ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

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vocabulary άδίκημα -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed ἀδικία injustice, offence ἀνόητος foolish ἀπαγινέω lead away, back ἀπαιτέω demand to have returned ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀπόδεξις acceptance; (Ion) showing ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free ἀρπαγή seizure; rape ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ∼harpoon διαχελεύομαι give orders to, encourage διαπράσσω travel over, accomplish \sim practice διατίθημι arrange; set out goods for sale ∼thesis διαφορά disagreement εἰσαφιχνέομαι arrive at εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἔκτος sixth ~hexagon ελλην Greek ἐνθεῦτεν thence ένοιχέω dwell in ἐξεμπολάω do commerce ἐξίτηλος fading

καθαιρέω take down, close ∼heresy καθάλλομαι rush down ∼sally καθαπλόω spread over λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle ναυτιλία sailing ~navy νυν now; so οἰχηιόω adopt, adapt ὄον οὖ type of fruit πάντως by all means πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder Πέρσης Persian προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προΐσχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προφέρω bring forth ∼bear πρύμνα stern σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate συναγείρω gather together ~agora σώφρων sensible, prudent ∼frenzy τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked ὑποχρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend φορτίον burden, load **φόρτος** outward cargo ∼bear χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull down χῶρος place ∼heir ἀνέομαι buy

notes

ἐύς good, brave, noble

ίστορία science, history

"Αργος: a city-state in the east-central Peloponnese

Mηδείην: Medea, a princess who murdered her unfaithful husband in the Euripides play

'Αλέξανδρον: =Paris, the Trojan character from the Iliad who went off with Helen γυναικὸς: Helen, wife of Menelaus of Sparta

Ήροδότου Άλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

1.1

Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορής. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τής Ἐρυθρής καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίησι μακρῆσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῆ τε ἄλλη έσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος.* τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προείχε ἄπασι τῶν ἐν τῆ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρη. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἢ ἔκτη ἡμέρη ἀπ' ἡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, έλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δέ οἱ οἴνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τώυτὸ τὸ καὶ Έλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ἀνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους όρμησαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλησι άρπασθῆναι. έσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

1.2

Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ελληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὕνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἴησαν δ' ἄν οὖτοι Κρῆτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἔλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῆ νηί ἐς Αἷάν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τἄλλα τῶν εἴνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην.* πέμψαντά

δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς άρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς οὐδὲ ών αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

1.3

Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεῆ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀλλέξανδρον* τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι ελλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγήν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

1.4

Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγάς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἔλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μέν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδήν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὤρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων' δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπαζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἴνεκεν γυναικὸς* στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ὑασίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηιεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν ἥγηνται κεχωρίσθαι.

This is the Showing forth of the Inquiry of Herodotus of Halicarnassos, to the end that neither the deeds of men may be forgotten by lapse of time, nor the works great and marvellous, which have been produced some by Hellenes and some by Barbarians, may lose their renown; and especially that the causes may be remembered for which these waged war with one another.

1.1

Those of the Persians who have knowledge of history declare that the Phenicians first began the quarrel. These, they say, came from that which is called the Erythraian Sea to this of ours; and having settled in the land where they continue even now to dwell, set themselves forthwith to make long voyages by sea. And conveying merchandise of Egypt and of Assyria they arrived at other places and also at Argos; now Argos was at that time in all points the first of the States within that land which is now called Hellas;— the Phenicians arrived then at this land of Argos, and began to dispose of their ship's cargo: and on the fifth or sixth day after they had arrived, when their goods had been almost all sold, there came down to the sea a great company of women, and among them the daughter of the king; and her name, as the Hellenes also agree, was Io the daughter of Inachos. These standing near to the stern of the ship were buying of the wares such as pleased them most, when of a sudden the Phenicians, passing the word from one to another, made a rush upon them; and the greater part of the women escaped by flight, but Io and certain others were carried off. So they put them on board their ship, and forthwith departed, sailing away to Egypt.

1.2

In this manner the Persians report that Io came to Egypt, not agreeing therein with the Hellenes, and this they say was the first beginning of wrongs. Then after this, they say, certain Hellenes (but the name of the people they are not able to report) put in to the city of Tyre in Phenicia and carried off the king's daughter Europa;—these would doubtless be Cretans;— and so they were quits for the former injury. After this however the Hellenes, they say, were the authors of the second wrong; for they sailed in to Aia of Colchis and to the river Phasis with a ship of war, and from thence, after they had done the other business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea: and the king of Colchis sent a herald to the land of Hellas and demanded satisfaction for the rape and to have his daughter back; but they answered that, as the Barbarians had given them no satisfaction for the rape of Io the Argive, so neither would they give satisfaction to the Barbarians for this.

1.3

In the next generation after this, they say, Alexander the son of Priam, having heard of these things, desired to get a wife for himself by violence from Hellas, being fully assured that he would not be compelled to give any satisfaction for this wrong, inasmuch as the Hellenes gave none for theirs. So he carried off Helen, and the Hellenes resolved to send messengers first and to demand her back with satisfaction for the rape; and when they put forth this demand, the others alleged to them the rape of Medea, saying that the Hellenes were now desiring satisfaction to be given to them by others, though they had given none themselves nor had surrendered the person when demand was made.

1.4

Up to this point, they say, nothing more happened than the carrying away of women on both sides; but after this the Hellenes were very greatly to blame; for they set the first example of war, making an expedition into Asia before the Barbarians made any into Europe. Now they say that in their judgment, though it is an act of wrong to carry away women by force, it is a folly to set one's heart on taking vengeance for their rape, and the wise course is to pay no regard when they have been carried away; for it is evident that they would never be carried away if they were not themselves willing to go. And the Persians say that they, namely the people of Asia, when their women were carried away by force, had made it a matter of no account, but the Hellenes on account of a woman of Lacedemon gathered together a great armament, and then came to Asia and destroyed the dominion of Priam; and that from this time forward they had always considered the Hellenic race to be their enemy: for Asia and the Barbarian races which dwell there the Persians claim as belonging to them; but Europe and the Hellenic race they consider to be parted off from them.

vocabulary αἰδέομαι respect, be ashamed αἰχμοφόρος spearman άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄλλομαι to jump \sim sally ἄλωσις -τος (f) being conquered ἀνθρωπήιος human ἄνομος lawless ἀπαγωγή leading away ἄπιστος not trusting, not trustworthy \sim stand ἀπόγονος descended from ἀπομάχομαι fight off ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀρπαγή seizure; rape ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ∼harpoon βασιλεύω be king βλάβος -εος (n, 3) harm βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γυμνός naked, unarmed δέσποινα lady δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διέρχομαι pierce, traverse δούλη slave-woman ἔγκυος pregnant ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form \sim -oid ἐκδέκομαι receive from ἐκδύω take off; leave; avoid ἐλεύθερος not enslaved "Ελλην Greek ἐντός within ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ∼eureka ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute ἐπιδρομή inroad, raid ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow \sim trophy ἔραμαι love, aor. fall in love; long for, covet ∼erotic

εὐδαιμονία prosperity

ἐύς good, brave, noble ἔχθοη hate ἡγεμονία authority, rule θαρσέω be of good heart θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θεοπρόπιον prophecy \sim theology κατάδηλος manifest, visible καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe καταστροφή end, conclusion μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεταξύ between μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it ναύκληρος ship master, landlord νυν now; so ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from οὐδαμός not anyone oὖς ear **πάλαι** long ago ∼paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas πενταχόσιοι 500 περιέρχομαι go around; come next to Πέρσης Persian προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis προσποιέω give over to; pretend πρόσω forward, in the future; far ὁέω flow ~rheostat $\dot{\rho}o\dot{\alpha}$ pl: waters of a river \sim rheostat δόος δοῦ stream, flow, current \sim rheostat σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σχοπάω watch, observe σχοπέω behold, consider στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army ∼strategy συνεκδύομαι put off, go out together τοιόσδε such

τοχεύς -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin τύραννος tyrant ὑγιής sound, profitable ~hygiene ὑπερεπαινέω praise effusively ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer

φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry \sim bear φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue

notes

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος: Croesus, a non-Greek king famous for being rich Λ υδὸς: a non-Greek kingdom in Anatolia

1.5

Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῆ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτήν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νέος ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυσς ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλώσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι ἐγὰ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἡν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τώντῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

1.6

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς* μὲν γένος,* παῖς δὲ Ἰλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντός Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὕξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὖτος ὁ Κροῖσος, βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ιδμεν, τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῆ Ἰλσίη, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἔλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς άρπαγή.

1.7

Ή δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ ελληνές

Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἡγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἡγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ἡσαν ἀπόγονοὶ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἡτυος, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὖτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχήν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἡαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεᾶς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

1.8 Οὖτος δὴ ὧν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἢν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. «Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἴδεος τῆς γυναικός (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνήν.» ὁ δ᾽ ἀμβώσας εἶπε «δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖσι ἕν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὰ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.»

1.9

"Ο μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὃ δ᾽ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «θάρσεε, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μὴ τὶ τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχήν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδέ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ

1.5

The Persians for their part say that things happened thus; and they conclude that the beginning of their quarrel with the Hellenes was on account of the taking of Ilion: but as regards Io the Phenicians do not agree with the Persians in telling the tale thus; for they deny that they carried her off to Egypt by violent means, and they say on the other hand that when they were in Argos she was intimate with the master of their ship, and perceiving that she was with child, she was ashamed to confess it to her parents, and therefore sailed away with the Phenicians of her own will, for fear of being found out. These are the tales told by the Persians and the Phenicians severally: and concerning these things I am not going to say that they happened thus or thus, but when I have pointed to the man who first within my own knowledge began to commit wrong against the Hellenes, I shall go forward further with the story, giving an account of the cities of men, small as well as great: for those which in old times were great have for the most part become small, while those that were in my own time great used in former times to be small: so then, since I know that human prosperity never continues steadfast, I shall make mention of both indifferently.

1.6

Croesus was Lydian by race, the son of Alyattes and ruler of the nations which dwell on this side of the river Halys; which river, flowing from the South between the Syrians and the Paphlagonians, runs out towards the North Wind into that Sea which is called the Euxine. This Croesus, first of all the Barbarians of whom we have knowledge, subdued certain of the Hellenes and forced them to pay tribute, while others he gained over and made them his friends. Those whom he subdued were the Ionians, the Aiolians, and the Dorians who dwell in Asia; and those whom he made his friends were the Lacedemonians. But before the reign of Croesus all the Hellenes were free; for the expedition of the Kimmerians, which came upon Ionia before the time of Croesus, was not a conquest of the cities but a plundering incursion only.

1.7

Now the supremacy which had belonged to the Heracleidai came to the family of Croesus, called Mermnadai, in the following manner:— Candaules, whom the Hellenes call Myrsilos, was ruler of Sardis and a descendant of Alcaios, son of Heracles: for Agron, the son of Ninos, the son of Belos, the son of Alcaios, was the first of the Heracleidai who became king of Sardis, and Candaules the son of Myrsos was the last; but those who were kings over this land before Agron, were descendants of Lydos the son of Atys, whence this whole nation was called Lydian,

having been before called Meonian. From these the Heracleidai, descended from Heracles and the slave-girl of Iardanos, obtained the government, being charged with it by reason of an oracle; and they reigned for two and twenty generations of men, five hundred and five years, handing on the power from father to son, till the time of Candaules the son of Myrsos.

1.8

This Candaules then of whom I speak had become passionately in love with his own wife; and having become so, he deemed that his wife was fairer by far than all other women; and thus deeming, to Gyges the son of Daskylos (for he of all his spearmen was the most pleasing to him), to this Gyges, I say, he used to impart as well the more weighty of his affairs as also the beauty of his wife, praising it above measure: and after no long time, since it was destined that evil should happen to Candaules, he said to Gyges as follows: "Gyges, I think that thou dost not believe me when I tell thee of the beauty of my wife, for it happens that men's ears are less apt of belief than their eyes: contrive therefore means by which thou mayest look upon her naked." But he cried aloud and said: "Master, what word of unwisdom is this which thou dost utter, bidding me look upon my mistress naked? When a woman puts off her tunic she puts off her modesty also. Moreover of old time those fair sayings have been found out by men, from which we ought to learn wisdom; and of these one is this,— that each man should look on his own: but I believe indeed that she is of all women the fairest and I entreat thee not to ask of me that which it is not lawful for me to do."

1.9

With such words as these he resisted, fearing lest some evil might come to him from this; but the king answered him thus: "Be of good courage, Gyges, and have no fear, either of me, that I am saying these words to try thee, or of my wife, lest any harm may happen to thee from her. For I will contrive it so from the first that she shall not even perceive that she has been seen by thee. I

vocabulary ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like \sim angina αἴρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan αἰσχύνη (ō) shame, dishonor αἰσχύνω (ō) spoil, disgrace, disfigure, ἀναβοάω shout out ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀναπαύω cause to cease ~pause ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀπαλλαγή relief, escape ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἀπόγονος descended from ἀποπέμπω send away \sim pomp ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina ἀριθμός number ἀρτύω fashion, prepare, plan ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy βασίλεια noblewoman βασίλειος kingly βασιλεύω be king γυμνός naked, unarmed δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαχρίνω (ῑt) separate, sort ~critic διαφεύγω escape, survive ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool, dagger εἷμα -τος (n, 3) garment \sim vest ἐκδύνω take off; leave; avoid ἐνδέω tie to, entangle; lack ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπιβουλή a plot, scheme ~volunteer ἐπιδείχνυμι (ō) display, exhibit ἐπιμιμνήσχομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack \sim chiral ἐπιχείρησις -τος (f) attack ἔσοδος entrance έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled εὐνή bed; (pl) anchor stones **ἐφοράω** look upon ∼panorama ήσυχία peace and quiet ήτοι truly; either, or θάλαμος bedchamber ~thalamus θεάομαι look at, behold, consider θηέομαι look at, behold, consider ἴαμβος iambic verse ίχετεύω approach to beg κατακρύπτω hide, cover ∼cryptic κοιμάω put to sleep; (pass) lie down, have sex **κοίτη** rest, resting place, sleepiness **κοῖτος** rest, resting place, sleepiness κρατύνω strengthen **κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine μίν him, her, it μνήμη reminder, memorial νῶτον back of the body; rear of an army; top of a box νῶτος back of the body; rear of an army; top of a box οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house slave οἴχημα -τος (n, 3) room ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ὁπότερος which of two, either of two δομή pressure, assault, order \sim hormone οὔχω no longer π άθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition πάρεξ alongside, diverging from; (+ή or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon περ emphatic particle; even though περίειμι be superior to; be left over;

still exist πρόχειμαι be set before στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan στείχω go, march ~stair τίνω (ῑ) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίσις -τος (f) payment, vengeance τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τοσόσδε this much τρίμετρος type of verse τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny

ύπεκδύομαι slip out ύπνάω sleep ύπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy φοιτάω go back and forth χρηστήριον oracle, response χρυσός (v) gold χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) ~heir ἐθέω push γάρ σε ές τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἕν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δέ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μὴ σε ὅψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων.»

1.10

"Ο μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἢν ἔτοιμος ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἵματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικός ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾳ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσὰ δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὕτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὕτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νοῶ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

1.11

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδέν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωυτῆ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτήν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἢλθε καλεόμενος ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. «νῦν τοί δυῶν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι. ἢ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδης τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἤτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ σε τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνήν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.» ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίη ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὕκων δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ'

ωρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. «ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπω ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.» ἢ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη, «ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμή ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν, ὑπνωμένω δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται.»

1.12

'Ως δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἢν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἤ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα) εἴπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῆ γυναικί, καί μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἡρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβω τριμέτρω ἐπεμνήσθη.

1.13

Έσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ώς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινόν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὢυτὸ οῖ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καί οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἤν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τόν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἤν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καί οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

1.14

Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν εξ χρύσεοι

will place thee in the room where we sleep, behind the open door; and after I have gone in, my wife also will come to lie down. Now there is a seat near the entrance of the room, and upon this she will lay her garments as she takes them off one by one; and so thou wilt be able to gaze upon her at full leisure. And when she goes from the chair to the bed and thou shalt be behind her back, then let it be thy part to take care that she sees thee not as thou goest through the door."

1.10

He then, since he might not avoid it, gave consent: and Candaules, when he considered that it was time to rest, led Gyges to the chamber; and straightway after this the woman also appeared: and Gyges looked upon her after she came in and as she laid down her garments; and when she had her back turned towards him, as she went to the bed, then he slipped away from his hiding-place and was going forth. And as he went out, the woman caught sight of him, and perceiving that which had been done by her husband she did not cry out, though struck with shame, but she made as though she had not perceived the matter, meaning to avenge herself upon Candaules: for among the Lydians as also among most other Barbarians it is a shame even for a man to be seen naked.

1.11

At the time then she kept silence, as I say, and made no outward sign; but as soon as day had dawned, and she made ready those of the servants whom she perceived to be the most attached to herself, and after that she sent to summon Gyges. He then, not supposing that anything of that which had been done was known to her, came upon her summons; for he had been accustomed before to go whenever the queen summoned him. And when Gyges was come, the woman said to him these words: "There are now two ways open to thee, Gyges, and I give thee the choice which of the two thou wilt prefer to take. Either thou must slay Candaules and possess both me and the kingdom of Lydia, or thou must thyself here on the spot be slain, so that thou mayest not in future, by obeying Candaules in all things, see that which thou shouldest not. Either he must die who formed this design, or thou who hast looked upon me naked and done that which is not accounted lawful." For a time then Gyges was amazed at these words, and afterwards he began to entreat her that she would not bind him by necessity to make such a choice: then however, as he could not prevail with her, but saw that necessity was in truth set before him either to slay his master or to be himself slain by others, he made the choice to live himself; and he inquired further as follows: "Since thou dost compel me to take my master's life against my own will, let me hear from thee also what is the manner in which we shall lay hands upon him." And she answering said: "From that same place shall the attempt be, where he displayed me naked; and we will lay hands upon him as he sleeps."

1.12

So after they had prepared the plot, when night came on, (for Gyges was not let go nor was there any way of escape for him, but he must either be slain himself or slay Candaules), he followed the woman to the bedchamber; and she gave him a dagger and concealed him behind that very same door. Then afterwards, while Candaules was sleeping, Gyges came privily up to him and slew him, and he obtained both his wife and his kingdom: of him moreover Archilochos the Parian, who lived about that time, made mention in a trimeter iambic verse.

1.13

He obtained the kingdom however and was strengthened in it by means of the Oracle at Delphi; for when the Lydians were angry because of the fate of Candaules, and had risen in arms, a treaty was made between the followers of Gyges and the other Lydians to this effect, that if the Oracle should give answer that he was to be king of the Lydians, he should be king, and if not, he should give back the power to the sons of Heracles. So the Oracle gave answer, and Gyges accordingly became king: yet the Pythian prophetess said this also, that vengeance for the Heracleidai should come upon the descendants of Gyges in the fifth generation. Of this oracle the Lydians and their kings made no account until it was in fact fulfilled.

1.14

Thus the Mermnadai obtained the government having driven out from it the Heracleidai: and Gyges when he became ruler sent votive offerings to Delphi not a few, for of all the silver offerings at Delphi his are more in number than those of any other man; and besides the silver he offered a vast quantity of gold, and especially one offering which is more worthy of mention than the rest, namely six golden

vocabulary άδρός full-grown, fat ἄζω dry up ∼ash ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀνάχειμαι be dedicated, be put up ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀνδρήιος of a man, manly ἀνταποδίδωμι give in exchange άξιαπήγητος worth telling άξιοθέητος well worth seeing ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπόγονος descended from ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποσπάω tear/drag away ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina αὐλέω play (blow, toot) αὐλός flute, tube, hollow \mathring{a} ω aor: to sate \sim sate βασίλειος kingly βασιλεύω be king βασιλήιος kingly βιάω use force against, overcome **βιόω** live ∼biology γυναιχήιος of women δένδρεον -οῦ tree δένδρον tree δένδρος tree δημόσιος public, the state δικάζω judge διφάσιος of two kinds δυωδέχατος twelfth εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκδέχομαι receive from ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ∼pyre ἔνδεκα eleven ∼decimal ένθεῦτεν thence

ἐντεταμένως vehemently ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπιδραίνω run onto ἐπίκλησις -τος (f) nickname; nominally ∼gallo ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπωνύμιος called, named **ἐφέδρα** siege $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ ος $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ εος (n, 3) habit, habitat \sim ethos θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θησαυρός treasury ~treasure καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic **κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λήιον standing grain μνήμη reminder, memorial νηέω pile up, load a ship νηός temple, shrine νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer νόσος (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome **νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νυν now; so οἴκημα -τος (n, 3) room οὐδαμός not anyone παραδείχνυμι (ō) receive, admit παραυτίκα immediately περ emphatic particle; even though πηχτίς stringed instrument προκαθίζω keep settling forward \sim sit προσπταίω batter; be set back σίνομαι (ī) rob, damage σπείρω sow ∼diaspora σταθμός cottage; post στρατιά army ~strategy συμφέρω bring together; be expedient;

agree ~bear συνάπτω join, partake; adjoin; consult; fight ~haptic συνδιαφέρω bring along συνεπελαφρύνω help to carry σῦριγξ -γος (f) pan pipes σφέτερος their τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight

 \sim talent τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τοιόσδε such

τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler

χουσός (ō) gold

ἀνακέαται. έστασι δὲ οὖτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα (ἀληθέι δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος). οὖτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὖτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσός οὖτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

1.15

Ἐσέβαλε μέν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὖτος ἐπείτε ἦρξε ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὖτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἢθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

1.16

Άρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ένὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἡρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδυάττεω δὲ Ἡλυάττης. οὖτος δὲ Κυαξάρη τε τῷ Δηιόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἡσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μέν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῆ ἀρχῆ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

1.17

Έπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκες τὴν Μίλητον τρόπω τοιῷδε·

ὄκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῆ γῆ καρπὸς άδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὕτε κατέβαλλε οὕτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὕτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῆ γῆ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῆ στρατιῆ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἴνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

1.18

Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἔνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενηίω χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίω. τὰ μέν νυν εξ ἔτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἡρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν. Σαδυάττης οὖτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι εξ Ἡλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ôς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσείχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μοῦνοι. οὖτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

1.19

Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτεϊ, ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα ως ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεὶς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς

mixing-bowls, which are dedicated there as his gift: of these the weight is thirty talents, and they stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, (though in truth this treasury does not belong to the State of the Corinthians, but is that of Kypselos the son of Aëtion). This Gyges was the first of the Barbarians within our knowledge who dedicated votive offerings at Delphi, except only Midas the son of Gordias king of Phrygia, who dedicated for an offering the royal throne on which he sat before all to decide causes; and this throne, a sight worth seeing, stands in the same place with the bowls of Gyges. This gold and silver which Gyges dedicated is called Gygian by the people of Delphi, after the name of him who offered it.

1.15

Now Gyges also, as soon as he became king, led an army against Miletos and Smyrna, and he took the lower town of Colophon: but no other great deed did he do in his reign, which lasted eight and thirty years, therefore we will pass him by with no more mention than has already been made, and I will speak now of Ardys the son of Gyges, who became king after Gyges. He took Priene and made an invasion against Miletos; and while he was ruling over Sardis, the Kimmerians driven from their abodes by the nomad Scythians came to Asia and took Sardis except the citadel.

1.16

Now when Ardys had been king for nine and forty years, Sadyattes his son succeeded to his kingdom, and reigned twelve years; and after him Alyattes. This last made war against Kyaxares the descendant of Deïokes and against the Medes, and he drove the Kimmerians forth out of Asia, and he took Smyrna which had been founded from Colophon, and made an invasion against Clazomenai. From this he returned not as he desired, but with great loss: during his reign however he performed other deeds very worthy of mention as follows:—

1.17

He made war with those of Miletos, having received this war as an inheritance from his father: for he used to invade their land and besiege Miletos in the following manner:— whenever there were ripe crops upon the land, then he led an army into their confines, making his march to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes both of male and female tone: and when he came to the Milesian land, he neither pulled down the houses that were in the fields, nor set fire to them nor tore off their doors, but let them stand as they were; the trees however and the crops that were upon the land he destroyed, and then departed by the way he came: for the men of Miletos had command of the sea, so that it was of no use for his army to

blockade them: and he abstained from pulling down the houses to the end that the Milesians might have places to dwell in while they sowed and tilled the land, and by the means of their labour he might have somewhat to destroy when he made his invasion.

1.18

Thus he continued to war with them for eleven years; and in the course of these years the Milesians suffered two great defeats, once when they fought a battle in the district of Limenion in their own land, and again in the plain of Maiander. Now for six of the eleven years Sadyattes the son of Ardys was still ruler of the Lydians, the same who was wont to invade the land of Miletos at the times mentioned; for this Sadyattes was he who first began the war: but for the five years which followed these first six the war was carried on by Alyattes the son of Sadyattes, who received it as an inheritance from his father (as I have already said) and applied himself to it earnestly. And none of the Ionians helped those of Miletos bear the burden of this war except only the men of Chios. These came to their aid to pay back like with like, for the Milesians had formerly assisted the Chians throughout their war with the people of Erythrai.

1.19

Then in the twelfth year of the war, when standing corn was being burnt by the army of the Lydians, it happened as follows:— as soon as the corn was kindled, it was driven by a violent wind and set fire to the temple of Athene surnamed of Assessos; and the temple being set on fire was burnt down to the ground. Of this no account was made then; but afterwards when the army had returned to Sardis, Alyattes fell sick, and as his sickness lasted long, he sent messengers to inquire of the

vocabulary κιθάρα lyre άγγέλλω carry a message, announce κιθαρωδός singer with cithara κῶμος party, celebration \sim angel λίσσομαι beg, beseech ∼litany ἀείδω sing ἀναχωρέω return, retreat ~heir μηνύω disclose, betray, accuse ἀνορθόω rebuild, restore μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism ἀοιδός (f) singer ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast μίν him, her, it ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck \sim pierce μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired ἀπόστολος messenger νηός temple, shrine δελφίς -νος (m) dolphin νόσος (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome διαλλαγή change, interchange; νοστέω go home agreement **νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome διατρίβω (ιῖ) wear down, delay νυν now; so ~tribology οἰχοδομέω build, build a house διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; ὄρθιος shrill; steep, straight reveal οὐδαμός not anyone διαχραύω use; kill οὔκω no longer διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; decline πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea reveal διεξέρχομαι go through ~pelagic διθύραμβος (τ) dithyramb περιοράω look around; watch; permit έδώλιον seat; quarter-deck; (pl) abodes πορθμεύς -ος (m) ferryman ~pierce ἐκπηδάω sally, leave προαγορεύω declare, predict, order ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ∼pyre before ἐμπρήθω burn up προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect ἐνδύω go into, put on \sim legion ἐντολή order πρόοιδα foresee ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ∼angel προπυνθάνομαι learn in advance ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then πρύμνα stern ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm δίπτω hurl \sim volunteer σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ἔσχατος farthest, last ~semaphore εὐπάθεια comfort σιτοδεία (τ) famine ήδονή pleasure σχευή equipment σπονδή libation, treaty \sim spontaneous θεοπρόπος seer \sim theology $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$ a wonder, feeling of surprise συγκομίζω gather \sim theater συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ίδιωτικός private, amateurish \sim volunteer καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced συνίημι send together; hear, notice, κατεῖπον denounce; report understand ∼jet κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; σωρός pile kill ταφή burial, grave

τοιόσδε such τρύω ($\bar{\upsilon}$) exhaust, wear down τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler

ύποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer χρηστήριον oracle, response

notes

νόμον: melody

Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ εˇδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς ᾿Αθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν ᾿Ασσησῷ.

1.20

Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλεύηται.

1.21

Μιλήσιοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. ἀλυάττης δέ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομέῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ σῖτος καὶ έωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

1.22

Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεἐ τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὅκως αν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδών τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείησι ἐόντας ἀγγείλη Ἀλυάττη· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῆ Μιλήτω καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ

τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ῷ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μέν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὧδε ἔσχε.

1.23

Περίανδρος δὲ ἢν Κυψέλου παῖς οὖτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, ᾿Αρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

1.24

Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρω ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλώσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, έργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μάλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοΐον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὔκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, άλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς έν γῆ τύχη, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα δή τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδή σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιιδείν αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ σκευῆ πάση στάντα ἐν τοίσι έδωλίοισι ἀείσαι: άείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο έαυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ήδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, άναχωρήσαι έκ τής πρύμνης ές μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι έδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον* τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῖψαί μιν

Oracle at Delphi, either being advised to do so by some one, or because he himself thought it best to send and inquire of the god concerning his sickness. But when these arrived at Delphi, the Pythian prophetess said that she would give them no answer, until they should have built up again the temple of Athene which they had burnt at Assessos in the land of Miletos.

1.20

Thus much I know by the report of the people of Delphi; but the Milesians add to this that Periander the son of Kypselos, being a special guest-friend of Thrasybulos the then despot of Miletos, heard of the oracle which had been given to Alyattes, and sending a messenger told Thrasybulos, in order that he might have knowledge of it beforehand and take such counsel as the case required. This is the story told by the Milesians.

1.21

And Alyattes, when this answer was reported to him, sent a herald forthwith to Miletos, desiring to make a truce with Thrasybulos and the Milesians for so long a time as he should be building the temple. He then was being sent as envoy to Miletos; and Thrasybulos in the meantime being informed beforehand of the whole matter and knowing what Alyattes was meaning to do, contrived this device:— he gathered together in the market-place all the store of provisions which was found in the city, both his own and that which belonged to private persons; and he proclaimed to the Milesians that on a signal given by him they should all begin to drink and make merry with one another.

1.22

This Thrasybulos did and thus proclaimed to the end that the herald from Sardis, seeing a vast quantity of provisions carelessly piled up, and the people feasting, might report this to Alyattes: and so on fact it happened; for when the herald returned to Sardis after seeing this and delivering to Thrasybulos the charge which was given to him by the king of Lydia, the peace which was made, came about, as I am informed, merely because of this. For Alyattes, who thought that there was a great famine in Miletos and that the people had been worn down to the extreme of misery, heard from the herald, when he returned from Miletos, the opposite to that which he himself supposed. And after this the peace was made between them on condition of being guest-friends and allies to one another, and Alyattes built two temples to Athene at Assessos in place of one, and himself recovered from his sickness. With regard then to the war waged by Alyattes with the Milesians and Thrasybulos things went thus.

1.23

As for Periander, the man who gave information about the oracle to Thrasybulos, he was the son of Kypselos, and despot of Corinth. In his life, say the Corinthians, (and with them agree the Lesbians), there happened to him a very great marvel, namely that Arion of Methymna was carried ashore at Tainaron upon a dolphin's back. This man was a harper second to none of those who then lived, and the first, so far as we know, who composed a dithyramb, naming it so and teaching it to a chorus at Corinth.

1.24

This Arion, they say, who for the most part of his time stayed with Periander, conceived a desire to sail to Italy and Sicily; and after he had there acquired large sums of money, he wished to again to Corinth. He set forth therefore from Taras, and as he had faith in Corinthians more than in other men, he hired a ship with a crew of Corinthians. These, the story says, when out in open sea, formed a plot to cast Arion overboard and so possess his wealth; and he having obtained knowledge of this made entreaties to them, offering them his wealth and asking them to grant him his life. With this however he did not prevail upon them, but the men who were conveying him bade him either slay himself there, that he might receive burial on the land, or leap straightway into the sea. So Arion being driven to a strait entreated them that, since they were so minded, they would allow him to take his stand in full minstrel's garb upon the deck of the ship and sing; and he promised to put himself to death after he had sung. They then, well pleased to think that they should hear the best of all minstrels upon earth, drew back from the stern towards the middle of the ship; and he put on the full minstrel's garb and took his lyre, and standing on the deck performed the Orthian measure. Then as the measure ended, he threw himself into the sea just as he was, in

vocabulary ἀκμάζω be in top form ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀναχῶς carefully ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀπαγωγή leading away ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina ἀρνέομαι deny, refuse, repudiate βασιλεύω be king δελφίς -νος (m) dolphin δουλόω enslave ἐκδέχομαι receive from ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out \sim plectrum ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ∼fugitive ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine ελλην Greek ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐντός within ἐξάπτω fasten to ∼haptic έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπαιτιάομαι accuse ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after \sim genus ἐπίλογος reasoning; peroration ἐπινοέω intend ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute \sim bear ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack \sim chiral έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy ∼hedonism ήλικία time of life, contemporaries ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha$ ($\bar{\alpha}$) seeing, sight, viewpoint ίππεύω ride ίστορέω inquire; relate κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταπαύω stop, restrain ∼pause

καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κολλήεις joined overlapping κολλητός skillfully joined κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off μεταξύ between μετέπειτα afterward, next μίν him, her, it **μυρίος** (ō) 10,000 ~myriad ναυπηγέω build ships ναυπηγία shipbuilding νηέω pile up, load a ship νηός temple, shrine νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular νόσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome **νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νυν now; so ξείνιος of hospitality οὐδαμῆ nowhere παρευρίσκω discover as well **ποίημα** -τος (n, 3) work, deed πορθμεύς -ος (m) ferryman \sim pierce π ορθμός canal, straits \sim pierce **πρόθυμος** (\bar{v}) willing, eager \sim fume προσεπικτάομαι acquire as well προσφυής attached to, part of σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite σίδηρος iron \sim siderite σκευή equipment στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis συνωνέομαι buy together, buy up σχοινίον cord τίνω (ī) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy φαῦλος trifling

φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ${\sim}bear$

φόρον forum

notes

ξππον: in the feminine, meaning a mounted force

ἄλλοι: those other than Solon

ές τὴν θάλασσαν έωυτὸν ώς εἶχε σὺν τῆ σκευῆ πάση. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον.

Άποβάντα δέ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῆ σκευῆ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης ᾿Αρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῆ ἔχειν οὐδαμῆ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ ᾿Αρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν ᾿Αρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ ᾿Αρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρω, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπὲων ἄνθρωπος.

1.25

Άλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾳ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα έπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὖτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

1.26

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐων ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· δς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρεϊ ἐκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ

φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

1.27

'Ως δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῆ Ἀσίη Έλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. έόντων δέ οἱ πάντων έτοίμων ές τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἳ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναΐον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην «ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον* συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.» Κροίσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνον ἀληθέα εἰπείν, «αὶ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παίδας σὺν ἵπποισι.» τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι, «ὧ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ηπείρω, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων, νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἤ, έπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδούς ἐν θαλάσση, ἵνα ὓπερ τῶν ἐν τῆ ἠπείρω οἰκημένων Έλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;» κάρτα τε ήσθηναι Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καί οἱ, προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι της ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἰωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

1.28

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλνος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἰωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι,

1.29

άπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀκμαζούσας, πλούτω ἄλλοι* τε οἱ πάντες

his full minstrel's garb; and they went on sailing away to Corinth, but him, they say, a dolphin supported on its back and brought him to shore at Tainaron: and when he had come to land he proceeded to Corinth with his minstrel's garb.

Thither having arrived he related all that had been done; and Periander doubting of his story kept Arion in guard and would let him go nowhere, while he kept careful watch for those who had conveyed him. When these came, he called them and inquired of them if they had any report to make of Arion; and when they said that he was safe in Italy and that they had left him at Taras faring well, Arion suddenly appeared before them in the same guise as when he made his leap from the ship; and they being struck with amazement were no longer able to deny when they were questioned. This is the tale told by the Corinthians and Lesbians alike, and there is at Tainaron a votive offering of Arion of no great size, namely a bronze figure of a man upon a dolphin's back.

1.25

Alyattes the Lydian, when he had thus waged war against the Milesians, afterwards died, having reigned seven and fifty years. This king, when he recovered from his sickness, dedicated a votive offering at Delphi (being the second of his house who had so done), namely a great mixing-bowl of silver with a stand for it of iron welded together, which last is a sight worth seeing above all the offerings at Delphi and the work of Glaucos the Chian, who of all men first found out the art of welding iron.

1.26

After Alyattes was dead Croesus the son of Alyattes received the kingdom in succession, being five and thirty years of age. He (as I said) fought against the Hellenes and of them he attacked the Ephesians first. The Ephesians then, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis and tied a rope from the temple to the wall of the city: now the distance between the ancient city, which was then being besieged, and the temple is seven furlongs. These, I say, were the first upon whom Croesus laid hands, but afterwards he did the same to the other Ionian and Aiolian cities one by one, alleging against them various causes of complaint, and making serious charges against those in whose cases he could find serious grounds, while against others of them he charged merely trifling offences.

1.27

Then when the Hellenes in Asia had been conquered and forced to pay tribute, he designed next to build for himself ships and to lay hands upon those who dwelt in the islands; and when all was prepared for his building of ships, they say

that Bias of Priene (or, according to another account, Pittacos of Mytilene) came to Sardis, and being asked by Croesus whether there was any new thing doing in Hellas, brought to an end his building of ships by this saying: "O king," said he, "the men of the islands are hiring a troop of ten thousand horse, and with this they mean to march to Sardis and fight against thee." And Croesus, supposing that what he reported was true, said: "May the gods put it into the minds of the dwellers of the islands to come with horses against the sons of the Lydians!" And he answered and said: "O king, I perceive that thou dost earnestly desire to catch the men of the islands on the mainland riding upon horses; and it is not unreasonable that thou shouldest wish for this: what else however thinkest thou the men of the islands desire and have been praying for ever since the time they heard that thou wert about to build ships against them, than that they might catch the Lydians upon the sea, so as to take vengeance upon thee for the Hellenes who dwell upon the mainland, whom thou dost hold enslaved?" Croesus, they say, was greatly pleased with this conclusion, and obeying his suggestion, for he judged him to speak suitably, he stopped his building of ships; and upon that he formed a friendship with the Ionians dwelling in the islands.

1.28 As time went on, when nearly all those dwelling on this side the river Halys had been subdued, (for except the Kilikians and Lykians Croesus subdued and kept under his rule all the nations, that is to say Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynoi, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians both Thynian and Bithynian, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aiolians, and Pamphylians),

1.29

When these, I say, had been subdued, and while he was still adding to his Lydian dominions

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, άθλοφόρος taking prizes ∼athlete ἄμαξα wagon ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀνθρωπήιος human ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad ἀπορρίπτω cast away ἀρχέω satisfy; ward off, defend; suffice ἄρχυς net ἀστυγείτων near a city βασίλειος kingly δευτερεῖος second-best δημόσιος public, the state διαδέχομαι be next, succeed ~doctrine διαχομίζω carry over **εἰκών** -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth \sim genus ἐκδημέω be abroad ἐκκληίω shut out; prevent ἐκπλέω sail away ~float ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after \sim genus ἐπιδείκνυμι (ō) display, exhibit ἐπιστρεφής attentive; strict εὐδαιμονία prosperity ἐύς good, brave, noble **εὐχή** prayer; vow ~vow εὐωχέω fete, feed well ζεύγλη yoke cushion ~zygote **ζεῦγος** -ους (n, 3) team of animals \sim zygote θάπτω bury ∼epitaph θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θεράπων -οντος (m, 3) helper, henchman, servant ∼therapy

θεωρία spectator, contemplation

θησαυρός treasury ~treasure

θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω ίδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman ἴμερος (t) desire, inclination (+gen) κατακοιμάω pass: go to sleep; have sex with χυρέω come upon, come up against $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \dot{o} \varsigma$ brilliant \sim lamp μαχαρίζω congratulate ∼macarism μίν him, her, it νεηνίης young person νέμω to allot, to pasture ∼nemesis ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest ολβία bliss ὄλβιος happy, wealthy ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ορτή holiday, feast πάγχυ entirely πανήγυρις -εως (f) gathering πάντως by all means παραμένω stay with \sim remain περ emphatic particle; even though περιάγω lead around περιίστημι be around; turn out \sim station περιχαρής very glad πλάνη wandering πλάνης -τος (m, 3) wanderer προτρέπω prompt, urge, compel; (mp) go, flee to ∼trophy πρόφασις -εως (f) excuse, pretext ὁώμη strength, might ῥώομαι move nimbly, rush, stream σκέπτομαι look, look at, watch ~skeptic σόλος lump of iron for throwing σοφία skill; wisdom \sim sophistry σοφιστής -οῦ (m, 1) expert σπέρχω set in rapid motion στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters ταραχώδης messed up ~trachea

τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment ~apostle τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid τοιόσδε such τροπή rout, turning of an enemy ~trophy ὕπειμι be under ὑποδύω (mp) get under; play a

character $\dot{\mathbf{o}}$ ποθωπεύω subtly flatter φήμη speech, rumor \sim fame φθονερός jealous φιλοσοφέω philosophize, study φιλόσοφος wisdom-loving

notes

ἀνθρώπω: a man in general

έκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ώς ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα κατά θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῆ, λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

1.30

Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. άπικόμενος δε εξεινίζετο εν τοίσι βασιληίοισι ύπο τοῦ Κροίσου μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιήγον κατά τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα *ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ* σκεψάμενον ως οί κατά καιρὸν ην, είρετο ό Κροίσος τάδε. «ξείνε 'Αθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης είνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ώς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἴνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας νῦν ὧν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.» δ μεν έλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ύποθωπεύσας άλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει «ὧ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Άθηναῖον.» ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως: «κοίη δη κρίνεις Τέλλον είναι όλβιώτατον;» ὁ δὲ είπε «Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παίδες ἦσαν καλοί τε κάγαθοί, καί σφι είδε ἄπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη έπεγένετο γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας έν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καί μιν Άθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.»

"Ως δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε «Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ρώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὁρτῆς τῆ "Ἡρη τοῖσι ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρη· ἐκκληιόμενοι δὲ τῆ ὥρη οἱ νεηνίαι ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἶλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης δέ σφι ἀχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν.

Ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπω* τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν.

Άργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἡργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἴων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρής ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῆ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὕχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἑωντῆς τέκνοισι, οἵ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλὶ ἐν τέλεϊ τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἡργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.«

1.32

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε «ιω ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ιστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;»

Ό δὲ εἶπε «ὧ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾳς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ

there came to Sardis, then at the height of its wealth, all the wise men of the Hellas who chanced to be alive at that time, brought thither severally by various occasions; and of them one was Solon the Athenian, who after he had made laws for the Athenians at their bidding, left his native country for ten years and sailed away saying that he desired to visit various lands, in order that he might not be compelled to repeal any of the laws which he had proposed. For of themselves the Athenians were not competent to do this, having bound themselves by solemn oaths to submit for ten years to the laws which Solon should propose for them.

1.30

So Solon, having left his native country for this reason and for the sake of seeing various lands, came to Amasis in Egypt, and also to Croesus at Sardis. Having there arrived he was entertained as a guest by Croesus in the king's palace; and afterwards, on the third or fourth day, at the bidding of Croesus his servants led Solon round to see his treasuries; and they showed him all things, how great and magnificent they were: and after he had looked upon them all and examined them as he had occasion, Croesus asked him as follows: "Athenian guest, much report of thee has come to us, both in regard to thy wisdom and thy wanderings, how that in thy search for wisdom thou hast traversed many lands to see them; now therefore a desire has come upon me to ask thee whether thou hast seen any whom thou deemest to be of all men the most happy." This he asked supposing that he himself was the happiest of men; but Solon, using no flattery but the truth only, said: "Yes, O king, Tellos the Athenian." And Croesus, marvelling at that which he said, asked him earnestly: "In what respect dost thou judge Tellos to be the most happy?" And he said: "Tellos, in the first place, living while his native State was prosperous, had sons fair and good and saw from all of them children begotten and living to grow up; and secondly he had what with us is accounted wealth, and after his life a most glorious end: for when a battle was fought by the Athenians at Eleusis against the neighbouring people, he brought up supports and routed the foe and there died by a most fair death; and the Athenians buried him publicly where he fell, and honoured him greatly."

1.31

So when Solon had moved Croesus to inquire further by the story of Tellos, recounting how many points of happiness he had, the king asked again whom he had seen proper to be placed next after this man, supposing that he himself would certainly obtain at least the second place; but he replied: "Cleobis and Biton: for these, who were of Argos by race, possessed a sufficiency of wealth and, in addition to this, strength of body such as I shall tell. Both equally had won prizes in the games, and moreover the following tale is told of them:— There was a feast of Hera

among the Argives and it was by all means necessary that their mother should be borne in a car to the temple.

But since their oxen were not brought up in time from the field, the young men, barred from all else by lack of time, submitted themselves to the yoke and drew the wain, their mother being borne by them upon it; and so they brought it on for five and forty furlongs, and came to the temple. Then after they had done this and had been seen by the assembled crowd, there came to their life a most excellent ending; and in this the deity declared that it was better for man to die than to continue to live.

For the Argive men were standing round and extolling the strength of the young men, while the Argive women were extolling the mother to whose lot it had fallen to have such sons; and the mother being exceedingly rejoiced both by the deed itself and by the report made of it, took her stand in front of the image of the goddess and prayed that she would give to her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had honoured her greatly, that gift which is best for man to receive: and after this prayer, when they had sacrificed and feasted, the young men lay down to sleep within the temple itself, and never rose again, but were held bound in this last end. And the Argives made statues in the likeness of them and dedicated them as offerings at Delphi, thinking that they had proved themselves most excellent."

1.32 Thus Solon assigned the second place in respect of happiness to these: and Croesus was moved to anger and said: "Athenian guest, hast thou then so cast aside our prosperous state as worth nothing, that thou dost prefer to us even men of private station?"

