

A Chronology Model for Xenophon's Anabasis

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DESPITE THE FIRST EFFORTS,¹ as well as those that followed, there is still uncertainty about the route of Xenophon's Ten Thousand during the last stage of their retreat. Maps constructed allow for many loops owing both to the mountainous terrain and to the fact that the account sometimes seems to have too many parasangs to fit in.² Also, in the Armenia-to-Trapezus route, there are several examples of parasang-measured marches with no named terminus. "No detailed document which dealt with the same route ... should have left Xenophon producing such a vaguely defined picture."³

In this article, we investigate whether this vague picture was intentional and whether the uncertainty is due to an insistence that according to Xenophon's description a city Gymnias should be located in the area of present-day *Bayburt*. We test the hypothesis that Gymnias was much farther off, at *Gyumri* in northwestern Armenia.

In terms of distance, this hypothesis respects the statement of

¹ For example, J. Rennell, *Illustrations (chiefly geographical) of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus* (London 1816); M. D. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan* (London 1818); W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks* (London 1844); A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853); etc.

² T. Rood, "Xenophon," in I. de Jong (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature* (Leiden 2012) 162–178, at 175.

³ C. Tuplin, "Achaemenid Arithmetic: Numerical Problems in Persian History," *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997) 365–421, at 412.

Diodorus Siculus (14.29.3), the *only* surviving alternative ancient source for the events of the retreat,⁴ according to which the march from Gymnias to Mt. Theches lasted fifteen days. In terms of time, it takes into account the additional 29 days provided by Diodorus, viz. 10 days of march and 19 of rest (14.29.1–2). The outcome is twofold: a proposal for the route of the last leg of the retreat, as well as a stable chronology model for the whole of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Tests on this model for alternative dates produced a set which is compatible with the environmental and climatic information offered in the book. This set belongs to the *late* chronology scheme, and limits the 'snow lacuna'⁵ to the one additional month of Diodorus.

Views on the route of the retreat

The views on the route of the retreat, from the crossing of river Centrites until the arrival at Trapezus, have not altered significantly since the time of the 19th-century pioneers. We can follow them by dividing the route into three legs.

1. From the Centrites to the Phasis

Xenophon names the rivers in the order Centrites, Teleboas, Euphrates, Phasis. In general, there is no objection to Centrites as the *Bohtan* river and Phasis as the Araxes (*Aras*). There are two sets of proposals, based on whether the Greeks marched for seven days *along* the Araxes, or marched this distance in order to *arrive* at this river.

The first set of proposals takes Teleboas as the East Euphrates (*Murat*) in the area of *Muş* and Euphrates as the same river to the east, in the area of *Manzikert*,⁶ so as to allow for a six

⁴ Even if Ctesias had acquired some information via Clearchus, during the imprisonment of the latter at Susa, and had incorporated it in the now-lost parts of his *Persica*, it could have nothing to do with the events of the retreat after the arrest and murder of the generals.

⁵ The term 'snow lacuna' was introduced by R. Lane Fox, *The Long March* (New Haven 2004) 46. See also S. Brennan, "Mind the Gap: A 'Snow Lacuna' in Xenophon's *Anabasis*?" in F. Hobden and C. Tuplin, *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry* (Leiden 2012) 307–339.

⁶ According to S. Lloyd, *Ancient Turkey: A Traveller's History* (Berkeley 1999)

days' northeastern march from the Teleboas to the Euphrates, and thence for an almost northerly seven days' march to the Araxes at *Kağızman*.⁷

The second set claims an error in the translation of Xenophon's *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, and takes it to mean "along the river."⁸ It attempts to accommodate a seven days' march along the Araxes either by proceeding straight north from *Muş* to *Köprüküy* (on the Araxes) via *Hıms* and taking "Euphrates" to be a minor river; or by turning to the west towards *Hıms* and thence north to *Köprüküy*, after crossing the "Euphrates" (in this case the *Murat*) at *Manzikert*.⁹

2. From the Phasis to the Harpasos

The first set of proposals denies a march along the Araxes; the march crosses the river and heads northeast. Alternative routes have been proposed, starting at *Kağızman* on the Araxes and reaching *Yusufeli* on the *Çoruh*, or a more easterly point on this river.

The second set marches along the Araxes, in most cases from *Köprüküy* to *Kağızman*, where the march turns to the northeast and matches the previous set of proposals.¹⁰

¹²⁶, both Ainsworth, *Travels*, and Layard, *Discoveries*, confuse the Turkish name of the Teleboas (*Murat su*) with that of the *Karasu* or western Euphrates. Indeed there is a small tributary of *Murat* in the area of *Muş* named *Karasu* (see for example the map in Brennan, in *Xenophon* 320), but this river is neither the East Euphrates (*Murat*) nor the West Euphrates (*Karasu*).

⁷ See for example the map in J. Lee, *A Greek Army on the March: Soldiers and Survival in Xenophon's Anabasis* (Cambridge 2007) 21, and the map in Brennan, in *Xenophon* 320.

⁸ Rood, in *Space* 175, believes that the meaning of *παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν* (4.6.4) is still at issue.

⁹ See for example the map in M. A. Flower, *Xenophon's Anabasis* (Oxford 2012) x; and the map in Lane Fox, *The Long March* xii.

¹⁰ C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, "Zum Rückzug der Zehntausend," in J. Kromayer (ed.), *Antike Schlachtfelder IV* (Berlin 1931) 243–260, proposed an east-to-west march along the Araxes, from *Kağızman* towards *Erzurum* and thence north to *Yusufeli* via the valley of the *Oltu*. See R. Talbert, *Atlas of*

3. From the Harpasos to Gymnias and Mt. Theches

Almost all proposals accept as Harpasos the *Çoruh* river and assume a westward march in its valley towards Xenophon's Gymnias (at *Bayburt*). They do accommodate Xenophon's 40 parasangs of this segment,¹¹ but do not explain why the Ten Thousand, wandering and without guides, marched upstream in the gorge of the river they had just met. Marching downstream would be rational, shorter, and take them straight to the sea. If they marched upstream because they knew it was the right direction, these proposals do not explain why, when they arrived at Gymnias (*Bayburt*), they needed a guide to take them to Trapezus, although at *Bayburt* they had just arrived at the principal caravan route heading to Trapezus.

The credibility of the narrative of Diodorus

The ten *additional* days of march reported by Diodorus are central to the hypothesis that the route proceeds from *Gyumri* as Xenophon's Gymnias. Rennell, a pioneer in the study of the route of the Ten Thousand, cites Diodorus twenty times.¹² Although he noticed several differences in the two narratives,¹³ he

Classical History (London 1985) 58. Conversely, V. Manfredi, *La Strada dei Diecimila: topografia e geografia dell'Oriente di Senofonte* (Milan 1986), believes that they marched all the way along the Araxes until its southward bend in present-day Armenia.

¹¹ The distance of *Bayburt* from *Yusufeli* is 187 km and from the river *Çoruh* between *Artwin* and *Ardanuç* 245 km.

¹² Rennell, *Illustrations* vi, xxix, 3, 45, 61, 62, 97, 113, 193, 194, 213, 218, 228, 233, 234, 237, 238, 241, 249, 273.

¹³ For example, Xenophon (4.8.22) has the Greeks arriving at Trapezus after the 'mad honey' episode in a two days' march. Diodorus (14.30.3) does not report the duration of this march, but Rennell (*Illustrations* xxix) remarks: "Rather 3 marches, as Diodorus says." G. Booth, *Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian* (London 1721): "Being thus recovered, three days after, they came to Trapezus, a Greek city" (610 of the 1814 ed.). Thus Rennell interpreted the duration of the recovery as the duration of the march; so he used Booth's translation. Unless a page was missing from the 1721 edition, which was almost 80 years old when Rennell was writing (*Illustrations* xxii), he would be expected to comment similarly on the *fifteen* days' march to Mt. Theches, which in the 1814 edition occurs on the immediately preceding

did not comment on those we are interested in. Obviously he did not have access to the Bekker, Dindorf, and Leipzig Greek-Latin editions,¹⁴ published after his book, which all mention the *nineteen* days of rest and the *fifteen* of march. Booth's English translation (1814 edition) contains also these days but Rennell could not have access to it, as he wrote his book in 1794–75 and finalized it in 1812 (p. xxii). However, he noticed the deficiency between the aggregate and the sum of the detailed information, and he suspected as possible reason the omission of days of rest (284–285). Consequently, these statements of Diodorus¹⁵ would provide answers to many of Rennell's queries, given that Rennell takes the Ten Thousand to the vicinity of *Gyumri*, to the north reaches of river Harpasos (*Arpaçay*), and from there back again to the vicinity of *Erzurum*, in order to locate a city Gymnias at a distance compatible with Xenophon's *five* days.

After Rennell, things followed in this respect the path imposed by a prevailing paradigm. References to Diodorus became fewer and fewer in subsequent studies.¹⁶ In modern works on the events and the route of the retreat, there are rare references to Diodorus, and none has anything to do with his

page (609).

¹⁴ E. Bekker, *Diodori Siculi, Bibliotheca Historica* I (Leipzig 1853); L. Dindorf, *Diodori Siculi, Bibliothecae Historicae quae supersunt* I (Paris 1842); *Diodori Siculi, Bibliothecae Historicae quae supersunt* III (Leipzig 1829).

¹⁵ For a recent translation of the passage see P. Green, *Diodorus Siculus, The Persian Wars to the Fall of Athens* (Austin 2010) 298.

¹⁶ Kinneir, *Journey*, mentions Diodorus only once, in relation to a queen of the Amazons (314). Ainsworth, *Travels*, concerning Xenophon Book 4 on this leg of the retreat, mentions Diodorus only once, in relation to the 'mad honey' (191). W. Ainsworth, "A Geographical Commentary on the Anabasis of Xenophon," in J. Watson (ed.), *Xenophon: Anabasis and Memorabilia* (London 1854) 265–338, has no references to Diodorus, apart from a general one in the introduction (269) and another, also general, about the canals in Mesopotamia (294). Layard's seven references to Diodorus all relate to Mesopotamia and Assyria (*Discoveries* 87, 133, 134, 420, 421, 425, 450).

additional days of march and rest.¹⁷

However, for events of this period, it has been noted that if it were not for Diodorus, the fragments of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, and historical inscriptions, we would be at Xenophon's mercy. He omits important events and people, but it is not clear whether this was the outcome of bad memory and personal bias, or of a literary aim to stress moral and political lessons rather than comprehensive coverage of events.¹⁸

Keeping in mind this question, which is discussed towards the end of this article, here we have to examine the probable sources of Diodorus, concerning mainly the above-mentioned additional time.

It has long been widely believed that his immediate source is Ephorus; he is the only author cited by Diodorus on the expedition of Cyrus (14.22.2). There is uncertainty concerning Ephorus' sources for the expedition. In general, the works most favoured are Xenophon's *Anabasis*, the *Persica* of Ctesias, and an *Anabasis* attributed to Sophraenetos.¹⁹ The *Persica* of Ctesias could have nothing on the retreat through Armenia to Trapezus. Xenophon's *Anabasis* was available, but this does not explain why Diodorus reports different march length and additional days of rest.²⁰ Thus, a source might have been the

¹⁷ For example, there is no reference to Diodorus in C. Sagona, "Did Xenophon take the Aras Highroad? Observations on the Historical Geography of North-east Anatolia," in A. Sagona (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Essays in Honour of Charles Burney* (Leuven 2004) 299–333, or in Brennan, in *Xenophon. Lee, A Greek Army* 70, mentions Diodorus only in relation to his not referring to Xenophon. O. Lendle, *Kommentar zu Xenophons Anabasis* (Darmstadt 1995), mentions the additional days of rest (247, 249, 253, 259, 267) and march (249, 276) provided by Diodorus (14.29.1, 3) but does not take them into account. According to Lendle, "all in all, it cannot be doubted that Xenophon's report deserves greater confidence" (259).

