



Re-examining "ξενος" in Xenophon's *Anabasis*

--Based on an examination of word meanings, contexts

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Abstract. "ξενος" is widely used in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. "ξενος" is quite rich in meaning in ancient Greek texts, and is often associated with "ξενια" - "guest fellowship". It is inappropriate for modern scholars to understand "ξενος" in the *Anabasis* as "mercenary", and it is more reasonable to understand it as "guest friend" in the context of the Long March. In the context of the Long March, it is more reasonable to understand it as "guest friends". Analyzing the corresponding texts in The Long March in the reconstructed cultural context of "guest friends" can confirm the relationship between Cyrus the Younger and some of the mercenary generals as "guest friends", and also give a glimpse of Xenophon's intention of "self-justification". The use of the term in the *Anabasis* essentially reflects the conflict between personal feelings and the interests of the city-state, and Xenophon's choice of personal feelings epitomizes the collapse of the citizen-city-state community and the decline of the city-state.

Keywords: *Anabasis*, guest friends, guest friendship, Greek mercenaries.

1 Introduction

The Ancient Greek word "ξενος" occurs several times in the *Anabasis*, first in the Homeric Hymns.^[1] ξενος (Latinized as *xenos*) and "ξενοι" (plural form of ξενος, Latinized as *xenoi*) trace their etymology back to the Mycenaean Linear B script, spelled *ke-se-nu-wo* or *kese-nu-wo*.^[2] The lexical meaning of "ξενος" has generally been translated by modern scholars as 'guest-friends' (guest-friend or ritualized-friend),^[3] strangers (stranger), foreigners (foreigner) or gentiles, and mercenaries (mercenary).^[4] The word "ξενος/ξενοι" in the *Anabasis* is usually understood and translated as "mercenary", which does not correspond to Xenophon's intended meaning of "ξενος", "guest-friend". The term "guest-friends" is more in keeping with the context of the *Anabasis*. The word "ξενος" is often associated with ξενια when referring to "guest-friends". "ξενια" is a derivative of "ξενος", which is generally translated as "guest-friendship",^[5] and can be used to refer to the host's kindness and friendliness towards the guest. The Oxford Classical Dictionary states that^[6] The Oxford Classical Dictionary states *xenia* is a relationship of mutual trust, similar to that of blood. This relationship was cemented by mutual rituality, which influenced and bound individu-

als belonging to different social groups. [7]In Greek sources, this relationship is called *xenia*, and individuals linked by this relationship, usually of approximately the same social status, are called "xenos" of each other.

