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Christopher Sheline  
*American Public University System*

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## The Historiography of Xenophon

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Christopher Sheline

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### Introduction

A student of history is by nature a student of ancient Greek historians. Famously, the labors of these pioneers equally influenced the modern world of historical knowledge and inherently developed the world of historical writing. Their work was the beginning of an elaborate pyramid of historical methodology. As time progressed, research methods and writing styles began to focus more on accuracy through scientific analysis, while the often literary and dramatic styles of the ancients faded in academic and historical reliability. For this reason, classical historians and philosophers remain under scrutiny. Nevertheless, the evolution of research and writing methodology does not dilute the importance or influence of the original fathers of history.

Historiography is the documented process of written history and, therefore, any change to that process becomes critical to the historiographical timeline, thus sustaining everlasting value. Xenophon (c. 430 BCE-354 BCE), known for his writings on the Persian Wars, Cyrus the Great, and the March of the 10,000, single-handedly produced several changes to historical writing that altered the very essence of historical thought in a way that challenged even the roots of Herodotus and Thucydides. Carleton L. Brownson, professor of Greek and Latin languages at the City College of New York, formally recognized that, “The most important works ascribed by Xenophon in antiquity are the *Anabasis*, the *Memorabilia* (memoirs of Socrates), the *Hellenica*, and *Cyropædia*.”<sup>1</sup> This is because each of these texts has great significance not only to Greek and Persian history, but also to the development of historical writing.

Xenophon stepped away from the influence of Thucydides to demonstrate a more independent, often philosophical, perspective. Although he demonstrated various influences in his writings, his individualism brought something to the historical world that no other historian had—philosophical biographies. Xenophon wrote about life, often his own experiences, making him not only an important historical figure, but also a pioneer to historiography. In fact, Robin Waterfield,

classical scholar and translator of ancient Greek texts, referred to him as “a pioneer experimenter in biographical forms.”<sup>2</sup> Through his development of biographies, Xenophon incorporated philosophy into writing often as a means to teach and defend his position. By doing so, Xenophon changed the view of history and political thinking simultaneously. He was not just viewing and/or interpreting history like those before him; he was living it, documenting it, and analyzing it through the lenses of his former philosophical teachings. Therefore, Xenophon was an important historian because he wrote about life, integrated philosophy into historiography, and thus altered historical writing and political thinking. A brief biography of the life of Xenophon acts as a guideline to understanding his contributions to historiography, as well as why they occurred.

### Xenophon’s Brief Biography

Born in the rural deme Erchia, Xenophon, son of Gryllus, was a member of the aristocratic political class.<sup>3</sup> He was an Athenian soldier, author, and pioneer. Little information exists regarding Xenophon’s childhood and adolescence, which occurred during the difficult times of the Peloponnesian War (431 BCE-404 BCE).<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that he saw so much war during his youth, particularly internal conflict, appears to have driven the potential motives and influences of his historical writing, as much of Xenophon’s texts focused on his perspective of war and politics. What is a certainty about his youth is that he became close to the philosopher Socrates (c. 469 BCE-399 BCE), “whose influence affected his whole life and character.”<sup>5</sup> This explains the philosophical influence in his writing.

By the time Xenophon was old enough to join the military, age nineteen (c. 412 BCE), the Peloponnesian War was nearing its end. During this time, King Agis of Sparta controlled much of Attica. It is unlikely that Xenophon had any part in the war because it consisted primarily of sea battles. As confirmation, Xenophon’s own writings portray events from inside the city during this period.<sup>6</sup> However, he did fight on behalf of Athens, defending the walls against both King Agis and the collective land and naval forces of the Peloponnesians. These are especially useful details when reading Xenophon’s text titled *Hellenica*, which describes the closing years of the Peloponnesian War. This is the first of many examples of Xenophon’s writings that derived from his personal experiences.

Soon after the Peloponnesian War ended, Xenophon embarked on a great expedition with Cyrus the Younger (d. 401 BCE), which sparked *Anabasis*. This

book followed an army of ten thousand Greek mercenaries hired by Cyrus in an effort to seize the throne from his brother, Artaxerxes II. However, while the mission met with some success, Cyrus lost his life thus nullifying the efforts of the Ten Thousand and forcing the army to return to Greece. Xenophon coined this movement the “March of the 10,000.” In 399 BCE, after leading the retreat to Asia Minor, Xenophon joined Thibron, a Lacedaemonian commander at war with the Persians.<sup>7</sup> This led to his service to King Agesilaus (Agesilaus II c. 444 BCE-360 BCE), which allowed Xenophon to witness the battle of Coronea (399 BCE).

