distance at which Cyrus passed from the tents, that is, that he passed within sight of them, the Cilicians having retired only a short space to the rear.
- [32] Σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον.] *Sesamum* is a leguminous plant, well known in the East; the seeds of it resemble hemp-seed, and are boiled and eaten like rice. Μελίνη, *panicum*, is a plant resembling millet. Κέγχρος, *milium*, millet, is far the best known of the three to Europeans. Panic bears its grain in ears; millet, in bunches.
- [33] Καπηλεῖα.] Καπηλεῖον is often used in the sense of a *tavern*; sometimes in a more general sense, as *any kind of shop*. We may suppose that all those remained behind who had anything to sell, with the hope of getting profit.
- [34] He himself, the very person who had desired Cyrus to send for him, refused to go; this refusal being given for the sake of keeping up appearances.

- [35] Ἐκ τούτων.] "Ex his, secundum hæc, h. e. in hac rerum conditione." *Kühner*. Bornemann interprets simply *post hæc*.
- [36] Οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν.] "No profit (or use) either of a general or private soldier."
- [37] Διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας.] The earlier editions have ὡς before διὰ, of which, as being useless, Schneider first suggested the omission; and which has accordingly been rejected by subsequent editors. The guide was to conduct them only through regions that were friendly to Cyrus, or where he could procure them a friendly reception.
- [38] Ὡσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιουμένου.] About the meaning of these words there has been much dispute. The translation which I have given is that of Bornemann, "quasi retro Cyrus navigaturus non esset," which is adopted by *Kühner*. "The speaker assumes," says Bornemann, "that Cyrus is directing his march against the Pisidians or some other rebellious people, and that, when he has reduced them, he will return to his province."
- [39] The reference is to the three hundred Greeks that went up with Cyrus to Babylon under the command of Xenias the Parrhasian, i. 1. 2.
- [40] Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη.] As the fem. πύλαι precedes, and as the gates were not properly the τείχη, but the space between them, Weiske conjectures ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα, κ. τ. λ., which *Kühner* and others approve, but have not admitted into the text. *Kühner* interprets τείχη "castella," and I have followed him. When Xenophon speaks, a little below, of τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, he seems to mean walls attached to the fortress nearest to the sea. So when he says that *at each of the fortresses*, ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις, were gates, he appears to signify that there were gates in the walls attached to each of the fortresses. "At a distance of about six hundred yards, corresponding with the three stadia of Xenophon, are the ruins of a wall, which can be traced amid a dense shrubbery, from the mountains down to the sea-shore, where it terminates in a round tower." *Ainsworth*, p. 59.
- [41] "That is, within the two fortresses and beyond them, viz. in Syria." *Kühner*.
- [42] Εἰς ζώνην.] Nominally to furnish her with girdles, or to supply ornaments for her girdle, it being the custom with the Persian kings to bestow places on their queens and other favourites ostensibly for the purpose of furnishing them with articles of dress, food, or other conveniences. See Herod, ii. 98; Plato, Alcib. I. c. 40; Cic. in Verr. iii. 23; Corn. Nepos, Life of Themistocles, c. 10.
- [43] Reckoning the talent at £243 15s., the mina (60 = a talent) will be £4 1s. 3d., and five minæ £20 6s. 3d.
- [44] Ἀπεσιπᾶτο.] "Drew itself away from" its pursuers. There are various readings of this word. *Kühner* adopts ἀπεισπᾶ, in the sense of "drew off its pursuers from the rest of the huntsmen." Bornemann reads ἀπέπτατο.
- [45] It would be needless to repeat all that has been said as to the construction of this passage; I have adopted the explication of *Kühner*.
- [46] Ἐπὶ Πύλας.] A strait or defile through which the road lay from Mesopotamia into Babylonia; hence called the *Pylæ Babyloniæ*. It is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus *sub voce* Χαρμάνδη. *Ainsworth*, p. 80, places it fourteen miles north of Felújah, and a hundred and eight miles north of Babylon.
- [47] Καπίθη.] A measure, as is said below, equal to two Attic *chænicas*. The Attic chœnix is valued by Mr. Hussey, Essay on Ancient Weights, &c., ch. 13, sect. 4, at 1.8467 pint.
- [48] The *siglus* is regarded by some as the same with the Hebrew shekel, but erroneously, as the siglus was of less value than the shekel. The obolus is valued by Mr. Hussey at something more than three half-pence; seven oboli and a half would therefore be about a shilling.
- [49] Σκεπάσματα is the reading of Dindorf, but it ought rather to be στεγάσματα, if the distinction of Krüger and *Kühner*, who adopt the latter, be right; viz. that στίπασμα signifies a covering to wrap round the body, and στεγάσμα a shelter against sun or rain. See Arrian, iii. 29. This mode of crossing rivers, we learn from Dr. Layard, is still practised in Armenia both by men and women.
- [50] See [note on i. 2. 22](#).
- [51] This was a custom among the Persians on such occasions, as is expressly signified by Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 30 in his account of the condemnation of Charidemus, at the command of Darius.
- [52] Σκηπτούχων.] "Eunuchs, who, by the institution of Cyrus the elder, formed the king's body-guard. See Cyrop. vii. 5. 58." *Zeune*.
- [53] Οὐ μεμνήσθαι.] This is the reading in all books and manuscripts. But a future seems to be wanted rather than a perfect. Hutchinson and others render it "te non fore memorem." Should we read μεμνήσεσθαι?
- [54] Ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες.] Weiske considers the words καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες spurious; and Schneider and some others are of his opinion. *Kühner* thinks that they are genuine, and explicative of the more general term ἄρχοντες.
- [55] Ὀργυαία.] The ὄργυιά was equal to 6.0675 English feet. See Hussey on Ancient Weights, &c., Append. sect. 10.
- [56] Τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους.] As many of the best manuscripts have Μηδείας, in this passage as well as in [ii. 4. 12](#), [ii. 4. 27](#), and vii. 8. 25, *Kühner* adopts that reading, under the notion

that the wall was named from Medea, the wife of the last king of the Medes, whom the Persians conquered and despoiled of his dominions. "Those who defend the reading Μηθίας," continues Kühner, "suppose the name to be derived from the country of Media, and believe, with Mannert, (Geog. i. p. 330,) that it is the same wall which Semiramis built to defend her kingdom on the side of Media; but this opinion rests on very weak arguments." Ainsworth, p. 180, thinks that it extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and that the site of it is indicated by the ruins now called *Sidd Nimrud*, or "the Wall of Nimrod."