¹⁸ Flower, *Xenophon's Anabasis* 67.

¹⁹ H. D. Westlake, "Diodorus and the Expedition of Cyrus," *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 241–254, at 241.

²⁰ P. J. Stylianou, "One *Anabasis* or Two?" in *The Long March* 68–96, cites scholars who noted close verbal similarities between Xenophon and Diodorus and concludes that Diodorus supplemented Xenophon's work with a

Anabasis of Sophanetos. It has been argued that Xenophon was writing in reaction to that work.²¹ Others dispute it.²² Moreover, it is dangerous to argue that a work about which we know a lot was written in response to a work about which we know very little.²³ Indeed Xenophon's *Anabasis* does not have a real literary parallel, especially if the authenticity of the account of Sophanetos is questioned.²⁴ Our only source for the work of Sophanetos is Stephanos of Byzantium, and he cites only four fragments, which look like extracts from a travel book²⁵ and do not answer our question.

It has also been proposed that the main source was the account of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, transmitted through Ephorus to Diodorus. This was probably derived mainly from oral reports rather than from written works.²⁶

Whether an *Anabasis* written by Sophanetos passed to the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, or an *Anabasis* by Sophanetos never existed and the account of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* derived mainly from oral reports, this account was transmitted through Ephorus to Diodorus. It is the source of, among other things, the *ten* more days of march as well as for the *nineteen* additional

Persian point of view, that of Ctesias. Conversely, according to Westlake, *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 253–254, the version of Diodorus does not depend on Xenophon as its principal authority, though it does appear to have derived a limited amount of supplementary material from the *Anabasis*. However, these views do not address our question. Here the main concern is not *who* influenced Diodorus but *where* did Diodorus derive his additional days.

²¹ G. L. Cawkwell, in Rex Warner, *Xenophon, the Persian Expedition* (Harmondsworth 1972) 17–18, 39–40, and “When, How and Why did Xenophon Write the *Anabasis*?” in *The Long March* 47–67, at 50.

²² Westlake, *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 241–254; Stylianou, in *The Long March* 68–96.

²³ R. Waterfield, *Xenophon, The Expedition of Cyrus* (Oxford 2005) xviii.

²⁴ C. Tuplin, *The Failings of Empire: A Reading of Xenophon Hellenica 2.3.11–7.5.27* (Stuttgart 1993) 29.

²⁵ V. J. Gray, “Classical Greece,” in G. Marasco (ed.), *Political Autobiographies and Memoirs in Antiquity* (Leiden 2011) 1–36, at 25–26.

²⁶ Westlake, *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 253–254.

days of rest. Apart from these differences, the narrative of Diodorus, at least for this leg of the retreat, is very similar to Xenophon's. Accordingly, it is of considerable value and should not be dismissed lightly.²⁷

The evidence of 'interpolations'

In one of the last paragraphs of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (7.8.25) appears the name of the Hesperites (Saspeirians). This paragraph is often considered as interpolation,²⁸ because items mentioned do not seem historically accurate, or nations are omitted and nations not mentioned in the body of the text make an appearance.²⁹ Its historical accuracy is challenged on the grounds that the satraps of Lydia and Phrygia were Cyrus and Tissaphernes, not Artimas and Artacamas.³⁰ However, already in the first century B.C., Diodorus says that Cyrus, upon departing for the expedition, appointed Persians of his kindred to be governors of Lydia and Phrygia.³¹ Thus it seems that at the time of Diodorus this passage existed in the text of the *Anabasis*. A similar modern explanation has also been offered for this reference.³² Scholars who have not noticed this remark of Diodorus have also argued that if it is an interpolation, it must be a very ancient one.³³ We propose that no one

²⁷ Westlake, *Phoenix* 41 (1987) 254.

²⁸ See Rood, in *Space* 170.

²⁹ W. Ambler and E. Buzzetti, *The Anabasis of Cyrus* (Ithaca 2008) 274. It has further been proposed that this paragraph might be an interpolation borrowed from the work of Sophraenetos: E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I* (Leuven 1975) 165–166.

³⁰ Ambler and Buzzetti, *The Anabasis* 274.

³¹ Diod. 14.19.6: Κῦρος δὲ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατολογηθέντας καὶ μισθοφόρους μυρίους τρισχιλίους ἀθροίσας εἰς Σάρδεις, Λυδίας μὲν καὶ Φρυγίας κατέστησεν ἐπιμελητὰς Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ συγγενεῖς.

³² A. D. H. Bivar, "A 'Satrap' of Cyrus the Younger," *NC SER.* VII 1 (1961) 119–127, at 125.

³³ R. H. Hews, "Introduction to Armenian Historical Geography II: The Boundaries of Achaemenid 'Armina'," *Revue des études arméniennes* 17 (1983) 123–143, at 132–133.

else could have the knowledge to add the Hesperites and the Coetians, apart from someone who had participated in the expedition. As for the Scytheni (the Σκυτῖνοι of Diodorus), no one but Xenophon himself could either exclude them from this list or disguise them under the otherwise unknown Coetians (Κοῖτοι). The rejection of the authenticity of this paragraph does not seem to be assured.³⁴

Furthermore, three paragraphs in Xenophon reporting aggregate information on time and distance are considered interpolations (2.2.6, 5.5.4, 7.8.26).

In the first of these (2.2.6) the aggregate days and parasangs of the anabasis to Cunaxa are counted from Ephesos and not from Sardes as in the text. This was recognized long ago.³⁵ Nonetheless, Xenophon says that he came by ship (ἐξέπλει, 3.1.8); Ephesos was the principal port in the area, connected by road to Sardes (Hdt. 5.54); and Xenophon also says that he set out from Ephesos to be introduced to Cyrus (6.1.23). The distance between Ephesos and Sardes, as derived from 2.2.6, coincides with the distance provided by Herodotus,³⁶ but the duration of the journey does not.³⁷ It would be strange for an interpolator to copy the distance from Herodotus, but to insert his own arbitrary estimate for the duration of the journey, an

³⁴ See for example P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander* (Winona Lake 2002) 988; A. D. H. Bivar, *BSOAS* 60 (1997) 347–349. Lendle, *Kommentar* 486–487, defended the Xenophontean origin of this list.

³⁵ For example J. S. Watson, *The First Four Books of Xenophon's Anabasis* (New York 1900) 50 n. 85, citing K. W. Krüger, *De authenticia et integritate Anabaseos Xenophontae* (Halle 1824).

³⁶ According to Herodotus (5.54) the distance was 540 stadia, which at 30 stadia per parasang (5.53) is 18 parasangs. By subtracting the sum of parasangs in Xenophon's detail for the leg Sardes-Cunaxa (517) from the aggregate parasangs in this 'interpolation' (535), the distance is again 18 parasangs.

³⁷ Three days in Herodotus 5.54. Subtracting the 86 of days of march in Xenophon's detail for the Sardes-Cunaxa leg from the aggregate days of march in the 'interpolation' (93), there were 7 days of march between Ephesos and Sardes instead of 3 as in Herodotus.

estimate at odds with that of Herodotus, which is contained in the same passage where the distance is defined.

The second paragraph (5.5.4) provides aggregate days and parasangs of the retreat from Cunaxa to Cotyora. It deserves a remark similar to the previous one.³⁸ If an interpolation, it must be a very ancient one, as it is not an aggregate based on the addition of numbers from the text itself. Here the numbers of days and parasangs *differ* from the sums produced by the addition of the numbers in the preceding text. Indeed its aggregate number equals the sum of days in Xenophon's text plus the *additional* 29 days of march and rest reported by Diodorus. It will be worth examining whether this is simply a coincidence.

Finally, the third paragraph (7.8.26) provides aggregate days and parasangs from Ephesos to Cotyora. The numbers of days and parasangs here ought to be the sums of the numbers in the two previous 'interpolations'. This is true for the time in days, but the distance reported is 5 parasangs short of the other sum. Also, there is an error in the conversion of parasangs to *stadia*. As a result, the ratio of the parasang to the *stadion* is not 30, as in the two previous 'interpolations'; strangely it is 29.79. These imply an attempted manipulation which hardly can be attributed to an interpolator.

It has been said that out of inability to understand the purpose of a contradiction, scholars create multiple 'historicist' hypotheses (chronology, interpolations, etc.) to attempt to eliminate it.³⁹ Here we make use of these four 'interpolated' paragraphs and attempt to provide explanations for the contradictions between them and the rest of Xenophon's text.

The proposed route

The route proposed here assumes that a convoy of thousands of people, including attendants, hostages, etc.,⁴⁰ had to follow

³⁸ Cf. Hewsén, *Revue des études arméniennes* 17 (1983) 132.

³⁹ L.-A. Dorion, "The Straussian Exegesis of Xenophon," in V. J. Gray (ed.), *Xenophon* (Oxford 2010) 283–323, at 287.

⁴⁰ According to O. Lendle, "Der Marsch der 'Zehntausend' durch das Land der Karduchen," *Gymnasium* 91 (1984) 202–236, at 229, at the crossing

designated roads.

We take up the route of the retreat at the exit from the land of the Carduchians by crossing the river Centrites (*Bohtan*) and entering western Armenia. They crossed the river on 8 February 400⁴¹ and went northwards for 5 parasangs, reaching a large village with a palace. The distance between the proposed point of crossing (2 km north of *Çattepe*)⁴² and *Siirt* is 31 km, 5.4 parasangs.⁴³

They passed near the sources of East Tigris after a march of 10 parasangs. The discrepancy between the distance reported by Xenophon and the actual distance of *Siirt* and *Bitlis* (99 km or 17.2 parasangs) has led to proposals for a direct northerly march from *Siirt* to *Muş*, though others cannot see such an alternative.⁴⁴

They continued for 15 parasangs and arrived at the Teleboas (the East Euphrates or *Murat su*). They encountered many villages around the river (*Anab.* 4.4.3). There is agreement that they arrived in the area of *Muş*. The distance between *Bitlis* and *Muş* is 83 km (14.4 parasangs). However, to the north of *Muş* most proposals become unnecessarily complicated (see Map 1). Whether the Greeks proceeded via *Bitlis* or headed directly north, they arrived at the more southerly of two all-important caravan highways from west to east.⁴⁵ They had no reason to turn northeast or northwest because *Muş* lay at the crossroads; apart from being on the southerly west-east corridor, it lay also

of the Centrites and the entry into western Armenia the army consisted of approximately 20,000 persons.