During the battle of Coronea, King Agesilaus defeated the Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives. Clearly, Xenophon’s experiences during the Persian expedition influenced his decisions as well as his later writings, as Xenophon went from being a dedicated Athenian to fighting alongside the Spartans. This, in addition to the expedition of Cyrus, resulted in Xenophon’s banishment from Athens.<sup>8</sup> In fact, even Socrates warned Xenophon that the Persian expedition might result in his expulsion. In retrospect, the fact that Xenophon returned from the expedition a leader, with motives against the Persians, sparked his decision to support Sparta and led to the writing of his monumental texts. This demonstrates both his relationship to the Persians, and Spartans, and thus his firsthand account of the events that he later described. It also determined the direction he and his family would take personally, socially, and professionally.

After his banishment, Xenophon became such a devout supporter and friend of Agesilaus, and Sparta, that his sons Gryllus and Diodorus trained in the traditional Spartan methods.<sup>9</sup> Later, he received an estate in Scillu and began to hunt, entertain, and write his histories as a Spartan “gentleman.” This lasted until approximately 371 BCE, when Sparta lost its power at the battle of Leuctra. Xenophon ended up retiring in Corinth after the fall of Sparta, where he wrote the majority of his histories. These are relevant facts when considering the various modern impressions of Xenophon as belligerent, well off, and foolish. Clearly, his loyalties changed. He was friend to the Spartan king, and wrote for reasons other than historical accuracy.

### Xenophon and His Predecessors

A high-level overview of the stylistic differences between Xenophon and his predecessors, primarily Herodotus and Thucydides, helps to identify their individual historiographical contributions. Like Xenophon, Herodotus wrote his first text during his travels. These texts were often patriotic, and involved the use of gods

and other forms of mythology. He often exaggerated various aspects in his writings, added dramatic effect to entertain, and often wrote in the first person. Thucydides, on the other hand, focused on contemporary history and removed any aspect of gods and mythology. Like both Herodotus and Xenophon, his writings derived from the events of his lifetime, yet had a large focus on objectivity. While his writings were scientific and unbiased in nature, Thucydides often used abstracts and opposition to explain an event. This often led to confusion, especially with translating his writings. Many claim his works to be dry because of their scientific accuracy and lack of moral perspective, somewhat opposite of Herodotus.

Xenophon is most famous for writing *Hellenica*, *Anabasis*, and *Cyropædia*, although he is responsible for many more texts, including *Agésilas* and *Memorabilia*. Each of these texts carries a common theme; they are books about life. Xenophon added biographies to historical writing not only through his own life experiences, but also by analyzing the lives of others. However, often his books were a compilation of both his life and another's in many respects. In this short list, there is one book about his perception of the Peloponnesian War, one describing his adventures through Persia, and three texts surrounding specific individuals such as Cyrus of Persia (r. 559 BCE-530 BCE), Agésilas, and Socrates. Clearly, given the brief biography of Xenophon previously described, these are all people with whom Xenophon had close relations and held in high regard, making them still essential parts of an autobiography. Understanding the general concepts of why Xenophon wrote about whom he did, as well as how his style differed from his predecessors, heightens the historiographical value of his writings.

Analyzing Xenophon's texts for their historiographical value provides a vast amount of information. Peter J. Rahn, of Mount Allison University, clarified that, early in his career as a historical writer, Xenophon used criteria that resembled those of Thucydides, yet an increasingly independent perspective accompanied the stylistic differences between the two sections of the *Hellenica*.<sup>10</sup> This simply signifies again that, while Xenophon picked up where Thucydides left off, he later took his own writings in a new direction, thus putting his own notch in historical writing. Adding to this, the manner in which Xenophon decided subject matter, and how to present it, is critical in understanding his path to biographical and philosophical writing.

