GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 24

Anabasis

Xenophon

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ

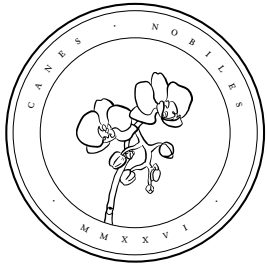
Anabasis

The March of the Ten Thousand

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order

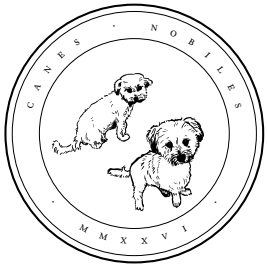


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Words Gemoll secludes are not printed; words he supplies
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BOOK I

I · CYRUS PLOTS AGAINST HIS BROTHER

Darius and Parysatis had two sons, Artaxerxes the elder and Cyrus the younger. When Darius fell ill he summoned Cyrus from his satrapy; on his death Artaxerxes became king, and Tissaphernes accused Cyrus of plotting. Cyrus was arrested, was saved by his mother's pleading, and went back resolved never again to be in his brother's power but to be king in his place. He gathered Greek troops in secret under pretexts: garrisons for the Ionian cities, the siege of Miletus, the money he gave Clearchus the Spartan exile and Aristippus the Thessalian, a campaign against the Pisidians for Proxenus, and a war on Tissaphernes for Sophaenetus and Socrates.

Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο, 1
of-Darius and of-Parysatis are-born sons two
πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος· ἐπεὶ
elder indeed Artaxerxes younger and Cyrus when
δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου,
and was-ill Darius and suspected the-end of-the life
ἐβούλετο τὼ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι.
he-wished the two-sons both to-be-present
ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ 2
the indeed then elder being-present happened Cyrus but
μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην
he-sends-for from the province of-which him satrap
ἐποίησε· καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι
he-had-made and general also him he-had-appointed of-all who-ever
εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἁθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος
to Castolus' plain muster goes-up then — Cyrus

λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχων
taking Tissaphernes as a-friend and of-the Greeks having
ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον.
hoplites three-hundred commander and of-them Xenias a-Parrhasian
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν
when and died Darius and was-established in the
βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον
kingship Artaxerxes Tissaphernes slanders — Cyrus
πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. ὃ δὲ πείθεται
to the brother that he-was-plotting against-him he and is-persuaded
καὶ λαμβάνει Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ
and arrests Cyrus as going-to-kill(-him) the but mother
ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.
having-begged-off him sends-away back to the province
4 Ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθείς,
He and when he-went-away having-been-in-danger and dishonored
βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ
plans that never again he-will-be in-the-power-of the
ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλά, ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου.
brother but if he-can he-will-be-king instead-of that-one
Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα
Parysatis indeed then the mother favored — Cyrus loving
αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην.
him more than the reigning Artaxerxes
5 ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν
whoever and came of-those from the-king to him
πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον
all so disposing he-sent-away that to-himself rather
φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ
friends to-be than to-the-king and of-the with himself and

βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν
barbarians he-took-care that to-make-war both capable they-might-be
καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ.
and well-disposedly they-might-be to-him
τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο 6
the and Greek force he-gathered as most he-could
ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι
concealing(-it) so-that as most-unprepared he-might-take
βασιλέα. Ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογήν. ὁπόσας εἶχε
the-king Thus then he-made the levy as-many-as he-had
φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις
garrisons in the cities he-ordered to-the garrison-commanders
ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους
each to-take men Peloponnesian as most
καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς
and best as plotting Tissaphernes against-the
πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ
cities and for were the Ionian cities Tissaphernes' the
ἀρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν
old(-time) from the-king given at-that-time but they-had-revolted
πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου·
to Cyrus all except Miletus
ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ 7
in Miletus and Tissaphernes having-perceived-beforehand the same
ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς
these-things planning to-revolt to Cyrus the(-ones)
μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ
indeed of-them he-killed the(-others) and he-banished — and
Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας συλλέξας στράτευμα
Cyrus taking-up the exiles having-collected an-army
ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
besieged Miletus both by land and by sea

καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὖτη
and tried to-restore the(-men) driven-out and this
αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα.
in-turn another pretext was for-him for-the to-gather an-army

8 πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἠξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ
to and the-king sending he-asked brother being his
δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην
to-be-given to-himself these the cities rather than Tissaphernes
ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα·
to-rule them and the mother helped him in-these-things
ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ
so-that the-king the indeed against himself plot not
ᾐσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν
perceived on-Tissaphernes but thought warring him
ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο
about the armies to-spend so-that not-at-all he-was-vexed
αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς
they warring and for — Cyrus sent the
γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν
accruing tributes to-the-king from the cities which
Τισσαφέρνης ἔτι ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.
Tissaphernes still happened having

9 Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ
Another and army for-him was-collected in the-Chersonese
τῇ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος
the over opposite Abydos in-this the way Clearchus
Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος
a-Lacedaemonian exile was with-this-man having-met — Cyrus
ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὃ
admired both him and gives him ten-thousand darics he
δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων
and taking the gold an-army collected from these

τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος
the moneys and made-war from the-Chersonese setting-out
τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι καὶ ὠφέλει
on-the Thracians the beyond the-Hellespont dwelling and helped
τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς
the Greeks so-that also money contributed to-him for
τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις
the maintenance of-the soldiers the Hellespontine cities
ἑκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν
willingly this and in-turn thus maintained escaped-notice
αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα.
for-him the army
Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν 10
Aristippus and the Thessalian guest-friend being happened
αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν
to-him and being-pressed by the at-home opponents
ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους
comes to — Cyrus and asks him for two-thousand
ξένους τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτως περιγενόμενος
mercenaries three months' pay as so would-prevail
ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ
— over-the opponents — and Cyrus gives him
εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἓξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται
for four-thousand and six months' pay and asks
αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας
him not before to-make-terms with the opponents
πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσηται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν
before — with-him he-consults thus and in-turn the in
Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα.
Thessaly escaped-notice for-him maintained army

11 Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον ξένον ὄντα ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα
Proxenus and the Boeotian guest-friend being he-ordered taking
ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐς Πισίδας
men as most to-come-to-him as against Pisidians
βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων
wishing to-campaign as troubles giving
τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν
the Pisidians to-the his-own land Sophaenetus and the
Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ξένους ὄντας
Stymphalian and Socrates the Achaean guest-friends being
καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι
also these he-ordered men taking to-come as
πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι
most as about-to-make-war on-Tissaphernes with the exiles
τοῖς Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.
the of-Milesians and did thus these

II · THE MARCH BEGINS

Saying he will march against the Pisidians, Cyrus gathers his Greek and barbarian forces at Sardis, and Tissaphernes rides to warn the king. Cyrus marches through Lydia and Phrygia, numbers the Greeks at Celaenae and reviews them at Tyriaeum before the Cilician queen Epyaxa, whose visit and gift of money let him pay the troops, and the Greeks' mock charge sends the barbarians and the queen fleeing. Syennesis abandons the heights, Cyrus comes down into Cilicia to Tarsus, two companies of Menon's men are lost in the mountains, and the rest plunder the city; Syennesis, given pledges, meets Cyrus and they exchange money and gifts.

1 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν
When and it-seemed-good now to-march for-him upward the
μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν
indeed pretext he-made as Pisidians wishing to-drive-out

παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους
altogether from the land and gathers as against these
τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ
the both barbarian and the Greek(-force) there also
παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν
he-orders — both to-Clearchus taking to-come as-much-as was
αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς
to-him army and — to-Aristippus having-made-terms with
τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα·
the at-home to-send to himself what he-had army
καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ
and to-Xenias the Arcadian who for-him had-been-in-command of-the
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα
in the cities mercenary(-force) to-come he-orders taking(-them)
πλὴν ὁπόσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν.
except as-many-as sufficient were the citadels to-guard
ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς 2
he-summoned and also the(-men) Miletus besieging and the
φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος
exiles he-ordered with him to-campaign promising
αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ
them if well he-accomplished for which he-was-campaigning not
πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἳ
before to-stop before them he-restored home they
δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες
and gladly obeyed they-trusted for him and taking
τὰ ὅπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις.
the arms were-present at Sardis
Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο 3
Xenias indeed then the(-men) from the cities taking arrived
εἰς Σάρδεις ὁπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ
at Sardis hoplites about four-thousand Proxenus and

παρῆν ἔχων ὁπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
was-present having hoplites indeed about five-hundred and thousand
γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς
light-troops and five-hundred Socrates and the Achaean
ὁπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς
hoplites having about five-hundred Pasion and the Megarian
τριακοσίους μὲν ὁπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς
three-hundred indeed hoplites three-hundred and peltasts
ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης
having arrived was and also this-man and — Socrates
τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς
of-the(-men) about Miletus campaigning these indeed at
Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο.
Sardis to-him arrived

4 Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα
Tissaphernes and having-noticed these-things and greater
ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευήν,
having-thought to-be than as against Pisidians the preparation
πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ᾗ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἱππέας
goes to the-king by-which(-way) he-could quickest horsemen
ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους.
having about five-hundred

5 καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν
and the-king indeed then when he-heard from-Tissaphernes the
Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων
of-Cyrus expedition prepared-in-turn Cyrus and having
οὓς εἴρηκα ὥρμᾶτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει
those-whom I-have-mentioned set-out from Sardis and marches
διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ
through — Lydia stages three parasangs twenty and

δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο
two to the Maeander river of-this the breadth two
πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἑπτὰ ἐζευγμένη πλοίοις.
plethra a-bridge and was-on-it seven yoked with-boats
τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἕνα 6
this having-crossed he-marches through Phrygia stage one
παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην καὶ
parasangs eight to Colossae a-city inhabited and
εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ
prosperous and great there he-stayed days seven and
ἦκε Μένων Θετταλὸς ὁπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς
came Menon the-Thessalian hoplites having thousand and peltasts
πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους.
five-hundred Dolopians and Aenianians and Olynthians
ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν 7
from-there he-marches stages three parasangs twenty
εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ
to Celaenae — of-Phrygia a-city inhabited great and
εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος
prosperous there for-Cyrus a-palace was and a-park
μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν
great of-wild beasts full which he hunted
ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτόν τε καὶ
from horseback whenever to-exercise he-wished himself both and
τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ
the horses through the-middle and of-the park flows the
Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν
Maeander river the and sources of-it are from the
βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως.
palace it-flows and also through the of-Celaenae city

8 ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς
there-is and also of-the-great king a-palace in Celaenae
ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ
fortified at the sources of-the Marsyas river under
τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ
the citadel flows and also this through the city and
ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρός
empties into the Maeander of-the and Marsyas the breadth
ἐστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων
is twenty and five feet there is-said Apollo
ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ
to-have-flayed Marsyas having-defeated(-him) contending with-him about
σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ
skill and the skin to-have-hung in the cave whence the
πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας.
sources because-of and this the river is-called Marsyas
9 ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ
there Xerxes when from — Greece defeated in-battle
ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ
was-withdrawing is-said to-have-built these both the palace and
τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας
the of-Celaenae citadel there stayed Cyrus days
τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς
thirty and came Clearchus the Lacedaemonian exile
ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾳκας ὀκτακοσίους
having hoplites thousand and peltasts Thracian eight-hundred
καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις
and archers Cretan two-hundred at-the-same-time and also Sosis
παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ
was-present the Syracusan having hoplites three-hundred and
Σοφαίνετος Ἀρκάδας ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα
Sophaenetus Arcadians having hoplites thousand and there

Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν
Cyrus a-review and count of-the Greeks made in
τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὁπλῖται μὲν
the park and there-were the total hoplites indeed
μύριοι χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.
ten-thousand thousand peltasts and about the two-thousand
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς 10
From-there he-marches stages two parasangs ten to
Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς·
Peltae a-city inhabited there he-stayed days three
ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα
in which Xenias the Arcadian the Lycaea sacrificed and games
ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει
held the and prizes were scrapers golden watched
δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς
and the games also Cyrus from-there he-marches stages
δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα ἐς Κεράμων ἀγοράν, πόλιν
two parasangs twelve to Ceramon Agora a-city
οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ.
inhabited last toward the Mysian land
ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα 11
from-there he-marches stages three parasangs thirty
εἰς Καΰστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν
to Cayster's plain a-city inhabited there he-stayed
ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς
days five and to-the soldiers was-owed pay
πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς
more than three months' and often going to the
θύρας ἀπῄτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε καὶ
doors they-demanded(-it) he but hopes telling put(-them)-off and

δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου
plain was being-distressed not for was of the Cyrus manner
ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι.
having(-it) not to-pay

12 ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ
there arrives Epyaxa the of-Syennesis wife of-the
Κιλίκων βασιλέως παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ
of-Cilicians king to Cyrus and was-said to-Cyrus
δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε
to-have-given money much to-the and then army then
ἀπέδωκε Κῦρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ
paid Cyrus pay of-four months had and the
Κίλισσα φυλακὴν περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους·
Cilician-queen a-guard about her Cilicians and Aspendians
ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.
it-was-said and also to-have-had-intercourse Cyrus with-the Cilician-queen

13 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
From-there and he-marches stages two parasangs ten
εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν
to Thymbrium a-city inhabited there was beside the
ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως,
road a-spring the of-Midas called the of-Phrygians king
ἐφ' ᾗ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ
at which is-said Midas the Satyr to-have-hunted with-wine
κεράσας αὐτήν.
having-mixed it

14 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς
from-there he-marches stages two parasangs ten to
Τυριάειον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας
Tyriaeum a-city inhabited there he-stayed days
τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι
three and is-said to-have-asked the Cilician-queen Cyrus to-display

τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ἐξέτασιν
the army to-her wishing then to-display(-it) a-review
ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων.
he-makes in the plain of-the Greeks and of-the barbarians
ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην οὕτω 15
he-ordered and the Greeks as custom for-them for battle so
ταχθῆναι καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ.
to-be-drawn-up and to-stand to-marshal and each the(-men) of-himself
ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν
they-were-drawn-up then on four(-deep) held and the indeed right
Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος
Menon and the(-men) with him the and left Clearchus
καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί·
and the(-men) of-that-one the and center the other generals
ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἳ δὲ 16
reviewed then — Cyrus first indeed the barbarians they and
παρήλαυνον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα
rode-past drawn-up by squadrons and by companies then
δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἅρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα
and the Greeks riding-past on a-chariot and the Cilician-queen
ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ καὶ χιτῶνας
on a-covered-carriage had and all helmets of-bronze and tunics
φοινικοῦς καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας.
crimson and greaves and the shields uncovered
ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἅρμα πρὸ 17
when and all he-had-driven-past having-stopped the chariot before
τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ
the phalanx middle having-sent Pigres the interpreter to
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι
the generals of-the Greeks he-ordered to-present
τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἳ δὲ
the arms and to-advance whole the phalanx they and

ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε,
these-things announced to-the soldiers and when the-trumpet-sounded
προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπῆσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θᾶττον
having-presented the arms they-advanced from and this faster
προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος
going-forward with shouting of the own-accord a-run
ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς,
arose for-the soldiers toward the tents
18 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολύς, καὶ ἥ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν
of-the and barbarians fear much and the both Cilician-queen fled
ἐπὶ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες
on the covered-carriage and the(-men) from the market having-left
τὰ ὤνια ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς
the wares fled the and Greeks with laughter to the
σκηνὰς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ
tents came the and Cilician-queen having-seen the splendor and
τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἥσθη
the order of-the army marveled Cyrus and was-pleased
τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών.
the from the Greeks into the barbarians fear having-seen
19 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς
From-there he-marches stages three parasangs twenty to
Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς
Iconium — of-Phrygia a-city last there he-stayed three
ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς
days from-there he-marches through — Lycaonia stages
πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε
five parasangs thirty this the land he-allowed
διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν.
to-plunder to-the Greeks as hostile being

ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει 20
from-there Cyrus the Cilician-queen into — Cilicia sends-away
τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ οὓς Μένων εἶχε
the quickest road and sent-with her whom Menon had
καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ
and himself Cyrus and with the others marches through
Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ
Cappadocia stages four parasangs twenty and
πέντε πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα.
five to Dana a-city inhabited great and prosperous
ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν
there they-stayed days three in which Cyrus killed
ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ
a-man Persian Megaphernes purple-wearer royal and
ἕτερόν τινα δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ.
another a-certain potentate having-accused(-them) to-plot against-him
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ 21
From-there they-tried to-enter into — Cilicia the and
εἰσβολὴ ἦν ἁμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανον εἰσελθεῖν
entrance was a-wagon-road steep exceedingly and impossible to-enter
στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις
for-an-army if anyone was-hindering it-was-said and also Syennesis
εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν
to-be on the heights guarding the entrance therefore they-stayed
ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων
a-day in the plain on-the and next-day came a-messenger saying
ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο ὅτι τὸ
that having-left was Syennesis the heights when he-perceived that the
Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν ἔσω τῶν ὀρέων,
of-Menon army already in Cilicia was inside the mountains

καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ᾽ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν
and that triremes he-heard sailing-round from Ionia to Cilicia
Ταμὼν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου.
Tamos having the of-Lacedaemonians and of-himself Cyrus

22 Κῦρος δ᾽ οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος,
Cyrus and then went-up onto the mountains no-one hindering
καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνὰς οὗ οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν
and saw the tents where the Cilicians kept-guard from-there
δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον,
and he-went-down into a-plain great and fine well-watered
καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ
and with-trees of-all-kinds full and with-vines much
δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς
and also sesame and millet and panic-grass and wheat
καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ᾽ αὐτὸ περιεῖχεν ὀχυρὸν καὶ
and barley it-bears a-mountain and it surrounded strong and
ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.
high everywhere from sea to sea

23 καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμοὺς
having-gone-down and through this the plain he-marched stages
τέτταρας παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσούς,
four parasangs five and twenty to Tarsus
τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οὗ ἦν τὰ
— of-Cilicia a-city great and prosperous where was the
Συεννέσιος βασίλεια τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου
of-Syennesis palace the of-Cilicians king through the-middle
δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο
and of-the city flows a-river Cydnus by-name in-breadth two
πλέθρων.
plethra

ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος 24
this the city left the inhabitants with Syennesis
εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πλὴν οἱ τὰ
to a-place strong on the mountains except the(-ones) the
καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν
taverns having stayed and also the(-men) along the
θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς.
sea dwelling in Soli and in Issus
Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε 25
Epyaxa and the of-Syennesis wife earlier than-Cyrus by-five
ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν
days to Tarsus arrived in and the crossing of-the
ὀρῶν τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος
mountains the to the plain two companies of-the of-Menon
στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἳ μὲν ἔφασαν ἁρπάζοντάς
army perished some indeed said plundering
τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλίκων, οἳ δὲ
something to-have-been-cut-down by the Cilicians others and
ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο
having-been-left-behind and not being-able to-find the rest
στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι·
army nor the roads then wandering to-have-perished
ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὁπλῖται.
they-were and then these a-hundred hoplites
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἦκον, τήν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς 26
the and others when they-came the both city — Tarsus
διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν
plundered because-of the destruction of-the fellow-soldiers
ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ
being-angry and the palace the in it Cyrus and when
εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννεσιν
he-rode into the city sent-for — Syennesis

πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὃ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενί πω κρείττονι
to himself he and neither earlier to-anyone yet stronger
ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι
than-himself into hands to-have-come said nor then to-Cyrus to-go
ἤθελε, πρὶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε.
was-willing until the wife him persuaded and pledges he-received
27 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις
after and these-things when they-met each-other Syennesis
μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν,
indeed gave to-Cyrus money much for the army
Κῦρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ
Cyrus and to-him gifts which are-held with the-king
τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ
honorable a-horse gold-bridled and a-collar golden and
ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικήν, καὶ
bracelets and a-dagger golden and a-robe Persian and
τὴν χώραν μηκέτι διαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα
the land no-longer to-be-plundered the and seized
ἀνδράποδα, ἤν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.
slaves if anywhere they-come-upon(-them) to-take-back

III · THE MUTINY AT TARSUS

At Tarsus the soldiers refuse to go farther, suspecting that the march is against the king. Clearchus tries force and is pelted, barely escaping stoning; then, weeping, he tells them he will not desert them, and secretly sends word to Cyrus not to worry. At an assembly he sets out the danger of staying and of leaving against Cyrus' will; one speaker urges new generals, a market, and ships or a guide from Cyrus, Clearchus refuses the command, and another mocks trusting Cyrus' ships and guide and proposes asking him his purpose. Envoys ask Cyrus; he answers that his enemy Abrocomas is on the Euphrates, and promises half as much pay again. The army goes on, suspecting but not yet told.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· 1
There stayed — Cyrus and the army days twenty
οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω·
the for soldiers not said to-go the(-way) forward
ὑπώπτευον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ
they-suspected for already against the-king to-go to-have-been-hired and
οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὑτοῦ
not for this they-said first and Clearchus the his-own
στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἳ δ' αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ
soldiers tried-to-force to-go they and him both pelted and
τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἄρξαιντο προϊέναι.
the pack-animals the his when they-began to-go-forward
Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, 2
Clearchus and then indeed by-a-little escaped — being-stoned
ὕστερον δ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι,
later and when he-knew that not he-will-be-able to-force(-them)
συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὑτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον
he-convened an-assembly of-the his-own soldiers and first
μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον ἑστώς· οἳ δὲ ὁρῶντες
indeed he-wept a-long time standing they and seeing
ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων. εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.
wondered and were-silent then and he-spoke such-things
Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω 3
Men soldiers not wonder that grievously I-bear
τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο
the present affairs to-me for guest-friend Cyrus became
καί με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τά τε ἄλλα
and me exiled from the fatherland in-the both other(-ways)
ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν
honored and ten-thousand gave darics which I taking

οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα,
not for the private(-use) laid-up for-me nor squandered-in-luxury
ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων.
but on you I-spent(-them)
4 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ
and first indeed against the Thracians I-made-war and
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς
on-behalf-of — Greece I-took-vengeance with you from the
Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι
Chersonese them driving-out wishing to-take-away-from
τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος
the dwelling-in(-it) Greeks the land when and Cyrus
ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο
summoned taking you I-went so-that if anything be-needed
ὠφελοίην αὐτὸν ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου.
I-might-help him in-return-for what well I-had-received from that-one
5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δή
since and you not wish to-march-with(-him) necessity indeed
μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ
for-me either you having-betrayed the of-Cyrus friendship to-use or
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ψευσάμενον μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ
toward that-one having-lied with you to-be whether indeed then
δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἱρήσομαι δ᾽ οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν
just(-things) I-shall-do not I-know I-shall-choose and then you and with
ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς
you what ever — is-needed I-shall-suffer and never will-say anyone
ὡς ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς
that I Greeks having-led into the barbarians having-betrayed
τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἱλόμην,
the Greeks the of-the barbarians friendship chose

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν 6
but since you me not are-willing to-obey I with you
ἕψομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ
I-shall-follow and what ever — is-needed I-shall-suffer I-think for
ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους,
you to-me to-be both fatherland and friends and allies
καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ὦ,
and with you indeed — I-think to-be honored wherever — I-am
ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὢν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὔτ᾽
of-you but bereft being not — sufficient I-think to-be neither
ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὡς ἐμοῦ
— a-friend to-help nor — an-enemy to-ward-off as me
οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.
then going wherever — also you so the mind have
Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἵ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου 7
These-things he-said the and soldiers the both his-own of-that-one
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ
and the others these-things having-heard that not he-said to
βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι ἐπῄνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ
the-king to-march praised(-him) from and Xenias and
Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ
Pasion more than two-thousand taking the arms and
τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.
the baggage encamped beside Clearchus
Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος 8
Cyrus and at-these-things being-at-a-loss both and grieving
μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὃ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε,
sent-for — Clearchus he and to-go indeed not was-willing
λάθρᾳ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον
secretly but from-the soldiers sending to-him a-messenger

ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον.
told(-him) to-take-heart as going-to-be-settled these-things to the needful
μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι.
to-send-for(-him) and he-ordered him himself but not said to-go

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τούς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας
After and these-things having-gathered the both his-own soldiers
καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν
and the(-men) having-come-over to-him and of-the others the(-man)
βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν
wishing he-said such-things Men soldiers the indeed
δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ
then of-Cyrus clear that thus stand toward us just-as the
ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι
ours toward that-one neither for we his any-longer
στρατιῶται, ἐπεί γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος
soldiers since at-least not we-follow him nor he
ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης.
any-longer to-us paymaster

10 ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ
that however to-be-wronged he-thinks by us I-know so-that even
μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν
sending-for(-me) him not I-am-willing to-come the indeed
μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα
greatest being-ashamed that I-am-conscious with-myself in-all
ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ λαβών με
having-deceived him then also fearing lest having-seized me
δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὧν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἠδικῆσθαι.
punishment he-inflict for-what he-thinks by me to-have-been-wronged

11 ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν
to-me then it-seems not time to-be for-us to-sleep nor to-neglect
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν
us ourselves but to-deliberate what ever (one)-must to-do

ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἕως γε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον
from these-things and while at-least we-stay here it-must-be-considered
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα μενοῦμεν, εἴ τε
to-me seems to-be how as most-safely we-shall-stay if and
ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν,
already it-seems to-go-away how as most-safely we-shall-go-away
καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἕξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε
and how the provisions we-shall-have without for these neither
στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν.
of-a-general nor of-a-private-man use none

ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, 12
the and man much indeed worth to-whom — friend he-is
χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ
most-dangerous and enemy to-whom — hostile he-is he-has and
δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἣν πάντες
a-force both infantry and cavalry and naval which all
ὁμοίως ὁρῶμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω
alike we-see both and know and for not-even far
δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὥρα λέγειν ὅ τι
we-seem to-me from-him to-sit so-that time to-say what ever
τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.
one thinks best to-be these-things having-said he-stopped

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἳ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, 13
From and this they-stood-up some indeed of the own-accord
λέξοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἳ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου
to-say what they-thought others and also by that-one
ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ
instructed showing what-kind was the difficulty without
τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι.
the of-Cyrus consent both to-stay and to-go-away

14 εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα
one and indeed said pretending to-hasten as quickly-as-possible
πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἑλέσθαι
to-go to — Greece generals indeed to-choose
ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν·
other as quickly-as-possible if not wishes Clearchus to-lead(-us)-back
τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἀγοράζεσθαι — ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ
the and provisions to-buy the and market was in the
βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι — καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας
barbarian army and to-pack-up having-gone
δὲ Κῦρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ
and Cyrus to-ask ships so-that they-might-sail-away if but not he-give
ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κῦρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας
these a-guide to-ask Cyrus who through friendly the land
ἀπάξει. ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι
will-lead(-us)-back if and not-even a-guide he-give to-form-up
τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ
the quickest to-send and also (men)-to-seize-in-advance the
ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κῦρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες
heights so-that not get-there-first neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians
καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν
having-seized(-them) of-whom many and much money we-have
ἀνηρπακότες. οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε.
having-plundered this-man indeed such-things said

15 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον· Ὡς μὲν
After and this-man Clearchus said so-much As indeed
στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν
about-to-be-general me this the generalship let-no-one of-you
λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ
say many for I-see-in(-it) because-of which by-me this not
ποιητέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἕλησθε πείσομαι
is-to-be-done that but the man whom — you-choose I-shall-obey

ᾗ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι
as possible most so-that you-may-know that also to-be-ruled
ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων.
I-understand as any also other most of-men
μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν 16
after this-one another stood-up pointing-out indeed the silliness
τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν
of-the(-man) the ships to-ask bidding as-if back the
στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὖηθες εἴη
expedition Cyrus making pointing-out and how silly it-was
ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν.
a-guide to-ask from this-man for-whom we-are-ruining the undertaking
εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ὃν ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ, τί
if and also the guide we-shall-trust whom — Cyrus give what
κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαβεῖν;
prevents also the heights for-us to-bid Cyrus to-seize-in-advance
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοίην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν 17
I for would-hesitate indeed — into the ships to-embark which to-us
δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ'
he-might-give lest us with-the-very triremes he-sink would-fear and
ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὃν δοίη ἕπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν
— the guide whom he-might-give to-follow lest us he-lead whence
οὐκ ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπιὼν
not it-will-be-possible to-get-out would-wish and — unwilling going-away
Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν.
Cyrus to-escape-notice-of him having-gone-away which not possible is
ἀλλ' ἐγώ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ 18
but I say these-things indeed nonsense to-be it-seems and
μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον οἵτινες ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν
to-me men having-gone to Cyrus who suitable with
Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκεῖνον τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ
Clearchus to-ask him what he-wishes us to-use(-for) and

ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ᾖ παραπλησία οἵαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν
if indeed the undertaking be similar to-that-which also before
ἐχρῆτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἕπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ κακίους
he-used the mercenaries to-follow also us and not worse
εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων·
to-be than-the(-men) before with-this-man having-gone-up
19 ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται καὶ
if but greater the undertaking than-the before appear and
ἐπιπονωτέρα καὶ ἐπικινδυνοτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα
more-laborious and more-dangerous to-demand either having-persuaded
ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι·
us to-lead(-us) or having-been-persuaded in friendship to-let(-us)-go
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἑπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι
so for both following — friends to-him and eager
ἑποίμεθα καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὅ
we-would-follow and going-away safely — we-would-go-away what
τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς
ever and — to these-things he-say to-report here us
δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι.
and having-heard about these-things to-deliberate
20 Ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἑλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ
It-seemed-good these-things and men having-chosen with Clearchus
πέμπουσιν οἳ ἠρώτων Κῦρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ
they-send who asked Cyrus the(-things) resolved by-the
στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν
army he and answered that he-hears Abrocomas a-hostile
ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα
man on the Euphrates river to-be being-distant twelve
σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν
stages to this-man then he-said to-wish to-go and-if

μὲν ᾖ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρῄζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ,
indeed he-be there the punishment he-said to-desire to-inflict on-him
ἢν δὲ φύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα.
if but he-flee we there about these-things shall-deliberate
ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἱρετοὶ ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς 21
having-heard and these-things the chosen(-men) report to-the
στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς
soldiers to-them and suspicion indeed was that he-leads to
βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἕπεσθαι. προσαιτοῦσι δὲ
the-king nevertheless and it-seemed-good to-follow they-ask-in-addition and
μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν
pay — and Cyrus promises half-as-much-again to-all to-give
οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ
than-what before they-received instead-of a-daric three half-darics
τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι
of-the month to-the soldier that but against the-king he-led
οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ γε φανερῷ.
not-even there heard anyone in the at-least open

IV · XENIAS AND PASION DESERT

Cyrus marches to Issus, where his fleet brings Chirisophus and more Greeks, and four hundred of Abrocomas' Greek mercenaries desert to him; the Cilician and Syrian gates lie open, Abrocomas having withdrawn. At Myriandus Xenias and Pasion sail off, and Cyrus refuses to pursue them, saying he will not be thought to use men while they serve and rob them when they leave; the Greeks are heartened. At Thapsacus he reveals that the march is against the king; the soldiers are angry until he promises five minae a man, and Menon leads his men across the Euphrates first to win Cyrus' favor, and the river, they say, gave way to Cyrus as to a king.

1 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
From-there he-marches stages two parasangs ten
ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία
to the Psarus river of-which was the breadth three
πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας
plethra from-there he-marches stage one parasangs
πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος
five to the Pyramus river of-which was the breadth
στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας
a-stade from-there he-marches stages two parasangs
πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἰσσούς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν
fifteen to Issus — of-Cilicia last city
ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα.
on the sea inhabited great and prosperous
2 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ
there they-stayed days three and to-Cyrus were-present the
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ᾽
from Peloponnese ships thirty and five and over
αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγεῖτο δ᾽
them admiral Pythagoras a-Lacedaemonian led and
αὐταῖς Ταμὼς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας
them Tamos the-Egyptian from Ephesus having ships other
Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον
of-Cyrus five and twenty with-which he-was-besieging Miletus
ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ.
when to-Tissaphernes friendly it-was and was-joining-in-war with-Cyrus
3 πρὸς αὐτὸν παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ
to him was-present and also Chirisophus a-Lacedaemonian on
τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων
the ships sent-for by Cyrus seven-hundred having
ὁπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν
hoplites whom he-commanded with Cyrus the and ships lay-at-anchor

παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀβροκόμα
by the of-Cyrus tent there also the with Abrocomas
μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κῦρον
mercenaries Greeks having-revolted came to Cyrus
τετρακόσιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα.
four-hundred hoplites and joined-the-campaign against the-king
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ 4
From-there he-marches stage one parasangs five to
πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο
gates — of-Cilicia and — of-Syria were and these two
τείχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συέννεσις εἶχε
walls and the indeed inner before — Cilicia Syennesis held
καὶ Κιλίκων φυλακή, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας
and of-Cilicians a-guard the and outer the(-one) before — Syria
βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ῥεῖ
of-the-king was-said a-guard to-guard through middle and flows
τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ
of-these a-river Carsus by-name in-breadth of-a-plethron all and
τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ
the middle of-the walls were stades three and to-pass-through not
ἦν βίᾳ· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς
it-was-possible by-force was for the passage narrow and the walls to
τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὕπερθεν δ’ ἦσαν πέτραι ἠλίβατοι·
the sea reaching-down above and were rocks precipitous
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύργοι.
on and the walls both stood towers
ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναῦς 5
this for-the-sake-of the passage Cyrus the ships
μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὁπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν ἔξω τῶν
sent-for so-that hoplites he-might-land outside the
πυλῶν βιασομένους τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ φυλάττοιεν
gates to-force-through the enemy if they-should-guard(-them)

ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κῦρος
at the Syrian gates which thought would-do — Cyrus
τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ
— Abrocomas having much army Abrocomas but
οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ
not this did but when he-heard Cyrus in Cilicia
ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν,
being having-turned-back from Phoenicia to the-king he-marched-off
ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.
having as was-said thirty ten-thousands of-army

6 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας
From-there he-marches through Syria stage one parasangs
πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ
five to Myriandus a-city inhabited by Phoenicians on
τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν
the sea a-trading-post and was the place and lay-at-anchor
αὐτόθι ὁλκάδες πολλαί. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά·
there merchant-ships many there he-stayed days seven

7 καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες
and Xenias the Arcadian and Pasion the Megarian having-embarked
εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν,
into a-boat and the of-most worth having-put-in sailed-away
ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς
as indeed to-the most they-seemed having-been-piqued because the
στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας
soldiers of-them the(-ones) to Clearchus having-gone-off
ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα
as going-away to — Greece back and not against the-king
εἶα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς,
allowed Cyrus — Clearchus to-keep when and they-were out-of-sight
διῆλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ
went-about a-report that pursued them Cyrus with-triremes and

οἳ μὲν ηὔχοντο ὡς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι,
some indeed prayed as cowards being them to-be-caught
οἳ δ' ᾤκτιρον εἰ ἁλώσοιντο.
others and pitied(-them) if they-should-be-caught
Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· 8
Cyrus and having-called-together the generals said
Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε
Have-deserted us Xenias and Pasion but well at-least
μέντοι ἐπιστάσθων ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπῃ
however let-them-know that neither have-they-run-away I-know for where
οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε
they-are-gone nor have-they-escaped I-have for triremes so-as
ἑλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε
to-catch the of-those boat but by the gods not I-at-least
αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ
them shall-pursue nor will-say anyone that I while indeed — is-present
τις χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ
anyone I-use(-him) when but to-go-away he-wishes having-seized both
αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. ἀλλὰ†
them badly I-treat and the goods I-strip but
ἰέτωσαν, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ
let-them-go knowing that worse they-are toward us than we toward
ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας
them and-yet I-have at-least of-them both children and wives
ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται,
in Tralles guarded but not-even of-these will-they-be-deprived
ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς.
but they-will-receive(-them) the before for-the-sake-of toward me goodness
καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ 9
and he indeed these-things said the and Greeks if anyone even
ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου
more-disheartened was toward the march-up hearing the of-Cyrus

ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο. Μετὰ
goodness more-gladly and more-eagerly marched-with(-him) After
ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας
these-things Cyrus marches stages four parasangs
εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου,
twenty to the Chalus river being the breadth of-a-plethron
πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι
full and of-fish great and tame which the Syrians
θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν
gods considered and to-harm not allowed the and villages in
αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν εἰς ζώνην δεδομέναι.
which they-encamped of-Parysatis were for girdle given
10 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα
from-there he-marches stages five parasangs thirty
ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος
to the sources of-the Dardas river of-which the breadth
πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσυος βασίλεια τοῦ Συρίας
of-a-plethron there was the of-Belesys palace the of-Syria
ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων
having-ruled and a-park very great and fine having
πάντα ὅσα ὧραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψεν καὶ
all that seasons produce Cyrus but it cut-down and
τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν.
the palace burned
11 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας
from-there he-marches stages three parasangs
πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος
fifteen to the Euphrates river being the breadth
τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη
of-four stades and a-city there was-inhabited great
καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας
and prosperous Thapsacus by-name there he-stayed days

πέντε. καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν
five and Cyrus having-sent-for the generals of-the
Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν
Greeks told(-them) that the road would-be against king great
εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς
to Babylon and bids them to-tell these-things to-the
στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἕπεσθαι.
soldiers and to-persuade(-them) to-follow
οἳ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ 12
they and having-made an-assembly reported these-things the and
στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν
soldiers were-angry with-the generals and said
αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν
them long-ago these-things knowing to-conceal(-them) and not said
ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ, ὥσπερ τοῖς
to-go if not anyone them money give as to-the
προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ
earlier(-men) with Cyrus having-gone-up and these not to
μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κῦρον.
battle going but summoning the father Cyrus
ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον. ὃ δ' ὑπέσχετο 13
these-things the generals to-Cyrus reported he and promised
ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς
to-man each to-give five of-silver minae when to
Βαβυλῶνα ἥκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ μέχρι ἂν
Babylon they-come and the pay in-full until —
καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ
he-restores the Greeks to Ionia back the indeed then
πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη. Μένων δὲ πρὶν
greater-part of-the Greek(-army) thus was-persuaded Menon but before
δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον
clear to-be what will-do the other soldiers whether

ἕψονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὔ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὑτοῦ στράτευμα
they-will-follow Cyrus or not collected the his-own army
χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε.
apart-from the others and said this

14 Ἄνδρες, ἐάν μοι πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε
Men if me you-obey neither having-run-risks nor
πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν
having-toiled than-the other more you-will-be-honored soldiers
ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος
by Cyrus what then do-I-bid to-do now asks Cyrus
ἕπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι
to-follow the Greeks against the-king I then say
ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον
you must to-cross the Euphrates river before clear
εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ.
to-be what ever the other Greeks will-answer Cyrus

15 ἢν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἕπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι
if indeed for they-vote to-follow you will-seem responsible to-be
ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν
having-begun the crossing and as most-eager being to-you
χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ
thanks will-know Cyrus and will-repay(-it) he-knows and(-how) if
τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἢν δὲ ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἄπιμεν
anyone also other if but they-vote-against(-it) the others we-go-away
μὲν ἅπαντες τοὔμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις
indeed all back to-you but as alone obeying
χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρουραρχίας καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ
he-will-use(-you) both for garrison-commands and for captaincies and
ἄλλου οὑτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου.
of-other whatever — you-need I-know that as a-friend you-will-find Cyrus

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς 16
having-heard these-things they-obeyed and crossed before the
ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο
others to-answer Cyrus and when he-perceived(-them)
διαβεβηκότας, ἥσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας
having-crossed was-pleased both and to-the army having-sent
Γλοῦν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ·
Glus said I indeed O men already you praise
ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ
that and also you me will-praise to-me it-will-be-a-care or
μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε.
no-longer me Cyrus think
οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες ηὔχοντο 17
the indeed then soldiers in hopes great being prayed
αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι
him to-prosper to-Menon and also gifts was-said to-have-sent
μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο
magnificently these-things and having-done he-crossed followed
δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν
and also the other army him all and of-the
διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν
crossing the river no-one was-wetted higher than-the
μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
breasts by the river
οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς 18
the and Thapsacenes said that never-yet this the river
διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ
fordable became on-foot if not then but with-boats which
τότε Ἀβροκόμας προϊὼν κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος
then Abrocomas going-ahead burned so-that not Cyrus

διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι σαφῶς καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι
might-cross it-seemed indeed divine to-be clearly and to-have-given-way
τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσοντι.
the river to-Cyrus as about-to-be-king

19 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα
From-there he-marches through — Syria stages nine
παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν
parasangs fifty and they-arrive at the
Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ μεσταὶ σίτου
Araxes river there were villages many full of-grain
καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.
and of-wine there they-stayed days three and provisioned-themselves

V · THROUGH THE DESERT

The army crosses the Arabian desert, a plain like a sea, full of wild asses, bustards, and ostriches. Grain runs out and the men live on meat; Cyrus has the Persian nobles heave wagons out of the mud in their fine clothes. Across the Euphrates lies Charmande, where they buy provisions. A quarrel between one of Menon's soldiers and one of Clearchus' brings the two armies to the brink of battle, until Cyrus rides between them and warns that if they fight each other, all of them are lost.

1 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸν Εὐφράτην
From-there he-marches through — Arabia the Euphrates
ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε
river on right having stages desert five
παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ
parasangs thirty and five in this and the region
ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα,
was indeed the land a-plain all level like sea

ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης
of-wormwood and full if and anything also other was-in-it of-brush
ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα·
or reed all were fragrant like spices
δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν, θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλεῖστοι ὄνοι 2
tree and none was-in-it beasts and of-all-kinds most asses
ἄγριοι, πολλαὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ
wild many and ostriches the great were-in-it and also
ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐνίοτε
bustards and gazelles these and the beasts the horsemen sometimes
ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεί τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες
chased and the indeed asses when anyone chased having-run-ahead
ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θᾶττον· καὶ
stood much for than-the horses they-ran faster and
πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταὐτὸν ἐποίουν, καὶ
again when were-coming-near the horses the-same they-did and
οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς
not it-was-possible to-take(-them) if not spacing-out the horsemen
θηρῷεν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἁλισκομένων
hunted taking-turns the and meat of-the(-ones) caught
ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἁπαλώτερα δέ.
was similar to-the venison more-tender but
στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων 3
an-ostrich but no-one caught the and having-chased of-the horsemen
ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν
quickly stopped far for it-drew-off fleeing with-the indeed
ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἴρουσα, ὥσπερ ἱστίῳ
feet in-running with-the and wings lifting(-itself) as-if a-sail
χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἄν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ ἔστι
using the but bustards if one quickly put-up it-is-possible

λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ
to-catch they-fly for a-short-way like partridges and
ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν.
quickly tire the and meat of-them most-delicious was
4 Πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται
Going and through this the land they-arrive
ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα
at the Mascas river the breadth a-plethron-wide there
ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή·
was a-city deserted great name and to-it Corsote
περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ.
was-encircled and it by the Mascas in-a-circle
5 ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. ἐντεῦθεν
there they-stayed days three and provisioned-themselves from-there
ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασάγγας
he-marches stages desert three and ten parasangs
ἐνενήκοντα τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ
ninety the Euphrates river on right having and
ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ
arrives at Pylae in these the stages many
τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος
of-the pack-animals perished from hunger not for was fodder
οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα·
nor other any tree but bare was all the land
οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν
the and inhabitants millstones grinding along the river
ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ
quarrying and making(-them) to Babylon brought(-them) and
ἐπώλουν καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες σῖτον ἔζων.
sold(-them) and buying-in-exchange grain lived

τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ 6
the and army the grain failed and to-buy not
ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κύρου
it-was-possible if not in the Lydian market in the of-Cyrus
βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων
barbarian(-army) the capithe of-wheat-flour or of-barley-meal for-four
σίγλων. ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτ᾽ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβέλιον
sigli the and siglus is-worth seven obols and half-obol
Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει.
Attic the and capithe two choenixes Attic held
κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο.
meat then eating the soldiers got-through
ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, 7
were and of-these the stages some very long he-marched
ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς
whenever either to water he-wished to-get-through or to
χιλόν. Καὶ δή ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος
fodder And indeed once a-narrow-passage and mud having-appeared
ταῖς ἁμάξαις δυσπορεύτου ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς
for-the wagons hard-to-pass halted — Cyrus with the
περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε
about him noblest and richest and ordered
Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ
Glus and Pigres taking of-the barbarian army
συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἁμάξας.
to-help-extricate the wagons
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ 8
when and they-seemed to-him slowly to-work as-if in-anger
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους
he-ordered the about him Persians the mightiest
συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἁμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς
to-help-hurry the wagons there indeed part some of-the

εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς
discipline it-was-possible to-see having-thrown-off for the
πορφυροῦς κάνδυς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἑστηκώς, ἵεντο
purple cloaks where happened each standing they-rushed
ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις ἐπὶ νίκῃ καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς
as — would-run one for victory and very down a-steep
γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούς τε πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς
hill having the both costly tunics and the
ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς
embroidered trousers some and also collars about the
τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν
necks and bracelets about the hands at-once and with
τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶττον ἢ ὡς
these having-leaped into the mud faster than as
τις ἂν ᾠήθη μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἁμάξας.
anyone — would-have-thought lifted-up they-brought-out the wagons

9 τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν
the and whole clear was Cyrus hastening all the way
καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἤ τινος
and not delaying where not of-provisioning for-the-sake or of-some
ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ θᾶττον
other necessary-thing he-halted thinking by-how-much faster
ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι,
he-came by-so-much more-unprepared the-king to-fight-with
ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι
by-how-much and slower by-so-much greater to-be-gathered
βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ
for-the-king an-army and to-perceive and it-was-possible for-the(-man)
προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλέως ἀρχῇ πλήθει μὲν
applying the mind the of-the-king empire in-multitude indeed
χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν
of-land and of-men strong being in-the and lengths of-the

ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἴ τις
roads and in-the being-dispersed the forces weak if one
διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.
by speed the war should-make
Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους 10
Beyond and the Euphrates river along the desert
σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ
stages was a-city prosperous and great name and
Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ
Charmande from this the soldiers bought the
ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἃς εἶχον
provisions on-rafts crossing thus skins which they-had
στεγάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνῆγον
as-coverings they-filled with-hay light then they-drew-together
καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ·
and stitched so-that not to-touch the chaff the water
ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν
on these they-crossed and got the provisions wine
τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος
both from the date made the from the palm
καὶ σῖτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλεῖστον.
and grain of-millet this for was in the land most-plentiful
Ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τέ του Μένωνος 11
Having-quarreled and somehow there the both someone of-Menon
στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν του Κλεάρχου ὁ Κλέαρχος
soldiers and the(-men) someone of-Clearchus — Clearchus
κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς
having-judged to-be-in-the-wrong the(-man) — of-Menon blows
ἐνέβαλεν· ὃ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα
laid-on(-him) he and having-gone to the his-own army

ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ
told(-it) having-heard and the soldiers were-indignant and
ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ.
were-angry exceedingly — with-Clearchus

12 τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ
on-the and same day Clearchus having-gone to the crossing of-the
ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφιππεύει
river and there having-inspected the market rides-off
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος
to the his-own tent through the of-Menon army
σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κῦρος δὲ οὔπω ἦκεν,
with few the(-men) about him Cyrus and not-yet had-come
ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαυνε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα
but still was-riding-up of-the and of-Menon soldiers wood
σχίζων τις ὡς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἵησι τῇ
splitting one when he-saw Clearchus riding-through throws the
ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἥμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ
axe and this-one indeed him missed another and with-a-stone
καὶ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης.
and another then many a-shout having-arisen

13 ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς
he and takes-refuge in the his-own army and at-once
παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας αὐτοῦ
orders(-them) to the arms and the indeed hoplites there
ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας,
he-ordered to-stay the shields against the knees having-placed
αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς οἳ ἦσαν
himself and taking the Thracians and the horsemen who were
αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων
for-him in the army more than forty of-these
δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι Θρᾷκες, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ'
and the most Thracians he-rode against the(-men) of-Menon so-that

ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλῆχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ
they to-be-terrified and himself Menon and to-run to
τὰ ὅπλα· οἳ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι.
the arms they and even stood being-at-a-loss at-the affair
ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος — ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιὼν καὶ 14
— and Proxenus happened for later coming-up and
τάξις αὐτῷ ἑπομένη τῶν ὁπλιτῶν — εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ
a-company him following of-the hoplites at-once then into the
μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ
middle of-both leading(-it) he-grounded the arms and begged —
Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὃ δ' ἐχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ
Clearchus not to-do these-things he and was-angry that he
ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως λέγοι τὸ αὑτοῦ
by-little having-come-short of-being-stoned mildly spoke-of the his-own
πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι.
suffering ordered both him out-of the middle to-stand-aside
ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐπῄει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς 15
in this and came-up also Cyrus and learned the affair at-once
δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι
and he-took the javelins into the hands and with the(-men) present
τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε.
of-the trusted came riding into the middle and says this
Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, 16
Clearchus and Proxenus and the others the present Greeks
οὐκ ἴστε ὅ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην
not you-know what ever you-are-doing if for any with-each-other battle
συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι
you-join think on this the day me both to-be-cut-down
καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν
and you not long than-me later badly for the

ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι
ours being all these whom you-see barbarians
πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων.
more-hostile to-us will-be than-the(-men) with the-king being
17 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ
having-heard these-things — Clearchus in himself came and
παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.
having-stopped both in place grounded the arms

VI · THE TRIAL OF ORONTAS

Tracks of horses show that the king's cavalry is burning the country ahead. Orontas, a Persian of the royal house who had twice made war on Cyrus and twice been reconciled, offers to cut them off, but his letter to the king is brought to Cyrus. Cyrus calls seven Persians and Clearchus to a council in his tent and questions Orontas, who admits his treachery. All vote for death; Orontas is led into Artapatas' tent, and no one ever saw him again, alive or dead.

1 Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἴχνια ἵππων καὶ κόπρος.
From-there as-they-advanced appeared tracks of-horses and dung
ἠκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι
was-guessed and to-be the trail about of-two-thousand horses these
προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον
going-ahead burned both fodder and if anything other useful
ἦν. Ὀρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ
was Orontas and a-Persian man by-birth both related to-the-king
καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις
and in-the(-affairs) of-war said-to-be among the best
Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας,
of-Persians plots-against Cyrus also earlier having-made-war
καταλλαγεὶς δέ.
having-been-reconciled but

οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη ἱππέας χιλίους, 2
this-man to-Cyrus said if to-him he-should-give horsemen thousand
ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακαίνοι ἂν
that the burning-ahead horsemen either he-would-kill —
ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἂν ἕλοι καὶ
having-ambushed(-them) or alive many of-them — he-would-take and
κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε
would-prevent(-them) from-the burning coming-on and would-make(-it) so-that
μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα
never to-be-able them having-seen the of-Cyrus army
βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει
to-the-king to-report — and to-Cyrus having-heard these-things it-seemed
ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ᾽
useful to-be and he-ordered him to-take a-part from
ἑκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.
each of-the commanders
ὁ δ᾽ Ὀρόντας νομίσας ἑτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς 3
— and Orontas having-thought ready to-be for-him the
ἱππέας γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἥξοι
horsemen writes a-letter to the-king that he-would-come
ἔχων ἱππεῖς ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς
having horsemen as — he-could most but to-tell the
αὑτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι.
his-own horsemen he-bade as friendly him to-receive
ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας
was-in and in the letter also of-the former friendship
ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι
reminders and of-faith this the letter he-gives
πιστῷ ἀνδρί, ὡς ᾤετο· ὃ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν.
to-a-trusted man as he-thought he and having-taken to-Cyrus gives(-it)

4 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κῦρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ
having-read and it — Cyrus arrests Orontas and
συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους
calls-together into the his-own tent Persians the best
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
of-the(-men) about him seven and the of-the Greeks
στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ὁπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ
generals he-ordered hoplites to-bring these and
θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα
to-ground the arms around the his-own tent they and these-things
ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας.
did bringing about three-thousand hoplites
5 Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε
Clearchus and also inside he-summoned as-counselor who at-least
καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα
both to-himself and to-the others seemed to-have-been-honored most
τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν
of-the Greeks when and he-came-out he-reported to-the friends the
κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν.
trial — of-Orontas how it-went not for secret it-was
6 ἔφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς,
he-said and Cyrus to-begin the speech thus I-summoned you
ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὅ τι δίκαιόν
men friends so-that with you deliberating what ever just
ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω
is both before gods and before men this I-may-do
περὶ Ὀρόντα τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς
about Orontas here this-man for first indeed the my
πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθείς,
father gave subject to-be to-me when and having-been-ordered
ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν
as he-said himself by the my brother this-man made-war

ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν
on-me holding the in Sardis citadel and I him
προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς
warring-against made(-it) so-that to-seem-good to-this-man from-the against
ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα,
me war to-stop and right-hand I-received and gave
μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὅ τι σε ἠδίκησα;
after these-things he-said O Orontas is-there what ever you I-wronged
ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὔ. πάλιν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· Οὐκοῦν 7
he-answered that no again indeed — Cyrus asked Therefore
ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
later as yourself you agree in-nothing by me
ἀδικούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν
being-wronged having-revolted to Mysians badly treated the
ἐμὴν χώραν ὅ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη Ὀρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ
my land what ever you-could said Orontas Therefore said —
Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὖ ἔγνως τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν
Cyrus when in-turn you-knew the your-own power having-come
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα
to the — of-Artemis altar to-repent both to-you you-said
καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες
and having-persuaded me pledges again you-gave to-me and received
παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει Ὀρόντας.
from me also these-things admitted Orontas
Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ 8
What then said — Cyrus having-been-wronged by me now the
τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ
third(-time) plotting-against me evident you-have-become having-said and
τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθείς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος
— Orontas that in-nothing having-been-wronged asked — Cyrus
αὐτόν· Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἦ
him Do-you-agree then toward me unjust to-have-been Truly

γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ
for necessity said Orontas from this again asked —
Κῦρος· Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος,
Cyrus Still then — would-you-become to-the my brother hostile
ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ
to-me but friend and faithful he and answered that not-even if
γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ' ἄν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι.
I-should-become O Cyrus to-you at-least — ever any-longer would-I-seem
9 πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ
to these-things Cyrus said to-the(-men) present The indeed man
τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ
such-things indeed has-done such-things and says of-you and you
πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ.
first O Clearchus declare an-opinion what ever to-you seems
Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα
Clearchus and said this I-advise I the man
τοῦτον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι
this out-of-the-way to-put as quickly-as-possible so-that no-longer
δέῃ τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ᾖ ἡμῖν τὸ
it-be-necessary this-man to-guard-against but leisure be for-us as-far-as
κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν.
concerns this-man to-be the volunteers these well to-treat
10 ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.
to-this and the opinion he-said also the others to-have-agreed
Μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης
After these-things bidding Cyrus they-took by-the girdle
τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ
— Orontas for death all having-stood-up even the
συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δ' ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη.
kinsmen then and led him-out those-to-whom it-was-assigned

ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἵπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε
when and they-saw him those-who before did-obeisance also then
προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο.
did-obeisance although knowing that to death he-was-being-led
ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη τοῦ 11
when and into the of-Artapatas tent he-was-led of-the
πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε
most-trusted of-the of-Cyrus scepter-bearers after these-things neither
ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε οὐδὲ
alive Orontas nor dead anyone saw ever nor
ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· ἤκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι
how he-died anyone knowing said guessed and others
ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.
otherwise grave and none ever of-him appeared

VII · BEFORE THE BATTLE

In Babylonia Cyrus reviews his army at midnight, expecting the king at dawn, and gives the order of battle. He tells the Greeks he brought them for their courage and promises wealth, crowns, and the choice of going home or staying with him; asked by Clearchus, he says his brother will not yield without a fight. The army numbers ten thousand four hundred Greek hoplites, two thousand five hundred peltasts, and a hundred thousand barbarians; the king is said to have far more. They pass a deep trench the king had dug and left undefended, Cyrus pays Silanus the seer for his prophecy that the king would not fight within ten days, and, thinking the king has given up fighting, he marches on carelessly with his army in disorder.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς 1
From-there he-marches through — Babylonia stages three
παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος
parasangs twelve in and the third stage Cyrus

ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ
a-review makes of-the Greeks and of-the barbarians in the
πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
plain about middle nights it-seemed for at the coming
ἕω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχούμενον· καὶ
dawn would-come the-king with the army to-fight and
ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα
he-ordered Clearchus indeed the right wing to-lead Menon
δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε.
and the left himself and the his-own(-troops) drew-up

2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἧκον
after and the review at-the-same-time-as the day came
αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κῦρος
deserters from great king's army Cyrus
δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν
and having-called-together the generals and captains of-the
Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο
Greeks consulted both how — the battle he-would-make
καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιάδε.
and himself exhorted(-them) encouraging such-things

3 Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν συμμάχους
O men Greeks not of-men being-at-a-loss as-allies
ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν
you I-lead but thinking better and stronger than-many
βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως
barbarians you to-be for this I-took(-you)-on see-that
οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε
then you-will-be men worthy of-the freedom which you-possess
καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν
and for-which you I congratulate well for know that the

ἐλευθερίαν ἑλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ
freedom I-would-choose — instead-of what I-have all and
ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων.
others many-times-as-many
ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς 4
that and also you-may-know into what-kind you-are-going contest you
εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ
knowing I-shall-teach the indeed for multitude great and with-shouting
πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα
much they-will-come-on if and these-things you-endure the rest
καὶ αἰσχυνεῖσθαί μοι δοκῶ οἵους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς
even to-be-ashamed to-me I-seem what-kind for-us you-will-find the
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων
in the land being men you and men being
καὶ εὖ τῶν ἐμῶν γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν
and well the my(-affairs) having-turned-out I of-you the(-one) indeed
οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω
home wishing to-go-away to-the at-home envied I-shall-make
ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ
to-go-away many but I-think I-shall-make the(-things) with me
ἑλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.
to-choose instead-of the(-things) at-home
Ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ 5
There Gaulites being-present an-exile Samian trusted and
Κύρῳ, εἶπεν· Καὶ μήν, ὦ Κῦρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ
to-Cyrus said And indeed O Cyrus say some that many-things
ὑπισχνῇ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι, ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηταί
you-promise now because-of the in such(-a-pass) to-be if but well it-turn-out
τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ᾽ εἰ μεμνῇό
anything not to-remember(-them) you they-say some and not-even if you-remembered
τε καὶ βούλοιο δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ.
both and you-wished would-be-able — to-pay as-much-as you-promise

6 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος· Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ
having-heard these-things said — Cyrus But is indeed for-us O
ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι
men the empire the ancestral toward indeed south as-far-as
οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ
where because-of heat not are-able to-dwell men toward and
ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ
north as-far-as where because-of winter the(-parts) and in middle
τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι.
of-these all are-satraps-of the of-the my brother friends
7 ἢν δ᾽ ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους
if and we win us must the our friends
τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ
of-these masters to-make so-that not this I-fear lest
οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ
not I-have what ever I-may-give to-each of-the friends if well
γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν
it-turn-out but lest not I-have enough(-men) to-whom I-may-give of-you
δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἑκάστῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω.
and the Greeks also a-crown to-each golden I-shall-give
8 οἳ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοί τε ἦσαν πολὺ
they and these-things having-heard themselves both were much
προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ
more-eager and to-the others reported(-them) Went-in and
παρ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀξιοῦντες
to him also of-the other Greeks some thinking-it-right
εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ
to-know what for-them will-be if they-win he and
ἐμπιμπλὰς ἁπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε.
filling of-all the mind sent(-them)-away

παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοιπερ διελέγοντο μὴ 9
urged and him all as-many-as conversed(-with-him) not
μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὄπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ
to-fight but behind themselves to-be-posted in and the moment
τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὧδέ πως ἤρετο τὸν Κῦρον· Οἴει
this Clearchus thus somehow asked — Cyrus Do-you-think
γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κῦρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νὴ Δί᾽, ἔφη
for with-you will-fight O Cyrus the brother Yes-by Zeus said
ὁ Κῦρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς,
— Cyrus if-indeed at-least of-Darius and of-Parysatis he-is son
ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ λήψομαι.
mine and brother not without-a-fight these-things I shall-take
Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν 10
There indeed in the review-under-arms count was of-the indeed
Ἑλλήνων ἀσπὶς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ
Greeks shields ten-thousand and four-hundred peltasts and
δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων
two-thousand and five-hundred of-the and with Cyrus barbarians
δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι.
ten ten-thousands and chariots scythe-bearing about the twenty
τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι 11
of-the and enemy were-said to-be hundred and twenty
μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ
ten-thousands and chariots scythe-bearing two-hundred others and
ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι
were six-thousand horsemen whom Artagerses commanded these
δ᾽ αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν.
and in-turn before himself the-king posted were
τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες τέτταρες, 12
of-the and the-king's army were commanders four
τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης,
of-thirty ten-thousands each Abrocomas Tissaphernes

Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
Gobryas Arbaces of-these and were-present in the battle
ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν
ninety ten-thousands and chariots scythe-bearing hundred
καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης
and fifty Abrocomas but was-late for-the battle
ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων.
by-days five from Phoenicia marching

13 ταῦτα δὲ ἤγγελλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ
these-things and reported to Cyrus the(-men) having-deserted from
τῶν πολεμίων πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἳ
the enemy before the battle and after the battle those-who
ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταὐτὰ ἤγγελλον.
later were-captured of-the enemy the-same-things reported

14 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας
From-there and Cyrus marches stage one parasangs
τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ
three drawn-up with-the army all both the
Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾤετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ
Greek and the barbarian he-thought for on-this the
ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν
day would-fight the-king about for middle the stage
τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ
this a-trench was dug deep the indeed breadth fathoms
πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυαὶ τρεῖς.
five the and depth fathoms three

15 παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ
extended and the trench upward through the plain for
δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. ἦν δὲ
twelve parasangs as-far-as the of-Media wall was and

παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
along the Euphrates a-passage narrow between the river
καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος·
and the trench about twenty feet the breadth
ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ 16
this and the trench king makes great instead-of
ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτῃ
a-defense when he-learns Cyrus marching-on here
δὴ Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο
indeed Cyrus both and the army passed and they-were
εἴσω τῆς τάφρου.
inside the trench
ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' 17
on-this indeed then the day not fought the-king but
ὑποχωρούντων φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων
of-(them)-withdrawing visible were both of-horses and of-men
ἴχνη πολλά.
tracks many
ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην μάντιν 18
there Cyrus Silanus having-called the Ambraciot seer
ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ'
gave him darics three-thousand because on-the eleventh from
ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς
that day before sacrificing he-told him that the-king
οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἄρα
not will-fight ten within-days Cyrus and said Not then
ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις·
any-longer he-will-fight if in these not he-will-fight the days
ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι δέκα τάλαντα. τοῦτο
if and you-speak-true I-promise you ten talents this
τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι.
the gold then he-paid-over when had-passed the ten days

19 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου
when and at the trench not did-prevent the-king the of-Cyrus
στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
army to-cross it-seemed both to-Cyrus and to-the others
ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος
to-have-given-up the fighting so-that on-the next-day Cyrus
ἐπορεύετο ἠμελημένως μᾶλλον.
marched carelessly more

20 τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπί τε τοῦ ἅρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν
on-the and third on both the chariot sitting the march
ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὑτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ
he-made and few in rank having before himself the and greater-part
αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς
for-him in-disorder marched and of-the arms for-the
στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν ἤγοντο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.
soldiers many on wagons were-carried and pack-animals

VIII · CUNAXA

Pategyas gallops up crying that the king is coming in battle order. The Greeks form on the right by the river; the king's army advances in silence, with scythed chariots. Clearchus will not move his men to the center against the king. The Greeks charge singing the paean and the enemy flees before them. Cyrus, seeing the king's center outflank his own left, charges with his six hundred horse, routs the six thousand before the king, and wounds the king through the breastplate, but is struck under the eye by a javelin and killed; eight of his best men lie dead upon him, and his servant Artapatas dies over his body.

1 Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλησίον
And already both it-was about market full and near
ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἡνίκα Πατηγύας
was the stage where he-was-about to-halt when Pategyas

ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον χρηστὸς προφαίνεται
a-man Persian of-the(-men) about Cyrus worthy appears
ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν
riding at full-speed with-sweating the horse and at-once to-all
οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς
whom he-met he-shouted both in-barbarian and in-Greek
ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς
that the-king with army great is-approaching as for
μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο·
battle prepared there indeed great confusion arose
αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις 2
at-once for thought the Greeks and all and in-disorder
σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι·
them to-fall-upon
Κῦρός τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος τὸν θώρακα 3
Cyrus both having-leaped-down from the chariot the breastplate
ἐνεδύετο καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς
put-on and having-mounted on the horse the javelins into
τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν
the hands took to-the both others all he-gave-orders
ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον.
to-arm and to-take-position in the his-own rank each
ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν 4
there indeed with much haste they-took-position Clearchus indeed
τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ,
the right of-the wing holding by the Euphrates river
Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον, Μένων
Proxenus and next the and others after him Menon
δὲ τὸ στρατεύματος εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ.
and the of-army left wing held of-the Greek

5 τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους
of-the and barbarian(-army) horsemen indeed Paphlagonians about thousand
παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν
beside Clearchus stood on the right and the Greek
πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου
peltast(-force) on and the left Ariaeus both the of-Cyrus
ὕπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν,
lieutenant and the other barbarian(-force)

6 Κῦρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι κατὰ
Cyrus and and horsemen of-him about six-hundred in
τὸ μέσον, ὡπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ
the center armed with-breastplates indeed themselves and
παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κῦρος
thigh-pieces and helmets all except Cyrus Cyrus
δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο.
but bare having the head into the battle took-position

7 οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ
the and horses all had both frontlets and
προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.
chest-pieces had and also sabers the horsemen Greek

8 Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὔπω καταφανεῖς
And already both it-was middle of-day and not-yet visible
ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη
were the enemy when and afternoon was-coming appeared
κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ
dust like a-cloud white in-time and considerable
ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ.
later like blackness some in the plain over much
ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις
when and nearer they-were-coming quickly indeed also bronze some
ἤστραπτε καὶ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο.
flashed and spear-points and the ranks visible became

καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου 9
and were horsemen indeed white-corsleted on the left
τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν·
of-the enemy Tissaphernes was-said these to-command
ἐχόμενοι δὲ γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὁπλῖται σὺν
next and wicker-shield-bearers next and hoplites with
ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο
foot-length wooden shields Egyptians and these were-said
εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ' οὗτοι
to-be others and horsemen others archers all and these
κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἐπορεύοντο.
by nations in a-square full of-men marched
πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων 10
before and them chariots at-intervals considerable from each-other
τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα
the indeed scythe-bearing called had and the scythes
ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ
from the axles to the-side extended and under
τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ
the chariot-boxes toward earth looking so-as to-cut-through whatever
ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν
they-met the and intention was as into the ranks of-the
Ἑλλήνων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα.
Greeks to-drive and to-cut-through(-them)
ὃ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο 11
what however Cyrus said when having-summoned he-exhorted
τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι,
the Greeks the shouting of-the barbarians to-endure
ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς
he-was-mistaken-in this not for with-shouting but in-silence as
ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσῇσαν.
possible and quietly in step and slowly they-advanced

12 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ
And in this Cyrus riding-along himself with Pigres the
ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα
interpreter and others three or four — to-Clearchus shouted
ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων,
to-lead the army against middle the(-part) of-the enemy
ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· κἂν τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ'
because there the-king was and-if this he-said we-win all-things
ἡμῖν πεποίηται.
for-us have-been-done

13 ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στῖφος καὶ ἀκούων
seeing and — Clearchus the central mass and hearing
Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα — τοσοῦτον
from-Cyrus outside being the left the-king so-much
γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
for in-numbers exceeded the-king that middle of-the(-men) his-own
ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν — ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ
holding of-the of-Cyrus left outside he-was but nevertheless —
Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ
Clearchus not was-willing to-draw-away from the river the
δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθείη ἑκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ
right wing fearing lest he-be-encircled on-both-sides — and
Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.
to-Cyrus he-answered that to-him it-is-a-care that well it-should-be

14 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα
And in this the moment the indeed barbarian army
ὁμαλῶς προῄει, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
evenly advanced the but Greek still in the same(-place)
μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ
remaining was-forming-up from the(-men) still coming-up and —
Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι
Cyrus riding-along not very near itself the army

κατεθεᾶτο ἑκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἴς τε τοὺς πολεμίους
surveyed in-both-directions looking at both the enemy
καὶ τοὺς φίλους.
and the friends
ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, 15
having-seen and him from the Greek(-army) Xenophon an-Athenian
πελάσας ὡς συναντῆσαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι.
having-ridden-near so-as to-meet(-him) asked if anything he-ordered
ὃ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ
he and having-halted said and to-say bade to-all that both
τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά.
the victims fair and the sacrificial-victims fair
ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων 16
these-things and saying a-noise he-heard through the ranks
ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. ὃ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι
going and asked what the noise was he and said that
σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς
a-watchword is-passing second already and he wondered who
παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. ὃ δ'
gives-the-order and asked what ever was the watchword he and
ἀπεκρίνατο Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη.
answered Zeus savior and victory
ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ 17
— and Cyrus having-heard But I-accept both he-said and
τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν αὑτοῦ χώραν
this let-it-be these-things and having-said to the his-own place
ἀπήλαυνε. Καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην
he-rode-off And no-longer three or four stades were-apart
τὼ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ
the two-phalanxes from each-other when were-singing-the-paean both the
Ἕλληνες καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
Greeks and began against to-go the enemy

18 ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ
as and of-(them)-marching surged-out some of-the phalanx the
ὑπολειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγξαντο
falling-behind(-part) began at-a-run to-run and at-once shouted
πάντες οἷον τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ
all as-if — to-Enyalius they-raise-the-war-cry and all and
ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ ὥς τινες καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ
ran say and that some even with-the shields against the
δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις.
spears clashed fear causing to-the horses
19 πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ
before and an-arrow to-reach give-way the barbarians and
φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος
flee and there indeed pursued indeed with-all might
οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ'
the Greeks shouted and to-each-other not to-run at-a-run but
ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι.
in rank to-follow
20 τὰ δ' ἅρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν
the and chariots were-carried some indeed through themselves the
πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων.
enemy others and also through the Greeks empty of-drivers
οἳ δ' ἐπεὶ προϊδοιεν, διίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις
they and whenever they-saw(-them)-coming stood-apart there-is and one-who
καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ
even was-caught as in a-hippodrome dumbfounded and
οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ
nothing however even this-man to-suffer they-said nor other and
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν,
of-the Greeks in this the battle suffered anyone anything
πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο.
except on the left to-have-been-shot someone was-said

Κῦρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' 21
Cyrus and seeing the Greeks conquering the(-part) against
αὑτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος
themselves and pursuing being-pleased and being-saluted
ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὡς
already as king by the(-men) about him not-even so
ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν
was-he-drawn-out to-pursue but close-gathered having the
τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο
of-the(-men) with himself six-hundred horsemen company watched
ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον
what ever will-do the-king and for he-knew him that the-center
ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος.
he-held of-the Persian army
καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ 22
and all and the of-the barbarians commanders the-center holding the
αὑτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι,
their-own lead thinking thus both in safest to-be
ἢν ᾖ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι
if is the strength of-them on-both-sides and if anything to-order
χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα.
they-should-need in-half — time to-perceive(-it) the army
καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὑτοῦ στρατιᾶς 23
and the-king indeed then the-center holding of-the his-own army
ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ
nevertheless outside was of-the of-Cyrus left wing when
δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς
and no-one with-him fought from the opposite(-side) nor with-the(-men)
αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν.
of-him drawn-up in-front he-wheeled as for encirclement

24 Ἔνθα δὴ Κῦρος δείσας μὴ ὄπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ
Then indeed Cyrus fearing lest behind having-got he-cut-down
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς
the Greek(-force) drives against(-him) and charging with the
ἑξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς
six-hundred conquers the(-men) before the-king posted and into
φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται
flight turned the six-thousand and to-have-killed is-said
αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν.
himself with-the his-own hand Artagerses the commander of-them
25 ὡς δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου
when and the rout happened are-scattered also the of-Cyrus
ἑξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ'
six-hundred to the pursuing having-rushed except very few about
αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι.
him were-left nearly the table-companions called
26 σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ'
with these and being he-catches-sight-of the-king and the about
ἐκεῖνον στῖφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν
that-one mass and at-once not he-restrained-himself but saying The
ἄνδρα ὁρῶ ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον
man I-see he-rushed at him and strikes on the breast
καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ
and wounds(-him) through the breastplate as says Ctesias the
ἰατρός, ὃς καὶ ἰάσασθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.
physician who also to-have-healed himself the wound says
27 Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν
Striking and him hurls-at one with-a-javelin under the
ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς
eye violently and there fighting both the-king
καὶ Κῦρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὁπόσοι
and Cyrus and the(-men) about them for each how-many

μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνῃσκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ᾽
indeed of-those about the-king died Ctesias tells with
ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κῦρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ
that-one for he-was Cyrus and himself both died and eight
οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ.
the best of-the(-men) about him lay over him
Ἀρταπάτης δ᾽ ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων 28
Artapatas and the most-faithful to-him of-the scepter-bearers
θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον,
servant is-said when fallen he-saw Cyrus
καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.
having-leaped-down from the horse to-have-thrown-himself-upon him
καὶ οἳ μέν φασι βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι 29
and some indeed say the-king to-have-ordered one to-slay
αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον
him over-Cyrus others and himself to-have-slain-himself having-drawn
τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ᾽ ἐφόρει
the dagger he-had for a-golden(-one) and a-collar and he-wore
καὶ ψέλια καὶ τἆλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν·
and bracelets and the-other-things like the best of-Persians
ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι᾽ εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.
he-had-been-honored for by Cyrus for goodwill both and faithfulness

IX · THE CHARACTER OF CYRUS

All who knew Cyrus agree that he was the most kingly of the Persians since the elder Cyrus. As a boy at court he was first in modesty, horsemanship, and hunting; as satrap he kept faith with the cities and with men, punished wrongdoers mercilessly so that the roads were safe, honored the brave and the just, rewarded those who served him, and outdid his friends in kindness and in gifts. No one, Greek or barbarian, was so loved; at his death all his table companions died fighting for him except Ariaeus, who fled with his wing on learning that Cyrus had fallen.

