

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

I shall choose you and with you I shall endure what has to be. No one shall ever say that I led Greeks into a foreign country and then threw them over and chose to make friends with the natives; no, since you will not obey me, I will follow you and endure what has to be. This is because it is you I think of as being my country and my friends and my allies; when I am with you I think I shall have honour wherever I may be; but apart from you I don't think I shall be able either to do good to a friend or harm to an enemy. So you can make up your minds that I am going to go wherever you go.'

This was what he said, and all the soldiers – not only his own force, but the others as well – applauded him when they heard that he refused to march against the King; and more than two thousand of Xenias' and Pasion's men took their arms and baggage and made their camp near Clearchus. This made Cyrus anxious and unhappy, and he sent for Clearchus. Clearchus would not go, but without the knowledge of the soldiers he sent a messenger to Cyrus and told him to keep up his courage as things would work out all right. He told him to send for him again and then again refused to go. Then he called together his own soldiers and those who had joined him and anyone else who cared to listen, and made the following speech: 'Fellow soldiers, it is obvious that Cyrus's views about us have altered just as ours have about him. For we are no longer his soldiers (how can we be, if we don't march with him?) and he is no longer our employer. However, I know that he thinks that he is being treated wrongly by us, and as a result, even when he sends for me I am unwilling to go to him. This is chiefly from a sense of shame, because I am conscious that I have let him down in every way, but I am also afraid that he may arrest me and punish me for the wrong treatment which he thinks that he has had from me. My view therefore is that this is no time to go to sleep and to neglect our own interests. Instead we must consider

carefully what we ought to do next. Anyway, while we remain here, we must, I think, consider how we can make our stay as secure as possible; and if it is already decided that we go away, then we must think how we can go away with the maximum of security, and how we can get supplies; for without supplies neither a general nor a private is good for anything. The man we have to do with is worth a great deal to those whom he loves, but he is a most dangerous enemy to those whom he is against; and the force which he has of infantry and cavalry and ships is one which every one of us sees and understands. Indeed in my opinion our camp is none too far away from him. And so the time has come for people to say what they think is the best thing to do.'

He paused after saying this, and then some people stood up of their own accord to say what they thought; but there were others also who had been put up to it by him, who pointed out how difficult it was either to stay there or to go away without Cyrus's consent. One of these made a speech pretending that he was eager to go to Greece as soon as possible. He told them to elect other generals immediately if Clearchus would not agree to lead them back, to buy provisions (the market was in the native camp)⁵ and to get together their luggage; they should go and ask Cyrus for ships so that they could go away by sea, and if he would not provide the ships they should ask him for a guide to escort them through a country that was friendly. If he would not even provide a guide, they should group themselves for battle as quickly as possible, and also send forward an advance guard to seize the

5. Normally the soldiers bought their own provisions either from the traders who travelled with the army, 'the market' (cf. I.5.6, II.5.30), or in the towns and villages (e.g. I.5.10), and they received money for the purpose distinct from pay. See Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, p. 265ff. Cyrus made especial provision for the march through the desert (I.10.18).

heights to prevent Cyrus from getting there first, or the Cilicians, from whom they had seized and still held many men and large sums of money.

This was the kind of speech he made. Afterwards Clearchus just said: 'Don't let any of you imagine that I will be your general in an expedition of this sort. I can see many factors in the situation which would make this impossible for me. But you can be sure that I shall give the most loyal support to the man you elect to take my place, so that you may know that I can submit to discipline just as well as anybody else.'

Then another man got up and pointed out the absurdity of the speaker who had recommended them to ask Cyrus for ships, as though Cyrus was taking his army back again. 'And how absurd it is,' he said, 'to ask for a guide from the very person who is having his enterprise ruined by us. If we are actually going to trust the guide that Cyrus gives us we might as well ask Cyrus to occupy the heights for us too. I certainly would hesitate to embark on the ships which Cyrus gave us in case he might sink us with his triremes; and I would be afraid of following the guide which he gave us in case he might lead us into a position from which there would be no possibility of escape. If I am to go away against Cyrus's wishes I should like to go away without his knowing of it -- which is impossible. But really all this is nonsense. My view is that the right sort of men should go with Clearchus to Cyrus and ask him what he wants to use us for. If the enterprise is more or less of the same kind as other ones in which he has previously employed mercenaries, then we too ought to go with him and be as brave as those who have served with him in the interior before now.⁶ But if it appears that the enterprise is on a bigger scale than previous ones, and will involve more difficulty and danger, then they should ask him that, on a

6. Literally 'who travelled up with him the previous time'. The reference is to the three hundred hoplites of Xenias (1.1.2).

basis of mutual agreement, either he should lead us forward or else should let us go in peace. In this way, if we go with him, we shall go with him on better terms and with greater willingness, and if we leave him, we shall do so safely. Our envoys should report back to us about what he says in reply; and we should take our measures on the basis of what we hear from them.'

This was the course decided upon. They elected delegates and sent them with Clearchus to put before Cyrus the questions which the army had agreed to ask him. Cyrus replied that he was told that Abrocomas, an enemy of his,⁷ was on the Euphrates, twelve days' march away. It was against him, he said, that he wanted to advance. If he was there, then, he said, he wanted to get his revenge on him; if, on the other hand, he should run away, then, he said, 'we must make our plans on the spot to meet the situation.'

On hearing this the delegates reported it back to the soldiers, who, while they suspected that he was leading them against the King, nevertheless decided to go with him. They asked, however, for more pay; and Cyrus promised to give to all half as much again as they had before, three half-darics a month to each soldier instead of one daric.⁸ But as to his leading them against the King, no one was told of it even on this occasion, at least not openly.

7. For Abrocomas, cf. 1.7.12. He was satrap of Syria.

8. The chief coin of the Persian currency named after Darius the First and worth between 25 and 26 Attic drachmas. This was about the normal rate of pay for mercenary service.

XENOPHON

THE PERSIAN
EXPEDITION

TRANSLATED BY
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*With an Introduction
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1977

PENGUIN BOOKS