



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Xenophon: Language, style and vocabulary. Research into the use of words, style and language of Xenophon**

Boender, Talitha

### **Citation**

Boender, T. (2024). *Xenophon: Language, style and vocabulary.: Research into the use of words, style and language of Xenophon.*

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master Thesis, 2023](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4083569>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# **Xenophon: Language, style and vocabulary**

Research into the use of words, style and language of Xenophon

by Talitha Maaskant-Boender

MA Thesis

Faculty of Humanities

Classics and Ancient Civilizations ( MA)

Leiden University

Supervisor: Dr. A. M. Rademaker

August 2024



# Table of contents

Introduction .....	4
Status Quaestionis.....	5
Analysis of The Battle of Thymbra.....	11
Part I: 7.1.1-2.....	11
Part II: 7.1.3-19.....	14
Part III: 7.1.19-37 .....	17
Part VI: 7.1.38-49.....	20
Analysis of the love story between Panthea and Abradatas.....	21
Part I: 5.1. 3 /6.1. 45-51/ 6.2.7/6.3. 35-36 .....	21
Part II: 6.4.2-11 .....	23
Part III:7.3.2-15 .....	24
Conclusions .....	27
Bibliography.....	30



# Introduction

This thesis examines the language, style and in particular the vocabulary of the Greek author Xenophon through an analysis of his vocabulary in two passages<sup>1</sup> from his book *Cyropaedia*, aiming to gain a deeper understanding of Xenophon's unique language, style and vocabulary.

To this day Xenophon is renowned for his distinctive language, vocabulary and style. Previous scholarly research has provided various explanations for the peculiarities of his language, while much has been uncovered about his linguistic traits, there are still new insights to be discovered in Xenophon's vocabulary today.

The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of Xenophon's vocabulary by analysing the attestation-patterns and usage of words in his works and exploring how style and context influence this. In this thesis I want to find the answer to the question: What are the characteristics and attestation-patterns of Xenophon's language, style and in particular vocabulary and how does he vary his choice of language, style and words in different text-types?

Following this introduction, the thesis begins with a status quaestionis explaining the different scholar's perspectives on Xenophon's language use and vocabulary. It will be particularly interesting to see which arguments the different scholars use and to what extent they overlap or differ. While some categories among scholars share similar elements, others differ significantly. This heterogeneity makes comparisons challenging at times. The analyses in the next two chapters focus on the words from the passage about the Battle of Thymbra<sup>2</sup> and from the passage about the love story of Panthea and Abradatas.<sup>3</sup> Each analysis concludes with observations about the language, style and vocabulary of the respective passage. The final chapter compares the conclusions from the previous chapters and provides an overall conclusion, potentially serving as a starting point for further research into Xenophon's language, style and vocabulary. Recommendations for future research are also included.

The *Cyropaedia* was chosen for this analysis because it stands out among Xenophon's works due to its genre complexity and enigmatic nature.<sup>4</sup> One scholar, Sage (1995: 163), suggests that it's an experimental work without a fixed genre, while others attribute multiple genres to it. It's also considered to contain multiple text types meaning that in it each type of text follows specific writing conventions and language that influence its length, format, tone, and content. The passages selected for this study represent two text types, a battle and a love story, offering valuable insights into the relationship between text type and word choice. This genre complexity in conjunction with the many different text types that provide a multitude of contexts makes it ideal for studying his vocabulary, language and style.

In terms of practical matters, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) was used for attestation and origin of Xenophon's words, and the *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell and Scott (LSJ) was used for their meanings. Both works are addressed by their abbreviations in this thesis. The main translation of the *Cyropaedia* consulted was Miller's (1989) in the Loeb Classical Library-series.

---

<sup>1</sup> The passages are: Xen. Cyr.7.1 & Xen.Cyr.5.1.3,6.1.45-51,6.2.7,6.3.35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Cyr.7.1.

<sup>3</sup> Xen.Cyr.5.1.3,6.1.45-51, 6.2.7, 6.3.35-36.

<sup>4</sup> Tamiolaki 2017: 174-194.

## Status Quaestionis

Xenophon's language has been a topic of discussion since ancient times, with both ancient and modern scholars failing to reach consensus on evaluating his style.<sup>5</sup> Generally speaking, Xenophon departs from the purely Attic vocabulary common to literary prose of his time and often breaks the tacit rules and normative expectations.<sup>6</sup> His distinctive style is particularly evident in the *Cyropaedia* and the *Anabasis*, which contain many words and forms foreign to classical Attic prose.<sup>7</sup>

As an Athenian citizen, Xenophon speaks in the Attic dialect. However, conversational Attic and the language of literary prose are different. Greek prose was originally written in the Ionic dialect, but by the end of the fifth century the Attic dialect gradually replaced Ionic as the literary language for all genres. Literary Attic became standardized, with norms and rules distinguishing what was considered 'pure' Attic. This term 'pure Attic' implies an ideal form of the dialect, though it often carries normative overtones, making it problematic as explained by Huitink & Rood.<sup>8</sup> They argue that conversational Attic, influenced by other languages and constantly evolving, is far removed from the standardized literary Attic of the orators, which was an ideological construct reacting to the convergence of Attic and Ionic in Athenian administration.<sup>9</sup>

Xenophon, unlike orators, frequently used non-Attic words, a practice often noted by ancient critics. Ancient grammarian Helladius attributed this to Xenophon's long absence from Athens,<sup>10</sup> while Hermogenes recognized his poetic expressions despite deeming his style simple and pure.<sup>11</sup> Criticism of Xenophon's language persisted into the second century AD, with grammarian Phrychinus calling him a rulebreaker without specifying which rules,<sup>12</sup> likely referring to 'pure' Attic. Ancient lexicons frequently quoted Xenophon's non-Attic words and unique vocabulary.<sup>13</sup>

Nineteenth-century scholars like F.W. Sturz (1801) and G. Sauppe (1869) began systematically examining Xenophon's language. Sturz's *Lexicon Xenofontium* offered an alphabetical guide to Xenophon's vocabulary without analysis or vision on his language. In contrast, Sauppe's *Lexilogus Xenophontis sive index Xenophontis Grammaticus* categorized words into dialectisms, poeticisms, and rarity. Sauppe also sought to categorize words characteristic of Xenophon according to their frequency, usage, and grammatical system,<sup>14</sup> but he did not provide any specific opinions on Xenophon's language, vocabulary, or style.

Sauppe's eight categories included dialectisms which refer to the use of words that are unique to a dialect because of their form or meaning and that are not found in other dialects. Poeticisms are a second kind of category used by Sauppe. Poeticisms are words first attested in Ionic epic poetry and continued to be used in high poetry such as tragedy. Both dialectism and poeticisms are most likely recognizable for the audience and therefore can be used to enhance a text. A third category identified by Sauppe

---

<sup>5</sup> Pomeroy 1994: 11.

<sup>6</sup> Flower 2017: 10.

<sup>7</sup> Huitink & Rood 2019: 23.

<sup>8</sup> Huitink & Rood 2019: 26.

<sup>9</sup> Huitink & Rood 2019: 27.

<sup>10</sup> Hellad. *In Phot. Bibl* 533b25-8.

<sup>11</sup> Hermog. *On types*, 405.

<sup>12</sup> Phryn. *Eclog.* 62 Fisher.

<sup>13</sup> Pomeroy *Oeconomcs*: 11-12. Here Pomeroy gives an explanation of the ancient sites.

<sup>14</sup> Sauppe 1869: III.

included words with varied attestation, such as those attributed to Xenophon by others or used only once, known as Hapax legomena. These categorizations aimed to identify the distinctiveness of Xenophon's language but did not deeply analyse his style.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Gautier's *La Langue de Xénophon* (1911) categorized Xenophon's non-Attic vocabulary systematically by its attestation. Gautier's categories included Doric, Ionic-Doric, and Ionic dialectisms, poeticisms, and Hellenistic words. The scholar suggests that Xenophon used dialectisms either because he forgot the pure Attic words and forms due to his time abroad or because he couldn't write in pure Attic. Any effect of dialectisms on the audience was therefore a coincidence and not the result of a conscious action.

Gautier found that pure Doric words were few, with limited sources beyond inscriptions. The presence or absence of words in these inscriptions doesn't confirm their Doric origin.<sup>15</sup> The substantial Ionic group reflects Xenophon's time in Asia Minor, his familiarity with Ionian literature, and its influence on the development of Koine Greek. Not only are Ionic words prevalent in Xenophon's work, but they are also better known through the important literary works.<sup>16</sup> The Doric-Ionic category includes words found in both dialects, making it hard to determine which influenced Xenophon's language more. Attention should be given to the possibility that words of Doric origin may be misattributed to Ionic due to the Ionic influence on Xenophon's language. This category is extensive, encompassing all non-Attic words not clearly assigned to the other two groups.<sup>17</sup>

The penultimate category includes words primarily used in poetry. These poeticisms originate from Ionic epic poetry and are later attested in the high poetry of tragic playwrights. Using these words elevates the text to a higher register, evident to the audience due to the literary origins and connotations that reference the epic and tragic poetry familiar to them. Gautier also noted that Xenophon's use of poetic words often depended on the context, aligning his language style with the narrative's tone.

The final group consists of Hellenistic words. Originally dialectical, these words became part of Hellenistic usage and lost their initial dialectal and poetic connotations. Since Xenophon did not live in the Hellenistic period, one might question the reason for this categorization when analysing his language. One reason is that some scholars accuse Xenophon of writing as he spoke, and since Koine is conversational Greek, his anticipation of Koine could indicate that these words were part of the spoken language during his time. Additionally, while Koine Greek began to develop in Xenophon's era, many authors continued to write in Attic or "Great Attic." Therefore, it's interesting to examine whether Xenophon followed this trend.

Gautier suggested that Xenophon used non-Attic words unconsciously due to either foreign influences or the development of the Greek language. He believes that foreign influences caused Xenophon to lose his sense of proper Attic Greek. Regarding the development of the Greek language, he argues that Xenophon's use of non-Attic words alongside Attic equivalents demonstrates the societal process that led to the decline of individual dialects and the emergence of Koine.<sup>18</sup> However, modern scholars like Huitink & Rood have debunked these arguments, stating that he was not obligated to write exclusively in Attic Greek. These dialectal elements appear in works unrelated to Athenian

---

<sup>15</sup> Gautier 1911: 22-47.

<sup>16</sup> Gautier 1911: 59-65.

<sup>17</sup> Gautier 1911: 48-58.

<sup>18</sup> Huitink&Rood 2019: 24

matters and in adventurous narratives intended to appeal to audiences throughout the Greek-speaking world.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, there was no specific reason to write in Attic, and equally valid reasons to avoid using exclusively Attic words. Additionally, Xenophon's desire to become more international may have led him to use a vocabulary that diverged from the literary Attic of his time.<sup>20</sup> Ionic, in particular, is an obvious dialect choice for Xenophon because it holds a special status as it often serves as the international language in many contexts.