1 Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν
Cyrus indeed then thus died a-man being of-Persians
τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατός
of-the(-men) after Cyrus the elder having-been most-kingly
τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται
both and to-rule most-worthy as by all is-agreed
τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.
of-the(-men) with-Cyrus seeming in acquaintance to-have-been

2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ
first indeed for still a-boy being when he-was-being-educated both
σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισί, πάντων
with the brother and with the other boys of-all
πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο.
in-all-things best he-was-thought

3 πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ
all for the of-the best Persians sons at
ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν
the king's doors are-educated where much indeed
σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἄν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτ'
self-control might-learn — one shameful but nothing either
ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι.
to-hear or to-see is-possible

4 θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ἐνίους ὑπὸ βασιλέως
see and the boys both being-honored some by the-king
καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθὺς
and hear(-of) also others being-dishonored so-that at-once
παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι.
boys being they-learn to-rule both and to-be-ruled

5 ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν
there Cyrus most-modest indeed first of-the contemporaries
ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
seemed to-be to-the both elders and than-the his-own

ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος
inferiors more to-obey then and most-fond-of-horses
καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ
and the horses best to-manage they-judged and him also
τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως,
of-the for the war works of-archery both and of-javelin-throwing
φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον.
most-eager-to-learn to-be and most-diligent
ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ 6
when and for-the age it-was-fitting also most-fond-of-hunting he-was and
πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ
toward the beasts indeed most-fond-of-danger and a-bear once
ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη
charging not he-fled but grappling was-dragged-down
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς
from the horse and some-things indeed suffered of-which also the
ὠτειλὰς εἶχεν, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον
scars he-had at-last and he-killed(-it) and the(-man) first
μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν.
indeed having-come-to-help to-many enviable made
Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε 7
When and he-was-sent-down by the father satrap of-Lydia both
καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ
and of-Phrygia the great and of-Cappadocia general and
καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον
also of-all was-appointed whom it-befits at Castolus' plain
ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὑτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου
to-muster first indeed he-showed himself that of most
ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο
he-made(-it) if with-anyone he-made-a-truce and if with-anyone he-made-a-compact
καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδαμῶς ψεύδεσθαι.
and if to-anyone he-promised anything in-no-way to-lie

8 καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι,
and for then trusted indeed him the cities entrusting(-themselves)
ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο,
trusted and the men and if any enemy was
σπεισαμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς
having-made-a-truce Cyrus trusted nothing — contrary-to the
σπονδὰς παθεῖν.
truce to-suffer

9 τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις
accordingly when with-Tissaphernes he-made-war all the cities
ἑκοῦσαι Κῦρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν
willingly Cyrus chose instead-of Tissaphernes except
Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας
Milesians these but because not he-was-willing the exiles
προέσθαι ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν.
to-abandon feared him

10 καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο ὃ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν
and for in-deed he-showed what also he-said that not —
ποτε προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο,
ever he-would-abandon(-them) since once friend to-them he-had-become
οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιντο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν.
not-even if still indeed fewer they-became still and worse they-fared

11 Φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν
Evident and he-was also if anyone any good or evil did
αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ
him to-outdo(-him) trying and a-prayer and some of-him
ἐξέφερον ὡς εὔχοιτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῴη
published that he-prayed so-long a-time to-live until he-should-outdo
καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος.
both the(-men) well and the(-men) badly doing(-him) requiting

καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἑνί γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν 12
and for then most indeed to-him to-one at-least man of-those
ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ
in our(-times) desired both money and cities and the
ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.
their-own bodies to-give-up
οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἄν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους 13
not indeed then even this — anyone could-say that the evildoers
καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἀφειδέστατα πάντων
and unjust he-allowed to-laugh-at(-him) but most-unsparingly of-all
ἐτιμωρεῖτο· πολλάκις δ᾽ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς
he-punished often and it-was-possible to-see along the
στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν
trodden roads both of-feet and of-hands and of-eyes
στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ᾽ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο
deprived men so-that in the of-Cyrus province it-became-possible
καὶ Ἕλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς
both for-a-Greek and for-a-barbarian nothing doing-wrong fearlessly
πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη.
to-travel wherever one wished having what ever was-convenient
Τούς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμολόγητο 14
The at-least however brave for war it-was-agreed
διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος
exceptionally to-honor and first indeed was for-him war
πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς
against Pisidians and Mysians campaigning then also himself
εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν,
into these the lands whom he-saw willing to-run-risks
τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας,
these also rulers he-made of-which he-was-subduing land
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα·
then and also with-other gifts he-honored(-them)

15 ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους,
so-that to-appear the indeed brave most-prosperous
τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξίως εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν
the and cowardly slaves of-these deservedly to-be accordingly
πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν,
great was abundance for-him of-those willing to-run-risks
ὅπου τις οἴοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι.
wherever one thought Cyrus would-notice

16 εἴς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις φανερὸς γένοιτο
to at-least indeed justice if anyone evident should-become
ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους
to-show(-himself) wishing of all he-made(-it) these
πλουσιωτέρως ζῆν ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου
more-richly to-live to-make than-the(-men) from the unjust
φιλοκερδούντων.
greedy-for-gain

17 καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο
and for then other-things both many justly for-him were-managed
καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ
and an-army true he-had and for generals
καὶ λοχαγοί, οἳ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔπλευσαν,
and captains who money for-the-sake to that-one sailed
ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς ὑπάρχειν ἢ
recognized more-profitable to-be to-Cyrus well to-serve than
τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος.
the by month gain

18 ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γέ τίς τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς
but indeed if at-least anyone anything him having-ordered well
ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἴασεν τὴν
served for-no-one ever unrewarded did-he-leave the

προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν δὴ κράτιστοι ὑπηρέται παντὸς
zeal accordingly indeed best servants of-every
ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι.
work for-Cyrus were-said to-have-been
Εἰ δέ τινα ὁρῴη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου 19
If and anyone he-saw clever being a-manager from the just
καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους
and developing both whatever he-ruled land and revenues
ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείω
producing no-one — ever would-he-deprive but always more
προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως
he-gave-in-addition so-that both gladly they-toiled and confidently
ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο αὖ τις ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἔκρυπτεν·
acquired and what had-acquired in-turn one least Cyrus hid
οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερῶς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ
not for envying the(-men) openly rich he-appeared but
πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.
trying to-use the of-those hiding(-it) wealth
Φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εὔνους γνοίη 20
Friends at-least indeed as-many-as he-made and well-disposed knew
ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὅ τι
being and capable judged fellow-workers to-be what ever
τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς
he-happened wishing to-accomplish it-is-agreed by
πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν.
all best indeed to-have-been to-cultivate
καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο 21
and for very this of-which himself for-the-sake friends he-thought
δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο
to-need so-that fellow-workers he-might-have also himself tried

συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου
fellow-worker for-the friends best to-be in-that what
αἰσθάνοιτο ἕκαστον ἐπιθυμοῦντα.
he-perceived each desiring

22 δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν οἶμαι εἷς γε ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε
gifts and most indeed I-think one at-least man received
διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις
for many-reasons these and of-all indeed most to-the friends
διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου
he-distributed to the characters of-each looking and what
μάλιστα ὁρῴη ἕκαστον δεόμενον.
most he-saw each needing

23 καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ
and whatever for-the body his adornment might-send anyone either
ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων
as for war or as for embellishment also about these
λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ
to-say him they-said that the indeed his-own body not
ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς
— could with-these all to-be-adorned friends but well
κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.
adorned greatest adornment for-a-man he-thought

24 καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα
and the indeed in-the great(-things) to-outdo the friends well doing
οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδή γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ
nothing wonderful since at-least also more-powerful he-was the but
τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι
in-the care to-surpass the friends and in-the being-eager
χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι.
to-please these to-me-at-least more seem admirable to-be

Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὁπότε 25
Cyrus for sent jars of-wine half-empty often whenever
πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου
very sweet he-got saying that not-yet indeed in-long time
τούτου ἡδίονι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ
than-this sweeter wine he-had-met this then to-you he-sent and
δεῖταί σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα
asks you today this to-drink-up with those-whom most
φιλεῖς.
you-love

πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα 26
often and geese half-eaten he-sent and of-loaves half
καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα.
and other such-things to-say-besides bidding the(-man) carrying
Τούτοις ἥσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων
With-these was-pleased Cyrus he-wishes then also you of-these
γεύσασθαι.
to-taste

ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δὲ δύναιτο 27
where and fodder scarce very was he but could
παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ
to-provide because-of the many having servants and
διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους
because-of the care sending-round he-bade the friends
τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον
to-the the their-own bodies carrying horses to-throw this
τὸν χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν.
the fodder so-that not hungry the his-own friends they-carry

εἰ δὲ δή ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, 28
if and indeed ever he-was-on-the-march and most were-going to-see(-him)
προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοίη
calling-to(-him) the friends he-talked-seriously so-that he-might-show

οὓς τιμᾷ. ὥστε ἐγὼ μέν γε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω
whom he-honors so-that I indeed at-least from what I-hear no-one I-judge
ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων.
by more to-have-been-loved neither of-Greeks nor of-barbarians
29 τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου
proof and of-this also this from indeed Cyrus a-slave
ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπῄει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας
being no-one went-away to the-king except Orontas
ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι
attempted(-it) and this-one indeed whom he-thought faithful to-him to-be
ταχὺ αὐτὸν ηὗρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ
quickly him found to-Cyrus more-friendly than to-himself from but
βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι
the-king many to Cyrus went-away when enemies
ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα
to-each-other they-became and these however the(-men) most
ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ
themselves admiring thinking with Cyrus being brave
ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ.
more-worthy — honor to-get than with the-king
30 μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου
great and proof also the(-thing) at the end of-the life
αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν
to-him having-happened that also himself he-was good and to-judge
ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὔνους καὶ βεβαίους.
rightly he-could the faithful and well-disposed and steadfast
31 ἀποθνῄσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν φίλοι
dying for him all the about him friends
καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν
and table-companions died fighting for Cyrus except
Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ
Ariaeus this-one but posted happened on the left

τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα,
of-the cavalry commanding when and he-perceived Cyrus fallen
ἔφυγεν ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὗ ἡγεῖτο.
he-fled having the army all which he-led

X · THE PLUNDER OF THE CAMP

Ariaeus flees with Cyrus' troops; the king falls on Cyrus' camp, takes the Phocaean concubine, while another escapes to the Greeks, who defend the baggage there. The king and Tissaphernes, who has charged through the Greek peltasts, turn upon the Greeks, who rout them a second time. The Greeks pursue to a hill, where they see the royal standard, a golden eagle on a shield; the enemy scatter and the Greeks return at sunset to a plundered camp, dinnerless, not knowing that Cyrus is dead.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ 1
There indeed of-Cyrus is-cut-off the head and the hand
ἡ δεξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον
the right the-king and pursuing falls into the Cyrean
στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι
camp and the(-men) indeed with Ariaeus no-longer
ἵστανται ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὑτῶν στρατοπέδου
stand but flee through the their-own camp
εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ἔωθεν ὡρμῶντο· τέτταρες δ'
to the stage whence at-dawn they-had-set-out four and
ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ.
were-said parasangs to-be of-the road
βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ 2
the-king and and the(-men) with him the(-things) both other many
διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν
plunder and the Phocaean the of-Cyrus concubine the
σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι.
wise and beautiful said to-be

3 ἡ δὲ ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει
the(-other) and taken by the(-men) about the-king escapes
γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἳ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
naked to the Greeks who happened in the baggage
ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν
arms having and having-been-drawn-up-against(-them) many indeed
τῶν ἁρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἳ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον·
of-the plunderers killed some and also of-them died
οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ
not however fled at-least but both this(-woman) saved and
τἆλλα ὁπόσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι
the-rest whatever within them both goods and men
ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν.
were all saved

4 ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες
there were-apart from-each-other the-king both and the Greeks
ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἳ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ'
about thirty stades the(-ones) indeed pursuing the(-men) opposite
αὑτούς, οἳ δ' ἁρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντα νικῶντες.
themselves the(-others) and plundering as already all conquering

5 Ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ
When and perceived the indeed Greeks that the-king with the
στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ
army in the baggage was the-king and in-turn
ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῷεν τὸ
heard from-Tissaphernes that the Greeks were-winning the(-part)
καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες,
opposite themselves and to the front are-gone pursuing
ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
there indeed the-king indeed gathers both the his-own and
συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον
forms-up — and Clearchus deliberated Proxenus

καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας
having-called nearest for he-was whether they-should-send some
ὡς παντὶ σθένει ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντας.
as with-all strength to the camp to-help
ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσιὼν πάλιν ὡς 6
in this also the-king evident was approaching again as
ἐδόκει ὄπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες
it-seemed from-behind and the indeed Greeks having-turned-about
παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι,
prepared as there of-him-approaching and to-receive(-him)
ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἀπῆγεν, ᾗ δὲ
the and king this-way indeed not he-led-back by-which but
παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπῆγεν,
he-had-passed outside the left wing this-way also he-led-back
ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ
having-picked-up also the(-men) in the battle having-deserted and
Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.
Tissaphernes and the(-men) with him
ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ 7
— for Tissaphernes in the first encounter not
ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ
fled but drove-through along the river against
τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε
the Greek peltasts driving-through and he-killed
μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ
indeed no-one having-opened-ranks but the Greeks struck and
ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε
hurled-javelins-at them Episthenes and of-Amphipolis commanded
τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι.
the peltasts and was-said sensible to-have-been

8 Ὁ δ’ οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μεῖον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν
— *and then Tissaphernes as worsted being got-away back*
μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος
indeed not he-turns into but the camp having-come
τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ
the of-the Greeks there meets the-king and together
δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο.
indeed again having-formed-up they-marched

9 ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας,
when and they-were opposite the left of-the Greeks wing
ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ
feared the Greeks lest they-should-advance against the wing and
περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ
having-outflanked(-them) on-both-sides them cut-down and
ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι
it-seemed-best to-them to-fold-back the wing and to-put
ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν.
behind the river

10 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς
in which and these-things they-were-deliberating also indeed the-king
παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν
having-passed-by into the same formation set facing the
φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνήει. ὡς δὲ
phalanx as at-the first to-fight he-came-on when and
εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους,
saw the Greeks near both being and drawn-up
αὖθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῇσαν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ
again having-sung-the-paean they-advanced much more-eagerly than
πρόσθεν.
before

οἱ δ᾽ αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πλέονος 11
the and in-turn barbarians not awaited(-them) but from greater(-distance)
ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης
than the before fled they and pursued as-far-as village
τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες·
a-certain there and halted the Greeks
ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν 12
above for the village a-hill was on which rallied
οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων
the(-men) about the-king infantry indeed no-longer of-the but horsemen
ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον γιγνώσκειν.
the hill was-filled so-that the(-thing) being-done to-know
καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν αἰετόν τινα
and the royal standard to-see they-said an-eagle some
χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἀνατεταμένον.
golden on a-light-shield raised-up
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ᾽ ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ 13
when and also there advanced the Greeks leave indeed
καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἁθρόοι ἀλλ᾽
also the hill the horsemen not however any-longer in-a-body but
ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ᾽ ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων·
different-ones from-different-places was-stripped and the hill of-the horsemen
τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν.
at-last and also all withdrew
ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ᾽ 14
— then Clearchus not did-lead-up onto the hill but
ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν
under it having-halted the army sends Lycius the
Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει
Syracusan and another to the hill and bids
κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι.
having-looked-over the(-things) beyond the hill what it-is to-report

15 καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι
and — Lycius rode both and having-seen reports that
φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ
they-flee at full-speed nearly and when these-things were also
ἥλιος ἐδύετο.
the-sun was-setting

16 Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα
There and halted the Greeks and having-grounded the arms
ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ
rested and at-the-same-time indeed wondered that nowhere
Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρήει· οὐ
Cyrus appeared nor other from him anyone came not
γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' ᾤκαζον ἢ διώκοντα
for they-knew him dead but guessed either pursuing
οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι·
to-be-gone or to-seize something to-have-ridden-ahead

17 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ
and themselves deliberated whether there staying the
σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ
baggage there they-should-bring or go-back to the
στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται
camp it-seemed-best to-them to-go-back and they-arrive
ἀμφὶ δορπηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς.
about supper-time at the tents

18 ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.
of-this indeed the day this the end was
καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα
they-find and of-the both other goods the most
διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς
plundered and if any food or drink was and the
ἁμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο
wagons full of-flour and wine which had-prepared

Κῦρος, ἵνα εἴ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι
Cyrus so-that if ever severely the army should-seize
τις ἔνδεια, διαδιδοίη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν — ἦσαν δ᾽
any want he-might-distribute(-them) to-the Greeks were and
αὗται τετρακόσιαι ἅμαξαι — καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ
these four-hundred wagons and these then the(-men)
σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν.
with the-king plundered
ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ 19
so-that supperless were the most of-the Greeks they-were and
καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα
also without-breakfast before for indeed halted the army
πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν
for breakfast the-king appeared this indeed then the
νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.
night thus they-got-through

BOOK II

I · THE GENERALS REFUSE TO SURRENDER

At dawn Procles and Glus report Cyrus dead and Ariaeus fled; Clearchus offers Ariaeus the throne, since victors may give it. The king's heralds, among them the Greek Phalinus, demand their arms. Clearchus answers that victors do not surrender them and goes to sacrifice; Cleanor would sooner die, Proxenus asks whether the king asks as victor or for a gift, Theopompus says arms and valor are all they have, and others, softening, offer service. Clearchus asks Phalinus' advice, hoping he will urge keeping them, but Phalinus urges surrender unless they have some hope of safety. Clearchus replies that as friends or enemies they are worth more armed, and to the king's terms, truce if they stay, war if they move, answers the same.

Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ 2
At-the-same-time-as and the day having-come-together the generals
ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σημανοῦντα
wondered that Cyrus neither another sends to-indicate
ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν
what ever (one)-must to-do nor himself appeared it-seemed-best then
αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις
to-them having-packed-up what they-had and having-armed
προϊέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κύρῳ συμμείξειαν.
to-advance to the front until with-Cyrus they-should-join
ἤδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι 3
already and in motion being(-them) at-the-same-time-as the-sun rising
ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ
came Procles the of-Teuthrania ruler descended from
Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμώ. οὗτοι
Damaratus the Laconian and Glus the son-of-Tamos these
ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς
said that Cyrus indeed is-dead Ariaeus and having-fled

ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν
in the stage was with the other barbarians whence
τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὡρμῶντο, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν
on-the previous-day they-had-set-out and says that this indeed the
ἡμέραν περιμένοιεν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ
day they-would-wait-for them if they-were-going to-come on-the but
ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε.
next(-day) to-go-away he-said to Ionia whence-indeed he-came
4 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες
these-things having-heard the generals and the other Greeks
πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν·
learning heavily bore(-it) Clearchus and this said
Ἀλλ' ὤφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν,
But ought indeed Cyrus to-live since but he-has-died
ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ ὡς
report to-Ariaeus that we conquer both the-king and as
ὁρᾶτε οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἤλθετε,
you-see no-one any-longer us fights and if not you had-come
ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ,
we-would-be-marching — against the-king we-promise and to-Ariaeus
ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασίλειον καθιεῖν
if here he-come onto the throne the royal to-seat
αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικώντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί.
him of-those for battle conquering also the ruling is
5 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
these-things having-said he-sends-off the messengers and with them
Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ
Chirisophus the Laconian and Menon the Thessalian also for
αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου.
himself Menon wished(-it) he-was for friend and guest-friend of-Ariaeus

Οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε· τὸ δὲ στράτευμα 6
They indeed went-off Clearchus and waited the and army
ἐπορίζετο σῖτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων
procured food as it-could from the pack-animals
κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν
slaughtering the oxen and asses wood and they-used a-little
προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο τοῖς τε
going-forward from the phalanx where the battle took-place the both
οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν
arrows many being which compelled the Greeks to-throw-away
τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις
the deserting(-men) from the-king and the wicker-shields
καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ
and the shields the wooden the Egyptian many and
καὶ πέλται καὶ ἅμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι οὖσαι· οἷς
also light-shields and wagons were to-carry(-off) empty being which
πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἕψοντες ἤσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.
all using meat boiling they-ate that the day
Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται 7
And already both it-was about full market and come
παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
from the-king and Tissaphernes heralds the indeed others
βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἷς Ἕλλην, ὃς ἐτύγχανε
barbarians was and of-them Phalinus one a-Greek who happened
παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὢν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ
with Tissaphernes being and in-honor being and for
προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε
he-made-himself-out expert to-be in-the(-things) about tactics both
καὶ ὁπλομαχίαν.
and fighting-in-arms

8 οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
these and having-approached and having-called the of-the Greeks
ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
commanders say that the-king bids the Greeks
ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας
since victorious he-happens(-to-be) and Cyrus has-killed having-surrendered
τὰ ὅπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ βασιλέως θύρας εὑρίσκεσθαι ἄν
the arms going to the-king's doors to-find-for(-themselves) if
τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν.
any they-can good

9 ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες
these-things indeed said the king's heralds the and Greeks
βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον
heavily indeed heard(-it) nevertheless and Clearchus so-much
εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικώντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι·
said that not for-the conquering it-was the arms to-surrender
ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις
but he-said you indeed O men generals to-these
ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ
answer what ever finest both and best you-have I
δὲ αὐτίκα ἥξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν,
and at-once shall-come had-called for one him of-the attendants
ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξῃρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος.
so-that he-might-see the victims taken-out he-happened for sacrificing

10 Ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος
Then indeed answered Cleanor the Arcadian eldest
ὢν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοίησαν·
being that before — they-would-die than the arms surrender
Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε,
Proxenus and the Theban But I he-said O Phalinus
θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ
wonder whether as conquering the-king asks-for the arms or

ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ
as because-of friendship gifts if indeed for as conquering why must
αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας
he to-ask and not to-take having-come if but having-persuaded
βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις,
he-wishes to-take(-them) let-him-say what will-be for-the soldiers
ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται.
if to-him these-things they-grant

πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἡγεῖται, 11
to these-things Phalinus said The-king to-be-victor thinks
ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς
since Cyrus he-killed who for with-him any-longer of-the rule
ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων
contends he-thinks and also you his-own to-be having(-you)
ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων
in middle the his-own land and rivers within impassable
καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν
and a-multitude of-men against you being-able to-bring
ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι.
so-great not-even if he-allowed(-you) you could — to-kill

μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· Ὦ Φαλῖνε, 12
after this-one Theopompus an-Athenian said O Phalinus
νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὁρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ
now as you see for-us nothing is good other if not
ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ
arms and valor arms indeed then having we-think — also
τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
the valor to-use having-surrendered but — these also of-the
σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν
bodies to-be-deprived not then think the only goods for-us

ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν
being to-you we-shall-surrender but with these also for the
ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχούμεθα.
your goods we-shall-fight

13 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ
having-heard and these-things — Phalinus laughed and said But
φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ
a-philosopher indeed you-resemble O young-man and you-say not
ἀχάριτα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὤν, εἰ οἴει τὴν ὑμετέραν
ungraceful(-things) know however foolish being if you-think the your
ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως.
valor to-prevail — over-the of-the-king power

14 ἄλλους δέ τινας ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακιζομένους ὡς
others and some they-said to-say softening that
καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι
also to-Cyrus faithful they-had-been and to-the-king — much worth
γένοιντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο
they-would-be if he-wished friend to-become and whether other
τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν,
anything he-wished to-use(-them-for) or against Egypt to-campaign
συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ.
they-would-help-subdue(-it) — with-him

15 Ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη
In this Clearchus came and asked whether already
ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν·
answered they-had Phalinus and taking-up(-the-word) said
Οὗτοι μέν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν
These indeed O Clearchus one other-things says you but to-us
εἰπὲ τί λέγεις.
tell what you-say

ὃ δ’ εἶπεν· Ἐγώ σε, ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἑώρακα, οἶμαι 16
he and said I you O Phalinus gladly have-seen I-think
δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ
and also the others all you both for a-Greek are and
ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὁρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ
we so-many being as-many-as you see in such and
ὄντες πράγμασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν
being affairs consult you what (one)-must to-do
περὶ ὧν λέγεις.
about what you-say
σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ 17
you then before gods advise us what ever to-you seems
κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὅ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει
finest and best to-be and what for-you honor will-bring
εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε
for the after time being-recounted that Phalinus once
πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ
sent from the-king to-bid the Greeks the
ὅπλα παραδοῦναι ξυμβουλευομένοις ξυνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς
arms to-surrender consulting advised them
τάδε. οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἃ
this you-know and that necessarily to-be-told in — Greece what
ἂν ξυμβουλεύσῃς.
— you-advise
ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ 18
— and Clearchus these-things was-leading(-him)-on wishing also
αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα ξυμβουλεῦσαι
himself the(-man) from the-king being-envoy to-advise
μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν
not to-surrender the arms so-that hopeful more might-be

οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν
the Greeks Phalinus but having-turned contrary-to the expectation
αὐτοῦ εἶπεν·
his said

19 Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι
I if indeed of-the ten-thousand hopes one some for-you is
σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι
to-be-saved warring-with the-king I-advise not to-surrender
τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπὶς ἄκοντος
the arms if but you-know no of-safety is hope unwilling
βασιλέως, ξυμβουλεύω σῴζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν.
the-king I-advise to-save-yourselves you where possible

20 Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
Clearchus and to these-things said But these-things indeed
δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ᾽ ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε ὅτι ἡμεῖς
then you say from us and report this that we
οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος
think if indeed it-were-necessary to-the-king friends to-be of-more
ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες
— worth to-be friends having the arms than having-surrendered(-them)
ἄλλῳ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν
to-another if but it-were-necessary to-make-war better — to-make-war
ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες.
having the arms than to-another having-surrendered(-them)

21 ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν·
— and Phalinus said These-things indeed then we-shall-report
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι
but also this to-you to-say bade the-king that staying
μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϊοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι
indeed for-you here truce would-be advancing but and going-away

πόλεμος. εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ
war tell then also about this whether you-will-stay and
σπονδαί εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπαγγείλω.
truce is or as war being from you I-should-report
Κλέαρχος δ᾽ ἔλεξεν· Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου 22
Clearchus and said Report then also about this
ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταὐτὰ δοκεῖ ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν
that also to-us the-same-things seem which also to-the-king What then
ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἢν
these-things are said — Phalinus answered — Clearchus If
μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος.
indeed we-stay truce going-away but and advancing war
ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε· Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγείλω; 23
he and again asked Truce or war shall-I-report
Κλέαρχος δὲ ταὐτὰ πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· Σπονδαὶ
Clearchus and the-same-things again answered Truce
μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προϊοῦσι πόλεμος. ὅ τι δὲ
for-those-staying going-away but or advancing war what ever and
ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.
he-would-do not he-indicated

II · JOINING ARIAEUS

Ariaeus refuses the throne, since the Persian nobles would never accept him, and offers to go home with the Greeks. Clearchus, saying the sacrifices forbid marching on the king, leads the army to him by night, the men now obeying him alone; Miltocythes the Thracian deserts, and the generals and Ariaeus' chief men swear mutual loyalty. Ariaeus advises a longer road home, the way they came being bare of provisions. Next day, near the king's army, Clearchus neither attacks nor turns aside but camps in the nearest villages, and the king, alarmed, withdraws. That night a panic runs through the camp, which Clearchus quiets by offering a talent to whoever names the man who let the ass loose among the arms.

1 Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ᾤχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ
Phalinus indeed then went-off and the(-men) with him the(-men) and
παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· Μένων δὲ
from Ariaeus came Procles and Chirisophus Menon but
αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς
there stayed with Ariaeus these and said that many
φαίη ὁ Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς
said — Ariaeus to-be Persians than-himself better who
οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ βούλεσθε
not — would-endure him reigning but if you-wish
συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μή,
to-go-away-with(-him) to-come now he-bids in-the night if but not
αὔριον πρῲ ἀπιέναι φησίν.
tomorrow early to-go-away he-says

2 ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ᾽ οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν
— and Clearchus said But so (one)-must to-do if indeed
ἥκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πράττετε ὁποῖον
we-come as you-say if but not do of-whatever-kind
ἄν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ
— anything for-you you-think most to-be-advantageous what ever and
ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε.
he-would-do not-even to-these did-he-say

3 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας
After these-things already the-sun setting having-called-together
στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες,
generals and captains he-spoke such-things To-me O men
θυομένῳ ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ
sacrificing to-go against the-king not came the victims and
εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι,
naturally then not they-came as for I now learn
ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι
in middle of-us and of-the-king the Tigris river is

ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι·
navigable which not — we-could without boats to-cross
πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν
boats but we not have not indeed then here at-least to-stay
οἷόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰέναι δὲ
possible — the for provisions not it-is-possible to-have to-go but
παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν.
to the of-Cyrus friends very fair to-us the victims were
ὧδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις 4
thus then (one)-must to-do going-away to-dine on-what ever one
ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι,
has when and it-signals with-the horn as to-rest
συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ
pack-up when and the second(-time) load on the
ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἕπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν
pack-animals at and the third follow the(-man) leading the indeed
ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω.
pack-animals keeping on-the(-side) of-the river the but arms outside
ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον 5
these-things having-heard the generals and captains went-off
καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ μὲν ἦρχεν,
and did so and the remaining(-time) he indeed commanded
οἳ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἑλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες ὅτι
they and obeyed not having-elected(-him) but seeing that
μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
alone he-thought such-things-as it-befits the commander the and others
ἄπειροι ἦσαν.
inexperienced were
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ 7
From-there when darkness came Miltocythes indeed the
Θρᾷξ ἔχων τούς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς
Thracian having the both horsemen the(-ones) with himself about

τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὡς τριακοσίους
forty and of-the infantry Thracians about three-hundred
ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα.
deserted to the-king

8 Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ
Clearchus and the others led according-to the(-things)
παρηγγελμένα, οἳ δ' εἵποντο· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν
ordered they and followed and they-arrive at the
πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρ' Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν
first stage with Ariaeus and the his army
ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα
about middle nights and in rank having-grounded the arms
ξυνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρ'
came-together the generals and captains of-the Greeks with
Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἵ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ
Ariaeus and swore the both Greeks and — Ariaeus and
τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους
of-the(-men) with him the mightiest neither to-betray each-other
σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ
allies and to-be the and barbarians swore-in-addition also
ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως.
to-lead(-them) without-guile

9 ταῦτα δὲ ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ κάπρον καὶ
these-things and they-swore having-slaughtered a-bull and a-boar and
κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ
a-ram into a-shield the indeed Greeks dipping a-sword the
δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην.
and barbarians a-lance

10 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· Ἄγε
when and the pledges were-made said — Clearchus Come
δή, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ
then O Ariaeus since the same for-you expedition is

καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας,
and for-us tell what opinion you-have about the journey
πότερον ἄπιμεν ἥνπερ ἤλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ
whether we-shall-go-away by-the-way-which we-came or another some
ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω.
to-have-thought-of you-seem road better
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν 11
he and said By-which indeed we-came going-away altogether —
ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν
by hunger we-would-perish there-is for now for-us none of-the
ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω
provisions seventeen for stages the nearest
οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν·
not-even here coming from the land nothing could-we take
ἔνθα δέ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν.
where and anything was we passing-through consumed(-it)
νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μέν, τῶν δ'
now but we-intend to-go a-longer(-way) indeed of-the but
ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν.
provisions not we-shall-lack
πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν 12
one-must-march and for-us the first stages as —
δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον ἀποσπάσωμεν
we-can longest so-that as most we-may-draw-away
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἢν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ
from-the royal army if for once of-two or
τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται
three days road we-get-ahead not-any-longer — can
βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι
the-king us to-overtake with-small indeed for army
οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ
not he-will-dare to-follow great but having host not

δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
he-will-be-able quickly to-march perhaps and also of-the provisions
σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.
he-will-be-short this he-said the opinion have I-at-least

13 Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ
Was and this the strategy nothing other amounting-to than
ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον.
to-run-away or to-flee-away the but fortune played-the-general better
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες
when for day came they-marched on right having
τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι
the sun reckoning to-arrive at-the-same-time-as the-sun setting
εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ
at villages of-the Babylonian land and this indeed not
ἐψεύσθησαν.
they-were-deceived

14 ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἱππέας·
still and about afternoon they-seemed enemy to-see horsemen
καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν
and of-the both Greeks who not happened in the ranks
ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ
being to the ranks ran and Ariaeus he-happened for
ἐφ' ἁμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο, καταβὰς
on a-wagon traveling because he-had-been-wounded having-got-down
ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.
put-on-his-breastplate and the(-men) with him

15 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἦκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες
in which and they-were-arming came saying the sent-ahead
σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἶεν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιντο. καὶ
scouts that not horsemen they-were but pack-animals were-grazing and

εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγύς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο
at-once knew all that near somewhere was-encamped
βασιλεύς· καὶ γὰρ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμαις οὐ πρόσω.
the-king and for smoke appeared in villages not far
Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ᾔδει γὰρ 16
Clearchus and against indeed the enemy not he-led he-knew for
καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἤδη
also worn-out the soldiers and without-food being already
δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος
and also late it-was not however nor did-he-turn-aside guarding
μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ
lest he-seem to-flee but straight leading at-the-same-time-as the
ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων
sun setting into the nearest villages the first(-troops) having
κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
he-encamped from which had-been-plundered by the royal
στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα.
army even very the from the houses timbers
οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὅμως τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, 17
the indeed then first nevertheless in-way some encamped
οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι
the but later in-the-dark coming-up as happened each
ηὐλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες
bivouacked and shouting much made calling
ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν
each-other so-that even the enemy to-hear so-that the indeed
ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων.
nearest of-the enemy even fled from the tents
δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ 18
clear and this on-the next-day became neither for
ὑποζύγιον ἔτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε στρατόπεδον οὔτε
pack-animal any-longer any appeared nor camp nor

καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ
smoke anywhere near was-terrified and as it-seems also
βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ
the-king at-the approach of-the army showed and
τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε.
this by-what on-the next-day he-did

19 προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
advancing however the night this also on-the Greeks
φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς
fear falls and confusion and din was such-as likely
φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγνεσθαι.
fear having-fallen to-arise

20 Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἠλεῖον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ᾽
Clearchus and Tolmides of-Elis whom he-happened having with
ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε
himself herald best of-the(-men) then to-proclaim bade
σιγὴν κηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς
silence having-proclaimed that announce the commanders who
ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι
— the(-man) having-let-loose the ass into the arms informs-on that
λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον.
he-will-receive a-reward a-talent

21 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι
when and these-things were-proclaimed knew the soldiers that
κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. ἅμα
empty the fear was and the commanders safe at-the-same-time-as
δὲ ὄρθρῳ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα
and dawn ordered — Clearchus in rank the arms
τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ᾗπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.
to-ground the Greeks as they-had when was the battle

III · THE TRUCE

Heralds come from the king offering a truce. Clearchus makes them wait and answers that there must first be a battle, since no one may speak of a truce who provides no breakfast; when they return with guides he accepts, after a delay meant to make them anxious. The Greeks cross flooded ditches, Clearchus pressing the bridging himself, to villages rich in grain, dates, and palm wine. Tissaphernes comes, says he has asked the king to let him bring them home, and asks why they marched; Clearchus answers that Cyrus deceived them and they would not desert him in danger. Two anxious days later Tissaphernes returns with the king's leave, a truce is sworn, and he goes to prepare.

Ὃ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, 1
What and indeed I-wrote that the-king was-terrified at-the approach
τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων
by-this clear was on-the indeed for previous day sending
τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ
the arms to-surrender he-bade then but at-the-same-time-as the-sun
ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν.
rising heralds he-sent about a-truce
οἳ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς 2
they and when they-came to the outposts asked-for the
ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος
commanders when and reported the outposts Clearchus
τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπεν τοῖς προφύλαξι
happening then the ranks inspecting told the outposts
κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ.
to-bid the heralds to-wait until — he-be-at-leisure
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ 3
when and he-had-arranged the army so-as to-appear on-all-sides
φάλαγγα πυκνήν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ὅπλων δὲ μηδένα καταφανῆ
a-phalanx compact outside the arms and no-one visible

εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε
to-be he-summoned the messengers and himself both came-forward
τούς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ
the both best-armed having and best-looking of-the his-own
στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταὐτὰ ἔφρασεν.
soldiers and to-the other generals the-same-things he-said

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνηρώτα τί βούλοιντο.
when and he-was with the messengers he-asked what they-wanted
οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἥκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες
they and said that about a-truce they-had-come men who
ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
competent will-be the(-things) both from the-king to-the Greeks
ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ.
to-report and the(-things) from the Greeks to-the-king

5 ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης
he and answered Report then to-him that of-battle
δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ
there-is-need first breakfast for not there-is nor the(-man)
τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ
who-will-dare about a-truce to-speak to-the Greeks not
πορίσας ἄριστον.
having-provided breakfast

6 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαυνον, καὶ ἦκον
these-things having-heard the messengers rode-off and came
ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που βασιλεὺς ἦν
quickly by-which also clear it-was that near somewhere the-king was
ἢ ἄλλος τις ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον
or other some to-whom it-had-been-assigned these-things to-do they-said
δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἥκοιεν
and that reasonable they-seemed to-say to-the-king and they-had-come

ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες οἳ αὐτούς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται,
guides having who them if a-truce be-made
ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἕξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
will-lead whence they-will-have the provisions
ὁ δὲ ἠρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο 7
he and asked whether themselves with-the men he-was-making-a-truce
τοῖς ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσοιντο
the(-ones) going and coming or also for-the others would-be
σπονδαί. οἳ δέ, Ἅπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ
a-truce they and For-all they-said until — to-the-king
τὰ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ.
the(-things) from you be-reported
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος 8
when and these-things they-said having-sent-aside them — Clearchus
ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι ταχὺ καὶ
deliberated and it-seemed-best the truce to-make quickly and
καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν.
in quiet to-go both to the provisions and to-take(-them)
ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μὲν κἀμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι 9
— and Clearchus said It-seems indeed to-me-too these-things not however
ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ᾽ ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ
quickly at-least I-shall-report but I-shall-delay until — they-hesitate the
ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί
messengers lest it-be-rejected by-us the truce to-make I-think
γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν
at-least however he-said also to-the our soldiers the same
φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν
fear will-be-present when and it-seemed the-moment to-be he-reported
ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τἀπιτήδεια.
that he-made-a-truce and at-once to-lead(-them) he-bade to the-provisions

10 Καὶ οἳ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς
And they indeed led Clearchus however marched the
μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν
indeed truce having-made the but army having in
τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις
rank and himself commanded-the-rear and they-came-upon ditches
καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν
and channels of-water full so-as not to-be-able to-cross
ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων
without bridges but they-made crossings from the palms
οἳ ηὑρίσκοντο ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον.
which were-found fallen the(-others) and also they-cut-down

11 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει,
and there it-was-possible Clearchus to-observe how he-superintended
ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ
in indeed the left hand the spear having in and the
δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς
right a-staff and if any to-him seemed of-the(-men) for
τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον
this assigned to-shirk picking-out the suitable(-man)
ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς
he-would-strike — and at-the-same-time himself he-helped into
τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ
the mud stepping so-that for-all shame to-be — not
συσπουδάζειν.
to-share-the-zeal

12 καὶ ἐτάχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸ οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη
and were-assigned to it the(-men) up-to thirty years
γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον ἑώρων σπουδάζοντα,
having-become when and Clearchus they-saw being-zealous
προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.
helped also the older(-men)

πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ 13
much and more — Clearchus hurried suspecting that-not
αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ
always so full to-be the ditches with-water not for
ἦν ὥρα οἵα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδειν· ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ
it-was season such-as the plain to-irrigate but so-that already many
προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἕλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν,
might-appear to-the Greeks terrible-things for the march
τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ
of-this for-the-sake the-king he-suspected on the plain the
ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι.
water to-have-let-loose

Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ 14
Marching and they-arrived at villages whence indicated the
ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς
guides to-take the provisions was-in-them and grain much
καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἑψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν.
and wine of-palms and vinegar boiled from the same
αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς 15
the-very and the dates of-the palms such-as indeed among the
Ἕλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ
Greeks it-is-possible to-see for-the servants were-laid-by the(-ones) but
τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ
for-the masters laid-by were select wonderful for-the
κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἠλέκτρου οὐδὲν διέφερεν·
beauty and size the and look of-amber in-nothing differed
τὰς δέ τινας ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ
the(-ones) and some drying as-sweetmeats they-laid-by and
ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μέν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ.
it-was also with drinking sweet indeed headache-causing but

16 ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ
there also the brain of-the palm first ate the
στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν
soldiers and the many wondered-at the both form and the
ἰδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές.
peculiarity of-the pleasure it-was and very also this headache-causing
ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος ηὐαίνετο.
the and palm whence was-taken-out the brain whole withered

17 Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου
There they-stayed days three and from the-great
βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς
king came Tissaphernes and the of-the king's wife
ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἵποντο.
brother and other Persians three slaves and many followed
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί,
when and met them the of-the Greeks generals
ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε.
spoke first Tissaphernes through an-interpreter such-things

18 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ
I O men Greeks neighbor dwell — to-Greece and
ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας,
when you I-saw into many and impossible(-troubles) fallen
εὔρημα ἐποιησάμην εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως
a-godsend I-considered(-it) if somehow I-could from the-king
αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
to-ask(-him) to-grant to-me to-bring-back-safe you to — Greece
οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς
I-think for — not without-gratitude to-me would-be(-it) either from
ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος.
you or from — all Greece

ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἠτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι 19
these-things and knowing I-asked the-king telling him that
δικαίως ἄν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε
justly — to-me he-would-grant(-it) because to-him Cyrus both
ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἤγγειλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων
marching-against(-him) first I-reported and help having
ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ
together-with the report I-came and alone of-those opposite
τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα
the Greeks posted not I-fled but drove-through
καὶ συνέμειξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἔνθα
and joined the-king in the your camp where
βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν
the-king came when Cyrus he-had-killed and the(-ones) with
Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξε σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν
Cyrus barbarians he-had-pursued with these the present now
μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι.
with me who to-him are most-faithful
καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύσεσθαι· ἐρέσθαι 20
and about indeed these-things he-promised me to-deliberate to-ask
δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε
and me you he-bade having-come of-what for-the-sake you-campaigned
ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι,
against him and I-advise you moderately to-answer
ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ ἐάν τι δύνωμαι
so-that for-me easier it-may-be if anything I-can
ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.
good for-you from him to-accomplish
Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· 21
To these-things having-withdrawn the Greeks deliberated
καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε
and answered Clearchus and spoke We neither

συνήλθομεν ὡς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα
came-together as with-the-king to-make-war nor were-we-marching
ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος ηὕρισκεν,
against the-king but many pretexts Cyrus found
ὡς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους
as also you well know so-that you both unprepared
λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀγάγοι.
he-might-take and us here he-might-bring

22 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἑωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα,
when however already him we-saw in danger being
ᾐσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν,
we-were-ashamed both gods and men to-betray him
ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν.
in the former time offering us ourselves well to-treat

23 ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα
since and Cyrus is-dead neither with-the-king do-we-contend
τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθα ἂν
for-the rule nor is-there anything for-the-sake-of-which we-would-wish —
τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι
the king's land badly to-treat nor him to-kill
ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς
— would-we-wish we-would-go and — home if anyone us
μὴ λυποίη· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
not should-harass wronging(-us) however we-shall-try with the gods
ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχῃ,
to-requite(-him) if however anyone us even well treating begins
καὶ τούτου εἴς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες.
also of-this to at-least power not we-shall-be-outdone well treating(-him)

24 ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης Ταῦτα,
he indeed thus spoke having-heard and — Tissaphernes These-things
ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ'
he-said I shall-report to-the-king and to-you again the(-things) from

ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἥκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων·
him until and — I come the truce let-it-stay
ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν.
a-market and we shall-provide
Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἥκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες 25
And for indeed the next-day not he-came so-that the Greeks
ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἥκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος
were-anxious on-the but third coming he-said that having-accomplished(-it)
ἥκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σῴζειν τοὺς
he-had-come from the-king to-be-granted to-him to-save the
Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον
Greeks although very many objecting that not worthy
εἴη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους.
it-was for-the-king to-let-go the(-men) against himself having-campaigned
τέλος δὲ εἶπε· Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' 26
at-last and he-said And now it-is-possible for-you pledges to-receive from
ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ
us truly indeed friendly to-provide for-you the land and
ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας·
without-guile to-lead(-you)-back to — Greece a-market providing
ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ᾖ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς
where and — not there-be to-buy to-take you from the
χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
land we-shall-allow the provisions
ὑμᾶς δὲ αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὀμόσαι ἢ μὴν 27
you and in-turn to-us it-will-be-necessary to-swear truly indeed
πορεύσεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ
to-march as through friendly(-land) harmlessly food and drink
λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἢν δὲ
taking whenever not a-market we-provide if but
παρέχωμεν ἀγοράν, ὠνουμένους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
we-provide a-market buying to-have the provisions

28 ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν αὖ
these-things were-resolved and they-swore and right-hands gave in-turn
Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς
Tissaphernes and the of-the king's wife brother
τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον
to-the of-the Greeks generals and captains and received
παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
from the Greeks

29 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπεν· Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι
after and these-things Tissaphernes said Now indeed then I-go-away
ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω
to the-king when but I-accomplish what I-ask I-shall-come
συσκευασάμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
having-packed-up so-as to-lead-back you to — Greece and
αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.
myself going-away to the my-own province

IV · DISTRUST ON THE ROAD

The Greeks wait more than twenty days for Tissaphernes, while the king's pledges cool Ariaeus' men toward them. Many urge leaving before the king regathers his army; Clearchus argues that this would break the truce and leave them no market, guide, or cavalry, with rivers to cross. Tissaphernes leads them, the armies camping apart in suspicion. At the Tigris by Sittace a messenger in Ariaeus' name warns of a night attack and a broken bridge; the Greeks see that the barbarians fear they will hold the land between river and canal, guard the bridge, and cross unattacked. At Opis the king's bastard brother watches them pass; Tissaphernes, mocking Cyrus, lets them plunder Parysatis' villages, and from Caenae the barbarians ferry them bread, cheese, and wine.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἵ τε Ἕλληνες 1
After these-things waited-for Tissaphernes the both Greeks
καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας
and — Ariaeus near each-other encamped days
πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς
more than twenty in and these arrive to
Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς
Ariaeus both the brothers and the other kinsmen and to
τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ
the(-men) with him of-Persians some encouraged both and
δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν
right-hands to-some from the-king brought not to-bear-a-grudge
βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ
the-king against-them for-the with Cyrus expedition nor
ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων.
for-other anything of-the(-things) past
τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον 2
these and happening evident were the(-men) about Ariaeus
ἧττον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ
less paying to-the Greeks the attention so-that also because-of
τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ
this to-the indeed many of-the Greeks not they-were-pleasing but
προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς·
coming-up — to-Clearchus they-said and to-the other generals
Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς 3
Why do-we-stay or not know-we that the-king us
ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
to-destroy — of all would-make(-it) so-that also to-the other
Ἕλλησι φόβος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ
Greeks fear might-be against king great to-campaign and
νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι
now indeed us he-induces to-stay because-of the to-have-been-scattered

αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὴν δὲ πάλιν ἁλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ
for-him the army when but again is-gathered for-him the
στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν.
army not it-is how not he-will-attack us
4 ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτειχίζει,
perhaps and somewhere either he-digs-off something or walls-off(-something)
ὡς ἄπορος ᾖ ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἑκών γε
so-that impassable be the road not for ever willingly at-least
βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι
he-will-wish us having-come to — Greece to-report
ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοίδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς
that we so-few being conquered the king at the
θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.
doors his and having-laughed-at(-him) went-away
5 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν· Ἐγὼ
Clearchus and answered to-the(-men) these-things saying I
ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ
consider indeed also these-things all I-think and that if
νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς
now we-go-away we-shall-seem for war to-go-away and against the
σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει
truce to-act then first indeed a-market no-one will-provide
ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὖθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος
for-us nor whence we-shall-get-provisions in-turn and the(-man) to-guide
οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ἂν ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν
no-one will-be and at-the-same-time — these-things doing us
εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀποσταίη· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείψεται,
at-once Ariaeus would-revolt so-that friend to-us no-one will-be-left
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται.
but even the(-men) before being enemies to-us will-be

ποταμὸς δ᾽ εἰ μέν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστι 6
river and whether indeed any also other then for-us is
διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ᾽ οὖν Εὐφράτην εἴδομεν ὅτι
to-be-crossed not I-know the but then Euphrates we-saw that
ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν
impossible to-cross hindering enemies not indeed then if
μάχεσθαί γε δέῃ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι, τῶν
to-fight at-least it-be-needful horsemen are for-us allies of-the
δὲ πολεμίων ἱππεῖς εἰσιν πλεῖστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι·
but enemy horsemen are most and most worthy
ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων
so-that conquering indeed whom — would-we-kill being-defeated
δὲ οὐδένα οἷόν τε σωθῆναι.
but no-one possible — to-be-saved

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλά ἐστι τὰ 7
I indeed then the-king to-whom so many are the
σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα
allied(-forces) if-indeed he-is-eager us to-destroy not I-know
ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὀμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς
what ever must him to-swear and right-hand to-give and gods
ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἕλλησί
to-forswear and the his-own pledges faithless to-make to-Greeks
τε καὶ βαρβάροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.
both and to-barbarians such-things many he-said

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἧκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν 8
In and this came Tissaphernes having the his-own force
ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν·
as to home going-away and Orontas the his-own force
ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ.
he-brought and also the daughter the king's for marriage

9 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν
from-there and now Tissaphernes leading and a-market
παρέχοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ
providing they-marched marched and also Ariaeus the
Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει
of-Cyrus barbarian having army together-with Tissaphernes
καὶ Ὀρόντᾳ καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις.
and Orontas and encamped-together with them
10 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
the and Greeks suspecting these themselves by themselves
ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ
went guides having they-encamped and
ἑκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ πλέον·
each-time being-distant from-each-other a-parasang and more
ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους,
they-guarded-themselves and both as-if enemies against-each-other
καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν.
and at-once this suspicion caused
11 ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον
sometimes and also gathering-wood from the same(-place) and hay
καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ξυλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις·
and other such-things collecting blows they-dealt each-other
ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρεῖχε.
so-that also this enmity caused
12 Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας
Having-passed and three stages they-arrived at the of-Media
καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ
called wall and passed-by it it-was and
ᾠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις,
built with-bricks baked in bitumen laid

εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο
in-breadth twenty feet in-height and hundred in-length and it-was-said
εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπεῖχε δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολύ.
to-be twenty parasangs it-was-distant and from-Babylon not far
ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· 13
from-there and they-marched stages two parasangs eight
καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας,
and crossed canals two the(-one) indeed on a-bridge
τὴν δὲ ἐζευγμένην πλοίοις ἑπτά· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ
the(-other) and bridged with-boats seven these and were from
τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέτμηντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ
the Tigris river were-cut and from them also
τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δὲ
ditches on the land the indeed first great then and
ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοί, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
smaller at-last and also small channels as in — Greece
ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν·
on the millet-fields And they-arrive at the Tigris river
πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ᾗ ὄνομα
by which a-city was great and populous whose name
Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα.
Sittace being-distant from-the river stades fifteen
οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς 14
the indeed then Greeks beside it encamped near
παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων
a-park great and fine and thick with-all-kinds-of
δένδρων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα· οὐ
trees the and barbarians having-crossed the Tigris not
μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν.
however visible were

15 μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ
after and the dinner happened in a-stroll being before
τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν
the arms Proxenus and Xenophon and having-come-up
ἄνθρωπός τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν
man a-certain asked the outposts where —
ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει,
he-could-see Proxenus or Clearchus Menon but not he-sought
καὶ ταῦτα παρ᾽ Ἀριαίου ὢν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου.
and that from Ariaeus being the Menon's guest-friend
16 ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν
when and Proxenus said that himself I-am whom you-seek said
ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἔπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοζος,
the man this Sent me Ariaeus and Artaozus
πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι
faithful being to-Cyrus and to-you well-disposed and they-bid(-you)
φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι·
to-be-on-guard lest you they-attack in-the night the barbarians
ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ.
there-is and an-army great in the neighboring park
17 καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι
and to the bridge of-the Tigris river to-send
κελεύουσι φυλακήν, ὡς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι
they-bid a-guard since intends it to-break-up
Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτός, ἐὰν δύνηται, ὡς μὴ διαβῆτε
Tissaphernes in-the night if he-can so-that not you-cross
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολῃφθῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος.
but in middle you-be-cut-off of-the river and the canal

ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον 18
having-heard these-things they-lead him to — Clearchus
καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας
and tell what he-says — and Clearchus having-heard
ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο.
was-troubled very and was-afraid
Νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν 19
Young-man and a-certain of-the(-men) present having-reflected said
ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ τὸ λύσειν
that not consistent were the both attacking and the breaking-up
τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν
the bridge clear for that attacking either to-conquer
δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ
it-will-be-necessary or to-be-defeated if indeed then they-conquer why must
λύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ
to-break-up them the bridge not-even for if many
γέφυραι ὦσιν ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν.
bridges there-be could-we-have — where having-fled we be-saved
ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ 20
if but we conquer having-been-broken-up the bridge not
ἕξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν
will-have they where they-may-flee nor indeed to-help many
ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς
being beyond no-one them will-be-able having-been-broken-up the
γεφύρας.
bridge
Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον 21
Having-heard and — Clearchus these-things asked the messenger
πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ
how-great some was land the(-land) in middle of-the Tigris and

τῆς διώρυχος. ὃ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι
the canal he and said that much and villages are-in(-it)
καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.
and cities many and great

22 τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
then indeed also it-was-recognized that the barbarians the man
ὑποπέμψειαν, ὀκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν
had-sent-secretly fearing lest the Greeks having-broken-up the
γέφυραν μείναιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν
bridge should-stay in the island defenses having on-this-side indeed
τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια
the Tigris on-that-side and the canal the and provisions
ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς
they-should-have from the in middle land much and good
οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἶτα δὲ καὶ
being and of-the(-men) to-work(-it) being-in(-it) then and also
ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν.
a-refuge should-be if anyone wished the-king badly to-treat

23 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν
After and these-things they-rested to however the bridge
ὅμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς
nevertheless a-guard they-sent and neither attacked anyone
οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν
from-anywhere nor to the bridge anyone came of-the
πολεμίων, ὡς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον.
enemy as the(-men) guarding reported

24 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν ἐζευγμένην
when and dawn came they-crossed the bridge bridged
πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα
with-boats thirty and seven as possible — most
πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ
guardedly reported for some of-the with

Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν
Tissaphernes Greeks that them-crossing they-were-about
ἐπιθήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων
to-attack but these-things indeed false were crossing
μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπεφάνη μετ᾽ ἄλλων σκοπῶν
however — Glus them appeared with others watching
εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ᾤχετο
whether they-were-crossing the river when and he-saw he-went-off
ἀπελαύνων.
riding-away

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας 25
From and the Tigris they-marched stages four
παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος
parasangs twenty to the Physcus river the breadth
πλέθρου· ἐπῆν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾠκεῖτο
of-a-plethron was-on(-it) and a-bridge and there was-inhabited
πόλις μεγάλη ὄνομα Ὦπις· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς
a-city great by-name Opis toward which met the
Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ
Greeks the of-Cyrus and of-Artaxerxes bastard brother from
Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς
Susa and Ecbatana army great leading to
βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα
help the-king and having-halted the his-own army
παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐθεώρει.
passing-by the Greeks he-watched

ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε 26
— and Clearchus led indeed in two(-files) he-marched and at-one-time
καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος· ὅσον δ᾽ οὖν χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον
and at-another halting as-long and then time the head
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον
of-the army halted so-long was necessarily time

δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν·
through whole the army to-be the halt
ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαι
so-that the army even very to-the Greeks to-seem
πάμπολυ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλῆχθαι θεωροῦντα.
very-large to-be and the Persian to-be-astounded watching

27 ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς
from-there and they-marched through — Media stages
ἐρήμους ἓξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος
desert six parasangs thirty to the of-Parysatis
κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας
villages the of-Cyrus and of-the-king mother these
Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
Tissaphernes over-Cyrus mocking to-plunder to-the Greeks
ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς
allowed except slaves were-in(-them) and grain much
καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα.
and sheep and other goods

28 ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτταρας
from-there and they-marched stages desert four
παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
parasangs twenty the Tigris river on left
ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ
having in and the first stage beyond the river
πόλις ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί,
a-city was-inhabited great and prosperous by-name Caenae
ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διῆγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις
from which the barbarians brought-across on rafts of-skins
ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον.
loaves cheeses wine

On the Zapatas Clearchus meets Tissaphernes to end the suspicion, arguing that the Greeks are worth more to him as friends than as enemies. Tissaphernes answers that if he wished to destroy them he would have no need of perjury, and promises to name the slanderers if the generals and captains come to him. Persuaded, Clearchus dines with him and next day urges that they go. Suspecting Menon, he goes with four other generals and twenty captains, against the objections of some soldiers. At Tissaphernes' doors the generals are seized and the captains and soldiers cut down; Nicarchus, wounded, brings the news, and Ariaeus comes demanding the Greeks' arms. Cleanor and Xenophon answer him, and the barbarians leave without a reply.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν, 1
After these-things they-arrive at the Zapatas river
τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας
the breadth of-four plethra and there they-stayed days
τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερὰ δὲ
three in and these suspicions indeed there-were evident but
οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή.
no appeared plot
ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ξυγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει 2
it-seemed-best then — to-Clearchus to-meet-with — with-Tissaphernes
καὶ εἴ πως δύναιτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἐξ
and if somehow he-could to-stop the suspicions before from
αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψέν τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι
them war to-arise and he-sent someone to-say that
ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζει. ὁ δὲ ἑτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἥκειν.
to-meet-with him he-desires he and readily bade(-him) to-come
Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγώ, 3
When and they-met says — Clearchus this I
ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγενημένους καὶ
O Tissaphernes know indeed by-us oaths having-been-made and

δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσειν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον
right-hands given not to-wrong each-other guarding-against
δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες
but you both I-see as enemies us and we seeing
ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα.
these-things guard-in-turn
4 ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθέσθαι πειρώμενον
since and examining not I-can either you to-perceive trying
ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε
us badly to-treat I both clearly know that we at-least
οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους
not-even contemplate such anything it-seemed-best to-me into words
σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων
with-you to-come so-that if we-could we-might-remove from-each-other
τὴν ἀπιστίαν.
the distrust
5 καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς
and for I-know men already some indeed from slander others
δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας ὅτι φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι
and also from suspicion that fearing each-other to-anticipate
βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς
wishing before suffering did incurable evils to-those
οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ᾽ αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.
neither intending nor in-turn wishing such anything
6 τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις
the then such misunderstandings thinking by-meetings
μάλιστα παύεσθαι ἥκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὡς
most to-be-stopped I-have-come and to-teach you I-wish that
σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς.
you us not rightly distrust

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι 7
first indeed for and greatest the of-gods us oaths
κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων
prevent enemies to-be to-each-other whoever but these
σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκώς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἂν
is-conscious with-himself having-neglected him I never —
εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὔτ' οἶδα ἀπὸ
would-call-happy the for of-gods war neither do-I-know from
ποίου ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἄν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι
what — speed nor whither — anyone fleeing would-escape
οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίη οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς
nor into what — darkness he-could-run-away nor how — into
ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίη. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς
strong place he-could-withdraw everywhere for all-things to-the gods
ὕποχα καὶ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι.
subject and of-all equally the gods are-masters
περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ὅρκων οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ' 8
about indeed then the gods' oaths so I-think by
οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ'
which we the friendship having-compacted deposited of-the but
ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον
human you I in the present think greatest
εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν.
to-be for-us good
σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὔπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς 9
with indeed for you every indeed road passable every and river
διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα
fordable of-the both provisions not lack without but you all
μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα·
indeed through darkness the road nothing for of-it we-know

πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός,
every and river hard-to-pass every and crowd fearful
φοβερώτατον δ᾽ ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν.
most-fearful and solitude full for of-much perplexity it-is
10 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο
if and indeed even having-gone-mad you we-should-kill other
τι ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα
anything than the benefactor having-killed against the-king
τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον πολεμήσομεν; ὅσων δὲ δὴ
the greatest competitor we-shall-make-war of-how-many and indeed
καὶ οἵων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι
and what-kind — hopes myself I-should-deprive if you any
κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω.
evil I-should-attempt to-do these-things I-shall-say
11 ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων
I for Cyrus desired for-me friend to-become thinking(-him)
τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο·
of-the(-men) then most-able to-be well to-treat whom he-wished
σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τήν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα
you but now I-see the both of-Cyrus power and land having
καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ σῴζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ᾗ
and the your-own preserving the and king's power which
Κῦρος πολεμίᾳ ἐχρῆτο, σοὶ ταύτην ξύμμαχον οὖσαν.
Cyrus as-hostile found to-you this allied being
12 τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ
these and such being who so is-mad that not
βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα
wishes to-you friend to-be but indeed I-shall-tell for also these-things
ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι.
from which I-have hopes also you to-wish friend to-us to-be

οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν 13
I-know indeed for to-you Mysians troublesome being whom I-think —
σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα
with the present force humble for-you to-make I-know
δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα
and also Pisidians I-hear and also other nations many such
εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ
to-be which I-think — to-stop annoying always the your
εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκω
prosperity Egyptians and with-whom most you I-know
τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι
angered not I-see what force as-ally having-used
μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης.
rather — you-could-punish(-them) than-the now with me being
ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο 14
but indeed in at-least the(-peoples) around dwelling you if indeed you-wished
φίλος ὡς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς σε λυποίη, ὡς
friend as greatest — you-would-be if but anyone you should-trouble as
δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἵ σοι
master — you-would-deal having us as-servants who you
οὐκ ἂν μισθοῦ ἔνεκα ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος
not — pay for-the-sake would-serve but also for-the gratitude
ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως.
which having-been-saved by you to-you — we-would-have justly
ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ 15
to-me indeed these-things all considering so it-seems
θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ
wonderful to-be the(-fact) you us to-distrust that also
ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε
most-gladly — I-would-hear who so is clever at-speaking as

σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος
you to-persuade saying that we you plot-against Clearchus
μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.
indeed then so-much said Tissaphernes and thus answered
16 Ἀλλ᾽ ἥδομαι μέν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους
But I-am-pleased indeed O Clearchus hearing from-you sensible
λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν
words these-things for knowing if any to-me evil
βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἄν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους
you-should-plan at-the-same-time — to-me you-seem also to-yourself ill-disposed
εἶναι. ὡς δ᾽ ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως
to-be that and — you-may-learn that not-even — you justly
οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον.
either the-king or me would-distrust hear-in-turn
17 εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν
if for you we-wished to-destroy whether to-you do-we-seem
ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὁπλίσεως ἐν ᾗ
of-horsemen of-multitude to-lack or of-infantry or of-equipment in which
ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἄν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ
you indeed to-harm able we-would-be — to-suffer-in-return but
οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος;
no danger
18 ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἄν
but of-places suitable you to-attack to-lack —
σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια
to-you do-we-seem not so-many indeed plains which you friendly
ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ
being with much toil traverse so-many and
ὄρη ὁρᾶτε ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι
mountains you-see for-you being to-be-traversed which for-us it-is-possible
προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ᾽
having-seized-in-advance impassable for-you to-make so-many and

εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὁπόσοις
are rivers at which it-is-possible for-us to-deal-out with-as-many
ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ᾽ αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ᾽ ἂν
of-you we-wish to-fight are and of-them which not-even —
παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν.
altogether could-you-cross if not we you should-carry-across
εἰ δ᾽ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττῴμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι 19
if and in all these we-were-worsted but the at-least you-know
πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ᾽
fire stronger than-the crop is which we could
ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς
— having-burned famine against-you to-array with-which you
οὐδ᾽ εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε.
not-even if very brave you-were to-fight — could
πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν 20
how — then having so-many means for the you
πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ
to-war-on and of-these none to-us dangerous then from
τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος
these all this — the way would-we-choose which alone
μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός;
indeed before gods impious alone and before men shameful
παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν 21
altogether and of-the-helpless it-is and resourceless and in
ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι
necessity held and these wicked who are-willing
δι᾽ ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς
through perjury both toward gods and faithlessness toward
ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε,
men to-accomplish anything not so we O Clearchus
οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἠλίθιοί ἐσμεν.
neither unreasoning nor foolish we-are

22 ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
but why indeed you it-being-possible to-destroy not to this
ἤλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ
did-we-come well know that the my love of-this cause the(-thing)
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος
to-the Greeks me trusted to-become and with-which Cyrus
ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ ἐμὲ
went-up foreign(-army) through paying-wages trusting with-this me
καταβῆναι δι᾽ εὐεργεσίαν ἰσχυρόν.
to-go-down through benefaction strong

23 ὅσα δ᾽ ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ
as-many-as and to-me useful you are the(-ways) indeed also you
εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ
said the but greatest I know the indeed for on the head
τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ
tiara for-the-king alone it-is-allowed upright to-have the(-one) but on the
καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.
heart perhaps — you being-present also another easily might-have

24 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ
These-things having-said he-seemed — to-Clearchus true to-speak and
εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν
he-said Therefore he-said those-who such for-us for friendship
ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους
existing try slandering to-make enemies
ἡμᾶς ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν;
us worthy are the extreme to-suffer

25 Καὶ ἐγὼ μέν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ
And I indeed at-least said — Tissaphernes if you-wish
μοι οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ
to-me the both generals and the captains to-come in the

ἐμφανεῖ λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ
open I-shall-tell the(-men) to me saying that you me
ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ.
plot-against and the with me army
Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ 26
I and said — Clearchus shall-bring all and to-you
αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω.
in-turn shall-show whence I about you hear
ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης 27
from these indeed the words — Tissaphernes
φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε καὶ
showing-friendliness then indeed to-stay both him bade and
σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος
as-dinner-guest made(-him) On-the and next-day — Clearchus
ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλός τ᾽ ἦν πάνυ
having-gone-away to the camp evident both was very
φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ
friendly thinking(-himself) to-be-disposed — to-Tissaphernes and what
ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ
said that-one he-reported he-said both (one)-must to-go to
Τισσαφέρνην οὓς ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσι
Tissaphernes those-whom he-had-bidden and if they-are-convicted
διαβάλλοντες, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς
slandering as traitors them and ill-disposed to-the
Ἕλλησιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι.
Greeks being to-be-punished
ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν 28
he-suspected and to-be the slanderer Menon knowing him
καὶ λάθρᾳ συγγεγενημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ᾽ Ἀριαίου καὶ
both secretly having-met Tissaphernes with Ariaeus and

στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα
quarreling with-him and plotting so-that the army
ἅπαν πρὸς αὑτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ᾖ Τισσαφέρνει.
all to himself having-taken friend he-might-be to-Tissaphernes

29 ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
wished and also Clearchus all the army to himself
ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι.
to-have the mind and the troublesome out-of-the-way to-be
τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάντας
of-the and soldiers objected some to-him not to-go all
τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει.
the captains and generals nor to-trust Tissaphernes

30 ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο
— and Clearchus strongly insisted until he-brought-about
πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς·
five indeed generals to-go twenty and captains
συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
followed and as to market also of-the other
στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.
soldiers about two-hundred

31 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ
When and they-were at doors the Tissaphernes' the
μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἴσω, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος,
indeed generals were-invited inside Proxenus a-Boeotian
Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων,
Menon a-Thessalian Agias an-Arcadian Clearchus a-Laconian
Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμενον.
Socrates an-Achaean the and captains at doors stayed

32 οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἵ
not much and later from the same signal the(-men)
τ' ἔνδον ξυνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν.
both inside were-seized and the(-men) outside were-cut-down

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων διὰ τοῦ
after and these-things of-the barbarians some horsemen through the
πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλληνι ἢ δούλῳ
plain riding whomever they-met Greek or slave
ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον.
or free all they-killed
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τήν τε ἱππασίαν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ 33
the and Greeks the both riding wondered-at from the
στρατοπέδου ὁρῶντες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποίουν ἠμφεγνόουν,
camp seeing and what ever they-were-doing were-in-doubt
πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἧκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν
until Nicarchus an-Arcadian came fleeing wounded in the
γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε
belly and the bowels in the hands having and told
πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα.
all the(-things) having-happened
ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες 34
from this indeed the Greeks ran to the arms all
ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἥξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
terrified and thinking at-once to-come them to
τὸ στρατόπεδον.
the camp
Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοζος 35
They and all indeed not came Ariaeus but and Artaozus
καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν
and Mithradates who were to-Cyrus most-faithful the and of-the
Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν
Greeks interpreter said also the of-Tissaphernes brother
σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ γιγνώσκειν· ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ
with them to-see and to-recognize followed and also
ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους.
others of-Persians in-breastplates about three-hundred

36 οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη
these when near they-were to-come-forward bade if any were
τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι
of-the Greeks general or captain so-that they-might-report
τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως.
the(-things) from the-king

37 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
after these-things came-out being-on-guard of-the Greeks
στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ἐρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος
generals indeed Cleanor an-Orchomenian and Sophaenetus
Στυμφάλιος, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως
a-Stymphalian with them and Xenophon an-Athenian so-that
μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν
he-might-learn the(-things) about Proxenus Chirisophus but happened
ἀπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ξὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζομένοις.
being-away in village some with others foraging

38 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε.
when and they-stood within earshot said Ariaeus this
Κλέαρχος μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιορκῶν τε
Clearchus indeed O men Greeks since forswearing both
ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ
he-was-shown and the truce breaking has the penalty and
τέθνηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν
is-dead Proxenus but and Menon because they-denounced
αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ
his the plot in great honor are you and
βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὑτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν,
the-king the arms demands his-own for to-be(-them) he-says
ἐπείπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.
since Cyrus' they-were the of-that-one slave

πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ 39
to these-things answered the Greeks spoke and Cleanor
ὁ Ἐρχομένιος· Ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
the Orchomenian O basest of-men Ariaeus and the others
ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ᾽
as-many-as were Cyrus' friends not are-you-ashamed either gods or
ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὀμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους
men who having-sworn to-us the same friends
καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει
and enemies to-consider having-betrayed us with Tissaphernes
τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας
the most-godless both and most-villainous the both men
αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς
themselves to-whom you-swore you-have-destroyed and the rest us
προδεδωκότες ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε;
having-betrayed with the enemy against us you-come
ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε· Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων 40
— and Ariaeus said Clearchus for before plotting
φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντᾳ, καὶ πᾶσιν
evident became to-Tissaphernes both and Orontas and all
ἡμῖν τοῖς ξὺν τούτοις. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε.
us the(-men) with these upon this Xenophon these-things said
Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυε τὰς 41
Clearchus indeed then if contrary-to the oaths he-broke the
σπονδάς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς
truce the penalty he-has just for to-perish the
ἐπιορκοῦντας· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπείπερ εἰσὶν
perjurers Proxenus but and Menon since they-are
ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε
your indeed benefactors our but generals send

αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις
them here clear for that friends at-least being to-both
πειράσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα ξυμβουλεῦσαι.
they-will-try both you and us the best to-advise

42 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες
to these-things the barbarians long time having-conversed
ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.
with-each-other went-away nothing having-answered

VI · THE FIVE GENERALS

The captured generals were taken to the king and beheaded. Clearchus was a lover of war, harsh and severe, whom soldiers obeyed in danger but never followed out of friendship. Proxenus the Boeotian sought a great name, power, and wealth by just means only, but could instill neither respect nor fear, and the unjust plotted against him as easy to handle. Menon the Thessalian desired wealth and power above all, thought deceit the road to them, and died not quickly but after a year of torture. Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were blameless in war and in friendship.

