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*vocabulary*

**ἀδίκημα** -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed  
**ἀδικία** injustice, offence  
**αἰδέομαι** respect, be ashamed  
**αἰχμοφόρος** spearman  
**ἄλίσκομαι** be captured ~helix  
**ἄλλομαι** to jump ~sally  
**ἄλωσις** -τος (f) being conquered  
**ἄνθρωπῆος** human  
**ἀνόητος** foolish  
**ἀπαγινέω** lead away, back  
**ἀπαγωγή** leading away  
**ἀπαιτέω** demand to have returned  
**ἀπηγέομαι** lead; tell, relate  
**ἄπιστος** not trusting, not trustworthy ~stand  
**ἀπόγονος** descended from  
**ἀποδείκνυμι** (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
**ἀπόδεξις** acceptance; (Ion) showing  
**ἀποπλέω** sail away ~float  
**ἀποφεύγω** avoid, escape, go free  
**ἀρέσκω** please, satisfy; make amends  
**ἄρπαγή** seizure; rape  
**ἄρπάζω** carry off, seize ~harpoon  
**βασιλεύω** be king  
**βορέας** -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
**γυμνός** naked, unarmed  
**δέσποινα** lady  
**δεσπότης** -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
**διακελεύομαι** give orders to, encourage  
**διαπράσσω** travel over, accomplish ~practice  
**διατίθημι** arrange; set out goods for sale ~thesis  
**διαφορά** disagreement  
**διέρχομαι** pierce, traverse  
**δούλη** slave-woman  
**ἔγκυος** pregnant  
**ἐθελοντής** -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer

**εἶδος** -ους (n, 3) appearance, form ~-oid  
**εἰσαφικνέομαι** arrive at  
**εἰσβάλλω** throw into ~ballistic  
**ἐκδέχομαι** receive; succeed to a position  
**ἐκδίδωμι** hand over ~donate  
**ἐκδύω** take off; leave; avoid  
**ἕκτος** sixth ~hexagon  
**ἐλεύθερος** not enslaved  
**Ἑλλῆν** Greek  
**ἐνθεῦτεν** thence  
**ἐνοικέω** dwell in  
**ἐντός** within  
**ἐξεμπολάω** do commerce  
**ἐξευρίσκω** find; discover ~eureka  
**ἐξίημι** send forth, allow forth ~jet  
**ἐξίτηλος** fading  
**ἐπέξειμι** attack, prosecute  
**ἐπιδρομή** inroad, raid  
**ἐπιμνησκόμαι** remember, speak about ~mnemonic  
**ἐπιτρέπω** entrust, decide, allow ~trophy  
**ἔραμαι** love, aor. fall in love; long for, covet ~erotic  
**εὐδαιμονία** prosperity  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**ἔχθρη** hate  
**ἡγεμονία** authority, rule  
**θεάομαι** look at, behold, consider ~theater  
**θεοπρόπιον** prophecy ~theology  
**ἱστορία** science, history  
**καθαιρέω** take down, close ~heresy  
**καθαπλώω** spread over  
**κατάδηλος** manifest, visible  
**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue ~catastrophe  
**καταστροφή** end, conclusion  
**λόγιος** learned, eloquent; oracle  
**μεσαμβρίη** midday; the south

μεταξύ between  
 ναύκληρος ship master, landlord  
 ναυτιλία sailing ~navy  
 οἰκηῖω adopt, adapt  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone  
 οὖς οὖατος (n) ear  
 πάλαι long ago ~paleo  
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas  
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas  
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas  
 πάντως by all means  
 πέμπτως fifth ~pentagon  
 πεντακόσιοι 500  
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder  
 περιέρχομαι go around; come next to  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis  
 προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one  
 προῖσχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one  
 προσποιέω give over to; pretend ~poet  
 πρόσω forward, in the future; far  
 προφέρω bring forth ~bear  
 πρύμνα stern  
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat  
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current

~rheostat  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σπουδῇ zeal; (dat) with difficulty, hastily ~repudiate  
 στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army  
 ~strategy  
 συναγείρω gather together ~agora  
 συνεκδύομαι put off, go out together  
 σφρων sensible, prudent ~frenzy  
 τιμωρέω (i) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked  
 τοιόσδε such  
 τοκεύς -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὑγιής sound, profitable ~hygiene  
 ὑπερεπαινέω praise effusively  
 ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer  
 ὑποκρίνομαι (i) answer; pretend  
 φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear  
 φόρον forum  
 φόρος tribute, revenue  
 φορτίον burden, load  
 φόρτος outward cargo ~bear  
 χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull down  
 χώρος place ~heir  
 ὠνόμαι buy

Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

### 1.1

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι<sup>1</sup> Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκίσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι<sup>2</sup> μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία<sup>3</sup> Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προείχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον.<sup>4</sup> πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι<sup>5</sup> τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

### 1.2

Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἶγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ἑλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγγέσθαι φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶσαν δ' αὖ οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ ἄλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν

<sup>1</sup> learned, eloquent; oracle    <sup>2</sup> sailing    <sup>3</sup> burden, load    <sup>4</sup> outward cargo    <sup>5</sup> buy

ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντά δὲ τὸν Κόλκων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

### 1.3

Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον<sup>7</sup> τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοῦτα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἀρπάζαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοιάτό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

### 1.4

Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δηλαδὴ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς<sup>8</sup> στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκημένται<sup>9</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγνῆται κεχωρίσθαι.

<sup>6</sup> seizure; rape <sup>7</sup> =Paris, the Trojan character from the Iliad who went off with Helen <sup>8</sup> Helen, wife of Menelaus of Sparta <sup>9</sup> adopt, adapt

## 1.5

Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εὐόσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεὶ ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ<sup>10</sup> τῆς νέος· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος εὐόσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατὰδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστυα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιῶν. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρὰ. τὴν ἀνθρωπηὴν ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

## 1.6

Κροῖσος<sup>11</sup> ἦν Λυδὸς<sup>12</sup> μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας<sup>13</sup> μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίει πρὸς βορέην<sup>14</sup> ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος, βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῇ.

<sup>10</sup> ship master, landlord    <sup>11</sup> Croesus, a non-Greek king famous for being rich    <sup>12</sup> a non-Greek kingdom in Anatolia    <sup>13</sup> midday; the south    <sup>14</sup> north, north wind

## 1.7

Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιήλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεΐδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου,<sup>15</sup> ἐκ δούλης<sup>16</sup> τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεᾷς ἀνδρῶν ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

## 1.8

οὗτος δὲ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς, ἐρασθεὶς<sup>17</sup> δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων<sup>18</sup> Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. «Γύγῃ, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν, ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσσαι γυμνήν.» ὁ δ' ἀμβώσας εἶπε «δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίει,<sup>19</sup> κελεύων με δέσποιναν<sup>20</sup> τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ.

<sup>15</sup> prophecy    <sup>16</sup> slave-woman    <sup>17</sup> love, aor. fall in love; long for, covet    <sup>18</sup> spearman    <sup>19</sup> sound, profitable    <sup>20</sup> lady

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.

#### 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

*vocabulary*

ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina  
 ἄδρός full-grown, fat  
 ἄζω dry up ~ash  
 αἵρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan  
 αἰσχύνη (ῥ) shame, dishonor  
 αἰσχύνω (ῥ) spoil, disgrace, disfigure, mar  
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
 ἀναβοάω shout out  
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force  
 ἀναγκαῖος coerced, coercing, slavery  
 ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift ~thesis  
 ἀνάκειμαι be dedicated, be put up  
 ἀναπαύω cause to cease ~pause  
 ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach  
 ἀνδρήϊος of a man, manly  
 ἀνοίγνυμι (ῥ) open  
 ἄνομος lawless  
 ἀξιαπήγητος worth telling  
 ἀξιοθέητος well worth seeing  
 ἀπαλλαγή relief, escape  
 ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart  
 ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant  
 ἀπόγονος descended from  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῥ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀπομάχομαι fight off  
 ἀποσπάω tear/drag away  
 ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina  
 ἀριθμός number  
 αὐλέω play (blow, toot)  
 αὐλός flute, tube, hollow  
 ἄω aor: to sate ~sate  
 βασίλεια noblewoman

βασιλῆϊος kingly  
 βασιλήϊος kingly  
 βλάβος -εος (n, 3) harm  
 γυμνός naked, unarmed  
 γυναικίῃος of women  
 δένδρεον -οῦ tree  
 δένδρον tree  
 δένδρος tree  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 δημόσιος public, the state  
 διακρίνω (ιῆ) separate, sort ~critic  
 διαφεύγω escape, survive  
 δικάζω judge  
 ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool, dagger  
 εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a position  
 ἐκδύνω take off; leave; avoid  
 ἐμπύμπρημι burn up ~pyre  
 ἐνδέω tie to, entangle; lack  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἕξ six ~hexagon  
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out  
 ἕξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask  
 ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic  
 ἐπιβουλή a plot, scheme ~volunteer  
 ἐπιδείκνυμι (ῥ) display, exhibit  
 ἐπιδραίνω run onto  
 ἐπικρατέω rule over  
 ἐπιμνηνίσκομαι remember, speak about ~mnemonic  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty  
 ἐπιχείρησις -τος (f) attack  
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named  
 ἔσοδος entrance  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled  
 ἐφέδρα siege

**ἐφοράω** look upon ~panorama  
**ἦθος ἥθεος** (n, 3) habit, habitat  
 ~ethos  
**ἡσυχία** peace and quiet  
**θάλαμος** bedchamber ~thalamus  
**θησαυρός** treasury ~treasure  
**ἴαμβος** iambic verse  
**ἰκετεύω** approach to beg  
**καταβάλλω** throw down, cast off  
 ~ballistic  
**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  
**κτίζω** found, populate ~oxytocin  
**μηχανάομαι** build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μνήμη** reminder, memorial  
**νομάς** -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing  
**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  
**οἶκημα** -τος (n, 3) room  
**ὀπισθεν** behind, hereafter  
**ὁπότερος** which of two, either of two  
**ὄρμη** pressure, assault, order  
 ~hormone  
**ὀρρωδέω** dread, shrink from  
**πάθος** -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition  
**παραδείκνυμι** (ō) receive, admit  
**πάρεξ** alongside, diverging from;

(+ῆ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside  
**πέμπτος** fifth ~pentagon  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over; still exist  
**πηκτής** stringed instrument  
**προκαθίζω** keep settling forward  
 ~sit  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted to  
**προσπταίω** batter; be set back  
**σίνομαι** (i) rob, damage  
**σκοπάω** watch, observe  
**σκοπέω** behold, consider  
**σταθμός** cottage; post  
**στασιώτης** -ου (m, 1) partisan  
**στείχω** go, march ~stair  
**στρατιά** army ~strategy  
**σῦριγξ** -γος (f) pan pipes  
**τάλαντον** scale, a unit of weight  
 ~talent  
**τηνικαῦτα** at that time, in that case  
**τίνω** (i) pay, atone for; (mp) punish  
**τίσις** -τος (f) payment, vengeance  
**τίω** value, honor; mp: exact recompense for  
**τοσόσδε** this much  
**τρίμετρος** type of verse  
**τυραννέω** be an absolute ruler  
**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny  
**ὑπεκδύομαι** slip out  
**ὑπνάω** sleep  
**ὑπολαμβάνω** take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine  
 ~epilepsy  
**φοιτάω** go back and forth  
**χρηστήριον** oracle, response  
**ὠθέω** push

ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τῷδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.»

## 1.9

Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «θάρσσε, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος.<sup>1</sup> ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον.<sup>2</sup> κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου<sup>3</sup> θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων.»

## 1.10

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης<sup>5</sup> εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθελίτο ὁ Γύγης. ὥς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορεύετο μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσά δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νοῶ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

## 1.11

τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδέν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα

<sup>1</sup> harm    <sup>2</sup> rest, resting place, sleepiness    <sup>3</sup> entrance    <sup>4</sup> go, march

<sup>5</sup> rest, resting place, sleepiness

ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἤλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἢ βασιλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἢ γυνὴ τάδε. «νῦν τοί δυὼν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἵρεσιν,<sup>6</sup> ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι. ἢ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὥς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἤτοι κείνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ σε τὸν ἐμέ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.» ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. «ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.» ἢ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη, «ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἢ ὁρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἢ ἐπιχειρήσις ἔσται.»

## 1.12

ὥς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ<sup>7</sup> τριμέτρῳ<sup>8</sup> ἐπεμνήσθη.

## 1.13

ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη<sup>9</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τῷντὸ οἷ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> choice, plan      <sup>7</sup> iambic verse      <sup>8</sup> type of verse      <sup>9</sup> strengthen

<sup>10</sup> partisan

καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδαν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις<sup>11</sup> ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγῃ. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθῃ.

## 1.14

τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδαν ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννέουσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πᾶρες δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὔτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένων οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστί ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίου Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέτον.<sup>12</sup> κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγῃ κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμῆν.

## 1.15

ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατὴν καὶ οὗτος ἐπέιτε ἦρξε ἐς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδου δὲ τοῦ Γύγῃ μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννέοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων<sup>13</sup> ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν

<sup>11</sup> payment, vengeance    <sup>12</sup> well worth seeing    <sup>13</sup> roaming, grazing



τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

1.16

Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυνάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυνώδεκα, Σαδυνάττειω δὲ Ἀλυνάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κναζάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα<sup>14</sup> τάδε.

1.17

ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἷη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός,<sup>15</sup> τηνικαῦτα<sup>16</sup> ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων<sup>17</sup> καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου<sup>18</sup> τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου.<sup>19</sup> ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκειτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι<sup>20</sup> ἐσβάλλων.

<sup>14</sup> worth telling    <sup>15</sup> full-grown, fat    <sup>16</sup> at that time, in that case  
<sup>17</sup> stringed instrument    <sup>18</sup> of women    <sup>19</sup> of a man, manly    <sup>20</sup> rob, damage

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 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 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.