2 "Guest friends" and "Mercenaries" -- A Rethinking of Mainstream Academic Views

The idea that the word ξενος/ξενοι, which appears in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, is to be understood as a term referring to mercenaries, is prevalent in classical scholarship today, and was first proposed by Trundle, a scholar in the field of classical military history, and has become the dominant scholarly view - "Xenophon saw the entire Greek mercenary army under Cyrus the Younger as the *xenoi* of Cyrus the Younger" .[8] and became the dominant academic view - "Xenophon regarded the entire Greek mercenary army under Cyrus the Younger as the *xenoi* of Cyrus the Younger"[9] . This view has also been adopted by researchers in China,[10] but in the author's opinion - "ξενος/ ξενοι " does not mean "mercenaries" in the context of the *Anabasis*, and the term "mercenaries" is used to refer to "mercenaries" as "mercenaries" in the Long March. In the context of the Long March, "ξενοι" does not mean "mercenary", and it is inappropriate to regard it as a "mercenary"; in the Long March, ξενοι refers only to the upper class of nobles, and there is a clear line of demarcation between them and ordinary Greek soldiers.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify the concept of "mercenary" in modern times and in ancient Greece. In the New Oxford English Dictionary, a mercenary is considered to be: "a person who works solely for financial or other material reward; a professional soldier who is paid for his services to a foreign power". [11]In Article 47 of the 1977 Geneva Protocol (Geneva Protocol), the criteria for determining whether a person is a mercenary are: "(a) they have been specially recruited locally or abroad for the purpose of fighting in an armed conflict; (b) they are taking a direct part in the hostilities; and (c) they are taking part in the hostilities for the direct purpose of personal gain, and they are participating in the conflict on behalf of a party to the conflict. a party to the conflict and are promised material rewards far in excess of the armed forces of that party of the same rank or function; (d) are neither nationals of that party nor residents of an area under the control of that party; (e) are participating in the conflict in the armed forces of a party other than the party; and (f) are not officially contributed by the forces of a party not involved in the conflict." [12]The implication is that mercenaries involved in a conflict are primarily providing military services to one of the parties to satisfy their personal interests. In the ancient Greek period, the concept of mercenary was not so clearly and rigorously defined as in the Geneva Protocol. There are three general terms used to refer to mercenaries in ancient Greek texts: "Ἐπίκουρος (Latinized form *Epikouros*)", "Ξένος (Ξ is the capitalized form of ξ)" and "Μισθοφόρος" (Latinized form *Misthophoros*),[13] As with "ξένος", "Ἐπίκουρος" is equally ambiguous in the semantics of the ancient Greek texts, encompassing "1. helper, ally; 2. escort; 3. mercenary";[14] where "Μισθοφόρος The original meaning of "Μισθοφόρος" is the closest to the modern definition of the term, which is

closely related to "money, financial gain", and is itself a derivative of Μισθος (Latinized as Misthos, which means remuneration, wage), meaning "one who receives a wage and remuneration; one who works for an employer; one who is employed; a mercenary". A derivative of Μισθος (Latinized Misthos, wage), meaning "one who receives wages and remuneration; one who serves an employer; a mercenary. The word also appears frequently in the Long March, often referring to foreign mercenaries in the service of the Persian king, who are often portrayed as enemies of Xenophon and the Greek army. ^[15]Therefore, in terms of emotional tendency, the word is lexically negative in the Book of the Long March.

In contrast to the above mentioned "Μισθοφόρος", "ξενος" is the word that contrasts with the above mentioned "Μισθοφόρος". When Xenophon uses "ὄξενος" to describe the relationship between the characters in The Long Walk, his emotional tendency is basically positive, and in the context of his description, it can be seen that Xenophon tries his best to show the noble friendship between the guests and friends. Taking Xenophon himself as an example, he indicates in the text that his participation in the expedition was based solely on the invitation of his "guest friend" Proxenos - "an Athenian named Xenophon in the army. He was neither a general, nor a captain, nor a soldier, but he took part in the expedition because his guest friend (ἔξενος, which is translated as "old friend" in the Loeb series) Proxenos went to his house and sent him an invitation to come along;" Xenophon, after returning safely to Asia Minor, sent his fallen friend Proxenos to his home. Proxenos' name and his own name inscribed on a trophy to the priests of the god Apollo at Delphi, "because Proxenos was his guest-friend (ξενος)"; and Proxenos, when he approached Xenophon, stated directly that "Cyrus had treated him much better than his country of origin had treated him "; Klearchos, an exile from Sparta, defected to Cyrus the Younger and was rewarded with 10,000 Darics^[16](Daric). In the face of the soldiers do not want to advance the situation, Klearchos even cried on the spot, "dear" to tell the small Cyrus know the favor: "Soldiers brothers, now in this situation I am very sad, it is not surprising. It is an honor for me, as an exile from my city-state, to have Cyrus as a guest-friend (ξενος). I have led you all here with me, so that I may be able to help him when I am needed, and to repay the kindness of the past. "; another general from Thessaly^[17], Aristippos, also a guest-friend (ξενος) of Cyrus the Younger, borrowed from Cyrus the Younger the three months' pay for 2,000 mercenaries in order to organize his army when the country was under attack by his political opponents, and Cyrus was very generous in the face of his guest-friend's request, and gave him six months' pay for 4,000 men. From the context of "ξενος" in The Long March, Xenophon goes on the march for his guest friend Proxenos, and after Proxenos is killed in battle, his name is inscribed on an offering in memory of him, and Clearchus persuades his soldiers to go forward in tears on the spot in gratitude for the knowledge of Cyrus the Younger, who is a "guest friend" of the Younger. The generosity of Cyrus the Younger for his "guest-friend" Aristilus, all of these reflect the moral obligation of mutual help and the deep affection between "guest-friends". Therefore, understanding "ξενος" as a "mercenary" who is completely profit-oriented obviously does not fit its context, and economic benefits are not the only bond between employers and soldiers. At the same time, if we analyze the status of Cliticus as an exile and his experience of