1 Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν ὡς
The indeed then generals thus taken were-led-up to
βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς
the-king and having-been-beheaded the heads died one
μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν
indeed of-them Clearchus by-common-consent by all those
ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ
experiencedly with-him having having-been-thought to-have-been a-man both
πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως.
warlike and war-loving in-the-extreme

καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 2
and for indeed while indeed war was for-the Lacedaemonians
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη
against the Athenians he-stayed when and peace
ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὑτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες
came having-persuaded the his-own city that the Thracians
ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο
wrong the Greeks and having-managed as he-could
παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ
from the ephors he-sailed-out as to-make-war on-the beyond
Χερρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θρᾳξίν.
Chersonese and Perinthus Thracians
ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω 3
when and having-changed-their-minds somehow the ephors already outside
ὄντος ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα
him-being to-turn-back him tried from Isthmus there
οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ᾽ ᾤχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον.
no-longer he-obeys but went-off sailing to the-Hellespont
ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ 4
from this also he-was-condemned-to-death by the in Sparta
τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὢν ἔρχεται πρὸς
authorities as disobeying already and an-exile being he-comes to
Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον ἄλλῃ
Cyrus and with-what-sort indeed arguments he-persuaded Cyrus elsewhere
γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυρίους δαρεικούς·
has-been-written gives and him Cyrus ten-thousand darics
ὃ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ 5
he and having-taken(-them) not to ease turned but from
τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει
these the moneys having-collected an-army made-war
τοῖς Θρᾳξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ
on-the Thracians and in-battle both conquered and from this indeed

ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι
carried-off and drove-off these and making-war continued until
Κῦρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς
Cyrus needed the army then and he-went-away as
ξὺν ἐκείνῳ αὖ πολεμήσων.
with that-one in-turn to-make-war

6 ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις
these-things then of-a-war-loving to-me seem man deeds to-be who
ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης
it-being-possible indeed peace to-keep without disgrace and harm
αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν,
chooses to-make-war it-being-possible and to-be-idle wishes to-toil
ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἱρεῖται πολεμῶν
it-being-possible and money to-have without-danger chooses by-making-war
μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὥσπερ τις εἰς παιδικὰ
less these to-make that-one and as one on a-favorite
ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον.
or on other some pleasure wished to-spend on war

7 οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ
so indeed war-loving he-was warlike and in-turn in-this
ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς
he-seemed to-be that danger-loving both he-was and by-day and by-night
ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος,
leading against the enemy and in the dangers sensible
ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν.
as the(-men) present everywhere all agreed

8 καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ
and fit-to-command and he-was-said to-be as possible from the
τοιούτου τρόπου οἷον κἀκεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς
such character as also-that-one had capable indeed for as
τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ
any also other to-take-thought he-was how might-have the army

αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ
for-him the provisions and to-provide these capable and also
ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ.
to-instill in-the(-men) present that must-be-obeyed it-was Clearchus
τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν 9
this and he-did from the harsh being and for to-look-at
στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς, ἐκόλαζέ τε ἰσχυρῶς,
grim he-was and in-the voice rough he-punished both severely
καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε.
and in-anger sometimes so-that even to-him to-repent there-is when
καὶ γνώμῃ δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος 10
and with-judgment and he-punished of-an-unpunished for army
οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν
nothing he-thought use to-be but also to-say him
ἔφασαν ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον
they-said that it-was-necessary the soldier to-fear more
τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς
the commander than the enemy if he-were-to either guards
φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι
to-keep or from-friends to-keep-off or without-excuse to-go
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.
against the enemy
ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα 11
in indeed then the dangers wished him to-hear very
καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ᾑροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ
and not another chose the soldiers and for the
στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν
grimness then cheerful they-said to-appear and the harshness
ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε
vigorous against the enemy seemed to-be so-that
σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο·
saving no-longer harsh it-appeared

12 ὅτε δ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς
when and outside the danger they-were and it-was-possible to
ἄλλον ἀρξομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ
another to-be-ruled to-go-away many him left the
γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ
for gracious not he-had but always harsh he-was and
ὠμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ
savage so-that were-disposed toward him the soldiers as
παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον.
boys toward a-teacher

13 καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίᾳ μὲν καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἑπομένους
and for then out-of-friendship indeed and goodwill following(-him)
οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι
never he-had those-who but either by city posted
ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι
or by the being-in-need or other some necessity held
παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρῆτο.
were-with him very obedient he-used

14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρξαιντο νικᾶν ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους,
when and they-began to-conquer with him the enemy
ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς
already great were the(-things) useful making to-be the
ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
with him soldiers the both for toward the enemy
θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν
confidently to-be was-there and the the from that-one punishment
φοβεῖσθαι εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.
to-fear well-disciplined made(-them)

τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων 15
such indeed then commander he-was to-be-commanded but by others
οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ
not very to-wish he-was-said he-was and when he-died about the
πεντήκοντα ἔτη.
fifty years
Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὢν ἐπεθύμει 16
Proxenus and the Boeotian at-once indeed a-youth being desired
γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ
to-become a-man the great-things to-do capable and because-of
ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ.
this the desire gave to-Gorgias money the Leontine
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι 17
when and he-had-been-with that-one capable having-thought already to-be
καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι
both to-command and friend being to-the first not to-be-outdone
εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις·
benefiting(-them) he-came into these the with Cyrus enterprises
καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν
and thought to-acquire from these name great and power
μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά·
great and money much
τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο 18
so-many-things and desiring very evident in-turn also this
εἶχεν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ
he-had that of-these nothing — would-be-wish to-acquire with
ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν
injustice but with the just and noble he-thought it-necessary
τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή.
these to-obtain without but these not

19 ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ
to-command and noble indeed and good able he-was not
μέντοι οὔτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον
however either respect for-the soldiers of-himself or fear
ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾐσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς
capable to-instill but even was-ashamed-before more the
στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνον· καὶ φοβούμενος
soldiers than the(-men) ruled him and fearing
μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις
more he-was evident the being-hated by-the soldiers
ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ.
than the soldiers the disobeying that-one

20 ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν
he-thought and to-suffice for the fit-to-command to-be and to-seem
τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ
the(-man) indeed well doing to-praise the(-man) but
ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοί
doing-wrong not to-praise accordingly to-him the indeed noble
τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ
both and good of-the(-men) with(-him) well-disposed were the but
ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ
unjust plotted as easy-to-handle being(-him) when and
ἀπέθνῃσκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.
he-died he-was of-years about thirty

21 Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν
Menon and the Thessalian evident was desiring indeed to-be-rich
ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι,
strongly desiring and to-command so-that more he-might-get
ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε
desiring and to-be-honored so-that more he-might-gain friend both

ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν
he-wished to-be to-the most powerful so-that doing-wrong
μὴ διδοίη δίκην.
not he-might-give penalty
ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομωτάτην 22
for and the accomplishing what he-might-desire shortest
ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι
he-thought road to-be through the perjuring both and lying
καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ᾽ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ
and deceiving the but simple and true the same to-the
ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι.
foolish to-be
στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη 23
loving and evident indeed he-was no-one to-whom but he-said
φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ
friend to-be to-this-one evident he-became plotting and
πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων
enemy indeed no he-mocked of-the but associates
πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέγετο.
all as mocking always he-conversed
καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· 24
and the indeed of-the enemy possessions not he-plotted-against
χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων
hard for he-thought to-be the(-things) of-those on-guard
λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι
to-take the(-things) but of-the friends alone he-thought to-know
ῥᾷστον ὂν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν.
easiest being unguarded to-take

25 καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς
and as-many-as indeed he-perceived perjured and unjust as
εὖ ὡπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν
well armed he-feared the but holy and truth
ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι.
practicing as unmanly he-tried to-use
26 ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ
as and one prides-himself on piety and truth
καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν
and justice so Menon prided-himself on-the to-deceive
δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψεύδη, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν·
to-be-able on-the to-fabricate lies on-the friends to-ridicule
τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἀεὶ ἐνόμιζεν
the(-man) but not villainous of-the uneducated always he-thought
εἶναι. καὶ παρ᾽ οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ,
to-be and with whom indeed he-attempted to-be-first in-friendship
διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τοῦτο ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι.
slandering the first this he-thought it-necessary to-acquire
27 τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ
the and obedient the soldiers to-render from
τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ
the doing-wrong-with them he-contrived to-be-honored and and
θεραπεύεσθαι ἠξίου ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ
to-be-courted he-claimed showing that most he-could and
ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις
would-be-willing — do-wrong benefaction and he-reckoned whenever any
αὐτοῦ ἀφίσταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν.
from-him withdrew that using him not he-destroyed him
28 καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι,
and the indeed then hidden(-things) it-is-possible about him to-lie
ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τάδ᾽ ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππου μὲν
what but all know this is from Aristippus indeed

ἔτι ὡραῖος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων,
still youthful being to-command he-obtained of-the mercenaries
Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἥδετο,
to-Ariaeus and a-barbarian being because with-youths handsome he-delighted
οἰκειότατος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν
most-intimate he-became himself and a-favorite had Tharypas
ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα.
beardless being bearded
ἀποθνῃσκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατήγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν 29
dying and the fellow-generals because they-campaigned
ἐπὶ βασιλέα ξὺν Κύρῳ, ταὐτὰ πεποιηκὼς οὐκ
against the-king with Cyrus the-same-things having-done not
ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν
he-died after but the of-the other death generals
τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος
punished by the-king he-died not as Clearchus
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς,
and the other generals having-been-beheaded the heads
ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς
which quickest death seems to-be but alive tortured
ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.
a-year as a-villain is-said the end to-have-met
Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ τούτω 30
Agias and the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean also these-two
ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὔθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς
died of-these but neither as in war cowardly anyone
κατεγέλα οὔτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦστην δὲ
mocked nor in friendship them blamed they-were and
ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.
both about the five and thirty years from birth

BOOK III

I · XENOPHON ROUSES THE ARMY

The Greeks lie in despair. Xenophon, who came at Proxenus' invitation after consulting Socrates and Apollo at Delphi, dreams of a thunderbolt striking his father's house, wakes, and calls together Proxenus' captains: the enemy prepared before it struck, and they must act now rather than wait to fall into the king's hands. Apollonides, who urges surrender, is driven out as no Greek. The surviving generals and captains meet at night; Xenophon tells them that the soldiers look to them, and they choose new generals, Xenophon among them for Proxenus.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν 2
When and the generals seized were and of-the
λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπισπόμενοι
captains and of-the soldiers those having-followed-along
ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες,
had-perished in great indeed perplexity were the Greeks
ἐννοούμενοι ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ
reflecting that at the king's doors they-were in-a-circle
δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιαι
and them everywhere many both nations and cities hostile
ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν,
were a-market and no-one any-longer to-provide was-going
ἀπεῖχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μεῖον ἢ μύρια στάδια,
they-were-distant and — from-Greece not less than ten-thousand stades
ἡγεμὼν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διῃργον
a-guide and none of-the road was rivers and barred(-the-way)
ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προὐδεδώκεσαν δὲ
impassable in middle of-the homeward road had-betrayed and
αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνοι
them also the(-men) with Cyrus having-gone-up barbarians alone

δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἱππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον
and left were not-even horseman any ally
ἔχοντες, ὥστε εὔδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν
having so-that very-clear it-was that conquering indeed no-one —
κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη·
would-they-kill defeated and they no-one — would-be-left
3 ταῦτ᾽ ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ὀλίγοι μὲν
these-things reflecting and despondently being few indeed
αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ
of-them for the evening of-food tasted few and fire
ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην
kindled to and the arms many not came this
τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ
the night they-rested and where happened each not
δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων,
being-able to-sleep for grief and longing for-fatherlands
γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὔποτ᾽ ἐνόμιζον ἔτι
parents wives children whom never they-thought again
ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.
to-see thus indeed then disposed all rested
4 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,
There-was and a-certain in the army Xenophon an-Athenian
ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν
who neither general nor captain nor soldier being
συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν
accompanied(-it) but Proxenus him sent-for from-home
ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι,
guest-friend being of-old promised and him if he-came
φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω
friend him to-Cyrus to-make whom himself he-said better
ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος.
for-himself to-consider than-the fatherland

ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται 5
— *however Xenophon having-read the letter consults*
Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ
Socrates the Athenian about the journey and —
Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως
Socrates suspecting lest somehow with the city
ὑπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει
a-ground-of-accusation it-might-be to-Cyrus friend to-become because seemed
ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς
— Cyrus zealously with-the Lacedaemonians against —
Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα
Athens to-have-joined-in-war advises — to-Xenophon having-gone
εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας.
to Delphi to-consult the god about the journey
ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν 6
having-gone and — Xenophon asked — Apollo to-which —
θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι
of-gods sacrificing and praying most-finely and best he-might-go
τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ
the road which he-intends and well having-fared might-be-saved and
ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν.
declared to-him — Apollo gods to-whom it-was-needful to-sacrifice
ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὃ 7
when and again he-came he-tells the oracle — to-Socrates he
δ' ἀκούσας ᾐτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα
and having-heard blamed him that not this first he-asked
πότερον λῷον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ'
whether better it-was for-him to-go or to-stay but
αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως ἂν
himself having-judged one-must-go to-be this he-inquired how —

κάλλιστα πορευθείη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ',
most-finely he-might-go since however thus you-asked these-things
ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.
he-said (one)-must to-do which the god bade

8 ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς
— indeed then Xenophon thus having-sacrificed to-whom declared the god
ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον
sailed-out and finds in Sardis Proxenus and Cyrus
μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ.
about already to-start the upward road and was-introduced to-Cyrus

9 προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κῦρος
being-eager and — Proxenus also — Cyrus
συμπροθυμεῖτο μεῖναι αὐτόν, εἶπε δὲ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν
was-eager-with(-him) to-stay him he-said and that when
τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν.
soonest the campaign ends at-once he-will-send-away him
ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας.
was-said and the expedition to-be against Pisidians

10 ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθείς — οὐχ ὑπὸ
campaigned indeed then thus deceived not by
Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν οὐδὲ
Proxenus not for he-knew the against the-king expedition nor
ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι
other anyone of-the Greeks except Clearchus when however
εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ
into Cilicia they-came clear to-all already seemed to-be that the
στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ
expedition was against the-king fearing and the road and
ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων
unwilling nevertheless the many through shame both of-each-other
καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν.
and of-Cyrus followed of-whom one also Xenophon was

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις 11
When and perplexity there-was he-grieved indeed with the others
καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν
and not could to-sleep a-little and of-sleep having-got he-saw
ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς
a-dream it-seemed to-him thunder having-come a-bolt to-fall on
τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα.
the paternal house and from this to-blaze all(-of-it)
περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ τῇ μὲν 12
terrified and at-once he-awoke and the dream in-one(-way) indeed
ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὢν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς
he-judged good that in toils being and dangers light
μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο,
great from Zeus to-see he-seemed in-another(-way) and also he-feared
ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι,
that from Zeus indeed king the dream seemed to-him to-be
κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο
in-a-circle and seemed to-blaze the fire lest not he-could
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο
out-of the land to-get-out the king's but be-hemmed-in
πάντοθεν ὑπό τινων ἀποριῶν.
on-all-sides by some difficulties
ὁποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι 13
of-what-sort some indeed then is the such dream to-see it-is-possible
σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται
to-consider from the(-things) having-happened after the dream happens
γὰρ τάδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια
for these-things at-once when he-awoke first indeed a-thought
αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νὺξ προβαίνει·
to-him occurs why do-I-lie(-here) the and night advances
ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἥξειν.
at-the-same-time-as and the day likely the enemy to-come

εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ
if and we-shall-fall into the-king's-hands what prevents — not
πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ
all indeed the most-grievous having-seen all and the
δεινότατα παθόντας ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν;
most-terrible having-suffered being-outraged to-die
14 ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ
how and we-shall-defend-ourselves no-one prepares nor
ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν
takes-care but we-lie as-if it-being-possible quiet
ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν
to-keep I then the from what-kind-of city general
προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ
do-I-expect these-things to-do what and age for-myself
ἐλθεῖν ἀναμείνω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι,
to-come shall-I-wait not for I-at-least still older I-shall-be
ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.
if today I-betray myself to-the enemy
15 Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον
From this he-stands-up and calls-together the Proxenus' first
λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες
captains when and they-came-together he-said I O men
λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς,
captains neither to-sleep am-able as I-think nor you
οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἵοις ἐσμέν.
nor to-lie(-here) any-longer seeing in what-sort(-of-plight) we-are
16 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς
the indeed for enemy clear that not before against us
τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν
the war they-declared before they-thought well the their-own

παρασκευάσασθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται
to-have-prepared of-us but no-one anything takes-counter-care
ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα.
how as best we-shall-contend
καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, 17
and indeed if we-shall-yield and into the-king's-hands we-shall-fall
τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφοῦ
what do-we-think we-shall-suffer who even of-the of-the-same-mother brother
καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν
and dead already having-cut-off the head and the
χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμὼν μὲν
hand impaled(-them) us and for-whom guardian indeed
οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς
none is-present we-campaigned and against him as
δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες
slave instead-of king to-make(-him) and to-kill(-him)
εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν;
if we-could what — do-we-think to-suffer
ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα 18
then not — to every-length would-he-go so-that us the extreme
αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ
having-tortured to-all men fear he-might-give of-the
στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ'
to-campaign ever against him but so-that you-know not into
ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον.
that-one's-hands we-shall-fall all-things must-be-done
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν οὔποτε 19
I indeed then while indeed the truce was never
ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν
ceased us indeed pitying the-king but and the(-men) with
αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσην μὲν χώραν
him blessing surveying of-them how-much indeed land

καὶ οἵαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους
and what-kind they-had how and abundant the provisions how-many
δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ·
and servants how-many and cattle gold and clothing and
20 τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι
the(-things) and in-turn of-the soldiers whenever I-reflected that
τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τούτων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετείη, εἰ μὴ
of-the indeed goods these none to-us was-a-share if not
πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ᾔδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας,
we-should-buy with-what and we-shall-buy I-knew still few having
ἄλλως δέ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους
otherwise and somehow to-procure the provisions than buying
ὅρκους ᾔδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος
oaths I-knew restraining us these-things then reckoning
ἐνίοτε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον.
sometimes the truce more I-feared than now the war
21 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδάς, λελύσθαι
since however they broke the truce to-have-been-broken
μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία.
to-me seems both the their insolence and the our suspicion
ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἆθλα ὁπότεροι
in middle for already lie these the goods prizes whichever
ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν, ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοί
— of-us men better be judges-of-the-contest and the gods
εἰσιν, οἳ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται.
are who with us as the likely(-thing) will-be
22 οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ
these indeed for them have-forsworn we but many
ὁρῶντες ἀγαθὰ στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς
seeing goods steadfastly from-them we-abstained because-of the

τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐπὶ
of-the gods oaths so-that to-be-possible to-me it-seems to-go to
τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις.
the contest much with spirit greater than for-these
ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ 23
still and we-have bodies more-capable than-these both colds and
θάλπη καὶ πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς
heats and toils to-bear we-have and also souls with the
θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον
gods better the and men both woundable and mortal more
ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν.
than-we if the gods as the before victory to-us give
ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταὐτὰ ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν 24
but perhaps for also others the-same-things consider by the
θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας
gods not let-us-wait-for others to us to-come summoning
ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι
to the finest deeds but we let-us-begin the rousing
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν· φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν
also the others to the valor show-yourselves of-the captains
ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι.
best and than-the generals more-worthy-to-be-generals
κἀγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, 25
and-I and if indeed you wish to-rush to these-things
ἕπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετ' ἐμὲ ἡγεῖσθαι,
to-follow you I-wish if but you appoint me to-lead
οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν
nothing do-I-plead-as-excuse the age but even to-be-in-my-prime
ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.
I-think to-ward-off from myself the evils

26 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγεῖσθαι
He indeed these-things said the and officers having-heard to-lead
ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν βοιωτιάζων
bade(-him) all except Apollonides one was speaking-Boeotian
τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ᾽ εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγει
in-the voice this-one and said that he-talked-nonsense whoever says
ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας,
otherwise somehow safety — to-obtain than the-king having-persuaded
εἰ δύναιτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας.
if he-could and at-the-same-time began to-tell the difficulties
ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
— however Xenophon in-the-middle interrupting said thus
27 Ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύγε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις
O most-wonderful man you-at-least not-even seeing understand
οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταὐτῷ γε μέντοι ἦσθα
nor hearing remember in the-same(-place) at-least however you-were
τούτοις ὅτε βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας
with-these when the-king when Cyrus died greatly being-proud
ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα.
at this sending bade(-us) to-surrender the arms
28 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξοπλισάμενοι
when and we not having-surrendered(-them) but having-armed
ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις
having-come encamped-beside him what not did-he-do envoys
πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
sending and truce asking and providing the provisions
ἕστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν;
until a-truce he-obtained
29 ἐπεὶ δ᾽ αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ
when and in-turn the generals and captains as indeed
σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον
you bid into conference with-them without arms went

πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι,
trusting the truce not now they being-struck
κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες
being-goaded being-outraged not-even to-die the wretches
δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἃ σὺ πάντα
are-able and very I-think longing for-this which you all
εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῄς,
knowing the(-men) indeed to-defend-ourselves bidding to-talk-nonsense you-say
πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας;
to-persuade but again you-bid going
ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε 30
to-me O men it-seems the man this neither
προσίεσθαι εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους τε
to-admit into the-same(-company) with-us ourselves having-taken-away both
τὴν λοχαγίαν σκεύη ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιούτῳ χρῆσθαι.
the captaincy baggage having-put-on(-him) as such(-a-one) to-use
οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
this-one for both the fatherland disgraces and all —
Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλλην ὢν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.
Greece because a-Greek being such he-is
ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ 31
then taking-up(-the-word) Agasias a-Stymphalian said But
τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν οὔτε
to-this-one at-least neither — to-Boeotia belongs anything nor
τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον ὥσπερ
— to-Greece altogether since I him saw like
Λυδὸν ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα τετρυπημένον.
a-Lydian both the ears pierced
καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν. Οἱ δὲ 32
and it-was so this-one indeed then they-drove-away The and
ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς
others along the ranks going where indeed general

σῶος εἴη τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο
safe was the general they-summoned where and he-was-gone
τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἴη τὸν
the lieutenant-general where and in-turn captain safe was the
λοχαγόν.
captain

33 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων
when and all had-come-together to the front of-the arms
ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ
they-sat-down and were the(-men) having-come-together generals
καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν
and captains about the hundred when and these-things were
σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες.
nearly middle were nights

34 ἐνταῦθα Ἱερώνυμος Ἠλεῖος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν
there Hieronymus an-Elean eldest being of-the
Προξένου λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Proxenus' captains began to-speak thus To-us O men
στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε
generals and captains seeing the present(-state) it-seemed-good
καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως
both ourselves to-come-together and you to-summon so-that
βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη,
we-might-deliberate if anything we-could good tell and he-said
καὶ νῦν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
also now O Xenophon the-things-which also to us

35 Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
From this says this Xenophon But these-things indeed then
πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς
all we-know that the-king and Tissaphernes those-whom
μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις
indeed they-could have-seized of-us against-the but others

δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἢν δύνωνται ἀπολέσωσιν.
clear that they-plot so-that if they-can they-may-destroy(-us)
ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὡς μήποτε ἐπὶ
by-us but at-least I-think all-things must-be-done so-that never in-the-power-of
τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἡμῖν.
the barbarians we-come but rather in-the-power-of us
εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν 36
well then know that you so-many being as-many-as now
συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται
have-come-together greatest have opportunity the for soldiers
οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν
these all to you look and-if indeed you they-see
ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἂν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί τε
despondent all cowards will-be if but you yourselves both
παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ
preparing evident are against the enemy and
τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἕψονται ὑμῖν
the others summon well know that they-will-follow you
καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι.
and will-try to-imitate(-you)
ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι 37
perhaps and you-know also just it-is you to-excel somewhat
τούτων. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ
these you for are generals you taxiarchs and
λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς
captains and when peace was you also in-money and honors
τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν
than-these had-the-advantage and now then since war it-is
ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι
to-require must you yourselves better both than-the multitude to-be
καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἤν που δέῃ.
and to-deliberate-for these and to-toil-for(-them) if anywhere it-be-needful

38 καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἴομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὠφελῆσαι τὸ
and now first indeed I-think — you greatly to-help the
στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων
army if you-should-take-care that instead-of the having-perished
ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν.
as quickly-as-possible generals and captains be-appointed-in-their-place
ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν
without for commanders nothing — either noble or good
γένοιτο ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ
could-come-about as indeed to-one-summing-up to-say nowhere in but
δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία
indeed the military(-affairs) altogether the indeed for good-order
σῴζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν.
to-save seems the but disorder many already has-destroyed
39 ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους
when and you-appoint the commanders as-many-as
δεῖ, ἢν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ
are-needed if also the other soldiers you-collect and
παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι.
encourage I-think — you very in season to-act
40 νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν
now for perhaps also you perceive how despondently indeed
ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς·
they-came to the arms despondently and to the guard-posts
ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἄν τις
so-that so at-least being not I-know what ever — one
χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας.
could-use them whether by-night it-be-needed or also by-day

ἢν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο 41
if but one of-them turn the minds so-that not this
μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι,
only they-consider what they-will-suffer but also what they-will-do
πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται.
much more-cheerful they-will-be
ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλῆθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχὺς 42
you-know for indeed that neither multitude it-is nor strength
ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότεροι ἂν
the(-thing) in the war the victories making but whichever —
σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
with the gods in-the souls stronger go against the
πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται.
enemy these as for the most-part the opponents not await
ἐντεθύμημαι δ᾽ ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι 43
have-taken-to-heart and I-at-least O men also this that
ὁπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς
as-many-as indeed seek to-live by every way in the
πολέμοις, οὗτοι κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ
wars these badly both and shamefully as for the most-part
ἀποθνῄσκουσιν, ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασι
die as-many-as but the indeed death have-recognized
πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ
for-all common to-be and necessary for-men about and the
καλῶς ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλόν
nobly to-die strive these I-see more
πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν
somehow into the old-age arriving and while — they-live
εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας.
more-happily passing(-their-lives)

44 ἃ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ
which also us must now having-learned in such for
καιρῷ ἐσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
occasion we-are ourselves both men brave to-be and the
ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.
others to-summon

45 ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε
he indeed these-things having-said stopped After and him said
Χειρίσοφος· Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μέν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον
Chirisophus But before indeed O Xenophon so-much
μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, νῦν
only you I-knew as-much-as I-heard an-Athenian to-be now
δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις καὶ
but also I-praise you for what you-say both and do and
βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ
I-would-wish — as most to-be such common for
ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν.
— would-be the good

46 καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες
and now he-said not let-us-delay O men but having-gone-away
ἤδη αἱρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἑλόμενοι ἥκετε
now choose those needing commanders and having-chosen come
εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας
to the middle of-the camp and the chosen
ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας.
bring then there we-shall-call-together the other soldiers

47 παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. καὶ
let-be-present and for-us he-said also Tolmides the herald and
ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο
at-the-same-time these-things having-said he-stood-up so-that not it-be-delayed
ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ᾑρέθησαν
but be-accomplished the needful(-things) from this were-chosen

ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς,
commanders instead-of indeed Clearchus Timasion a-Dardanian
ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου
instead-of and Socrates Xanthicles an-Achaean instead-of and Agias
Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἐρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος
Cleanor the Orchomenian instead-of and Menon Philesius
Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.
an-Achaean instead-of and Proxenus Xenophon an-Athenian

II · THE PLAN OF THE RETREAT

At dawn Chirisophus speaks for courage, Cleanor denounces the king's perjury and Ariaeus' betrayal, and Xenophon, splendidly armed, speaks to the assembly. A sneeze is hailed as an omen of Zeus the Savior. Xenophon argues that the gods favor oath-keepers, recalls how their ancestors beat the Persians and Xerxes, and answers each fear: horsemen are only men on a shakier seat, guides and provisions can be taken, and rivers can be crossed near their sources. He proposes burning the wagons and tents, keeping order, and marching in a square with the baggage in the middle: Chirisophus leading, the two eldest on the flanks, and the youngest, Xenophon and Timasion, at the rear. All vote for it.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε καὶ 1
When and they-had-been-chosen day both nearly was-dawning and
εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
into the middle came the commanders and it-seemed-best to-them
προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας.
outposts having-stationed to-call-together the soldiers
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη
when and also the other soldiers had-come-together stood-up
πρῶτος μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
first indeed Chirisophus the Lacedaemonian and spoke thus

2 Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὁπότε
Men soldiers grievous indeed the present(-things) since
ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν
of-men generals such we-are-deprived and of-captains
καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον
and of-soldiers besides and still also the(-men) about Ariaeus
οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς·
the before allies being have-betrayed us
3 ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
nevertheless and (one)-must from the present(-state) men brave
τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως ἦν
to-be and not to-give-in but to-try how if
μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σῳζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή,
indeed we-can nobly conquering we-may-be-saved if but not
ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνῄσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε
but nobly at-least we-may-die subject but never
γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς
may-we-become alive to-the enemy I-think for — us
τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.
such-things to-suffer as the enemies the gods may-do
4 ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἐρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν
upon this Cleanor the Orchomenian stood-up and spoke
ὧδε. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιορκίαν
thus But you-see indeed O men the king's perjury
καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις
and impiety you-see and the Tissaphernes' faithlessness who
λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου
saying that neighbor both he-was — of-Greece and of most
ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς
— he-would-make(-it) to-save us and upon these himself
ὀμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας
having-sworn to-us himself right-hands having-given himself having-deceived(-them)

συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἠδέσθη,
seized the generals and not-even Zeus of-strangers respected
ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ γε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς
but with-Clearchus at-least even table-companion having-become by-very
τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν.
these(-means) having-deceived the men he-has-destroyed(-them)
Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ 5
Ariaeus and whom we wished king to-establish and
ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους,
we-gave and received pledges not to-betray each-other
καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον τεθνηκότα
also this-one neither the gods fearing nor Cyrus dead
αἰδεσθείς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος νῦν
respecting honored most by Cyrus living now
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου
to the of-that-one bitterest-enemies having-revolted us the of-Cyrus
φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται.
friends badly to-treat tries
ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτείσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ 6
but these indeed the gods may-punish us but
δεῖ ταῦτα ὁρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ
must these-things seeing never to-be-deceived any-longer by
τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα
these but fighting as — we-can most-strongly
τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.
this what ever — seems-good to-the gods to-suffer
Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον 7
From this Xenophon stands-up equipped for war
ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ
as he-could most-finely thinking whether victory should-give the
θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾶν πρέπειν, εἴτε
gods the finest adornment for-the conquering to-befit or

τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων
to-die it-should-be-necessary right to-be the finest
ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν·
himself having-deemed-worthy in these the end to-meet
τοῦ λόγου δὴ ἤρχετο ὧδε.
of-the speech indeed he-began thus

8 Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν
The indeed of-the barbarians perjury both and faithlessness
λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς οἶμαι.
tells-of indeed Cleanor know and also you I-think
εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι,
if indeed then we-wish again with-them in friendship to-go
ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς
necessity us much despondency to-have seeing also the
στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν,
generals who through trust to-them themselves entrusted
οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις
what they-have-suffered if however we-intend with the arms
ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ
for-what both they-have-done punishment to-inflict on-them and the
λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς
rest through all war with-them to-go with the
θεοῖς πολλαὶ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας.
gods many to-us and fair hopes are of-safety

9 Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυταί τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ
This and saying him sneezes someone having-heard and the
στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ
soldiers all with-one impulse did-obeisance-to the god and
ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας
— Xenophon said It-seems to-me O men since about safety
ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη,
us speaking an-omen — of-Zeus the savior appeared

εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου
to-vow to-the god this to-sacrifice thank-offerings-for-safety where
ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι
— first into friendly land we-arrive to-vow-besides
δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ
and also to-the other gods to-sacrifice according-to ability and
ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ
to-whomever it-seems-good these-things he-said let-him-raise the hand and
ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ηὔξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν.
raised all from this they-vowed and sang-the-paean
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.
when and the(-things) of-the gods well were he-began again thus
Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν 10
I-happened saying that many and fair hopes to-us
εἶεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν
were of-safety first indeed for we indeed abide-by
τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί
the of-the gods oaths the but enemy have-perjured-themselves
τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν.
both and the truce contrary-to the oaths have-broken
οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους
so and being(-things) likely to-the indeed enemy opposed
εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοί εἰσι
to-be the gods to-us but allies who able are
καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς
even the great quickly small to-make and the small
κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι σῴζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται.
even-if in dangers they-be to-save easily whenever they-wish
ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων 11
then and I-shall-remind for you also the of-the ancestors
τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς
the our dangers so-that you-may-know that brave

τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι σῴζονταί τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
both to-you it-befits to-be are-saved both with the gods
καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ
even out-of very terrible(-straits) the brave having-come indeed for
Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς
Persians and of-the(-men) with them with-a-very-great host as
ἀφανιούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι
about-to-obliterate — Athens to-withstand themselves Athenians
τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.
having-dared conquered them

12 καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν
and having-vowed — to-Artemis as-many-as they-should-kill of-the
πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ
enemy so-many goats to-sacrifice to-the goddess when
οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὑρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν
not they-were-able enough to-find it-seemed-best to-them by year
πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἀποθύουσιν.
five-hundred to-sacrifice and still now they-pay-the-sacrifice

13 ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον
then when Xerxes later having-gathered the innumerable
στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ
army came against — Greece also then conquered the
ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ
our ancestors the of-these ancestors both by
γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια
land and by sea of-which it-is-possible indeed proofs
ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία
to-see the trophies greatest and testimony the freedom
τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα
of-the cities in which you were-born and were-reared no

γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε.
for man master but the gods you-worship
τοιούτων μέν ἐστε προγόνων.
such indeed you-are of-ancestors
οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· 14
not indeed then this at-least I-shall-say that you shame them
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι
but not many days since which(-time) having-been-drawn-up-against
τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν
these the of-those descendants many-times-as-many as-you
αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς.
yourselves you-conquered with the gods
καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες 15
and then indeed then for the of-Cyrus kingship men
ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ᾽ ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας
you-were brave now and when for the your safety
ὁ ἀγών ἐστι πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας
the contest is much surely you it-befits both better
καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἶναι.
and more-eager to-be
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς 16
but indeed also more-confident now it-is-fitting to-be toward
τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν,
the enemy then indeed for inexperienced being of-them
τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν
the and multitude immense seeing nevertheless you-dared with
τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὁπότε
the ancestral spirit to-go against them now but when
καὶ πεῖραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ θέλουσι καὶ
also experience already you-have of-them that not they-are-willing even

πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν
many-times-as-many being — to-await you why any-longer for-you
προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι;
does-it-befit these to-fear

17 μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μεῖον δόξητε ἔχειν ὅτι οἱ Ἀριαίου
nor however this a-loss think to-have that the(-men) of-Ariaeus
πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ
before with us posted now have-revolted still for
οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων·
these worse are than-the(-men) by us beaten
ἔφυγον γοῦν ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δ'
they-fled at-least those having-left us the(-men) and
ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις
wishing flight to-begin much better with the enemy
ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν.
posted than in the our rank to-see

18 εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς,
if and any of-you is-despondent that to-us indeed not are horsemen
τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οἱ
to-the but enemy many are-present consider that the
μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι·
ten-thousand horsemen nothing other than ten-thousand are men
ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς
by indeed for a-horse in battle no-one ever either bitten
οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ
or kicked died the but men are the(-ones)
ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται.
doing what ever — in the battles happens

19 οὐκοῦν τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου
therefore than-the horsemen much we on a-safer
ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται
vehicle we-are they indeed for on horses hang

φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν·
fearing not us only but also the falling-off
ἡμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον
we but on ground standing much indeed more-strongly
παίσομεν, ἤν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου
shall-strike if anyone approaches much and more whatever
ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα· ἑνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ
— we-wish shall-hit in-one but only excel the
ἱππεῖς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν.
horsemen to-flee for-them safer it-is than for-us
εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι 20
if and indeed the indeed battles you-are-confident-of that and no-longer
ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει,
you Tissaphernes will-lead nor the-king a-market will-provide
τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρνην
this you-are-vexed-at consider whether better Tissaphernes
ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν,
as-guide to-have who plotting against-us evident is
ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν,
or whomever — we men having-taken to-lead bid
οἳ εἴσονται ὅτι ἤν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἁμαρτάνωσι, περὶ
who will-know that if anything toward us they-err about
τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἁμαρτήσονται.
the their-own lives and bodies they-will-err
τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς 21
the and provisions whether to-buy better from the
ἀγορᾶς ἧς οὗτοι παρεῖχον μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου,
market which these provided small measures for-much money
μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἥνπερ
not-even this any-longer having or ourselves to-take if-indeed
κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται.
we-conquer measure using however-great — each wishes

22 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γιγνώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ
if and these-things indeed you-know that better the but
ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε
rivers impassable you-think to-be and greatly think
ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ
to-have-been-deceived having-crossed consider whether then this also
μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοί,
most-foolish have-done the barbarians all for rivers
ἂν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροί εἰσι, προσϊοῦσι πρὸς
if even far from-the sources impassable are to-those-approaching to
τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες.
the sources fordable become not-even the knee wetting
23 εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμών τε μηδεὶς
if and neither the rivers will-let(-us)-through a-guide and none
ἡμῖν φανεῖται, οὐδ' ὡς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα
to-us will-appear not-even so for-us at-least must-one-despair we-know
γὰρ Μυσούς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι,
for Mysians whom not — than-us we-would-say better to-be
ὅτι ἐν βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ
that in the-king's land many both and prosperous and
μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως,
great cities they-inhabit we-know and Pisidians likewise
Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ
Lycaonians and also ourselves we-saw that in the plains the
ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται·
strongholds having-seized the of-these land they-enjoy
24 καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς
and us and — I-would-say I-at-least must not-yet evident
εἶναι οἴκαδε ὡρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ
to-be homeward setting-out but to-prepare as here
οἰκήσοντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς
about-to-settle I-know for that also to-Mysians the-king many

μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ
indeed guides — would-give many and — hostages for-the
ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς
without-guile to-send(-them)-out and would-make-roads at-least — for-them
καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιντο ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ'
even if with four-horse-chariots they-wished to-go-away and for-us at-least
ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς
— I-know that thrice-gladly these-things he-would-do if he-saw us
μένειν κατασκευαζομένους.
staying preparing
ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν 25
but for I-fear lest if once we-learn idle to-live
καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν
and in abundance to-live and of-Medes and and of-Persians
καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν,
with-beautiful and tall women and maidens to-consort
μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ.
lest like the lotus-eaters we-forget the homeward road
δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν 26
it-seems then to-me reasonable and just to-be first to —
Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ
Greece and to the kinsfolk to-try to-arrive and
ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἑκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν
to-show to-the Greeks that willingly they-are-poor it-being-possible
αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν σκληρῶς ἐκεῖ πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε
for-them the(-ones) now harshly there living here
κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὁρᾶν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες,
having-brought rich to-see but for O men
πάντα ταῦτα τἀγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί·
all these the-goods clear that of-the conquering are

27 τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ λέγειν ὅπως ἂν πορευοίμεθά τε ὡς
this and (one)-must to-say how — we-may-march both as
ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι ὡς κράτιστα
most-safely and if to-fight it-be-needful as most-strongly
μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι
we-may-fight first indeed then he-said it-seems to-me to-burn
τὰς ἁμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν
the wagons which we-have so-that not the teams us
στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ
command but we-may-march wherever — for-the army
συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται
it-is-advantageous then also the tents to-burn-with(-them) these
γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ’
for in-turn trouble indeed provide to-carry help but
οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ’ εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν.
nothing either for the fighting or for the the provisions having
28 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ
still and also of-the other baggage the superfluous(-things)
ἀπαλλάξωμεν πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ
let-us-get-rid-of except what of-war for-the-sake or of-food or
ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
of-drink we-have so-that as most indeed of-us in the arms
ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν
may-be as fewest and carry-baggage being-conquered indeed
γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἢν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ
for you-know that all-things another’s if but we-conquer also
τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν.
the enemy (one)-must baggage-carriers ours to-consider
29 λοιπόν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι.
remaining for-me to-say what also greatest I-think to-be
ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν
you-see for also the enemy that not before to-carry

ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
dared against us war before the generals
ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων
our they-seized thinking being indeed the commanders
καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι
and us obeying able to-be us to-prevail
τῷ πολέμῳ, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναρχίᾳ ἂν
in-the war having-taken but the commanders by-anarchy —
καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι.
and by-disorder they-thought us to-perish
δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι 30
must then much indeed the commanders more-careful to-become
τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους
the(-ones) now than-the before much and the ruled
εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν
better-disciplined and obeying more the commanders now
ἢ πρόσθεν·
than before
ἢν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ψηφίσασθαι τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν 31
if and anyone disobeys to-vote the(-man) ever of-you
ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν· οὕτως οἱ
happening-by with the commander to-punish(-him) thus the
πολέμιοι πλεῖστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ
enemy most deceived will-be on-this for the
ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς
day ten-thousand they-will-see instead-of one Clearchuses the(-men)
οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι.
to-no-one allowing bad to-be
ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι 32
but for also to-finish now it-is-time perhaps for the enemy
αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς
at-once will-be-here to-whomever then these-things seem well

ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται.
to-be let-him-ratify(-them) as quickly-as-possible so-that in-deed it-be-carried-out
εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ
if and anything other better than this-way let-him-dare also the
ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.
private-soldier to-teach(-it) all for common safety we-need
33 Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τινος
After these-things Chirisophus said But if indeed of-anything
ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ
other there-is-need besides these which says Xenophon also
αὐτίκα ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι
at-once it-will-be-possible to-consider what and now he-has-said it-seems to-me
ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ
as quickly-as-possible to-vote best to-be and to-whomever
δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν πάντες.
seems these-things let-him-raise the hand raised all
34 ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε
having-stood-up and again said Xenophon O men hear
ὧν προσδοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου
what seems-likely to-me clear that to-march us must where
ἕξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς
we-shall-have the provisions I-hear and villages to-be fine
οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας·
not more twenty stades distant
35 οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ
not — then we-would-wonder if the enemy like the cowardly
κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκοντες καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἢν
dogs the indeed passing(-ones) pursuing also bite if
δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
they-can the and pursuing(-ones) flee if also themselves
ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν.
us going-away should-follow-after

ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον 36
perhaps then safer for-us to-march a-square
ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς
having-made of-the arms so-that the baggage and the great
ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἴη. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθείη τίνας
crowd in safer(-position) may-be if then now it-were-appointed who
χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας
must to-lead the square and the front arrange and who
ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν,
on the flanks each to-be who and to-guard-the-rear
οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν βουλεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς
not — when the enemy should-come to-deliberate us
δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρῴμεθα ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις.
it-would-be-needful but we-would-use — at-once the posted(-men)
εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ 37
if indeed then other anyone better sees otherwise let-it-be if
δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός
but not Chirisophus indeed should-lead since also a-Lacedaemonian
ἐστι· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων δύο τὼ πρεσβυτάτω
he-is of-the and flanks each two the eldest
στρατηγὼ ἐπιμελοίσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ
generals should-take-care should-guard-the-rear and we the
νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίων τὸ νῦν εἶναι.
youngest I and Timasion for-the now to-be
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως 38
the and remaining(-time) trying this the formation
βουλευσόμεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι.
we-shall-deliberate what ever — always best seems to-be
εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς
if and anyone other sees better let-him-say when and no-one

ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν
objected he-said To-whomever seems these-things let-him-raise the
χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα.
hand it-was-resolved these-things

39 Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ
Now then he-said going-away to-do (one)-must the(-things)
δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ
resolved and whoever both of-you the kinsfolk desires
ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν
to-see let-him-remember a-man brave to-be not for it-is-possible
ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω
otherwise this to-obtain whoever both to-live desires let-him-try
νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικώντων τὸ καίνειν, τῶν δὲ
to-conquer of-the indeed for conquering the killing of-the and
ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων
defeated the dying is and if anyone and money
ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικώντων ἐστὶ καὶ
desires to-prevail let-him-try of-the for conquering it-is both
τὰ ἑαυτῶν σῴζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.
the their-own to-keep and the(-things) of-the defeated to-take

III · HARASSED BY MITHRADATES

Mithradates comes professing friendship, is seen to be sent secretly, and the generals resolve to admit no herald while in enemy country. Across the Zapatas his horsemen, archers, and slingers harass the rear, and Xenophon's pursuit with hoplites and peltasts catches no one. When Chirisophus and the eldest generals blame him, he admits it and argues that the army needs slingers and horsemen: Rhodians who sling lead, and the baggage horses equipped as cavalry. That night about two hundred slingers are enrolled, and next day about fifty horsemen are equipped under Lycius the Athenian as cavalry commander.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον 1
These-things having-been-said they-stood-up and going-away burned
τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου
the wagons and the tents of-the and superfluous(-things) whatever
μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς
indeed needed anyone they-shared with-each-other the and rest into
τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἠριστοποιοῦντο.
the fire they-threw these-things having-done they-made-breakfast
ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν
making-breakfast and them comes Mithradates with
ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
horsemen about thirty and having-called the generals
εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε.
within earshot says thus

Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς 2
I O men Greeks both to-Cyrus faithful was as
ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὔνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμὶ
you know and now to-you well-disposed and here and I-am
σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρῴην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν
with much fear living if then I-saw you saving
τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς
something planning I-would-come — to you and the
θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρός με τί ἐν
servants all having tell then to me what in
νῷ ἔχετε ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὔνουν καὶ βουλόμενον
mind you-have as a-friend both and well-disposed and wishing
κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι.
in-common with you the expedition to-make
βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι 3
deliberating to-the generals it-seemed-best to-answer
τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μέν τις
this and said Chirisophus To-us it-seems if indeed anyone

ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς
allows us to-go-away home to-pass-through the land as
ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἢν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ
— we-can most-harmlessly if but anyone us from-the road
ἐπικωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα.
hinders to-fight-it-out with-him as — we-can most-strongly
4 ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον
from this tried Mithradates to-show that impossible
εἴη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγιγνώσκετο
it-was the-king unwilling to-be-saved there indeed it-was-recognized
ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἴη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις
that sent-secretly he-was and for of-the Tissaphernes' a-certain
οἰκείων παρηκολουθήκει πίστεως ἕνεκα.
kinsmen had-followed-along of-good-faith for-the-sake
5 καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα
and from this it-seemed to-the generals better to-be a-decree
ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ
to-make the war without-heralds to-be as-long-as in the
πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας,
hostile(-land) they-were they-corrupted for approaching the soldiers
καὶ ἕνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ
and one at-least captain they-corrupted Nicarchus an-Arcadian and
ᾤχετο ἀπιὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.
he-went-off going-away by-night with men about twenty
6 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν
After these-things having-breakfasted and having-crossed the Zapatas
ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν
river they-marched drawn-up the pack-animals and the
ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων
crowd in middle having not far and having-gone-forward
αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων
them appears again — Mithradates horsemen having

ὡς διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς
about two-hundred and archers and slingers about
τετρακοσίους μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους.
four-hundred very light and light-armed
καὶ προσήει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· 7
and he-approached indeed as friend being to the Greeks
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον
when and near they-came suddenly some indeed of-them shot-arrows
καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον.
both horsemen and foot others and slung and wounded
οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς,
the and rearguard of-the Greeks suffered indeed badly
ἀντεποίουν δ' οὐδέν· οἵ τε γὰρ Κρῆτες βραχύτερα τῶν
did-in-return but nothing the both for Cretans shorter than-the
Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω
Persians shot and at-the-same-time light-armed being within
τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα
the arms were-shut-up the and javelin-men shorter
ἠκόντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν.
threw than so-as to-reach the slingers
ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ 8
from this to-Xenophon it-seemed one-must-pursue to-be and
ἐδίωκον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἳ ἔτυχον
they-pursued of-the hoplites and of-the peltasts who happened
σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα
with him guarding-the-rear pursuing but no-one
κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων.
they-caught of-the enemy
οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ 9
neither for horsemen were for-the Greeks nor the infantry
τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ
the infantry fleeing could to-catch in a-short

χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου
space far for not possible — was from the rest
στρατεύματος διώκειν·
army to-pursue

10 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα
the and barbarian horsemen even fleeing at-the-same-time
ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοὔπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων,
wounded(-them) to-the rear shooting from the horses
ὁπόσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν
as-far and pursued the Greeks so-far back
ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει.
to-retreat fighting it-was-needful

11 ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι
so-that in-the day they-got-through not more five and twenty
σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας.
stades but in-the-afternoon they-arrived at the villages
ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ
there indeed again despondency was and Chirisophus and the
πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ᾐτιῶντο ὅτι
eldest of-the generals Xenophon blamed because
ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε
he-pursued away-from the phalanx and himself both ran-risk
καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν.
and the enemy no more could to-harm

12 ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῷντο
having-heard and Xenophon said that rightly they-blamed(-him)
καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ, ἔφη,
and very the fact for-them bore-witness but I he-said
ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν
was-compelled to-pursue since I-saw us in the staying
κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους.
badly indeed suffering to-do-in-return but not being-able

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς 13
when and we-pursued true he-said you say badly
μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους,
indeed for to-treat no more could-we the enemy
ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγχαλέπως.
we-retreated and with-great-difficulty
τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν 14
to-the then gods thanks that not with great force but with
ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι
few they-came so-that to-harm indeed not greatly to-show
δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα.
but what we-need
νῦν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον 15
now for the enemy shoot and sling as-far-as
οὔτε οἱ Κρῆτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ
neither the Cretans to-shoot-back can nor the(-men) from
χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν,
hand throwing to-reach when and them we-pursue
πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἷόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος
far indeed not possible — distance from the army
διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη πεζὸς
to-pursue in a-short(-space) but not-even if swift were foot-soldier
πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλαμβάνοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος.
foot-soldier — pursuing would-overtake from bow's range
ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλοιμεν τούτους εἴργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι 16
we then if we-are-to these to-keep-off so-that not to-be-able
βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην
to-harm us marching of-slingers the quickest(-way)
δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι
there-is-need and of-horsemen I-hear and to-be in the army
ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλούς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι
our Rhodians of-whom the most they-say to-know

σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι
to-sling and the missile of-them even double to-be-carried
τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν.
than-the Persian slings

17 ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν
those for because-of the hand-filling the stones to-sling
ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσιν
for short reach the but Rhodians also the leaden-balls
ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι.
know to-use

18 ἢν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ
if then of-them we-find-out who have slings and
τῷ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας
to-the(-one) indeed we-give for-them money to-the(-other) and others
πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ
to-plait willing other money we-pay and to-the(-one)
σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν
to-sling in the posted(-place) willing other some exemption
εὑρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν.
we-find perhaps some will-appear able us to-help

19 ὁρῶ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μέν τινας
I-see and horses being in the army the(-ones) indeed some
παρ᾽ ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους,
with me the(-others) and of-the(-men) of-Clearchus left-behind
πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας.
many and also other captured carrying-baggage
ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν
if then these all having-picked-out baggage-animals indeed
ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν,
we-give-in-exchange the but horses for horsemen we-equip
ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν.
perhaps also these somewhat the fleeing(-men) will-annoy

ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται 20
it-was-resolved also these-things and in-this the night slingers
μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς
indeed about two-hundred came-to-be horses and and horsemen
ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες
were-approved on-the next-day about fifty and leather-jerkins
καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος ἐπεστάθη
and breastplates for-them were-provided and cavalry-commander was-appointed
Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.
Lycius the(-son) of-Polystratus an-Athenian

IV · THE RETREAT UP THE TIGRIS

Mithradates returns in greater force and is routed by peltasts, hoplites, and the new horsemen; the Greeks mutilate the dead. They pass the deserted cities of Larisa and Mespila, which the Persians had taken, the one by a cloud, the other by thunder. Tissaphernes attacks, and the Rhodian slingers keep him at a distance; the square proves awkward at bridges and narrows, and the Greeks reorganize it with reserve companies. Harried from the hills, they rest three days; the enemy, camping far off for fear of a night attack, later seize a spur above their descent. Xenophon leads a race for the summit above it and wins, carrying the shield of Soteridas, who had complained, until the soldiers beat Soteridas into taking it back.

Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο 1
Having-stayed and this the day on-the next they-marched
πρῳαίτερον ἀναστάντες. χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς
earlier having-risen a-ravine for it-was-needful them
διαβῆναι ἐφ' ᾗ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς
to-cross at which they-feared lest should-attack them
διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.
crossing the enemy

2 διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθραδάτης,
having-crossed and them again appears Mithradates
ἔχων ἱππεῖς χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς
having horsemen thousand archers and also slingers about
τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ᾔτησε Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ
four-thousand so-many for he-asked Tissaphernes and
ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ
received promising if these he-got to-hand-over to-him
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν
the Greeks having-despised(-them) because in the earlier
προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ
attack few having he-suffered indeed nothing much and
κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι.
harm he-thought to-have-done

3 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπεῖχον τῆς χαράδρας
when and the Greeks having-crossed were-distant from-the ravine
ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν
about eight stades crossed also — Mithradates having the
δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει
force it-had-been-ordered and of-the both peltasts whom it-was-needful
διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἴρητο
to-pursue and of-the hoplites and to-the horsemen it-had-been-said
θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφεψομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως.
boldly to-pursue as about-to-follow sufficient force

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι
when and — Mithradates had-overtaken(-them) and already sling-stones
καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ
and arrows were-reaching it-signaled to-the Greeks with-the
σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο
trumpet and at-once ran to-close-quarters those-to-whom it-had-been-said

καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἔφευγον
and the horsemen charged they but not awaited(-them) but fled
ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν.
to the ravine
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν 5
in this the pursuit for-the barbarians of-the both infantry
ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ
died many and of-the horsemen in the ravine alive
ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας
were-taken about eighteen the and dead
αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ᾐκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον
of-their-own-accord the Greeks mutilated so-that as most-fearful
τοῖς πολεμίοις εἴη ὁρᾶν.
to-the enemy it-might-be to-see
καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ 6
and the indeed enemy thus having-fared went-away the and
Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας
Greeks safely marching the rest of-the day
ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν.
arrived at the Tigris river
ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ᾽ αὐτῇ ἦν 7
there a-city was deserted great name and to-it was
Λάρισα· ᾤκουν δ᾽ αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ
Larisa inhabited and it the old(-time) Medes of-the and
τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος
wall of-it was the breadth five and twenty feet the-height
δ᾽ ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι·
and hundred of-the and circuit the compass two parasangs
ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρηπὶς δ᾽ ὑπῆν
it-was-built and with-bricks of-clay a-foundation and was-under(-it)
λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν.
of-stone the height twenty feet

8 ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν
this king of-Persians when from Medes the rule
ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο
were-taking Persians besieging by-no way could
ἑλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρι
to-take the-sun but a-cloud having-covered hid until
ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω.
left the men and thus it-was-taken

9 παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν
beside this the city was a-pyramid of-stone the indeed
εὖρος ἑνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ
breadth of-one plethron the and height of-two plethra on
ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον
this many of-the barbarians were from the nearby
κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες.
villages having-fled

10 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας ἓξ
from-there and they-marched stage one parasangs six
πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ
to a-wall deserted great lying name and was to-the
πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτήν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ
city Mespila Medes and it once inhabited was and
ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος
the indeed foundation of-stone polished shelly the breadth
πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα.
of-fifty feet and the height fifty

11 ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπῳκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν
on and this was-built-upon a-brick wall the indeed
εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ
breadth of-fifty feet the and height hundred of-the and
τείχους ἡ περίοδος ἓξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται
wall the circuit six parasangs here is-said

Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν
Medea wife of-the-king to-have-fled when were-losing the
ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι.
rule to Persians Medes
ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ 12
this and the city besieging the of-Persians king not
ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἑλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δὲ βροντῇ
was-able either by-time to-take nor by-force Zeus but with-thunder
κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἑάλω.
terrified the inhabitants and thus it-was-taken
Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας 13
From-there and they-marched stage one parasangs
τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη,
four to this and the stage Tissaphernes appeared
οὕς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἤγαγεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα
those-whom both himself horsemen had-brought having and the of-Orontas
δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος καὶ οὓς
force the(-one) the king's daughter having and those-whom
Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως
Cyrus having went-up barbarians and those-whom the king's
ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους
brother having to-the-king came-to-help and besides these as-many-as
βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη.
the-king gave him so-that the army very-large appeared
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων ὄπισθεν 14
when and near he-came the(-ones) indeed of-the divisions behind
καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν
having-stationed the(-others) and to the flanks having-brought-up
ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν,
to-charge indeed not he-dared nor wished to-risk-all
σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν.
to-sling but he-ordered and to-shoot

15 ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ τοξόται
when and posted-at-intervals the Rhodians slung and the archers
ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ
shot and no-one missed a-man not-even for if very
προὐθυμεῖτο ῥᾴδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως
he-were-eager easy was-it also — Tissaphernes very quickly
ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν.
out-of range withdrew and the other ranks withdrew
16 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἳ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο,
and the rest of-the day the(-ones) indeed marched
οἳ δ' εἵποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι
the(-others) and followed and no-longer harmed the barbarians
τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἵ γε Ῥόδιοι
by-the then skirmishing farther for the at-least Rhodians
τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν.
than-the Persians slung and than-the archers
17 μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα
great and also bows the Persian are so-that useful
ἦν ὁπόσα ἁλίσκοιτο τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι
were as-many-as were-captured for-the Cretans and they-continued using
τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω
the of-the enemy arrows and practiced to-shoot upward
ἱέντες μακράν. ηὑρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς
letting(-them)-go far were-found and also sinews many in the
κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.
villages and lead so-as to-use for the slings
18 καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο
and on-this indeed the day when were-encamping
οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι
the Greeks villages having-come-upon went-away the barbarians
μεῖον ἔχοντες τῇ ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν
less having in-the skirmishing the and following day

ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς
stayed the Greeks and provisioned-themselves was for much
σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ
grain in the villages on-the and next-day they-marched through
τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἵπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.
the plain and Tissaphernes followed skirmishing
ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον 19
there and the Greeks recognized a-square equal-sided
ὅτι πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἑπομένων. ἀνάγκη
that a-bad formation it-was enemy following necessity
γάρ ἐστιν, ἢν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου
for there-is if close-in the wings of-the square
ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὀρέων ἀναγκαζόντων
either road narrower being or mountains compelling
ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι
or a-bridge to-be-squeezed-out the hoplites and to-march
πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ
badly at-the-same-time indeed being-pressed at-the-same-time and
ταραττομένους, ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀτάκτους ὄντας·
being-thrown-into-confusion so-that hard-to-use to-be disordered being
ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχῃ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς 20
when and in-turn separate the wings necessity to-be-scattered the(-men)
τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν
then squeezed-out and empty to-become the middle of-the
κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας πολεμίων
wings and to-lose-heart the(-men) these-things suffering enemy
ἑπομένων. καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην
following and whenever it-was-needful a-bridge to-cross or other
τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι
some crossing hurried each wishing to-get-ahead
πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις.
first and easy-to-attack it-was there for-the enemy

21 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἓξ
when and these-things recognized the generals they-made six
λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν
companies of hundred men and captains they-set-over(-them)
καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχους.
and others commanders-of-fifty and others section-leaders
οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα
these and marching whenever indeed closed-in the wings
ὑπέμενον, οἳ μὲν ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς
stayed-behind the indeed rear so-that not to-be-in-the-way of-the
κέρασι, τοὺς δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων.
wings the(-others) and they-led-along outside the wings
22 ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον
whenever and separated the flanks of-the square the middle
ἂν ἐξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ
— they-filled if indeed narrower were the gap by
λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ
companies if but wider by fifties if but very
πλατύ, κατ᾽ ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον.
wide by sections so-that always full to-be the middle
23 εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ
if and also to-cross some it-was-needful crossing or a-bridge not
ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λόχοι διέβαινον·
they-were-thrown-into-confusion but in the turn the companies crossed
καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρῆσαν
and if anywhere was-needed anything of-the phalanx they-came-up
οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.
these in-this the way they-marched stages four
24 ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασίλειόν τι
when and the fifth they-were-marching they-saw a-palace some
καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλάς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ
and about it villages many the and road to the

χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἳ
place this through hills high becoming which
καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦσαν αἱ κῶμαι. καὶ
came-down from the mountain under which were the villages and
εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς
saw indeed the hills gladly the Greeks as likely
τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων·
the enemy being horsemen
ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν 25
when and marching from the plain they-went-up onto the
πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον
first hill and were-going-down so-as onto the other
ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ
to-go-up there come-upon(-them) the barbarians and from
τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρανὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον
the height down the slope they-threw slung shot
ὑπὸ μαστίγων,
under whips
καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων 26
and many they-wounded and got-the-better-of the Greeks'
γυμνήτων καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων·
light-troops and shut them inside the arms
ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν
so-that altogether this the day useless they-were
ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται.
in the crowd being both the slingers and the archers
ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, 27
when and hard-pressed the Greeks attempted to-pursue
σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὁπλῖται ὄντες, οἱ
slowly indeed to the summit they-arrive hoplites being the
δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων.
but enemy quickly leaped-away

28 πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα
again and whenever they-went-back to the rest army
ταὐτὰ ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταὐτὰ
the-same-things they-suffered and on the second hill the-same-things
ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
happened so-that from the third hill it-seemed-best to-them
μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς
not to-move the soldiers before from the right flank
τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.
of-the square they-led-up peltasts to the mountain

29 ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑπομένων πολεμίων,
when and these were above the following enemy
οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι,
no-longer attacked the enemy the(-men) descending
δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν
fearing lest they-be-cut-off and on-both-sides of-them
γένοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι.
should-be the enemy

30 οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἳ μὲν ἐν
thus the rest of-the day marching the(-ones) indeed on
τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἳ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος
the road along the hills the(-others) and along the mountain
ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας· καὶ ἰατροὺς
moving-alongside they-arrived at the villages and physicians
κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.
they-appointed eight many for were the wounded

31 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων
there they-stayed days three both of-the wounded
ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα,
for-the-sake and at-the-same-time provisions much they-had flour

οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλάς. ταῦτα δὲ
wine barley for-horses collected much these and
συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας.
stored were for-the governing-as-satrap of-the land
τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ 32
on-the-fourth and day they-go-down into the plain when and
κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν
overtook them Tissaphernes with the force taught
αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὗ πρῶτον εἶδον
them the necessity to-encamp where first they-saw
κώμην καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ
a-village and not to-march any-longer fighting many for
ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, οἵ τε τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους
were the disabled the both wounded and the(-men) them
φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὅπλα δεξάμενοι.
carrying and the(-men) of-the carriers the arms having-taken
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς 33
when and they-had-encamped and attempted them
ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες,
to-skirmish-with the barbarians toward the village approaching
πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ
much prevailed the Greeks much for it-differed from
χώρας ὁρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιοῦσι
a-position rushing-out to-defend-oneself than marching attacking
τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.
the enemy to-fight
ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς 34
when and it-was already afternoon time it-was to-go-away for-the
πολεμίοις· οὔποτε γὰρ μεῖον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ
enemy never for less encamped-away the

βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἑξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι
barbarians from-the Greek(-army) than-sixty stades fearing
μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς.
lest in-the night the Greeks attack them
35 πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός ἐστι στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἵ τε γὰρ
bad for by-night is army Persian the both for
ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ
horses for-them are-tied and as for the-most-part hobbled are
τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν, ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος
of-the not fleeing for-the-sake if they-were-loosed if both any alarm
γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ
occurs (one)-must to-saddle the horse for-a-Persian man and
χαλινῶσαι, δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν
to-bridle (one)-must and having-put-on-breastplate to-mount on the
ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου
horse these-things and all hard by-night and alarm
ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
being of-this for-the-sake far-off they-encamped from-the Greeks
36 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους
when and recognized them the Greeks wishing
ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι
to-go-away and passing-the-word it-proclaimed to-the Greeks
συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μέν
to-pack-up hearing the enemy and time indeed
τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀψὲ
some held-back from-the march the barbarians when and late
ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς
it-became they-went-away not for it-seemed to-profit them by-night
πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
to-march and to-put-in to the camp

ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, 37
when and clearly going-away already saw(-them) the Greeks
ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον
marched also themselves having-broken-camp and passed-through as-much-as
ἑξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν
sixty stades and comes-to-be so-great between the
στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ
armies that on-the next-day not appeared the
πολέμιοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς
enemy nor on-the third on-the and fourth by-night
προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ
having-gone-ahead seize a-place commanding the
βάρβαροι, ᾗ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν
barbarians where were-about the Greeks to-pass a-spur
ὄρους, ὑφ᾽ ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.
of-a-mountain under which the descent was into the plain
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν 38
when and saw Chirisophus seized-beforehand the
ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ κελεύει
spur he-calls Xenophon from the rear and bids(-him)
λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν·
taking the peltasts to-come to the front
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἦγεν· 39
— and Xenophon the indeed peltasts not did-bring
ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα
appearing for he-saw Tissaphernes and the army
πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἠρώτα Τί καλεῖς; ὃ δὲ
all himself and having-ridden-up asked Why do-you-call he and
λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν· κατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ
says to-him It-is-possible to-see has-been-seized for against-us the

ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν,
above the descent hill and not it-is-possible to-pass
εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν.
if not these we-shall-cut-off
40 ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἦγες τοὺς πελταστάς; ὃ δὲ λέγει
but why not did-you-bring the peltasts he and says
ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὄπισθεν
that not it-seemed-good to-him undefended to-leave the rear
πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη,
enemy appearing But indeed time at-least he-said
βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.
to-deliberate how one the men will-drive from the hill
41 ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ
there Xenophon sees of-the mountain the peak above
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης
itself the their-own army being and from this
ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει·
an-approach to the hill where were the enemy and says
Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ
Best O Chirisophus for-us to-rush as quickly-as-possible to
τὸ ἄκρον. ἢν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν
the summit if for this we-take not they-will-be-able to-stay
οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλά, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ
the(-men) above the road but if you-wish stay with the
στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρῄζεις,
army I and wish to-go if but you-desire
πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ.
go to the mountain I and shall-stay here
42 Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει
But I-give to-you said — Chirisophus whichever you-wish
ἑλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν αἱρεῖται
to-choose having-said — Xenophon that younger he-is chooses

πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δέ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος
to-go he-bids and him to-send-with(-him) from the front
ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν.
men long for it-was from the rear to-take(-them)
καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος 43
and — Chirisophus sends-with(-him) the(-men) from the front
πελταστάς, ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον πλαισίου.
peltasts he-took and the(-ones) in middle of-the-square
συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὓς αὐτὸς
to-follow and he-ordered also the three-hundred whom himself
εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.
he-had of-the picked(-men) at the front of-the square
ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ 44
from-there they-marched as they-could quickest the and on the
λόφου πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ
hill enemy when they-noticed their the march to the
ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥρμησαν ἁμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.
summit at-once also themselves rushed to-race to the summit
καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ 45
and there great indeed shouting was of-the Greek
στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ
army cheering-on the their-own great
δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
and shouting of-the(-men) about Tissaphernes the their-own
διακελευομένων.
cheering-on
Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο· 46
Xenophon and riding-along on the horse exhorted(-them)
Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἁμιλλᾶσθαι,
Men now for — Greece think(-you) to-race

νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον
now for the children and the wives now a-little
πονήσαντες ἀμαχεὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα.
having-toiled without-a-fight the rest we-shall-march

47 Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ
Soteridas and the Sicyonian said Not on equal(-terms) O
Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ
Xenophon we-are you indeed for on a-horse ride I but
χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.
painfully toil the shield carrying

48 καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ταῦτα καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὠθεῖται
and he having-heard these-things having-leaped-down from the horse pushes
αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς
him out-of the rank and the shield having-taken-away as
ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων
he-could quickest marched he-happened and also a-breastplate having
τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστ' ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν
the cavalry(-one) so-that he-was-pressed and to-the indeed in-front to-move-on
παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὄπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἑπόμενος.
he-urged to-the and behind to-pass(-him) with-difficulty following

49 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ
the and other soldiers strike and pelt and
λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἕστε ἠνάγκασαν ἀναλαβόντα
abuse — Soteridas until they-compelled(-him) taking-back
τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὃ δ' ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν
the shield to-march he and having-mounted while indeed
βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν,
passable it-was on the horse led when and impassable it-was
καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ
having-left the horse he-hurried on-foot and they-get-there-first on
τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.
the summit having-arrived the enemy

On the plain Tissaphernes burns the villages, and Xenophon says it shows the land is now the Greeks'. The Tigris is too deep to cross, and a Rhodian proposes a bridge of inflated skins, which the cavalry beyond makes impossible. The army falls back to unburned villages, burning those it leaves. Captives describe the roads: south to Babylon, east to Susa, west to Lydia and Ionia, and north through the mountains of the Carduchians, a people who do not obey the king and once destroyed a royal army of a hundred and twenty thousand, and beyond them Armenia. The generals choose the mountains, sacrifice, and order the army to pack after dinner and march at the word.

ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ᾗ 1
there indeed the indeed barbarians having-turned fled where
ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ
each could the and Greeks held the summit the(-men)
δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην
and about Tissaphernes and Ariaeus having-turned-aside another
ὁδὸν ᾤχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες
road went-off the(-men) and about Chirisophus having-gone-down
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν
encamped in a-village full of-many good-things were
δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν
and also other villages many full of-many good-things
ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν.
in this the plain beside the Tigris river
ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δείλη ἐξαπίνης οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφαίνονται 2
when and it-was afternoon suddenly the enemy appear
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινας τῶν
in the plain and of-the Greeks cut-down some of-the
ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἁρπαγήν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ
scattered in the plain for plunder and for herds

πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ
many of-cattle being-taken-across to the far-side of-the
ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν.
river were-caught

3 ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν
there Tissaphernes and the(-men) with him to-burn
ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα
attempted the villages and of-the Greeks very
ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καίοιεν,
lost-heart some reflecting lest the provisions if they-burned
οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν.
not they-would-have whence they-might-take

4 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς
and the(-men) indeed about Chirisophus came-back from the
βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς
rescue — and Xenophon when he-came-down riding-along the
τάξεις ἡνίκα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν ἔλεγεν·
ranks when the(-men) from the rescue met(-them) he-said

5 Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη
You-see O men Greeks conceding the land already
ὑμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο,
yours to-be which for when they-made-the-truce they-stipulated
μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς
not to-burn the king's land now themselves they-burn as
ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλείπωσί γε αὐτοῖς
another's but if anywhere they-leave at-least for-themselves
ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους.
provisions they-will-see also us there marching

6 ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς
but O Chirisophus he-said it-seems to-me to-go-to-rescue against the(-men)
καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος
burning as on-behalf-of the our(-land) — and Chirisophus

εἶπεν· Οὔκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη,
said Not-then to-me-at-least it-seems but also we he-said
καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶττον παύσονται.
let-us-burn and so quicker they-will-stop
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ 7
When and to the tents they-came the indeed others about the
ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆσαν. καὶ
provisions were generals and and captains came-together and
ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν
there great perplexity was on-this-side indeed for mountains were
ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος βάθος ὡς
exceedingly-high on-that-side and the river so-great in-depth that
μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους.
not-even the spears to-be-above(-it) to-those-trying the depth
ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθών τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος 8
being-at-a-loss and them having-approached a-certain man Rhodian
εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ
said I am-willing O men to-take-across you by
τετρακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὧν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε
four-thousand hoplites if for-me what I-need you-supply
καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε.
and a-talent as-pay you-provide
ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίων 9
being-asked and what he-needed Skins he-said two-thousand
δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὁρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς
I-shall-need many and I-see sheep and goats and oxen
καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥᾳδίως ἂν
and asses which flayed and inflated easily —
παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν.
would-provide the crossing

10 δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια·
I-shall-need and also the straps which you-use about the pack-animals
τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας
with-these having-joined the skins to each-other having-moored
ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφεὶς ὥσπερ
each skin stones having-hung and letting(-them)-down like
ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
anchors into the water having-carried(-it)-across and on-both-sides
δήσας ἐπιβαλῶ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω·
having-tied I-shall-throw-on brushwood and earth I-shall-heap-on
11 ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς
that indeed then not you-will-sink at-once very you-will-know every
γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύ' ἄνδρας ἕξει τοῦ μὴ καταδῦναι.
for skin two men will-hold of-the not sinking
12 ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει.
so-that and not to-slip the brushwood and the earth will-hold
ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα
having-heard these-things to-the generals the indeed idea
χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον. ἦσαν γὰρ
clever seemed to-be the but work impossible there-were for
οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἳ εὐθὺς τοῖς
the(-men) going-to-prevent beyond many horsemen who at-once to-the
πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν.
first nothing — would-allow of-these to-do
13 ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοὔμπαλιν
there the indeed next-day they-withdrew in the-opposite-direction
εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξῇσαν·
into the unburned villages having-burned(-those) whence they-went-out
ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ
so-that the enemy not rode-up but watched and

ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζουσιν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ
like they-were wondering whither ever will-turn the
Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν.
Greeks and what in mind they-had
ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· 14
there the indeed other soldiers for the provisions went
οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες
the and generals again met and having-brought-together
τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν
the captured(-men) questioned(-them-about) the around whole land
τίς ἑκάστη εἴη.
what each was
οἳ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ 15
they and said that the(-parts) toward south of-the(-road) to
Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι᾽ ἥσπερ ἥκοιεν, ἡ
Babylon was and Media through which they-had-come the
δὲ πρὸς ἕω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα
and toward east to Susa both and Ecbatana led where
θερίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν
to-spend-the-summer is-said the-king the and for-one-having-crossed the
ποταμὸν πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι,
river toward west to Lydia and Ionia led
ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη
the and through the mountains and toward north turned
ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι.
that to Carduchians led
τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς 16
these and they-said to-dwell over the mountains and warlike
εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε
to-be and the-king not to-obey but even to-have-invaded once
εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων
into them a-royal army twelve ten-thousands of-these

δ᾽ οὐδέν᾽ ἀπονοστῆσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε
but none to-have-returned because-of the difficult-ground whenever
μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο,
however with the satrap in the plain they-made-a-truce
καὶ ἐπιμειγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων
also to-have-intercourse of-them both with those and of-those
πρὸς ἑαυτούς.
with them

17 ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς
having-heard these-things the generals seated apart the(-men)
ἑκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες
in-each-direction claiming to-know nothing clear having-made
ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς
whither to-march they-intended it-seemed and to-the generals
ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν·
necessary to-be through the mountains into Carduchians to-invade
τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν,
these for having-passed-through they-said into Armenia they-would-come
ἧς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽
which Orontas ruled great and prosperous from-there and
εὔπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι.
easy they-said to-be whither one wished to-march

18 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς
upon these-things they-sacrificed so-that when also it-should-seem of-the
ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν
hour the march they-might-make the for pass of-the
ὀρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθείη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν,
mountains they-feared lest it-be-seized-beforehand and they-ordered
ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν, συσκευασαμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι,
when they-had-dined having-packed-up all to-rest
καὶ ἕπεσθαι ἡνίκ᾽ ἄν τις παραγγέλλῃ.
and to-follow when — anyone gives-the-order

BOOK IV

I · INTO THE CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS

At the last watch the Greeks cross the plain in darkness and reach the mountain at dawn; the Carduchians flee their villages, and the Greeks take provisions but spare the houses, hoping to pass as friends. The Carduchians attack the rear and wound and kill. The generals release the captives and leave behind all but the necessary pack animals. In a storm Chirisophus hurries forward without waiting, and Leonymus and Basias are killed; Xenophon reproaches him, and Chirisophus points to the enemy holding the only road. Of two men taken in Xenophon's ambush, one is killed for refusing; the other tells of a second road and a height that must be seized, and volunteers come forward.

ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο 5
when and it-was about the last watch and was-left
τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον,
of-the night as-much-as in-the-dark to-cross the plain
τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως πορευόμενοι
then having-risen at the-word-of-command marching
ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.
they-arrive at-the-same-time-as the day at the mountain
ἔνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος 6
there indeed Chirisophus indeed led the army
λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνῆτας πάντας,
having-taken the(-troops) about him and the light-troops all
Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὁπλίταις εἵπετο
Xenophon and with the rearguard hoplites followed
οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνῆτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι
no having light-troop no for danger seemed to-be
μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο.
lest anyone upward them-marching from the behind should-follow

7 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος πρίν τινας
and to indeed the summit goes-up Chirisophus before any
αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ᾽ ὑφηγεῖτο· ἐφείπετο
to-perceive(-it) of-the enemy then and he-led-on followed
δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς
and always the(-part) crossing-over of-the army into the
κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.
villages the in the glens both and recesses of-the mountains
8 ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας
there indeed the indeed Carduchians having-left the houses
ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη.
having both wives and children fled to the mountains
τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ
the and provisions much it-was-possible to-take were and
καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμέναι αἱ οἰκίαι,
also with-bronze-vessels very-many furnished the houses
ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
of-which nothing carried-off the Greeks nor the men
ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι
pursued sparing(-them) if somehow should-be-willing the Carduchians
διέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπείπερ
to-let-through them as through friendly the land since
βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν·
to-the-king enemies they-were
9 τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανεν·
the however provisions whatever one came-upon he-took
ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων
necessity for it-was the but Carduchians neither calling(-them)
ὑπήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν.
heeded nor other friendly anything did

ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς 10
when and the last of-the Greeks were-coming-down into the
κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι — διὰ γὰρ τὸ
villages from the summit already in-the-dark because-of for the
στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς
narrow to-be the road all the day the ascent for-them
ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις — τότε δὴ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν
lasted and descent then indeed having-gathered some of-the
Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
Carduchians the last attacked and killed
τινας καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες·
some and with-stones and arrows wounded(-them) few being
ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.
by surprise for upon-them had-fallen the Greek(-army)
εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν 11
if however then more had-gathered would-have-run-risk —
διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν
to-be-destroyed great-part of-the army and this indeed
τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ηὐλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ
the night thus in the villages they-bivouacked the and
Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων
Carduchians fires many burned around on the mountains
καὶ συνεβόων ἀλλήλους.
and called-to each-other
ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς 12
at-the-same-time-as and the day having-come-together to-the generals
καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων
and captains of-the Greeks it-seemed-best of-the both pack-animals
τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι,
the necessary and most-capable having to-march

καταλιπόντας τἆλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα
having-left the-rest and as-many-as were newly captured
ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι.
slaves in the army all to-release

13 σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ
slow for made the march many being the
ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ
pack-animals and the captives many and the(-men) over
τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια
these being out-of-the-fighting were double both provisions
ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
it-was-needful to-procure and to-carry many the men
ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.
being it-having-been-resolved and these-things they-proclaimed so to-do

14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστήσαντες ἔν
When and having-breakfasted they-were-marching having-stationed-themselves in
τῳ στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὑρίσκοιεν τῶν
a narrow-place the generals if anything they-found of-the(-things)
εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφῃροῦντο, οἳ δ' ἐπείθοντο,
mentioned not released took(-it)-away they and obeyed
πλὴν εἴ τις ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας
except if anyone had-stolen(-it) for-instance either a-boy having-desired
ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν
or a-woman of-the handsome and this indeed the day
οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μέν τι μαχόμενοι τὰ
thus they-marched the(-time) indeed somewhat fighting the(-time)
δέ τι ἀναπαυόμενοι.
and somewhat resting

εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολύς, ἀναγκαῖον 15
on and the next-day comes a-storm great necessary
δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τἀπιτήδεια. καὶ
and it-was to-march not for were sufficient the-provisions and
ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν.
led indeed Chirisophus commanded-the-rear and Xenophon
καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων 16
and the enemy strongly attacked and narrow being
τῶν χωρίων ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων·
the places near approaching shot and slung
ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν
so-that were-compelled the Greeks pursuing and again
ἀναχάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν
retreating slowly to-march and frequently ordered
ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο.
— Xenophon to-wait when the enemy strongly pressed
ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῷτο 17
there — Chirisophus at-other-times indeed when it-was-passed-along
ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως καὶ
he-waited then but not he-waited but led quickly and
παρηγγύα ἕπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμά τι
passed-the-word to-follow so-that clear it-was that matter some
εἴη· σχολὴ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ
there-was leisure but not there-was to-see for-one-having-gone-forward the
αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίγνετο
cause of-the haste so-that the march like flight became
τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι.
for-the rearguard

18 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνῄσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Λεώνυμος
and there dies a-man brave Laconian Leonymus
τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς
shot through the shield and the leather-jerkin into the
πλευράς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλήν.
ribs and Basias an-Arcadian right-through the head
19 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ
when and they-arrived at a-stage at-once as he-was —
Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον ᾐτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι
Xenophon having-gone to — Chirisophus blamed him that
οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα
not he-waited but they-were-compelled fleeing at-the-same-time
μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο καλώ τε καὶ ἀγαθὼ ἄνδρε
to-fight and now two noble both and good men
τέθνατον καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα.
are-dead and neither to-take-up nor to-bury could-we
20 ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη
answers — Chirisophus Look he-said at the mountains
καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ᾽ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἣν
and see how impassable all are one and this road which
ὁρᾷς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι
you-see steep and on this of-men to-see is-possible for-you
ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἔκβασιν.
crowd so-great who having-seized(-it) guard the way-out
21 ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ
these-things I was-hastening and for this you not I-waited-for if
πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειλῆφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν·
somehow I-could get-there-first before to-have-been-seized the pass
οἱ δ᾽ ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὔ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν.
the and guides whom we-have not say to-be another road

ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ 22
— *and Xenophon says But I have two men since*
γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς
for us trouble they-were-giving we-set-an-ambush which us
καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμέν τινας αὐτῶν,
also to-recover-breath made and we-killed some of-them
καὶ ζῶντας προὐθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα
and alive we-were-eager to-take of-very this for-the-sake
ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρησαίμεθα.
that as-guides knowing the land we-might-use(-them)
Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤλεγχον 23
And at-once bringing the men they-questioned(-them)
διαλαβόντες εἴ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν
having-separated(-them) if any they-knew other road than the
φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη μάλα πολλῶν
visible(-one) the indeed then one not said very many
φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν,
terrors being-applied when and nothing useful he-said
ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατεσφάγη.
seeing the other he-was-slaughtered
ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ 24
the and remaining(-one) said that this-one indeed not said for
ταῦτα εἰδέναι ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ᾽
these-things to-know because to-him happened a-daughter there to
ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ
a-man given-in-marriage himself and he-said he-would-lead possible also
ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν·
for-pack-animals to-travel a-road

25 ἐρωτώμενος δ᾽ εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον
being-asked and whether there-was anything in it hard-to-pass
χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον ὃ εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο,
place he-said there-was a-height which if not anyone should-seize-in-advance
ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν.
impossible it-would-be to-pass

26 ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ
there and it-seemed-best having-called-together captains and
πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα καὶ
peltasts and of-the hoplites to-tell both the present(-state) and
ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι
to-ask if anyone of-them there-is who a-man brave would-wish
ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντὴς πορεύεσθαι.
— to-become and volunteering as-volunteer to-go

27 ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς καὶ
volunteers of-the indeed hoplites Aristonymus a-Methydrian and
Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος
Agasias a-Stymphalian rivaling and them Callimachus
Παρράσιος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν
a-Parrhasian said he-was-willing to-go having-taken-in-addition
ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη,
volunteers from all the army I for he-said
οἶδα ὅτι ἕψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου.
know that will-follow many of-the young me leading

28 ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων
from this they-ask if anyone also of-the light-troops taxiarchs
ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χῖος, ὃς
would-wish to-go-along volunteers Aristeas a-Chian who
πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.
in-many-places of-much worth to-the army for the such(-tasks) proved

The volunteers march by night with the guide while Xenophon makes a feint at the visible pass; the Carduchians roll boulders down all night. The volunteers surprise a guard at its fire, and at dawn in a mist fall on the enemy holding the road; the trumpet sounds, and the army climbs. Xenophon takes two hills; the third the enemy abandons, but they cut off the men left on the first. Xenophon's shield-bearer deserts him, and Eurylochus covers him. The dead are recovered in exchange for the guide; the Greeks fight on through the passes, Xenophon and Chirisophus helping each other, the Cretans proving most useful against the Carduchian archers.