*vocabulary***ἀγγέλλω** carry a message, announce

~angel

**ἀνάθημα** -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift

~thesis

**ἀνακῶς** carefully**ἀνατίθηναι** consecrate, lay on,

impute; (mp) reproach

**ἀνορθόω** rebuild, restore**ἀνταποδίδωμι** give in exchange**ᾠοιδός** (f) singer**ἀπαγωγή** leading away**ἀπειλέω** vow, threaten, boast**ἀπηγέομαι** lead; tell, relate**ἀπιστία** disbelief, distrust**ἀπορία** difficulty, bottleneck ~pierce**ἀρνέομαι** deny, refuse, repudiate**βιάω** use force against, overcome**βιόω** live; (mp) make a living

~biology

**δελφίς** -νος (m) dolphin**διαλλαγή** change, interchange;

agreement

**διατρίβω** (u) wear down, delay

~tribology

**διαχράομαι** use habitually; lend

out; reveal

**διαχραύω** use; kill**διαχρέομαι** use habitually; lend out;

reveal

**διεξέρχομαι** go through**διθύραμβος** (i) dithyramb**διφάσιος** of two kinds**δωδεκάτος** twelfth**ἐδώλιον** seat; quarter-deck; (pl)

abodes

**εἰσβάλλω** throw into ~ballistic**ἐκδέχομαι** receive; succeed to a

position

**ἐκπηδάω** sally, leave**ἐκπλήσσω** panic, be knocked out

~plectrum

**ἐκφέρω** carry off ~bear**ἐκφεύγω** flee from, escape ~fugitive**ἐλέγχω** shame; try, examine**Ἑλλήν** Greek**ἐμπύρηναι** burn up ~pyre**ἐμπρήθω** burn up**ἐνδεκα** eleven ~decimal**ἐνδύω** go into, put on**ἐντεταμένως** vehemently**ἐντολή** order**ἕξ** six ~hexagon**ἐξαγγέλλω** bring news out ~angel**ἐξάπτω** fasten to ~haptic**ἐξευρίσκω** find; discover ~eureka**ἐπαιτιάομαι** accuse**ἐπείρομαι** ask as well; ask then**ἐπιβουλεύω** plot, plan, harm

~volunteer

**ἐπίκλησις** -τος (f) nickname;

nominally ~gallo

**ἐπιφαίνω** display ~photon**ἐπιφέρω** bestow, impute ~bear**ἔσχατος** farthest, last**εὐπάθεια** comfort**ἡδονή** pleasure**ἡλικία** time of life, contemporaries**θέα** (ā) seeing, sight, viewpoint**θεοπρόπος** seer ~theology**θῶμα** a wonder, feeling of surprise

~theater

**ἰδιωτικός** private, amateurish**ἱστορέω** inquire; relate**καταδοκέω** suspect, be prejudiced**κατακαίω** burn down ~caustic**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue

~catastrophe

**κατεῖπον** denounce; report**κατεργάζομαι** achieve; cultivate;

get; kill

**κιθάρα** lyre**κιθαρωδός** singer with cithara**κολλήεις** joined overlapping

κολλητός skillfully joined  
 κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine  
 κῶμος party, celebration  
 λήιον standing grain  
 λίσσομαι beg, beseech ~litany  
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off ~jet  
 μετέπειτα afterward, next  
 μηνύω disclose, betray, accuse  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired  
 νηέω pile up, load a ship  
 νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer  
 νόσος (f) plague, pestilence ~noisome  
 νοστέω go home  
 νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence ~noisome  
 ὄρθιος shrill; steep, straight  
 οὐδαμῇ nowhere  
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone  
 παραδείκνυμι (ῶ) receive, admit  
 παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; decline  
 παραιντίκα immediately  
 παρευρίσκω discover as well  
 πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea ~pelagic  
 περιοράω look around; watch; permit  
 ποίημα -τος (n, 3) work, deed  
 πορθμεύς -ος (m) ferryman ~pierce  
 πορθμός canal, straits ~pierce  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order before  
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect ~legion  
 προοίδια foresee

προπυνθάνομαι learn in advance  
 πρύμνα stern  
 ῥίπτω hurl  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore  
 σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite  
 σίδηρος iron ~siderite  
 σιτοδεία (ἰ) famine  
 σκευή equipment  
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 συγκομίζω gather  
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer  
 συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen ~bear  
 συνάπτω join, partake; adjoin; consult; fight ~haptic  
 συνδιαφέρω bring along  
 συνεπελαφρύνω help to carry  
 σχοινίον cord  
 σωρός pile  
 ταφή burial, grave  
 τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case  
 τιμωρέω (ἰ) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked  
 τρύω (ῶ) exhaust, wear down  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  
 ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine ~epilepsy  
 φαῦλος trifling  
 φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear  
 φόρον forum  
 φόρος tribute, revenue  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response

## 1.18

ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπολέμεε ἕτεα ἔνδεκα,<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια<sup>2</sup> Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἔξ ἕτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδνος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἔξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὥς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

## 1.19

τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει, ληίου<sup>3</sup> ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρήγμα· ὥς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθείς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντύκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόσησέ<sup>4</sup> ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρῃς δὲ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφούς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίῃ ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρῃ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.

## 1.20

Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοις, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἑόντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ

<sup>1</sup> eleven    <sup>2</sup> of two kinds    <sup>3</sup> standing grain    <sup>4</sup> be sick, be mad, suffer



χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῆται.

## 1.21

Μιλήσιοι μὲν 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 οἰκοδομήῃ. 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 ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ιδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ<sup>5</sup> χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

## 1.22

ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν<sup>6</sup> μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι<sup>7</sup> ἐόντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγὴ. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην<sup>8</sup> τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγὴ σφί ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῳ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὥδε ἔσχε.

## 1.23

Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας·<sup>9</sup> ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ

<sup>5</sup> party, celebration    <sup>6</sup> pile    <sup>7</sup> comfort    <sup>8</sup> famine    <sup>9</sup> disclose, betray, accuse

δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι ἐν τῷ βίῳ  
θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Ἄριονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος  
ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ὄντα κιθαρωδὸν<sup>10</sup> τῶν τότε ὄντων  
οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον<sup>11</sup> πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς  
ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

## 1.24

τοῦτον τὸν Ἄριονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα  
παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην,  
ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον  
ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι  
μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι<sup>12</sup> πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων.  
τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἄριονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν  
τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι  
προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις,  
ἀλλὰ κελεύει τοὺς πορθμέας<sup>13</sup> ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὥς ἂν  
ταφῆς<sup>14</sup> ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾷ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην·  
ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἄριονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι  
οὕτω δοκέοι, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ<sup>15</sup> πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι  
ἐδωλίοις<sup>16</sup> αἰεῖσαι· αἰέσας δὲ ὑπέδεκετο ἑαυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι.  
καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου  
ἀνθρώπων αἰοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα. τὸν  
δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην,<sup>17</sup> στάντα  
ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις διεξελθεῖν νόμον<sup>18</sup> τὸν ὄρθιον,<sup>19</sup> τελευτώντος δὲ  
τοῦ νόμου ῥῦμαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑαυτὸν ὥς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ  
πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφίνα λέγουσι  
ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον.

Ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ  
ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περιάνδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας  
Ἄριονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν

<sup>10</sup> singer with cithara    <sup>11</sup> dithyramb    <sup>12</sup> rent out; (pass) be hired

<sup>13</sup> ferryman    <sup>14</sup> burial, grave    <sup>15</sup> equipment    <sup>16</sup> seat; quarter-deck;  
(pl) abodes    <sup>17</sup> lyre    <sup>18</sup> melody    <sup>19</sup> shrill; steep, straight

πορθμέων. ὥς δὲ ἄρα παρῆναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνεέσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπέων ἄνθρωπος.

## 1.25

Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν,<sup>20</sup> θέης<sup>21</sup> ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα,<sup>22</sup> ὃς μῦθος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξέυρε.

## 1.26

τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἑὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἑφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἑφέσιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον<sup>23</sup> ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρῶτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζοντας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

## 1.27

ὥς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῇ,

<sup>20</sup> skillfully joined

<sup>21</sup> seeing, sight, viewpoint

<sup>22</sup> work, deed

<sup>23</sup> cord

## 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 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue

ἀθλοφόρος taking prizes ~athlete

ἀκμάζω be in top form, flourish

ἄμαξα wagon

ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach

ἀνθρωπῆιος human

ἀνόλβιος unfortunate, wretched

ἄνολβος unfortunate, wretched

ἄνουσος disease-free

ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive

ἀπερύκω (ὑ) keep off ~serve

ἄπηρος unmaimed

ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad

ἀπορρίπτω cast away

ἀρκέω satisfy; ward off, defend; suffice

ἄρκυς net

ἀστυγείτων near a city

ἄτα bewilderment, folly

ἄω aor: to sate ~sate

βασίλειος kingly

δευτερεῖος second-best

δημόσιος public, the state

διαδέχομαι be next, succeed

~doctrine

διακομίζω carry over

δισμύριοι (ὑ) 20,000

δουλόω enslave

εἰκών -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness

ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth

~genus

ἐκδημέω be abroad

ἐκκλήϊω shut out; prevent

ἐκπλέω sail away ~float

ἐκτελέω complete, bring about

~apostle

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἐμβόλιμος intercalary

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἑξακισχίλιοι 6000

ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then

ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail

ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after ~genus

ἐπιδείκνυμι (ὑ) display, exhibit

ἐπιδέω fasten; lack

ἐπιθυμία (ὑ) desire, thing desired

ἐπίλογος reasoning; peroration

ἐπινοέω intend

ἐπιστρεφής attentive; strict

ἐπίσχω aim; restrain

εὐδαιμονία prosperity

εὐειδής good-looking ~wit

εὖπαις with many/good children

εὖς good, brave, noble

εὕτυχής fortunate

εὕτυχία good luck, success

εὐχή prayer; vow ~vow

εὐώγέω fete, feed well

ἐρέπω drive, meet, follow ~sequel

ζάπλουτος very rich

ζεύγλη yoke cushion ~zygote

ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals ~zygote

ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy

~hedonism

θεωρία spectator, contemplation

θησαυρός treasury ~treasure

ιδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman

ἵμερος (ι) desire, inclination (+gen)

ἵππεύω ride

κάρτα very much ~κράτος

κατακοιμάω pass: go to sleep; have sex with

καταπαύω stop, restrain ~pause

καταρκέω completely suffice

καταστρέφω overturn, subdue

~catastrophe

κυρέω come upon, come up against; obtain

μακαρίζω congratulate ~macarism



μέτριος medium, moderate  
 μίν him, her, it  
 ναυπηγέω build ships  
 ναυπηγία shipbuilding  
 νεηνίης young person  
 νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular  
 ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest  
 ξείνιος of hospitality  
 ὀλβία bliss  
 ὀλβιος happy, wealthy  
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit  
 ὄρκιον oath ~orc  
 ὄρος boundary marker ~horizon  
 ὀρτή holiday, feast  
 οὔρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit  
 οὔρος fair wind; guardian; hill  
 πάγχι entirely  
 πανήγυρις -εως (f) gathering  
 πάντως by all means  
 παραμένω stay with ~remain  
 παράπαν completely  
 περιάγω lead around  
 περιστήμι be around; turn out  
 ~station  
 περιχαρής very glad  
 πλάνη wandering  
 πλάνης -τος (m, 3) wanderer  
 πλουτέω be rich  
 προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one  
 προσάγω bring to a place  
 ~demagogue  
 προσεπικτάομαι acquire as well  
 προσπίπτω attack; befall; kow-tow  
 προσφυής attached to, part of  
 προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis

προτρέπω prompt, urge, compel;  
 (mp) go, flee to ~trophy  
 πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive;  
 prediction ~fame  
 ῥώμη strength, might  
 ῥώομαι move nimbly, rush, stream  
 σκέπτομαι look, look at, watch  
 ~skeptic  
 σόλος lump of iron for throwing  
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry  
 σοφιστής -οῦ (m, 1) expert  
 σπέρχω set in rapid motion  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune  
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis  
 συνωνέομαι buy together, buy up  
 ταραχώδης messed up ~trachea  
 τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment  
 ~apostle  
 τίνω (i) pay, atone for; (mp) punish  
 τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for  
 τροπή rout, turning of an enemy  
 ~trophy  
 ὑπείμι be under  
 ὑποδύω (mp) get under; play a character  
 ὑποθωπεύω subtly flatter  
 ὑπολαμβάνω take under one's support, seize; speak up; imagine  
 ~epilepsy  
 φήμη speech, rumor ~fame  
 φθονερός jealous  
 φιλοσοφέω philosophize, study  
 φιλόσοφος wisdom-loving

τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι.<sup>1</sup> ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην,<sup>2</sup> οἳ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἳ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· «ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον<sup>3</sup> συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.» Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν, «αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι.» τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι, «ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;» κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφνέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

## 1.28

χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγνομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεές, Αἰολεές, Πάμφυλοι κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροῖσου Λυδοῖσι,

## 1.29

ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἀκμαζούσας,<sup>4</sup> πλούτῳ ἄλλοι<sup>5</sup> τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί,<sup>6</sup> οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,

<sup>1</sup> insular    <sup>2</sup> shipbuilding    <sup>3</sup> in the feminine, meaning a mounted force    <sup>4</sup> be in top form, flourish    <sup>5</sup> those other than Solon    <sup>6</sup> expert

ὅς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κλεύσας ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίας<sup>7</sup> πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ, λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἴοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

## 1.30

αὐτῶν δὴ ὦν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεωρίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροῖσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κεύσαντος Κροῖσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἑόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. «ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῆκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἕμερος ἐπήλθες εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.» ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑόντι χρησάμενος λέγει «ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.» ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφώς· «κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἦκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας<sup>8</sup> ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαιψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.»

## 1.31

ὥς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρήψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας

<sup>7</sup> spectator, contemplation    <sup>8</sup> near a city

πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία,<sup>9</sup> ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκείνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οὔσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε «Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοις γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοις βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπὴν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ρώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι<sup>10</sup> τε ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. εὐσῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργείοις ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἳ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκληνόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνία ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλιν<sup>11</sup> εἶλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίου δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν.

ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσας καὶ ὀφθείς ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος<sup>12</sup> τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>13</sup> τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν.

Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον<sup>14</sup> τῶν νεηνίων τὴν ρώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος<sup>15</sup> εὔχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοις, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μέγας, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν<sup>16</sup> ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν,<sup>17</sup> κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνία οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.»

### 1.32

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοις, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς<sup>18</sup> εἶπε «ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;»

Ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν<sup>19</sup> τε

<sup>9</sup> bliss <sup>10</sup> taking prizes <sup>11</sup> yoke cushion <sup>12</sup> gathering <sup>13</sup> a man in general <sup>14</sup> congratulate <sup>15</sup> ornament, glory, statue <sup>16</sup> prayer; vow <sup>17</sup> fete, feed well <sup>18</sup> set in rapid motion <sup>19</sup> jealous

καὶ ταραχώδες<sup>20</sup> ἐπειρωτῆς ἀνθρωπείων<sup>21</sup> πρηγμάτων περί. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπων προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐβλήσῃ τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλια πεντήκοντα. τούτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἐξακισχυλιέων<sup>22</sup> καὶ δισμυριέων,<sup>23</sup> ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα.