Originally, Xenophon had a tendency to choose subject matter that he described as noteworthy. This indicates the use of at least a partial personal opinion on which information to document. According to Rahn, Xenophon also selected

events from “outside the generally accepted realm of historical material.”<sup>11</sup> The criteria Xenophon utilized when deciding such noteworthy material remained the same as his predecessors, at least in the beginning. Rahn further ascertained that Xenophon himself suggested that noteworthy subjects in history should include “great expenditure, danger, and strategy.”<sup>12</sup> He also emphasized that these criteria most often focused on large and powerful cities, for example, a major polis that set out against another to fight for hegemony. However, over time Xenophon grew distasteful of these criteria, and eventually chose to focus on the individual. After all, the criteria were not that of his own making, deriving from the earlier writings of Thucydides and Herodotus.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the collective works of Xenophon demonstrate his stylistic transition and evolving view of history, making each text significant to the evolution of historical writing.

The Greeks set the pace and foundation for historiography to grow. Categorically, Ernst Breisach defined Herodotus as the historian of Greek victory and glory, and Thucydides as the historian of Greek self-destruction.<sup>14</sup> These alternate perspectives provide political, contemporary, and cultural views of history. Later, these views forced Xenophon to take a new approach, as he desired to document history from a personal and philosophical point of view. As the focus on gods and mythology diminished, Xenophon essentially described the flow of life (biographies).<sup>15</sup> Note that Herodotus was the father of history, Thucydides the father of military, or scientific, history, and Xenophon the father of biographical and philosophical history.

### Xenophon’s Books and Their Significance

*Anabasis*, a Greek term for a military march inland (“going up”), describes the advance of ten thousand Greek mercenaries through miles of hostile Persian territory. Xenophon successfully led the retreat, documented it, and created a historical legend. It is perhaps the most famous of all of Xenophon’s works, as it details “the western world’s first eyewitness account of a military campaign.”<sup>16</sup> Remarkably, this military campaign contributed to Xenophon’s expulsion from Athens, and his subsequent union with Sparta. It is widely known for its dramatic ending when the Greeks finally see the Black Sea and shout in joy.

*Anabasis* is significant for a number of reasons. In addition to being inspirational, it portrays the tactical and leadership superiority of the Greek mercenaries while deep in hostile territory. The Greeks traveled hundreds of

kilometers north from modern Iraq into the mountains of Kurdistan and northeastern Turkey and down to the coast of the Black Sea.<sup>17</sup> Historically, this does more than demonstrate the military and logistical capabilities of the Greeks. It also shows that Xenophon grew enough to lead, understand the risks ahead, and document the adventure not only for its historical value but also for its biographical contributions. He wanted to defend his position, and make people aware of his leadership success. This makes *Anabasis* critically important to historiography, as it shows the motive, means, and development of historical writing.

Another significant historiographical value of *Anabasis* is that Xenophon referenced himself in the third person. It was clearly an account of his observations and experiences. This is precisely why the *Anabasis* became a primary read for anyone, of any era, studying ancient Greece. Later, Xenophon used the same methods to construct the narrative *Agésilas*. To add to the list of significant values, while he wrote about life he also integrated philosophy into historiography.

*Anabasis* was a stylistic prelude to coming biographies, yet also a fundamental work in political philosophies. In addition to self-discovery, Xenophon described the political problems of how a just community can come into existence, and how philosophy and political power may coincide.<sup>18</sup> He accomplished this by explaining the otherwise implied limitations on politics, and clarifying that philosophy is an essential part of leadership, courage, and integrity. Again, all of these lessons are clear derivatives of his apprenticeship with Socrates, and his experiences during the march. In short, Xenophon provided the first historical autobiography, eyewitness to a military campaign, and use of philosophy in historiography. However, *Hellenica* offered the use of life and philosophy in a much broader scale—the history of Greece.

*Hellenica* follows the writings of Thucydides. It assumes a reader's familiarity with Thucydides's work, and shows no delay in loosely picking up where he left off. There is no introduction or otherwise statement of intent aside from the words "And after this," indicating that Xenophon did in fact aim to complete the unfinished narrative of Thucydides. This is apparent in the first part of the *Hellenica* as Xenophon imitated the methods of Thucydides, while his later parts show no such influence.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps this is most notable in Xenophon's lack of objectivity, which is precisely where Thucydides focused. However, when he wrote "And after this," Xenophon referred to the work, not the last event described by Thucydides.<sup>20</sup> *Hellenica* is a compilation of seven total books.