Another explanation for Xenophon's unconscious use of non-Attic words given by Gautier is the fact that Xenophon's written language closely mirrors his spoken language. This resemblance allows for the inclusion of words typically found in spoken language, illustrating a notable linguistic phenomenon. He acknowledges the difficulty in distinguishing between linguistic phenomena and stylistic choices due to their close connection. Xenophon's use of certain words is often spontaneous and context-driven, such as for emphasizing a point. Overall, his language aligns with stylistic variations, either diverging from or conforming to the Attic standard based on stylistic demands.

According to Pomeroy (1994:14), modern analyses of Xenophon's language have not advanced significantly beyond those from antiquity due to the absence of a comprehensive theoretical study on the development of Greek prose style. However, this does not imply that modern scholars have not conducted analyses on Xenophon's language. In the past thirty years, interest in Xenophon's language has revived. While most scholars took Gautier's categories as a basis, they often focus on specific aspects of Xenophon's work or language. Their analyses do reveal innovations compared to Gautier's earlier work.

Pomeroy (1994) and Gray (2011) were the first since Gautier who have further analysed Xenophon's language. Pomeroy, in her study of *Oeconomics*, recognizes Xenophon's use of various dialects and poetic words but does not systematically categorize them. She observes that Xenophon's deviations from the norms of his native dialect are often marked by different spellings or word forms. Pomeroy also noted Xenophon's use of technical philosophical terms that were uncommon in everyday language of the fourth century, though she did not define them precisely. These terms likely come from philosophical texts and describe specialized philosophical concepts. Additionally, Xenophon's figurative use of words reflects further deviations. Although she does not explicitly state it, Pomeroy is the first to attribute agency to Xenophon as an author. Her analysis provides insight into Xenophon's language and style, highlighting his approach and challenging the notion that archaic or poetic words should not appear in prose.<sup>21</sup>

Gray (2011) examined the impact of Xenophon's word choices, categorizing them by their literary charm, balance, philosophical significance, and heroic connotations. She argues that Xenophon used words deliberately for artistic effect and by using specific words he evokes an effect by the audience. Words with 'literary charm' either originate from Xenophon's own creations or from the poetic tradition of antiquity, known as poeticisms. These words enhance the literary appeal of passages with a charming subject matter.<sup>22</sup> Gray notes that words that create balance within a text passage, such as those with opposing meanings, are another feature of Xenophon's language. Xenophon uses these rare words to expand his range of synonyms and antonyms, creating balances that enhance meaning.<sup>23</sup> Philosophical terms, which come from philosophical texts or authors, form a separate category. Gray explains that these

---

<sup>19</sup> Huitink&Rood 2019: 30-31

<sup>20</sup> Huitink&Rood 2019: 30.

<sup>21</sup> Pomeroy 1994: 10.

<sup>22</sup> Gray 2011:2.

<sup>23</sup> Gray 2011: 1-2

philosophical words turn up in Xenophon's philosophical works.<sup>24</sup> Words conveying heroism, often borrowed from epic poetry,<sup>25</sup> make up the final category. This group of rare words imposes a heroic dimension. At times, Xenophon uses these words as balanced pairs to reinforce meaning, working within elaborate sentence structures to achieve this. At other times, he employs these words for their epic qualities, deconstructing heroic images.<sup>26</sup> Gray's approach contrasts with Gautier's; she believes Xenophon used words intentionally for artistic effect and meaning rather than merely as available options.<sup>27</sup> Her perspective on dialect, diction, and style is context-oriented, attributing agency to Xenophon's writing as professional and deliberate, rather than incidental.

In their recent work *Xenophon: Anabasis Book III* (2019), Huitink & Rood categorize Xenophon's unusual words into several groups: unique to Xenophon, those used once by him and later appearing in Koine, dialectisms (Ionic or Doric), poeticisms, Hellenistic words (anticipating Koine), familiar words used metaphorically for the first time by Xenophon, words conveying leadership and military technical terms. The first category, words unique to Xenophon, mirrors one of Sauppe's categories. The categories of dialectisms, poeticisms, and Hellenistic words are similar to Gautier's, though Huitink & Rood seek explanations for the use of dialectal words beyond their origins. Their category of metaphorically used words is similar in kind to Pomeroy's figurative category, as both address the non-literal meaning of words. However, Huitink & Rood specifically focus on military contexts, which is clear given their choice of the *Anabasis*. The category of words first attested by Xenophon that later appear in Koine, words that convey leadership and the category of military technical terms, are new additions. These categories have an overlap. When a word pertains to leadership, often in a military context, it falls into the category of 'words conveying leadership.' These words are associated with actions such as taking initiative, communicating effectively, focusing on results, or demonstrating compassion. Military technical words explain specific manoeuvres or items and since they are later often incorporated into Koine, they also could belong in the group of words that are first attested by Xenophon that later appear in koine. These military technical words are either familiar words that have acquired a military meaning—often metaphorically used—or newly created words to describe military concepts. They are considered military technical jargon due to their specialized context.

Huitink & Rood (2019), just like Gray, emphasize that Xenophon's deviations from classical prose were deliberate and context-driven. They argue that his choice to write in non-literary Attic was intentional, reflecting his alignment with thematic content rather than strict adherence to traditional rules. Their analysis highlights that some Ionic and Doric words were part of Attic but were avoided by purist Attic writers. In historiography, where war and battle vocabulary are common, Xenophon's expanded lexicon is seen as a natural extension of thematic content rather than a deviation from the norm.

As discussed earlier, scholars have employed various methods to analyse Xenophon's language, ranging from examining word origins and first attestations to considering the contextual effects of word usage. This research reveals two primary ways of looking at his unique language. The first approach, dominant until Pomeroy, focuses on word origins and attestations, working at the word level. Gautier introduced a shift by considering style and context, examining entire passages. Pomeroy added new

---

<sup>24</sup> Gray 2011: 6.

<sup>25</sup> Gray 2011: 2.

<sup>26</sup> Gray 2011:7-8

<sup>27</sup> Gray 2011: 8.

categories, including a philosophical technical category that incorporates more context, though her analysis still primarily operates at the word level. Gray marked a significant shift by not starting her research from a word level but instead focusing on the effect of words within their context, analysing passages and their usage. Huitink & Rood also discuss words with dialectal origins but place them within the development of the Attic language and dialectal interactions. Both Huitink & Rood and Gray have incorporated contextual and stylistic analyses. Their approach is more genre-based, particularly focusing on historiography and its linguistic norms.

As the above indicates Gautier's method, centred on word origin, contrasts with Gray's focus on word meaning and effect. Over the past century, scholars have blended these approaches, initially leaning more towards Gautier's method and gradually incorporating more of Gray's context-focused analysis. This trend has led to a broader perspective on Xenophon's language, with increasing emphasis on the relationship between word usage and text type. The context in which a word is placed has become a crucial aspect of examining Xenophon's distinctive language. In addition to context, which encompasses the content of the passage, scholars have also considered register, referring to variations in writing style based on different purposes, contexts, and audiences, and discourse, which involves the use of language within the text and its context. Although still somewhat underexplored, these elements have become part of their research. This evolving approach reflects a broader understanding of Xenophon's language as a dynamic and deliberate aspect of his literary style.

Xenophon has risen from being seen as a writer who was kept out of the group of great writers because of his special use of language, his creativity and unique use of language to one that is appreciated because of that. This shift in appreciation of Xenophon's language can be explained by the fact that people used to look more for uniformity, while modern scholars regard deviations as interesting and positive. Modern scholars now refer to this rich language and unique vocabulary as a language and vocabulary full of diversity. Also, Xenophon's language and use of words should no longer be seen as something that Xenophon is unaware of, but as a deliberate activity to evoke certain effects and meanings.<sup>28</sup> Or as Gray states 'he chose the words from his own enormous vocabulary for his own deliberate reasons'.<sup>29</sup>

The *Cyropaedia*, the story of the Persian king Cyrus, is Xenophon's work that is most complicated in terms of genre and in regards to Xenophon's intentions the most enigmatic.<sup>30</sup> One scholar, Sage (1995: 163), holds the opinion that this work bears the mark of Xenophon's experimentation with form and assigns no genre to it. But overall, more than one genre type is contributed to it by the scholars. It's called an encomium, a biography, a fictional story, a historiography and a political treatise with a didactic dimension.<sup>31</sup> In the *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus is portrayed in a good light, therefore the attribution of the genre encomium is not out of place. The historical description, while not factually accurate on all fronts, indicates that it's a historiographical work. Logically it's a biography as it tells the life story of Cyrus from the beginning to the end of his life. The politics in the book are also undeniable and are clearly addressed right with the formation of Cyrus. Many genres are therefore touched upon in this story by Xenophon. According to Tamiolaki (2017: 182), the work is more historiographical than any of the other genres, but this is a statement that Sancisi- Weerdenburg (2010: 512-514) does not share. She indicates that people agree that it was not intended by Xenophon as a historiographical work. Precisely these two opposing

---

<sup>28</sup> Gautier 1911: 85. Gautier makes two apparently contradictory statements in his work by indicating on the one hand that Xenophon is unaware of his own unusual use of language, while on the other hand he indicates that demonstrably poetic words are intentionally used by Xenophon to provide emphasis.

<sup>29</sup> Gray 2006: 435.

<sup>30</sup> Tamiolaki 2017: 174-194.

<sup>31</sup> Tamiolaki 2017: 180.

opinions indicate the difficulty of contributing the *Cyropaedia* to just one genre. Although the scholars did not research Xenophon's language based on the genre of his works, this approach could still yield valuable insights. The *Cyropaedia* contains many different text types and contexts, making it a valuable work for research. Besides speeches and conversations, it includes military descriptions and even a romantic story. This genre complexity, combined with the variety of text types, provides a multitude of contexts, making the *Cyropaedia* an ideal work for studying Xenophon's language using the several categories provided by scholars.

In my research, I will examine both the first attestations and attestation patterns of Xenophon's words, as well as their contextual usage, particularly those that evoke pathos or relate to military terminology. The passages I will analyse include the Battle of Thymbra and the love story of Panthea and Abradatas. Due to the nature of these passages and the insights provided by various scholars, I believe this analysis will be particularly rewarding. Join me in this exploration...

## Analysis of The Battle of Thymbra.

### Part I: 7.1.1-2

On the evening before the battle of Thymbra Cyrus makes himself ready for the advance by pouring a libation and by praying to the gods. He and his men wear their military outfits. When, in *Cyr.7.1.2*, Xenophon describes the way in which they are panoplied in armour, he uses the following combinations of words: χιτώσι φοινικοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, and λόφοις λευκοῖς. These words are for the most part first attested in the Ionic epic text of Homer and have stayed in the Greek language till the rise of the Koine. The interesting fact about the use of these words by Xenophon is that he uses them in combinations not found in the attestations in Homer. Φοινίκεος is not attested in Homer, but is attested first in Pindar<sup>32</sup> and later in Herodotus<sup>33</sup> but never in combination with χιτών. Χιτών is a word that is first attested in the Ionic epic poetry. After Homer it's also used in *Th.1.6* and this is proof that this word has found its way in the Attic dialect. Φοινίκεος is not only belonging to the Ionic and Doric dialect but is also to be considered poetic because of its attestation in Pindar's odes. The combination of these two words is found much later in the works of Plutarch. It's Plutarch who says in *Brutus* 40.5 'ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα προὔκειτο μὲν <έν> τῷ Βρούτου χάρακι καὶ τῷ Κασσίου σύμβολον ἀγῶνος φοινικοῦς χιτών. ['As soon as it was day, a scarlet tunic, the signal for battle, was displayed before the camps of Brutus and Cassius.<sup>34</sup>]. Plutarch also states in *Pompey* 68.4 'κατὰ τάχος πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐκέλευσε προθεῖναι τὸν φοινικοῦν χιτῶνα. τοῦτο γὰρ μάχης Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ σύμβολον.' ['He quickly ordered the purple tunic to be hung up in front of his tent, that being the Roman signal for battle.<sup>35</sup>]. This combination being a symbol of battle might very well be what Xenophon means to say by using these words.