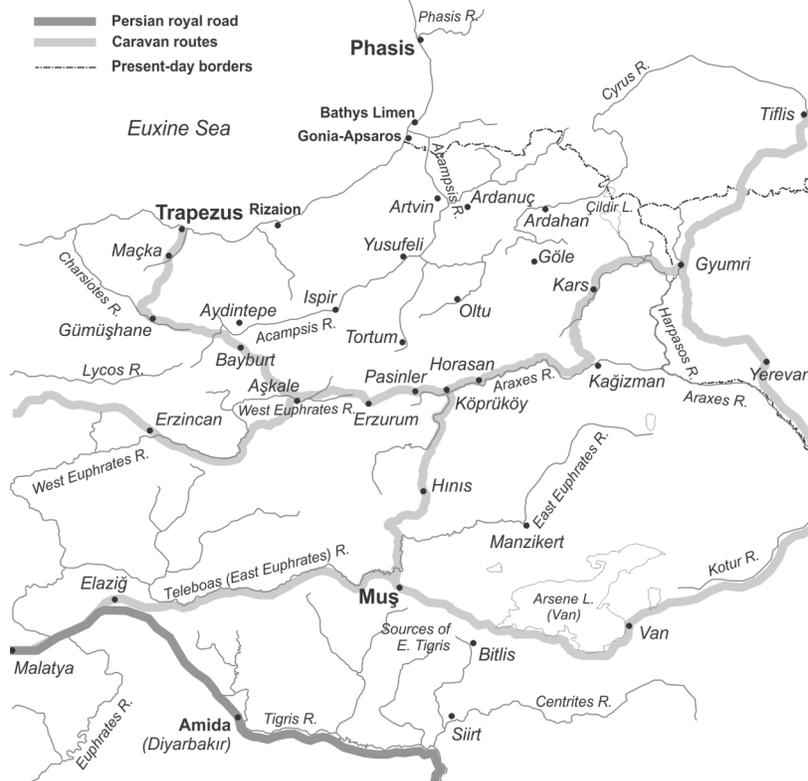
⁴¹ The derivation of the dates is discussed below.

⁴² A. Schachner and H. Sağlamtimur, "Xenophons Überquerung des Kentrites: Ein archäologischer Nachtrag," *IstMitt* 58 (2008) 411–417, map 5 at 414.

⁴³ We follow the ratio 1 parasang = 5.768 km (i.e. 30 Olympic *stadia*).

⁴⁴ Layard, *Discoveries* 32–34.

⁴⁵ R. D. Barnett, "Geography and Environment of Urartu," *CAH*² III.1 (1982) 322–323.



Map 1: Caravan highways between Muş and Trapezus

on one of the two principal north-south links. The Greeks had not encountered snow yet, so as to be susceptible to losing the road and/or their orientation. Also at *Muş* they had made a treaty with Tirivazos, the Persian vice-satrap (4.4.6). Passing successively from populous places in the areas of *Siirt*, *Muş*, and *Hims*, they had more than once the opportunity to confirm the route.

Being in the area of *Muş* on 13 February 400, they had two options: either to follow to the west the southerly caravan highway towards *Malatya*, but thus they would arrive at the

Persian royal road from Susa to Sardes with all the associated dangers;⁴⁶ or to follow the main south-north link towards *Hms* and *Köprüküy* and continue to the west towards *Erzurum* and *Aşkale* on the northerly of the two principal east-west corridors.⁴⁷

We do not know their decision at that point, as Xenophon does not mention a destination.⁴⁸ According to Diodorus, their plan was towards Paphlagonia.⁴⁹ From *Aşkale*, depending on their plan, they could either continue to the west along the northern east-west highway and the valley of the West Euphrates (*Karasu*), or take the major caravan link to Trapezus and the Euxine Sea,⁵⁰ via *Bayburt* and *Gümüşhane*.

From the area of *Muş* and the river Teleboas they marched 15 parasangs in a plain and arrived at a palace with many villages (4.4.7). They had been in the area of present-day *Hms*, at an altitude of 1700 m. The distance between *Muş* and *Hms* is 97 km, 16.8 parasangs. At this point Xenophon mentions snow for the first time (4.4.8). The Ten Thousand were there between 16 and 19 February 400. They attacked the camp of Tirivazos, marched at full speed in the snow, crossed the mountain pass, and camped safely (4.5.1). They continued their northward march for 15 parasangs and according to Xenophon crossed the Euphrates near its sources (4.5.2).

After marching 15 parasangs from the mountain pass, it is likely that they did not cross the West Euphrates (*Karasu*) near its sources but the neighbouring river Araxes (*Aras*) also near its

⁴⁶ They had moved towards the mountains of the Carduchians exactly in order to escape from the western Asia Minor Persians under Tissaphernes. The Persians had continued their westward march along the Persian royal road.

⁴⁷ Barnett, *CAH* 322–323.

⁴⁸ Xenophon names Trapezus for the first time only upon the arrival at that city.

⁴⁹ Diod. 14.25.8; that is, towards the Greek coastal cities further to the west (Amisos, Sinope, Heraclea).

⁵⁰ Barnett, *CAH* 322–323.

sources, at *Köprüküy*.⁵¹ The distance of *Köprüküy* from the mountain pass, 20 km to the north of *Hms*, is 73 km, 16.1 parasangs. They reached the Araxes on 23 February 400.

They continued for 3 days, 15 parasangs, over a plain and through deep snow. With the north wind, the march of the third day proved a hard one (4.5.3) and probably they advanced less than average. The distance of *Köprüküy* from *Erzurum* is 66 km (14.9 parasangs); assuming a slow march, the Ten Thousand had been to the northeast of *Erzurum*.

They marched all the following day through snow (4.5.7). Some soldiers were falling behind; they sat down near a hot spring and refused to go any farther (4.5.15). 15 km to the west of *Erzurum*, the present-day village *Ilca* (*Aziziye*) is the site of the later celebrated thermal springs of Elegeia (Ἐλέγεια).⁵² The army spent that night on the road, apart from the vanguard of Cheirisophos who had already arrived at the first village (4.5.21). Next morning they continued their march, and before completing 20 *stadia* (4 km) reached this village (4.5.22). As the first of those who spent the night on the road were 4 km from the village, while the last were at the hot spring, we can place the center of the cluster of the Armenian villages 15 km to the west of this spring, approximately in the middle of the 54 km distance between *Erzurum* and *Aşkale*.

In a different context it has been proposed that a cluster of villages of that period could have been located anywhere in the valley between *Erzurum* and *Aşkale*.⁵³ As such villages can be

⁵¹ However, after their attack on the camp of Tirivazos at *Hms* and the crossing of the mountain pass, they probably deviated to the northwest from their route along the north-south caravan link, fearing that they would be expected at *Köprüküy* on the Araxes. In this case they marched along the northeastern-north foot of Mt. Palandöken to the south of *Erzurum*, they entered the plain from the southeast, they did not reach the Araxes at *Köprüküy*, and they crossed the West Euphrates (*Karasu*) near its sources. Thus Xenophon has named correctly that river too.

⁵² Kinneir, *Journey* 361.

⁵³ Sagona, *A View from the Highlands* 311, refers to the villages near the Teleboas (*Anab.* 4.4.3–4), which river she takes for the *Karasu* (West Eu-

identified in this valley,⁵⁴ we propose that they were Xenophon's Armenian villages with their subterranean houses. First, they were located on or near the caravan highway towards the sea. Second, their proximity to *Erzurum* and *Aşkale* justifies Xenophon's statement that the satrap was about a parasang away.⁵⁵ Third, the thermal springs of *Ilca* (*Aziziye*) provide the scenery for Xenophon's description (4.5.15). Fourth, the Ten Thousand had marched towards these villages in deep snow in a plain (4.5.3), in fact in the plain of *Erzurum*. And fifth, the average temperatures for *Erzurum* and *Aşkale* all year round and especially in February⁵⁶ are fully compatible with this proposal and justify an underground habitation in the winter in Xenophon's time.

The Ten Thousand stayed at these villages from 27 February

phrates) near its sources and not for the *Murat su* (East Euphrates). However, according to our chronology, the Ten Thousand crossed the Teleboas on 14 February 400 and Xenophon has not yet mentioned snow, which almost certainly he would if these villages near the Teleboas were located anywhere in the valley between *Erzurum* and *Aşkale*. Hence, we endorse her argument that a cluster of villages could have been anywhere in the valley between *Erzurum* and *Aşkale*, but we hold that they were in the valley of Xenophon's Euphrates (i.e. the West Euphrates or *Karasu*).

⁵⁴ Gazi University, Research Center for Archaeology, *Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline Project: Archaeological Salvage Excavations Project Documents II Güllüdere: An Iron Age and Medieval Settlement in Aşkale Plain* (Ankara 2005).

⁵⁵ *Anab.* 4.5.10. The satrap had probably paid a visit at *Erzurum* or *Aşkale*, as these places existed during the Achaemenid era under the names Karin and Sinara respectively: e.g. H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon 1965; orig. 1946) 88–89, “the Armenian name of the city, Karin, from the ancient name of the district, shows that a settlement, if not a city, existed from antiquity on the site of the fortress of Theodosiopolis” (i.e. *Erzurum*); 99, “Sinara ... stood on the southern slopes of the Kop-dağ between modern Aşkale and Lich.” The *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (89, C1) identifies Sinara as *Aşkale*.

⁵⁶ The areas of *Erzurum-Aşkale* and *Kars* are the coldest in Turkey. Temperatures at *Aşkale* in February: average max: -3 °C; average min.: -18 °C. Average min. temperatures of *Aşkale* above 0 °C: only May to September (2, 5, 9, 9, and 4 °C respectively): worldweatheronline.com.

to 7 March 400. They were at or near the point from which the summer road from *Erzurum* ascended towards *Bayburt* and Trapezus, but they were under severe winter conditions and could not ascend the mountain towards *Bayburt*. Two options were available (see Map 1): to follow the caravan highway to the west, towards *Erzincan*, in the valley of the West Euphrates (*Karasu*); or to follow the same caravan highway to the east, towards *Erzurum* and beyond, in the valley of the Araxes (Phasis, *Aras*). Approximately 20,000 people could not stay any longer in these villages, which were covered by snow and, probably, were running out of food.

It seems that the decision they made was associated with a misinterpretation of the Araxes.⁵⁷ When they learned that a river Phasis (the Araxes)⁵⁸ stemmed from the vicinity, they decided to follow it, supposing that it was the Colchian river Phasis and that thus they would arrive at its mouth on the Euxine, at the rich city of Phasis.⁵⁹ Probably they were aware of the legend of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece, implying the wealth of the region.⁶⁰ Xenophon dedicates a large part of his narrative to events at Cotyora, when the army learned that he intended to propose a move towards Phasis (5.6.15–5.7.10). Phasis was not on their way. It seems therefore that the soldiers were annoyed because, having marched previously towards

⁵⁷ “Perhaps closer to the truth is the view of some scholars who believe that Xenophon's troops mistakenly took this great river (i. e. the Araxes) for the Phasis, the legendary river of the Argonauts, hoping that it would lead them to the sea”: Otar Lordkipanidze, *Phasis, the River and City in Colchis* (Stuttgart 2000) 18.

⁵⁸ The Araxes, in its initial part, was called both Phasis and Araxes (Erax): Const. Porph. *De admin. imp.* 45.

⁵⁹ Phasis (present-day *Poti*, Georgia), founded by Milesians, was at the mouth of the river. In its hinterland lay Aea, the city of the legendary king Aetes, the father of Medea.

⁶⁰ Strabo (11.2.19) writes that the locals in Colchis gathered nuggets of gold from the waters of the rivers using fleeces; the same is stated by Appian (*Mith.* 103).