- [57] "These canals however flowed, not from the Tigris into the Euphrates, but from the Euphrates into the Tigris, as is shown not only by Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny, Ammianus, but by later writers." *Kühner*. But "the difference in the level of the rivers is so slight that — it is probable that by merely altering the diagonal direction of a canal, the waters could be made to flow either way; certainly so at certain seasons." *Ainsworth*, p. 89.
- [58] See [note on i. 1. 9.](#)
- [59] Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσσαν.] The time from the tenth hour till noon. The whole day was divided by the Greeks into four parts, πρωῖ, ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσσαν, μεσημβρία, δειλή. *Kühner*.
- [60] The words κατὰ τὸ μέσον, which were introduced into the text by Leunclavius, as if absolutely necessary, and from a comparison of Diod. Siculus, xiv. 2, Bornemann and others have omitted. I have thought it well to express them in the translation. Compare sect. [22, 23.](#)
- [61] The words in brackets, as being at variance with what is said immediately before, that the Persians had helmets on their heads, Wyttenbach, Weiske, and most other critics have condemned as an interpolation of some copyist. Kühner defends them on the ground that they do not interfere with what precedes, but merely express a general custom of the Persians. Jacobs for ἄλλους conjectures παλαιούς, which Lion has received into his text; but παλαιούς does not suit well with the present διακινδυνεύειν. For my own part, I would rather see the words out of the text than in it, if for no other reason than that they break the current of the narrative. Dindorf very judiciously leaves them in brackets.
- [62] Δείλη.] See [note on sect. 1.](#) of this chap. "This division of the day was also distinguished into two parts, δειλή πρωῖα, and δειλή οψία, the early part of the afternoon, (which is here meant,) and the evening." *Kühner*.
- [63] Ἐν πλασιῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων.] "In an oblong full of men," i. e. the men being close together.
- [64] Οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι.] "Satis longinquo à suis intervallo."— *Weiske*.
- [65] Τὰ ἱερά — καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά.] The ἱερά are omens from the entrails of the victims; the σφάγια were omens taken from the appearances and motions of the animals when led to sacrifice. This is the explanation given by Sturz in the Lexicon Xenophonticum, and adopted by Kühner. Compare [ii. 1. 9.](#)
- [66] Dindorf has ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, which is the reading of some manuscripts; others have Ξενοφῶν instead of Κλέαρχος. Dindorf prefers the former, assuming that Clearchus had probably ridden up to Cyrus on that occasion; but this is an assumption which he had no right to make, as nothing can be gathered from the text in favour of it. Bornemann and Kühner think it better to consider both names as equally interpolations, and to read simply ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Xenophon of course being understood.
- [67] Δεύτερον.] The watchword seems to have been passed from the extremity of one wing (the right I should suppose) to the extremity of the other, and then back again, that the soldiers, by repeating it twice, might be less likely to forget it. But as it would thus be passed only twice, not oftener, it would appear that we should read τὸ δεύτερον. *Krüger* de Authen. Anab. p. 33. Kühner observes that the article is not absolutely necessary. I have translated "*the second time*," as the sense seems to require. Some have imagined that the word δεύτερον implies that *a second watchword*, another given out for the occasion, was passing round; but for this supposition there seems no ground. As there is no answer to the inquiry, τίς παραγγέλλει, *Krüger* thinks that some words have dropped out of the text.
- [68] Ἐξεκόμενε.] This metaphor, from the swelling and heaving of a wave, is imitated by Arrian, Anab. ii. 10. 4, and praised in the treatise de Eloc. 84, attributed to Demetrius Phalereus.
- [69] Ἥγοῦνται.] Schneider, Kühner, and some other editors have ἡγοῦντο but Poppo and Dindorf seem to be right in adopting the present, notwithstanding the following optative.
- [70] See c. 6, sect. 11.
- [71] Ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις.] For "at the king's palace." "The king's palace was styled among the ancient Persians, as in the modern Constantinople, *the Porte*. Agreeably to the customs of other despots of the East, the kings of Persia resided in the interior of their palaces; seldom appearing in public, and guarding all means of access to their persons. The number of courtiers, masters of ceremonies, guards, and others was endless. It was through them alone that access could be obtained to the monarch." *Heeren, Researches, &c.* vol. i. p. 403. See Cyrop. i. 3. 2; 2. 3, *seqq.* Corn. Nep. Life of Conon, c. 3.
- [72] Ἀξιοῦσθαι.] Lion, Poppo, Kühner, and some other editors, read ἀξιοῦν, but the passive suits better with the preceding φαίνεσθαι.

- [73] Πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.] "These words," says Kühner, "have wonderfully exercised the abilities of commentators." The simplest mode of interpretation, he then observes, is to take πρὸς in the sense of versus, "towards," comparing [iv. 3. 26](#); [ii. 2. 4](#); but he inclines, on the whole, to make the genitive Ἑλλήνων depend on τούτους understood: ἐκφεύγει τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς (τούτους) οἱ ἔτυχον, κ. τ. λ., though he acknowledges that this construction is extremely forced, and that he can nowhere find anything similar to it. Brodæus suggested πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, scil. στρατόπεδον, and Weiske and Schneider would read πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον. Other conjectures it is unnecessary to notice.
- [74] Ἀναπτύσσειν.] Literally "to fold back." Whether we are to understand that one part of the wing was drawn behind the other, is not very clear. The commentators are not all agreed as to the exact sense that the word ought to bear. Some would interpret it by *explicare*, "to open out," or "extend," and this indeed seems more applicable to περιπτύξαντες which precedes; for the Greeks might lengthen out their line that the king's troops might not surround them. But on the whole, the other interpretation seems to have most voices in favour of it.
- [75] Ἐκ πλέονος.] Sc. διαστήματος: they began to flee when the Greeks were at a still greater distance than before.
- [76] Μέχρι κώμης τινός.] This is generally supposed to have been Cunaxa, where, according to Plutarch, the battle was fought. Ainsworth, p. 244, identifies Cunaxa with *Imsey'ab*, a place 36 miles north of Babylon.
- [77] The infantry seem to have fled; the cavalry only were left.
- [78] Ἐπὶ πέλτης ἐπὶ ξύλου.] So stands the passage in Dindorf's text; but most editors, from Schneider downwards, consider ἐπὶ ξύλου to be a mere interpretation of ἐπὶ πέλτης, that has crept by some accident into the text, and either enclose it in brackets or wholly omit it. Πέλτη is said by Hesychius and Suidas to be the same as δόρυ or λόγχη; and Krüger refers to Philostratus, Icon. ii. 82, ἐπὶ τῆς πέλτης ἀετός. In Cyrop. vii. 1, 4, the insigne of Cyrus the elder is said to have been a golden eagle, ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένως. Πέλτη accordingly being taken in this sense, all is clear, and ἐπὶ ξύλου is superfluous. Kühner gives great praise to the conjecture of Hutchinson, ἐπὶ πέλτης ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ, who, taking πέλτη in the sense of a *shield*, supposed that the eagle was mounted on a shield, and the shield on a spear. But the shield would surely have been a mere encumbrance, and we had better be rid of it. Yet to take πέλτη in the sense of a *spear*, unusual in Xenophon, is not altogether satisfactory; and it would be well if we could fairly admit into the text Leunclavius's conjecture, ἐπὶ παλτοῦ.
- [79] Ἀνατεταμένως.] This word is generally understood to signify that the eagle's wings were expanded. See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon; and Dr. Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant. sub *Signa Militaria*.
- [80] Πυρθανόμενοι.] Schneider and others would omit this word, as an apparent interpolation. I have followed Kühner's interpretation.
- [81] Φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι.] Before Φέρεσθαι is to be understood ὥστε, as Zeune and Weiske observe. Kühner remarks that ἔρημοι should properly be referred to both πέλται and ἄμαξαι: the shields were without owners, and the waggons without their contents, as having been plundered by the enemy.
- [82] Περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγοράν.] See [i. 8. 1](#).
- [83] See [i. 9. 3](#).
- [84] Θεόπομπος.] This is the reading of six manuscripts; others have Ξενοφών. The passage has greatly exercised the ingenuity of the learned, some endeavouring to support one reading, some the other. If we follow manuscript authority, it cannot be doubted that Θεόπομπος is genuine. Weiske thinks "Xenophon" inadmissible, because the officers only of the Greeks were called to a conference, and Xenophon, as appears from [iii. 1. 4](#), was not then in the service: as for the other arguments that he has offered, they are of no weight. Krüger (Quæstt. de Xen. Vit. p. 12) attempts to refute Weiske, and to defend the name of Xenophon, conjecturing that some scholiast may have written in the margin Θεοπόμπος δὲ Πρόξενον τοῦτο εἰπεῖν φησι, whence the name of Theopompus may have crept into the text, as Diod. Sic., xiv. 25, attributes those words to Proxenus. But as this notion rests on conjecture alone, I have thought it safest, with Weiske, Schneider, Poppo, and Dindorf, to adhere to the reading of the best manuscripts. * * * Who this Theopompus was, however, is unknown; for he is nowhere else mentioned in the Anabasis. *Kühner*.
- [85] As Xenophon, in the first book, has enumerated only 84 days' march, 517 parasangs, which make but 15,510 stadia, Zeune thinks that the 9 days' march, and 18 parasangs, here added, are to be understood as forming the route from Ephesus to Sardis. Krüger is inclined to think the passage an interpolation.
- [86] Εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμόν.] This is the σταθμός mentioned in [i. 10. 1](#), being that from which the army of Cyrus started on the day when the battle took place.
- [87] Bornemann observes that the sacrifice of the wolf seems to have been the act of the Persians, referring to Plutarch de Is. et Os., where it is said that it was a custom with them to sacrifice that animal. "They thought the wolf," he adds, "the son and image of Ahrimanes, as appears from Kleuker in Append. ad Zendavestam, T. II. P. iii. pp. 78, 84; see also Brisson, p. 388."
- [88] Ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν.] The first means to flee, so that it cannot be discovered whither the fugitive is gone; the second, so that he cannot be overtaken. *Kühner* ad i. 4. 8. "Fugâ vel clandestinâ vel apertâ." *Weiske*.