And he said: "Croesus, thou art inquiring about human fortunes of one who well knows that the Deity is altogether envious and apt to disturb our lot. For in the course of long time a man may see many things which he would not desire to see, and suffer also many things which he would not

vocabulary ἀδύνατος unable; impossible αἰχμή spear point \sim acute ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin ἀμαθής ignorant ἀνατρέπω defeat, thwart \sim trophy ἀνόλβιος unfortunate, wretched ἄνολβος unfortunate, wretched ἄνουσος disease-free ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive ἀπερύκω (ō) keep off ∼serve ἄπηρος unmaimed ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp ἄτα bewilderment, folly αὐτάρκης self-sufficient $\mathring{a}ω$ aor: to sate \sim sate βασίλειος kingly **γάμος** wedding, sex ~bigamy διαχόσιοι (ā) two hundred διατελέω accomplish; keep doing \sim apostle δισμύριοι (0) 20,000 δοράτιον small spear έβδομήκοντα 70 εἰκάζω liken; conjecture ἐκκομίζω remove; bury a corpse ἐκτελέω complete, bring about \sim apostle Έλλην Greek ἐμβόλιμος intercalary ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ∼petal ἐνδεής inadequate έξαχισχίλιοι 6000 έξεγείοω awaken ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιδέω fasten; lack ἐπιθυμία (ō) desire, thing desired ἐπίστιος hearthside ἐπίσχω aim; restrain ἐπιχώριος native εὕδω sleep, lie down, rest εὐειδής good-looking ~wit εὔπαις with many/good children ἐύς good, brave, noble

εὐτυχής fortunate εὐτυχία good luck, success εὐχάριστος agreeable, grateful, beneficent έφέπω drive, meet, follow \sim sequel $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$ be accustomed, in the habit ζάπλουτος very rich ἡλιξ -μος (m) of the same age θάλαμος bedchamber ~thalamus καθαίοω clean καθαρός clean, pure καθάρσιος cleansing κάθαρσις purification κάος (n, 3) flammable thing κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταρκέω completely suffice καταρρωδέω fear, dread κόθεν from where? κρεμάννυμι (ō) hang κυρέω come upon, come up against χωφός blunt, insensible μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μέτριος medium, moderate μίν him, her, it νέμεσις -εως (f) indignation; punishment ∼nemesis νυν now; so ὄλβιος happy, wealthy ὄλβος happiness, wealth ὄνειρον dream ὄνειρος dream **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὁπόθεν whence ὄρος boundary marker ∼horizon οὐδαμῆ nowhere οὔχω no longer οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend \sim genus παράπαν completely παραπλήσιος similar to πεντακισχίλιοι 5,000

πλουτέω be rich προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one πρόρριζος by the roots ~rhizome προσάγω bring to a place ~demagogue προσπίπτω attack; befall; kow-tow προτίθημι set before ~thesis σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σχοπάω watch, observe σχοπέω behold, consider στρατηγέω be a general

συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ~epilepsy συμφορά collecting; accident συννέω swim together; pile together τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment ~apostle τύχη fortune, act of a god ὑποδείχνυμι (υῦ) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ~doctrine φονεύω kill χίλιοι (τι) thousand ~kilo-χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) ~heir

notes

εἶναι: Solon

στρατηγέειν: Atys

συμφορή ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας: His hands are considered unclean in

a moral and religious sense.

καθαρσίου: a ritual cleansing of his shame

παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὖτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοὖτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὧραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῆ ἑτέρη ἡμέρη τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα.

«Ούτω ὧν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἴρεό με, οὔκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαὶ τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσί, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καί ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνω ένεικαι, ταθτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθής κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήση τὸν βίον εὖ, οὖτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιος ἐστί· πρίν δ' αν τελευτήση, έπισχείν, μηδε καλέειν κω όλβιον άλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μέν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ώσπερ χωρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα έωυτη παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει έτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ῶς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα εν οὐδὲν αὕταρκες ἐστί* τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, άλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήση εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὖτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ὧ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος την τελευτήν, κη ἀποβήσεται πολλοίσι γὰρ δη ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.»

1.33

Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι,* ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

1.34

Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβέ ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὕδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παίδα. ἣσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παίδες, τῶν οὕτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἢν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὕνομα δέ οἱ ἢν Ἡτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὧν τὸν Ἡτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῷ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν* μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῷ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τά τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέση.

1.35

Έχοντι δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῃ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας,* ἐῶν Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῃ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθῶν δὲ οὖτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου* ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· «ἄνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐῶν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἤκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;»

desire to suffer. The limit of life for a man I lay down at seventy years: and these seventy years give twenty-five thousand and two hundred days, not reckoning for any intercalated month. Then if every other one of these years shall be made longer by one month, that the seasons may be caused to come round at the due time of the year, the intercalated months will be in number five and thirty besides the seventy years; and of these months the days will be one thousand and fifty. Of all these days, being in number twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty, which go to the seventy years, one day produces nothing at all which resembles what another brings with it.

"Thus then, O Croesus, man is altogether a creature of accident. As for thee, I perceive that thou art both great in wealth and king of many men, but that of which thou didst ask me I cannot call thee yet, until I learn that thou hast brought thy life to a fair ending: for the very rich man is not at all to be accounted more happy than he who has but his subsistence from day to day, unless also the fortune go with him of ending his life well in possession of all things fair. For many very wealthy men are not happy, while many who have but a moderate living are fortunate; and in truth the very rich man who is not happy has two advantages only as compared with the poor man who is fortunate, whereas this latter has many as compared with the rich man who is not happy. The rich man is able better to fulfil his desire, and also to endure a great calamity if it fall upon him; whereas the other has advantage over him in these things which follow:— he is not indeed able equally with the rich man to endure a calamity or to fulfil his desire, but these his good fortune keeps away from him, while he is sound of limb, free from disease, untouched by suffering, the father of fair children and himself of comely form; and if in addition to this he shall end his life well, he is worthy to be called that which thou seekest, namely a happy man; but before he comes to his end it is well to hold back and not to call him yet happy but only fortunate. Now to possess all these things together is impossible for one who is mere man, just as no single land suffices to supply all things for itself, but one thing it has and another it lacks, and the land that has the greatest number of things is the best: so also in the case of a man, no single person is complete in himself, for one thing he has and another he lacks; but whosoever of men continues to the end in possession of the greatest number of these things and then has a gracious ending of his life, he is by me accounted worthy, O king, to receive this name. But we must of every thing examine the end and how it will turn out at the last, for to many the divine shows but a glimpse of happiness and then plucks them up by the roots and overturns them."

Thus saying he refused to gratify Croesus, who sent him away from his presence holding him in no esteem, and thinking him utterly senseless in that he passed over present good things and bade men look to the end of every matter.

1.34

After Solon had departed, a divine punishment came upon Croesus, probably because he judged himself to be the happiest of all men. First there came and stood by him a dream, which showed to him the truth of the evils that were about to come to pass in respect of his son. Now Croesus had two sons, of whom one was deficient, seeing that he was deaf and dumb, while the other far surpassed his companions of the same age in all things: and the name of this last was Atys. As regards this Atys then, the dream signified to Croesus that he should lose him by the blow of an iron spear-point: and when he rose up from sleep and considered the matter with himself, he was struck with fear on account of the dream; and first he took for his son a wife; and whereas his son had been wont to lead the armies of the Lydians, he now no longer sent him forth anywhere on any such business; and the javelins and lances and all such things which men use for fighting he conveyed out of the men's apartments and piled them up in the inner bed-chambers, for fear lest something hanging up might fall down upon his son.

1.35 Then while he was engaged about the marriage of his son, there came to Sardis a man under a misfortune and with hands not clean, a Phrygian by birth and of the royal house. This man came to the house of Croesus, and according to the customs which prevail in that land made request that he might have cleansing; and Croesus gave him cleansing: now the manner of cleansing among the Lydians is the same almost as that which the Hellenes use. So when Croesus had done that which was customary, he asked of him whence he came and who he was, saying as follows: "Man, who art thou, and from what region of Phrygia didst thou come to sit upon my hearth? And whom of men or women didst thou slay?"

And he replied: "O king, I am the son of Gordias,

vocabulary ἄγρα hunting, prey ἀέχων unwilling ἀθυμία (ō) despondency αἰχμή spear point ~acute ἀχοή hearing ∼acoustic ἀμηχανάω be helpless, resourceless ἀμηχανέω be helpless, resourceless ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine ~phenomenon ἀποκλείω shut out; (+acc) close ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious γάμος wedding, sex ~bigamy γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis δειλία cowardice δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαχελεύομαι give orders to, encourage διακλέπτω steal, evade, save by stealth ἔκγονος offspring, descendant ~genus ἐμεωυτοῦ myself ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams έξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy \sim heresy ἐξάλλομαι break away from ~sally ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐπεισέρχομαι come in also εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed ἐύς good, brave, noble θήρα hunt \sim fierce κερδαίνω profit, take advantage κοῦφος light, nimble κυνηγέσιον hunt λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen

λογίζομαι reckon, consider μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off μεταγιγνώσκω change one's mind \sim gnostic μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μέτειμι be among, go, follow ∼ion μίν him, her, it μνημονεύω remember, remind νεηνίης young person νεόγαμος newlywed όδούς -ντος (m) tooth όδών όδόντος (m, 3) tooth όλιγοχρόνιος short-lived; within a short time **ὄ**μμα -τος (n, 3) eye ὄνειρον dream ὄνειρος dream ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view ~thanatopsis παροράω notice; overlook, neglect πότε when? προθυμέομαι (ō) be eager **πρόθυμος** (\bar{v}) willing, eager \sim fume προσδέω bind also; need also σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry \sim repudiate στερέω steal, take συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency συμπέμπω send with ~pomp συμφορά collecting; accident συνεξαιρέω help in removing συνοικέω live together φοιτέω go back and forth φονεύω kill

Ό δὲ ἀμείβετο «ὧ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.»

Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· «ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορήν τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον.»

1.36

"Ο μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ 'Ολύμπῳ ὑὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα ' ὁρμώμενος δὲ οὖτος ἐκ τοῦ ὅρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῦν ἐν τῆ χώρη, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἑλεῦν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὧν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῦν, ὡς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης.» οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. «παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι' οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῦν συμπέμψαιμι' νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῦσι ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῦν ὑμῦν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης.»

1.37

Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὼς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. «ὧ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἢν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὕτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὕτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὅμμασι

ές τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δέ τις τῆ νεογάμω γυναικί; κοίω δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὧν σὺ ἢ μέτες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγω ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα.»

1.38

Άμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. «ὧ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών, τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῷ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὧν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἶς γὰρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐων παῖς τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἔτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι.»

1.39

Άμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοισιδε. «συγγνώμη μὲν ὧ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὅψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν' τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοί δίκαιον ἐστί φράζειν. φής τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν. ὑὸς δὲ κοιαι μὲν εἰσὶ χειρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη τὴν σὰ φοβέαι; εὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις' νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπείτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῦν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτες με.»

1.40

Άμείβεται Κροΐσος «ὧ παῖ, ἔστι τἢ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὧν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετίημί τε σὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.»

1.41

Είπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένω δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. «Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ σε συμφορῆ,

the son of Midas, and I am called Adrastos; and I slew my own brother against my will, and therefore am I here, having been driven forth by my father and deprived of all that I had."

And Croesus answered thus: "Thou art, as it chances, the offshoot of men who are our friends and thou hast come to friends, among whom thou shalt want of nothing so long as thou shalt remain in our land: and thou wilt find it most for thy profit to bear this misfortune as lightly as may be."

1.36

So he had his abode with Croesus. During this time there was produced in the Mysian Olympos a boar of monstrous size. This, coming down from the mountain aforesaid, ravaged the fields of the Mysians, and although the Mysians went out against it often, yet they could do it no hurt, but rather received hurt themselves from it; so at length messengers came from the Mysians to Croesus and said: "O king, there has appeared in our land a boar of monstrous size, which lays waste our fields; and we, desiring eagerly to take it, are not able: now therefore we ask of thee to send with us thy son and also a chosen band of young men with dogs, that we may destroy it out of our land." Thus they made request, and Croesus calling to mind the words of the dream spoke to them as follows: "As touching my son, make no further mention of him in this matter; for I will not send him with you, seeing that he is newly married and is concerned now with the affairs of his marriage: but I will send with you chosen men of the Lydians and the whole number of my hunting dogs, and I will give command to those who go, to be as zealous as may be in helping you to destroy the wild beast out of your land."

1.37

Thus he made reply, and while the Mysians were being contented with this answer, there came in also the son of Croesus, having heard of the request made by the Mysians: and when Croesus said that he would not send his son with them, the young man spoke as follows: "My father, in times past the fairest and most noble part was allotted to us, to go out continually to wars and to the chase and so have good repute; but now thou hast debarred me from both of these, although thou hast not observed in me any cowardly or faint-hearted spirit. And now with what face must I appear when I go to and from the market-place of the city? What kind of a man shall I be esteemed by the citizens, and what kind of a man shall I be esteemed by my newly-married wife? With what kind of a husband will she think that she is mated? Therefore either let me go to the hunt, or persuade me by reason that these things are better for me done as now they are."

1.38

And Croesus made answer thus: "My son, not because I have observed in thee any spirit of cowardice or any other ungracious thing, do I act thus; but a vision of a dream came and stood by me in my sleep and told me that thou shouldest be short-lived, and that thou shouldest perish by a spear-point of iron. With thought of this vision therefore I both urged on this marriage for thee, and I refuse now to send thee upon the matter which is being taken in hand, having a care of thee that I may steal thee from thy fate at least for the period of my own life, if by any means possible for me to do so. For thou art, as it chances, my only son: the other I do not reckon as one, seeing that he is deficient in hearing."

1.39

The young man made answer thus: "It may well be forgiven in thee, O my father, that thou shouldest have a care of me after having seen such a vision; but that which thou dost not understand, and in which the meaning of the dream has escaped thee, it is right that I should expound to thee. Thou sayest the dream declared that I should end my life by means of a spear-point of iron: but what hands has a boar, or what spear-point of iron, of which thou art afraid? If the dream had told thee that I should end my life by a tusk, or any other thing which resembles that, it would be right for thee doubtless to do as thou art doing; but it said 'by a spear-point.' Since therefore our fight will not be with men, let me now go."

1.40 Croesus made answer: "My son, thou dost partly prevail with me by declaring thy judgment about the dream; therefore, having been prevailed upon by thee, I change my resolution and allow thee to go to the chase."

1.41

Having thus said Croesus went to summon Adrastos the Phrygian; and when he came, he addressed him thus: "Adrastos, when thou wast struck with a grievous misfortune (with

vocabulary ἄγρα hunting, prey ἀέκων unwilling $\dot{\alpha}\theta$ λον $\dot{\alpha}$ έθλου prize \sim athlete ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ∼athlete αἰχμή spear point \sim acute ἀκοντίζω throw, (+gen) at ∼acute ἀπήμων unharmed, not harmful ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπαύω stop ~pause ἀποπειράομαι try, try out ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious βαρυσύμφορος suffering bad luck βιώσιμος to be lived; likely to live βόσκω feed, tend \sim bovine δαπάνη cost, funds, extravagance δεινολογέομαι complain loudly δήλησις mischief; harm διαχελεύομαι give orders to, encourage διάνοια a thought; intelligence διαπέμπω send out/over εἰσακοντίζω shoot ἐκπίμπλημι fulfil, accomplish Έλλην Greek ἐμβαίνω step on, board ∼basis ἐμεωυτοῦ myself ἐξαρτύω (τ) train, equip έξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo ἐπικατασφάζω slay also ἐπίστιον ship's slip ∼stand ἐπίστιος hearthside έταιρήιος companionable έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble ἡγεμονία authority, rule ἡσυχία peace and quiet θάπτω bury \sim epitaph θέω run, run for **καθαιρέω** take down, close ∼heresy καθαίρω clean καθάρσιος cleansing καίπερ even if κακοῦργος causing evil ∼ergonomics καταδικάζω give judgment

καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake ∼epilepsy κατοικτείρω have mercy, compassion κατοικτίρω have mercy, compassion κλώψ thief **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen μαντεῖον prophetic warning ~mantis μαρτύρομαι (ō) call to witness; protest μίν him, her, it μόρος portion, lot in life νυν now; so οἰχίον abode, nest ~economics ὁμῆλιξ -κος (m) of the same age ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach ὄνειρον dream ὄνειρος dream ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ὀφείλω owe, should, if only πάλαι long ago ~paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral \sim paternal πένθος -εος (n, 3) grief, misfortune \sim Nepenthe περιημεκτέω be aggrieved περιίστημι be around; turn out \sim station Πέρσης Persian πλήσσω hit ~plectrum πολλαχή in many places or ways πολλαχῆ in many places or ways προποιέω do beforehand προσδοχάω expect προσέτι in addition προσημαίνω foretell; proclaim προτείνω hold out, offer ὁώμη strength, might σημα -τος (n, 3) mark, sign, grave mound ∼semaphore σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark

~semaphore σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry ~repudiate στερέω steal, take συγγιγνώσχω acknowledge; pardon συμπέμπω send with ~pomp συμφορά collecting; accident συνταράσσω mess up τοιόσδε such τύμβος grave mound ~tomb ὑποδείχνυμι (υῦ) show, trace out

ύποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ~doctrine ύς pig ~sow φήμη speech, rumor ~fame φονεύς -ως (m) killer ~offend φροντίς -τος (f) thought, care φύλαξ -χος (m) guard; sentry ~phylactery χρήζω need ~chresard χρηστός useful; brave, worthy πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὤν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῦν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι χρεόν πατρώιόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει.»

1.42

Άμείβεται ὁ Ἡδρηστος «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἃν οὐκ ἤια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὕτε γὰρ συμφορῆ τοιῆδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὕτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῆ τε ἂν ἶσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοί χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἴνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.»

1.43

Τοιούτοισι ἐπείτε οὖτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἤισαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὁλυμπον τὸ ὅρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὖτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὖν τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὅ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῆ αἰχμῆ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

1.44

Ό δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῷ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων δὲ τῆ συμφορῆ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν

τε καὶ έταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

1.45

Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἴπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὖτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου έωντὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέρην έωντοῦ συμφορήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη, οὐδέ οἱ εἴη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἡδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν «ἔχω ὡ ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωντοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἶς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.» Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν τὸν έωντοῦ παῖδα. Ἡδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὖτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ έωντοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἤδεε βαρνσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωντόν.

1.46

Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν.

Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντείων τῶν τε ἐν Ἔλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἅβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην οῦ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἅμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ

which I reproach thee not), I cleansed thee, and I have received thee into my house supplying all thy costs. Now therefore, since having first received kindness from me thou art bound to requite me with kindness, I ask of thee to be the protector of my son who goes forth to the chase, lest any evil robbers come upon you by the way to do you harm; and besides this thou too oughtest to go where thou mayest become famous by thy deeds, for it belongs to thee as an inheritance from thy fathers so to do, and moreover thou hast strength for it."

1.42

Adrastos made answer: "O king, but for this I should not have been going to any such contest of valour; for first it is not fitting that one who is suffering such a great misfortune as mine should seek the company of his fellows who are in prosperity, and secondly I have no desire for it; and for many reasons I should have kept myself away. But now, since thou art urgent with me, and I ought to gratify thee (for I am bound to requite thee with kindness), I am ready to do this: expect therefore that thy son, whom thou commandest me to protect, will home to thee unhurt, so far as his protector may avail to keep him safe."

1.43

When he had made answer to Croesus in words like these, they afterwards set forth provided with chosen young men and with dogs. And when they were come to Mount Olympos, they tracked the animal; and having found it and taken their stand round in a circle, they were hurling against it their spears. Then the guest, he who had been cleansed of manslaughter, whose name was Adrastos, hurling a spear at it missed the boar and struck the son of Croesus. So he being struck by the spear-point fulfilled the saying of the dream. And one ran to report to Croesus that which had come to pass, and having come to Sardis he signified to him of the combat and of the fate of his son. And Croesus was very greatly disturbed by the death of his son, and was much the more moved to complaining by this, namely that his son was slain by the man whom he had himself cleansed of manslaughter. And being grievously troubled by the misfortune he called upon Zeus the Cleanser, protesting to him that which he had suffered from his guest, and he called moreover upon the Protector of Suppliants and the Guardian of Friendship, naming still the same god, and calling upon him as the Protector of Suppliants because when he received the guest into his house he had been fostering ignorantly the slayer of his son, and as the Guardian of Friendship because having sent him as a protector he had found him the worst of foes.

1.45

After this the Lydians came bearing the corpse, and behind it followed the slayer: and he taking his stand before the corpse delivered himself up to Croesus, holding forth his hands and bidding the king slay him over the corpse, speaking of his former misfortune and saying that in addition to this he had now been the destroyer of the man who had cleansed him of it; and that life for him was no more worth living. But Croesus hearing this pitied Adrastos, although he was himself suffering so great an evil of his own, and said to him: "Guest, I have already received from thee all the satisfaction that is due, seeing that thou dost condemn thyself to suffer death; and not thou alone art the cause of this evil, except in so far as thou wert the instrument of it against thine own will, but some one, as I suppose, of the gods, who also long ago signified to me that which was about to be." So Croesus buried his son as was fitting: but Adrastos the son of Gordias, the son of Midas, he who had been the slayer of his own brother and the slayer also of the man who had cleansed him, when silence came of all men round about the tomb, recognising that he was more grievously burdened by misfortune than all men of whom he knew, slew himself upon the grave.

1.46

For two years then Croesus remained quiet in his mourning, because he was deprived of his son: but after this period of time the overthrowing of the rule of Astyages the son of Kyaxares by Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and the growing greatness of the Persians caused Croesus to cease from his mourning, and led him to a care of cutting short the power of the Persians, if by any means he might, while yet it was in growth and before they should have become great.

So having formed this design he began forthwith to make trial of the Oracles, both those of the Hellenes and that in Libya, sending messengers some to one place and some to another, some to go to Delphi, others to Abai of the Phokians, and others to Dodona; and some were sent to the shrine of Amphiaraos and to that of Trophonios, others to Branchidai in the land of Miletos: these

vocabulary ἀμήχανος helpless, impossible \sim mechanism ἀνακτάομαι regain, revive; win over άναπτύσσω unfold ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear ἄπεφθος boiled, refined ~ἀφέψω ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἀποπέμπω send away \sim pomp ἀποτήχω melt away from ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina ἀρήν ἀρνός (m, 3) lamb, sheep; wool ἀριθμός number ἄρνειος lamb, sheep ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy άψευδής truthful διάπειρα experiment διαπέμπω send out/over διτάλαντος weighing two talents ἕβδομος seventh εἰκών -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness εἷμα -τος (n, 3) garment \sim vest εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion έκατοστός hundredth ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐντέλλω (mp) command έξάμετρος hexameter έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπάργυρος overlaid with silver ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπίθημα -τος (n, 3) lid \sim thesis ἐπινοέω intend ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty έπιφράζω realize, think of \sim frenzy ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ∼chiral ἐπίχουσος (ō) gilded έπτακαίδεκα 17 **ἐύς** good, brave, noble **ἐφοράω** look upon ∼panorama ἡμερολογέω count by days

ήμιπλίνθιον brick ἡμιτάλαντον a measure of weight ~hemisphere θεοπρόπος seer \sim theology θεσπίζω prophecy θησαυρός treasury ~treasure θυσία sacrifice θύσιμος fit for a sacrifice θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω ίδούω establish ίλάσχομαι appease κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic κατακόπτω cut down, shatter καταπίπτω fall down ∼petal καταχεύω pour onto κλίνη ($\bar{ι}$) bed, couch ∼clinic **κλίνω** (τ) lean, recline ∼incline κραταίρινος (ī) hard-shelled κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine κτάομαι acquire, possess κτῆνος -ους (n, 3) herd animal χωφός blunt, insensible λέβης -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin μαντεῖον prophetic warning ~mantis μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μέγαθος tall, big (person) μέτρον measure ~metric μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it νέω spin; swim ∼neuro νηός temple, shrine νυν now; so **ὁμός** same ∼homoerotic ὁμοῦ together **ὁμόω** unite ∼homoerotic ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀσμή smell ∼osmium, odor οὐδαμός not anyone παλαιστιαῖος palm-sized περιπέμπω send on a circuit Πέρσης Persian πορφύρεος purple προαγορεύω declare, predict, order

προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order

before

προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect

 \sim legion

προσδέχομαι await προσεύχομαι pray, vow προσίημι be allowed near

πυρά pyre \sim pyre σταθμός cottage; post

σύγγραμμα -τος (n, 3) piece of writing

συγγράφω write down

συνίημι send together; hear, notice,

understand \sim jet

τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight

 \sim talent

τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid

τοιόσδε such

τόνος pitch, stretching τρισχίλιοι 3000 \sim kilo-

ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting,

hypocrisy

ὑποστόρνυμι strew under

ύψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit

φιάλη jar ~vial χελώνη tortoise

χοηστήριον oracle, response

χουσός (ō) gold **ψάμμος** (f) sand

notes

έπείτε γὰρ δη διέπεμψε: but before the responses came back

οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν: Herodotus

έχοησε: the oracle ἐνόμισε: Croesus ἕλχων: weighing σταθμὸν: weight Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὐρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

1.47

Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἦς ἂν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῆ ἡμέρη χρασθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ ἀλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' αν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίση, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' έωυτόν. ὅ τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω. ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἢλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης έψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἄμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν, ἢ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

1.48

Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὧλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χροησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἔκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων, τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν' ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.

Έπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε* παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας

τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἦψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέω, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

1.49

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ, Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν* ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε* ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε* μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

1.50

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθώνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτω ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια έξ αὐτοῦ έξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὰν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων έξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ύψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ έκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον έκαστον έλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὖτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ίδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων* σταθμὸν* έβδομον ήμιτάλαντον ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ήμιτάλαντον.

1.51

Έπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἄμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν,

are the Oracles of the Hellenes to which Croesus sent messengers to seek divination; and others he sent to the shrine of Ammon in Libya to inquire there. Now he was sending the messengers abroad to the end that he might try the Oracles and find out what knowledge they had, so that if they should be found to have knowledge of the truth, he might send and ask them secondly whether he should attempt to march against the Persians.

1.47

And to the Lydians whom he sent to make trial of the Oracles he gave charge as follows,— that from the day on which they set out from Sardis they should reckon up the number of the days following and on the hundredth day they should consult the Oracles, asking what Croesus the son of Alyattes king of the Lydians chanced then to be doing: and whatever the Oracles severally should prophesy, this they should cause to be written down and bear it back to him. Now what the other Oracles prophesied is not by any reported, but at Delphi, so soon as the Lydians entered the sanctuary of the temple to consult the god and asked that which they were commanded to ask, the Pythian prophetess spoke thus in hexameter measure:

"But the number of sand I know, and the measure of drops in the ocean; the dumb man I understand, and I hear the speech of the speechless: And there hath come to my soul the smell of a strong-shelled tortoise boiling in caldron of bronze, and the flesh of a lamb mingled with it; under it bronze is laid, it hath bronze as a clothing upon it."

1.48

When the Pythian prophetess had uttered this oracle, the Lydians caused the prophecy to be written down, and went away at once to Sardis. And when the rest also who had been sent round were there arrived with the answers of the Oracles, then Croesus unfolded the writings one by one and looked upon them: and at first none of them pleased him, but when he heard that from Delphi, forthwith he did worship to the god and accepted the answer, judging that the Oracle at Delphi was the only true one, because it had found out what he himself had done.

For when he had sent to the several Oracles his messengers to consult the gods, keeping well in mind the appointed day he contrived the following device,— he thought of something which it would be impossible to discover or to conceive of, and cutting up a tortoise and a lamb he boiled them together himself in a caldron of bronze, laying a cover of bronze over them.

1.49

This then was the answer given to Croesus from Delphi; and as regards the answer of Amphiaraos, I cannot tell what he replied to the Lydians after they had done the things customary in his temple, for there is no record of this any more than of the others, except only that Croesus thought that he also possessed a true Oracle.

1.50

After this with great sacrifices he endeavoured to win the favour of the god at Delphi: for of all the animals that are fit for sacrifice he offered three thousand of each kind, and he heaped up couches overlaid with gold and overlaid with silver, and cups of gold, and robes of purple, and tunics, making of them a great pyre, and this he burnt up, hoping by these means the more to win over the god to the side of the Lydians; and he proclaimed to all the Lydians that every one of them should make sacrifice with that which each man had. And when he had finished the sacrifice, he melted down a vast quantity of gold, and of it he wrought half-plinths making them six palms in length and three in breadth, and in height one palm; and their number was one hundred and seventeen. Of these four were of pure gold weighing two talents and a half each, and others of gold alloyed with silver weighing two talents. And he caused to be made also an image of a lion of pure gold weighing ten talents; which lion, when the temple of Delphi was being burnt down, fell from off the half-plinths, for upon these it was set, and is placed now in the treasury of the Corinthians, weighing six talents and a half, for three talents and a half were melted away from it.

1.51

So Croesus having finished all these things sent them to Delphi, and with them these besides:— two mixing bowls of great size, one of gold and the other of silver, of which the golden bowl was placed on the right hand as one enters the temple,

vocabulary αἰδέομαι respect, be ashamed αἰχμή spear point ~acute ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina ἀργυροῦς silver ἀριστερός left-hand ἀρτοκόπος baker ἀτέλεια incompleteness, imperfection; exemption βασιλεύω be king γωνία corner, angle δειρή neck, throat, mane δωρέω give ∼donate εἴδωλον phantom, unreal image \sim wit εἰκών -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness εἴνατος ninth "Ελλην Greek **ἐμφορέω** carry in ~bear ἐντέλλω (mp) command έξακόσιοι 600 ἐξεύρημα invention, discovery ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπιγράφω scratch, graze \sim photograph ἐπιμιμνήσχομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπίσημον mark, badge ἐπίσημος marked, significant ἐύς good, brave, noble ζώνη girdle; waist, loins \sim zone η̃δομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism ήμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere ἡμιτάλαντον a measure of weight \sim hemisphere θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology θησαυρός treasury ~treasure ίστορέω inquire; relate

ἴστωρ referee, witness \sim wit κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic χυχλοτερής rounded (by wear) ∼cycle λόγχη spear point; lot μαντεῖον prophetic warning ~mantis μεταχινέω (ī) move; change μίν him, her, it μουναρχίη monarchy νηός temple, shrine ξυστός pole arm ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὐδαμός not anyone οὐδέτερος neither πάγχυ entirely πάθη passivity, suffering περιρραντήριον whisk, sprinkler Πέρσης Persian πίθος barrel, big jar ποδαβρός tender-footed πολυχρόνιος ancient; long-lived πολυψήφις (ī) pebbly πότε when? προεδρία pride of place προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect \sim legion προμαντηίη right of consulting an oracle first προσκτάομαι get, win as well δέω flow ~rheostat σταθμός cottage; post στατήρ -ος (m) pound; type of coin στερεός solid, firm ~stereo στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult \sim volunteer συντρέχω rush together συντυγχάνω fall in with; happen τρίπηχυς 3 cubits long ὑπερήδομαι rejoice greatly φροντίζω consider, ponder χεῦμα -τος (n, 3) plating χρηστηριάζω prophesy χρηστήριον oracle, response

χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) $% \left(\frac{1}{2}\right) =0$ χώρος place \sim heir \sim heir

notes

ἀτελείην: free of charge

ό δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὖτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρώ, έλκων σταθμὸν είνατον ήμιτάλαντον καὶ έτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας έξακοσίους ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεταί μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων είναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. άλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὖ τῆς χειρὸς ρέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἄμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα άργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς έωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

1.52

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πῶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πῶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχησι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῳ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

1.53

Τοΐσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον, ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν, οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες «Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ

ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾳ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.» οῖ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τώυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

1.54

Έπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἔκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσω καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην* καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένω αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

1.55

Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντείου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη, ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρῷ τάδε.

Άλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἔρμον φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακός εἶναι.

1.56

Τούτοισι έλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ήσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ

and the silver on the left, but the places of these also were changed after the temple was burnt down, and the golden bowl is now placed in the treasury of the people of Clazomenai, weighing eight and a half talents and twelve pounds over, while the silver one is placed in the corner of the vestibule and holds six hundred amphors (being filled with wine by the Delphians on the feast of the Theophania): this the people of Delphi say is the work of Theodoros the Samian, and, as I think, rightly, for it is evident to me that the workmanship is of no common kind: moreover Croesus sent four silver wine-jars, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and two vessels for lustral water, one of gold and the other of silver, of which the gold one is inscribed "from the Lacedemonians," who say that it is their offering: therein however they do not speak rightly; for this also is from Croesus, but one of the Delphians wrote the inscription upon it, desiring to gratify the Lacedemonians; and his name I know but will not make mention of it. The boy through whose hand the water flows is from the Lacedemonians, but neither of the vessels for lustral water. And many other votive offerings Croesus sent with these, not specially distinguished, among which are certain castings of silver of a round shape, and also a golden figure of a woman three cubits high, which the Delphians say is a statue of the baker of Croesus. Moreover Croesus dedicated the ornaments from his wife's neck and her girdles.

1.52

These are the things which he sent to Delphi; and to Amphiaraos, having heard of his valour and of his evil fate, he dedicated a shield made altogether of gold throughout, and a spear all of solid gold, the shaft being of gold also as well as the two points, which offerings were both remaining even to my time at Thebes in the temple of Ismenian Apollo.

1.53

To the Lydians who were to carry these gifts to the temples Croesus gave charge that they should ask the Oracles this question also,— whether Croesus should march against the Persians, and if so, whether he should join with himself any army of men as his friends. And when the Lydians had arrived at the places to which they had been sent and had dedicated the votive offerings, they inquired of the Oracles and said: "Croesus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, considering that these are the only true Oracles among men, presents to you gifts such as your revelations deserve, and asks you again now whether he shall march against the Persians, and if so, whether he shall join with himself any army of men as allies." They inquired thus, and the answers of both the Oracles agreed in one, declaring to Croesus that if he should march against the Persians he should destroy a great empire: and they counselled him to find out the most powerful of the Hellenes

and join these with himself as friends.

1.54

So when the answers were brought back and Croesus heard them, he was delighted with the oracles, and expecting that he would certainly destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent again to Pytho, and presented to the men of Delphi, having ascertained the number of them, two staters of gold for each man: and in for this the Delphians gave to Croesus and to the Lydians precedence in consulting the Oracle and freedom from all payments, and the right to front seats at the games, with this privilege also for all time, that any one of them who wished should be allowed to become a citizen of Delphi.

1.55

And having made presents to the men of Delphi, Croesus consulted the Oracle the third time; for from the time when he learnt the truth of the Oracle, he made abundant use of it. And consulting the Oracle he inquired whether his monarchy would endure for a long time. And the Pythian prophetess answered him thus:

"But when it cometh to pass that a mule of the Medes shall be monarch then by the pebbly Hermos, O Lydian delicate-footed, flee and stay not, and be not ashamed to be called a coward."

1.56

By these lines when they came to him Croesus was pleased more than by all the rest, for he supposed that a mule would never be ruler of the Medes instead of a man, and accordingly that he himself and his heirs would never cease from their rule. Then after this he gave thought to inquire which people of the Hellenes he should esteem the most powerful and gain over to

vocabulary ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποσχίζω sever ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch ἀσθενής weak ἀτρεκής precise, certain γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary δάω learn ∼didactic δηθεν strong form of δή διασπάω tear apart ~spatula διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal διαχραύω use; kill διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal δορυφόρος spear-brearing ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive ἐκχωρέω depart, back off, cede Έλλην Greek ἔμπλεος full of ~plethora ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐξαπατάω trick, cheat ~apatosaurus εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed ἐύς good, brave, noble ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals \sim zygote **ζέω** boil ∼eczema ἡμίονος (f) mule ∼hemisphere θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θέσμιος fixed, settled, lawful θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω ίδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman κάρτα very much ~κράτος

καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταφαίνω declare, make visible καταφρονέω scorn; think of κορύνη club, shepherd's staff κορυνηφόρος club-bearing **κρέας** -ως (n) meat ∼creatine χυρέω come upon, come up against λέβης -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin μακεδνός tall, high μεταβαίνω change the subject ~basis μεταβάλλω alter, transform μεταβολή change, exchange μεταλλάσσω change; exchange μεταμανθάνω unlearn, relearn μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it νέμω to allot, to pasture ∼nemesis ὁμόγλωσσος speaking the same language ὄμουρος bordering ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter οὐδαμῆ nowhere οὐδαμός not anyone οὔκω no longer παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn πάραλος seaside παρατυγχάνω happen to be present περιοιχέω dwell around πόλισμα buildings of a city πολυπλάνητος nomadic πότε when? προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be head of, guard ∼station προκρίνω (ī) choose first προσδοχάω expect προστάς vestibule, porch προσχωρέω go to, join, support στασιάζω revolt, be divided στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction

στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan στρατηγία office of command, strategy ~strategy συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer σύνοιχος fellow inhabitant συνταράσσω mess up συχνός long; many; extensive τεκμαίρομαι conclude, declare from evidence

τεχνοποιός begetting, bearing children τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τοιόσδε such τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny ὑπεράχριος beyond the heights ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic χαραχτήρ -ος (m) stamp; characteristic

notes

Πελασγικὸν: a vague name for the pre-Greek indigenes of Greece τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι: The narrative has jumped back to describe the bad omens preceding the birth of Peisistratus. Herodotus will now give the details of the partisan strife surrounding Peisistratus, returning eventually to Croesus's thread of the story.

Άθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἢν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν* τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῆ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὁλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

1.57

"Ηντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὕνομα μετέβαλε εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεὶ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἄμα τῆ μεταβολῆ τῆ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῆ.

1.58

Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἰεί κοτε τῆ αὐτῆ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐόν ἀσθενές, ἀπό σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῶ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν.

πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

1.59

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτη καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ ὁλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἰρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτεϊ πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δευτέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι.*

Οὔκων ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, δς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ήγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῶ λόγω τῶν ύπερακρίων προστάς μηχανάται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας έωυτόν τε καὶ ήμιόνους ήλασε ές τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἵ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακής τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρήσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῆ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίη, Νίσαιάν τε έλων καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς έδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ έγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες είποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὖτοι ἄμα Πεισιστράτω έσχον την ακρόπολιν. ένθα δη ό Πεισίστρατος ήρχε Άθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

himself as friends. And inquiring he found that the Lacedemonians and the Athenians had the pre-eminence, the first of the Dorian and the others of the Ionian race. For these were the most eminent races in ancient time, the second being a Pelasgian and the first a Hellenic race: and the one never migrated from its place in any direction, while the other was very exceedingly given to wanderings; for in the reign of Deucalion this race dwelt in Pthiotis, and in the time of Doros the son of Hellen in the land lying below Ossa and Olympos, which is called Histiaiotis; and when it was driven from Histiaiotis by the sons of Cadmos, it dwelt in Pindos and was called Makednian; and thence it moved afterwards to Dryopis, and from Dryopis it came finally to Peloponnesus, and began to be called Dorian.

1.57

What language however the Pelasgians used to speak I am not able with certainty to say. But if one must pronounce judging by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwelt in the city of Creston above the Tyrsenians, and who were once neighbours of the race now called Dorian, dwelling then in the land which is now called Thessaliotis, and also by those that remain of the Pelasgians who settled at Plakia and Skylake in the region of the Hellespont, who before that had been settlers with the Athenians, and of the natives of the various other towns which are really Pelasgian, though they have lost the name,— if one must pronounce judging by these, the Pelasgians used to speak a Barbarian language. If therefore all the Pelasgian race was such as these, then the Attic race, being Pelasgian, at the same time when it changed and became Hellenic, unlearnt also its language. For the people of Creston do not speak the same language with any of those who dwell about them, nor yet do the people of Phakia, but they speak the same language one as the other: and by this it is proved that they still keep unchanged the form of language which they brought with them when they migrated to these places.

1.58

As for the Hellenic race, it has used ever the same language, as I clearly perceive, since it first took its rise; but since the time when it parted off feeble at first from the Pelasgian race, setting forth from a small beginning it has increased to that great number of races which we see, and chiefly because many Barbarian races have been added to it besides. Moreover it is true, as I think, of the Pelasgian race also, that so far as it remained Barbarian it never made any great increase.

1.59

Of these races then Croesus was informed that the Athenian was held subject and torn with faction by Peisistratos the son of Hippocrates, who then was despot of

the Athenians. For to Hippocrates, when as a private citizen he went to view the Olympic games, a great marvel had occurred. After he had offered the sacrifice, the caldrons which were standing upon the hearth, full of pieces of flesh and of water, boiled without fire under them and ran over. And Chilon the Lacedemonian, who chanced to have been present and to have seen the marvel, advised Hippocrates first not to bring into his house a wife to bear him children, and secondly, if he happened to have one already, to dismiss her, and if he chanced to have a son, to disown him. When Chilon had thus recommended, Hippocrates, they say, was not willing to be persuaded, and so there was born to him afterwards this Peisistratos; who, when the Athenians of the shore were at feud with those of the plain, Megacles the son of Alcmaion being leader of the first faction, and Lycurgos the son of Aristolaïdes of that of the plain, aimed at the despotism for himself and gathered a third party. So then, after having collected supporters and called himself leader of the men of the mountain-lands, he contrived a device as follows:— he inflicted wounds upon himself and upon his mules, and then drove his car into the market-place, as if he had just escaped from his opponents, who, as he alleged, had desired to kill him when he was driving into the country: and he asked the commons that he might obtain some protection from them, for before this he had gained reputation in his command against the Megarians, during which he took Nisaia and performed other signal service. And the commons of the Athenians being deceived gave him those men chosen from the dwellers in the city who became not indeed the spear-men of Peisistratos but his club-men; for they followed behind him bearing wooden clubs. And these made insurrection with Peisistratos and obtained possession of the Acropolis. Then Peisistratos was ruler of the Athenians, not having disturbed the existing magistrates nor changed the ancient laws; but he administered the State under that constitution of things which was already established, ordering it fairly and well.

vocabulary ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute ἀνακτάομαι regain, revive; win over ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off ∼epilepsy ἄρμα -τος (n, 3) chariot ἀσπαστός gladly, with glad welcome βόλος cast (a net, dice) δάκτυλος finger, toe διαφοιτέω wander, cast about διαφύω grow between, intervene; be connected δίκτυον fishing net δόσις -εως (f) gift, loan \sim donate δωτίνη ($\bar{\iota}$) gift \sim donate ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer εἰσβιβάζω put aboard ἐκπετάζω spread out, be scattered έλευθερία freedom Έλλην Greek ἐναγής cursed, polluted ἐνάγω lead in/on; arraign ἐνδείχνυμι (ō) address, consider ένδέκατος eleventh ~decimal ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible ένθαῦτα there, here ἐντέλλω (mp) command έξάμετρος hexameter ἐξαρτύω (ō) train, equip έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic ἐπικηρυκεύω send a herald, ambassador εὐειδής good-looking ~wit εὐήθεια goodheartedness, silliness εὐήθης good-hearted; simple εὐπρεπής comely, decent; specious ἔχθοη hate ἠλίθιος idle, vain, foolish θύννος tuna ~tuna

ίστορέω inquire; relate ἴσχω restrain, hold back ∼ischemia κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατάγω lead down/home; land ~demagogue καταλλάσσω exchange; make up with κάτειμι go down, disembark ∼ion κάτοδος descent, return, cycle **κρύπτω** hide, cover ∼cryptic μέγαθος tall, big (person) μεταῦτις afterward, thereupon μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it μισθωτός hired, hireling νεηνίης young person νεόγαμος newlywed νυν now; so οἰμάω rush, spring, swoop ὁμολογίη agreement, consent οὔκω no longer πανοπλία suit of armor πανστρατιῆ with the whole army παράπαν completely περιελαύνω drive around πῆχυς forearm, cubit π ομ π ή a sending, expedition \sim pomp προαιδέομαι be obliged to προδείκνυμι (ō) show by example; foreshadow πρόδρομος running ahead $\pi \rho o \theta v \mu i \alpha$ (\bar{v}) zeal, alacrity \sim fume π ροπέμ π ω send, send ahead \sim pomp πρόσειμι approach, draw near ~ion προσεύχομαι pray, vow προσρέω stream in διζόω furnish with roots ~rhizome δίπτω hurl σεληναῖος moonlit σκευάζω prepare, collect σοφία skill; wisdom \sim sophistry στασιάζω revolt, be divided στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan

στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ~strategy συναλίζω collect; eat with σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion σχῆμα -τος (n, 3) form, figure τοιόσδε such τόνος pitch, stretching

τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic φάτις -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame χοησμολόγος prophesying χῶρος place ~heir

notes

τὸ ἄστυ: Athens

τῶν Ἀλχμεωνιδέων: his wife's family οὐ κατὰ νόμον: avoiding vaginal sex

 $\ddot{\eta}$ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί: Here $\ddot{\eta}$ refers to her mother, τῷ ἀνδρί to Megacles.

1.60

Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὢυτὸ φρονήσαντες οἵ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον ᾿Αθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὕκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε.

Οῖ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὖτις ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῆ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῆ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοισι Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῆ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὖτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε.

Έν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέι ἢν γυνὴ τῆ οὔνομα ἢν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἶόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,* προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες οῦ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε «ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀηθναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.» οῦ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

1.61

Άπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένω ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἶα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων

καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν ᾿Αλκμεωνιδέων,* οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον.* τὰ μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὺ φράζει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ἣ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί.* ὀργῇ δὲ ώς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἄμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἱππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἡγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἵτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέψυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον καὶ γὰρ ᾿Αργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

1.62

Έξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἴ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἡν ἀσπαστότερον. οὖτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, ἔως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἡγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ώς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον' ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ αὐτόν. καὶ οὖτοί τε πανστρατιῆ ἡισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἡισαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ, ἐς τῶυτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείη πομπῆ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ ἀμφίλυτος ὁ ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, ὅς οἱ προσιὼν χρᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρω τόνω τάδε λέγων'

« Ερριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.»