«οὕτω ὦν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν<sup>24</sup> μέγα φαίνειαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιοτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὐ τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι<sup>25</sup> ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες.<sup>26</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μούνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία<sup>27</sup> οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος<sup>28</sup> δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὐπαις,<sup>29</sup> εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκείνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὀλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιος ἐστί· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἀνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὥσπερ χωρὴν οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ

<sup>20</sup> messed up   <sup>21</sup> human   <sup>22</sup> 6000   <sup>23</sup> 20,000   <sup>24</sup> be rich   <sup>25</sup> very rich   <sup>26</sup> fortunate   <sup>27</sup> good luck, success   <sup>28</sup> unmaimed   <sup>29</sup> with many/good children

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, 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 treasures; 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἄγρᾱ hunting, prey  
 ἀέκων unwilling  
 ἄθλον ἀέθλου prize ~athlete  
 ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ~athlete  
 ἄθυμία (ῥ) despondency  
 αἰχμή spear point ~acute  
 ἀκοή hearing ~acoustic  
 ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin  
 ἄμαθής ignorant  
 ἀμηχανάω be helpless, resourceless  
 ἀμηχανέω be helpless, resourceless  
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce,  
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,  
 obey, be confident in  
 ἀνατρέπω defeat, thwart ~trophy  
 ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine  
 ~phenomenon  
 ἀπήμων unharmed, not harmful  
 ἀποκλείω shut out; (+acc) close  
 ἀπονοστέω go home  
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare  
 ἀποχρέω suffice; abuse  
 αὐτάρκης self-sufficient  
 ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious  
 βασιλείος kingly  
 γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis  
 δαπάνη cost, funds, extravagance  
 δειλία cowardice  
 δήλησις mischief; harm  
 δῖαιτα way of life; home; arbitration  
 διακελεύομαι give orders to,  
 encourage  
 διακλέπτω steal, evade, save by  
 stealth  
 διατελέω accomplish; keep doing  
 ~apostle  
 δοράτιον small spear  
 εἰκάζω liken; conjecture  
 ἔχγονος offspring, descendant  
 ~genus  
 ἐκκομίζω remove; bury a corpse

## Ἑλλην Greek

ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal  
 ἐνδεής inadequate  
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams  
 ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
 ἐξάλλομαι break away from ~sally  
 ἐξεγείρω awaken  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐπείσρχομαι come in also  
 ἐπίστιος hearthside  
 ἐπιχώριος native  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled  
 εὐδοκιμέω be esteemed  
 εὕδω sleep, lie down, rest  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 εὐχάριστος agreeable, grateful,  
 beneficent  
 ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit  
 ἤλιξ -κος (m) of the same age  
 θάλαμος bedchamber ~thalamus  
 θήρα hunt ~fierce  
 καθαίρω clean  
 καθαρός clean, pure  
 καθάρσιος cleansing  
 κάθαρσις purification  
 κακοῦργος causing evil  
 ~ergonomics  
 κάος (n, 3) flammable thing  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταρροδέω fear, dread  
 κερδαίνω profit, take advantage  
 κλώψ thief  
 κόθεν from where?  
 κοῦφος light, nimble  
 κρεμάννυμι (ῥ) hang  
 κυνηγέσιον hunt  
 κυρέω come upon, come up against;  
 obtain  
 κωφός blunt, insensible  
 λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen  
 λογίζομαι reckon, consider

μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  
 ~jet  
 μεταγιγνώσκω change one's mind  
 ~gnostic  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μνημονεύω remember, remind  
 νεηνίης young person  
 νέμεσις -εως (f) indignation;  
 punishment ~nemesis  
 νεόγαμος newlywed  
 ὀδούς -ντος (m) tooth  
 ὀδών ὀδόντος (m, 3) tooth  
 οἰκίον abode, nest ~economics  
 ὄλβιος happy, wealthy  
 ὄλβος happiness, wealth  
 ὀλιγοχρόνιος short-lived; within a  
 short time  
 ὁμηλιξ -κος (m) of the same age  
 ὄμμα -τος (n, 3) eye  
 ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach  
 ὄνειρον dream  
 ὄνειρος dream  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀπότεν whence  
 οὐδαμῇ nowhere  
 ὀφείλω owe, should, if only  
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
 παραπλήσιος similar to  
 παροράω notice; overlook, neglect  
 πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral  
 ~paternal  
 πλήσσω hit ~plectrum

πολλαχῇ in many places or ways  
 πολλαχῇ in many places or ways  
 προθυμέομαι (ὄ) be eager  
 προποιέω do beforehand  
 πρόρριζος roots and all;  
 devastatingly ~rhizome  
 προσδέω bind also; need also  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 προσέτι in addition  
 ῥώμη strength, might  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite  
 σκοπάω watch, observe  
 σκοπέω behold, consider  
 στερέω steal, take  
 στρατηγέω be a general  
 συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency  
 συμπέμπω send with ~pomp  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συνεξαιρέω help in removing  
 συννέω swim together; pile together  
 συνοικέω live together  
 τελευτή conclusion, fulfilment  
 ~apostle  
 ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out  
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  
 ~doctrine  
 φοιτέω go back and forth  
 φονεύω kill  
 φύλαξ -κος (m) guard; sentry  
 ~phylactery  
 χροῖζω need ~chresard  
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

πλείστα ἔχει, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες<sup>1</sup> ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ᾧ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπεῖν δὲ χρή παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ<sup>2</sup> ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρριζοὺς ἀνέτρεψε.»

## 1.33

ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα<sup>3</sup> εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτήν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

## 1.34

μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβέ ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις<sup>4</sup> μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὖδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἣν γὰρ δὴ κωφός,<sup>5</sup> ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δ' ἐπέιτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα, ἐωθότα<sup>6</sup> δὲ στρατηγέειν<sup>7</sup> μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια<sup>8</sup> δὲ καὶ δοράτια<sup>9</sup> καὶ τά τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον<sup>10</sup> τῷ παιδί ἐμπέσῃ.

## 1.35

ἔχοντι δὲ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις

<sup>1</sup> self-sufficient    <sup>2</sup> flammable thing    <sup>3</sup> ignorant    <sup>4</sup> indignation; punishment    <sup>5</sup> blunt, insensible    <sup>6</sup> be accustomed, in the habit  
<sup>7</sup> Atys    <sup>8</sup> diminutive of javelin    <sup>9</sup> small spear    <sup>10</sup> hang

ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίῳ<sup>11</sup> ἔδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν<sup>12</sup> τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· «ἄνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;»

Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο «ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἐμεινωτοῦ ἀέκων πάρεμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.»

Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· «ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα<sup>13</sup> φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον.»

### 1.36

ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ υἱὸς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος 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. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.» 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 ὑμῖν συμπέμψαμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον<sup>14</sup> πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοις συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ

<sup>11</sup> a ritual cleansing of his shame    <sup>12</sup> whence    <sup>13</sup> light, nimble

<sup>14</sup> hunt

θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.»

1.37

ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. «ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκίμέειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινα δειλίην μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίην<sup>15</sup> νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὁμμασι<sup>16</sup> ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτεες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα.»

1.38

ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. «ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν, τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον<sup>17</sup> ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ πως δυνάμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ μοι μῶνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι.»

1.39

ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. «συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμὲ τοί δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν. ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρες, κοίῃ δὲ αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος

<sup>15</sup> despondency    <sup>16</sup> eye    <sup>17</sup> short-lived; within a short time

τοι εἶπε τελευτήσῃν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτεσ με.»

## 1.40

ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος «ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὥς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμῃ τε σὲ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.»

## 1.41

εἵπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. «Ἄδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ, πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὦν ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποισάντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηρίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένον, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλώπες<sup>18</sup> κακοῦργοι<sup>19</sup> ἐπὶ δηλήσι<sup>20</sup> φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι χρεόν πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ρώμη ὑπάρχει.»

## 1.42

ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὀμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἵεναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωντόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοί χαρίζεσθαι ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι, ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.»

<sup>18</sup> thief    <sup>19</sup> causing evil    <sup>20</sup> mischief; harm

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.“

### 1.33

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, the son of Midas, and I am called Adrastus; 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 Olympus 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 Adrastus the Phrygian; and when he came, he addressed him thus: “Adrastus, when thou wast struck with a grievous misfortune (with 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.”

*vocabulary*

αἰχμή spear point ~acute  
 ἀμήχανος helpless, impossible  
 ~mechanism  
 ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora  
 ἀνακτάομαι regain, revive; win over  
 ἀναπτύσσω unfold  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἄπεφθος boiled, refined ~ἄφέψω  
 ἄπλετος boundless, immense,  
 abundant  
 ἀποπαύω stop ~pause  
 ἀποπειράομαι try, try out  
 ἀποτήκω melt away from  
 ἄρῆν ἄρνός (m, 3) lamb, sheep; wool  
 ἄρνειος lamb, sheep  
 ἀψευδής truthful  
 βαρυσύμφορος suffering bad luck  
 βιώσιμος to be lived; likely to live  
 βόσχω feed, tend ~bovine  
 γωνία corner, angle  
 δεινολογέομαι complain loudly  
 διάπειρα experience, experiment  
 διαπέμπω send out/over  
 διτάλαντος weighing two talents  
 ἑβδομος seventh  
 εἰκῶν -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness  
 εἴνατος ninth  
 εἰσακοντίζω shoot  
 ἑκατοστός hundredth  
 ἐκτίμπλημι fulfil, accomplish  
 Ἑλλῆν Greek  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἑξακόσιοι 600  
 ἑξάμετρος hexameter  
 ἑξαρτύω (ὑ) train, equip  
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;  
 destroy someone  
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐπάργυρος overlaid with silver  
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπίθημα -τος (n, 3) lid ~thesis

ἐπικατασφάζω slay also  
 ἐπινοέω intend  
 ἐπίστιον ship's slip ~stand  
 ἐπίστιος hearthside  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious  
 duty  
 ἐπιφράζω realize, think of ~frenzy  
 ἐπίχρυσος (ὑ) gilded  
 ἐπτακαίδεκα 17  
 ἐταιρήιος companionable  
 ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama  
 ἡγεμονία authority, rule  
 ἡμερολογέω count by days  
 ἡμιπλίνθιον brick  
 ἡμιτάλαντον a measure of weight  
 ~hemisphere  
 θεοπρόπος seer ~theology  
 θεσπίζω prophecy  
 θησαυρός treasury ~treasure  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 θύσιμος fit for a sacrifice  
 ἱδρύω establish  
 ἱλάσχομαι appease  
 καθαίρω clean  
 καθάρσιος cleansing  
 καταδικάζω give judgment  
 κατακαίω burn down ~caustic  
 κατακόπτω cut down, shatter  
 καταπίπτω fall down ~petal  
 καταχεύω pour onto  
 κατοικτείρω have mercy,  
 compassion  
 κατοικτίρω have mercy, compassion  
 κλίνη (ἰ) bed, couch ~clinic  
 κραταίρινος (ἰ) hard-shelled  
 κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for  
 wine  
 κτάομαι acquire, possess  
 κύκλος circle, wheel ~cycle  
 κωφός blunt, insensible  
 λέβης -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin  
 λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen

μαντεῖον prophetic warning  
 ~mantis  
 μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis  
 μαρτύρομαι (ἰ) call to witness;  
 protest  
 μετακινέω (ῖ) move; change  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μέρος portion, lot in life  
 νέω spin; swim ~neuro  
 οἶκίον abode, nest ~economics  
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic  
 ὁμός unite ~homoerotic  
 ὄνειρον dream  
 ὄνειρος dream  
 ὄν οὐ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 ὀσμή smell ~osmium, odor  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 παλαιστιᾶϊος palm-sized  
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas  
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas  
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas  
 περιημεκτέω be aggrieved  
 περίστημι be around; turn out  
 ~station  
 περιπέμπω send on a circuit  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πορφύρεος purple  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order

before  
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;  
 preselect ~legion  
 προσημαίνω foretell; proclaim  
 προσίημι be allowed near  
 προτείνω hold out, offer  
 πυρά pyre ~pyre  
 στερέω steal, take  
 συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon  
 σύγγραμμα -τος (n, 3) piece of  
 writing  
 συγγράφω write down  
 συμπέμπω send with ~pomp  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συνταράσσω mess up  
 τόνος pitch, stretching  
 τύμβος grave mound ~tomb  
 ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out  
 ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  
 ~doctrine  
 ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting,  
 hypocrisy  
 ὑποστόρνυμι strew under  
 ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit  
 φήμη speech, rumor ~fame  
 φιάλη jar ~vial  
 φονεύς -ως (m) killer ~offend  
 φροντίς -τος (f) thought, care  
 χελώνη tortoise  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 φάμμος (f) sand

## 1.43

τοιούτοισι ἐπέιτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὕν τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

## 1.44

ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο<sup>1</sup> ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε· περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος<sup>2</sup> τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἶη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἐταιρήιον,<sup>3</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα<sup>4</sup> τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμώτατον.

## 1.45

παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἶη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον.<sup>5</sup> Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν «ἔχω ὦ ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσας, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> complain loudly    <sup>2</sup> call to witness; protest    <sup>3</sup> companionable

<sup>4</sup> killer    <sup>5</sup> to be lived; likely to live

θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προσήμεινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.» Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαιψε ὡς οἶκός ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἦδδε βαρυσυμφορώτατος,<sup>6</sup> ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ<sup>7</sup> ἑωυτόν.

1.46

Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει· μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κναξάρεω ἡγεμονίῃ καταρθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπανσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα,<sup>8</sup> εἴ πως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν.

μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντείων τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἵεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησῆς ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικά μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὐρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεῦσθαι.

1.47

ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας<sup>9</sup> τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ<sup>10</sup> ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἅσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> suffering bad luck    <sup>7</sup> grave mound    <sup>8</sup> thought, care    <sup>9</sup> count by days    <sup>10</sup> hundredth    <sup>11</sup> prophecy

συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἐωυτόν. ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσηλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον<sup>12</sup> τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω. ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνιοι<sup>13</sup> χελώνης<sup>14</sup> ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι<sup>15</sup> κρέεσσι, ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

## 1.48

ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἶχοντο ἀπιώντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσω ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων, τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῶνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκει τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.

ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε<sup>16</sup> παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα<sup>17</sup> κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἦψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

## 1.49

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ, Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν<sup>18</sup> ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε<sup>19</sup> ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἰρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε<sup>20</sup> μαντήιον ἀψεудές<sup>21</sup> ἐκτῆσθαι.