Κράνος χαλκός is a combination where both words are dialectically Ionic. Χαλκός is a word that is first attested by Homer and well attested after him. Κράνος on the other hand is not used by Homer, but is attested for the first time in Aeschylus<sup>36</sup> After Aeschylus the word is used in Euripides.<sup>37</sup> Herodotus uses this word multiple times<sup>38</sup> and Xenophon also uses this word in more than one of his works.<sup>39</sup> Just like the combination of χιτών and φοινίκεος, the earliest attestation is found in Xenophon using it in a battle scene where a description of battle gear is given. Both of these words are poeticisms because of their attestation in Homer as well as in Aeschylus and Euripides.

The combination of the words θώραξ and χαλκός is found twice in Homer's *Iliad*, in *Il.13.398* and *Il.13.440*. Both words are also attested apart multiple of times by Homer and this first Homeric attestation argues for a categorisation in the Ionic and poetic category.

The last combination of words is λόφος and λευκός and this is again a particular one. Both words are first attested by Homer and have been used in the Greek language as common words. The words are

---

<sup>32</sup> *Pi.I.3.36*.

<sup>33</sup> *Hdt.1.98, 2.132, 7.76, 9.22*.

<sup>34</sup> *Trans. B. Perrin,1918*.

<sup>35</sup> *Trans. B. Perrin,1918*.

<sup>36</sup> *A.Th.385, 459*.

<sup>37</sup> *E.Supp.318; E.El.470*.

<sup>38</sup> *Hdt.1.171,4.180, 7.72, 7.74, 7.76, 7.79, 7.89, 7.91*.

<sup>39</sup> *Xen. HG.7.5.20; Xen. An.1.2.16, 1.8.6, 4.7.16, 5.2.22, 5.4.13, 7.4.16; Xen. Cyr.6.1.51, 6.2.17, 6.4.1, 6.4.2, 7.1.2; Xen.Eg.12.3*.



therefore dialectally Ionic. The combination of both words, however, is not found in Homer or in any other author. This combination is attested for the first time in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and only in this particular passage of the *Cyropaedia*.

All these words, χιτών, φοινίκεος, θώραξ, χαλκός, λοφός, κράνος, and λευκός are either Ionic or Doric and familiar to the audience because they persisted in the Greek language and became regular words. The combination of these words is novel, likely intended to remind the ancient audience of Homer and to enhance meaning through this arrangement. The attestation of these words indicates their dialectal origin, and their association with epic poetry and tragedy classifies them as poetic. Although the context is a battle, the meaning of these words alone does not place them in the military technical category. They could be classified as such only if they described a specific military manoeuvre or concept, or if they were used metaphorically for the first time to denote a technical term and thus became recognized as specialized military jargon. Nonetheless, it's reasonable to categorize them under the heroic connotation category of Gray because they are used for their epic qualities to deconstruct heroic images, conveying the heroic dimension of soldiers preparing for battle.

Not only the equipment of the men, but also the way the horses look is described in Xen.Cyr.7.1.1-2 where Xenophon writes 'οἱ δὲ ἵπποι προμετωπίδιος καὶ προστερνιδίος καὶ παραμηριδίου χαλκοῖς;' [Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze.<sup>40</sup>] Xenophon uses three words to describe the horses' attire. He employs the term προμετωπίδιος alongside two other words, παραμηρίδιος and προστερνίδιον, that are first attested in his writings. These three words describing the attire of horses are used by Xenophon in one sentence and that sentence, or a variant of that sentence, is found in several of his works.<sup>41</sup>

Προμετωπίδιος means 'before' or 'on the forehead' according to the *LSJ*. This word is used by Herodotus to describe the forehead of the horses by writing 'προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον ἐπὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι.<sup>42</sup>' [They had (skins of) horses' foreheads on their head.<sup>43</sup>]. Immediately after that it's Xenophon who uses the word in the *Anabasis* saying 'οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες [οἱ μετὰ Κύρου] εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια<sup>44</sup>' [And all their horses [those with Cyrus] had frontlets and breast pieces.<sup>45</sup>]. Then Xenophon uses this word in very similar sentences in the *Cyropaedia* in 6.4.1 and 7.1.2. The attestation in Herodotus makes it logical to conclude that it's a word originating from the Ionic dialect. The fact that it's just attested once by him and by no other author before Xenophon makes this word quite rare and unique. The words παραμηρίδιος and προστερνίδιον are constructed by combining a preposition and a known Ionic word. Παραμηρίδιος literally means 'along the thighs' and in the neuter, it has the meaning of the cuisses. Xenophon uses the word in three of his works, the *Anabasis*<sup>46</sup> the *Cyropaedia*<sup>47</sup> and the *On Horsemanship*.<sup>48</sup> After Xenophon's use of the word, the word is still used sporadically by other writers including Arrian.<sup>49</sup> The plural indicates that these thigh pieces are placed on both sides of the horses.

---

<sup>40</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>41</sup> Xen.An.1.8.6-7, Cyr.6.4.1,7.1.2.

<sup>42</sup> Hdt.7.70.

<sup>43</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>44</sup> Xen.An.1.8.7.

<sup>45</sup> *Trans.* C.L. Brownson, 1922.

<sup>46</sup> Xen.An.1.8.6.

<sup>47</sup> Xen.Cyr. 6.4.1, 7.1.2.

<sup>48</sup> Xen.Eq. 12.8,12.10.

<sup>49</sup> Arr.Tact.4.1.

Προστερνίδιον means according to the *LSJ* 'covering or ornament for the breast of horses'. This word has an exact similar attestation as παραμηρίδιος.

The words προμετωπίδιος, παραμηρίδιος, and προστερνίδιον, while the parts are first attested in the Ionic dialect, are Attic as indicated by the earliest attestation in Xenophon. Their limited or sporadic occurrence suggests they were not widely known among the ancient audience, implying they were likely specialized military terms for describing horse attire. These terms can be categorized metaphorically, as they do not literally refer to the forehead or to 'along the thighs,' but rather to the skins worn on the foreheads and to the cuisses. The metaphorical meaning of προστερνίδιον, however, is less clear. All these terms are specialized, appearing first in Xenophon, being compounds, and possessing metaphorical qualities. Therefore, they can be classified in the metaphorical category as outlined by Huitink & Rood.

Having described the attire of Cyrus' men and of the horses, Xenophon moves over to the description of the arms of the warriors. The most interesting word in the second paragraph is χρυσοειδής since it's identified as a Xenophontic word by Sauppe (1869:143). No other expert on Xenophon discusses this word. In addition, χρυσοειδής consists of two parts, χρυσο- and –ειδής, and is a compound, a feature of Xenophon's vocabulary. These three facts make χρυσοειδής extremely interesting when discussing Xenophon's language.

Xenophon describes in *Cyr.7.1.2* from the *Cyropaedia* the goldish colour of the weapons of Cyrus' warriors with the word χρυσοειδής. The earliest attestations of this words are in Xenophon and Plato. This makes it difficult to say, without hesitation that Xenophon created this word. Plato and Xenophon both lived around the same time. This attestation by both authors could simply mean one of the following regarding the origin and use of the word: First, it may be a word that Xenophon and Plato have heard in everyday language. This does seem probable, given that it's a word that is a composition of two well-known words and creates a word with a usual content. Also compounds with –ειδής are not uncommon. A study in the *TLG* indicates that there are a few hundred compounds with –ειδής-. At the same time that Xenophon uses this word, it's also used by Plato<sup>50</sup> and Aristotle.<sup>51</sup> These writers write in literary Attic, and its presence in their work indicates that the word may be less rare than its one-time appearance in the *Cyropaedia* suggests. The word is used by Plato in the *Phaedo* when Socrates tells Simmias the myth about the earth. He describes the earth as golden or gold-like. In the subsequent period, the word was attested to writers of different genres and times, such as the mathematician Diocles,<sup>52</sup> the natural philosopher Theophrastus<sup>53</sup> and the writer Antigonos.<sup>54</sup> The word is later used by the writers of the *Septuagint* to indicate that brass shines like gold. A second possibility is that either Xenophon or Plato borrowed the term from the other, given that they may have been familiar with each other's work. The third possibility is that they independently coined the term. Considering Xenophon's known tendency to create new words, he could indeed be the originator. Nonetheless, the option that Plato might have created the term should not be entirely dismissed.

Based on its initial attestation, the word belongs to the Attic dialect. Its structure is similar to many words first recorded in Ionic epic poetry, indicating it could be classified under the Hellenistic category, as it later became part of Koine Greek. The word would have been familiar to ancient audiences due to the prevalence of similar constructions with –ειδής. Regardless of whether Xenophon was the creator,

---

<sup>50</sup> Pl.*Phd*.110c.

<sup>51</sup> Arist.*Col*.793a; Arist.*HA*.627a.

<sup>52</sup> Diocl.*fr*.117.

<sup>53</sup> Thphr.*Sens*.76; Thphr.*HP*.6.3.5, 9.11.1, 9.19.3.

<sup>54</sup> Antig.*Mir*.127.1.

he likely used the term intentionally to evoke associations with familiar – εἰδής words. Although the term appears in a military context, it does not fit within the military technical jargon for several reasons: it does not describe a specific military manoeuvre, it's not introduced metaphorically by Xenophon as a new military term, and it was likely part of everyday language.

## Part II: 7.1.3-19

After describing the military attire, Cyrus and his troops mount their horses and advance. Observing Croesus's flanking manoeuvre, Cyrus discusses it with his officers and then rallies his men by moving along the lines. As he passes Abradatas on the front line, Cyrus uses the term συναξιώ (7.1.15). This term combines a well-known Greek preposition and verb: σύν, meaning 'together' or 'united,' and αξιώ, which means 'to consider something worthy.' The term συναξιώ can be translated as 'to join in considering fit,' and is used with an accusative and an infinitive, according to the LSJ. This verb is first introduced by Xenophon and does not reappear until many centuries later. The verb, without σύν, is frequently used by authors such as Aeschylus and Thucydides. The verb with σύν, however, is specific to Attic Greek. Xenophon's creation of this new verb reflects a close relationship to the language of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Notably, Xenophon uses this newly coined verb almost immediately following the use of the verb without the preposition.