Colchian Phasis,⁶¹ they had ended up too far from that city, in the Armenian highland.

Thus, the Ten Thousand started the march to the east. Somewhere after *Erzurum* their guide escaped (4.6.2), but soon they arrived at the north bank of the Araxes, along which they marched for seven days.⁶² Probably they were no longer on a caravan highway but on a paved Persian royal road.⁶³ They marched beside the Araxes towards the east, passing from the lands of the Phasians, the Taochians, and the Khaldians.

Phasiane, the land of Xenophon's Phasians, was an area along the valley of Araxes between its sources (near *Erzurum*) and some point to the east.⁶⁴ The land of the Taochians⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Anab.* 5.7.1, "And Neon said that Xenophon had won over the other generals and was intending to deceive the soldiers and lead them *back* to the Phasis" (καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν). In most translations the expression πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν is taken to mean "back to Phasis." πάλιν does not mean "back" as opposed to "forth." In most instances in the *Anabasis* πάλιν clearly means "again" (1.4.7, 1.4.13, 1.6.7, 1.6.8, 1.10.6, 2.1.23, 2.3.24, 2.4.3, 3.1.29, 3.2.8, 3.2.9, 3.2.34, 3.3.6, 3.3.10, 3.4.28, 3.5.14, 4.2.13, 4.2.27, 4.3.20, 4.3.33, 4.4.10, 4.4.14, 4.5.1, 4.5.34, 5.2.18, 5.7.13, 5.8.5, 6.4.8, 6.4.16, 6.4.17, 6.4.19, 6.4.20, 6.5.20, 7.1.15, 7.2.2, 7.2.10, 7.2.13, 7.2.25, 7.3.2, 7.5.14, 7.6.33, 7.7.29, 7.7.38, 7.7.49, 7.7.51, 7.7.52, 7.8.21). There are cases where it should be taken to mean "again" or "back again" (1.3.16, 1.10.8, 3.1.7, 4.1.16, 4.8.28, 6.3.16, 6.6.37, 7.3.42, 7.4.1, 7.8.23). There is no case where πάλιν means "back," either in the *Anabasis* or in ancient Greek.

⁶² *Anab.* 4.6.4, "after this [the escape of the guide] they marched for seven stages at five parasangs per day along the river Phasis" (μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ πέντε σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν); but many take this to mean "after this they marched for seven stages at five parasangs per day until they reached the river Phasis."

⁶³ Rennell, *Illustrations* 32. Sagona, *A View from the Highlands* 309–310, provides archaeological evidence.

⁶⁴ Const. Porph. *De admin. imp.* 45. Today in this area, 40 km to the east of *Erzurum*, the name of the Turkish town *Pasinler* derives from Phasiane and the Phasians. In 19th and early 20th century maps the area is referred to as Passin.

⁶⁵ Strabo calls this land Phaunitis and Phauene (11.14.4–5). V. M. Kurk-

incorporated the valleys of *Oltu*, *Narman*, and *Tortum*.⁶⁶ The territories of the Khaldians, the remnants of the Urartu,⁶⁷ were mainly to the north of the Araxes, in an area formerly dominated by the Urartu.⁶⁸

On the proposal that the guide had escaped ca. 40 km to the east of the Armenian villages, 15 km to the east of *Erzurum*, the Ten Thousand found the Araxes 10 km to the west of *Pasinler*. Along the route, they stopped for four days by the river (Diod. 14.29.1). They marched along the Araxes 35 parasangs and arrived at *Kağızman*. This distance is 164 km (28.4 parasangs) from where they met the river and 193 km (33.5 parasangs) from the escape of the guide. These 7 days of march (*Anab.* 4.6.4) and 4 days of stay (Diod. 14.29.1) were between 11 and 21 March 400.

From *Kağızman* they marched for 2 days, 10 parasangs. In the pass leading into the plain they confronted a body of Khaldians, Taochians, and Phasians (4.6.5). This pass to the north of the Araxes is approximately 25 km (4.3 parasangs) from *Kağızman*. The Ten Thousand defeated the enemy in a battle, occupied their land which was full of supplies, and stayed there a fortnight.⁶⁹ They confronted the allied enemies on 23 March.

jian, *A History of Armenia*² (Los Angeles 2008) 63–64, writes that the kingdom of Artaxias-Artashes included *Taiq* (Phaunitis).

⁶⁶ R. W. Edwards, "The Vale of Kola: A Final Preliminary Report on the Marchlands of Northeast Turkey," *DOP* 42 (1988) 119–141, at 127.

⁶⁷ It has been proposed that the Urartu "must have migrated from somewhere to the west into the Armenian plateau ... They called themselves Khaldians (not to be confused with the people of Chaldea) or children of the god Khaldis, just as the name of the Assyrians reflects the name of their god Assur": Kurkjian, *History* 38–39. Also, "The people of the old kingdom of Urartu called themselves Xaldini, after their main god Xaldi": E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire, Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East* (Wiesbaden 1968) 313. Thus, the Khaldians encountered by the Ten Thousand were the remnants of the Urartu, after the decline of this great empire in the 6th century B.C.

⁶⁸ According to Sagona, *A View from the Highlands* 308, especially in the valley of the small river Zivin to the northeast of Horasan.

⁶⁹ Diod. 14.29.1. Similar account in Xenophon (4.6.6–27), but without

Their 5 days of march (4.7.1) and 15 days of stay (Diod. 14.29.1) in the land of the Taochians were between 24 March and 12 April.

They were following the Araxes to the east on the assumption that it was the Colchian river Phasis. Thus, their deviation from their route along the Araxes to the north was obligatory and associated with the scarcity of food.⁷⁰ We have no detail for the march of the Ten Thousand in the land of the Taochians, nor in the land of the Khaldians.⁷¹ The area into which they descended is still scattered with castle ruins.⁷² Some of these castles were those to which Xenophon refers when he says that the Taochians (4.7.1) and the Khaldians (4.7.17) lived in fortresses, and they stored all their supplies in them. According to Xenophon, they marched 5 days (30 parasangs) in the land of the Taochians, and 7 (50 parasangs) in the land of the Khaldians. Diodorus (14.29.2) reports also a seven days' march in the land of the Khaldians, but here Xenophon's 80 parasangs (approx. 400–480 km) are too many to fit the route. As they were now *wandering* outside a major road, their hourly march was reduced probably to 3 km and Xenophon's para-

the 15 days of stay.

⁷⁰ Sagona, *A View from the Highlands* 309, reports a dearth of settlements to the east of *Pasinler*. Most of the Iron Age settlements in the north of the *Pasinler* plain are close to the lower foothills, west of *Pasinler*, and there is a notable lack of sites in the floor of the valley of the Araxes itself. Hence the move to the north.

⁷¹ Xenophon speaks here of Chalybes (Χάλυβες), but Diodorus (14.29.1–2) refers to Khaldians (Χαλδαῖοι). Note however that Xenophon, when addressing the ambassadors of Sinope at Cotyora (5.5.17), says: “The Carduchians, for example, and the Taochians and Khaldians (Χαλδαῖοι), who were not subjects of the King and were exceedingly formidable—yet, even so, we made enemies of them because of the necessity of taking provisions, inasmuch as they would not provide a market.” Obviously he refers to the people he calls here Chalybes (Χάλυβες), because otherwise, apart from this sentence, there are only two more, but not relevant, references to Khaldians in the *Anabasis* (4.3.4, 7.8.25).

⁷² *Micingirt, Zivin, Semikale, Oltu, Erkek, Kars, Kevivan*, and other castles.

sangs here are analogous to the distances he reports along the Euphrates, from its tributary Khabour to Cunaxa and the battle;⁷³ or to the number of marches he reports in the land of the Mossynoecians.⁷⁴ Alternatively, Xenophon may have transferred here the 50 parasangs (10 days' march) that he has subtracted from the next leg between Gymnias and Theches, in order to safeguard the credibility of his aggregate in this leg of the route, if this aggregate was not a later interpolation.⁷⁵

Having moved to the north of the Araxes by necessity, searching for food, the Ten Thousand, we propose, did not alter their initial plan. They returned to the north bank of the Araxes somewhere before its confluence with the Harpasos. They followed the Araxes even after crossing its tributary, and they marched 4 days (20 parasangs) in the land of the Scytheni, *over a level plain*, arriving at some villages, where they stayed for three days and were refreshed.⁷⁶ The distance of *Yerevan* (our proposed area of location of the refreshment villages) from the Harpasos (*Arpa çay* in Turkish, *Achourian* in Armenian) is 108 km (18.7 parasangs).⁷⁷

⁷³ Xenophon reports 35 parasangs (1.5.1) from river *Khabour* (*al-Busayrah*) to Corsote (near modern *al-Bukamal* in Syria) and 90 parasangs (1.5.5) from Corsote to Pylae (22 km to the south of present-day *Hit*, in Iraq). These 125 parasangs are $95.2 + 283.8 = 379$ km and imply a parasang's length (an hour's march) of 3.03 km for this segment.

⁷⁴ As discussed below, Xenophon (5.5.1) reports 8 day marches in a limited space.

⁷⁵ A third alternative is that the Ten Thousand actually did march the distance reported by Xenophon. This is not incompatible with the location of Gymnias at *Gyumri*, as discussed below, but does not explain why, having marched to the northeast, probably not far from the city of Phasis, they changed their mind and turned to the south.

⁷⁶ Xenophon (4.7.18) says that after crossing the Harpasos they marched through the territory of the Scytheni four days, twenty parasangs (100–120 km), over a level plain. Diodorus (14.29.2) says also that their advance brought them through the territory of the Scytini by a road across a plain. If Harpasos was the *Çoruh* river, and if they had crossed it at *Yusufeli*, as most 'mainstream' proposals suggest, then where was this level plain?

⁷⁷ From the confluence of *Arpa çay*, all the way on the left (north) bank of

It seems that in the vicinity of *Yerevan*, viewing the southward bend of the Araxes, the Ten Thousand realized their mistake.⁷⁸ They were in the land known to Xenophon as the land of the Scytheni, and to Ptolemy as Sakasene, the people of which were called the Sacassani by Pliny and Sacae by Herodotus. A large section of the Early Scythians had crossed the Caucasus mountains, advanced along the western coast of the Caspian and settled there among the indigenous population.⁷⁹ Thus, the Ten Thousand moved to the north along the old caravan route,⁸⁰ 20 parasangs in four days according to Xenophon; they arrived at a large and prosperous city called Gymnias.⁸¹ The distance between *Yerevan* (the proposed location of the refreshment villages) and *Gyumri* (the proposed Gymnias)⁸² is 121 km (21.0 parasangs).

Gyumri is the second most important city of present-day Armenia. In early Armenian it was called *Kumayri*, which marks the presence of Cimmerians.⁸³ In antiquity the terms ‘Cimmerians’ and ‘Scythians’ were interchangeable. In Assyrian inscriptions the name ‘Scythians’ (*Iskuzai*) appears only ex-

the Araxes and thence northward from the area of *Masis*.

⁷⁸ Rennell, *Illustrations* 242, made a similar statement, though he believed that the Ten Thousand met the Harpasos further to the north. According to Manfredi *La Strada* 215-219, they marched east by Araxes until its southward bend.

⁷⁹ T. Sulimirski and T. Taylor, “The Scythians,” *CAH*² III.2 (1992) 562.