<sup>12</sup> sand <sup>13</sup> hard-shelled <sup>14</sup> tortoise <sup>15</sup> lamb, sheep <sup>16</sup> but before the responses came back <sup>17</sup> lamb, sheep; wool <sup>18</sup> Herodotus <sup>19</sup> the oracle <sup>20</sup> Croesus <sup>21</sup> truthful



## 1.50

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνέα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα<sup>22</sup> πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσασθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προείπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσιῆς ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια<sup>23</sup> ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαννε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος<sup>24</sup> δὲ παλαιστιαιᾶ.<sup>25</sup> ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα<sup>26</sup> καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον<sup>27</sup> ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα.<sup>28</sup> ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλυνθίων ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο, καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων<sup>29</sup> σταθμὸν<sup>30</sup> ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

## 1.51

ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τότε ἄλλα ἄμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάλῃ μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ εἰσόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον<sup>31</sup> ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης,<sup>32</sup> χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μιν

<sup>22</sup> fit for a sacrifice    <sup>23</sup> brick    <sup>24</sup> height, summit    <sup>25</sup> palm-sized  
<sup>26</sup> 17    <sup>27</sup> a measure of weight    <sup>28</sup> weighing two talents    <sup>29</sup> weighing  
<sup>30</sup> weight    <sup>31</sup> ninth    <sup>32</sup> corner, angle

## 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 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, 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

*vocabulary*

**αἰδέομαι** respect, be ashamed  
**αἰχμή** spear point ~acute  
**ἀνάθημα** -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift  
 ~thesis  
**ἀνατίθηναι** consecrate, lay on,  
 impute; (mp) reproach  
**ἀναφέρω** bring up ~bear  
**ἀνίηναι** urge, impel; release ~jet  
**ἀπείπον** refuse, renounce, declare  
**ἀποδείκνυμι** (ō) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine  
**ἀποσχίζω** sever  
**ἀρτοκόπος** baker  
**ἀρχαῖος** ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
**ἀσθενής** weak  
**ἀτέλεια** incompleteness,  
 imperfection; exemption  
**ἀτρεκής** precise, certain  
**δάω** learn ~didactic  
**δειρή** neck, throat, mane  
**δῆθεν** strong form of δῆ  
**διασπάω** tear apart ~spatula  
**διαχράομαι** use habitually; lend  
 out; reveal  
**διαχραύω** use; kill  
**διαχρέομαι** use habitually; lend out;  
 reveal  
**δορυφόρος** spear-bearer  
**δωρέω** give ~donate  
**εἶδωλον** phantom, unreal image  
 ~wit  
**εἰκών** -όνος (f, 3) image, likeness  
**ἐκφεύγω** flee from, escape ~fugitive  
**ἐκχωρέω** depart, back off, cede  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
**ἐμπλεος** full of ~plethora  
**ἐμφορέω** carry in ~bear  
**ἐνθεῦτεν** thence  
**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command

**ἐξανίστημι** raise, bring/send out  
**ἐξαπατάω** trick, cheat ~apatosaurus  
**ἐξεύρημα** invention, discovery  
**ἐξευρίσκω** find; discover ~eureka  
**ἐπειρωτάω** consult, ask  
**ἐπιγράφω** scratch, graze  
 ~photograph  
**ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι** remember, speak  
 about ~mnemonic  
**ἐπίσημον** mark, badge  
**ἐπίσημος** marked, significant  
**εὐδοκιμέω** be esteemed  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**ζεῦγος** -ους (n, 3) team of animals  
 ~zygote  
**ζέω** boil ~eczema  
**ζώνη** girdle; waist, loins ~zone  
**ἡδομαι** be pleased, enjoy  
 ~hedonism  
**ἡμίονος** (f) mule ~hemisphere  
**θεοπρόπιον** prophecy ~theology  
**θησαυρός** treasury ~treasure  
**ιδιώτης** -ου (m, 1) private; a layman  
**ιστορέω** inquire; relate  
**ἴστωρ** referee, witness ~wit  
**κάρτα** very much ~κράτος  
**καταφαίνω** declare, make visible  
**καταφρονέω** scorn; think of  
**κρέας** -ως (n) meat ~creatine  
**κυκλοτερής** rounded (by wear)  
 ~cycle  
**κυρέω** come upon, come up against;  
 obtain  
**λέβης** -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin  
**λόγχη** spear point; lot  
**μακεδνός** tall, high  
**μαντεῖον** prophetic warning  
 ~mantis  
**μεταβαίνω** change the subject  
 ~basis  
**μεταβάλλω** alter, transform  
**μεταβολή** change, exchange

μεταμανθάνω unlearn, relearn  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μοναρχία monarchy  
 ξυστός lance, javelin  
 ὁμόγλωσσος speaking the same  
 language  
 ὄμιρος bordering  
 ὄν οὐ type of fruit  
 οὐδαμῇ nowhere  
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone  
 οὐδέτερος neither  
 πάγῃ entirely  
 πάθη passivity, suffering  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 παράλος seaside  
 παρατυγχάνω happen to be present  
 περιοικέω dwell around  
 περιοραντήριον whisk, sprinkler  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πίθος barrel, big jar  
 ποδαβρός tender-footed  
 πόλισμα buildings of a city  
 πολυπλάνης nomadic  
 πολυχρόνιος ancient; long-lived  
 πολυψήφεις (i) pebbly  
 προεδρία pride of place  
 προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid:  
 have before one  
 προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be  
 head of, guard ~station  
 προκρίνω (i) choose first  
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;  
 preselect ~legion  
 προμαντήρ right of consulting an  
 oracle first  
 προσδοκάω expect

προσκτάομαι get, win as well  
 προστάς vestibule, porch  
 προσχωρέω go to, join, support  
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided  
 στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction  
 στασιώτης -ου (m, f) partisan  
 στατήρ -ος (m) pound; type of coin  
 στερεός solid, firm ~stereo  
 στρατηγία office of command,  
 strategy ~strategy  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συμβουλευώ give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer  
 σύνοικος fellow inhabitant  
 συντρέχω rush together  
 συντυγχάνω fall in with; happen  
 συχνός long; many; extensive  
 τεκμαίρομαι conclude, declare from  
 evidence  
 τεκνοποιός begetting, bearing  
 children  
 τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish  
 τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case  
 τρίπηχυς 3 cubits long  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny  
 ὑπεράκριος beyond the heights  
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;  
 delay ~ballistic  
 ὑπερήδομαι rejoice greatly  
 φροντίζω consider, ponder  
 χαρακτήρ -ος (m) stamp;  
 characteristic  
 χεῦμα -τος (n, 3) plating  
 χρηστηριάζω prophesy  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response

Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλούμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα<sup>1</sup> ἀργύρεα κυκλωτερέα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδῶλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυ,<sup>3</sup> τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου<sup>4</sup> τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς<sup>5</sup> ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.<sup>6</sup>

## 1.52

ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην,<sup>7</sup> ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεήν<sup>8</sup> πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι<sup>9</sup> ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμέ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

## 1.53

τοῖσι 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, ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν, οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις λέγοντες «Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν

<sup>1</sup> plating <sup>2</sup> rounded (by wear) <sup>3</sup> 3 cubits long <sup>4</sup> baker <sup>5</sup> neck, throat, mane <sup>6</sup> girdle; waist, loins <sup>7</sup> passivity, suffering <sup>8</sup> solid, firm <sup>9</sup> spear point; lot



ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.» οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸν αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

## 1.54

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται,<sup>10</sup> πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι<sup>11</sup> ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην<sup>12</sup> καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

## 1.55

δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντείου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη.<sup>13</sup> ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε.

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ,<sup>14</sup> πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἑρμον φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακός ἐῖναι.

## 1.56

τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους τοὺς δὲ τοῦ

<sup>10</sup> give    <sup>11</sup> pound; type of coin    <sup>12</sup> free of charge    <sup>13</sup> monarchy

<sup>14</sup> tender-footed

Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν<sup>15</sup> τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ καὶ ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν<sup>16</sup> καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

## 1.57

ἦντινα δὲ γλώσσαν ἔσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκούντων, οἱ ὅμουροι<sup>17</sup> κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιώτιν καλεομένην, καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα<sup>18</sup> τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλώσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιρικούντων εἰςὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι<sup>19</sup> οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτήρα<sup>20</sup> μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

## 1.58

τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὐξῆται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα

<sup>15</sup> a vague name for the pre-Greek indigenes of Greece <sup>16</sup> tall, high

<sup>17</sup> bordering <sup>18</sup> buildings of a city <sup>19</sup> speaking the same language

<sup>20</sup> stamp; characteristic

προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὦν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξήθηται.

## 1.59

τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἴπποκράτους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἴπποκράτει γὰρ ἔοντι ιδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἔοντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεισάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἴπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιῶν<sup>21</sup> ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δευτέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι.

οὕκων ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἴπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐσωτὸν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεύγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι<sup>22</sup> μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου,

<sup>21</sup> begetting, bearing children      <sup>22</sup> spear-bearing

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 Amphiaraios, 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 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 Phiotis, 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, unlearned 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

*vocabulary*

ἀδελφιδέος -οῦ nephew  
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble  
 ἀναβιβάζω make to mount, promote  
 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  
 ἀπρόσμικτος isolated  
 ἀσπαστός gladly, with glad welcome  
 αὐτόθεν from that place  
 βόλος cast (a net, dice)  
 δάκτυλος finger, toe  
 διασχεδάννυμι (ἴ) scatter, disperse  
 διαφοιτέω wander, cast about  
 διαφύω grow between, intervene; be connected  
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal  
 δίζω be in doubt ~dilemma  
 δίκτυον fishing net  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δόσις -εως (f) gift, loan ~donate  
 δωτίνη (ι) gift ~donate  
 ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer  
 εἰσβιβάζω put aboard  
 εἴσεμι go in; come in range; come to mind ~ion  
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in  
 ἐκπετάζω spread out, be scattered  
 ἐλευθερία freedom  
 Ἑλλην Greek  
 ἐναγής cursed, polluted  
 ἐνάγω lead in/on; arraign  
 ἐνδείκνυμι (ἴ) address, consider  
 ἐνδέκατος eleventh ~decimal  
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible  
 ἐνθεάζω be inspired

ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἑξάμετρος hexameter  
 ἑξαρτύω (ἴ) train, equip  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐξορύσσω dig out  
 ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief ~demagogue  
 ἐπικηρυκεύω send a herald, ambassador  
 ἐπίκουρος ally; mercenary ~cereal  
 ἐπιτεχνάομαι contrive  
 ἐπιτροπεύω administrate  
 ἔποψις view over; oversight  
 εὐειδής good-looking ~wit  
 εὐήθεια goodheartedness, silliness  
 εὐήθης good-hearted; simple  
 εὐνομία good order or governance ~nemesis  
 εὐπρεπής comely, decent; specious  
 εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed  
 ἔχθρη hate  
 ἡλίθιος idle, vain, foolish  
 θέσιμος fixed, settled, lawful  
 θύννος tuna ~tuna  
 ἱστορέω inquire; relate  
 ἴσχω restrain, hold back ~ischemia  
 καθαίρω clean  
 κακόννομος ill-governed  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 κατάγω lead down/home; land ~demagogue  
 καταλλάσσω exchange; make up with  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe  
 κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion  
 κάτοδος descent, return, cycle  
 κατυπέρτερος having the upper hand  
 κορόνη club, shepherd's staff  
 κορυνηφόρος club-bearing  
 κύβος cube, die



λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle  
 μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis  
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform  
 μεταλλάσσω change; exchange  
 μεταὔτις afterward, thereupon  
 μεταφορέω transfer; change  
 μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μισθωτός hired, hireling  
 νεηνίης young person  
 νεόγαμος newlywed  
 νηός temple, shrine  
 οἰμάω rush, spring, swoop  
 ὄμηρος insurance, hostage  
 ὁμολογίη agreement, consent  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 πανοπλία suit of armor  
 πανστρατιῇ with the whole army  
 παραμένω stay with ~remain  
 παράπαν completely  
 περιελαύνω drive around  
 πῆχυς forearm, cubit  
 πίων (ĩ) fat, rich, fertile ~pine  
 πομπή a sending, expedition ~pomp  
 προαιδέομαι be obliged to  
 προδείκνυμι (õ) show by example;  
 foreshadow  
 πρόδρομος running ahead  
 προθυμία (õ) zeal, alacrity ~fume  
 προπέμπω send, send ahead  
 ~pomp

πρόσσεμι approach, draw near; add  
 ~ion  
 προσπταίω batter; be set back  
 προσρέω stream in  
 ῥιζώ furnish with roots ~rhizome  
 ῥίπτω hurl  
 σεληναῖος moonlit  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry  
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise  
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided  
 στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction  
 στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up  
 station ~strategy  
 συλλαμβάνω seize, capture;  
 understand ~epilepsy  
 συναλίζω collect; eat with  
 σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion  
 σύνοδος meeting, conjunction  
 συνταράσσω mess up  
 σχῆμα -τος (n, 3) form, figure  
 τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case  
 τόνος pitch, stretching  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny  
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;  
 delay ~ballistic  
 φάτις -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame  
 χρησμολόγος prophesying  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χώρος place ~heir

κορυνηφόροι<sup>1</sup> δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὀπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὔτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς εἰσέσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια<sup>2</sup> μεταλλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

1.60

μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντὸ φρονήσαντες οἱ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὕκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε.

Οἱ δὲ ἐξέλασαντες Πεισίστρατον αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελανόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον,<sup>3</sup> ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔδν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης<sup>4</sup> ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὔτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε.

ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ,<sup>6</sup> ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον<sup>7</sup> φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες· οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· «ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.» οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους

<sup>1</sup> club-bearing    <sup>2</sup> fixed, settled, lawful    <sup>3</sup> good-hearted; simple

<sup>4</sup> goodheartedness, silliness    <sup>5</sup> finger, toe    <sup>6</sup> suit of armor    <sup>7</sup> comely, decent; specious

φάτις<sup>8</sup> ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναικα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

## 1.61

ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ 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 Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἢ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστοροῦσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρὶ, ἣ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἡγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολλίων αἰτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφθυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ<sup>9</sup> ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιος σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐβελοντής,<sup>10</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμης, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

## 1.62

ἐξ Ἑρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου<sup>11</sup> ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σφι στρατοπεδευόμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἢ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἡγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>8</sup> report, rumor    <sup>9</sup> hired, hireling    <sup>10</sup> a volunteer    <sup>11</sup> eleventh

Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὲ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ<sup>12</sup> ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸντο συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἰρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θεῇ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος<sup>13</sup> ἀνὴρ, ὅς οἱ προσιῶν χρᾶ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

«ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος,<sup>14</sup> τὸ δὲ δίκτυον<sup>15</sup> ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι<sup>16</sup> δ' οἰμήσουσι<sup>17</sup> σεληναίης<sup>18</sup> διὰ νυκτός.»

### 1.63

ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους<sup>19</sup> οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι.

φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾷται, ὅπως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν<sup>20</sup> ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν· ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ.

### 1.64

πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὲ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοις, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον καὶ

<sup>12</sup> with the whole army    <sup>13</sup> prophesying    <sup>14</sup> cast (a net, dice)  
<sup>15</sup> fishing net    <sup>16</sup> tuna    <sup>17</sup> rush, spring, swoop    <sup>18</sup> moonlit    <sup>19</sup> cube,  
die    <sup>20</sup> the Athenians

γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῃ πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δήλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ’ ὅσον ἔποιμῖς τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευ Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ’ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆς.

## 1.65

τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος<sup>21</sup> καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεόντες<sup>22</sup> οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεάτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι<sup>23</sup> ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην.<sup>24</sup> Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφούς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήμε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθύς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

«ἦκεις ὦ Λυκόοργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσι. δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μάλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.»

οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι. ὡς δ’ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπέυσαντα<sup>25</sup> Λεωβώτew, ἀδελφιδέου<sup>26</sup> μὲν ἐωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα.