being employed by Cyrus the Younger, he should be regarded as Cyrus the Younger's staff rather than as a "mercenary".^[18]

Secondly, there is a clear line between the mercenary soldiers who provide military services to Cyrus the Younger and the mercenary generals, and "ξενος" refers to mercenary generals, not to ordinary soldiers. Mercenary generals belonged to the elite,^[19] having the qualities of the elite described above. Figure 1 showed the "ξενος" in the Book of the *Anabasis*:^[20]

name and surname	Class or occupation	name and surname	Class or occupation
Klearchos	Formerly General Spartan.	Cyrus Minor (name)	Prince of Persia
Proxenos	the rich and powerful	Cyrus Minor (name)	Prince of Persia
Aristippos	statesmen	Cyrus Minor (name)	Prince of Persia
Sophonitus (name) (Sophainetos)	statesmen	Cyrus Minor (name)	Prince of Persia
Socrates	statesmen	Cyrus Minor (name)	Prince of Persia
Xenophon (loanword)	Athenian nobility.	Procrustes (Greek mythology)	the rich and powerful
Xenophon (loanword)	Athenian nobility.	Cleander (name) (Kleandros)	Spartan prefects in Byzantium in Asia Minor.

Fig. 1. Characters explicitly mentioned as being related to each other as "ξενος" in the Book of the *Anabasis*

At the beginning of *Anabasis*, Xenophon describes the assembly of the army by referring to the thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries in terms of types of soldiers, such as "heavy armored soldiers" (Ancient Greek: *Οπλιταζ* English Hoplites), "light shielded soldiers" (Ancient Greek: *π ελταστας* English Peltasts), "bowmen" (Ancient Greek: *τοξοτας* English Bowmen), and so on.^[21] When writing about the appearance of Cyrus the Younger with the "Ten Thousand", Xenophon often uses the word "Ελληνων" (which means "Greeks"^[22]) to refer to the "Ten Thousand" who participated in the expedition. The term *Ελληνων* (meaning "Greeks") is often used to refer to the "10,000 men" who participated in the expedition, e.g. when Cyrus the Younger had just finished assembling and was reviewing the "10,000 men", "in this court Cyrus held a parade and took an inventory of the Greek generals (*Ελληνων*)", and "in this court he took an inventory of the Greek generals (*Ελληνων*)". "held a review of his Greek (*Ελληνων*) and Persian ranks on this plain"; On reaching the kingdom of Cilicia^[23], Cyrus the Younger "ordered the Greeks (*Ελληνων*) to form up as usual for battle" and let the Queen of Cilicia review it with him; when the Greek army frightened the Persian army, "Cyrus was glad to see the Greek army (*Ελληνων*) so shocked the Persian army"; on the eve of the great battle, "Cyrus was in the plain against the Greek (*Ελληνων*) and Persian armies"; on the eve of the great battle, "Cyrus was in the plain against the Greek (*Ελληνων*) and Persian armies". *ων*) and Polish armies on the plain also gave financial incentives to the "10,000-man legions": "As for you Greek soldiers (*Ελληνων*), I will give each of you an extra crown of gold flowers."