Καὶ ἦν μὲν δείλη, οἳ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας 1
And it-was indeed afternoon they and ordered them having-eaten
πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν
to-march and the guide having-bound they-hand-over
αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἢν λάβωσι τὸ
to-them and they-agree the indeed night if they-take the
ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
height the place to-guard at-the-same-time-as and the day
τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας
with-the trumpet to-signal and the(-men) indeed above being
ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανερὰν ἔκβασιν, αὐτοὶ
to-go against the(-men) holding the visible way-out themselves
δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα.
and to-come-to-the-rescue coming-out as — they-could quickest
ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἳ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς 2
these-things having-agreed they indeed marched number about
δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν
two-thousand and water much there-was from heaven Xenophon
δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανερὰν
and having the rearguard led toward the visible

ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν
way-out so-that on-this the road the enemy might-turn
τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιόντες.
the mind and as most might-escape-notice the(-men) going-round
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἣν ἔδει
when and they-were at a-ravine the rearguard which it-was-needful
διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν
having-crossed to the steep to-go-up then were-rolling
οἱ βάρβαροι ὁλοιτρόχους καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἳ
the barbarians round-boulders both larger and smaller which
φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο·
being-carried against the rocks striking were-shattered-and-flung
καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἷόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ.
and altogether not-even to-approach possible — it-was to-the entrance
4 ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ
some and of-the captains if not this-way they-could another-way
ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο·
tried and these-things they-did until darkness came
ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον
when and they-thought unseen to-be departing then they-went-away
ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες. οἱ
to the dinner they-happened and also without-breakfast being the
μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς
however enemy not-at-all ceased through whole the night
κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.
rolling the stones to-judge and it-was by-the noise
5 οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύκλῳ περιόντες
the(-men) and having the guide in-a-circle going-round
καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους·
surprise the guards around a-fire sitting

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαίνοντες τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες
and the(-ones) indeed killing the(-ones) and having-chased-off
αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες.
themselves there remained as the height holding
οἳ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν 6
they but not were-holding(-it) but a-knoll there-was above them
παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἐφ' ᾗ ἐκάθηντο
along which was the narrow this road on which were-sitting
οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
the guards approach however from-there against the enemy
ἦν οἳ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο.
there-was who on the visible road were-sitting
καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα 7
and the indeed night there they-passed when and day
ὑπέφαινεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς
was-dawning they-marched in-silence drawn-up against the
πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον
enemy and for mist arose so-that they-escaped-notice
ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε
near having-approached when and they-saw each-other the both
σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἵεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς
trumpet sounded and having-raised-the-war-cry they-rushed upon the
ἀνθρώπους. οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν
men they and not awaited(-them) but having-left the
ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνῃσκον· εὔζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν.
road fleeing few were-killed light-armed for they-were
οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος 8
the(-men) and about Chirisophus having-heard the trumpet
εὐθὺς ἵεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανερὰν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ
at-once rushed up along the visible road others and
τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ᾗ
of-the generals by untrodden ways marched where

ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο
they-happened each being and having-climbed as they-could
ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι.
pulled-up each-other with-the spears

9 καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμειξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι
and these first engaged with-the(-men) having-seized-beforehand
τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων
the place Xenophon and having of-the rearguard
τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἐπορεύετο ᾗπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
the half marched by-the-way-which the(-men) the guide
ἔχοντες· εὐοδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ
having easiest for it-was for-the pack-animals the and
ἡμίσεις ὄπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.
half behind the pack-animals he-posted

10 πορευόμενοι δ᾽ ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ
marching and they-come-upon a-hill above the road
κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἢ ἀποκόψαι
occupied by the enemy whom either to-cut-off
ἦν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεζεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ
it-was necessity or to-be-separated from the other Greeks and
αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ᾗπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ
themselves indeed — would-have-gone by-the-way-which the others the
δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλῃ ἢ ταύτῃ ἐκβῆναι.
but pack-animals not it-was-possible elsewhere than this-way to-go-up

11 ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσβάλλουσι
there indeed having-encouraged each-other they-attack
πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ ἀλλὰ
toward the hill in-column the companies not in-a-circle but
καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλοιντο
having-left a-way-of-retreat for-the enemy if they-wished
φεύγειν.
to-flee

καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ὅπῃ ἐδύνατο 12
and for-a-while indeed them climbing where could
ἕκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ'
each the barbarians shot and hurled near but
οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσι τὸ χωρίον.
not they-let(-them)-approach but in-flight leave the place
καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἕτερον
and this both had-passed the Greeks and another
ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις
they-see in-front hill held against this again
ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.
it-seemed-best to-march
ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν 13
having-considered and — Xenophon lest if deserted he-should-leave the
ἑαλωκότα λόφον, πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο
captured hill again having-taken(-it) the enemy should-attack
τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν — ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ
the pack-animals passing-by over a-long-way and were the
ὑποζύγια ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα
pack-animals inasmuch-as through narrow the road marching
— καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον
he-leaves on the hill captains Cephisodorus
Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου
son-of-Cephisophon an-Athenian and Amphicrates son-of-Amphidemus
Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν
an-Athenian and Archagoras an-Argive exile himself and with
τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ
the rest marched against the second hill and
τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἱροῦσιν.
in-the same way also this they-take

14 ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος
still and to-them a-third knoll remaining was much steepest
ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς
the(-one) above the at the fire captured guard-post
τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν.
of-the night by the volunteers
15 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ
when and near came the Greeks leave the
βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι
barbarians without-a-fight the knoll so-that a-wonder to-all
γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπώπτευον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες
to-be and they-suspected having-feared them lest surrounded
πολιορκοῖντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἳ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου
they-be-besieged to-have-left(-it) they but in-fact from the height
καθορῶντες τὰ ὄπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
looking-down-on the(-things) behind happening all against the
ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.
rearguard went
16 καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ
and Xenophon indeed with the youngest went-up to the
ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ
height the and others he-ordered to-withdraw-slowly so-that the
τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμείξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ
last companies might-join and having-gone-forward along
τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε.
the road on the level to-ground the arms he-told
17 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος
and in this the time came Archagoras the Argive
πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου
having-fled and says that they-were-cut-off from the hill
καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης καὶ οἱ
and that are-dead Cephisodorus and Amphicrates and the

ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἁλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς
others as-many-as not having-leapt down the rock to the
ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο.
rearguard arrived
ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἦκον ἐπ᾽ ἀντίπορον 18
these-things and having-accomplished the barbarians came to an-opposite
λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς
hill to-the knoll and — Xenophon conversed with-them
δι᾽ ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῄτει.
through an-interpreter about a-truce and the dead demanded-back
οἳ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μὴ καίειν 19
they and said they-would-give(-them)-back on (condition)-that not to-burn
τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ
the houses agreed-to these-things — Xenophon in which and the
μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῄει, οἳ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο,
indeed other army was-passing-by they and these-things were-discussing
πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύησαν ἐνταῦθα.
all the(-men) from this the place streamed-together there
καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς 20
and when they-began to-come-down from the knoll toward the
ἄλλους ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἵεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι
others where the arms lay rushed indeed the enemy
πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς
with-great multitude and uproar and when they-were on the
κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ ἀφ᾽ οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν,
summit of-the knoll from which Xenophon was-coming-down
ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρους· καὶ ἑνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος,
they-rolled rocks and of-one indeed broke the leg
Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν·
Xenophon and the shield-bearer having the shield deserted

21 Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὁπλίτης, καὶ
Eurylochus but a-Lusian ran-up to-him a-hoplite and
πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς
before both holding-out(-his-shield) withdrew and the others to
τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.
the drawn-up(-men) went-away

22 ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ
from and this all together came the Greek(-army) and
ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ
they-encamped there in many and fine houses and
ἐπιτηδείοις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε
provisions abundant and for wine much there-was so-that
ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον.
in cisterns plastered they-kept(-it)

23 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες
Xenophon and and Chirisophus managed so-that having-received
τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν
the dead they-gave-back the guide and all-things they-did
τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ὥσπερ νομίζεται
for-the having-died out-of the possible(-means) as is-customary
ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς.
for-men good

24 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι
on-the and next-day without a-guide they-marched fighting
δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίον
and the enemy and wherever there-might-be narrow place
προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυον τὰς παρόδους.
seizing-beforehand blocked the passages

ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὄπισθεν 25
whenever indeed then the first they-blocked Xenophon from-behind
ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλυε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς
going-up toward the mountains broke the blockade of-the road for-the
πρώτοις ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων,
first higher trying to-get than-the blocking(-men)
ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὄπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων 26
whenever and the(-men) behind they-attacked Chirisophus going-up
καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυόντων ἔλυε
and trying higher to-get than-the blocking(-men) broke
τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὄπισθεν· καὶ ἀεὶ
the blockade of-the passage for-the(-men) behind and always
οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο.
thus they-helped each-other and strongly of-each-other took-care
ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα 27
it-was and also when to-very the having-gone-up much trouble
παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ
caused the barbarians again coming-down nimble for
ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν
they-were so-that even from-close fleeing to-escape nothing
γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας.
for they-had other than bows and slings
ἄριστοι δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς 28
excellent and also archers they-were they-had and bows nearly
τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπήχη· εἵλκον δὲ τὰς
three-cubits the and arrows more than two-cubits they-drew and the
νευρὰς ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ
strings whenever they-shot toward the lower(-part) of-the bow with-the
ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει
left foot stepping-against the and arrows went
διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ
through the shields and through the breastplates used and

αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες.
them the Greeks when they-took(-them) as-javelins fitting-thongs
ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρῆτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο.
in these the places the Cretans most-useful proved
ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.
commanded and them Stratocles a-Cretan

III · THE CROSSING OF THE CENTRITES

The Greeks reach the Centrites, the border of Armenia, but see horsemen and infantry on the far bank and Carduchians behind. Xenophon dreams of fetters falling away; two young men report a ford where they saw people hiding clothes in a cave. Chirisophus crosses with half the army while Xenophon runs back to the first ford as if to cross there, drawing off the horsemen. The Carduchians fall on the rear as it crosses; Xenophon has his men charge, then turn at the trumpet and run through the river, and all cross with few wounded.

1 Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις
This and again the day they-bivouacked in the villages
ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν,
the(-ones) above the plain by the Centrites river
εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὁρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ
in-width about two-plethra which bounds — Armenia and
τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα
the of-the Carduchians land and the Greeks there
ἀνέπνευσαν ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπεῖχε δὲ τῶν
breathed-again gladly having-seen a-plain was-distant and from-the
ὀρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων.
mountains the river six or seven stades of-the Carduchians

τότε μὲν οὖν ηὐλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τἀπιτήδεια 2
then indeed then they-bivouacked very pleasantly both the-provisions
ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων
having and many of-the past toils
μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὅσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν
remembering seven for days as-many-as they-had-marched
διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ
through the Carduchians all fighting they-continued and
ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ
suffered evils as-many-as not-even the all-together at-the-hands-of
βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι
the-king and Tissaphernes as then having-been-freed
τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.
from-these pleasantly they-slept
Ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππεῖς που πέραν 3
At-the-same-time-as and the day they-see horsemen somewhere across
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν,
the river armed-in-full as to-prevent(-them) to-cross
πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν
foot-soldiers and on the banks drawn-up above the
ἱππέων ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν.
horsemen as to-prevent(-them) into — Armenia to-go-up
ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι 4
were and these of-Orontas and of-Artuchas Armenians and Mardians
καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι
and Chaldaean mercenaries were-said and the Chaldaeans
ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα
free both and valiant to-be arms and they-had wicker-shields
μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας.
long and lances

5 αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ἐφ᾽ ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν
the and banks these on which drawn-up these were
τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῖχον· ὁδὸς
three or four plethra from the river were-distant road
δὲ μία ὁρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος·
and one seen there-was leading up as-if hand-made
ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες.
by-this-way tried to-cross the Greeks

6 ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν
when and to-them-trying the both water above the breasts
ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ
appeared and rough was the river with-great stones and
ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὔτ᾽ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν
slippery and neither in the water the arms was-it-possible
ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπί τε τῆς
to-hold if but not snatched-away(-them) the river on and the
κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς
head the arms if anyone should-carry naked they-became against
τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τἆλλα βέλη· ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοῦ
the arrows and the-other missiles they-withdrew and there
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.
encamped by the river

7 ἔνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ
where and themselves the previous night they-had-been on the
ὄρους ἑώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους
mountain they-saw the Carduchians many gathered
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς
in the arms there indeed great despondency was for-the
Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι
Greeks seeing indeed of-the river the difficulty-of-crossing seeing

δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς
and the(-men) to-cross who-would-prevent(-them) seeing and the(-men)
διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὄπισθεν.
crossing going-to-attack the Carduchians from-behind
ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν 8
this indeed then the day and night they-remained in
πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν
great perplexity being Xenophon and a-dream saw he-seemed in
πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι,
fetters to-be-bound these and for-him of-themselves to-slip-off
ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὁπόσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ
so-that to-be-loosed and to-stride as-far-as he-wished when and
ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι
dawn was he-goes to — Chirisophus and says that
ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ.
hopes he-has well it-will-be and relates to-him the dream
ὁ δὲ ἥδετό τε καὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαινεν 9
he and was-pleased both and as quickly-as-possible dawn was-breaking
ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ
they-sacrificed all being-present the generals and the victims favorable
ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν
were at-once at the first(-victim) and departing from the sacrifices
οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.
the generals passed-the-word to-the army to-make-breakfast
καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκοι· 10
and breakfasting — to-Xenophon ran-up two young-men
ᾔδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι
they-knew for all that it-was-permitted to-him both breakfasting
καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰ καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα
and dining to-approach and if he-were-sleeping having-waked(-him)
εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
to-tell if anyone anything had of-the(-things) concerning the war

11 καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες
and then they-said that they-happened sticks gathering
ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κἄπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν
as for a-fire and-then they-caught-sight-of on the far-side among
πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε
rocks coming-down to very the river an-old-man both
καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων
and a-woman and little-girls as-it-were bags of-clothes
κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει.
putting-away in a-rock cave-like

12 ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφίσι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ
having-seen and to-them to-have-seemed safe to-be to-cross not-even
γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο.
for to-the enemy horsemen accessible to-be along this
ἐκδύντες δ᾽ ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὡς
having-undressed and they-said having the daggers naked as
νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι
going-to-swim to-cross going-forward and sooner to-cross
πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες, λαβόντες τὰ
before to-wet the private-parts and having-crossed having-taken the
ἱμάτια πάλιν ἥκειν.
clothes back to-have-come

13 εὐθὺς οὖν Ξενοφῶν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς
at-once then Xenophon himself both poured-libation and for-the
νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς
young-men to-pour-in he-ordered and to-pray to-the having-shown gods
τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ
the both dreams and the crossing and the remaining good-things
ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους
to-fulfill having-poured-libation and at-once he-led the young-men
παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταὐτά.
to — Chirisophus and they-relate the-same-things

ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. 14
having-heard and also — Chirisophus libations made
σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον
having-poured-libation and to-the indeed others they-passed-the-word
συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
to-pack-up themselves and having-called-together the generals
ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαίεν καὶ τούς τε
deliberated how — best they-might-cross and the both
ἔμπροσθεν νικῷεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν μηδὲν
in-front they-might-conquer and at-the-hands-of the behind nothing
πάσχοιεν κακόν.
they-might-suffer evil
καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ 15
and it-seemed-best to-them Chirisophus indeed to-lead and
διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ'
to-cross having the half of-the army the and
ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ
half still to-wait-behind with Xenophon the and pack-animals and
τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν.
the crowd in middle of-these to-cross
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δ' 16
when and these-things well were they-marched led and
οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ
the young-men on left having the river road and
ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.
was to the crossing about four stades
πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρῆσαν αἱ τάξεις 17
marching and them marched-alongside-opposite the squadrons
τῶν ἱππέων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν
of-the horsemen when and they-were at the crossing
τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος
of-the river they-grounded the arms and himself first

Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε
Chirisophus having-crowned-himself and having-stripped took
τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς
the arms and to-the others all passed-the-word and the
λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς
captains ordered to-lead the companies in-column the(-ones)
μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν
indeed on left the(-ones) and on right of-himself and the indeed
μάντεις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν·
seers sacrificed into the river
18 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων·
the and enemy shot-arrows and slung
19 ἀλλ' οὔπω ἐξικνοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια,
but not-yet did-they-reach when and favorable were the sacrificial-victims
ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον,
sang-the-paean all the soldiers and raised-the-war-cry
συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. πολλαὶ γὰρ
cried-out-together and also the women all many for
ἦσαν ἑταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.
there-were courtesans in the army
20 καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ·
and Chirisophus indeed went-in and the(-men) with him
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς
— and Xenophon of-the rearguard having-taken the
εὐζωνοτάτους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον
most-lightly-equipped ran at full-speed back to the ford
τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων
the(-one) opposite the way-out the(-one) into the of-the Armenians
ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν
mountains pretending this-way having-crossed to-cut-off
τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἱππεῖς.
the(-men) along the river horsemen

οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον 21
the and enemy seeing indeed the(-men) about Chirisophus
εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς
easily the water crossing seeing and the(-men)
ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοὔμπαλιν, δείσαντες μὴ
about Xenophon running into reverse having-feared lest
ἀποληφθείησαν φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
they-be-cut-off flee at full-speed as toward the of-the
ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἔκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο,
river up way-out when and on the road they-were
ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.
they-pushed up toward the mountain
Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Αἰσχίνης 22
Lycius and the(-one) the squadron having of-the horsemen and Aeschines
ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἐπεὶ
the(-one) the squadron of-the peltasts about Chirisophus when
ἑώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἵποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
they-saw at full-speed fleeing(-them) followed the and soldiers
ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος.
shouted not to-be-left-behind but to-go-up-together to the mountain
Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, 23
Chirisophus and again when he-crossed the horsemen not pursued
εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
at-once but along the reaching banks to the river
ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὁρῶντες
went-up against the upper enemy the(-men) and above seeing
μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὁρῶντες δ' ὁπλίτας
indeed the of-themselves horsemen fleeing seeing and hoplites
σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.
upon-them advancing abandon the above the river heights

24 Ξενοφῶν δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα,
Xenophon and when the(-things) across he-saw well going
ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα·
withdrew the quickest(-way) toward the crossing army
καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον
also for the Carduchians visible already were into the plain
καταβαίνοντες ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις.
coming-down as going-to-attack the last

25 καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν
and Chirisophus indeed the(-heights) above held Lycius and with
ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιῶξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ
few having-attempted to-pursue took of-the baggage-train the
ὑπολειπόμενα καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ
left-behind(-part) and with these clothing both fine and
ἐκπώματα.
drinking-cups

26 καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν
and the indeed baggage-animals of-the Greeks and the crowd still
διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους
was-crossing Xenophon and having-wheeled toward the Carduchians
ἀντία τὰ ὅπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ᾽
facing the arms grounded and passed-the-word to-the captains by
ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ᾽
sections to-form each the of-himself company toward
ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ
shield having-led the section into line and
τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν
the indeed captains and the section-leaders toward the
Καρδούχων ἰέναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ
Carduchians to-go rear-leaders and to-station toward the
ποταμοῦ.
river

οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ 27
the and Carduchians when they-saw the rearguard of-the
ὄχλου ψιλουμένους καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θᾶττον
crowd being-stripped and few already appearing faster
δὴ ἐπῆσαν ᾠδάς τινας ᾄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος,
indeed attacked songs some singing — and Chirisophus
ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ
when the(-things) with him safely were sends to
Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας
Xenophon the peltasts and slingers and archers
καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ.
and orders to-do what ever — he-may-command
ἰδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας Ξενοφῶν πέμψας 28
having-seen and them crossing Xenophon having-sent
ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ
a-messenger orders there to-remain on the river not
διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους
having-crossed when and begin themselves to-cross opposite
ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους,
on-this-side and on-that-side of-them to-step-in as going-to-cross
διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς
with-thongs-fitted the javelin-men and with-arrows-on-string the
τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν.
archers not far but of-the river to-advance
τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνη 29
to-the and with himself he-passed-the-word when a-sling
ἐξικνῆται καὶ ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς
should-reach and a-shield should-ring having-sung-the-paean to-run against the
πολεμίους, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ
enemy when and should-turn-back the enemy and
ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν,
from the river the trumpeter should-sound the war(-signal)

ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς,
having-turned-about to the-spear(-side) to-lead indeed the rear-leaders
θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα ᾗ
to-run and all and to-cross as quickly-as-possible where
ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι
each the place had so-as not to-hinder each-other that
οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.
this-one best would-be who — first on the far-side should-be
30 οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιποὺς
the and Carduchians seeing few already the remaining
— πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ᾤχοντο
many for also of-the(-men) to-remain posted had-gone
ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ
caring some indeed for-pack-animals some and for-baggage some
δ' ἑταιρῶν — ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως καὶ
and for-courtesans there indeed they-pressed boldly and
ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν.
began to-sling and to-shoot
31 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ'
the but Greeks having-sung-the-paean rushed at-a-run against
αὐτούς· οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὡπλισμένοι
them they but not awaited(-them) and for they-were armed
ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ
as indeed in the mountains sufficiently for the to-charge and
φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς.
to-flee for but the into hands to-receive(-an-enemy) not sufficiently
32 ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι
in this signals the trumpeter and the indeed enemy
ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶττον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τἀναντία
fled much still faster the and Greeks the-opposite-way
στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα.
having-turned fled through the river as quickly-as-possible

τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μέν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν 33
of-the and enemy the(-ones) indeed some having-perceived(-it) back
ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους
ran to the river and shooting few
ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
wounded the but many even across being the Greeks
ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες.
still visible were fleeing
οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ 34
the(-men) and having-met(-them) playing-the-man and further-than the
καιροῦ προϊόντες ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος
occasion going-forward later than-the(-men) with Xenophon
διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.
crossed back and were-wounded some even of-these

IV · TIRIBAZUS AND THE SNOW

The Greeks march through Armenia past the sources of the Tigris to the Teleboas. Tiribazus, the governor and the king's friend, makes a truce, then follows them. Snow falls heavily; Xenophon is first to rise naked and split wood. A captured Persian reveals that Tiribazus plans to attack at a pass. The Greeks strike his camp first, take his tent with silver-footed couches and cups, and return to their own camp.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας 1
When and they-had-crossed having-formed-up about middle of-day
ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίον ἅπαν καὶ λείους
they-marched through — Armenia plain all and smooth
γηλόφους οὐ μεῖον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν
hillocks not less than five parasangs not for were

ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς
near the river villages because-of the wars the(-ones)
πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους.
against the Carduchians

2 εἰς δὲ ἣν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ
to and which they-arrived village large both it-was and
βασίλειον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις
a-palace it-had for-the satrap and on the most
οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῆ.
houses towers were-upon(-them) provisions and were abundant

3 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα
from-there and they-marched stages two parasangs ten
μέχρι ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ.
until they-passed-beyond the sources of-the Tigris river
ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας
from-there and they-marched stages three parasangs
πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς
fifteen to the Teleboas river this and was beautiful
μέν, μέγας δ' οὔ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν.
indeed large but not villages and many about the river were

4 ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρὸς
the and place this Armenia was-called the(-part) toward
ἑσπέραν. ὕπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ
west governor and was of-it Tiribazus the(-one) also
βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς
to-the-king friend having-become and whenever he-was-present no
ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν.
other the-king onto the horse lifted

5 οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἑρμηνέα
this-man rode-up horsemen having and having-sent-ahead an-interpreter
εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιτο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς
said that he-wished to-confer with-the commanders to-the

δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς
and generals it-seemed-best to-hear and having-come-forward into
ἐπήκοον ἠρώτων τί θέλει.
earshot they-asked what he-wants
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιτο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε 6
he and said that to-make-a-truce he-wished on (condition)-that neither
αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς
himself the Greeks to-wrong nor them to-burn the
οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τἀπιτήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. ἔδοξε
houses to-take and the-provisions as-many-as they-needed it-seemed-best
ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.
these-things to-the generals and they-made-a-truce on these(-terms)
Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου 7
From-there and they-marched stages three through plain
παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει
parasangs fifteen and Tiribazus followed-alongside
ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίους·
having the of-himself force being-distant about ten stades
καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασίλεια καὶ κώμας πέριξ πολλὰς
and they-arrived at a-palace and villages around many
πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς.
of-many the provisions full
στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν 8
encamping and them comes in-the night snow
πολλή· καὶ ἕωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις
much and at-dawn it-seemed-best to-quarter-separately the units
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων
and the generals among the villages not for they-saw
πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ
enemy any and safe it-seemed to-be because-of the
πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος.
quantity of-the snow

9 ἐνταῦθα εἶχον ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθά, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον,
there they-had as-many-as are good-things animals-for-sacrifice grain
οἴνους παλαιοὺς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά.
wines old fragrant raisins pulses of-every-kind
τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
of-the(-men) and straggling some from the camp
ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοιεν νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοντα.
said that they-had-caught-sight-of by-night many fires shining
10 ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι
it-seemed indeed to-the generals not safe to-be
διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν.
to-quarter-separately but to-bring-together the army again
ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν.
from-there they-came-together also for it-seemed to-be-clearing-up
11 νυκτερευόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος,
passing-the-night and them there falls snow boundless
ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
so-that it-covered both the arms and the men
κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιών· καὶ
lying and the pack-animals fettered the snow and
πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν
great reluctance there-was to-get-up for-(men)-lying for warm
ἦν ἡ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυείη.
was the snow having-fallen-on(-him) on-whomever not it-had-slipped-off
12 ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν
when and Xenophon dared naked having-risen to-split
ξύλα, τάχ᾽ ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος
wood quickly having-risen someone also another from-him having-taken(-it)
ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον
split from and this also others having-risen fire kindled
καὶ ἐχρίοντο·
and anointed-themselves

πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκετο χρῖμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο ἀντ᾽ 13
much for there was-found ointment which they-used instead-of
ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν
olive-oil of-pork and of-sesame and of-almonds from the
πικρῶν καὶ τερμίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ
bitter(-ones) and of-terebinth from and the same these also
μύρον ηὑρίσκετο.
perfume was-found
Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς 14
After these-things it-seemed again necessary-to-quarter-separately to-be in
στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ
houses there indeed the soldiers with much shouting and
ἡδονῇ ᾖσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι
pleasure went to the houses and the provisions as-many-as
δὲ πρότερον ἀπῇσαν τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες ὑπὸ
and before had-gone-away the houses having-set-on-fire through
ἀτασθαλίας, δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες.
wantonness penalty paid badly being-quartered
ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην ἄνδρας 15
from-there they-sent by-night Democrates a-Temnian men
δόντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ
having-given(-him) to the mountains where said the(-men)
ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει
straggling to-have-seen the fires this-man for seemed
καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ
also before many already to-have-reported-truly such-things the(-things)
ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα.
being both as being and the(-things) not being as not being

16 πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα
having-gone and the indeed fires not he-said to-have-seen a-man
δὲ συλλαβὼν ἦκεν ἄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ
but having-seized he-came leading having a-bow Persian and
φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν οἵανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν.
a-quiver and a-battle-axe such-as also Amazons have
17 ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ποδαπὸς εἴη Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι,
being-asked and of-what-country he-was a-Persian indeed he-said to-be
πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατοπέδου, ὅπως
to-be-marching and from the of-Tiribazus camp so-that
ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἳ δὲ ἠρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα
provisions he-might-take they and asked him the army
ὁπόσον τ' εἴη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον.
how-large both it-was and for what(-purpose) assembled
18 ὃ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἴη ἔχων τήν τε αὑτοῦ δύναμιν
he and said that Tiribazus was having the both of-himself force
καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι
and mercenaries Chalybians and Taochians to-have-prepared
δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς
and him he-said as at the pass of-the mountain in the
στενοῖς ᾗπερ μοναχῇ εἴη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον
narrows where alone was a-passage there going-to-attack
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
the Greeks
19 ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα
having-heard to-the generals these-things it-seemed-best the army
συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ
to-bring-together and at-once guards having-left and
στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον
a-general over the(-men) remaining Sophaenetus a-Stymphalian
ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἁλόντα ἄνθρωπον.
they-marched having as-guide the captured man

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες 20
when and they-were-crossing the mountains the peltasts going-ahead
καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς
and having-caught-sight-of the camp not awaited the
ὁπλίτας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
hoplites but having-raised-a-shout ran against the camp
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, 21
the and barbarians having-heard the uproar not stood-their-ground
ἀλλ᾽ ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων
but fled nevertheless and also died some of-the barbarians
καὶ ἵπποι ἑάλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου
and horses were-captured about twenty and the tent the of-Tiribazus
ἑάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα
was-captured and in it couches silver-footed and drinking-cups
καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι.
and the bakers and the wine-pourers declaring to-be
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, 22
when and learned these-things the of-the hoplites generals
ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,
it-seemed to-them to-depart the quickest(-way) to the camp
μή τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις.
lest some attack should-be-made on-the(-men) left-behind
καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπῆσαν, καὶ
and at-once having-recalled(-the-men) with-the trumpet they-went-away and
ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
they-arrived the-same-day at the camp

The Greeks cross the height Tiribazus meant to hold, then the Euphrates near its sources, and march through deep snow against a north wind, to which one of the seers has a sacrifice made. Many suffer ravenous hunger, snow-blindness, and frostbite; Xenophon urges the stragglers on, and the rearguard and the sick frighten off the pursuing enemy with a shout. They come to villages of underground houses, barley wine drunk through reeds, and stores of food, where Polycrates seizes the headman of Xenophon's village. Xenophon makes him his guest and takes him to Chirisophus; asked, he names the Chalybians beyond, and Xenophon gives him an old horse to sacrifice to the Sun and takes the colts for himself and the captains.

1 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ
On-the and next-day it-seemed necessary-to-march to-be by-what-way
δύναιντο τάχιστα πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα
they-could quickest before — to-be-assembled the army
πάλιν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ'
again and to-seize the narrows having-packed-up and
εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες
at-once they-marched through snow much guides having
πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ
many and the-same-day having-crossed the height on which
ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο.
was-about to-attack Tiribazus they-encamped

2 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς
from-there and they-marched stages desert three
παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν,
parasangs fifteen to the Euphrates river
καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν.
and they-crossed it being-wetted up-to the navel
ἐλέγοντο δ' οὐδ' αἱ πηγαὶ πρόσω εἶναι.
were-said and not-even the sources far to-be

ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου 3
from-there they-marched through snow much and plain
σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. ὁ δὲ
stages three parasangs three and ten the and
τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει
third was hard and a-wind north opposed blew
παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
altogether parching all-things and freezing the men
ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεών τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, 4
there indeed of-the seers one said to-sacrifice to-the wind
καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξεν λῆξαι
and he-sacrifices and to-all indeed manifestly it-seemed to-cease
τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος
the harshness of-the blast was and of-the snow the depth
ὀργυά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων
a-fathom so-that both of-the pack-animals and of-the slaves
πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.
many perished and of-the soldiers about thirty
διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν 5
they-got-through and the night fire burning wood and there-was in
τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὀψὲ προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ
the stage much the(-men) and late coming-up wood not
εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἥκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ
had the(-men) then long-since having-come and fire burning not
προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν
admitted to the fire the late-comers if not they-gave-a-share
αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν.
to-them wheat or other if anything they-had to-eat
ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. 6
there indeed they-gave-a-share to-each-other of-what had each
ἔνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθροι
where and the fire was-burning melting-away the snow pits

ἐγένοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὗ δὴ
formed large until down-to the ground where indeed
παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.
it-was-possible to-measure the depth of-the snow

7 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ
from-there and the following day whole they-marched through
χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίασαν. Ξενοφῶν
snow and many of-the men had-ravenous-hunger Xenophon
δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας
and commanding-the-rear and overtaking the(-men) falling
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγνόει ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη.
of-the men did-not-know what ever the affliction might-be

8 ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς
when and told someone him of-the experienced that plainly
βουλιμιῶσι κἄν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται,
they-have-ravenous-hunger and-if anything they-eat they-will-get-up
περιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ πού τι ὁρῴη βρωτόν,
going-around about the pack-animals if anywhere anything he-saw to-eat
διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυναμένους
he-distributed(-it) and sent-around giving(-it) the(-men) able
παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν.
to-run-alongside to-the ravenous

9 ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.
when and something they-had-eaten they-got-up and marched
πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην
(them)-marching and Chirisophus indeed about dusk to a-village
ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ
arrives and carrying-water from the village at the spring
γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος.
women and girls he-overtakes in-front-of the fortification

αὗται ἠρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἑρμηνεὺς 10
these asked them who they-were the and interpreter
εἶπε περσιστὶ ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν
said in-Persian that from the-king they-are-marching to the
σατράπην. αἳ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη,
satrap they and answered that not there he-was
ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. οἳ δ', ἐπεὶ ὀψὲ ἦν,
but is-distant about a-parasang they but since late it-was
πρὸς τὸν κώμαρχον συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν
to the village-chief go-in-with(-them) into the fortification with
ταῖς ὑδροφόροις.
the water-carriers
Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ 11
Chirisophus indeed then and as-many-as were-able of-the
στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
army there encamped of-the and other
στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν
soldiers the(-men) not able to-finish the road
ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες
passed-the-night foodless and without fire and there some
ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
perished of-the soldiers
ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς καὶ τὰ μὴ 12
followed and of-the enemy gathered some and the not
δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο
able of-the pack-animals seized and with-each-other fought
περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἵ τε
over them were-left-behind and of-the soldiers the(-men) both
διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἵ τε
destroyed by the snow the eyes the(-men) and
ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες.
by the cold the toes of-the feet having-rotted-off

13 ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος εἴ
it-was and for-the indeed eyes a-defense against-the snow if
τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο,
anyone black something having before the eyes marched
τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε
for-the and feet if anyone should-keep-moving and never
ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο·
rest should-have and for the night should-take-off(-his-shoes)
14 ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς
as-many-as and having-shoes-on slept sank into the
πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο·
feet the straps and the shoes froze-around(-them)
καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα,
also for they-were since had-given-out the old shoes
καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν.
brogues made from the newly-flayed oxen
15 διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν
because-of the such then necessities were-left-behind some of-the
στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ
soldiers and having-seen black some place because-of the
ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα ᾔκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ
to-have-failed there the snow they-guessed to-have-melted and
ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα
it-had-melted because-of spring a-certain which near was steaming
ἐν νάπῃ. ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν
in a-glen there having-turned-aside they-sat and not said
πορεύεσθαι.
to-march
16 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ᾔσθετο, ἐδεῖτο
— and Xenophon having rearguard when he-perceived begged
αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων
them by-every art and contrivance not to-be-left-behind saying

ὅτι ἕπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν
that are-following many enemy gathered and finally
ἐχαλέπαινεν. οἳ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
he-grew-angry they and to-kill(-them) bade not for —
δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι.
to-be-able to-march
ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἑπομένους πολεμίους 17
then it-seemed best to-be the following enemy
φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι.
to-frighten if anyone could lest they-attack the(-men) being-exhausted
καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἳ δὲ προσῄσαν πολλῷ
and it-was indeed darkness already they and were-approaching with-much
θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι.
uproar about what they-had quarreling
ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες 18
there indeed the rearguard inasmuch-as being-healthy
ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ
having-sprung-up ran at the enemy the and
κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον τὰς
exhausted having-shouted as-much as-they-could loudest the
ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι
shields against the spears struck the and enemy
δείσαντες ἦκαν αὑτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην,
having-feared threw themselves down the snow into the glen
καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγξατο.
and no-one any-more anywhere uttered-a-sound
καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς 19
and Xenophon indeed and the(-men) with him having-told the
ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἥξουσί τινες ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς,
sick that on-the next-day will-come some for them
πορευόμενοι πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν
marching before four stades to-traverse come-upon

ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις
in the road resting on the snow the soldiers
ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει·
wrapped-up and not-even guard any had-been-posted
καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἳ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν
and they-raised them they and said that the(-men) in-front
οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν.
not were-moving-on

20 ὁ δὲ παριὼν καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς
he and going-past and sending-forward of-the peltasts the
ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλῦον. οἳ
strongest bade to-see what was the(-thing) hindering they
δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα.
and reported that whole thus was-resting the army

21 ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ηὐλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ
there also the(-men) about Xenophon bivouacked there
ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἵας ἐδύναντο
without fire and dinnerless guards such-as they-could
καταστησάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν
having-posted when and toward day it-was — indeed
Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους
Xenophon having-sent to the sick the youngest
ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι.
having-made(-them)-get-up bade to-compel(-them) to-go-forward

22 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης
in and this Chirisophus sends of-the(-men) from the village
σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἳ δὲ ἄσμενοι
to-see how were the last they and gladly
ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδοσαν
having-seen(-them) the indeed sick to-these handed-over
κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ
to-carry to the camp themselves and marched and

πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ
before twenty stades to-have-traversed they-were at the village
ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ηὐλίζετο.
where Chirisophus was-bivouacking
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας 23
when and they-had-joined each-other it-seemed among the villages
ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν
safe to-be the units to-quarter and Chirisophus indeed
αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἃς ἑώρων
there remained the and others having-cast-lots-for which they-saw
κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.
villages marched each the of-themselves having
ἔνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι 24
there indeed Polycrates an-Athenian captain bade to-let-go
ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην
himself and having-taken the light-armed running to the village
ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον
which had-been-allotted-to Xenophon surprises all inside
τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κώμαρχον, καὶ πώλους εἰς δασμὸν
the villagers and the village-chief and colts as tribute
βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ
for-the-king being-reared seventeen and the daughter of-the
κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ’ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς
village-chief ninth day married the and husband her
λαγῶς ᾤχετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἑάλω ἐν τῇ κώμῃ.
hares had-gone to-hunt and not was-captured in the village
αἱ δ’ οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, 25
the and houses were underground the indeed mouth like of-a-well
κάτω δ’ εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις
below but broad the and entrances for-the indeed pack-animals
ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ
dug the but men went-down on a-ladder in and

ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἷες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα
the houses were goats sheep cattle fowls and the young
τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῷ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο.
of-these the and animals all on-fodder inside were-fed
26 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος
there-were and also wheat and barley and pulses and wine
κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ
of-barley in bowls were-in(-them) and also themselves the
κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν
barley-grains level-with-the-brim and reeds lay-in(-them) the(-ones) indeed
μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες·
larger the(-ones) and smaller joints not having
27 τούτους ἔδει ὁπότε τις διψῴη λαβόντα εἰς τὸ
these one-had-to whenever anyone was-thirsty having-taken into the
στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μή τις ὕδωρ
mouth to-suck and very strong it-was if not someone water
ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ τῷ συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν.
poured-on and very sweet to-the(-man) having-learned(-it) the drink was
28 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης
— and Xenophon the ruler of-the village this
σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε λέγων
dinner-companion made and to-take-heart him bade saying
ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο τήν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ
that neither of-the children he-would-be-deprived the and house of-him
ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίασιν, ἢν ἀγαθόν
having-filled-in-return with-the provisions they-will-go-away if good
τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνηται ἔστ᾽
something to-the army having-guided(-it) he-should-appear until
ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται.
— in another nation they-should-be

ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον 29
he and these-things promised and being-friendly wine
ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν τὴν
pointed-out where it-was buried this indeed the
νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν
night having-quartered-separately thus slept in all-things
ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν
abundant all the soldiers in guard having the
κώμαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.
village-chief and the children of-him together in sight
τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κώμαρχον 30
on-the and following day Xenophon having-taken the village-chief
πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην,
to Chirisophus marched wherever and he-passed a-village
ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ κατελάμβανε
he-turned to the(-men) in the villages and found
πανταχοῦ εὐωχουμένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν
everywhere feasting and in-good-spirits and from-nowhere
ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον·
they-let(-them)-go before to-set-before them breakfast
οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν 31
not there-was and where not they-set-before(-them) on the same
τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια,
table meats of-lamb of-kid of-pork of-veal of-fowl
σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις.
with many loaves the(-ones) indeed of-wheat the(-ones) and of-barley
ὁπότε δέ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο 32
whenever and anyone being-friendly to-someone wished
προπιεῖν, εἷλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν
to-drink-to(-him) he-dragged(-him) to the bowl from-where
ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ῥοφοῦντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ
having-stooped-over one-had-to sucking-up to-drink like an-ox and

τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ
to-the village-chief they-gave to-take what ever he-wished he but
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δέ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν
other indeed nothing accepted wherever but any of-the kinsmen
ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν.
he-saw to himself always he-took

33 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κἀκείνους
when and they-came to Chirisophus they-found those-too
σκηνοῦντας ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις,
quartered crowned of-the dry hay with-crowns
καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς
and serving Armenian boys with the barbarian
στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὅ
robes to-the and boys they-showed as-if to-the-deaf what
τι δέοι ποιεῖν.
ever it-was-needful to-do

34 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ
when and each-other they-had-greeted Chirisophus and
Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κώμαρχον διὰ τοῦ
Xenophon jointly indeed questioned the village-chief through the
περσίζοντος ἑρμηνέως τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι
Persian-speaking interpreter what was the land he and said that
Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτων τίνι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται.
Armenia and again they-asked for-whom the horses are-reared
ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν
he and said that for-the-king a-tribute the and near land
ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ᾗ εἴη.
he-said to-be Chalybians and the road he-pointed-out where it-was

35 καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς
and him then indeed went-off leading — Xenophon to the
ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαίτερον δίδωσι
of-himself household and a-horse which he-had-taken rather-old gives

τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῦσαι, ὅτι ἤκουεν αὐτὸν
to-the village-chief having-reared(-it) to-sacrifice because he-heard it
ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο
sacred to-be — of-Sun fearing lest it-die it-had-been-injured
γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πώλων λαμβάνει,
for by the march himself and of-the colts takes
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ πῶλον.
and of-the other captains he-gave to-each a-colt
ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, 36
were and the here horses smaller indeed than-the Persian(-ones)
θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολύ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ
more-spirited but much there indeed also teaches the
κώμαρχος περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων
village-chief around the feet of-the horses and of-the pack-animals
σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ
bags to-wrap whenever through the snow they-lead(-them) without
γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρός.
for the bags they-sank up-to the belly

VI · STEALING THE MOUNTAIN

The headman guides them, his son kept as hostage, but Chirisophus strikes him for not finding villages, and he runs away by night, the only quarrel between Chirisophus and Xenophon on the march. After seven stages along the Phasis and two more, the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians hold the pass into a plain. Xenophon proposes stealing a height by night, joking about Spartan training in theft; Chirisophus answers that Athenians are skilled at stealing public money. Volunteers seize the height, the enemy is routed, and the Greeks descend to villages full of good things.

1 Ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι
When and day was the-eighth the indeed guide he-hands-over
Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καταλείπει, πλὴν τοῦ ὑοῦ
to-Chirisophus the and household he-leaves-behind except the son
τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δὲ Πλεισθένει Ἀμφιπολίτῃ
the(-one) just coming-of-age this-one and to-Pleisthenes an-Amphipolitan
δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ
he-gives to-guard so-that if well he-should-guide having also
τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν
this-one he-might-depart and into the house of-him they-carried
ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο.
as they-could most and having-broken-camp they-marched

2 ἡγεῖτο δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὁ κώμαρχος λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος·
led and them the village-chief released through snow
καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος
and already both he-was in the third stage and Chirisophus
αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἤγαγεν. ὁ
with-him grew-angry because not to villages he-had-led(-them) he
δ᾽ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.
and said that not there-were in the place this

3 ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισεν, ἔδησε δ᾽ οὔ. ἐκ δὲ
— and Chirisophus him struck bound but not from and
τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο καταλιπὼν
this he in-the night having-run-away went-off having-left-behind
τὸν ὑόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι
the son this at-least indeed for-Chirisophus and for-Xenophon
μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος
only quarrel in the march arose the of-the guide
κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Πλεισθένης δὲ ἠράσθη τοῦ
maltreatment and neglect Pleisthenes and fell-in-love-with the
παιδὸς καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρῆτο.
boy and home having-taken(-him) most-faithful found(-him)

μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε 4
after this they-marched seven stages at-the-rate-of five
παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν,
parasangs of-the day by the Phasis river
εὖρος πλεθριαῖον.
in-width a-plethron
ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· 5
from-there they-marched stages two parasangs ten
ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς
at but the into the plain pass met them
Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί.
Chalybians and Taochians and Phasians
Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ 6
Chirisophus and when he-caught-sight-of the enemy at the
ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα
pass stopped marching being-distant about thirty
σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς
stades so-that not in column leading he-should-approach the
πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς
enemy passed-the-word and also to-the others to-bring-up the
λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα.
companies so-that into line should-come the army
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγοὺς 7
when and came the rearguard he-called-together generals
καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς
and captains and spoke thus The indeed enemy as
ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ
you-see hold the passes of-the mountain it-is-time and
βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα.
to-deliberate how as best we-shall-contend

8 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι
to-me indeed then it-seems-best to-pass-the-word indeed to-make-breakfast
τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλεύεσθαι εἴτε τήμερον
to-the soldiers us and to-deliberate whether today
εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος.
or tomorrow it-seems-best to-cross the mountain

9 Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα
To-me but at-least said — Cleanor it-seems-best when soonest
ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς κράτιστα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς
we-have-breakfasted having-armed-ourselves as strongest to-go against the
ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἵ
men if for we-shall-waste the of-today day the(-men)
τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες πολέμιοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ
both now us seeing enemy bolder will-be and
ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.
others likely these being-bold more to-join(-them)

10 μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γιγνώσκω. εἰ
after this-man Xenophon said I and thus judge if
μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι
indeed necessity it-is to-fight this (one)-must to-prepare
ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς
how as best we-shall-fight if but we-wish as
ῥᾷστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι
most-easily to-cross this to-me seems necessary-to-consider to-be
ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα
how as fewest indeed wounds we-may-receive as fewest
δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν.
and bodies of-men we-may-lose

11 τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον πλέον ἢ
the indeed then mountain is the(-part) seen more than
ἐφ' ἑξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες
over sixty stades men and nowhere guarding

ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν·
us visible are other than along very the road
πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι
much then better of-the deserted mountain also to-steal
τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας ἢ ἁρπάσαι φθάσαντας, ᾗ
something to-try escaping-notice or to-seize anticipating(-them) as-far-as
δυναίμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους
we-could rather than against strong positions and men
παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι.
prepared to-fight
πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεὶ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν 12
much for easier steep without-a-fight to-go than level on-this-side
καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεὶ
and on-that-side enemies being and by-night without-a-fight
μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὁρᾴη τις ἢ μεθ᾽
rather — the(-things) before feet would-see one than by
ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα ἀμαχεὶ ἰοῦσιν
day fighting and the rough(-ground) without-a-fight to-(those)-going
εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις.
kinder than the level(-ground) the heads to-(those)-being-pelted
καὶ κλέψαι δ᾽ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν 13
and to-steal and not impossible to-me seems to-be it-being-possible
μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δ᾽ ἀπελθεῖν
indeed by-night to-go so-as not to-be-seen it-being-possible and to-go-away
τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἴσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ᾽ ἄν μοι
so-far so-as not perception to-give we-would-seem and — to-me
ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ὄρει
here pretending to-attack more-deserted — the mountain
χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι.
to-find would-stay for — there rather massed the enemy

14 ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε,
but why I about stealing make-a-contribution you for I-at-least
ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν
O Chirisophus hear the Lacedaemonians as-many-as are of-the
ὁμοίων εὐθὺς καὶ ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ
peers straightway even from boyhood to-steal to-practice and not
αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος.
shameful to-be but noble to-steal whatever not forbids law
15 ὅπως δὲ ὡς τάχιστα κλέπτοντες καὶ πειρᾶσθε
so-that and as quickly-as-possible stealing also you-may-try
λανθάνειν, νόμιμον παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ἐὰν ληφθῆτε
to-escape-notice customary among you it-is if you-are-caught
κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρός
stealing to-be-flogged now then very for-you opportunity
ἐστιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ
it-is to-show-off the training and to-take-care lest
ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.
we-be-caught stealing of-the mountain so-that not blows we-may-receive
16 Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς
But truly said — Chirisophus and-I you the
Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ
Athenians hear terrible to-be to-steal the public(-funds) and
μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς
very being terrible danger for-the(-man) stealing and the
κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι
most-powerful however most if-indeed among-you the most-powerful
ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι
to-rule are-thought-worthy so-that it-is-time also for-you to-show-off
τὴν παιδείαν.
the training

Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι 17
I indeed then said — Xenophon ready am
τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι
the rearguard having when we-have-dined to-go
καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ
going-to-seize the mountain I-have and also guides the
γὰρ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἑπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινας
for light-troops of-the following us thieves caught some
ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι
having-set-an-ambush of-these also I-learn that not impassable is
τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἐάνπερ ἅπαξ
the mountain but is-grazed by-goats and cattle so-that if-indeed once
λάβωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται.
we-take some of-the mountain passable also for-the pack-animals it-will-be
ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν 18
I-hope and not-even the enemy to-remain any-longer when
ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ
they-see us on the level on the heights not-even for
νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν.
now they-are-willing to-come-down to the equal(-ground) with-us
ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἰέναι καὶ λιπεῖν 19
— and Chirisophus said And why must you to-go and to-leave
τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μή τινες
the rearguard but others send if not some
ἐθέλοντες ἀγαθοὶ φαίνωνται.
volunteering brave appear
ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὁπλίτας 20
from this Aristonymus a-Methydrian comes hoplites
ἔχων καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Χῖος γυμνῆτας καὶ Νικόμαχος
having and Aristeas the Chian light-troops and Nicomachus

Οἰταῖος γυμνῆτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὁπότε ἔχοιεν
an-Oetaean light-troops and a-signal they-made whenever they-held
τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά.
the heights fires to-burn many

21 ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἠρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου
these-things having-agreed they-breakfasted from and the breakfast
προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα
led-forward — Chirisophus the army all about ten
σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα
stades toward the enemy so-that as most
δοκοίη ταύτῃ προσάξειν.
he-might-seem this-way to-lead-the-attack

22 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νὺξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν
When and they-had-dined and night came the(-men) indeed
ταχθέντες ἀπήρχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος,
posted set-off and seize the mountain
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ
the(-men) and others there rested the and enemy when
ᾔσθοντο τὸ ὄρος ἐχόμενον, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαιον
they-perceived the mountain held kept-awake and burned
πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός.
fires many through night

23 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε
when and day came Chirisophus indeed having-sacrificed led
κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ
along the road the(-men) and the mountain having-seized along
τὰ ἄκρα ἐπῆσαν.
the heights attacked

24 τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ
of-the and enemy the indeed great(-part) remained at the
ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς
pass of-the mountain part and of-them met the(-men)

κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς
along the heights before but together to-be the many(-of-both)
ἀλλήλων, συμμειγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ
with-each-other engage the(-men) along the heights and
νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν.
conquer the Greeks and pursue
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ 25
in this and also the(-men) from the plain the indeed peltasts
τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους,
of-the Greeks at-a-run ran toward the(-men) drawn-up
Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις.
Chirisophus and at-a-walk quickly followed with the hoplites
οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω 26
the and enemy the(-ones) on the road when the(-part) above
ἑώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ
they-saw being-defeated flee and died indeed not
πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ
many of-them wicker-shields but very-many were-taken which the
Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν.
Greeks with-the sabers hacking useless made
ὡς δ᾽ ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι 27
when and they-had-gone-up having-sacrificed and a-trophy having-set-up
κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ
they-went-down into the plain and into villages of-many and
ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.
good-things full they-came

Among the Taochians food runs short. The Greeks storm a stronghold on a cliff whose defenders roll stones; Callimachus draws the stones by running out from behind trees, Agasias races past him, and in their rivalry with Aristonymus and Eurylochus the captains take the place, where women throw their children and themselves over the cliff. They march through the warlike Chalybians, who cut off heads, and through Scythenian villages to Gymnias, whose ruler sends a guide to lead them through his enemies' land. On the fifth day, from the mountain Thecles, the soldiers shout The sea, the sea, embrace, and build a great cairn; the guide is sent home with gifts.

1 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους σταθμοὺς
From and these(-places) they-marched into Taochians stages
πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπε·
five parasangs thirty and the provisions were-failing
χωρία γὰρ ὤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ
positions for inhabited strong the Taochians in which also the
ἐπιτήδεια ἅπαντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι.
provisions all they-had having-carried-up

2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν
when and they-arrived at a-position which city indeed not had
οὐδ' οἰκίας — συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες
nor houses having-gathered and were thither both men
καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλὰ — Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν
and women and cattle many Chirisophus indeed then
πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη
against this attacked at-once on-arriving when and the first
τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήει καὶ αὖθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ
unit was-exhausted another advanced and again another not for
ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπότομον ἦν κύκλῳ.
it-was-possible in-a-mass to-surround(-it) but sheer it-was in-a-circle

ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ 3
when and Xenophon came with the rearguard and
πελτασταῖς καὶ ὁπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος·
peltasts and hoplites there indeed says Chirisophus
Εἰς καλὸν ἥκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἱρετέον· τῇ γὰρ
In good-time you-have-come the for position must-be-taken to-the for
στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.
army not are the provisions if not we-shall-take the position
ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος 4
there indeed in-common they-deliberated and — Xenophon
ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλῦον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν εἶπεν ὁ
asking what the(-thing) hindering was to-go-in said —
Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδός ἐστιν ἣν ὁρᾷς· ὅταν δέ
Chirisophus One this approach is which you-see whenever and
τις ταύτῃ πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ
anyone this-way tries to-pass they-roll stones from-above
ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ,
this the overhanging rock whoever and — is-caught
οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους
thus is-treated at-the-same-time and he-showed crushed
ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς.
men and legs and ribs
Ἢν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο 5
If and the stones they-use-up said — Xenophon other
τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ
anything than nothing prevents to-pass not for indeed from the
ἐναντίου ὁρῶμεν εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ
opposite(-side) we-see if not few these men and
τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὡπλισμένους.
of-these two or three armed

6 τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά
the and space as also you see nearly three half-plethra
ἐστιν ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν· τούτου δὲ
is which (one)-must being-pelted to-cross of-this and
ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις,
about a-plethron thick with-pines at-intervals large
ἀνθ' ὧν ἑστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ
behind which standing men what — would-they-suffer either from
τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ
the flying stones or from the rolling(-ones) the
λοιπὸν οὖν γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν
remaining then becomes about a-half-plethron which (one)-must when
λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν.
cease the stones to-run-past

7 Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὰν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ
But at-once said — Chirisophus when we-begin into the
δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἄν, ἔφη,
thicket to-advance fly the stones many The-very — he-said
τὸ δέον εἴη· θᾶττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους.
the(-thing) needful it-would-be faster for they-will-use-up the stones
ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν
but let-us-march from-where for-us small some(-way) to-run-past
ἔσται, ἢν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον, ἢν βουλώμεθα.
it-will-be if we-can and to-go-back easy if we-wish

8 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ
From-there marched Chirisophus and Xenophon and
Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡγεμονία
Callimachus a-Parrhasian captain of-this-man for the-leadership
ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ
was of-the rearguard captains that the day the and
ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν
other captains remained in the safe(-place) after this then

ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐχ
went-off under the trees men about seventy not
ἁθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο.
in-a-mass but by one each guarding-himself as he-could
Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς 9
Agasias and the Stymphalian and Aristonymus a-Methydrian
καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ,
and these of-the rearguard captains being also others and
ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς
stood outside the trees not for it-was-possible safely
ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἑστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον.
in the trees to-stand more than the one company
ἔνθα δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶταί τι· προὔτρεχεν ἀπὸ 10
there indeed Callimachus contrives something he-would-run-forward from
τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπειδὴ
the tree under which was himself two or three paces when
δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροιντο, ἀνέχαζεν εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἑκάστης δὲ τῆς
and the stones flew he-retreated easily at each and the
προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο.
sally more than ten wagonloads of-rocks were-used-up
ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ 11
— and Agasias when he-sees — Callimachus what(-things)
ἐποίει, τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὗτος
he-was-doing the army all watching having-feared lest this-man
πρῶτος παραδράμῃ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὐ τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον
first should-run-past into the position not — Aristonymus
πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας οὐδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα
near being having-called nor Eurylochus the Lusian
ἑταίρους ὄντας οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ
comrades being nor other any goes himself and
παρέρχεται πάντας.
passes all

12 ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται
— and Callimachus when he-sees him passing seizes
αὐτοῦ τῆς ἴτυος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος
of-him the shield-rim in and this runs-past them Aristonymus
Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες
a-Methydrian and after this-man Eurylochus a-Lusian all
γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀντηγωνίζοντο πρὸς
for these laid-claim to-valor and competed with
ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἱροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς
each-other and thus contending they-take the position when
γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη.
for once they-had-run-in no rock from-above was-thrown

13 ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ῥίπτουσαι
there indeed terrible was the-sight the for women throwing-down
τὰ παιδία εἶτα ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες
the children then themselves threw-down-after(-them) and the men
ὡσαύτως. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνείας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς
likewise there indeed also Aeneas a-Stymphalian captain
ἰδών τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτὸν στολὴν
having-seen someone running as going-to-throw-down himself a-robe
ἔχοντα καλὴν ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων·
wearing fine takes-hold-of(-him) as to-prevent(-him)

14 ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ᾤχοντο κατὰ τῶν
he and him pulls-after(-him) and both went down the
πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν
rocks being-carried and died from-there men indeed
πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ
very few were-taken oxen but and asses many and
πρόβατα.
sheep

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ 15
From-there they-marched through Chalybians stages seven
παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διῆλθον
parasangs fifty these were of-whom they-passed-through
ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας
most-valiant and into hands they-came they-had and breastplates
λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἤτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα
of-linen as-far-as the abdomen instead and of-the flaps cords
πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα.
thick twisted
εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν 16
they-had and also greaves and helmets and by the
ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικήν, ᾧ
belt a-short-sword about-as-large-as a-dagger Laconian with-which
ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν
they-slaughtered whom to-overpower they-could and cutting-off —
τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ᾖδον καὶ ἐχόρευον
the heads having(-them) would-march and sang and danced
ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ
whenever the enemy them to-see were-about they-had and
καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεων μίαν λόγχην ἔχον.
also a-spear about fifteen cubits one point having
οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν 17
these remained in the townships when and had-passed
οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἵποντο ἀεὶ μαχούμενοι. ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς
the Greeks they-followed always to-fight they-lived and in the
ὀχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι
strongholds and the provisions in these carried-up
ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ
they-had so-that nothing to-take there the Greeks but
διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.
they-lived-on the cattle which from the Taochians they-had-taken

18 ἐκ τούτων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἅρπασον ποταμόν,
from these(-places) the Greeks arrived at Harpasus river
εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ
in-width of-four plethra from-there they-marched through
Σκυθηνῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι διὰ
Scythenians stages four parasangs twenty through
πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ
plain to villages in which they-remained days three and
ἐπεσιτίσαντο.
laid-in-provisions

19 ἐντεῦθεν διῆλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι
from-there they-traversed stages four parasangs twenty
πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην
to a-city large and prosperous and inhabited
ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς
which was-called Gymnias of-this the land the-ruler to-the
Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν
Greeks a-guide sends so-that through the of-themselves
πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς.
hostile land he-might-lead them

20 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε
having-come and he says that he-will-lead them five
ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή,
days to a-place from-where they-will-see sea if but not
τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλλεν
to-die he-offered and leading when he-invaded
εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἴθειν καὶ φθείρειν
into the hostile(-land) he-urged(-them) to-burn and to-destroy
τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἑνὸς
the land by-which also clear it-became that this one
ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας.
for-the-sake-of he-had-come not of-the of-the Greeks goodwill

καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα 21
and they-arrive at the mountain on-the fifth day name
δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο
and to-the mountain was Theches when and the first were
ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο.
on the mountain shout great arose
ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾠήθησαν 22
having-heard and — Xenophon and the rearguard thought
ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἵποντο γὰρ
in-front other to-be-attacking enemies they-followed for
ὄπισθεν ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ
behind from the burning land and of-them the
ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐζώγρησαν
rearguard had-killed both some and taken-alive
ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν
an-ambush having-made and wicker-shields they-had-taken of-shaggy
βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν.
oxen of-raw-ox-hide about the twenty
ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ 23
when and the-shout greater both became and nearer and
οἱ ἀεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀεὶ
the(-men) continually coming-up ran at-a-run toward the(-men) continually
βοῶντας καὶ πολλῷ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἡ βοὴ ὅσῳ
shouting and much greater became the shout by-how-much
δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο,
indeed more-numerous they-became
ἐδόκει δὴ μεῖζόν τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ 24
it-seemed indeed greater something to-be — to-Xenophon and
ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας
having-mounted on a-horse and Lycius and the horsemen
ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοώντων
having-taken-up rode-to-help and quickly indeed they-hear shouting

τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θάλαττα θάλαττα καὶ παρεγγυώντων.
the soldiers The-sea the-sea and passing-the-word
ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ
there indeed ran all also the rearguard and the
ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.
pack-animals were-driven and the horses
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ
when and arrived all at the summit there indeed
περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς
they-embraced each-other and generals and captains
δακρύοντες. καὶ ἐξαπίνης ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος οἱ
weeping and suddenly of-whoever indeed having-passed-the-word the
στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν.
soldiers bring stones and make a-cairn great
26 ἐνταῦθα ἀνετίθεσαν δερμάτων πλῆθος ὠμοβοείων καὶ
there they-dedicated of-hides a-quantity of-raw-ox-hide and
βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν
staves and the captured wicker-shields and the guide
αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
himself both cut-to-pieces the wicker-shields and to-the others
διεκελεύετο.
urged(-to-do-so)
27 μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι
after these-things the guide the Greeks send-away
δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν
gifts having-given from common(-stock) a-horse and a-bowl silver
καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ᾔτει δὲ
and dress Persian and darics ten he-asked and
μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν
most the rings and received many from the
στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι
soldiers a-village and having-shown them where they-will-quarter

καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ
and the road which they-will-march to Macronians when
ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ᾤχετο ἀπιών.
evening came he-went departing

VIII · TRAPEZUS

The Macronians bar a river, but a peltast who had been a slave at Athens finds they speak his tongue, and pledges are exchanged. The Colchians hold a mountain; Xenophon advises companies in column with gaps, and the Arcadian peltasts lead the charge. In the villages many soldiers eat honey and fall senseless, recovering after a day or more. The Greeks reach Trapezus on the Euxine, a Greek city, pay their vows to Zeus the Savior and Heracles, and hold games on the mountain under Dracontius.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων 1
From-there and marched the Greeks through Macronians
σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ
stages three parasangs ten on-the first and
ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὥριζε τὴν τῶν
day they-arrived at the river which bounded the(-land) of-the
Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθηνῶν.
Macronians and the(-land) of-the Scythenians
εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον καὶ 2
they-had and above right a-place such-as most-difficult and
ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ
on left another river into which emptied the
ὁρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος
bounding(-one) through which it-was-necessary to-cross was and this
δασὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὔ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτ' ἐπεὶ
thick with-trees thick indeed not dense but these when

προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ
came-up the Greeks they-cut hastening from the
χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐλθεῖν.
place as quickly-as-possible to-get

3 οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους
the and Macronians having wicker-shields and lances and hair
χιτῶνας κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι
tunics over-against opposite the crossing drawn-up
ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν
were and to-each-other called-out and stones into the
ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον· ἐξικνοῦντο γὰρ οὔ οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.
river threw they-reached for not nor they-harmed anything

4 Ἔνθα δὴ προσέρχεται Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν ἀνὴρ
There indeed comes-up to-Xenophon of-the peltasts a-man
Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γιγνώσκοι τὴν
at-Athens claiming to-have-been-a-slave saying that he-knew the
φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα
language of-the men and I-think he-said my this fatherland
εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μή τι κωλύει ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι.
to-be and if not anything prevents I-wish with-them to-converse

5 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον
But nothing prevents he-said but converse and learn first
τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτήσαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες.
who they-are they and said on-his-asking that Macronians
Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς τί ἀντιτετάχαται καὶ
Ask then he-said them why they-have-drawn-up-against(-us) and
χῄζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι.
want to-us enemies to-be

6 οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο Ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν
they and answered Because you against the our land
ἔρχεσθε. λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε
are-coming to-say ordered the generals that not harm at-least

ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς
going-to-do but with-the-king having-warred we-are-returning to
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.
— Greece and to sea we-wish to-arrive
ἠρώτων ἐκεῖνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. 7
asked they whether they-would-give — of-these the pledges
οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν
they and said both to-give and to-take to-be-willing from-there
διδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
give the Macronians a-barbarian lance to-the Greeks
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικήν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν
the and Greeks to-them a-Greek(-one) these for they-said
πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ' ἐπεμαρτύραντο.
pledges to-be gods and they-called-to-witness
Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα 8
After and the pledges at-once the Macronians the trees
συνεξέκοπτον τήν τε ὁδὸν ὡδοποίουν ὡς διαβιβάσοντες
helped-cut-down the and road made as going-to-bring(-them)-across
ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμειγμένοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἀγορὰν οἵαν
in middle mingled with-the Greeks and a-market such-as
ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις
they-could provided and they-led(-them)-past in three days
ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὅρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
until at the of-the-Colchians borders they-set the Greeks
ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι 9
there was a-mountain great and on this the Colchians
παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες
drawn-up were and the indeed first the Greeks
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ
drew-up-against(-them) a-phalanx as thus going-to-lead toward the

ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλεύσασθαι
mountain then and it-seemed-best to-the generals to-deliberate
συλλεγεῖσιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται.
having-gathered how as best they-will-contend

10 ἔλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὅτι δοκοίη παύσαντας τὴν
said then Xenophon that it-seemed(-best) having-stopped the
φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ
phalanx companies in-column to-make the indeed for phalanx
διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον τῇ δὲ
will-be-broken at-once in-one-place indeed for pathless in-another and
εὔοδον εὑρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει
easy-going we-shall-find the mountain and at-once this despondency will-make
ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὁρῶσιν.
when drawn-up in phalanx this broken they-see

11 ἔπειτα ἂν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν,
then if indeed in many(-deep) drawn-up we-advance
περιττεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς
will-overlap us the enemy and the surplus
χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγων
they-will-use what ever — they-wish if but in few(-deep)
τεταγμένοι ὦμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ
drawn-up we-are nothing — would-be surprising if
διακοπείη ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ βελῶν
should-be-cut-through our the phalanx by men and missiles
πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δέ πῃ τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ
many falling-upon(-it) if and anywhere this will-be to-the
φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται.
phalanx evil it-will-be

12 ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους
but to-me it-seems-best in-column the companies having-made
τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις
so-much space to-cover leaving-gaps between-the companies

ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων
as-much-as outside the outermost companies to-be of-the enemy
κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων
wings and thus we-shall-be the both of-the enemy
φάλαγγος ἔξω, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν
phalanx outside and in-column leading the bravest of-us
πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ᾗ τε ἂν εὔοδον ᾖ ταύτῃ
first will-advance where and — passable it-may-be by-this-way
ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λοχαγός.
each will-lead the captain
καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλεῖπον οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις 13
and into both the gap not easy it-will-be for-the enemy
εἰσελθεῖν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι
to-enter on-this-side and on-that-side companies being to-cut-through
τε οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται λόχον ὄρθιον προσιόντα. ἄν τέ
and not easy it-will-be a-company in-column advancing if and
τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει. ἤν τε
any be-pressed of-the companies the near(-one) will-help if and
εἷς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι,
one anywhere be-able of-the companies to the summit to-climb
οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολεμίων.
no-one any-longer will-remain of-the enemy
ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν 14
these-things were-resolved and they-made in-column the companies Xenophon
δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς
and going to the left from the right said to-the
στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὁρᾶτε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν
soldiers Men these are whom you-see alone still for-us
ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαι σπεύδομεν· τούτους,
in-the-way the not already to-be where long-since we-are-hastening these
ἤν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὠμοὺς δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.
if somehow we-can even raw (one)-must to-devour

15 Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς λόχους
When and in the positions each were and the companies
ὀρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
in-column they-had-made there-were indeed companies of-the hoplites
ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς
about the eighty the and company each nearly about
τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ
the hundred the and peltasts and the archers in-three-parts
ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ
they-formed the(-ones) indeed of-the left outside the(-ones) and of-the
δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους.
right the(-ones) and in middle nearly six-hundred each
16 ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὔχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι
from this passed-the-word the generals to-pray having-prayed
δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν
and and having-sung-the-paean they-marched and Chirisophus indeed
καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν
and Xenophon and the(-men) with them peltasts of-the of-the
πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο·
enemy phalanx outside having-come marched
17 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἳ
the and enemy when they-saw them running-alongside-to-meet(-them) some
μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν οἳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διεσπάσθησαν,
indeed to the right some and to the left were-pulled-apart
καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν.
and much of-the their phalanx in the middle empty they-made
18 οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν
the(-men) and by the Arcadian peltasts whom commanded
Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακραγόντες
Aeschines the Acarnanian thinking(-them) to-flee having-raised-a-shout
ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι·
ran and these first onto the mountain climb

συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὁπλιτικόν, ὧν
followed-close and them also the Arcadian hoplite-force whom
ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἐρχομένιος.
commanded Cleanor the Orchomenian
οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ 19
the and enemy when they-began to-run no-longer stood but
φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες
in-flight one another-way turned the and Greeks having-climbed
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τἀπιτήδεια
encamped in many villages and the-provisions
πολλὰ ἐχούσαις.
many having
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ 20
and the indeed other(-things) nothing what ever also they-wondered-at the
δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι
but swarms-of-bees many were there and of-the honeycombs as-many-as
ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο
ate of-the soldiers all senseless both became
καὶ ἤμουν καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς
and vomited and downward passed for-them and upright no-one
ἐδύνατο ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες
could to-stand but the(-ones) indeed little having-eaten
σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐῴκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ μαινομένοις,
very-much drunken resembled the(-ones) and much madmen
οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν.
the(-ones) and even dying
ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ 21
lay and so many as-if a-rout having-occurred and
πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδείς,
great was despondency on-the and next-day died indeed no-one

ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτήν πως ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ
about and the same somehow hour they-came-to-their-senses on-the-third
δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.
and and fourth they-got-up as-if from a-drinking-of-drugs
22 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας
From-there and they-marched two stages parasangs
ἑπτά, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν
seven and came to sea to Trapezus a-city
Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ Σινωπέων
Greek inhabited in the Euxine Pontus of-the-Sinopeans
ἀποικίαν ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρᾳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν
a-colony in the of-the-Colchians land there they-remained
ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις·
days about the thirty in the of-the Colchians villages
23 κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλῄζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. ἀγορὰν δὲ
and-from-there setting-out they-plundered — Colchis a-market and
παρεῖχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζούντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό
provided for-the camp the-Trapezuntians and received
τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ
both the Greeks and gifts-of-hospitality gave oxen and
ἄλφιτα καὶ οἶνον.
barley-meal and wine
24 συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων
they-helped-negotiate and also on-behalf-of the neighboring Colchians
τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια
the(-ones) in the plain chiefly dwelling and gifts-of-hospitality
καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.
also from them came oxen
25 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ηὔξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο·
after and this the sacrifice which they-had-vowed they-prepared
ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ σωτήρια καὶ
came and to-them enough oxen to-offer — to-Zeus for-safety and

τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἃ ηὔξαντο.
— to-Heracles for-guidance and to-the other gods what they-had-vowed
ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθαπερ
they-held and also a-contest athletic on the mountain where
ἐσκήνουν. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε
they-were-encamped they-chose and Dracontius a-Spartiate who was-exiled
παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα κατακανὼν ξυήλῃ πατάξας,
a-boy being from-home a-boy having-killed with-a-dagger having-struck
δρόμου τ᾽ ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι.
of-the-course both to-take-charge and the contest to-preside-over
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ 26
when and the sacrifice was-done the hides they-handed-over —
Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον
to-Dracontius and to-lead-the-way they-bade where the course
πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὗπερ ἑστηκότες
having-made he-might-have he and having-pointed-out where standing
ἐτύγχανον Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου
they-happened This the hill he-said finest to-run wherever
ἄν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν
— one wishes How then they-said will-they-be-able to-wrestle
ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ᾽ εἶπε· Μᾶλλόν τι
on hard and overgrown thus he and said Rather somewhat
ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών.
will-be-hurt the(-man) having-fallen
ἠγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων 27
contested and boys indeed a-stade-race of-the captives
οἱ πλεῖστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρῆτες πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα,
the most the-long-race and Cretans more than sixty
πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον Ἀρκάδες, καὶ καλὴ
wrestling and also boxing and pancratium Arcadians and fine

θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν καὶ ἅτε
a-spectacle was many for came-down(-to-compete) and inasmuch-as
θεωμένων τῶν ἑταίρων πολλὴ φιλονικία ἐγίγνετο.
watching the comrades much rivalry arose
28 ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς
ran and also horses and it-was-needful them down the slope
ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀποστρέψαντας πάλιν πρὸς τὸν
having-driven in the sea having-turned-round back toward the
βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ
altar to-lead and down indeed the many rolled up but
πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόγις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι·
toward the strongly steep(-part) hardly at-a-walk went the horses
ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο.
there much shouting and laughter and cheering arose

BOOK V

I · WAITING FOR SHIPS

Leon of Thurii says he is tired of marching and wants to sail home stretched out like Odysseus. Chirisophus offers to go to his friend Anaxibius, the admiral, for ships. Xenophon proposes rules for the wait: foraging in parties, announcing raids, posting guards, bringing in passing ships, and feeding and paying their crews. When the army shouts down any march by land, he persuades the coastal cities to repair the roads anyway. Dexippus deserts with a penteconter, Polycrates brings in ships, and Cleaenetus is killed attacking a stronghold.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς 2
From and this having-come-together they-deliberated about the remaining
πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Λέων Θούριος καὶ ἔλεξεν
march stood-up and first Leon a-Thurian and spoke
ὧδε. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη
thus I indeed then he-said O men am-worn-out already
ξυσκευαζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων καὶ τρέχων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
packing-up and walking and running and the arms
φέρων καὶ ἐν τάξει ὢν καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων καὶ
carrying and in rank being and guards keeping and
μαχόμενος, ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν
fighting I-desire and now having-ceased-from these the
πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ
toils since sea we-have to-sail the remaining(-way) and
ἐκταθεὶς ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
stretched-out like Odysseus to-arrive in — Greece

3 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ
these-things having-heard the soldiers shouted-approval that well
λέγει· καὶ ἄλλος ταὐτὰ ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ
he-speaks and another the-same-things said and all the(-men)
παριόντες. ἔπειτα δὲ Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε.
coming-forward then and Chirisophus stood-up and spoke thus
4 Φίλος μοί ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ
Friend to-me is O men Anaxibius being-admiral and
καὶ τυγχάνει. ἢν οὖν πέμψητέ με, οἶομαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ
also he-happens-to-be if then you-send me I-think — to-come both
τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς
triremes having and boats the(-ones) us going-to-carry you
δὲ εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω·
and if-indeed to-sail you-wish wait until — I come
ἥξω δὲ ταχέως. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται
I-shall-come and quickly having-heard these-things the soldiers
ἥσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα.
were-pleased both and voted to-sail him as quickly-as-possible
5 Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Χειρίσοφος
After this-man Xenophon stood-up and spoke thus Chirisophus
μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενοῦμεν.
indeed then for ships is-being-dispatched we and shall-wait
ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ
as-many-things to-me then seems the-right-time to-be to-do in the
μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ.
stay these-things I-shall-say
6 πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς
first indeed the provisions (one)-must to-provide from the
πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ οὔτε ὅτου
hostile(-land) neither for a-market is sufficient nor of-what
ὠνησόμεθα εὐπορία εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα
we-shall-buy abundance if not to-few some the and land

πολεμία· κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢν ἀμελῶς
hostile danger then many to-perish if carelessly
τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
both and unguardedly you-go for the provisions
ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 7
but to-me it-seems-best with foraging-parties to-take the provisions
ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡς σῴζησθε, ἡμᾶς δὲ
otherwise and not to-wander so-that you-may-be-safe us and
τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἔδοξε ταῦτα.
these to-take-care-of were-resolved these-things
Ἔτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τάδε. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν 8
Further then hear also these-things for plunder for of-you
ἐκπορεύσονταί τινες. οἶομαι οὖν βέλτιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν
will-go-out some I-think then best to-be to-us
εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα
to-tell the(-man) intending to-go-out to-say and also whither so-that
καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν
also the number we-may-know of-the(-men) going-out and of-the(-men)
μενόντων καὶ ξυμπαρασκευάζωμεν, ἐάν τι δέῃ,
remaining and we-may-help-prepare if anything be-needed
κἂν βοηθῆσαί τισι καιρὸς ᾖ, εἰδῶμεν ὅποι δεήσει
and-if to-help some the-time be we-may-know whither it-will-be-necessary
βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχειρῇ ποι,
to-help and if anyone of-the less-experienced attempt anywhere
ξυμβουλεύωμεν πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' οὓς
we-may-advise(-him) trying to-know the strength against whom
ἂν ἴωσιν. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.
— they-go were-resolved also these-things
Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. σχολὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις 9
Consider and also this he-said leisure to-the enemy
λῄζεσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν
to-plunder and justly against-us they-plot we-have

γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται δὲ ἡμῶν. φυλακὰς
for the(-things) of-them they-are-encamped-above and us guards
δή μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶναι· ἐὰν
indeed to-me it-seems to-be-needed about the camp to-be if
οὖν κατὰ μέρος φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶμεν, ἧττον ἂν
then by turn we-keep-guard and watch less —
δύναιντο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι.
could us to-hunt the enemy

10 Ἔτι τοίνυν τάδε ὁρᾶτε. εἰ μὲν ἠπιστάμεθα σαφῶς ὅτι
Further then these-things see if indeed we-knew clearly that
ἥξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει
will-come ships Chirisophus bringing sufficient nothing — would-be-needed
ὧν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ
of-what I-am-about to-say now but since this is-uncertain it-seems
μοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. ἢν
to-me to-try ships to-help-provide also from-here if
μὲν γὰρ ἄγῃ, ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις
indeed for he-bring being-already here in more-abundant(-ships)
πλευσόμεθα· ἂν δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα.
we-shall-sail if but not he-bring the(-ones) here we-shall-use