<sup>21</sup> Here ἐπὶ = during the time of. <sup>22</sup> be lucky, prosper, succeed

<sup>23</sup> ill-governed <sup>24</sup> good order or governance <sup>25</sup> being his guardian

<sup>26</sup> nephew

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.

#### 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 non-vaginal 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.”

#### 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





*vocabulary*

ἀγαθοεργός doing good  
 ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue  
 ἀθλέω toil ~athlete  
 ἄχμων -ονος (m, 3) anvil  
 ἀλέα ἀλῆς an escape; warmth of the sun ~swelter  
 ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora  
 ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade  
 ἀναξυρίδες Persian pants  
 ἀνατίθῃμι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach  
 ἀνευρίσκω discover  
 ἀνοίγνυμι (ū) open  
 ἀνορύσσω dig out  
 ἀντιδίδωμι repay, exchange  
 ἀντίτυπος (adj) repelling; (noun) model, mold  
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ~angel  
 ἀπάτη trick, fraud, deceit  
 ~apatosaurus  
 ἄπιξις arrival  
 ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust  
 ἀποκωλύω hinder from/from using  
 ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  
 ~bear  
 ἀποχράω suffice; abuse  
 αὐλέω play (blow, toot)  
 βαλανηφάγος acorn-eating  
 διαμετρέω measure ~metric  
 διαπέμπω send out/over  
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal  
 διφάσιος of two kinds  
 δολώω trick, trap, disguise  
 δωτίνη (i) gift ~donate  
 εἰκάζω liken; conjecture  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐλινύω (i) rest  
 Ἑλλην Greek

ἐννοέω consider  
 ἐνοικίζω implant; (mp) move house to  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐνωμοτία army division  
 ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave  
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξεύρεσις search, invention, discovery  
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπικηρυκεύω send a herald, ambassador  
 ἐπιτάρροθος (f) supporter  
 ἐπιτυγχάνω meet, attain  
 ἐπτάπηχυς 7 cubits long  
 ἐργασία work, business; guild  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 ἐσσομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 εὐεργεσία good deed, public service  
 ~ergonomics  
 εὐθηνέω thrive, flourish  
 εὐνομέομαι be well ordered  
 ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive  
 ~zoo  
 ζῶδιον statuette; sign of the Zodiac  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet  
 θεοπρόπιον prophecy ~theology  
 θεοπρόπος seer ~theology  
 θήκη chest, grave  
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise  
 ~theater  
 ἰδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 ἰλάσχομαι appease  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 καταφρονέω scorn; think of  
 κατὑπερθεν above, from above

**κατυπέρτερος** having the upper hand  
**κίβδηλος** bogus  
**κρεμάννυμι** (ῥ) hang  
**κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine  
**λευρός** smooth, level  
**μεγαίρω** begrudge, be unwilling  
**μεθίστημι** change, substitute; withdraw; change sides; (mid) send away ~station  
**μεταβάλλω** alter, transform  
**μετρέω** measure, traverse ~metric  
**μηδαμός** no one  
**μήκος** -ους (n, 3) length, stature  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μισθόω** rent out; (pass) be hired  
**νόμιμος** customary, legal, natural  
**ξείνιος** of hospitality  
**ὄν** οὐ type of fruit  
**ὄρκιον** oath ~orc  
**ὀρύσσω** dig  
**ὀρχέομαι** dance  
**οὔτις** nobody, nothing  
**παραβαίνω** go with; transgress ~basis  
**πεδάω** impede, chain ~impede  
**πέδη** shackles ~pedal  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**πίσυνος** trusting in, relying on (+dat)  
**πλάζω** make to wander ~plankton  
**πλάσσω** form ~plaster  
**πλαστός** formed, plastic  
**πνέω** breathe, blow ~apnea  
**ποσσίχροτος** kicked, kicking  
**πρίαμαι** buy  
**προίστημι** put forward; (+gen) be

head of, guard ~station  
**προοκρίνω** (ι) choose first  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**προσκαλέω** call on, summon  
**σέβομαι** feel shame, awe  
**σιτέομαι** (ι) eat ~parasite  
**σχύτινος** (ῥ) of leather  
**σορός** (f) urn; coffin  
**σοφία** skill; wisdom ~sophistry  
**συγχώω** cover with dirt  
**συλλέγω** collect, assemble ~legion  
**συμβολή** encounter; contribution  
**συμβουλεύω** give advice; (mid) consult ~volunteer  
**συμμαχία** alliance  
**συμφορά** collecting; accident, misfortune  
**συντυχία** event, accident  
**συσσίτιον** (ι) dining commons  
**σφύρα** hammer; unit of land  
**σχοῖνος** rush, bed of rushes; rope, measuring line; 10 km  
**σῶς** safe, alive  
**τάφος** (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment  
**τύπος** mold, form ~type  
**ὑστερέω** lag, be too late, fail  
**φῦσα** bellows  
**φυσάω** (ῥ) blow, puff, blow out  
**φυσίζους** life-giving ~physics  
**χαλκεύς** -ος (m) smith  
**χείλος** -εος (n, 3) lip  
**χρησμός** oracular response  
**χρηστηριάζω** prophesy  
**χρηστήριον** oracle, response  
**χώρος** place ~heir  
**ὠνέομαι** buy

ὥς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος.

## 1.66

οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται<sup>1</sup> μεγάλως. οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χωρῇ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι χρᾶ τάδε.

«Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι<sup>3</sup> ἄνδρες ἔασιν, οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω.<sup>4</sup> δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον<sup>5</sup> ὀρχήσασθαι<sup>6</sup> καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ<sup>7</sup> διαμετρήσασθαι.»

ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησιμῶ κιβδήλῳ πίσυννοι, ὥς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεγέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης<sup>8</sup> Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

## 1.67

κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον<sup>9</sup> πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίῃ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἦδη οἱ

<sup>1</sup> feel shame, awe    <sup>2</sup> thrive, flourish    <sup>3</sup> acorn-eating    <sup>4</sup> begrudge, be unwilling    <sup>5</sup> kicked, kicking    <sup>6</sup> dance    <sup>7</sup> rush, bed of rushes; rope, measuring line; 10 km    <sup>8</sup> an escape; warmth of the sun    <sup>9</sup> toil

Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῶδε γενόμενοι. ἐπεὶ αἰὲν τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίαιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἐχρησε τὰ Ὁρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος<sup>10</sup> ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὥς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην<sup>11</sup> τοῦ Ὁρέστεω ἔπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεὸν<sup>12</sup> ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὁρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

«ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέη λευρῷ<sup>13</sup> ἐνὶ χώρῳ, ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνεῖουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται. ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσιζοὺς<sup>14</sup> αἶα, τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγῆς ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.»

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ<sup>15</sup> εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰὲν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστον· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλυνύειν<sup>16</sup> ἄλλους ἄλλη.

### 1.68

τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμυξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθελίτο σιδήρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θῶματι ἦν ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον. μαθὼν, δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς<sup>17</sup> ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε πανσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου «ἦ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην<sup>18</sup> τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσω ἐπέτυχον σορῷ<sup>19</sup> ἐπταπήχει·<sup>20</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ<sup>21</sup> μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους τῶν

<sup>10</sup> Orestes avenged his father Agamemnon's death. <sup>11</sup> chest, grave

<sup>12</sup> the oracle <sup>13</sup> smooth, level <sup>14</sup> life-giving <sup>15</sup> doing good <sup>16</sup> rest

<sup>17</sup> smith <sup>18</sup> work, business; guild <sup>19</sup> urn; coffin <sup>20</sup> 7 cubits long

<sup>21</sup> no one

νῦν ἀνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῶ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.» ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπее, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὗρισκε ἔοντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα<sup>22</sup> καὶ τὴν σφῦραν<sup>23</sup> τόν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραξε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρήγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αἰτίνῃ ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο<sup>24</sup> παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὁστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

## 1.69

ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον «ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἑλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.» Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἦσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξιν τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγонуῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς

<sup>22</sup> anvil    <sup>23</sup> hammer; unit of land    <sup>24</sup> rent out; (pass) be hired

ἄγαλμα<sup>25</sup> βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἵδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι<sup>26</sup> ἔδωκε δωτήνην.

## 1.70

τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν 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 ἕξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἤγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδεις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμῖν, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν<sup>27</sup> οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἡλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ιδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

## 1.71

Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζόμενος δὲ Κροῖσου στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὖνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὖνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεῦσθαι παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτῖνας<sup>28</sup> μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς

<sup>25</sup> ornament, glory, statue    <sup>26</sup> buy    <sup>27</sup> lag, be too late, fail    <sup>28</sup> of leather

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 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἄβρός graceful, delicate, pretty  
 ἄγρᾱ hunting, prey  
 ἀεικία -είας disfiguring;  
 unseemliness ~icon  
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble  
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force  
 ἀναισιμῶ spend, use up  
 ἀναλείχω lick up  
 ἀνάξιος unworthy, undeserved  
 ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined  
 ἀναστατώ unsettle, upset  
 ἀνδραποδίζω enslave  
 ἀντιῶ meet, fight, join  
 ἀντιστρατοπεδεύω encamp against  
 ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning  
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,  
 promise ~angel  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;  
 (intrans) ride away  
 ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose  
 ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine  
 ἀποξηραίνω dry up  
 ἀπορέω be confused, distressed  
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure  
 ἀπωστός driven away, able to be  
 ἀριστερός left-hand  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 αὐχὴν -ένος (m, 3) neck  
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
 βραχίων -ονος (m, 3) upper arm,  
 shoulder  
 γαμβρός son-in-law, brother-in-law  
 ~bigamy  
 γεύω taste ~gusto  
 γέφυρα (ῥ) dam, dike; bridge  
 δαιτυμῶν -όνος (m, 3) dinner guest  
 ~demon  
 δάω learn ~didactic  
 δῆθεν strong form of δῆ  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis

διαβατός crossable, fordable  
 διαβιβάζω carry over  
 διαδέχομαι be next, succeed  
 ~doctrine  
 διασκεδάννυμι (ῥ) scatter, disperse  
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out;  
 reveal  
 διίστημι stand apart ~stand  
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal  
 ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)  
 εἴλω pack, press, drive ~helix  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκμανθάνω know by heart  
 ἕκτος sixth ~hexagon  
 ἐκτρέπω turn aside  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐνθεν thence, whence  
 ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  
 ~thesis  
 ἐξαιτέω demand ~etiology  
 ἐξαπίνης suddenly  
 ἐπαλλαγή dovetailing, overlapping  
 ἐπιμέφομαι blame  
 ἐπιτέμνω cut into; shorten  
 εὐζωνος well-girded ~zone  
 ἱδρύω establish  
 ἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee  
 ἵμερος (ι) desire, inclination (+gen)  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καρτερός strong, staunch  
 κατακόπτω cut down, shatter  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 κατήκοος hearing; obedient  
 κενός empty, vain  
 κίβδηλος bogus  
 κλῆρος lot; farm, inheritance; clergy  
 ~clergy  
 κληρώω cast lots, assign  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 κῶας κῶως (n, 3) fleece

μέφομαι blame; reject  
 μεταβολή change, exchange  
 μεταλλαγή a change; exchange  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μήκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature  
 μηνοειδής crescent-shaped  
 νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing  
 νοστέω go home  
 νυκτομαχία night battle  
 ὁμόχροια sameness of color;  
 smoothness of skin  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὄρκιον oath ~orc  
 ὄρος boundary marker ~horizon  
 ὀρύσσω dig  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 οὐδέτερος neither  
 οὐρόν boundary stone; unit of  
 distance; limit  
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba  
 παράπαν completely  
 πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web  
 πατέομαι eat, drink ~pastor  
 πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon  
 περιέπω treat, handle  
 περιέχω (mid) protect  
 περιουίς -δος (f) neighboring,  
 suburban  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πίσυνος trusting in, relying on  
 (+dat)  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 προσίημι be allowed near

προσκτάομαι get, win as well  
 προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis  
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat  
 ῥητός stated, agreed on ~rhetoric  
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  
 ~rheostat  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up  
 station ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 σῦκον fig  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 σύμβασις -τος (f) agreement;  
 coinciding  
 συμβιβάζω put together; infer  
 συμβολή encounter; contribution  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συμμένω hold together; hold to an  
 agreement  
 σχίζω split ~schism  
 τραχύς (ᾱ) rough ~trachea  
 τρώγω nibble, crop  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 ὑδροποτέω drink water  
 ὑπεξέρχομαι get out, escape  
 ὑστεραίος the next; later  
 χρησμός oracular response  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 ὠθέω push

δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι,<sup>1</sup> οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν,<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσῃς, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν· τοῦτο δέ, ἣν νικηθῇς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι<sup>3</sup> γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεῖουσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς.» ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδούς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἀβρόν<sup>4</sup> οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

## 1.72

οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλικίων, μετὰ δὲ Ματινηοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην<sup>5</sup> ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῇν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνω<sup>6</sup> ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμῶνται.

## 1.73

ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρω προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἔων καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροῖσου μὲν γαμβρόν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρόν Κροῖσῳ ᾧδε. Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων<sup>7</sup> εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάζασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> drink water    <sup>2</sup> nibble, crop    <sup>3</sup> taste    <sup>4</sup> graceful, delicate, pretty

<sup>5</sup> north, north wind    <sup>6</sup> well-girded    <sup>7</sup> roaming, grazing

Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὡς ἐόντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινήσι χερσὶ ὁ Κναζάρης ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικέλη.<sup>8</sup> οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναζάρειω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονηότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθησαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κναζάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδνάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κναζάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες<sup>9</sup> τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.

## 1.74

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κναζάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔταα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην<sup>10</sup> τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστέωσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῇ ἡμέρῃς Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἢ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεῖτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπενυσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύνεννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναζάρειω παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ

<sup>8</sup> disfiguring; unseemliness    <sup>9</sup> dinner guest    <sup>10</sup> night battle

ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνηα τὰ πέρ τε Ἑλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας<sup>11</sup> ἐπιτάμωται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην,<sup>12</sup> τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

## 1.75

τοῦτον δὲ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἔοντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεφάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω· τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὥς δὲ ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροῖσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα,<sup>13</sup> ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπεῖτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη<sup>14</sup> τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ 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 ἐπεῖτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπύκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην ἢ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Συνώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη, ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς

<sup>11</sup> upper arm, shoulder      <sup>12</sup> sameness of color; smoothness of skin

<sup>13</sup> crescent-shaped      <sup>14</sup> split



κλήρους· καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο,<sup>15</sup> εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιουκίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἡντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμήσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χωρῇ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτω ἡγωνίσατο.

## 1.77

Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στράτευμα ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κῦρον, τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπὶ ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλανε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἐν νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίῃ, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος, ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν<sup>16</sup> ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐένεωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις· τὸν δὲ παρόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπὲς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

<sup>15</sup> enslave    <sup>16</sup> stated, agreed on

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 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 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.