⁸⁰ Barnett, *CAH* 322–323.

⁸¹ *Anab.* 4.7.19. Diodorus (14.29.2) states also a four days’ march and calls the city Gymnasia.

⁸² The Armenian city *Gyumri* was thought of long ago as Xenophon’s Gymnias. According to Kurkjan, *A History of Armenia* 47, “from the ‘great rich and populous city’ of Gymnias, in the Scythian country (the more modern Gyumri, still later Alexandropol and now Leninakan), they proceeded through the area of Zarishat and south of Ardahan, and finally through the mountains of the Macronian and Colchian tribes to the Black Sea port of Trebizond.”

⁸³ A. K. G. Kristensen, *Who were the Cimmerians, and where did they come from?* (Copenhagen 1988) 103.

ceptionally. In Akkadian both Cimmerians and Scythians were defined as 'Cimmerians' (*Gimirra*).⁸⁴ Thus *Gyumri* satisfies the requirement: the city of Gymnias was inhabited by 'Scytheni', i.e. Scythians.

At Gymnias the Ten Thousand were supplied with a guide, who took them in *fifteen* days⁸⁵ to Mt. Theches,⁸⁶ after passing from the land of the Saspeirians (Hesperites), the enemies of the Scytheni. Xenophon does not name these enemies. But in the concluding 'interpolated' paragraph of the *Anabasis* a nation of Hesperites (Ἑσπερίται) appears for the first time (7.8.25). The Hesperites have been identified with the Saspeirians.⁸⁷ They occupied the area around the ancient city Sper (later Syspiritis, today *Ispir*) and so they were on the way of the Ten Thousand from *Gyumri* to Mt. Theches. On the other hand, Xenophon's description of the shields of the enemies of the Scytheni matches one in Herodotus⁸⁸ for some people of this area who participated in the campaign of Xerxes in 480, namely the Colchians, the Alarodians, and the Saspeirians. Herodotus is silent on the homeland of the Alarodians. But given the phonetic link to Urartu (and *Ararat*), scholars place them to the east of *Lake Van*, in the former Urartian heartland.⁸⁹ Therefore the Alarodians could not be the enemies of the Scytheni on the route of the Ten Thousand towards Mt. Theches. Thus the Hesperites (Saspeirians) and not the Colchians were the unnamed enemies of the Scytheni, because all the way from Colchis in the east to Sper in the west lived the Hesperites

⁸⁴ M. N. Van Loon, *Urartian Art: Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations* (Istanbul 1966) 16.

⁸⁵ Diod. 14.29.3; *five* days according to Xenophon (4.7.21).

⁸⁶ Mt. Chenion according to Diodorus (14.29.3).

⁸⁷ N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian. The Political Conditions based on the Naxarar System I* (Lisbon 1970; orig. 1908) 178.

⁸⁸ Xen. 4.7.22: covered with the raw hides of shaggy oxen, γέρρα δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια. Hdt. 7.79: ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοίνας.

⁸⁹ L. Khatchadourian, *Social Logics under Empire: The Armenian 'Highland Satrapy' and Achaemenid Rule* (diss. U. Michigan 2008) 90.

(Saspeirians), between the Scytheni and the Colchians (Hdt. 1.104.1, 4.37.1).

The Ten Thousand saw the sea from the heights of Mt. Theches, approximately 8 km north of present-day *Hart* (*Aydintepe*) as proposed here. The distance from Gymnias (*Gyumri*) to Mt. Theches is 442 km (76.6 parasangs)⁹⁰ and matches the distance covered in a fifteen days' march (75 parasangs). They descended from the mountain the (south) side of which they had ascended, in order to follow the old caravan route, more or less along the present-day *Bayburt-Gümüşhane-Trabzon* road. Before entering this road, they encountered the Macronians near the confluence of the Acampsis (*Çoruh*) and *Gökçedere* rivers.⁹¹

The Macronians were settled to the south of the Pontic Alps, mainly in the valley of the river Acampsis (*Çoruh*), around present-day *Bayburt* and *Gümüşhane*, i.e. in the area which according to the mainstream view was occupied by the Scytheni. Evidence for this homeland of the Macronians/Sannoi/Tzanoi is provided by ancient and later writers.⁹²

They were reconciled and the Macronians escorted the Greeks (along the Trapezus caravan route, we propose) to their northern boundary, i.e. the southern boundary of the Colchians. At this place was a great mountain, and upon this mountain the Colchians were drawn up for battle (4.8.9). We propose that the Greeks had arrived at the area of the Zigana Pass, altitude 2030 m, approximately 40 km to the north of *Gümüşhane*.

The Colchians were closer to the sea, and extended from the

⁹⁰ This is calculated as follows: *Gyumri* [12.0] *Akhurik* (border) [110.0] *Göle* [124.0] *Yusufeli* [77.0] *Ispir* [111.0] *Hart* (*Aydintepe*) [8.0] Mt. Theches.

⁹¹ Thus, according to our view, Gymnias was not at *Bayburt*, which the Ten Thousand did not even pass, for they moved to the north of it in an east-to-west direction (Map 2). Details of our proposals on the location of Mt. Theches and the encounter with the Macronians will be offered in a future article.

⁹² Strab. 12.3.18; Plin. *HN* 6.11; Procop. *Wars* 1.1.15, *Aed.* 3.6.

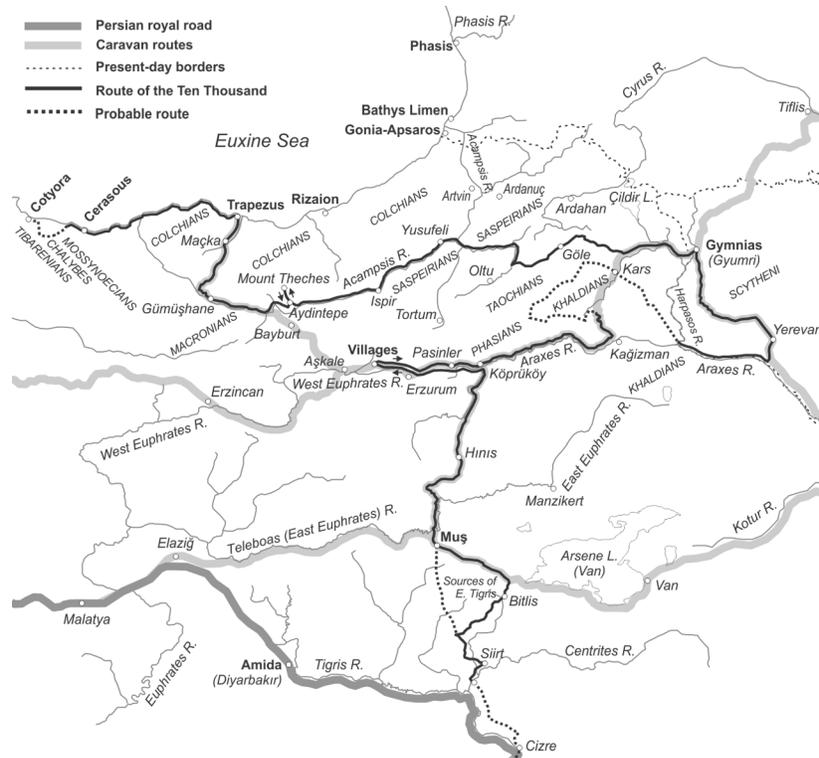
river Phasis to the west. Herodotus mentions them frequently and identifies their location (1.104 and 4.37). Colchis was well known to Strabo (11.2) and to Arrian (*Peripl.P.Eux.* 10–15).

The Ten Thousand put the enemy to flight and after accomplishing the ascent took up quarters in numerous villages, which contained provisions in abundance (4.8.19). For the most part, there was nothing here which they found strange; but the swarms of bees in the neighbourhood were numerous, and the soldiers who ate of the honey all suffered (4.8.20). The 'mad honey' episode happened, therefore, to the south of *Maçka*. When the Ten Thousand recovered, after four days, they continued their march along the old caravan route towards Trapezus (4.8.22), where they arrived on 25 May 400.

After a month's stay at Trapezus, they marched towards Cerasus (*Giresun*). The distance is 134 km (23.2 parasangs), but Xenophon says that they reached it in 3 days (5.3.2). They arrived at Cerasus on 27 June. There they remained ten days; the troops were reviewed under arms and counted, and there proved to be 8,600 men (5.3.3).

From Cerasus they continued their journey, the fit marching and the rest aboard Trapezuntine ships (5.4.1). They arrived at the border of the Mossynoecians and sent to ask whether they would be allowed to pass through their land as friends (5.4.2). The Eastern Mossynoecians denied passage; hence the Greeks allied with the Western Mossynoecians, marched into the country, ravaged it, and handed it over to their allies (5.4.3–31). Xenophon says they marched 8 days in the land of the Mossynoecians, both of the Eastern enemies and the Western allies (5.5.1).⁹³ Then they passed through the land of the iron mining and forging Chalybes, who were subject to the Mossynoecians (5.5.1), and that of the Tibarenians, and arrived at Cotyora, a Greek city in the land of the Tibarenians (5.5.3), on 20 July.

⁹³ As shown in the next section, an 8 days' march does not make sense here, especially if we consider marches of 5 parasangs each day. It is more likely that here are implied 2 days of march and 6 days of stay.



Map 2: The Retreat of the Ten Thousand based on Diodorus

Detailed and aggregate information

Xenophon reports distances almost exclusively in multiples of 5 parasangs. There has been extensive discussion on the meaning of the parasang. It has been held that it equals 30 *stadia* (Hdt. 5.53), that is 5.768 or 5.322 km, depending on the definition of the *stadiou*.⁹⁴ It has also been held that the parasang was not an accurately determined measure of distance, but rather indicated a certain amount of time employed in traversing a

⁹⁴ 192.27 m for the Olympic *stadiou*, 177.40 m for the Attic.

given space:⁹⁵ travelling by road, this measure equalled 30 *stadia*, otherwise it was much reduced. However, it has been pointed out that Xenophon makes no attempt to explain the parasang. Thus, if he actually thought it was a measure of time, he could not expect the reader to understand it: the best-known explanation had been that of Herodotus, and Xenophon could not rely on his readers to have obtained a non-Herodotean view from some other familiar source.⁹⁶ Finally, from empirical calculations based on Xenophon's *Anabasis* it has also been held that a parasang equals 5.0 km.⁹⁷

Taking all these considerations into account, as well as Xenophon's rounding up of distances in multiples of 5 parasangs, we initially defined the parasang roughly, but not inaccurately, as equal to 5–6 km, and hence defined Xenophon's base unit, the 5 parasangs, as approximately 25–30 km.

This base unit was graphically applied over the route of the anabasis and the retreat, assuming for the retreat the route proposed here. It emerged that the parasangs reported by Xenophon, as shown in our description of the route, corresponded in most cases to the true distances.⁹⁸ It followed also that the rivers mentioned by Xenophon were those known under their ancient and/or current names, with the probable confusion between West Euphrates (*Karasi*) and Araxes (*Aras*) in the area of their neighbouring sources. From the time the general route became probable, even in its most obscure leg, and the exact kilometric segments were ascertained, a further hypothesis was that there should be a way of calculating the chronology. This last part of the article discusses the way in which the dates men-

⁹⁵ Layard, *Discoveries* 49–50.

⁹⁶ Tuplin, *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997) 405.

