

Chapter 2

THE MARCH FROM SARDIS
TO TARSUS

WHEN he decided that the time had come for the march on the capital, he pretended that his purpose was to clear out the Pisidians finally from his district, and, as though they were his objective, he assembled together both the native and the Greek contingents of his army. At this point he ordered Clearchus to report with his whole force, and Aristippus to come to an agreement with his enemies at home and send back to him the troops he had. He ordered Xenias the Arcadian, who had been put in command of his mercenaries in the cities, to report with all his forces in excess of the number required to garrison the citadels. He also summoned those who were besieging Miletus and urged the exiles to join him in his expedition, promising them that if his campaign ended in victory he would not rest until he had restored them to their homes. They agreed cheerfully, for they trusted him, and they came with their arms to Sardis.

Next Xenias arrived at Sardis with his men from the cities, about four thousand hoplites; and Proxenus came with about fifteen hundred hoplites and five hundred light infantry. Sphaenetes the Stymphalian came with a force of a thousand hoplites, and Socrates the Achaean with about five hundred hoplites. Pasion the Megarian had three hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts. Socrates and he were from the force operating against Miletus.

These then reported to Cyrus at Sardis. But when Tissaphernes got to know of it he came to the conclusion that the force was too large to be designed to fight against the Pisidians, and he set out to the King as quickly as he could with about

five hundred horsemen. When the King heard from Tissaphernes of Cyrus's army he took measures to meet it.

Cyrus, with those whom I have mentioned, set out from Sardis; and a three days' march through Lydia of sixty-six miles¹ took him to the river Maeander. This is two hundred feet across, and there was a pontoon bridge of seven boats over it. After crossing the river, one day's march of twenty-four miles through Phrygia took him to the large and prosperous inhabited city of Colossae. He stayed there for seven days, and Menon the Thessalian arrived with a thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, Dolopes and Ainianes and Olynthians. From there a three days' march of sixty miles took him to Celaenae,² a large and prosperous inhabited city in Phrygia. Cyrus had a palace there and a large park full of wild animals which he used to hunt on horseback when he wanted exercise for himself and his horses. The river Maeander runs through the middle of the park, and its springs flow out from the palace. It also flows through the city of Celaenae. The Great King too has a palace at Celaenae in a strong posi-

1. Translation inevitably obscures Xenophon's adoption of the formula used in recording distances in the Persian empire, so many 'stathmi' and so many 'parasangs'. *Stathmi* (stages) were, properly, the halting-places at the end of a day's journey. On the great Persian trunk roads there were guard-houses and lodging places at suitable intervals, around which there might be a settlement (cf. Herodotus V.52, VI.119, VIII.98.2). but Xenophon's use of the term does not necessarily denote a formally established halting-place. *Parasang* was, properly, a Persian measure of time, not of distance, but, since the distance covered in a *parasang* did not vary greatly, the Greeks treated it as a measure of distance. Herodotus (II.6) equated it with thirty stades, i.e. about 3.4 miles. Since *stathmi* were made where water etc. allowed, the number of *parasangs* to the next *stathmos* varied even when the terrain remained much the same.

2. The route through Celaenae was by no means the most direct for Cyrus, but presumably he took the southerly detour to support his pretence of attacking the Pisidians.

tion at the springs of the river Marsyas, underneath the citadel. This river also flows through the city and joins the Maeander. The breadth of the Marsyas is twenty-five feet. Here the story is that Apollo flayed Marsyas, when he had defeated his bid to overcome him in wisdom, and hung the skin up in the cave from which the springs flow out; and so the river is called the Marsyas. Here Xerxes, on his way back from Greece after his defeat, is said to have built both the palace and the citadel of Celaenae.

Cyrus stayed here for thirty days, and Clearchus, the Spartan exile, arrived with a thousand hoplites and eight hundred Thracian peltasts and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosis the Syracusan appeared with three hundred hoplites, and Sophanes the Arcadian with a thousand hoplites. And here Cyrus held a review of the Greeks in his park and took a census of them. The total number came to eleven thousand hoplites, and about two thousand peltasts.