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel  
 ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself  
 αἰσχύνω (ῶ) spoil, disgrace, disfigure, mar  
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble  
 ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made ~Alexander  
 ἀλλόθροος speaking an alien tongue  
 ἄμαχος unconquerable; noncombatant  
 ἀνάλωτος impregnable  
 ἀναπλώ unfold; explain; simplify  
 ἀναπλώω sail up, through  
 ἀναστρέφω act: overturn; mid: find oneself in ~atrophy  
 ἀνασώζω rescue, recover  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away  
 ἀποθρόσκω jump off of  
 ἀπονοστέω go home  
 ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ~pierce  
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure  
 ἀπότομος cut off; severe  
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare  
 ἄχθος -εος (n, 3) burden  
 ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable  
 δειλός wretched, poor, cowardly ~Deimos  
 διαπέμπω send out/over  
 διασχεδάννυμι (ῶ) scatter, disperse  
 διατάσσω arrange, array  
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus  
 ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth ~genus  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐμπίμπλημι fill with  
 ἐμποδών getting in the way

ἐνθεύτεν thence  
 ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block  
 ἐνστέλλω dress in  
 ἐξακόσιοι 600  
 ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony  
 ἐξηγητής -οῦ (m, 1) leader, expounder  
 ἐπανάγκης (impers) it is compulsory  
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail  
 ἔπηλυσ strange, foreign  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over  
 ἐπίμαχος easily attacked  
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near  
 ἐπιχώριος native  
 ἐσπέρα evening, west  
 ἐσσομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive ~zoo  
 ἡλώω sharpen  
 θεοπρόπος seer ~theology  
 ἰδέα ἰδῆς semblance; kind, style  
 ἱππᾶς riding coat; order of knights  
 ἱππεύω ride  
 ἱππικός of horses ~hippo  
 ἰσοπαλῆς competing equally; equivalent  
 ἰσόπαλος competing equally; equivalent  
 κάμηλος (f) camel  
 καταδοκέω suspect, be prejudiced  
 καταίρω swoop; land  
 κατακείρω ravage, pillage  
 κατάρα curse  
 καταρρωδέω fear, dread  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue ~catastrophe  
 καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough

κατειλέω coop up  
 κατεσθίω devour ~eat  
 κατηλογέω ignore, neglect  
 κομάω have long hair  
 κόμη hair ~comet  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 λογάς -δος (m, 3) picked, chosen  
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  
 ~jet  
 μίν him, her, it  
 νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing  
 νομή pasture; distribution  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 ὀπότερος which of two, either of two  
 ὀσμή smell ~osmium, odor  
 ὀσφραίνομαι catch scent of  
 ὄφης ὄφεως (m) serpent ~ophidian  
 παλλακή sex slave  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 παραμένω stay with ~remain  
 πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon  
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
 περιφέρω carry around  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πολιορκία siege  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προάστειον suburb  
 προείπον foretell, proclaim, order  
 before  
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;  
 preselect ~legion  
 προσβαίνω proceed; step on ~basis  
 προσδόκιμος expected  
 προσφορέω bring to, in  
 προτεραῖος previous to  
 προχωρέω proceed, come forward  
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  
 ~rheostat

σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σιτοφόρος (ι) carrying, producing  
 grain  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 σκευοφόρος pack animal, porter  
 σοφίζω be clever, tricky  
 στολή equipment  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συλλοχίτης -ου (ι, m, 1) comrade,  
 unit-mate  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συμπίπτω fall together, happen  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συνέρχομαι come together  
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis  
 συρρήγνυμι (υῦ) break down the  
 strength of  
 τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer  
 τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish  
 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος fourteenth  
 ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend  
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 φείδομαι spare, not use/harm  
 ~aphid  
 φοιτέω go back and forth  
 φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to  
 carry ~bear  
 φύλαξ -κος (m) guard; sentry  
 ~phylactery  
 χρυσοφορέω (υ) wear gold  
 χώρος place ~heir  
 φιλός (ι) naked, bare ~epsilon

## 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, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον<sup>1</sup> προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὅφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ λυδα. Τελμησέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἥδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

## 1.79

Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροῖσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρήγμα ὅτι εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλίσθηται τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐγγλύθε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδριώτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

## 1.80

ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδινηοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον

<sup>1</sup> speaking an alien tongue



δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δυνδυμίνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὥς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωντοῦ εἶποντο σιτοφόροι<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ σκευοφόροι<sup>3</sup> κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα<sup>4</sup> ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα<sup>5</sup> στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατῆς προΐεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροΐσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἔπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὥς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἶνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῦ ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὁσφραινόμενος.<sup>7</sup> αὐτοῦ δὲ ὦν τούτου εἶνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο,<sup>8</sup> ἵνα τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἄχρηστον<sup>9</sup> ᾖ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὠσφροντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ᾔσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

## 1.81

τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίῃ. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις, τούτους δὲ

<sup>2</sup> carrying, producing grain      <sup>3</sup> pack animal, porter      <sup>4</sup> burden

<sup>5</sup> riding coat; order of knights      <sup>6</sup> semblance; kind, style      <sup>7</sup> catch

scent of      <sup>8</sup> be clever, tricky      <sup>9</sup> useless, unprofitable

ἔξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

1.82

ἔς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐοῦσα τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίῃ νήσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσομένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἀπαμύνειν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες<sup>10</sup> δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκίηνωρ τε καὶ Χρομῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθρον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξιν εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφοτέρω. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἕριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν

<sup>10</sup> picked, chosen

κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν,<sup>11</sup> πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἔνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυρόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἐωυτόν.

## 1.83

τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ ἐπίθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφι ἦδη παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαιναντο.

## 1.84

Σάρδιες δὲ ἦλωσαν<sup>12</sup> ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτῃ<sup>13</sup> ἐγένετο ἡμέρῃ πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δῶσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῶ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος.<sup>14</sup> τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλῃς ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακῇ<sup>15</sup> ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλῃς κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὼν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμῶλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὢν δὴ Ὑροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο

<sup>11</sup> wear gold  
noncombatant

<sup>12</sup> sharpen

<sup>15</sup> sex slave

<sup>13</sup> fourteenth

<sup>14</sup> unconquerable;

## 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 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 go 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 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

*vocabulary*

**αἰθρία** clear air  
**αἰνέω** praise, assent, acquiesce in  
**ἀκροθίνιον** first-fruit sacrifice; the best  
**ἀκρόπολις** -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
**ἀμφίς** around, apart from  
**ἀναβιβάζω** make to mount, promote  
**ἀναγιγνώσκω** recognize, read, understand, persuade  
**ἀνάθημα** -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift ~thesis  
**ἀνάρτημαι** attach to, make dependent upon  
**ἀναστενάζω** groan  
**ἀναφέρω** bring up ~bear  
**ἀνθρώπινος** human  
**ἀνόητος** foolish  
**ἄνολβος** unfortunate, wretched  
**ἄνωθεν** from above, the beginning  
**ἀπηγέομαι** lead; tell, relate  
**ἀποφλαυρίζω** make little of  
**ἀρέσκω** please, satisfy; make amends  
**ἄσημος** not marked; unclear  
**ἄφωνος** voiceless  
**ἀχρήματος** poor  
**βιόω** live; (mp) make a living ~biology  
**δακρύω** weep  
**δεκατεύω** take a tenth  
**δεσπότης** -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
**διαρπάζω** make prey of ~harpoon  
**δικαίω** demand/make justice  
**δίς** twice  
**δορυφόρος** spear-bearer  
**δόσις** -εως (f) gift, loan ~donate  
**δωρέω** give ~donate  
**ἐκάστοτε** each time  
**ἐκὼν** willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily

**Ἑλλήν** Greek  
**ἐννοέω** consider  
**ἐνοράω** look at, notice something in  
**ἐνόρνυμι** (ἰ) stir up, inspire ~hormone  
**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command  
**ἐξαπίνης** suddenly  
**ἐπαιείρω** raise, place on ~aorta  
**ἐπαισχύνομαι** be ashamed of  
**ἐπανίστημι** rise up ~station  
**ἐπείρομαι** ask as well; ask then  
**ἐπιβοάω** call to for help  
**ἐπίδοξος** likely; famous  
**ἐπεικής** fitting ~icon  
**ἐπικρατέω** rule over  
**ἐπιλέγω** say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over  
**ἐπιμελής** careful, cared for  
**ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι** remember, speak about ~mnemonic  
**ἐπιτελέω** complete; do a religious duty  
**ἐπιφράζω** realize, think of ~frenzy  
**ἐρμηνεύς** -ος (m) interpreter  
**εὐδαιμονία** prosperity  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**εὐχή** prayer; vow ~vow  
**ζωγρέω** capture, give quarter; revive ~zoo  
**ἡσυχία** peace and quiet  
**ἡσυχος** quiet  
**θεοσεβής** revering the gods  
**ἰά** (ι) voice, cry  
**καίπερ** even if  
**κακοδαιμονία** misfortune; demonic possession  
**κάρτα** very much ~κράτος  
**καταβιβάζω** bring down  
**καταγίζω** devote, dedicate  
**κατακαίω** burn down ~caustic  
**κατακυλίνδω** roll down, throw off  
**καταπαύω** stop, restrain ~pause



καταρρήγνυμι (ῥ) break down  
 κατασβέννυμι (ῥ) extinguish  
 κάτισος equal  
 κεραίζω slay, ravage ~caries  
 κότερος which, whichever of two  
 κυνέα -ῆς helmet ~hound  
 κύνεος doglike, shameless ~hound  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 λάβρος blustering, torrential  
 λιπαρέω (ι) persist  
 λωίων more desirable  
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning  
 ~mantis  
 μεθίστημι change, substitute;  
 withdraw; change sides; (mid) send  
 away ~station  
 μεταγινώσκω change one's mind  
 ~gnostic  
 μίν him, her, it  
 νηέω pile up, load a ship  
 νηνέμιος still, windless  
 ~anemometer  
 ὄλβιος happy, wealthy  
 ὄλβος happiness, wealth  
 ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 παλιλλογέω repeat  
 παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for;  
 decline  
 παραιντίκα immediately  
 πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web  
 πεδάω impede, chain ~impede  
 πέδη shackles ~pedal  
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder  
 περιέσχατα extremities, edges  
 περίοιδα have great, greater skill  
 περιοράω look around; watch;

permit  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πλήσσω hit ~plectrum  
 πολύευκτος prayed for  
 πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder  
 προμηθία foresight  
 προσβαίνω proceed; step on ~basis  
 προσίστημι set against; (mp) stand  
 near  
 προτιμάω (ι) prefer, pay attention to  
 πυρά pyre ~pyre  
 σβέννυμι (ῥ) extinguish, go out  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σιγά silence  
 σιγάω (ι) be silent  
 σόλος lump of iron for throwing  
 συγγινώσκω acknowledge; pardon  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συννέω swim together; pile together  
 σύννοια meditation; worry  
 συντρέχω rush together  
 συχνός long; many; extensive  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὑβριστής -οῦ (m, 1) wanton, savage  
 ὑπερήδομαι rejoice greatly  
 ὑπόκρισις -εως (f) answer; acting,  
 hypocrisy  
 ὑποτίθηναι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 ὕω (ῥ) to rain  
 φθέγγομαι make a sound, utter  
 ~diphthong  
 φυλακός guard; sentry  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χρηστός useful; brave, worthy

τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κινέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν 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 ᾧν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφούς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον<sup>2</sup> ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβω.

ἀλίσκομένον δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἥιε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὀρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ «ὦνθρώπε, μὴ κτείνει Κροῖσον.» οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης.

## 1.86

οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτήν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν ἐδῇσι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεω δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχὴν<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἶτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον

<sup>1</sup> voice, cry    <sup>2</sup> more desirable    <sup>3</sup> prayer; vow

εἶναι θεοσεβέα<sup>4</sup> τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἶδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροΐσῳ ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτω, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὥς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον. ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνενικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάζαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι «Σόλων.» καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἐρμηνέας<sup>5</sup> ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροΐσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροΐσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ<sup>6</sup> ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὥς ἡναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν «τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.» ὥς δὲ σφί ἄσσημα<sup>7</sup> ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐώντοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκείνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκούντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροΐσον ταῦτα ἀπηγγέσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροΐσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἀνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοις δεῖσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλῆως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροΐσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροΐσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἐτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

## 1.87

ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροΐσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μεταγνώσιν, ὥς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη,<sup>8</sup> παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι

<sup>4</sup> revering the gods    <sup>5</sup> interpreter    <sup>6</sup> silence    <sup>7</sup> not marked; unclear

<sup>8</sup> give

αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης<sup>9</sup> τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἑξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ὕσαι<sup>10</sup> ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ,<sup>11</sup> κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέεσθαι τάδε. «Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε »ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαμονίῃ,<sup>12</sup> αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαίρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.»

## 1.88

ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατείσε τε ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθείῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος<sup>13</sup> ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστν κεραΐζοντας<sup>14</sup> εἶπε «ὦ 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 «οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάξει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.» Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο «οὐτὲ πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὐτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάξει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.»

## 1.89

Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορώῃ ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ἐπεῖτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον,

<sup>9</sup> clear air    <sup>10</sup> to rain    <sup>11</sup> blustering, torrential    <sup>12</sup> misfortune; demonic possession    <sup>13</sup> quiet    <sup>14</sup> slay, ravage

σημαίνει σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔόντες ὑβρισταὶ<sup>15</sup> εἰς ἀχρήματοι.<sup>16</sup> ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιῶδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι. ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα κατὰσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαι τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποιήσων ὧδε, εἰ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι<sup>17</sup> τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι<sup>18</sup> τῷ Δίῃ. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσῃς βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγινόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προήσουσι.»