11 ὁρῶ δὲ ἐγὼ πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ
I-see and I ships often sailing-past if
οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα
then having-requested from Trapezuntians long ships
κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν, τὰ πηδάλια
we-should-bring(-them)-in and guard(-them) the rudders
παραλυόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται,
unshipping until — enough the(-ships) going-to-carry(-us) there-be
ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς οἵας δεόμεθα. ἔδοξε
perhaps — not we-should-lack conveyance such-as we-need were-resolved
καὶ ταῦτα.
also these-things

Ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ 12
Consider and he-said whether reasonable also to-feed from
κοινοῦ οὓς ἂν κατάγωμεν ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν
common(-stock) whom — we-bring-in however-much — time us
ἕνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες
for-the-sake-of they-stay and fare to-agree-on so-that benefiting
καὶ ὠφελῶνται. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.
also they-may-be-benefited were-resolved also these-things
Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἢν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν 13
It-seems-best then to-me he-said if after-all even these-things for-us
μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς
not be-accomplished so-that to-suffice ships the roads which
δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκούσαις
hard-to-pass we-hear to-be to-the by sea dwelling
πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πείσονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ
cities to-order to-make-roads they-will-obey for both because-of
τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
the to-fear and because-of the to-wish of-us to-be-rid
Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. ὁ 14
Then and they-shouted that not it-was-needful to-go-by-land he
δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν
and when he-knew the folly of-them put-to-the-vote indeed
οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἑκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν, λέγων
nothing the and cities willing he-persuaded to-make-roads saying
ὅτι θᾶττον ἀπαλλάξονται, ἢν εὔποροι γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί.
that faster they-will-be-rid-of(-us) if passable become the roads
ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, 15
they-got and also a-penteconter from the Trapezuntians
ἧ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περίοικον. οὗτος
over-which they-set Dexippus a-Laconian perioecus this-man
ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν πλοῖα ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο ἔξω τοῦ
having-neglected the to-collect ships having-run-away went-off out-of the

Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν
Pontus having the ship this-man indeed then just-things suffered
ὕστερον· ἐν Θρᾴκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν
later in Thrace for at-the-court-of Seuthes meddling
τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος.
in-something he-died at-the-hands-of Nicander the Laconian
16 ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἧ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης
they-got and also a-thirty-oared(-ship) over-which was-set Polycrates
Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὁπόσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατῆγεν ἐπὶ
an-Athenian who whatever he-took ships brought-in to
στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα εἴ τι ἦγον
camp and the indeed cargo if any they-carried
ἐξαιρούμενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη,
taking-out guards they-set so-that safe it-might-be
τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγήν.
the and ships they-used for transport
17 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οἳ
in which and these-things were for plunder went-out the Greeks and some
μὲν ἐλάμβανον, οἳ δὲ καὶ οὔ. Κλεαίνετος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν
indeed took(-it) some and also not Cleaenetus and having-led-out
καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν
both the of-himself and another company against a-position difficult
αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.
himself both died and others many of-the(-men) with him

II · THE MOTHER-CITY OF THE DRILAE

Food runs short and Xenophon leads half the army against the Drilae. The Drilae burn their villages and gather in their mother-city behind a ravine, a trench, and towers. The peltasts attack and cannot retreat; Xenophon brings over

the hoplites, the place is stormed, but a citadel within drives back the plunderers. Xenophon withdraws under cover of fire, burning the houses to block the enemy, and on the march down a sham ambush led by the Mysian protects the army.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν ὥστε 1
When and the provisions no-longer was-it-possible to-take so-as
ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν
to-return-the-same-day to the camp from this having-taken
Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντίων ἐξάγει εἰς
Xenophon guides of-the Trapezuntians leads-out against
Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ
Drilae the half of-the army the and half
κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι,
he-left-behind to-guard the camp the for Colchians
ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν
inasmuch-as having-been-driven from the(-ir) homes many were
ἀθρόοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων.
massed and were-encamped-above on the heights
οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥᾴδιον 2
the and Trapezuntians from-where indeed the provisions easy
ἦν λαβεῖν οὐκ ἦγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς
it-was to-take not led(-them) friends for to-them they-were against
δὲ τοὺς Δρίλας προθύμως ἦγον, ὑφ᾽ ὧν κακῶς
but the Drilae eagerly they-led(-them) by whom badly
ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα καὶ
they-suffered into places both mountainous and hard-to-pass and
ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.
men most-warlike of-the(-men) in the Pontus
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὁποῖα τῶν 3
When and they-were in the upper land the Greeks whichever of-the
χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἁλώσιμα εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐμπιμπράντες
places to-the Drilae capturable to-be seemed setting-on-fire

ἀπῆσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμβάνειν εἰ μὴ ὗς ἢ
they-departed and nothing was-it-possible to-take if not a-pig or
βοῦς ἢ ἄλλο τι κτῆνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός. ἓν δὲ
an-ox or other some beast the fire having-escaped one and
ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες
there-was place a-mother-city of-them into this all
ξυνερρυήκεσαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς
had-streamed-together around and this was a-ravine strongly
βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον.
deep and approaches difficult to the place
4 οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἓξ τῶν
the and peltasts having-run-ahead stades five or six of-the
ὁπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν, ὁρῶντες πρόβατα
hoplites having-crossed the ravine seeing sheep
πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον·
many and other property attacked against the place
ξυνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ
followed-along and also spearmen many the(-ones) for the
ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρμημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες
provisions having-set-out so-that were the(-men) having-crossed
πλείους ἢ εἰς χιλίους ἀνθρώπους.
more than about thousand men
5 ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ
when and fighting not they-could to-take the place and for
τάφρος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη καὶ σκόλοπες
a-trench was around it broad thrown-up and stakes
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι,
on the rampart and towers close-set wooden built
ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἳ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς.
to-go-away indeed they-tried they and pressed them

ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀποτρέχειν, ἦν γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς ἡ 6
when and not they-could to-run-off it-was for in single(-file) the
κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαράδραν, πέμπουσι
descent from the place into the ravine they-send
πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα.
to Xenophon
ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει ὅτι ἔστι χωρίον χρημάτων πολλῶν 7
he and having-come says that there-is a-place of-goods many
μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γάρ ἐστιν·
full this neither to-take can-we strong for it-is
οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾴδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ
nor to-go-away easy they-fight for having-sallied-out and
ἡ ἄφοδος χαλεπή.
the retreat difficult
Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν 8
Having-heard these-things — Xenophon having-led(-them)-up to the
χαράδραν τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὅπλα,
ravine the indeed hoplites to-ground ordered the arms
αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐσκοπεῖτο πότερον
himself and having-crossed with the captains considered whether
εἴη κρεῖττον ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἢ καὶ
it-would-be better to-lead-back also the(-men) having-crossed or also
τοὺς ὁπλίτας διαβιβάζειν, ὡς ἁλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου.
the hoplites to-bring-across as would-be-taken — the place
ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ 9
it-seemed for the indeed to-lead-back not to-be(-possible) without
πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἑλεῖν δ᾽ ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ
many dead to-take but — thought also the captains
τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ξυνεχώρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς
the place and — Xenophon agreed the victims

πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντεις ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν ὅτι μάχη
having-trusted the for seers having-declared were that battle
μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου.
indeed there-will-be the but end fine of-the expedition
10 καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς ἔπεμπε διαβιβάσοντας τοὺς
and the indeed captains he-sent to-bring-across the
ὁπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς
hoplites himself and remained having-drawn-back all the
πελταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἴα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι.
peltasts and no-one allowed to-skirmish
11 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον οἱ ὁπλῖται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον
when and came the hoplites he-ordered the company each
ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγωνιεῖσθαι·
to-form of-the captains as — best he-thinks to-contend
ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων οἳ πάντα τὸν
were for the captains near each-other who all the
χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο.
time with-each-other about bravery competed
12 καὶ οἳ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς
and they indeed these-things did he and the peltasts
πᾶσι παρήγγειλε διηγκυλωμένους ἰέναι, ὡς ὁπόταν
all ordered with-thongs-fitted to-go so-that whenever
σημήνῃ ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλῆσθαι ἐπὶ
he-should-signal to-throw-javelins and the archers to-have-arrows-fitted on
ταῖς νευραῖς, ὡς ὁπόταν σημήνῃ τοξεύειν, καὶ τοὺς
the strings so-that whenever he-should-signal to-shoot and the
γυμνῆτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς
light-troops of-stones to-have full the pouches and the
ἐπιτηδείους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.
suitable(-men) he-sent of-these to-take-care

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ 13
When and all-things had-been-prepared and the captains and the
ὑπολόχαγοι καὶ οἱ ἀξιοῦντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι
lieutenants and the(-men) claiming of-these not worse to-be
πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ
all drawn-up were and each-other indeed then
ξυνεώρων· μηνοειδὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν·
saw crescent-shaped for because-of the place the line was
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο, 14
when and they-had-sung-the-paean and the trumpet sounded
ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον
at-the-same-time both — to-Enyalius they-raised-the-war-cry and ran
δρόμῳ οἱ ὁπλῖται, καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχαι,
at-a-run the hoplites and the missiles together were-borne lances
τοξεύματα, σφενδόναι, πλεῖστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι,
arrows slings most and from the hands stones
ἦσαν δὲ οἳ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον.
there-were and (some)-who also fire brought-up
ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμιοι 15
by and the quantity of-the missiles left the enemy
τά τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας
the both palisades and the towers so-that Agasias
Στυμφάλιος καταθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον
a-Stymphalian having-put-down the arms in tunic only
ἀνέβη, καὶ ἄλλον εἵλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀνεβεβήκει, καὶ
went-up and another pulled and another had-gone-up and
ἑαλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὡς ἐδόκει.
had-been-taken the place as it-seemed
Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐσδραμόντες ἥρπαζον 16
And the indeed peltasts and the light-troops having-run-in plundered
ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν στὰς κατὰ τὰς
what ever each could — and Xenophon having-stood at the

πύλας ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυσε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔξω·
gates as-many-as he-could kept-back of-the hoplites outside
πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ᾽ ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς.
enemies for others appeared on heights some strong
17 οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μεταξὺ γενομένου κραυγή τε
not much and time between having-passed shouting both
ἐγένετο ἔνδον καὶ ἔφευγον οἳ μὲν ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον,
arose within and they-fled some indeed having what they-had-taken
τάχα δέ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς
soon and someone also wounded and much was pushing
ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες
around the gateway and being-asked the(-men) falling-out
ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἔνδον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί,
said that a-citadel both there-is within and the enemy many
οἳ παίουσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς ἔνδον ἀνθρώπους.
who strike having-sallied-out the inside men
18 ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα ἰέναι εἴσω
there to-proclaim he-ordered Tolmides the herald to-go inside
τὸν βουλόμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. καὶ ἴενται πολλοὶ
the(-man) wishing anything to-take and rush many
εἴσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσωθούμενοι
inside and overcome the(-men) falling-out the(-men) pushing-in
καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν.
and shut-up the enemy again into the citadel
19 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ
and the indeed outside the citadel all-things were-plundered and
ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα,
carried-out the Greeks the and hoplites grounded the arms
οἳ μὲν περὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, οἳ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
some indeed about the palisades some and along the road
τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν.
the(-one) to the citadel leading

ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν εἰ οἷόν τε εἴη τὴν 20
— and Xenophon and the captains considered if possible — it-was the
ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής, ἄλλως
citadel to-take there-was for thus safety secure otherwise
δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοπουμένοις δὲ
and very difficult it-seemed to-be to-go-away considering and
αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον.
to-them it-seemed altogether impregnable to-be the place
Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν 21
Then they-prepared the retreat and the indeed
σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς διῄρουν, καὶ τοὺς
stakes each the(-ones) opposite themselves pulled-apart and the
ἀχρείους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
useless and burdens having sent-out of-the hoplites
τὸ πλῆθος καταλιπόντες οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν.
the bulk having-left-behind whom each trusted
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ 22
when and they-began to-withdraw sallied-out from-within many
γέρρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες καὶ κνημῖδας καὶ κράνη
wicker-shields and lances having and greaves and helmets
Παφλαγονικά, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς
Paphlagonian and others onto the houses climbed the(-ones)
ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ·
on-this-side and on-that-side of-the to the citadel leading road
ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας 23
so-that not-even to-pursue safe it-was at the gates
τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας. καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα
the(-ones) to the citadel leading and for timbers great
ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ
they-threw-down from-above so-that hard it-was both to-stay and
ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νὺξ φοβερὰ ἦν ἐπιοῦσα.
to-go-away and the night fearful was coming-on

24 Μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς
Fighting and them and being-at-a-loss of-gods some-one to-them
μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία
a-means of-safety gives suddenly for blazed-up a-house
τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὅτου δὴ ἐνάψαντος. ὡς δ' αὖτη
of-the(-ones) on right whoever indeed having-set-fire(-to-it) when and this
ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν.
fell-in fled the(-men) from the on right houses
25 ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης,
when and learned — Xenophon this from the fortune
ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἳ ξύλιναι
to-set-fire he-ordered also the on left houses which wooden
ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο.
were so-that also quickly they-burned
26 ἔφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκιῶν. οἱ
fled then also the(-men) from these the houses the(-men)
δὲ κατὰ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπουν καὶ δῆλοι
and in front indeed still alone were-troubling(-them) and clear
ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείσονται ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει.
were that they-will-attack in the going-out both and descent
ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει φορεῖν ξύλα ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον
then he-orders to-carry wood as-many-as happened
ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βελῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν
outside being of-the missiles into the middle of-themselves and of-the
πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ ἤδη ἦν, ἐνῆψαν· ἐνῆπτον
enemy when and enough already it-was they-set-fire(-to-it) they-set-fire
δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως
and also the(-ones) by itself the palisade houses so-that
οἱ πολέμιοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν.
the enemy about these might-be(-busy)

οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ 27
thus with-difficulty they-went-away from the place fire in middle
ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. καὶ κατεκαύθη
of-themselves and of-the enemy having-made and was-burned-down
πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ
all the city and the houses and the towers and the
σταυρώματα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας.
palisades and the-other-things all except the citadel
Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 28
On-the and next-day departed the Greeks having the provisions
ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα,
since and the descent they-feared the(-one) to Trapezus
πρανὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενή, ψευδενέδραν ἐποιήσαντο·
steep for it-was and narrow a-sham-ambush they-made
καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτο ἔχων τῶν Κρητῶν 29
and a-man a-Mysian and the-name this having of-the Cretans
λαβὼν δέκα ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ προσεποιεῖτο
having-taken ten remained in a-bushy place and pretended
τοὺς πολεμίους πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν. αἱ δὲ πέλται
the enemy to-try to-escape-the-notice-of the and light-shields
αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε διεφαίνοντο χαλκαῖ οὖσαι.
of-them now and again gleamed-through bronze being
οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι ταῦτα διορῶντες ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς 30
the indeed then enemy these-things seeing-through feared as
ἐνέδραν οὖσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινεν.
an-ambush being the and army in this was-going-down
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυθέναι, τῷ Μυσῷ
when and it-seemed already enough to-have-withdrawn to-the Mysian
ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει
he-signaled to-flee at full-speed and he having-sprung-up flees
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.
and the(-men) with him

31 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρῆτες, ἁλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ
and the indeed other Cretans to-be-caught for they-said in-the
δρόμῳ, ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς
running having-fallen-out from the road into woodland down the
νάπας καλινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν, ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν
glens rolling were-saved the Mysian but along the
ὁδὸν φεύγων ἐβόα βοηθεῖν·
road fleeing shouted to-help
32 καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. καὶ
and they-helped him and picked-up wounded and
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλόμενοι οἱ
themselves on foot(-backward) retreated being-pelted the(-men)
βοηθήσαντες καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν Κρητῶν.
having-helped and shooting-back some of-the Cretans
οὕτως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.
thus they-arrived at the camp all safe being

III · XENOPHON'S ESTATE AT SCILLUS

The sick and the elderly sail with the women and baggage; the rest march to Cerasus, where a review counts eight thousand six hundred survivors. The tenth from the sale of the captives is set aside for Apollo and Artemis of Ephesus. Xenophon dedicates Apollo's share at Delphi; Artemis' he later receives from Megabyzus and uses to buy an estate at Scillus near Olympia, with a temple modeled on the Ephesian one, a yearly festival and hunt, and an inscription requiring a tithe.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν οὔτε
When and neither Chirisophus came nor ships sufficient were nor
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτέον
the provisions it-was-possible to-take any-longer it-seemed necessary-to-depart

εἶναι. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τούς τε ἀσθενοῦντας
to-be and into indeed the ships the(-men) both sick
ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ παῖδας
they-put-aboard and the(-men) over forty years and children
καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν.
and women and of-the baggage as-much-as not necessity was to-have
καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν
and Philesius and Sophaenetus the oldest of-the
στρατηγῶν εἰσβιβάσαντες τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι·
generals having-put-aboard these they-ordered to-take-care-of
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὡδοποιημένη ἦν. 2
the and others marched the and road made-into-a-road was
καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι
and they-arrive marching at Cerasus on-the-third-day
πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Σινωπέων ἄποικον ἐν τῇ
a-city Greek on sea of-the-Sinopeans a-colony in the
Κολχίδι χώρᾳ.
Colchian land
ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις σὺν τοῖς 3
there they-remained days ten and a-review with the
ὅπλοις ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι
arms took-place and a-count and there-were eight-thousand
καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο
and six-hundred these were-saved the and others perished
ὑπό τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ.
at-the-hands-of both the enemy and snow and if anyone by-disease
Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων 4
There also they-divide the from the captives
ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
money having-come and the tenth — for-Apollo
ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ
they-set-apart and — Ephesian for-Artemis and received the

στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ
generals the portion each to-guard for-the gods instead
δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε.
and of-Chirisophus Neon the Asinaean received(-it)
5 Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος
Xenophon then the indeed — of-Apollo offering having-made
ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν
dedicates in the at Delphi of-the Athenians treasury
καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὑτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου,
and inscribed the both of-himself name and the(-name) of-Proxenus
ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανεν· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ.
who with Clearchus died guest-friend for he-was of-him
6 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτ' ἀπήει
the(-portion) and — of-Artemis the Ephesian when he-was-departing
σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν,
with Agesilaus from — Asia the(-road) to Boeotians road
καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ,
he-leaves-behind with Megabyzus the — of-Artemis temple-warden
ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν,
because himself going-to-run-risk he-seemed to-go and directed
ἢν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὑτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· ἢν δέ τι
if indeed himself he-were-saved to-himself to-give(-it)-back if but anything
πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὅ τι οἴοιτο
he-suffered to-dedicate having-made — for-Artemis what ever he-thought
χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ.
would-please the goddess
7 Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη
When and was-in-exile — Xenophon living already
αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος
he at Scillus by the Lacedaemonians settled
ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων
arrives Megabyzus at Olympia going-to-see(-the-games)

καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
and gives-back the deposit to-him Xenophon and
λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός.
having-received(-it) a-place buys for-the goddess where designated the god
ἔτυχε δὲ διαρρέων διὰ τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. 8
it-happened and flowing through the place a-river Selinus
καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεὼν
and at Ephesus also by the — of-Artemis temple
Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ. καὶ ἰχθύες τε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις
Selinus river flows-past and fish both in both
ἔνεισι καὶ κόγχαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ
are and shellfish in and the at Scillus place also
θῆραι πάντων ὁπόσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία.
hunts of-all as-many-as are hunted beasts
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, 9
he-made and also an-altar and a-temple from the sacred money
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ
and the remaining(-time) and always tithing the(-produce) from the
ἀγροῦ ὡραῖα θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ
field seasonal a-sacrifice he-made for-the goddess and all the
πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον
citizens and the neighboring men and women shared-in
τῆς ἑορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιτα,
the festival provided and the goddess to-the(-ones) encamping barley-meal
ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ
loaves wine sweetmeats and of-the(-animals) sacrificed from
τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ.
the sacred pasture a-portion and of-the(-animals) hunted also
καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἵ τε 10
and for a-hunt they-made for the festival the both
Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν,
Xenophon's sons and the(-sons) of-the other citizens

οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων· καὶ
the(-ones) and wishing also men hunted-with(-them) and
ἠλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ
were-taken the(-ones) indeed from very the sacred place the(-ones)
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι.
and also from — Pholoe boars and gazelles and deer

11 Ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα ᾗ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν
Is and the place where from Lacedaemon to Olympia
πορεύονται ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
they-go about twenty stades from the at Olympia
Διὸς ἱεροῦ. ἔνι δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμὼν καὶ
of-Zeus temple there-is and in the sacred place both meadow and
ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ σῦς καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς
mountains of-trees full sufficient swine and goats and cattle
τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν
to-feed and horses so-that also the(-animals) of-the(-people) to the
ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι.
festival going pack-animals to-feast

12 περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλσος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη
around and very the temple a-grove of-cultivated trees was-planted
ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς
as-many-as are edible seasonal(-fruits) the and temple as small
μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ᾔκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον
to-large the(-one) at Ephesus has-been-likened and the image
ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.
resembles as of-cypress to-golden being the(-one) at Ephesus

13 καὶ στήλη ἕστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα·
and a-pillar stands by the temple letters having
ἱερὸς ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ
sacred the place — of-Artemis the(-man) holding and
καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθύειν ἑκάστου ἔτους.
reaping(-its-fruit) the indeed tenth to-sacrifice each year

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δέ τις
from and the surplus the temple to-keep-in-repair if and anyone
μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.
not do these-things to-the goddess it-will-be-a-care

IV · THE MOSSYNOECI

The Mossynoeci refuse passage, but their enemies beyond make alliance with the Greeks, coming in dugout canoes and singing as they march. Greek plunderers who follow them are routed with them, and Xenophon tells the soldiers that disorder is now punished. The next day they storm the mother-city; the king in his wooden tower is burned with it. The Mossynoeci keep stores of dolphin fat and nuts, fatten the sons of the rich and tattoo them with flowers, and do in public what others do in private.

Ἐκ Κερασοῦντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομίζοντο 1
From Cerasus and by sea indeed were-conveyed
οἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο.
the-very-ones also before the and others by land marched
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις, πέμπουσιν 2
when and they-were at the of-the-Mossynoeci borders they-send
εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον πρόξενον ὄντα
to them Timesitheus the Trapezuntian proxenus being
τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες πότερον ὡς διὰ φιλίας
of-the Mossynoeci asking whether as through friendly
ἢ διὰ πολεμίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. οἳ δὲ εἶπον
or through hostile they-will-march the land they and said
ὅτι οὐ διήσοιεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις.
that not they-would-let(-them)-through they-trusted for in-the strongholds

3 ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος ὅτι πολέμιοι τούτοις εἰσὶν
then says — Timesitheus that enemies to-these are
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι ἐκείνους,
the(-people) from the beyond and it-seemed-best to-call them
εἰ βούλοιντο ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ
if they-wished alliance to-make and having-been-sent —
Τιμησίθεος ἦκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας.
Timesitheus came bringing the chiefs

4 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἵ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων
when and they-arrived came-together the both of-the Mossynoeci
ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεξε
chiefs and the generals of-the Greeks and spoke
Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος·
Xenophon interpreted and Timesitheus

5 Ὦ ἄνδρες Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασωθῆναι
O men Mossynoeci we wish to-get-safely
πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεζῇ· πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι
to — Greece on-foot ships for not we-have prevent
δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολεμίους εἶναι.
and these us whom we-hear to-you enemies to-be

6 εἰ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν ξυμμάχους
if then you-wish it-is-possible for-you us to-take as-allies
καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι εἴ τί ποτε ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν,
and to-take-vengeance if in-anything ever you these wronged
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους.
and the remaining(-time) your subjects to-be these

7 εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε πόθεν αὖθις ἂν τοσαύτην
if but us you-let-go consider whence again — so-great
δύναμιν λάβοιτε ξύμμαχον.
a-force you-could-get allied

πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων 8
to these-things answered the chief of-the Mossynoeci
ὅτι καὶ βούλοιντο ταῦτα καὶ δέχοιντο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν.
that both they-wished these-things and accepted the alliance
Ἄγετε δή, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι, 9
Come then said — Xenophon what of-us will-you-need to-use
ἂν ξύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γενώμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἷοί τε
if allies of-you we-become and you what able —
ἔσεσθε ἡμῖν ξυμπρᾶξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου;
will-you-be us to-help about the passage
οἳ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι ἱκανοί ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν 10
they and said that able we-are into the land to-invade
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν
from the on the-other-side the(-land) of-the to-you both and to-us
πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας
enemies and hither to-you to-send ships both and men
οἵτινες ὑμῖν ξυμμαχοῦνταί τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται.
who you will-fight-alongside both and the road will-lead
Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ᾤχοντο. καὶ 11
On these(-terms) pledges having-given and having-received they-went-off and
ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ
came on-the next-day bringing three-hundred boats dugout and
ἐν ἑκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβάντες
in each three men of-whom the indeed two having-disembarked
εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, ὁ δὲ εἷς ἐνέμενε.
in rank grounded the arms the and one remained-in(-it)
καὶ οἳ μὲν λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ 12
and the(-ones) indeed having-taken the boats sailed-away the(-ones)
δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάξαντο ὧδε. ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν
and remaining drew-themselves-up thus they-stood by hundreds
μάλιστα οἷον χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες
about like choruses facing each-other having

γέρρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, ἠκασμένα κιττοῦ
wicker-shields all of-white oxen shaggy shaped-like of-ivy
πετάλῳ, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἓξπηχυ, ἔμπροσθεν
a-leaf in and the right a-javelin about six-cubit in-front
μὲν λόγχην ἔχον, ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές.
indeed a-point having behind and of-the wood ball-shaped
13 χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς
short-tunics and they-had-put-on above knees thickness like
λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα
of-linen bedding-bag on the head and helmets of-leather
οἷάπερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρωβύλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον,
just-like the Paphlagonian(-ones) a-tuft having in middle
ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρᾶς.
very-close-to turban-shaped they-had and also battle-axes of-iron
14 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἷς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες
then led-off indeed of-them one the and others all
ἐπορεύοντο ᾄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν
marched singing in rhythm and having-passed through the
τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο
ranks and through the arms of-the Greeks marched
εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ ἐδόκει
straight toward the enemy against a-position which seemed
ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι.
most-assailable to-be
15 Ὠκεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς Μητροπόλεως καλουμένης
Was-inhabited and this before the Mother-city called
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. καὶ
by-them and holding the highest-point of-the Mossynoeci and
περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔχοντες
about this the war was the for always this holding
ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ
seemed masters to-be also of-all Mossynoeci and

ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν
they-said these not justly to-hold this but common
ὂν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.
being having-seized(-it) to-take-advantage
Εἵποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, οὐ ταχθέντες 16
Followed and them also of-the Greeks some not posted
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἁρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. οἱ δὲ
by the generals but plunder for-the-sake-of the and
πολέμιοι προσιόντων τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ'
enemy them-approaching for-a-while indeed kept-quiet when and
ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται
near they-were to-the position having-run-out rout
αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν
them and killed many of-the barbarians and of-the
ξυναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τινάς, καὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι οὗ
having-gone-up-with(-them) Greeks some and pursued until —
εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας βοηθοῦντας·
they-saw the Greeks coming-to-help
εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ᾤχοντο, καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς 17
then and having-turned-back they-went-off and having-cut-off the
κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς
heads of-the dead showed(-them) to-the Greeks and to-the
ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ
of-themselves enemies and at-the-same-time danced to-a-strain some
ᾄδοντες.
singing
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο ὅτι τούς τε πολεμίους 18
the and Greeks very were-vexed because the both enemy
ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες
they-had-made bolder and because the having-gone-out

Ἕλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν μάλα ὄντες συχνοί·
Greeks with them had-fled very being many
ὃ οὔπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.
which never-yet before they-had-done in the expedition

19 Ξενοφῶν δὲ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶπεν·
Xenophon and having-called-together the Greeks said
Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν
Men soldiers not-at-all be-disheartened on-account-of the(-things)
γεγενημένων· ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μεῖον τοῦ
having-happened know for that also good not less-than the
κακοῦ γεγένηται.
evil has-happened

20 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες
first indeed for you-know that the(-men) going-to
ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιοί εἰσιν οἵσπερ καὶ
us to-guide in-the reality enemies are to-whom also
ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
us necessity(-is-to-be) then and also of-the Greeks
οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ξὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως καὶ ἱκανοὶ
the(-men) having-neglected the with us order and sufficient
ἡγησάμενοι εἶναι ξὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταὐτὰ
having-thought(-themselves) to-be with the barbarians the-same-things
πράττειν ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν δίκην δεδώκασιν· ὥστε αὖθις
to-do which with us penalty have-paid so-that again
ἧττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείψονται.
less the our order they-will-leave

21 ἀλλ᾽ ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις
but you must to-prepare so-that also to-the friendly
οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξετε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι
being of-the barbarians you-will-seem better than-them to-be

καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσετε ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι
and to-the enemy you-will-show that not equal men
μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.
they-will-fight now both and when the disorderly(-men) they-fought
Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· τῇ δὲ 22
This indeed then the day thus they-remained on-the and
ὑστεραίᾳ θύσαντες ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀριστήσαντες,
next-day having-sacrificed when they-had-good-omens having-breakfasted
ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
in-column the companies having-made and the barbarians
ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταὐτὰ ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο
on the left in the-same-way having-drawn-up they-marched
τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένου
the archers between the companies having falling-behind
δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.
and slightly the front of-the hoplites
ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἳ εὔζωνοι κατατρέχοντες 23
there-were for of-the enemy who light-armed running-down
τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλον. τούτους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ
with-the stones pelted these drove-back the archers and
πελτασταί. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτον μὲν
peltasts the and others at-a-walk marched first indeed
ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι
against the position from which on-the previous-day the barbarians
ἐτρέφθησαν καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ
were-routed and the(-men) with them there for the
πολέμιοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι.
enemy were drawn-up-against(-them)
τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ 24
the indeed then peltasts received the barbarians and
ἐμάχοντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὁπλῖται, ἐτρέποντο.
fought when and near were the hoplites they-were-routed

καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθὺς εἵποντο διώκοντες ἄνω
and the indeed peltasts at-once followed pursuing up
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ἐν τάξει εἵποντο.
toward the city the and hoplites in order followed
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς Μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις,
when and up they-were at the of-the-Mother-city houses
ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο
there the enemy together indeed all having-come fought
καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες
and hurled with-the javelins and other spears having
παχέα μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μόλις, τούτοις
thick long as-large-as a-man — could-carry hardly with-these
ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνασθαι ἐκ χειρός.
they-tried to-defend-themselves from hand
26 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόσε
when and not did-give-way the Greeks but to-close-quarters
ἐχώρουν, ἔφευγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἔλειπον
advanced fled the barbarians and from-there they-left
ἅψαντες τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ὁ
having-set-fire(-to) the place the and king of-them the(-one)
ἐν τῷ μόσσυνι τῷ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρου ᾠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν
in the wooden-tower the(-one) on a-height built whom
τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττουσιν,
they-maintain all in-common there remaining and guard
οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἱρεθέντι
not was-willing to-come-out nor the(-one) in the before taken
χωρίῳ, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσσύνοις κατεκαύθησαν.
position but there with the wooden-towers were-burned
27 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες τὰ χωρία ηὕρισκον
The and Greeks plundering the places found
θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων πατρίους,
stores in the houses of-loaves heaped-up ancestral

ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν δ' ἔνδον σῖτον ξὺν τῇ
as said the Mossynoeci the and inside grain with the
καλάμῃ ἀποκείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζειαὶ αἱ πλεῖσται.
straw laid-up were and spelt the most
καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν ηὑρίσκετο 28
and of-dolphins slices in jars were-found
τεταριχευμένα καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων,
salted and fat in vessels of-the dolphins
ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ
which used the Mossynoeci just-as the Greeks the
ἐλαίῳ·
olive-oil
κάρυα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνακίων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα 29
nuts and on the upper-floors were many the(-ones) broad
οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυὴν οὐδεμίαν. τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ
not having division any this also most
σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἕψοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες. οἶνος δὲ
food they-used boiling and loaves baking wine and
ηὑρίσκετο ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν ὀξὺς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ὑπὸ
was-found which unmixed indeed sour appeared to-be because-of
τῆς αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δὲ εὐώδης τε καὶ ἡδύς.
the harshness mixed but fragrant both and sweet
Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς 30
The indeed then Greeks having-breakfasted there marched to
τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ξυμμαχήσασι
the forward having-handed-over the place to-the having-fought-with(-them)
τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. ὁπόσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρῆσαν χωρία
of-the Mossynoeci as-many-as and also other they-passed places
τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσοδώτατα
of-the(-people) with the enemy being the most-accessible
οἳ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἳ δὲ ἑκόντες προσεχώρουν.
some indeed abandoned some and willingly came-over

31 τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων. ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις
the and most such were of-the places were-distant the cities
ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἳ δὲ πλέον αἳ δὲ μεῖον·
from each-other stades eighty some and more some and less
ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ξυνήκουον εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς
shouting and each-other they-heard to the one from the
ἑτέρας πόλεως· οὕτως ὑψηλή τε καὶ κοίλη ἡ χώρα ἦν.
other city so high both and hollow the land was
32 ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἦσαν,
when and marching among the friendly(-people) they-were
ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σιτευτούς,
they-showed them boys of-the wealthy fattened
τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἑφθοῖς, ἁπαλοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς
reared on-nuts boiled soft and white
σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ
exceedingly and not much lacking equal the length and the
πλάτος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν
breadth to-be spotted and the backs and the front-parts
πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια.
all tattooed with-flowers
33 ἐζήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἃς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες,
they-sought and also with-the courtesans whom brought the Greeks
ἐμφανῶς ξυγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτός σφισι. λευκοὶ
openly to-have-intercourse custom for was this to-them white
δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες.
and all the men and the women
34 τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους
these said the(-men) having-served-on-the-campaign most-barbarous
διελθεῖν καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων
to-have-passed-through and farthest from-the Greek customs
κεχωρισμένους. ἔν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν
separated in both for a-crowd being they-did what —

ἄλλοι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν, μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια
others in solitude would-do alone and being similar(-things)
ἔπραττον ἅπερ ἂν μετ᾽ ἄλλων ὄντες, διελέγοντό
they-did what — with others being they-conversed
τε αὑτοῖς καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὠρχοῦντο
both with-themselves and laughed at themselves and danced
ἐφιστάμενοι ὅπου τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.
stopping wherever they-happened as-if to-others showing-off

V · THE ENVOYS OF SINOPE

Through the Chalybians and Tibarenians the Greeks reach Cotyora, a colony of Sinope, where they stay forty-five days, sacrificing and holding processions and games, and take provisions from Paphlagonia and the Cotyorites' land, since the town refuses them a market. Envoys from Sinope complain that the army has forced its way into the city, quartered men in the houses, and taken from the countryside, and threaten an alliance with Corylas of Paphlagonia. Xenophon answers that the Greeks took only what necessity forced and treated friendly cities as friends, and that they could make Corylas their own friend instead. The other envoys disown the threats, the Cotyorites send gifts, and the generals entertain the envoys.

Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διά τε τῆς 1
Through this the land the Greeks through both the
πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὀκτὼ σταθμούς,
hostile and the friendly marched eight stages
καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. οὗτοι ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν
and they-arrive at Chalybians these few both were
καὶ ὑπήκοοι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς
and subjects of-the Mossynoeci and the livelihood was for-the
πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας.
most of-them from iron-working

2 ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνούς. ἡ δὲ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν
from-there they-arrive at Tibarenians the and of-the Tibarenians
χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
land much was more-level and places had on sea
ἧττον ἐρυμνά. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρῃζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία
less fortified and the generals wanted against the places
προσβάλλειν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναί τι, καὶ τὰ
to-attack and the army to-profit somewhat and the
ξένια ἃ ἦκε παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ'
gifts-of-hospitality which came from Tibarenians not they-accepted but
ἐπιμεῖναι κελεύσαντες ἔστε βουλεύσαιντο ἐθύοντο.
to-wait having-bidden(-them) until they-should-deliberate they-sacrificed
3 καὶ πολλὰ καταθυσάντων τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ
and many(-victims) having-sacrificed finally declared the
μάντεις πάντες γνώμην ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσίοιντο οἱ θεοὶ
seers all opinion that in-no-way admitted the gods
τὸν πόλεμον. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ
the war then indeed the gifts-of-hospitality they-accepted and
ὡς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο εἰς
as through friendly(-land) marching two days they-arrived at
Κοτύωρα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἄποικον, οὖσαν δ'
Cotyora a-city Greek of-the-Sinopeans a-colony being and
ἐν τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν χώρᾳ.
in the of-Tibarenians land
5 Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα πέντε. ἐν δὲ
There they-remained days forty five in and
ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς
these first indeed to-the gods they-sacrificed and processions
ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀγῶνας
made by nation each of-the Greeks and contests
γυμνικούς.
athletic

τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἐλάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς 6
the and provisions they-took the(-ones) indeed from —
Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν
Paphlagonia the(-ones) and from the places of-the
Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρεῖχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ τεῖχος
Cotyorites not for they-provided a-market nor into the wall
τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.
the sick did-they-receive

Ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι περὶ 7
In this come from Sinope envoys fearing about
τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως, ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ
of-the Cotyorites the both city it-was for theirs and
φόρον ἐκείνοις ἔφερον, καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον
tribute to-them they-paid and about the land because they-heard(-it)
δῃουμένην. καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλεγον·
being-ravaged and having-come to the camp they-spoke
προηγόρει δὲ Ἑκατώνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν·
was-spokesman and Hecatonymus clever being-thought to-be to-speak
Ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων 8
Has-sent us O men soldiers the of-the Sinopeans
πόλις ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες
city going-to-praise both you because you-conquer Greeks being
βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνησθησομένους ὅτι διὰ
barbarians then and also going-to-rejoice-with(-you) that through
πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, πραγμάτων
many both and terrible as we heard troubles
σεσωμένοι πάρεστε.
having-been-saved you-are-here

ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν 9
we-think-it-right and Greeks being also ourselves at-the-hands-of you
ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μέν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ
being Greeks good indeed something to-receive evil but

μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπήρξαμεν
nothing not-even for we you anything ever began
κακῶς ποιοῦντες.
badly treating

10 Κοτυωρῖται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι, καὶ τὴν
Cotyorites and these are indeed our colonists and the
χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν βαρβάρους
land we to-them this have-handed-over from-barbarians
ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι
having-taken(-it) wherefore also tribute to-us pay these
τεταγμένον καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι· ὥστε
fixed and Cerasuntians and Trapezuntians so-that
ὅ τι ἂν τούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις
what ever — these evil you-do the of-the-Sinopeans city
νομίζει πάσχειν.
thinks to-suffer

11 νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἴς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ
now but we-hear you into both the city by-force
παρεληλυθότας ἐνίους σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐκ
having-entered some to-be-quartered in the houses and from
τῶν χωρίων βίᾳ λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν δέησθε οὐ πείθοντας.
the places by-force to-take what — you-need not persuading

12 ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη
these-things then not we-think-right if and these-things you-will-do necessity
ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον ὁντινα
for-us both Corylas and Paphlagonians and other whomever
ἂν δυνώμεθα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.
— we-can friend to-make

13 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
To these-things having-stood-up Xenophon on-behalf-of the soldiers
εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἥκομεν ἀγαπῶντες
said We and O men Sinopeans have-come being-content

ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
that the bodies we-have-saved and the arms not for was
δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν καὶ
possible at-the-same-time both goods to-lead and to-carry and
τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.
with-the enemy to-fight
καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν 14
and now when to the Greek cities we-came in
Τραπεζοῦντι μέν, παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι
Trapezus indeed they-provided for to-us a-market buying
εἴχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς
we-had the provisions and in-return-for which they-honored us
καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν
and gifts-of-hospitality gave to-the army we-honored-in-return
αὐτούς, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων,
them and if any to-them friend was of-the barbarians
τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν ἐφ' οὓς
from-these we-kept-away the and enemies of-them against whom
αὐτοὶ ἡγοῖντο κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα.
themselves led badly we-treated as-much-as we-could
ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι 15
ask and them what-sort-of — of-us they-found are-here
γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἡ πόλις
for here whom to-us as-guides through friendship the city
ξυνέπεμψεν.
sent-along
ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγορὰν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἄν τε εἰς 16
wherever and — having-come a-market not we-have whether — into
βάρβαρον γῆν ἄν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει ἀλλὰ
barbarian land or — into Greek not through-insolence but
ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
through-necessity we-take the provisions

17 καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καίπερ
both Carduchians and Taochians and Chaldaeans although
βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὅμως
to-the-king not subjects being and very formidable nevertheless
πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν
enemies we-acquired because-of the necessity to-be to-take
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν οὐ παρεῖχον.
the provisions since a-market not they-provided
18 Μάκρωνας δὲ καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγορὰν
Macronians but although barbarians being since a-market
οἵαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ
such-as they-could they-provided friends both we-considered to-be and
βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων.
by-force nothing did-we-take of-the(-things) their
19 Κοτυωρίτας δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι
Cotyorites but whom yours you-say to-be if anything
αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοί εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι
of-them we-have-taken themselves to-blame are not for as friends
προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὔτε
they-behaved to-us but having-shut the gates neither
εἴσω ἐδέχοντο οὔτε ἔξω ἀγορὰν ἔπεμπον· ᾐτιῶντο
inside did-they-receive(-us) nor outside a-market did-they-send they-blamed
δὲ τὸν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἁρμοστὴν τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι.
and the(-man) from you governor of-these responsible to-be
20 ὃ δὲ λέγεις βίᾳ παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἠξιοῦμεν
what and you-say by-force having-entered to-be-quartered we thought-it-right
τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ
the sick into the houses to-receive when and not
ἀνέῳγον τὰς πύλας, ᾗ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον
they-opened the gates where us received itself the place
ταύτῃ εἰσελθόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν,
this-way having-entered other indeed nothing violent we-did

σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ
are-quartered and in the houses the sick the(-things)
αὑτῶν δαπανῶντες, καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως
of-themselves spending and the gates we-guard so-that
μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἁρμοστῇ ὦσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν,
not in the your governor's(-power) may-be the sick of-us
ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ᾖ κομίσασθαι ὅταν βουλώμεθα.
but in our(-power) it-may-be to-carry(-them)-away whenever we-wish
οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ 21
the and others as you-see we-are-quartered in-the-open in the
τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μέν τις εὖ ποιῇ,
rank prepared if indeed anyone well should-treat(-us)
ἀντευποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι.
to-do-good-in-return if but badly to-defend-ourselves
Ἃ δὲ ἠπείλησας ὡς ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῇ Κορύλαν καὶ 22
What and you-threatened that if to-you it-seems-best Corylas and
Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ
Paphlagonians allies you-will-make against us we and
ἢν μὲν ἀνάγκη ᾖ πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· ἤδη γὰρ
if indeed necessity be shall-fight also with-both already for
καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν. ἂν
also with-others many-times-more-numerous than-you we-have-fought if
δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν καὶ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Παφλαγόνα —
but it-seem-best to-us also friend to-make the Paphlagonian
ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ 23
we-hear and him also to-desire the your city and
χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων — πειρασόμεθα ξυμπράττοντες
places the coastal we-shall-try helping-with
αὐτῷ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι γίγνεσθαι.
him in-what he-desires friends to-become

24 Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις
From this very indeed plain were the fellow-envoys
τῷ Ἑκατωνύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις,
— with-Hecatonymus being-angry at-the(-things) said
παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον
having-come-forward and of-them another said that not war
ποιησόμενοι ἥκοιεν ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείξοντες ὅτι φίλοι εἰσί. καὶ
going-to-make they-had-come but going-to-show that friends they-are and
ξενίοις, ἢν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν,
with-gifts-of-hospitality if indeed you-come to the of-the-Sinopeans city
ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι
there we-shall-receive(-you) now but the(-people) here we-shall-order to-give
ἃ δύνανται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ λέγετε.
what they-can we-see for all true being what you-say
25 ἐκ τούτου ξένιά τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρῖται καὶ
from this gifts-of-hospitality both sent the Cotyorites and
οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινωπέων
the generals of-the Greeks entertained the of-the Sinopeans
πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ
envoys and with each-other many both and friendly(-things)
διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας
conversed the both other(-things) and about the remaining march
ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.
inquired what each-party needed

VI · XENOPHON'S PLAN FOR A CITY

Hecatonymus advises the Greeks to sail, describing the passes, cavalry, and rivers of Paphlagonia, and they vote to go by sea. Seeing so many soldiers, Xenophon thinks of founding a city on the Pontus and sacrifices about it. Silanus the seer spreads the word, and Timasion and Thorax, promised money by the Heracleots and Sinopeans, offer pay if the army sails. Accused, Xenophon says he sacrificed

only to learn whether to speak, renounces the plan, and has deserters made liable to trial. The Heracleots send ships but not the money, and Timasion and Thorax now urge sailing to Phasis.

Ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. τῇ δὲ 1
On-this indeed the day this the end came on-the and
ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ
next-day collected the generals the soldiers and
ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέσαντας
it-seemed-best to-them about the remaining march having-called-in
τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλεύεσθαι. εἴτε γὰρ πεζῇ δέοι
the Sinopeans to-deliberate whether for on-foot it-should-be-needful
πορεύεσθαι, χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς·
to-march useful — would-seem to-be the Sinopeans
ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν,
experienced for they-were — of-Paphlagonia or by sea
προσδεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν
to-need-in-addition it-seemed of-Sinopeans alone for — they-would-seem
ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ.
able to-be ships to-provide sufficient for-the army
καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυνεβουλεύοντο, καὶ 2
having-called then the envoys they-consulted(-them) and
ἠξίουν Ἕλληνας ὄντας Ἕλλησι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς
thought-it-right Greeks being to-Greeks in-this first well
δέχεσθαι τῷ εὔνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα
to-receive(-them) in-the well-disposed both to-be and the best(-things)
ξυμβουλεύειν.
to-advise
Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατώνυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο 3
Having-stood-up and Hecatonymus first indeed defended-himself
περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον ποιήσοιντο,
about what he-had-said that the Paphlagonian friend they-would-make

ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν
that not as against-the Greeks going-to-make-war they
εἶποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους
he-had-said(-it) but that it-being-possible with-the barbarians friends
εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αἱρήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμβουλεύειν
to-be the Greeks they-will-choose when and to-advise
ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος εἶπεν ὧδε.
they-bade having-prayed he-spoke thus

4 Εἰ μὲν ξυμβουλεύοιμι ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ, πολλά
If indeed I-should-advise what best to-me seems many
μοι καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τἀναντία. αὐτὴ γὰρ
to-me also good-things may-come if but not the-opposite very for
ἡ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι·
the sacred counsel said to-be seems to-me to-be-present
νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἂν μὲν εὖ ξυμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ
now for indeed if indeed well having-advised I-appear many
ἔσονται οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ
will-be the(-men) praising me if but badly many
ἔσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι.
you-will-be the(-men) cursing(-me)

5 πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἕξομεν, ἐὰν
trouble indeed then I-know that much more we-shall-have if
κατὰ θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα
by sea you-are-conveyed us for it-will-be-necessary the ships
πορίζειν· ἢν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει
to-provide if but by land you-set-out you it-will-be-necessary
τοὺς μαχομένους εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα ἃ γιγνώσκω·
the(-ones) fighting to-be nevertheless and must-be-said what I-judge

ἔμπειρος γάρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Παφλαγόνων καὶ 6
experienced for I-am both of-the land of-the Paphlagonians and
τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφότερα, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα
of-the power it-has for both both plains most-beautiful
καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα.
and mountains highest
Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθὺς ᾗ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη 7
And first indeed I-know straightway where the entry necessity(-is)
ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλῃ ἢ ᾗ τὰ κέρατα
to-make not for it-is-possible elsewhere than where the peaks
τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ
of-the mountain of-the road on each-side are high which
κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἄν· τούτων
to-hold occupying even very few could — these
δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι δύναιντ'
but being-held not-even — the all men could
ἂν διελθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαιμι ἄν, εἴ μοί τινα
— to-pass-through these and also I-could-show — if to-me someone
βούλεσθε ξυμπέμψαι.
you-wish to-send-along
Ἔπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππείαν ἣν 8
Then and I-know both plains being and cavalry which
αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρείττω εἶναι ἁπάσης τῆς
themselves the barbarians consider better to-be than-all the
βασιλέως ἱππείας. καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ
of-the-king cavalry and now these not were-present for-the-king
καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν.
summoning but higher thinks the ruler of-them
Ἢν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τά τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι 9
If and even you-are-able the both mountains to-steal or to-anticipate
λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τούς
having-seized(-them) and in the plain to-prevail fighting the

τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα,
both horsemen of-these and of-foot tens-of-thousands more than twelve
ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμώδοντα,
you-will-come to the rivers first indeed the Thermodon
εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν
in-breadth of-three plethra which difficult I-think to-cross
ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν
otherwise both and enemies many in-front being many
δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑπομένων· δεύτερον δὲ Ἶριν, τρίπλεθρον
and behind following second and Iris three-plethra
ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δὲ Ἅλυν, οὐ μεῖον δυοῖν σταδίοιν, ὃν
likewise third and Halys not less than-two stades which
οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς
not — you-could without boats to-cross boats and who
ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος
will-be the(-one) providing so and likewise also the Parthenius
ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἄν, εἰ τὸν Ἅλυν διαβαίητε.
impassable to which you-would-come — if the Halys you-should-cross
10 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν
I indeed then not difficult for-you to-be think the march
ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. ἂν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν
but altogether impossible if but you-sail it-is-possible
ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλεῦσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ
from-here indeed to Sinope to-sail-along from Sinope and
εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ οὔτε κατὰ
to Heraclea from Heraclea and neither on-foot nor by
θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά ἐστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.
sea a-difficulty many for also ships are in Heraclea
11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἳ μὲν ὑπώπτευον φιλίας ἕνεκα
When and these-things he-said some indeed suspected friendship for-the-sake-of
τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ· οἳ δὲ
— of-Corylas him-to-speak and for he-was proxenus to-him some and

καὶ ὡς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν ξυμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἳ δὲ
also as gifts going-to-receive for the advice this some and
ὑπώπτευον καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα λέγειν ὡς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες
suspected also of-this for-the-sake-of to-speak that not on-foot going
τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζοιντο. οἱ δ' οὖν
the of-the-Sinopeans some land harm they-might-do the and then
Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι.
Greeks voted by sea the march to-make
μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ὦ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες 12
after these-things Xenophon said O Sinopeans the indeed men
ᾑρηνται τὴν πορείαν ἣν ὑμεῖς ξυμβουλεύετε· οὕτω δὲ
have-chosen the march which you advise thus and
ἔχει· εἰ μὲν πλοῖα ἔσεσθαι μέλλει ἱκανὰ ὡς ἀριθμῷ
it-stands if indeed ships to-be is-going sufficient so-that in-number
ἕνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς ἂν πλέοιμεν· εἰ δὲ
one not to-be-left-behind here we — would-sail if but
μέλλοιμεν οἳ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι οἳ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι,
we-should-be-going some indeed to-be-left-behind some and to-sail
οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα.
not — we-would-embark into the ships
γιγνώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναίμεθ' 13
we-know for that where indeed — we-prevail we-could
ἂν καὶ σῴζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δέ που
— both to-be-safe and the provisions to-have if but anywhere
ἧττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθησόμεθα, εὔδηλον δὴ ὅτι
weaker than-the enemy we-shall-be-caught very-clear indeed that
ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ ἐσόμεθα. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ
in of-slaves place we-shall-be having-heard these-things the
Σινωπεῖς ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις.
Sinopeans bade to-send envoys

14 καὶ πέμπουσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον
and they-send Callimachus an-Arcadian and Ariston an-Athenian
καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιόν. καὶ οἳ μὲν ᾤχοντο.
and Samolas an-Achaean and they indeed went-off

15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὁρῶντι μὲν ὁπλίτας
In and this the time to-Xenophon seeing indeed hoplites
πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶντι δὲ πελταστὰς πολλοὺς
many of-the Greeks seeing and peltasts many
καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ καὶ μάλα
and archers and slingers and horsemen and also very
ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανούς, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ,
already through the practice capable being and in the Pontus
ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις
where not — from few means so-great a-force
παρεσκευάσθη, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι χώραν καὶ
could-have-been-prepared fine to-him it-seemed to-be land and
δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι πόλιν κατοικίσαντας.
power — for-Greece to-acquire-in-addition a-city having-founded

16 καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τό
and would-become — to-him it-seemed great reckoning-up the
τε αὐτῶν πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸν Πόντον.
both of-them number and the(-people) dwelling-around the Pontus
καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο πρίν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν
and with-a-view-to these-things he-sacrificed before to-anyone to-tell of-the
στρατιωτῶν Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας τὸν Κύρου μάντιν
soldiers Silanus having-called-in the of-Cyrus seer
γενόμενον τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην.
having-been the Ambraciot

17 ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς δεδιὼς μὴ γένηται ταῦτα καὶ καταμείνῃ
— but Silanus fearing lest happen these-things and stay
που ἡ στρατιά, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον ὅτι
somewhere the army carries-out to the army a-report that

Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμεῖναι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πόλιν
Xenophon wishes to-stay the army and a-city
οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι.
to-found and for-himself name and power to-win
αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν 18
himself and — Silanus wished as quickly-as-possible to —
Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε
Greece to-arrive which for from Cyrus he-had-received
δαρεικοὺς ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἠλήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρῳ,
darics when the ten days he-spoke-truly sacrificing for-Cyrus
καὶ διεσεσώκει.
also he-had-kept-safe
τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει 19
of-the and soldiers when they-heard to-some indeed it-seemed
βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὔ. Τιμασίων δὲ
best to-be to-stay to-the but many not Timasion and
ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινὰς
the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian to merchants some
παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν ὅτι εἰ
present of-the Heracleots and Sinopeans say that if
μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθὸν ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
not they-will-provide for-the army pay so-as to-have the provisions
ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μεῖναι τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐν
sailing-away that it-will-run-the-risk to-remain so-great a-force in
τῷ Πόντῳ· βούλεται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ,
the Pontus wishes for Xenophon and us urges
ἐπειδὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ,
when come the ships then to-tell suddenly to-the army
Ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ 20
Men now indeed we-see ourselves at-a-loss being and in the
ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὡς οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας
voyage-home to-have the provisions and so-that home having-gone-away

ὀνῆσαί τι τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ
to-benefit somewhat the(-people) at-home if but you-wish of-the around
χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι ὅποι ἂν
land about the Pontus inhabited having-selected wherever —
βούλησθε κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε,
you-wish to-occupy and the indeed willing to-go-away home
τὸν δὲ θέλοντα μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστιν,
the and willing to-remain there ships and to-you are-at-hand
ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.
so-that wherever — you-wish suddenly — you-could-fall-upon(-it)

21 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι·
Having-heard these-things the merchants reported to-the cities
ξυνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίων Δαρδανεὺς Εὐρύμαχόν
sent-along and with-them Timasion a-Dardanian Eurymachus
τε τὸν Δαρδανέα καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον ταὐτὰ
both the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian the-same-things
ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες
going-to-say Sinopeans and and Heracleots these-things having-heard
πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Τιμασίωνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι
send to — Timasion and urge(-him) to-take-charge
λαβόντα χρήματα ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά.
having-received money so-that may-sail-out the army

22 ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ἐν ξυλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
he and gladly having-heard in an-assembly of-the soldiers
ὄντων λέγει τάδε. Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὦ
being says these-things Not (one)-must to-attend to-staying O
ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι.
men nor — than-Greece anything of more to-value
ἀκούω δέ τινας θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας.
I-hear and some to-be-sacrificing over this not-even to-you saying(-it)

ὑπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νουμηνίας 23
I-promise and to-you if you-sail-out from the-new-moon
μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν κυζικηνὸν ἑκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ
pay to-provide a-Cyzicene to-each of-the month and
ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρῳάδα, ἔνθεν καί εἰμι φυγάς, καὶ
I-shall-lead you into the Troad from-where also I-am an-exile and
ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἑκόντες γάρ με δέξονται.
will-be-available to-you the my city willingly for me they-will-receive
ἡγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε. 24
I-shall-lead and myself I from-where much money you-will-take
ἔμπειρος δέ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς
experienced and I-am — of-Aeolis and — of-Phrygia and of-the
Τρῳάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης, τὰ μὲν
Troad and of-the of-Pharnabazus province all the indeed
διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι
because-of the from-there to-be the and because-of the to-have-campaigned
ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ.
in it with Clearchus both and Dercylidas
Ἀναστὰς αὖθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς περὶ στρατηγίας 25
Having-stood-up again Thorax the Boeotian who about generalship
Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου,
with-Xenophon was-fighting said if they-should-go-out from the Pontus
ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα
there-would-be for-them the-Chersonese a-land fine and prosperous
ὥστε ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ
so-that to-be-possible for-the(-man) wishing to-dwell-in(-it) for-the and
μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε. γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι ἐν
not wishing to-go-away home ridiculous and to-be in
τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου ἐν τῇ
— Greece being land much and abundant in the
βαρβάρων μαστεύειν.
of-barbarians(-land) to-search

26 ἔστε δ' ἄν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, κἀγὼ καθάπερ Τιμασίων
until and — he-said there you-come I-too just-as Timasion
ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφοράν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν
promise to-you the pay these-things and he-said
εἰδὼς ἃ Τιμασίωνι οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς
knowing what to-Timasion the Heracleots and the Sinopeans
ὑπισχνοῦντο ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα.
were-promising so-as to-sail-out — and Xenophon in this kept-silent
27 Ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλήσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον ὡς
Having-stood-up and Philesius and Lycon the Achaeans said that
δεινὸν εἴη ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν
shocking it-was in-private indeed Xenophon to-persuade both to-stay
καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς, εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν
and to-sacrifice about the staying to and the public nothing
ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων. Ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν
to-say about these-things So-that was-compelled — Xenophon
ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε.
to-stand-up and to-say these-things
28 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν ὡς ὁρᾶτε ὁπόσα δύναμαι
I O men sacrifice indeed as you-see as-often-as I-can
καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω
both for you and for myself so-that these-things I-may-happen
καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων ὁποῖα μέλλει ὑμῖν τε
both saying and thinking and doing such-as are-going to-you both
κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. καὶ νῦν ἐθυόμην
finest and best to-be and to-me and now I-was-sacrificing
περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἰ ἄμεινον εἴη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν
about very this(-thing) whether better it-were to-begin to-speak
εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν περὶ τούτων ἢ παντάπασι μηδὲ
to you and to-act about these-things or altogether not-even
ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος.
to-touch the matter

Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, 29
Silanus and to-me the seer answered the indeed greatest
τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ᾔδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον
the victims favorable to-be he-knew for also me not inexperienced
ὄντα διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δὲ ὅτι
being through the always to-be-present at-the sacrifices said but that
ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί,
in the victims appeared some deceit and plot against-me
ὡς ἄρα γιγνώσκων ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με
as in-fact knowing that himself was-plotting to-slander me
πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐγὼ πράττειν
to you he-spread for the report that I to-do
ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς.
these-things intended already not having-persuaded you
ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἂν 30
I and if indeed I-saw being-at-a-loss you this —
ἐσκόπουν ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς
I-would-consider from which — might-come so-that having-taken you
πόλιν τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ
a-city the indeed wishing to-sail-away at-once the and not
βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιτο ἱκανὰ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
wishing when he-had-acquired enough so-that also the of-himself
οἰκείους ὠφελῆσαί τι.
household to-benefit somewhat
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἡρακλεώτας 31
since and I-see for-you both the ships sending Heracleots
καὶ Σινωπεῖς ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπισχνουμένους
and Sinopeans so-as to-sail-out and pay promising
ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νουμηνίας, καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι
to-you men from the-new-moon fine to-me it-seems to-be
σῳζομένους ἔνθα βουλόμεθα μισθὸν τῆς εὐπορίας
being-saved where we-wish pay for-the easy-passage

λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτός τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας,
to-take and myself both I-cease-from that the intention
καὶ ὁπόσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσῆσαν λέγοντες ὡς χρὴ
and as-many-as to me came saying that (one)-must
ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀναπαύεσθαί φημι χρῆναι.
these-things to-do to-desist I-say (one)-must

32 Οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώσκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοὶ ὥσπερ
Thus for I-judge together indeed being many as
νυνὶ δοκεῖτε ἄν μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τὰ
now you-would-seem — to-me both honored to-be and to-have the
ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐστι καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν
provisions in for the to-prevail is also the to-take
τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων· διασπασθέντες δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ
the(-things) of-the weaker scattered but — and in
μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως οὔτ' ἂν τροφὴν
small(-parts) having-become the force neither — food
δύναισθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε.
could-you to-take nor rejoicing — would-you-get-away

33 δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
it-seems-best then to-me just-as to-you to-go-out to — Greece
καὶ ἐάν τις μέντοι ἀπολιπὼν ληφθῇ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι
and if anyone however having-deserted be-caught before in safety to-be
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. καὶ ὅτῳ
all the army to-be-tried him as doing-wrong and to-whom
δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.
it-seems-best he-said these-things let-him-raise the hand raised(-it) all

34 Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν ὡς δίκαιον
— and Silanus shouted and tried to-say that just
εἴη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ
it-was to-go-away the(-man) wishing the but soldiers not

ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἠπείλουν αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ λήψονται
bore(-it) but threatened him that if they-will-catch(-him)
ἀποδιδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν.
running-away the penalty they-would-inflict
ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν 35
then when learned the Heracleots that to-sail-out
δεδογμένον εἴη καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικὼς εἴη,
resolved it-was and Xenophon himself having-put-it-to-the-vote was
τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο
the indeed ships they-send the but money which they-had-promised
Τιμασίωνι καὶ Θώρακι ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν.
to-Timasion and to-Thorax having-lied they-had-been
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρατιὰν 36
then and dismayed were and feared the army
οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. παραλαβόντες οὖν
the(-men) the pay having-promised having-taken-along then
οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς οἷς ἀνεκεκοίνωντο
these also the other generals with-whom they-had-shared
ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, πάντες δ᾽ ἦσαν πλὴν Νέωνος
what before they-were-doing all and they-were except Neon
τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει, Χειρίσοφος
the Asinaean who for-Chirisophus was-lieutenant-general Chirisophus
δὲ οὔπω παρῆν, ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν
and not-yet was-present come to Xenophon and say
ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκοίη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν
that it-repented them and it-seemed best to-be to-sail
εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν
to Phasis since ships there-are and to-occupy the of-the-Phasians
χώραν. Αἰήτου δὲ ὑιδοῦς ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν.
land of-Aeetes and a-grandson happened reigning over-them

37 Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς
Xenophon and answered that nothing — of-these would-he-say to
τὴν στρατιάν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε,
the army you but having-collected(-them) he-said if you-wish
λέγετε. ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς
speak then proposes Timasion the Dardanian
γνώμην οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον
opinion not to-hold-an-assembly but the of-himself each
λοχαγοὺς πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. καὶ ἀπελθόντες
captains first to-try to-persuade and having-gone-away
ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.
these-things they-did

VII · THE CHARGE OF DECEIT

Neon spreads the rumor that Xenophon, having won over the other generals, means to trick the army back to Phasis. Xenophon replies that no one can deceive them about where the sun rises or which wind blows toward Greece, and that he stands in no one's way and would yield command to anyone who does them good. He then reveals the real danger: lawlessness. Clearetus raided a village friendly to Cerasus and was killed; its envoys were stoned at Cerasus; a mob shouting Strike, pelt rushed at a market-clerk and sent Cerasuntians and some Greeks fleeing into the sea, where those who could not swim drowned. The army resolves to punish the offenders, put the generals on trial, and purify itself.

1 Ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο ταραττόμενα.
These-things then the soldiers learned being-stirred-up
καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεπεικὼς τοὺς
and — Neon says that Xenophon having-won-over the
ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας
other generals intends to-lead the soldiers
ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν.
having-deceived(-them) back to Phasis

ἀκούσαντες δ᾽ οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ 2
having-heard and the soldiers angrily took(-it) and
ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο.
gatherings took-place and circles formed
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθάνετο Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα 3
when and perceived Xenophon it-seemed-best to-him as quickly-as-possible
ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν, καὶ μὴ ἐâσαι ξυλλεγῆναι
to-bring-together of-them an-assembly and not to-allow to-gather
αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέξαι ἀγοράν.
of-their-own-accord and he-ordered the herald to-collect an-assembly
οἳ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνέδραμον καὶ μάλα 4
they and when the herald they-heard ran-together and very
ἑτοίμως. ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ
readily then Xenophon the indeed generals not
κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε.
accused because they-came to him he-speaks and thus
Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμὲ ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα 5
I-hear someone to-slander O men me that I in-fact
ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φâσιν. ἀκούσατε οὖν
having-deceived you am-about to-lead to Phasis hear then
μου πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνωμαι ἀδικεῖν,
me before gods and if indeed I appear to-do-wrong
οὐ χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ᾽
not must me from-here to-depart before — I-pay penalty if but
ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικεῖν οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως
to-you appear to-do-wrong the(-men) me slandering thus
αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ ἄξιον.
them to-treat as is-fitting
ὑμεῖς δέ, ἔφη, ἴστε δήπου ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου 6
you and he-said know surely whence the-sun rises and where
δύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν μέν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἰέναι,
it-sets and that if indeed anyone to — Greece is-to go

πρὸς ἑσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δέ τις βούληται εἰς
toward west (one)-must to-march if but anyone wishes to
τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοὔμπαλιν πρὸς ἕω. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις
the barbarians the-opposite-way toward east is-there then anyone-who
τοῦτο ἂν δύναιτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι ὡς ἥλιος ἔνθεν μὲν
this — could you to-deceive that the-sun from-where indeed
ἀνίσχει, δύεται ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει ἐντεῦθεν;
rises sets there where and sets rises from-there
7 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω
but truly also this at-least you-know that the-north-wind indeed out-of
τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς
the Pontus to — Greece carries(-ships) the-south-wind and in to
Φᾶσιν, καὶ λέγεται, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ
Phasis and it-is-said when the-north-wind blows that fine voyages
εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν
there-are to — Greece this then is-it-possible that anyone —
ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσαι ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν ὁπόταν νότος πνέῃ;
you could-deceive so-as to-embark when the-south-wind blows
8 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁπόταν γαλήνη ᾖ ἐμβιβάσω. οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ
but for when calm be I-shall-put(-you)-aboard therefore I
μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὐλάχιστον ἐν
indeed in one ship shall-sail you and at-the-least in
ἑκατόν. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐμοὶ
a-hundred how — then I either could-force you with me
πλεῖν μὴ βουλομένους ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι;
to-sail not wishing or having-deceived(-you) could-lead(-you)
9 ποιῶ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ γοητευθέντας ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
I-suppose and you deceived and bewitched by me
ἥκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν·
to-come to Phasis and indeed we-disembark into the land
γνώσεσθε δήπου ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν
you-will-know surely that not in — Greece you-are and I indeed

ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὼς εἷς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς
shall-be the deceiver one you and the deceived near
μυρίων ἔχοντες ὅπλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίη
ten-thousand having arms how — then a-man more could-pay
δίκην ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος;
penalty than thus about himself both and you planning
Ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἠλιθίων κἀμοὶ 10
But these are the words of-men both foolish and-me
φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. καίτοι οὐ δικαίως
envying because I by you am-honored and-yet not justly
γ᾽ ἄν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ
at-least — me they-would-envy whom for of-them I prevent either
λέγειν εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι
to-speak if anyone anything good can among you or to-fight
εἴ τις ἐθέλει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ
if anyone wishes for you both and himself or to-stay-awake about
τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; τί γάρ, ἄρχοντας
the your safety taking-care what for commanders
αἱρουμένων ὑμῶν ἐγώ τινι ἐμποδών εἰμι; παρίημι,
choosing you I to-anyone in-the-way am I-give-way
ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθόν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω.
let-him-command only good something doing you let-him-appear
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· 11
but for to-me indeed suffices about these-things the(-things) said
εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται
if but anyone of-you either himself to-be-deceived — thinks
ταῦτα ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω.
these-things or another to-deceive these-things saying let-him-explain
ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἅλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθητε πρὶν ἂν 12
when and of-these enough you-have not go-away before —
ἀκούσητε οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα·
you-hear what-kind-of I-see in the army beginning matter

ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν
which if it-comes-on and will-be such-as it-suggests it-is-time for-us
βουλεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ
to-deliberate on-behalf-of us ourselves lest worst both and
αἴσχιστοι ἄνδρες ἀποφαινώμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς
most-shameful men we-be-shown and before gods and before
ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων.
men both friends and enemies

13 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε ὅ
Having-heard and these-things the soldiers wondered both what
τι εἴη καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν·
ever it-was and to-speak bade from this he-begins again
Ἐπίστασθέ που ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βαρβαρικά,
You-know surely that places there-were in the mountains barbarian
φίλια τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ
friendly to-the Cerasuntians from-where coming-down some both
ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον,
animals-for-sacrifice sold to-us and other(-things) of-what they-had
δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον
seem and to-me also of-you some to the nearest place
τούτων ἐλθόντες ἀγοράσαντές τι πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν.
of-these having-gone having-bought something back to-have-gone-away

14 τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἴη
this having-learned Clearetus the captain that both small it-was
καὶ ἀφύλακτον διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται
and unguarded because-of the friendly to-think(-itself) to-be goes
ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών.
against them in-the night as going-to-sack(-it) to-no-one of-us having-told

15 διενενόητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ
he-had-intended and if he-took this the place to indeed the
στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, εἰσβὰς δὲ εἰς πλοῖον ἐν
army no-longer to-come having-embarked and into a-boat in

ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ
which happened the tent-mates of-him sailing-along and
ἐνθέμενος εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ
having-put-aboard if anything he-took sailing-away to-be-off out-of the
Πόντου. καὶ ταῦτα ξυνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ
Pontus and these-things agreed-to with-him the(-men) from
τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι.
the boat tent-mates as I now perceive
παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπόσους ἔπειθεν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. 16
having-summoned then as-many-as he-persuaded he-led against the place
πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ
marching and him overtakes day having-come and
ξυστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες
having-gathered the men from strong positions hurling
καὶ παίοντες τόν τε Κλεάρετον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν
and striking — both Clearetus kill and of-the
ἄλλων συχνούς, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασοῦντα
others many the(-others) and some also to Cerasus
αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι.
of-them withdraw
ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν 17
these-things and were on the day on-which we hither set-out
πεζῇ· τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασοῦντι,
on-foot of-the(-men) and sailing still some were in Cerasus
οὔπω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν,
not-yet having-put-to-sea After this as the Cerasuntians say
ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν
arrive of-the(-men) from the place three men of-the
γεραιτέρων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρῄζοντες ἐλθεῖν.
elders to the community the our wanting to-come

18 ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς Κερασουντίους
when and us not they-found to the Cerasuntians
ἔλεγον ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ᾽
they-said that they-wondered why to-us it-seemed-good to-come against
αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ
them since however they to-say they-said that not from
κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
common(-decision) had-happened the matter to-be-pleased both them and
μέλλειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὡς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα
to-intend hither to-sail so-as to-us to-tell the(-things) having-happened
καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας.
and the dead to-bid them to-bury having-taken(-them)
19 τῶν δ᾽ ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων τυχεῖν ἔτι
of-the(-men) and having-escaped some Greeks to-happen still
ὄντας ἐν Κερασοῦντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους
being in Cerasus having-perceived and the barbarians
ὅποι ἴοιεν αὐτοί τε ἐτόλμησαν βαλεῖν τοῖς
where they-were-going themselves both dared to-pelt(-them) with-the
λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες
stones and to-the others urged(-to-do-it) and the men
ἀποθνῄσκουσι τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις καταλευσθέντες.
die three being the envoys stoned-to-death
20 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ
When and this happened come to us the
Κερασούντιοι καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ
Cerasuntians and tell the matter and we the
στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις
generals having-heard were-grieved both at-the(-things) having-happened
καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασουντίοις ὅπως ἂν
and deliberated with the Cerasuntians how —
ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί.
might-be-buried the of-the Greeks dead

συγκαθήμενοι δ' ἔξωθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν 21
sitting-together and outside the arms suddenly we-hear
θορύβου πολλοῦ Παῖε παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε, καὶ τάχα
uproar much Strike strike pelt pelt and quickly
δὴ ὁρῶμεν πολλοὺς προσθέοντας λίθους ἔχοντας ἐν
indeed we-see many running-up stones having in
ταῖς χερσί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους.
the hands the(-ones) and also picking-up
καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασούντιοι, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἑωρακότες τὸ 22
and the indeed Cerasuntians as indeed also having-seen the
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δείσαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ
among themselves affair having-feared withdraw to the
πλοῖα. ἦσαν δὲ νὴ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν οἳ ἔδεισαν.
ships there-were and by Zeus also of-us who were-afraid
ἐγώ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἠρώτων ὅ τι 23
I at-least however went to them and asked what ever
ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν οἳ οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν,
is the matter of-them and there-were indeed who nothing knew
ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδότι
nevertheless and stones they-had in the hands when and knowing
τινὶ ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα
someone I-came-upon he-tells me that the market-clerks most-shockingly
ποιοῦσι τὸ στράτευμα.
treat the army
ἐν τούτῳ τις ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς 24
in this someone sees the market-clerk Zelarchus toward
τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα, καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἳ δὲ ὡς
the sea withdrawing and he-cried-out they and when
ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἢ συὸς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος
they-heard as-if either a-boar wild or a-deer having-appeared
ἴενται ἐπ' αὐτόν.
rush upon him

25 οἱ δ' αὖ Κερασούντιοι ὡς εἶδον ὁρμῶντας καθ'
the and in-turn Cerasuntians when they-saw rushing toward
αὐτούς, σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴεσθαι, φεύγουσι
themselves clearly thinking against them to-be-rushing flee
δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ξυνεισέπεσον
at-a-run and fall into the sea fell-in-with(-them)
δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνίγετο ὅστις νεῖν μὴ
and also of-us ourselves some and was-drowned whoever to-swim not
ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστάμενος.
happened knowing

26 καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; ἠδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν
and these what do-you-think they-wronged indeed nothing they-feared
δὲ μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτώκοι. Εἰ οὖν
but lest madness some as-if dogs us had-fallen-upon If then
ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε οἷα ἡ κατάστασις
these-things such will-be consider what-sort the condition
ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς.
for-us will-be of-the army

27 ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι
you indeed the all not will-be masters neither to-take-up
πόλεμον ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε οὔτε καταλῦσαι, ἰδίᾳ
war with-whomever — you-wish nor to-end(-it) privately
δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἄξει στράτευμα ἐφ' ὅ τι
but the(-man) wishing will-lead an-army against what ever
ἂν θέλῃ. κἂν τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις εἰρήνης
— he-wants and-if some to you come envoys peace
δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ
wanting or other something having-killed these the(-men)
βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι
wishing will-make you the words not to-hear
τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων.
of-the(-men) to you coming

ἔπειτα δὲ οὓς μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἕλησθε ἄρχοντας, 28
then and whom indeed — you all choose as-commanders
ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρᾳ ἔσονται, ὅστις δὲ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἕληται
in no position will-be whoever and — himself chooses
στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐθέλῃ λέγειν Βάλλε βάλλε, οὗτος ἔσται
general and is-willing to-say Pelt pelt this-man will-be
ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακανεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτην ὃν ἂν
able both a-commander to-kill and a-private whomever —
ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ ἄκριτον, ἢν ὦσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ,
of-you he-wishes untried if there-be the(-men) going-to-obey him
ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο.
as also now happened
οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι 29
what-sort and for-you also have-accomplished the self-chosen these
στρατηγοὶ σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν ὁ ἀγορανόμος εἰ
generals consider Zelarchus indeed the market-clerk if
μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν
indeed he-wrongs you is-off sailing-away not having-paid to-you
δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος
penalty if but not he-wrongs he-flees from the army
δείσας μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ.
having-feared lest unjustly untried he-die
οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν 30
the(-men) and having-stoned the envoys have-brought-about for-you
μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασοῦντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς
alone indeed of-the Greeks to Cerasus not safe
εἶναι ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχύι ἀφικνῆσθε· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς οὓς
to-be if not with force you-come the and dead whom
πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακανόντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν,
before themselves the(-men) having-killed(-them) bade to-bury
τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκείῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς
these they-brought-about not-even with herald's-staff any-longer safe

εἶναι ἀνελέσθαι. τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσει κῆρυξ ἰέναι κήρυκας
to-be to-take-up who for will-be-willing a-herald to-go heralds
ἀπεκτονώς; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς
having-killed but we of-the-Cerasuntians to-bury them
ἐδεήθημεν.
begged

31 εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἵνα
if indeed then these-things well are let-it-be-resolved by-you so-that
ὡς τοιούτων ἐσομένων καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις
as such(-things) going-to-be also a-guard privately may-make anyone
καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια πειρᾶται ἔχων σκηνοῦν.
and the strongholds commanding may-try holding to-encamp

32 εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὰ
if however to-you it-seems of-beasts but not of-men to-be the
τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς
such deeds consider a-stop some of-them if but not by
Διὸς πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ,
Zeus how either to-gods shall-we-sacrifice gladly doing deeds impious
ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχούμεθα, ἢν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν;
or with-enemies how shall-we-fight if each-other we-kill

33 πόλις δὲ φιλία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἥτις ἂν ὁρᾷ τοσαύτην
city and friendly what us will-receive which — sees so-great
ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρρῶν, ἢν
lawlessness in us a-market and who will-bring confidently if
περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινώμεθα;
about the greatest-things such-things erring we-appear
οὗ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς
which and indeed of-all we-think to-obtain praise who
ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσει; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι
us such being will-praise we indeed for I-know that
πονηροὺς ἂν φαίημεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.
wicked — we-would-say to-be the(-men) the such-things doing

Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν τούτων 34
From this rising all said the indeed of-these
ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι
having-begun to-pay penalty the and future no-longer to-be-allowed
ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· ἐὰν δέ τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
lawlessness to-begin if and anyone begin to-be-brought them for
θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστῆσαι·
death the and generals into trials all to-put
εἶναι δὲ δίκας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἠδίκητο ἐξ οὗ
to-be and trials also if anything else anyone had-been-wronged from which
Κῦρος ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποιήσαντο.
Cyrus died judges and the captains they-made
παραινοῦντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν μάντεων 35
advising and Xenophon and the seers
συμβουλευόντων ἔδοξε καθῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ
counseling it-was-resolved to-purify the army and
ἐγένετο καθαρμός.
took-place a-purification

VIII · THE GENERALS ON TRIAL

The generals give account: Philesius and Xanthicles are fined for a loss of cargo, Sophaenetus for neglect. Xenophon is accused of striking men. He questions his accuser, a muleteer who wanted to bury a sick man alive, and admits striking soldiers who broke ranks to plunder or lay down in the snow to die, as parents, teachers, and doctors punish for the good. Now, in fair weather, he strikes no one, as a helmsman is harsh only in a storm; the soldiers who stood by and never helped the offenders condemned them too, and the worst then, like Boiscus the boxer, are the most insolent now. He asks them to remember the good he did as well, and the army clears him.