The first attestation of the verb συναξιώ indicates that it's unique to Xenophon and Attic Greek, although its components are first attested in the Ionic dialect. The word is used figuratively, making it difficult to classify within the military technical category proposed by Huitink & Rood, as it does not refer to any specific military manoeuvre or item. The placement of συναξιώ alongside αξιώ suggests a reinforcing of their meanings, implying that they may form a balanced pair. Furthermore, the unique and elaborate sentence structure in which συναξιώ appears suggests an intentional effort to create a specific effect. These aspects align the verb with Gray's category of 'balancing words,' but also the category 'figurative use of words' of Pomeroy is a possibility, but both categorisations are based on thin evidence.

Cyrus ends his conversation with Abradatas by indulging in boastful speech. The Greek word for 'boastful' that Xenophon uses in 7.1.17 is μεγαλήγορος. It's a word composed of two well-known words. The first attestation is in the work of the tragedy writer Aeschylus.<sup>55</sup> Poetic, epic, Attic and Doric elements are present in his work. He first used the word μεγαλήγορος in his tragedy *Septem contra Thebas* and, according to the *LSJ*, it has the meaning 'talking big', which can also be translated into the verb 'bragging'. The word is spoken by the choir when they say:

563	ἰκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων,	His words penetrate to my heart, my hair
564	τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴσταται	stands on end as I hear the loud threats of these
565	μεγάλα μεγαληγόνων κλυοῦσαι	loud-boasting, impious men. May the gods
566	ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν· εἶθε < > θεοὶ	destroy them here in our land!
567	τούσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν γαῖ.	( <i>Trans.</i> Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D., 1926)

Such a lyric passage is an indication that the word has poetic connotations. The chorus call the seven men who want to overthrow the rulers' boastful ungodly men. It feels that the men are encouraged,

<sup>55</sup> A. Th. 565.

prideful and even arrogant. Μεγαλήγορος refers to the grandiose pretence that they will take Thebes. That pretence turns out not to be true. They lose in the end.

Immediately after Aeschylus, it's Xenophon who addresses the word in his *Cyropaedia* 7.1.17 when reporting Cyrus' last conversation with Abradatas. Xenophon writes 'τοιαῦτα δ' ἐμεγαληγόρει, μελλούσης τῆς μάχης γίγνεσθαι. ἄλλως δ' οὐ μάλα μεγαλήγορος ἦν.' ['Cyrus was indulged in such boastful speech only on the eve of battle; at other times he was never boastful at all.<sup>56</sup>]. The context here is not only military but also one that foregrounds the topic of public speaking. Cyrus indicates that he has confidence in a good outcome of the battle and Xenophon calls his speech 'boastful' or 'with excessive self-confidence'. Whereas Aeschylus uses the word as a negative description of men, with Xenophon the word has a positive connotation; Cyrus intentionally uses this language as an instrument to make the men go into the fight with a positive feeling. The outcome in this case is positive: the Persians emerge victorious.

In this context, Cyrus's use of the term, which might seem boastful coming from someone else, is justified and appropriate given his military expertise. If Xenophon's use of the word is indeed a reference to Aeschylus, it subtly echoes Aeschylus's original meaning. While boasting is typically associated with hubris and viewed negatively in villains and losers, for a capable leader like Cyrus, it becomes a strategic tool to motivate his troops. In this passage, the word takes on a heroic dimension, transforming its connotation from mere boasting to one of effective leadership. Despite its use in various contexts, the connection between Aeschylus's depiction of Theban men and Cyrus's rhetoric imbues the term with a sense of heroism and leadership.

After Xenophon's use, the word does not appear again until the first century AD, in the works of Arius Didymus,<sup>57</sup> Longinus,<sup>58</sup> and Plutarch.<sup>59</sup> In their texts, the word is used either to denote a specific type of speech in doxographical contexts or to describe the rhetorical positions of classical authors concerning the Sublime or for self-praise. Unlike its poetic and heroic connotations in Aeschylus and Xenophon, the word in these later works loses its earlier lyrical and grandiose tone.

Based on its appearances in tragic literature, the word belongs to the Ionic dialect and the poetic category. Xenophon's use of the term, however, transcends mere poetry; it's employed in a battle scene to inspire bravery, imbuing it with heroic connotations. Considering its characteristics and use in Xenophon, this word belongs in the 'words conveying leadership'-category of Huitink & Rood as well as in the 'heroic connotation'-category of Gray.

When Cyrus passes along his officer Hystaspas he tells him to use his speed to make sure he kills the enemy before the enemy is able to kill them. To describe that action Xenophon uses a rare word that was probably coined by Xenophon himself: ταχυεργία. Ταχυεργία, like χρυσοειδής, is a word that is only included as a Xenophontic word by Sauppe.<sup>60</sup> He places the word in his group 8, being a word that is only used once. Gautier (1911) does not discuss the word.

In Book 7.1.19 of the *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon has Cyrus use this term when advising Hystaspas on the importance of 'working quickly,' meaning advancing around the enemy with great speed to achieve a surprise attack. While LSJ categorizes this word as Attic, given Xenophon's own Attic background, this classification alone is insufficient. The word conveys a principle crucial to leadership: the ability to act

---

<sup>56</sup> Trans. W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>57</sup> Ar. Did. *Liber de Philosophorum sectis*, 59,2.

<sup>58</sup> Longin. *De sublimitate* 8.4.

<sup>59</sup> Plu. *De laude ipsius* Stephanus 545b; Plu. *Amatorius* Stephanus 771.

<sup>60</sup> Sauppe 1869: 128.

swiftly and make prompt decisions, which is essential for a successful leader. Additionally, the word implies that troops must advance rapidly in a specific manner, thus fitting into the military technical category as it describes a particular military manoeuvre.

After Xenophon, the word does not reappear in Greek literature until the first centuries AD, notably in the writings of Appian. While its use in Attic Greek seems plausible due to the occasional formation of new terms from familiar words, further attestations are missing. The word's context and meaning align it with both the technical military category of Huitink & Rood and the Heroic Dimension category of Gray. It's likely that Xenophon coined this term not only to describe a military tactic but also to encapsulate the qualities of effective leadership.

In describing the act of killing the enemy, Xenophon uses the verb κατακαίνω. Both Sauppe<sup>61</sup> and Gautier<sup>62</sup> address this term in their analyses of 7.1.19. Sauppe, however, does not specify the category to which κατακαίνω belongs. Gautier classifies κατακαίνω as Doric, noting its similarity to the verb καίνω, which is attested in an inscription from Argos and considered Doric. Gautier further supports this classification by pointing out its use in tragic dialogues, suggesting a Doric influence.

Gautier acknowledges that assigning the term to the Doric category is challenging due to the lack of evidence linking later Attic usage directly to Doric origins. Nonetheless, there is supporting evidence for its Doric roots. The Argive inscription confirms the term's usage in a Doric context. Additionally, the word appears in later works, such as Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*,<sup>63</sup> reinforcing its association with Spartan and Doric settings. Other lesser-known writers, including Parthenius,<sup>64</sup> also use the term. After Christ, the word appears in Arrian's writings. However, since Arrian<sup>65</sup> emulates Xenophon's style and composition,<sup>66</sup> the use of κατακαίνω in his work likely reflects a direct imitation rather than an indication of its Doric origin. Thus, while the term has Doric characteristics, its primary association remains with Xenophon's usage rather than an independent Doric classification.

There is a difference in attestation between the word κατακαίνω and καίνω. Where κατακαίνω is attested in Sophocles' *Antigone*<sup>67</sup> once and after that predominately in Xenophon, the word καίνω has an attestation pattern from Ionic epic poetry, via tragedy to Attic prose. This version of the word is clearly more common and has made his way to the Attic. The word κτείω has a similar pattern and therefore the remark by Gautier<sup>68</sup> that καίνω is just another form of κτείω is probably true. Καίνω and κτείω are Ionic as their attestation indicates. Xenophon also uses the verb κτείω in his work. But the frequency is low, in the *Cyropaedia* it's only used twice, once in 3.3 and once in 8.2.

All occurrences of the word κατακαίνω are found in prose. It appears only once in a Doric lyric context, specifically in Sophocles' *Antigone*,<sup>69</sup> where it's used by Creon during a dialogue with the chorus. This usage is somewhat confusing since dialogues with the chorus in tragedies often feature Doric words. Sophocles employs the verbs καίνω and κτείω far more frequently than κατακαίνω, whereas Xenophon uses κατακαίνω more regularly.

---

<sup>61</sup> Sauppe 1869: 77.

<sup>62</sup> Gautier 1911: 22-23.

<sup>63</sup> *Plu.Lae.*240.

<sup>64</sup> *Parth.Am.narr.*7.3,9.7, 24.1.

<sup>65</sup> *Arr.An.*5.17,5.18,5.24; *Arr.Ind.*7.3, 11.10; *Arr.Cyn.*3.4,25.3; *Arr.Alan.*17.

<sup>66</sup> Bosworth 1996: 175-176.

<sup>67</sup> *S.il.*340.

<sup>68</sup> Gautier 1911: 23.

<sup>69</sup> *S.il.*340.

The prevailing explanation for the disparity between κατακαίνω and καίνω is that καίνω is considered poetic, while κατακαίνω is regarded as prosaic. This distinction is supported by their attestation patterns: κατακαίνω appears primarily in prose, with the exception of its singular appearance in tragedy, which may be attributed to metrical constraints. Additionally, κατακαίνω is absent from the works of major Attic writers of the 5th and 4th centuries and is only mentioned again by later authors who are known for imitating Xenophon. In contrast, καίνω is often seen as a synonym for κτείνω and is used by many tragic poets and prominent Attic writers, suggesting its poetic nature and eventual incorporation into Koine Greek. Gautier indicates that the word κατακαίνω is, as it were, absent throughout Classical and Hellenistic Greece, but that Xenophon uses it in all his descriptions of battles in *Cyropaedia*.<sup>70</sup>

As indicated in the text above, categorizing the word κατακαίνω proves challenging. Its use in battle scenes by Xenophon, and later by other writers in descriptions of combat and military activities, does not suffice to place it in either the technical militaristic or heroic dimension categories. Unlike καίνω, it also lacks a poetic connotation. Thus, aside from placing it in a dialectal category, it remains somewhat categorically ambiguous. The word's sporadic use and exclusive attestation by Xenophon in battle contexts within the *Cyropaedia* suggest it must have had a specific meaning. If it did not, one might question why Xenophon would have created this verb. It could be a feature of the Greek language's transition to Koine, used in conversational language during Xenophon's time that we are not familiar with, or it might possess a meaning that remains obscure due to the limitations of our existing texts.

### Part III: 7.1.19-37

Cyrus ends his riding along the frontlines and the battle commences. When encountering the Egyptians, the Persians encounter problems. Abradatas and his men charge but they are not able to make an opening in the Egyptian ranks. The Egyptians stand firm. Only when the cavalry comes to help their luck changes.

If there is a word unique to Xenophon, it's διαχάζομαι which means 'to withdraw' according to the *LSJ*. The word not only occurs first in Xenophon, but is not attested anywhere after that one occurrence. Xenophon uses this word in 7.1.31 in the sense of 'to move apart'. This word can be found in Gautier, but he provides no further information about it.<sup>71</sup> Sauppe tells us that this word is suspicious and dubious (group 2).<sup>72</sup> The verb without the preposition is more common and first attested in Homer.