*Hellenica* completes the last segment of the Peloponnesian War, and

describes the fall of Athens in the first two books. This makes it a highly significant primary source for the Peloponnesian War, and the struggles that occurred within Athens after its fall. The third book focuses on the war in Asia Minor (399 BCE-394 BCE) between Sparta and the Persians, and the fourth book focuses on the Corinthian War (394 BCE-387 BCE) in which Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos challenged Sparta.<sup>21</sup> The fifth book addresses the conclusion and aftermath of the Corinthian War. The sixth book describes the peace between Sparta and Athens, and the war between Thebes and Sparta that eventually ended Spartan hegemony at the battle of Leuctra. Lastly, the seventh book continues with the Spartan and Theban war in which all states eventually became involved, and concludes with the final battle of Mantinea (362 BCE).<sup>22</sup> Thus, Xenophon essentially chronicled the history of the Hellenes from 411 to 362 BCE, and portrayed the constant state of warfare that depleted Greece and set the stage for the rise of Macedonia. This work in its entirety provides critical information of each conflict, yet often fails to reach the level of accuracy that Thucydides would likely have achieved.

The series of texts are often pro-Spartan, which coincides with Xenophon's relationship with King Agesilaus. It is also a direct history of his time, again referencing aspects of an autobiography. However, despite his personal preferences, Xenophon maintained a theme throughout *Hellenica* that asserted the theory that if the mainland Greeks united under one strong leader to free their Asiatic comrades, they would be strong enough to capture Persia.<sup>23</sup> This is a very important change in thought.

Considering the most common school of thought is that all ancient Greek literature addressed or described an internal struggle for hegemony, Xenophon took a unique approach. His consideration of unity to overcome an external enemy indicates that there was not necessarily any central theme in Greek literature but more so histories and theories revolving around cultural strife. Various, likely biased, authors that either did not or chose not to see the bigger picture presented that strife, and modern schools of thought followed suit. In reality, Xenophon took the idea of a chaotic widespread struggle for power and presented a logical, relatively commonsense means to unified power, thus refuting the modern theory of strictly individualized themes. Xenophon's histories even included philosophy on how one might resolve said issues. Considering these facts, one begins to recognize Xenophon's integration of philosophy into historiography more and more. Xenophon further altered historical writing and political thinking with *Cyropaedia*, as it is a highly philosophical biography of Cyrus the Great that details not only his life but



the very essence of Cyrus's leadership philosophies.

*Cyropædia* is a Greek term literally meaning "The Education of Cyrus," and is a biography of Cyrus the Great. This book remains under continued scrutiny for its historical intentions. After all, Xenophon repeatedly documented the Persians as an enemy of Greece, an enemy that he willingly gave up his position in Athens to fight against, then constructed a highly influential biography of a Persian leader. Nevertheless, it became a model for future writers and modern political strategies.

*Cyropædia* shows a sign of philosophy right in the beginning, as the first book outlines many forms of government that quickly dissolved, such as tyranny or other oppressive measures.<sup>24</sup> This, again, largely stepped away from Xenophon's contemporaries. Thucydides, for example, made great efforts to remain unbiased in his approach to international politics, and Herodotus often referenced mythology as authoritative figures. Xenophon used very direct and straightforward expressions to make his points. *Cyropædia*, specifically, is more instructional in intent than anything he or his contemporaries had written. While it depicts the fall of governments, it most adequately describes the person and mind of Cyrus, his education, and the applications of the philosophical leadership that led to the beginning of the Persian Empire. It is as if Xenophon wanted to prove a point, or many for that matter. He made sure to include descriptions of Cyrus as a highly praised, respected, yet humble and heroic figure. In this massive eight-book text, Xenophon concluded with "political observations on the corruption and ruin of the Persian state after the death of Cyrus."<sup>25</sup> Again, this implies that Cyrus's philosophical methodology built an empire, and the lack of such methodology caused an empire to crumble. No former historian dared convey such a message. One must reiterate the aforementioned theme repeated throughout *Hellenica*, in which Xenophon emphasized unity with one strong leader. There is certainly some consistency in Xenophon's intent.

Summarizing the historiographical contributions of these three texts, *Anabasis*, *Hellenica*, and *Cyropædia*, is a major task. These brief overviews demonstrate not only how Xenophon differed from Herodotus and Thucydides, but also how and why he differed. Each book takes its approach a bit farther beginning with an elaborate autobiography, and ending with an instructional biography. Xenophon used history as a means to elicit philosophical theories on leadership, politics, and cultural concerns. Thus, he wrote about life, and integrated philosophy into historiography.