1 Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ
It-was-resolved and also the generals penalty to-submit-to of-the
παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. καὶ διδόντων Φιλήσιος μὲν
past time and they-giving(-account) Philesius indeed
ὤφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν
was-fined and Xanthicles for-the guarding of-the merchant-ship
χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα εἴκοσι μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι
goods the deficit twenty minas Sophaenetus and because
αἱρεθεὶς *** κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ
having-been-chosen (lacuna) be-neglected(-it) ten minas against-Xenophon and
κατηγόρησάν τινες φάσκοντες παίεσθαι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ
accused some saying to-be-struck by him and
ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο.
as being-insolent the accusation they-made

2 καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα
and — Xenophon bade to-say the first having-spoken
ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπου καὶ ῥίγει
where also he-was-struck he and answered Where also with-cold
ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ χιὼν πλείστη ἦν.
we-were-perishing and snow deepest was

3 ὃ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μὴν χειμῶνός γε ὄντος οἵου λέγεις,
he and said But truly with-a-storm at-least being such-as you-say
σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότος, οἴνου δὲ μηδ᾽ ὀσφραίνεσθαι
food and having-given-out wine and not-even to-smell
παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων
being-possible by and toils many giving-up enemies
δὲ ἑπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὕβριζον, ὁμολογῶ
and following if in such a-time I-was-insolent I-admit
καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασιν ὑπὸ

τῆς ὕβρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον,
the insolence weariness not to-arise nevertheless but also tell
ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης.
he-said from what you-were-struck
πότερον ᾔτουν τί σε καὶ ἐπεί μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους 4
whether I-asked something you and since to-me not you-gave
ἔπαιον; ἀλλ᾽ ἀπῄτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν
I-struck(-you) but I-demanded-back(-something) but about a-favorite
μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρῴνησα;
fighting but being-drunk I-behaved-violently
ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ 5
when and of-these nothing he-said he-asked him whether
ὁπλιτεύει. οὐκ ἔφη· πάλιν εἰ πελτάζοι. οὐδὲ
he-serves-as-a-hoplite no he-said again whether he-served-as-a-peltast not-even
τοῦτ᾽ ἔφη, ἀλλ᾽ ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν
this he-said but a-mule to-drive having-been-assigned by the
συσκήνων ἐλεύθερος ὤν.
tent-mates free being
ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγιγνώσκει αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο· Ἦ σὺ εἶ 6
then indeed he-recognizes him and asked Truly you are
ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀγαγών; Ναὶ μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη· σὺ γὰρ
the(-man) the sick(-man) having-carried Yes by Zeus he-said you for
ἠνάγκαζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκεύη διέρριψας.
compelled(-me) the and of-the my tent-mates baggage you-scattered
Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιαύτη τις 7
But the indeed scattering said — Xenophon such some
ἐγένετο. διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ
was I-distributed(-it) to-others to-carry and ordered to me
ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι,
to-bring(-it)-back and having-recovered all safe I-gave(-it)-back to-you

ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. οἷον δὲ τὸ
when also you to-me had-shown the man what-sort and the
πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ἀκούσατε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον.
matter was hear he-said also for worth(-it)

8 Ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι.
A-man was-being-left-behind because-of the no-longer to-be-able to-march
καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι
and I the indeed man so-much knew that
εἷς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἠνάγκασα δὲ σὲ τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὡς
one of-us be-was I-compelled and you this-one to-carry so-that
μὴ ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν
not he-might-perish also for as I think enemies us
ἐφείποντο. συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος.
were-following agreed this the fellow

9 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ προὔπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω
Therefore said — Xenophon after I-sent-ahead you I-overtake(-you)
αὖθις σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιὼν βόθρον ὀρύττοντα
again with the rearguard coming-up a-pit digging
ὡς κατορύξοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπῄνουν
as going-to-bury the man and having-stopped I-praised
σε.
you

10 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ἀνήρ,
when and standing-by us bent the leg the-man
ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνήρ, σὺ δ’
cried-out the(-men) present that is-alive the man you and
εἶπας Ὁπόσα γε βούλεται· ὡς ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ
said As-much-as at-least he-wishes since I-at-least him not
ἄξω. ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας γάρ
shall-carry then I-struck you true you-say you-seemed for
μοι εἰδότι ἐοικέναι ὅτι ἔζη.
to-me knowing to-resemble that he-was-alive

Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἧττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγώ σοι 11
What then he-said less at-all he-died when I to-you
ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες
showed him And for we said — Xenophon all
ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ
shall-die of-this then for-the-sake-of alive us must
κατορυχθῆναι;
to-be-buried
τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον ὡς ὀλίγας παίσειεν· ἄλλους 12
this-one indeed they-cried-out that few(-blows) he-had-struck(-him) others
δ' ἐκέλευε λέγειν διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη.
and he-bade to-say for what each was-struck
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, 13
when and not they-stood-up himself he-said I O men
ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἕνεκεν ἀταξίας ὅσοις
admit to-have-struck indeed men for-the-sake-of disorder for-as-many-as
σῴζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι' ὑμῶν ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ
to-be-saved indeed sufficed through you in rank both going and
μαχομένων ὅπου δέοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς
fighting where it-should-be-needful themselves but having-left the
τάξεις προθέοντες ἁρπάζειν ἤθελον καὶ ἡμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν.
ranks running-ahead to-plunder wished and than-us to-get-more
εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιοῦμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα.
if and this all we-were-doing all — we-would-have-perished
ἤδη δὲ καὶ μαλακιζόμενόν τινα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα 14
already and also being-soft someone and not willing
ἀνίστασθαι ἀλλὰ προϊέμενον αὑτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ
to-get-up but abandoning himself to-the enemy both
ἔπαισα καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ
I-struck and I-forced to-march in for the severe
χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους
storm also myself once waiting-for some packing-up

καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις
having-sat-down long time I-found-out having-got-up with-difficulty
καὶ τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας.
and the legs stretching-out

15 ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πεῖραν λαβὼν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὁπότε
in myself then trial having-taken from this also another whenever
ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι
I-saw sitting and loafing I-drove(-on) the for to-move
καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα, τὸ
and to-play-the-man provided warmth some and suppleness the
δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἑώρων ὑπουργὸν ὂν τῷ
but to-sit and quiet to-keep I-saw helping being to-the
τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ τῷ ἀποσήπεσθαι τοὺς τῶν
both to-be-frozen the blood and to-the to-rot-off the of-the
ποδῶν δακτύλους, ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας.
feet toes which many also you know having-suffered

16 ἄλλον δέ γε ἴσως ἀπολειπόμενόν που διὰ
another and at-least perhaps lagging-behind somewhere through
ῥᾳστώνην καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ
laziness and hindering both you the(-men) in-front and
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὄπισθεν πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως
us the(-men) behind to-march I-struck with-the-fist so-that
μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παίοιτο.
not with-a-lance by the enemy he-might-be-struck

17 καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι
and for then now it-is-possible for-them having-been-saved if anything
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. εἰ δ'
by me they-suffered contrary-to the just penalty to-exact if but
ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως
in-the-power-of the enemy they-had-come what great — thus
ἔπαθον ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἠξίουν λαμβάνειν;
they-would-have-suffered for-which penalty — they-would-think-right to-exact

Ἁπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, 18
Simple to-me he-said the plea if indeed for good I-punished anyone
ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην οἵαν καὶ γονεῖς ὑοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι
I-think-it-right to-submit-to penalty such-as also parents to-sons and teachers
παισί· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἰατροὶ καίουσι καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ·
to-children and for the doctors burn and cut for good
εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομίζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε 19
if but through-insolence you-think me these-things to-do consider
ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαρρῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε καὶ
that now I am-confident with the gods more than then and
θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω, ἀλλ᾽
bolder I-am now than then and wine more drink but
ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν εὐδίᾳ γὰρ ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας.
nevertheless no-one I-strike in fair-weather for I-see you being
ὅταν δὲ χειμὼν ᾖ καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ 20
when and a-storm be and sea great rushes-on not
ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνον ἕνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν
you-see that also of-a-nod only for-the-sake-of is-harsh indeed
πρῳρεὺς τοῖς ἐν πρῴρᾳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερνήτης
the-bow-officer with-the(-men) in the-bow is-harsh and the-helmsman
τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ; ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ
with-the(-men) in the-stern sufficient for in the such(-weather) even
μικρὰ ἁμαρτηθέντα πάντα συνεπιτρῖψαι.
small(-things) done-amiss all-things to-wreck-together
ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε· 21
that and justly I-struck them also you condemned(-them)
ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους, παρέστατε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν
having swords not ballots you-stood-by and it-was-possible for-you
ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβούλεσθε· ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις
to-help them if you-wished but by Zeus neither these
ἐπεκουρεῖτε οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε.
did-you-help nor with me the disorderly(-man) did-you-strike

22 τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν
therefore license you-made to-the bad of-them to-be-insolent
ἐῶντες αὐτούς. Οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν,
allowing them I-think for if you-are-willing to-consider
τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὑρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν
the same you-will-find both then worst and now
ὑβριστοτάτους.
most-insolent

23 Βοΐσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλὸς τότε μὲν
Boiscus at-any-rate the boxer the Thessalian then indeed
διεμάχετο ὡς κάμνων ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δέ, ὡς
insisted as being-ill a-shield not to-carry now but as
ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέδυκεν.
I-hear of-Cotyorites many already he-has-stripped

24 ἢν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τοῦτον τἀναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς
if then you-are-wise to-this-one the-opposite you-will-do than the
κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς
dogs they-do the indeed for dogs the savage the
μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιᾶσι, τοῦτον δέ,
indeed days they-tie-up the and nights they-let-loose this-one but
ἢν σωφρονῆτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν
if you-are-wise the night indeed you-will-tie-up the and day
ἀφήσετε.
you-will-let-loose

25 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω ὅτι εἰ μέν τινι ὑμῶν
But for he-said I-wonder that if indeed to-anyone of-you
ἀπηχθόμην, μέμνησθε καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δέ τῳ ἢ
I-was-hateful you-remember and not keep-silent if but to-anyone either
χειμῶνα ἐπεκούφισα ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυξα ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι
a-storm I-lightened or an-enemy I-kept-off or sick
ἢ ἀποροῦντι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς
or needy helped-provide something of-these and no-one

μέμνηται, οὐδ' εἴ τινα καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπῄνεσα
remembers nor if anyone well something doing I-praised
οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἐτίμησα ὡς ἐδυνάμην,
nor if any man being good I-honored as I-could
οὐδὲν τούτων μέμνησθε.
nothing of-these you-remember
ἀλλὰ μὴν καλόν τε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον 26
but truly fine both and just and holy and more-pleasant
τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνῆσθαι. Ἐκ
the good(-things) rather than the bad to-remember From
τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμίμνῃσκον. καὶ
this indeed then they-stood-up and reminded(-him) and
περιεγένετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.
it-turned-out so-that well to-be

BOOK VI

I · THE FEAST AND THE COMMAND

Corylas of Paphlagonia sends envoys offering peace, and the army feasts them with its dances: a Thracian mock killing, the carpaea of the Aenianians and Magnesians, a Mysian's shield-dance, the Mantineans' armed dance, and a dancing girl in a pyrrhic. Peace made, the army sails to Sinope, where Chirisophus rejoins them with one trireme and no ships for the army. Wanting one commander, the soldiers offer the command to Xenophon, who sacrifices to Zeus the King and is told to refuse; he says they would offend Sparta. They choose Chirisophus, who announces the voyage to Heraclea.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς 1
From this and in the stay some indeed from the market
ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ λῃζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας.
lived some and also plundering from — Paphlagonia
ἐκλώπευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς
stole and also the Paphlagonians well very the(-men)
ἀποσκεδαννυμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τοὺς πρόσω
straggling and in-the night the(-men) far-off
σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα
camping tried to-harm and most-hostilely
πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τούτων.
toward each-other they-were from these(-things)
ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων, 2
— and Corylas who happened then of-Paphlagonia ruler
πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις ἔχοντας ἵππους
sends to the Greeks envoys having horses
καὶ στολὰς καλάς, λέγοντας ὅτι Κορύλας ἕτοιμος εἴη
and robes fine saying that Corylas ready was
τοὺς Ἕλληνας μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι.
the Greeks neither to-wrong nor to-be-wronged

3 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν
the and generals answered that about indeed these-things with
τῇ στρατιᾷ βουλεύσοιντο, ἐπὶ ξένια δὲ ἐδέχοντο
the army they-would-deliberate to gifts-of-hospitality and they-received
αὐτούς· παρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν οὓς
them they-invited and also of-the other men whom
ἐδόκουν δικαιοτάτους εἶναι.
they-thought most-just to-be

4 Θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα
Having-sacrificed and oxen of-the captured(-ones) and other victims
εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρεῖχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν
a-feast indeed sufficient they-provided reclining and on
σκίμποσιν ἐδείπνουν, καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατίνων ποτηρίων,
pallets they-dined and drank from horn cups
οἷς ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.
which they-came-upon in the land

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν,
when and libations both were-made and they-had-sung-the-paean
ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν Θρᾷκες καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν
stood-up first indeed Thracians and to a-flute
ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἥλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ
danced with the arms and leaped high both and
κούφως καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος
lightly and the sabers used finally and the one
τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐδόκει·
the other strikes as to-all it-seemed

6 ὃ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς πως. καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες.
he and fell skillfully somehow and cried-out the Paphlagonians
καὶ ὃ μὲν σκυλεύσας τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐξῄει
and the(-one) indeed having-stripped the arms of-the other went-out

ᾄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τὸν ἕτερον
singing the Sitalcas others and of-the Thracians the other
ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνηκότα· ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς.
carried-out as dead was but nothing having-suffered
μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἳ 7
after this Aenianians and Magnesians stood-up who
ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.
danced the carpaea called in the arms
ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν, ὃ μὲν παραθέμενος 8
the and manner of-the dance was the(-one) indeed having-laid-beside(-him)
τὰ ὅπλα σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ δὲ στρεφόμενος
the arms sows and drives-a-yoke frequently and turning
ὡς φοβούμενος, λῃστὴς δὲ προσέρχεται· ὃ δ' ἐπειδὰν
as fearing a-robber and approaches he and when
προΐδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἁρπάσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ μάχεται
he-sees(-him)-in-advance meets(-him) having-snatched the arms and fights
πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ῥυθμῷ
in-front-of the yoke and these these-things did in rhythm
πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ λῃστὴς δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα
to the flute and finally the robber having-bound the man
καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης
and the yoke leads(-them)-off sometimes and also the yoke-driver
τὸν λῃστήν· εἶτα παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς ζεύξας ὀπίσω
the robber then beside the oxen having-yoked(-him) behind
τὼ χεῖρε δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.
the two-hands bound drives(-him)
μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων 9
after this a-Mysian came-in in each the hand having
πέλτην, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων
a-light-shield and at-one-time indeed as two drawn-up-against(-him)
μιμούμενος ὠρχεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἕνα ἐχρῆτο
imitating he-danced at-another and as against one he-used

ταῖς πέλταις, τοτὲ δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ἔχων
the light-shields at-another and he-whirled and turned-somersaults having
τὰς πέλτας, ὥστε ὄψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι.
the light-shields so-that a-sight fine to-appear

10 τέλος δὲ τὸ περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο κρούων τὰς πέλτας καὶ
finally and the Persian(-dance) he-danced clashing the light-shields and
ὤκλαζε καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ
crouched and rose-up and these-things all in rhythm
ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν.
he-did to the flute

11 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων
upon and this the Mantineans and others some of-the Arcadians
ἀναστάντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα ᾔσάν
having-stood-up having-armed-themselves as they-could most-finely went
τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ
both in rhythm to the armed-march rhythm being-piped-to and
ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς
sang-the-paean and danced as in the to the
θεοὺς προσόδοις. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφλαγόνες δεινὰ
gods processions seeing and the Paphlagonians shocking(-it)
ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὅπλοις εἶναι.
thought all the dances in arms to-be

12 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκπεπληγμένους αὐτούς,
at these(-things) seeing the Mysian astonished them
πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰ πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα
having-persuaded of-the Arcadians one having-acquired a-dancing-girl
εἰσάγει σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα
brings-in having-dressed(-her) as he-could most-finely and a-shield
δοὺς κούφην αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρρίχην ἐλαφρῶς.
having-given light to-her she and danced the-pyrrhic nimbly

ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολύς, καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἤροντο εἰ 13
then applause was great and the Paphlagonians asked whether
καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. οἳ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι αὗται
also women fought-alongside them they and said that these
καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
also the(-ones) having-routed were the-king from the camp
τῇ μὲν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.
on-the indeed night this this the end came
Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στράτευμα· 14
On-the and next-day they-introduced them to the army
καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνας
and it-was-resolved to-the soldiers neither to-wrong Paphlagonians
μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ᾤχοντο·
nor to-be-wronged after this the indeed envoys went-off
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρεῖναι,
the and Greeks since ships sufficient seemed to-be-present
ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι καλῷ ἐν
having-embarked sailed a-day and night with-a-wind fair on
ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν.
left having — Paphlagonia
τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σινώπην καὶ ὡρμίσαντο 15
on-the and next(-day) they-arrive at Sinope and anchored
εἰς Ἁρμήνην τῆς Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν
at Harmene — of-Sinope Sinopeans and dwell indeed in
τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοί εἰσιν. οὗτοι δὲ
the Paphlagonian(-land) of-Milesians and colonists they-are these and
ξένια πέμπουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους
gifts-of-hospitality send to-the Greeks of-barley-meal medimni
τρισχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ κεράμια χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια.
three-thousand of-wine and jars thousand and five-hundred
Καὶ Χειρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρη ἔχων.
And Chirisophus there came a-trireme having

16 καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται προσεδόκων ἄγοντά τι
and the indeed soldiers expected bringing something
σφίσιν ἥκειν· ὃ δ' ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δὲ
to-them him-to-come he but brought indeed nothing reported but
ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ
that praised them both Anaxibius the admiral and the
ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφίκοιντο ἔξω
others and that promised Anaxibius if they-arrived outside
τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι.
the Pontus pay to-them would-be

17 καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἁρμήνῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας
and in this — Harmene remained the soldiers days
πέντε. Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γίγνεσθαι,
five When and — Greece they-seemed near to-be
ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσήει αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἂν καὶ
already more than before it-came-into them how — also
ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκοιντο.
having something home they-might-arrive

18 ἡγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἕνα ἕλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν
they-thought then if one they-chose commander more —
ἢ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι τῷ
than divided-command existing to-be-able the one to-use the
στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ εἴ τι
army both by-night and by-day and if anything
δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι
it-were-needful to-escape-notice more — to-be-hidden and if anything
αὖ δέοι φθάνειν, ἧττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
again it-were-needful to-anticipate less — to-be-late not for —
λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ
of-speeches to-need with each-other but the(-thing) resolved by-the

ἑνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἄν· τὸν δ' ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς
one to-be-carried-out — the and previous time by the
νικώσης ἔπραττον πάντα οἱ στρατηγοί.
prevailing(-vote) did all-things the generals
Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διενοοῦντο, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τὸν 19
When and these-things they-were-intending they-turned to —
Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιόντες αὐτῷ ὅτι
Xenophon and the captains said approaching him that
ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γιγνώσκει, καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος
the army thus judges and goodwill showing
ἕκαστος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν.
each urged him to-undertake the command
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ 20
— and Xenophon in-one-way indeed wished these-things thinking both
τὴν τιμὴν μείζω οὕτως ἑαυτῷ γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
the honor greater thus to-himself to-become with the friends
καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὔνομα μεῖζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τυχὸν
and to the city the-name greater would-reach of-him perhaps
δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι.
and also of-good some — cause for-the army to-become
τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν 21
the indeed then such considerations stirred him to-desire
αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. ὁπότε δ' αὖ ἐνθυμοῖτο
supreme to-become commander whenever but again he-considered
ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅπῃ τὸ μέλλον
that uncertain indeed to-every man in-what-way the future
ἔξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν
will-be because-of this and also danger there-was even the
προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἠπορεῖτο.
previously-won reputation to-lose he-was-at-a-loss

22 Διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρῖναι ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι
Being-perplexed and to-him to-decide it-seemed best to-be
τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παραστησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα
to-the gods to-refer(-it) and having-brought-forward two victims
ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς
he-sacrificed — to-Zeus the king who to-him named-by-the-oracle
ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ
was from Delphi and the dream indeed from this the
θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἑωρακέναι ὃ εἶδεν ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ
god he-thought to-have-seen which he-saw when he-began to the
συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι.
to-share-the-charge of-the army to-be-appointed

23 καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὡρμᾶτο Κύρῳ συσταθησόμενος,
and when from Ephesus he-was-setting-out to-Cyrus going-to-be-introduced
αἰετὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον,
an-eagle he-recalled to-himself on-the-right screaming
καθήμενον μέντοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν
sitting however which the seer escorting him said
ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἔνδοξος,
that great indeed omen it-was and not of-a-private-man and glorious
ἐπίπονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ
toilsome however the for birds most to-attack the
αἰετῷ καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν·
eagle sitting not however money-making to-be the omen
τὸν γὰρ αἰετὸν πετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
the for eagle flying rather to-take the provisions

24 οὕτω δὴ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε
thus indeed sacrificing to-him clearly the god signifies neither
προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰ αἱροῖντο ἀποδέχεσθαι.
to-seek-in-addition the command nor if they-chose(-him) to-accept(-it)
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο.
this indeed then thus happened

Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἕνα αἱρεῖσθαι· 25
The and army came-together and all said one to-choose
καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προὐβάλλοντο αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ
and when this was-resolved they-put-forward him when
δὲ ἐδόκει δῆλον εἶναι ὅτι αἱρήσονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις
and it-seemed clear to-be that they-will-choose him if anyone
ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε.
should-put-it-to-the-vote he-stood-up and spoke these-things
Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἥδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἴπερ 26
I O men am-pleased indeed by you being-honored if-indeed
ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω καὶ εὔχομαι δοῦναί μοι
a-man I-am and gratitude I-have and I-pray to-grant to-me
τοὺς θεοὺς αἴτιόν τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι
the gods cause of-some for-you good to-become the however
ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς
me to-be-preferred by you commander a-Lacedaemonian man
παρόντος οὔτε ὑμῖν μοι δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἧττον
being-present neither for-you to-me seems advantageous to-be but less
ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε παρ᾽ αὐτῶν·
— because-of this to-obtain if anything you-should-need from them
ἐμοί τε αὖ οὐ πάνυ τι νομίζω ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο.
for-me both again not very at-all I-think safe to-be this
ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν 27
I-see for that also against-the fatherland my not before
ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν
they-ceased warring until they-made all the city
ὁμολογεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι.
to-acknowledge Lacedaemonians also of-them leaders to-be
ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡμολόγησαν, εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες 28
when and this they-acknowledged at-once they-ceased warring
καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρκησαν τὴν πόλιν. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα
and no-longer further besieged the city if then these-things

ὁρῶν ἐγὼ δοκοίην ὅπου δυναίμην ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν
seeing I should-seem wherever I-could there powerless to-make
τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίωμα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ
the of-them prestige that I-consider lest very — quickly
σωφρονισθείην.
I-be-brought-to-my-senses

29 ὃ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε ὅτι ἧττον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἑνὸς
what and you consider that less — faction would-be of-one
ἄρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἑλόμενοι
commander than of-many well know that another indeed having-chosen
οὐχ εὑρήσετε ἐμὲ στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γὰρ ὅστις ἐν
not you-will-find me making-faction I-think for whoever in
πολέμῳ ὢν στασιάζει πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν
war being makes-faction against a-commander this-man against the
ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐμὲ ἕλησθε, οὐκ ἂν
of-himself safety to-make-faction if but me you-choose not —
θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον.
I-would-wonder if someone you-found both with-you and with-me angry

30 Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἶπε, πολὺ πλείονες ἀνίσταντο λέγοντες ὡς
When these-things he-said much more stood-up saying that
δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν
it-was-needful him to-command Agasias and a-Stymphalian said
ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι· ἢ ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι
that ridiculous it-was if thus it-were or will-be-angry Lacedaemonians
καὶ ἐὰν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον
even if dinner-companions having-come-together not a-Lacedaemonian
συμποσίαρχον αἱρῶνται; ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔφη,
master-of-the-feast choose since if thus at-least this is he-said
οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν.
not-even to-be-captains for-us it-is-allowed as it-seems because Arcadians we-are
ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὡς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου ἀνεθορύβησαν.
then indeed as well having-spoken — Agasias they-applauded

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν 31
And — Xenophon when he-saw more being-needed having-come-forward
εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὡς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὀμνύω ὑμῖν
said But O men he-said that fully you-may-know I-swear to-you
θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἦ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
gods all and all(-goddesses) truly indeed I when the your
γνώμην ᾐσθανόμην, ἐθυόμην εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε
judgment I-perceived sacrificed whether better it-were for-you both
ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑποστῆναι·
to-me to-entrust this the command and for-me to-undertake(-it)
καί μοι οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν ὥστε καὶ
and to-me the gods so in the victims signified that even
ἰδιώτην ἂν γνῶναι ὅτι τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαί με δεῖ.
a-private-man — could-know that from-the sole-command to-abstain me must
Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἱροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ 32
Thus indeed Chirisophus they-choose Chirisophus and when
ᾑρέθη, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο
he-was-chosen having-come-forward said But O men this
μὲν ἴστε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἐστασίαζον, εἰ
indeed know that not-even — I-at-least would-have-made-faction if
ἄλλον εἵλεσθε· Ξενοφῶντα μέντοι, ἔφη, ὠνήσατε οὐχ
another you-had-chosen Xenophon however he-said you-benefited not
ἑλόμενοι· ὡς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν
having-chosen(-him) since even now Dexippus already was-slandering him
πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον ὅ τι ἐδύνατο καὶ μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν
to Anaxibius what ever he-could although very me him
σιγάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔφη νομίζειν αὐτὸν Τιμασίωνι μᾶλλον
silencing he and said he-thought him with-Timasion rather
συνάρχειν ἂν ἐθελῆσαι Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι τοῦ Κλεάρχου
to-share-command — to-be-willing a-Dardanian being of-the of-Clearchus
στρατεύματος ἢ ἐμαυτῷ Λάκωνι ὄντι.
army than with-myself a-Laconian being

33 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἵλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὅ
since however me you-chose he-said also I shall-try what
τι ἂν δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω
ever — I-can for-you good to-do and you thus
παρασκευάζεσθε ὡς αὔριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι·
prepare as tomorrow if sailing-weather be going-to-put-to-sea
ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ
the and voyage will-be to Heraclea all then must
ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχεῖν· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα, ἐπειδὰν
there to-try to-put-in the and other(-things) when
ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.
there we-come we-shall-deliberate

II · THE ARMY DIVIDES

At Heraclea, Lycon the Achaean proposes demanding money from the city; Chirisophus and Xenophon refuse to go as envoys, the city shuts its gates at the demand, and the Arcadians and Achaeans blame the generals. Angry at being led by an Athenian and a Spartan, they leave both and elect ten generals of their own, and Chirisophus' command ends on the sixth or seventh day after his election. The army splits three ways: the Arcadians and Achaeans sail first to Calpe Harbor, Chirisophus marches overland, and Xenophon, whose sacrifice to Heracles the Leader forbids leaving the army, lands at the Thracian border and marches inland.

1 Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι ἔπλεον
From-there on-the next-day putting-to-sea with-a-wind they-sailed
καλῷ ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. καὶ παραπλέοντες ἀφίκοντο
fair days two along land and sailing-along they-arrived
εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Μεγαρέων ἄποικον, οὖσαν
at Heraclea a-city Greek of-Megarians a-colony being
δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ.
and in the of-the-Mariandynians land

καὶ ὡρμίσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιάδι Χερρονήσῳ, ἔνθα 2
and they-anchored by the Acherusian Chersonese where
λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι
is-said — Heracles for the Cerberus dog to-have-gone-down
ᾗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύασι τῆς καταβάσεως τὸ βάθος
where now the signs they-show of-the descent the depth
πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια.
more than over two stades
ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια 3
there to-the Greeks the Heracleots gifts-of-hospitality
πέμπουσιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τρισχιλίους καὶ οἴνου
send of-barley-meal medimni three-thousand and of-wine
κεράμια δισχίλια καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι καὶ οἷς ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα
jars two-thousand and oxen twenty and sheep a-hundred there
διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὡς
through the plain flows a-river Lycus by-name in-breadth about
δύο πλέθρων.
two plethra
Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέντες ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν λοιπὴν 4
The and soldiers having-gathered deliberated-about the remaining
πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρὴ
march whether by land or by sea (one)-must
πορευθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων
to-go out-of the Pontus having-stood-up and Lycon
Ἀχαιὸς εἶπε· Θαυμάζω μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν
an-Achaean said I-wonder indeed O men at-the generals
ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ
that not they-try for-us to-provide food-money the indeed for
ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν
gifts-of-hospitality not — will-be for-the army of-three days
σιτία· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευσόμεθα οὐκ ἔστιν,
food from-where and having-laid-in-provisions we-shall-march not there-is

ἔφη. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ
he-said to-me then it-seems-best to-ask the Heracleots not
ἔλαττον ἢ τρισχιλίους κυζικηνούς·
less than three-thousand Cyzicenes

5 ἄλλος δ' εἶπε μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἑλομένους
another and said not less than ten-thousand and having-chosen
πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα ἡμῶν καθημένων πέμπειν πρὸς
envoys immediately very us sitting(-here) to-send to
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ
the city and to-know what ever — they-report and
πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι.
in-view-of these-things to-deliberate

6 ἐντεῦθεν προὐβάλλοντο πρέσβεις πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον,
then they-put-forward as-envoys first indeed Chirisophus
ὅτι ἄρχων ᾑρητο· ἔστι δ' οἳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα.
because commander he-had-been-chosen there-are and who also Xenophon
οἳ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταὐτὰ ἐδόκει
they and strongly resisted to-both for the-same-thing seemed
μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλίαν ὅ τι μὴ
not to-compel a-city Greek and friendly what ever not
αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῖεν.
themselves willing they-should-give

7 ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπουσι
when and these seemed unwilling to-be they-send
Λύκωνα Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παρράσιον καὶ Ἀγασίαν
Lycon an-Achaean and Callimachus a-Parrhasian and Agasias
Στυμφάλιον. οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα·
a-Stymphalian these having-come said the(-things) resolved
τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ
— and Lycon they-said also to-threaten-in-addition if not
ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα.
they-should-do these-things

ἀκούσαντες δ᾽ οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται βουλεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ 8
having-heard and the Heracleots to-deliberate they-said and
εὐθὺς τά τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνῆγον καὶ
at-once the both goods from the fields brought-together and
τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴσω ἀνεσκεύασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο
the market inside packed-up-and-moved and the gates had-been-shut
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὅπλα ἐφαίνετο.
and on the walls arms appeared
Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταράξαντες ταῦτα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 9
From this the(-men) having-stirred-up these-things the generals
ᾐτιῶντο διαφθείρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ
blamed to-be-ruining the enterprise and banded-together the
Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν
Arcadians and the Achaeans led and most of-them
Καλλίμαχός τε ὁ Παρράσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός.
Callimachus both the Parrhasian and Lycon the Achaean
οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη ἄρχειν 10
the and words were for-them that shameful it-was to-command
Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον
an-Athenian over-Peloponnesians no force contributing
εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ τοὺς μὲν
to the army and a-Lacedaemonian and the indeed
πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα
toils they-themselves to-have the and profits others and these-things
τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς
the safety they having-achieved to-be for the
κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιούς, τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο
having-achieved(-it) Arcadians and Achaeans the and other
στράτευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι — καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ
army nothing to-be and it-was also in-the truth over
ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοί —
half of-the army Arcadians and Achaeans

11 εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν, αὐτοὶ συστάντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς
if then they-were-wise themselves having-banded-together and generals
ἑλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο
having-chosen of-themselves by themselves — the march they-would-make
καὶ πειρῷντο ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνειν.
and try good something to-get

12 ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον εἴ τινες
these-things were-resolved and having-left Chirisophus if any
ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα
were with him Arcadians or Achaeans and Xenophon
συνέστησαν καὶ στρατηγοὺς αἱροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα·
they-banded-together and generals choose of-themselves ten
τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ὅ τι δοκοίη
these and they-voted by the majority what ever seemed-good
τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφῳ
this to-do the indeed then of-the whole command for-Chirisophus
ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτῃ ἢ ἑβδόμῃ ἀφ' ἧς ἠρέθη.
there was-dissolved on-day sixth or seventh from which he-was-chosen

13 Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν μεινάντων
Xenophon however wished jointly with the(-men) having-remained
τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι
the march to-make thinking thus safer to-be
ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν
than privately each to-set-out but Neon urged him
καθ' αὑτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου ὅτι
by himself to-march having-heard — from-Chirisophus that
Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἁρμοστὴς φαίη τριήρεις
Cleander the(-one) in Byzantium governor said triremes
ἔχων ἥξειν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα·
having he-would-come to Calpe's Harbor

ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν 14
so-that then no-one might-share but themselves and the of-them
στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα
soldiers might-sail-out on the triremes for these-things
συνεβούλευε. καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν
advised also Chirisophus at-the-same-time indeed being-dispirited
τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου
at-the(-things) having-happened at-the-same-time and hating from this
τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται.
the army entrusts to-him to-do what ever he-wishes
Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς 15
Xenophon and still indeed attempted having-been-freed from-the
στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι
army to-sail-off sacrificing but to-him to-the leader
Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον
to-Heracles and consulting whether better and preferable
εἴη στρατεύεσθαι ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν
it-were to-campaign keeping the(-men) having-remained of-the
στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς
soldiers or to-depart signified the god in-the
ἱεροῖς συστρατεύεσθαι.
victims to-campaign-with(-them)
οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στράτευμα τρίχα, Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ 16
thus becomes the army in-three Arcadians indeed and
Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακισχίλιοι, ὁπλῖται πάντες,
Achaeans more than four-thousand hoplites all
Χειρισόφῳ δ᾽ ὁπλῖται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
to-Chirisophus and hoplites indeed about four-hundred and thousand
πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θρᾷκες,
peltasts and about seven-hundred the of-Clearchus Thracians
Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὁπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,
to-Xenophon and hoplites indeed about seven-hundred and thousand

πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἱππικὸν δὲ μόνος οὗτος
peltasts and about three-hundred cavalry and alone this-one
εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἱππέας.
had about forty horsemen

17 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ
And the indeed Arcadians having-obtained ships from
τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πρῶτοι πλέουσιν, ὅπως ἐξαίφνης
the Heracleots first sail so-that suddenly
ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς λάβοιεν ὅτι πλεῖστα· καὶ
falling-upon the Bithynians they-might-take as most and
ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα.
they-land at Calpe's Harbor

18 Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν
Chirisophus and straight from the city of-the Heracleots
ἀρξάμενος πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν
having-begun on-foot marched through the land when and into —
Θρᾴκην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ᾔει· καὶ γὰρ ἠσθένει.
Thrace he-entered along the sea he-went also for he-was-ill

19 Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα λαβὼν ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια
Xenophon and ships having-taken lands at the borders
τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεώτιδος καὶ διὰ μεσογείας
— of-Thrace and — of-Heracleotis and through inland
ἐπορεύετο.
marched

III · THE ARCADIANS RESCUED

The Arcadians raid Bithynian villages, but the Thracians gather and kill Smicres' company and most of Hegesander's, and surround the rest on a hill. Xenophon learns of it, urges his men that the only safety is to help them, and marches

burning everything to seem larger. The Thracians withdraw by night, and the Arcadians leave the hill. All meet at Calpe Harbor, the Arcadians admitting they had thought Xenophon's men had run away.

Ἔπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε. 1
Did and of-them each these-things
οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες ὡς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, 2
the indeed Arcadians when they-landed by-night at Calpe's Harbor
πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης
march to the first villages stades from sea
ὡς τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο, ἦγεν ἕκαστος ὁ
about thirty when and light came led each the
στρατηγὸς τὸν αὑτοῦ λόχον ἐπὶ κώμην· ὁποία δὲ
general the of-himself company against a-village whichever and
μείζων ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί.
larger seemed to-be two-together companies led the generals
συνεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον εἰς ὃν δέοι 3
they-agreed-on and also a-hill to which it-should-be-needful
πάντας ἁλίζεσθαι· καὶ ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες
all to-gather and inasmuch-as suddenly having-fallen-upon(-them)
ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ
slaves both many they-took and sheep many
περιεβάλλοντο.
they-secured
οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφεύγοντες· πολλοὶ 4
the and Thracians gathered the(-ones) escaping many
δὲ διέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὄντες ὁπλίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν
and escaped peltasts being hoplites from very the
χειρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος
hands when and they-had-gathered first indeed to-the of-Smicres

λόχῳ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν ἀπιόντι ἤδη εἰς
company one of-the Arcadian generals departing already to
τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγοντι ἐπιτίθενται.
the agreed(-place) and much property driving they-attack
5 καὶ τέως μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ
and for-a-while indeed fought at-the-same-time marching the
Ἕλληνες, ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς,
Greeks at and a-crossing of-a-ravine they-rout them
καὶ αὐτόν τε τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτιννύασι καὶ τοὺς
and himself both — Smicres they-kill and the
ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν
others all of-another and company of-the ten generals
τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου ὀκτὼ μόνους ἔλιπον· καὶ αὐτὸς
the(-one) of-Hegesander eight only they-left and himself
Ἡγήσανδρος ἐσώθη.
Hegesander was-saved
6 Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ λόχοι συνῆλθον οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν
And the other and companies came-together some indeed with trouble
οἱ δὲ ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν
some and without trouble the and Thracians when they-had-succeeded-in
τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους καὶ συνελέγοντο
this the success called-together both each-other and gathered
ἐρρωμένως τῆς νυκτός. καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ κύκλῳ
vigorously in-the night and at-the-same-time-as day in-a-circle
περὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο
around the hill where the Greeks were-encamped
ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί,
drew-up both horsemen many and peltasts
7 καὶ ἀεὶ πλέονες συνέρρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς
and always more streamed-together and attacked against the
ὁπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην
hoplites safely the indeed for Greeks neither archer

εἶχον οὔτε ἀκοντιστὴν οὔτε ἱππέα· οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες
had nor javelin-man nor horseman they and running-up
καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν,
and riding-up hurled-javelins whenever and them they-attacked
ῥᾳδίως ἀπέφευγον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπετίθεντο.
easily fled-away others and elsewhere attacked
καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τῶν δὲ 8
and of-the(-one-side) indeed many were-wounded of-the(-other-side) and
οὐδείς· ὥστε κινηθῆναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ
no-one so-that to-move not they-could from the place but
τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἦργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾷκες.
finally even from the water shut-off them the Thracians
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία πολλὴ ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· 9
when and perplexity much was they-negotiated about a-truce
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δὲ οὐκ
and the indeed other(-terms) had-been-agreed by-them hostages but not
ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Θρᾷκες αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐν
gave the Thracians asking the Greeks but on
τούτῳ ἴσχετο. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.
this it-was-held-up the indeed then of-the Arcadians thus were
Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν 10
Chirisophus and safely marching along sea
ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δὲ διὰ
arrives at Calpe's Harbor to-Xenophon and through
τῆς μεσογείας πορευομένῳ οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες
the inland marching the horsemen running-ahead
ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. καὶ ἐπεὶ
come-upon old-men going somewhere and when
ἤχθησαν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτοὺς εἴ που
they-were-brought to Xenophon he-asks them if anywhere
ᾔσθηνται ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ.
they-have-perceived another army being Greek

11 οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν
they and told all the(-things) having-happened and now
ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες πάντες
that they-are-being-besieged on a-hill the and Thracians all
περικεκυκλωμένοι εἶεν αὐτούς. ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν
having-surrounded were them then the indeed
ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες
men these he-guarded strongly so-that guides
εἶεν ὅποι δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας
they-might-be wherever it-should-be-needful scouts and having-posted
συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξεν·
he-collected the soldiers and spoke

12 Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσιν,
Men soldiers of-the Arcadians some indeed are-dead
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. νομίζω
the(-ones) and remaining on a-hill certain are-besieged I-think
δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν εἶναι
and I-at-least if they will-perish not-even for-us to-be
οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν
any safety so indeed many being the
πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαρρηκότων.
enemy so and having-grown-bold

13 κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν ὡς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
best then for-us as quickly-as-possible to-help the men
ὅπως εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα καὶ μὴ
so-that if still they-are safe with them we-may-fight and not
μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν.
alone left alone also we-run-risk

16 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀποδραίημεν ἂν οὐδαμοῖ ἐνθένδε· πολλὴ μὲν
we for could-run-away — nowhere from-here long indeed
γάρ, ἔφη, εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλὴ δὲ
for he-said to Heraclea back to-go-away long and

εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πλησίον· εἰς
to Chrysopolis to-go-through the and enemy near to
Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰκάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ
Calpe's but Harbor where Chirisophus we-guess to-be if
σέσωται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε
he-has-been-saved shortest road but indeed there indeed neither
πλοῖά ἐστιν οἷς ἀποπλευσούμεθα, μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ
ships there-are with-which we-shall-sail-away for-the-staying and there
οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
not-even of-one day are the provisions
τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων σὺν τοῖς Χειρισόφου 17
the and besieged having-perished with the of-Chirisophus
μόνοις κάκιόν ἐστι διακινδυνεύειν ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων
only worse it-is to-run-the-risk than these having-been-saved
πάντας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθόντας κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεσθαι.
all into the-same having-come in-common to-the safety to-cling
ἀλλὰ χρὴ παρασκευασαμένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι
but (one)-must having-prepared the mind to-march
ὡς νῦν ἢ εὐκλεῶς τελευτῆσαι ἔστιν ἢ κάλλιστον
as now either gloriously to-die it-is-possible or a-most-noble
ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι Ἕλληνας τοσούτους σώσαντας.
deed to-accomplish Greeks so-many having-saved
καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἄγει οὕτως, ὃς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας 18
and the god perhaps leads thus who the(-men) having-boasted
ὡς πλέον φρονοῦντας ταπεινῶσαι βούλεται, ἡμᾶς δὲ
as more thinking to-humble wishes us and
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομένους ἐντιμοτέρους ἐκείνων
the(-men) from the gods beginning more-honored than-them
καταστῆσαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἕπεσθαι χρὴ καὶ προσέχειν τὸν
to-make but to-follow (one)-must and to-turn the
νοῦν, ὡς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνησθε ποιεῖν.
mind so-that — the(-thing) ordered you-may-be-able to-do

14 νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευσώμεθα προελθόντες ὅσον ἂν
now indeed then let-us-encamp having-gone-forward as-far-as —
δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ' ἂν
it-seems the-time to-be for the to-make-dinner until and —
πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίων ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας προελαυνέτω
we-march Timasion having the horsemen let-him-ride-ahead
ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ σκοπείτω τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς
watching us and let-him-observe the(-things) in-front so-that
μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.
nothing us escape-notice

15 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἡγεῖτο. παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων
These-things having-said he-led he-sent-alongside and also of-the light-troops
ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα,
men light-armed to the flanks and to the heights
ὅπως εἴ πού τί ποθεν καθορῷεν, σημαίνοιεν·
so-that if anywhere anything from-anywhere they-saw they-might-signal
ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳ.
he-ordered and to-burn everything whatever they-came-upon combustible

19 οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς σπειρόμενοι ἐφ' ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν ἔκαιον,
the and horsemen spreading-out over as-far-as well it-was burned
καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἔκαιον
and the peltasts going-along along the heights burned
πάντα ὅσα καύσιμα ἑώρων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ
all as-many-as combustible they-saw and the army and if
τινι παραλειπομένῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα
any left-over they-came-upon so-that all the land
αἴθεσθαι ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι.
to-be-ablaze seemed and the army large to-be

20 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ λόφον
when and the-time was they-encamped on a-hill
ἐκβάντες, καὶ τά τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἑώρων,
having-gone-up and the both of-the enemy fires they-saw

ἀπεῖχον δὲ ὡς τετταράκοντα σταδίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ
they-were-distant and about forty stades and themselves
ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον.
as they-could most fires burned
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγγέλθη τὰ πυρὰ 21
when and they-had-dined most-quickly it-was-ordered the fires
κατασβεννύναι πάντα. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα φυλακὰς
to-put-out all and the indeed night guards
ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
having-posted they-slept at-the-same-time-as and the day
προσευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, συνταξάμενοι ὡς εἰς μάχην
having-prayed to-the gods having-formed-up as for battle
ἐπορεύοντο ᾗ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα.
they-marched as they-could quickest
Τιμασίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἔχοντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ 22
Timasion and and the horsemen having the guides and
προελαύνοντες ἐλάνθανον αὑτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι
riding-ahead escaped-notice themselves on the hill having-come
ἔνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν οὔτε
where were-being-besieged the Greeks and not they-see either
φίλιον στράτευμα οὔτε πολέμιον, γρᾴδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια
friendly army or hostile old-women but and old-men
καὶ πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλελειμμένους.
and sheep few and oxen left-behind
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον, 23
and the indeed first a-wonder was what was the(-thing) having-happened
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι
then and also from-the left-behind(-people) they-learned that
οἱ μὲν Θρᾷκες ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες, καὶ τοὺς
the indeed Thracians from evening had-gone departing and the
Ἕλληνας δ' ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅποι δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.
Greeks and they-said to-have-gone where but not to-know

24 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ
These-things having-heard the(-men) about Xenophon when
ἠρίστησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλόμενοι ὡς
they-had-breakfasted having-packed-up marched wishing as
τάχιστα συμμεῖξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. καὶ
quickly-as-possible to-join the others at Calpe's Harbor and
πορευόμενοι ἑώρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν
marching they-saw the track of-the Arcadians and Achaeans
κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό,
along the to Calpe's road when and they-arrived at the same(-place)
ἄσμενοί τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφούς.
gladly both they-saw each-other and embraced as brothers
25 καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα
and asked the Arcadians the(-men) about Xenophon
τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν,
why the fires they-had-put-out we indeed for they-said
ᾠμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐκέθ'
thought you the indeed first when the fires no-longer
ἑωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἥξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ
we-saw in-the night to-be-coming against the enemy and
οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὥς γ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δείσαντες
the enemy and as at-least to-us they-seemed this having-feared
ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπῇσαν.
went-away nearly for about this the time they-departed
26 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκεσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ᾠόμεθα
when but not you-arrived the and time had-run-out we-thought
ὑμᾶς πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φοβηθέντας
you having-learned the(-things) with us having-taken-fright
οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν μὴ
to-have-gone having-run-away to sea and it-seemed-best to-us not
ἀπολείπεσθαι ὑμῶν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.
to-be-left-behind by-you thus then also we hither marched

IV · CALPE HARBOR

Calpe Harbor is a fine site for a city, but the soldiers suspect it of being chosen for one, since most came for Cyrus' fame, not for want. They decree death for anyone proposing to split the army; Chirisophus has died of a drug taken in a fever. For days the sacrifices for departure fail and food runs out. Neon sends some two thousand men to forage against the omens, and Pharnabazus' horsemen kill five hundred; Xenophon sacrifices an ox and brings back the rest, and that night Bithynians strike the outposts.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ 1
This indeed then the day there they-bivouacked on the
αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ
beach by the harbor the and place this which
καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τῇ
is-called Calpe's Harbor is indeed in — Thrace the(-one)
ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἡ Θρᾴκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ
in — Asia beginning and — Thrace this is from
τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ δεξιὰ
the mouth of-the Pontus as-far-as Heraclea on right
εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι.
into the Pontus for-one-sailing-in
καὶ τριήρει μέν ἐστιν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου 2
and for-a-trireme indeed it-is to Heraclea from Byzantium
κώπαις ἡμέρας μακρᾶς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη
with-oars of-a-day long a-voyage in and the middle other
μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ
indeed city none neither friendly nor Greek but
Θρᾷκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὓς ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
Thracians Bithynians and whomever — they-take of-the Greeks
ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν λέγονται.
cast-ashore or otherwise somehow terribly to-maltreat they-are-said

3 ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἑκατέρωθεν
the and Calpe's Harbor in middle indeed lies from-either-side
πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου, ἔστι δ' ἐν
for-those-sailing from Heraclea and Byzantium there-is and in
τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν
the sea a-projecting place the(-part) indeed into the
θάλατταν καθῆκον αὐτοῦ πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος ὅπῃ
sea reaching-down of-it a-rock sheer in-height where
ἐλάχιστον οὐ μεῖον εἴκοσιν ὀργυῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν ὁ
least not less than-twenty fathoms the and neck the(-one)
εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου μάλιστα τεττάρων
to the land running-up of-the place about of-four
πλέθρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχένος χωρίον
plethra the breadth the and inside the neck place
ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀνθρώποις οἰκῆσαι.
sufficient for-ten-thousand men to-dwell

4 λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν
a-harbor and under very the rock the(-part) toward west
αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἄφθονος
beach having a-spring and of-sweet water and abundant
ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ
flowing on very the sea under the command of-the
χωρίου. ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ δὲ πολλὰ
place timber and much indeed also other very and much
καὶ καλὰ ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ.
and fine for-shipbuilding on very the sea

5 τὸ δὲ ὄρος εἰς μεσόγειαν μὲν ἀνήκει ὅσον ἐπὶ
the and mountain into the-interior indeed runs-up as-much-as for
εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ
twenty stades and this earthy and stoneless the(-part)

δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους δασὺ
and along sea more than for twenty stades thick
πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις.
with-many and all-kinds and great timbers
ἡ δὲ ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ 6
the and other land fine and extensive and villages in it
εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθὰς
are many and inhabited bears for the earth both barley
καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα καὶ μελίνας καὶ σήσαμα
and wheat and pulses all and millet and sesame
καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς καὶ ἡδυοίνους
and figs sufficient and vines many and of-sweet-wine
καὶ τἆλλα πάντα πλὴν ἐλαῶν.
and the-other-things all except olives
Ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοιαύτη. ἐσκήνουν δ' ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ 7
The indeed land was such they-encamped and on the beach
πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τόπον πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον
by the sea in and a-place a-town — would-become
οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ
not they-wished to-encamp but it-seemed even the
ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν
to-come there from a-plot to-be wishing some
κατοικίσαι πόλιν.
to-found a-city
τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου 8
of-the for soldiers the most were not from-want of-livelihood
ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
having-sailed-out for this the pay but the
Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες,
Cyrus' virtue hearing-of some indeed even men bringing
οἱ δὲ καὶ προσανηλωκότες χρήματα, καὶ τούτων ἕτεροι
some and also having-spent-besides money and of-these others

ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἳ δὲ καὶ τέκνα
having-run-away-from fathers and mothers some and also children
καταλιπόντες ὡς χρήματ᾽ αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι ἥξοντες
having-left as money for-them having-acquired going-to-come
πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ
back hearing also the others the(-ones) with Cyrus
πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς
many and good-things to-fare such being they-longed to
τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῴζεσθαι.
— Greece to-get-safe

9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸν
When and the-next day came of-the into the-same(-place)
συνόδου, ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν
meeting for an-expedition sacrificed Xenophon necessity for there-was
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς
for the provisions to-lead-out he-intended and also the dead
θάπτειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐγένετο, εἵποντο καὶ οἱ
to-bury when and the victims favorable were followed also the
Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς τοὺς πλείστους ἔνθαπερ
Arcadians and the indeed dead the most where
ἔπεσον ἑκάστους ἔθαψαν· ἤδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι καὶ
they-fell each they-buried already for they-were five-days-dead and
οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι ἦν· ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ
not possible — to-take-up any-longer it-was some and the(-ones) from
τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
the roads having-brought-together they-buried from the available(-means)
ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ ηὕρισκον, κενοτάφιον
as they-could finest whom but not they-found a-cenotaph
αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν.
for-them they-made great and wreaths they-put-on(-it)

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 10
these-things and having-done they-withdrew to the camp
καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ
and then indeed having-dined they-slept on-the and next-day
συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες· συνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα
came-together the soldiers all brought(-them)-together and most
ὁ Ἀγασίας ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος
— Agasias the Stymphalian captain and Hieronymus
Ἠλεῖος λοχαγὸς καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων.
an-Elean captain and others the oldest of-the Arcadians
καὶ δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ 11
and a-decree they-made if anyone of-the future mention
δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι,
in-two the army to-make with-death him to-be-punished
καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι ᾗπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ
and in place to-go-away as before was-arranged the
στράτευμα καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. καὶ
army and to-command the former generals and
Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει φάρμακον πιὼν
Chirisophus indeed already had-died a-drug having-drunk
πυρέττων· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων Ἀσιναῖος παρέλαβε.
being-in-fever the and of-him(-command) Neon an-Asinaean took-over
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ὦ ἄνδρες 12
After and these-things having-stood-up said Xenophon O men
στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, δῆλον ὅτι πεζῇ ποιητέον·
soldiers the indeed march clear that on-foot must-be-made
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἤδη· οὐ γὰρ
not for there-are ships necessity and to-march now not for
ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἔφη, θυσόμεθα·
there-are for-the-staying the provisions we then he-said shall-sacrifice

ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους εἴ ποτε
you and must to-prepare as going-to-fight if ever
καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀνατεθαρρήκασιν.
also at-another-time the for enemy have-taken-heart-again

13 ἐκ τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν
from this sacrificed the generals a-seer and was-present
Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἀμπρακιώτης
Arexion an-Arcadian — and Silanus the Ambraciot
ἤδη ἀπεδεδράκει πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος ἐξ Ἡρακλείας.
already had-run-away a-boat having-hired from Heraclea
θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά.
to-them-sacrificing and for the departure not came the victims

14 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. καί τινες
this indeed then the day they-stopped and some
ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν βουλόμενος τὸ χωρίον
dared to-say that — Xenophon wishing the place
οἰκίσαι πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν ὡς τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ
to-found has-persuaded the seer to-say that the victims not
γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ.
come for departure

15 ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας τῇ αὔριον παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν
then having-proclaimed on-the morrow to-be-present at the sacrifice
τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας
the(-man) wishing and a-seer if any was having-ordered
παρεῖναι ὡς συνθεασόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυε· καὶ
to-be-present as going-to-view-with(-him) the victims he-sacrificed and
ἐνταῦθα παρῆσαν πολλοί.
there were-present many

16 θυομένῳ δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρὶς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ
to-him-sacrificing and again up-to three-times for the departure
οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ
not came the victims from this badly were the

στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν ἃ ἔχοντες
soldiers also for the provisions had-given-out which having
ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία πω παρῆν.
they-had-come and market none yet was-present
Ἐκ τούτου ξυνελθόντων εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν· Ὦ ἄνδρες, 17
From this having-come-together said again Xenophon O men
ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερὰ οὔπω γίγνεται·
for indeed the march as you-see the victims not-yet come
τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν
of-the and provisions I-see you needing necessity then
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου.
to-me seems to-be to-sacrifice about very this
ἀναστάς τις εἶπεν· Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται 18
having-stood-up someone said And reasonably then for-us not come
τὰ ἱερά· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἥκοντος
the victims as for I from the chance yesterday having-come
πλοίῳ ἤκουσά τινος ὅ γε Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐκ
in-a-boat heard from-someone that at-least Cleander the from
Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστὴς μέλλει ἥξειν πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων.
Byzantium governor is-about to-come ships and triremes having
ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ 19
from this and to-wait indeed to-all it-seemed-best for but
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐξιέναι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν
the provisions necessity it-was to-go-out and for this again
ἐθύετο εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἤδη
he-sacrificed up-to three-times and not came the victims and already
καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ
also to tent going the of-Xenophon they-said that not
ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν μὴ
they-had the provisions he but not — he-said would-lead-out not
γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.
coming the victims

20 Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι
And again on-the next-day he-sacrificed and nearly somewhat
πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ διὰ τὸ μέλειν ἅπασιν ἐκυκλοῦντο
all the army because-of the to-concern all were-circling
περὶ τὰ ἱερά· τὰ δὲ θύματα ἐπελελοίπει. οἱ δὲ
around the victims the but sacrificial-animals had-given-out the and
στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὔ, συνεκάλεσαν δέ.
generals led-out indeed not they-called-together but
21 εἶπεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν· Ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ
said then Xenophon Perhaps the enemy gathered are
καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη
and necessity to-fight if then having-left the baggage
ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένοι
in the strong place as for battle prepared
ἴοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ προχωροίη ἡμῖν.
we-were-to-go perhaps — the victims might-go-forward for-us
22 ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐδὲν
having-heard and the soldiers shouted that not-at-all
δέοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς
it-was-needful to the place to-lead but to-sacrifice as
τάχιστα. καὶ πρόβατα μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦν
quickly-as-possible and sheep indeed no-longer there-were an-ox
δὲ ὑπὸ ἁμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ Ξενοφῶν
but from-under a-wagon having-bought they-sacrificed and Xenophon
Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμεῖσθαι εἴ τι
Cleanor begged the Arcadian to-be-zealous if anything
ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἐγένοντο.
in this there-were but not-even so did-they-come
23 Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος,
Neon and was indeed general in the of-Chirisophus part
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ
when and he-saw the men how they-were terribly with-the

ἐνδείᾳ, βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, εὑρών τινα
want wishing to-them to-do-a-favor having-found some
ἄνθρωπον Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἰδέναι
man a-Heracleot who said villages near to-know
ὅθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε τὸν
from-where it-was-possible to-take the provisions he-proclaimed the(-man)
βουλόμενον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου.
wishing to-go for the provisions as a-guide going-to-be
ἐξέρχονται δὴ σὺν δορατίοις καὶ ἀσκοῖς καὶ θυλάκοις
go-out indeed with spears and wineskins and sacks
καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους.
and other vessels about two-thousand men
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ διεσπείροντο ὡς 24
when and they-were in the villages and were-scattering as
ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου
for the to-take fall-upon them the of-Pharnabazus
ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι· βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς,
horsemen first having-come-to-help for they-were to-the Bithynians
βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιντο, ἀποκωλῦσαι
wishing with the Bithynians if they-could to-prevent
τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν· οὗτοι οἱ
the Greeks — to-come into — Phrygia these the
ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μεῖον πεντακοσίους·
horsemen kill of-the men not less-than five-hundred
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον.
the and remaining to the mountain fled-up
ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποφευγόντων 25
from this reports someone these-things of-the(-men) escaping
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγεγένητο
to the camp and — Xenophon since not had-come
τὰ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἁμάξης,
the victims on-this the day having-taken an-ox from-under a-wagon

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα, σφαγιασάμενος ἐβοήθει καὶ
not for there-were other victims having-sacrificed went-to-help and
οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἅπαντες.
the others the(-ones) up-to thirty years all
26 καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον
and having-taken-up the remaining men to the camp
ἀφικνοῦνται. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν
they-arrive and already indeed about of-the-sun setting it-was
καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο,
and the Greeks very despondently being were-making-dinner
καὶ ἐξαπίνης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες
and suddenly through the thickets of-the Bithynians some
ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκαινον
coming-upon(-them) the outposts the(-ones) indeed killed
τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
the(-ones) and pursued as-far-as into the camp
27 καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἔδραμον οἱ
and shouting having-arisen to the arms all ran the
Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς
Greeks and to-pursue indeed and to-move the camp by-night
οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ
not safe seemed to-be thick for were the places in and
τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐννυκτέρευον φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξι.
the arms they-passed-the-night guarding-themselves with-sufficient guards

V · VICTORY OVER PHARNABAZUS' CAVALRY

The army fortifies Calpe; the sacrifices now favor the march. They bury the dead, then meet Pharnabazus' horsemen and the Bithynians beyond a glen. Sophaenetus says it is not worth considering crossing it; Xenophon argues that

retreat invites pursuit and that a glen behind teaches the men that only victory saves them. With the watchword Zeus Savior, Heracles Leader, the hoplites charge, rout the enemy, and set up a trophy.

Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ 1
The indeed night thus they-passed at-the-same-time-as and the
ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἡγοῦντο· οἳ
day the generals to the strong place led they
δὲ εἵποντο ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. πρὶν
and followed having-taken-up the arms and the baggage before
δὲ ἀρίστου ὥραν εἶναι ἀπετάφρευον ᾗ ἡ εἴσοδος ἦν
and of-breakfast the-hour to-be they-trenched-off where the entrance was
εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες
into the place and palisaded(-it) all having-left
τρεῖς πύλας. καὶ πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν ἄλφιτα
three gates and a-boat from Heraclea came barley-meal
ἄγον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον.
bringing and animals-for-sacrifice and wine
πρῲ δ' ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ, καὶ 2
early and having-risen Xenophon sacrificed for an-expedition and
γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου. καὶ ἤδη
turn-out(-well) the victims at the first victim and already
τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν ὁρᾷ αἰετὸν αἴσιον ὁ μάντις
end having the victims sees an-eagle auspicious the seer
Ἀρηξίων Παρράσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα.
Arexion a-Parrhasian and to-lead bids — Xenophon
καὶ διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον τὰ ὅπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν 3
and having-crossed the trench the arms they-ground and they-proclaimed
ἀριστήσαντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις,
having-breakfasted to-go-out the soldiers with the arms
τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν.
the and crowd and the slaves there to-leave

4 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξῆσαν, Νέων δὲ οὔ· ἐδόκει
the indeed then others all went-out Neon but not it-seemed
γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι τοῦτον φύλακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν
for best to-be this-one as-guard to-leave of-the(-men)
ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
in camp when and the captains and the soldiers
ἀπέλειπον αὐτόν, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὴ ἐφέπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων
were-deserting him being-ashamed not to-follow the others
ἐξιόντων, κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ
going-out they-left there the(-men) over five and
τετταράκοντα ἔτη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
forty years and these indeed remained the and others
ἐπορεύοντο.
marched

5 πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἐνέτυχον
before and fifteen stades to-have-traversed they-came-upon
ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι
already dead and the rear of-the wing having-made
κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον πάντας
opposite the first appearing dead they-buried all
ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας.
as-many-as covered the wing

6 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγαγόντες καὶ
when and the first they-had-buried having-gone-forward and
τὴν οὐρὰν αὖθις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν
the rear again having-made opposite the first of-the
ἀτάφων ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν
unburied they-buried in-the same way as-many-as covered
ἡ στρατιά. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν
the army when and to the road they-came the(-one) from the
κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.
villages where they-lay in-heaps having-brought-together them they-buried

Ἤδη δὲ πέρα μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας προάγοντες τὸ 7
Already and past being-at-its-middle the day leading-forward the
στράτευμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
army outside the villages they-took the provisions
ὅ τι τις ὁρᾴη ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ ἐξαίφνης
what ever anyone saw inside the phalanx and suddenly
ὁρῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς
they-see the enemy coming-over along hills some
ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἱππέας τε
from the opposite(-side) drawn-up in line horsemen both
πολλοὺς καὶ πεζούς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαθίνης
many and foot-soldiers and for Spithridates and Rhathines
ἦκον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν.
had-come from Pharnabazus having the force
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν 8
when and caught-sight-of the Greeks the enemy they-halted
ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους. ἐκ τούτου
being-distant from-them about fifteen stades from this
εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀρηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαγιάζεται,
at-once — Arexion the seer of-the Greeks sacrifices
καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ σφάγια.
and there-were at the first(-victim) favorable the sacrificial-victims
ἔνθα δὴ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες 9
there indeed Xenophon says It-seems-best to-me O men
στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας ἵν᾽
generals to-post-behind the phalanx companies as-reserves where
ἄν που δέῃ ὦσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ
— anywhere it-be-needful there-may-be the(-men) going-to-help the
φάλαγγι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς
phalanx and the enemy thrown-into-disorder may-fall upon
τεταγμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους. συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν.
ordered and fresh(-men) seemed-good-also these-things to-all

10 Ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, προηγεῖσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
You indeed then he-said lead-on the(-way) toward the
ἐναντίους, ὡς μὴ ἑστήκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὤφθημεν καὶ
opponents so-that not we-may-stand-still since we-have-been-seen and
εἴδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἥξω τοὺς τελευταίους
have-seen the enemy I and shall-come the last
λόχους καταχωρίσας ᾗπερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ.
companies having-posted where to-you it-seems-best

11 ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἥσυχοι προῆγον, ὁ δὲ τρεῖς
from this they indeed quietly led-forward he and three
ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας
having-detached the last units by two-hundred men
τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι ἀπολιπόντας
the indeed to the right he-assigned to-follow leaving-a-gap
ὡς πλέθρον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιὸς ταύτης ἦρχε τῆς
about a-plethron Samolas an-Achaean this commanded the
τάξεως· τὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν ἔπεσθαι· Πυρρίας
unit the and at the center he-detached to-follow Pyrrhias
Ἀρκὰς ταύτης ἦρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ
an-Arcadian this commanded the unit the and one at
τῷ εὐωνύμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτῃ ἐφειστήκει.
the left Phrasias an-Athenian over-this was-set

12 Προϊόντες δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ
Going-forward and when came the(-men) leading to
νάπει μεγάλῳ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν ἀγνοοῦντες εἰ
a-glen great and hard-to-cross they-halted not-knowing whether
διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος. καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγοὺς
must-be-crossed was the glen and they-pass-the-word generals
καὶ λοχαγοὺς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον.
and captains to-come-forward to the front

καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν θαυμάσας ὅ τι τὸ ἴσχον 13
and — Xenophon having-wondered what ever the(-thing) holding-up
εἴη τὴν πορείαν καὶ ταχὺ ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγύην,
was the march and quickly hearing the passed-word
ἐλαύνει ᾗ τάχιστα. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος
rides as quickest when and they-came-together says Sophaenetus
πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον
oldest being of-the generals that of-deliberation not worth
εἴη εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον νάπος.
it-was whether must-be-crossed is such a-glen
Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἴστε 14
And — Xenophon eagerly taking-up(-the-word) said But you-know
μέν με, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα
indeed me O men no ever danger having-introduced
ὑμῖν ἐθελούσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὁρῶ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς
to-you voluntary not for of-glory I-see needing you for
ἀνδρειότητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας.
manliness but of-safety
νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεὶ μὲν ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔστιν 15
now and thus it-stands without-a-fight indeed from-here not it-is-possible
ἀπελθεῖν· ἢν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
to-go-away if for not we go against the enemy
οὗτοι ἡμῖν ὁπόταν ἀπίωμεν ἕψονται καὶ ἐπιπεσοῦνται.
these us whenever we-go-away will-follow and will-fall-upon(-us)
ὁρᾶτε δὴ πότερον κρεῖττον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας 16
see then whether better to-go against the men
προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα ἢ μεταβαλλομένους ὄπισθεν
holding-before(-us) the arms or turning-round behind
ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεᾶσθαι.
us coming-on the enemy to-watch

17 ἴστε μέντοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῷ
know however that the indeed to-go-away from enemies nothing fine
ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίοσι θάρρος ἐμποιεῖ.
resembles the and to-follow even to-the worse confidence instills
ἐγὼ γοῦν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐπιοίην ἢ σὺν
I at-any-rate more-gladly — with half would-advance than with
διπλασίοις ἀποχωροίην. καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιόντων
double would-retreat and these I-know that advancing
μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπίζετε δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀπιόντων
indeed us not-even you expect to-receive us us-going-away
δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι.
but all we-know that they-will-dare to-follow

18 τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὄπισθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι
the and having-crossed behind a-glen difficult to-make
μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι ἆρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἁρπάσαι ἄξιον; τοῖς μὲν
intending to-fight is not also to-seize worth-while for-the indeed
γὰρ πολεμίοις ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν εὔπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι
for enemy I would-wish — easy all-things to-appear
ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ
so-as to-retreat us and also from the place (one)-must
διδάσκεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία.
to-be-taught that not there-is not for(-those)-conquering safety

19 πῶς γὰρ δὴ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ νικήσομεν τοὺς
how for then passable the plain if not we-shall-conquer the
ἱππέας; πῶς δὲ ἃ διεληλύθαμεν ὄρη, ἢν πελτασταὶ
horsemen how and which we-have-traversed mountains if peltasts
τοσοίδε ἐφέπωνται; θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ νάπος
so-many follow I-wonder and I-at-least also the glen
τοῦτο εἴ τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων
this if anyone more fearful thinks to-be than-the other
ὧν διαπεπορεύμεθα χωρίων.
which we-have-marched-through places

ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος 20
if and indeed also we-get-safe to sea how-great a glen
ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι τὰ ἀπάξοντα
the Pontus where neither ships there-are the(-ones) going-to-carry-away
οὔτε σῖτος ᾧ θρεψόμεθα μένοντες, δεήσει
nor food with-which we-shall-feed-ourselves staying it-will-be-necessary
δέ, ἢν θᾶττον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, θᾶττον πάλιν ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ
and if sooner there we-get sooner again to-go-out for
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
the provisions
οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἠριστηκότας μάχεσθαι ἢ αὔριον 21
therefore now better having-breakfasted to-fight than tomorrow
ἀναρίστους. ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ οἵ τε οἰωνοὶ
breakfastless men the both victims for-us favorable the both omens
αἴσιοι τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα· ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
auspicious the both sacrificial-victims finest let-us-go against the
ἄνδρας. οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον,
men not must any-longer these since us by-all-means they-saw
ἡδέως δειπνῆσαι οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν θέλωσι σκηνῆσαι.
pleasantly to-dine nor where — they-wish to-encamp
Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς 22
Then the captains to-lead bade and no-one
ἀντέλεγε. καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγείλας διαβαίνειν ᾗ
spoke-against and he led having-ordered to-cross where
ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπους ὤν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἁθρόον
each happened of-the glen being sooner for in-a-body
ἐδόκει ἂν οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ εἰ
it-seemed — thus across would-get the army than if
κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν ᾗ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπει ἦν ἐξεμηρύοντο.
along the bridge which over the glen was they-filed-out

23 ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριὼν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔλεγεν·
when and they-had-crossed going-along along the phalanx he-said
Ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνῄσκεσθε ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς
Men remember how-many indeed battles with the
θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν
gods to-close-quarters going you-have-won and what suffer
οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσατε ὅτι
the(-men) enemies fleeing and this consider that
ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν.
at the doors — of-Greece we-are
24 ἀλλ᾽ ἕπεσθε ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε
but follow as-leader — Heracles and each-other call-on
ὀνομαστί. ἡδύ τοι ἀνδρεῖόν τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα
by-name pleasant surely brave something and fine now having-said
καὶ ποιήσαντα μνήμην ἐν οἷς τις ἐθέλει παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ.
and having-done a-memory among whom one wishes to-provide of-himself
25 Ταῦτα παρελαύνων ἔλεγε καὶ ἅμα ὑφηγεῖτο ἐπὶ
These-things riding-along he-said and at-the-same-time led-on in
φάλαγγος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι
line and the peltasts on-each-side having-made
ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. παρήγγελτο δὲ τὰ
they-marched against the enemy it-had-been-ordered and the
μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαίνοι
indeed spears on the right shoulder to-hold until he-should-signal
τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς προσβολὴν καθέντας
with-the trumpet then and for attack having-lowered(-them)
ἕπεσθαι βάδην καὶ μηδένα δρόμῳ διώκειν. ἐκ τούτου
to-follow at-a-walk and no-one at-a-run to-pursue from this
σύνθημα παρῄει Ζεὺς σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών. οἱ δὲ
a-watchword passed-along Zeus savior Heracles leader the and
πολέμιοι ὑπέμενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον.
enemy stood-their-ground thinking good to-hold the position

ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες 26
when and they-were-drawing-near having-raised-the-war-cry the Greek
πελτασταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρίν τινα κελεύειν·
peltasts ran against the enemy before anyone to-order
οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἀντίοι ὥρμησαν, οἵ θ’ ἱππεῖς καὶ τὸ
the and enemy opposite charged the both horsemen and the
στῖφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πελταστάς.
mass of-the Bithynians and they-rout the peltasts
ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ταχὺ 27
but when came-to-meet(-them) the phalanx of-the hoplites quickly
πορευομένη καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο καὶ
marching and at-the-same-time the trumpet sounded and
ἐπαιάνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἠλάλαζον καὶ ἅμα
they-sang-the-paean and after these-things raised-the-war-cry and at-the-same-time
τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ
the spears lowered then no-longer awaited(-them) the
πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον.
enemy but fled
καὶ Τιμασίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας ἐφείπετο, καὶ 28
and Timasion indeed having the horsemen followed and
ἀπεκτίννυσαν ὅσουσπερ ἐδύναντο ὡς ὀλίγοι ὄντες. τῶν
they-killed as-many-as they-could as few being of-the
δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ’
and enemy the indeed left at-once was-scattered by
ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ἅτε οὐ
which the Greek horsemen were the and right inasmuch-as not
σφόδρα διωκόμενον ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη.
hard being-pursued on a-hill rallied
ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπομένοντας αὐτούς, ἐδόκει 29
when and saw the Greeks standing-their-ground them it-seemed
ῥᾷστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἤδη ἐπ’
easiest both and least-dangerous to-be to-go now against

αὐτούς. παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ δ' οὐχ
them having-sung-the-paean then at-once they-pressed they and not
ὑπέμειναν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι τὸ
stood-their-ground and then the peltasts pursued until the
δεξιὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δὲ ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἱππικὸν
right was-scattered died and few the for cavalry
φόβον παρεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολὺ ὄν.
fear caused the of-the enemy much being
30 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τό τε Φαρναβάζου ἱππικὸν
when and saw the Greeks the both of-Pharnabazus cavalry
ἔτι συνεστηκὸς καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἱππέας πρὸς τοῦτο
still standing-together and the Bithynian horsemen to this
συναθροιζομένους ἀπειρήκεσαν μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ
gathering they-were-worn-out indeed nevertheless and it-seemed also
ἐπὶ τούτους ἰτέον εἶναι οὕτως ὅπως δύναιντο, ὡς
against these necessary-to-go to-be so as they-could so-that
μὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἀναπαύσαιντο.
not having-taken-heart they-might-rest
31 συνταξάμενοι δὴ πορεύονται. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἱππεῖς
having-formed-up indeed they-march then the enemy horsemen
φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων
flee down the slope just as-if by horsemen
διωκόμενοι· νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ
being-pursued a-glen for them received which not knew the
Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώκοντες· ὀψὲ γὰρ ἦν.
Greeks but turned-back-first pursuing late for it-was
32 ἐπανελθόντες δὲ ἔνθα ἡ πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο,
having-returned and where the first encounter took-place
στησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἀπῆσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου
having-set-up a-trophy they-departed to sea about of-the-sun

δυσμάς· στάδιοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ
setting stades and there-were about sixty to the
στρατόπεδον.
camp

VI · CLEANDER AND DEXIPPUS

With plenty from the countryside and markets from the Greek cities, the Greeks await Cleander. He arrives with two triremes; Dexippus, given plundered sheep to keep, arrests a soldier who says they are public property, Agasias rescues the man, and the soldiers pelt Dexippus. Cleander threatens to have every city close its gates against them. Xenophon persuades the army that the accused should go before Cleander; Agasias offers himself, and Xenophon's pleading wins the release of him and the rescued man. Cleander's sacrifices fail, he leaves, and the army marches through Bithynia to Chrysopolis.