- [89] Ἄριστον.] Best, apparently, on account of the loudness or clearness of his voice.
- [90] The arms, as Kühner observes, were piled in front of the men's quarters. The affair of the ass was an invention of Clearchus to draw off the thoughts of the soldiers from the subject of their apprehension. Polyænus, iii. 9. 4, speaks of a similar stratagem having been adopted by Iphicrates.
- [91] Ἄριστον.] This word answers to the Latin *prandium*, a meal taken in the early part of the day. We cannot here render it "dinner."
- [92] I have translated this passage as I think that the drift of the narrative requires. Krüger refers σπένδοιτο to Clearchus, and thinks that by ἀυτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι are meant the Persian deputies. Some critics suppose that by those words the men who were to get provisions are intended. To me nothing seems consistent with the context but to refer σπένδοιτο to the king, and to understand by ἀυτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι the messengers from the Greeks.
- [93] Τον ἐπιτήδειον.] Scil. παῖσθαι, *pœnæ idoneum, pœnû dignum*. Kühner.
- [94] Προσελάμβανε.] *Manum operi admovebat*. Kühner.
- [95] Τὸν ἐγκέφαλον.] Literally "the brain." Dulcis medulla earum [palmarum] in cacumine, quod cerebrum appellant. Plin. H. N. xiii. 4. See also Theophr. ii. 8; Galen. de Fac. simpl. Medic. iv. 15. It is generally interpreted *medulla*, "marrow" or "pith," but it is in reality a sort of bud at the top of the palm-tree, containing the last tender leaves, with flowers, and continuing in that state two years before it unfolds the flower; as appears from Boryd. St. Vincent Itiner. t. i. p. 223, vers. Germ., who gives his information on the authority of Du Petit Thouars. The French call it *choux*; the Germans, *Kohl*, Schneider. "By modern travellers it is called the *cabbage* of the palm; it 'is composed' (says Sir Joseph Banks) 'of the rudiments of the future leaves of the palm-tree, enveloped in the bases or footstalks of the actual leaves; which enclose them as a tight box or trunk would do.' It forms a mass of convolutions, exquisitely beautiful and delicate; and wonderful to appearance, when unfolded. It is also exceedingly delicate to the taste. Xenophon has justly remarked that the trees from whence it was taken withered." *Rennell's Illustrations of the Exp. of Cyrus*, p. 118.
- [96] During this time Tissaphernes went to Babylon to the king, and was rewarded with the hand of his daughter, and the province of which Cyrus had been Satrap. *Diod. Sic.* xiv. 26. See sect. 8.
- [97] Δεξιὰς.] That is, *fidem regis nomine dabant*. See the commentators on *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 7: δεξιὰν δὸς, ἵνα φέρωμεν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοις τὰντα. *Poppo*. So it is said in Latin *dextram ferre*. See Breitenbach on *Xen. Agesil.* iii. 4
- [98] ἤγε.] From [iii. 4. 13](#), it appears that we must refer this verb to Orontes. See [note on sect. 1](#). Whether Tissaphernes and Orontes both married daughters of the king, is uncertain. If only one of them, Xenophon is more likely to be in the right than Diodorus Siculus. Orontes was satrap of Armenia, [iii. 5. 17](#). Rhodogune, a daughter of Artaxerxes, is said by Plutarch (*Vit. Art.* c. 27) to have been married to Orætēs, who may be the same as Xenophon's Orontes.
- [99] Ἐπὶ γάμῳ.] These words signify literally *for or upon marriage*. The true interpretation, says Krüger, is, doubtless, "in order that he might have her, or live with her, in wedlock," the marriage ceremony having been, it would seem, previously performed at Babylon.
- [100] Πληγὰς ἐπέτεινον ἀλλήλοις.] Whether this signifies that they actually inflicted blows on one another, or only threatened them, may admit of some doubt. The former notion is adopted by the Latin translators, by Sturz in his *Lexicon*, and by the commentators generally.
- [101] See [i. 7. 15](#).
- [102] [i. 2. 22](#).
- [103] Zeune thinks that Xenophon may possibly mean himself; but this is mere conjecture.
- [104] Διελόντες.] An excellent conjectural emendation of Holtzmann for the old reading διελθόντες. *Kühner*.—The stratagem of Tissaphernes was similar to that by which Themistocles expedited the departure of Xerxes from Greece.
- [105] [i. 7. 15](#).
- [106] Οὐτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι.] This is Dindorf's reading. Bornemann and Kühner have οὐτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἂν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι, on the authority, as they say, of the best copies. Dindorf thought with Schæfer, ad *Greg. Cor.* p. 492, that the words οὔτε ὅποι ἂν were superfluous, and consequently omitted them. Bornemann and Kühner see no reason why they should not be retained.
- [107] Τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον.] Ἐφεδρος properly meant a gladiator or wrestler, who, when two combatants were engaged, stood ready to attack the one that should prove victorious. See *Sturz. Lex. Xen.; Schol. in Soph. Aj.* 610; *Hesychius; D'Orvill. ad Charit.* p. 338.
- [108] Ἀναστρέφοιο.] "Ut dominus versere, vivias, domini partes sustineas:" Ἄν must be repeated from the preceding clause; unless that particle, as Dindorf thinks, has dropped out from before ἀναστρέφοιο. *Kühner*.
- [109] There is in the text, as Krüger observes, a confusion of the two constructions, ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα τούτου, ὅστις, and ἀκούσαιμι, τις.
- [110] Ἄ ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα.] I have here departed from Dindorf's text, which has ἄ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα, κ. τ. λ.; a reading much less satisfactory than the other, to which Schneider,

