



***XENOPHON***

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

**Xenophon**

# **The First Four Books of Xenophon's Anabasis**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

[CHAPTER II.](#)

[CHAPTER III.](#)

[CHAPTER IV.](#)

[CHAPTER V.](#)

[CHAPTER VI.](#)

[CHAPTER VII.](#)

[CHAPTER VIII.](#)

[CHAPTER IX.](#)

[CHAPTER X.](#)

[BOOK II.](#)

[CHAPTER I.](#)

[CHAPTER II.](#)

[CHAPTER III.](#)

[CHAPTER IV.](#)

[CHAPTER V](#)

[CHAPTER VI.](#)

[BOOK III.](#)

[CHAPTER I.](#)

[CHAPTER II.](#)

[CHAPTER III.](#)

[CHAPTER IV](#)

[CHAPTER V.](#)

[BOOK IV.](#)

[CHAPTER I.](#)

[CHAPTER II.](#)

[CHAPTER III.](#)

[CHAPTER IV.](#)

[CHAPTER V.](#)

[CHAPTER VI.](#)

[CHAPTER VII.](#)

[CHAPTER VIII.](#)

[Have You Really](#)

[80 CENTS PER DOZEN.](#)

[Continental Series](#)

[PENMANSHIP.](#)

[30 CENTS PER SET.](#)

[Book-keeping Blanks](#)

[Reduced Prices.](#)

## CHAPTER II.

[Table of Contents](#)

**Cyrus begins his march, proceeding from Sardis through Lydia into Phrygia, where he is joined by new forces. The city of Celænæ; 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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## CHAPTER III.

[Table of Contents](#)

**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.**

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.

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.

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."

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."

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.

### [Table of Contents](#)

**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.

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