⁹⁷ Col. A. Boucher, *L'Anabase de Xénophon* (Paris 1913) xiii.

⁹⁸ With the exception of the above-stated concealment of the real length of the route from Gymnias (*Gyumri*) to Mt. Theches, and obviously with the exception of a shorter parasang employed by Xenophon from the crossing of the Euphrates (at Thapsacos) to Cunaxa and the battle. This 'variation' of the parasang has been explained by Layard, *Discoveries* 49–50.

tioned in the above route description were arrived at.

As shown in Table 1, in the leg from the Armenian villages with subterranean houses to Gymnias, Diodorus reports 19 *more* days of rest than Xenophon and 10 *more* days of march between Gymnias and Mt. Theches. Whichever were the sources of Diodorus via Ephorus, either Sophaenetos or the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* or both, these differences in the two narratives are clear. The differences have never been considered, not even by Rennell. This additional time in Diodorus could be ignored, if the critical issues of the route and the chronology were resolved. But with multiple proposals on the route and the chronology, it was rather a luxury to dismiss our only other source.

Table 1: Retreat from the Armenian villages to Mt. Theches: comparison of narratives of Xenophon and Diodorus

<i>Xenophon (4.6.1-4.7.21)</i>			<i>Diodorus (14.29.1-3)</i>		
<i>Location</i>	<i>Days of march rest</i>		<i>Days of rest march</i>		<i>Location</i>
In the Armenian villages					In the Armenian villages
March with head of village	3				
By Araxes without guide	7		4		By river Araxes
Chalybes, Taochians, Phasians	2				
In the fortress of Taochians	5		15		With Chaons, Phasians
At Chalybes and Harpasos	7		7		At Chaldeans & Harpagus
In the land of Scytheni	4	3	3		In the land of Scytini
In city Gymnias	4		4		In city Gymnasia
Totals	32	3	22	11	Totals
Armenian villages-Gymnias	35		33		Armenian villages- Gymnasia
Gymnias-Mt. Theches	5		15		Gymnasia-Mt. Chenion

Xenophon’s *Anabasis* provides two types of information, on time and on distance. For most segments of the march, we find the details summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Detailed chronological and distance information

<i>Segment</i>	<i>Para-sangs</i>	<i>Days of march</i>	<i>Days of rest</i>	<i>Days total</i>	<i>Xen. Anab.</i>
Sardes-Myriandos	262	41	86	127	1.2.5-1.4.6
Myriandos-Cunaxa	255	45	11	56	1.4.9-1.10.18
Sardes-Cunaxa	517	86	97	183	
Cunaxa-Carduchian mts.	93	37	35	72	2.2.8-4.1.8
Carduchian mts.-Trapezus	257	67	19	86	4.3.2-4.8.22
Trapezus-Cotyora		14	42	56	4.8.22-5.3.3
Cunaxa-Cotyora		118	96	214	

In three places we find the aggregate information that is depicted in Table 3. We have mentioned that this aggregate information has been considered an interpolation and we have offered explanations why the 'interpolated' aggregates do not seem to be written by a copyist or any other alien hand, and so deserve to be at least evaluated.

Table 3: Aggregate 'interpolated' information in the *Anabasis*

	<i>Days of march</i>	<i>Para-sangs</i>	<i>Days of rest</i>	<i>Days Total</i>	<i>Xen. Anab.</i>
Ephesos-Cunaxa	<i>a</i> 93	<i>f</i> 535	119 ¹	212 ²	2.2.6
Cunaxa-Cotyora	<i>b</i> 122	<i>g</i> 620	122 ¹	<i>d</i> 244	5.5.4
Ephesos-Cotyora	<i>c</i> 215	<i>h</i> 1,150 ³	241 ¹	<i>e</i> 456	7.8.26
¹ : Deriving as <i>Days total</i> – <i>Day marches</i> ² : Deriving as <i>Days total</i> Ephesos-Cotyora – <i>Days total</i> Cunaxa-Cotyora ³ : 5 parasangs' error in the sum <i>a-h</i> : Conditions to be satisfied by proposals					

Thus, the aggregate information in Table 3 reflects eight conditions labeled above with the letters *a* to *h*. Conditions *a* to *e* refer to time (in days) and are discussed here; conditions *f* to *h* refer to distance (in parasangs) and will be discussed in a future article.

Deficiency in comparison to 'interpolated' aggregates

It was noticed long ago that there is a deficiency of three weeks between the aggregate time on the one hand and the sum of the detailed days of march and rest on the other.⁹⁹ However, as shown in Table 4, the march from Cunaxa to Cotyora lasted 214 days and not 8 months as reported roundly in the 'interpolated' paragraph of the *Anabasis* (5.5.4). There is accordingly a deficiency of one month.

Table 4:
Comparison of detailed and aggregate information in Xenophon¹

	<i>Para- sangs</i>	<i>Days of march</i>	<i>Days of rest</i>	<i>Days total</i>	<i>Days aggregate</i>	<i>Defi- ciency (days)</i>
Sardes-Myriandos	262	41	86	127		
Myriandos-Cunaxa	255	45	11	56		
Sardes-Cunaxa	517	86	97	183		
Cunaxa-Carduchiana	93	37	35	72		
Carduchian-Trapezus	257	67	19	86		
Trapezus-Cotyora		14	42	56		
Cunaxa-Cotyora		118	96	214	243 ²	29
SARDES-COTYORA		204	193	397	426 ³	29

¹: *Parasangs*, *days of march*, *days of rest* and *days total* from the detail (Table 2).
Days aggregate from para. 5.5.4 and 7.8.26 respectively (Table 3).
Deficiency (days) = Days aggregate - Days total

²: Eight months (*Anabasis*, 5.5.4), i.e. 4 x 31 + 4 x 30 = 244 days. But Cunaxa-Cotyora lasted from 20 Nov. to 20 July, hence eight months= 11+31+31+28+31+30+31+30+20 = 243 days

³: One month is subtracted for the wait between departing Ephesos and departing Sardes, so instead of 1 year 3 months (*Anab.* 7.8.26) we have 1 year 2 months, i.e. 365 + 30 + 31 = 426 days.

⁹⁹ Rennell, *Illustrations* 285.

Also, it has been noticed¹⁰⁰ that after subtracting a month for the journey from Ephesos to Sardes as well as for the preparations for the departure at Sardes, the aggregate 'interpolated' duration of the journey between Sardes and Cotyora (7.8.26) is one year and two months. As shown in the last line of Table 4, there is again a month's deficiency in comparison with the detailed information provided by Xenophon.

Views about the chronology of the Anabasis

This deficiency of one month in the retreat of the Ten Thousand was extended by some researchers to three months. Before proceeding, therefore, it would be useful to consider the literature on the chronology of the *Anabasis*.

The traditional view

It has been acknowledged¹⁰¹ that the date 6 March 401 as the starting day of the anabasis (departure from Sardes) was proposed in 1850¹⁰² without any justification beyond seeming the most likely one. This convention was widely adopted. In fact this was the date proposed 34 years earlier. Rennell derived 6 March 401 by counting back from the assumed date of the selection of the date fruits at the Babylonian villages after the battle.¹⁰³ On the traditional chronology, the army crosses the Euphrates in late July/early August 401,¹⁰⁴ fights at Cunaxa in early September,¹⁰⁵ and sees the Black Sea from Mt. Theches in late January/early February 400.¹⁰⁶ But the feasibility of sustained winter marching in eastern Anatolia was challenged from the beginning. In 1818, two years after the publication of the first book proposing the traditional chronology, it was argued that it was impossible to travel continuously

¹⁰⁰ Rennell, *Illustrations* 282.

¹⁰¹ Brennan, *Xenophon* 307.

¹⁰² K. Koch, *Der Zug der Zehntausend* (Leipzig 1850) 3–12.

¹⁰³ Rennell, *Illustrations* 285.

¹⁰⁴ On 27 July according to Koch, 5 August according to Rennell.

¹⁰⁵ On 3 September Koch, 7 September Rennell.

¹⁰⁶ On 27 January Koch, 5 February 400 Rennell.

these distances in the middle of the winter.¹⁰⁷ The first proponent of the traditional chronology had himself suspected that the anchoring of his chronological frame might need to be shifted forward.¹⁰⁸

The late start

A century later, in the 1930s, a German botanist in *Trabzon* (ancient Trapezus) examined the march of the Ten Thousand towards the Euxine Sea and concluded that it would be impossible to cross the Pontic Alps in winter. He proposed, therefore, a late chronology: the army crosses the Euphrates at Thapsacos in the beginning of September and arrives at the irrigation canals and the dates in November.¹⁰⁹ However, he did not explain convincingly some gaps that appeared in his chronology, and this undermined the influence of his approach.¹¹⁰ More recently another proponent of a late chronology was similarly criticized for stretching the framework of the retreat.¹¹¹

The early start

Arguments for an early start of the campaign were also presented. They were based on the view that the Arcadian festival Lycaea, celebrated by the Greeks at Peltae (1.2.10), took place at the vernal equinox (22 March). Thus, it was proposed that the march began in early February and all subsequent dating should be one month earlier than that of the traditional chronology.¹¹² With the early start scheme, the worst problems of

¹⁰⁷ Kinneir, *Journey* 490.

¹⁰⁸ Rennell, *Illustrations* 284–285.

¹⁰⁹ G. Gassner, “Der Zug der Zehntausend nach Trapezunt,” *Abh. Braunschw. Wiss. Ges.* 5 (1953) 1–35, at 11–12.

¹¹⁰ For example, according to Gassner the army crosses the Euphrates in early September, little more than a month after Koch had placed the crossing using the 6 March start, but the army ascends Theches in late May, leaving an unexplained gap.

¹¹¹ Lendle, *Kommentar*, was criticised for having the army at Cunaxa in October 401, but not reaching Trapezus until June 400: see C. Tuplin, *CR* 48 (1998) 286–288.

¹¹² K. Glombiowski, “The Campaign of Cyrus the Younger and the Re-

winter are avoided, but the problems associated with crossing the Pontic Alps are not resolved, nor is the encounter in the Colchian hills with the 'mad' honey (4.8.20–21), which has been convincingly dated to late spring, although the value of this episode for the chronology has been questioned.¹¹³ However, the early chronology fails to satisfy many chronological pointers in the text. Also, it has been doubted whether the Lycaean games were celebrated as early as March, if for no other reason than that the stadium at Mt. Lycaeum in Arcadia lay at an altitude of 1170 m.¹¹⁴ In addition, it has been argued that the games were held to boost the morale of the soldiers: there was no relation to any fixed date.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the anchor of the early start chronology is not secure.

The omitted part of the retreat

Other researchers have endorsed the arguments for a late arrival at Trapezus, but, dissatisfied with a late departure from Sardes, proposed an entry into Babylonia in early September 401.¹¹⁶ Thus, with an arrival at the sea no earlier than May, there was a three months' gap in Xenophon's narrative. This view was subsequently developed through a study of the *Azalea pontica* flowering season, which dated the 'mad honey' episode. The conclusion was that the notion that the Ten Thousand reached Trapezus in February/March 400 was wrong, because of the absence of snow on and around Mt. Theches, but also because of the exact season of *Azalea pontica* in the region above Trapezus: there the fresh 'mad honey' is a phenomenon of mid May to early June.¹¹⁷ The proponents of this view, calculating the route backwards from the 'mad honey' episode, believe that Xenophon has omitted at least three months of the story.

treat of the Ten Thousand: Chronology," *Pomoerium* 1 (1994) 37–44.