Bornemann, and Kühner adhere.

- [111] Ταμείεσθαι.] This word is used in the same sense, 3. 47; [iv. 1. 18](#); Thucyd. vi. 18; Plutarch, Timol. c. 27.
- [112] Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ — ἔχει.] Sc. ὄρθην. The sense is, "but to wear a tiara erect on the heart, that is, to have a kingly spirit and to aspire to dominion, is what another, by your aid, might be able to do." Tissaphernes, by this expression, wished to make it understood that he might possibly, with the support of the Greeks, aspire to the throne of Persia himself. A similar metaphor is noticed by Schæfer, (ad Greg. Corinth. p. 491.) in Philostratus v. a. iii. p. 131: δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνορ ὑγιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειν —' καθαρῶς δὲ αὐτὸν προφητεύειν, ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνιέντος. *Kühner*. See Cyrop. viii. 3. 13. Hutchison refers to Dion Chrysost. xiv. extr. Lucian Piscat. p. 213. See also Strabo, xv. p. 231, where the Persian tiara is said to be πύλημα πυργωτόν, in the shape of a tower; and Joseph. Ant. xx. 3. "The tiaras of the king's subjects were soft and flexible: Schol. ad Plat. de Repub." *Krüger*.
- [113] Ὡς εἰς ἀγορᾶν.] "Consequently unarmed." *Krüger*.
- [114] Ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε.] Jacobs interprets ὡς by quàm, as equivalent to quàm turpiter! quàm impiè! But such exclamations belong rather to modern writers than to the ancients. * * * Others have conjectured ἀθέως, ἀνοσίως, ὠμῶς, ἴσως, ὄλως, οὔτως. In one manuscript ὡς is omitted; an omission approved by Larcher, Porson and some others. Some, too, think that the sentence is ἀνακόλουθος, and that the author, forgetful how he commenced it, goes on with ὡς for ὅτι. Dindorf supposes that Cleanor must be regarded as too much provoked and agitated to mind the exact arrangement of his words. For my own part, I consider that those have the most reason on their side who think that we should read οὔτως, interpreting it, with Bornemann, *so rashly, so unjustifiably*. From οὔτως, written compendiously, ὡς might easily have sprung. *Kühner*.
- [115] Τῶν δὲ συνόντων, κ. τ. λ.] By a species of attraction for τοῖς δὲ συνοῦσι πᾶσιν, ὡς καταγελῶν αὐτῶν, αἰεὶ διελέγετο. *Kühner*.
- [116] Ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις.] See [ii. 4. 4](#).
- [117] Εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν.] *Vespertino tempore*. *Kühner*
- [118] Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα.] See [note on ii. 2. 20](#).
- [119] εοῖς, οἷς ἔδει, θύειν.] *Ut diis eis, quibus oporteret, sacra faceret*. Those gods are to be understood, to whom it was established, by law or by custom, that whoever was entering on an expedition, such as that which Xenophon meditated, should offer sacrifice. They were therefore certain or appointed gods: comp. [sect. 8](#); and vi. i. 22. Yet the absence of the article ought not to surprise us, even when special gods are meant. *Kühner*.—What gods they were, does not appear.
- [120] Δι' αἰσχύνην.] They had regard for their character in the eyes of one another, fearing that they might seem faint-hearted; and regard for it in those of Cyrus, fearing that they might seem ungrateful. *Kühner*.—Αἰσχύνη is self-respect, apprehension of what others may think of us; and may be illustrated by Hom. Il. v.

Ἀλλήλους δ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοὶ ἢ ἐπέφανται·

"Have self-respect before one another in the violence of battle; of men who respect themselves, more are saved than killed." Hutchinson cites A. Gellius, xix. 7: αἰσχύνη ἐστὶ φόβος δικαίου ψόγου, i. e. *a fear of just blame*.

- [121] Κηδεμών.] Cyrus, says Weiske, had his mother to take his part, the Greeks had no one to take theirs.
- [122] Καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον.] "More vulnerable and mortal." Alluding to the superiority of the Grecian armour over that of the Persians.
- [123] Τὸν ὑποστράτηγον.] *Krüger*, from v. 9. 36, and vi. 2. 11, concludes that the ὑποστράτηγος was he who was appointed to discharge the duties of the στράτηγος in his absence, or to take his place if he should be killed.
- [124] See [ii. 2. 20](#).
- [125] Καιρόν.] Leunclavius makes this equivalent to "in vobis plurimum est situm." Sturz, in his Lexicon Xenoph., says, "rerum status is est, ut vos in primis debeatis rebus consulere." Toup, in his *Emend. ad Suid.*, gives *maximum momentum habetis*.
- [126] See [ii. 2. 20](#).
- [127] Τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα.] "Thinking himself worthy of the most beautiful (equipments)."
- [128] Τὸν θεόν.] Jupiter the Preserver. *Kühner*.
- [129] Αὔθις ἀφανιούντων.] Weiske, Schneider, and others omit the αὔθις. Bornemann, Dindorf, and Kühner preserve it, as it is found in six manuscripts, giving it, with Spohn, Lect. Theocr. i. p. 33, the sense of *back again*, as if the Persians had intended to make Athens disappear again as if it had never been. I think the word better left out. An American editor has conjectured αὐτὰς.
- [130] Γοῦν.] Some copies have οὔν. "The sense of γοῦν is this; *ceteris rebus prætermisiss, hoc quidem certissimum est, eos fugisse*." *Kühner*.
- [131] Εἰ ἄρα, κ. τ. λ.] *Krüger* admonishes the reader that these words must be taken

negatively: *whether—not*.