From here a two days' march of thirty miles took him to the inhabited city of Peltae. He stayed there for three days, in the course of which Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the Lycaean festival and organized athletic sports. The prizes were gold crowns, and Cyrus himself watched the sports. From here a two days' march of thirty-six miles took him to Potters' Market, an inhabited city, and the last one before the Mysian border. From here a three days' march of sixty miles took him to Cayster Plain, an inhabited city.

He stayed here for five days, and as more than three months' pay was due to the soldiers, they often went up to his tent and demanded it. He had to keep on putting them off with promises and was obviously upset about it; indeed it was not like Cyrus to hold back pay if he had it. Then Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis the King of Cilicia, came to visit Cyrus, and it was said that she gave Cyrus a lot of money. In any case it was at this time that Cyrus gave the army four months'

pay. The Queen of Cilicia had a bodyguard of Cilicians and Aspendians. It was also said that she and Cyrus slept together.

From here, a two days' march of thirty miles took him to the inhabited city of Thymbriou. By the roadside here there was a fountain which got its name from Midas the King of Phrygia. At this fountain Midas is said to have captured the Satyr by mixing wine with the water. From here a two days' march of thirty miles took him to Tyriakon, an inhabited city. He stayed there three days, and it is said that the Queen of Cilicia begged him to show her his army. So, as he wanted to provide a show for her, he held a review in the plain of both his Greek and native troops. He ordered the Greeks to fall in and stand in their normal battle order; each officer should see to the order of his own men. So they stood on parade in fours, with Menon and his men on the right wing, Clearchus and his on the left, and the other generals in the centre. Cyrus first of all inspected the native troops, who marched past in bands and also in formation; then he inspected the Greeks, driving in a chariot along their front with the Queen of Cilicia in a covered carriage. They were all wearing bronze helmets, red tunics and greaves, and had their shields uncovered. He rode along the whole parade and then stopped his chariot in front of the centre of the phalanx and sent Pigres, his interpreter, to the Greek generals with the order to make their troops bring their spears to the ready and for the whole phalanx to advance. The generals passed on the order to the soldiers, the trumpet sounded and, with their spears at the ready, they moved forward. Then as the soldiers quickened their pace and shouted, they found that they were actually running towards their tents. All the natives were terrified; the Queen of Cilicia fled in her covered carriage, and the people in the market ran away leaving their stalls behind them, while the Greeks went laughing to their tents. The Queen of Cilicia

was amazed when she saw the brilliant show the army made and its discipline; and Cyrus was delighted when he observed the panic which the Greeks caused among the natives.

From here a three days' march of sixty miles took him to Iconium, the last city in Phrygia. He stayed there three days, and then came a five days' march of ninety miles through Lycaonia. This being hostile territory, he handed it over to the Greeks to plunder; and he sent back the Queen of Cilicia from here by the quickest route to her own country, with Menon's soldiers and Menon himself to escort her. Cyrus with the rest advanced through Cappadocia, and a four days' march of seventy-five miles took him to the large and prosperous inhabited city of Dana. He stayed there three days, in the course of which he put to death on the charge of conspiracy a Persian called Megaphernes, who was entitled to wear the royal purple, and another powerful person among the governing class.

From here they attempted to cross the frontier into Cilicia. The pass consisted of a carriage track³ which was tremendously steep, impassable for an army if there was any opposition; and it was reported that Syennesis was guarding the pass from a position on the heights. Cyrus consequently waited for a day in the plain. On the next day a messenger arrived with the

3. The main roads were paved (cf. R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 145f.). Cyrus the Great could be alleged to have transported huge towers on wheels against Lydia (*Education of Cyrus* VI.1.52f.). The road through the Cilician Gates was very constricted, but normally there must have been passing places. At III.2.24 Xenophon implies that roads were not normally wide enough to take a four-horse chariot, i.e. four horses abreast. For importance of waggons cf. I.10.18, I.7.20, III.2.27, and 3.1. The Spartans regularly took waggons with them (Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans* 11.2, Thuc. V.72.3). Xenophon in the *Education of Cyrus* (VI.2.30-38) gives a good idea of how much equipment had to go on waggons. Beasts of burden allowed deviation, but carried less. Hence the importance of roads.

news that Syennesis had abandoned the heights⁴ after he had got to know that Menon's army was already across the mountains in Cilicia, and because he had heard that tiremes under the command of Tamos, some Spartan ships and some from Cyrus's own fleet, were sailing round the coast from Ionia towards Cilicia.