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ 1
Thereupon the indeed enemy were-busy about the(-things) of-themselves and
ἀπήγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποι ἐδύναντο
carried-away both the servants and the property where they-could
προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον καὶ
farthest the and Greeks awaited indeed Cleander and
τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὡς ἤξοντα, ἐξιόντες δ' ἑκάστης
the triremes and the ships as going-to-come going-out and each
ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐφέροντο
day with the pack-animals and the slaves they-carried(-off)
ἀδεῶς πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα·
fearlessly wheat and barley wine pulses millet figs
ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα πλὴν ἐλαίου.
all for good-things had the land except olive-oil

2 καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένοι τὸ στράτευμα ἀναπαυόμενον,
and whenever indeed stayed the army resting
ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἰέναι, καὶ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἐξιόντες·
it-was-permitted for plunder to-go and took(-it) the(-men) going-out
ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς
whenever and went-out all the army if anyone separately
ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι.
having-gone-off took anything public it-was-resolved to-be

3 ἤδη δὲ ἦν πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγοραὶ
already and there-was of-all-things abundance and for markets
πάντοθεν ἀφικνοῦντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ
from-everywhere arrived from the Greek cities and
οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατῆγον, ἀκούοντες ὡς
the(-men) sailing-along gladly put-in hearing that
οἰκίζοιτο πόλις καὶ λιμὴν εἴη.
was-being-founded a-city and a-harbor there-was

4 ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἤδη οἳ πλησίον ᾤκουν
sent and also the enemy now who near dwelt
πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες ὅτι οὗτος πολίζει τὸ
to Xenophon hearing that this-man is-founding-a-city-at the
χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες ὅ τι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι.
place asking what ever they-must doing friends to-be
ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις.
he and showed them to-the soldiers

5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται δύο τριήρεις ἔχων,
And in this Cleander arrives two triremes having
πλοῖον δ' οὐδέν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω ὂν
ship but none happened and the army outside being
ὅτε ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοσε εἰς
when he-arrived and for plunder some having-gone elsewhere to
τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν πρόβατα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δὲ μὴ
the mountain had-taken sheep many fearing and lest

ἀφαιρεθεῖεν τῷ Δεξίππῳ λέγουσιν, ὃς ἀπέδρα τὴν
they-be-deprived(-of-them) — to-Dexippus they-tell(-it) who ran-away the
πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ κελεύουσι
penteconter having from Trapezus and urge(-him)
διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν
having-kept-safe for-them the sheep the(-ones) indeed himself
λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι.
to-take the(-ones) and to-them to-give-back

εὐθὺς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιεστῶτας τῶν 6
at-once and he drives-away the(-men) standing-around of-the
στρατιωτῶν καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι δημόσια εἴη, καὶ τῷ
soldiers and saying that public they-were and —
Κλεάνδρῳ λέγει ἐλθὼν ὅτι ἁρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. ὃ
to-Cleander says having-come that to-plunder they-are-trying he
δὲ κελεύει τὸν ἁρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὑτόν.
and orders the(-man) plundering to-bring to himself

καὶ ὃ μὲν λαβὼν ἦγέ τινα· περιτυχὼν δ' 7
and he indeed having-taken was-leading someone having-come-upon(-him) and
Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος
Agasias takes(-him)-away and for was to-him the(-man) being-led
λοχίτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν
a-company-man the and others the(-men) present of-the soldiers
ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δέξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν
try to-pelt — Dexippus calling(-him) the
προδότην. ἔδεισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ
traitor feared and also of-the trireme-crews many and
ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κλέανδρος δ' ἔφευγε.
fled to the sea also Cleander and fled

8 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυόν τε καὶ
Xenophon and and the other generals restrained(-them) both and
τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ
— to-Cleander said that nothing it-was matter but the
δόγμα αἴτιον εἴη τὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος ταῦτα γενέσθαι.
decree cause was the of-the army these-things to-have-happened
9 ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξίππου τε ἀνερεθιζόμενος καὶ
— and Cleander by — Dexippus both being-provoked and
αὐτὸς ἀχθεσθεὶς ὅτι ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔφη
himself having-been-vexed because he-had-been-afraid to-sail-away he-said
καὶ κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς πολεμίους.
and to-proclaim no city to-receive them as enemies
ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
ruled and then all the Greeks the Lacedaemonians
10 ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι,
then bad the matter seemed to-be to-the Greeks
καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὃ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη
and they-begged not to-do these-things he and not — otherwise he-said
γενέσθαι, εἰ μή τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν
it-would-happen if not someone will-hand-over the(-man) having-begun to-pelt
καὶ τὸν ἀφελόμενον.
and the(-man) having-taken-away
11 ἦν δὲ ὃν ἐξήτει Ἀγασίας διὰ τέλους φίλος τῷ
was and whom he-demanded Agasias through end friend —
Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δέξιππος. Καὶ
to-Xenophon from which also slandered him — Dexippus And
ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα
then since perplexity was they-brought-together the army
οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο
the commanders and some indeed of-them of little made

τὸν Κλέανδρον, τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον
— *Cleander* — *but to-Xenophon not it-seemed slight*
εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν·
to-be but having-stood-up he-spoke
Ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι 12
O men soldiers to-me but not-at-all slight seems to-be
τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος
the matter if to-us thus having the mind Cleander
ἄπεισιν ὥσπερ λέγει. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες
will-go-away as he-says are indeed for near the Greek
πόλεις· τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν·
cities — and of-Greece the-Lacedaemonians are-at-the-head
ἱκανοὶ δέ εἰσι καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς
able and are even one each of-Lacedaemonians in the
πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι.
cities what ever they-wish to-accomplish
εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει, 13
if then this-man first indeed us from-Byzantium will-shut-out
ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁρμοσταῖς παραγγελεῖ εἰς τὰς
then and to-the other governors will-pass-the-word into the
πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι ὡς ἀπιστοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ
cities not to-receive(-us) as disobeying the-Lacedaemonians and
ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον
lawless being further and to Anaxibius the admiral
οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἥξει, χαλεπὸν ἔσται
this the report about us will-come difficult it-will-be
καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι
both to-stay and to-sail-away and for on the land rule
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον.
the-Lacedaemonians and on the sea the present time

14 οὔκουν δεῖ οὔτε ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς
not-therefore must neither of-one man for-the-sake-of nor of-two us
τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον ὅ
the rest — from-Greece to-keep-away but we-must-obey what
τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν ὅθεν ἐσμὲν
ever — they-command and for the cities our from-which we-are
πείθονται αὐτοῖς.
obey them

15 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω Δέξιππον λέγειν πρὸς
I indeed then and for I-hear Dexippus to-say to
Κλέανδρον ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ
Cleander that not — would-have-done Agasias these-things if
μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς
not I him had-ordered I indeed then acquit both you
τῆς αἰτίας καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ ἐμέ
of-the charge and Agasias if himself Agasias says me
τι τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἐμαυτοῦ, εἰ
any of-these cause to-be and I-condemn myself if
ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς
I of-stone-throwing or other any violence am-the-beginner of-the
ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην.
extreme penalty worthy to-be and I-shall-submit-to the penalty

16 φημὶ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, χρῆναι ἑαυτὸν
I-say and also if any other he-accuses must himself
παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κρῖναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς
to-present to-Cleander to-judge thus for — you
ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν
having-been-acquitted of-the charge would-be as but now it-stands hard
εἰ οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι
if expecting in — Greece both praise and honor to-obtain

ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ'
instead and of-these not-even equal to-the others we-shall-be but
εἰρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.
we-shall-be-shut-out from the Greek cities
Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπεν Ἀγασίας· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, 17
After these-things having-stood-up said Agasias I O men
ὄμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς ἦ μὴν μήτε με Ξενοφῶντα
swear-by gods and goddesses truly indeed neither me Xenophon
κελεῦσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε ἄλλον ὑμῶν
to-have-ordered to-take-away the man nor other of-you
μηδένα· ἰδόντι δέ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν
any having-seen and to-me a-man good being-led of-the
ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξίππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς
my company-men by Dexippus who you know you
προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ.
having-betrayed shocking it-seemed to-be and I-took(-him)-away I-admit
καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδῶτέ με· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ 18
and you indeed not hand-over me I and myself as
Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχήσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ ὅ τι
Xenophon says shall-present having-judged to-Cleander what ever
ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μήτε πολεμεῖτε
— he-wishes to-do for-the-sake-of this neither make-war
Λακεδαιμονίοις σῴζοισθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς ὅποι θέλει
on-Lacedaemonians may-you-be-saved and safely wherever wishes
ἕκαστος. συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἑλόμενοι
each send-with(-me) however me from-you yourselves having-chosen
πρὸς Κλέανδρον οἵτινες, ἄν τι ἐγὼ παραλίπω, καὶ
to Cleander who if anything I omit both
λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.
will-speak on-behalf-of me and will-act

19 Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιὰ οὕστινας βούλοιτο
From this granted the army whomever he-wished
προελόμενον ἰέναι. ὁ δὲ προείλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς.
having-chosen to-go he and chose the generals
μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Κλέανδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ
after these-things marched to Cleander Agasias and
οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου.
the generals and the taken-away man by Agasias
20 καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί· Ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ
and said the generals Sent us the army
πρὸς σέ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, καὶ ἐκέλευσέ σε, εἴτε πάντας
to you O Cleander and bade you whether all
αἰτιᾶ, κρίναντα σὲ αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, εἴτε
you-accuse having-judged you yourself to-deal what ever — you-wish or
ἕνα τινὰ ἢ δύο ἢ καὶ πλείους αἰτιᾶ τούτους ἀξιοῦσι
one some or two or even more you-accuse these think-it-right
παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. εἴ τι οὖν ἡμῶν τινα
to-present to-you themselves for judgment if any then of-us anyone
αἰτιᾶ, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴ τι δὲ ἄλλον τινά, φράσον·
you-accuse we-are-here for-you we if any and another anyone tell
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀπέσται ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλῃ πείθεσθαι.
not-one for will-be-absent whoever — us is-willing to-obey
21 μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι, ὦ
after these-things having-come-forward — Agasias said I am O
Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφελόμενος Δεξίππου ἄγοντος τοῦτον
Cleander the(-one) having-taken-away from-Dexippus leading(-him) this
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παίειν κελεύσας Δέξιππον.
the man and to-strike having-ordered Dexippus
22 τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, Δέξιππον
this-one indeed for I-know a-man good being Dexippus
δὲ οἶδα αἱρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς
and I-know having-been-chosen by the army to-command the

πεντηκοντόρου ἧς ᾐτησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐφ'
penteconter which we-requested from Trapezuntians on
ᾧτε πλοῖα συλλέγειν ὡς σῳζοίμεθα, καὶ ἀποδράντα
condition ships to-collect so-that we-might-be-saved and having-run-away
καὶ προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη.
and having-betrayed the soldiers with whom he-was-saved
καὶ τούς τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀπεστερήκαμεν τὴν 23
and the both Trapezuntians we-have-robbed-of the
πεντηκόντορον καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον,
penteconter and bad we-seem to-be through this-man
αὐτοί τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν. ἤκουε γάρ,
ourselves and the on him(-depending) have-perished he-heard for
ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄπορον εἴη πεζῇ ἀπιόντας τοὺς
just-as we that impossible it-was on-foot going-away the
ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
rivers both to-cross and to-get-safe to — Greece
τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην.
this-one then such being I-took-away
εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, 24
if and you were-leading(-him) or other any of-the(-men) from you
καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν
and not of-the from us runaways well know that nothing —
τούτων ἐποίησα. νόμιζε δέ, ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνῃς, δι'
of-these would-I-have-done consider and if me now you-kill for
ἄνδρα δειλόν τε καὶ πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων.
a-man cowardly both and base a-man good killing
Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν 25
Having-heard these-things — Cleander said that Dexippus indeed
οὐκ ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς εἴη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη
not he-would-praise if these-things having-done he-was not however he-said
νομίζειν οὐδ' εἰ παμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος βίᾳ χρῆναι
to-think even if utterly-base was Dexippus violence must

πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν
to-suffer him but having-been-tried as also you now
ἀξιοῦτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν.
think-right of-the justice to-obtain
26 νῦν οὖν ἄπιτε καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ'
now then go-away having-left this the man when and
ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. αἰτιῶμαι δὲ
I order be-present for the trial I-accuse and
οὔτε τὴν στρατιὰν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα ἔτι, ἐπεὶ οὗτος
neither the army nor other anyone any-longer since this-one
αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.
himself admits to-have-taken-away the man
27 ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρεθεὶς εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ οἴει
the and taken-away(-man) said I O Cleander if even you-think
με ἀδικοῦντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὔτε ἔπαιον οὐδένα οὔτε
me doing-wrong something to-be-led neither struck anyone nor
ἔβαλλον, ἀλλ' εἶπον ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν
pelted but I-said that public were the sheep was
γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ τις ὁπότε ἡ στρατιὰ
for of-the soldiers a-decree if anyone when the army
ἐξίοι ἰδίᾳ λῄζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα.
went-out privately should-plunder public to-be the(-things) taken
28 ταῦτα εἶπον· ἐκ τούτου με λαβὼν οὗτος ἦγεν, ἵνα
these-things I-said from this me having-seized this-one led so-that
μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδείς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος
not might-speak anyone but himself having-taken the share
διασώσειε τοῖς λῃσταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα.
he-might-save for-the robbers against the agreement the property
πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν συναίτιος
to these-things — Cleander said Since then accomplice
εἶ, κατάμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.
you-are remain so-that also about you we-may-deliberate

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἠρίστων· τὴν 29
From this the(-men) indeed about Cleander breakfasted the
δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν καὶ συνεβούλευε πέμψαι
and army brought-together Xenophon and advised to-send
ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν
men to Cleander going-to-plead about the
ἀνδρῶν.
men
ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαντας στρατηγοὺς καὶ 30
from this it-seemed-best to-them having-sent generals and
λοχαγοὺς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην καὶ τῶν
captains and Dracontius the Spartiate and of-the
ἄλλων οἳ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδειοι εἶναι δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου
others who seemed suitable to-be to-beg Cleander
κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφεῖναι τὼ ἄνδρε.
in every way to-release the two-men
ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἔχεις μέν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, 31
having-come then — Xenophon says You-have indeed O Cleander
τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἡ στρατιά σοι ὑφεῖτο ὅ τι ἐβούλου
the men and the army to-you had-yielded what ever you-wished
ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἁπάντων. νῦν
to-do both about these and about themselves all now
δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναι σφίσι τὼ ἄνδρε
but you they-ask and beg to-give to-them the two-men
καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ
and not to-kill(-them) much for in the former time
περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθησάτην.
about the army the-two-toiled
ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες ὑπισχνοῦνταί σοι ἀντὶ 32
these-things and from-you having-obtained they-promise to-you in-return-for
τούτων, ἢν βούλῃ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἢν οἱ θεοὶ ἵλεῳ
these if you-wish to-lead them and if the gods propitious

ὧσιν, ἐπιδείξειν σοι καὶ ὡς κόσμιοί εἰσι καὶ ὡς ἱκανοὶ
be to-show to-you both how orderly they-are and how able
τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
to-the commander obeying the enemy with the gods
μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.
not to-fear

33 δέονται δέ σου καὶ τοῦτο, παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα
they-beg and you also this having-come and having-commanded
ἑαυτῶν πεῖραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν τῶν
them trial to-take both of-Dexippus and of-themselves the
ἄλλων οἷος ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστοις νεῖμαι.
others what-sort each is and the desert to-each to-assign

34 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὼ σιώ,
having-heard these-things — Cleander But yes by-the two-gods
ἔφη, ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. καὶ τώ τε ἄνδρε ὑμῖν
he-said quickly surely to-you I-shall-answer and the both two-men to-you
δίδωμι καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ ἢν οἱ θεοὶ διδῶσιν,
I-give and myself shall-be-present and if the gods grant
ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι
I-shall-lead(-you) into — Greece and much the words these
ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον ὡς
opposite are than which I about you some heard that
τὸ στράτευμα ἀφίστατε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.
the army you-are-making-revolt from Lacedaemonians

35 Ἐκ τούτου οἳ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τὼ
From this they indeed praising(-him) went-away having the
ἄνδρε· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ξυνῆν
two-men Cleander and sacrificed for the march and associated
Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς καὶ ξενίαν ξυνεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ
with-Xenophon in-a-friendly-way and guest-friendship they-formed when

δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως
and also he-saw them the(-thing) ordered in-good-order
ποιοῦντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν.
doing also more still he-desired leader to-become of-them
ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο 36
since however sacrificing to-him for three days not came
τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ μὲν
the victims having-called-together the generals he-said To-me indeed
οὐ τελέθει τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε
not turns-out the victims to-lead-out you however not be-disheartened
τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι
on-account-of this to-you for as it-seems it-has-been-given to-bring-out
τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὰν
the men but march we and you when
ἐκεῖσε ἥκητε, δεξόμεθα ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα.
there you-come shall-receive as — we-can finest
Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτῷ 37
From this it-was-resolved by-the soldiers to-give him
τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα· ὃ δὲ δεξάμενος πάλιν αὐτοῖς
the public sheep he and having-accepted(-them) back to-them
ἀπέδωκε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέπλει. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
gave(-them) and this-man indeed sailed-away the and soldiers
διαθέμενοι τὸν σῖτον ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι καὶ
having-disposed-of the grain which they-had collected and
τἆλλα ἃ εἰλήφεσαν ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν.
the-other-things which they-had-taken set-out through the Bithynians
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, 38
when and no-one they-met marching the straight road
ὥστε ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν
so-that having something into the friendly(-land) to-come it-seemed-best
αὐτοῖς τοὔμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν
to-them back having-turned to-go one day

καὶ νύκτα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ
and night this and having-done they-took many both
ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἑκταῖοι εἰς
slaves and sheep and arrived on-the-sixth-day at
Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας
Chrysopolis — of-Chalcedonia and there remained days
ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.
seven selling-booty

BOOK VII

I · BYZANTIUM

At Pharnabazus' request, Anaxibius brings the army over to Byzantium promising pay, then sends it out of the city unpaid and shuts the gates. The soldiers break back in; Anaxibius flees to the citadel. They urge Xenophon to seize the city, but he reminds them how Athens, for all its power, was warred down by Sparta, and persuades them to send envoys to Anaxibius and march out. Coeratadas the Theban offers to lead them but cannot feed them and gives up the command, while Xenophon, meaning to sail home, leaves the army and enters the city with Cleander.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα 2
From this and Pharnabazus fearing the army
μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ χώραν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς
lest against the of-himself land it-should-campaign having-sent to
Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον — ὃ δ' ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ
Anaxibius the admiral he and happened in Byzantium
ὤν — ἐδεῖτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας,
being begged to-bring-across the army out-of — Asia
καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιήσειν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι.
and promised all-things to-do for-him as-many-as might-be-needful
καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ 3
and — Anaxibius summoned the generals and
λοχαγοὺς εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν,
captains to Byzantium and promised if they-crossed
μισθοφορὰν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις.
pay there-would-be for-the soldiers
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν, 4
the indeed then others said having-deliberated they-would-report
Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς
Xenophon and said to-him that he-would-depart now from the

στρατιᾶς καὶ βούλοιτο ἀποπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσεν
army and wished to-sail-away — and Anaxibius bade
αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.
him having-crossed-with(-them) then so to-depart
ἔφη οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσειν.
he-said then these-things he-would-do
5 Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ πέμπει Μηδοσάδην καὶ κελεύει
Seuthes and the Thracian sends Medosades and urges
Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα,
Xenophon to-help-zealously so-that may-cross the army
καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμπροθυμηθέντι ὅτι οὐ
and he-said to-him these-things having-helped-zealously that not
μεταμελήσει.
he-will-repent
6 ὃ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαβήσεται· τούτου
he and said But the indeed army will-cross of-this
ἕνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμοὶ μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδενί·
for-the-sake-of nothing let-him-pay neither to-me nor to-another anyone
ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι, πρὸς δὲ
when and it-has-crossed I indeed shall-depart with and
τοὺς διαμένοντας καὶ ἐπικαιρίους ὄντας προσφερέσθω
the(-men) remaining and important being let-him-deal
ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἀσφαλές.
as — to-him seems safe
7 Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον οἱ
From this cross all to — Byzantium the
στρατιῶται. καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος,
soldiers and pay indeed not gave — Anaxibius
ἐκήρυξε δὲ λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοὺς
he-proclaimed but having-taken the arms and the baggage the
στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὡς ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα
soldiers to-go-out as going-to-send(-them)-off both at-the-same-time

καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο,
and a-count going-to-make then the soldiers were-vexed
ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν,
because not they-had money to-buy-provisions for the march
καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο.
and reluctantly packed-up
καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἁρμοστῇ ξένος γεγενημένος 8
and — Xenophon to-Cleander the governor guest-friend having-become
προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποπλευσούμενος ἤδη.
having-approached was-taking-leave-of him as going-to-sail-away now
ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει· Μὴ ποιήσῃς ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔφη,
he and to-him says Do-not do these-things if but not he-said
αἰτίαν ἕξεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινὲς ἤδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται
blame you-will-have since even now some already you blame
ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στράτευμα.
that not quickly creeps-out the army
ὃ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' αἴτιος μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ 9
he and said But to-blame indeed I-at-least not am of-this the
δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι διὰ τοῦτο
and soldiers themselves provisioning needing because-of this
ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον.
are-dispirited toward the departure
Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγώ σοι συμβουλεύω ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς 10
But nevertheless he-said I to-you advise to-go-out indeed as
συμπορευσόμενον, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ στράτευμα,
going-to-march-with(-them) when and outside gets the army
τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν,
then to-depart These-things then said — Xenophon
ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα. οὕτως ἐλθόντες
having-gone to Anaxibius we-shall-arrange thus having-gone
ἔλεγον ταῦτα.
they-said these-things

11 Ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευεν οὕτω ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξιέναι τὴν ταχίστην
He and bade so to-do and to-go-out the quickest(-way)
συσκευασαμένους, καὶ προσανεῖπεν, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῇ
having-packed-up and announced-besides whoever — not be-present
εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὑτὸν
at the review and at the count that himself himself
αἰτιάσεται.
will-blame

12 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆσαν οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.
then went-out the both generals first and the others
καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος
and utterly all except few outside were and Eteonicus
εἱστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ὁπότε ἔξω γένοιντο πάντες
stood by the gates as whenever outside should-be all
συγκλείσων τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλῶν.
going-to-shut the gates and the bar going-to-throw-in

13 ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς
— and Anaxibius having-called-together the generals and the
λοχαγοὺς ἔλεγεν· Τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ
captains said The indeed provisions be-said take from
τῶν Θρᾳκίων κωμῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ
the Thracian villages are and there much barley and
πυροὶ καὶ τἆλλα ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς
wheat and the-other provisions having-taken and march to
Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει.
the-Chersonese there and Cyniscus you will-pay

14 ἐπακούσαντες δέ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἢ καὶ
having-overheard and some of-the soldiers these-things or also
τῶν λοχαγῶν τις διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ
of-the captains someone passes-the-news to the army and
οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου πότερα
the indeed generals inquired about — Seuthes whether

πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους
enemy he-was or friend and whether through the Sacred Mountain
δέοι πορεύεσθαι ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θρᾴκης.
it-would-be-needful to-march or around through middle — Thrace
ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο οἱ στρατιῶται 15
in which and these-things they-were-discussing the soldiers
ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας,
having-snatched-up the arms run at-a-run to the gates
ὡς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες. ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος καὶ
as back into the wall going — and Eteonicus and
οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὁπλίτας,
the(-men) with him when they-saw running-up the hoplites
συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν.
shut the gates and the bar throw-in
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔκοπτον τὰς πύλας καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι 16
the and soldiers beat the gates and said that
ἀδικώτατα πάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους·
most-unjustly they-were-treated being-cast-out to the enemy
κατασχίσειν τε τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἑκόντες
they-would-split and the gates they-said if not willingly
ἀνοίξουσιν.
they-will-open(-them)
ἄλλοι δὲ ἔθεον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τὸ 17
others and ran to sea and along the breakwater the
τεῖχος ὑπερβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλοι δὲ οἳ ἔτι
wall climb-over into the city others and who still
ἐτύγχανον ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὁρῶσι τὰ
happened inside being of-the soldiers when they-see the(-things)
ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόπτοντες ταῖς ἀξίναις τὰ
at the gates matters cutting-through with-the axes the
κλεῖθρα ἀναπεταννύασι τὰς πύλας, οἳ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.
bars throw-open the gates they and rush-in

18 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὡς εἶδε τὰ γιγνόμενα, δείσας μὴ
— *and Xenophon when he-saw the(-things) happening having-feared lest*
ἐφ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ
to plunder should-turn the army and irreparable evils
γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις,
should-happen to-the city and to-himself and to-the soldiers
ἔθει καὶ συνεισπίπτει εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ.
ran and rushes-in-with(-them) inside the gates with the crowd
19 οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσπῖπτον,
the and Byzantines when they-saw the army by-force rushing-in
φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἳ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἳ δὲ
flee from the market some indeed to the boats some and
οἴκαδε, ὅσοι δὲ ἔνδον ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἔξω, οἳ δὲ
home as-many-as and inside happened being outside some and
καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σῴζοιντο,
dragged-down the triremes so-that in the triremes they-might-be-safe
πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὡς ἑαλωκυίας τῆς
all and thought to-be-lost as having-been-captured the
πόλεως.
city
20 ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. ὁ δὲ
— *and Eteonicus to the citadel flees-off — and*
Ἀναξίβιος καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν ἁλιευτικῷ πλοίῳ
Anaxibius having-run-down to sea in a-fishing boat
περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται
sailed-around to the acropolis and at-once sends-for
ἐκ Καλχηδόνος φρουρούς· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι
from Chalcedon guards not for sufficient seemed to-be
οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας.
the(-men) in the acropolis to-hold-back the men

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον Ξενοφῶντα, προσπίπτουσι 21
The and soldiers when they-saw Xenophon fall-upon
πολλοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσι· Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν,
many him and say Now to-you it-is-possible O Xenophon
ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις
a-man to-become you-have a-city you-have triremes you-have
χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσούτους. νῦν ἄν, εἰ βούλοιο,
money you-have men so-many now — if you-wished
σύ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαις καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν.
you both us would-benefit and we you great would-make
ὃ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' εὖ γε λέγετε καὶ ποιήσω 22
he and answered But well at-least you-speak and I-shall-do
ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θέσθε τὰ ὅπλα ἐν
these-things if and these-things you-desire ground the arms in
τάξει ὡς τάχιστα· καὶ αὐτός τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα
rank as quickly-as-possible and himself both passed-the-word these-things
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευε παρεγγυᾶν τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα.
and the others bade to-pass-the-word to-ground the arms
οἵ δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι οἵ τε ὁπλῖται ἐν 23
they and themselves by themselves being-drawn-up the both hoplites in
ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ
a-short time into eight(-deep) were-formed and the peltasts to
τὸ κέρας ἑκάτερον παρεδεδραμήκεσαν.
the wing each had-run-out
τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαί ἐστι τὸ 24
the and place such-as finest to-draw-up is the(-one)
Θρᾴκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. ἐπεὶ
Thracian called(-Square) empty of-houses and level when
δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ ὁ
and were-grounded the arms and they-were-quieted calls-together —
Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ λέγει τάδε.
Xenophon the army and says these-things

25 Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίζεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε
That indeed you-are-angry O men soldiers and think
δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατώμενοι οὐ θαυμάζω. ἢν δὲ τῷ
terrible(-things) to-suffer being-deceived not I-wonder if but the
θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς παρόντας
anger we-indulge and Lacedaemonians both the(-ones) present
τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν
for-the deceit we-punish and the city the in-nothing
αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμεῖσθε ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν.
guilty plunder consider what will-be from-this
26 πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ
enemies indeed we-shall-be declared to-Lacedaemonians and
τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἷος δὲ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο εἰκάζειν
to-the allies what-sort and war — would-arise to-guess
δὴ πάρεστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας τὰ
indeed it-is-possible having-seen and having-recalled the(-things)
νῦν δὴ γεγενημένα.
just indeed having-happened
27 ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν
we for the Athenians came into the war the(-one)
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἔχοντες τριήρεις
against Lacedaemonians and the allies having triremes
τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις οὐκ
the(-ones) indeed in sea the(-ones) and in the dockyards not
ἐλάττους τριακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων
fewer than-three-hundred being-at-hand and much money
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προσόδου οὔσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπό τε τῶν
in the city and revenue being each year from both the
ἐνδήμων καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μεῖον χιλίων ταλάντων·
home(-sources) and the overseas(-ones) not less than-a-thousand talents
ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν νήσων ἁπασῶν καὶ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
ruling and the islands all and in both — Asia

πολλὰς ἔχοντες πόλεις καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς
many having cities and in — Europe others both many
καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἐσμεν, ἔχοντες
and very this — Byzantium where now we-are having
κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως ὡς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε.
were-warred-down thus as all you know
νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίοις 28
now and indeed what — do-we-think would-suffer Lacedaemonians
μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων
indeed and the old allies being-at-hand of-Athenians
δὲ καὶ οἳ ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι πάντων
and also who to-them then were allies all
προσγεγενημένων, Τισσαφέρνους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ
having-been-added Tissaphernes and and of-the on
θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βαρβάρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν
sea other barbarians all enemies to-us
ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν
being most-hostile and himself the upper king whom
ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ
we-came going-to-take-away the rule and going-to-kill if
δυναίμεθα; τούτων δὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων ἔστι τις
we-could these indeed all together being is-there anyone
οὕτως ἄφρων ὅστις οἴεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι;
so foolish who thinks — us would-prevail
μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μαινώμεθα μηδ' αἰσχρῶς ἀπολώμεθα 29
not by gods let-us-be-mad nor shamefully perish
πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις
enemies being both to-the fatherlands and to-the our
αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσίν εἰσι
own friends both and kinsmen in for the cities are
πάντες ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομέναις, καὶ δικαίως,
all the(-ones) against us going-to-march and justly

εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠθελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν,
if barbarian indeed city no we-were-willing to-occupy
καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες, Ἑλληνίδα δὲ εἰς ἣν πρώτην
and this conquering Greek but into which first
ἤλθομεν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν.
we-came city this we-shall-sack
30 ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὔχομαι πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν
I indeed then pray before these-things to-see by you
γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργυὰς
done ten-thousand me at-least under the earth fathoms
γενέσθαι. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμβουλεύω Ἕλληνας ὄντας τοῖς
to-be and to-you and I-advise Greeks being to-the
τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν
of-the Greeks (ones)-at-the-head obeying to-try of-the
δικαίων τυγχάνειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ
just(-things) to-obtain if but not you-can these-things us must
ἀδικουμένους τῆς γοῦν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι.
being-wronged — at-least of-Greece not to-be-deprived
31 καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ πέμψαντας Ἀναξιβίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι
and now to-me it-seems-best having-sent to-Anaxibius to-say that
ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βίαιον ποιήσοντες παρεληλύθαμεν εἰς τὴν
we nothing violent going-to-do have-entered into the
πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢν μὲν δυνώμεθα παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν
city but if indeed we-can from you good
τι εὑρίσκεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ δηλώσοντες ὅτι οὐκ
something to-obtain if but not but going-to-show that not
ἐξαπατώμενοι ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἐξερχόμεθα.
being-deceived but obeying we-are-going-out

Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἱερώνυμόν τε τὸν 32
These-things were-resolved and they-send Hieronymus both the
Ἠλεῖον ἐροῦντα ταῦτα καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ
Elean going-to-say these-things and Eurylochus an-Arcadian and
Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν. οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ᾤχοντο ἐροῦντες.
Philesius an-Achaean they indeed these-things went going-to-say
Ἔτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσέρχεται 33
Still and sitting the soldiers comes-up
Κοιρατάδας Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιῄει
Coeratadas a-Theban who not being-exiled — Greece went-about
ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις
but desiring-to-be-general and offering(-himself) if any either city
ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγοῦ δέοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι
or nation a-general needed and then having-come-up he-said that
ἕτοιμος εἴη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς
ready he-was to-lead them to the Delta called —
Θρᾴκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήψοιντο· ἔστε δ' ἂν
of-Thrace where many and good-things they-would-take until and —
μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά.
they-should-come into plenty he-would-provide he-said both food and drink
ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὰ παρὰ 34
hearing these-things to-the soldiers and the(-things) from
Ἀναξιβίου ἅμα ἀπαγγελλόμενα — ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ
Anaxibius at-the-same-time being-reported he-answered for
ὅτι πειθομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε
that obeying to-them not it-will-repent but to-the both
οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα ἀπαγγελεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς βουλεύσοιτο
at-home authorities these-things he-will-report and himself would-deliberate
περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι δύναιτο ἀγαθόν —
about them what ever he-could good

35 ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τόν τε Κοιρατάδαν δέχονται
from this the soldiers — both Coeratadas accept
στρατηγὸν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆλθον. ὁ δὲ
as-general and outside the wall went-away — and
Κοιρατάδας συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν
Coeratadas agrees with-them on the next-day
παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν
to-be-present at the army having both victims and a-seer
καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ.
and food and drink for-the army

36 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἔκλεισε τὰς πύλας καὶ
when and they-went-out — Anaxibius shut the gates and
ἐκήρυξεν ὃς ἂν ἁλῷ ἔνδον ὢν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅτι
proclaimed whoever — be-caught inside being of-the soldiers that
πεπράσεται.
he-will-be-sold

37 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Κοιρατάδας μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ
on-the and next-day Coeratadas indeed having the victims and
τὸν μάντιν ἦκε καὶ ἄλφιτα φέροντες εἵποντο αὐτῷ
the seer came and barley-meal carrying followed him
εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες καὶ οἶνον ἄλλοι εἴκοσι καὶ ἐλαῶν τρεῖς
twenty men and wine others twenty and of-olives three
καὶ σκορόδων ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον φορτίον
and of-garlic a-man as-much-as he-could greatest load
καὶ ἄλλος κρομμύων. ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμενος ὡς ἐπὶ
and another of-onions these-things and having-set-down as for
δάσμευσιν ἐθύετο.
distribution he-sacrificed

Ξενοφῶν δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος Κλέανδρον ἐκέλευε διαπρᾶξαι 38
Xenophon and having-sent-for Cleander bade(-him) to-arrange
ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσέλθοι καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ
so-that into the wall he-might-go-in and sail-away from
Βυζαντίου.
Byzantium
ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Κλέανδρος μάλα μόλις ἔφη διαπραξάμενος 39
having-come and — Cleander very hardly he-said having-arranged(-it)
ἥκειν· λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον
to-have-come to-say for Anaxibius that not suitable
εἴη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους,
it-was the indeed soldiers near to-be the wall
Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ
Xenophon and inside the Byzantines and to-be-in-faction and
πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὅμως δὲ εἰσιέναι, ἔφη,
hostile to-be toward each-other nevertheless and to-go-in he-said
ἐκέλευεν, εἰ μέλλεις σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπλεῖν.
he-bade(-you) if you-are-going with him to-sail-out
ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας εἴσω 40
— indeed then Xenophon having-taken-leave-of the soldiers inside
τοῦ τείχους ἀπῄει σὺν Κλεάνδρῳ. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδας
the wall went-away with Cleander — and Coeratadas
τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν
on-the indeed first day not got-good-omens nor measured-out
οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα
anything to-the soldiers on-the and next-day the indeed victims
εἱστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ Κοιρατάδας ἐστεφανωμένος
stood by the altar and Coeratadas wearing-a-garland
ὡς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ
as going-to-sacrifice having-come-up and Timasion the Dardanian and
Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἐρχομένιος ἔλεγον
Neon the Asinaean and Cleanor the Orchomenian said

Κοιρατάδᾳ μὴ θύειν, ὡς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ,
to-Coeratadas not to-sacrifice as not going-to-lead the army
εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
if not he-will-give the provisions

41 ὃ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῷ
he and orders to-measure-out when and much was-lacking to-him
ὥστε ἡμέρας σῖτον ἑκάστῳ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν,
so-that of-a-day food for-each to-be of-the soldiers
ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπῄει καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν
having-taken-up the victims he-went-away and the generalship
ἀπειπών.
having-renounced

II · SEUTHES THE THRACIAN

The generals quarrel over where to lead the army, and many soldiers sell their arms and scatter. Aristarchus, the new governor, sells no fewer than four hundred of Cyrus' soldiers left in Byzantium into slavery. Anaxibius, no longer admiral, sends Xenophon to take the army across to Asia, but at Perinthus Aristarchus forbids the crossing and plots to seize Xenophon. After sacrificing, Xenophon goes by night to Seuthes, who keeps his horses bridled for fear of night attack. Seuthes tells of his exile and promises pay, land, his daughter for Xenophon, and Bisanthe.

1 Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ
Neon and the Asinaean and Phryniscus the Achaean and
Φιλήσιος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ
Philesius the Achaean and Xanthicles the Achaean and
Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς
Timasion the Dardanian remained with the army and to

κώμας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν προελθόντες τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον
villages of-the Thracians having-gone-forward the(-ones) near Byzantium
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.
encamped
καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ 2
and the generals were-at-odds Cleanor indeed and
Φρυνίσκος πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· ἔπειθε
Phryniscus to Seuthes wishing to-lead(-it) he-was-persuading
γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ
for them and he-gave to-the(-one) indeed a-horse to-the(-other)
δὲ γυναῖκα· Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ
and a-woman Neon and to the-Chersonese thinking if
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιντο, παντὸς ἂν προεστάναι
under Lacedaemonians they-came of-all — to-be-at-the-head
τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίων δὲ προὐθυμεῖτο πέραν εἰς
the army Timasion and was-eager across to
τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν οἴκαδε
— Asia again to-cross thinking thus — home
κατελθεῖν. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταὐτὰ ἐβούλοντο.
to-return and the soldiers the-same-things wished
διατριβομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἳ 3
being-spent and the time many of-the soldiers some
μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους ἀπέπλεον
indeed the arms selling in the places sailed-away
ὡς ἐδύναντο, οἳ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμείγνυντο.
as they-could some and also into the cities mingled
Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρε ταῦτα ἀκούων, διαφθειρόμενον 4
Anaxibius and rejoiced these-things hearing being-destroyed
τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ᾤετο μάλιστα
the army these for happening he-thought most
χαρίζεσθαι Φαρναβάζῳ.
to-gratify Pharnabazus

5 Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ
Sailing-away and Anaxibius from Byzantium meets
Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ Βυζαντίου
Aristarchus at Cyzicus successor to-Cleander of-Byzantium
ἁρμοστής· ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος
governor it-was-said and that also as-admiral successor Polus
ὅσον οὐ παρείη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον.
all-but — was-present already in the-Hellespont

6 καὶ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει ὁπόσους ἂν
and Anaxibius — indeed to-Aristarchus enjoins as-many-as —
εὕρῃ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους
he-finds in Byzantium of-the of-Cyrus soldiers left-behind
ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ
to-sell — and Cleander none had-sold but
καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευεν οἰκτίρων καὶ ἀναγκάζων
even the sick he-tended pitying and compelling
οἰκίᾳ δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα,
in-a-house to-receive(-them) Aristarchus and when he-came at-once
οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο.
not fewer than-four-hundred sold

7 Ἀναξίβιος δὲ παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον πέμπει παρὰ
Anaxibius and having-sailed-along to Parium sends to
Φαρνάβαζον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. ὃ δ' ἐπεὶ
Pharnabazus according-to the(-things) agreed he but when
ᾔσθετο Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἥκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἁρμοστὴν
he-perceived Aristarchus both having-come to Byzantium as-governor
καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξιβίου μὲν
and Anaxibius no-longer being-admiral Anaxibius indeed
ἠμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεπράττετο τὰ αὐτὰ
neglected with Aristarchus and negotiated the same(-things)
περὶ τοῦ Κύρου στρατεύματος ἅπερ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.
about the of-Cyrus army which with Anaxibius

Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα κελεύει πάσῃ 8
From this — Anaxibius having-called Xenophon bids by-every
τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς τάχιστα,
art and contrivance to-sail to the army as quickly-as-possible
καὶ συνέχειν τε αὐτὸ καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων
and to-hold-together both it and to-collect of-the scattered
ὡς ἂν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς τὴν
as — most he-can and having-led(-them)-along to —
Πέρινθον διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα·
Perinthus to-take(-them)-across into — Asia as quickly-as-possible
καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἄνδρα
and gives him a-thirty-oared(-ship) and a-letter and a-man
συμπέμπει κελεύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα
sends-with(-him) going-to-order the Perinthians as quickly-as-possible
Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα.
Xenophon to-send-on with-the horses to the army
καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ 9
and — indeed Xenophon having-sailed-across arrives at the
στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἡδέως καὶ εὐθὺς
army the and soldiers received(-him) gladly and at-once
εἵποντο ἄσμενοι ὡς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θρᾴκης εἰς
followed gladly as going-to-cross from — Thrace into
τὴν Ἀσίαν.
— Asia
Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἀκούσας ἥκοντα πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς 10
— and Seuthes having-heard(-him) having-come back having-sent to
αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιὰν
him by sea Medosades begged the army
ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ ὅ τι ᾤετο
to-lead to himself promising him what ever he-thought

λέγων πείσειν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲν οἷόν τε
by-saying he-would-persuade(-him) he and answered that nothing possible —
εἴη τούτων γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ᾤχετο.
was of-these to-happen and he indeed these-things having-heard went-off
11 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων
the and Greeks when they-arrived at Perinthus Neon
μὲν ἀποσπάσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς ἔχων ὡς
indeed having-broken-away encamped separately having about
ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν
eight-hundred men the and other army all in
τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Περινθίων ἦν.
the same(-place) by the wall the of-the-Perinthians was
12 Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως
After these-things Xenophon indeed negotiated about ships so-that
ὅτι τάχιστα διαβαίεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος
as quickly-as-possible they-might-cross in and this having-arrived
Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις,
Aristarchus the from Byzantium governor having two triremes
πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις
having-been-persuaded by Pharnabazus to-the both ship-masters
ἀπεῖπε μὴ διάγειν ἐλθών τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα
forbade — to-carry(-them)-across having-come and to the army
τοῖς στρατιώταις εἶπε μὴ περαιοῦσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
to-the soldiers said not to-cross into — Asia
13 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐμὲ
— and Xenophon said that Anaxibius ordered(-it) and me
πρὸς τοῦτο ἔπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν·
for this sent here in-turn and Aristarchus said
Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τοίνυν οὐκέτι ἐστὶ ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε
Anaxibius indeed then no-longer is admiral I and here
ἁρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ,
governor if and any of-you I-shall-catch on the sea

καταδύσω. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. τῇ δ᾽
I-shall-sink(-him) these-things having-said he-went-off into the wall on-the and
ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς
next-day he-sends-for the generals and captains
τοῦ στρατεύματος.
of-the army
ἤδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ 14
already and them-being at the wall reports someone —
Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι εἰ εἴσεισι, συλληφθήσεται καὶ ἢ αὐτοῦ
to-Xenophon that if he-goes-in he-will-be-arrested and either there
τι πείσεται ἢ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ παραδοθήσεται. ὁ
something he-will-suffer or even to-Pharnabazus he-will-be-handed-over he
δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν προπέμπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ
and having-heard these-things the(-others) indeed sends-ahead himself and
εἶπεν ὅτι θῦσαί τι βούλοιτο.
said that to-sacrifice something he-wished
καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο εἰ παρεῖεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ 15
and having-gone-away he-sacrificed whether would-allow him the gods
πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. ἑώρα γὰρ
to-try to Seuthes to-lead the army he-saw for
οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς ὂν τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ
neither to-cross safe being triremes having the(-man)
κωλύσοντος, οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι
going-to-prevent nor to the-Chersonese having-gone to-be-shut-up
ἐβούλετο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων
did-he-wish and the army in great want of-all-things
γενέσθαι ἔνθα πείθεσθαι ἀνάγκη ἦν τῷ ἐκεῖ ἁρμοστῇ,
to-come where to-obey necessity was the there governor
τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν τὸ στράτευμα.
of-the and provisions nothing was-going to-have the army

16 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ᾽ εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ
And he indeed about these-things was-busy the and generals and
οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἥκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἀπήγγελλον
the captains coming from — Aristarchus reported
ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δείλης δὲ ἥκειν·
that now indeed to-go-away them he-orders in-the afternoon and to-come
ἔνθα καὶ δήλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει ἡ ἐπιβουλή.
whereupon also clear more seemed the plot

17 ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι αὐτῷ
— then Xenophon since seemed the victims favorable to-be for-him
καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἰέναι,
and for-the army safely to Seuthes to-go
παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λοχαγὸν καὶ
having-taken-along Polycrates the Athenian captain and
παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἑκάστου ἄνδρα — πλὴν παρὰ
from of-the generals each a-man except from
Νέωνος — ᾧ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν ᾤχετο τῆς νυκτὸς
Neon whom each trusted went in-the night
ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἑξήκοντα στάδια.
to the of-Seuthes army sixty stades

18 ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυγχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. καὶ
when and near he-was to-it he-comes-upon fires deserted and
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην·
the indeed first he-thought to-have-moved-away somewhere — Seuthes
ἐπεὶ δὲ θορύβου τε ᾔσθετο καὶ σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις
when and uproar both he-perceived and signaling to-each-other
τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ
the(-men) about Seuthes he-learned that of-this for-the-sake-of the
πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἴη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων
fires having-been-lit were — by-Seuthes in-front-of the night-guards
ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὁρῷντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες
so-that the indeed guards not might-be-seen in the darkness being

μήτε ὁπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ
neither how-many nor where they-were the(-men) and approaching not
λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν.
might-escape-notice but because-of the light visible might-be
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα ὃν ἐτύγχανεν 19
When and he-perceived(-it) he-sends-ahead the interpreter whom he-happened
ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι
having and to-say bids to-Seuthes that Xenophon is-here
βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. οἳ δὲ ἤροντο εἰ
wishing to-meet him they and asked whether
Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος.
the-Athenian the(-one)-from the army
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ 20
when and he-said this-man to-be springing-up they-ran-off and
ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρῆσαν πελτασταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ
little later were-there peltasts about two-hundred and
παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἦγον
having-taken-along Xenophon and the(-men) with him led(-them)
πρὸς Σεύθην.
to Seuthes
ὃ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ 21
he and was in a-tower very guarded and horses around
αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον
it in-a-circle bridled because-of for the fear
τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλου τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας
the indeed days he-fed the horses the and nights
ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο.
with-bridled(-horses) he-guarded-himself
ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης ὁ τούτου πρόγονος 22
it-was-said for also before Teres the of-this-man ancestor
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα ὑπὸ τούτων
in this the land great having an-army by these

τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα
the men many to-have-lost and the baggage
ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι
to-have-been-robbed-of were and these Thynians of-all said
εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.
to-be most by-night most-warlike

23 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα
When and near they-were he-bade to-come-in Xenophon
ἔχοντα δύο οὓς βούλοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν,
having two whom he-wished when and inside they-were
ἠσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους καὶ κατὰ τὸν
they-greeted indeed first each-other and according-to the
Θρᾴκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προὔπινον· παρῆν δὲ καὶ
Thracian custom horns of-wine drank-to(-each-other) was-present and also
Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅσπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε.
Medosades — to-Seuthes who went-as-envoy for-him everywhere

24 ἔπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν· Ἔπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ,
then and Xenophon began to-speak You-sent to me
ὦ Σεύθη, εἰς Καλχηδόνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί,
O Seuthes to Chalcedon first Medosades this-one-here
δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα
begging me to-help-zealously to-cross the army
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα
from — Asia and promising me if these-things
πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσειν, ὡς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὗτος.
I-should-do well to-treat(-me) as said Medosades this-one

25 ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα
these-things having-said he-asked — Medosades if true these-things
εἴη. ὁ δ' ἔφη. Αὖθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ
were he and said Again came Medosades this-one when I
διέβην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος,
crossed back to the army from Parium promising

εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς σέ, τἆλλα τέ σε
if I-should-lead the army to you in-the-other-things both you
φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τὰ παρὰ
as-friend me would-treat and brother and the(-places) by
θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ.
sea for-me places which you command would-be from you
ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἤρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. 26
upon these again he-asked — Medosades if he-said these-things
ὃ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. Ἴθι νυν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι
he and agreed also these-things Go now he-said relate
τούτῳ τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Καλχηδόνι πρῶτον.
to-this-man what to-you I-answered in Chalcedon first
Ἀπεκρίνω ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον 27
You-answered that the army would-cross to Byzantium
καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἕνεκα δέοι τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ
and nothing of-this for-the-sake-of it-was-needful to-pay either to-you
οὔτε ἄλλῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα·
or to-another yourself and when you-crossed to-depart you-said
καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως ὥσπερ σὺ ἔλεγες.
and it-happened thus as you said
Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυμβρίαν ἀφίκου; 28
What for did-I-say he-said when at Selymbria you-arrived
Οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς Πέρινθον ἐλθόντας
Not you-said possible — to-be but to Perinthus having-come
διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
to-cross into — Asia
Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος 29
Now then said — Xenophon am-here both I and this-one
Φρυνίσκος εἷς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος
Phryniscus one of-the generals and Polycrates this-one

εἷς τῶν λοχαγῶν, καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ
one of-the captains and outside are from the generals the
πιστότατος ἑκάστῳ πλὴν ἀπὸ Νέωνος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ.
most-trusted to-each except from Neon the Laconian
30 εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους
if then you-wish more-trustworthy to-be the transaction also them
κάλεσαι. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὦ Πολύκρατες,
call the and arms you having-gone say O Polycrates
ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν
that I order to-leave and yourself there having-left
τὴν μάχαιραν εἴσιθι.
the dagger come-in
31 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστήσειεν
Having-heard these-things — Seuthes said that no-one — would-be-distrust
Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι καὶ
of-Athenians and for that kinsmen they-were to-know and
φίλους εὖνους ἔφη νομίζειν. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐπεὶ
friends well-disposed he-said to-consider after these-things and when
εἰσῆλθον οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο Σεύθην
came-in whom it-was-needful first Xenophon asked Seuthes
ὅ τι δέοιτο χρῆσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ.
what ever he-needed to-use the army(-for)
32 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε· Μαισάδης ἦν πατήρ μοι, ἐκείνου δὲ ἦν
he and spoke thus Maesades was father to-me of-him and was
ἀρχὴ Μελανδῖται καὶ Θυνοὶ καὶ Τρανίψαι. ἐκ ταύτης
the-dominion Melanditae and Thynians and Tranipsae from this
οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν πράγματα ἐνόσησεν,
then the land when the of-the-Odrysians affairs fell-sick
ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνῄσκει νόσῳ, ἐγὼ
having-been-driven-out the father himself indeed dies of-disease I
δ' ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ.
and was-brought-up an-orphan with Medocus the present king

ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ζῆν εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν 33
when and a-young-man I-became not I-could to-live to another's
τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ
table looking and I-sat sharing-his-seat to-him
ἱκέτης δοῦναί μοι ὁπόσους δυνατὸς εἴη ἄνδρας, ὅπως
a-suppliant to-give to-me as-many-as able he-was men so-that
καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς εἴ τι δυναίμην κακὸν
also the(-men) having-driven-out us if in-any-way I-could harm
ποιοίην καὶ ζῴην μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων.
I-might-do and might-live not to the his table looking
ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους οὓς 34
from this to-me he-gives the men and the horses which
ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ
you will-see when day comes and now I live
τούτους ἔχων, ληζόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρῴαν χώραν. εἰ
these having plundering the of-myself ancestral land if
δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥᾳδίως
and to-me you should-join(-me) I-think — with the gods easily
ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι.
to-recover the dominion these-things are what I ask
Τί ἂν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν, 35
What — then said — Xenophon you could if we-came
τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς
to-the both army to-give and to-the captains and to-the
στρατηγοῖς;
generals
λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλλωσιν. ὃ δ' ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν 36
tell so-that these may-report he and promised to-the indeed
στρατιώτῃ κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ
soldier a-Cyzicene to-the and captain double-pay to-the and

στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν, καὶ γῆν ὁπόσην ἂν βούλωνται
general fourfold-pay and land as-much-as — they-wish
καὶ ζεύγη καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον.
and yokes-of-oxen and a-place on sea walled

37 Ἐὰν δέ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα πειρώμενοι μὴ
If but said — Xenophon these-things attempting not
διαπράξωμεν, ἀλλά τις φόβος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ᾖ,
we-accomplish but some fear from Lacedaemonians be
δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ, ἐάν τις ἀπιέναι
will-you-receive(-him) into the of-yourself(-land) if anyone to-go-away
βούληται παρὰ σέ;
wishes to you

38 ὁ δ' εἶπε· Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι καὶ
he and said Both brothers at-least I-shall-make(-them) and
ἐνδιφρίους καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἁπάντων ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα
sharers-of-my-seat and partners of-all which — we-can
κτᾶσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω καὶ
to-acquire to-you and O Xenophon both a-daughter I-shall-give and
εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ, ὠνήσομαι Θρᾳκίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ
if any to-you is a-daughter I-shall-buy(-her) by-Thracian custom and
Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον
Bisanthe as-dwelling I-shall-give which to-me finest place
ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.
is of-the(-places) on sea

III · THE FEAST OF SEUTHES

The army, barred from crossing by Aristarchus, votes to serve Seuthes for pay. At his feast Heraclides urges the guests to give gifts, and Xenophon, having nothing, offers himself and his comrades. Horn-players and trumpeters perform; Seuthes leaps about like a man dodging missiles. Seuthes proposes a night attack before

the enemy learns of the alliance, and Xenophon persuades him to march in the Greek night order, the slowest first. At midday they fall on a district of villages and take a thousand slaves, two thousand oxen, and ten thousand sheep.

Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες 1
Having-heard these-things and right-hands having-given and having-received
ἀπήλαυνον· καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ
they-rode-away and before day they-were at camp
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμψασιν.
and reported each to-the(-men) having-sent(-them)
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει 2
when and day came — indeed Aristarchus again summoned
τοὺς στρατηγούς· τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς
the generals to-them but it-seemed-best the indeed to
Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν ἐᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι.
Aristarchus road to-let-go the and army to-call-together
καὶ συνῆλθον πάντες πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ
and came-together all except the(-men) of-Neon these and
ἀπεῖχον ὡς δέκα στάδια.
were-distant about ten stades
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε. 3
when and they-had-come-together having-stood-up Xenophon said these-things
Ἄνδρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν ἔνθα βουλόμεθα Ἀρίσταρχος τριήρεις
Men to-sail-across indeed where we-wish Aristarchus triremes
ἔχων κωλύει· ὥστε εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος
having prevents so-that into boats not safe to-embark this-man
δὲ αὐτὸς κελεύει εἰς Χερρόνησον βίᾳ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους
and himself bids to the-Chersonese by-force through the Sacred Mountain
πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δὲ κρατήσαντες τούτου ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν,
to-march if and having-mastered this there we-come
οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι ὑμᾶς φησιν ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε
neither to-sell any-longer you he-says as in Byzantium nor

ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθόν, οὔτε
to-be-deceived any-longer you but to-receive pay nor
περιόψεσθαι ἔτι ὥσπερ νυνὶ δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
to-overlook any-longer as now needing the provisions
4 οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δέ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς
this-man indeed these-things says Seuthes but says if to
ἐκεῖνον ἴητε, εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε
him you-go well to-treat you now then consider
πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλεύσεσθε ἢ εἰς τὰ
whether here staying this you-will-deliberate or to the
ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθόντες.
provisions having-gone-back
5 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν
to-me indeed then it-seems-best since here neither money we-have
ὥστε ἀγοράζειν οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῶσι λαμβάνειν,
so-as to-buy nor without money do-they-allow(-us) to-take
ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας ὅθεν οἱ ἥττους ἐῶσι
having-gone-back into the villages from-where the weaker allow(-us)
λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀκούοντας ὅ τι τις
to-take there having the provisions hearing what ever anyone
ἡμῶν δεῖται, αἱρεῖσθαι ὅ τι ἂν ἡμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι.
of-us wants to-choose what ever — to-us seems best to-be
6 καὶ ὅτῳ, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.
and to-whom he-said these-things seems-best let-him-raise the hand
ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀπιόντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε,
raised(-it) all Going-away then he-said pack-up
καὶ ἐπειδὰν παραγγέλλῃ τις, ἕπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.
and when orders anyone follow the(-man) leading
7 Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο. Νέων
After these-things Xenophon indeed led they and followed Neon
δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄγγελοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι·
and and from Aristarchus messengers urged(-them) to-turn-back

οἳ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσον τριάκοντα στάδια
they but not heeded when and about thirty stades
προεληλύθεσαν, ἀπαντᾷ Σεύθης. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν
they-had-advanced meets(-them) Seuthes and — Xenophon
ἰδὼν αὐτὸν προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστων
having-seen him to-ride-up bade so-that as most
ἀκουόντων εἴποι αὐτῷ ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν.
hearing he-might-say to-him what seemed to-be-advantageous
ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα 8
when and he-came-up said Xenophon We are-marching
ὅπου μέλλει ἕξειν τὸ στράτευμα τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δ'
where is-going to-have the army food there and
ἀκούοντες καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ αἱρησόμεθα
hearing both you and the(-men) of-the Laconian we-shall-choose
ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. ἢν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ ὅπου
what — best seems to-be if then us you-lead where
πλεῖστά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιοῦμεν ξενίζεσθαι.
most are provisions by you we-shall-consider to-be-entertained
καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἁθρόα πάντα 9
and — Seuthes said But I-know villages many all-together all
ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες
having the provisions being-distant from-us as-far-as having-traversed
ἂν ἡδέως ἀριστῷτε. Ἡγοῦ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν.
— gladly you-would-breakfast Lead then said — Xenophon
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ 10
when and they-arrived at them in-the afternoon came-together the
στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Σεύθης τοιάδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες,
soldiers and spoke — Seuthes such-things I O men
δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί, καὶ ὑπισχνοῦμαι
ask you to-campaign with me and I-promise
ὑμῖν δώσειν τοῖς στρατιώταις κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ
you to-give to-the soldiers a-Cyzicene to-captains and and

στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων τὸν ἄξιον
to-generals the customary(-pay) besides and these the deserving
τιμήσω. σῖτα δὲ καὶ ποτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς
I-shall-honor food and and drink as also now from the
χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἕξετε· ὁπόσα δ' ἂν ἁλίσκηται
land taking you-will-have whatever and — is-captured
ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν
I-shall-think-it-right myself to-have so-that these-things disposing-of for-you
τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω.
the pay I-may-provide

11 καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ
and the indeed fleeing and running-away we sufficient
ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἂν δέ τις ἀνθιστῆται,
shall-be to-pursue and to-search-out if but anyone resist
σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.
with you we-shall-try to-subdue(-him)

12 ἐπήρετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις
asked — Xenophon How-far and from sea will-you-think-right
συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στράτευμα; ὃ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐδαμῇ
to-follow you the army he and answered Nowhere
πλέον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, μεῖον δὲ πολλαχῇ.
more than-seven days less but in-many-places

13 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ
After these-things it-was-granted to-speak to-the(-man) wishing and
ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγει
said many by the-same(-things) that of-all worth he-speaks
Σεύθης· χειμὼν γὰρ εἴη καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν
Seuthes winter for it-was and neither home to-sail-away
τῷ τοῦτο βουλομένῳ δυνατὸν εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε
for-the(-man) this wishing possible was to-get-through and
ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἷόν τε, εἰ δέοι ὠνουμένους ζῆν,
in friendly(-land) not possible — if it-were-needful buying to-live

ἐν δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον
in and the hostile(-land) to-stay and to-be-fed safer
μετὰ Σεύθου ἢ μόνους. ὄντων δ' ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων,
with Seuthes than alone being and good-things so-many
εἰ μισθὸν προσλήψοιντο, εὕρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι.
if pay they-should-get-in-addition a-windfall it-seemed to-be
ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, 14
upon these said — Xenophon If anyone objects
λεγέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπιψηφίζω ἐγὼ ταῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς
let-him-speak if but not I-put-to-the-vote I these-things when and no-one
ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα. εὐθὺς δὲ
objected he-put(-it)-to-the-vote and it-was-resolved these-things at-once and
Σεύθῃ εἶπε ταῦτα, ὅτι συστρατεύσοιντο αὐτῷ.
to-Seuthes he-said these-things that they-would-campaign-with him
Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν, 15
After this the indeed others by units encamped
στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε,
generals and and captains to dinner Seuthes invited
πλησίον κώμην ἔχων.
near a-village having(-it)
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες, ἦν 16
when and at the-doors they-were as to dinner going-in there-was
τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνίτης· οὗτος προσιὼν ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ
a-certain Heraclides a-Maronite this-man approaching one each
οὕστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν
whomever he-thought to-have something to-give to-Seuthes first indeed
πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἳ παρῆσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι
to Parians some who were-present friendship going-to-negotiate
πρὸς Μήδοκον τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες
with Medocus the of-the-Odrysians king and gifts bringing
αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω
to-him both and to-the wife he-said that Medocus indeed up-country

εἴη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν, Σεύθης δ' ἐπεὶ
was twelve days from sea journey Seuthes but since
τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.
the army this he-has-got ruler would-be on sea
17 γείτων οὖν ὢν ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς
neighbor then being most-able he-will-be you both well and badly
ποιεῖν. ἢν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε ὅ τι ἂν
to-treat if then you-are-wise to-this-man you-will-give what ever —
ἄγητε· καὶ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται ἢ ἐὰν Μηδόκῳ τῷ
you-bring and better for-you it-will-be-disposed than if to-Medocus the(-one)
πρόσω οἰκοῦντι διδῶτε. τούτους μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπειθεν.
far-away dwelling you-give these indeed then thus he-persuaded
18 Αὖθις δὲ Τιμασίωνι τῷ Δαρδανεῖ προσελθών, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν
Next and to-Timasion the Dardanian having-approached since he-heard
αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικάς, ἔλεγεν
to-him to-be both drinking-cups and carpets barbarian he-said
ὅτι νομίζοιτο ὁπότε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσαι ὁ Σεύθης
that it-was-customary whenever to dinner invited — Seuthes
δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέντας. οὗτος δ' ἢν μέγας
to-give-gifts to-him the(-men) invited this-man and if great
ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε καὶ οἴκαδε καταγαγεῖν
here becomes able he-will-be you both home to-restore
καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι. τοιαῦτα προὐμνᾶτο ἑκάστῳ
and here rich to-make such-things he-solicited to-each
προσιών.
approaching
19 προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλεγε· Σὺ καὶ πόλεως
having-approached and also to-Xenophon he-said You both of-a-city
μεγίστης εἶ καὶ παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι,
greatest are and with Seuthes the your name greatest is
καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν,
and in this the land perhaps you-will-think-right both walls to-take

ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν·
as also others of-the your(-people) took and land
ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην.
fitting then for-you also most-magnificently to-honor Seuthes
εὔνους δέ σοι ὢν παραινῶ. εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσῳ 20
well-disposed and to-you being I-advise well I-know for that by-how-much
ἂν μείζω τούτῳ δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζω ὑπὸ τούτου
— greater(-things) to-this-man you-give by-so-much greater from this-man
ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ. ἀκούων ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἠπόρει·
good-things you-will-experience hearing these-things Xenophon was-at-a-loss
οὐ γὰρ διεβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ
not for he-had-crossed having from Parium if not a-slave and
ὅσον ἐφόδιον.
as-much-as journey-money
Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θρᾳκῶν οἱ 21
When and they-went-in to the dinner of-the both Thracians the
κράτιστοι τῶν παρόντων καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ
most-powerful of-the(-men) present and the generals and the
λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία παρῆν ἀπὸ
captains of-the Greeks and if any embassy was-present from
πόλεως, τὸ δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένοις κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα
a-city the dinner indeed was for-sitting in-a-circle then
δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ὅσον εἴκοσιν
and tripods were-brought-in for-all these and about twenty
ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων, καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῖται
were of-meats full cut-up and loaves leavened
μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι.
large skewered were to the meats
μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· 22
mostly and the tables before the guests always were-placed
νόμος γὰρ ἦν — καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύθης, καὶ
custom for it-was and first this did Seuthes and

ἀνελόμενος τοὺς ἑαυτῷ παρακειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα
having-taken-up the to-himself lying-beside loaves broke(-them)
κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ ἐρρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ τὰ
in small(-pieces) and threw to-whom to-him it-seemed-good and the
κρέα ὡσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπών.
meats likewise as-much-as only to-taste for-himself leaving
23 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐποίουν καθ' οὓς
and the others and by the-same(-things) did before whom
αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δέ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα,
the tables lay an-Arcadian but certain Arystas by-name
φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἴα χαίρειν, λαβὼν
to-eat terrible the indeed throwing-about let to-go-hang having-taken
δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον καὶ κρέα
but into the hand about a-three-choenix loaf and meats
θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδείπνει.
having-put on the knees he-dined
24 κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ'
horns and of-wine they-carried-round and all accepted(-them) — but
Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος
Arystas when to him carrying the horn the cupbearer
ἦκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα,
came said seeing — Xenophon no-longer dining
Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός·
To-him he-said give(-it)
25 σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω. ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν
he-is-at-leisure for already I but not-yet having-heard Seuthes the
φωνὴν ἠρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγει. ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν·
voice asked the cupbearer what he-says the and cupbearer told
ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.
to-speak-Greek for he-knew-how there indeed then laughter arose

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προὐχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ 26
When and was-advancing the drinking came-in a-man Thracian
ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε,
a-horse having white and having-taken a-horn full said
Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι,
I-drink-to you O Seuthes and the horse this I-present
ἐφ᾽ οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἱρήσεις καὶ
on which both pursuing whomever — you-wish you-will-catch and
ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσῃς τὸν πολέμιον.
retreating not — you-will-fear the enemy
ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσάγων οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ 27
another a-boy bringing-in thus presented drinking-to(-him) and
ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων
another garments for-the wife and Timasion drinking-to(-him)
ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ τάπιδα ἀξίαν δέκα
presented a-bowl both silver and a-carpet worth ten
μνῶν.
minas
Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι 28
Gnesippus and a-certain Athenian having-stood-up said that
ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι
ancient was a-custom most-noble the(-men) indeed having to-give
τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι
to-the king honor for-the-sake-of to-the(-men) and not having
διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἔχω σοι
to-give the king so-that also I he-said may-have for-you
δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.
to-give-gifts and to-honor(-you)
ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο τί ποιήσει· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν 29
— and Xenophon was-at-a-loss what he-will-do also for he-happened
ὡς τιμώμενος ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος.
as being-honored in the nearest seat to-Seuthes sitting

ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν
— and Heraclides bade to-him the horn to-hand the
οἰνοχόον. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκὼς
cupbearer — but Xenophon already for having-drunk-somewhat
ἐτύγχανεν, ἀνέστη θαρραλέως δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας καὶ εἶπεν·
he-happened stood-up boldly having-taken the horn and said
30 Ἐγὼ δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς
I and to-you O Seuthes give myself and the
ἐμοὺς τούτους ἑταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστούς, καὶ οὐδένα
my these comrades friends to-be faithful and none
ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοι βουλομένους
unwilling but all more still than-I to-you wishing
φίλους εἶναι.
friends to-be
31 καὶ νῦν πάρεισιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ
and now they-are-here nothing you asking-in-addition but even
προϊέμενοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν
offering(-themselves) both to-toil for you and to-run-risks-before(-you)
ἐθέλοντες· μεθ' ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν
willing with whom if the gods are-willing much land
τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ πατρῴαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ
the(-part) indeed you-will-recover ancestral being the(-part) and
κτήσῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ
you-will-acquire many and horses many and men and
γυναῖκας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ λήζεσθαί σε δεήσει,
women beautiful you-will-acquire whom not to-plunder you it-will-be-necessary
ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φέροντες παρέσονται πρὸς σὲ δῶρα.
but themselves bringing will-come to you gifts
32 ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης συνεξέπιε καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο
having-stood-up — Seuthes drank-it-off-with(-him) and sprinkled-it-out-together
μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε
with him the horn after these-things came-in with-horns both

οἵοις σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοείαις
such-as they-signal-with blowing and with-trumpets of-raw-ox-hide
ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἷον μαγάδιδι σαλπίζοντες.
rhythms both and as-it-were on-a-magadis trumpeting
καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν 33
and himself Seuthes having-stood-up shouted both a-war-cry
καὶ ἐξήλατο ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος μάλα ἐλαφρῶς.
and leapt-out as a-missile avoiding very nimbly
εἰσῇσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.
came-in and also jesters
Ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ 34
When and was the-sun at setting stood-up the Greeks and
εἶπον ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι καὶ σύνθημα
said that it-was-time night-guards to-post and a-watchword
παραδιδόναι. καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι ὅπως εἰς
to-give and Seuthes they-bade to-give-orders so-that into
τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν εἴσεισι
the Greek camps no-one of-the Thracians shall-come
νυκτός· οἵ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θρᾷκες καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φίλοι.
by-night the both for enemy Thracians and you the friends
ὡς δ' ἐξῇσαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης οὐδέν τι 35
as and they-went-out stood-up-with(-them) — Seuthes not-at-all at-all
μεθύοντι ἐοικώς. ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς
a-drunken(-man) resembling having-gone-out and he-said themselves the
στρατηγοὺς ἀποκαλέσας· Ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν
generals having-called-aside O men the enemy our
οὐκ ἴσασί πω τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἢν οὖν ἔλθωμεν
not know yet the our alliance if then we-go
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι ἢ
against them before to-be-on-guard so-as not to-be-caught or

παρασκευάσασθαι ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστ' ἂν λάβοιμεν
to-prepare so-as to-defend-themselves most — we-would-take
καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα.
both men and property

36 συνεπήνουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον.
approved these-things the generals and to-lead bade(-him)
ὁ δ' εἶπε· Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμένετε· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁπόταν
he and said Having-prepared wait I and whenever
καιρὸς ᾖ ἥξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ
the-time is I-shall-come to you and the peltasts and
ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις.
you having-taken-up I-shall-lead with the horses

37 καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς
and — Xenophon said Consider then if-indeed by-night
πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ'
we-shall-march whether the Greek custom better is by
ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἡγεῖται τοῦ στρατεύματος
day indeed for in the marches leads the army
ὁποῖον ἂν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρῃ, ἐάν τε
whatever-sort — at-each-time to the country is-suited whether —
ὁπλιτικὸν ἐάν τε πελταστικὸν ἐάν τε ἱππικόν· νύκτωρ
heavy-armed or — peltast or — cavalry by-night
δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεῖσθαί ἐστιν τὸ βραδύτατον·
but custom for-the Greeks to-lead is the slowest(-part)

38 οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ
thus for least is-pulled-apart the armies and
ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ
least escape-notice running-away-from each-other the(-ones)
δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις
but pulled-apart often also fall-upon each-other
καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν.
and not-knowing badly treat and suffer(-it)

εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· Ὀρθῶς λέγετε καὶ ἐγὼ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ 39
said then Seuthes Rightly you-speak and I the custom the
ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω τῶν
your shall-obey and to-you indeed guides I-shall-give of-the
πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτὸς δ'
oldest the most-experienced of-the country myself and
ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος,
shall-follow last the horses having quickly for first
ἂν δέῃ, παρέσομαι. σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν
if it-be-needful I-shall-be-there a-watchword and they-gave Athena
κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο.
by the kinship these-things having-said they-rested
Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας παρῆν Σεύθης ἔχων 40
When and it-was about middle night was-there Seuthes having
τοὺς ἱππέας τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς σὺν
the horsemen breastplated and the peltasts with
τοῖς ὅπλοις. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ
the arms and when he-had-handed-over the guides the
μὲν ὁπλῖται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἵποντο, οἱ δ'
indeed hoplites led the and peltasts followed the and
ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν·
horsemen formed-the-rearguard
ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν 41
when and day was — Seuthes rode-past to the front
καὶ ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον. πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη
and praised the Greek custom often for he-said
νύκτωρ αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος ἀποσπασθῆναι
by-night himself even with few marching to-have-been-separated
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δ' ὥσπερ δεῖ
with the horses from the foot-soldiers now but as (one)-must
ἁθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. ἀλλὰ
in-a-body all at-the-same-time-as the day we-appear but

ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε, ἐγὼ δὲ
you indeed wait there and rest I and
σκεψάμενός τι ἥξω.
having-looked-at something shall-come

42 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδόν τινα λαβών.
these-things having-said he-rode through mountain road some having-taken
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκέψατο εἰ εἴη
when and he-came to snow much he-looked whether there-were
ἴχνη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα ἢ ἐναντία. ἐπεὶ
tracks of-men either forward leading or opposite when
δὲ ἀτριβῆ ἑώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ ἔλεγεν·
and untrodden he-saw the road he-came quickly back and said

43 Ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται, ἢν θεὸς θέλῃ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους
Men well it-will-be if god wills the for men
λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς
we-shall-escape-notice falling-upon(-them) but I indeed shall-lead with-the
ἵπποις, ὅπως ἄν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγὼν σημήνῃ
horses so-that if anyone we-see not having-escaped he-may-signal
τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἕπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῆτε, τῷ
to-the enemy you and follow and-if you-are-left-behind the
στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἕπεσθε. ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη
track of-the horses follow having-crossed and the mountains
ἥξομεν εἰς κώμας πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας.
we-shall-come to villages many both and prosperous

44 Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς
When and it-was middle of-day already both he-was on the
ἄκροις καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας ἦκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς
heights and having-caught-sight-of the villages he-came riding to
τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς
the hoplites and said I-shall-let-go now to-run-down the
μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς
indeed horsemen into the plain the and peltasts against the

κώμας. ἀλλ' ἕπεσθε ὡς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως ἐάν
villages but follow as — you-can quickest so-that if
τις ὑφιστῆται, ἀλέξησθε.
anyone resists you-may-defend(-them)
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ 45
having-heard these-things — Xenophon got-down from the horse and
ὃς ἤρετο· Τί καταβαίνεις ἐπεὶ σπεύδειν δεῖ; Οἶδα,
he asked Why do-you-get-down since to-hasten (one)-must I-know
ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέῃ· οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται θᾶττον
he-said that not of-me alone you-need the but hoplites faster
δραμοῦνται καὶ ἥδιον, ἐὰν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι.
will-run and more-gladly if also I on-foot lead
μετὰ ταῦτα ᾤχετο, καὶ Τιμασίων μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχων 46
after these-things he-went-off and Timasion with him having
ἱππεῖς ὡς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ
horsemen about forty of-the Greeks Xenophon and
παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παριέναι ἀπὸ
passed-the-word the(-men) up-to thirty years to-come-forward from
τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαζε τούτους
the companies light-armed and himself indeed ran these
ἔχων, Κλεάνωρ δ' ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων.
having Cleanor and led the others
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἦσαν, Σεύθης ἔχων ὅσον 47
when and in the villages they-were Seuthes having about
τριάκοντα ἱππέας προσελάσας εἶπε· Τάδε δή, ὦ
thirty horsemen having-ridden-up said These indeed O
Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ
Xenophon what you said are-held the men but for
ἔρημοι οἱ ἱππεῖς οἴχονταί μοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διώκων,
deserted the horsemen are-gone from-me one another-way pursuing
καὶ δέδοικα μὴ συστάντες ἁθρόοι που κακόν τι
and I-fear lest having-rallied in-a-body somewhere harm some

ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις
may-do the enemy (one)-must and also in the villages
καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων.
to-remain some of-us full for they-are of-people

48 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω τὰ ἄκρα
But I indeed said — Xenophon with whom I-have the heights
καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνορα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου
shall-seize you and Cleanor order through the plain
παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας. ἐπεὶ ταῦτα
to-extend the phalanx along the villages when these-things
ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν εἰς χίλια, βόες
they-did were-collected slaves indeed about thousand oxen
δὲ δισχίλιοι, πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ
and two-thousand sheep other ten-thousand then indeed then there
ηὐλίσθησαν.
they-bivouacked

IV · THE THYNIANS

Seuthes burns villages to terrify the rest; the cold is so great that water and wine freeze and many Greeks have noses and ears frostbitten. Episthenes of Olynthus offers to die for a captive boy, and Seuthes laughs and lets the boy go. The Thynians attack the Greeks' quarters by night but are driven off, and Seuthes arrives with his horn-blower. Xenophon advises taking hostages, and the mountain Thracians submit.