The word is unique to Xenophon and is therefore considered an Attic term. However, the individual components of the word are Ionic. The use of a preposition with a known verb is not unusual, and this connection to Homer suggests the word may have a Homeric feel. The intense context of a battle scene describing a military manoeuvre suggests that it's a military technical term, fitting into the technical military category as defined by Huitink & Rood.

Another word with the same root as διαχάζομαι that Xenophon uses is the verb ἀναχάζω (*Cyr*.7.1.34). He uses the medium form with the intransitive meaning of 'receding'. The same verb is used several times

---

<sup>70</sup> Gautier 1911: 23.

<sup>71</sup> Gautier 1911: 177.

<sup>72</sup> Sauppe 1869: 32.

by Homer,<sup>73</sup> From the earliest attestation of the word in Homer and its use by Pindar<sup>74</sup> and Hesiod,<sup>75</sup> there has not been any other quality given to the Ionian word than an epic poetic one. The appearance of the word after Xenophon in Apollonius Rhodius<sup>76</sup> also does not change this conclusion, but only strengthens it. It's Sauppe<sup>77</sup> who refers to this word as poetic, Gautier (1911) does not mention the word at all. Since the word ἀναχάζω is consistently used in combat situations by both Xenophon and Homer and describes a military manoeuvre, it's most likely a military technical term. Its subsequent appearance in the works of Apollonius Rhodius suggests that the word eventually entered the Koine Greek lexicon.

When describing the battle between the Persians and the Egyptians, Xenophon uses the verb στεγάζειν to describe how their shields cover their bodies. This verb appears three times in Xenophon's works. In *Cyropaedia* 7.1.33, it's used to indicate that the shields cover the bodies better than corsets. Sauppe (1869) does not mention this word, but Gautier calls it a poetic Hellenistic word.<sup>78</sup> Before Xenophon, the verb appears in Antiphon,<sup>79</sup> meaning "to be rendered watertight," and in Sophocles,<sup>80</sup> meaning "to be covered in sleep." After the *Cyropaedia*, it's used several times in Epicurus<sup>81</sup> before being attested in the Septuagint<sup>82</sup> and thus becoming part of Koine.

All these authors, including Xenophon, use the word to mean "to cover" something, whether covering a person with sleep or making a boat watertight. It's notable that Xenophon could have used the more common verb καλύπτω, as he does in Eq. 12.5, where he describes how a gauntlet protects the shoulder, arm, elbow, and fingers holding the reins. The reason Xenophon chose not to use καλύπτω is intriguing and puzzling. The rarity of the word στεγάζειν, compared to the more common καλύπτω—which lacks both poetic and military or heroic connotations—might indicate a deliberate choice by Xenophon to achieve a specific effect on the audience. However, the exact nature of this effect remains unclear. The closest indication of its impact might be the intensity of the battle scene described, but there is limited evidence to support this. While στεγάζειν may have technical military connotations, it does not fully fit into established military categories, leaving its precise classification ambiguous.

In *Cyropaedia* 7.1.37, Xenophon illustrates Cyrus' leadership during his encounter with Croesus' army. Towards the end of the battle, the Egyptians fighting for Croesus are the only ones still holding out. Cyrus assesses the situation and plans a rear attack, initiating a new phase of the battle. Xenophon compellingly describes Cyrus facing this group of warriors. On one hand, he allows the audience to feel the Egyptians' desperate and dire situation, while on the other, he conveys Cyrus' cool and matter-of-fact demeanour. As Cyrus attacks from the rear, great confusion arises within the Egyptian ranks. Xenophon captures this moment of disarray with the adverb φῦρδην, meaning "in utter confusion." According to Gautier, this word is highly poetic,<sup>83</sup> emphasizing the chaos and tumult of the scene.

---

<sup>73</sup> Hom.*Il.*5.443, 5.600, 5.822, 7.264, 11.461, 13.740, 15.728, 16.70, 16.819, 17.47, 17.108, 17.129; Hom.*Od.*7.280, 11.97.

<sup>74</sup> Pi.*N.*10.69.

<sup>75</sup> Hes.*Sc.*336.

<sup>76</sup> Apollon.3.1038, 4.1241.

<sup>77</sup> Sauppe 1869: 8.

<sup>78</sup> Gautier 1911:206.

<sup>79</sup> Antiph.22.

<sup>80</sup> S.*El.*781.

<sup>81</sup> Epicur.*Ep.*43, 64, 65, 66.

<sup>82</sup> Septuaginta: *Paralipomenon ii sive Chronicon ii* 34.11; *Esdras ii* 12.8, 13.3, 13.6; *Psalmi* 103.3.

<sup>83</sup> Gautier 1911: 212.

Before Xenophon, the word φύρδην was first used by Sophocles,<sup>84</sup> though in its Doric variant, φύρδαν. This appears in fragment 210, part of a lost play about Eurypylos, which is quoted by Plutarch. In this fragment, Astyoche converses with the chorus and learns that her son died in the war. She is utterly confused by her grief. The word occurs during the choir's stasimon, an emotional passage, making its use highly poetic. Given that it's in the stasima of the choir, its Doric form is not surprising. Following Sophocles' use, Aeschylus<sup>85</sup> employs the Ionic version, φύρδην, in his tragedy *Persians*, which deals with the battle of Salamis from the Persian perspective. In this play, the word is used by Darius when he talks to the chorus, describing the chaos and desecration of the gods' statues by the barbarian army. The use of φύρδην here is fitting for the poetic choral scenes, conveying a sense of grandeur and sublimity while clearly reflecting the chaotic nature of the situation.

Gray also call this word poetic since it underlines the confusion that causes the fall of the Egyptians. The tone of the passage and the fact that Xenophon is building towards a climax of the battle justifies the use of poetic words. The poetic word σφαδάζειν that follows a short time later in the passage makes this fall even more vivid.<sup>86</sup> For Gray, this word falls into group 2, the group that contains the words that have a 'literary charm'. The 'literary charm' in this passage is present both in the loyalty of the soldiers, who saved their leader's life, and in the description of the excellence of Egyptians.<sup>87</sup> Conveying this feeling to the audience determines Xenophon's choice of words. Here the author has used the poetic word because it evokes the right emotion in the audience.

Although this is an example of poetic language, this is again mentioned in the context of a battlefield and could therefore be belonging to a category concerning military technical terms. However, this word does not belong to this category technical military category of Huitink & Rood.<sup>88</sup> The military part is easy to confirm because of its context, but to call the word technical is not a possible since the word does not describe a technical move. It's also not a word used metaphorically to describe a specific military term. The word just describes the disorder and confusion present on the battlefield.

After its use in the *Cyropaedia*, the word φύρδην reappears in a battle context in Polybius' *Histories*.<sup>89</sup> In Book 16.8.9, the aftermath of the battle of Chios, fought by Philip of Macedonia, is described. The devastation was so extensive that the entire street was filled with bodies and wreckage, and in the following days, heaps of debris and corpses could be seen on nearby beaches, mixed together in utter confusion. In Book 30.11.6, the word appears again in a discussion about the Aetolian state and its people. These barbaric and lawless individuals caused significant commotion, and their actions were thoughtless and chaotic, as if a whirlwind had descended. Polybius uses φύρδην to portray emotionally charged scenes in his historical work.

In the centuries surrounding the turn of the millennium, φύρδην appears in the Septuagint. In *Machabaeorum* II. 4.41.3, during the account of Crassus, the word is used. However, in this passage written in Koine, the word is employed neither poetically nor emotionally.

The word φύρδην is a poetic term with emotional significance. Xenophon, along with many classical authors, uses this word, primarily in the Ionic variant, to provide a vivid depiction of the aftermath of a highly destructive situation. Consequently, the word evokes an emotional response in the audience. It's

---

<sup>84</sup> S.Fr.210.

<sup>85</sup> A.Pers.812.

<sup>86</sup> Gray 2017: 229.

<sup>87</sup> Gray 2017:227-229.

<sup>88</sup> Huitink & Rood 2019: 31-32.

<sup>89</sup> Plb.16.8.9, 30.11.6.



neither specifically militaristic nor metaphorical, but in my opinion, it also does not belong to the category of Literary Charm. That is because the word itself does not convey meanings related to leadership, loyalty, or excellence. Such meanings could be inferred from the context but not from the word alone. Here the difficulty with categorizing a word based on its context becomes clear. By using the highly poetic φύρδην, Xenophon enhances the register, elevating the scene.

#### Part VI: 7.1.38-49

The Egyptians find themselves in a desperate situation and defend by forming a tight circle. Cyrus commands those fighting around the circle to cease their attack. The term Xenophon uses in 7.1.41 for "fighting around" is περιμάχομαι. Sauppe<sup>90</sup> identifies περιμάχομαι as a hapax legomenon, appearing only once in Xenophon's work and not again until it's mentioned in the Scholia of Lycophron many centuries later. These later attestations are minor since they occur in reference works rather than original compositions.

Although περιμάχομαι is novel in Xenophon's usage, it feels familiar because it's composed of two well-known Greek words: the preposition περί and the verb μάχομαι. Additionally, the related term περιμάχητος is common in the Attic dialect. The combination of a preposition with a known verb is a frequent characteristic of Xenophon and of later Koine Greek. Each word retains its meaning, but together they create a new concept: "to fight around."

In the text passage, the verb occurs both with and without a preposition. It's likely that Xenophon does this on purpose. Although this word fits into the category of words that are attested in Xenophon for the first time, the fact that he creates this word, while he already has a word that covers the meaning of fighting, is an indication that more is going on here. The word indicates that a group of soldiers fights in an enclosed circle around the enemy. This is a specific manoeuvre done by an army and could very well be a military term. It belongs to the military technical category of Huitink & Rood.<sup>91</sup>

In passage 7.1, a battle scene unfolds with words that vary in attestation and origin but share notable similarities. The words Xenophon uses, which existed in the Greek language prior to him, follow a consistent attestation pattern: they originate in poetry, specifically from Homer or tragic authors, and culminate with the Attic, with the sole exception being a word that began with Herodotus. When these words describe battle gear or are used in a battle context, their poetic attestation pattern transforms into words with heroic connotations, words conveying leadership, words metaphorically used to indicate military terms in Xenophon's prose. When Xenophon invents new words, he typically does so by combining familiar poetic terms, known to the audience and evoking the tension of battle and recalling Homeric conflicts. These newly created words all consists of parts that are attested in the Ionic epic poetry. They either depict technical military manoeuvres, highlight the traits of a good leader, maintaining the elevated tone of the text. In essence, Xenophon's word choices reflect the heightened nature of the battle, immersing the audience in the action. Placing words into the scholar's categories is usually straightforward since they often fit perfectly. The only challenge arises when a word's meaning appears to be entirely context-dependent and is not supported by other attestations like it's with φύρδην.

---

<sup>90</sup> Sauppe 1869: 104.

<sup>91</sup> Huitink & Rood 2019: 31.