## Modern Translations

While Xenophon's work continues to be vital to history and historiography, each contribution endures various translations and interpretations. Most of the modern interpretations focus on Xenophon's motives, influence, and accuracy, as he was both a student of Socrates and an Athenian soldier turned wealthy landowner in Sparta. A common debate is how much Xenophon's experience as a soldier, especially amongst mercenaries, altered his perception of the Spartans and Persians alike. In addition, there is much speculation that Xenophon presented history from the perspective of a well-off retiree. Some even believe that he was foolish. All of these criticisms seem to derive from Xenophon's lack of objectivity and accuracy. While all of these are dramatic over-exaggerations, Xenophon's writings remain eternal, as they portray his perception of noteworthy material.

Xenophon still receives many criticisms for his lack of objectivity and accuracy. Focusing his attention first on *Anabasis*, Edward Spelman, nineteenth century translator of *Anabasis*, prescribed that, "The particulars of the march of Cyrus are indeed so minutely described that it has been thought he was advised to write the account."<sup>26</sup> This criticism particularly referenced the topography and natural history of the land the Greeks traveled. Wayne Ambler, a twenty-first century author, believed that *Anabasis* tells a gripping story that provides valuable lessons on ancient politics.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, accuracy in *Anabasis* comes down to a matter of perspective and on which information a historian wishes to focus.

*Hellenica* receives similar criticism. While Xenophon picked up where Thucydides left off, it is debatable whether his writing style in *Hellenica* connected with Thucydides or Herodotus. Some say that *Hellenica* shows the influence of Herodotus because the narrative exhibits thematic and stylistic charm, while formal speeches observe propriety and moral issues. Moral issues remain a delicate subject within historical writing even in the modern day. Often, modern historical theorists claim that Xenophon wrote this book during his retirement, and only for his friends and those closely associated with the events. They believe it to be very personal to him.

Moses Finley, a late twentieth century author, claimed that Xenophon's *Hellenica* is "unreliable, tendentious, dishonest, dreary to read, and rarely illuminating on broader issues."<sup>29</sup> Experts confirmed this when they repeatedly uncovered the incorrect number of years of war, in addition to the wrong names of two out of five archons and ephors. Brownson, of the early twentieth century,

described the text similarly by stating that the inaccuracies were merely the work of a “careless interpolator.”<sup>30</sup> However, if Xenophon wrote the book for personal use, and for the eyes of only a select few, not necessarily an academic history, it may explain much of his alleged carelessness. *Cyropædia* actually receives quite the opposite level of feedback.

Because Xenophon depicted Cyrus as benevolent, able to rule and maintain the admiration and loyalty of his subjects, *Cyropædia* became the first historical and political romance. When assessing this development, Larry Hedrick, a twenty-first century author, surmised, “Xenophon’s approach to Cyrus was broadly creative rather than narrowly historical.”<sup>31</sup> Xenophon’s objective was not to present critical facts. Instead, he aimed to show how a visionary leader could improve the lives of his military officers and the common people alike. Through his dramatizations, he depicted the methods of conducting meetings, negotiations, working with allies, appealing to followers’ self-interest, encouraging performance, and using deeds to back up words.<sup>32</sup> All of these methods, or principles, benefit businesses and governments of any age. This is such a fact that modern authors feel that today’s age requires a renewed interest in Cyrus the Great.

Seeking to encourage his readers, Hedrick declared, “Just as Cyrus’ honesty, integrity, superb strategic planning, and ability to think on his feet guaranteed his success, the reader too can embody Cyrus’ virtues in his own career.”<sup>33</sup> This is an interesting perspective, yet strikingly similar to theories surrounding the use of the Sun Tzu text *The Art of War*.<sup>34</sup> In fact, Cyrus actually preceded Sun Tzu, and in many ways Xenophon’s text surpassed *The Art of War*. This is because while Sun Tzu provided monumental principles on military leadership, he did so through brief, often vague, remarks. Later, other Chinese writers added to or altered Sun Tzu’s writings. The same behavior continues today across the globe. Xenophon, on the other hand, provided a thorough account in order to teach leadership, thus closing the gap that allows for excessive interpretation in translation.<sup>35</sup>

Collectively, Xenophon’s work has received almost as much criticism as it has praise. Simon Hornblower, twenty-first century author of *Greek Historiography*, seemed to scorn Xenophon by denouncing *Hellenica* as “a vivid and personal work of reminiscence, by an Athenian who spent his adult life in the Peloponnese and tilted his works toward Peloponnesian events.”<sup>36</sup> This clearly indicates the tendency for Xenophon to show bias. Luke Pitcher, classical author and proponent of Greek and Roman historiography, agreed when he clarified that Xenophon omitted

references to the foundation of the second Athenian Confederacy and left out several months in the *Anabasis*.<sup>37</sup> Xenophon's writings also confirmed that fiction preceded true biography.<sup>38</sup> This is often because of his "moralistic" biographies of Agesilaus and Cyrus the Great. Despite these facts, Xenophon remains one of the primary authors on Greek history, as well as an undeniable example of pivotal changes in historiography and political thinking.