Of course, it should be added that the author does not deny that the ordinary Greek soldiers in the "10,000-man" legion were mercenaries, and that the ordinary Greek soldiers in the Long March fulfill the basic criteria of modern mercenaries - first of all, they are "professional soldiers". First of all, they are "professional soldiers", and

when assembling his troops, Xenophon directly describes the type of soldiers they are, i.e., "heavy-armored troops", "light-armed troops" (Ancient Greek: γυμνητας English: English: γυμνητας), "light-armed troops", "light-shielded soldiers", "bowmen", etc.;^[24] It is also clear from other descriptions that the mercenaries were motivated by the desire for profit: when they reached Tarus in northern Syria, the mercenary army was not only a force for good, but also a force for evil, as it was also a force for evil. Tarus in northern Syria, the mercenaries, suspicious of the purpose for which Cyrus the Younger had assembled his army, and knowing that the journey was against King Artaxerxes II, "demanded an increase of pay (μισθον) by refusing to continue the march"^[25]. Cyrus then promised to pay all the mercenaries an additional fifty percent, i.e., from one dalic to one and a half dalic per man per month." When the mercenaries finally confirmed that they were going to fight against the king, they again demanded an increase in their pay, "Cyrus promised to give each man five mina of silver when he reached Babylon,^[26] and full pay until he brought the Greek troops back to Ionia. Greek troops back to Ionia. Most of the Greek troops agreed to this" Before the battle, in order to boost the morale of the Greek mercenaries, Cyrus the Younger also directly offered to give each of them a gold-rimmed crown of flowers after the battle.

In conclusion, in the context of the Long March, it is wrong to understand "ξενος/ξενος" as meaning "mercenary", which is not in line with Xenophon's sentimental inclination towards the generals, and this misunderstanding may be due to the influence of modern stereotypes of mercenaries in Trendel's research. This misunderstanding may be due to the fact that Trendel, in the course of his research, was influenced by modern stereotypes of mercenaries; it is also inappropriate to understand "ξενος/ξενος" as meaning an entire corps of 10,000 men, as the original text of the Long March does not use the term directly to refer to a corps of "10,000 men," but rather to a corps of "10,000 men," which is close to Cyrus Minor. The original text of the Long March does not use the term directly to refer to "ten thousand" legions, but rather to Greek generals who were close to Cyrus the Younger, and Trendel may have blurred the line between Greek generals who were "close friends" of Cyrus the Younger and ordinary Greek soldiers who were "profit-oriented", and incorrectly extended the relationship between Cyrus the Younger and the generals.

3 Reinterpretation of *Anabasis* in the Cultural Context of "Guest Friends"

The cultural tradition of "guest-friend" in Ancient Greece has a long history, and it is a unique ethical relationship in Ancient Greece, and it is difficult for Xenophon's use of "ξενος" to be separated from its cultural parent; this paper first reconstructs the cultural context of "guest-friend" in Ancient Greece, and then explains how "ξενος" should be understood as "guest-friend" in The Long Walk. This paper first reconstructs the cultural context of "guest friend" in Ancient Greece, and then elaborates the reason why "ξενος" in The Long March should be understood as "guest friend".

Then this paper can make some new interpretations of the Book of the Long March in the context of "guest and friend".

In the context of the ancient Greek culture of "guest and friend", the gathering of "ten thousand" mercenaries in The Long March should be seen more as the fulfillment of the generals' obligation of "guest and friend" to Cyrus the Younger. It was an act of "return" to Cyrus the Younger, and an act of mutual assistance that benefited both parties, in which Cyrus the Younger offered the generals "pecuniary and political help or shelter," while the generals, as "guest friends," gathered "ten thousand men. The generals, as "guest-friends", assembled "tens of thousands of legions" to provide military services to Cyrus the Younger. Fig 2 shows the relationship between Cyrus and Greek General.^[27]