- [132] Διήσουσιν.] Eight manuscripts have Διήσουσιν, which Bornemann has preferred. Dindorf also gave the preference to it in his first edition, but has subsequently adopted the other reading. Μήτε διούσουσιν is interpreted by Bornemann, "if the rivers shall present no difference in any part of their course; if they be as broad at their sources as at their mouths."
- [133] Αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν.] The Greeks had passed through a part of Lycaonia in their march up the country, [i. 2. 19](#); when, however, it is not indicated that they saw much.
- [134] The allusion is to Odys. ix. 83, where the lotus-eaters are mentioned:
- The trees around them all their food produce,
Lotus the name, divine nectareous juice,
(Thence called Lotophagi,) which whoso tastes,
Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts,
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his house, his country, and his friends. *Pope*.
- [135] Περαινεῖν.] Sc. τὸν λόγον. This is the sense in which this word has been taken, I believe, by most readers; as in Æsch. Pers. 699, and elsewhere. Sturz, in his Lexicon, seems to take it in the sense of *to execute, to proceed to action*.
- [136] Εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη.] Understand δοκεῖ ἔχειν. *Kühner*. "But if anything else (seems) better (to any one) than in this way."
- [137] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι.] The καὶ, *also*, refers to something understood: "since he is not only a brave man, but also a Lacedæmonian." *Kühner*. The Lacedæmonians were then at the head of Greece: comp. v. 9. 26; vi. 6. 12. *Zeune*.
- [138] Πίστεως ἔνεκα.] To watch him, lest he should act treacherously. *Kühner*.
- [139] Πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον.] Properly *war in which there is no use for heralds*, but in which all is violent and desperate; so that ἀκήρυκτος will be equivalent, according to Hesychius, to ἀδιάλλακτος, *implacable, irreconcilable*. See Erasm. Adag. iii. 3. 84. *Sturz Lex*. Others rather think it a deadly war, not commenced by sending heralds, and not to be terminated by sending them. *Kühner*. See Herod. v. 81.
- [140] Cyrus's Greek auxiliaries for the expedition had consisted only of infantry; all his cavalry was either Asiatic or Thracian. The Thracian horse had deserted, and the Asiatic cavalry had gone over to Tissaphernes soon after the battle.
- [141] Τούτω μὲν.] As τίνες πέπνυται immediately precedes, the singular τούτω rather startles the reader; but there are not wanting examples of similar irregularity.
- [142] Ἀτέλειαν.] Exemption, for instance, from keeping guard and keeping watch. *Krüger*.
- [143] Τῷ σφενδουᾷ ἐντεταγμένω ἐθέλοντι.] "To him willing to be a slinger, being enrolled in the company (of slingers)." This is the reading of Schneider, and Dindorf, and Bornemann. *Kühner* and some others prefer ἐν τῷ τεταγμένω, "in the place appointed him."
- [144] Σπολάδες.] This form of the word is preferred by Dindorf, Schneider, Bornemann, and *Kühner* prefer στολάδες, both in this passage and in iv. 1. 18. Both forms seem to have been in use, and to have had the same signification; but σπολάς to have been the more common. See Pollux, 1. 135. Hesychius has πολὰς, χιτωνίσκος βαθὺς, σκύτινος, ὁ βύρσινος θώραξ. See Pollux, 7. 70; 10. 143. Suidas, Phavorinus, and Photius give similar interpretations.
- [145] Κρητὶς δ' ὑπὲρ λιθίνη, κ. τ. λ.] The foundation appears to have risen twenty feet above the ground; so that the whole height of the wall would be a hundred and twenty feet. Mr. Ainsworth says that he found the ruins of the brick wall at Resen, which he considers to be the same with Larissa, "based on a rude and hard conglomerate rock, giving to them all the solidity and characteristics of being built of stone." *Travels in the Track*, p. 139.
- [146] Cyrus the Great.
- [147] Ἐλάβανον.] That the Medes did not willingly submit, but were overcome by force, is testified by Herodotus, and is apparent from what is said here; whence it follows that λαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρά τιος may be applied even when those who lose the government are forcibly deprived of it. Xenophon however is at variance with himself in the *Cyropædia*, where Cyrus is said to have succeeded to the throne by a marriage with the daughter of Cyaxares. *Kühner*.
- [148] Ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε.] This reading has been adopted by Dindorf and others, from a conjecture of Brodæus or Muretus; the manuscripts have all ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκάλυψας, except two, one of which has the ν erased in νεφέλην, and the other νεφέλη. Those who read with Dindorf refer to Plutarch de Placit. Philosoph. ii. 24, where the cause of an eclipse of the sun is said by some philosophers to be a *condensation of clouds imperceptibly advancing over the disc*. Bornemann and *Kühner* restore the reading of the manuscripts, which Langius thus interprets: *sol nubem sibi prætendens se obscuravit*; than which no better explanation has been offered. That we are not to suppose an eclipse of the sun to be signified in the text, is well observed by Bornemann; as Thales had previously ascertained the causes of such eclipses, and had foretold one, according to Herodotus i. 74; hence it is impossible to believe that Xenophon would have spoken of a solar eclipse himself, or have made the inhabitants speak of one, so irrationally. Hutchinson and Zeune absurdly understand τὴν πόλιν with ἠφάνισε.