## Analysis of the love story between Panthea and Abradatas.

Part I: 5.1. 3 /6.1. 45-51/ 6.2.7/6.3. 35-36

The love story between Panthea and Abradatas in the *Cyropaedia* unfolds across three books. It begins in Book 5 with a brief description of Panthea by Araspes following her capture by Cyrus' army. The narrative progresses in Book 6 when Abradatas and Panthea reunite for the first time since their capture. Believing they would never see each other again, their embrace is, as one might imagine, deeply emotional. To describe the feeling that they both have, Xenophon uses the word *δυσελπίστων* in 6.1.47. For the feeling of despondency, of having hardly any hope or of being in an unexpected situation both the words *δυσέλπιστος* and *δύσελπις* are used in the ancient Greek language. These words seem to have a similar meaning but there are differences. The word *δύσελπις* is attested in both Aeschylus<sup>92</sup> and Xenophon.<sup>93</sup> Based on its initial attestation, it's a Ionic word, and its pattern of attestation suggests it's a poetic term. In the *Choerophi* by Aeschylus the word is used by the chorus in reaction to Orestes. When Orestes and Elektra meet at the grave of their father Agamemnon, Orestes in his despair asks Zeus which way they can turn from this point. The chorus responds by saying 'καὶ τότε μὲν δύσελπις, σπλάγχνα δέ μοι κελαινοῦται πρὸς ἔπος κλυοῦσα' ['after hearing his pitiful lament, they are at once devoid of hope and their viscera are darkened at the words.<sup>94</sup>]. Both the lamenting context of this part and the fact that it's said by the chorus strengthens the poetical meaning of the word. To be devoid of hope seems to be the right translation for *δύσελπις* because the situation seems to be one where Orestes is feels hopeless.

Xenophon uses *δύσελπις* in the *Hellenica* 5.4.31 saying "ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὦν ἀπήει" ['upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency.<sup>95</sup>]. At this point in the story about the Athenians and the Spartans, Archidamos approaches Agesilaus and asks for a pardon for Sphodrias. Agesilaus answers that he can only give a pardon if it does not cause the loss of honour on his part. After those words Archidamos walks away in great despondency. This translation means that he can hardly hope for the outcome he wishes for. In both occasions *δύσελπις* with the meaning 'hardly hoping' or to be 'despondent' seem to be the right Ionic and poetic word in this emotional context. This is somewhat different when examining *δυσέλπιστος*.

The earliest and only attestation of the word *δυσέλπιστος* is in the Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. Sauppe categorises this word in his third category<sup>96</sup> and Gautier only mentions the word in his lexilogus, but he doesn't associate a category with it.<sup>97</sup> This initial attestation places the word in the Attic dialect category, yet it has an Ionic poetic quality due to its connection with *δύσελπις*. According to the *LSJ* this adjective means 'unhoped for'. Xenophon, as the first attestor, is the only one that uses this adjective in combination with a preposition, with *ἐκ*. This combination, according to the *LSJ*, means 'unexpectedly'. In the context of the meeting between Panthea and Abradatas this meaning seems a bit void of emotion. Panthea and Abradatas came from a situation in which they could not have had any hope to ever see each other again. Unexpectedly seems to be too light of a translation to use here.

The usage of the combination *ἐκ* and *δυσέλπιστος* implies more than simply 'unexpectedly.' Xenophon illustrates a situation where one has no hope at all, rather than just a despondent mood. A

---

<sup>92</sup> A.Ch.412.

<sup>93</sup> Xen.Hel.5.4.32, 3.7.1.

<sup>94</sup> Trans. Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D.,1926.

<sup>95</sup> Trans. W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>96</sup> Sauppe 1869: 35.

<sup>97</sup> Gautier 1911: 79.

more accurate translation might be ‘having not a single shred of hope left,’ which evokes pathos in the audience. Since this word is not found elsewhere as far as we know, conclusions about its categorization are based solely on its singular use by Xenophon and the related word δύσελπις used by Xenophon and other authors. Thus, by combining Sauppe’s category 3, the poetic use of the related word δύσελπις in Aeschylus’ *Choerophori*, together with the sense of despondency in Archidamos as depicted in Xenophon’s *Hellenica*, it can be concluded that the word δυσελπίστος in combination with ἐκ is used in a poetic and emotional manner, evoking pathos in the audience.

In the same paragraph as δυσελπίστος, the word κατοίκτισιν is used by Xenophon. After Panthea is reunited with Abradatas, she tells her husband about what happened to her. She particularly describes Cyrus’ behaviour towards her. Xenophon writes ‘ἐκ τούτου δὴ λέγει ἡ Πάνθεια τοῦ Κύρου τὴν ὀσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν’ [‘thereafter Panthea told of Cyrus’s piety and self-restraint and of his compassion for her.’<sup>98</sup>].

This word comes from κατοίκτισις and according to the *LSJ* it means ‘compassion’. This substantive is first and only mentioned by Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* in 6.1.47. After this attestation it’s used by Arrian<sup>99</sup> centuries later. But as mentioned earlier this attestation can be dismissed in this research. Coming from the same root, this word as a verb, κατοικτιζω, is used in tragedy by the three different authors, Aeschylus<sup>100</sup> Euripides<sup>101</sup> and Sophocles,<sup>102</sup> and in the *Histories* by Herodotus<sup>103</sup> before Xenophon’s use as a substantive. This verb is to be dialectally placed in the Ionic category based on its earliest attestation. The attestation pattern shows that this verb has made its way into the Attic dialect. The substantive is to be considered Attic according to its first attestation, although the root is Ionic.

Aeschylus uses the verb κατοικτιζω in four of his tragedies. In the *Persians* in a conversation between Xerxes and the chorus, Xerxes tells the chorus to lament. It’s at the end of the tragedy when Xerxes has come to the chorus to explain his failure, the destruction of the Persian army. In the *Supplices* a herald has come to gather the daughters of Danaos who sought refuge with king Pelasgos. The herald has a conversation with the chorus and explains that they have to come and that bewailing oneself by rending their robes will not be of influence. In the *Eumenides* again this word is used between the chorus and one of the main characters of the play. Clytemnestra asks the chorus to pity her suffering. Only in the *Prometheus Bound* the chorus was not part of the conversation in which κατοικτιζω was used. Kratos and Hephaestus exchange words and Kratos says “εἶεν, τί μέλλεις καὶ κατοικτιζῆ μάτην;” [‘Well, why delay and feel pity in vain?’<sup>104</sup>]. This is said at the moment that Hephaestus is coming to terms with his task of binding Prometheus to the Caucasus after Prometheus gave fire to the humans. In the *Heraclidae* of Euripides, it’s the herald who uses κατοικτιζω when he says that the children of Herakles should go back to their country and accept their punishment. He tells Demophon, the king, that the children come to his country because they thought that he was a fool, because they know that if he was of sound mind, he would not take pity on them for their misfortunes. In the *Iphigenia in Aulis* the verb is used one time. In the scene where Agamemnon excuses himself to Clytemnestra for uttering lamentations at the thought of handing his daughter over to Achilles. The third tragedy author to use the verb κατοικτιζω is Sophocles. He uses the word once in *Oedipus Tyrannus* when Oedipus steps outside to see the suppliants in front of his palace and tells the Priest of Zeus that he pities them. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Sophocles uses the word three times. First, it appears during a conversation between Oedipus and his daughter

---

<sup>98</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>99</sup> *Arr.An.*2.12.8, 2.15.3.

<sup>100</sup> *A.Pers.*1062; *A.Supp.*904; *A.Pr.*36; *Eu.*121.

<sup>101</sup> *E.Heracl.*152.

<sup>102</sup> *S.OT.*1178, *S.OC.*384, *S.OC.*461, *S.OC.*1282.

<sup>103</sup> *Hdt.*2.121, 3.156.

<sup>104</sup> *Trans.* Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D., 1926.

Ismene, where Ismene describes her brother's situation and expresses uncertainty about whether the gods will pity her father. Later, the chorus sings to Oedipus, declaring that he is worthy of compassion. The verb κατοικτιζω is used for the last time in the *Oedipus at Colonus* when Antigone tells her brother Polyneices that he himself should talk to his father and those words may incite anger or pity.

In Herodotus, the verb κατοικτιζω is used twice. The first instance involves a king asking his guards to watch for someone who is lamenting. In the second instance, the word describes the lamenting of Zopyrus, who had mutilated himself to gain the sympathy of the Babylonians. While the poetic meaning is not entirely clear, the context and its association with lamenting suggest a poetic nuance. The verb is used in an emotional manner, as evident in the works of tragedians, where it appears primarily in emotionally charged conversations. They use the verb, not the noun, to evoke compassion and make the audience aware of the scene's emotional intensity.

The noun κατοικτισις is referenced by both Gautier<sup>105</sup> and Sauppe.<sup>106</sup> Sauppe places the word in his third category, noting that it was first used by Xenophon and subsequently by only a few others. Gautier mentions the noun but does not assign it to a specific category.

As noted, Xenophon is the first and only attested author to use the noun. He employs it in a sentence that initially seems devoid of emotional significance. However, the context—showing respect to the wife of an officer from the defeated people—highlights its exceptional nature. This usage portrays Cyrus as a compassionate leader, enhancing pathos and conveying a quality that endears him to Panthea and Abradatas. Given these attestations of the verb, there is sufficient evidence to classify the noun as a poetic word, as well as one that belongs to Gray's leadership category. It possesses a high pathos-inducing meaning and literary charm.

#### Part II: 6.4.2-11

In Cyr.6.4.3, Panthea helps Abradatas prepare for battle by bringing him armour made of gold. Touched, Abradatas tells her he does not want her to have sacrificed her gold jewellery for this purpose. Panthea, however, had done so without his knowledge, wanting others to see him as she does—her most precious adornment. As she places the armour on him, despite her efforts to hide it, tears stream down her cheeks. Xenophon describes this scene with the words 'ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα ἅμα ἐνέδνε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ λαυθάνειν μὲν ἐπειράτο, ἐλείβετο δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρεϊῶν' ['with these words, she began to put the armour on him, and though she tried to conceal them, the tears stole down her cheeks.<sup>107</sup>]. Xenophon does not use the verb δακρυω, the verb normally used to describe crying, but makes the combination of λείβομαι and τὰ δάκρυα. Λείβομαι is the word that Xenophon uses to describe the tears rolling down her cheeks, since it's not just crying that Xenophon wants to describe but the concealed act of showing sadness, no sound, just tears, a lot of tears. Both Gautier<sup>108</sup> and Sauppe<sup>109</sup> consider this word to be poetic. Gautier tells us it's a Ionic word that is used in a pathetic story of the farewells of Abradatas and Panthea.<sup>110</sup> It's first attested in Homer to describe the pouring of wine or the pouring of tears.

Also, Sappho<sup>111</sup> and Pindar<sup>112</sup> mentioned this verb. In tragedy, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles frequently use this verb in conjunction with tears and in emotional passages. For instance, in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, Antigone says to Oedipus about Polyneices, “ὦ πάτερ, δι' ὄμματος ἀστακτὶ λείβων

---

<sup>105</sup> Gautier 1911: 191.

<sup>106</sup> Sauppe 1869: 74.

<sup>107</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>108</sup> Gautier 1911: 93.

<sup>109</sup> Sauppe 1869: 79.

<sup>110</sup> Gautier 1911: 93.

<sup>111</sup> Sapph. 141.

<sup>112</sup> Pi. *Dith* Fragment 70a4.