1.60

However, no long time after this the followers of Megacles and those of Lycurgos joined together and drove him forth. Thus Peisistratos had obtained possession of Athens for the first time, and thus he lost the power before he had it firmly rooted.

But those who had driven out Peisistratos became afterwards at feud with one another again. And Megacles, harassed by the party strife, sent a message to Peisistratos asking whether he was willing to have his daughter to wife on condition of becoming despot. And Peisistratos having accepted the proposal and made an agreement on these terms, they contrived with a view to his a device the most simple by far, as I think, that ever was practised, considering at least that it was devised at a time when the Hellenic race had been long marked off from the Barbarian as more skilful and further removed from foolish simplicity, and among the Athenians who are accounted the first of the Hellenes in ability. In the deme of Paiania there was a woman whose name was Phya, in height four cubits all but three fingers, and also fair of form. This woman they dressed in full armour and caused her to ascend a chariot and showed her the bearing in which she might best beseem her part, and so they drove to the city, having sent on heralds to run before them, who, when they arrived at the city, spoke that which had been commanded them, saying as follows: "O Athenians, receive with favour Peisistratos, whom Athene herself, honouring him most of all men, brings back to her Acropolis." So the heralds went about hither and thither saying this, and straightway there came to the demes in the country round a report that Athene was bringing Peisistratos back, while at the same time the men of the city, persuaded that the woman was the very goddess herself, were paying worship to the human creature and receiving Peisistratos.

1.61

So having received back the despotism in the manner which has been said, Peisistratos according to the agreement made with Megacles married the daughter of Megacles; but as he had already sons who were young men, and as the descendants of Alcmaion were said to be under a curse, therefore not desiring that children should be born to him from his newly-married wife, he had only nonvaginal sex with her. And at first the woman kept this secret, but afterwards she told her mother, whether in answer to her inquiry or not I cannot tell; and the mother told her husband Megacles. He then was very indignant that he should be dishonoured by Peisistratos; and in his anger straightway he proceeded to compose his quarrel with the men of his faction.

And when Peisistratos heard of that which was being done against himself, he departed wholly from the land and came to Eretria, where he took counsel together

with his sons: and the advice of Hippias having prevailed, that they should endeavour to win back the despotism, they began to gather gifts of money from those States which owed them obligations for favours received: and many contributed great sums, but the Thebans surpassed the rest in the giving of money. Then, not to make the story long, time elapsed and at last everything was prepared for their return. For certain Argives came as mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, and a man of Naxos had come to them of his own motion, whose name was Lygdamis, and showed very great zeal in providing both money and men.

1.62

So starting from Eretria after the lapse of ten years they ed back; and in Attica the first place of which they took possession was Marathon. While they were encamping here, their partisans from the city came to them, and also others flowed in from the various demes, to whom despotic rule was more welcome than freedom. So these were gathering themselves together; but the Athenians in the city, so long as Peisistratos was collecting the money, and afterwards when he took possession of Marathon, made no account of it; but when they heard that he was marching from Marathon towards the city, then they went to the rescue against him. These then were going in full force to fight against the returning exiles, and the forces of Peisistratos, as they went towards the city starting from Marathon, met them just when they came to the temple of Athene Pallenis, and there encamped opposite to them. Then moved by divine guidance there came into the presence of Peisistratos Amphilytos the Arcarnanian, a soothsayer, who approaching him uttered an oracle in hexameter verse, saying thus: "But now the cast hath been made and the net hath been widely extended, And in the night the tunnies will dart through the moon-lighted waters."

vocabulary ἀδελφιδέος -οῦ nephew άλίζω gather, assemble ἀναβιβάζω make to mount, promote ἀποκωλύω hinder from/from using ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ∼bear ἀποχράω suffice; abuse ἀπρόσμικτος isolated αὐτόθεν from that place βαλανηφάγος acorn-eating βασιλεύω be king διαμετρέω measure ~metric διασκεδάννυμι (ū) scatter, disperse δίζημαι seek ~zeal δίζω be in doubt \sim dilemma δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in ελλην Greek ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεάζω be inspired ἐντέλλω (mp) command ένωμοτία army division ἐξορύσσω dig out ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief ~demagogue ἐπίχουρος ally ~cereal ἐπιτεχνάομαι contrive ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow \sim trophy ἐπιτροπεύω administrate ἔποψις view over; oversight εὐθηνέω thrive εὐνομέομαι be well ordered εὐνομία good order or governance \sim nemesis εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed ἔφορος fair wind; guardian; hill ἡσυχία peace and quiet ιζω to seat ~sit καθαίρω clean κακόνομος ill-governed καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch,

overtake ∼epilepsy καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe καταφρονέω scorn; think of κατυπέρτερος having the upper hand χύβος cube, die λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μεγαίοω begrudge, be unwilling μεθίστημι change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ∼station μεταβάλλω alter, transform μεταφορέω transfer; change μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of νηός temple, shrine νόμιμος customary, legal, natural νυν now; so ὄμηρος insurance, hostage ὀρχέομαι dance οὔτις nobody, nothing παραβαίνω go with; transgress ~basis παραμένω stay with ~remain π ίων ($\bar{\iota}$) fat, rich, fertile \sim pine ποσσίχροτος kicked, kicking προπέμπω send, send ahead \sim pomp προσπταίω batter; be set back διζόω furnish with roots ∼rhizome σέβομαι feel shame, awe σοφός skilled, clever, wise στρατιά army ~strategy συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ∼epilepsy σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion σύνοδος meeting, conjunction συσσίτιον (τι) dining commons σχοῖνος rush, bed of rushes; rope, measuring line; 10 km τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τρέχω run, spin τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny χρηστηριάζω prophesy χρηστήριον oracle, response

χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) χῶρος place \sim heir \sim heir

notes

άλισθεῖεν: the Athenians

ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος: Here ἐπὶ = during the time of.

ἐπιτροπεύσαντα: being his guardian

ταῦτα: the political reforms

1.63

"Ο μὲν δή οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρῷ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβῶν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οῦ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οῦ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς 'Αθηναίους τρέπουσι.

Φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅκως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν* ἔτι οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν' ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οῖ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ.

1.64

Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν ᾿Αθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παΐδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμω καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ᾽ ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε ᾿Αθηνέων, ᾿Αθηναίων δὲ οῦ μὲν ἐν τῆ μάχη ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οῦ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ᾽ Ὑλλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίης.

1.65

Τοὺς μέν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ήδη τῷ πολέμω κατυπερτέρους

Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος* καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτη τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καί κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήιε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

«Ήκεις ὧ Λυκόοργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηόν Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὁλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι. δίζω ἤ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὧ Λυκόοργε.»

Οἳ μὲν δή τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα* Λεωβώτεω, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν έωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα.*

'Ως γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν' μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρός τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος.

1.66

Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρη ἀγαθῆ καὶ πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάση τῆ ἀρκάδων χωρῆ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε.

«Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίη βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν, οἵ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω· δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.»

Ταῦτα ώς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν

1.63

This oracle he uttered to him being divinely inspired, and Peisistratos, having understood the oracle and having said that he accepted the prophecy which was uttered, led his army against the enemy. Now the Athenians from the city were just at that time occupied with the morning meal, and some of them after their meal with games of dice or with sleep; and the forces of Peisistratos fell upon the Athenians and put them to flight.

Then as they fled, Peisistratos devised a very skilful counsel, to the end that the Athenians might not gather again into one body but might remain scattered abroad. He mounted his sons on horseback and sent them before him; and overtaking the fugitives they said that which was commanded them by Peisistratos, bidding them be of good cheer and that each man should depart to his own home.

1.64

Thus then the Athenians did, and so Peisistratos for the third time obtained possession of Athens, and he firmly rooted his despotism by many foreign mercenaries and by much revenue of money, coming partly from the land itself and partly from about the river Strymon, and also by taking as hostages the sons of those Athenians who had remained in the land and had not at once fled, and placing them in the hands of Naxos; for this also Peisistratos conquered by war and delivered into the charge of Lygdamis. Moreover besides this he cleansed the island of Delos in obedience to the oracles; and his cleansing was of the following kind:— so far as the view from the temple extended he dug up all the dead bodies which were buried in this part and removed them to another part of Delos. So Peisistratos was despot of the Athenians; but of the Athenians some had fallen in the battle, and others of them with the sons of Alcmaion were exiles from their native land.

1.65

Such was the condition of things which Croesus heard was prevailing among the Athenians during this time; but as to the Lacedemonians he heard that they had escaped from great evils and had now got the better of the Tegeans in the war. For when Leon and Hegesicles were kings of Sparta, the Lacedemonians, who had good success in all their other wars, suffered disaster in that alone which they waged against the men of Tegea. Moreover in the times before this they had the worst laws of almost all the Hellenes, both in matters which concerned themselves alone and also in that they had no dealings with strangers. And they made their change to a good constitution of laws thus:— Lycurgos, a man of the Spartans who was held in high repute, came to the Oracle at Delphi, and as he entered the sanctuary

of the temple, straightway the Pythian prophetess said as follows:

"Lo, thou art come, O Lycurgos, to this rich shrine of my temple, loved thou by Zeus and by all who possess the abodes of Olympos. Whether to call thee a god, I doubt, in my voices prophetic, god or a man, but rather a god I think, O Lycurgos."

1.66

Some say in addition to this that the Pythian prophetess also set forth to him the order of things which is now established for the Spartans; but the Lacedemonians themselves say that Lycurgos having become guardian of Leobotes his brother's son, who was king of the Spartans, brought in these things from Crete. For as soon as he became guardian, he changed all the prevailing laws, and took measures that they should not transgress his institutions: and after this Lycurgos established that which appertained to war, namely Enomoties and Triecads and Common Meals, and in addition to this the Ephors and the Senate.

Having changed thus, the Spartans had good laws; and to Lycurgos after he was dead they erected a temple, and they pay him great worship. So then, as might be supposed, with a fertile land and with no small number of men dwelling in it, they straightway shot up and became prosperous: and it was no longer sufficient for them to keep still; but presuming that they were superior in strength to the Arcadians, they consulted the Oracle at Delphi respecting conquest of the whole of Arcadia; and the Pythian prophetess gave answer thus:

"The land of Arcadia thou askest; thou askest me much; I refuse it; many there are in Arcadian land, stout men, eating acorns; these will prevent

vocabulary ἀγαθοεργός doing good $\dot{\alpha}\theta\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega$ toil \sim athlete **ἄχμων** -ονος (m, 3) anvil ἀλέα ἀλῆς an escape; warmth of the sun ∼swelter ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade άνευρίσκω discover ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀνορύσσω dig out ἀντίτυπος (adj) repelling; (noun) model, mold ἀπέγω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust αὐλέω play (blow, toot) αὐλή courtyard διαμετρέω measure ~metric διαπέμπω send out/over δίζημαι seek ~zeal εἰκάζω liken; conjecture ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐλινύω (ī) rest Έλλην Greek ἐννοέω consider ἐνοικίζω implant; (mp) move house to ἐντέλλω (mp) command έξανδραποδίζω enslave ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ∼ion ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic έξεύρεσις search, invention, discovery ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief ~demagogue ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπιτάρροθος (f) supporter ἐπιτυγχάνω meet, attain ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear έπτάπηχυς 7 cubits long ἐργασία work, business; guild έσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ἐύς good, brave, noble

ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θεοπρόπιον prophecy \sim theology θεοπρόπος seer \sim theology θηέομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θήκη chest, grave θωμα a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater ίλάσχομαι appease κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατύπερθεν above, from above κατυπέρτερος having the upper hand κίβδηλος bogus κρεμάννυμι (ō) hang λευρός smooth, level μετρέω measure, traverse ~metric μηδαμός no one μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired νηός temple, shrine ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρύσσω dig ὀστέον bone ∼osteoporosis **πεδάω** impede, chain ∼impede π έδη shackles \sim pedal περ emphatic particle; even though πημα -τος (n, 3) woe, bane ~penury πίσυνος trusting in, relying on (+dat) πλάζω make to wander \sim plankton πλάσσω form ~plaster πλαστός formed, plastic πνέω breathe, blow ∼apnea προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be head of, guard ∼station προσκαλέω call on, summon σίδηρος iron \sim siderite σορός (f) urn; coffin **σοφία** skill; wisdom ∼sophistry

συγχόω cover with dirt συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συμβολή encounter; contribution συμμαχία alliance συμφορά collecting; accident συνεχής (ā) continuously συντυχίη event, accident σφῦρα hammer; unit of land σχοῖνος rush, bed of rushes; rope, measuring line; 10 km σῶς safe, alive τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n)

astonishment τοιόσδε such τύπος mold, form ~type τύπτω beat, smite ~stupid φρέαρ well φῦσα bellows φυσάω (ō) blow, puff, blow out φυσίζους life-giving ~physics φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χαλκεύς -ος (m) smith χρησμός oracular response χρηστήριον oracle, response χῶρος place ~heir

notes

γενοίατο: plural

τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους: The thing that would accomplish that is ...

'Ορέστεω τοῦ Άγαμέμνονος: Orestes avenged his father Agamemnon's death. θεὸν: the oracle

ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τἢ συμβολῆ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὖται ἐν τῆσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς ἀλέης ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

1.67

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ήδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἑσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατὑπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο.* ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ ἀγαμέμνονος* ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους.* ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω ἔπεμπον αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν* ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

«Έστι τις Άρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται. ἔνθ' Άγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα, τὸν σὰ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.»

'Ως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὖ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

1.68

Τούτων ὧν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἢν ὀρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν, δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου «ἢ κου ἄν, ὧ ξεῖνε Λάκων

εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θώμα ποιεύμενος την έργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. έγὼ γὰρ έν τῆδε θέλων τη αὐλη φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἑπταπήχεϊ ύπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίης μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκεϊ ἴσον ἐόντα τῆ σορῷ. μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.» ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε, ὁ δὲ έννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν 'Ορέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῆδε συμβαλλόμενος τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὕρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τόν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ώς ἐπὶ κακῶ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην έφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοσσι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ έπενείκαντες οι αιτίην έδιωξαν. ο δε απικόμενος ες Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν έωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ έκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνω δὲ ώς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμω ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ην κατεστραμμένη.

1.69

Ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον «ἔπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἔλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὧν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι

thee from this: but I am not grudging towards thee; tegea beaten with sounding feet I will give thee to dance in, and a fair plain I will give thee to measure with line and divide it."

When the Lacedemonians heard report of this, they held off from the other Arcadians, and marched against the Tegeans with fetters in their hands, trusting to a deceitful oracle and expecting that they would make slaves of the men of Tegea. But having been worsted in the encounter, those of them who were taken alive worked wearing the fetters which they themselves brought with them and having "measured with line and divided" the plain of the Tegeans. And these fetters with which they had been bound were preserved even to my own time at Tegea, hanging about the temple of Athene Alea.

1.67

In the former war then I say they struggled against the Tegeans continually with ill success; but in the time of Croesus and in the reign of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Lacedemon the Spartans had at length become victors in the war; and they became so in the following manner:— As they continued to be always worsted in the war by the men of Tegea, they sent messengers to consult the Oracle at Delphi and inquired what god they should propitiate in order to get the better of the men of Tegea in the war: and the Pythian prophetess made answer to them that they should bring into their land the bones of Orestes the son of Agamemnon. Then as they were not able to find the grave of Orestes, they sent men again to go to the god and to inquire about the spot where Orestes was laid: and when the messengers who were sent asked this, the prophetess said as follows:

"Tegea there is, in Arcadian land, in a smooth place founded; where there do blow two blasts by strong compulsion together; stroke too there is and stroke in, and trouble on trouble. there Agamemnon's son in the life-giving earth is reposing; him if thou bring with thee home, of Tegea thou shalt be master."

When the Lacedemonians had heard this they were none the less far from finding it out, though they searched all places; until the time that Lichas, one of those Spartans who are called "Well-doers," discovered it. Now the "Well-doers" are of the citizens the eldest who are passing from the ranks of the "Horsemen," in each year five; and these are bound during that year in which they pass out from the "Horsemen," to allow themselves to be sent without ceasing to various places by the Spartan State.

1.68

Lichas then, being one of these, discovered it in Tegea by means both of fortune

and ability. For as there were at that time dealings under truce with the men of Tegea, he had come to a forge there and was looking at iron being wrought; and he was in wonder as he saw that which was being done. The smith therefore, perceiving that he marvelled at it, ceased from his work and said: "Surely, thou stranger of Lacedemon, if thou hadst seen that which I once saw, thou wouldst have marvelled much, since now it falls out that thou dost marvel so greatly at the working of this iron; for I, desiring in this enclosure to make a well, lighted in my digging upon a coffin of seven cubits in length; and not believing that ever there had been men larger than those of the present day, I opened it, and I saw that the dead body was equal in length to the coffin: then after I had measured it, I filled in the earth over it again." He then thus told him of that which he had seen; and the other, having thought upon that which was told, conjectured that this was Orestes according to the saying of the Oracle, forming his conjecture in the following manner:— whereas he saw that the smith had two pairs of bellows, he concluded that these were the winds spoken of, and that the anvil and the hammer were the stroke and the stroke in, and that the iron which was being wrought was the trouble laid upon trouble, making comparison by the thought that iron has been discovered for the evil of mankind.

Having thus conjectured he came back to Sparta and declared the whole matter to the Lacedemonians; and they brought a charge against him on a fictitious pretext and drove him out into exile. So having come to Tegea, he told the smith of his evil fortune and endeavoured to hire from him the enclosure, but at first he would not allow him to have it: at length however Lichas persuaded him and he took up his abode there; and he dug up the grave and gathered together the bones and went with them away to Sparta. From that time, whenever they made trial of one another, the Lacedemonians had much the advantage in the war; and by now they had subdued to themselves the greater part of Peloponnesus besides.

1.69

Croesus accordingly being informed of all these things was sending messengers to Sparta with gifts in their hands to ask for an alliance, having commanded them what they ought to say: and they when they came said: "Croesus king of the Lydians and also of other nations sent us hither and saith as follows: O Lacedemonians, whereas the god by an oracle bade me join with myself the Hellene as a friend, therefore, since I am informed that ye are the chiefs of Hellas, I invite you according to the oracle, desiring to be your friend

vocabulary άβρός graceful, delicate, pretty ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora ἀναισιμόω spend, use up ἀναξυρίδες Persian pants ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀντιδίδωμι repay, exchange ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise \sim angel ἀπάτη trick, fraud, deceit ~apatosaurus ἄπιξις arrival ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀπωστός driven away, able to be αὐχήν -ένος (m, 3) neck ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γαμβρός son-in-law, brother-in-law ~bigamy γεύω taste ~gusto διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal διφάσιος of two kinds δόλος trick, bait δολόω trick, trap, disguise δωτίνη ($\bar{\iota}$) gift \sim donate εἴλω pack, press, drive ~helix ελλην Greek ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart \sim thesis ἔξωθεν from outside ἐπικηρυκεύω send a herald, ambassador

ἐσθής clothes ∼vest

έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled εὐεργεσία good deed, public service ~ergonomics εὔζωνος well-girded ~zone ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐώνυμος honored; left-hand ζώδιον statuette; sign of the Zodiac ηδομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology ίδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman ίδρύω establish ἴμερος (t) desire, inclination (+gen) **καθαιρέω** take down, close ∼heresy κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατήκοος hearing; obedient κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine μέγαθος tall, big (person) μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νυν now; so ξείνιος of hospitality ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιέχω (mid) protect Πέρσης Persian πίσυνος trusting in, relying on (+dat) πρίαμαι buy προκρίνω (τ) choose first προσδοχάω expect προσκτάομαι get, win as well $\dot{\rho}$ έω flow ~rheostat $\dot{\rho}$ οά pl: waters of a river \sim rheostat δόος δοῦ stream, flow, current \sim rheostat σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σχύτινος (ō) of leather σοφός skilled, clever, wise στρατηίη expedition, campaign σῦχον fig

συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult

 \sim volunteer

συμμαχία alliance

τίνω ($\bar{\iota}$) pay, atone for; (mp) punish

τίω value, honor; mp: exact

recompense for

τριηχόσιοι three hundred

τρώγω nibble, crop

ὑδροποτέω drink water

ύστερέω lag, be too late, fail

φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry

 \sim bear

χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip

χοησμός oracular response

χρηστήριον oracle, response

χουσός (ō) gold

χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)

 \sim heir

ἀνέομαι buy

καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.» Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσω γενόμενον ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ἀνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἵδρυται ἀπόλλωνος Κροῖσος δέ σφι ἀνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

1.70

Τούτων τε ὧν εἴνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθεϊ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσω. οὖτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῆσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἡλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμω, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναί μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μέν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

1.71

Κροῖσος δὲ άμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε

Κροίσω τάδε· οὔνομά οἱ ἢν Σάνδανις. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεαι, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ύδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δή, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἢν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μέν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς.» ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσησι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἢν οὕτε ἀβρὸν οὕτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

1.72

Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται ἢσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὖτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρον. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἢν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ ᾿Αρμενίου ὅρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῆ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς ᾿Ασίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὕξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὖτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἁπάσης μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνω ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

1.73

Έστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἴνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ ᾿Αστυάγεος Κῦρον. ᾿Αστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη

and your ally apart from all guile and deceit." Thus did Croesus announce to the Lacedemonians through his messengers; and the Lacedemonians, who themselves also had heard of the oracle given to Croesus, were pleased at the coming of the Lydians and exchanged oaths of friendship and alliance: for they were bound to Croesus also by some services rendered to them even before this time; since the Lacedemonians had sent to Sardis and were buying gold there with purpose of using it for the image of Apollo which is now set up on Mount Thornax in the Lacedemonian land; and Croesus, when they desired to buy it, gave it them as a gift.

1.70

For this reason therefore the Lacedemonians accepted the alliance, and also because he chose them as his friends, preferring them to all the other Hellenes. And not only were they ready themselves when he made his offer, but they caused a mixing-bowl to be made of bronze, covered outside with figures round the rim and of such a size as to hold three hundred amphors, and this they conveyed, desiring to give it as a gift in to Croesus.

This bowl never came to Sardis for reasons of which two accounts are given as follows:— The Lacedemonians say that when the bowl was on its way to Sardis and came opposite the land of Samos, the men of Samos having heard of it sailed out with ships of war and took it away; but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedemonians who were conveying the bowl, finding that they were too late and hearing that Sardis had been taken and Croesus was a prisoner, sold the bowl in Samos, and certain private persons bought it and dedicated it as a votive offering in the temple of Hera; and probably those who had sold it would say when they returned to Sparta that it had been taken from them by the Samians.

1.71

Thus then it happened about the mixing-bowl: but meanwhile Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, was making a march into Cappadokia, expecting to overthrow Cyrus and the power of the Persians: and while Croesus was preparing to march against the Persians, one of the Lydians, who even before this time was thought to be a wise man but in consequence of this opinion got a very great name for wisdom among the Lydians, had advised Croesus as follows (the name of the man was Sandanis):—"O king, thou art preparing to march against men who wear breeches of leather, and the rest of their clothing is of leather also; and they eat food not such as they desire but such as they can obtain, dwelling in a land which is rugged; and moreover they make no use of wine but drink water; and no figs have they for dessert, nor any other good thing. On the one hand, if thou shalt

overcome them, what wilt thou take away from them, seeing they have nothing? and on the other hand, if thou shalt be overcome, consider how many good things thou wilt lose; for once having tasted our good things, they will cling to them fast and it will not be possible to drive them away. I for my own part feel gratitude to the gods that they do not put it into the minds of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Thus he spoke not persuading Croesus: for it is true indeed that the Persians before they subdued the Lydians had no luxury nor any good thing.

1.72

Now the Cappadokians are called by the Hellenes Syrians; and these Syrians, before the Persians had rule, were subjects of the Medes, but at this time they were subjects of Cyrus. For the boundary between the Median empire and the Lydian was the river Halys; and this flows from the mountain-land of Armenia through the Kilikians, and afterwards, as it flows, it has the Matienians on the right hand and the Phrygians on the other side; then passing by these and flowing up towards the North Wind, it bounds on the one side the Cappadokian Syrians and on the left hand the Paphlagonians. Thus the river Halys cuts off from the rest almost all the lower parts of Asia by a line extending from the sea that is opposite Cyprus to the Euxine. And this tract is the neck of the whole peninsula, the distance of the journey being such that five days are spent on the way by a man without encumbrance.

1.73

Now for the following reasons Croesus was marching into Cappadokia:— first because he desired to acquire the land in addition to his own possessions, and then especially because he had confidence in the oracle and wished to take vengeance on Cyrus for Astyages. For Cyrus the son of Cambyses had conquered Astyages and was keeping him in captivity, who was brother by marriage to Croesus and king of the Medes: and he had become the brother by marriage of Croesus in this manner:—

A horde of the nomad Scythians

vocabulary ἄγρα hunting, prey ἀεικία -είας disfiguring; unseemliness \sim icon ἄκρος at the edge, extreme \sim acute ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀναλείχω lick up ἀνάξιος unworthy, undeserved ἀνδραποδίζω enslave ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning ἀποξηραίνω dry up ἀπορέω be confused, distressed άριστερός left-hand ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning \sim oligarch βραχίων -ονος (m, 3) upper arm, shoulder **γάμος** wedding, sex ∼bigamy γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary δαιτυμών -όνος (m, 3) dinner guest \sim demon $\delta \acute{\alpha} \omega$ learn \sim didactic δήθεν strong form of δή διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαβατός crossable, fordable διαβιβάζω carry over διαδέχομαι be next, succeed ~doctrine διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκμανθάνω know by heart ἕκτος sixth ∼hexagon ἐκτρέπω turn aside ελλην Greek ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐξαιτέω demand ∼etiology ἐξαπίνης suddenly ἐπαλλαγή dovetailing, overlapping

ἐπιμέμφομαι blame ἐπιτέμνω cut into; shorten ἐύς good, brave, noble ίδρύω establish ίκέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατακόπτω cut down, shatter καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κενός empty, vain κίβδηλος bogus κλῆρος lot; farm, inheritance; clergy \sim clergy κληρόω cast lots, assign **κρέας** -ως (n) meat ∼creatine κῶας κώως (n, 3) fleece μεταβολή change, exchange μεταλλαγή a change; exchange μηνοειδής crescent-shaped νοστέω go home νυκτομαχία night battle νῶτον back of the body; rear of an army; top of a box νῶτος back of the body; rear of an army; top of a box ὁμόχροια sameness of color; smoothness of skin ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ὄρος boundary marker ∼horizon ὀρύσσω dig οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba παράπαν completely πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web πατέομαι eat, drink ~pastor περ emphatic particle; even though περιέπω treat, handle Πέρσης Persian προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προσδοχάω expect προσίημι be allowed near

 π ροτίθημι set before \sim thesis ὁεῖθρον stream ∼rheostat ὁέω flow ~rheostat σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark \sim semaphore σχευάζω prepare, collect σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry ~repudiate στασιάζω revolt, be divided στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign ~strategy σύμβασις -τος (f) agreement; coinciding συμβιβάζω put together; infer

συμβολή encounter; contribution συμμένω hold together; hold to an agreement συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree ∼bear σχίζω split \sim schism τέχνη craft, art, plan, contrivance \sim technology τραχύς $(\bar{\alpha})$ rough \sim trachea τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler ὑπεξέρχομαι get out, escape φθείρω destroy, ruin φοιτέω go back and forth χρησμός oracular response χρηστήριον oracle, response ώθέω push

άνδρων στασιάσασα ύπεξηλθε ές γην την Μηδικήν έτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω, δς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὡς ἐόντας ἱκέτας ὁ ὥστε δὲ περί πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐτούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεί τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε έλειν σφεας μηδέν νοστήσαντας δε αὐτοὺς κεινῆσι χερσὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ένα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ώς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Άλυάττεω ίκέται έγένοντο.

1.74

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῷ ἔτεϊ συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆ ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή, οἱ δὲ Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἵδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὖτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀρύνιν ἀστυάγεϊ τῶ

Κυαξάρεω παιδί άνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὅρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἔλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

1.75

Τοῦτον δὴ ὧν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος έσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν έγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια έπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, έλπίσας πρὸς έωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροίσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ό Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῶ στρατοπέδω ποιήσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν έξ ἀριστερής χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου άρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ίδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα έκτραπόμενος έκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ρεέθρων, καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι ι ιστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρη διαβατὸς ἐγένετο, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

1.76

Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κῃ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο,

at feud with the rest withdrew and sought refuge in the land of the Medes: and at this time the ruler of the Medes was Kyaxares the son of Phraortes, the son of Deïokes, who at first dealt well with these Scythians, being suppliants for his protection; and esteeming them very highly he delivered boys to them to learn their speech and the art of shooting with the bow. Then time went by, and the Scythians used to go out continually to the chase and always brought back something; till once it happened that they took nothing, and when they returned with empty hands Kyaxares (being, as he showed on this occasion, not of an eminently good disposition) dealt with them very harshly and used insult towards them. And they, when they had received this treatment from Kyaxares, considering that they had suffered indignity, planned to kill and to cut up one of the boys who were being instructed among them, and having dressed his flesh as they had been wont to dress the wild animals, to bear it to Kyaxares and give it to him, pretending that it was game taken in hunting; and when they had given it, their design was to make their way as quickly as possible to Alyattes the son of Sadyattes at Sardis. This then was done; and Kyaxares with the guests who ate at his table tasted of that meat, and the Scythians having so done became suppliants for the protection of Alyattes.

1.74

After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians when Kyaxares demanded them, there had arisen war between the Lydians and the Medes lasting five years; in which years the Medes often discomfited the Lydians and the Lydians often discomfited the Medes (and among others they fought also a battle by night): and as they still carried on the war with equally balanced fortune, in the sixth year a battle took place in which it happened, when the fight had begun, that suddenly the day became night. And this change of the day Thales the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians laying down as a limit this very year in which the change took place.

The Lydians however and the Medes, when they saw that it had become night instead of day, ceased from their fighting and were much more eager both of them that peace should be made between them. And they who brought about the peace between them were Syennesis the Kilikian and Labynetos the Babylonian: these were they who urged also the taking of the oath by them, and they brought about an interchange of marriages; for they decided that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages the son of Kyaxares, seeing that without the compulsion of a strong tie agreements are apt not to hold strongly together. Now these nations observe the same ceremonies in taking oaths as the Hellenes, and in addition to them they make incision into the skin of their arms, and then lick up the blood each of the other.

1.75

This Astyages then, being his mother's father, Cyrus had conquered and made prisoner for a reason which I shall declare in the history which comes after. This then was the complaint which Croesus had against Cyrus when he sent to the Oracles to ask if he should march against the Persians; and when a deceitful answer had come back to him, he marched into the dominion of the Persians. supposing that the answer was favourable to himself. And when Croesus came to the river Halys, then, according to my account, he passed his army across by the bridges which there were; but, according to the account which prevails among the Hellenes, Thales the Milesian enabled him to pass his army across. For, say they, when Croesus was at a loss how his army should pass over the river (since, they add, there were not yet at that time the bridges which now there are), Thales being present in the army caused the river, which flowed then on the left hand of the army, to flow partly also on the right; and he did it thus:— beginning above the camp he proceeded to dig a deep channel, directing it in the form of a crescent moon, so that the river might take the camp there pitched in the rear, being turned aside from its ancient course by this way along the channel, and afterwards passing by the camp might fall again into its ancient course; so that as soon as the river was thus parted in two it became fordable by both branches: and some say even that the ancient course of the river was altogether dried up. But this tale I do not admit as true, for how then did they pass over the river as they went back?

1.76

And Croesus, when he had passed over with his army, came to that place in Cappadokia which is called Pteria (now Pteria is the strongest place in this country, and is situated somewhere about in a line with the city of Sinope on the Euxine). Here he encamped and ravaged the fields of the Syrians. Moreover he took the city of the Pterians, and sold the people into slavery, and he took also all the towns that

vocabulary ἀγείρω gather ~agora ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself άλίζω gather, assemble άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made ~Alexander ἀλλόθροος speaking an alien tongue ἀναπλόω unfold; explain; simplify ἀναπλώω sail up, through ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined άναστατόω unsettle, upset ἀντιόω meet, fight, join ἀντιστρατοπεδεύω encamp against ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise \sim angel ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ∼pierce ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy βασιλεύω be king διασκεδάννυμι (Ū) scatter, disperse διίστημι stand apart ~stand ἔαρ -oς (n) spring (season) ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth \sim genus ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐμπίμπλημι fill with ένθαῦτα there, here ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic έξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe \sim hegemony ἐξηγητής -οῦ (m, 1) leader, expounder ἔπηλυς strange, foreign ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over ἐπιχώριος native θεοπρόπος seer ~theology ίππεύω ride κάμηλος (f) camel καρτερός strong, staunch καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced καταροωδέω fear, dread

καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατεσθίω devour ∼eat **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off μέμφομαι blame; reject μεταξύ between μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp νέμω to allot, to pasture \sim nemesis νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νομή pasture; distribution νυν now; so ὄρχιον oath ∼orc οὐδαμός not anyone οὐδέτερος neither ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian παραπλήσιος similar to πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon περ emphatic particle; even though περιοιχίς -δος (f) neighboring, suburban Πέρσης Persian προάστειον suburb προσδόχιμος expected ὁέω flow ~rheostat $\dot{\delta}$ ητός stated, agreed on ~rhetoric $\dot{\phi}$ οά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat ρόος ροῦ stream, flow, current \sim rheostat σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σιτοφόρος (ī) carrying, producing σκευοφόρος pack animal, porter στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army ~strategy στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic

συμαχία alliance συνέρχομαι come together συρρήγνυμι (υῦ) break down the strength of τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed \sim tachometer τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish τοιόσδε such τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler ὑποχρίνομαι ($\bar{\iota}$) answer; pretend

ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise \sim hypothesis ὑστεραῖος the next; later φοιτέω go back and forth φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry \sim bear χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir ψιλός (i) naked, bare \sim epsilon

είλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἠντιοῦτο Κροίσω. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὁρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἰωνες μέν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσω, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῆ Πτερίῃ χωρῆ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτω ἠγωνίσατο.

1.77

Κροΐσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πληθος τὸ έωντοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθείς, ώς τῆ ὑστεραίη οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἐν νόω ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ή περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, έτυράννευε δε τον χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), έπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν άλίσας τε δή τούτους καὶ τὴν έωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμώνα παρείς, ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ές πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ές Σάρδις τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπεὶς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος ούτω παραπλησίως Κύρος έλάση έπι Σάρδις.

1.78

Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὤσπερ καὶ ἦν ἔδοξε τέρας

εἶναι αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἥλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παίδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μέν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἶδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

1.79

Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῆ Πτερίη, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἶ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἢν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασίη οὕτε ἀνδρηιότερον οὕτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἢν ἀπ᾽ ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἢσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

1.80

Ές τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἔρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὅρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἡρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ εἴποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἁλίσας

lay about it; and the Syrians, who were not guilty of any wrong, he forced to remove from their homes.

Meanwhile Cyrus, having gathered his own forces and having taken up in addition to them all who dwelt in the region between, was coming to meet Croesus. Before he began however to lead forth his army, he had sent heralds to the Ionians and tried to induce them to revolt from Croesus; but the Ionians would not do as he said. Then when Cyrus was come and had encamped over against Croesus, they made trial of one another by force of arms in the land of Pteria: and after hard fighting, when many had fallen on both sides, at length, night having come on, they parted from one the other with no victory on either side.

1.77

Thus the two armies contended with one another: and Croesus being ill satisfied with his own army in respect of number (for the army which he had when he fought was far smaller than that of Cyrus), being dissatisfied with it I say on this account, as Cyrus did not attempt to advance against him on the following day, marched back to Sardis, having it in his mind to call the Egyptians to his help according to the oath which they had taken (for he had made an alliance with Amasis king of Egypt before he made the alliance with the Lacedemonians), and to summon the Babylonians as well (for with these also an alliance had been concluded by him, Labynetos being at that time ruler of the Babylonians), and moreover to send a message to the Lacedemonians bidding them appear at a fixed time: and then after he had got all these together and had gathered his own army, his design was to let the winter go by and at the coming of spring to march against the Persians. So with these thoughts in his mind, as soon as he came to Sardis he proceeded to send heralds to his several allies to give them notice that by the fifth month from that time they should assemble at Sardis: but the army which he had with him and which had fought with the Persians, an army which consisted of mercenary troops, he let go and disbanded altogether, never expecting that Cyrus, after having contended against him with such even fortune, would after all march upon Sardis.

1.78

When Croesus had these plans in his mind, the suburb of the city became of a sudden all full of serpents; and when these had appeared, the horses leaving off to feed in their pastures came constantly thither and devoured them. When Croesus saw this he deemed it to be a portent, as indeed it was: and forthwith he despatched messengers to the dwelling of the Telmessians, who interpret omens: and the messengers who were sent to consult arrived there and learnt from the

Telmessians what the portent meant to signify, but they did not succeed in reporting the answer to Croesus, for before they sailed back to Sardis Croesus had been taken prisoner. The Telmessians however gave decision thus: that an army speaking a foreign tongue was to be looked for by Croesus to invade his land, and that this when it came would subdue the native inhabitants; for they said that the serpent was born of the soil, while the horse was an enemy and a stranger. The men of Telmessos thus made answer to Croesus after he was already taken prisoner, not knowing as yet anything of the things which had happened to Sardis and to Croesus himself.

1.79

Cyrus, however, so soon as Croesus marched away after the battle which had been fought in Pteria, having learnt that Croesus meant after he had marched away to disband his army, took counsel with himself and concluded that it was good for him to march as quickly as possible to Sardis, before the power of the Lydians should be again gathered together. So when he had resolved upon this, he did it without delay: for he marched his army into Lydia with such speed that he was himself the first to announce his coming to Croesus. Then Croesus, although he had come to a great strait, since his affairs had fallen out altogether contrary to his own expectation, yet proceeded to lead forth the Lydians into battle. Now there was at this time no nation in Asia more courageous or more stout in battle than the Lydian; and they fought on horseback carrying long spears, the men being excellent in horsemanship.

1.80

So when the armies had met in that plain which is in front of the city of Sardis,— a plain wide and open, through which flow rivers (and especially the river Hyllos) all rushing down to join the largest called Hermos, which flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother surnamed "of Dindymos" and runs out into the sea by the city of Phocaia,— then Cyrus, when he saw the Lydians being arrayed for battle, fearing their horsemen, did on the suggestion of Harpagos a Mede as follows:— all the camels which were in the train of his army carrying provisions and baggage he gathered together, and

vocabulary ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself αἰσχύνω (ō) spoil, disgrace, disfigure, mar ἀναστρέφω act: overturn; mid: find oneself in ~atrophy ἀνασώζω rescue, recover ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποθρώσκω jump off of ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy ἄχθος -εος (n, 3) burden ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable δειλός wretched, poor, cowardly \sim Deimos διαπέμπω send out/over διατάσσω arrange, array ἐμποδών getting in the way ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block ἐνστέλλω dress in έξαχόσιοι 600 ἐπανάγκης (impers) it is compulsory ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἑσπέρα evening, west έσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ἐύς good, brave, noble ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent θέω run, run for ίδέα ίδῆς semblance; kind, style ίππάς riding coat; order of knights ίππικός of horses ∼hippo ἰσοπαλής competing equally; equivalent ἰσόπαλος competing equally; equivalent κάμηλος (f) camel καταίρω swoop; land

κατακείοω ravage, pillage κατάρα curse καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough κατειλέω coop up χομάω have long hair **χόμη** hair ∼comet λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen μίν him, her, it νυν now: so **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ὁπότερος which of two, either of two ὀσμή smell ∼osmium, odor ὀσφραίνομαι catch scent of παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παραμένω stay with ~remain πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain \sim genus Πέρσης Persian πολιορχία siege προστάσσω post at, attach to, command προσφορέω bring to, in σχευάζω prepare, collect σοφίζω be clever, tricky στολή equipment στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ∼epilepsy συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συλλοχίτης -ου (ī, m, 1) comrade, unit-mate συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμμαχία alliance συμπίπτω fall together, happen σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion συνέρχομαι come together συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis

σφέτερος their τριηχόσιοι three hundred ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind \sim eclipse φείδομαι spare, not use/harm \sim aphid

χρυσοφορέω (v) wear gold χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir χώρος place \sim heir

καὶ ἀπελων τὰ ἄχθεα ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ένεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προϊέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῆ δὲ καμήλω ἔπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ώς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μή φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἢν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὀδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὧν τούτου είνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῶ Κροίσω ἄχρηστον ἢ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῶ δή τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ώς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὤσφροντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ είδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνω δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οί Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

1.81

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

1.82

Ές τε δὴ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς ᾿Αργείους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐοῦσα τῆς ᾿Αργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ

καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῆ ήπείρω χώρη καὶ ή Κυθηρίη νήσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῆ σφετέρη ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ες λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους έκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, όκότεροι δ' αν περιγένωνται, τούτων είναι τον χῶρον' τὸ δὲ πληθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν έωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μή παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρῶντες οἱ ἔτεροι ἑσσουμένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ έκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Άργείων μὲν Άλκήνωρ τε καὶ Χρομίος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ 'Οθρυάδης' ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὖτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 'Οθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς 'Αργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῆ τάξι εἶχε έωυτόν, ήμέρη δε δευτέρη παρήσαν πυνθανόμενοι άμφότεροι, τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς. τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ άμφοτέρων πολλών ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Άργεῖοι μέν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Άργείων μηδένα, μηδέ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων 'Οθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον άπονοστέειν ές Σπάρτην των οί συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν έν τησι Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι έωυτόν.

1.83

Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἧκε ὁ

he took off their burdens and set men upon them provided with the equipment of cavalry: and having thus furnished them forth he appointed them to go in front of the rest of the army towards the horsemen of Croesus; and after the camel-troop he ordered the infantry to follow; and behind the infantry he placed his whole force of cavalry. Then when all his men had been placed in their several positions, he charged them to spare none of the other Lydians, slaying all who might come in their way, but Croesus himself they were not to slay, not even if he should make resistance when he was captured. Such was his charge: and he set the camels opposite the horsemen for this reason,— because the horse has a fear of the camel and cannot endure either to see his form or to scent his smell: for this reason then the trick had been devised, in order that the cavalry of Croesus might be useless, that very force wherewith the Lydian king was expecting most to shine. And as they were coming together to the battle, so soon as the horses scented the camels and saw them they turned away back, and the hopes of Croesus were at once brought to nought. The Lydians however for their part did not upon that act as cowards, but when they perceived what was coming to pass they leapt from their horses and fought with the Persians on foot. At length, however, when many had fallen on either side, the Lydians turned to flight; and having been driven within the wall of their fortress they were besieged by the Persians.

1.81

By these then a siege had been established: but Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, proceeded to send from the fortress other messengers to his allies. For the former messengers were sent round to give notice that they should assemble at Sardis by the fifth month, but these he was sending out to ask them to come to his assistance as quickly as possible, because Croesus was being besieged.

1.82

So then in sending to his other allies he sent also to Lacedemon. But these too, the Spartans I mean, had themselves at this very time (for so it had fallen out) a quarrel in hand with the Argives about the district called Thyrea. For this Thyrea, being part of the Argive possessions, the Lacedemonians had cut off and taken for themselves. Now the whole region towards the west extending as far down as Malea was then possessed by the Argives, both the parts situated on the mainland and also the island of Kythera with the other islands. And when the Argives had come to the rescue to save their territory from being cut off from them, then the two sides came to a parley together and agreed that three hundred should fight of each side, and whichever side had the better in the fight that nation should possess the disputed land: they agreed moreover that the main body of each army should withdraw to their own country, and not stand by while the contest was

fought, for fear lest, if the armies were present, one side seeing their countrymen suffering defeat should come up to their support. Having made this agreement they withdrew; and chosen men of both sides were left behind and engaged in fight with one another. So they fought and proved themselves to be equally matched; and there were left at last of six hundred men three, on the side of the Argives Alkenor and Chromios, and on the side of the Lacedemonians Othryades: these were left alive when night came on. So then the two men of the Argives, supposing that they were the victors, set off to run to Argos, but the Lacedemonian Othryades, after having stripped the corpses of the Argives and carried their arms to his own camp, remained in his place. On the next day both the two sides came thither to inquire about the result; and for some time both claimed the victory for themselves, the one side saying that of them more had remained alive, and the others declaring that these had fled away, whereas their own man had stood his ground and had stripped the corpses of the other party: and at length by reason of this dispute they fell upon one another and began to fight; and after many had fallen on both sides, the Lacedemonians were the victors. The Argives then cut their hair short, whereas formerly they were compelled by law to wear it long, and they made a law with a curse attached to it, that from that time forth no man of the Argives should grow the hair long nor their women wear ornaments of gold, until they should have won back Thyrea. The Lacedemonians however laid down for themselves the opposite law to this, namely that they should wear long hair from that time forward, whereas before that time they had not their hair long. And they say that the one man who was left alive of the three hundred, namely Othryades, being ashamed to to Sparta when all his comrades had been slain, slew himself there in Thyrea.