1 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας
On-the and next-day having-burned-down — Seuthes the villages
παντελῶς καὶ οἰκίαν οὐδεμίαν λιπών, ὅπως φόβον
completely and house no having-left so-that fear

ἐνθείη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ
he-might-put-into also to-the others what they-will-suffer if not
πείθωνται, ἀπῄει πάλιν.
they-obey went-away back
καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἡρακλείδην 2
and the indeed booty he-sent-off to-dispose-of Heraclides
εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις·
to Perinthus so-that — pay might-be for-the soldiers
αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ
himself and and the Greeks encamped throughout the
Θυνῶν πεδίον.
of-the-Thynians plain
οἳ δ' ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη. ἦν δὲ 3
they and having-abandoned(-it) fled to the mountains there-was and
χιὼν πολλὴ καὶ ψῦχος οὕτως ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ ἐφέροντο
snow much and cold so so-that the water which they-carried
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐπήγνυτο καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις,
to dinner froze and the wine the(-wine) in the vessels
καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὦτα.
and of-the Greeks many both noses were-frostbitten and ears
καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο οὗ ἕνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς 4
and then clear it-became of-what for-the-sake-of the Thracians the
ἀλωπεκᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί, καὶ
fox-skins on the heads wear and the ears and
χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς
tunics not only about the breasts but also about the
μηροῖς, καὶ ζειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων
thighs and long-cloaks as-far-as the feet on the horses
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας.
have but not short-cloaks

5 ἀφιεὶς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς τὰ ὄρη
letting-go and of-the captives — Seuthes into the mountains
ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται οἰκήσοντες καὶ πείσονται,
he-said that if not they-will-come-down to-dwell and will-obey
ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῖτον,
that he-will-burn-down also their the villages and the grain
καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ
and they-will-perish by-the hunger from this came-down both
γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν
women and children and older(-men) the but younger in
ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμαις ηὐλίζοντο.
the under the mountain villages bivouacked

6 καὶ ὁ Σεύθης καταμαθὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν
and — Seuthes having-learned(-it) ordered — Xenophon of-the
ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπισπέσθαι. καὶ
hoplites the youngest having-taken to-follow-with(-him) and
ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν εἰς
having-risen in-the night at-the-same-time-as the day they-were-there at
τὰς κώμας. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐξέφυγον· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν
the villages and the indeed most escaped near for was
τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε κατηκόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης.
the mountain as-many-as but he-took speared unsparingly Seuthes

7 Ἐπισθένης δ' ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος παιδεραστής, ὃς
Episthenes and was a-certain Olynthian a-lover-of-boys who
ἰδὼν παῖδα καλὸν ἡβάσκοντα ἄρτι πέλτην ἔχοντα
having-seen a-boy handsome coming-of-age just a-light-shield having
μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν, προσδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἱκέτευε
about to-die having-run-up Xenophon begged
βοηθῆσαι παιδὶ καλῷ.
to-help a-boy handsome

καὶ ὃς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ δεῖται μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν 8
and he having-approached — to-Seuthes begs not to-kill the
παῖδα, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένους διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι
boy and — of-Episthenes relates the character and that
λόχον ποτὲ συνελέξατο σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ εἴ
a-company once he-collected looking-to nothing else than whether
τινες εἶεν καλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός.
some were handsome and with these he-was a-man brave
ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο· Ἦ καὶ θέλοις ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενες, 9
— and Seuthes asked Truly also would-you-be-willing — O Episthenes
ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν; ὃ δ' ὑπερανατείνας τὸν τράχηλον,
for this-one to-die he and having-stretched-up the neck
Παῖε, ἔφη, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι.
Strike he-said if bids the boy and is-going gratitude to-know
ἐπήρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα εἰ παίσειεν αὐτὸν 10
asked — Seuthes the boy whether he-should-strike him
ἀντ' ἐκείνου. οὐκ εἴα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἱκέτευε
instead-of that-one not allowed(-it) the boy but begged
μηδέτερον κατακαίνειν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἐπισθένης περιβαλὼν
neither to-kill there — Episthenes having-embraced
τὸν παῖδα εἶπεν· Ὥρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, περὶ τοῦδέ μοι
the boy said It-is-time for-you O Seuthes about this-one with-me
διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα.
to-fight-it-out not for I-shall-let-go the boy
ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν ταῦτα μὲν εἴα· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ 11
— and Seuthes laughing these-things indeed let-be it-seemed-best and to-him
αὐτοῦ αὐλισθῆναι, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν
there to-bivouac so-that not-even from these the villages
οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοιντο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ
the(-people) on the mountain might-be-fed and himself indeed in the
πεδίῳ ὑποκαταβὰς ἐσκήνου, ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων
plain having-come-down-a-little encamped — and Xenophon having

τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτω κώμῃ,
the picked(-men) in the under the mountain highest village
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις
and the other Greeks among the mountain called
Θρᾳξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.
Thracians near encamped

12 Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι τ᾽ οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο καὶ οἱ
From this days both not many were-spent and the
ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θρᾷκες καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην
from the mountain Thracians coming-down to — Seuthes
περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ὁμήρων διεπράττοντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν
about a-truce and hostages negotiated and — Xenophon
ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι ἐν πονηροῖς σκηνοῖεν
having-come said — to-Seuthes that in bad(-places) they-were-quartered
καὶ πλησίον εἶεν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥδιόν τ᾽ ἂν ἔξω
and near were the enemy more-gladly and — outside
αὐλίζεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς
to-bivouac he-said in strong places rather than in the
στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ
roofed(-ones) so-as to-perish he and to-take-heart bade and
ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας αὐτῶν.
showed hostages present of-them

13 ἐδέοντο δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντές τινες
begged and also himself of-Xenophon coming-down some
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους συμπρᾶξαι σφίσι τὰς σπονδάς.
of-the(-men) from the mountain to-help-arrange for-them the truce
ὁ δ᾽ ὡμολόγει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἠγγυᾶτο μηδὲν
he and agreed and to-take-heart bade and guaranteed nothing
αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. οἳ δ᾽ ἄρα
them evil to-suffer obeying Seuthes they but in-fact
ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.
these-things said spying for-the-sake-of

Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν 14
These-things indeed in-the day happened in and the coming
νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. καὶ
night attack having-come from the mountain the Thynians and
ἡγεμὼν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἑκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν
guide indeed was the master of-each the house hard
γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν
for it-was otherwise the houses darkness being to-find in
ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περιεσταύρωντο
the villages and for the houses in-a-circle had-been-palisaded
μεγάλοις σταυροῖς τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα.
with-great stakes the sheep for-the-sake-of
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἑκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, 15
when and they-came at the doors of-each the dwelling
οἳ μὲν εἰσηκόντιζον, οἳ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον,
some indeed hurled-javelins-in some and with-the clubs struck
ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν ὡς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς
which to-have they-said as going-to-cut-off of-the spears the
λόγχας, οἳ δ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ
points some and set-fire and Xenophon by-name
καλοῦντες ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν
calling(-him) coming-out ordered(-him) to-die or there they-said
κατακαυθήσεσθαι αὐτόν.
would-be-burned-up him
καὶ ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἔνδον 16
and already both through the roof appeared fire and inside
τεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἦσαν ἀσπίδας
breastplated the(-men) about — Xenophon were shields
καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες, καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος
and swords and helmets having and Silanus a-Macistian
ἐτῶν δὴ ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι·
of-years indeed about eighteen signals with-the trumpet

καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ
and at-once they-leap-out having-drawn the swords and the(-men) from
τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων.
the other quarters

17 οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος ἦν
the and Thracians flee as indeed manner was
αὐτοῖς, ὄπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ
for-them behind slinging-round the light-shields and
αὐτῶν ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησάν τινες
them leaping-over the stakes were-caught some
κρεμασθέντες ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς·
hung-up being-caught the light-shields on-the stakes
οἳ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δὲ
some and also died having-missed the exits the and
Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἔξω τῆς κώμης.
Greeks pursued outside the village

18 τῶν δὲ Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει τοὺς
of-the and Thynians having-turned-back some in the darkness the(-men)
παρατρέχοντας παρ᾽ οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς
running-past by a-house burning hurled-javelins into the light
ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἐπιταλιέα
from the darkness and wounded Hieronymus both an-Epitalian
λοχαγὸν καὶ Θεογένην Λοκρὸν λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ
captain and Theogenes a-Locrian captain died but
οὐδείς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθής τινων καὶ σκευή.
no-one were-burned however both clothing of-some and baggage

19 Σεύθης δὲ ἦκε βοηθῶν σὺν ἑπτὰ ἱππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις
Seuthes and came helping with seven horsemen the first
καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θρᾴκιον. καὶ ἐπείπερ
and the trumpeter having the Thracian and as-soon-as
ᾔσθετο, ὅσονπερ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας
he-perceived as-long-as time he-was-helping so-long also the horn

ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρέσχε
sounded for-him so-that also this fear helped-cause
τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιοῦτό τε καὶ ἔλεγεν
to-the enemy when and he-came he-greeted(-them) both and said
ὅτι οἴοιτο τεθνεῶτας πολλοὺς εὑρήσειν.
that he-thought dead many he-would-find
Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε 20
From this — Xenophon begs the hostages both
αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται,
to-him to-hand-over and against the mountain if he-wishes
συστρατεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι.
to-campaign-with(-him) if but not him to-let(-go)
τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παραδίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, 21
on-the then next-day hands-over — Seuthes the hostages
πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἤδη, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν,
older men already the most-powerful as they-said
τῶν ὀρεινῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνάμει. ἤδη
of-the mountain(-men) and himself comes with the force already
δὲ εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ
and he-had also triple force — Seuthes from for
τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἀκούοντες ἃ πράττει ὁ Σεύθης πολλοὶ
the Odrysians hearing what does — Seuthes many
κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι.
came-down going-to-campaign-with(-him)
οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν 22
the and Thynians when they-saw from the mountain many indeed
ὁπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς,
hoplites many and peltasts many and horsemen
καταβάντες ἱκέτευον σπείσασθαι, καὶ πάντα ὠμολόγουν
having-come-down begged to-make-a-truce and all-things agreed
ποιήσειν καὶ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον.
to-do and pledges to-take bade(-him)

23 ὁ δὲ Σεύθης καλέσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεδείκνυεν ἃ
— *and Seuthes having-called — Xenophon showed what*
λέγοιεν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν
they-said and not — he-said he-would-make-a-truce if Xenophon
βούλοιτο τιμωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως.
wished to-punish them for-the attack

24 ὃ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν,
he and said But I-at-least sufficient I-consider also now penalty to-have
εἰ οὗτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων. συμβουλεύειν
if these slaves will-be instead-of free to-advise
μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς
nevertheless he-said to-him the future hostages to-take the
δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι
most-able harm some to-do the and old-men at-home
ἐᾶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.
to-leave they indeed then in-this all indeed agreed-also

V · HERACLIDES WITHHOLDS THE PAY

Seuthes gives only twenty days' pay, Heraclides claiming the booty brought no more; Xenophon rebukes him, and Heraclides slanders him to Seuthes, who stops speaking of the coast towns he had promised Xenophon. The other generals are tempted to serve without Xenophon, but refuse. The army marches to Salmydessus, where ships wreck and the Thracians divide the wreckage by boundary posts. The soldiers grow angry at Xenophon, and Seuthes grows cool.

1 Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας
They-cross-over and to the beyond Byzantium Thracians
εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ
into the Delta called this and was no-longer dominion
Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου.
of-Maesades but of-Teres the Odrysian

καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας 2
and — Heraclides there having the price of-the booty
παρῆν. καὶ Σεύθης ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία,
was-present and Seuthes having-brought-out yokes of-mules three
οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείω, τὰ δ' ἄλλα βοεικά, καλέσας
not for there-were more the and others of-oxen having-called
Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευε λαβεῖν ἕν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διανεῖμαι
Xenophon bade(-him) to-take one the and others to-distribute
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς.
to-the generals and captains
Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὖθις 3
Xenophon and said To-me then it-suffices even again
λαβεῖν· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ οἳ σὺν ἐμοὶ
to-take to-these but the generals give-gifts who with me
ἠκολούθησαν καὶ λοχαγοῖς.
followed and captains
καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἓν μὲν Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεύς, 4
and of-the yokes takes one indeed Timasion the Dardanian
ἓν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἐρχομένιος, ἓν δὲ Φρυνίσκος ὁ
one and Cleanor the Orchomenian one and Phryniscus the
Ἀχαιός· τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατεμερίσθη.
Achaean the and of-oxen yokes to-the captains were-distributed
τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ἐξελήλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνὸς
the and pay he-pays-out having-elapsed already the month
εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐ
twenty only days — for Heraclides said that not
πλέον ἐμπολήσαι.
more he-had-made-by-trade
ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπομόσας· Δοκεῖς μοι, 5
— then Xenophon having-been-vexed said having-sworn You-seem to-me
ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐχ ὡς δεῖ κήδεσθαι Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ
O Heraclides not as (one)-must to-care-for Seuthes if for

ἐκήδου, ἦκες ἂν φέρων πλήρη τὸν μισθὸν καὶ
you-cared you-would-have-come — bringing full the pay even
προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμενος
having-borrowed-besides if not otherwise you-could and having-sold
τὰ σαυτοῦ ἱμάτια.
the your-own clothes

6 Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ ἐκ
Thereupon — Heraclides was-vexed both and feared lest from
τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθείη, καὶ ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ
the of-Seuthes friendship he-be-thrown-out and what ever he-could from
ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην.
this the day Xenophon slandered to Seuthes

7 οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι οὐκ
the indeed then soldiers to-Xenophon complained that not
εἶχον τὸν μισθόν· Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐντόνως
they-had the pay Seuthes and was-vexed with-him because vigorously
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπῄτει τὸν μισθόν.
for-the soldiers he-demanded the pay

8 καὶ τέως μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμέμνητο ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ θάλατταν
and for-a-while indeed always he-made-mention that when to sea
ἀπέλθῃ, παραδώσει αὐτῷ Βισάνθην καὶ Γάνος καὶ Νέον
he-goes-away he-will-hand-over to-him Bisanthe and Ganos and New
τεῖχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων
Fort from and this the time none any-longer of-these
ἐμέμνητο. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο διεβεβλήκει ὡς
did-he-mention — for Heraclides also this had-slandered that
οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἴη τείχη παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι.
not safe it-was walls to-hand-over to-a-man force having

9 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν
From this — indeed Xenophon deliberated what (one)-must to-do
περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης
about the still up-country to-campaign — and Heraclides

εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πρὸς Σεύθην λέγειν
having-brought-in the other generals to Seuthes to-say
τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἧττον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν
and bade them that not-at-all — less they would-lead
τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ξενοφῶν, τόν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο
the army than Xenophon the both pay promised
αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν
to-them within few days in-full to-be-there of-two
μηνοῖν, καὶ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε.
months and to-campaign-with(-him) he-bade
καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν 10
and — Timasion said I indeed then not-even if
πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι στρατευσαίμην ἂν
five months' pay be-going to-be would-I-campaign —
ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος. καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ Κλεάνωρ
without Xenophon and — Phryniscus and — Cleanor
συνωμολόγουν τῷ Τιμασίωνι.
agreed — with-Timasion
ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Σεύθης ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὅτι οὐ 11
then — Seuthes reviled — Heraclides because not
παρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν
he-invited also Xenophon from and this they-invite
αὐτὸν μόνον. ὃ δὲ γνοὺς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν
him alone he and having-recognized — of-Heraclides the
πανουργίαν ὅτι βούλοιτο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς
knavery that he-wished him to-slander to the
ἄλλους στρατηγούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τούς τε
other generals comes-forward having-taken the both
στρατηγοὺς πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς.
generals all and the captains

12 Καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ
And when all were-persuaded they-campaigned-together and
ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν
arrive on right having the Pontus through the
Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν.
Millet-eaters called Thracians to — Salmydessus
ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλευσῶν νεῶν πολλαὶ
where of-the into the Pontus sailing ships many
ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπολυ
run-aground and are-wrecked a-shoal for there-is over very-much
τῆς θαλάττης.
of-the sea

13 καὶ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας
and Thracians the(-ones) along these(-parts) dwelling pillars
ὁρισάμενοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι
having-set-as-boundaries the(-things) by themselves cast-ashore each
λῄζονται· τέως δὲ ἔλεγον πρὶν ὁρίσασθαι ἁρπάζοντας
plunder for-a-while but they-said before to-set-boundaries plundering
πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνῄσκειν.
many at-the-hands-of each-other to-die

14 ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκοντο πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ
there were-found many indeed couches many and
κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τἆλλα
boxes many and books written and the-other-things
πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν.
many as-many-as in wooden chests ship-masters carry
ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῆσαν πάλιν.
then these-things having-subdued they-went-away back

15 ἔνθα δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στράτευμα ἤδη πλέον
there indeed Seuthes had an-army already greater
τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ἔκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι
than-the Greek(-army) from both for Odrysians much still

πλείους κατεβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πειθόμενοι
more had-come-down and the(-men) continually submitting
συνεστρατεύοντο. κατηυλίσθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ
campaigned-with(-him) they-bivouacked and in the plain above
Σηλυμβρίας ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῆς
Selymbria about thirty stades being-distant from-the
θαλάττης.
sea
καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδείς πω ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν 16
and pay indeed none yet appeared toward and —
Ξενοφῶντα οἵ τε στρατιῶται παγχαλέπως εἶχον ὅ τε
Xenophon the both soldiers very-angrily were — and
Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως διέκειτο, ἀλλ' ὁπότε συγγενέσθαι
Seuthes no-longer intimately was-disposed but whenever to-meet
αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλαὶ ἤδη ἀσχολίαι ἐφαίνοντο.
with-him wishing he-came many already engagements appeared

VI · XENOPHON'S DEFENSE

Spartans come to hire the army against Tissaphernes; Heraclides advises Seuthes to give it up, and Seuthes feasts the Spartans without Xenophon. An Arcadian accuses Xenophon of enriching himself with Seuthes. Xenophon answers that he has received nothing, that he brought them to Seuthes in their worst need, that they have wintered well at the enemy's expense, and that once they called him father. Charminus the Spartan testifies for him, and Polycrates accuses Heraclides of theft. Seuthes asks Xenophon to stay with a thousand hoplites, warning that Thibron would put him to death; Xenophon sacrifices and is told to leave with the army.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων 1
In this the time nearly already two months being
ἀφικνεῖται Χαρμῖνός τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ Πολύνικος παρὰ
arrives Charminus both the Laconian and Polynicus from

Θίβρωνος, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ
Thibron and say that to-Lacedaemonians it-seems-best
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ Θίβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν
to-campaign against Tissaphernes and Thibron has-sailed-out
ὡς πολεμήσων, καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ
as going-to-make-war and needs this the army and
λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἑκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ
says that a-daric for-each will-be pay of-the month and
τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοιρία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία.
for-the captains double-pay for-the and generals fourfold-pay

2 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρακλείδης
When and came the Lacedaemonians at-once — Heraclides
πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἥκουσι λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ
having-learned that for the army they-have-come says — to-Seuthes
ὅτι κάλλιστόν τι γεγένηται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
that finest something has-happened the indeed for Lacedaemonians
δέονται τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέῃ· ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ
need the army you and no-longer need(-it) giving-up and
τὸ στράτευμα χαριῇ αὐτοῖς, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσουσι
the army you-will-oblige them you and no-longer they-will-demand
τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
the pay but they-will-depart from the land

3 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κελεύει παράγειν· καὶ
having-heard these-things — Seuthes orders to-bring(-them)-in and
ἐπεὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἥκουσιν, ἔλεγεν
when they-said that for the army they-have-come he-said
ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος
that the army he-gives-up friend both and ally
εἶναι βούλεται, καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια· καὶ
to-be he-wishes invites both them to gifts-of-hospitality and

ἐξένιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐκ ἐκάλει,
entertained(-them) magnificently Xenophon but not he-invited
οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα.
nor of-the other generals any
ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη 4
asking and the Lacedaemonians what-sort man was
Ξενοφῶν ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἴη οὐ
Xenophon he-answered that in-the indeed other(-respects) he-was not
κακός, φιλοστρατιώτης δέ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν
bad a-soldiers'-friend but and because-of this worse it-is
αὐτῷ. καὶ οἳ εἶπον, Ἀλλ' ἦ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς
for-him and they said But truly courts-favor-with the man the
ἄνδρας; καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
men and — Heraclides Very indeed then he-said
Ἆρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται τῆς 5
So then they-said not also us will-he-oppose in-the
ἀπαγωγῆς; Ἀλλ' ἢν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, συλλέξαντες
leading-away But if you said — Heraclides having-collected
αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχησθε τὸν μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσχόντες
them promise the pay little to-him paying-heed
ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν.
they-will-run-off with you
Πῶς οὖν ἄν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν; Αὔριον ὑμᾶς, 6
How then — they-said for-us would-they-be-collected Tomorrow you
ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῲ ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα,
said — Heraclides early we-shall-bring to them and I-know
ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται.
he-said that when you they-see gladly they-will-run-together
αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἔληξεν.
this indeed the day thus ended

7 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς
On-the and next-day they-bring to the army the
Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ
Laconians Seuthes both and Heraclides and is-collected the
στρατιά. τὼ δὲ Λάκωνε ἐλεγέτην ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις
army the and two-Laconians said that to-Lacedaemonians
δοκεῖ πολεμεῖν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι·
it-seems-best to-make-war on-Tissaphernes the(-one) you having-wronged
ἢν οὖν ἴητε σὺν ἡμῖν, τόν τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ
if then you-go with us the both enemy you-will-punish and
δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν, λοχαγὸς δὲ
a-daric each will-get of-the month of-you captain and
τὸ διπλοῦν, στρατηγὸς δὲ τὸ τετραπλοῦν.
the double general and the fourfold

8 καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνίσταταί
and the soldiers gladly both heard and at-once stands-up
τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατηγορήσων. παρῆν
one of-the Arcadians — Xenophon going-to-accuse was-present
δὲ καὶ Σεύθης βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τί πραχθήσεται, καὶ
and also Seuthes wishing to-know what will-be-done and
ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἱστήκει ἔχων ἑρμηνέα·
in earshot stood having an-interpreter

9 ξυνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα. ἔνθα δὴ λέγει
understood and also himself in-Greek the most(-things) there indeed says
ὁ Ἀρκάς· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μέν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πάλαι ἂν
the Arcadian But we indeed O Lacedaemonians even long-ago —
ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πείσας
would-be with you if not Xenophon us hither having-persuaded
ἀπήγαγεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δεινὸν χειμῶνα
had-led-away where indeed we indeed the terrible winter
στρατευόμενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα·
campaigning both night and day not-at-all have-ceased

ὃ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἐκεῖνον
he and the our toils has and Seuthes him
μὲν ἰδίᾳ πεπλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν·
indeed privately has-enriched us but deprives-of the pay
ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα καὶ 10
so-that I indeed if this-man I-were-to-see stoned and
δόντα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιείλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν
having-paid penalty for-the(-things) us he-dragged-about both the pay
ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπονημένοις
— to-me I-seem to-have and not-at-all at the having-been-toiled-for
ἄχθεσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλος.
to-be-vexed after this-one another stood-up likewise and another
ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
from and this Xenophon spoke thus
Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἄνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾶν 11
But everything indeed it-seems a-man being to-expect
δεῖ, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω ἐν
(one)-must when at-least also I now from you blame have in
ᾧ πλείστην προθυμίαν ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι
which most zeal to-myself at-least I-seem to-be-conscious
περὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσχημένος. ἀπετραπόμην μέν γε ἤδη
toward you having-shown I-turned-back indeed at-least already
οἴκαδε ὡρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὕτοι πυνθανόμενος
home having-set-out not by — Zeus not hearing
ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις
you well to-be-faring but rather hearing in difficulties
εἶναι ὡς ὠφελήσων εἴ τι δυναίμην.
to-be as going-to-help if anything I-could
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον, Σεύθου τουτουὶ πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς 12
when and I-came Seuthes this-one-here many messengers to
ἐμὲ πέμποντος καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ πείσαιμι
me sending and many promising me if I-persuaded

ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα
you to him to-come this indeed not I-attempted
ποιεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. ἦγον δὲ ὅθεν ᾠόμην
to-do as yourselves you know I-led but from-where I-thought
τάχιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ
most-quickly — you to — Asia to-cross these-things for both
βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς ᾔδειν βουλομένους.
best I-thought for-you to-be and you I-knew wishing(-them)

13 ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν ἐκώλυε
when and Aristarchus having-come with triremes prevented
διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν,
to-sail-across us from this which reasonable surely was
συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα ὅ τι χρὴ
I-collected you so-that we-might-deliberate what ever (one)-must
ποιεῖν.
to-do

14 οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος
therefore you hearing indeed Aristarchus ordering
ὑμῖν εἰς Χερρόνησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου
you to the-Chersonese to-march hearing and Seuthes
πείθοντος ἑαυτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν
urging himself to-campaign-with all indeed said with
Σεύθῃ ἰέναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα; τί οὖν ἐγὼ
Seuthes to-go all and voted these-things what then I
ἐνταῦθα ἠδίκησα ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἔνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει;
there wronged having-led you where to-all you it-seemed-best

15 ἐπεί γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ,
since at-least indeed to-lie began Seuthes about the pay
εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν, δικαίως ἄν με καὶ αἰτιῷσθε
if indeed I-praise him justly — me both you-would-blame
καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος
and hate if but before to-him of-all most friend

ὢν νῦν πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως
being now of-all most-at-odds I-am how — still justly
ὑμᾶς αἱρούμενος ἀντὶ Σεύθου ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι
you choosing instead-of Seuthes from you blame could-I-have
περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι;
about what with this-man I-am-at-odds
Ἀλλ᾽ εἴποιτ᾽ ἂν ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα 16
But you-might-say — that it-is-possible also the yours having
παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνάζειν. οὐκοῦν δῆλον τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν,
from Seuthes to-be-cunning therefore clear this at-least is
εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δήπου
if-indeed to-me paid something Seuthes not so he-paid surely
ὡς ὧν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στέροιτο καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν
so-as of-what both to-me he-gave he-would-be-deprived and other(-sums) to-you
ἀποτείσειεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἐδίδου
would-pay-back but I-think if he-gave for this indeed he-gave
ὅπως ἐμοὶ δοὺς μεῖον μὴ ἀποδοίη ὑμῖν τὸ πλέον.
so-that to-me having-given less not he-might-pay to-you the more
εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα 17
if then thus to-be you-think it-is-possible for-you at-once very
ματαίαν ταύτην τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι,
fruitless this the transaction for-both of-us to-make
ἐὰν πράττητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι Σεύθης,
if you-exact-from him the money clear for that Seuthes
εἰ ἔχω τι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσει με, καὶ
if I-have anything from him will-demand(-it)-back-from me and
ἀπαιτήσει μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πρᾶξιν
will-demand(-it)-back however justly if not I-confirm the transaction
αὐτῷ ἐφ᾽ ᾗ ἐδωροδόκουν.
for-him on which I-was-bribed

18 ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὀμνύω
but much to-me I-seem to-lack the yours to-have I-swear
γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας μηδ᾽ ἃ ἐμοὶ
for to-you gods all and all(-goddesses) not-even what to-me
ἰδίᾳ ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
privately promised Seuthes to-have is-present and also himself and
ἀκούων σύνοιδέ μοι εἰ ἐπιορκῶ·
hearing is-conscious with-me if I-perjure

19 ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσητε, συνεπόμνυμι μηδὲ ἃ οἱ
so-that and more you-may-wonder I-swear-also not-even what the
ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ
other generals received to-have-received no then not-even
ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι.
as-much-as of-the captains some

20 Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν; ᾤμην, ἄνδρες, ὅσῳ
And why then these-things did-I-do I-thought men by-how-much
μᾶλλον συμφέροιμι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσούτῳ
more I-shared-with this-man the then poverty by-so-much
μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὁπότε δυνασθείη.
more him friend to-make whenever he-should-become-able
ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὁρῶ εὖ πράττοντα καὶ
I and at-the-same-time both him I-see well faring and
γιγνώσκω δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην.
I-recognize indeed his the mind

21 εἴποι δή τις ἄν, οὔκουν αἰσχύνῃ οὕτω μώρως
might-say indeed someone — not-then are-you-ashamed so foolishly
ἐξαπατώμενος; ναὶ μὰ Δία ᾐσχυνόμην μέντἄν, εἰ
being-deceived yes by Zeus I-would-be-ashamed indeed if
ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε ὄντος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῳ δὲ ὄντι
by an-enemy at-least being I-had-been-deceived for-a-friend but being
ἐξαπατᾶν αἴσχιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι.
to-deceive more-shameful to-me seems to-be than to-be-deceived

ἐπεὶ εἴ γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή, πᾶσαν οἶδα 22
since if at-least toward friends there-is precaution all I-know
ἡμᾶς φυλαξαμένους ὡς μὴ παρασχεῖν τούτῳ πρόφασιν
us having-taken so-as not to-give this-man a-pretext
δικαίαν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ἡμῖν ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ
just not to-pay us what he-promised neither for
ἠδικήσαμεν τοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ
did-we-wrong this-man in-anything nor did-we-shirk the(-things)
τούτου οὐδὲ μὴν κατεδειλιάσαμεν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ὅ τι
his nor indeed did-we-show-cowardice in-anything to what ever
ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεσεν.
us this-man summoned
Ἀλλά, φαίητε ἄν, ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, 23
But you-would-say — it-was-needful the securities then to-take
ὡς μηδ' εἰ ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. πρὸς ταῦτα
so-that not-even if he-wished he-could to-deceive to these-things
δὴ ἀκούσατε ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἶπον τούτου
then hear what I not — ever would-have-said him
ἐναντίον, εἰ μή μοι παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε
in-front-of if not to-me altogether unfeeling you-seemed
εἶναι ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι.
to-be or too toward me ungrateful
ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ἐν ποίοις τισὶ πράγμασιν ὄντες 24
remember for in what sort-of circumstances being
ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σεύθην.
you-happened from which you I led-up to Seuthes
οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον προσῆτε τὴν πόλιν, Ἀρίσταρχος
not to indeed Perinthus you-approached the city Aristarchus
δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἴα εἰσιέναι ἀποκλείσας
but you the Lacedaemonian not allowed to-go-in having-shut
τὰς πύλας; ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε, μέσος δὲ
the gates in-the-open and outside you-encamped mid and

χειμὼν ἦν, ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρῆσθε σπάνια μὲν ὁρῶντες τὰ
winter it-was a-market and you-used scarce indeed seeing the
ὤνια, σπάνια δ' ἔχοντες ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε, ἀνάγκη
goods-for-sale scarce and having with-which you-might-buy necessity
δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θράκης·
and it-was to-stay in Thrace
25 τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυον διαπλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μένοι
triremes for lying-at-anchor prevented to-sail-across if and should-stay
τις, ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι, ἔνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἦσαν
anyone in hostile(-land) to-be where many indeed horsemen were
ἐναντίοι,
opposed
26 πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί, ἡμῖν δὲ ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν
many and peltasts to-us and hoplite(-force) indeed there-was
ᾧ ἁθρόοι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας ἴσως ἂν
with-which in-a-body indeed going against the villages perhaps —
ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδέν τι ἄφθονον,
we-might-have-been-able grain to-take not-at-all at-all abundant
ὅτῳ δὲ διώκοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρόβατα
with-which but pursuing — either slaves or sheep
κατελαμβάνομεν οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἱππικὸν οὔτε
we-could-have-caught not there-was to-us neither for cavalry nor
πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκὸς κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν.
peltast(-force) still I standing-together found with you
27 Εἰ οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων ὑμῶν μηδ' ὁντιναοῦν
If then in such necessity being you not-even any
μισθὸν προσαιτήσας Σεύθην σύμμαχον ὑμῖν προσελάβον,
pay having-asked-in-addition Seuthes as-ally for-you I-took-on
ἔχοντα καὶ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε,
having both horsemen and peltasts which you needed-besides
ἦ κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν;
truly badly — would-I-seem to-you to-have-planned on-behalf-of you

τούτων γὰρ δήπου κοινωνήσαντες καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον 28
of-these for surely having-shared also grain more-abundant
ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ηὑρίσκετε διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς
in the villages you-found because-of the to-be-compelled the
Θρᾷκας κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν, καὶ προβάτων
Thracians in haste rather to-flee and of-sheep
καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε.
and of-slaves more you-got-a-share
καὶ πολέμιον οὐκέτι οὐδένα ἑωρῶμεν ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱππικὸν 29
and enemy no-longer any we-saw since the cavalry
ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρραλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο
to-us was-added for-a-while but boldly us followed
οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῷ καὶ πελταστικῷ κωλύοντες
the enemy both with-cavalry and with-peltasts preventing
μηδαμῇ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
in-no-way in few(-parties) scattering the provisions
ἀφθονώτερα ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι.
more-abundant us to-procure
εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν 30
if and indeed the(-man) helping-to-provide to-you this the safety
μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο
not very large pay paid-besides for-the safety this
δή τι σχέτλιον πάθημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ
indeed some outrageous suffering and on-account-of this in-no-way
οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἀνεῖναι;
you-think must alive me to-let-go
Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν 31
Now and then how do-you-depart not having-wintered indeed in
ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, περιττὸν δ᾽ ἔχοντες τοῦτο εἴ
abundant the provisions surplus and having this if
τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων
anything you-received from Seuthes the(-things) for of-the enemy

ἐδαπανᾶτε. καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες οὔτε ἄνδρας ἐπείδετε
you-were-consuming and these-things doing neither men did-you-see
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε.
of-you yourselves having-died nor alive did-you-lose
32 εἰ δέ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους
if and any fine(-deed) against the in — Asia barbarians
ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σῶον ἔχετε καὶ πρὸς
had-been-done by-you not also that safe you-have and in-addition-to
ἐκείνοις νῦν ἄλλην εὔκλειαν προσειλήφατε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ
those now other glory have-you-gained also the in —
Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾷκας ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσασθε κρατήσαντες;
Europe Thracians against whom you-campaigned having-mastered
ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως ἂν ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε
I indeed you say justly — for-what with-me you-are-angry
τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὡς ἀγαθῶν.
for-these to-the gods thanks to-know as good-things
33 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα τοιαῦτα. ἄγετε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ
And the indeed then yours such(-are) come then by gods also
τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε ὡς ἔχει. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅτε μὲν πρότερον
the mine consider how it-stands I for when indeed earlier
ἀπῄα οἴκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν
I-was-departing home having indeed praise much from you
ἀπεπορευόμην, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
I-was-going-away having and through you also from the other
Ἑλλήνων εὔκλειαν. ἐπιστευόμην δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων·
Greeks glory I-was-trusted and by Lacedaemonians
οὐ γὰρ ἄν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
not for — me they-would-have-sent back to you
34 νῦν δὲ ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν
now but I-depart to indeed Lacedaemonians by you
διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,
slandered to-Seuthes and hated on-behalf-of you

ὃν ἤλπιζον εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποστροφὴν καὶ
whom I-hoped well having-treated with you a-refuge both
ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιντο, καταθήσεσθαι.
for-me fine and for-children if they-should-be-born to-lay-up
ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπήχθημαί τε πλεῖστα καὶ 35
you and on-behalf-of whom I have-been-hated both most and
ταῦτα πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε
these-things much with-stronger than-myself dealing and
οὐδὲ νῦν πω πέπαυμαι ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν,
not-even now yet have-ceased what ever I-can good for-you
τοιαύτην ἔχετε γνώμην περὶ ἐμοῦ.
such you-have opinion about me
Ἀλλ' ἔχετε μέν με οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες οὔτε 36
But you-have indeed me neither fleeing having-caught nor
ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἢν δὲ ποιήσητε ἃ λέγετε, ἴστε ὅτι
running-away if and you-do what you-say know that
ἄνδρα κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ
a-man having-killed you-will-be many indeed then on-behalf-of
ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ
you having-kept-watch many and with you having-toiled and
κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος, θεῶν
having-run-risks both in the turn and out-of the turn gods
δ' ἵλεων ὄντων καὶ τρόπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν
and propitious being also trophies of-barbarians many indeed with
ὑμῖν στησάμενον, ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
you having-set-up so-that but at-least to-no-one of-the Greeks
πολέμιοι γένοισθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς
enemies you-might-become all as-much-as I could toward
ὑμᾶς διατεινάμενον.
you having-exerted-myself

37 καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ
and for now for-you it-is-possible without-reproach to-march wherever
ἂν ἕλησθε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὑμεῖς
— you-choose both by land and by sea you
δέ, ὅτι πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε ἔνθα
and because much for-you abundance appears and you-sail where
δὴ ἐπεθυμεῖτε πάλαι, δέονταί τε ὑμῶν οἱ μέγιστον
indeed you-desired long-ago need and you the(-men) greatest
δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἥκουσι
having-power pay and appears leaders and have-come
Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ
Lacedaemonians the(-ones) strongest thought to-be now then
καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακανεῖν;
the-time to-you seems to-be as quickly-as-possible me to-kill
38 οὐ μὴν ὅτε γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις ἦμεν, ὦ πάντων
not truly when at-least in the difficulties we-were O of-all
μνημονικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε καὶ
most-mindful but even father me you-called and
αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνῆσθαι ὑπισχνεῖσθε. οὐ μέντοι
always as benefactor to-remember you-promised not however
ἀγνώμονες οὐδὲ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἳ νῦν ἦκον ἐφ' ὑμᾶς·
unfeeling even these are who now have-come for you
ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες
so-that as I think not-even to-these you-seem better
εἶναι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.
to-be such being toward me these-things having-said he-stopped
39 Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· Οὐ
Charminus and the Lacedaemonian having-stood-up said No
τὼ σιώ, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὐ δικαίως δοκεῖτε τῷ
by-the two-gods but to-me however not justly you-seem with-the
ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ
man this to-be-angry I-have for also myself for-him

μαρτυρῆσαι. Σεύθης γὰρ ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυνίκου
to-bear-witness Seuthes for asking me and Polynicus
περὶ Ξενοφῶντος τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε
about Xenophon what-sort man he-was other indeed nothing he-had
μέμψασθαι, ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι·
to-blame too-much but a-soldiers'-friend he-said him to-be
διὸ καὶ χεῖρον αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν
because-of-which also worse for-him to-be with us both the
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ.
Lacedaemonians and with himself
ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιάτης εἶπεν· Καὶ δοκεῖ 40
having-stood-up upon this Eurylochus a-Lusian said And it-seems
γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν
at-least to-me men Lacedaemonians this you first of-us
στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀναπρᾶξαι
to-take-command from Seuthes for-us the pay to-exact
ἢ ἑκόντος ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν.
either willing or unwilling and not before us to-lead-away
Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος· 41
Polycrates and an-Athenian said put-up by Xenophon
Ὁρῶ γε μήν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην
I-see at-least indeed he-said O men also Heraclides
ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἡμεῖς
here present who having-taken-over the property which we
ἐπονήσαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος οὔτε Σεύθῃ ἀπέδωκεν οὔτε
toiled-for these having-sold neither to-Seuthes gave-back nor
ἡμῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαται. ἢν
to-us the proceeds but himself having-stolen(-them) possesses if
οὖν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός
then we-are-wise we-shall-lay-hold-of him not for indeed this-one
γε, ἔφη, Θρᾷξ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' Ἕλλην ὢν Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ.
at-least he-said Thracian is but Greek being Greeks he-wrongs

42 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγη· καὶ
These-things having-heard — Heraclides very was-dismayed and
προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει· Ἡμεῖς ἢν σωφρονῶμεν,
having-approached — to-Seuthes says We if we-are-wise
ἄπιμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ
we-go-away from-here out-of the of-these power and
ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ᾤχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς
having-mounted on the horses they-went-off riding-away to
τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον.
the of-themselves camp

43 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει Ἀβροζέλμην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
and from-there Seuthes sends Abrozelmes the of-himself
ἑρμηνέα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν καταμεῖναι
interpreter to Xenophon and urges him to-stay
παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα χιλίους ὁπλίτας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται αὐτῷ
with himself having thousand hoplites and promises him
ἀποδώσειν τά τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ τὰ
to-give-over the both places the(-ones) on sea and the
ἄλλα ἃ ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος
other(-things) which he-had-promised and in secret having-made(-it)
λέγει ὅτι ἀκήκοε Πολυνίκου ὡς εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται
he-says that he-has-heard from-Polynicus that if in-the-power-of he-will-be
Λακεδαιμονίοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος.
to-the-Lacedaemonians clearly he-would-be-put-to-death by Thibron

44 ἐπέστελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι
sent-word and these-things also others many — to-Xenophon
ὡς διαβεβλημένος εἴη καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δέοι. ὃ
that slandered he-was and to-be-on-guard it-was-needful he
δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ
and hearing these-things two victims having-taken sacrificed — to-Zeus
τῷ βασιλεῖ πότερά οἱ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη μένειν
the king whether to-him better and preferable it-were to-stay

παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἐφ᾽ οἷς Σεύθης λέγει ἢ ἀπιέναι σὺν
with Seuthes on the(-terms) Seuthes offers or to-depart with
τῷ στρατεύματι. ἀναιρεῖ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.
the army he-answers to-him to-depart

VII · THE PAY RECOVERED

Medosades orders the Greeks out of the villages; an Odrysian with him is ashamed and leaves. Charminus and Polynicus, prompted by Xenophon, demand the army's pay, and Xenophon is sent to Seuthes, where he argues that good faith is worth more than money and that unpaid soldiers are dangerous. Seuthes blames Heraclides, again asks him to stay, and pays in a talent, oxen, sheep, and slaves, which Xenophon hands to the Spartans to distribute. Xenophon prepares to go home, but his friends ask him not to leave before the army is handed over to Thibron.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω· 1
Thereupon Seuthes indeed moved-camp farther-on
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἔμελλον
the and Greeks encamped in villages from-where they-were-going
πλεῖστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἥξειν. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι
most having-taken-provisions to sea to-come the and villages
αὗται ἦσαν δεδομέναι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδοσάδῃ.
these were given by Seuthes to-Medosades
ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἐν 2
seeing then — Medosades being-consumed the(-things) in
ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ
the villages by the Greeks angrily took(-it) and
λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν
having-taken a-man an-Odrysian most-powerful of-the(-men) from-up-country
καταβεβηκότων καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα ἔρχεται καὶ
having-come-down and horsemen about thirty he-comes and

προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος.
calls-out Xenophon from the Greek army
καὶ ὃς λαβών τινας τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλους τῶν
and he having-taken some of-the captains and others of-the
ἐπιτηδείων προσέρχεται.
suitable(-men) comes-up
3 ἔνθα δὴ λέγει Μηδοσάδης· Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν,
there indeed says Medosades You-do-wrong O Xenophon
τὰς ἡμετέρας κώμας πορθοῦντες. προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν,
the our villages plundering we-give-notice then to-you
ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου καὶ ὅδε ἀνὴρ παρὰ Μηδόκου
I both on-behalf-of Seuthes and this the-man from Medocus
ἥκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ
having-come the upper king to-depart from the land if
δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν ποιῆτε κακῶς
but not not we-shall-allow you but if you-do badly
τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὡς πολεμίους ἀλεξόμεθα.
the our land as enemies we-shall-defend-ourselves
4 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν
— and Xenophon having-heard these-things said But to-you indeed
τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπόν· τούτου δ᾽
such-things saying even to-answer hard of-this but
ἕνεκα τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν᾽ εἰδῇ οἷοί
for-the-sake-of the young-man I-shall-speak so-that he-may-know what-sort
τε ὑμεῖς ἐστε καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς.
both you are and what-sort we
5 ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, πρὶν ὑμῖν φίλοι γενέσθαι ἐπορευόμεθα
we indeed for he-said before to-you friends to-become marched
διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἣν μὲν
through this the land where we-wished which indeed
ἐθέλοιμεν πορθοῦντες,
we-wished plundering

ἦν δὲ θέλομεν καίοντες, καὶ σὺ ὁπότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς 6
which and we-wished burning and you whenever to us
ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ηὐλίζου τότε παρ᾽ ἡμῖν οὐδένα
you-came going-as-envoy you-bivouacked then with us no-one
φοβούμενος τῶν πολεμίων· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἦτε εἰς τήνδε
fearing of-the enemy you but not came into this
τὴν χώραν, ἢ εἴ ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὡς ἐν κρειττόνων χώρᾳ
the land or if ever you-came as in of-stronger(-men) land
ηὐλίζεσθε ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις.
you-bivouacked bridled the horses
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε καὶ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς 7
when and to-us friends you-became and through us with gods
ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ
you-hold this the land now indeed you-drive-out us from
τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἣν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος
this the land which from us holding(-it) by force
παρελάβετε· ὡς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ
you-took-over as for yourself you-know the enemy not able
ἦσαν ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν.
were us to-drive-out
καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθ᾽ 8
and not only gifts having-given and well having-treated(-us) in-return-for
ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ᾽
what well you-experienced do-you-think-fit us to-send-off but
ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ᾽ ἐναυλισθῆναι ὅσον δύνασαι
departing us not-even to-bivouac as-far-as you-can
ἐπιτρέπεις.
do-you-allow

9 καὶ ταῦτα λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τόνδε τὸν
and these-things saying neither gods you-are-ashamed-before nor this the
ἄνδρα, ὃς νῦν μέν σε ὁρᾷ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον
man who now indeed you sees being-rich before but to-us friend
γενέσθαι ἀπὸ λῃστείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησθα.
to-become from robbery the livelihood having as yourself you-said
10 ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα; ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽
but why also to me do-you-say these-things he-said not for I-at-least
ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε
any-longer command but Lacedaemonians to-whom you handed-over
τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες,
the army to-lead-away not-at-all me having-called-in
ὦ θαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως ὥσπερ ἀπηχθανόμην αὐτοῖς ὅτε
O most-wonderful(-men) so-that just-as I-was-hated by-them when
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισαίμην νῦν ἀποδιδούς.
to you I-led(-it) so also I-might-oblige(-them) now giving(-it)-back
11 Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ
When these-things heard the Odrysian said I indeed O
Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης
Medosades beneath the earth sink for the shame
ἀκούων ταῦτα. καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ᾽ ἂν
hearing these-things and if indeed before I-had-known not-even —
συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Μήδοκός
would-I-have-accompanied you and now I-go-away not-even for — Medocus
με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας.
me the king would-praise if I-were-to-drive-out the benefactors
12 ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνε καὶ
these-things having-said having-mounted on the horse he-rode-away and
σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς πλὴν τεττάρων ἢ πέντε. ὁ
with him the other horsemen except four or five —

δὲ Μηδοσάδης, ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη,
but Medosades grieved for him the land being-plundered
ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τὼ Λακεδαιμονίω.
bade — Xenophon to-call the two-Lacedaemonians
καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους προσῆλθε τῷ 13
and he having-taken the most-suitable(-men) went-up —
Χαρμίνῳ καὶ Πολυνίκῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς
to-Charminus and to-Polynicus and said that summons them
Μηδοσάδης προερῶν ἅπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπιέναι ἐκ
Medosades going-to-warn-of the-same-things-as to-him to-depart from
τῆς χώρας.
the land
οἴομαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν 14
I-think — then he-said you to-recover for-the army the
ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἴποιτε ὅτι δεδέηται ὑμῶν ἡ
owed pay if you-were-to-say that has-begged you the
στρατιὰ συναναπρᾶξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρ' ἑκόντος
army to-help-exact the pay either from willing
ἢ παρ' ἄκοντος Σεύθου, καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυχόντες
or from unwilling Seuthes and that these-things having-obtained
προθύμως ἂν συνέπεσθαι ὑμῖν φασι· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν
eagerly — to-follow you they-say and that just(-things) to-you
δοκοῦσι λέγειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπιέναι
they-seem to-say and that you-promised them then to-depart
ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται.
when the just(-dues) have the soldiers
Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν 15
Having-heard the Laconians these-things said they-would-say(-it)
καὶ ἄλλα ὁποῖα ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς
and other(-things) such-as — they-could strongest and at-once
ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. ἐλθὼν δὲ
marched having all the important(-men) having-come and

ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· Εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες,
spoke Charminus If indeed you anything have O Medosades
πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν.
to us to-say if but not we to you have
16 ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα δὴ ὑφειμένως· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν
— and Medosades very indeed submissively But I indeed
λέγω, ἔφη, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιοῦμεν τοὺς
say he-said and Seuthes the same that we-think-it-right the(-people)
φίλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν.
friends to-us having-become not badly to-suffer by you
ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους κακῶς ποιῆτε ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε·
what ever for — these badly you-do us now you-do
ἡμέτεροι γάρ εἰσιν.
ours for they-are
17 Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίοιμεν ἂν ὁπότε
We then said the Laconians would-go-away — when
τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες·
the pay should-have the(-men) these-things for-you having-accomplished
εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις καὶ
if but not we-come indeed even now going-to-help these and
τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας οἳ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους
going-to-punish men who these contrary-to the oaths
ἠδίκησαν. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθένδε
wronged if and indeed also you such are from-here
ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν.
we-shall-begin the just(-dues) to-take
18 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐθέλοιτε ἂν τούτοις, ὦ
— and Xenophon said Would-you-be-willing — to-these O
Μηδόσαδες, ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειδὴ φίλους ἔφατε εἶναι ὑμῖν,
Medosades to-entrust(-it) since friends you-said to-be to-you

ἐν ὧν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότερ᾽ ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ᾽
in whose the land we-are whichever — they-vote whether
ὑμᾶς προσήκει ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι εἴτε ἡμᾶς;
you it-befits from the land to-depart or us
ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὼ τὼ 19
he and this indeed not he-said he-bade but most indeed themselves the
Λάκωνε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἴεσθαι
two-Laconians to-go to Seuthes about the pay and he-thought
ἂν Σεύθην πεῖσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν,
— Seuthes to-persuade if but not Xenophon with him to-send
καὶ συμπράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κώμας μὴ καίειν.
and to-help-negotiate he-promised he-begged and the villages not to-burn
Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι Ξενοφῶντα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἳ ἐδόκουν 20
Thereupon they-send Xenophon and with him who seemed
ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς τὸν
most-suitable to-be he and having-come says to —
Σεύθην· Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ
Seuthes Nothing going-to-demand O Seuthes I-am-here but
διδάξων, ἢν δύνωμαι,
going-to-show if I-can
ὡς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἠχθέσθης ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν 21
that not justly with-me you-were-angry because on-behalf-of the
στρατιωτῶν ἀπῄτουν σε προθύμως ἃ ὑπέσχου
soldiers I-demanded-from you eagerly what you-promised
αὐτοῖς· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἧττον ἐνόμιζον σύμφορον
them to-you for I-at-least not less I-thought advantageous
εἶναι ἀποδοῦναι ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν.
to-be to-give(-it)-back than to-them to-get(-it)-back
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν 22
first indeed for I-know after the gods into the light
σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεί γε βασιλέα σε
you these having-set since at-least king you

ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε
they-made of-much land and many men so-that
οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι λανθάνειν οὔτε ἤν τι καλὸν οὔτε
not possible — for-you to-escape-notice neither if anything noble nor
ἤν τι αἰσχρὸν ποιήσῃς.
if anything shameful you-do

23 Τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μέν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι μὴ δοκεῖν
To-such and being a-man great indeed to-me it-seemed to-be not to-seem
ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δὲ εὖ
ungratefully to-dismiss men benefactors great and well
ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον
to-be-spoken-of by six-thousand men the and greatest
μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν καταστῆσαι ὅ τι λέγοις.
in-no-way untrustworthy yourself to-make in-what ever you-might-say

24 ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ
I-see for of-the indeed untrustworthy vain and powerless and
ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλανωμένους· οἳ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ
dishonored the words wandering who and — manifest
ὦσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λόγοι, ἤν τι
are truth practicing of-these the words if anything
δέωνται, οὐδὲν μεῖον δύνανται ἀνύσασθαι ἢ ἄλλων ἡ
they-need not-at-all less can to-accomplish than of-others the
βία· ἤν τέ τινας σωφρονίζειν βούλωνται, γιγνώσκω
force if both some to-bring-to-their-senses they-wish I-know
τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἧττον σωφρονιζούσας ἢ ἄλλων
the of-these threats not less bringing-to-their-senses than of-others
τὸ ἤδη κολάζειν· ἤν τέ τῳ τι ὑπισχνῶνται
the immediately to-punish if both to-anyone anything they-promise
οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μεῖον διαπράττονται ἢ ἄλλοι
the such men not-at-all less accomplish than others
παραχρῆμα διδόντες.
on-the-spot giving

Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σὺ τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν 25
Remember and also you what having-paid-in-advance to-us
συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. οἶσθ᾽ ὅτι οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς
as-allies us you-took you-know that nothing but being-trusted
ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες ἐπῆρας τοσούτους ἀνθρώπους
to-speak-truly in-what you-said you-induced so-many men
συστρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ κατεργάσασθαί σοι ἀρχὴν οὐ
to-campaign-with(-you) both and to-win for-you a-dominion not
τριάκοντα μόνον ἀξίαν ταλάντων, ὅσα οἴονται δεῖν
thirty only worth talents as-many-as think it-needful
οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίων.
these now to-recover but many-times-as-much
οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον τὸ πιστεύεσθαι, τὸ 26
therefore this indeed first the to-be-trusted the(-thing)
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν
also the kingdom for-you having-won for-these the
χρημάτων πιπράσκεται;
money is-sold
Ἴθι δὴ ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε καταπρᾶξαι 27
Come then remember how great you-thought then to-accomplish
ἃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. ἐγὼ μὲν εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι
what now having-subdued you-hold I indeed well know that
ηὔξω ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλόν σοι
you-would-have-prayed — the now accomplished rather for-you
καταπραχθῆναι ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων
to-be-achieved than many-times these the money
γενέσθαι.
to-come
ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μεῖζον βλάβος καὶ αἴσχιον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ 28
to-me then greater harm and more-shameful seems to-be the
ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅσῳπερ
*these-things now not to-keep than then not to-take by-as-much-as

χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι ἢ ἀρχὴν
harder from rich poor to-become than at-the-outset
μὴ πλουτῆσαι, καὶ ὅσῳ λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλέως
not to-be-rich and by-as-much more-grievous from king
ἰδιώτην φανῆναι ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεῦσαι.
a-private-man to-appear than at-the-outset not to-be-king
29 οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπήκοοι
therefore you-know indeed that the(-men) now to-you subjects
γενόμενοι οὐ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπείσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ
having-become not by-friendship the your were-persuaded by you
ἄρχεσθαι ἀλλ᾽ ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν πάλιν
to-be-ruled but by-necessity and that they-would-try — again
ἐλεύθεροι γίγνεσθαι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι.
free to-become if not some them fear should-restrain
30 ποτέρως οὖν οἴει μᾶλλον ἂν φοβεῖσθαί τε αὐτοὺς
in-which-way then do-you-think more — to-fear both them
καὶ σωφρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὁρῷέν σοι τοὺς
and to-be-sensible in-the(-things) toward you if they-saw for-you the
στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους ὡς νῦν τε μένοντας ἄν, εἰ
soldiers so disposed as now both staying — if
σὺ κελεύοις, αὖθίς τ᾽ ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι,
you should-order again and — quickly having-come if it-should-be-needful
ἄλλους τε τούτων περὶ σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ταχὺ
others and from-these about you hearing many good-things quickly
ἄν σοι ὁπότε βούλοιο παραγενέσθαι, ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν
— for-you whenever you-wished to-be-present or if they-should-think-ill
μήτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν δι᾽ ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν
not — others for-you to-come through distrust from the(-things) now
γεγενημένων τούτους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρους εἶναι ἢ σοί;
having-happened these and to-them more-well-disposed to-be than to-you

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπῆξάν 31
but truly not-even by-number at-least of-us having-been-outdone did-they-submit
σοι, ἀλλὰ προστατῶν ἀπορίᾳ. οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο
to-you but of-leaders through-lack therefore now also this
κίνδυνος μὴ λάβωσι προστάτας αὑτῶν τινας τούτων οἳ
danger lest they-take as-leaders of-themselves some of-these who
νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας
think by you to-be-wronged or even than-these stronger
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐὰν μὲν οἱ στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται
the Lacedaemonians if indeed the soldiers promise
προθυμότερον αὐτοῖς συστρατεύσεσθαι, ἂν τὰ παρὰ
more-eagerly with-them to-campaign if the(-dues) from
σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ
you now they-exact the and Lacedaemonians because-of the
δεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα.
to-need the army agree-with them these-things
ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοὶ Θρᾷκες γενόμενοι 32
that at-least however the(-men) now under you Thracians having-become
πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἴοιεν ἐπί σε ἢ σύν σοι
much — more-eagerly would-go against you than with you
οὐκ ἄδηλον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος δουλεία ὑπάρχει
not unclear of-you indeed for prevailing slavery is-in-store
αὐτοῖς, κρατουμένου δέ σου ἐλευθερία.
for-them being-overcome and of-you freedom
Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας προνοεῖσθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ ὡς σῆς 33
If and also for-the land to-take-forethought now somewhat (one)-must as yours
οὔσης, ποτέρως ἂν οἴει ἀπαθῆ κακῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν
being in-which-way — do-you-think free from-harm rather it
εἶναι, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπολαβόντες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν
to-be if these the soldiers having-received what they-claim
εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἴχοιντο, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιεν
peace having-left should-go-away or if these both should-stay

ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ σύ τε ἄλλους πειρῷο πλέονας τούτων
as in hostile(-land) you and others should-try more than-these
ἔχων ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων;
having to-encamp-against needing the provisions
34 ἀργύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν πλέον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τούτοις
money and in-which-way — more would-be-spent if to-these
τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιντο
the(-sum) owed should-be-paid or if these-things both should-be-owed
ἄλλους τε κρείττονας δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι;
others and stronger it-were-needful you to-hire
35 ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου, πάμπολυ
but for to-Heraclides as to me he-showed very-great
δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. ἦ μὴν πολύ γέ ἐστιν
seems this the money to-be truly indeed much at-least it-is
ἔλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ λαβεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἢ
less now for-you both to-take this and to-pay than
πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ δέκατον τούτου μέρος.
before we to-come to you tenth of-this part
36 οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμός ἐστιν ὁ ὁρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ
not for number is the(-thing) determining the much and the
ὀλίγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ τοῦ
little but the power of-the both paying and of-the
λαμβάνοντος. σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσοδος πλείων
receiving for-you and now the by year revenue greater
ἔσται ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα πάντα ἃ ἐκέκτησο.
will-be than formerly the present all-things which you-possessed
37 Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ Σεύθη, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου
I indeed O Seuthes these-things as of-a-friend being you
προὐνοούμην, ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος δοκοίης εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοί
was-taking-forethought so-that you both worthy might-seem to-be of-what the gods
σοι ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν ἐγώ τε μὴ διαφθαρείην ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ.
to-you gave good-things I and not might-be-ruined in the army

εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος 38
well for know that now I neither — an-enemy wishing
κακῶς ποιῆσαι δυνηθείην σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὔτ' ἂν
badly to-treat could with this the army nor —
εἴ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην.
if you again I-wished to-help able — would-I-be
οὕτω γὰρ πρός με ἡ στρατιὰ διάκειται.
so for toward me the army is-disposed
καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν θεοῖς εἰδόσι ποιοῦμαι ὅτι 39
and-yet yourself you witness with gods knowing I-make that
οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐδὲν οὔτε
neither have-I from you for the soldiers anything nor
ᾔτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων οὔτε ἃ
did-I-ask ever for the private(-use) the(-things) of-them nor what
ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπῄτησα·
you-promised me did-I-demand
ὄμνυμι δέ σοι μηδὲ ἀποδιδόντος δέξασθαι ἄν, 40
I-swear and to-you not-even paying(-me) to-have-accepted —
εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔμελλον τὰ ἑαυτῶν
if not also the soldiers were-going the(-dues) of-themselves
συναπολαμβάνειν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἂν ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ
to-receive-along shameful for — it-would-be the indeed mine
διαπεπρᾶχθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων περιδεῖν κακῶς ἔχοντα
to-have-accomplished the and theirs to-overlook badly being
ἄλλως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων.
especially both and being-honored by them
καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε λῆρος πάντα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς 41
and-yet to-Heraclides at-least nonsense everything seems to-be compared-with
τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθη, οὐδὲν
the money to-have by every means I but O Seuthes nothing

νομίζω ἀνδρὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα
think for-a-man especially both and a-ruler finer to-be a-possession
οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιότητος.
nor more-splendid than-virtue and justice and nobility

42 ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων
the(-man) for these-things having is-rich indeed being in-friends
πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βουλομένων γενέσθαι,
many is-rich and also others wishing to-become(-friends)
καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς συνησθησομένους, ἐὰν
and well indeed faring he-has the(-people) going-to-rejoice-with(-him) if
δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθησόντων.
and anything he-stumble not lacks the(-people) going-to-help

43 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες ὅτι σοι
But for if neither from the deeds you-learned that to-you
ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων
from the soul friend I-was nor from the my words
δύνασαι τοῦτο γνῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
you-can this to-know but the of-the soldiers
λόγους πάντας κατανόησον· παρῆσθα γὰρ καὶ ἤκουες
words all consider you-were-present for and heard
ἃ ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι.
what said the(-men) to-blame me wishing

44 κατηγόρουν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὡς σὲ
they-accused for me to Lacedaemonians that you
περὶ πλείονος ποιοίμην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐτοὶ δ’
of more I-made than Lacedaemonians themselves and
ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοὶ ὡς μᾶλλον μέλει μοι ὅπως τὰ σὰ
charged me that more it-concerns me that the(-things) yours
καλῶς ἔχοι ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δέ με
well be than that the(-things) their-own they-said and me
καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ.
also gifts to-have from you

καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἴει αὐτοὺς κακόνοιάν 45
and-yet the gifts these whether do-you-think them ill-will
τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰτιᾶσθαί με ἔχειν παρὰ
some having-seen-in me toward you to-accuse me to-have(-them) from
σοῦ ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σὲ κατανοήσαντας;
you or zeal much for you having-perceived
ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν εὔνοιαν 46
I indeed think all men to-think goodwill
δεῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι τούτῳ παρ᾽ οὗ ἂν δῶρά τις
it-is-needful to-be-shown to-this-man from whom — gifts one
λαμβάνῃ. σὺ δὲ πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαί τί σοι ἐμὲ
takes you but before indeed to-have-served something for-you me
ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξενίοις
received gladly both with-eyes and with-voice and with-gifts-of-hospitality
καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασο·
and how-much there-would-be promising not you-were-sated
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἃ ἐβούλου καὶ γεγένησαι ὅσον
when and you-had-accomplished what you-wished and have-become as-much-as
ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον ὄντα ἐν
I could greatest now so me dishonored being among
τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾷς περιορᾶν;
the soldiers you-dare to-overlook
ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι πιστεύω καὶ τὸν 47
but truly that to-you it-will-seem-good to-pay I-trust and the
χρόνον διδάξειν σε καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τοὺς
time to-teach you and yourself at-least you not to-endure the(-men)
σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν ὁρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας.
to-you having-bestowed kindness seeing you accusing
δέομαι οὖν σου, ὅταν ἀποδιδῷς, προθυμεῖσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ
I-beg then of-you when you-pay to-be-zealous me among
τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι οἷόνπερ καὶ παρέλαβες.
the soldiers such to-make as also you-received(-me)

48 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ
Having-heard these-things — Seuthes cursed the(-man) responsible
τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ πάντες
for-the not long-ago to-have-been-paid the pay and all
Ἡρακλείδην τοῦτον ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη,
Heraclides this-one suspected to-be I for he-said
οὔτε διενοήθην πώποτε ἀποστερῆσαι ἀποδώσω τε.
neither intended ever to-defraud(-you) I-shall-pay and
49 ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διανοῇ
then again said — Xenophon Since then you-intend
ἀποδιδόναι, νῦν ἐγώ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδοῦναι,
to-pay now I of-you beg through me to-pay(-it)
καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ
and not to-overlook me because-of you unequally being in the
στρατιᾷ νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμεθα.
army now both and when to you we-came
50 ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔσῃ
he and said But neither among the soldiers will-you-be
δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος ἄν τε μένῃς παρ' ἐμοὶ χιλίους
through me less-honored if both you-stay with me thousand
μόνους ὁπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγώ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω
only hoplites having I to-you the both places shall-give
καὶ τἆλλα ἃ ὑπεσχόμην.
and the-other-things which I-promised
51 ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν
he and again said These-things indeed to-be thus not possible
τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς. Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ
— send-away but us And truly said — Seuthes also
ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι οἶδα ὂν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν ἢ
safer at-least for-you I-know being with me to-stay than
ἀπιέναι.
to-go-away

ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ· 52
he and again said But the indeed your forethought I-praise
ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἷόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος
for-me but to-stay not possible — where and — I more-honored
ὦ, νόμιζε καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι.
be consider also for-you this good to-be
ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης· Ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἀλλ' ἢ 53
then says Seuthes Money indeed not I-have other than
μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον· βοῦς δὲ
small some and this to-you I-give a-talent oxen and
ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἀνδράποδα
six-hundred and sheep about four-thousand and slaves
εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τῶν
about twenty and hundred these having-taken and the of-the(-men)
ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προσλαβὼν ἄπιθι.
having-wronged you hostages having-taken-besides go-away
γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἢν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνῆται 54
having-laughed — Xenophon said If then not reach
ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; ἆρ'
these-things to the pay whose talent shall-I-say to-have then
οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοί ἐστιν, ἀπιόντά γε
not since also dangerous for-me it-is going-away at-least
ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι πέτρους; ἤκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς.
better to-guard-against stones you-heard but the threats
τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.
then indeed then there he-remained
Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο 55
On-the and next-day he-paid both them what he-promised
καὶ τοὺς ἐλῶντας συνέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
and the(-men) going-to-drive(-them) he-sent-along the and soldiers
τέως μὲν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὡς Σεύθην
for-a-while indeed said that — Xenophon had-gone to Seuthes

οἰκήσων καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ληψόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ
going-to-live and what he-had-promised to-him going-to-receive when and
εἶδον, ἥσθησαν καὶ προσέθεον.
they-saw(-him) they-were-glad and ran-up

56 Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμῖνόν τε καὶ Πολύνικον, Ταῦτα,
Xenophon and when he-saw Charminus both and Polynicus These-things
ἔφη, σέσωται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραδίδωμι
he-said have-been-saved through you for-the army and hand-over
αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθέμενοι διάδοτε τῇ
them I to-you you and having-disposed-of(-them) distribute to-the
στρατιᾷ. οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας
army they indeed then having-taken-over(-them) and booty-sellers
καταστήσαντες ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν.
having-appointed sold and much had blame

57 Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσῄει, ἀλλὰ φανερὸς ἦν οἴκαδε
Xenophon and not went-near but plain was home
παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο
preparing not for yet a-vote on-him had-been-brought
Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ
at-Athens about exile having-come-up and to-him the(-men)
ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν
intimate in the camp begged not to-go-away before
ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ Θίβρωνι παραδοίη.
he-should-lead-away the army and to-Thibron hand(-it)-over

VIII · ASIDATES

At Lampsacus the seer Euclides tells Xenophon that Zeus Meilichius is blocking his luck, and after sacrificing he receives back his horse. At Pergamum Hellas, the wife of Gongylus of Eretria, urges him to raid the Persian Asidates. The first night attack on the tower fails and the Greeks barely escape; a second catches

Asidates with his family and property. The spoils make Xenophon rich enough to do good to others, and Thibron takes over the army for the war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον, καὶ ἀπαντᾷ 1
Thereupon they-sailed-across to Lampsacus and meets
τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης μάντις Φλειάσιος ὁ
— Xenophon Euclides a-seer a-Phliasian the
Κλεαγόρου ὑὸς τοῦ τὰ ἐντοίχια ἐν Λυκείῳ
of-Cleagoras son the(-one) the murals in the-Lyceum
γεγραφότος. οὗτος συνήδετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι
having-painted this-man rejoiced-with — Xenophon that
ἐσέσωστο, καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν πόσον χρυσίον
he-had-been-saved and asked him how-much gold
ἔχει.
he-has
ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν ἦ μὴν ἔσεσθαι μηδὲ 2
he and to-him having-sworn said truly indeed there-would-be not-even
ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιόντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν
journey-money sufficient home going-away if not he-should-sell the
ἵππον καὶ ἃ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν.
horse and what about himself he-had
ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεμψαν 3
he but him not believed when and sent
Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἔθυε
Lampsacenes gifts-of-hospitality — to-Xenophon and he-sacrificed
τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην· ἰδὼν
— to-Apollo he-set-beside(-himself) — Euclides having-seen
δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ
and the victims Euclides said that he-believed to-him
μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. Ἀλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι κἂν
not to-be money But I-know he-said that even-if

μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι, φαίνεταί τι ἐμπόδιον, ἂν
it-is-going ever to-be appears some obstacle if
μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ
nothing else you to-yourself agreed these-things —
Ξενοφῶν.
Xenophon

4 ὃ δὲ εἶπεν· Ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μειλίχιός
he and said Obstacle for to-you — Zeus the Meilichius
ἐστι, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ ἤδη θύσειεν, ὥσπερ οἴκοι,
is and he-asked whether already he-had-sacrificed as at-home
ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὁλοκαυτεῖν.
he-said was-accustomed I for-you to-sacrifice and to-burn-whole-offerings
ὃ δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε τεθυκέναι
he but not said from which he-went-abroad to-have-sacrificed
τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι
to-this the god he-advised then him to-sacrifice
καθὰ εἰώθει, καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ
as he-was-accustomed and he-said it-would-turn-out for the
βέλτιον.
better

5 τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ξενοφῶν προσελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον
on-the and next-day Xenophon having-gone-on to Ophrynium
ἐθύετο καὶ ὡλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ
sacrificed and burned-whole pigs by-the ancestral custom and
ἐκαλλιέρει.
got-favorable-omens

6 καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίων καὶ Ναυσικλείδης
and on-this the day arrive Bion and Nausiclides
χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ ξενοῦνται
money going-to-give to-the army and are-entertained-as-guests
τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἵππον ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο
— by-Xenophon and the-horse which in Lampsacus he-had-sold

πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτὸν δι᾽ ἔνδειαν
for-fifty darics suspecting him through want
πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον αὐτὸν ἥδεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ,
to-have-sold(-it) because they-heard him to-take-pleasure in-the horse
λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἤθελον
having-redeemed(-it) they-gave(-it)-back and the price not wished
ἀπολαβεῖν.
to-take-back

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρῳάδος, καὶ 7
Thereupon they-marched through the Troad and
ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἴδην εἰς Ἄνταν̓δρον ἀφικνοῦνται
having-crossed — Ida to Antandrus they-arrive
πρῶτον, εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι εἰς Θήβης
first then along the-sea marching to of-Thebe
πεδίον.
plain

ἐντεῦθεν δι᾽ Ἀδραμυτίου καὶ Κυτωνίου ὁδεύσαντες εἰς 8
from-there through Adramyttium and Cytonium having-journeyed to
Καΐκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς
of-Caicus plain having-come Pergamum they-reach —
Μυσίας. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν Ἑλλάδι τῇ
of-Mysia There indeed is-entertained Xenophon by-Hellas the
Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως γυναικὶ καὶ Γοργίωνος καὶ
of-Gongylus the Eretrian wife and of-Gorgion and
Γογγύλου μητρί.
of-Gongylus mother

αὕτη δ᾽ αὐτῷ φράζει ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν 9
she and to-him tells that Asidates is
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τοῦτον ἔφη
in the plain a-man Persian this-man she-said
αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις
him if he-came in-the night with three-hundred

ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα
men to-take — both himself and wife
καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά.
and children and the property to-be and much
ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τόν τε αὑτῆς
these-things and going-to-guide(-them) she-sent the both of-herself
ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλείστου
cousin and Daphnagoras whom of most
ἐποιεῖτο.
she-made

10 ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἐθύετο.
having then — Xenophon these with himself sacrificed
καὶ Βασίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος μάντις παρὼν εἶπεν ὅτι
and Basias the Elean seer being-present said that
κάλλιστα εἴη τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἁλώσιμος
most-favorable were the victims for-him and the man capturable
εἴη.
was

11 δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο τούς τε λοχαγοὺς
having-dined then he-marched the both captains
τούς τε μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς
the(-men) and most friends having-taken and faithful
γεγενημένους διὰ παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιήσαι αὐτούς.
having-proved through all so-that well he-might-treat them
συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι
go-out-with and him also others having-forced(-their-way)
εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαυνον, ἵνα
about six-hundred the but captains drove(-them)-off so-that
μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὡς ἑτοίμων δὴ
not they-might-give(-them) the share as ready indeed
χρημάτων.
property

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν 12
When and they-arrived about middle night the indeed
πέριξ ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα
around being slaves of-the tower and property
τὰ πλεῖστα ἀπέδρα αὐτοὺς παραμελοῦντας, ὡς
the most escaped them neglecting(-them) so-that
τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ
— Asidates himself they-might-take and the(-things)
ἐκείνου.
his

πυργομαχοῦντες δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν 13
assaulting-the-tower and when not they-could to-take
τὴν τύρσιν — ὑψηλὴ γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλη
the tower high for it-was and large
καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ
and battlements and men many and
μαχίμους ἔχουσα — διορύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν
warlike having to-dig-through they-attempted the
πύργον.
tower

ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ᾽ ὀκτὼ πλίνθων γηίνων τὸ εὖρος. 14
the and wall was of eight bricks earthen the breadth
ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρώρυκτο· καὶ ὡς τὸ
at-the-same-time-as and the day it-had-been-dug-through and as the
πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις
first it-showed-through struck from-within with-an-ox-piercing someone
ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτω· τὸ δὲ
spit right-through the thigh of-the nearest(-man) the and
λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μηδὲ παριέναι ἔτι
rest shooting-out they-made not-even to-pass any-longer
ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι.
safe to-be

15 κεκραγότων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων ἐκβοηθοῦσιν
having-shouted and them and signaling-with-fire come-out-to-help
Ἰταμένης μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας
Itamenes indeed having the of-himself force from Comania
δὲ ὁπλῖται Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οὗτοι
and hoplites Assyrian and Hyrcanian horsemen also these
βασιλέως μισθοφόροι ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι
the-king's mercenaries about eighty and other
πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου,
peltasts about eight-hundred others and from Parthenium
ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων
others and from Apollonia and from the neighboring places
καὶ ἱππεῖς.
also horsemen

16 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν πῶς ἔσται ἡ
Then indeed time it-was to-consider how will-be the
ἄφοδος· καὶ λαβόντες ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ
retreat and having-taken as-many-as there-were oxen and
πρόβατα ἤλαυνον καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου
sheep they-drove and slaves within a-square
ποιησάμενοι, οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔτι προσέχοντες
having-made(-them) not to-the property any-longer turning
τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἄφοδος, εἰ
the mind but lest flight should-be the retreat if
καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἵ
having-left the property they-should-go-away and the
τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
both enemy bolder should-be and the soldiers
ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπῆσαν ὡς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων
more-despondent now and they-went-away as for the property
μαχούμενοι.
going-to-fight

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, 17
when and saw Gongylus few indeed the Greeks
πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς
many and the attackers comes-out also himself
βίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν,
in-spite-of the mother having the of-himself force
βουλόμενος μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ
wishing to-share of-the action came-to-help and also
Προκλῆς ἐξ Ἁλισάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας ὁ ἀπὸ
Procles from Halisarna and Teuthrania the(-one) from
Δαμαράτου.
Damaratus
οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἐπιέζοντο 18
the(-men) and about Xenophon when very already they-were-pressed
ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι κύκλῳ,
by the arrows and slings marching in-a-circle
ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις
so-that the shields they-might-have before the arrows hardly
διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάρκασον ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι ἐγγὺς
cross the Carcasus river wounded nearly
οἱ ἡμίσεις.
the half
ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγασίας ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς 19
there and Agasias the Stymphalian captain
τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς
is-wounded the whole time fighting against
τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ διασῴζονται ἀνδράποδα
the enemy and they-get-through-safe slaves
ὡς διακόσια ἔχοντες καὶ πρόβατα ὅσον
about two-hundred having and sheep as-much-as
θύματα.
for-sacrifices

20 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐξάγει νύκτωρ
On-the and next-day having-sacrificed — Xenophon leads-out by-night
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς
all the army so-that as farthest be-might-go —
Λυδίας, εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽
of-Lydia to the not because-of the near to-be to-fear but
ἀφυλακτεῖν.
to-be-off-guard

21 ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης ἀκούσας ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τεθυμένος
— and Asidates having-heard that again against him having-sacrificed
εἴη ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἥξοι,
was — Xenophon and with-all the army would-come
ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κώμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα
moves-out-to-bivouac into villages under the Parthenium town
ἐχούσας.
lying

22 ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ
there the(-men) about Xenophon fall-in-with him
καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς
and take him and wife and children and the
ἵππους καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ
horses and all the possessions and thus the earlier victims
ἀπέβη.
turned-out

23 Ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέργαμον. ἐνταῦθα τὸν
Then again they-arrive at Pergamum there the
θεὸν ἠσπάσατο Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ οἱ
god greeted Xenophon helped for also the
Λάκωνες καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ
Laconians and the captains and the other generals and
οἱ στρατιῶται ὥστ᾽ ἐξαίρετα λαβεῖν καὶ ἵππους καὶ
the soldiers so-that picked-out(-things) to-take both horses and

ζεύγη καὶ τἆλλα· ὥστε ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη
yokes and the-other-things so-that sufficient to-be also another now
εὖ ποιεῖν.
well to-treat
Ἐν τούτῳ Θίβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα 24
In this Thibron having-arrived took-over the army
καὶ συμμείξας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς
and having-joined(-it) to-the other Greek(-force) made-war against
Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.
Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus