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Slings from Nineveh (Xenophon's Mespila), c. 700 BC

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XENOPHON  
ANABASIS

BOOK III

LUUK HUITINK

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## MAPS

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## PREFACE

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The ‘Xenophon factory’ (Albert Rijksbaron’s term) is ripe for reopening. Scholarship on both Xenophon and the Greek language has progressed considerably since the profusion of editions of *Anabasis* (aimed mainly at schools) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The aims of this volume are to offer up-to-date guidance on literary, historical and cultural aspects of *Anabasis* and to help students read Greek better. To achieve these goals, the volume draws on the pragmatic approach to the Greek language that provides the methodology for the *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (of which LH is one of the authors) and devotes specific attention to Xenophon’s lexical innovations. In the conviction that Xenophon is just as important (if not more so) to the development of Greek historiography, and of Greek prose in general, as Herodotus and Thucydides, we have made Xenophon’s narrative strategies another focal point of this commentary, and we frequently home in on the reception of episodes from *Anabasis* III in antiquity.

This commentary could not have been completed without help from many quarters. We are extremely grateful to the series editors Pat Easterling, Neil Hopkinson and Richard Hunter for their comments and guidance; to Michael Sharp, Marianne Nield and Mary Bongiovi for overseeing the production at Cambridge University Press; and to Iveta Adams for her wonderfully clear and rigorous copy-editing. Rhiannon Ash, Emily Baragwanath, Michel Buijs, John Dillery, Marco Dorati, Michael Flower, William Furley, Simon Hornblower, Christopher Pelling, Albert Rijksbaron, Nick Stylianou and Athanassios Vergados all provided comments on sections of the commentary, while Andreas Willi read part of the Introduction. Chris Pelling and Andreas Willi also answered specific queries, as did John Ma, Christopher Tuplin and the late Martin West. Stephen Duncan, Antoine Jérusalem and Chris Stevens, the Engineering tutors at St Hugh’s College, offered advice on 3.5.8–11. Our interpretation of 3.4.21 has been helped by extensive discussion with Chris Pelling, Scott Scullion and David Thomas (all of whom still disagree with us, and with each other). David Thomas further deserves especial thanks for his detailed comments on the entire volume and further email exchanges about particular ἀπορίαι. We also received valuable feedback on drafts from participants in a number of graduate seminars on Xenophon (TR’s at UCLA in spring 2015, LH’s at Leiden University in winter 2016 and Emily Baragwanath’s at UNC Chapel Hill in spring 2016) as well as from participants in workshops on commentaries held in Heidelberg and Amsterdam. More practical assistance was offered by Lucy Gwynn of Eton College Library, who supplied photographs of MS E; Emily Robotham,

who provided bibliographical help at an early stage; Jonathan Griffiths, who did most of the work on the indexes; and Lionel Scott, who sent a CD-ROM with images from Google Earth for each stage of the route.

For LH, work on the commentary began at Merton College, Oxford, and he wishes to express a debt of gratitude to the Warden and Fellows of that institution. Soon after, however, the commentary became integral to his work in the Heidelberg ERC group *Experience and Teleology in Ancient Narrative* (ERC Grant Agreement n. 312321 (AncNar)); he wishes in particular to acknowledge the support of Jonas Grethlein. Finally LH would like to thank Rhiannon Ash for her hospitality in Oxford at various times. TR would like to thank Andrea Capovilla and his son Simon for putting up with Xenophon with such good humour, and the Principal and Fellows of St Hugh's College, Oxford, for providing an ideal setting in which to work as well as a year's sabbatical leave in 2014–15.