1.83

Such was the condition of things at Sparta when the herald from Sardis arrived asking them

vocabulary ἀγγελία message, news ~angel ἀκροθίνιον first-fruit sacrifice; the best ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute άλίσκομαι be captured ~helix ἄμαχος unconquerable; noncombatant ἀμφίς around, apart from ἀναβιβάζω make to mount, promote ἀνάλωτος impregnable ἀναστενάζω groan ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear ἄνολβος unfortunate, wretched ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning ἀπότομος cut off; severe ἄσημος not marked; unclear αὐδάω speak, declare, shout \sim Theravada ἄφωνος voiceless δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom \sim demon δέος fear ∼Deimos διαπέμπω send out/over δικάζω judge δίς twice ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπιεικής fitting ~icon ἐπικαλέω call upon ἐπίμαχος easily attacked ἐπιμιμνήσχομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty $\dot{\epsilon}$ πιφράζω realize, think of \sim frenzy έρμηνεύς -ος (m) interpreter έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐχή prayer; vow ~vow ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive \sim zoo ήλόω sharpen

ήσυχία peace and quiet

θεοσεβής revering the gods

ἰά (τ) voice, cry καίπερ even if καταγίζω devote, dedicate κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic κατακυλίνδω roll down, throw off καταπαύω stop, restrain ~pause κατηλογέω ignore, neglect κυνέα -ῆς helmet ~hound **κύνεος** doglike, shameless ∼hound λιπαρέω (ī) persist λωίων more desirable μίν him, her, it νυν now; so ὄλβιος happy, wealthy ὄον οὖ type of fruit παλλακή sex slave π έδη shackles \sim pedal περιφέρω carry around Πέρσης Persian πλήσσω hit ~plectrum πολύευκτος prayed for πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder πότε when? προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect \sim legion προσβαίνω proceed; step on ~basis προσίστημι set against; (mp) stand near προτεραίος previous to προτιμάω (ī) prefer, pay attention to προχωρέω proceed, come forward π υρά pyre \sim pyre δήγνυμι (ō) to break σιγά silence σόλος lump of iron for throwing στρατιά army ~strategy συμφορά collecting; accident συννέω swim together; pile together συχνός long; many; extensive τεσσερεσχαιδέχατος fourteenth τρίς 3 times

φύλα ξ -χος (m) guard; sentry \sim phylactery χοηστήριον oracle, response

Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσω βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένω. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν. καί σφι ήδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἑτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὖτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυντο.

1.84

Σάρδιες δὲ ήλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένω Κροίσω, Κύρος τῆ στρατιῆ τῆ έωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ίππέας προείπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ώς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ ούνομα ην Υροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο της ἀκροπόλιος τῆ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος οὐ γὰρ ἢν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ άλῷ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος τῆ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεύς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ώς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τῆ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ώς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον της πόλιος. ὁ ὧν δη Ύροιάδης οὖτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδών τῆ προτεραίη τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα έπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ές θυμὸν έβάλετο τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ αὐτὸν άλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ήλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

1.85

Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθούση εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους, ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβω.

Άλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἤιε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μέν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν ὁ δὲ παῖς οὖτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ «ὤνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.» οὖτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης.

1.86

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον έζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ήμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν έωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δὶς ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παίδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῳ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος είδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ρύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιέειν ταῦτα τῷ δὲ Κροίσω έστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς έσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὥς οί είη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωόντων ὄλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα έκ πολλης ήσυχίης ές τρὶς ὀνομάσαι «Σόλων.» καὶ τὸν Κῦρον άκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς έρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μεν σιγήν έχειν είρωτώμενον, μετά δε ώς ήναγκάζετο, είπειν «τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.» ώς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ώς

to come to the assistance of Croesus, who was being besieged. And they notwithstanding their own difficulties, as soon as they heard the news from the herald, were eager to go to his assistance; but when they had completed their preparations and their ships were ready, there came another message reporting that the fortress of the Lydians had been taken and that Croesus had been made prisoner. Then (and not before) they ceased from their efforts, being grieved at the event as at a great calamity.

1.84

Now the taking of Sardis came about as follows:— When the fourteenth day came after Croesus began to be besieged, Cyrus made proclamation to his army, sending horsemen round to the several parts of it, that he would give gifts to the man who should first scale the wall. After this the army made an attempt; and when it failed, then after all the rest had ceased from the attack, a certain Mardian whose name was Hyroiades made an attempt to approach on that side of the citadel where no guard had been set; for they had no fear that it would ever be taken from that side, seeing that here the citadel is precipitous and unassailable. To this part of the wall alone Meles also, who formerly was king of Sardis, did not carry round the lion which his concubine bore to him, the Telmessians having given decision that if the lion should be carried round the wall, Sardis should be safe from capture: and Meles having carried it round the rest of the wall, that is to say those parts of the citadel where the fortress was open to attack, passed over this part as being unassailable and precipitous: now this is a part of the city which is turned towards Tmolos. So then this Mardian Hyroiades, having seen on the day before how one of the Lydians had descended on that side of the citadel to recover his helmet which had rolled down from above, and had picked it up, took thought and cast the matter about in his own mind. Then he himself ascended first, and after him came up others of the Persians, and many having thus made approach, Sardis was finally taken and the whole city was given up to plunder.

1.85

Meanwhile to Croesus himself it happened thus:— He had a son, of whom I made mention before, who was of good disposition enough but deprived of speech. Now in his former time of prosperity Croesus had done everything that was possible for him, and besides other things which he devised he had also sent messengers to Delphi to inquire concerning him. And the Pythian prophetess spoke to him thus:

"Lydian, master of many, much blind to destiny, Croesus, Do not desire to hear in thy halls that voice which is prayed for, Voice of thy son; much better if this from thee were removed, Since he shall first utter speech in an evil day of misfortune." Now when the fortress was being taken, one of the Persians was about to slay Croesus taking him for another; and Croesus for his part, seeing him coming on, cared nothing for it because of the misfortune which was upon him, and to him it was indifferent that he should be slain by the stroke; but this voiceless son, when he saw the Persian coming on, by reason of terror and affliction burst the bonds of his utterance and said: "Man, slay not Croesus." This son, I say, uttered voice then first of all, but after this he continued to use speech for the whole time of his life.

1.86

The Persians then had obtained possession of Sardis and had taken Croesus himself prisoner, after he had reigned fourteen years and had been besieged fourteen days, having fulfilled the oracle in that he had brought to an end his own great empire. So the Persians having taken him brought him into the presence of Cyrus: and he piled up a great pyre and caused Croesus to go up upon it bound in fetters, and along with him twice seven sons of Lydians, whether it was that he meant to dedicate this offering as first-fruits of his victory to some god, or whether he desired to fulfil a vow, or else had heard that Croesus was a god-fearing man and so caused him to go up on the pyre because he wished to know if any one of the divine powers would save him, so that he should not be burnt alive. He, they say, did this; but to Croesus as he stood upon the pyre there came, although he was in such evil case, a memory of the saying of Solon, how he had said with divine inspiration that no one of the living might be called happy. And when this thought came into his mind, they say that he sighed deeply and groaned aloud, having been for long silent, and three times he uttered the name of Solon. Hearing this, Cyrus bade the interpreters ask Croesus who was this person on whom he called; and they came near and asked. And Croesus for a time, it is said, kept silence when he was asked this, but afterwards being pressed he said: "One whom more than much wealth I should have desired to have speech with all monarchs." Then, since his words were of doubtful import, they asked again of that which he said; and as they were urgent with him and gave him no peace, he told

vocabulary αἰθρία clear air αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀνάρτημαι attach to, make dependent upon ἀνθρώπινος human ἀνόητος foolish ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀποφλαυρίζω make little of ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy άχρήματος poor **βιόω** live ∼biology δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom \sim demon δαχούω weep δεκατεύω take a tenth δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαρπάζω make prey of \sim harpoon δικαιόω demand/make justice δορυφόρος spear-brearing δόσις -εως (f) gift, loan \sim donate δωρέω give \sim donate ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily "Ελλην Greek ἐμεωυτοῦ myself ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐννοέω consider ἐνοράω look at, notice something in **ἐνόρνυμι** (ō) stir up, inspire ~hormone ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐξαπίνης suddenly ἐπαείρω raise, place on ∼aorta ἐπανίστημι rise up at one's bidding \sim station ἐπίδοξος likely; famous ἐπικαλέω call upon ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over ἐπιμελής careful, cared for ἐπιστρέφω turn towards \sim atrophy ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle έρμηνεύς -ος (m) interpreter εὐδαιμονία prosperity ἐύς good, brave, noble ήσυχος quiet θάπτω bury \sim epitaph θαρσέω be of good heart θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θεοφιλής beloved by the gods; loving κακοδαιμονία misfortune; demonic possession κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταβιβάζω bring down καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake ∼epilepsy καταρρήγνυμι (ō) break down κατασβέννυμι (ō) extinguish κάτισος equal **κεραίζω** slay, ravage ∼caries κότερος which, whichever of two **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λάβρος blustering, torrential μεθίστημι change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ∼station μεταγιγνώσχω change one's mind \sim gnostic μίν him, her, it νέφος -εος (n, 3) cloud \sim nebula νηνέμιος still, windless ~anemometer ὄλβιος happy, wealthy ὄλβος happiness, wealth ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily ὄον οὖ type of fruit παραυτίκα immediately πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web περ emphatic particle; even though πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder

περιέσχατα extremities, edges περίοιδα have great, greater skill περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian προμηθία foresight προσδέχομαι await πυρά pyre ~pyre σβέννυμι (ū) extinguish, go out σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σιγάω (t) be silent σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate

συγγιγνώσχω acknowledge; pardon σύννοια meditation; worry συντρέχω rush together ὑβριστής -οῦ (m, 1) wanton, savage ὑπερήδομαι rejoice greatly ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis ὕω (ū) to rain φυλαχός guard; sentry φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing) ~physics φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

ἢλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὅλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἶα δὴ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῆ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἄπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἁμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

1.87

Ένθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ώς ώρα πάντα μεν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ῧσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτω, κατασβεσθῆναί τε την πυρήν. οὕτω δη μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ώς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλής καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. «Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε »ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξα τῆ σῆ μὲν εὐδαιμονίη, τῆ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίη, αίτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας έμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῆ οἱ παίδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, έν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παίδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν ούτω γενέσθαι.«

"Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῆ προμηθίη εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίη ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραϊζοντας εἶπε «ὧ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;» Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων «οὐτος ὁ πολλὸς ὅμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῆ σπουδῆ ἐργάζεται;» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.» Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο «οὐτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.»

1.89

Κύρω δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροῖσον ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορώη ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ἐπείτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαιῶ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταὶ εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἢν ὧν σὺ τούτους περιίδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὧν ποίησον ὧδε, εῖ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσησι τῆσι πύλησι φυλάκους, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διί. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίη ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἑκόντες προήσουσι.»

1.90

Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. «Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα.» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὧ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν

how once Solon an Athenian had come, and having inspected all his wealth had made light of it, with such and such words; and how all had turned out for him according as Solon had said, not speaking at all especially with a view to Croesus himself, but with a view to the whole human race and especially those who seem to themselves to be happy men. And while Croesus related these things, already the pyre was lighted and the edges of it round about were burning. Then they say that Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Croesus had said, changed his purpose and considered that he himself also was but a man, and that he was delivering another man, who had been not inferior to himself in felicity, alive to the fire; and moreover he feared the requital, and reflected that there was nothing of that which men possessed which was secure; therefore, they say, he ordered them to extinguish as quickly as possible the fire that was burning, and to bring down Croesus and those who were with him from the pyre; and they using endeavours were not able now to get the mastery of the flames.

1.87

Then it is related by the Lydians that Croesus, having learned how Cyrus had changed his mind, and seeing that every one was trying to put out the fire but that they were no longer able to check it, cried aloud entreating Apollo that if any gift had ever been given by him which had been acceptable to the god, he would come to his aid and rescue him from the evil which was now upon him. So he with tears entreated the god, and suddenly, they say, after clear sky and calm weather clouds gathered and a storm burst, and it rained with a very violent shower, and the pyre was extinguished. Then Cyrus, having perceived that Croesus was a lover of the gods and a good man, caused him to be brought down from the pyre and asked him as follows: "Croesus, tell me who of all men was it who persuaded thee to march upon my land and so to become an enemy to me instead of a friend?" and he said: "O king, I did this to thy felicity and to my own misfortune, and the causer of this was the god of the Hellenes, who incited me to march with my army. For no one is so senseless as to choose of his own will war rather peace, since in peace the sons bury their fathers, but in war the fathers bury their sons. But it was pleasing, I suppose, to the divine powers that these things should come to pass thus."

1.88

So he spoke, and Cyrus loosed his bonds and caused him to sit near himself and paid to him much regard, and he marvelled both himself and all who were about him at the sight of Croesus. And Croesus wrapt in thought was silent; but after a time, turning round and seeing the Persians plundering the city of the Lydians, he said: "O king, must I say to thee that which I chance to have in my thought, or

must I keep silent in this my present fortune?" Then Cyrus bade him say boldly whatsoever he desired; and he asked him saying: "What is the business that this great multitude of men is doing with so much eagerness?" and he said: "They are plundering thy city and carrying away thy wealth." And Croesus answered: "Neither is it my city that they are plundering nor my wealth which they are carrying away; for I have no longer any property in these things: but it is thy wealth that they are carrying and driving away."

1.89

And Cyrus was concerned by that which Croesus had said, and he caused all the rest to withdraw and asked Croesus what he discerned for his advantage as regards that which was being done; and he said: "Since the gods gave me to thee as a slave, I think it right if I discern anything more than others to signify it to thee. The Persians, who are by nature unruly, are without wealth: if therefore thou shalt suffer them to carry off in plunder great wealth and to take possession of it, then it is to be looked for that thou wilt experience this result, thou must expect namely that whosoever gets possession of the largest share will make insurrection against thee. Now therefore, if that which I say is pleasing to thee, do this:— set spearmen of thy guard to watch at all the gates, and let these take away the things, and say to the men who were bearing them out of the city that they must first be tithed for Zeus: and thus thou on the one hand wilt not be hated by them for taking away the things by force, and they on the other will willingly let the things go, acknowledging within themselves that thou art doing that which is just."

1.90

Hearing this, Cyrus was above measure pleased, because he thought that Croesus advised well; and he commended him much and enjoined the spearmen of his guard to perform that which Croesus had advised: and after that he spoke to Croesus thus: "Croesus, since thou art prepared, like a king as thou art, to do good deeds and speak good words, therefore ask me for a gift, whatsoever thou desirest to be given thee forthwith." And he said: "Master, thou wilt most do me a pleasure if thou wilt permit me to send to the god

vocabulary ἀδύνατος unable; impossible ἀκροθίνιον first-fruit sacrifice; the best άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄλλομαι to jump \sim sally ἄλωσις -τος (f) being conquered ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἀντιπράσσω act against άντιστασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan adversary ἀνύω accomplish, pass over, complete ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise \sim angel ἀπαρχή ἀπώρχης first offering ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free ἀχάριστος ungracious, unpleasant \sim eucharist βασιλεύω be king γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at γονεύς -ος (m) parent γυναικήιος of women δέσποινα lady δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διάνοια a thought; intelligence δόλος trick, bait δορυφόρος spear-brearing ἑκάστοτε each time ἐκπίμπλημι fulfil, accomplish ἐνδίδωμι hand over, lend, show, allow ἔνερθε beneath, below ἐντέλλω (mp) command έξαπατάω trick, cheat \sim apatosaurus ἐξαπόλλυμι (ō) disappear from ἐπαείρω raise, place on ∼aorta ἐπαισχύνομαι be ashamed of ἐπαναβάλλω throw on, over; (mp) postpone

ἐπανείρομαι ask over and over

ἐπανέρομαι ask over and over

ἐπαρκέω ward off ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐφέπω drive, meet, follow \sim sequel ἡμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$ a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater καταπαύω stop, restrain ∼pause καταστροφή end, conclusion κίων κίονος (ī, f) pillar χνάφος plant; carding comb; torture implement χνάφω card wool; mangle by torturing κότερος which, whichever of two **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity μαντεῖον prophetic warning ~mantis μέμφομαι blame; reject νηέω pile up, load a ship νηός temple, shrine νυν now; so δμοεθνής of the same tribe ὁμομήτριος with the same mother ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach οὐσία property; essence πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition παλιλλογέω repeat παράγω deflect; bring forward παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; decline πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral \sim paternal πατρῷος of the father(s), ancestral π εδάω impede, chain \sim impede π έδη shackles \sim pedal πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist Πέρσης Persian πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προθυμέομαι (ō) be eager προσήχω belong to, it beseems πρόσω forward, in the future; far

σταθμός cottage; post συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συγγραφή writing down συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ~epilepsy συνοικέω live together συσπεύδω assist zealously τελευταῖος last, final

τρίπος three-legged cauldron ὑποδεής inferior; fearful ὑποκρίνομαι (τ) answer; pretend ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting, hypocrisy φονεύω kill χρηστηριάζω prophesy χρηστήριον oracle, response

notes

Λοξίεω: epithet of Apollo, "oblique"

κατὰ: i.e., that the punishment be delayed

ἐπανεβάλετο: Apollo

περὶ: 1.55, "when a mule becomes king of the Medes"

έγω ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.» Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωντοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντηίῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὖτις παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε «καὶ τούτον τεύξεαι παρ' ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέῃ.» ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὕ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηίοισι ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἦς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας' ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

1.91

Άπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. «τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἁμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικηίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίεω* ὅκως ἃν κατὰ* τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶόν τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν Μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὖται, ἤνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο* τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἀλοὺς τῆς πεπρωμένης.

Δευτέρα δὲ τούτων καιομένω αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα, τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν, Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω·

Τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ* ἡμιόνου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἡν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὕτος ἡμίονος ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέος, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἡν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐῶν τοῖσι ἄπασι δεσποίνη τῆ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε.«ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οῖ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

1.92

Κροίσω δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκέ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἴ τε βόες αί χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δ' έξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῆσι Μιλησίων άναθήματα Κροίσω, ώς έγω πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμον καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι.... τὰ μέν νυν ἔς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήιά τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρωίων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν άντιπρήσσοντα έπὶ κνάφου ἕλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπω τῶ εἰρημένω ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

1.93

Θώματα δὲ γῆ (ἡ) Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη

of the Hellenes, whom I honoured most of all gods, these fetters, and to ask him whether it is accounted by him right to deceive those who do well to him." Then Cyrus asked him what accusation he made against the god, that he thus requested; and Croesus repeated to him all that had been in his mind, and the answers of the Oracles, and especially the votive offerings, and how he had been incited by the prophecy to march upon the Persians: and thus speaking he came back again to the request that it might be permitted to him to make this reproach against the god. And Cyrus laughed and said: "Not this only shalt thou obtain from me, Croesus, but also whatsoever thou mayst desire of me at any time." Hearing this Croesus sent certain of the Lydians to Delphi, enjoining them to lay the fetters upon the threshold of the temple and to ask the god whether he felt no shame that he had incited Croesus by his prophecies to march upon the Persians, persuading him that he should bring to an end the empire of Cyrus, seeing that these were the first-fruits of spoil which he had won from it,— at the same time displaying the fetters. This they were to ask, and moreover also whether it was thought right by the gods of the Hellenes to practice ingratitude.

1.91

When the Lydians came and repeated that which they were enjoined to say, it is related that the Pythian prophetess spoke as follows: "The fated destiny it is impossible even for a god to escape. And Croesus paid the debt due for the sin of his fifth ancestor, who being one of the spearmen of the Heracleidai followed the treacherous device of a woman, and having slain his master took possession of his royal dignity, which belonged not to him of right. And although Loxias eagerly desired that the calamity of Sardis might come upon the sons of Croesus and not upon Croesus himself, it was not possible for him to draw the Destinies aside from their course; but so much as these granted he brought to pass, and gave it as a gift to Croesus: for he put off the taking of Sardis by three years; and let Croesus be assured that he was taken prisoner later by these years than the fated time: moreover secondly, he assisted him when he was about to be burnt. And as to the oracle which was given, Croesus finds fault with good ground: for Loxias told him beforehand that if he should march upon the Persians he should destroy a great empire: and he upon hearing this, if he wished to take counsel well, ought to have sent and asked further whether the god meant his own empire or that of Cyrus: but as he did not comprehend that which was uttered and did not ask again, let him pronounce himself to be the cause of that which followed.

To him also when he consulted the Oracle for the last time Loxias said that which he said concerning a mule; but this also he failed to comprehend: for Cyrus was in fact this mule, seeing that he was born of parents who were of two different races, his mother being of nobler descent and his father of less noble: for she was a Median woman, daughter of Astyages and king of the Medes, but he was a Persian, one of a race subject to the Medes, and being inferior in all respects he was the husband of one who was his royal mistress." Thus the Pythian prophetess replied to the Lydians, and they brought the answer back to Sardis and repeated it to Croesus; and he, when he heard it, acknowledged that the fault was his own and not that of the god. With regard then to the empire of Croesus and the first conquest of Ionia, it happened thus.

1.92

Now there are in Hellas many other votive offerings made by Croesus and not only those which have been mentioned: for first at Thebes of the Boeotians there is a tripod of gold, which he dedicated to the Ismenian Apollo; then at Ephesos there are the golden cows and the greater number of the pillars of the temple; and in the temple of Athene Pronaia at Delphi a large golden shield. These were still remaining down to my own time, but others of his votive offerings have perished: and the votive offerings of Croesus at Branchidai of the Milesians were, as I am told, equal in weight and similar to those at Delphi. Now those which he sent to Delphi and to the temple of Amphiaraos he dedicated of his own goods and as first-fruits of the wealth inherited from his father; but the other offerings were made of the substance of a man who was his foe, who before Croesus became king had been factious against him and had joined in endeavouring to make Pantaleon ruler of the Lydians. Now Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes and a brother of Croesus, but not by the same mother, for Croesus was born to Alyattes of a Carian woman, but Pantaleon of an Ionian. And when Croesus had gained possession of the kingdom by the gift of his father, he put to death the man who opposed him, drawing him upon the carding-comb; and his property, which even before that time he had vowed to dedicate, he then offered in the manner mentioned to those shrines which have been named. About his votive offerings let it suffice to have said so much.

1.93

Of marvels to be recorded the land of Lydia has no great store as compared with other lands, excepting the gold-dust

vocabulary ἀγοραῖος frequenting the market ἀείναος ever-flowing ἄκος ἄκεος (n, 3) cure, remedy ἀνίημι urge, impel; release \sim jet ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποιχίζω send away, resettle \sim economics ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina ἀστράγαλος neck vertebra, die αὐτόθι on the spot αὐτόνομος autonomous βιάζω use force on, violate γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter διάγω lead through; pass a time ~demagogue διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute δίζημαι seek ~zeal δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent δουλοσύνη slavery δουλόω enslave εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form είστίθημι put in ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate έλευθερία freedom έλευθερόω set free "Ελλην Greek ἐνεργάζομαι make in; work in ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐνιδούω establish ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion έξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo ἐξεύρεσις search, invention, discovery ἐξεύρημα invention, discovery ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka έξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out ἐπιμηχανάομαι plan for; devise besides

ἐπίπλοος sailing against; aboard ἐπωνύμιος called, named ἔραμαι love, aor. fall in love; long for, covet ∼erotic εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east ἐύς good, brave, noble ζήτησις -εως (f) search, inquiry ἤπειρος (f) mainland, continent θηλυς female; (rare) abundant \sim female καθαιρέω take down, close ∼heresy κάπηλος merchant καταπορνεύω treat as a prostitute **καταφέρω** bring down, kill ∼bear κληρόω cast lots, assign **κόπτω** beat, cut, strike **κρηπίς** (τ) boot; foundation χύβος cube, die κώμη village λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελαforms) allot; receive λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic λιμός (ī, f) famine λιπαρέω (ī) persist μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of μετονομάζω rename μετρέω measure, traverse ~metric μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it νόμισμα -τος (n, 3) institution; current οἰχηιόω adopt, adapt ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρος boundary marker \sim horizon οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill παιγνία game, play παίγνιον game, toy παίγνιος playful παιδίσκη young girl, slave, prostitute $\pi\alpha$ ίζω play \sim pediatrician παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba παραπλήσιος similar to πάρεξ alongside, diverging from; (+ή

or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside πενταχόσιοι 500 περιέρχομαι go around; come next to περίοδος picket, circuit Πέρσης Persian πεσσός pebble, game piece πλέθρον 30 meters or its square \sim plethora πορνεύω prostitute πρόθυμος (\bar{v}) willing, eager ∼fume προστάσσω post at, attach to, command σεμνόω exalt σημα -τος (n, 3) mark, sign, grave mound ∼semaphore σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σιτοδεία (ī) famine

σοφός skilled, clever, wise στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συνοικέω live together σφαῖρα ball τοιόσδε such τριφάσιος triple τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny φερνά dowry γειρῶναξ artisan, engineer χοηστός useful; brave, worthy χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir ψηγμα gold dust; shavings, scrapings

notes

Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι: Beginning a section about Lydia and its people, and the origins of the Tyrsenians. He begins with a list of three unrelated thoughts.

έτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων: They alternate days. λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι: ways of giving an account

χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἡσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἔκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς δ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσὶ στάδιοι εξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

1.94

Αυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι* μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἑλληνές, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.

Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ελλησι κατεστεώσας ἐωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι ἄμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἡτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων* παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ΄ ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι.

Ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούση τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παίδα, τῷ οὕνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφὶ ἢν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς ὁ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὁμβρικούς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἐδεδούλωντο.

1.95

Έπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐῶν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς ᾿Ασίης. ὡς ὧν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.*

'Ασσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω 'Ασίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὖτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι 'Ασσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίεε τὼυτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

1.96

Έόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δηιόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὖτος ὁ Δηιόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίεε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῆ ἑωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον

which is carried down from Tmolos; but one work it has to show which is larger far than any other except only those in Egypt and Babylon: for there is there the sepulchral monument of Alyattes the father of Croesus, of which the base is made of larger stones and the rest of the monument is of earth piled up. And this was built by contributions of those who practised trade and of the artisans and the girls who plied their traffic there; and still there existed to my own time boundary-stones five in number erected upon the monument above, on which were carved inscriptions telling how much of the work was done by each class; and upon measurement it was found that the work of the girls was the greatest in amount. For the daughters of the common people in Lydia practice prostitution one and all, to gather for themselves dowries, continuing this until the time when they marry; and the girls give themselves away in marriage. Now the circuit of the monument is six furlongs and two hundred feet, and the breadth is thirteen hundred feet. And adjoining the monument is a great lake, which the Lydians say has a never-failing supply of water, and it is called the lake of Gyges. Such is the nature of this monument.

1.94

Now the Lydians have very nearly the same customs as the Hellenes, with the exception that they prostitute their female children; and they were the first of men, so far as we know, who struck and used coin of gold or silver; and also they were the first retail-traders.

And the Lydians themselves say that the games which are now in use among them and among the Hellenes were also their invention. These they say were invented among them at the same time as they colonised Tyrsenia, and this is the account they give of them:— In the reign of Atys the son of Manes their king there came to be a grievous dearth over the whole of Lydia; and the Lydians for a time continued to endure it, but afterwards, as it did not cease, they sought for remedies; and one devised one thing and another of them devised another thing. And then were discovered, they say, the ways of playing with the dice and the knucklebones and the ball, and all the other games excepting draughts (for the discovery of this last is not claimed by the Lydians). These games they invented as a resource against the famine, and thus they used to do:— on one of the days they would play games all the time in order that they might not feel the want of food, and on the next they ceased from their games and had food: and thus they went on for eighteen years.

As however the evil did not slacken but pressed upon them ever more and more, therefore their king divided the whole Lydian people into two parts, and he appointed by lot one part to remain and the other to go forth from the land; and the

king appointed himself to be over that one of the parts which had the lot to stay in the land, and his son to be over that which was departing; and the name of his son was Tyrsenos. So the one party of them, having obtained the lot to go forth from the land, went down to the sea at Smyrna and built ships for themselves, wherein they placed all the movable goods which they had and sailed away to seek for means of living and a land to dwell in; until after passing by many nations they came at last to the land of the Ombricans, and there they founded cities and dwell up to the present time: and changing their name they were called after the king's son who led them out from home, not Lydians but Tyrsenians, taking the name from him.

1.95

The Lydians then had been made subject to the Persians as I say, and after this our history proceeds to inquire about Cyrus, who he was that destroyed the empire of Croesus, and about the Persians, in what manner they obtained the lead of Asia. Following then the report of some of the Persians,— those I mean who do not desire to glorify the history of Cyrus but to speak that which is in fact true,— according to their report, I say, I shall write; but I could set forth also the other forms of the story in three several ways.

The Assyrians ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years, and from them the Medes were the first who made revolt. These having fought for their freedom with the Assyrians proved themselves good men, and thus they pushed off the yoke of slavery from themselves and were set free; and after them the other nations also did the same as the Medes: and when all on the continent were thus independent, they returned again to despotic rule as follows:—

1.96

There appeared among the Medes a man of great ability whose name was Deïokes, and this man was the son of Phraortes. This Deïokes, having formed a desire for despotic power, did thus:— whereas the Medes dwelt in separate villages, he, being even before that time of great repute in his own village, set himself to practise just dealing much more and with greater zeal than

vocabulary αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in αἰσχρός shameful ἀνάχειμαι be dedicated, be put up ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined ἀνδραγαθία bravery ἀνομία lawlessness ἀρπαγή seizure; rape ἀσχέω work on βασίλειος kingly βασιλεύω be king γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at διαχοσμέω marshal ~cosmos δικάζω judge δικεῖν throw, cast, strike δίκω throw, cast, strike δορυφόρος spear-brearing εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion εἰσίημι (mid) speed to ~jet ἔνειμι be in ~ion ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block ἐξαμελέω be utterly careless of ἔπαινος (noun) praise ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm \sim volunteer ἐπιτηδεύω practice, pursue ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow \sim trophy ἐπιφοιτέω come habitually έτεροῖος different; diverse εὐνομέσμαι be well ordered ἐύς good, brave, noble η̃δομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism θησαυρός treasury ~treasure καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper καρτερός strong, staunch καταινέω agree, promise, grant καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταχουσόω (ō) gild κολωνός hill, mound κρατύνω strengthen

χυάνεος dark ∼cyan χύχλος circle, wheel ~cycle κυκλόω circle, encircle κώμη village λυπέω (ō) annoy, distress λυσιτελέω (ō) be useful μέγαθος tall, big (person) μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it μνάομαι be mindful of, woo, take for sex ∼mnemonic οἰχοδομέω build, build a house ὁμῆλιξ -κος (m) of the same age **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit πέλας near, close πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon περ emphatic particle; even though πέριξ all around περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with περιστέλλω lay out πόλισμα buildings of a city προβάλλω throw before; propose; (mp) pretend, abandon, nominate \sim ballistic π ροχαθίζω keep settling forward \sim sit προμαχεών breastwork, battlement πτύω (Ū) spit out σανδαράχινος orange in color σεμνύνω exalt συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμμαχέω be an ally συνάπας (αᾱ) all together σύντροφος fellow; habitual τειχέω build τελευταῖος last, final τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny φάρμακον drug, potion ~pharmacy φλαῦρος trifling φοινίκεος (ī) purple, red φοιτάω go back and forth χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir

notes

κατίζειν: convene hearings ἔφη δίκαν: give rulings

τῶν κατηκόντων: the way things had turned out προβαλλομένων: having raised the issue of

προβαλλόμενος: nominated

ές ὅ τοῦτον: until ... συμμαχέει: the hill δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ήσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δή, οἶα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἢν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὤστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῆσι ἄλλησι κώμησι ὡς Δηιόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμησι, τότε ἐπείτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηιόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλω ἐπετράποντο.

1.97

Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἶα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηιόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὕτε κατίζειν* ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὕτ' ἔφη δίκαν* ἔτι' οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης ῶν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶυτὸ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων.* ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηιόκεω φίλοι «οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμὲν οἰκέειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἥ τε χωρῆ εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.» ταῦτά κῃ λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

1.98

Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων* ὅντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηιόκης ἢν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος* καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὁ τοῦτον* καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε έωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληίης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι΄ ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ

δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι.

Ό δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἢνάγκασε εν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Άγβάτανα κέκληται, ἔτερον έτέρω κύκλω ένεστεώτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἔτερος τοῦ έτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μέν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει* κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων έπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήια ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οί προμαχεώνες ήνθισμένοι είσὶ φαρμάκοισι δύο δὲ οί τελευταῖοί είσι ο μεν καταργυρωμένους ο δε κατακεχρυσωμένους έχων τους προμαχεώνας.

1.99 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηιόκης ἑωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τείχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηιόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἄπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὅκως ὰν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὁρῶσι.

1.100

Έπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῆ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω

before; and this he did although there was much lawlessness throughout the whole of Media, and although he knew that injustice is ever at feud with justice. And the Medes of the same village, seeing his manners, chose him for their judge. So he, since he was aiming at power, was upright and just, and doing thus he had no little praise from his fellow-citizens, insomuch that those of the other villages learning that Deïokes was a man who more than all others gave decision rightly, whereas before this they had been wont to suffer from unjust judgments, themselves also when they heard it came gladly to Deïokes to have their causes determined, and at last they trusted the business to no one else.

1.97

Then, as more and more continually kept coming to him, because men learnt that his decisions proved to be according to the truth, Deïokes perceiving that everything was referred to himself would no longer sit in the place where he used formerly to sit in public to determine causes, and said that he would determine causes no more, for it was not profitable for him to neglect his own affairs and to determine causes for his neighbours all through the day. So then, since robbery and lawlessness prevailed even much more in the villages than they did before, the Medes having assembled together in one place considered with one another and spoke about the state in which they were: and I suppose the friends of Deïokes spoke much to this effect: "Seeing that we are not able to dwell in the land under the present order of things, let us set up a king from among ourselves, and thus the land will be well governed and we ourselves shall turn to labour, and shall not be ruined by lawlessness." By some such words as these they persuaded themselves to have a king.

1.98

And when they straightway proposed the question whom they should set up to be king, Deïokes was much put forward and commended by every one, until at last they agreed that he should be their king. And he bade them build for him a palace worthy of the royal dignity and strengthen him with a guard of spearmen. And the Medes did so: for they built him a large and strong palace in that part of the land which he told them, and they allowed him to select spearmen from all the Medes.

And when he had obtained the rule over them, he compelled the Medes to make one fortified city and pay chief attention to this, having less regard to the other cities. And as the Medes obeyed him in this also, he built large and strong walls, those which are now called Agbatana, standing in circles one within the other. And this wall is so contrived that one circle is higher than the next by the height

of the battlements alone. And to some extent, I suppose, the nature of the ground, seeing that it is on a hill, assists towards this end; but much more was it produced by art, since the circles are in all seven in number. And within the last circle are the royal palace and the treasure-houses. The largest of these walls is in size about equal to the circuit of the wall round Athens; and of the first circle the battlements are white, of the second black, of the third crimson, of the fourth blue, of the fifth red: thus are the battlements of all the circles coloured with various tints, and the two last have their battlements one of them overlaid with silver and the other with gold.

1.99

These walls then Deïokes built for himself and round his own palace, and the people he commanded to dwell round about the wall. And after all was built, Deïokes established the rule, which he was the first to establish, ordaining that none should enter into the presence of the king, but that they deal with him always through messengers; and that the king should be seen by no one; and moreover that to laugh or to spit in his presence is unseemly, and this last for every one without exception. Now he surrounded himself with this state to the end that his fellows, who had been brought up with him and were of no meaner family nor behind him in manly virtue, might not be grieved by seeing him and make plots against him, but that being unseen by them he might be thought to be of different mould.

1.100

Having set these things in order and strengthened himself in his despotism, he was severe in preserving justice; and the people used to write down their causes and send them in to his presence,

vocabulary άδίκημα -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed αίχμοφόρος spearman ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made ~Alexander ἀναμίξ indiscriminately ἀναφύρω (ō) confuse; defile ἀναγωρέω return, retreat ~heir ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join ἀντιάω meet, fight, join ἀποχράω suffice; abuse ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch ἀσινής unharmed ἄτε as if; since \mathring{a} ω aor: to sate \sim sate βασιλεύω be king διακρίνω (ιῖ) separate, sort ~critic διατάσσω arrange, array εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic εἰσπέμπω send in **εἰσφέρω** carry into, carry along ~bear ἔχγονος offspring, descendant ~genus ἐκδέχομαι receive from ἐκτοέπω turn aside ένθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence έξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy \sim heresy ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail εὔζωνος well-girded ~zone έφέπω drive, meet, follow \sim sequel ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be

 \sim catastrophe κατήκοος hearing; obedient κατύπερθεν above, from above **ποσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic λίσσομαι beg, beseech ∼litany λιτή prayer ∼litany λοχίζω put soldiers in units; lie in wait μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μουνόω leave, not aid νυν now; so οὐράνιος heavenly παραδείχνυμι (ō) receive, admit παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba παρεξέρχομαι pass by, slip past περικάθημαι be seated all around Πέρσης Persian $\pi \rho$ όγονος elder, ancestor \sim genus προσωτέρω farther στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy συλάω (\bar{v}) take off, despoil \sim asylum συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συστρέφω get together; condense τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τοξοφόρος (f) archer \sim toxic τοσόσδε this much ὑβοίζω insult, treat outrageously ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis ὑπήχοος heeding, subject ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir

notes

διεφθάρη: second aorist, passive Σχυθέων: not allied with either side

overcome; (active) defeat

κατάσκοπος spy, inspector

καταστρέφω overturn, subdue

ίδούω establish

Φᾶσιν: flowing from the Caucasian Mountains into the eastern shores of the Black

Sea

Κόλχους: on the Black Sea coast

Κυθήροισι: an island of the southern coast of the Peloponnesus

θήλεαν: The disease feminized them.

Ένάρεας: apparently a Scythian loan-word meaning hermaphrodite

παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατὸ οἱ εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἑκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἦρχε.

1.101

Δηιόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τοῦτον ἢρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες ᾿Αριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

1.102

Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε.

Μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίους καὶ ᾿Ασσυρίων, τούτους οἱ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἢρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἄτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἥκοντες.

Έπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη,* ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

1.103

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὖτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῆ, ᾿Ασίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἢν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. οὖτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νὺξ ἡ ήμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἁσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καί οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων* στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς οῦ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἀπίκοντο.

1.104

Έστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσω* ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους* τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὶ εν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῆ Μηδικῆ, οὐ μέντοι οἴ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῆ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῦσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῆ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν ᾿Ασίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

1.105

Ένθεῦτεν δὲ ἤισαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῆ Παλαιστίνη Συρίη, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῆσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν ᾿Ασκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης ᾿Αφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι* Φοίνικές εἰσὶ οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν ᾿Ασκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι

and he determined the questions which were brought in to him and sent them out again. Thus he used to do about the judgment of causes; and he also took order for this, that is to say, if he heard that any one was behaving in an unruly manner, he sent for him and punished him according as each act of wrong deserved, and he had watchers and listeners about all the land over which he ruled.

1.101

Deïokes then united the Median race alone, and was ruler of this: and of the Medes there are the tribes which here follow, namely, Busai, Paretakenians, Struchates, Arizantians, Budians, Magians: the tribes of the Medes are so many in number.

1.102

Now the son of Deïokes was Phraortes, who when Deïokes was dead, having been king for three and fifty years, received the power in succession; and having received it he was not satisfied to be ruler of the Medes alone, but marched upon the Persians; and attacking them first before others, he made these first subject to the Medes.

After this, being ruler of these two nations and both of them strong, he proceeded to subdue Asia going from one nation to another, until at last he marched against the Assyrians, those Assyrians I mean who dwelt at Nineveh, and who formerly had been rulers of the whole, but at that time they were left without support their allies having revolted from them, though at home they were prosperous enough.

Phraortes marched, I say, against these, and was both himself slain, after he had reigned two and twenty years, and the greater part of his army was destroyed.

1.103

When Phraortes had brought his life to an end, Kyaxares the son of Phraortes, the son of Deïokes, received the power. This king is said to have been yet much more warlike than his forefathers; and he first banded the men of Asia into separate divisions, that is to say, he first arrayed apart from one another the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen, for before that time they were all mingled together without distinction. This was he who fought with the Lydians when the day became night as they fought, and who also united under his rule the whole of Asia above the river Halys. And having gathered together all his subjects he marched upon Nineveh to avenge his father, and also because he desired to conquer that city. And when he had fought a battle with the Assyrians and had defeated them, while he was sitting down before Nineveh there came upon him a great army of Scythians, and the leader of them was Madyas the son of Protohyas, king of the

Scythians. These had invaded Asia after driving the Kimmerians out of Europe, and in pursuit of them as they fled they had come to the land of Media.

1.104

Now from the Maiotian lake to the river Phasis and to the land of the Colchians is a journey of thirty days for one without encumbrance; and from Colchis it is not far to pass over to Media, for there is only one nation between them, the Saspeirians, and passing by this nation you are in Media. However the Scythians did not make their invasion by this way, but turned aside from it to go by the upper road which is much longer, keeping Mount Caucasus on their right hand. Then the Medes fought with the Scythians, and having been worsted in the battle they lost their power, and the Scythians obtained rule over all Asia.

1.105

Thence they went on to invade Egypt; and when they were in Syria which is called Palestine, Psammetichos king of Egypt met them; and by gifts and entreaties he turned them from their purpose, so that they should not advance any further: and as they retreated, when they came to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed through without doing any damage, but a few of them who had stayed behind plundered the temple of Aphrodite Urania. Now this temple, as I find by inquiry, is the most ancient of all the temples which belong to this goddess; for the temple in Cyprus was founded from this, as the people of Cyprus themselves report, and it was the Phenicians who founded the temple in Kythera, coming from this land of Syria. So these Scythians who had plundered the temple at Ascalon, and their descendants for ever, were smitten by the divinity with a

vocabulary αίδοῖον genitals αίδοῖος modest, honored ἄλλοτε at another time ~alien ἄμπελος (f) vine ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined ἀνασώζω rescue, recover ἄπαις childless ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ∼harpoon ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious βασιλεύω be king γόνος offspring \sim genus διάχειμαι be in a condition ἐκδέκομαι receive from ἔνερθε beneath, below ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐνσχήπτω throw, fall at ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams ἐξαμαρτάνω miss; err, do wrong ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for ~ballistic ἐπικατακλύζω overflow besides ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπίσχω aim; restrain ἐπίτεξ pregnant ἐπιτηδέως usefully, conveniently ἐπίτροπος agent ἔρσην male ἐύς good, brave, noble ήσύχιος at peace θάπτω bury \sim epitaph θηλέω abound in \sim thallium καταμεθύω rave drunkenly καταφονεύω slaughter **κοσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μετέπειτα afterward, next μηδαμός no one μίν him, her, it

νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer νόσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome **νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νυν now; so ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ολιγωρία contempt; neglect ονειροπόλος interpreter of dreams ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὐρέω piss ὄψιος late, in evening ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view ~thanatopsis παραβάλλω put at risk ~ballistic παραφρόνησις derangement, delirium παραχράομαι abuse, treat contemptuously παροράω notice; overlook, neglect περ emphatic particle; even though περιελαύνω drive around περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with Πέρσης Persian σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore συγγενής inborn, kin to συνοικέω live together τοιόσδε such τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer ὑπηρετέω serve ὑποχείριος under one's hand ∼chiral ὑστέρα womb; ovary φονεύς -ως (m) killer \sim offend φονεύω kill φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry \sim bear φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir

ώραῖος ripe; young adult

notes

Κυαξάρης: who previously abused Scythian refugees, 1.73

δεδοικώς: verb δείδω Κῦρος: Cyrus I of Persia σεωυτοῦ: your house

εί: if it happens

ένέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἄμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

1.106

Έπὶ μέν νυν ὀκτὰν καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἢρχον τῆς ᾿Ασίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπό τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστατα ἢν ˙ χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ᾽ ἐκάστων τὸν ἑκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἤρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἔκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης* τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τήν τε Νίνον εἶλον (ὡς δὲ εἶλον ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς ᾿Ασσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μέν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἢρξαν, τελευτᾳ.

1.107

Έκδέκεται δὲ ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τὴν βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῆ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην τὴν ἐδόκεε ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς* τὴν ὄψιν' ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὕρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

1.108

Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύση τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῷ ἔτεϊ εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δέ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης

φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον έξ αὐτῆς διαφθείραι έκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οί τῶν Μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὧν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Άστυάγης, ώς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος,* καλέσας Άρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκήιον καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγὲ οἱ τοιάδε. «Ἄρπαγε, πρηγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμώς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλη καὶ ἄλλους έλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παίδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ* ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπω ὅτεω αὐτὸς βούλεαι.» ὁ δὲ αμείβεται «ὧ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτε κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῶδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν έξαμαρτείν. ἀλλ' ει τοι φίλον τούτο ούτω γίνεσθαι, χρη δη τό γε έμον ύπηρετέεσθαι έπιτηδέως.»

1.109

Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἅρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω ἤιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία παρελθών δὲ ἔφραζε τἢ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα ἀστυάγεος ἡηθέντα λόγον. ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει «νῦν ὧν τί σοὶ ἐν νόω ἐστὶ ποιέειν;»

Ό δὲ ἀμείβεται «οὐ τῆ ἐνετέλλετο ἀΑστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὕ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῆ γνώμη οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἴνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι ἀστύγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου εἰ* δ' ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υίὸν κτείνει δι ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἴνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.»

disease which made them women instead of men: and the Scythians say that it was for this reason that they were diseased, and that for this reason travellers who visit Scythia now, see among them the affection of those who by the Scythians are called Enareës.

1.106

For eight and twenty years then the Scythians were rulers of Asia, and by their unruliness and reckless behaviour everything was ruined; for on the one hand they exacted that in tribute from each people which they laid upon them, and apart from the tribute they rode about and carried off by force the possessions of each tribe. Then Kyaxares with the Medes, having invited the greater number of them to a banquet, made them drunk and slew them; and thus the Medes recovered their power, and had rule over the same nations as before; and they also took Nineveh,—the manner how it was taken I shall set forth in another history, —and made the Assyrians subject to them excepting only the land of Babylon.

1.107

After this Kyaxares died, having reigned forty years including those years during which the Scythians had rule, and Astyages son of Kyaxares received from him the kingdom. To him was born a daughter whom he named Mandane; and in his sleep it seemed to him that there passed from her so much water as to fill his city and also to flood the whole of Asia. This dream he delivered over to the Magian interpreters of dreams, and when he heard from them the truth at each point he became afraid.