- [149] Ἐξέλιπον.] Hutchinson and Weiske interpret this word *animis defecerunt*. Abreschius (Dilucid. Thucyd. p. 274) makes it *reliquerunt* sc. *urbem*; an interpretation adopted by Porson, Schneider, Kühner, and all the modern editors.
- [150] Εὔρος.] We must understand the length of each side.
- [151] Ἐπὶ ταύτης.] There might be steps on the outside on which they might climb.
- [152] Τεῖχος.] Now called *Yarumjah*, according to Ainsw. Travels, p. 139.
- [153] Κογχυλιάτον.] "It is a curious fact, that the common building-stone of Mosul (near Mespila) is highly fossiliferous, and indeed replete with shells, characteristic of a tertiary or supra-cretaceous deposit; and the same lime-stone does not occur far to the north or south of Mosul, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum." *Ainsw. Travels*, p. 140.
- [154] Ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ.] "Jupiter makes the inhabitants thunderstruck." "He rendered them," says Sturz, "either stupid or mad."
- [155] Σκύθαι τοξόται.] As there is no mention of Scythians in the whole Anabasis, Krüger, in his larger edition, suggested that the word Σκύθαι might have been written in the margin by some sciolist, who was thinking of the Athenian τοξόται; but in his smaller edition he has shown that he has learned something better from Arrian, Tact. ii. 13: "Those of the cavalry who use bows are called ἰπποτοξόται, and by some Σκύθαι." *Kühner*.
- [156] In order that they might fall with the greater weight. *Bornemann*. Or perhaps, as Bishop Thirlwall thinks, that they might reach a greater distance.
- [157] Πονήρως.] From πόνηρος, *difficult*, not from πονηρός, *bad*. See Thucyd. viii. 24, ed. Popp. part iii. vol. iv. p. 658, *seqq. Kühner*.
- [158] Καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. I have rendered this phrase agreeably to the notion of Krüger, who thinks εὐεπίθετον used absolutely, or as a substantive. Some, however, understand τὸ πλαίσιον, or τὸ στράτευμα, which is perhaps better.
- [159] Ἐνωμοτάρχας.] The ἐνωμοτία being the fourth part of a λόχος, or twenty-five men. See Xen. De Rep. Lac. ii. 4; Arnold's Thucyd. v. 68.
- [160] As there were six companies of a hundred men each, they moved into the vacant space, if it was but narrow, by centuries, that is, six men in front, and a hundred deep; if it was somewhat broader, by fifties, that is, twelve men in front, and fifty deep; if very broad, by twenty-fives, that is, twenty-four men in front, and twenty-five deep. *Kühner*.
- [161] Ἐν τῷ μέρει.] Each in his place; one after another in the order which had been previously appointed.
- [162] Ἦν ἡ κώμη.] Schneider, Bornemann, and most editors before Dindorf, read κώμη, a *village*, without the article. Dindorf has added the article from two manuscripts, and Kühner has followed him, supposing that *the particular village* of which the Greeks had now caught sight is meant. Bornemann, if the article be added, thinks that *the village in which the palace stood* is intended. The passage seems to me decidedly better without the article; for, if it be inserted, the reader is puzzled to know why Xenophon changes the number, when he had just before said that the palace stood in the midst of villages.
- [163] According to the discipline of the Persians; see Herod, vii. 21, 56, 223.
- [164] This is the first mention of surgeons in the Greek army, as Mr. Stanford observes, since the time of Homer. But whether the persons here mentioned were professed surgeons, or merely some of the soldiers, who, in long service, had gained experience in the treatment of wounds, is uncertain. The latter supposition is more in consonance with the word *appointed*.
- [165] Πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον — ὀρμώντες — πορευόμενοι.] The manuscripts present some variations here. Bornemann's text is the same as Dindorf's. Kühner prefers διέφερον — ὀρμώντας — πορευομένους, expressing a doubt whether the other method be really Greek.
- [166] Δεῖ — Πέρση ἀνδρὶ.] Most commentators concur in taking this as an example of the rarer construction of δεῖ with the dative; though it has been suggested whether Πέρση ἀνδρὶ may be the dative after ἐπισάξαι, as if a Persian horse-soldier had an attendant to equip his horse for him.
- [167] Ἐπισάξαι.] Spelman quarrels with D'Ablancourt for translating this word by "saddle," and adopts in his own version "housings," which I have borrowed from him, from inability to find a better word.
- [168] Τὸ στρατόπεδον.] Apparently for the place where they intended to encamp. It seems needless to understand, with Krüger, "castra interea à lixis et calonibus posita."
- [169] Ἀναζεύξαντες.] Ἀναζεύξαι, *castra movere*. Zeune.
- [170] The enemy had not occupied the highest part of the mountain, but a lower position upon it. Comp. sect. 37. *Kühner*.
- [171] Ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας.] Xenophon is here somewhat obscure; for he made no mention of this βοηθεία before. Cheirisophus and his men seem to have gone to aid the party of Greeks that were dispersed for plunder, when some of them were cut off by the Persians, and when Tissaphernes attempted to burn the villages. * * * Afterwards he is rather tautological; for the words ἡνίκα — οἱ Ἕλληνας express no more than is said in οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον — βοηθείας, except that they serve to mark the exact time when Xenophon addressed the men. *Kühner*.

- [172] Ἐπὶ τὰς σκιρὰς.] The tents were burned, [iii. 3. 1](#); and Krüger therefore observes that we must consider τὰς σκιρὰς as equivalent to τὸ στρατόπεδον, or the place of encampment. This explanation is better than that of Weiske and Zeune, who think that the *shelter of the villages* is meant.
- [173] Ἄ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φουσηθέντα.] "Which being skinned and blown out." From brevity, Xenophon has said that of the animals which he ought to have said of their skins. *Krüger*.
- [174] Διαβάντι.] The road "for one crossing" the river.
- [175] Καὶ ἔστιν ὄυτως ἔχον.] A most happy emendation of Abreschius, Dilucid. Thucyd. p. 640, for καὶ ἔστιν ὄυτω στενόν.
- [176] "Thus they accomplished their entrance into Kurdistan without opposition, and crossed one of the most defensible passes that they were almost destined to meet. * * * The recesses—left between the hills are in the present day the seat of villages, as they were in the time of Xenophon, and the crags in front, and in the rear, bristle with the small and rude rock-forts of the Kurds." *Ainsworth, Travels in the Track*, p. 153, 154.
- [177] Συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.] The lighted fires served as signals, by means of which the Carduchi could keep an eye on one another. *Kühner*.
- [178] Πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, κ. τ. λ.] "Except if any one concealed anything, either coveting a youth or woman of the handsome ones"
- [179] Τῆς σπολάδος.] See [note on iii. 3. 20](#).
- [180] Λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπιλιῶν.] H. e. *Centuriones et ex peltastis et ex militibus gravis armaturæ*. *Kühner*. Πελταστὰς is to be taken as an epithet; compare γυμνητῶν ταξιαρχῶν, sect. 28.
- [181] Xenophon and Cheirisophus. *Kühner*.
- [182] Τὴν φανερὰν ἔκβασιν.] Xenophon calls the passage to the top of the mountain an ἔκβασις, or egress, with reference to the Greeks, to whom it was a way of escape from a disagreeable position. *Kühner* ad c. 5. 20. The same words are repeated by Xenophon in the next sect.
- [183] Ὀλοιτρόχους.] A word borrowed from Homer, signifying properly a *round stone fit for rolling, or a stone that has been made round by rolling*, as a pebble in the sea. It was originally an adjective, with πέτρος understood. Most critics suppose it to be from ὄλος and τρέχω, *totus teres atque rotundus*. Liddell and Scott derive it from εἶλω, *volvo*. See Theocr. xxii. 49.
- [184] Διεσφενδονῶντο.] "Shivered in pieces, and flew about as if hurled by a sling."
- [185] Ὅρθιοις τοῖς λόχοις.] Each λόχος or company marching in file or column, so that the depth of the λόχος was equal to the number of soldiers of which it consisted. *Sturz*. This is the interpretation adopted by *Kühner*. Yet it would be hard to prove that ὀρθιος λόχος always meant *single file*; the term seems to have included any form of a company in which the number of men in depth exceeded the number in front.
- [186] Τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο.] See sect. 16. The heavy-armed men had halted on the level piece of ground, and their arms were lying by them. See *Kühner* ad i. 5. 14.
- [187] A small town of Arcadia, to the north-west of Clitor.
- [188] Ἐν λάκκοις κοινατοῖς.] The Athenians and other Greeks used to make large excavations under ground, some round, some square, and, covering them over with plaster, laid up their wine and oil in them; they called them λάκκοι. Schol. ad Aristoph. Eccl., cited by Hutchinson. Spelman translates λάκκοι κοινατοί, "plastered cisterns," a term which *Ainsworth* adopts. "The plastered cisterns noticed by Xenophon," says he, "are also met with throughout Kurdistan, Armenia, and Syria. They are especially numerous around some of the ancient villages of the early Christians of those countries, as more especially between Semeisát and Bireh-jik, and have frequently been a subject of discussion as to their former uses. This notice of Xenophon serves to clear up many doubts upon the subject, although, since the Kurds have become Mohommedans, and rejected the use of wine, there is no doubt they are sometimes used for depots for corn or hay, and even sometimes for water. They were generally closed by a single large stone." *Travels in the Track, &c.* p. 164.
- [189] Ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες.] "Fleeing from near," i. e. when they were at no great distance before us.
- [190] Τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες.] All the manuscripts have προσβαίνοντες; προσβαινοντες is a conjecture of Wesseling ad Diod. Sic. iii. 8, which all the recent editors have adopted, but by which it does not appear that anything is gained, as πρὸς τὸ κάτω του τόξου precedes. Spelman, who was himself an archer, has illustrated the passage very clearly by a quotation from Arrian, Indie. 16: "Resting one end of the bow upon the ground, and stepping forward with the left foot, (τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες,) they thus discharge the arrow, drawing the string a long way back, the arrow being nearly three cubits long." See also Diod. Sic. l. c., where he speaks of the archery of the Æthiopians; Strabo, xvi. p. 1117; Suidas in Ἄραβες, cited by Weiske. Schneider and Halbkart, strangely enough, think that Xenophon is speaking of *cross-bows*, which few besides themselves have supposed to have been known in Xenophon's time.
- [191] Ἐναγκυλῶντες.] "Fitting them with ἀγκύλαι." The ἀγκύλη is generally supposed to be the same with the Latin *amentum*, a strap or loop fastened to the middle of a javelin, or the shaft of a spear, that it might be hurled with the greater force. The writer of the