¹¹³ Lee, *A Greek Army* 29–30, thinks that the Ten Thousand ate honeycombs from the previous spring (401).

¹¹⁴ Brennan, *Xenophon* 329.

¹¹⁵ J. Roy, "The Ambitions of a Mercenary," in *The Long March* 264–288.

¹¹⁶ Manfredi, *La Strada* 211–215.

¹¹⁷ Lane Fox, in *The Long March* 43.

The reasons for Xenophon's omission

It has been argued that Xenophon sought to cover over events that would cast doubt on the infallibility of his leadership.¹¹⁸ The misidentification of the Araxes (Phasis) led to a march to the east. This may have resulted in heavy casualties due to the weather.¹¹⁹ This view, that the Greeks mistook the Araxes for the Colchian river Phasis and followed its course, is adopted also in this article; it was favoured by researchers in the 19th century.¹²⁰ However, this view did not result in an integrated route of the retreat, because, using Xenophon and ignoring Diodorus, researchers were searching for Gymnias at a distance of *five* and not *fifteen* days march from Mt. Theches.

It has been noticed that Xenophon omits important events and people, without it being clear whether this was the result of bad memory and personal bias, or of his aim to write a kind of 'paradigmatic' history, stressing moral and political lessons rather than the comprehensive coverage of events.¹²¹ Some critics think that Xenophon was promoting a panhellenic expedition,¹²² and point to passages in the *Anabasis* which suggest the panhellenic orientation of his work: the very success of the Ten Thousand and the weaknesses their march revealed in the social and military structure of the Achaemenid realm were presented in the *Anabasis* in part to suggest the certain conquest of Persia by some future expedition.¹²³ At the same time that the *Anabasis* looks backward as an exoneration both of Xenophon himself and of the men under his command, it also looks forward by way of example.¹²⁴

Probably Xenophon decided that it would do no good if he

¹¹⁸ Lane Fox, in *The Long March* 45.

¹¹⁹ Manfredi, *La Strada* 215–219.

¹²⁰ Among whom Rennell, Ainsworth, and others.

¹²¹ Flower, *Xenophon's Anabasis* 67.

¹²² Waterfield, *Xenophon* xvii.

¹²³ J. Dillery, *Xenophon and the History of his Times* (London 1995) 60–61.

¹²⁴ Flower, *Xenophon's Anabasis* 6–7.

related in his narrative that under his shared leadership the Ten Thousand were by mistake taken so far to the east; his intention was not to lie, but to exclude from his story of these extraordinary events an unflattering matter, the commemoration of which would harm not only him personally, but also the Ten Thousand collectively, and the Greeks as an entity, who had already started building upon the legend of this expedition. The *Anabasis* was completed around 370. Ten years before, around 380,¹²⁵ Isocrates had written in his *Panegyricus* that the Persians had clearly manifested their cowardice in every part of the world: not only had they suffered many defeats on the coast of Asia Minor, but when they crossed into Europe, in Greece, they paid the penalty; in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, the Persians had ended by becoming objects of ridicule in the eyes of the King's palace itself (*Pan.* 145–149).

The writing of a kind of paradigmatic history, stressing moral and political lessons rather than the comprehensive coverage of events, may also explain why Xenophon, disciple and admirer of Socrates, might not hesitate to exclude from his books the incident with the philosopher in the battle of Delion.¹²⁶ According to Dio Chrysostom (18.16), in Xenophon one finds how to deceive enemies to their hurt and friends for their own benefit.

Towards a relative chronology of the events

By utilizing the information added by Diodorus, we need not accept a three months' omission on the part of Xenophon. One month is missing (cf. Table 4), and it is nothing other than the 10 extra days of march between Gymnias and Mt. Theches plus the 19 extra days of rest, by the Araxes (4 days) and in the

¹²⁵ J. H. Freese, *The Orations of Isocrates I* (London 1894) xxv.

¹²⁶ To the extent that the statements in Strabo and in Diogenes Laertius, and the anonymous reference in Plato's *Symposium*, all correspond to fact. The incident is described by Alcibiades in Pl. *Symp.* 26: Alcibiades praises Socrates, who saved him during the siege of Potidea (430 B.C.) and at Delion (424) also saved another soldier. At Delion, Strabo (9.2.7) and Diog. Laert. (2.5.22) identify him as Xenophon. Socrates served as a foot soldier, unable to afford a horse and a groom as Xenophon and Alcibiades could.

lands of the Taochians and the Phasians (15 days).

Xenophon's five (instead of fifteen) days of march could be considered an intentional concealment of an unflattering episode. However, his omission of 19 additional days of rest could be thought of, at first, as an unfortunate error, as he had no reason to omit the days which, if not omitted, would bring the partial sums closer to the aggregates. We propose that in addition to shortening the march between Gymnias and Theches, by also omitting 19 days of rest Xenophon presented a different case, making comparisons more difficult. Rennell, although he had not noticed these remarks of Diodorus, treated very generously this misadventure of Xenophon. He also suspected the omission of days of rest as a possible reason.¹²⁷

In the first 'interpolation' in the *Anabasis* (2.2.6: see Table 4), the length and timing of the route are counted starting from Ephesos. It is implied that there were 7 days of march between Ephesos and Sardes, as this is the difference between the 93 aggregate days of march between Ephesos and Cunaxa (Table 3) and the 86 day marches between Sardes and Cunaxa (Table 4).¹²⁸ We may, therefore, assume that the campaign starts (day = 0) at Ephesos, and departs from Sardes on the 30th day, after a 23 days' stay there for preparations. From now on, adding *only* the additional information of Diodorus, the details match the aggregates: departure from Ephesos on day 0, arrival at Sardes on day 7, departure from Sardes on day 30, arrival at Cunaxa on day 213, and arrival at Cotyora on day 456. Also, by assuming a minor modification,¹²⁹ there are 93 days of

¹²⁷ Rennell, *Illustrations* 282–284.

¹²⁸ However, according to Herodotus (5.54), it was a 3 days journey from Ephesos to Sardes. Therefore, the 7 days of march here imply either that Xenophon started his land journey to Sardes 4 days after his arrival by sea at Ephesos, or that he traveled the distance leisurely.

¹²⁹ We assume 2 days of march and 6 days of stay in the land of the Mossynoecians instead of Xenophon's 8 days of march, taking into account the remark of Rennell, *Illustrations* 257–258. The distance between Cerasus (*Giresun*) and Cotyora (*Ordu*) is 43 km. However circuitous might have been the journey through the land of the Mossynoecians, it could not have lasted

march between Ephesos and Cunaxa, and 122 between Cunaxa and Cotyora, so 215 from Ephesos to Cotyora. Further, the march from Cunaxa to Cotyora lasts eight months, and from Ephesos to Cotyora one year and three months.

Now the model of relative chronology in the *Anabasis* has become stable, as shown in Table 5, where the last column gives the ordinal number of the day of each event starting with Ephesos (= 0). This model satisfies the five conditions *a* to *e* (Table 3) imposed by the 'interpolated' time aggregates. Thus:

Condition a: By inserting the 7 days of march implied by Xenophon between Ephesos and Sardes, there are 93 days of march in the anabasis.

Condition b: By accepting 2 days of march and 6 days of rest (instead of 8 days of march) in the land of the Mossynoecians, and thus 8 days of march between Trapezus and Cotyora, there are 122 days of march in the retreat.¹³⁰

Condition c: Following the satisfaction of *condition b*, there are 215 days of march in the anabasis and the retreat.¹³¹

Condition d: The difference between the relative chronologies of Cotyora (456) and Cunaxa (213) is 243 days. Therefore the retreat lasted eight months.¹³²

Condition e: The difference between the relative chronologies of Cotyora (456) and Ephesos (0) is 456 days. Therefore the anabasis and retreat lasted one year and three months (365 + 30 + 31 + 30 = 456 days).

8 day marches (5.5.1), also because the first part between Cerasus and the eastern border of the Mossynoecians was traveled in an additional march (5.4.1–2), and the last part between the western border of the Mossynoecians and Cotyora in two more marches (5.5.3). This change does not affect the chronology of the arrival at Cotyora; eight days are eight days, regardless of their distribution in days of march and rest.

¹³⁰ Cunaxa–Carduchian mts. + Carduchian mts.–Trapezus + Trapezus–Cotyora = 37 + 77 + 8 = 122 days.

¹³¹ Ephesos–Cunaxa + Cunaxa–Cotyora = 93 + 122 = 215 days.

¹³² Eight months = 4 x 30 + 4 x 31 = 244 days. But as shown, the march Cunaxa–Cotyora lasted from 20 November to 20 July, hence eight months = 11 + 31 + 31 + 28 + 31 + 30 + 31 + 30 + 20 = 243 days.

Table 5:
A model of relative chronology with corrections from Diodorus

<i>Location</i>	<i>Days of march</i>	<i>Days of rest</i>	<i>Days total</i>	<i>Days from Ephesos</i>
Ephesos				0
Sardes	7	23		7
Ephesos -Sardes	7	23	30	
Sardes				30
Maecander river	3			33
Colossae	1	7		41
Celaenae	3	30		74
Peltae	2	3		79
Ceramon Agora	2			81
Cavstrou Pedion	3	5		89
Thymbriion	2			91
Tyriacion	2	3		96
Iconion	3	3		102
Through Lycaonia	5			107
Through Cappadocia to Tyana	4	3		114
Cilicia Pass		2		116
Tarsos	4	20		140
Psaros river	2			142
Pyramos river	1			143
Issos	2	3		148
Gates of Cilicia-Syria	1			149
Myriandos	1	7		157
Sardes-Myriandos	41	86	127	
Myriandos				157
Chalos river	4			161
Dardas river	5			166
Thapsacos, Euphrates river	3	5		174
Araxes (Aborras) river	9	3		186
Corsote	5	3		194
Pylae	13			207
	3			210
Through Babylonia to the battlefield	1			211
	1			212
At Cunaxa and the battle	1			213
Return to the camp				213
Myriandos-Cunaxa	45	11	56	
With Ariacos				214
To the plundered villages	1			215
Truce. To the Babylonian villages	1	3		219
Arrival-departure of Tissaphernes		3		222
Waiting Tissaphernes		20		242
At the Wall of Media	3			245
Sittace	2			247
Opis	4			251
Villages of Parysatis	6			257
Zapatas river. Murder of Greek generals	4	3		264
Attack of Mithradates	1	1		266
New attack, arrival at Larissa	1			267
Mespila	1			268
Attack of Tissaphernes	1			269
In villages with provisions		1		270
At the hills	5	3		278
New attack of Tissaphernes	1	1		280

Table 5 (continued)