And afterwards when this Mandane was of an age to have a husband, he did not give her in marriage to any one of the Medes who were his peers, because he feared the vision; but he gave her to a Persian named Cambyses, whom he found to be of a good descent and of a quiet disposition, counting him to be in station much below a Mede of middle rank.

1.108

And when Mandane was married to Cambyses, in the first year Astyages saw another vision. It seemed to him that from the womb of this daughter a vine grew, and this vine overspread the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision and delivered it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent for his daughter, being then with child, to come from the land of the Persians. And when she had come he kept watch over her, desiring to destroy that which should be born of her; for the Magian interpreters of dreams signified to him that the offspring of his daughter should be king in his room. Astyages then desiring to guard against this, when Cyrus

was born, called Harpagos, a man who was of kin near him and whom he trusted above all the other Medes, and had made him manager of all his affairs; and to him he said as follows: "Neglect not by any means, Harpagos, the matter which I shall lay upon thee to do, and beware lest thou set me aside, and choosing the advantage of others instead, bring thyself afterwards to destruction. Take the child which Mandane bore, and carry it to thy house and slay it; and afterwards bury it in whatsoever manner thou thyself desirest." To this he made answer: "O king, never yet in any past time didst thou discern in me an offence against thee, and I keep watch over myself also with a view to the time that comes after, that I may not commit any error towards thee. If it is indeed thy pleasure that this should so be done, my service at least must be fitly rendered."

1.109 Thus he made answer, and when the child had been delivered to him adorned as for death, Harpagos went weeping to his wife all the words which had been spoken by Astyages. And she said to him: "Now, therefore, what is it in thy mind to do?"

And he made answer: "Not according as Astyages enjoined: for not even if he shall come to be yet more out of his senses and more mad than he now is, will I agree to his will or serve him in such a murder as this. And for many reasons I will not slay the child; first because he is a kin to me, and then because Astyages is old and without male issue, and if his daughter takes the throne after he dies, does not the greatest of dangers then await me? To secure me, this child must die; but one of the servants of Astyages must be the slayer of it, and not one of mine."

vocabulary ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container ἄελπτος not hoped for άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἄπεδος level, flat ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast ἀπονοστέω go home $ἀσπαίρω writhe <math>\sim$ spur βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind βουχόλος herdsman ~bovine βρέφος -ους (n, 3) fetus, baby γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom \sim demon δαχούω weep δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal ἐγχειρίζω entrust ε $\tilde{\iota}$ μα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest ἐκκαλύπτω disclose, reveal ἔκκειμαι expose, set forth ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out \sim plectrum ἐκτίθημι place outside at a spot ~thesis "Ελλην Greek ἐμφανής visible ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart ἔπαυλις -τος (f) farmhouse ἐπίσταμαι know how, understand \sim station ἐπίτεξ pregnant ἐπιφοιτάω come habitually ἐρῆμος empty ἐσθής clothes ∼vest εὐειδής good-looking ~wit ἐύς good, brave, noble **ἐφοράω** look upon ∼panorama $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$ be accustomed, in the habit θαμβέω be amazed

θανατόω kill ~euthanasia θεράπων -οντος (m, 3) helper, henchman, servant ∼therapy θηριώδης savage, wild κάρτα very much ~κράτος κάρτη kind of garment καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced κατάσκοπος spy, inspector κλαυθμός weeping κοσμέω marshal, array ∼cosmos χυρέω come upon, come up against μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μίν him, her, it νέμω to allot, to pasture \sim nemesis νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νομή pasture; distribution οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house ὄλεθρος ruin, destruction, death ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρεινός mountainous ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from ὀφείλω owe, should, if only περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιποιέω preserve; obtain ποιχίλλω make elaborately ποιχίλος ornamented; various πότε when? $\pi \rho o \theta \dot{\epsilon} \omega$ run from, lead to the fray **πρόθυμος** (\bar{v}) willing, eager \sim fume προχαίω burn before πρόχειμαι be set before π ροπέμ π ω send, send ahead \sim pomp προτίθημι set before \sim thesis σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate συνηρεφής shaded; covering συνοικέω live together ταφή burial, grave τέχνη craft, art, plan, contrivance \sim technology τόχος childbirth ~oxytocin

φροντίς -τος (f) thought, care χρυσός (v) gold χρυσόω (v) make golden, gild

χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir

1.110

Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Άστυάγεος τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλη, οὔνομα δὲ τῆ γυναικὶ ἦν τῆ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Έλλήνων γλώσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὖτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Άγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδική χωρή πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλή τε καὶ ἴδησι συνηρεφής, ή δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χωρῆ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὧν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδη πολλη καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τάδε. «κελεύει σε 'Αστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ έρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη καὶ τάδε τοὶ *ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνης αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῶ τρόπω περιποιήσης*, ολέθρω τῷ κακίστω σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega.\gg$

1.111

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβῶν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθῶς ὁ Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἶα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἴρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μετεπέμψατο.

Ό δὲ εἶπε «ὤ γύναι, εἶδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἡρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤια ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλη.

"Αρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς ᾿Αστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ᾽ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι᾽ οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἢν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἡρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ᾽ όδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἡστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Ἡστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί.»

1.112

"Άμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήιζε μηδεμιῆ τέχνη ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἶός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν' ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἡρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα ἢν μὴ σφεα ποιήση. 'Ως δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὰ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς ᾿Αστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὕτε σὰ ἀλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὕτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται' ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληίης ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχήν.»

1.113

Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ, βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ έωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ έωυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἔτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων τίθει.

1.110

Thus he spoke, and straightway sent a messenger to that one of the herdsmen of Astyages who he knew fed his herds on the pastures which were most suitable for his purpose, and on the mountains most haunted by wild beasts. The name of this man was Mitradates, and he was married to one who was his fellow-slave; and the name of the woman to whom he was married was Kyno in the tongue of the Hellenes and in the Median tongue Spaco, for what the Hellenes call kyna (bitch) the Medes call spaca. Now, it was on the skirts of the mountains that this herdsman had his cattle-pastures, from Agbatana towards the North Wind and towards the Euxine Sea. For here in the direction of the Saspeirians the Median land is very mountainous and lofty and thickly covered with forests; but the rest of the land of Media is all level plain. So when this herdsman came, being summoned with much urgency, Harpagos said these words: "Astyages bids thee take this child and place it on the most desolate part of the mountains, so that it may perish as quickly as possible. And he bade me to say that if thou do not kill it, but in any way shalt preserve it from death, he will slay thee by the most evil kind of destruction: and I have been appointed to see that the child is laid forth."

1.111

Having heard this and having taken up the child, the herdsman went back by the way he came, and arrived at his dwelling. And his wife also, as it seems, having been every day on the point of bearing a child, by a providential chance brought her child to birth just at that time, when the herdsman was gone to the city. And both were in anxiety, each for the other, the man having fear about the child-bearing of his wife, and the woman about the cause why Harpagos had sent to summon her husband, not having been wont to do so aforetime. So as soon as he returned and stood before her, the woman seeing him again beyond her hopes was the first to speak, and asked him for what purpose Harpagos had sent for him so urgently.

And he said: "Wife, when I came to the city I saw and heard that which I would I had not seen, and which I should wish had never chanced to those whom we serve. For the house of Harpagos was all full of mourning, and I being astonished thereat went within: and as soon as I entered I saw laid out to view an infant child gasping for breath and screaming, which was adorned with gold ornaments and embroidered clothing: and when Harpagos saw me he bade me forthwith to take up the child and carry it away and lay it on that part of the mountains which is most haunted by wild beasts, saying that it was Astyages who laid this task upon me, and using to me many threats, if I should fail to do this.

And I took it up and bore it away, supposing that it was the child of some one of the servants of the house, for never could I have supposed whence it really was; but I marvelled to see it adorned with gold and raiment, and I marvelled also because mourning was made for it openly in the house of Harpagos. And straightway as we went by the road, I learnt the whole of the matter from the servant who went with me out of the city and placed in my hands the babe, namely that it was in truth the son of Mandane the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade slay it. And now here it is."

1.112

And as he said this the herdsman uncovered it and showed it to her. And she, seeing that the child was large and of fair form, wept and clung to the knees of her husband, beseeching him by no means to lay it forth. But he said that he could not do otherwise than so, for watchers would come backwards and forwards sent by Harpagos to see that this was done, and he would perish by a miserable death if he should fail to do this. And as she could not after all persuade her husband, the wife next said as follows: "Since then I am unable to persuade thee not to lay it forth, do thou this which I shall tell thee, if indeed it needs must be seen laid forth. I also have borne a child, but I have borne it dead. Take this and expose it, and let us rear the child of the daughter of Astyages as if it were our own. Thus thou wilt not be found out doing a wrong to those whom we serve, nor shall we have taken ill counsel for ourselves; for the dead child will obtain a royal burial and the surviving one will not lose his life."

1.113

To the herdsman it seemed that, the case standing thus, his wife spoke well, and forthwith he did so. The child which he was bearing to put to death, this he delivered to his wife, and his own, which was dead, he took and placed in the chest in which he had been bearing the other; and having adorned it with all the adornment of the other child, he bore it to the most desolate part of the mountains and

vocabulary ἀγγελία message, news ~angel ἀεικία -είας disfiguring; unseemliness \sim icon ἀνάγνωσις -εως (f) recognition, reading ἀνάξιος unworthy, undeserved ἀνάρσιος hostile ~harmony ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἀνηκουστέω ignore, disobey ~acoustic ἀντάω meet face to face ἀποδείχνυμι (ū) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποικτίζομαι complain loudly about ἄφθογγος speechless βασανίζω interrogate, test, torture βουχολία herd βουχόλος herdsman ~bovine γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor δεκαέτης of 10 years δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαλαμβάνω distribute διατάσσω arrange, array διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent δορυφόρος spear-brearing εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion ἔχθεσις exposure, exposition ἔκκειμαι expose, set forth ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out \sim plectrum ἐκφαίνω bring to light ~photon έλεύθερος not enslaved ἐπίκλησις -τος (f) nickname; nominally ∼gallo ἐπιμέμφομαι blame ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble

ήλικία time of life, contemporaries

ἦλιξ -κος (m) of the same age θάπτω bury \sim epitaph θεράπων -οντος (m, 3) helper, henchman, servant ∼therapy κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατέρχομαι come down, out from κόθεν from where? κώμη village λιτή prayer ∼litany μαστιγόω (ī) whip μάστιξ -γος (f) whip μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon \sim pomp μίν him, her, it μόγις with difficulty, barely νέκυς (Ū) corpse, ghost ∼necro νυν now; so οἰχοδομέω build, build a house ὄον οὖ type of fruit παίζω play ∼pediatrician περιέπω treat, handle περιημεχτέω be aggrieved περιυβρίζω insult wantonly προβοσχός assistant herdsman προστάσσω post at, attach to, command σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency συμπαίζω play with τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τοιόσδε such τραχύς $(\bar{\alpha})$ rough \sim trachea ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting, hypocrisy ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse χαρακτήρ -ος (m) stamp; characteristic οὖκ: told him he was making a bad decision

ἐπιθυμέοντα: (ironic) ἀνάγκας: torture

λόγον: story

ώς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἤιε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἡρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὅ Ἅρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὕνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

1.114

Καὶ ὅτε ἢν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἢσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὖται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἴλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δέ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων.

Εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθών, μᾶλλόν τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἡντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἢν τοῦτο τοὕνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῆ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἄμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων «ὧ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα,» δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὥμους.

1.115

'Ακούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν 'Αστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς 'Αρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παΐδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη «σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικείῃ τοιῆδε περισπεῖν;» ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε.

« Ω δέσποτα, έγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκη. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἢν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὖτος δὲ ἀνηκούστε τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὁ ἔλαβὲ τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὧν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοὶ πάρειμι.»

1.116

Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἐωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῆ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν μόγις δὲ δή κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, «ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.»

Τὸν μὲν δὴ ᾿Αρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἢγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ ᾿Αστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἴρετο ὁ ᾿Αστυάγεος, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ᾽ ἐωυτῷ. ᾿Αστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ* εὖ βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα* ἐς ἀνάγκας* μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἄμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον·* ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς διεξήιε τῆ ἀληθείη χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῶ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

placed it there. And when the third day came after the child had been laid forth, the herdsman went to the city, leaving one of his under-herdsmen to watch there, and when he came to the house of Harpagos he said that he was ready to display the dead body of the child; and Harpagos sent the most trusted of his spearmen, and through them he saw and buried the herdsman's child. This then had had burial, but him who was afterwards called Cyrus the wife of the herdsman had received, and was bringing him up, giving him no doubt some other name, not Cyrus.

1.114

And when the boy was ten years old, it happened with regard to him as follows, and this made him known. He was playing in the village in which were stalls for oxen, he was playing there, I say, with other boys of his age in the road. And the boys in their play chose as their king this one who was called the son of the herdsman: and he set some of them to build palaces and others to be spearmen of his guard, and one of them no doubt he appointed to be the eye of the king, and to one he gave the office of bearing the messages, appointing a work for each one severally.

Now one of these boys who was playing with the rest, the son of Artembares a man of repute among the Medes, did not do that which Cyrus appointed him to do; therefore Cyrus bade the other boys seize him hand and foot, and when they obeyed his command he dealt with the boy very roughly, scourging him. But he, so soon as he was let go, being made much more angry because he considered that he had been treated with indignity, went down to the city and complained to his father of the treatment which he had met with from Cyrus, calling him not Cyrus, for this was not yet his name, but the son of the herdsman of Astyages. And Artembares in the anger of the moment went at once to Astyages, taking the boy with him, and he declared that he had suffered things that were unfitting and said: "O king, by thy slave, the son of a herdsman, we have been thus outraged," showing him the shoulders of his son.

1.115

And Astyages having heard and seen this, wishing to punish the boy to avenge the honour of Artembares, sent for both the herdsman and his son. And when both were present, Astyages looked at Cyrus and said: "Didst thou dare, being the son of so mean a father as this, to treat with such unseemly insult the son of this man who is first in my favour?"

And he replied thus: "Master, I did so to him with right. For the boys of the

village, of whom he also was one, in their play set me up as king over them, for I appeared to them most fitted for this place. Now the other boys did what I commanded them, but this one disobeyed and paid no regard, until at last he received the punishment due. If therefore for this I am worthy to suffer any evil, here I stand before thee."

1.116 While the boy thus spoke, there came upon Astyages a sense of recognition of him and the lineaments of his face seemed to him to resemble his own, and his answer appeared to be somewhat over free for his station, while the time of the laying forth seemed to agree with the age of the boy. Being struck with amazement by these things, for a time he was speechless; and having at length with difficulty recovered himself, he said, desiring to dismiss Artembares, in order that he might get the herdsman by himself alone and examine him: "Artembares, I will so order these things that thou and thy son shall have no cause to find fault"; and so he dismissed Artembares, and the servants upon the command of Astyages led Cyrus within. And when the herdsman was left alone with the king, Astyages being alone with him asked whence he had received the boy, and who it was who had delivered the boy to him. And the herdsman said that he was his own son, and that the mother was living with him still as his wife. But Astyages said that he was not well advised in desiring to be brought to extreme necessity, and as he said this he made a sign to the spearmen of his guard to seize him. So he, as he was being led away to the torture, then declared the story as it really was; and beginning from the beginning he went through the whole, telling the truth about it, and finally ended with entreaties, asking that he would grant him pardon.

vocabulary ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute ἄκρος at the edge, extreme ~acute άλίζω gather, assemble ἄλις in plenty; enough ~helix άλίσκομαι be captured ~helix ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀναμάρτητος blameless ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀποκαλύπτω uncover, reveal ἀποπέμπω send away \sim pomp ἀρεστός satisfactory, pleasing αὐθέντης -ου (m, 1) murderer; doer ἄχρι as far as (+gen); until βασιλεύω be king βορά meat βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind βορός gluttonous βουχόλος herdsman ~bovine δαιτυμών -όνος (m, 3) dinner guest \sim demon διαβάλλω throw across; slander \sim ballistic διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute δορυφόρος spear-brearing ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out \sim plectrum ἐκφαίνω bring to light ~photon ἐλαφρός nimble, light on one's feet; light, bearable ∼elevator ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine ἐνέχω hold inside ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντός within ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams ἐπίπλεος very full ἐπιτελής accomplished $\xi \rho \delta \omega$ do, perform \sim ergonomics έρημος empty έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled εὐνοῦχος eunuch ἐύς good, brave, noble

εὔτυχος well built; ready ἕψω boil, be boiling ηδομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism θάπτω bury ∼epitaph θοίνα meal, feast; food θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω **χάμνω** toil, be tired, acquire by toil; be troubled: be sick κάνεον basket κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατακαλύπτω cover up **κρέας** -ως (n) meat \sim creatine **κρύπτω** hide, cover ∼cryptic λεῖμμα -τος (n, 3) remnant, residue μέλεος vain, idle, useless **μέλος** -ους (n, 3) limb; melody μέμφομαι blame; reject μηλέα -ης apple tree μῆλον sheep, small livestock; apple, tree fruit μίν him, her, it μόρος portion, lot in life ὄον οὖ type of fruit όπτάω roast, bake ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view \sim thanatopsis παντοῖος all kinds of παραμένω stay with ∼remain παρατίθημι put near, put at risk \sim thesis παραφέρω serve; carry past; outdo περ emphatic particle; even though περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιχαρής very glad προσίστημι set against; (mp) stand near πρόσκειμαι be set before προσχυνέω kow tow to; kiss σχοπάω watch, observe σχοπέω behold, consider σκοπός (f) lookout, overseer, spy, target ∼telescope συγκυρέω meet or happen by chance

σφάζω cut the throat σῶστρα reward, offering of thanks τράπεζα a table \sim trapezoid τύχη fortune, act of a god χόλος gall, anger, wrath, bitterness \sim choler

χοηστός useful; brave, worthy χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir ψ ευδής lying, false \sim pseudo- ψ εύδω be false, deceive; (mid) to lie \sim pseudo-

notes

οὖκ: not lightly τὰ: his own house

1.117

'Αστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, 'Αρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ "Αρπαγος, εἴρετό μιν ὁ 'Αστυάγης «'Άρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;»

Ό δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῆ σῆ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἴην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναὶ μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὖ τελευτήση, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἢν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήση. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὧ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτω μόρω ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.»

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"Αρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον' ᾿Αστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνεἶχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μέν, κατά περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἡρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ῶς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς' «τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ» ἔφη λέγων «ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῆ ἐμῆ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ* ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὧν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον,»

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"Αρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῆσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἤιε ἐς τὰ* οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἢν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἶς μοῦνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπεν ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῆ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα.

Άστυάγης δέ, ως οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Άρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελών τὰ μὲν ὤπτησε τὰ δὲ ήψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὔτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα. Ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρήσαν οι τε άλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Άρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν άλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀστυάγεϊ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Άρπάγω δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ έωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρών τε καὶ ποδών, τἄλλα πάντα ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέω κατακεκαλυμμένα, ώς δὲ τῶ Άρπάγω ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Άστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῆ θοίνη. φαμένου δὲ Άρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, "Αρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε έξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν έφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδη, τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ένθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, άλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

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Άρπάγω μὲν ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύπου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οῦ τὸ ἐνύπνιὸν οἱ ταύτη ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ ἀστυάγης τῆ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὅψιν. οῦ δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἶπαν λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ

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So when the herdsman had made known the truth, Astyages now cared less about him, but with Harpagos he was very greatly displeased and bade his spearmen summon him. And when Harpagos came, Astyages asked him thus: "By what death, Harpagos, didst thou destroy the child whom I delivered to thee, born of my daughter?"

And Harpagos, seeing that the herdsman was in the king's palace, turned not to any false way of speech, lest he should be convicted and found out, but said as follows: "O king, so soon as I received the child, I took counsel and considered how I should do according to thy mind, and how without offence to thy command I might not be guilty of murder against thy daughter and against thyself. I did therefore thus:— I called this herdsman and delivered the child to him, saying first that thou wert he who bade him slay it— and in this at least I did not lie, for thou didst so command. I delivered it, I say, to this man commanding him to place it upon a desolate mountain, and to stay by it and watch it until it should die, threatening him with all kinds of punishment if he should fail to accomplish this. And when he had done that which was ordered and the child was dead, I sent the most trusted of my eunuchs and through them I saw and buried the child. Thus, O king, it happened about this matter, and the child had this death which I say."

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So Harpagos declared the truth, and Astyages concealed the anger which he kept against him for that which had come to pass, and first he related the matter over again to Harpagos according as he had been told it by the herdsman, and afterwards, when it had been thus repeated by him, he ended by saying that the child was alive and that that which had come to pass was well, "for," continued he, "I was greatly troubled by that which had been done to this child, and I thought it no light thing that I had been made at variance with my daughter. Therefore consider that this is a happy change of fortune, and first send thy son to be with the boy who is newly come, and then, seeing that I intend to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the preservation of the boy to those gods to whom that honour belongs, be here thyself to dine with me."

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When Harpagos heard this, he did reverence and thought it a great matter that his offence had turned out for his profit and moreover that he had been invited to dinner with happy augury; and so he went to his house. And having entered it straightway, he sent forth his son, for he had one only son of about thirteen years

old, bidding him go to the palace of Astyages and do whatsoever the king should command; and he himself being overjoyed told his wife that which had befallen him.

But Astyages, when the son of Harpagos arrived, cut his throat and divided him limb from limb, and having roasted some pieces of the flesh and boiled others he caused them to be dressed for eating and kept them ready. And when the time arrived for dinner and the other guests were present and also Harpagos, then before the other guests and before Astyages himself were placed tables covered with flesh of sheep; but before Harpagos was placed the flesh of his own son, all but the head and the hands and the feet, and these were laid aside covered up in a basket. Then when it seemed that Harpagos was satisfied with food, Astyages asked him whether he had been pleased with the banquet; and when Harpagos said that he had been very greatly pleased, they who had been commanded to do this brought to him the head of his son covered up, together with the hands and the feet; and standing near they bade Harpagos uncover and take of them that which he desired. So when Harpagos obeyed and uncovered, he saw the remains of his son; and seeing them he was not overcome with amazement but contained himself: and Astyages asked him whether he perceived of what animal he had been eating the flesh: and he said that he perceived, and that whatsoever the king might do was well pleasing to him. Thus having made answer and taking up the parts of the flesh which still remained he went to his house; and after that, I suppose, he would gather all the parts together and bury them.

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On Harpagos Astyages laid this penalty; and about Cyrus he took thought, and summoned the same men of the Magians who had given judgment about his dream in the manner which has been said: and when they came, Astyages asked how they had given judgment about his vision; and they spoke according to the same manner, saying that the child must

vocabulary άγγελιηφόρος messenger άλλοτριόω estrange from ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp ἀποσκήπτω hurl from above; fall suddenly ἀσθενής weak ἄτε as if: since $\mathring{a}ω$ aor: to sate \sim sate βασιλεύω be king βουχόλος herdsman ~bovine διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate διατάσσω arrange, array δορυφόρος spear-brearing δουλόω enslave ἔκκειμαι expose, set forth ἐκτρέφω raise, rear ένθεῦτεν thence ἔνιοι some ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block ἐνοράω look at, notice something in ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams έξακέομαι cure, appease, make up for ἐπιζώννυμι (ō) gird on ἐπιτεχνάομαι contrive ἐπιτρέφω grow, support έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble ήλιξ -κος (m) of the same age θαρσέω be of good heart θυρωρός doorman, porter ίδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman ίστορέω inquire; relate καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill κατορθόω erect; accomplish κείω rest, go to rest κώμη village

λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle μίν him, her, it νοστέω go home **ὁμοιόω** assimilate, liken ∼homoerotic ὄνειρον dream ὄνειρος dream **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit οὐδαμός not anyone ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view \sim thanatopsis $\pi \acute{\alpha} \theta \eta$ passivity, suffering πάντως by all means παραχελεύομαι recommend, encourage περ emphatic particle; even though περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain \sim genus περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist Πέρσης Persian πικρός sharp, bitter \sim picric π ομ π ή a sending, expedition \sim pomp **πομπός** escort, guide ∼pomp πρόνοια foresight, providence προοράω see before oneself πρόσχειμαι be set before προσφιλής beloved προφράζω tell in advance συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult \sim volunteer συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix τελέεις unblemished (victim) τιμωρία (τι) vengeance, punishment τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τοιόσδε such **τοκεύς** -ος (m) parent ∼oxytocin **φάτις** -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame φαῦλος trifling φοβερός frightful, afraid χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir

notes

oပံ: the play-acting having fulfilled the prophecy

κείνως: otherwise

Πέρσην: Astuages is Medean, but his son in law, Cyrus's father, is Persian.

τοὺς: his parents

Καμβύσεω: his Persian biological father

ή: insulting name for the mother who raised him, explained in the following sen-

tence

αὕτη: this story has been launched

βυβλίον: a piece of paper

έπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε.

« Έστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καί μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθέι λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῦν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;»

Εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι «εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσεξ τε τούτου εἴνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ* γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῦν ἔνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.»

Άμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. «καὶ αὐτὸς ὧ Μάγοι ταύτη πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καί μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μέν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκω τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.»

Εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι «ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστι κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σήν. κείνως* μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παίδα τοῦτον περιιοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην,* καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐόντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὧν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς* γειναμένους.»

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Άκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. «ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὰ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκεον, τῆ

σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις νῦν ὧν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἄμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.»

1.122

Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ ἸΑστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω* τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ως ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἶα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι, ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ' όδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πάθην' ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ ἸΑστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν όδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἤιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἤν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ* Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε.

1.123

Ένθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη* κεχώρηκε. Κύρω δὲ ἀνδρευμένω καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρηιοτάτω καὶ προσφιλεστάτω προσέκειτο ὁ Ἅρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῆσι ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἑκάστω ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης.

Κατεργασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἑτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος Ἅρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἄτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε·

have become king if he had lived on and had not died before. He made answer to them thus:

"The child is alive and not dead: and while he was dwelling in the country, the boys of the village appointed him king; and he performed completely all those things which they do who are really kings; for he exercised rule, appointed to their places spearmen of the guard and doorkeepers and bearers of messages and all else. Now therefore, to what does it seem to you that these things tend?"

The Magians said: "If the child is still alive and became king without any arrangement, be thou confident concerning him and have good courage, for he shall not be ruler again the second time; since some even of our oracles have had but small results, and that at least which has to do with dreams comes often in the end to a feeble accomplishment."

Astyages made answer in these words: "I myself also, O Magians, am most disposed to believe that this is so, namely that since the boy was named king the dream has had its fulfilment and that this boy is no longer a source of danger to me. Nevertheless give counsel to me, having well considered what is likely to be most safe both for my house and for you." Replying to this the Magians said: "To us also, O king, it is of great consequence that thy rule should stand firm; for in the other case it is transferred to strangers, coming round to this boy who is a Persian, and we being Medes are made slaves and become of no account in the eyes of the Persians, seeing that we are of different race; but while thou art established as our king, who art one of our own nation, we both have our share of rule and receive great honours from thee. Thus then we must by all means have a care of thee and of thy rule. And now, if we saw in this anything to cause fear, we would declare all to thee beforehand: but as the dream has had its issue in a trifling manner, both we ourselves are of good cheer and we exhort thee to be so likewise: and as for this boy, send him away from before thine eyes to the Persians and to his parents."

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When he heard this Astyages rejoiced, and calling Cyrus spoke to him thus: "My son, I did thee wrong by reason of a vision of a dream which has not come to pass, but thou art yet alive by thine own destiny; now therefore go in peace to the land of the Persians, and I will send with thee men to conduct thee: and when thou art come thither, thou shalt find a father and a mother not after the fashion of Mitradates the herdsman and his wife."

1.122

Thus having spoken Astyages sent Cyrus away; and when he had returned and come to the house of Cambyses, his parents received him; and after that, when they learnt who he was, they welcomed him not a little, for they had supposed without doubt that their son had perished straightway after his birth; and they inquired in what manner he had survived. And he told them, saying that before this he had not known but had been utterly in error; on the way, however, he had learnt all his own fortunes: for he had supposed without doubt that he was the son of the herdsman of Astyages, but since his journey from the city began he had learnt the whole story from those who conducted him. And he said that he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, and continued to praise her throughout, so that Kyno was the chief person in his tale. And his parents took up this name from him, and in order that their son might be thought by the Persians to have been preserved in a more supernatural manner, they set on foot a report that Cyrus when he was exposed had been reared by a bitch: and from that source has come this report.

1.123

Then as Cyrus grew to be a man, being of all those of his age the most courageous and the best beloved, Harpagos sought to become his friend and sent him gifts, because he desired to take vengeance on Astyages. For he saw not how from himself, who was in a private station, punishment should come upon Astyages; but when he saw Cyrus growing up, he endeavoured to make him an ally, finding a likeness between the fortunes of Cyrus and his own. And even before that time he had effected something: for Astyages being harsh towards the Medes, Harpagos communicated severally with the chief men of the Medes, and persuaded them that they must make Cyrus their leader and cause Astyages to cease from being king.

When he had effected this and when all was ready, then Harpagos wishing to make known his design to Cyrus, who lived among the Persians, could do it no other way, seeing that the roads were watched, but devised a scheme as follows:—

He made ready a hare, and having cut open its belly but without pulling off any of the fur. he

vocabulary $\dot{\alpha}\theta$ λον $\dot{\alpha}$ έθλου prize \sim athlete ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ∼athlete αἰπόλιον herd of goats **αἰρετός** takeable, desirable ~heresy ἀκανθώδης thorny ἄλιος of the sea; fruitless άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in ἀναπίπτω fall back άναπτύσσω unfold ἀναρίθμητος countless ἀνασχίζω rip/open up ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀπορράπτω sew up again ἀποτίλλω pluck ἀροτήρ -ος (m) plowman ~arable ἄτε as if; since αὐτοχειρία murder done by one's own hand αὐτοχείριος with one's own hand \mathring{a} ω aor: to sate \sim sate βουχόλιον herd βουχόλος herdsman ~bovine βυβλίον paper, book γαστήρ -έρος (f) belly \sim gastric γλῶσσα tongue, language ∼glossary γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute δίκτυον fishing net δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent δουλοπρεπής servile δρέπανον sickle ~dermatology εἰστίθημι put in ἐκμανθάνω know by heart ἐλεύθερος not enslaved ἔνειμι be in ~ion ἐνεός speechless, dumbfounded ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐντέλλω (mp) command

ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart ἐξημερόω tame completely ἐπεῖπον say besides or afterwards ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτελής accomplished ἐποράω look upon ἐπόρνυμι (ō) stir up ~hormone έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐωχέω fete, feed well ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama θηρευτής -οῦ (m, 1) hunter, hunting dog ∼fierce θηρευτός hunter, hunting dog θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω καθαιρέω take down, close ∼heresy καίριος deadly κατακλίνω (̄t) lay down ∼incline κότερος which, whichever of two $κ\tilde{\mathbf{0}}$ ρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λαγός hare ∼lagomorph λαγών -όνος (f, 3) flank λειμών -ος (m, 3) meadow ∼limnic λούω wash, bathe μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it **μυρίος** (ō) 10,000 ~myriad νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νυν now; so οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house slave όκτωκαίδεκα 18 **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit πάλαι long ago ~paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas πάντη everywhere παραγυμνόω expose, disclose παραπλήσιος similar to

περ emphatic particle; even though πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist Πέρσης Persian ποίμνη flock ~pastor πότε when? προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before **προθυμία** (\bar{v}) zeal, alacrity \sim fume πρόχειμαι be set before προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect \sim legion προτεραῖος previous to σοφός skilled, clever, wise στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;

(pl noun) 200 meters στρατηλατέω lead an army στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy συναλίζω collect; eat with συχνός long; many; extensive τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τύχη fortune, act of a god ὑστεραῖος the next; later φαῦλος trifling φονεύς -ως (m) killer \sim offend φρήτοη brotherhood, sub-tribe \sim fraternal φροντίζω consider, ponder χθιζός yesterday's χ $\tilde{\omega}$ ρος place \sim heir

notes

βυβλίον: a piece of paper

μιν: Cyrus

τὸ: the difference between

Λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον,* γράψας τά οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἄτε θηρευτῆ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενὸς οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι.

1.124

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε εύρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε.

« Παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι · οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ · σύ νυν ᾿Αστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τῖσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεούς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις · τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ περὶ ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἶα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ ᾿Αστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ ᾿Αστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἁπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους · καὶ ἤν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ ᾿Αστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἤν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων · πρῶτοι γὰρ οὖτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο ᾿Αστυάγεα καταιρέειν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὧν ἑτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεε ταῦτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος.»

1.125

Άκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, άλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη ᾿Αστυάγεά μιν* στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. «νῦν τε,» ἔφη λέγων, «ὧ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῦν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον.» Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε.

(Έστι δὲ Πέρσεων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὧλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἴδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὖτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσί, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.)

1.126

Ώς δὲ παρῆσαν ἄπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἢν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντῃ, τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερα σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τἀυτὸ ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἴνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε.

Έπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῆ προτεραίη εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἴη αἰρετώτερα. οῖ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ* μέσον' τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων «ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαί ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείη τύχη γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἥγημαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τἄλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὧν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' ᾿Αστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.»

put into it, just as it was, a piece of paper, having written upon it that which he thought good; and then he sewed up again the belly of the hare, and giving nets as if he were a hunter to that one of his servants whom he trusted most, he sent him away to the land of the Persians, enjoining him by word of mouth to give the hare to Cyrus, and to tell him at the same time to open it with his own hands and let no one else be present when he did so.

1.124

This then was accomplished, and Cyrus having received from him the hare, cut it open; and having found within it the paper he took and read it over. And the writing said this:

"Son of Cambyses, over thee the gods keep guard, for otherwise thou wouldst never have come to so much good fortune. Do thou therefore take vengeance on Astyages who is thy murderer, for so far as his will is concerned thou art dead, but by the care of the gods and of me thou art still alive; and this I think thou hast long ago learnt from first to last, both how it happened about thyself, and also what things I have suffered from Astyages, because I did not slay thee but gave thee to the herdsman. If therefore thou wilt be guided by me, thou shalt be ruler of all that land over which now Astyages is ruler. Persuade the Persians to revolt, and march any army against the Medes: and whether I shall be appointed leader of the army against thee, or any other of the Medes who are in repute, thou hast what thou desirest; for these will be the first to attempt to destroy Astyages, revolting from him and coming over to thy party. Consider then that here at least all is ready, and therefore do this and do it with speed."

1.125

Cyrus having heard this began to consider in what manner he might most skilfully persuade the Persians to revolt, and on consideration he found that this was the most convenient way, and so in fact he did:— He wrote first on a paper that which he desired to write, and he made an assembly of the Persians. Then he unfolded the paper and reading from it said that Astyages appointed him commander of the Persians; "and now, O Persians," he continued, "I give you command to come to me each one with a reaping-hook." Cyrus then proclaimed this command.

(Now there are of the Persians many tribes, and some of them Cyrus gathered together and persuaded to revolt from the Medes, namely those, upon which all the other Persians depend, the Pasargadai, the Maraphians and the Maspians, and of these the Pasargadai are the most noble, of whom also the Achaimenidai are a clan, whence are sprung the Perseïd kings. But other Persian tribes there are,

as follows:— the Panthaliaians, the Derusiaians and the Germanians, these are all tillers of the soil; and the rest are nomad tribes, namely the Daoi, Mardians, Dropicans and Sagartians.)

1.126

Now there was a certain region of the Persian land which was overgrown with thorns, extending some eighteen or twenty furlongs in each direction; and when all had come with that which they had been before commanded to bring, Cyrus bade them clear this region for cultivation within one day: and when the Persians had achieved the task proposed, then he bade them come to him on the next day bathed and clean. Meanwhile Cyrus, having gathered together in one place all the flocks of goats and sheep and the herds of cattle belonging to his father, slaughtered them and prepared with them to entertain the host of the Persians, and moreover with wine and other provisions of the most agreeable kind. So when the Persians came on the next day, he made them recline in a meadow and feasted them.

And when they had finished dinner, Cyrus asked them whether that which they had on the former day or that which they had now seemed to them preferable. They said that the difference between them was great, for the former day had for them nothing but evil, and the present day nothing but good. Taking up this saying Cyrus proceeded to lay bare his whole design, saying: "Men of the Persians, thus it is with you. If ye will do as I say, ye have these and ten thousand other good things, with no servile labour; but if ye will not do as I say, ye have labours like that of yesterday innumerable. Now therefore do as I say and make yourselves free: for I seem to myself to have been born by providential fortune to take these matters in hand; and I think that ye are not worse men than the Medes, either in other matters or in those which have to do with war. Consider then that this is so, and make revolt from Astyages forthwith."

 \sim zoo

ηδομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism

ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be

θεοβλαβής god-struck, infatuated

overcome; (active) defeat

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀδικία injustice, offence αἰσχρός shameful αἰχμάλωτος captive ~acute ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade ἀναίτιος blameless ~etiology ἀνασκολοπίζω impale ἀνθρωποφυής of man's nature ἀνταείρω raise against ἀνταίρω raise against ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise \sim angel ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast ἀπειλή boast, threat ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἀρχῆθεν since forever αὐτομολέω desert βασιλεύω be king βωμός altar; stand, pedestal δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαλύω break up; relax, weaken δουλοσύνη slavery ἐθελοχαχέω wimp out; act maliciously έλευθερόω set free "Ελλην Greek ἐπανίστημι rise up at one's bidding \sim station ἐπιλαμβάνω take, attack, seize ἐπιμανθάνω learn besides or after $\dot{\epsilon}$ πιφ $\dot{\epsilon}$ ρ ω bestow, impute \sim bear $\xi \rho \delta \omega$ do, perform \sim ergonomics ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive

θοινάω host at a meal θ υμαλγής (\bar{v}) heart-grieving \sim fume θυσία sacrifice θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω ίδούω establish καταδουλόω enslave κατακερτομέω rant καταπαύω stop, restrain ∼pause καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe καταχαίρω exult over, greatly **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle λάω grip, pin? λήθη forgetting \sim Lethe μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause regret to; (mp) regret μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μετέχω partake of μίν him, her, it μωρία folly νηός temple, shrine νυν now; so ὀνειροπόλος interpreter of dreams $\dot{\mathbf{o}}$ πλίζω prepare, arm \sim hoplite οὐράνιος heavenly πάλαι long ago ~paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas πάντως by all means πάρεξ alongside, diverging from; (+ή or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside περ emphatic particle; even though πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιτίθημι put around, endow with \sim thesis Πέρσης Persian πικρότης -τος (f, 3) bitterness, harshness

πρεσβύτης -ου (v, m, 1) old person προσίστημι set against; (mp) stand near πρόσοιδα (+χάριν) be grateful besides προσοράω look at προστάτης -ου (m, 1) leader, protector σελήνη moon σχαιός left-hand

στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army ~strategy συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix τοιόσδε such ὑποχύπτω be bowed ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ~eclipse

notes

τοῦ: the plot $\gamma \epsilon$: at least

γράψαι: the letter in the rabbit

σφι: the Medes

ἐς: until

ἐπιφέρουσι: impute

1.127

Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοὶ ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. ᾿Αστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἢ ᾿Αστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς ἐῶν Ἅρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέμισγον, οῖ μέν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ* λόγου μετέσχον, οῖ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

1.128

Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ. στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ ᾿Αστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ «ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς Κῦρός γε* χαιρήσει.» τοσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἴ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἐσσώθη, καὶ αὐτός τε ᾿Αστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

1.129

Έόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ ᾿Αστυάγεϊ προσστὰς ὁ Ἅρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ έωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὅ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ έωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι,* τὸ πρῆγμα έωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι.

'Αστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἴνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τεῷ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

1.130

'Αστυάγης μέν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω "Αλυος ποταμοῦ 'Ασίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον. ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνω μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι* ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ 'Αστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς 'Ασίης. 'Αστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ, ἐς* ὁ ἐτελεύτησε. οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον. τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς 'Ασίης ἤρξε.

1.131

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι,* ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατά περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· οῖ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῆ Οὐρανίη θύειν, παρά τε ᾿Ασσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ ᾿Αραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ ᾿Ασσύριοι τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτην Μύλιττα, ᾿Αράβιοι δὲ ᾿Αλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

1.127

So the Persians having obtained a leader willingly attempted to set themselves free, since they had already for a long time been indignant to be ruled by the Medes: but when Astyages heard that Cyrus was acting thus, he sent a messenger and summoned him; and Cyrus bade the messenger report to Astyages that he would be with him sooner than he would himself desire. So Astyages hearing this armed all the Medes, and blinded by divine providence he appointed Harpagos to be the leader of the army, forgetting what he had done to him. Then when the Medes had marched out and began to fight with the Persians, some of them continued the battle, namely those who had not been made partakers in the design, while others went over to the Persians; but the greater number were wilfully slack and fled.

1.128

So when the Median army had been shamefully dispersed, so soon as Astyages heard of it he said, threatening Cyrus: "But not even so shall Cyrus at least escape punishment." Thus having spoken he first impaled the Magian interpreters of dreams who had persuaded him to let Cyrus go, and then he armed those of the Medes, youths and old men, who had been left behind in the city. These he led out and having engaged battle with the Persians he was worsted, and Astyages himself was taken alive, and he lost also those of the Medes whom he had led forth.

1.129

Then when Astyages was a prisoner, Harpagos came and stood near him and rejoiced over him and insulted him; and besides other things which he said to grieve him, he asked him especially how it pleased him to be a slave instead of a king, making reference to that dinner at which Astyages had feasted him with the flesh of his own son. He looking at him asked him in whether he claimed the work of Cyrus as his own deed: and Harpagos said that since he had written the letter, the deed was justly his.

Then Astyages declared him to be at the same time the most unskilful and the most unjust of men; the most unskilful because, when it was in his power to become king (as it was, if that which had now been done was really brought about by him), he had conferred the chief power on another, and the most unjust, because on account of that dinner he had reduced the Medes to slavery. For if he must needs confer the kingdom on some other and not keep it himself, it was more just to give this good thing to one of the Medes rather than to one of the Persians; whereas now the Medes, who were guiltless of this, had become slaves instead of masters, and the Persians who formerly were slaves of the Medes had now become

their masters.

1.130

Astyages then, having been king for five and thirty years, was thus caused to cease from being king; and the Medes stooped under the yoke of the Persians because of his cruelty, after they had ruled Asia above the river Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years, except during that period for which the Scythians had rule. Afterwards however it repented them that they had done this, and they revolved from Dareios, and having revolted they were subdued again, being conquered in a battle. At this time then, I say, in the reign of Astyages, the Persians with Cyrus rose up against the Medes and from that time forth were rulers of Asia: but as for Astyages, Cyrus did no harm to him besides, but kept him with himself until he died. Thus born and bred Cyrus became king; and after this he subdued Croesus, who was the first to begin the quarrel, as I have before said; and having subdued him he then became ruler of all Asia.

1.131

These are the customs, so far as I know, which the Persians practise:— Images and temples and altars they do not account it lawful to erect, nay they even charge with folly those who do these things; and this, as it seems to me, because they do not account the gods to be in the likeness of men, as do the Hellenes. But it is their wont to perform sacrifices to Zeus going up to the most lofty of the mountains, and the whole circle of the heavens they call Zeus: and they sacrifice to the Sun and the Moon and the Earth, to Fire and to Water and to the Winds: these are the only gods to whom they have sacrificed ever from the first; but they have learnt also to sacrifice to Aphrodite Urania, having learnt it both from the Assyrians and the Arabians; and the Assyrians call Aphrodite Mylitta, the Arabians Alitta, and the Persians Mitra.

vocabulary ἀγεννής low-born; sordid ἄγχ ι near, nigh \sim angina ἀληθίζω speak truth άλής crowded; all together ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ∼caustic ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀνδραγαθία bravery ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀντέχω hold up as protection against \sim ischemia ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ∼bear ἀρχός ruler \sim archangel αὐλός flute, tube, hollow βωμός altar; stand, pedestal δαίς -τός (f) feast, banquet \sim demon δαίτη feast, banquet διάγνοια deliberation δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαμιστύλλω cut into pieces διάω blow through ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus είκοσαέτης of 20 years ἑκαστάτω afar, far off ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth \sim genus "Ελλην Greek ἐμέω vomit ~emetic ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἐπαείδω sing with, to; charm ἐπαοιδή magic words ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιδιαγινώσκω consider afresh ἐπιτηδεύω practice, pursue ἐπιτροπεύω administrate ἐπιφόρημα dessert ἔπω (mid) follow, accompany; (act, uncommon) handle, take care of ἐσθής clothes ∼vest

εὐδαίμων blessed with a good genius εὐπάθεια comfort ἐύς good, brave, noble **ἔψω** boil, be boiling $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$ be accustomed, in the habit ἥκιστος least; above all θεογονία birth of gods θυσία sacrifice θύω (\bar{v}) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ἰχνεύω track, hunt καθαρός clean, pure κάμηλος (f) camel κάμινος (ī, f) oven, furnace κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατεύχομαι pray, vow, curse κουρίδιος wedded, nuptial **κρέας** -ως (n) meat ∼creatine **κτῆνος** -ους (n, 3) herd animal λεπτός thin μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off μεθύσκω (mp) get drunk μεθύω be soaked, drunk ∼mead μέλεος vain, idle, useless **μέλος** -ους (n, 3) limb; melody μίν him, her, it μύρσινος myrtle νήφω be sober νόμαιος customary νυν now; so ὄμουρος bordering ὀνίνημι help, please, be available ὄνομαι blame ∼name ὄνος (f) donkey ∼onager **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit οπτός roasted οὐχί intensified 'not' οὐλαί barley grains οὐλή scar οὐρέω piss ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view ~thanatopsis παιδεύω raise; train

παλλακή sex slave παντοδαπής of every kind, manifold παντοδαπός of every kind, manifold παραφέρω serve; carry past; outdo παραφορέω serve; carry past; outdo παρειά cheeks πεινάω be hungry πένης -τος (m) poor πενταετής for five years Πέρσης Persian προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds προβουλεύω take counsel before προσαγορεύω address, call by name προσδοχάω expect προσίημι be allowed near πρόσχειμαι be set before προσχυνέω kow tow to; kiss

προσπίπτω attack; befall; kow-tow π ροτίθημι set before \sim thesis σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σπονδή libation, treaty ∼spontaneous στέγαρχος master of the house στέμμα -τος (n, 3) headband or wreath στεφανόω crown συνάπας (αᾱ) all together συντυγχάνω fall in with; happen **τοξεύω** shoot an arrow at ∼toxic τρίφυλλον clover τρίφυλλος three-leaved ὑποδεής inferior; fearful ὑποπάσσω strew under; plaster under ὑστεραῖος the next; later φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry \sim bear χῶρος place \sim heir

notes

σπουδαιέστατα: most important

προτιθεῖ: brings back up

1.132

Θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῆ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῆσι τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα. ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὔ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθά, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλέι ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἄπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρἡιον ἑψήσῃ τὰ κρέα ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἁπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἴην δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

1.133

Ήμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῆ ἔκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτη δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι ἐν τῆ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.

Οἴνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καί σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα* τῶν πρηγμάτων' τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῆ ὑστεραίη νήφουσι προτιθεῖ* ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες

προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

1.134

Έντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῆσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἄν τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὅμοιοί εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι ἢν δὲ ἢ οὕτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται ἢν δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὕτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἔτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἐωυτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι ἤκιστα δὲ τοὺς εωυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῆ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ έωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχὸν τῶν καὶ ἢρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὖτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οῖ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.

1.135

Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας καὶ ἐὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

1.136

Άνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅς ἃν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἰχνεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα

1.132

Now this is the manner of sacrifice for the gods aforesaid which is established among the Persians:— they make no altars neither do they kindle fire; and when they mean to sacrifice they use no libation nor music of the pipe nor chaplets nor meal for sprinkling; but when a man wishes to sacrifice to any one of the gods, he leads the animal for sacrifice to an unpolluted place and calls upon the god, having his tiara wreathed round generally with a branch of myrtle. For himself alone separately the man who sacrifices may not request good things in his prayer, but he prays that it may be well with all the Persians and with the king; for he himself also is included of course in the whole body of Persians. And when he has cut up the victim into pieces and boiled the flesh, he spreads a layer of the freshest grass and especially clover, upon which he places forthwith all the pieces of flesh; and when he has placed them in order, a Magian man stands by them and chants over them a theogony (for of this nature they say that their incantation is), seeing that without a Magian it is not lawful for them to make sacrifices. Then after waiting a short time the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it for whatever purpose he pleases.

1.133

And of all days their wont is to honour most that on which they were born, each one: on this they think it right to set out a feast more liberal than on other days; and in this feast the wealthier of them set upon the table an ox or a horse or a camel or an ass, roasted whole in an oven, and the poor among them set out small animals in the same way. They have few solid dishes, but many served up after as dessert, and these not in a single course; and for this reason the Persians say that the Hellenes leave off dinner hungry, because after dinner they have nothing worth mentioning served up as dessert, whereas if any good dessert were served up they would not stop eating so soon.

To wine-drinking they are very much given, and it is not permitted for a man to vomit or to make water in presence of another. Thus do they provide against these things; and they are wont to deliberate when drinking hard about the most important of their affairs, and whatsoever conclusion has pleased them in their deliberation, this on the next day, when they are sober, the master of the house in which they happen to be when they deliberate lays before them for discussion: and if it pleases them when they are sober also, they adopt it, but if it does not please them, they let it go: and that on which they have had the first deliberation when they are sober, they consider again when they are drinking.

1.134

When they meet one another in the roads, by this you may discern whether those who meet are of equal rank,— for instead of greeting by words they kiss one another on the mouth; but if one of them is a little inferior to the other, they kiss one another on the cheeks, and if one is of much less noble rank than the other, he falls down before him and does worship to him. And they honour of all most after themselves those nations which dwell nearest to them, and next those which dwell next nearest, and so they go on giving honour in proportion to distance; and they hold least in honour those who dwell furthest off from themselves, esteeming themselves to be by far the best of all the human race on every point, and thinking that others possess merit according to the proportion which is here stated, and that those who dwell furthest from themselves are the worst. And under the supremacy of the Medes the various nations used also to govern one another according to the same rule as the Persians observe in giving honour, the Medes governing the whole and in particular those who dwelt nearest to themselves, and these having rule over those who bordered upon them, and those again over the nations that were next to them: for the race went forward thus ever from government by themselves to government through others.

1.135

The Persians more than any other men admit foreign usages; for they both wear the Median dress judging it to be more comely than their own, and also for fighting the Egyptian corslet: moreover they adopt all kinds of luxuries when they hear of them, and in particular they have learnt from the Hellenes to have commerce with boys. They marry each one several lawful wives, and they get also a much larger number of concubines.

1.136

It is established as a sign of manly excellence next after excellence in fight, to be able to show many sons; and to those who have most the king sends gifts every year: for they consider number to be a source of strength. And they educate their children, beginning at five years old and going on till twenty, in three things only, in riding, in shooting, and in speaking the truth: but before the boy is five years old he does not come into the presence of his father, but lives with the women; and it is so done for this reason, that if the child should die while he is being bred

vocabulary άγνεύω purify άγώνισμα -τος (n, 3) contest, feat άδίκημα -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in αἰσχρός shameful ἀμφίβληστρον net for casting ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery ἀναζητέω investigate, discover ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ∼ion άνευρίσκω discover ἀνήκεστος not to be cured, soothed, appeased ἄση woe; nausea, satiety ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐλέω play (blow, toot) αὐλητής -οῦ (m, 1) flute player αὐτοχειρία murder done by one's own hand αὐτοχείριος with one's own hand $\mathring{\alpha}\omega$ aor: to sate \sim sate γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter δίζημαι seek ~zeal ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark ~basis ἐμπτύω spit into, on ἐμφανής visible ἔμψυχος (ō) animate, animated ἐναπονίζω wash in ἐνουρέω piss in ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ∼ion ἐξειρύω draw out, haul off έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic έπιφέρω bestow, impute \sim bear $\xi \rho \delta \omega$ do, perform ~ergonomics έρπετόν able to move ∼serpent έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled ἐύς good, brave, noble ητοι truly; either, or θάπτω bury \sim epitaph θύω (\bar{v}) rush: sacrifice $\sim θύω$ κατακηρόω cover with wax καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe

κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; κατέρχομαι come down, out from κατήκοος hearing; obedient **κρύπτω** hide, cover ∼cryptic $κ\tilde{\mathbf{0}}$ ρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λέπρα leprosy λογίζομαι reckon, consider μεγαλοπρέπεια magnificence μίν him, her, it μοιχίδιος born of adultery μύρμηξ ant νέχυς (Ū) corpse, ghost ∼necro νυν now; so οἰχέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὁπόσος as many as, how many, how great ὄρνις -θος $(\bar{\iota}, f)$ bird \sim ornithology ὀρχέομαι dance ὀφείλω owe, should, if only ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περιοράω look around; watch; permit περιστερά dove Πέρσης Persian πετεινός winged; full-fledged ~petal προΐσχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προσβάλλω hit, attack, approach; attach, offer ∼ballistic σαφηνής plain truth σέβομαι feel shame, awe συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix συμπίπτω fall together, happen τοκεύς -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin ὑποβολιμαῖος illegitimate (child) ὑπούργημα service φονεύω kill

ψεῦδος -ους (n, 3) a lie \sim pseudoψεύδω be false, deceive; (mid) to lie

notes

ἐγένετο: the child did τουτέων: those diseases

 $\dot{\epsilon}\varsigma$: the conquered Lydian capital in western Anatolia

ἐπὶ: under the same terms ἰδόντα: plural accusative

συνελέγοντο ές: a league of twelve cities (1.143), which, despite the name, did

not include most of the Ionian cities

ην ἀποθάνη τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλη.

1.137

Αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἴνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν έωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῆ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται.

Άποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν έωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο,* πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δή φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τόν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ, ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

1.138

"Ασσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἴνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ὰν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὖτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων* πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες.

Ές ποταμὸν δὲ οὖτε ἐνουρέουσι οὖτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

1.139

Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὖ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι (ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῆ μεγαλοπρεπείη) τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὢυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἰωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εύρήσεις τελευτώντα τών Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

1.140 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὧν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτουσι.

Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οῦ μὲν γὰρ ἁγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὄφις καὶ τἆλλα έρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

1.141

Ἰωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς* Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ* τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσω ἢσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προἴσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα* ἰχθῦς ἐν τῆ θαλάσση αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν' ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς «παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεῖ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἢθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.» Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἴνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἰωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δὶ ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἢσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρω.

up, he may not be the cause of any grief to his father.

1.137

I commend this custom of theirs, and also the one which is next to be mentioned, namely that neither the king himself shall put any to death for one cause alone, nor any of the other Persians for one cause alone shall do hurt that is irremediable to any of his own servants; but if after reckoning he finds that the wrongs done are more in number and greater than the services rendered, then only he gives vent to his anger.

Moreover they say that no one ever killed his own father or mother, but whatever deeds have been done which seemed to be of this nature, if examined must necessarily, they say, be found to be due either to changelings or to children of adulterous birth; for, say they, it is not reasonable to suppose that the true parent would be killed by his own son.

1.138

Whatever things it is not lawful for them to do, these it is not lawful for them even to speak of: and the most disgraceful thing in their estimation is to tell an lie, and next to this to owe money, this last for many other reasons, but especially because it is necessary, they say, for him who owes money, also sometimes to tell lies: and whosoever of the men of the city has leprosy or whiteness of skin, he does not come into a city nor mingle with the other Persians; and they say that he has these diseases because he has offended in some way against the Sun: but a stranger who is taken by these diseases, in many regions they drive out of the country altogether, and also white doves, alleging against them the same cause.

And into a river they neither make water nor spit, neither do they wash their hands in it, nor allow any other to do these things, but they reverence rivers very greatly.

1.139

This moreover also has chanced to them, which the Persians have themselves failed to notice but I have not failed to do so:— their names, which are formed to correspond with their bodily shapes or their magnificence of station, end all with the same letter, that letter which the Dorians call san and the Ionians sigma; with this you will find, if you examine the matter, that all the Persian names end, not some with this and others with other letters, but all alike.

1.140

So much I am able to say for certain from my own knowledge about them: but what follows is reported about their dead as a secret mystery and not with clearness, namely that the body of a Persian man is not buried until it has been torn by a bird or a dog. (The Magians I know for a certainty have this practice, for they do it openly.) However that may be, the Persians cover the body with wax and then bury it in the earth.

Now the Magians are distinguished in many ways from other men, as also from the priests in Egypt: for these last esteem it a matter of purity to kill no living creature except the animals which they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands all creatures except dogs and men, and they even make this a great end to aim at, killing both ants and serpents and all other creeping and flying things. About this custom then be it as it was from the first established; and I now to the former narrative.

1.141

The Ionians and Aiolians, as soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, sent messengers to Cyrus at Sardis, desiring to be his subjects on the same terms as they had been subjects of Croesus. And when he heard that which they proposed to him, he spoke to them a fable, saying that a certain player on the pipe saw fishes in the sea and played on his pipe, supposing that they would come out to land; but being deceived in his expectation, he took a casting-net and enclosed a great multitude of the fishes and drew them forth from the water: and when he saw them leaping about, he said to the fishes: "Stop dancing I pray you now, seeing that ye would not come out and dance before when I piped." Cyrus spoke this fable to the Ionians and Aiolians for this reason, because the Ionians had refused to comply before, when Cyrus himself by a messenger requested them to revolt from Croesus, while now when the conquest had been made they were ready to submit

vocabulary ἀγάλλω exalt; mp: exult in ἀείναος ever-flowing ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἀνομέω act lawlessly ἀποσχίζω sever ἀσθενής weak αὐχμώδης dry; a drought; squalid, dull γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary διαλέγω go through, debate ~legion εἰσδέχομαι admit, take in ἐκκλείω shut out; prevent ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest ἔξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐπαισχύνομαι be ashamed of ἑσπέρα evening, west ἐύς good, brave, noble ζημία loss, penalty ~zeal ήπειρος (f) mainland, continent ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θερμός warm, hot \sim thermos ίδούω establish καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ~fugitive κατήκοος hearing; obedient κατηλογέω ignore, neglect λόγιμος notable μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεταδίδωμι give part of ∼donate μετέχω partake of μετοχή sharing

μηδαμός no one **ναυβάτης** -ου (m, 1) (of a) sailor νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular νυν now; so ὁμοφωνέω speak the same language; speak in unison **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc οὐδαμός not anyone πάλαι long ago ~paleo παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling \sim Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish \sim Pallas παραγωγή leading past, misleading πεντάπολις league of 5 cities περ emphatic particle; even though περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic Πέρσης Persian πιέζω press, squeeze ~piezoelectric πόλισμα buildings of a city πρόσοιχος neighboring προσπασσαλεύω nail to, hang σκέπας -ως (n) shelter σκέπη shelter, protection σκέπω cover, seal σμυρναῖος of myrrh συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τρίπους three-legged cauldron ~pedal ύγρός wet ὑπόλοιπος left over χαρακτήρ -ος (m) stamp; characteristic ψυχρός (Ū) cold ∼psychology

notes

συνελέγοντο ἐς: a league of twelve cities (1.143), which, despite the name, did not include most of the Ionian cities

où $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$: Sections 1.142-151 are a long digression on the ethnography of the Ionian colonies in Asia and the ancient grudges that kept them disunited

τοῦ μὲν : climate

Μιλήσιοι: Miletus was on the coast of Anatolia.

Ἰώνων οὖτοι: because of

ὄτι: except for Athens, which Herodotus considers to be Ionian

τὸ: the label "Ionian"

κατά περ: just like the Ionians

Δωριέες: farther south

"Ο μὲν δὴ ὀργῆ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἰωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς* τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἔκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὅρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἶσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρέειν.

1.142

Οἱ δἐ* Ἰωνες οὖτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν* οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὕτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὼυτὸ ποιέει τῆ Ἰωνίη οὕτε τὰ κάτω οὕτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὕτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος.

Γλώσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὖται μὲν ἐν τῆ Καρίη κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἴδε δὲ ἐν τῆ Λυδίη, Ἐφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια αὖται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῆσι πρότερον λεχθείσησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλώσσαν οὐδέν, σφισι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῆ ἠπείρῳ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τώντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὖτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

1.143

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι* μὲν ἢσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἢν δεινὸν οὐδέν οὐτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἢσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὕτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὕτοι* κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὴ ἢν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου

έλαχίστου ὅτι* γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἱωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ* οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰωνες κεκλῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὖται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖοι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι)·

1.144 Κατά περ* οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες,* πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται [ὧν] μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἁγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ έωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αὶ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Τήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἔκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν οὖτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

1.145

Δυώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἰωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσω οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μέν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῆ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστί, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίη ποταμὸς τὸ οὕνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνες ὑπὸ ἀχαιῶν μάχη ἑσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγίον καὶ Ὑνπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὠλενος, ἐν τῷ

to Cyrus.

Thus he said to them in anger, and the Ionians, when they heard this answer brought back to their cities, put walls round about them severally, and gathered together to the Panionion, all except the men of Miletos, for with these alone Cyrus had sworn an agreement on the same terms as the Lydians had granted. The rest of the Ionians resolved by common consent to send messengers to Sparta, to ask the Spartans to help the Ionians.

1.142

These Ionians to whom belongs the Panionion had the fortune to build their cities in the most favourable position for climate and seasons of any men whom we know: for neither the regions above Ionia nor those below, neither those towards the East nor those towards the West, produce the same results as Ionia itself, the regions in the one direction being oppressed by cold and moisture, and those in the other by heat and drought.

And these do not use all the same speech, but have four different variations of language. First of their cities on the side of the South lies Miletos, and next to it Myus and Priene. These are settlements made in Caria, and speak the same language with one another; and the following are in Lydia,— Ephesos, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenai, Phocaia: these cities resemble not at all those mentioned before in the speech which they use, but they agree one with another. There remain besides three Ionian cities, of which two are established in the islands of Samos and Chios, and one is built upon the mainland, namely Erythrai: now the men of Chios and of Erythrai use the same form of language, but the Samians have one for themselves alone. Thus there result four separate forms of language.

1.143

Of these Ionians then those of Miletos were sheltered from danger, since they had sworn an agreement; and those of them who lived in islands had no cause for fear, for the Phenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians and the Persians themselves were not sea-men. Now these were parted off from the other Ionians for no other reason than this:— The whole Hellenic nation was at that time weak, but of all its races the Ionian was much the weakest and of least account: except Athens, indeed, it had no considerable city. Now the other Ionians, and among them the Athenians, avoided the name, not wishing to be called Ionians, nay even now I perceive that the greater number of them are ashamed of the name: but these twelve cities not only prided themselves on the name but established a temple of their own, to which they gave the name of Panionion, and they made resolution

not to grant a share in it to any other Ionians (nor indeed did any ask to share it except those of Smyrna);

1.144

Just as the Dorians of that district which is now called the Five Cities but was formerly called the Six Cities, take care not to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians to the temple of Triopion, and even exclude from sharing in it those of their own body who commit any offence as regards the temple. For example, in the games of the Triopian Apollo they used formerly to set bronze tripods as prizes for the victors, and the rule was that those who received them should not carry them out of the temple but dedicate them then and there to the god. There was a man then of Halicarnassos, whose name was Agasicles, who being a victor paid no regard to this rule, but carried away the tripod to his own house and hung it up there upon a nail. On this ground the other five cities, Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros, Cos and Cnidos, excluded the sixth city Halicarnassos from sharing in the temple.

1.145

Upon these they laid this penalty: but as for the Ionians, I think that the reason why they made of themselves twelve cities and would not receive any more into their body, was because when they dwelt in Peloponnesus there were of them twelve divisions, just as now there are twelve divisions of the Achaians who drove the Ionians out: for first, (beginning from the side of Sikyon) comes Pellene, then Aigeira and Aigai, in which last is the river Crathis with a perpetual flow (whence the river of the same name in Italy received its name), and Bura and Helike, to which the Ionians fled for refuge when they were worsted by the Achaians in fight, and Aigion and Rhypes and Patreis and Phareis and Olenos, where

vocabulary

ἄκρα at the edge, extreme \sim acute ἄχρη at the edge, extreme ἄχρις -ός (f) hilltop \sim acute ἀναμείγνυμι (ō) mix with, join ἀνδραποδίζω enslave ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose ἀποδάσμιος separated, apportioned ἀποικία colony ἀποκλείω shut out; (+acc) close ἄρκτος (f) bear ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch γενναῖος noble, sincere ∼genesis γονεύς -ος (m) parent γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐκπίπτω fall out of \sim petal ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest ελλην Greek ἕνδεκα eleven ∼decimal ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy \sim heresy ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπιδιαιρέω divide, distribute ἔπιπλα -τος (n, 2) stuff, possessions **ζέφυρος** the west wind ∼zephyr ήπειρος (f) mainland, continent ήπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat

καταντίον facing, across from καταράομαι (αāα) curse Κίλλα Cilla **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin μεσόγαιος inland μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μωρία folly νέμω to allot, to pasture \sim nemesis νότιος flowing; south νυν now; so ὅμαιμος related by blood ὁμολογίη agreement, consent ὁμοσιτέω (ī) eat with ὁρτή holiday, feast οὕτις nobody, nothing παραλύω detach, disable περ emphatic particle; even though περιέχω (mid) protect Πέρσης Persian πρυτανήιον town hall, law court σκηψις excuse σμύρνα myrrh σμυρναῖος of myrrh στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συναμφότεροι both together συνοικέω live together ὑποδείχνυμι (υō) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer \sim doctrine φονεύω kill φυγάς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee ~fugitive χῶρος place \sim heir

notes

ἐπεὶ ις γέ : adverb: any αὐτῆσι ὄρχους: imposed τετραμμένος: facing

καθαρός clean, pure

καταίρω swoop; land

arrive; be proper

αΐδε δὲ αἱ: north of the Ionians

καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,

ώρέων: climate

πάντων: their other cities

Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

1.146

Τούτων δὴ εἴνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ* τι μᾶλλον οὖτοι Ἰωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίες εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὖτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἢγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτὸν δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὖται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῆσι ὅρκους* ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῆσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἴνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παΐδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῆσι συνοίκεον.

1.147

Ταῦτα δὲ ἢν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οῦ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οῦ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οῦ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι όρτήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων οὖτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὖτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

1.148

Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος,* κοινῆ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ, ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῆ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια. (πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τώντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατά περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.) αὖται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιες εἰσί.

1.149

Αΐδε δὲ αί* Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὖται ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων ἢσαν γὰρ καὶ αὖται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῆ ἠπείρω. οὖτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὡρέων* δὲ ἥκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

1.150

Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσω, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων* Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίη ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλιες καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

1.151

Αὖται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰδη οἰκημενέων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὖται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῆ Λέσβω οἰκημένην Ἡρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδω δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῆσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι

is the great river Peiros, and Dyme and Tritaieis, of which the last alone has an inland position. These form now twelve divisions of the Achaians, and in former times they were divisions of the Ionians.

1.146

For this reason then the Ionians also made for themselves twelve cities: for at any rate to say that these are any more Ionians than the other Ionians, or have at all a nobler descent, is mere folly, considering that a large part of them are Abantians from Euboea, who have no share even in the name of Ionia, and Minyai of Orchomenos have been mingled with them, and Cadmeians and Dryopians and Phokians who seceded from their native State and Molossians and Pelasgians of Arcadia and Dorians of Epidauros and many other races have been mingled with them; and those of them who set forth to their settlements from the City Hall of Athens and who esteem themselves the most noble by descent of the Ionians, these, I say, brought no women with them to their settlement, but took Carian women, whose parents they slew: and on account of this slaughter these women laid down for themselves a rule, imposing oaths on one another, and handed it on to their daughters, that they should never eat with their husbands, nor should a wife call her own husband by name, for this reason, because the Ionians had slain their fathers and husbands and children and then having done this had them to wife. This happened at Miletos.

1.147

Moreover some of them set Lykian kings over them, descendants of Glaucos and Hippolochos, while others were ruled by Cauconians of Pylos, descendants of Codros the son of Melanthos, and others again by princes of the two races combined. Since however these hold on to the name more than the other Ionians, let them be called, if they will, the Ionians of truly pure descent; but in fact all are Ionians who have their descent from Athens and who keep the feast of Apaturia; and this all keep except the men of Ephesos and Colophon: for these alone of all the Ionians do not keep the Apaturia, and that on the ground of some murder committed.

1.148

Now the Panionion is a sacred place on the north side of Mycale, set apart by common agreement of the Ionians for Poseidon of Helike; and this Mycale is a promontory of the mainland running out Westwards towards Samos, where the Ionians gathering together from their cities used to hold a festival which they called the Panionia. (And not only the feasts of the Ionians but also those of all the Hellenes equally are subject to this rule, that their names all end in the same

letter, just like the names of the Persians.) These then are the Ionian cities:

1.149

And those of Aiolia are as follows:— Kyme, which is called Phriconis, Larisai, Neon-teichos, Temnos, Killa, Notion, Aigiroëssa, Pitane, Aigaiai, Myrina, Gryneia; these are the ancient cities of the Aiolians, eleven in number, since one, Smyrna, was severed from them by the Ionians; for these cities, that is those on the mainland, used also formerly to be twelve in number. And these Aiolians had the fortune to settle in a land which is more fertile than that of the Ionians but in respect of climate less favoured.

1.150

Now the Aiolians lost Smyrna in the following manner:— certain men of Colophon, who had been worsted in party strife and had been driven from their native city, were received there for refuge: and after this the Colophonian exiles watched for a time when the men of Smyrna were celebrating a festival to Dionysos outside the walls, and then they closed the gates against them and got possession of the city. After this, when the whole body of Aiolians came to the rescue, they made an agreement that the Ionians should give up the movable goods, and that on this condition the Aiolians should abandon Smyrna. When the men of Smyrna had done this, the remaining eleven cities divided them amongst themselves and made them their own citizens.

1.151

These then are the Aiolian cities upon the mainland, with the exception of those situated on Mount Ida, for these are separate from the rest. And of those which are in the islands, there are five in Lesbos, for the sixth which was situated in Lesbos, namely Arisba, was enslaved by the men of Methymna, though its citizens were of the same race as they; and in Tenedos there is one city, and another in what

vocabulary ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute ἀναμάρτητος blameless ἀναμάσσω wipe a stain from ~mass ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined ἀναστατόω unsettle, upset ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδοχέω decide against ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine ἀπολέγω pick; decline ἀπορρίπτω cast away ἀπουρέω urinate ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἄρειος warlike ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning \sim oligarch ἄτε as if: since \mathring{a} ω aor: to sate \sim sate δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment \sim vest εἰσαχούω hearken ~acoustic ἔλλεσχος commonly talked of "Ελλην Greek ἐμπόδιος getting in the way ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐξαπατάω trick, cheat ~apatosaurus ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe \sim hegemony ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail ἐπιθαλάσσιος coastal ἐπίχουρος ally ~cereal ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow \sim trophy

 $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$ be accustomed, in the habit καπηλεύω be a retailer κατάσκοπος spy, inspector κιθαρίζω play the harp κόθορνος high boot κόσος how many, much, far? κτάομαι acquire, possess μίν him, her, it μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired ὀνέω help, please, be available πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition παιδεύω raise; train παράπαν completely πεντηχόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars περ emphatic particle; even though περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian πορφύρεος purple πρῆσις sale προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before ὁῆσις -ος (f) conversation, talk \sim rhetoric σιναμωρέω ravage στρατηλατέω lead an army συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συνέρχομαι come together τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ∼tachometer τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked ὑγιαίνω be healthy ὑποδέω bind under the feet ὑποδύνω (mp) get under; play a character φείδομαι spare, not use/harm ~aphid φροντίζω consider, ponder χρήζω need ∼chresard χουσός (υ) gold

χῶρος place \sim heir ψ άλλ ω pluck

ώνέομαι buy ἀνή purchase, contract

notes

ην: They were not afraid of the Persians. τὸν: an Aeolian member of the mission καταστὰς: having been appointed

Ἑλλάδος: a term that can include the Greek colonies in Anatolia

ἀπήλαυνε: intransitive, rode off

πρήγμάτα: difficulties

້າ: He muses about enslaving them, which he has not actually done. $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$: The children, if allowed to survive, will be mortal enemies.

τῶν: (pf) things that have now arisen

ἔωσι: subjunctive

ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μέν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατά περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν* δεινὸν οὐδέν τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι πόλισι ἔαδε κοινῆ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι τῆ ἃν οὖτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

1.152

'Ως δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἴλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν* Φωκαέα, τῷ οὕνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἷμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς* ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὕ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρω Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος* μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

1.153

Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τινες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι «οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστι χῶρος ἐν μέση τῆ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια.» ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ἀνῆ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλω ἀνδρὶ Πέρση, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε* αὐτὸς ἐς ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἄμα

ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἡ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἢν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

1.154

'Ως δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπό τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἄτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκες Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῆ ἀκροπόλι.

1.155

Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' όδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. «Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οἴκασι, πρήγμάτα* παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ* ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν* παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι.»

"Ο μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὅ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήση τὰς Σάρδις. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν* πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἑστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῆ ἀναμάξας φέρω τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὖτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι·* ἄπειπε μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἴμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ

are called the "Hundred Isles." Now the Lesbians and the men of Tenedos, like those Ionians who dwelt in the islands, had no cause for fear; but the remaining cities came to a common agreement to follow the Ionians whithersoever they should lead.

1.152

Now when the messengers from the Ionians and Aiolians came to Sparta (for this business was carried out with speed), they chose before all others to speak for them the Phocaian, whose name was Pythermos. He then put upon him a purple cloak, in order that as many as possible of the Spartans might hear of it and come together, and having been introduced before the assembly he spoke at length, asking the Spartans to help them. The Lacedemonians however would not listen to him, but resolved on the contrary not to help the Ionians. So they departed, and the Lacedemonians, having dismissed the messengers of the Ionians, sent men notwithstanding in a ship of fifty oars, to find out, as I imagine, about the affairs of Cyrus and about Ionia. These when they came to Phocaia sent to Sardis the man of most repute among them, whose name was Lacrines, to report to Cyrus the saying of the Lacedemonians, bidding him do hurt to no city of the Hellas, since they would not permit it.

1.153

When the herald had spoken thus, Cyrus is said to have asked those of the Hellenes whom he had with him, what men the Lacedemonians were and how many in number, that they made this proclamation to him; and hearing their answer he said to the Spartan herald: "Never yet did I fear men such as these, who have a place appointed in the midst of their city where they gather together and deceive one another by false oaths: and if I continue in good health, not the misfortunes of the Ionians will be for them a subject of talk, but rather their own." These words Cyrus threw out scornfully with reference to the Hellenes in general, because they have got for themselves markets and practise buying and selling there; for the Persians themselves are not wont to use markets nor have they any market-place at all.

After this he entrusted Sardis to Tabalos a Persian, and the gold both of Croesus and of the other Lydians he gave to Pactyas a Lydian to take charge of, and himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus and making for the present no account of the Ionians. For Babylon stood in his way still, as also the Bactrian nation and the Sacans and the Egyptians; and against these he meant to make expeditions himself, while sending some other commander about the Ionians.

But when Cyrus had marched away from Sardis, Pactyas caused the Lydians to revolt from Tabalos and from Cyrus. This man went down to the sea, and having in his possession all the gold that there had been in Sardis, he hired for himself mercenaries and persuaded the men of the sea-coast to join his expedition. So he marched on Sardis and besieged Tabalos, having shut himself up in the citadel.

1.155

Hearing this on his way, Cyrus said to Croesus as follows: "Croesus, what end shall I find of these things which are coming to pass? The Lydians will not cease as it seems, from giving trouble to me and from having it themselves. I doubt me if it were not best to sell them all as slaves; for as it is, I see that I have done in like manner as if one should slay the father and then spare his sons: just so I took prisoner and am carrying away thee, who wert much more than the father of the Lydians, while to the Lydians themselves I delivered up their city; and can I feel surprise after this that they have revolted from me?"

Thus he said what was in his mind, but Croesus answered him as follows, fearing lest he should destroy Sardis: "O king, that which thou hast said is not without reason; but do not thou altogether give vent to thy wrath, nor destroy an ancient city which is guiltless both of the former things and also of those which have come to pass now: for as to the former things it was I who did them and I bear the consequences heaped upon my head; and as for what is now being done, since the wrongdoer is Pactyas to whom thou didst entrust the charge of Sardis, let him pay the penalty. But the Lydians I pray thee pardon, and lay upon them commands as follows, in order that they may not revolt nor be a cause of danger to thee:—send to them and forbid them to possess weapons of war, but bid them on the other hand put on tunics under their outer garments and be shod with buskins, and proclaim to them that they train their sons to play the lyre and the harp and to be retail-dealers; and soon

vocabulary ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina ἄδυτον inner sanctum **αἰρετός** takeable, desirable ~heresy ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in ἀναπίπτω fall back ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear ἀνδραποδίζω enslave ἀνόσιος unholy ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away $\dot{\alpha}$ πιστέω disbelieve \sim stand ἄπιστος not trusting, not trustworthy \sim stand ἀπορέω be confused, distressed ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ∼bear ἀσεβέω be impious ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόθι on the spot βίαιος by force δειμαίνω be afraid δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἔκδοσις giving up, renting out, publishing, bursting forth ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντολή order έξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy \sim heresy ἐξαιτέω demand ∼etiology ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπειρωτέω consult, ask ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτέλλω order ∼apostle ἐύς good, brave, noble ηδομαι be pleased, enjoy ~hedonism $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ ος $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ εος (n, 3) habit, habitat \sim ethos θεοπρόπος seer \sim theology ίδούω establish

ίκέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee ἴχω (ī) go, arrive κελευσμοσύνη command **κεραίζω** slay, ravage ∼caries **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle $κ\tilde{\mathbf{0}}$ ρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity μαντεῖον prophetic warning ~mantis μεταβάλλω alter, transform μεταβουλεύω change one's mind \sim volunteer μίν him, her, it νηέω pile up, load a ship νηός temple, shrine νοσσεύω hatch: nest **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὁποῖος whatever kind ὁπότερος which of two, either of two ὄρνις -θος ($\bar{\iota}$, f) bird ∼ornithology ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from πάντως by all means περίειμι be superior to; be left over; πέρνημι export, sell as a slave \sim porno Πέρσης Persian πότε when? πρόειμι to have been before, earlier προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order πρόνοια foresight, providence προτείνω hold out, offer πρόφασις -εως (f) excuse, pretext \sim fame στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy στρουθός (f) sparrow \sim struthiomimus συμβουλή advice; debate ὕπειμι be under ὑπεκτρέχω run out from under, escape ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis χρησμός oracular response χρηστηριάζω prophesy

χοηστήριον oracle, response χῶρος place \sim heir

ώθέω push

notes

ἀποστάντες: a second time, in the future τοὺς: the mercenaries from the coast Κύμην: an Aeolic city on the coast

Βραγχίδησι: the hereditary priests of a temple of Apollo, Didyma, near Ionic Mile-

tus, a hundred miles from Kyme

δρμέατο: The oracle told them to ... (Ionic form of ὁρμάω)

 $\tau\grave{o}$: a second journey of hundreds of miles

 $\tilde{\omega}$ ναξ: crasis for $\tilde{\omega}$ ἄναξ

ἐξαίρεε: destroyed

ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς : on the island of Lesbos

ταχέως σφέας ὧ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὅψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.»

1.156

Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὑρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἢν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνη, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἢν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες* ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τἢ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς* ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

1.157

"Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἤθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην.*

Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὖρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον.

Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς περὶ ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι** ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὖτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

1.158

Πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν

περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο* ἐκδιδόναι ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτη τοῦ πλήθεος, ᾿Αριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐῶν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὃ τὸ* δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἤισαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ ᾿Αριστόδικος ἦν.

1.159

'Απικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων 'Αριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. «ὧναξ,* ἡλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οῖ δέ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῆ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν.» ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ 'Αριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· περιιὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρεε* τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἡν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

Ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε «ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾶς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραίζεις;»

Άριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν «ὧναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθέεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;»

Τὸν $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε «vaì κελεύω. ἵνα $\theta \hat{a} \sigma \sigma o \nu$ $\mu \hat{\eta}$ $\gamma\epsilon$ ἀσεβήσαντες $\dot{a}\pi\dot{o}\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$, ώς τò λοιπὸν ίκετέων ἐκδόσιος *έ*λθητε *ἐπ*ὶ χρηστήριον.» $\pi\epsilon\rho$ ì $\tau \grave{o}$

thou shalt see, O king, that they have become women instead of men, so that there will be no fear that they will revolt from thee."

1.156

Croesus, I say, suggested to him this, perceiving that this was better for the Lydians than to be reduced to slavery and sold; for he knew that if he did not offer a sufficient reason, he would not persuade Cyrus to change his mind, and he feared lest at some future time, if they should escape the present danger, the Lydians might revolt from the Persians and be destroyed. And Cyrus was greatly pleased with the suggestion made and slackened from his wrath, saying that he agreed with his advice. Then he called Mazares a Mede, and laid charge upon him to proclaim to the Lydians that which Croesus suggested, and moreover to sell into slavery all the rest who had joined with the Lydians in the expedition to Sardis, and finally by all means to bring Pactyas himself alive to Cyrus.

1.157

Having given this charge upon the road, he continued his march to the native land of the Persians; but Pactyas hearing that an army was approaching to fight against him was struck with fear and fled away forthwith to Kyme.

Then Mazares the Mede marched upon Sardis with a certain portion of the army of Cyrus, and as he did not find Pactyas or his followers any longer at Sardis, he first compelled the Lydians to perform the commands of Cyrus, and by his commands the Lydians changed the whole manner of their life.

After this Mazares proceeded to send messengers to Kyme bidding them give up Pactyas: and the men of Kyme resolved to refer to the god at Branchidai the question what counsel they should follow. For there was there an Oracle established of old time, which all the Ionians and Aiolians were wont to consult; and this place is in the territory of Miletos above the port of Panormos.

1.158

So the men of Kyme sent messengers to the Branchidai to inquire of the god, and they asked what course they should take about Pactyas so as to do that which was pleasing to the gods. When they thus inquired, the answer was given them that they should deliver up Pactyas to the Persians: and the men of Kyme, having heard this answer reported, were disposed to give him up. Then when the mass of the people were thus disposed, Aristodicos the son of Heracleides, a man of repute among the citizens, stopped the men of Kyme from doing so, having distrust of the answer and thinking that those sent to inquire were not speaking the truth;

until at last other messengers were sent to the Oracle to ask a second time about Pactyas, and of them Aristodicos was one.

1.159

When these came to Branchidai, Aristodicos stood forth from the rest and consulted the Oracle, asking as follows: Lord, there came to us a suppliant for protection Pactyas the Lydian, flying from a violent death at the hands of the Persians, and they demand him from us, bidding the men of Kyme give him up. But we, though we fear the power of the Persians, yet have not ventured up to this time to deliver to them the suppliant, until thy counsel shall be clearly manifested to us, saying which of the two things we ought to do."

He thus inquired, but the god again declared to them the same answer, bidding them deliver up Pactyas to the Persians. Upon this Aristodicos with deliberate purpose did as follows:— he went all round the temple destroying the nests of the sparrows and of all the other kinds of birds which had been hatched on the temple. And while he was doing this, it is said that a voice came from the inner shrine directed to Aristodicos and speaking thus: "Thou most impious of men, why dost thou dare to do this? Dost thou carry away by force from my temple the suppliants for my protection;"

And Aristodicos, it is said, not being at all at a loss replied to this: "Lord, dost thou thus come to the assistance of thy suppliants, and yet biddest the men of Kyme deliver up theirs;"

And the god answered him again thus: "Yea, I bid you do so, that ye may perish the more quickly for your impiety; so that ye may not at any future time come to the Oracle to ask about delivering up of suppliants."

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀγγελία message, news ~angel ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἄνομος lawless ἀπάγω lead away, back ∼demagogue ἀπέγω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποσπάω tear/drag away ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ∼bear ἀτρεχής precise, certain ἀφειδής unsparing, cruel ~aphid δαίνυμι (ō) give a feast, feast on \sim demon δαίω light; divide \sim demon διάδοχος being successor δουλοσύνη slavery εἰσβαίνω enter, board \sim basis εἰστίθημι put in ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκκομίζω remove; bury a corpse ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐκποιέω complete, permit; (mp) produce, be adopted "Ελλην Greek ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπιπέμπω send after, again, to, besides ἔπιπλα -τος (n, 2) stuff, possessions ἐπιτρέχω run at, after έπιχειρέω do, try, attack \sim chiral **ἐρείπω** pull down; fall ∼reap **ἐρημόω** raze, bereave; desert, isolate ἐύς good, brave, noble καταδείκνυμι (ō) discover, make known κατασπάω pull down

καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up;

(act) be enough **κριθή** (τ) barley plant ληίη booty μισθός reward, wages μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired ναυτιλία sailing ∼navy ναυτίλλομαι sail ∼navy νόσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νυν now; so ὀγδώκοντα eighty οἴχημα -τος (n, 3) room ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὐλαί barley grains οὐλή scar παραδείχνυμι (ō) receive, admit παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow \sim jet πέμμα (pl) pastries, sweetmeats πεντηχόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περιημεχτέω be aggrieved περίοδος picket, circuit Πέρσης Persian πέσσω brood on; ripen \sim peptic πολιοῦχος protecting a city πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder προμαχεών breastwork, battlement προσφιλής beloved πρόχυσις pouring out στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στρατηγία office of command, strategy \sim strategy στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy στρατόω be on a campaign ∼strategy στρογγύλος round; merchant ship συγκατεργάζομαι help to do συμπολιορχέω besiege jointly τειχήρης besieged; fortified τράπεζα a table ~trapezoid

τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler ὑποχρίνομαι (ῖ) answer; pretend χοή χώς libation

χωμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt

χωρίς separately; except, other than

 \sim heir

χῶρος place \sim heir

ώσαύτως in the same way

notes

ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς : on the island of Lesbos

Πακτύην ές: another island

τελευτᾶ: Mazares

αἴρεε τὰς πόλιας: He built up dirt ramps against the walls of the cities.

πρώτη δὲ : a coastal city

Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν : a region in southern Iberia

προισχόμενος: offering

ἐρεῖψαι: destroying part of their own defenses

κατιρώσαι: to Cyrus, to symbolize their submission to his rule

ἀνεστήσαντο: the Phocaians

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὕτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὕτε παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς* Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῷ δή· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς* Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον.

Ένθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῆ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἢν δὲ χρόνος οὖτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

1.161

Χίοι μέν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε ληίην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ώσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσω τελευτᾶ.*

1.162

Άποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, "Αρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος (τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμω τραπέζη ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρω τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος). οὖτος ώνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἵρεε τὰς πόλιας* χώμασι ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

1.163

Πρώτη δὲ* Φωκαίη Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὖτοι ναυτιλίησι μακρῆσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν* τε

Άδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὖτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες: ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν, ᾿Αργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται: μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὕξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πῶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

1.164

Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπω τοιῶδε έξεποιήθη.

Ό δὲ "Αρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προισχόμενος* ἔπεα ὡς οἱ καταχρᾳ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαχεῶνα ἔνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῦψαι* καὶ οἴκημα εν κατιρῶσαι.* οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες περιημεκτέοντες τῆ δουλοσύνη ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ἐν ῷ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῦν ἐκεῦνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δὶ "Αρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῦνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν, ὅμως δὲ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν ῷ ὧν ὁ "Αρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῦκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἢν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῦσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

When the men of Kyme heard this saying reported, not wishing either to be destroyed by giving him up or to be besieged by keeping him with them, they sent him away to Mytilene. Those of Mytilene however, when Mazares sent messages to them, were preparing to deliver up Pactyas for a price, but what the price was I cannot say for certain, since the bargain was never completed; for the men of Kyme, when they learnt that this was being done by the Mytilenians, sent a vessel to Lesbos and conveyed away Pactyas to Chios.

After this he was dragged forcibly from the temple of Athene Poliuchos by the Chians and delivered up: and the Chians delivered him up receiving Atarneus in return, (now this Atarneus is a region of Mysia opposition Lesbos). So the Persians having received Pactyas kept him under guard, meaning to produce him before Cyrus. And a long time elapsed during which none of the Chians either used barley-meal grown in this region of Atarneus, for pouring out in sacrifice to any god, or baked cakes for offering of the corn which grew there, but all the produce of this land was excluded from every kind of sacred service.

1.161

The men of Chios had then delivered up Pactyas; and after this Mazares made expedition against those who had joined in besieging Tabalos: and first he reduced to slavery those of Priene, then he overran the whole plain of the Maiander making spoil of it for his army, and Magnesia in the same manner: and straightway after this he fell sick and died.

1.162

After he was dead, Harpagos came down to take his place in command, being also a Mede by race (this was the man whom the king of the Medes Astyages feasted with the unlawful banquet, and who helped to give the kingdom to Cyrus). This man, being appointed commander then by Cyrus, came to Ionia and proceeded to take the cities by throwing up mounds against them: for when he had enclosed any people within their walls, then he threw up mounds against the walls and took their city by storm; and the first city of Ionia upon which he made an attempt was Phocaia.

1.163

Now these Phocaians were the first of the Hellenes who made long voyages, and these are they who discovered the Adriatic and Tyrsenia and Iberia and Tartessos: and they made voyages not in round ships, but in vessels of fifty oars. These came

to Tartessos and became friends with the king of the Tartessians whose name was Arganthonios: he was ruler of the Tartessians for eighty years and lived in all one hundred and twenty. With this man, I say, the Phocaians became so exceedingly friendly, that first he bade them leave Ionia and dwell wherever they desired in his own land; and as he did not prevail upon the Phocaians to do this, afterwards, hearing from them of the Mede how his power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall about their city: and he did this without sparing, for the circuit of the wall is many furlongs in extent, and it is built all of large stones closely fitted together.

1.164

The wall of the Phocaians was made in this manner.