article *Ansa* in Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant. thinks, however that the two were not the same.

- [192] Yet "the Carduchian mountains," observes Rennell, "in effect presented an asylum to the Greeks, who could no other way have escaped, at least, the reiterated attacks of such a host of enemies, whose numbers also were augmenting instead of diminishing. But as a Persian army could not subsist, or their cavalry act, within the wide range of these mountains, the Greeks, by ascending them, got rid of their dreaded enemy. And although, in the mean time, they had to contend with an enemy much more brave and persevering, their numbers were fewer, and they might reasonably expect an earlier escape from them than from the Persians. Had they known that the Tigris was fordable under the Zaco hills, and passed into Mesopotamia, they would still have had the Euphrates to cross, a yet more difficult river, in the line which they must have pursued. Therefore, according to our limited view of things, it appears that nothing less than such a barrier as these mountains presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction, from the attacks of the Persians." *Illustrations of the Exp. of Curas*, p. 173.
- [193] Orontes was satrap of Armenia, [iii. 5. 17](#); Artuchas is nowhere else mentioned.
- [194] Διαβαίνειν.] "Ingredi, pedem proferre." *Kühner*. His fetters being removed, he was able to put his legs *apart*, and walk *with stability*; as is indicated, says Weiske, by the preposition διά.
- [195] Ἐγγεῖν.] This passage is commonly taken thus: κέλευε τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγγεῖν, "he ordered the young men to pour (wine) into (the cup for themselves)," for the purpose of making a libation. *Kühner*, however, makes it ἐκέλευε (τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν) ἐγγεῖν τοῖς νεανίσκοις, he ordered those about him (the attendants) to pour into the cup for the young men. The former mode is the more simple, κελεύω being sometimes found with the dative, and agrees better with what follows.
- [196] Στεφανωσάμενος.] According to the custom of the Lacedæmonians, of which Xenophon speaks de Repub. Lacedæm. 13. 8; Hellen. iv. 2. 12; see also Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22. *Schneider*.
- [197] Τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους.] See [iv. 2. 11](#).
- [198] Ἐσφαγίζουτο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.] Offering a sacrifice to the gods inhabiting the river, as Alexander in the middle of the Hellespont sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids: see Arrian i. 11. 10, cited by Hutchinson. "They slew the animals so as to allow the blood to flow into the river." *Poppo*.
- [199] Τὸν πόρον.] The ford mentioned in [sect. 5. 6](#).
- [200] Behind the enemy. *Kühner*. Or behind the cavalry that were pursuing the enemy.
- [201] Those mentioned in [sect. 3](#).
- [202] Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.] This disposition of a company was in opposition to λόχοι ὀρθιοι ([iv. 2. 11](#)): see c. 8, sect. 10. The expression ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, says *Kühner*, properly means *for a phalanx*, or *so that a phalanx (or acies) might be formed*.
- [203] Διηγκυλωμένους.] The verb διηγκυλοῦσθαι is rightly interpreted by Hesychius τὸ ἐνεῖραι τοὺς δακτύλους τῇ ἀγκύλῃ (h. e. amento) τοῦ ἀκοντίου. *Sturz*. The following ἐπιβεβλημένους must be similarly explained.
- [204] Ἄσπις ψοφῆ.] From the enemy's missiles striking upon it. *Kühner*. Hutchinson, Weiske, and Zeune think that a clashing of shields on the part of the Greeks is meant, preparatory to an onset; but, without doubt, erroneously.
- [205] Or, *sound a charge*. The design of it was to precipitate the enemy's flight. Compare [sect. 32](#).
- [206] Orontes: [iii. 5. 17](#); [4. 3. 4](#). He was the satrap, as Krüger thinks, of Eastern Armenia; Tiribazus being called satrap of Western Armenia, [sect. 4](#).
- [207] Τύρσεις.] Apparently intended for a sort of defences, should the people be attacked by any of their neighbours. Compare v. 2. 5.
- [208] Καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ.] I have, with Bornemann and Poppo, restored this reading, in which all the manuscripts concur. Muretus, from Demetrius Phalereus, [sect. 6](#) and 121, has given ἕγας μὲν οὐ, καλὸς δέ, and Hutchinson and all other editors down to Bornemann have followed him. It cannot be denied that this is the usual order in such phrases; as in [iv. 8. 2](#); vi. 4. 20; but passages are not wanting in which the contrary order is observed; see [iv. 6. 2](#). *Kühner*. As the piece attributed to Demetrius Phalereus is not genuine, little attention need be paid to it.
- [209] It would seem to have been the palace of Tiribazus, as the one mentioned in [sect. 2](#) was that of Orontes. *Schneider*.
- [210] See Diod. Sic. xiv. 28.] Ainsworth speaks of the cold in the nights on these Armenian uplands, p. 173. "When Lucullus, in his expedition against Mithridates, marched through Armenia, his army suffered as much by the frost and snow as the Greeks under Xenophon; and, when Alexander Severus returned through this country, many of his men lost their hands and feet through excessive cold. Tournefort also complains that at Erzeroum, though situated in a plain, his fingers were so benumbed with cold, that he could not write till an hour after sunrise. (See Plutarch in Lucull., and Zonaras's Annals.)" *Spelman*.
- [211] There being no cause to apprehend the approach of an enemy during such deep snow.
- [212] Διαιθριάζειν.] The commentators rightly interpret this word disserenascere, "to clear

up." *Kühner*; who, however, prefers συναιθριάζειν, for which there is good manuscript authority. He translates it, with Bornemann, *simul disserenascere*, "to clear up at the same time;" so that the one word has little advantage over the other. Sturz disapproves of the interpretation *disserenascere*, and would have both verbs to signify *sub dio agere*, "to bivouack in the open air;" but the other sense appears preferable.