<i>Location</i>	<i>Days of march</i>	<i>Days of rest</i>	<i>Days total</i>	<i>Days from Ephesos</i>
Escape from Tissaphernes	3			283
In the plain near Tigris river	1			284
On the mountains of the Carduchians	1			285
Cunaxa-Carduchian mountains	37	35	72	
On the mountains of the Carduchians				285
In the land of the Carduchians	7			292
Centrites river		1		293
In town with palace	1			294
Sources of Eastern Tigris river	2			296
Teleboas (Eastern Euphrates) river	3			299
In the villages with the first snow	3			302
Attacking Tirivazos		3		305
Crossing the mountain pass	1			306
(Western) Euphrates river	3			309
Northerly march in the snow	3			312
Cheirisophos arrives at villages				312
The army arrives next day	1			313
Stay at the Armenian villages		8		321
March with village's headman as guide	3			324
March next to Araxes without guide	7			331
Stay next to Araxes (<i>Diodorus</i>)		4 ²		335
Taochians, Phasians and Khaldians	2			337
In the land of the Taochians	5			342
Stay in the Taochians (<i>Diodorus</i>)		15 ²		357
In the land of Khaldians. River Harpassos	7			364
In the land of Scytheni	4	3		371
At the city Gymnias	4			375
At mount Theches (<i>Diodorus</i>)	15 ¹			390
In the land of the Macronians	3			393
In the land of the Colchinians	1	4		398
At Trapezus	2			400
Carduchian mountains-Trapezus	77	38	115	
At Trapezus		30		430
At Cerasus	3	10		443
At the border of the Mossynoecians	1	2		446
In the land of the Mossynoecians	2 ³	6 ³		454
At Cotyora	2			456
Trapezous-Cotyora	8	48	56	
At Cotyora		45		501
At Sinope	1	5		507
At Heraclea	2			509
At Limen Calpes				
At Chrysopolis				
Passage to Byzantium				
At Perinthos				
With Seuthes at the Delta of Thrace				
With Seuthes at the land of Thyni				
With Seuthes at Salmydessos				
Passage to Asia. At Pergamon				
Cotyora-Byzantium-Pergamon				

¹: Added 10 days of march according to Diodorus (14.29.3).
²: Added days of rest (4 and 15 respectively) according to Diodorus (14.29.1-2).
³: Correction: 2 days of march and 6 of rest instead of Xenophon's (5.5.1) 8 days of march.

Table 6:
Comparison of early start, traditional, and proposed chronologies

<i>Location</i>	<i>Chronology</i>		
	<i>early start</i>	<i>traditional</i>	<i>proposed</i>
From Ephesos	7 Jan 401	4 Feb 401	20 Apr 401
From Sardes	6 Feb	6 Mar	20 May
Crossing Euphrates at Thapsacos	30 Jun	28 Jul	11 Oct
Battle at Cunaxa	8 Aug 401	5 Sep	19 Nov
At the villages of the truce	11 Aug-6 Sep	8 Sep-4 Oct	22 Nov-18 Dec
Zapatas river. Murder of generals	25-28 Sep	23-26 Oct	6-9 Jan 400
Ascent on Carduchian mountains	19 Oct	16 Nov	30 Jan
Crossing Centrites	28 Oct	25 Nov	8 Feb
In town with palace (<i>Sürt</i>)	28 Oct	25 Nov	8 Feb
Sources of East Tigris (<i>Bilis</i>)	30 Oct	27 Nov	10 Feb
Teleboas river (<i>Muş</i>)	2 Nov	30 Nov	13 Feb
Villages with the first snow (<i>Hmis</i>)	5-8 Nov	3-6 Dec	16-19 Feb
Attacking Tirivazos	8 Nov	6 Dec	19 Feb
Crossing mountain pass	9 Nov	7 Dec	20 Feb
At Euphrates (<i>Araxes</i>)	12 Nov	10 Dec	23 Feb
March in the snow	12-15 Nov	10-13 Dec	23-26 Feb
At the Armenian villages	16-24 Nov	14-22 Dec	27 Feb-7 Mar
March with the headman	25-27 Nov	23-25 Dec	8-10 Mar
March next to Araxes	28 Nov-4 Dec	26 Dec-1 Jan 400	11-17 Mar
Stay by Araxes	5-8 Dec	2-5 Jan	18-21 Mar
March away from the river	9-10 Dec	6-7 Jan	22-23 Mar
Confronting enemies	10 Dec	7 Jan	23 Mar
March in the Taochians	11-15 Dec	8-12 Jan	24-28 Mar
Stay at the Taochians	16-30 Dec	13-27 Jan	29 Mar-12 Apr
March in the Khaldians	31 Dec-6 Jan	28 Jan-3 Feb	13-19 Apr
Crossing Harpasos	6 Jan 400	3 Feb	19 Apr
To villages of refreshment	7-10 Jan	4-7 Feb	20-23 Apr
Stay at the villages (<i>Yerevan</i>)	11-13 Jan	8-10 Feb	24-26 Apr
To Gymnias	14-17 Jan	11-14 Feb	27-30 Apr
At Gymnias (<i>Gymri</i>)	17 Jan	14 Feb	30 Apr
From Gymnias to Theches	18 Jan-1 Feb	15-29 Feb	1-15 May
On mount Theches	1 Feb	29 Feb	15 May
Confronting the Macronians	2 Feb	1 Mar	16 May
Marching with the Macronians	3-5 Feb	2-4 Mar	17-19 May
Confronting the Colchians	5 Feb	4 Mar	19 May
Sickness caused by the honey	6-9 Feb	6-9 Mar	20-23 May
To Trapezus	10-11 Feb	10-11 Mar	24-25 May
At Trapezus	11 Feb-13 Mar	11 Mar-10 Apr	25 May-24 Jun
To Cerasus	14-16 Mar	11-14 Apr	25-27 Jun
At Cerasus	16-25 Mar	14-23 Apr	27 Jun-6 Jul
To the border of Mossynoecians	26 Mar	24 Apr	7 Jul
At the border of Mossynoecians	27-28 Mar	25-26 Apr	8-9 Jul
In the land of the Mossynoecians	29 Mar-5 Apr	27 Apr-4 May	10-17 Jul
In Chalybes and Tibarenians	6-7 Apr	5-6 May	18-19 Jul
At Cotyora	8 Apr-23 May	7 May-21 Jun	20 Jul-3 Sep
At Sinope	24-29 May	22-27 Jun	4-9 Sep
At Heraclea	31 May	29 Jun	11 Sep
At Limen Calpes			

The absolute chronology of Xenophon's Anabasis

After setting up a stable model of relative chronology for the *Anabasis*, we proceeded and attempted to identify absolute dates. The chronological pointers in the last column of Table 5 were all interrelated. By defining the date of any event, we obtained the dates of all events. The task was to arrive at that set of dates which satisfied in the best possible way the information provided by Xenophon.

The last column of Table 6 is the outcome of a series of tests performed on the model of relative chronology (Table 5). It summarizes the most likely dating of the events, on the basis of climatic and other information offered in Xenophon. The other two columns provide comparative dates from the same model for a *traditional* and an *early start* of the expedition. The proposed set of dates was the most likely for various reasons, most already noticed by other researchers.¹³³ The central section of Table 6 (Centrites to Cotyora) provides in the last column the dates mentioned in this article in describing the proposed route.

Conclusion

The names of the rivers and the nations mentioned by Xenophon in the retreat of the Ten Thousand from the (West)

¹³³ E.g. see Brennan, in *Xenophon* 307–339. We propose that the battle at Cunaxa was fought on 19 November, and the Greeks arrived at Trapezus on 25 May. They had crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacos (*Anab.* 1.4.17–18) on 11 October 401; hence the low level of the river. They had marched towards the villages of the truce between 20 and 22 November; thus Clearchus was right in his suspicions (2.3.10–13). They were at these villages between 22 November and 18 December; hence the abundance of food and wine after the date harvest (2.3.14–16). They turned towards the Carduchians (4.1.2–3) on 30 January, when the level of Tigris is high. They marched in the snow (4.4.8–12) between 23 and 26 February, dates compatible with the local weather conditions. They ascended Mt. Theches (4.7.23–26) on 15 May 400; hence the absence of snow. They consumed the mad honey (4.8.20–21) on 20 May 400, a date compatible with the observations of Gassner, *Abh.Braunschw.Wiss.Ges.* 5 (1953) 33, and Lane Fox, in *The Long March* 43. They plundered the new wheat of the Mossynoecians (5.4.27) between 10 and 17 July, i.e. after its harvest; etc.

Euphrates to Mt. Theches indicate a route which was thought of long ago but could not be proved with his stated march duration (*five* days) from Gymnias to Mt. Theches. Given that Diodorus, the only alternative source for the retreat, refers to a march of *fifteen* days, this route could be verified, if the time and distance data proved compatible. This circuitous route was the outcome of the wrong assumption that the sources of the Araxes near *Erzurum* were the sources of the Colchian river Phasis, and that the Ten Thousand would arrive at its mouth on the Euxine Sea, at the rich city of Phasis, by following the course of this river. They had already marched in vain the immense distance from Sardes to the area of *Erzurum* via Syria and Iraq, and believed they deserved some compensation.

They learned that their assumption was wrong. Hence Xenophon, when writing the history of these events, decided to omit from his narrative this leg of the retreat. During the fifteen months of the anabasis and the retreat, as well as during the additional months until his arrival at Pergamon, he had collected a bulk of information. He could manipulate this information in order to conceal the unpleasant event. On the other hand, he wanted to bring forth his description of the geography of the vast area he had traversed. Therefore, he altered a distance, he omitted two periods of rest, he confused intentionally two names of nations (Chalybes, Khaldians), he presented the nation of Scytheni in two different locations (to the east of the Harpasos and to the south of Trapezus), and he left without a name a nation (Hesperites/Saspeirians, the enemies of the Scytheni) which, when named, would reveal the route he wanted to conceal. This was his narrative for the public. However, for those who wanted to go into detail, he offered clues by mentioning the Khaldians and the Hesperites and by omitting or miswriting as Coetians (Κοῖτοι) the Scytheni (Σκυθηνοί, Σκυτίνοι) in the concluding paragraph of the *Anabasis*. Also, in three paragraphs of his work he offered aggregates, against which the detailed information which abounds in the

book could be judged.

Xenophon, therefore, had good reasons for phrasing the four paragraphs in question¹³⁴ in the way he did. Probably it was not interpolation but his own attempt to offer clues for the identification of a route, which was rendered incomprehensible by his intentional omissions and amendments.

The *additional* days of march in the narration of Diodorus prove valuable in locating the Scythians where historians and archaeologists place them; also in explaining why the Ten Thousand needed a guide at Gymnias. If Gymnias were at *Bayburt*, the only assistance they needed was the information that by taking the caravan route to the northwest, they would arrive at Trapezus and the Euxine (and nowhere else) approximately in the time it took them to march, according to Xenophon, from Gymnias to Mt. Theches. Similarly, by adopting the fifteen days' march duration of Diodorus, we avoid the futile search for a *level plain* in the area of *Yusufeli*: there is none; the plain was and still is in present-day Armenia.¹³⁵

It is disquieting that for at least two centuries a cross-validation of Xenophon's data using those of Diodorus was not attempted. This was done in this article, and the outcome is a proposed route as well as a model of relative chronology. This model was implemented in order to arrive at the absolute chronology of the events. It was shown that a late start of the expedition is almost certain. The missing part in Xenophon's narrative equals the additional time offered by Diodorus. The gap is closed and a further 'snow lacuna' period is not required.¹³⁶

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¹³⁴ *Anab.* 2.2.6, 5.5.4, 7.8.25, and 7.8.26.

¹³⁵ In almost any tourist guidebook, photos taken from high points of Yerevan show the plain at the foot of the city, crossed by the river Araxes and extending to Mt. Ararat in the southwest.

¹³⁶ I am indebted to the editor of *GRBS* and to an anonymous reader for their valuable contribution.