Harpagos having marched his army against them began to besiege them, at the same time holding forth to them proposals and saying that it was enough to satisfy him if the Phocaians were willing to throw down one battlement of their wall and dedicate one single house. But the Phocaians, being very greatly grieved at the thought of subjection, said that they wished to deliberate about the matter for one day and after that they would give their answer; and they asked him to withdraw his army from the wall while they were deliberating. Harpagos said that he knew very well what they were meaning to do, nevertheless he was willing to allow them to deliberate. So in the time that followed, when Harpagos had withdrawn his army from the wall, the Phocaians drew down their fifty-oared galleys to the sea, put into them their children and women and all their movable goods, and besides them the images out of the temples and the other votive offerings except such as were made of bronze or stone or consisted of paintings, all the rest, I say, they put into the ships, and having embarked themselves they sailed towards Chios; and the Persians obtained possession of Phocaia, the city being deserted of the inhabitants.

vocabulary ἄζω dry up ∼ash ἀκέομαι heal, fix άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄλλομαι to jump ~sally ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine ~phenomenon ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join ἀπονίναμαι enjoy, use ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀπόπληκτος stricken, dumb, paralyzed ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off course \sim atrophy ἀριθμός number ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable $\mathring{a}ω$ aor: to sate \sim sate γυμνικός of gymnastics δειμαίνω be afraid διάστροφος twisted, distorted διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; δουλοσύνη slavery δουλόω enslave **εἰσβαίνω** enter, board ~basis ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἔμβολος insertable peg; ram; wedge formation; porch ἔμπηρος crippled ἐμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading έμπόριος immigrant, metic, trading post ἐναγίζω offer sacrifice to the dead ἐνθαῦτα there, here ένθεῦτεν thence ἐνιδούω establish ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic έξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo έξήκοντα sixty ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle

ἐύς good, brave, noble $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ ος $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ εος (n, 3) habit, habitat ~ethos ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent ήσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ήσυχία peace and quiet θεάομαι look at, behold, consider \sim theater θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology ίππικός of horses ∼hippo καθαπλόω spread over Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian καταλεύω stone to death καταπλέω land ~float καταποντόω throw into the sea; drown κατάρα curse καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ~fugitive καταφονεύω slaughter κτάομαι acquire, possess κτῆσις -ος (f) chattels **κτίζω** found, populate \sim oxytocin λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελαforms) allot: receive μόρος portion, lot in life μύδρος anvil ναυμαχία naval warfare νίκη (τ) victory ∼Nike νυν now; so οἶχτος compassion oἰνόω make drunk ∼wine ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρχιον oath ∼orc παραδείχνυμι (ō) receive, admit παραπλήσιος similar to π έλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea \sim pelagic περ emphatic particle; even though περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περίοιχος dwelling around Πέρσης Persian πόθος longing, regret \sim bid

πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds πωλέω sell σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case ὑπερήμισυς mostly ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote

ύπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ~eclipse φρουρέω keep watch χειρόω dominate, subdue χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt χῶρος place ~heir ψευδόρχιος violating an oath ἀνέομαι buy

notes

ἀνεστήσαντο: the Phocaians

Κύρνον: Corsica

Άργανθώνιος: ruler of the Tartessos

στόλου: their voyage ἀερθέντες: their anchors Καρχηδόνιοι: Carthaginians

Καδμείη: i.e., Pyrrhic

'Ρήγιον: at the southern tip of Italy

Άγυλλαίοισι: a Carthaginian city on the Italian coast

διεχρήσαντο: by Herodotus

Τήιοι: Teos was a coastal city in Ionia.

Οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες, ἐπείτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἀνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἷ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληισθῆ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαίες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον ἐν γὰρ τῆ Κύρνω εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῆ οὔνομα ἦν ᾿Αλαλίη. (᾿Αργανθώνιος ἐ δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε.) στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἢ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἡρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτο σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ έωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ἄμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι.

Στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οῖ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες* ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

1.166

Έπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῆ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἄπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι,* νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἑξήκόντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισγόντων δὲ τῆ ναυμαχίη Καδμείη* τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀλλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσην οἷαι τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ὑρίνον.*

Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ ἀγυλλαίοισι* πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῶ οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι.

Οἱ δὲ ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν άμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι.

Καὶ οὖτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο,* οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλέεται ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

1.168

Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίη οὕτω ἔσχε παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι* ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἅρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἡβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἡβδήροισι ὡς ῆρως ἔχει.

1.169

Οὖτοὶ μέν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἰωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἡρπάγω κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἔκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἔκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ἔρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἡπείρω Ἰωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἅρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους

But as for the Phocaians, since the men of Chios would not sell them at their request the islands called Oinussai, from the fear lest these islands might be made a seat of trade and their island might be shut out, therefore they set out for Kyrnos: for in Kyrnos twenty years before this they had established a city named Alalia, in accordance with an oracle, (now Arganthonios by that time was dead).

And when they were setting out for Kyrnos they first sailed to Phocaia and slaughtered the Persian garrison, to whose charge Harpagos had delivered the city; then after they had achieved this they made solemn imprecations on any one of them who should be left behind from their voyage, and moreover they sank a mass of iron in the sea and swore that not until that mass should appear again on the surface would they to Phocaia.

However as they were setting forth to Kyrnos, more than half of the citizens were seized with yearning and regret for their city and for their native land, and they proved false to their oath and sailed back to Phocaia. But those of them who kept the oath still, weighed anchor from the islands of Oinussai and sailed.

1.166

When these came to Kyrnos, for five years they dwelt together with those who had come thither before, and they founded temples there. Then, since they plundered the property of all their neighbours, the Tyrsenians and Carthaginians made expedition against them by agreement with one another, each with sixty ships. And the Phocaians also manned their vessels, sixty in number, and came to meet the enemy in that which is called the Sardinian sea: and when they encountered one another in the sea-fight the Phocaians won a kind of Cadmean victory, for forty of their ships were destroyed and the remaining twenty were disabled, having had their prows bent aside. So they sailed in to Alalia and took up their children and their women and their other possessions as much as their ships proved capable of carrying, and then they left Kyrnos behind them and sailed to Rhegion.

1.167

But as for the crews of the ships that were destroyed, the Carthaginians and Tyrsenians obtained much the greater number of them, and these they brought to land and killed by stoning. After this the men of Agylla found that everything which passed by the spot where the Phocaians were laid after being stoned, became either distorted, or crippled, or paralysed, both small cattle and beasts of burden and human creatures.

So the men of Agylla sent to Delphi desiring to purge themselves of the offence; and the Pythian prophetess bade them do that which the men of Agylla still continue to perform, that is to say, they make great sacrifices in honour of the dead, and hold at the place a contest of athletics and horse-racing.

These then of the Phocaians had the fate which I have said; but those of them who took refuge at Rhegion started from thence and took possession of that city in the land of Oinotria which now is called Hyele. This they founded having learnt from a man of Poseidonia that the Pythian prophetess by her answer meant them to found a temple to Kyrnos, who was a hero, and not to found a settlement in the island of Kyrnos.

1.168

About Phocaia in Ionia it happened thus, and nearly the same thing also was done by the men of Teos: for as soon as Harpagos took their wall with a mound, they embarked in their ships and sailed straightway for Thrace; and there they founded the city of Abdera, which before them Timesios of Clazomenai founded and had no profit therefrom, but was driven out by the Thracians; and now he is honoured as a hero by the Teïans in Abdera.

1.169

These alone of all the Ionians left their native cities because they would not endure subjection: but the other Ionians except the Milesians did indeed contend in arms with Harpagos like those who left their homes, and proved themselves brave men, fighting each for his own native city; but when they were defeated and captured they remained all in their own place and performed that which was laid upon them: but the Milesians, as I have also said before, had made a sworn agreement with Cyrus himself and kept still. Thus for the second time Ionia had been reduced to subjection. And when Harpagos had conquered the Ionians on the mainland, then the Ionians who dwelt in the islands.

vocabulary ἀχοή hearing \sim acoustic ἀνέκαθεν from the start ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποδοχέω decide against ἀριστερός left-hand ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch ἄτε as if; since ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόχθων native αὐχήν -ένος (m, 3) neck $\mathring{\alpha}\omega$ aor: to sate \sim sate βουλευτήριον council chamber γ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language \sim glossary διαχρίνω (ιῑ) separate, sort ~critic διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal δουλοσύνη slavery είλαδόν in crowds έλευθερία freedom "Ελλην Greek **ἐνδύω** go into, put on ἐνοράω look at, notice something in ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐξεύρημα invention, discovery έξιχνέομαι arrive at ἐπιδέω fasten; lack εὐδαιμονέω be lucky, happy εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed ήβηδόν (adv) grown up ήλικία time of life, contemporaries ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent ήπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman ίδούω establish **κακόω** harm, disfigure ∼cacophony

κασίγνητος brother, sister καταδείκνυμι (ō) discover, make known καταρρωδέω fear, dread καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατήκοος hearing; obedient **κράνος** -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's ram κτάομαι acquire, possess **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λόγιμος notable λόφος neck, crest on a helmet, hilltop μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μετέπειτα afterward, next νέμω to allot, to pasture \sim nemesis οἰηχίζω govern, guide, manage ὁμόγλωσσος speaking the same language ὀρεύς -ος (m) mule ∼hormone **ὄρος** boundary marker ∼horizon οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill ὄχανον shield handle πάτριος of the father(s), ancestral περ emphatic particle; even though περίχειμαι set about, cover, be a profit πόσις -ος (m) (m) husband, master; (f) a drink ∼potent προσδοχάω expect προσχωρέω go to, join, support σχύτινος (ō) of leather στρατηίη expedition, campaign συγγίγνομαι associate with, meet, have sex ∼genus συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion τοιόσδε such τριξός threefold τύπτω beat, smite ∼stupid ὑποτελέω pay a tax φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry \sim bear φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue

χρήσιμος useful χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull down ώθέω push

notes

οὐδὲν: nevertheless

 Λ υδὸν: mythical individuals founding their races

χοέωνται: they practice οὔρων: their borders

Σαρπηδόνος: a Trojan character in the Iliad

ἔχοντες Ἰωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρφ.

1.170

Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν* ἦσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῆ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἃν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῷ Ἰωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδὰ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῆ Ἰωνίη οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἰωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε εν βουλευτήριον Ἰωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἦσσον νομίζεσθαι κατά περ ἐς δῆμοι εἶεν.

Οὖτοι μὲν δή σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

1.171

Άρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἄμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰοὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὰ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῆ οῦ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμω, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἄμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα.

Καί σφι τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ ελληνες ἐχρήσαντο καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὅχανα ἀσπίσι οὖτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι' τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῦσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῦσι ἀριστεροῦσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι.

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἰωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἤπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν* καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καροὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

1.172

Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται* κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξέ δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον, χέασθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἄπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα, μέχρι οὔρων* τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

1.173

Καὶ οὖτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τὤρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι) διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτη περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν

being struck with fear by these things, gave themselves over to Cyrus.

1.170

When the Ionians had been thus evilly entreated but were continuing still to hold their gatherings as before at the Panionion, Bias a man of Priene set forth to the Ionians, as I am informed, a most profitable counsel, by following which they might have been the most prosperous of all the Hellenes. He urged that the Ionians should set forth in one common expedition and sail to Sardinia, and after that found a single city for all the Ionians: and thus they would escape subjection and would be prosperous, inhabiting the largest of all islands and being rulers over others; whereas, if they remained in Ionia, he did not perceive, he said, that freedom would any longer exist for them. This was the counsel given by Bias of Priene after the Ionians had been ruined; but a good counsel too was given before the ruin of Ionia by Thales a man of Miletos, who was by descent of Phenician race. He advised the Ionians to have one single seat of government, and that this should be at Teos (for Teos, he said, was in the centre of Ionia), and that the other cities should be inhabited as before, but accounted just as if they were demes.

These men set forth to them counsels of the kind which I have said:

1.171

But Harpagos, after subduing Ionia, proceeded to march against the Carians and Caunians and Lykians, taking also Ionians and Aiolians to help him. Of these the Carians came to the mainland from the islands; for being of old time subjects of Minos and being called Leleges, they used to dwell in the islands, paying no tribute, so far back as I am able to arrive by hearsay, but whenever Minos required it, they used to supply his ships with seamen: and as Minos subdued much land and was fortunate in his fighting, the Carian nation was of all nations by much the most famous at that time together with him.

And they produced three inventions of which the Hellenes adopted the use; that is to say, the Carians were those who first set the fashion of fastening crests on helmets, and of making the devices which are put onto shields, and these also were the first who made handles for their shields, whereas up to that time all who were wont to use shields carried them without handles and with leathern straps to guide them, having them hung about their necks and their left shoulders.

Then after the lapse of a long time the Dorians and Ionians drove the Carians out of the islands, and so they came to the mainland. With respect to the Carians the Cretans relate that it happened thus; the Carians themselves however do not agree with this account, but suppose that they are dwellers on the mainland from the

beginning, and that they went always by the same name which they have now: and they point as evidence of this to an ancient temple of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, in which the Mysians and Lydians share as being brother races of the Carians, for they say that Lydos and Mysos were brothers of Car; these share in it, but those who being of another race have come to speak the same language as the Carians, these have no share in it.

1.172

It seems to me however that the Caunians are dwellers there from the beginning, though they say themselves that they came from Crete: but they have been assimilated to the Carian race in language, or else the Carians to the Caunian race, I cannot with certainty determine which. They have customs however in which they differ very much from all other men as well as from the Carians; for example the fairest thing in their estimation is to meet together in numbers for drinking, according to equality of age or friendship, both men, women, and children; and again when they had founded temples for foreign deities, afterwards they changed their purpose and resolved to worship only their own native gods, and the whole body of Caunian young men put on their armour and made pursuit as far as the borders of the Calyndians, beating the air with their spears; and they said that they were casting the foreign gods out of the land. Such are the customs which these have.

1.173

The Lykians however have sprung originally from Crete (for in old time the whole of Crete was possessed by Barbarians): and when the sons of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos, came to be at variance in Crete about the kingdom, Minos having

vocabulary ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ∼acute ἀμαχητί without a fight ἀνανέμω distibute; count ἀντέχω hold up as protection against \sim ischemia ἀντίξοος opposed to ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine ἄποικος abroad, colonizing ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἀστή inhabitant ἀστός townsman ἀτιμάω (ī) dishonor ἄτιμος (ī) without honor βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis δουλόω enslave ἐκδημέω be abroad ελλην Greek ἐντός within έξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute ἐπεξέρχομαι sally ἔπηλυς strange, foreign ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπωνύμιος called, named **ἑστία** hearth ∼Hestia ἐύς good, brave, noble ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound \sim thallium θεοπρόπος seer \sim theology θραύω break, shatter ίρείη priestess ἰσθμός narrow neck

ἱστίον sail ∼stand ἴσχω restrain, hold back ∼ischemia καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατειλέω coop up κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf λαμπρός brilliant ~lamp μεσόγαια inland μητρόθεν from the mother μιμέομαι (ī) imitate, represent νέμω to allot, to pasture \sim nemesis νότος south, south wind νυν now; so ὀγδώκοντα eighty οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house slave ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel ὀρύσσω dig οὐδαμός not anyone οὐχί intensified 'not' παλλακή sex slave παραπλήσιος similar to περ emphatic particle; even though περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain \sim genus περίοιχος dwelling around περίρροος surrounded by water; flowing around π υργόω wall, fortify πώγων - ος (m, 3) beard ὁόδον rose στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree ∼bear συναλίζω collect; eat with

συνοικέω live together συνόμνυμι (vō) join in league σφέτερος their τειχίζω build τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τιτρώσκω wound, bring to grief

~trauma τόνος pitch, stretching τρίμετρος type of verse τρίς 3 times ὑφάπτω set on fire from underneath

notes

ἕως: for as long as

ἐμιμήσαντο: like them, suicidally

Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῆ στάσι Μίνως, έξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἢν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἔως* μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἢνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νυν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι Τερμίλαι ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὖτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοίσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοίσι χρέωνται. εν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων έωυτους καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει έωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς άνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἢν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλω συνοικήση, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

1.174

Οἱ μέν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡρπάγου, οὖτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὖτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκέουσι οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὧν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὤρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἡρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγίνετο τῆ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτᾶ, ταύτη ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστι τὸν ὤρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῆ, χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ

έργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίζοον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾳ ἐν τριμέτρω τόνω τάδε.

«Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε· Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.»

Κυίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἡρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

1.175

Ήσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρὶς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὖτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἁρπάγω καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

1.176

Πηδασέες μέν νυν χρόνφ έξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ώς ές τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ήλασε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετᾶς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὖται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο* τὰ πλέω.

got the better in the strife of parties drove out both Sarpedon himself and those of his party: and they having been expelled came to the land of Milyas in Asia, for the land which now the Lykians inhabit was anciently called Milyas, and the Milyans were then called Solymoi. Now while Sarpedon reigned over them, they were called by the name which they had when they came thither, and by which the Lykians are even now called by the neighbouring tribes, namely Termilai; but when from Athens Lycos the son of Pandion came to the land of the Termilai and to Sarpedon, he too having been driven out by his brother namely Aigeus, then by the name taken from Lycos they were called after a time Lykians. The customs which these have are partly Cretan and partly Carian; but one custom they have which is peculiar to them, and in which they agree with no other people, that is they call themselves by their mothers and not by their fathers; and if one asks his neighbour who he is, he will state his parentage on the mother's side and enumerate his mother's female ascendants: and if a woman who is a citizen marry a slave, the children are accounted to be of gentle birth; but if a man who is a citizen, though he were the first man among them, have a slave for wife or concubine, the children are without civil rights.

1.174

Now the Carians were reduced to subjection by Harpagos without any brilliant deed displayed either by the Carians themselves or by those of the Hellenes who dwell in this land. Of these last there are besides others the men of Cnidos, settlers from Lacedemon, whose land runs out into the sea, being in fact the region which is called Triopion, beginning from the peninsula of Bybassos: and since all the land of Cnidos except a small part is washed by the sea (for the part of it which looks towards the North is bounded by the Gulf of Keramos, and that which looks to the South by the sea off Syme and Rhodes), therefore the men of Cnidos began to dig through this small part, which is about five furlongs across, while Harpagos was subduing Ionia, desiring to make their land an island: and within the isthmus all was theirs, for where the territory of Cnidos ends in the direction of the mainland, here is the isthmus which they were digging across. And while the Cnidians were working at it with a great number of men, it was perceived that the men who worked suffered injury much more than might have been expected and in a more supernatural manner, both in other parts of their bodies and especially in their eyes, when the rock was being broken up; so they sent men to ask the Oracle at Delphi what the cause of the difficulty was. And the Pythian prophetess, as the men of Cnidos themselves report, gave them this reply in trimeter verse:—

"Fence not the place with towers, nor dig the isthmus through; Zeus would have made your land an island, had he willed."

When the Pythian prophetess had given this oracle, the men of Cnidos not only ceased from their digging but delivered themselves to Harpagos without resistance, when he came against them with his army.

1.175

There were also the Pedasians, who dwelt in the inland country above Halicarnassos; and among these, whenever anything hurtful is about to happen either to themselves or to their neighbours, the priestess of Athene has a great beard: this befell them three times. These of all about Caria were the only men who held out for any time against Harpagos, and they gave him trouble more than any other people, having fortified a mountain called Lide.

1.176 After a time the Pedasians were conquered; and the Lykians, when Harpagos marched his army into the plain of Xanthos, came out against him and fought, few against many, and displayed proofs of valour; but being defeated and confined within their city, they gathered together into the citadel their wives and their children, their property and their servants, and after that they set fire to this citadel, so that it was all in flames, and having done so and sworn terrible oaths with one another, they went forth against the enemy and were slain in fight, that is to say all the men of Xanthos: and of the Xanthians who now claim to be Lykians the greater number have come in from abroad, except only eighty households; but these eighty households happened at that time to be away from their native place, and so they escaped destruction. Thus Harpagos obtained possession of Caunos, for the men of Caunos imitated in most respects the behaviour of the Lykians.

vocabulary άγκών -ος (m, 3) elbow ~ankylosaurus αίμασιά wall of dry stones? ἀνάβασις -τος (f) going up, mounting, going inland ἀναδίδωμι yield; give out ἀναισιμόω spend, use up ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined ἀναστατόω unsettle, upset άξιαπήγητος worth telling ἀπέχω ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance ἀριθμός number ἀσθενής weak ἄσφαλτος (f) asphalt, bitumen βαθύς high, deep \sim bathysphere βασίλειος kingly βασιλήιος kingly δάκτυλος finger, toe δέμω build \sim domicile διαχόσιοι (ā) two hundred διαστοιβάζω stuff between διέργω keep apart εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart \sim thesis ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἔξωθεν from outside ἐπικαμπή bend; corner; a military tactic ἐπικάρσιος running headlong ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι remember, speak about ∼mnemonic ἐσχατάω be at the edge ἔσχατος farthest, last εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind ἐύς good, brave, noble ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent

θαχος seat, session of assembly

θερμός warm, hot \sim thermos θρόμβος lump, drop, nipple θώρα ξ -ηκος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ἴς ἰνός (t, f) force, muscle κάλαμος reed κάμινος (t, f) oven, furnace καταγωγή landing, stop καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κατατέμνω cut up **κλίνη** (t̄) bed, couch ∼clinic **κλίνω** ($\bar{\iota}$) lean, recline \sim incline **κοσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λαύρα alley μέγαθος tall, big (person) μεσόω be in the middle μέτριος medium, moderate μέτωπον forehead, front μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it νηός temple, shrine νυν now; so ὀγδώκοντα eighty οἴχημα -τος (n, 3) room ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ονομαστός named \sim name ὄον οὖ type of fruit όπτάω roast, bake ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel ὀρύσσω dig πάντη everywhere παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow \sim jet πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with περ emphatic particle; even though περίβολος enclosing περιέλασις driving about; road περιθέω run around πέριξ all around περίοδος picket, circuit πῆχυς forearm, cubit

πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of \sim plethora πλινθεύω make into bricks πλίνθος (f) brick, block πόλισμα buildings of a city πυλίς little gate, back door πύργος ramparts, tower; line of troops ῥεῖθρον stream ∼rheostat ῥέω flow ~rheostat σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters σταθμός cottage; post στερεός solid, firm ∼stereo στόρνυμι (ō) smooth out συνάπας (αā) all together ταρσός basket?; top of the foot? \sim metatarsal

τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment τάφρος (f) ditch, trench \sim epitaph τέθηπα be confused τέθριππος four-horse τειχίζω build τελευταῖος last, final τέλμα pond, swamp; mud for mortar τετράγωνος square τετρακόσιοι 400 τετρώροφος four stories tall τοιόσδε such τριώροφος 3 stories in height ὑποχείριος under one's hand ∼chiral ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit φάρσος -εος (n, 3) portion χαλκόπυλος with bronze gates **χεῖλος** -εος (n, 3) lip ώσαύτως in the same way

notes

πόνον: for Cyrus ἔλιπον: enough space

1.177

Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς ᾿Ασίης Ἅρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον* πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

1.178

Κῦρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἠπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλήια κατεστήκεε, ἢν Βαβυλών, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίω μεγάλω, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἔκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου οὖτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι, τὸ μέν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληίων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων ὁ δὲ βασιλήιος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

1.179

Δεῖ δή με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἄμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῆ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφου τὰ χείλεα, δευτέρα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον* τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ώσαύτως.

Έστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος "Is οὔνομα αὐτἢ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας: "Is καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὔνομα ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὖτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὖτος ὧν ὁ "Is ποταμὸς ἄμα τῷ, ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῦ πολλούς, ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

1.180

Ἐτετείχιστο μέν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης ρέει δὲ ἐξ ᾿Αρμενίων, ἐων μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς ἐξιεῖ δὲ οὖτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὧν δὴ τεῖχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμασιὴ πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτό, ἐὸν πλῆρες οἰκιέων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθέας τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἑκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῆ αἰμασιῆ τῆ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν ἡσαν δὲ καὶ αὖται χάλκεαι... φέρουσαι [καὶ αὐταὶ] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

1.181

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἔτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσεϊ ἐκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήια περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἰρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντῃ, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἔτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὖ ὀκτὰ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ

1.177

So Harpagos was conquering the coast regions of Asia; and Cyrus himself meanwhile was doing the same in the upper parts of it, subduing every nation and passing over none. Now most of these actions I shall pass over in silence, but the undertakings which gave him trouble more than the rest and which are the most worthy of note, of these I shall make mention.

1.178

Cyrus, so soon as he had made subject to himself all other parts of the mainland, proceeded to attack the Assyrians. Now Assyria has doubtless many other great cities, but the most famous and the strongest, and the place where the seat of their monarchy had been established after Nineveh was destroyed, was Babylon; which was a city such as I shall say.— It lies in a great plain, and in size it is such that each face measures one hundred and twenty furlongs, the shape of the whole being square; thus the furlongs of the circuit of the city amount in all to four hundred and eighty. Such is the size of the city of Babylon, and it had a magnificence greater than all other cities of which we have knowledge. First there runs round it a trench deep and broad and full of water; then a wall fifty royal cubits in thickness and two hundred cubits in height: now the royal cubit is larger by three fingers than the common cubit.

1.179

I must also tell in addition to this for what purpose the earth was used, which was taken out of the trench, and in what manner the wall was made. As they dug the trench they made the earth which was carried out of the excavation into bricks, and having moulded enough bricks they baked them in kilns; and then afterwards, using hot asphalt for mortar and inserting reed mats at every thirty courses of brickwork, they built up first the edges of the trench and then the wall itself in the same manner: and at the top of the wall along the edges they built chambers of one story facing one another; and between the rows of chambers they left space to drive a four-horse chariot. In the circuit of the wall there are set a hundred gates made of bronze throughout, and the gate-posts and lintels likewise.

Now there is another city distant from Babylon a space of eight days' journey, of which the name is Is; and there is a river there of no great size, and the name of the river is also Is, and it sends its stream into the river Euphrates. This river Is throws up together with its water lumps of asphalt in great abundance, and thence was brought the asphalt for the wall of Babylon.

1.180

Babylon then was walled in this manner; and there are two divisions of the city; for a river whose name is Euphrates parts it in the middle. This flows from the land of the Armenians and is large and deep and swift, and it flows out into the Erythraian sea. The wall then on each side has its bends carried down to the river, and from this point the walls stretch along each bank of the stream in the form of a rampart of baked bricks: and the city itself is full of houses of three and four stories, and the roads by which it is cut up run in straight lines, including the cross roads which lead to the river; and opposite to each road there were set gates in the rampart which ran along the river, in many in number as the ways, and these also were of bronze and led like the ways to the river itself.

1.181

This wall then which I have mentioned is as it were a cuirass for the town, and another wall runs round within it, not much weaker for defence than the first but enclosing a smaller space. And in each division of the city was a building in the midst, in the one the king's palace of great extent and strongly fortified round, and in the other the temple of Zeus Belos with bronze gates, and this exists still up to my time and measures two furlongs each way, being of a square shape: and in the midst of the temple is built a solid tower measuring a furlong both in length and in breadth, and on this tower another tower has been erected, and another again upon this, and so on up to the number of eight towers. An ascent to these has been built running outside round about all the towers; and when one reaches about the middle of the ascent one finds a stopping-place and seats to rest upon, on which those who ascend sit down and rest: and on the top of the last tower there is a large cell, and in the cell a large couch is laid, well

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift \sim thesis ἀναισιμόω spend, use up ἀνδριάς -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning άξιοθέητος well worth seeing ἀπαγορεύω forbid; fail, be worn out ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀτρεμίζω not be restless αὐτόθι on the spot βάθος -ους (n, 3) depth, height βάθρον step, base, bench βασίλεια noblewoman βασίλειος kingly βραδύς slow, dull, late \sim Sp. \sim gordo βωμός altar; stand, pedestal γ αλαθηνός not yet weaned \sim galaxy διῶρυξ -γος (f) ditch, canal ἐκδέκομαι receive from ἐκεῖθι there **ἔλος** ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἔλυτρον covering, case; reservoir ἐναυλίζω live, stay at ἔνειμι be in ~ion ἐνιδρύω establish ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm \sim volunteer ἐπικοσμέω decorate; celebrate ἐπιχώριος native εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east ἐύς good, brave, noble θύω (\bar{v}) rush: sacrifice $\sim θύω$ $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$ a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater ίρεύς ἱρῆος (ī, m) priest ~hieroglyph

καμπή a bend, turn καταγίζω devote, dedicate καταμένω stay; not change καταπλέω land ~float κατύπερθεν above, from above κλίνη ($\bar{ι}$) bed, couch ∼clinic **κλίνω** (τ) lean, recline ∼incline κοιμάω put to sleep; (pass) lie down, **κοσμέω** marshal, array ∼cosmos **κρηπίς** (τ) boot; foundation **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle κώμη village κῶμος party, celebration λιβανωτός frankincense λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic μέγαθος tall, big (person) μίν him, her, it μνήμη reminder, memorial μνημόσυνον memorial νηέω pile up, load a ship νηός temple, shrine όκτακόσιοι 800 ὁμιλία (τι) intercourse, company **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ορτή holiday, feast ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel ὀρύσσω dig οὐδαμός not anyone παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend \sim genus παράχειμαι be at hand, ready παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture παραχέω pour in, beside πελαγίζω flood; sail the sea περ emphatic particle; even though περίμετρος very long ~metric περίοδος picket, circuit πῆχυς forearm, cubit πλόος - \tilde{v} course, voyage \sim float πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds πρόμαντις prophet προφυλάσσω guard the front δέω flow ~rheostat

ὄοά pl: waters of a river ∼rheostat

 $\dot{\rho}$ όος $\dot{\rho}$ οῦ stream, flow, current

 \sim rheostat

σχολιός crooked ∼scoliosis

σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl

noun) 200 meters

στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;

(pl noun) 200 meters

στερεός solid, firm ~stereo

συγκατακληίω enclose together συνετός smart; intelligible

τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight

 \sim talent

τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common land

τετρακόσιοι 400 τρίς 3 times

ύψος ύψους (n, 3) height, summit

φοιτάω go back and forth χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip χίλιοι (ill) thousand \sim kilo-

χόω heap up

χρηστήριον oracle, response

χουσίον (ō) gold coin

χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt

ώθέω push

notes

 $\tau \grave{\alpha}$: the full-grown ones

Δαρεῖος: Darius I. (Darius II and his son Cyrus, described in the Anabasis, were

slightly after Herodotus's time.)

γενεῆσι: generations

ἐώθεε: flood

ἐλίπετο: the regime

ἀραιρημένα: perfect participle of αίρέω

Νίτωχρις: A poorly documented person, not the same as the better known Queen

Nitocris of Egypt. τὰ: the direct routes

οί τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

1.182

Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὖτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατά περ ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή, ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὖται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν καὶ κατά περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὧν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

1.183

Έστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβύλῶνι ἱροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον χρύσεον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὖ θύεται τὰ* τέλεα τῶν προβάτων' ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα έτεος έκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριὰς δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός έγω μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ύπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτω τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος* μὲν ὁ Ύστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Χέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου *έλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα.* τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

1.184

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν

πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῆσι* πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῆ οὕνομα ἢν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε* ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

1.185

Ή δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῆ οὔνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις,* αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα έλίπετο* τὰ έγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα άρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα* άστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. πρώτα μέν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ρέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ος σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ρέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δή τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὤστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν έν τη Άσσυρίη ἀπικνέεται ρέων τη δε κώμη οὔνομα ἐστί, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οῦ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλώνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' έκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ύψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ύδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. έπείτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπῖδα κύκλω περὶ αὐτὴν ήλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τόν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν έλος, ώς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκηται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ

covered, and by it is placed a golden table: and there is no image there set up nor does any human being spend the night there except only one woman of the natives of the place, whomsoever the god shall choose from all the woman, as say the Chaldeans who are the priests of this god.

1.182

These same men say also, but I do not believe them, that the god himself comes often to the cell and rests upon the couch, as happens likewise in the Egyptian Thebes according to the report of the Egyptians, for there also a woman sleeps in the temple of the Theban Zeus (and both these women are said to abstain from commerce with men), and as happens also with the prophetess of the god in Patara of Lykia, whenever there is one, for there is not always an Oracle there, but whenever there is one, then she is shut up during the nights in the temple within the cell.

1.183

There is moreover in the temple at Babylon another cell below, wherein is a great image of Zeus sitting, made of gold, and by it is placed a large table of gold, and his footstool and seat are of gold also; and, as the Chaldeans reported, the weight of the gold of which these things are made is eight hundred talents. Outside this cell is an altar of gold; and there is also another altar of great size, where full-grown animals are sacrificed, whereas on the golden altar it is not lawful to sacrifice any but young sucklings only: and also on the larger altar the Chaldeans offer one thousand talents of frankincense every year at the time when they celebrate the feast in honour of this god. There was moreover in these precincts still remaining at the time of Cyrus, a statue twelve cubits high, of gold and solid. This I did not myself see, but that which is related by the Chaldeans I relate. Against this statue Dareios the son of Hystaspes formed a design, but he did not venture to take it: it was taken however by Xerxes the son of Dareios, who also killed the priest when he forbade him to meddle with the statue. This temple, then, is thus adorned with magnificence, and there are also many private votive-offerings.

1.184

Of this Babylon, besides many other rulers, of whom I shall make mention in the Assyrian history, and who added improvement to the walls and temples, there were also two who were women. Of these, the one who ruled first, named Semiramis, who lived five generations before the other, produced banks of earth in the plain which are a sight worth seeing; and before this the river used to flood like a sea over the whole plain.

1.185

The queen who lived after her time, named Nitocris, was wiser than she who had reigned before; and in the first place she left behind her monuments which I shall tell of; then secondly, seeing that the monarchy of the Medes was great and not

apt to remain still, but that besides other cities even Nineveh had been captured by it, she made provision against it in so far as she was able.

First, as regards the river Euphrates which flows through the midst of their city, whereas before this it flowed straight, she by digging channels above made it so winding that it actually comes three times in its course to one of the villages in Assyria; and the name of the village to which the Euphrates comes is Ardericca; and at this day those who travel from this Sea of ours to Babylon, in their voyage down the river Euphrates arrive three times at this same village and on three separate days. This she did thus; and she also piled up a mound along each bank of the river, which is worthy to cause wonder for its size and height: and at a great distance above Babylon, she dug a basin for a lake, which she caused to extend along at a very small distance from the river, excavating it everywhere of such depth as to come to water, and making the extent such that the circuit of it measured four hundred and twenty furlongs: and the earth which was dug out of this excavation she used up by piling it in mounds along the banks of the river: and when this had been dug by her she brought stones and set them all round it as a facing wall. Both these two things she did, that is she made the river to have a winding course, and she made the place which was dug out all into a swamp, in order that the river might run more slowly, having its force broken by going round many bends, and that the voyages might be winding to Babylon, and after the voyages there might succeed a long circuit of the pool. These works she carried

vocabulary ἀγγήιον vessel αἰσχροκερδής shamefully greedy ἀκίνητος motionless, immovable ἄμαξα wagon ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀνοιχοδομέω build up, rebuild ἄπληστος insatiable, greedy ἀποξηραίνω dry up ἀποψάω wipe off ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina άργυροῦς silver ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch βάθος -ους (n, 3) depth, height βασίλεια noblewoman βασίλειος kingly γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter γραμματεύς -ος (m) clerk, schoolmaster διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage \sim basis διαφοιτέω wander, cast about διεξελαύνω drive through ἐγκολάπτω cut or carve on stone **εἰσβαίνω** enter, board ~basis εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an entrance \sim ballistic έχάστοτε each time ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκμανθάνω know by heart ἐκτρέπω turn aside **ἔλος** ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἔλυτρον covering, case; reservoir ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐπικαλέω call upon ἐπιμίσγω deal with, fight ~mix ἐπιπολή (gen) on top of έτοῖμος ready; fulfilled κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατάβασις -εως (f) way down κατασκευάζω equip, build

κλέπτω steal κοσμέω marshal, array ~cosmos λεωφόρος heavily traveled λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic μετέωρος up in the air ∼meteor μηχανάομαι build, contrive \sim mechanism μίν him, her, it μνημόσυνον memorial μόλυβδος lead νηυσιπέρητος navigable νυν now; so οἰχοδομέω build, build a house ὄπη wherever, however ὁπόσος as many as, how many, how great ὀπτός roasted ὀρύσσω dig ὀχληρός troublesome παρενθήκη an aside, addition \sim parentheses περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περιέρχομαι go around; come next to περιμήκης very long, high πηγή headwaters, fountain πηγός stout, mighty πίμπλημι fill (+gen.) ∼plenum πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of \sim plethora πλίνθος (f) brick, block π ροβαίνω surpass, continue \sim basis προείδον look toward, catch sight of \sim wit προοράω see before oneself πυλίς little gate, back door ῥεῖθρον stream ∼rheostat ὁέω flow ~rheostat $\dot{\rho}o\dot{\alpha}$ pl: waters of a river \sim rheostat δόος δοῦ stream, flow, current \sim rheostat σίδηρος iron \sim siderite σχευάζω prepare, collect σοῦσον lily

σπανίζω be scarce; lack; use up συμφάω rake over, sweep up σύντομος truncated, concise τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize ~tonsure τετράγωνος square

τετράχυκλος four-wheeled \sim cycle τοιόσδε such ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage ὑποβρύχιος underwater, deep φάρσος -εος (n, 3) portion χαλεπαίνω be violent, rage χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip

notes

ἑωυτῆ: for herself

Δαρεῖον: first mentioned in 1.183, in which he coveted a golden statue τὴν: the Persian gulf, referred to by the same name as the Red Sea iρων: The horses are holy.

έργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῆ αἴ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

1.186

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην έποιήσατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον έχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ές τοὖτερον διαβηναι, χρην πλοίω διαβαίνειν, καὶ ην, ως έγω δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προείδε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ὤρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῆ λίμνη, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ώς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οί λίθοι έτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον πῶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ὧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτω ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ές τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοΐσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὤρύξατο οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρω τε καὶ μολύβδω. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ήμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα έκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἕλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον έδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

1.187

Ή δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο ὕπερ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῆ* κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. «τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἢν σπανίση χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξη· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον·»

Οὖτος ὁ τάφος ἢν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὖ ἐς Δαρεῖον* περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληίη· Δαρείω δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῆσι πύλησι ταύτησι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῆσι δὲ πύλησι ταύτησι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὕπερ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι.

Άνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὖρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε «εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἔας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὖκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέωγες.» αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

1.188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παίδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοῖσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἄμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἄμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅκῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε.

1.189

Έπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν* Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὅρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ἦπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν* ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο

out in that part where the entrance to the country was, and the shortest way to it from Media, so that the Medes might not have dealings with her kingdom and learn of her affairs.

1.186

These defences she cast round her city from the depth; and she made the following addition which was dependent upon them:— The city was in two divisions, and the river occupied the space between; and in the time of the former rulers, when any one wished to pass over from the one division to the other, he had to pass over in a boat, and that, as I imagine, was troublesome: she however made provision also for this; for when she was digging the basin for the lake she left this other monument of herself derived from the same work, that is, she caused stones to be cut of very great length, and when the stones were prepared for her and the place had been dug out, she turned aside the whole stream of the river into the place which she had been digging; and while this was being filled with water, the ancient bed of the river being dried up in the meantime, she both built up with baked bricks after the same fashion as the wall the edges of the river, where it flows through the city, and the places of descent leading from the small gateways to the river; and also about the middle of the city, as I judge, with the stones which she had caused to be dug out she proceeded to build a bridge, binding together the stones with iron and lead: and upon the top she laid squared timbers across, to remain there while it was daytime, over which the people of Babylon made the passage across; but at night they used to take away these timbers for this reason, namely that they might not go backwards and forwards by night and steal from one another: and when the place dug out had been made into a lake full of water by the river, and at the same time the bridge had been completed, then she conducted the Euphrates back into its ancient channel from the lake, and so the place dug out being made into a swamp was thought to have served a good purpose, and there had been a bridge set up for the men of the city.

1.187

This same queen also contrived a snare of the following kind:— Over that gate of the city through which the greatest number of people passed she set up for herself a tomb above the very gate itself. And on the tomb she engraved writing which said thus: "If any of the kings of Babylon who come after me shall be in want of wealth, let him open my tomb and take as much as he desires; but let him not open it for any other cause, if he be not in want; for that will not be well."

This tomb was undisturbed until the kingdom came to Dareios; but to Dareios it seemed that it was a monstrous thing not to make any use of this gate, and also,

when there was money lying there, not to take it, considering that the money itself invited him to do so. Now the reason why he would not make any use of this gate was because the corpse would have been above his head as he drove through.

He then, I say, opened the tomb and found not indeed money but the corpse, with writing which said thus: "If thou hadst not been insatiable of wealth and basely covetous, thou wouldest not have opened the resting-places of the dead."

1.188

This queen then is reported to have been such as I have described: and it was the son of this woman, bearing the same name as his father, Labynetos, and being ruler over the Assyrians, against whom Cyrus was marching. Now the great king makes his marches not only well furnished from home with provisions for his table and with cattle, but also taking with him water from the river Choaspes, which flows by Susa, of which alone and of no other river the king drinks: and of this water of the Choaspes boiled, a very great number of waggons, four-wheeled and drawn by mules, carry a supply in silver vessels, and go with him wherever he may march at any time.

1.189

Now when Cyrus on his way towards Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes,— of which river the springs are in the mountains of the Matienians, and it flows through the Dardanians and runs into another river, the Tigris, which flowing by the city of Opis runs out into the Erythraian Sea,— when Cyrus, I say, was endeavouring to cross this river Gyndes, which is a navigable stream, then one of his sacred white horses in high spirit and wantonness went into the river and endeavoured to cross, but the stream swept it under water and carried it off forthwith. And Cyrus was greatly moved with anger against the river for having done

vocabulary ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like \sim angina αίμασιά wall of dry stones? άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄνω (ā) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea ἀπειλή boast, threat ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπορέω be confused, distressed ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck \sim pierce ἀπροσδόχητος unexpected; unaware άργύριον small coin ἀρτάβη 50 liters ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch ἀσθενής weak ἄτε as if; since ἀτελής incomplete, endless; invalid, for free ἀτρεμίζω not be restless ἀχοεῖος serving no purpose ∼chresard $\mathring{a}ω$ aor: to sate \sim sate βασίλεια noblewoman βασίλειος kingly βρέχω soak; it rains διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαβατός crossable, fordable διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute διαλαμβάνω distribute διατάσσω arrange, array διατρίβω (ιῖ) wear down, delay \sim tribology δίχ α in two, in two ways διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal ἔαρ -oς (n) spring (season) ἐγγίγνομαι live in \sim genus εἰσάγω lead in ~demagogue εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion εἰσίημι (mid) speed to ~jet ἐκστρατεύω march out; (mp) take the field

ἕλος ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἐμβολή putting in; incursion, charge ἐνθαῦτα there, here έξαχισχίλιοι 6000 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well ἑξήκοντα sixty έξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet ἐπαπειλέω threaten ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ∼chiral ἔρσην male ἐσχατάω be at the edge ἔσχατος farthest, last εὐπάθεια comfort εὐπέτης flying well ἐύς good, brave, noble ήσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θέρειος of summer θέρω warm up \sim thermos κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατακλείω enclose; shut up κατατείνω stretch out κατειλέω coop up κράτιστος best κύρτη sieve, cage λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic μέγαθος tall, big (person) μέδιμνος bushel μεστός full μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μέτρον measure ~metric μηρός thigh, femur μίν him, her, it **μυρίος** (0) 10,000 ~myriad νομός home, district ∼nemesis νυν now; so ὀγδώκοντα eighty όκτακόσιοι 800 ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ορτή holiday, feast ὀρύσσω dig

παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn πάρεξ alongside, diverging from; (+ή or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside περ emphatic particle; even though περίοιδα have great, greater skill περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian πολεμιστήριος of/for a warrior πολιορχία siege προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before προχόπτω make progress προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect \sim legion προπυνθάνομαι learn in advance πρόσειμι approach, draw near ~ion πυλίς little gate, back door ῥεῖθρον stream ∼rheostat σατραπηίη satrapy στράτευσις expedition στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy

συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp:

meet, fall in with ~ballistic συχνός long; many; extensive σχοινοτενής stretched straight τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τοιόσδε such τριηχόσιοι three hundred τριτημόριος 1/3 **τροφή** food, upkeep \sim atrophy ύβρίζω insult, treat outrageously ὑποδείκνυμι (υῦ) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer \sim doctrine ὑπολάμπω shine under; begin to shine ὑπονοστέω sink, settle ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue **χεῖλος** -εος (n, 3) lip χοῖνιξ -μος (f) liter; shackle χορεύω dance **γωρέω** withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir

ύβρίσαντι, καί οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δή μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκας μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρεε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελῶν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

1.190

'Ως δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἑσσωθέντες τῆ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἱα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὁρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὕτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο, ἄτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

1.191

Εἴτε δὴ ὧν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἢν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἄπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ

τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἵ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ρέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα. εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οἳ δ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα κατακληίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

1.192

Καὶ Βαβυλών μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλέι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει δυώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χωρή, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. ούτω τριτημορίη ή Άσσυρίη χώρη τῆ δυνάμι τῆς ἄλλης Άσίης. καὶ ή ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηίην καλέουσι, έστι άπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη τῷ ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε έκάστης ήμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. (ή δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Άττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Άττικῆσι.) ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν άναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι έξακισχίλιαι καὶ μυρίαι ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δή τι πληθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν έν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες,* τοῖσι

thus insolently, and he threatened to make it so feeble that for the future even women could cross it easily without wetting the knee. So after this threat he ceased from his march against Babylon and divided his army into two parts; and having divided it he stretched lines and marked out straight channels, one hundred and eighty on each bank of the Gyndes, directed every way, and having disposed his army along them he commanded them to dig: so, as a great multitude was working, the work was completed indeed, but they spent the whole summer season at this spot working.

1.190

When Cyrus had taken vengeance on the river Gyndes by dividing it into three hundred and sixty channels, and when the next spring was just beginning, then at length he continued his advance upon Babylon: and the men of Babylon had marched forth out of their city and were awaiting him. So when in his advance he came near to the city, the Babylonians joined battle with him, and having been worsted in the fight they were shut up close within their city. But knowing well even before this that Cyrus was not apt to remain still, and seeing him lay hands on every nation equally, they had brought in provisions beforehand for very many years. So while these made no account of the siege, Cyrus was in straits what to do, for much time went by and his affairs made no progress onwards.