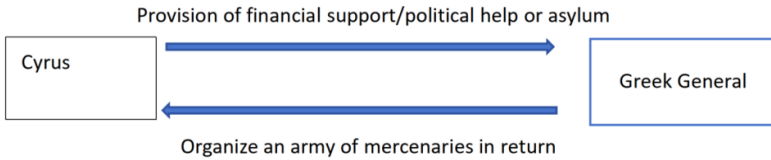


Fig. 2. The “guest friendship ”between Cyrus the Younger and the Greek generals' relationship

First of all, the assembling of this Greek army of about 13,000 men relied heavily on the "guest-friend" relationship that Cyrus the Younger had with his generals. "Cyrus the Younger's Greek army was not a monolithic one, but consisted of several separate armies,"^[28] Fig. 3 shows the relationship between Cyrus and his commanders.^[29]

commanders	Specific relationship with Cyrus Jr.	cadre
<u>Krillkus</u> (city in <u>Finmark</u> , Norway)	<u>ξενος</u> (social networking website)	1000 heavy infantry, 800 light shields, 200 archers
<u>Proximinus</u> (son of king Priam in Greek mythology)	<u>ξενος</u> (social networking website)	1,500 heavy infantry, 500 light infantry.
<u>Sophonitus</u> (name)	<u>ξενος</u> (social networking website)	1000 Heavy Infantry
<u>Socrates</u> (469-399 BC), Greek philosopher	<u>ξενος</u> (social networking website)	500 heavy infantry
<u>Aristippus</u> (c. 448-380 BC), Greek comic playwright	<u>ξενος</u> (social networking website)	Send Menon with 1,000 heavy infantry and 500 light shields to support him.
<u>Xenias</u>	not mentioned	4000 Heavy Infantry
<u>Agias</u>	not mentioned	1000 Heavy Infantry
<u>Cheirisophos</u>	not mentioned	700 Heavy Infantry
<u>Pasion</u>	not mentioned	300 heavy infantry, 300 light shields.
<u>Sosis</u>	not mentioned	300 heavy infantry

Fig. 3. List of Greek generals under Cyrus the Younger

As shown in the picture, the Greek army under Cyrus the Younger came from all directions, and without the leadership of a general, the army would have been "scattered". Without the leadership of a general, the army would have been "scattered". The Greek generals played an indispensable role in the formation of the "10,000-man army" under Cyrus the Younger. In terms of the number of soldiers, the generals with whom Cyrus the Younger had a "guest-friend" relationship led or dispatched a total of 7,040 soldiers to the battle, which accounted for a significant portion of the total number of about 13,000 soldiers.

Secondly, as mentioned above, the "exchange of gifts" in the friendship of guests is carried out within a certain moral framework,^[30] and is not purely an exchange of benefits. From the encounter of the "guest friend" Clilicus in *The Long Walk*, it can be seen that the two parties have reached a reciprocity between the "guest friends" under the moral obligation. Krilcus from Sparta was sentenced to death by his mother state, and in this desperate situation came to Asia Minor as a political exile. Cyrus the Younger took him in and treated him generously, and rewarded him with ten thousand gold coins of Darius. Clilicus took this money to organize an army and quickly went to support Cyrus the Younger in his rebellion. When he reached the city of Tarsus, he first tried to force the army to advance in the face of the soldiers' refusal to do so, but he was "almost killed by a blow", and then summoned a meeting of the soldiers and, in front of all of them "wept a great deal" in front of all the soldiers, and stated, "I have led you along, so that I may help him in time of need, and repay him for the favor he received in the past", and after deceiving the soldiers that he would join them in not advancing again, he stated: "He (Cyrus the Younger) thinks that he has been wronged by us. Therefore, he always sends me invitations, which I avoid, mainly because I do feel ashamed. I felt that I had completely wronged him." Under the moral aura of noble "guest-friendship", the "guest-friendship" between Clilicus and Cyrus the Younger is expressed through Clilicus' words and actions.