- [213] See [note on i. 2. 22](#). Oil made of sesamum, or sesama, is mentioned, says *Kühner*, by Plin. H. N. xiii. 1, xviii. 10; Q. Curt. vii. 4. 23; Dioscorid. 2. 119-121; Theophrast. de Odoribus, p. 737, ed. Schneid.; Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 727; Interp. ad Aristoph. Pac. 865.
- [214] Rennell, p. 214, and Kinneir, p. 485, think this distance too great for troops marching through deep snow. Πέντε occurs in one manuscript, and *Kühner* has admitted it into his text.
- [215] Ὅργυιά.] A great depth. We cannot suppose the snow to have been of that depth everywhere. None of the commentators make any remark.
- [216] Ἐβουλιμίασαν.] Spelman quotes a description of the βουλιμία or βούλιμος from Galen Med. Def., in which it is said to be "a disease in which the patient frequently craves for food, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, turns pale, feels his extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse feeble." Here, however, it seems to mean little more than a faintness from long fasting.
- [217] That this number is corrupt is justly suspected by Weiske, and shown at some length by Krüger de Authent. p. 47. Bornemann, in his preface, p. xxiv., proposes ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατὸν, a hundred and seven. Strabo, xi. 14, says that the satrap of Armenia used to send annually to the king of Persia twenty thousand horses. *Kühner*. Krüger, 1. c., suggests that Xenophon may have written Σ' *two hundred*, instead, of ΙΖ', *seventeen*. In sect. [35](#) we find Xenophon taking some of these horses himself, and giving one to each of the other generals and captains; so that the number must have been considerable.
- [218] "This description of a village on the Armenian uplands applies itself to many that I visited in the present day. The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterraneous, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in. Whatever is the kind of cottage used, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls participate with the family in the warmth and protection thereof." *Ainsw. Travels*, p. 178.
- [219] Οἶνος κρίθινος.] Something like our beer. See Diod. Sic. i. 20, 34; iv. 2; Athenæus i. 14; Herod, ii. 77; Tacit. Germ. c. 23. "The barley-wine I never met with." *Ainsw.* p. 178.
- [220] The reeds were used, says Krüger, that none of the grains of barley might be taken into the mouth.
- [221] Xenophon seems to mean *grape-wine*, rather than to refer to the barley-wine just before mentioned, of which the taste does not appear to have been much liked by the Greeks. Wine from grapes was not made, it is probable, in these parts, on account of the cold, but Strabo speaks of the οἶνος Μοναρίτης of Armenia Minor as not inferior to any of the Greek wines. *Schneider*.
- [222] Σκηνοῦντας.] *Convivantes, epulantes*. Comp. v. 3. 9; vii. 3. 15. *Kühner*. Having no flowers or green herbs to make chaplets, which the Greeks wore at feasts, they used hay.
- [223] This is rather oddly expressed; for the guide and the chief were the same person.
- [224] Not the Colchian Phasis, which flows into the Euxine, but a river of Armenia (Ἀράξης, now *Aras*) which runs into the Caspian. See Ainsworth, *Travels*, p. 179, 247. However Xenophon himself seems to have confounded this Phasis with that of Colchis. See Rennell, p. 230. *Kühner*.
- [225] Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.] See on [iv. 3. 26](#).
- [226] Τῶν ὁμοίων.] The ὅμοιοι at Sparta were all those who had an equal right to participate in the honours or offices of the state; *qui pari inter se jure gaudebant, quibus honores omnes æqualiter patebant*. Cragius de Rep. Lac. i. 10, cited by Sturz in his *Lex. Xenoph.* See Xenophon De Rep. Lac. 13. 1 and 7; Aristot. Polit. 5. 7. 8. "A similar designation to that of ὁμότιμοι in the *Cyropædia*," *Schneider*. See Hellen. iii. 3. 5.
- [227] A native of the country about Mount Ceta in Thessaly. There was also however a town of that name in the south of Thessaly: Thucyd. iii. 92.
- [228] Ἄντὶ τῶν πτερόγων.] That this is the true sense of this word appears from Xen. de Re Equest. 12. 4.
- [229] Having one iron point at the upper end, as in v. 4. 12, and no point at the lower for fixing the spear in the ground. *Schneider*.
- [230] The word ἱερόν, which precedes ὄρος in the older editions, is enclosed in brackets, as being probably spurious, by most of the modern editors, and actually ejected by Dindorf. Yet something seems to be wanting in connexion with ὄρος, for the guide (sect. 20) says merely that he will bring them to α χωρίον, and on the fifth day after it is said that they come to *the mountain*.
- [231] They appear to be the hides of oxen offered up as a sort of sacrifice to the gods. *Balfour*.
- [232] In order, says Krüger, to render them useless, so that they might not be carried off by any of the neighbouring people.
- [233] [i. 1. 9](#).

- [234] A stream running into the Tchórúk-sú, according to Ainsworth, Travels, p. 189.
- [235] The Greeks cut down the trees in order to throw them into the stream, and form a kind of bridge on which they might cross. *Schneider*.
- [236] They threw stones into the river that they might stand on them, and approach nearer to the Greeks, so as to use their weapons with more effect. *Bornemann*.
- [237] Kára Kapán, or Kóhát Tágh, according to Ainsw. p. 190.
- [238] Κατὰ φάλαγγα.] See on [iv. 3. 26](#).
- [239] Λόχους ὀρθίους.] See on [iv. 2. 11](#).
- [240] Ὠμοὺς — κατάφαγεῖν.] "Eat up raw," without waiting to cook them; a metaphorical expression for *to extirpate utterly and at once*, taken from Homer, Il. v. 35: Ὠμὸν βεβρώθιοις Πρίαμον Πρίαμιό τε μάϊδας.
- [241] See the payment of these vows in sect. [25](#).
- [242] That there was honey in these parts with intoxicating qualities, was well known to antiquity. Pliny, H. N. xxi. 44, mentions two sorts of it, one produced at Heraclea in Pontus, and the other among the Sanni or Macrones. The peculiarities of the honey arose from the herbs to which the bees resorted, the first came from the flower of a plant called ægolethron, or goats'-bane; the other from a species of rhododendron. Tournefort, when he was in that country, saw honey of this description. See Ainsworth, Travels in the Track, p. 190, who found that the intoxicating honey had a bitter taste. See also Rennell, p. 253. "This honey is also mentioned by Dioscorides, ii. 103; Strabo, xii. p. 826; Ælian, H. A. v. 42; Procopius, B. Goth. iv. 2." *Schneider*.
- [243] Lion and Kühner have a notion that these skins were to be given as prizes to the victors, referring to Herod, ii. 91, where it is said that the Egyptians, in certain games which they celebrate in honour of Perseus, offer as prizes cattle, cloaks, and δέρματα, hides. Krüger doubts whether they were intended for prizes, or were given as a present to Dracontius.

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