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Therefore, whether it was some other man who suggested it to him when he was in a strait what to do, or whether he of himself perceived what he ought to do, he did as follows:— The main body of his army he posted at the place where the river runs into the city, and then again behind the city he set others, where the river issues forth from the city; and he proclaimed to his army that so soon as they should see that the stream had become passable, they should enter by this way into the city. Having thus set them in their places and in this manner exhorted them he marched away himself with that part of his army which was not fit for fighting: and when he came to the lake, Cyrus also did the same things which the queen of the Babylonians had done as regards the river and the lake; that is to say, he conducted the river by a channel into the lake, which was at that time a swamp, and so made the former course of the river passable by the sinking of the stream. When this had been done in such a manner, the Persians who had been posted for this very purpose entered by the bed of the river Euphrates into Babylon, the stream having sunk so far that it reached about to the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had had knowledge of it beforehand or had perceived that which was being done by Cyrus, they would have allowed the Persians to enter the city and then destroyed them miserably; for if they had closed all the gates that led to the river and mounted themselves upon the ramparts which were carried along the banks of the stream, they would have caught them as it were in a fish-wheal: but as it was, the Persians came upon them unexpectedly; and owing to the size of the city (so it is said by those who dwell there) after those about the extremities of the city had suffered capture, those Babylonians who dwelt in the middle did not know that they had been captured; but as they chanced to be holding a festival, they went on dancing and rejoicing during this time until they learnt the truth only too well.

Babylon then had thus been taken for the first time:

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And as to the resources of the Babylonians how great they are, I shall show by many other proofs and among them also by this:— For the support of the great king and his army, apart from the regular tribute, the whole land of which he is ruler has been distributed into portions. Now whereas twelve months go to make up the year, for four of these he has his support from the territory of Babylon, and for the remaining eight months from the whole of the rest of Asia; thus the Assyrian land is in regard to resources the third part of all Asia: and the government, or satrapy as it is called by the Persians, of this territory is of all the governments by far the best; seeing that when Tritantaichmes son of Artabazos had this province from the king, there came in to him every day an artab full of silver coin (now the artab is a Persian measure and holds more than the medimnos of Attica by three Attic choinikes); and of horses he had in this province as his private property, apart from the horses for use in war, eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, for each of these stallions served twenty mares: of Indian hounds moreover such a vast number were kept that four large villages in the

vocabulary άδρύνω ripen, mature ἀετός eagle ~avis ἄμπελος (f) vine ἀναδέω wreath, tie ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust άποροέω flow, fall off ἄρδω give water α ρουρα land \sim arable αὐτόθι on the spot βαλανηφόρος bearing dates βάλανος (f) nut; pin, bolt βίκος jar, cask γόμος cargo δάκτυλος finger, toe δένδρεον -οῦ tree δένδρον tree δένδρος tree διατίθημι arrange; set out goods for sale \sim thesis διφθέρα leather διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal ἔδαφος -ους (n, 3) ground, floor ~edifice εἰσδύνω take part in εἰσέχω stretch into εἰσχέω pour into ἐκτρέφω raise, rear ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear ἐλαία olive, olive tree ∼olive ξ λαιον oil, olive oil \sim olive "Ελλην Greek

ἐμβάς slipper

ἔνειμι be in ~ion

ἐξεπίσταμαι know well

ἔξωθεν from outside

ἐπενδύνω put on over

ἐπίσημον mark, badge

ἐπισάττω pile a load on

ἐπίσημος marked, significant ἐπιχώριος native ἔρσην male ἐσθής clothes ∼vest εὐπέτης flying well ἐύς good, brave, noble ζωός alive ∼zoo $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$ a wonder, feeling of surprise \sim theater ἰθύνω (τ̄ῡ) straighten, aim, guide \sim justice καλάμη straw, stubble καρποφόρος fruit-bearing κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατάγω lead down/home; land ~demagogue κατατέμνω cut up κατύπερθεν above, from above κέγχρος small thing, bit κηλωνήιον shadoof, water lever κηρύσσω be a henchman, summon people χομάω have long hair κριθή (τ) barley plant χυχλοτερής rounded (by wear) ~cycle λήιον standing grain λίνεος linen μέγαθος tall, big (person) μέλι honey, a sweet μῆλον sheep, small livestock; apple, tree fruit μίτρα metal waist guard μνήμη reminder, memorial μυρίζω anoint νηυσιπέρητος navigable νομεύς -ος (m) shepherd, herder \sim nemesis ὄλυνθος wild fig ὄνος (f) donkey ∼onager ὄον οὖ type of fruit παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend \sim genus παράπαν completely

παραπλήσιος similar to

πενταχισχίλιοι 5,000 πεπαίνω ripen περ emphatic particle; even though περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic π εριδέω tie around, on περιτείνω stretch all around, over πλάτος -εος (n, 3) width πληκτρον plectrum, barge pole ποδηνεχής reaching to the feet προσδοχάω expect προστάσσω post at, attach to, command πρύμνα stern $\pi \rho \tilde{\omega} \rho \alpha$ bow, prow ~prolog π υρά pyre \sim pyre $\pi υ ρ ό ς (\bar{v})$ wheat πυρόω burn something ῥίζα root ∼rhizome δόδον rose σήσαμον sesame σήσαμος sesame σχηπτρον scepter, staff ~scepter σχύτινος (ō) of leather στεγαστρίς roof, covering συκέα -ῆς (ō) fig tree

συχη fig tree σῦκον fig τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight \sim talent τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ∼tachometer τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize \sim tonsure τοιόσδε such τριηχόσιοι three hundred ύπόδημα -τος (n, 3) sandals υω (v) to rain φοινικήιος of palm trees φοῖνιξ -μος (m) red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree φορτίον burden, load **φόρτος** outward cargo ∼bear φύλλον leaf **φύω** produce, beget; clasp ∼physics χειμερινός of winter χειροποίητος artificial χλανίδιον woman's mantle **χωρέω** withdraw, give way to (+dat) \sim heir χῶρος place \sim heir ἀθέω push

notes

πειρᾶται: The land doesn't try.

ὥστε : approximately

ὥστε ἐπὶ: expressing a multiple of the seed

ψην: a pollinating insect

καλάμης: reeds to be sold later

κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα.

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Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγω, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ άδρύνεταί τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτω αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσί τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. ή γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πᾶσα, κατά περ ή Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων έστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ές ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ήμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται* ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε* ἐπὶ* διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ έωυτῆς ένείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδώς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλην ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οί πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας ελληνὲς καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῆσι βαλανηφόροισι τὸν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνη τε σφι ὁ ψὴν* τὴν βάλανον έσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατά περ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.

1.194

Τὸ δὲ ἁπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν

πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ές την Βαβυλώνα, έόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. έπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας έξωθεν έδάφεος τρόπον, οὖτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὖτε πρώρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης* πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἴνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπό τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον ό δὲ ἔξω ὦθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ έλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον έχει. ἐν ἑκάστω δὲ πλοίω ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. έπεὰν ὧν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν έκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ές τοὺς Άρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οξά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπω ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους έλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ές τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπω τῷ αὐτῶ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

1.195

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκέι λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῆσι Βοιωτίησι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ρόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι' ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὕ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

plain, being free from other contributions, had been appointed to provide food for the hounds.

1.193

Such was the wealth which belonged to the ruler of Babylon. Now the land of the Assyrians has but little rain; and this little gives nourishment to the root of the corn, but the crop is ripened and the ear comes on by the help of watering from the river, not as in Egypt by the coming up of the river itself over the fields, but the crop is watered by hand or with swing-buckets. For the whole Babylonian territory like the Egyptian is cut up into channels, and the largest of the channels is navigable for ships and runs in the direction of the sunrising in winter from the Euphrates to another river, namely the Tigris, along the bank of which lay the city of Nineveh. This territory is of all that we know the best by far for producing corn: as to trees, it does not even attempt to bear them, either fig or vine or olive, but for producing corn it is so good that it is as much as two hundred fold for the average, and when it bears at its best it produces three hundred fold. The leaves of the wheat and barley there grow to be full four fingers broad; and from millet and sesame seed how large a tree grows, I know myself but shall not record, being well aware that even what has already been said relating to the crops produced has been enough to cause disbelief in those who have not visited the Babylonian land. They use no oil of olives, but only that which they make of sesame seed; and they have date-palms growing over all the plain, most of them fruit-bearing, of which they make both solid food and wine and honey; and to these they attend in the same manner as to fig-trees, and in particular they take the fruit of those palms which the Hellenes call male-palms, and tie them upon the date-bearing palms, so that their gall-fly may enter into the date and ripen it and that the fruit of the palm may not fall off: for the male-palm produces gall-flies in its fruit just as the wild-fig does.

1.194

But the greatest marvel of all the things in the land after the city itself, to my mind is this which I am about to tell: Their boats, those I mean which go down the river to Babylon, are round and all of leather: for they make ribs for them of willow which they cut in the land of the Armenians who dwell above the Assyrians, and round these they stretch hides which serve as a covering outside by way of hull, not making broad the stern nor gathering in the prow to a point, but making the boats round like a shield: and after that they stow the whole boat with straw and suffer it to be carried down the stream full of cargo; and for the most part these boats bring down casks of palm-wood filled with wine. The boat is kept straight by two steering-oars and two men standing upright, and the man inside pulls his

oar while the man outside pushes. These vessels are made both of very large size and also smaller, the largest of them having a burden of as much as five thousand talents' weight; and in each one there is a live ass, and in those of larger size several. So when they have arrived at Babylon in their voyage and have disposed of their cargo, they sell by auction the ribs of the boat and all the straw, but they pack the hides upon their asses and drive them off to Armenia: for up the stream of the river it is not possible by any means to sail, owing to the swiftness of the current; and for this reason they make their boats not of timber but of hides. Then when they have come back to the land of the Armenians, driving their asses with them, they make other boats in the same manner.

1.195

Such are their boats; and the following is the manner of dress which they use, namely a linen tunic reaching to the feet, and over this they put on another of wool, and then a white mantle thrown round, while they have shoes of a native fashion rather like the Boeotian slippers. They wear their hair long and bind their heads round with fillets, and they are anointed over the whole of their body with perfumes. Each man has a seal and a staff carved by hand, and on each staff is carved either an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle or some other device, for it is not their custom to have a staff without a device upon it.

vocabulary ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container αἰσχρός shameful άλής crowded; all together άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἄλλομαι to jump ~sally ἄμορφος misshapen, shapeless ἀναμίγνυμι mix ~mix ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing \sim Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀπάγω lead away, back ∼demagogue ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἄπαξ once ἀποδοχιμάω reject ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ∼bear ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἀργύριον small coin ἄρτισις equipment ἀφοσιόω purify, atone **γάμος** wedding, sex ∼bigamy διατελέω accomplish; keep doing \sim apostle διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion διεξέρχομαι go through διέξοδος διαξόδου (f) outlet, path; narrative ἐγγυητής -οῦ (m, 1) guarantor εἶδος -ους (n, 3) appearance, form \sim -oid **εἰσάγω** lead in ∼demagogue ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκλέγω pick, single out ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ∼fugitive **ἐκφορέω** carry out ~bear ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest ἔμπηρος crippled ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka έξωνέομαι redeem, pay off ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπίγαμος marriageable ἐπικαλέω call upon

ἐπιχώριος native έτέρωθι opposite, elsewhere, anywhere εὐδαίμων blessed with a good genius εὐειδής good-looking ~wit εὔμορφος beautiful ἐύς good, brave, noble **ἐφάπτω** fasten upon ~haptic ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals \sim zygote θέμις -τος (f) custom, law θεραπηίη service, tending θηλυς female; (rare) abundant \sim female $\theta \rho \tilde{\eta} \nu o \zeta$ dirge \sim threnody θυμίημα incense θωμιγξ cord, string ϊζ ω to seat \sim sit ἰητρός (τ) physician **κακόω** harm, disfigure ∼cacophony καλλιστεύω be the best καμάρα covered carriage, boat κάμνω toil, be tired, acquire by toil; be troubled; be sick καταγίζω devote, dedicate καταπορνεύω treat as a prostitute κηρύσσω be a henchman, summon people κώμη village μέγαθος tall, big (person) μέλι honey, a sweet μίν him, her, it νόσος (f) plague, pestilence \sim noisome **νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νυν now; so οἰχοφθορέω lose one's fortune ὄμιλος ($\bar{\iota}$) crowd, throng \sim homily ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ὁποῖος whatever kind ὄρθρος dawn ὁσάχις as often as, whenever παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παραπλήσιος similar to παρεξέρχομαι pass by, slip past παρθένος (f) girl, virgin ∼Parthenon

πέριξ all around πέρνημι export, sell as a slave ~porno πρίαμαι buy προσδοχάω expect πρόσειμι approach, draw near ~ion προσίημι be allowed near πρόσχειμαι be set before πωλέομαι go back and forth πωλέω sell π**ω**λος (f) foal \sim foal σιγά silence σιγάω (ī) be silent σοφία skill; wisdom \sim sophistry σοφός skilled, clever, wise σπανίζω be scarce; lack; use up στέφανος ring

συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult \sim volunteer συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree ∼bear συνοικέω live together σχοινοτενής stretched straight ταφή burial, grave τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common land τοσόσδε this much ύπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay \sim ballistic ὑπερφρονέω be snobby ύφίστημι promise, undertake ∼station χουσίον (ō) gold coin ώνέομαι buy ώραῖος ripe; young adult

Αὕτη μὲν δή σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστασι, ό μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῶ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας έκάστας ἄπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος έκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ώς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίατο γάμων ώραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς εν χωρίον έσάγεσκον άλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν έκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην έκ πασέων μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εύροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, άλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἡ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη• ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ύπερβάλλοντες άλλήλους έξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας όσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὖτοι δὲ εἴδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἳ δ' αν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ώς γαρ δή διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων ἀνίστη αν την αμορφεστάτην, η εί τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος είη, καὶ ταύτην αν έκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῆ, ές δ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον έγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὔμορφοι τὰς αμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ότεω βούλοιτο έκαστος οὐκ έξην, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἡ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῆ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ώνέεσθαι. ό μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὖτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς έτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται]· ἐπείτε γὰρ άλόντες* ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

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Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὧν

πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῆ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὔ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

1.198

Ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῆ γυναικὶ τῆ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ζζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τώυτὸ τοῦτο ποιέει, ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἀγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ᾿Αράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

1.199

Ό δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν ᾿Αφροδίτης ἄπαξ ἐν τῆ ζόη μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνω. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῆσι ἄλλησι, οἶα πλούτω ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρησι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπηίη δέ σφι ὅπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένεϊ ᾿Αφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἷ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἷ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἵζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων, ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα, μιχθῆ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· «ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.» Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν ᾿Αφροδίτην ᾿Ασσύριοι.

Τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὧν οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμῷ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῆ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῆ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τὼπὸ τούτον οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὧς μιν λάμψεαι.

"Όσσαι μέν νυν εἴδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ

Such is the equipment of their bodies: and the customs which are established among them are as follows, the wisest in our opinion being this, which I am informed that the Enetoi in Illyria also have. In every village once in each year it was done as follows:— When the maidens grew to the age for marriage, they gathered these all together and brought them in a body to one place, and round them stood a company of men: and the crier caused each one severally to stand up, and proceeded to sell them, first the most comely of all, and afterwards, when she had been sold and had fetched a large sum of money, he would put up another who was the most comely after her: and they were sold for marriage. Now all the wealthy men of the Babylonians who were ready to marry vied with one another in bidding for the most beautiful maidens; those however of the common sort who were ready to marry did not require a fine form, but they would accept money together with less comely maidens. For when the crier had made an end of selling the most comely of the maidens, then he would cause to stand up that one who was least shapely, or any one of them who might be crippled in any way, and he would make proclamation of her, asking who was willing for least gold to have her in marriage, until she was assigned to him who was willing to accept least: and the gold would be got from the sale of the comely maidens, and so those of beautiful form provided dowries for those which were unshapely or crippled; but to give in marriage one's own daughter to whomsoever each man would, was not allowed, nor to carry off the maiden after buying her without a surety; for it was necessary for the man to provide sureties that he would marry her, before he took her away; and if they did not agree well together, the law was laid down that he should pay back the money. It was allowed also for any one who wished it to come from another village and buy. This then was their most honourable custom; it does not however still exist at the present time, but they have found out of late another way, in order that the men may not ill-treat them or take them to another city: for since the time when being conquered they were oppressed and ruined, each one of the common people when he is in want of livelihood prostitutes his female children.

1.197

Next in wisdom to that, is this other custom which was established among them:—they bear out the sick into the market-place; for of physicians they make no use. So people come up to the sick man and give advice about his disease, if any one himself has ever suffered anything like that which the sick man has, or saw any other who had suffered it; and coming near they advise and recommend those means by which they themselves got rid of a like disease or seen some other get

rid of it: and to pass by the sick man in silence is not permitted to them, nor until one has asked what disease he has.

1.198

They bury their dead in honey, and their modes of lamentation are similar to those used in Egypt. And whenever a Babylonian man has intercourse with his wife, he sits by incense offered, and his wife does the same on the other side, and when it is morning they wash themselves, both of them, for they will touch no vessel until they have washed themselves: and the Arabians do likewise in this matter.

1.199

Now the most shameful of the customs of the Babylonians is as follows: every woman of the country must sit down in the precincts of Aphrodite once in her life and have commerce with a man who is a stranger: and many women who do not deign to mingle with the rest, because they are made arrogant by wealth, drive to the temple with pairs of horses in covered carriages, and so take their place, and a large number of attendants follow after them; but the greater number do thus,— in the sacred enclosure of Aphrodite sit great numbers of women with a wreath of cord about their heads; some come and others go; and there are passages in straight lines going between the women in every direction, through which the strangers pass by and make their choice. Here when a woman takes her seat she does not depart again to her house until one of the strangers has thrown a silver coin into her lap and has had commerce with her outside the temple, and after throwing it he must say these words only: "I demand thee in the name of the goddess Mylitta": now Mylitta is the name given by the Assyrians to Aphrodite.

The silver coin may be of any value; whatever it is she will not refuse it, for that is not lawful for her, seeing that this coin is made sacred by the act: and she follows the man who has first thrown and does not reject any: and after that she departs to her house, having acquitted herself of her duty to the goddess, nor will you be able thenceforth to give any gift so great as to win her.

So then as many as have attained to beauty and stature

vocabulary ἄγριος wild, savage \sim agriculture ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made ~Alexander ἄμορφος misshapen, shapeless ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ~caustic ἀνατέλλω cause to grow ~apostle ἀνατολή a rising in the sky \sim apostle ἀοιδή song ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἄπειρος untested; infinite ἀπείρων boundless ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine $απόφημι speak out <math>\sim$ fame ἀράσσω smash ἄτε as if; since αὐαίνω to dry; (mp) wither $\mathring{a}ω$ aor: to sate \sim sate γένεσις -εως (f) source, origin ∼genus δένδρεον -οῦ tree δένδρον tree δένδρος tree δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide ~dermatology δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαλαμβάνω distribute διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal ἐγγράφω engrave, enroll εἰρεσία rowing ~row εἴριον wool ~Eriogonum εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκδέκομαι receive from ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκπλέω sail away ∼float ἐκπλύνω (ō) wash dirt out; wash thoroughly ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest ελλην Greek **ἕλος** ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἐμφανής visible ένιαχ $\tilde{\eta}$ in some places; sometimes

ἐνυφαίνω weave in

ἐξερεύγομαι spew, discharge

έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἑξήκοντα sixty ἐπαείρω raise, place on \sim aorta ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for \sim ballistic ἐποτρύνω (ō) urge, stir, dispatch ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἑσπέρα evening, west $ε \tilde{\boldsymbol{\upsilon}} \boldsymbol{\rho} \boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{\varsigma} - ε \sigma \boldsymbol{\varsigma}$ (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐτυχία good luck, success ζῷον being, animal; picture θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound \sim thallium θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer \sim thermos θηρεύω hunt, fish ∼fierce ίδέα ίδῆς semblance; kind, style καθαρός clean, pure καταγίζω devote, dedicate κατατίθημι put down, deposit, lay aside \sim thesis κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle μᾶζα barley bread; lump μάσσω handle, knead \sim mass μέγαθος tall, big (person) μεθύσκω (mp) get drunk μεθύω be soaked, drunk ~mead μετέχω partake of μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it μίξις mixing; sex, commerce ναυτίλλομαι sail ∼navy ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄλμος roller ∼helix ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀπτάω roast, bake ὀρύσσω dig ὄρχησις dancing \dot{o} σμή smell \sim osmium, odor ὀσφραίνομαι catch scent of παντοῖος all kinds of

παραμίγνυμι mix in παραπλήσιος similar to παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture πατριά family, tribe πεντεκαίδεκα 15 περ emphatic particle; even though πέραν ($\bar{α}$) on the other side, across περιίζομαι sit around πλόος - $\tilde{υ}$ course, voyage ∼float πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds **προθυμία** (\bar{v}) zeal, alacrity \sim fume προσμένω await, cleave to δέω flow ~rheostat δίζα root ~rhizome σινδών -όνος (f, 3) linen σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite στήλη post, column συγκαταγηράσκω grow old together συμμίγνυμι mix with \sim mix συνέρχομαι come together συχνός long; many; extensive τέναγος -εος (n, 3) shoal, shallows τετραέτης of four years τοιόσδε such τρίβω (ī) rub; (mid) be worn out ~tribulation τριέτης for three years τριηχόσιοι three hundred ὕπερον pestle, club; pupa ὕπερος pestle, club; pupa φορβή food, pasture \sim euphorbia φύλλον leaf φώχη seal (animal) \sim Fr. phoque χειμερινός of winter ώμός raw ώραῖος ripe; young adult

notes

μεθύσχεσθαι: The smoke drugs them.

ή ἔξω : The pillars of Hercules, modern Gibraltar.

πρῶτον μὲν ἡ : of Cyrus

ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῆ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτω νόμος.

1.200

Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὖτοι κατεστᾶσι εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε αν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ ὃς μὲν αν βούληται αὐτῶν ἄτε μαζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

1.201

'Ως δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

1.202

Ό δὲ ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἱστρου νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀνθρώπους οῖ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν ἐς τὢυτὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι* τῆ ὀσμῆ κατά περ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαιτᾳ εἶναι.

Ό δὲ ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἔλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῦ· ἐν τοῦσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὤμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ εν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῆ ἑτέρη θαλάσση. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἕλληνὲς ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω* στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ ἀλτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει.

1.203

Η δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὸν ὀρέων καὶ πλήθεϊ μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζώοντα' ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῷα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν' τὰ δὲ ζῷα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

1.204

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οῦς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἢν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ* γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ

are speedily released, but those of them who are unshapely remain there much time, not being able to fulfil the law; for some of them remain even as much as three or four years: and in some parts of Cyprus too there is a custom similar to this.

1.200

These customs then are established among the Babylonians: and there are of them three tribes which eat nothing but fish only: and when they have caught them and dried them in the sun they do thus,— they throw them into brine, and then pound them with pestles and strain them through muslin; and they have them for food either kneaded into a soft cake, or baked like bread, according to their liking.

1.201

When this nation also had been subdued by Cyrus, he had a desire to bring the Massagetai into subjection to himself. This nation is reputed to be both great and warlike, and to dwell towards the East and the sunrising, beyond the river Araxes and over against the Issedonians: and some also say that this nation is of Scythian race.

1.202

Now the Araxes is said by some to be larger and by others to be smaller than the Ister: and they say that there are many islands in it about equal in size to Lesbos, and in them people dwelling who feed in the summer upon roots of all kinds which they dig up and certain fruits from trees, which have been discovered by them for food, they store up, it is said, in the season when they are ripe and feed upon them in the winter. Moreover it is said that other trees have been discovered by them which yield fruit of such a kind that when they have assembled together in companies in the same place and lighted a fire, they sit round in a circle and throw some of it into the fire, and they smell the fruit which is thrown on, as it burns, and are intoxicated by the scent as the Hellenes are with wine, and when more of the fruit is thrown on they become more intoxicated, until at last they rise up to dance and begin to sing. This is said to be their manner of living.

And as to the river Araxes, it flows from the land of the Matienians, whence flows the Gyndes which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels, and it discharges itself by forty branches, of which all except one end in swamps and shallow pools; and among them they say that men dwell who feed on fish eaten raw, and who are wont to use as clothing the skins of seals: but the one remaining branch of the Araxes flows with unimpeded course into the Caspian Sea. Now the Caspian Sea is apart by itself, not having connection with the other Sea: for all that

Sea which the Hellenes navigate, and the Sea beyond the Pillars, which is called Atlantis, and the Erythraian Sea are in fact all one, but the Caspian is separate and lies apart by itself.

1.203

In length it is a voyage of fifteen days if one uses oars, and in breadth, where it is broadest, a voyage of eight days. On the side towards the West of this Sea the Caucasus runs along by it, which is of all mountain-ranges both the greatest in extent and the loftiest: and the Caucasus has many various races of men dwelling in it, living for the most part on the wild produce of the forests; and among them there are said to be trees which produce leaves of such a kind that by pounding them and mixing water with them they paint figures upon their garments, and the figures do not wash out, but grow old with the woollen stuff as if they had been woven into it at the first: and men say that the sexual intercourse of these people is open like that of cattle.

1.204

On the West then of this Sea which is called Caspian the Caucasus is the boundary, while towards the East and the rising sun a plain succeeds which is of limitless extent to the view. Of this great plain then the Massagetai occupy a large part, against whom Cyrus had become eager to march; for there were many strong reasons which incited him to it and urged him onwards,— first the manner of his birth, that is to say the opinion held of him that he was more than a mere mortal man, and next the success which he

vocabulary αἰσχρός shameful ἄχρητος pure, unmixed ∼crater ἀμήχανος helpless, impossible \sim mechanism ἀνασχετός endurable ἀναχωρέω return, retreat ~heir άνθοωπήιος human ἀντιθέω run against ἀντιόω meet, fight, join ἀντιτίθημι oppose, balance ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἄπειρος untested; infinite ἀπόδεξις acceptance; (Ion) showing ἀποτρέπω divert from \sim trophy ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἀφειδής unsparing, cruel ~aphid ἀφηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious βασίλεια noblewoman βασίλειος kingly βασιλεύω be king γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge δαίς -τός (f) feast, banquet \sim demon δαίτη feast, banquet διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage \sim basis διαπορθμεύω ferry, bring across διαφεύγω escape, survive δόλος trick, bait εἰσδέχομαι admit, take in ἔμπαλιν backwards, on the contrary

ἐμφανής visible

ἔνειμι be in ~ion

ἐύς good, brave, noble

overcome; (active) defeat

ἡσυχία peace and quiet

ἐξαναχωρέω retreat, withdraw

εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed

ζεύγνυμι (υ) yoke, join ~zygote

ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

 $i\theta$ ύω ($\bar{\iota}$) charge at, head for \sim justice κατακόπτω cut down, shatter κοητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity μάθημα -τος (n, 3) lesson, knowledge μέμφομαι blame; reject μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μίν him, her, it μνάομαι be mindful of, woo, take for sex ∼mnemonic μόχθος toil οἰχοδομέω build, build a house ὄον οὖ type of fruit őπη wherever, however ὁπότερος which of two, either of two οὔκω no longer πάθημα -τος (n, 3) suffering, condition παντοῖος all kinds of πάντως by all means περ emphatic particle; even though περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain \sim genus περιφέρω carry around Πέρσης Persian πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds προέρχομαι proceed, come out πρόχειμαι be set before πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession; a rent προτίθημι set before \sim thesis προγωρέω proceed, come forward πύργος ramparts, tower; line of troops σχευάζω prepare, collect σπεύδω 'push on,' get going, hurry \sim repudiate στρατηίη expedition, campaign στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers \sim strategy **στρατόω** be on a campaign ∼strategy συγκαλέω call together ~gallo συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult \sim volunteer

συναγείρω gather together ~agora συνεχπίπτω be removed together σφάλμα stumble τοιόσδε such ὑπέξειμι withdraw; go out ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a

person behind \sim eclipse ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise \sim hypothesis ὑποχωρέω recoil \sim heir φλαῦρος trifling χωρίς separately; except, other than \sim heir

notes

εἴη πρῆγμα: it will not be profitable

Καμβύσεω: Cyrus's son ἄπειροι: inexperienced μετεὶς: going away from

κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη ὅκῃ γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

1.205

Ήν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρίς οἱ ἢν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἢν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν ᾿Αράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.

1.206

Έχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὕκων ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῆσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι ἡσυχίης εἶναι σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τώυτὸ τοῦτο ποίεε.»

Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τώυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην.

1.207

Παρεών δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς

ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῆ προκειμένη γνώμη, λέγων τάδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα* γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἶς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐῷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν.

«Ἡδη ὧν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὖτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἑσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικῷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἕποιο φεύγουσι. τῶυτὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλῷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος.

«Χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω* γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης.

«Νῦν ὧν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον αν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρασθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι* καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθέες. τούτοισι ὧν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονταί τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῦν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.»

1.208

Γνώμαι μὲν αὖται συνέστασαν Κῦρος δὲ μετεὶς* τὴν προτέρην

had met with in his wars, for whithersoever Cyrus directed his march, it was impossible for that nation to escape.

1.205

Now the ruler of the Massagetai was a woman, who was queen after the death of her husband, and her name was Tomyris. To her Cyrus sent and wooed her, pretending that he desired to have her for his wife: but Tomyris understanding that he was wooing not herself but rather the kingdom of the Massagetai, rejected his approaches: and Cyrus after this, as he made no progress by craft, marched to the Araxes, and proceeded to make an expedition openly against the Massagetai, forming bridges of boats over the river for his army to cross, and building towers upon the vessels which gave them passage across the river.

1.206

While he was busied about this labour, Tomyris sent a herald and said thus: "O king of the Medes, cease to press forward the work which thou art now pressing forward; for thou canst not tell whether these things will be in the end for thy advantage or no; cease to do so, I say, and be king over thine own people, and endure to see us ruling those whom we rule. Since however I know that thou wilt not be willing to receive this counsel, but dost choose anything rather than to be at rest, therefore if thou art greatly anxious to make trial of the Massagetai in fight, come now, leave that labour which thou hast in yoking together the banks of the river, and cross over into our land, when we have first withdrawn three days' journey from the river: or if thou desirest rather to receive us into your land, do thou this same thing thyself."

Having heard this Cyrus called together the first men among the Persians, and having gathered these together he laid the matter before them for discussion, asking their advice as to which of the two things he should do: and their opinions all agreed in one, bidding him receive Tomyris and her army into his country.

1.207

But Croesus the Lydian, being present and finding fault with this opinion, declared an opinion opposite to that which had been set forth, saying as follows: "O king, I told thee in former time also, that since Zeus had given me over to thee, I would avert according to my power whatever occasion of falling I might see coming near thy house: and now my sufferings, which have been bitter, have proved to be lessons of wisdom to me. If thou dost suppose that thou art immortal and that thou dost command an army which is also immortal, it will be of no use for me to declare to thee my judgment; but if thou hast perceived that thou art a mortal

man thyself and dost command others who are so likewise, then learn this first, that for the affairs of men there is a revolving wheel, and that this in its revolution suffers not the same persons always to have good fortune.

"I therefore now have an opinion about the matter laid before us, which is opposite to that of these men: for if we shall consent to receive the enemy into our land, there is for thee this danger in so doing:— if thou shalt be worsted thou wilt lose in addition all thy realm, for it is evident that if the Massagetai are victors they will not turn back and fly, but will march upon the provinces of thy realm; and on the other hand if thou shalt be the victor, thou wilt not be victor so fully as if thou shouldest overcome the Massagetai after crossing over into their land and shouldest pursue them when they fled. For against that which I said before I will set the same again here, and say that thou, when thou hast conquered, wilt march straight against the realm of Tomyris.

"Moreover besides that which has been said, it is a disgrace and not to be endured that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield to a woman and so withdraw from her land.

"Now therefore it seems good to me that we should cross over and go forward from the crossing as far as they go in their retreat, and endeavour to get the better of them by doing as follows:— The Massagetai, as I am informed, are without experience of Persian good things, and have never enjoyed any great luxuries. Cut up therefore cattle without stint and dress the meat and set out for these men a banquet in our camp: moreover also provide without stint bowls of unmixed wine and provisions of every kind; and having so done, leave behind the most worthless part of thy army and let the rest begin to retreat from the camp towards the river: for if I am not mistaken in my judgment, they when they see a quantity of good things will fall to the feast, and after that it remains for us to display great deeds."

1.208

These were the conflicting opinions; and Cyrus, letting go the former opinion and

vocabulary ἀζήμιος not paying, not punished άλέξω ward off; aid άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἀμπέλινος of the vine ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise \sim angel ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἄπληστος insatiable, greedy ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take aside, cut off ∼epilepsy ἀτρεχής precise, certain ἀχρεῖος serving no purpose ∼chresard δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom \sim demon δαίνυμι (ō) give a feast, feast on \sim demon δαίς -τός (f) feast, banquet \sim demon δαίτη feast, banquet δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage \sim basis δολόω trick, trap, disguise εἰστίθημι put in ἔλεγγος (n) shame, disgrace; (m) refutation ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine ἐλεύθερος not enslaved έλευθερόω set free ἐμπίμπλημι fill with ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐξαναχωρέω retreat, withdraw έξεγείρω awaken ἐπαείρω raise, place on ~aorta ἐπαναπλέω sail back ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm \sim volunteer ἐπισχιάζω throw shade on έπιφέρω bestow, impute \sim bear ἐπόμνυμι (ō) swear by εὕδω sleep, lie down, rest ἐύς good, brave, noble

ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive ήλικία time of life, contemporaries καθαρός clean, pure καθυβρίζω insult καρτερός strong, staunch καταστρέφω overturn, subdue \sim catastrophe κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion **χήδω** distress, hurt; mp: care about (+gen) ∼heinous **κλίνω** (t) lean, recline ∼incline **κορέννυμι** (ō) sate; pf, mp: have enough ∼cereal **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad μηχανή machine; mechanism, way νυν now; so ὄον οὖ type of fruit **ὀρθόω** stand up οὔκω no longer ὄψιος late, in evening ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view ~thanatopsis παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παροίχομαι pass, keep going περ emphatic particle; even though περαιόω carry across ~pierce πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιχωρέω go around, rotate Πέρσης Persian προαγορεύω declare, predict, order προδείχνυμι (ō) show by example; foreshadow προέρχομαι proceed, come out πρόχειμαι be set before προφαίνω show; pass: appear \sim photon πτέρυξ -γος (f) wing \sim archeopteryx σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers

 \sim strategy

στρατόω be on a campaign \sim strategy τοιόσδε such τριτημορίς 1/3 ὑπέχω promise; hold out one's hand;

submit to

ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine

 \sim epilepsy

 \sim heir

ύποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis φάρμακον drug, potion ~pharmacy φονεύω kill φορβή food, pasture ~euphorbia χειρόω dominate, subdue χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)

notes

ἐδίδου,: conative imperfect, intended to give

ὃς: you, who

καθαροῦ: fit, sound

γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρενε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ώς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου,* καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενὸς οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἢν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῆ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

1.209

Έπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὅψιν εὕδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῆ χωρῆ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῷ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῆ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῆ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ύστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ ἀχαιμενίδη ἢν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐῶν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὖτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσησι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι.

Έπεὶ ὧν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον έωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὅψιος. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὅψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε «Ύστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῆ ἐμῆ ἀρχῆ ἐάλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καί μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὧν ἐν τῆ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὕδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῆ μὲν τὴν ᾿Ασίην τῆ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὕκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὅψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὡς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.»

1.210

Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον.

'Αμείβεται δὴ ὧν ὁ Ύστάσπης τοῖσιδε. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοὶ ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ' ἐστί, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα ˙ δς* ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τις τοὶ ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὰ βούλεαι.»

1.211 Ύστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἤιε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρω τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ* στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ηὖδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ᾽ ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

1.212

"Η δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παίδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄπληστε αἴματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὧν μευ εὖ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παίδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μέν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω.»

choosing that of Croesus, gave notice to Tomyris to retire, as he was intending to cross over to her. She then proceeded to retire, as she had at first engaged to do, but Cyrus delivered Croesus into the hands of his son Cambyses, to whom he meant to give the kingdom, and gave him charge earnestly to honour him and to treat him well, if the crossing over to go against the Massagetai should not be prosperous. Having thus charged him and sent these away to the land of the Persians, he crossed over the river both himself and his army.

1.209

And when he had passed over the Araxes, night having come on he saw a vision in his sleep in the land of the Massagetai, as follows:— in his sleep it seemed to Cyrus that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes having upon his shoulders wings, and that with the one of these he overshadowed Asia and with the other Europe. Now of Hystaspes the son of Arsames, who was a man of the Achaimenid clan, the eldest son was Dareios, who was then, I suppose, a youth of about twenty years of age, and he had been left behind in the land of the Persians, for he was not yet of full age to go out to the wars.

So then when Cyrus awoke he considered with himself concerning the vision: and as the vision seemed to him to be of great import, he called Hystaspes, and having taken him apart by himself he said: "Hystaspes, thy son has been found plotting against me and against my throne: and how I know this for certain I will declare to thee:— The gods have a care of me and show me beforehand all the evils that threaten me. So in the night that is past while sleeping I saw the eldest of thy sons having upon his shoulders wings, and with the one of these he overshadowed Asia and with the other Europe. To judge by this vision then, it cannot be but that he is plotting against me. Do thou therefore go by the quickest way back to Persia and take care that, when I thither after having subdued these regions, thou set thy son before me to be examined."

1.210

Cyrus said thus supposing that Dareios was plotting against him; but in fact the divine powers were showing him beforehand that he was destined to find his end there and that his kingdom was coming about to Dareios.

To this then Hystaspes replied as follows: "O king, heaven forbid that there should be any man of Persian race who would plot against thee, and if there be any, I pray that he perish as quickly as may be; seeing that thou didst make the Persians to be free instead of slaves, and to rule all nations instead of being ruled by others. And if any vision announces to thee that my son is planning rebellion against thee,

I deliver him over to thee to do with him whatsoever thou wilt."

1.211

Hystaspes then, having made answer with these words and having crossed over the Araxes, was going his way to the Persian land to keep watch over his son Dareios for Cyrus; and Cyrus meanwhile went forward and made a march of one day from the Araxes according to the suggestion of Croesus. After this when Cyrus and the best part of the army of the Persians had marched back to the Araxes, and those who were unfit for fighting had been left behind, then a third part of the army of the Massagetai came to the attack and proceeded to slay, not without resistance, those who were left behind of the army of Cyrus; and seeing the feast that was set forth, when they had overcome their enemies they lay down and feasted, and being satiated with food and wine they went to sleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many of them, and took alive many more even than they slew, and among these the son of the queen Tomyris, who was leading the army of the Massagetai; and his name was Spargapises.

1.212

She then, when she heard that which had come to pass concerning the army and also the things concerning her son, sent a herald to Cyrus and said as follows: "Cyrus, insatiable of blood, be not elated with pride by this which has come to pass, namely because with that fruit of the vine, with which ye fill yourselves and become so mad that as the wine descends into your bodies, evil words float up upon its stream,— because setting a snare, I say, with such a drug as this thou didst overcome my son, and not by valour in fight. Now therefore receive the word which I utter, giving thee good advice:— Restore to me my son and depart from this land without penalty, triumphant over a third part of the army of the Massagetai: but if thou shalt not do so, I swear to thee by the Sun, who is lord of the Massagetai, that surely I will give thee thy fill of blood, insatiable as thou art."

vocabulary ἀδεής (ā) fearless ∼Deimos αἰχμή spear point ~acute αἰχμοφόρος spearman ἄμαξα wagon ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἀνήκω reach up to; belong ἀνθρωπήιος human ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἄνιππος horseless ἀπειλέω vow. threaten, boast ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἀποκρεμάζω let hang down; (mp) hang, come off ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina ἄρδις arrowhead ἀσκός wine skin, leather bag αὔτως just so, merely; in vain ∼after ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful βασιλεύω be king βέλος -εος (n, 3) missile \sim ballistic γαλακτοπότης -ου (m, 1) milk drinker δατέομαι divide into portions ~demon δεσμέω to chain δεσμός bond, latch, strap; also (pl) headdress δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διεργάζομαι cultivate; kill, end δίζημαι seek ~zeal διίστημι stand apart ~stand δόλος trick, bait ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool, dagger εἰσαχούω hearken ~acoustic ἐκτοξεύω shoot out "Ελλην Greek έναφίημι release into ἐπίκοινος in common ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over ἐσθής clothes ∼vest **ἔψω** boil, be boiling ζωστήρ -ος (m) belt \sim zone ήλικία time of life, contemporaries

θυσία sacrifice θύω ($\bar{\upsilon}$) rush; sacrifice \sim θύω θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate \sim thorax ίππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman ∼hippo κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατασιτέομαι (ī) eat up, feed on κατευωχέομαι party on; entertain κορέννυμι (ō) sate; pf, mp: have enough ∼cereal κοσμέω marshal, array ∼cosmos **κρέας** -ως (n) meat ∼creatine **κρύπτω** hide, cover ∼cryptic κτῆνος -ους (n, 3) herd animal **κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity λυμαίνομαι (ō) abuse, violate, descecrate μασχαλιστήρ girth, band μετέχω partake of μίν him, her, it νέχυς (ō) corpse, ghost ~necro νόσος (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence ∼noisome ὄλβιος happy, wealthy οὐδέτερος neither παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend περ emphatic particle; even though περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on clothing ∼ballistic περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive; attain \sim genus Πέρσης Persian πιθανός persuasive πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds πρόχειμαι be set before προσήκω belong to, it beseems σέβομαι feel shame, awe σίδηρος iron ∼siderite σπείρω sow ∼diaspora στέρνον breast, chest, seat of feelings \sim sternum στόμιον aperture; bit στρατιά army ~strategy συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion

συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συμπίπτω fall together, happen συμφορά collecting; accident συνέρχομαι come together συνέχω keep together, constrain τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment ~apostle τοιόσδε such τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ~toxic τοξότης -ου (m, 1) archer ~toxic

φάλαρον bosses on a helmet, cheek-piece for horses φαρετρεών quiver φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear χαλινός (τ) bit for a horse χρυσός (τ) gold χρυσόω (τ) make golden, gild χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat) ~heir

Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἢν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυτόν.

1.214

Καὶ δὴ οὖτος μὲν τρόπω τοιούτω τελευτᾶ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὤς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρω. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω *ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον.* πρώτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὤς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῆσι αἰχμῆσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο, ή τε δή πολλή τής Περσικής στρατιής αὐτοῦ ταύτη διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾳ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ένὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος άνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις έδίζητο έν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ώς δὲ εὖρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· «σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχη ἀπώλεσας, παίδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἑλὼν δόλω σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατά περ ἢπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω.» τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτήν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

1.215

Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῆ Σκυθικῆ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἱππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ' αὕτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῆ χωρῆ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσιδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἔκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ ελληνες ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήση γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδείς ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἄμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλ' γῆ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὖτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστω πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

When these words were reported to him Cyrus made no account of them; and the son of the queen Tomyris, Spargapises, when the wine left him and he learnt in what evil case he was, entreated Cyrus that he might be loosed from his chains and gained his request, and then so soon as he was loosed and had got power over his hands he put himself to death.

1.214

He then ended his life in this manner; but Tomyris, as Cyrus did not listen to her, gathered together all her power and joined battle with Cyrus. This battle of all the battles fought by Barbarians I judge to have been the fiercest, and I am informed that it happened thus:— first, it is said, they stood apart and shot at one another, and afterwards when their arrows were all shot away, they fell upon one another and engaged in close combat with their spears and daggers; and so they continued to be in conflict with one another for a long time, and neither side would flee; but at last the Massagetai got the better in the fight: and the greater part of the Persian army was destroyed there on the spot, and Cyrus himself brought his life to an end there, after he had reigned in all thirty years wanting one. Then Tomyris filled a skin with human blood and had search made among the Persian dead for the corpse of Cyrus: and when she found it, she let his head down into the skin and doing outrage to the corpse she said at the same time this: "Though I yet live and have overcome thee in fight, nevertheless thou didst undo me by taking my son with craft: but I according to my threat will give thee thy fill of blood." Now as regards the end of the life of Cyrus there are many tales told, but this which I have related is to my mind the most worthy of belief.

1.215

As to the Massagetai, they wear a dress which is similar to that of the Scythians, and they have a manner of life which is also like theirs; and there are of them horsemen and also men who do not ride on horses (for they have both fashions), and moreover there are both archers and spearmen, and their custom it is to carry battle-axes; and for everything they use either gold or bronze, for in all that has to do with spear-points or arrow-heads or battle-axes they use bronze, but for head-dresses and girdles and belts round the arm-pits they employ gold as ornament: and in like manner as regards their horses, they put breast-plates of bronze about their chests, but on their bridles and bits and cheek-pieces they employ gold. Iron however and silver they use not at all, for they have them not in their land, but gold and bronze in abundance.

1.216

These are the customs which they have:— Each marries a wife, but they have their wives in common; for that which the Hellenes say that the Scythians do, is not in fact done by the Scythians but by the Massagetai, that is to say, whatever woman a

man of the Massagetai may desire he hangs up his quiver in front of the waggon and has commerce with her freely. They have no precise limit of age laid down for their life, but when a man becomes very old, his nearest of kin come together and slaughter him solemnly and cattle also with him; and then after that they boil the flesh and banquet upon it. This is considered by them the happiest lot; but him who has ended his life by disease they do not eat, but cover him up in the earth, counting it a misfortune that he did not attain to being slaughtered. They sow no crops but live on cattle and on fish, which last they get in abundance from the river Araxes; moreover they are drinkers of milk. Of gods they reverence the Sun alone, and to him they sacrifice horses: and the rule of the sacrifice is this:—to the swiftest of the gods they assign the swiftest of all mortal