

At *Anabasis* 5.7.21-29, as part of a long speech to the Ten Thousand outlining the growing lawlessness in the army and warning of the dangers that this would bring about if left unchecked, Xenophon describes a riot in which some *agoranomoi* were nearly killed on account of their (allegedly) outrageous treatment of the army. All modern discussions of and references to this incident have taken the *agoranomoi* in question to be from the city of Cerasus (see, e.g., Anderson 1970, 52; Descat 1995, 106; Lendle 1995, 353-4). Furthermore, on the basis of this identification, Anderson took *Anabasis* 5.7.21-29 as evidence that Greek soldiers were often exploited in markets provided for them by Greek cities. A close reading of Xenophon's speech, however, shows that these *agoranomoi* were Cyreans, and not Cerasuntians.

Having described the riot briefly (5.7.21-25), Xenophon warns the assembled mercenaries of the possible consequences of further disturbances of this kind. If the army continued to act as it had done against the *agoranomoi*, then the men whom the army had elected as ῥχοντας would be of no account, but any man could elect himself general and raise the shout "βλλε, βλλε" against them, and have the power to kill either ῥχοντα or private, "any one of you he pleases, without a trial (ν ν μν θλ κριτον)" (5.7.28). Xenophon, then, presents the *agoranomoi* riot as an internal matter for the army, and the *agoranomoi* as elected ῥχοντας of the army (that Xenophon is referring to the *agoranomoi* riot at 5.7.28 is confirmed by the use of "βλλε, βλλε" which is a clear reference to the shout of "Παε, παε, βλλε, βλλε" raised against the *agoranomoi* at the start of the riot (5.7.21, 23)). Xenophon's discussion of the actual consequences of the men's near murder of the *agoranomoi* (5.7.29) confirms that these officials were part of the army. Xenophon cites the example of Zelarchus (already mentioned at 5.7.24 as one of the *agoranomoi* who had been attacked by the soldiers) to prove his point that mistreatment of the army's officials would cause disorder *within* the army. If Zelarchus as *agoranomos* had wronged the army, he had sailed off without paying any penalty to the army; if he was not guilty, he had fled from the army out of fear that he might be killed unjustly and without a trial ("κριτος"). The experiences of Zelarchus the *agoranomos* are thus a concrete example of the ills the men's mistreatment of the army's ῥχοντες could bring about.

Two other considerations show that the *agoranomoi* were Cyreans. Xenophon also describes in this speech the murder of three Colchian ambassadors by some Cyreans (5.7.13-19), and discusses the possible (5.7.27) and actual (5.7.30) consequences of this act for the army's relations with other communities (especially Cerasus (5.7.30)). The *agoranomoi* riot, in contrast, is presented at all times (as indicated above) as an expression of internal dissension within the army. Finally, the *agoranomoi* riot took place just outside Cotyora (see νθδε at 5.7.18, and Tuplin 1998, 288), outside of Cerasuntian territory and therefore Cerasuntian jurisdiction.

Thus, *Anabasis* 5.7.21-29, rather than providing evidence that *poleis* normally 'ripped off' soldiers in markets, presents us, on the contrary, with our only attested instance of *agoranomoi* within a classical Greek army, and, in the men's reactions to the perceived injustice of the *agoranomoi*, an indication that Greek soldiers expected that these market officials would ensure that exchanges in the markets accompanying their campaigns would be transacted fairly.