In the context of Hakkai culture, Xenophon's use of "ξενος" also has the intention of defending himself, reflecting the conflict between personal feelings and the interests of the city-state; Persia and Athens had a long history of conflict since the age of the city-state, and the city of Athens was destroyed by the Persians during the Hippocratic War;^[31] During the Peloponnesian War, Persia was on the side of Sparta against Athens. During the Peloponnesian War, Persia sided with Sparta against Athens, and Cyrus the Younger himself went to the region of Asia Minor on behalf of Persia to support Sparta.^[32] Xenophon, as a citizen of Athens, went to help the Persians, who were the direct enemy of the city-state of Athens, which is undoubtedly a kind of treasonous behavior in our view today, and even Xenophon himself went to Socrates to ask if he had any questions. Even when Xenophon himself asked Socrates^[33] whether he would go, Socrates warned that "making friends with Cyrus would bring a charge against him from the Athenian government, since Cyrus was thought to have been active in assisting the Lacedemonians^[34] in their war against Athens". However, through Xenophon's account and other historical sources, we can find that the reason for his participation in the expedition was not simply "financial gain".

As mentioned above, in the cultural context of "guest friendship", it is a noble behavior to repay a "guest friend" who has helped one's self. Xenophon himself was once imprisoned in the region of Boeotia^[35] (probably as a prisoner of war because Athens and Thebes were rivals to each other during the Peloponnesian War), and it is usually believed that he became a guest friend with Proxenus during the process of imprisonment. It can be reasonably inferred that Proxenus helped Xenophon when he was a prisoner. In the course of his imprisonment, he became a guest-friend of Proxenus.^[36] It is reasonable to assume that Proxenus helped Xenophon when he was a prisoner, and so by agreeing to the request of his "guest-friend" Proxenus to go on the expedition, a reciprocal cycle of guest-friendship was realized. As he himself said,

"He was neither a general, nor a captain, nor a soldier. He took part in this long expedition with the army because his guest-friend Proxenus sent invitations to his home asking him to accompany him." Moreover, after Proxenus was booby-trapped and killed in battle by the Persian governor, Xenophon wrote his name along with his own on an offering to be presented to the gods after his safe return to Asia Minor. Xenophon's willingness to allow Proxenus to be blessed by the gods along with himself could show that their relationship was not an ordinary one. In this way, participation in the expedition becomes a noble act in return for a "guest friend", and Xenophon justifies his act of granting Proxenus' request by giving it the appearance of morality, which is contrary to the protection of the interests of the Athenian city-state.

Xenophon's act of agreeing to his guest-friend's request to turn his back on his mother-state, Athens, to help Cyrus the Younger not only reflects a shift in civic thinking and values after the Hippocratic War and the Peloponnesian War, but also epitomizes the civic-city-state community's move toward disintegration. Aristotle explained the relationship between the citizen and the city-state, "The city-state precedes the individual in nature because the individual is an integral part of the city-state, and each independent individual cannot survive on his own, but must associate and depend on the city-state"^[37], the development of the city-state and the interests of the citizen are closely related to each other, and the two gradually form an organic whole. However, since the fifth century B.C., the crisis of the city-states has continuously impacted the traditional consciousness of the city-states, i.e., the high degree of collectivism, and hindered the process of city-states' development. Taking the Athenian consul Pericles as an example, he and Xenophon were also of noble birth, because he had a "guest-friend" relationship with the then king of Sparta, Archidamas, after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, he thought that Archidamas would not destroy his properties in the suburbs because of his personal relationship, and he took the initiative to confiscate his properties in order to avoid any suspicion. voluntarily confiscated his property, "although Archidamas was his guest-friend (xenos), this friendship should not be detrimental to the interests of the city-state. Joining the enemy in treating his houses or fields differently from those of others without destroying them, he was willing to donate them to the public at once."^[38]Pericles was willing to give up a portion of his self-interest in order to preserve unity among the citizens and the interests of the city-state. On the contrary, Xenophon justified his behavior through clientelism, and the author believes that this phenomenon can be regarded as an embodiment of the fading of the collective consciousness of the citizens under the crisis of the city-states, which at the same time conforms to the development of the ancient Greek city-states in the Classical Era, from the extreme prosperity to the decline of the development of the ancient Greek city-states.