δάκρυον ὧδ' ὀδοιορεῖ.” [‘he is coming without attendants, with tears streaming from his eyes.’<sup>113</sup>]. After Xenophon, Plato uses this verb in two of his works.<sup>114</sup> In both cases Plato uses this verb meaning to drip of of something or to liquify. It has lost its poetical meaning and does not evoke an effect by the audience as it did in Xenophon.

This word-usage in this passage of the *Cyropaedia* is poetical and by using this word Xenophon colours this passage. Xenophon only uses it once; it’s logical to conclude that he does that to enhance the emotional and epical meaning of the passage. The verb without the addition of the word δάκρυα can also be used in a non-poetical way as is clear in Plato.

At the end of the parting scene between Panthea and Abradatas, Xenophon uses the verb θιγγάνω. He uses this verb five times in the *Cyropaedia*.<sup>115</sup> In 6.4.9 Abradatas is the subject as he ‘ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀγασθεῖς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θιγὼν αὐτῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπήύξατο’ [‘touched by her words, laid his hand upon her head, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, prayed.’<sup>116</sup>]. Abradatas touches her head just before he prays to Zeus to be worthy of Panthea. Xenophon with this sentence creates an image that is emotionally recognizable and it will evoke pathos by the audience. Both Gautier<sup>117</sup> and Sauppe<sup>118</sup> have listed the word θιγγάνω in their research of Xenophon’s language. Sauppe considers it a word that ‘nunc recte θιγῶν scriptum est’<sup>119</sup> and leaves it at that. Gautier spends more time on this word, He sees it as an equivalent of ἄπτεισθαί<sup>120</sup> and lists this verb as a Ionic and Doric word. He notes that this is one of the words common to both Ionian and Doric dialects. Given that both dialects have influenced Xenophon's language, it’s impossible to determine which influence is predominant in each case. The earliest attestation of the word appears in the fragments of Archilochus<sup>121</sup> and Alcman,<sup>122</sup> followed by Pindar<sup>123</sup> and several tragedians. In these tragedies, the word simply means 'to touch or handle,' without any specific poetic or emotional connotation. After Xenophon, the verb is used in Attic Greek by Aristotle. Interesting is that it’s not used by another Attic author of the 5-4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. like Plato. The verb is in use all up to the Hellenistic and Koine period. A fact that Gautier acknowledges with his Poetry, Ionic, Doric, Hellenistic (PIDH) mark.<sup>124</sup> In this emotional love story of Panthea and Abradatas, Xenophon uses words with a poetic connotation to enhance the pathos of the passage. It’s uncertain if the word itself evokes a lot of emotion, as it’s not inherently emotional. However, the context and, more importantly, the image Xenophon portrays in this scene are highly poetic, and the scene itself evokes significant pathos.

### Part III:7.3.2-15

Unfortunately, Abradatas does not return from the battlefield. After his death, Panthea takes his body for burial and brings it to a spot by the river Pactolus. When Cyrus learns of this, he travels to find her, discovering her on the ground with Abradatas’ head resting in her lap. In passage 7.3.11, Cyrus converses with Panthea following her husband’s death, offering her the chance to honour Abradatas with gifts he provides. The fact that Xenophon uses the word ἐπικοσμέω only once, and in a passage with emotional

<sup>113</sup> *Trans.* Sir Richard Jebb, 1889.

<sup>114</sup> *Pl. Ti.* 82d7; *Pl. R.* 411b2.

<sup>115</sup> *Xen. Cyr.* 6.4.9, *Xen. Cyr.* 1.3.5, *Xen. Cyr.* 5.1.16.

<sup>116</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1989.

<sup>117</sup> Gautier 1911: 55, 188.

<sup>118</sup> Sauppe 1869: 64.

<sup>119</sup> Sauppe 1869: 64.

<sup>120</sup> Gautier 1911: 55.

<sup>121</sup> *Archil. Fr.* 118.

<sup>122</sup> *Alcm. Fr.* 58 *subfragment* 1 line 2.

<sup>123</sup> *Pi. P4.* 296, *Pi. P8.* 24, *Pi. P9.* 42; *Pi. N.* 4.35; *Pi. I.* 1.18.

<sup>124</sup> Gautier 1911: 188.

content, makes it significant for this research. According to LSJ, ἐπικοσμέω means ‘to add ornaments’ or ‘to decorate.’ The word ἐπικοσμέω, is only being named a Xenophontic word by Sauppe and he places the word in his third category.<sup>125</sup> Before the attestation of this word in the *Cyropaedia* by Xenophon, it has already been used by two authors: Herodotus<sup>126</sup> and Aristophanes.<sup>127</sup> Herodotus is known for his Ionic prose and in book 1.184 the verb is used meaning to decorate walls and temples. In book 7.228, the verb is used in a somewhat different context, closely aligning with Xenophon's usage. Herodotus refers to inscriptions on pillars that are erected in honour of fallen men. These decorations serve to commemorate and honour, much like Panthea adorns the funeral arrangements to honour her husband. Aristophanes, as a comedy writer, is known for his Attic language, which is enriched with various influences from other dialects and genres. For example, he uses different words in parodies compared to choral passages. In the case of the word ἐπικοσμέω, Aristophanes uses this word only once in his play *Frogs*, specifically in a choral scene about Demeter, where in line 385, the chorus asks for Demeter to be graced with sacred airs. These usages suggest that it's an Ionic word with a poetic quality. Next to these attestations, the word was attested by the Attic orator Hyperides<sup>128</sup> and by Aristotle.<sup>129</sup> Ultimately, the word ended up in Koine, as is evident from the use of the word in the *Septuagint*.

Interestingly the word κοσμέω is also used by Xenophon in book 7.1 but a few paragraphs before he uses ἐπικοσμέω. Here the situation of Panthea, sitting with her dead husband and decking him is explained. This verb, κοσμέω, is more frequently used in classical Greek than ἐπικοσμέω. The first attestation being in Homer and after him, Hesiod, the tragedy authors, Xenophon and many other authors. The term κοσμέω means 'to arrange' or 'to order.' Although both the attestation asks for a poetic categorization as well as the emotional context, the meaning of κοσμέω itself does not seem particularly poetic. It's the overall depiction of burial rituals for a loved one that lends emotional depth to the word. The attestation of κοσμέω supports the argument that ἐπικοσμέω is a poetic term. While κοσμέω is acknowledged as poetic based on its attestations, ἐπικοσμέω carries a more pronounced poetic connotation, particularly in its context. Therefore, it can be concluded that Xenophon uses ἐπικοσμέω as a poetic device to heighten the emotional impact of the scene. The contrast in meaning between the non-composite and composite forms of the word, along with its limited and distinctive usage, strengthens this argument.

After Cyrus' leave Panthea mourns some more and then she commits suicide by stabbing herself with a knife. Panthea never indulges in a long emotional speech by which Xenophon allots her a dignified, restrained, and economical end.<sup>130</sup> However the servant, by using the verb ἀνωλοφύρομαι in 7.3.14 meaning ‘to wail aloud’ does show emotion. This word is known to be an Attic word but also a poetic one. The meaning of the word is in itself emotional, since it refers to an expression of emotion. Thucydides is the author by which the word ἀνωλοφύρομαι is first attested.<sup>131</sup> In this passage Thucydides describes the moment when Alcibiades comes to Samos and he says ‘γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας τήν τε ἰδίαν ξυμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς ἐπητιάσατο καὶ ἀνωλοφύρατο ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης’ [‘an assembly was then held in which Alcibiades brought charges against his exile and he wailed aloud.’<sup>132</sup>]. The word

<sup>125</sup> Sauppe 1869: 51.

<sup>126</sup> Her. 1.184.3, 7.228.17.

<sup>127</sup> Ar. Ra. 385.

<sup>128</sup> Hyp. Eux. Fragment Ar column 35 line 28; Fragment Ar column 36 line 12; *Pro Euxenippo*. Fragment Ar column 37 line 12.

<sup>129</sup> Arist. PA. 658a32; Arist. Pol. 1263a23.

<sup>130</sup> Gera 1993: 24.

<sup>131</sup> Th. 8.81.2.

<sup>132</sup> *Trans.* J.M. Dent, 1910.

falls into the Attic category since Thucydides as the earliest attestor is an Attic writer. Although Attic prose is not normally filled with poetically used words, this verb used in this particular context, has such an emotional meaning that it should, even in prose, be seen as a poetical word. Immediately after the attestation in Thucydides, the word can be found in *Cyr.7.3.14*. The meaning of the word is the same as in Thucydides, only the person who is the subject of the 'lamentation' is different. Xenophon says “ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκάλυπτεν ἄμφω ὥσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστειλεν” [‘the servant wailed aloud and covered both like Panthea had asked her.’<sup>133</sup>]. Just like in Thucydides, the meaning of the word in combination with the context in which it’s used, categorizes this word as poeticism and enhances the emotional charge of this passage. In a contemporary of Xenophon, Plato, this word is attested in the *Protagoras*.<sup>134</sup> This is a dialogue between Socrates and Protagoras. Protagoras argues that there are genuinely evil people who make even the most criminally inclined seem civilized by comparison. This Attic philosopher does not use the word poetically but rather in a more general sense, suggesting that encountering real villains would make one long for those who are merely perceived as villains. After Plato, the word was attested by Flavius Josephus,<sup>135</sup> who is known for often pathetic language and who wrote in Koine in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The verb without ‘ἀνα’ is, just like with ἐπικοσμέω and κοσμέω, used very frequently. From countless attestations in Homer, via Pindar, Aeschylus, Thucydides and Herodotus to Plato, Lysias to Democritus. The attestation pattern of the verb ὀλοφύρομαι makes this word a poeticism and this connotation is also present in the verb ἀνωλοφύρομαι.

Although the word ἀνωλοφύρομαι is used in an emotional passage in Xenophon, the word cannot solely be classified as poetic because of the attestation pattern of this word alone. In Thucydides this verb might have a poetical connotation, but in Plato there is no poetical meaning. The attestation in Flavius Josephus is somewhat poetical but he is too far in years removed from Xenophon to let that play a role in this argument. However, taking into account the rarity of the word together with the attestation of the verb without the preposition and the context, an argument can be made for it being a poetical word that fits a passage full of pathos.

Although the words examined in this chapter show different patterns of attestation, there are notable similarities. All are poeticisms. This is either because they were first attested in poetry (λείβομαι and θιγγάνω) or because Xenophon coined new terms based on Ionic poetic words from the same root (δυσέλπιστος and κατοίκτισις). Xenophon integrates these poetic words into his prose in contexts that reflect their original poetic usage. Even the verbs first attested in prose (ἐπικοσμέω and ἀνωλοφύρομαι) are closely related to poetry, as they are formed by combining a preposition with a verb that has poetic origins and conveys emotional content. The key to poetic categorization lies in the combination of direct or indirect poetic words with an emotional context. When choosing between two words, Xenophon prefers the one with greater emotional resonance, often selecting terms previously used in emotional contexts. However, his first choice tends to be a word not previously attested in literature, either because he created it himself or because it reflects the conversational Greek of his time. This approach enhances the emotional impact of his scenes and evokes pathos.