In any case Cyrus reached the top of the mountains with no opposition, and saw the tents where the Cilician garrison were. He descended from there into a large plain; it was a beautiful and well-watered place, full of all kinds of trees and of vines, and produces quantities of sesame and millet and wheat and barley. High mountains, forming a strong position, and running from sea to sea entirely hem it in. After coming down the mountains, a four days' march of seventy-five miles through this plain took him to Tarsus, a large and prosperous city in Cilicia, in which was the palace of Syennesis, the King of Cilicia. A river called the Cydnus (two hundred feet in breadth) runs through the middle of the city. The inhabitants, apart from the shopkeepers, had abandoned the city and gone away with Syennesis to a fortified strong position in the mountains. There also remained behind those who lived by the sea in Soli and Issus.

Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. Two companies of Menon's army were lost in crossing the mountains to the plain. According to some accounts they were cut to pieces by the Cilicians when they were on a plundering expedition; according to others they had been left in the rear and were unable to find the rest of

4. The Syennesis (hereditary title of the native rulers of Cilicia) played a double game, sending his wife to profess friendship with Cyrus and making as if to block his progress. Cf. Ctesias *Fr.* 16 and Diod. XIV.20.3 for his warning message to Artaxerxes. If Menon had not entered Cilicia, he would have been free to hold the Cilician Gates and stay loyal to Artaxerxes.

the army or the right tracks; and so they had wandered about and been destroyed. Whatever the truth, they were a force of a hundred hoplites. When the rest of Menon's troops arrived, they pillaged the city of Tarsus and the royal palace in the city out of anger for the loss of their comrades.

After Cyrus's entry into the city he sent for Syennesis to come to him. Syennesis replied that he had never yet come into the power of anyone stronger than himself, and he maintained his refusal to visit Cyrus on this occasion until his wife persuaded him to go, and he was given a guarantee of safety. Afterwards there was a meeting between them, and Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for the army, while Cyrus gave him what are considered gifts of honour at the Court – a horse with a golden bit, a golden collar and armlets, a golden scimitar and a Persian robe. He guaranteed that his land should no longer be plundered and promised that his subjects should recover any slaves who had been carried off, if they should come across them anywhere.

Chapter 3

CLEARCHUS DEALS WITH A MUTINY

CYRUS and the army stayed here for twenty days, because the soldiers refused to go any further. They already suspected that they were marching against the King and said that this was not the job for which they had been engaged. At first Clearchus tried to force his own soldiers to go forward, but they threw stones at him and at his baggage animals as soon as they attempted to make a start. Clearchus was very nearly stoned to death on this occasion, but afterwards, having come to the conclusion that he could not get his way by force, he called together a meeting of his own soldiers. First of all he stood still in front of them for a long time, weeping; and they were surprised as they looked on, and kept silent. Then he made the following speech: 'Fellow soldiers, don't be surprised that I am upset by the way things are going. Cyrus became a friend of mine, and when I was in exile from my own land he not only treated me with great respect, but gave me ten thousand darics. When I got the money I did not set it apart for myself, nor did I lay it out on my own pleasures, but I spent it on you. First I made war on the Thracians, and you and I together struck a blow for Greece by driving them out of the Chersonese where they wanted to take away the land from the Greek settlers there. But when Cyrus called for me I set out, taking you with me, with the idea of doing him a good turn, if he wanted my help, in return for all the kindness I have had from him. However, since you are unwilling to march with him I have got to make my choice: I must either throw you over and keep Cyrus's friendship, or else I must break my word to him and go with you. Now whether I am acting rightly or not I do not know, but anyway

XENOPHON

THE PERSIAN
EXPEDITION

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