K. W. Krüger's 1826 commentary on *Anabasis* starts with a dedication ΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΥΡΙΑΩΝ ΜΙΜΗΤΑΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΥΠΤΟΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΩΜΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΓΩΙ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΩΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ('to the imitators of the Ten Thousand, who have contended and contend in word and deed against the savagery, faithlessness and impiety of the barbarians and crypto-barbarians'). The surprising thing about this dedication is that it purports to come from Xenophon himself, relayed to the commentator from the underworld by the god Hermes. Hermes' accompanying letter suggests that the 'imitators' Xenophon had in mind were not just those fighting at that time for Greek independence but also liberals struggling against reactionary political and educational measures in Prussia following the defeat of Napoleon. We have no message from Xenophon to report, and the strong racial overtones in the reception history of *Anabasis* are one reason why we are reluctant to invoke the language of 'crypto-barbarism' ourselves. But we hope at least that this collaboration may stand as a testimonial to the benefits of co-operation between European nations.

As for the dedication of our own work: LH would like to dedicate it to his teacher, Roel Groenink, who introduced him to *Anabasis* at school and turned that first encounter with Greek literature into a transformative experience; TR would like to express his deep gratitude to Robert Parker and Simon Hornblower, his tutors while he was an undergraduate at Oriel and a constant source of inspiration since.

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 ABBREVIATIONS
 

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## GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works generally follow *OCD* and *LSJ*.

‘X.’ refers to the narrator and the historical figure, while ‘Xenophon’ refers to the character in *Anabasis*, and ‘X(enophon)’ is used when it is impossible to distinguish the historical figure from the character.

T followed by a numeral refers to the outline in the Appendix on topography (pp. 42–4).

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- BNJ*: I. Worthington, ed., *Brill's new Jacoby* ([www.brillonline.com](http://www.brillonline.com)), 2007–
- CCX*: M. A. Flower, ed., *The Cambridge companion to Xenophon*, Cambridge, 2017

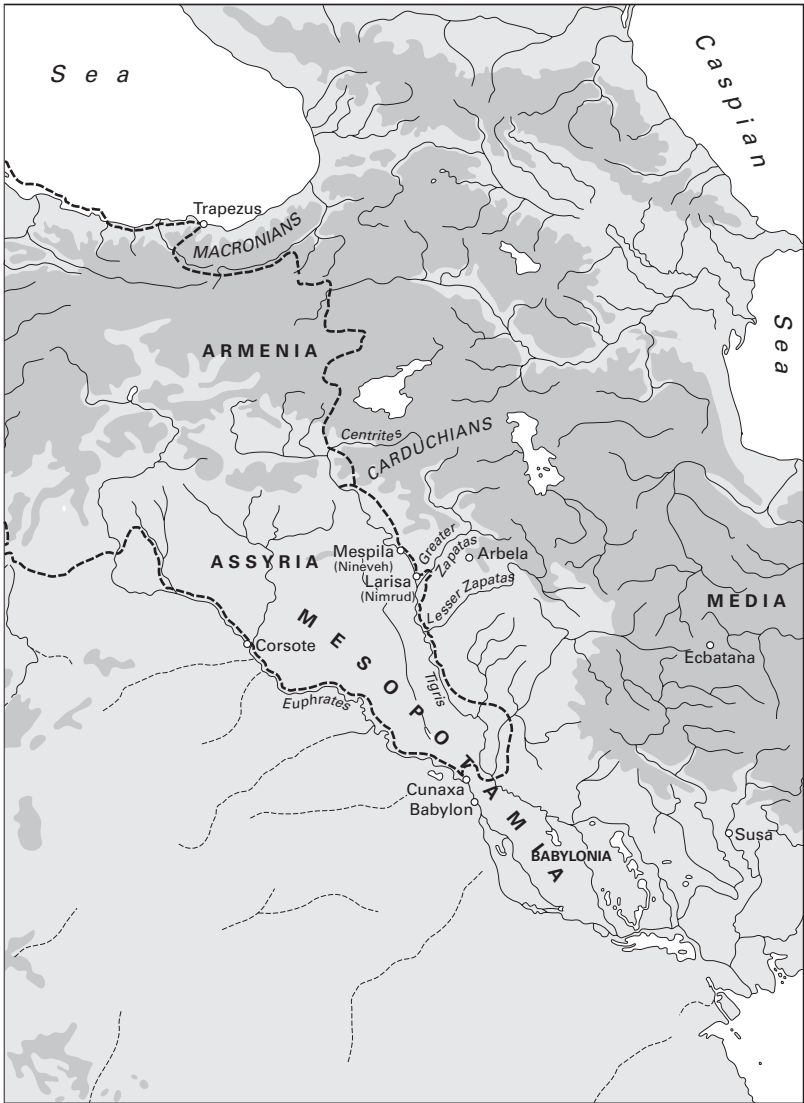
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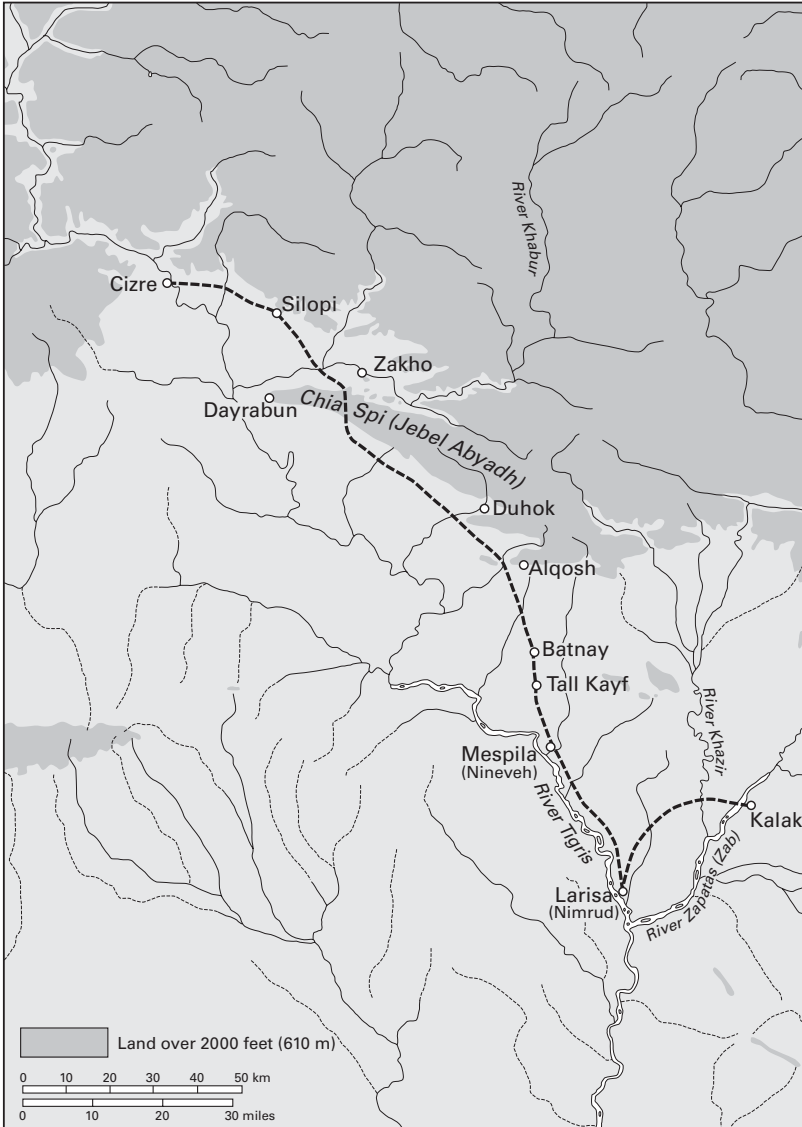
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- TrGF* B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds., *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, 5 vols., Göttingen, 1971–2004



Map 1. The route of the Ten Thousand





Map 2. The route in Book 3