4 Conclusion

In the ancient Greek tradition, "Guest Friendship" was a relationship between elites of roughly equal social status and subordinate to different city-states, which was consolidated and maintained through a variety of rituals - oaths, banquets, gifts, and military

solidarity. Conditions such as wars, festivals, and population movements became the conditions for the formation of friendships, while the circulation of resources, i.e., money, armies, food, and so on, further extended the construction of friendship networks. [39] Numerous literary and historical works refer to *hakko* and *hakki*, with "xenos" being used to refer to *hakko* who have entered into a Guest Friendship.

Modern scholar Trundle's understanding of the meaning of "xenos" in the Book of the Anabasis is biased, for the profit-oriented "mercenaries" do not conform to the emotional tendency of Xenophon's use of the word in the Book; at the same time, "xenos" is still limited to the upper elite and is not used to refer to the ordinary Greek mercenary soldiers. At the same time, "xenos" in *The Long March* is still limited to the upper elite and is not used to refer to ordinary Greek mercenaries. Therefore, *xenos* in the Book of the Long March should still be understood according to the traditional concepts of ancient Greece.

The relationship between Cyrus the Younger and some of his mercenary generals can be interpreted in a new way in the cultural context of "guest-friendship" - within the noble moral framework of "guest-friendship", Cyrus the Younger provides pay and political help to the generals, and the generals provide military services to their legions, which constitutes a complete cycle of reciprocity. Within the noble moral framework of "clientelism," Cyrus the Younger provided his generals with pay and political help, and the generals led their legions in military service, forming a complete cycle of reciprocity; and Xenophon, through this time-honored and noble moral bond, justified his own actions against the interests of the city-state. Moreover, Xenophon's turning his back on the city-state for personal gain epitomizes the erosion of collective civic consciousness in the context of the city-state crisis at the end of the first five centuries.

Reconstructing the specific context in which historical materials are produced is an important method of revealing the historical truth.^[40] This paper attempts to make a more accurate interpretation of the relevant texts in *The Long March* by reconstructing the specific cultural context of the Greek city-states as the "guest and friend", in an attempt to reveal the historical facts through the method of textual analysis. It is believed that by reconstructing the specific cultural contexts of the corresponding historical periods through their own skills and interpreting the relevant texts in this way, historians can reveal the "historical truth" in the texts, thus realizing the ultimate goal of classics, as the German classicist Wilamowitz put it-"to resurrect the lost and forgotten cultural context". -"to resurrect the vanished world", as the German classicist Wilamowitz put it.^[41]

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10. Zheng Qi: *A Primer on Ancient Greek Mercenaries*, Master's Thesis, College of History and Culture, Northeast Normal University, 2015, pp. 9 to 10.
11. L. Brown, W. Little eds, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 1745.
12. A. Roberts & R. Guelff, *Documents on the Laws of War*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 387.
13. M. Trundle, "Epikouroi, Xenoï and Mithophoroi in the Classical Greek world", *War & Society*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1998).
14. Liddell, Scott, ed. *The Greek-English Dictionary: a medium-sized version*, 2015, p. 294.

15. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.3.4; 4.4.18; 7.8.15.
16. Dariuske is the name of a Persian gold coin, typically a Persian gold coin weighing 8.4 grams, with a seated figure of a Persian king holding a bow and arrows on the obverse and an embossed seal on the reverse. See also: Martin J. Price : "Darius I and the Daric", *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, Tome 91, 1989, n. 1-2. p. 9-12; T. Christopher, "The Changing Pattern of Achaemenid Persian Royal Coinage". Peter Bernholz & Roland Vaubel eds. *Explaining Monetary and Financial Innovation: A Historical Analysis*, p. 127-168.
17. Northeastern part of the Greek Peninsula.
18. It is also generally recognized that capable Greek exiles were often used and treated favorably by the Persian kings, cultivating them as their own confidants or staffs. Ref: Li Hua, "An Exploration of Greek Exiles in the Persian Imperial Regime," *Historical Studies*, No. 6, 2018.
19. With regard to the criteria for determining elites, modern sociological research recognizes two general categories: the first is directly related to political power and refers to the cohesive leaders who run an organization or a country; such a group is often referred to as a managerial or ruling elite. The second definition of elites in modern society is less clearly linked to political power: (1) those who are much better educated than the general population (intellectual elites), (2) those who are much wealthier than the general population (upper class or wealthy elites); and (3) those who have gained popular recognition based on their birthright and/or their usual performance (e.g., the aristocracy or class elites). It is also generally accepted that the determination of elites in ancient Greece was very similar to modern times, see: Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens : Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 11-12. The criteria for determining elites in Ancient Greece were typified by the ideas put forward in Aristotle's *Politics* - Aristotle argued that among the free people of a city-state, there were commoners and elites, and that those who belonged to the elites had the following characteristics. The characteristics of those who belonged to the elite included: wealth (ploutos), noble birth (eugeneia), excellence and outstanding talent (arete), and cultural cultivation (paideia). See: Aristotle, *The Politics*, 4.4.1, H. Rackham trans, Cambridge: Harvard University, 1932.
20. Michael A. Flower, *Xenophon's Anabasis, or the Expedition of Cyrus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 45.
21. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2 .3; 1.2.9.
22. (U.S.) Liddle, (U.S.) Scott, eds, *The Greek-English Dictionary: a medium-sized version*, 2015, p. 251.
23. Southern Anatolia, see: Trevor Bryce: *Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia, London and New York*: Routledge, 2009, p. 165.
24. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.3; 1.2.9.
25. Latinized as *misthon*, meaning salaried, employed, hired. See: Luo Niansheng and Shui Jianfu, eds., *A Dictionary of Greek and Chinese*, p. 550.
26. Minna in this context should be the unit of mass of the Two Rivers Valley, where 1 minna is about 18 ounces, or about 510.3 grams, see: Stenphen Bertman, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New York: Fact on file, 2003, p. 257.
27. Alpheus Crosby, *A Lexicon to Xenophon's Anabasis*, Schleswig-Holstein: Creative Media Partners, 2021, p. 132.
28. J. Roy, "The Mercenaries of Cyrus", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 16, H. 3 (Jul., 1967), p. 292
29. Alpheus Crosby, *Xenophontos Kyron Anabasis*, Schleswig-Holstein: Hansebooks GmbH, 2017, p. 230.

30. G. Herman, *Ritualized Friendship and the Greek City*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 80.
31. Herodotus, *Historia*, 8.51-53.
32. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 1.4.1-7.
33. It is the reference to the famous Athenian philosopher Socrates (469/470 to 399 BC), who was a teacher and student of Xenophon, see: Diogenes Laertius: *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, 2.48-50.
34. That is, it refers to Sparta and its allies.
35. Central Greece, Thebes was then the most powerful city-state in the region.
36. J. W. I. Lee, " Xenophon and his Time ", *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 22-26
37. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253a.
38. Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2. 13.
39. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spaw, eds, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 612.
40. Richard Ivins, *In Defense of History*, translated by Zhongmin Zhang, Weilin Pan, and Ke Zhang, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2009, pp.157-158.
41. Viramowitz, *The History of Classics*, translated by Chen Heng, Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, 2008, p. 1.

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