### Conclusion

Xenophon's life took him on a path that not only changed his loyalties but also his motives and style of writing. Originally, as an Athenian soldier, his experiences during the Persian expedition made him develop and utilize the philosophy he learned under the tutelage of Socrates in order to become an effective leader. He later found common ground with Spartan King Agesilaus. This led to his expulsion from Athens, and the eventual autobiographical writing of the *Anabasis*, in which he allegedly sought to defend his position. Upon retirement, Xenophon wrote *Hellenica* theoretically from a personal Peloponnesian point of view, in which he picked up from Thucydides's position and took off on his own in the later portions of the collective text. During the writing, Xenophon clearly avoided objectivity, conflicting with his predecessor's style.

Xenophon's "romantic" philosophical history of the life, or education, of Cyrus the Great (*Cyropædia*), not to be confused with Cyrus the Younger from *Anabasis*, portrayed various leadership recommendations. Largely recognized in the modern business world, *Cyropædia* provides more details than the popular Sun Tzu text *The Art of War*. Xenophon's intention was to show that a good leader could improve the lives of everyone, thus integrating philosophy with historical writing yet again. Collectively, Xenophon's work took historical writing in a completely new, often controversial, direction, and not only encouraged but also changed political thought. Essentially, these books offer a walkthrough of Xenophon's life, and changing views of historical writing through the events depicted within the texts. Today, while various forms of biographies and autobiographies exist throughout the world, the weight of Xenophon's influence remains. Xenophon heavily influenced historical writing because he wrote about life, integrated philosophy into historiography, and thus altered historical writing and political thinking.

## Notes

1. Xenophon, *Xenophon's Hellenica: Selections*, ed. Carleton L. Brownson (New York: American Book Company, 1908), 12.
2. Robin Waterfield, *Xenophon's Retreat: Greece, Persia, And the End of the Golden Age* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2006), 187.
3. Xenophon, *Xenophon's Hellenica*, 9.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 10.
8. Ibid., 10-11.
9. Ibid., 11.
10. Peter Rahn, "Xenophon's Developing Historiography," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 102 (1971): 497-508, accessed October 10, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2935952>.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 12.
15. Ibid. 22.
16. Waterfield, *Xenophon's Retreat*, xi.
17. Ibid.
18. Jacob Howland, "Xenophon's Philosophic Odyssey: On the Anabasis and Plato's Republic," *The American Political Science Review* 94, no.4 (December 2000): 875-899, accessed December 16, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2586213>.
19. Xenophon. *Xenophon's Hellenica*, 20.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 13-14.
22. Ibid., 14.
23. Michael Bentley, *Companion to Historiography* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 29.

24. John J. Owen, *The Cyropædia of Xenophon, According to the Text of L. Dindorf* (New York: Leavitt, Throw, and Company, 1846), vii.
25. *Ibid.*, xi.
26. Xenophon, *The Anabasis, Volume I*, trans. Edward Spelman (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), 18.
27. Wayne Ambler, trans., *Anabasis of Cyrus* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), vii.
28. John Moles, "Xenophon's Hellenica," review of *The Character of Xenophon's Hellenica*, *The Classical Review* 42, no. 2 (1992): 281-284, accessed December 15, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/713209>.
29. Moses I. Finley, *The Portable Greek Historians: The Essence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd, 1977), 9.
30. Xenophon. *Xenophon's Hellenica: Selections*, 24.
31. Xenophon. *Xenophon's Cyrus the Great: The Arts of Leadership and War*, trans. Henry Graham Dakyns (New York: Truman Talley Books, 2010), xv.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, xvi.
34. *Ibid.*, xvii.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Simon Hornblower, *The Greek World: 479-323BC* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 5.
37. Luke Pitcher, *Writing Ancient History: An Introduction to Classical Historiography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 123-124.
38. Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge: First Harvard University Press, 1993), 56.

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