---

<sup>133</sup> *Trans.* W. Miller, 1914.

<sup>134</sup> *Pl.Prt.*327d.

<sup>135</sup> *J.AJ.*2.107.

## Conclusions

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the aim of this study is to enhance the understanding of Xenophon's vocabulary through an analytical investigation of the origins and usage of the words he employs, as well as an analysis of his language and style. Additionally, this study seeks to make a modest contribution to the existing research on the topic. After reviewing the literature on Xenophon's language and analysing two passages from the *Cyropaedia*, it's now time to assess whether this aim has been achieved.

The literature review reveals that Xenophon's language has been examined by relatively few scholars, with attention divided between two distinct periods. The first period spans from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, while the second period extends from the late 20th century to the present. During the first period, scholar Gautier made significant contributions, establishing a foundation for subsequent research. Gautier and his contemporaries classified Xenophon's non-Attic words into a dialectal, poetic and Hellenistic category. In the second period, scholars—except for Gray—have expanded upon these categories, introducing classifications that emphasize style and subject-specific terminology, such as military and philosophical language. Gray, however, shifts the focus from word origin and dialects to the author's style, context, and intent.

My analysis of the two passages from the *Cyropaedia* reveals that each word fits into multiple categories. While all words can be classified into a dialectal category based on their earliest attestation, this classification is limited to individual words without considering their broader context. Words can also be categorized based on their attestation patterns to reflect the text type and context, such as poeticisms. A third level of analysis examines context and discourse to explain Xenophon's distinctive use of certain words, noting that the more intense the context, the more specific and carefully chosen the words are. These three levels of analysis align with the evolution of scholarly approaches to Xenophon's language up to the present

From the analysis of words in the passage of the battle of Thymbra it becomes clear that the majority of words have their origin in the Ionic or Doric dialect. Examining the attestation patterns, the words are first found in either the Ionic epic poetry of Homer (χιτών, φοινίκιος, θώραξ, χαλκός, λόφος, λευκός), the Ionic prose of Herodotus (προμετωπίδιος), or the tragedies of Aeschylus (κράνος, μεγαλήγορος) and can be classified as poeticisms. In using these Ionic words, Xenophon either combines them in novel ways, pairs them with Attic words, or uses them as words he first attests. Within their context, these words reveal either a heroic dimension by evoking heroic imagery or a metaphorical function to describe specific military manoeuvres or items.

Xenophon's neologisms in the battle passage are primarily combinations of well-known Greek poetic words, falling into four distinct groups. The first group consists of combinations of a preposition and a noun, such as παραμηρίδιος and προστερνίδιον. The second group includes combinations of an adjective and a noun, such as μεγαλήγορος and ταχυεργία. The third group comprises verbs formed by combining a preposition and a verb, such as συναξιόω, διαχάζομαι, and ἀναχάζω. In this group, the verb may or may not be attested separately. The fourth group consists of words formed based on existing ones, such as χρυσοειδής. The use of these newly coined words, which are closely tied to the Ionic poetic language, evokes a sense of familiarity for the audience. These words not only recall earlier epic and tragic texts but also enhance the intensity of the battle scene. Consequently, these words fit into the military prose category, vividly conveying the epic scale of the battle unfolding before the audience. Two words need a



separate mention: κατακαίνω and φύρδην. For both of these words Xenophon had alternative choices. His selection of κατακαίνω and φύρδην suggests a deliberate choice of a less common form that bridges poetry and prose. Xenophon opts for the more poetic form.

The analysis of the words in the passage about the love story of Panthea and Abradatas reveals that they all belong to the poetic category. Except for λείβομαι and θιγγάνω, the words are either first attested by Xenophon or derived from well-known Ionic poetic words. Xenophon selects λείβομαι for its strong emotional weight, aiming to evoke the deepest pathos. For δυσέλπιστος, Xenophon is the first attestor, and although it's based on a pre-existing poetic word, he adds a preposition to further amplify its meaning. Similarly, κατοίκτις is a new noun coined by Xenophon from a verb, making him its earliest user. This term, also rooted in poetic language, carries significant emotional depth.

Although Xenophon is not the first attestor of the verbs ἐπικοσμέω and ἀνολοφύρομαι, both appearing first in prose, they still possess inherent emotional connotations. Decorating a body for a funeral or wailing beside a deceased loved one naturally conveys passion. These verbs are linked to poetry, as their attestation patterns without prepositions include Ionic epic poetry from Homer and tragedies by authors like Aeschylus. In the passage about Panthea and Abradatas, Xenophon intentionally selects or creates words to evoke the poetic quality reminiscent of earlier literature and to heighten the emotional impact for the audience.

Comparing the conclusions from the study of words in both passages reveals that Xenophon either employs words from epic poetry or tragedy to elevate the text to a higher register or deliberately creates high-register words. These choices heighten tension and are intended to evoke pathos for Panthea and Abradatas or to fully engage the audience in the military battle.

The words I have analysed fit into categories established by scholars, as outlined in the status quaestionis. Beyond the dialectal categories, my research has predominantly revealed an emphasis on higher-register poetic words, as well as terms related to military settings and manoeuvres. This focus is expected given the text type of the selected passages.

Thus, the categories of dialectisms, poeticisms, military technical jargon, heroic dimension, and metaphorical usage, along with a lesser extent of balancing words, are represented in my analysis. Hapax legomena and Hellenistic words also appear among the analysed terms. Hapax legomena are primarily categorized as either military technical jargon or poeticism. For Hellenistic words, this classification did not apply during Xenophon's time, as such designations took years to develop but it did show that Xenophon's words seem to anticipate Koine.

Categories with minimal or questionable relevance in the analysis include philosophical words and Gray's categories, such as 'Literary Charm'-words and words that create balance. Philosophical words were less prominent due to the non-philosophical nature of the texts, evidence of the relation between text type and word choice. Literary Charm words appeared but are challenging to categorize due to their contextual nature. No clear characteristics of the context were given to confidently place a word in this category exists. Balancing words were difficult to identify, appearing only as instances of two words with the same root in close proximity. Although this does not fully align with Gray's definition of balancing words, the phenomenon created a notable effect and is therefore included in that category.

Recognizing that our understanding relies on the limited surviving texts and requires careful interpretation, my research highlights Xenophon's distinctive style. His use of dialectisms, poeticisms, varied text types and stylistic registers underscores his linguistic creativity and adaptability.

As seen in the analysis, Xenophon primarily uses Ionic words, either from the epic tradition or from tragedy, in these passages. These words are either used as they are or modified by Xenophon to create new terms. In the passages about Panthea and Abradatas, these words serve as poeticisms, while in the passage about the Battle of Thymbra, they are more heroic or military in nature. Thus, although the words

have roughly the same attestation patterns, they evoke different effects in the audience: one stirs pathos and emotion, while the other recalls the epic battle atmosphere reminiscent of Homer.

This research has shed light on Xenophon's language, vocabulary, and style, but it has also revealed gaps and challenges in existing scholarly categorizations and explanations of his linguistic uniqueness. Further research is needed to address these issues and achieve a comprehensive understanding of Xenophon's distinctive language. To better categorize Xenophon's language, existing categories should be refined, and a unified classification system incorporating different levels of analysis should be developed. Additional context-driven research is essential to establish a clear link between word choices and their contexts. Furthermore, exploring Xenophon's military language with reference to existing military dictionaries, if available, could provide deeper insights in that respect. Investigating the relationship between the evolution of the Greek language and Xenophon's language style and vocabulary will also enhance our understanding of his distinctive language, style, and vocabulary. If these recommendations are followed, a comprehensive theoretical analysis of all of Xenophon's works will be within reach. But as one will understand this will not happen overnight so.....who will start or continue this journey?

## Bibliography

- Aumüller, M. 2014. 'Text Types' in P. Hühn, J. Meister, J. Pier & W. Schmid (ed.), *Handbook of Narratology*. Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter, 854-867.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1996. 'Arrianus (Lucius Flavius Arrianus)' in Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth (eds.), *the Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3th edn. Oxford and New York, 175-176.
- Due, B. & Breijnholt, C. 1989. *The Cyropaedia: Xenophon's Aims and Methods*. Aarhus, Aarhus & Copenhagen: Aarhus University Press.
- Flower, M.A. (ed) 2017. *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Gautier, L. 1911. *La Langue de Xénophon*, Geneva.
- Gera, D.L. 1993. *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Style, genre, and Literary Technique*, Oxford.
- Gray, V. 2006. 'The linguistic philosophies of Prodicus in Xenophon's "Choice of Heracles"?' *Classical Quarterly* 56, 426-35.
- 2011. *Work in Progress on Xenophon's language*, in *ASCS 32 Selected Proceedings*, ed. Anne Mackay ([ascsc.org.au/news/ascsc32/Gray.pdf](http://ascsc.org.au/news/ascsc32/Gray.pdf)).
- 2017. 'Xenophon's Language and expression.' in M.A. Flower (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, Cambridge University Press, 223-240.
- Huitink, L. & T. Rood (2019), *Xenophon: Anabasis III*. Cambridge University Press.
- Momigliano, A. 1993. *The Development of Greek Biography*, expanded edn, 1st edition 1971. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Pomeroy, S.B. 1994., *Xenophon: Oeconomicus. A Social and Historical Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sage, P. 1995). 'Dying in Style: Xenophon's Ideal Leader and the End of the Cyropaedia,' *The Classical Journal* 90, 161-174.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 2010. 'Cyropaedia,' *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VI/5, 512-514.  
<<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cyropaedia-gr>>
- Sauppe, A.G. 1869. *Lexilogus Xenophonteus sive index Xenophontis Grammaticus*. Lipsiae in aedibus B.G. Teubneri.
- Sturz, F.W. 1801. *Lexicon Xenophonticum*. In *Libraria Gleditschia*. Leipzig. A. Thieme, CA.
- Tamiolaki, M. 2012. "Virtue and Leadership in Xenophon: Ideal Leaders or Ideal Losers." in Hobden and Tuplin (eds), *Xenophon: Ethical Principles and Historical Enquiry*. Leiden: Brill. 563-589.
- 2017. "Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Tentative Answers to an Enigma." in M.A. Flower (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Xenophon*, Cambridge University Press, 174-194.
- Tatum, J. 1989. *Xenophon's Imperial Fiction: On the Education of Cyrus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tsagalis, C. 2002. Xenophon Homericus: An unnoticed loan from the Iliad in Xenophon's Anabasis (1.3). *Classica et Mediaevalia* volume 53.
- Vendryes Joseph. 1912. 'Leopold Gautier. La langue de Xénophon,' *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 25, fascicule 115, 470.
- Primary sources:
- Aeschylus. *Aeschylus*, with an English translation by Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. in two volumes. 2. Libation Bearers. Herbert Weir Smyth, Ph. D. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. 1926.
- Plutarch. *Plutarch's Lives*. with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. London. William Heinemann Ltd. 1918.

Sophocles. *The Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles*. Edited with introduction and notes by Sir Richard Jebb. Sir Richard Jebb. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1889.

Thucydides. *The Peloponnesian War*. London, J. M. Dent; New York, E. P. Dutton. 1910.

Xenophon. *Cyropaedia*. Miller, W. (ed.) 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1989.