## 1.90

ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. «Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἦντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα.» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ.» Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε<sup>19</sup> πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσις καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεῖς τῷ μαντηίῳ<sup>20</sup> ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτούμενος ἐπειναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε «καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ' ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε<sup>21</sup> δέῃ.» ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηίοις ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς

<sup>15</sup> wanton, savage    <sup>16</sup> poor    <sup>17</sup> sprinkle; insert in a web    <sup>18</sup> take a tenth    <sup>19</sup> repeat    <sup>20</sup> prophetic warning    <sup>21</sup> each time

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 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἄγοραῖος frequenting the market  
 ἀείνας ever-flowing  
 ἄκος ἄκος (n, 3) cure, remedy  
 ἄλλομαι to jump ~sally  
 ἄλως -τος (f) being conquered  
 ἀνάθημα -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift  
 ~thesis  
 ἀνατίθηναι consecrate, lay on,  
 impute; (mp) reproach  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἀντιπράσσω act against  
 ἀντιστασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan  
 adversary  
 ἀνύω accomplish, pass over,  
 complete  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be  
 freed, depart  
 ἀπαρχή ἀπόρχης first offering  
 ἀποικίζω send away, resettle  
 ~economics  
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare  
 ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free  
 ἀπωθέω repel, reject  
 ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina  
 ἀστράγαλος neck vertebra, die  
 αὐτόθι on the spot  
 αὐτόνομος autonomous  
 ἀχάριστος ungracious, unpleasant  
 ~eucharist  
 γονεύς -ος (m) parent  
 γυναικίος of women  
 δέσποινα lady  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 διάγω lead through; pass a time  
 ~demagogue  
 διαιρέω divide, distinguish,  
 distribute  
 δίζηναι seek ~zeal  
 δορυφόρος spear-bearing  
 δουλοσύνη slavery  
 δουλῶ enslave

εἰστίθηναι put in  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκπίμπλημι fulfil, accomplish  
 ἐλευθερία freedom  
 ἐλευθερόω set free  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐνεργάζομαι make in; work in  
 ἐνερθε beneath, below  
 ἐνιδρύω establish  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξαπόλλυμι (ἴ) disappear from  
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;  
 destroy someone  
 ἐξεύρεσις search, invention,  
 discovery  
 ἐξεύρημα invention, discovery  
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξίηναι send forth, allow forth ~jet  
 ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out  
 ἐπαναβάλλω throw on, over; (mp)  
 postpone  
 ἐπανείρομαι ask over and over  
 ἐπανερόμαι ask over and over  
 ἐπαρκέω ward off  
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπιμηχανάομαι plan for; devise  
 besides  
 ἐπίπλοος sailing against; aboard  
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named  
 εὐρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the  
 east wind  
 ζητήσις -εως (f) search, inquiry  
 ἡμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere  
 κάπηλος merchant  
 καταπορνεύω treat as a prostitute  
 καταστροφή end, conclusion  
 καταφέρω bring down, kill ~bear  
 κίων κίονος (ἴ, f) pillar  
 κληρώ cast lots, assign  
 κνάφος plant; carding comb; torture  
 implement

**κνάφω** card wool; mangle by torturing  
**κότερος** which, whichever of two  
**κρηπίς** (ι) boot; foundation  
**κύβος** cube, die  
**λαγχάνω** be allotted; (esp. λελα- forms) allot; receive  
**λίμνη** lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic  
**λιπαρέω** (ι) persist  
**μαντεῖον** prophetic warning ~mantis  
**μέμφομαι** blame; reject  
**μετεξέτεροι** (+gen) some ones of  
**μετονομάζω** rename  
**μετρέω** measure, traverse ~metric  
**μηχανάομαι** build, contrive ~mechanism  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**νόμισμα** -τος (n, 3) institution; coin  
**οἰκηιώ** adopt, adapt  
**ὁμοεθνής** of the same tribe  
**ὁμομήτριος** with the same mother  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὄρος** boundary marker ~horizon  
**οὐσία** property; essence  
**πάθος** -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition  
**παιγνία** game, play  
**παίγνιον** game, toy  
**παίγνιος** playful  
**παίζω** play ~pediatrician  
**παράγω** deflect; bring forward  
**παραμείβω** pass by ~amoeba  
**πάρεξ** alongside, diverging from; (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside

**πεδάω** impede, chain ~impede  
**πέδη** shackles ~pedal  
**πέμπτος** fifth ~pentagon  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over; still exist  
**περίοδος** picket, circuit  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**πεσσός** pebble, game piece  
**πλέθρον** 30 meters or its square ~plethora  
**πορνεύω** prostitute  
**προαγορεύω** declare, predict, order  
**προθυμέομαι** (ὀ) be eager  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**σεμνός** exalt  
**σιτέομαι** (ι) eat ~parasite  
**σιτοδεία** (ι) famine  
**στάδιος** (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters  
**σταθμός** cottage; post  
**συγγιγνώσκω** acknowledge; pardon  
**συγγραφή** writing down  
**συνοικέω** live together  
**συσπεύδω** assist zealously  
**σφαῖρα** ball  
**τρίπους** three-legged cauldron  
**τριφάσιος** triple  
**ὕποδεής** inferior; fearful  
**ὕποκρίνομαι** (ι) answer; pretend  
**φερνά** dowry  
**φονεύω** kill  
**χειρωναξ** artisan, engineer  
**χρηστηριάζω** prophesy  
**χρηστός** useful; brave, worthy  
**χώμα** -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt  
**ψῆγμα** gold dust; shavings, scrapings

πέδας· ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι<sup>1</sup> νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

## 1.91

ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. «τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἑὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικῆ<sup>2</sup> ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ<sup>3</sup> ὅπως ἂν κατὰ<sup>4</sup> τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶόν τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν Μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἦνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο<sup>5</sup> τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλοὺς τῆς πεπρωμένης.

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

τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ<sup>6</sup> ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἑὼν τοῖσι ἅπασιν δεσποίνῃ<sup>7</sup> τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε. «ταῦτα μὲν ἢ Πυθίῃ ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἳ δὲ ἀνῆνικαν ἐς Σάρδεις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> ungracious, unpleasant    <sup>2</sup> of women    <sup>3</sup> epithet of Apollo, "oblique"

<sup>4</sup> i.e., that the punishment be delayed    <sup>5</sup> Apollo    <sup>6</sup> 1.55, "when a mule becomes king of the Medes"    <sup>7</sup> lady

μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

## 1.92

Κροίσω δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μόνον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων<sup>8</sup> αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσὴ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχιδῆσι τῇσι Μιλησίῳ ἀναθήματα Κροίσω, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι.... τὰ μὲν νυν ἔς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκίᾳ τε ἔοντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἶρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

## 1.93

θώματα δὲ γῇ ἢ Λυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμόλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος.<sup>11</sup> ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἢ κρηπὶς<sup>12</sup> μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα<sup>13</sup> γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι<sup>14</sup> ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ

<sup>8</sup> pillar    <sup>9</sup> property; essence    <sup>10</sup> with the same mother    <sup>11</sup> gold dust; shavings, scrapings    <sup>12</sup> boot; foundation    <sup>13</sup> mound of dirt  
<sup>14</sup> frequenting the market

χειρών ακτες<sup>15</sup> καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι<sup>16</sup> παιδίσκαι. οὖροι δὲ πέντε ἑόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται<sup>17</sup> πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς,<sup>18</sup> ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσιν· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσι στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα,<sup>19</sup> τὸ δὲ εἶδος<sup>20</sup> ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον<sup>21</sup> εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

## 1.94

Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι<sup>22</sup> μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνέουσιν, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι<sup>23</sup> ἐγένοντο.

φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας<sup>24</sup> τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην<sup>25</sup> ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ πάνεσθαι, ἅκεα<sup>26</sup> δίξῃσθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὦν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων<sup>27</sup> καὶ τῆς σφαίρης<sup>28</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὦν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκιοῦνται<sup>29</sup> Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων<sup>30</sup> παύειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία,

<sup>15</sup> artisan, engineer   <sup>16</sup> make in; work in   <sup>17</sup> prostitute   <sup>18</sup> dowry

<sup>19</sup> 30 meters or its square   <sup>20</sup> width; (caps) the east wind

<sup>21</sup> ever-flowing   <sup>22</sup> Beginning a section about Lydia and its people, and the origins of the Tyrsenians. He begins with a list of three unrelated thoughts.   <sup>23</sup> merchant   <sup>24</sup> game, play   <sup>25</sup> famine

<sup>26</sup> cure, remedy   <sup>27</sup> neck vertebra, die   <sup>28</sup> ball   <sup>29</sup> adopt, adapt

<sup>30</sup> They alternate days.

τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν σιτέεσθαι πανομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα δυὼν δέοντα εἴκοσι.

ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρώσαι<sup>31</sup> τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένεν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν,<sup>32</sup> ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο.

#### 1.95

ἐπιδιζῆται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὥς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν<sup>33</sup> τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας<sup>34</sup> ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.

Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἡρξάντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῶντὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

#### 1.96

ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς

<sup>31</sup> cast lots, assign    <sup>32</sup> search, inquiry    <sup>33</sup> exalt    <sup>34</sup> triple

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 Amphiaraios 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 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

*vocabulary*

**ἀδίκημα** -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed  
**αἰνέω** praise, assent, acquiesce in  
**αἰσχρός** shameful  
**αἰχμοφόρος** spearman  
**ἄλκιμος** brave; sturdily made  
 ~Alexander  
**ἀνάκειμαι** be dedicated, be put up  
**ἀναμίξ** indiscriminately  
**ἀνάστατος** driven out, ruined  
**ἀναφύρω** (ῶ) confuse; defile  
**ἀνδραγαθία** bravery  
**ἀνομία** lawlessness  
**ἄνω** (ᾶ) accomplish, pass, waste;  
 upwards, out to sea  
**ἀποχράω** suffice; abuse  
**ἀποχρέω** suffice; abuse  
**ἄρπαγή** seizure; rape  
**ἀσκέω** work on  
**ἅτε** as if; since  
**βασίλειος** kingly  
**βασιλεύω** be king  
**γελάω** laugh, smile, laugh at  
**διακοσμέω** marshal ~cosmos  
**διακρίνω** (ι) separate, sort ~critic  
**διατάσσω** arrange, array  
**δικάζω** judge  
**δικεῖν** throw, cast, strike  
**δίκω** throw, cast, strike  
**δόκιμος** trustworthy; excellent  
**δορυφόρος** spear-bearing  
**εἰσβάλλω** throw into ~ballistic  
**εἴσειμι** go in; come in range; come  
 to mind ~ion  
**εἰσίστημι** (mid) speed to ~jet  
**εἰσπέμπω** send in  
**εἰσφέρω** carry into, carry along  
 ~bear  
**ἐκδέχομαι** receive; succeed to a  
 position  
**ἐκτρέπω** turn aside  
**ἐνειμι** be in ~ion

**ἐνίστημι** install; threaten; block  
**ἐξαιρέω** pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
**ἐξαμελέω** be utterly careless of  
**ἔπαινος** (noun) praise  
**ἐπιβουλεύω** plot, plan, harm  
 ~volunteer  
**ἐπιτηδεύω** practice, pursue  
**ἐπιτρέπω** entrust, decide, allow  
 ~trophy  
**ἐπιφοιτέω** come habitually  
**ἔραμαι** love, aor. fall in love; long  
 for, covet ~erotic  
**ἐτεροῖος** different; diverse  
**εὐζωνος** well-girded ~zone  
**εὐνομέομαι** be well ordered  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**ἐφέπω** drive, meet, follow ~sequel  
**ἡδομαι** 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  
**κατάσκοπος** spy, inspector  
**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
**καταχρυσόω** (ῶ) gild  
**κατήκοος** hearing; obedient  
**κατύπερθε** above, from above  
**κολωνός** hill, mound  
**κοσμέω** marshal, array ~cosmos  
**κρατύνω** strengthen  
**κυάνεος** dark ~cyan  
**κύκλος** circle, wheel ~cycle  
**κυκλώω** circle, encircle  
**κώμη** village  
**λίμνη** lake, marsh, basin, sea  
 ~limnic

λοχίζω put soldiers in units; lie in wait  
 λυπέω (ὁ) annoy, distress  
 λυσιτελέω (ὁ) be useful  
 μέγαθος tall, big (person)  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μνάομαι be mindful of, woo, take for sex ~mnemonic  
 μουνόω leave, not aid  
 οἰκοδομέω build, build a house  
 ὁμηλιξ -χος (m) of the same age  
 ὄον οὐ type of fruit  
 παραδείκνυμι (ὁ) receive, admit  
 παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba  
 πέλας near, close  
 πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon  
 περιέρχομαι go around; come next to  
 περικάθημαι be seated all around  
 περίξ all around  
 περιπίπτω embrace; fall in with  
 περιστέλλω lay out  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πόλισμα buildings of a city  
 προβάλλω throw before; propose; (mp) pretend, abandon, nominate  
 ~ballistic  
 πρόγονος elder, ancestor ~genus  
 πρόθυμος (ὁ) willing, eager ~fume  
 προκαθίζω keep settling forward  
 ~sit  
 προμαχεών breastwork, battlement

προσδοκάω expect  
 πτύω (ὁ) spit out  
 σανδράκινος orange in color  
 σεμνύνω exalt  
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
 συμμαχέω be an ally  
 συνάπας (αἶ) all together  
 σύντροφος fellow; habitual  
 συστρέφω get together; condense  
 τειχέω build  
 τελευταῖος last, final  
 τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid  
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked  
 τοιόσδε such  
 τοξοφόρος (f) archer ~toxic  
 τοσόσδε this much  
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny  
 ὑβρίζω insult, treat outrageously  
 ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis  
 ὑπήκοος heeding, subject  
 φάρμακον drug, potion ~pharmacy  
 φλαῦρος trifling  
 φοινίκεος (ι) purple, red  
 φοιτάω go back and forth  
 χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)  
 ~heir  
 χωρίς separately; except, other than  
 ~heir

τυραννίδα περιήλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς<sup>1</sup> τυραννίδος ἐποίεε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μῆδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος<sup>2</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι εὐσύνης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὀρώντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆ, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμῃσι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ μῶνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γνώμῃσι, τότε ἐπέιτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

## 1.97

πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν<sup>3</sup> ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, οὐτ' ἔφη δίκαν<sup>4</sup> ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν<sup>5</sup> τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εὐσύνης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶντ' οὗ καὶ ἐδίδωσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι «οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἶμ' ἐν οἰκείῃ τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλεία· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χωρῇ εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.» ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἐωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> love, aor. fall in love; long for, covet    <sup>2</sup> trustworthy; excellent

<sup>3</sup> convene hearings    <sup>4</sup> give rulings    <sup>5</sup> be useful    <sup>6</sup> seizure; rape

1.98

αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων<sup>7</sup> ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος<sup>8</sup> καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον<sup>9</sup> καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι· ποιέουσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μῆδων καταλέξασθαι.

ὁ δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μῆδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα<sup>10</sup> ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσαν ἐπιμέλестhai. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μῆδων οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει<sup>11</sup> κολωνὸς<sup>12</sup> ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἐνεσσι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι,<sup>13</sup> τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι.<sup>14</sup> οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

1.99

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον περίξ<sup>15</sup> ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε εἰσεῖναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁράσθαι

<sup>7</sup> having raised the issue of <sup>8</sup> nominated <sup>9</sup> until ... <sup>10</sup> buildings of a city <sup>11</sup> the hill <sup>12</sup> hill, mound <sup>13</sup> purple, red <sup>14</sup> orange in color <sup>15</sup> all around

τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύνειν<sup>16</sup> καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε<sup>17</sup> τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρώωντες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ἔόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθήν<sup>18</sup> λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός<sup>19</sup> σφί δοκέει εἶναι μὴ ὀρώσι.

## 1.100

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκείνων ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίει, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

## 1.101

Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μῦνον καὶ τοῦτον ἡρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένηα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βοῦδιοι Μάγοι. γένηα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

## 1.102

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

μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνηα καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, τούτους οἱ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι<sup>20</sup> μὲν συμμαχῶν ἄτε

<sup>16</sup> spit out    <sup>17</sup> exalt    <sup>18</sup> bravery    <sup>19</sup> different; diverse    <sup>20</sup> leave, not aid



ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι έωντων εὖ ἦκοντες.

Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

### 1.103

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κναζάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δημόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε<sup>21</sup> κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ, Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους<sup>22</sup> καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους<sup>23</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νῦξ ἢ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας έωντῶ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' έωντῶ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῶ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων<sup>24</sup> στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κυμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο.

### 1.104

ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν<sup>25</sup> ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους<sup>26</sup> τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ<sup>27</sup> ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῶ μακροτέραν ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ

<sup>21</sup> put soldiers in units; lie in wait    <sup>22</sup> spearman    <sup>23</sup> archer    <sup>24</sup> not allied with either side    <sup>25</sup> flowing from the Caucasian Mountains into the eastern shores of the Black Sea    <sup>26</sup> on the Black Sea coast    <sup>27</sup> well-girded

Deiokes, and this man was the son of Phraortes. This Deiokes, 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 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 Deiokes 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 Deiokes 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, Deiokes 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 Deiokes 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, Deiokes 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, 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

*vocabulary*

ἄελπτος not hoped for  
 αἰδοῖον genitals  
 αἰδοῖος modest, honored  
 ἄμπελος (f) vine  
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover,  
 resume  
 ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined  
 ἀνασῶζω rescue, recover  
 ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join  
 ἀντιάω meet, fight, join  
 ἄπαις childless  
 ἄπεδος level, flat  
 ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast  
 ἀπονοστέω go home  
 ἀρπάζω carry off, seize ~harpoon  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 ἀσινής unharmed  
 ἀσπαίρω writhe ~spur  
 ἄχαρις -δος (f) ungracious  
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
 βουκόλος herdsman ~bovine  
 γόνος offspring ~genus  
 δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate,  
 doom ~demon  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 διάκειμαι be in a condition  
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out;  
 reveal  
 εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest  
 ἔκγονος offspring, descendant  
 ~genus  
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a  
 position  
 ἐκκειμαι expose, set forth  
 ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out  
 ~plectrum  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐμφανής visible  
 ἐνερθε beneath, below  
 ἐνθεν thence, whence

ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐνσκήπτω throw, fall at  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  
 ~thesis  
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams  
 ἐξαμαρτάνω miss; err, do wrong  
 ἔπαυλις -τος (f) farmhouse  
 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, officer  
 ἐρήμιος empty  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama  
 ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be  
 overcome; (active) defeat  
 ἡσύχιος at peace  
 θαμβέω be amazed  
 θηλέω abound in ~thallium  
 θηριώδης savage, wild  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταδοχέω suspect, be prejudiced  
 καταμεθύω rave drunkenly  
 καταφονεύω slaughter  
 κλαυθμός weeping  
 κοσμέω marshal, array ~cosmos  
 λίσσομαι beg, beseech ~litany  
 λιτή prayer ~litany  
 μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad  
 μεταπέμψω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μετέπειτα afterward, next  
 μηδαμός no one

**μίν** him, her, it  
**νομάς** -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing  
**νομή** pasture; distribution  
**νοσέω** be sick, be mad, suffer  
**νόσος** (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
**νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
**ξεινίζω** be host, treat as a guest  
**οἰκέτης** -ου (m, 1) household; house  
 slave  
**ὀκτώ** eight ~octopus  
**ὄλεθρος** ruin, destruction, death  
**ὀλιγωρία** contempt; neglect  
**ὄνειροπόλος** interpreter of dreams  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὄρεινός** mountainous  
**ὀρρωδέω** dread, shrink from  
**οὐράνιος** heavenly  
**οὐρέω** piss  
**ὀφείλω** owe, should, if only  
**ὄψιος** late, in evening  
**ὄψις** ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
**παραβάλλω** put at risk ~ballistic  
**παραφρόνησις** derangement,  
 delirium  
**παραχράομαι** abuse, treat  
 contemptuously  
**παρεξέρχομαι** pass by, slip past  
**παροράω** notice; overlook, neglect  
**περιελαύνω** drive around  
**περιπίπτω** embrace; fall in with  
**περιποιέω** preserve; obtain  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**ποικίλλω** make elaborately

**ποικίλος** ornamented; various  
**προκαίω** burn before  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
**προσωτέρω** farther  
**σημαίνω** give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
**συγγενής** inborn, kin to  
**συλάω** (ὀ) take off, despoil ~asylum  
**συμβάλλω** pit against; compare;  
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
**συνηρεφής** shaded; covering  
**συνοικέω** live together  
**τόκος** childbirth ~oxytocin  
**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny  
**ὔβρις** -εως (f) pride, insolence,  
 outrage  
**ὑπερτίθηναι** hand over; excel; defer  
**ὑπηρετέω** serve  
**ὑπολείπω** leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
**ὑποχείριος** under one's hand  
 ~chiral  
**ὑστέρα** womb; ovary  
**φονεύς** -ως (m) killer ~offend  
**φονεύω** kill  
**φορέω** frequentative of φέρω, to  
 carry ~bear  
**φόρον** forum  
**φόρος** tribute, revenue  
**φροντίς** -τος (f) thought, care  
**φύω** produce, beget; clasp ~physics  
**χρυσόω** (ὀ) make golden, gild  
**χωρίς** separately; except, other than  
 ~heir  
**ώραίος** ripe; young adult

Κανκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

## 1.105

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐπέιτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισι τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσυνέων,<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης<sup>2</sup> Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι<sup>3</sup> Φοῖνικὲς εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν<sup>4</sup> νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν,<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωντοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας<sup>6</sup> οἱ Σκύθαι.

## 1.106

ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας<sup>7</sup> ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσαν παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κυαζάρης<sup>8</sup> τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον

<sup>1</sup> unharmed    <sup>2</sup> heavenly    <sup>3</sup> an island off the southern coast of the Peloponnesus    <sup>4</sup> The disease feminized them.    <sup>5</sup> be sick, be mad, suffer    <sup>6</sup> Scythian shamans with nonstandard gender roles.    <sup>7</sup> contempt; neglect    <sup>8</sup> who previously abused Scythian refugees, 1.73



εἶλον ὥς δὲ εἶλον ἐν ἐτέροις λόγοις δηλώσω καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κναζάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἤρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

## 1.107

ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κναζάρῳ παῖς τὴν βασιλείην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλησαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοις τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικώς<sup>9</sup> τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης διδοῖ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὔρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ὄντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου,<sup>10</sup> πολλῶ ἐνερχε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

## 1.108

συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοις, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκίῳ καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιαύδε. «Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς<sup>11</sup> παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> verb δείδω    <sup>10</sup> at peace    <sup>11</sup> no one    <sup>12</sup> womb; ovary

σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ<sup>13</sup> ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεω αὐτὸς βούλει.» ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται «ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτε κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι<sup>14</sup> οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἰ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρή δὴ τό γε ἔμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.»

## 1.109

τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἦε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραξε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει «νῦν ὦν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;»

Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται «οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενῆς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρον καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου· εἰ<sup>15</sup> δ' ἐβελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.»

## 1.110

ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μηδοί. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέῳ<sup>16</sup> τε ἀνέμου

<sup>13</sup> your house    <sup>14</sup> ungracious    <sup>15</sup> if it happens    <sup>16</sup> north, north wind

τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου· ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χωρὴ πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδησι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χωρὴ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπύκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τάδε. «κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείῃ· καὶ τάδε τοὶ ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἣν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῶ τρόπῳ περιποιήσης, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαί ἐγώ.»

## 1.111

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦγε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλιν. 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<sup>17</sup> ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὃ μὲν τοῦ τόκου<sup>18</sup> τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου<sup>19</sup> ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη ὅτι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μετεπέμψατο.

Ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ<sup>20</sup> κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγείς ἦα ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὀρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν<sup>21</sup> τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῇτι ποικίλῃ. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὥς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἶχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεια εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τιнос οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον<sup>22</sup> δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν

<sup>17</sup> thought, care    <sup>18</sup> childbirth    <sup>19</sup> not hoped for    <sup>20</sup> weeping

<sup>21</sup> writhe    <sup>22</sup> be amazed

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 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."

## 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 kynā (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

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel  
 ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container  
 αἰκία -είας disfiguring;  
 unseemliness ~icon  
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix  
 ἀνάγνωσις -εως (f) recognition,  
 reading  
 ἀναμάρτητος blameless  
 ἀνάξιος unworthy, undeserved  
 ἀνάρσιος hostile, harmful  
 ~harmony  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἀνηκουστέω ignore, disobey  
 ~acoustic  
 ἀντάω meet face to face  
 ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast  
 ἀπηγγέομαι lead; tell, relate  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ū) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποικτίζομαι complain loudly about  
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp  
 αὐθέντης -ου (m, 1) murderer; doer  
 ἄφθογγος speechless  
 ἄχρι as far as (+gen); until  
 βασανίζω interrogate, test, torture  
 βουκολία herd  
 βουκόλος herdsman ~bovine  
 βρέφος -ους (n, 3) fetus, baby  
 γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor  
 δακρύνω weep  
 δεκαέτης of 10 years  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander  
 ~ballistic  
 διαλαμβάνω distribute  
 διατάσσω arrange, array  
 διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δορυφόρος spear-bearing  
 ἐγχειρίζω entrust  
 εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come

to mind ~ion  
 ἔκθεσις exposure, exposition  
 ἐκκαλύπτω disclose, reveal  
 ἔκκειμαι expose, set forth  
 ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out  
 ~plectrum  
 ἐκτίθην place outside at a spot  
 ~thesis  
 ἐκφαίνω bring to light ~photon  
 ἐλαφρός nimble, light on one's feet;  
 light, bearable ~elevator  
 ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 ἐνέχω hold inside  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐπίκλησις -τος (f) nickname;  
 nominally ~gallo  
 ἐπιμέμφομαι blame  
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious  
 duty  
 ἐπιτελής accomplished  
 ἐπιφοιτάω come habitually  
 ἐρήμιος empty  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled  
 εὖειδής good-looking ~wit  
 εὐνοῦχος eunuch  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama  
 ἡλικία time of life, contemporaries  
 ἡλιξ -χος (m) of the same age  
 θανατόω kill ~euthanasia  
 θάπτω bury ~epitaph  
 θεράπων -οντος (m, 3) helper,  
 henchman, servant ~therapy  
 θύω (ū) rush; sacrifice ~θύω  
 κάμνω toil, be tired, acquire by toil;  
 be troubled; be sick  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 κατάσκοπος spy, inspector  
 κατέρχομαι come down, out from  
 κόθεν from where?



**κοσμέω** marshal, array ~cosmos  
**κρύπτω** hide, cover ~cryptic  
**κυρέω** come upon, come up against;  
 obtain  
**κώμη** village  
**λιτή** prayer ~litany  
**μαστιγώ** (i) whip  
**μάστιξ** -γος (f) whip  
**μέφομαι** blame; reject  
**μεταπέμπω** send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μόγισ** with difficulty, barely  
**μόρος** portion, lot in life  
**νέκυς** (ō) corpse, ghost ~necro  
**οικοδομέω** build, build a house  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**παίζω** play ~pediatrician  
**παντοῖος** all kinds of  
**παραμένω** stay with ~remain  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
**περιημεχτέω** be aggrieved  
**περιωβρίζω** insult wantonly  
**προβοσκός** assistant herdsman  
**προθέω** run from, lead to the fray  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
**προπέμπω** send, send ahead  
 ~pomp  
**προστάσσω** post at, attach to,  
 command

**προτίθημι** prefer, set out ~thesis  
**σημαίνω** give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
**σκοπάω** watch, observe  
**σκοπέω** behold, consider  
**σκοπός** (f) lookout, overseer, spy,  
 target ~telescope  
**συγγιγνώσκω** acknowledge; pardon  
**συγγνώμη** sympathy, leniency  
**συμπαίζω** play with  
**σώστρα** reward, offering of thanks  
**ταφή** burial, grave  
**τέχνη** craft, art, plan, contrivance  
 ~technology  
**τιμωρέω** (i) (+dat) take vengeance,  
 punish; aid one who has been  
 attacked  
**τοιόσδε** such  
**τραχύς** (ᾱ) rough ~trachea  
**τύχη** fortune, act of a god  
**ὕποκρισις** -εως (f) answer; acting,  
 hypocrisy  
**ὕπολείπω** leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
**χαρακτήρ** -ος (m) stamp;  
 characteristic  
**χόλος** gall, anger, wrath, bitterness  
 ~choler  
**ψευδής** lying, false ~pseudo-  
**ψεύδω** be false, deceive; (mid) to lie  
 ~pseudo-

πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράπωντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος,<sup>1</sup> ὥς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἷη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί.»

## 1.112

ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὥς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδές<sup>2</sup> ἔόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήμιζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἔξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ.

Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. «ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσῃς, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκειμένον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὥς ἔξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσσαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιλῆως ταφῆς<sup>3</sup> κυρήσει<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολείπει τὴν ψυχὴν.»

## 1.113

κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ, βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων<sup>5</sup> παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού τῇ ἐώντῳ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἐώντῳ ἔοντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος<sup>6</sup> ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὁρέων τίθει. ὥς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥτε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἔτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν ἐώντῳ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδὲ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαιψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> fetus, baby    <sup>2</sup> good-looking    <sup>3</sup> burial, grave    <sup>4</sup> come upon, come up against; obtain    <sup>5</sup> kill    <sup>6</sup> container

ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὖνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

1.114

καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης<sup>7</sup> ὁ παῖς, πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηγέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολαίαι<sup>8</sup> αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσω.

εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδων 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 παιδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπέιτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωυτοῦ παθῶν, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτιζέτο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἡντησε,<sup>9</sup> λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιωβρίσμεθα,» δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.

1.115

ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπέιτε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφοτέρω, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη «σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικεῖν<sup>10</sup> τοιῇδε περισπεῖν,» ὁ δὲ

<sup>7</sup> of 10 years    <sup>8</sup> herd    <sup>9</sup> meet face to face    <sup>10</sup> disfiguring; unseemliness

ἀμείβετο ὧδε.

«ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφί εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβὲ τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοὶ πάρεμι.»

### 1.116

ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήμει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρῃ εἶναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγείς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεια, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῶνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ,<sup>11</sup> «Ἀρτέμβαρεις, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμψεται.»

τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεια πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῶνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγεος, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ<sup>12</sup> εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα<sup>13</sup> ἐς ἀνάγκας<sup>14</sup> μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήμει τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

### 1.117

Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη

<sup>11</sup> interrogate, test, torture    <sup>12</sup> told him he was making a bad decision

<sup>13</sup> (ironic)    <sup>14</sup> torture

καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, Ἄρπαγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος, εἵρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης «Ἄρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;»

Ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα<sup>15</sup> ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκῃται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης.<sup>16</sup> ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτείνειν αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευσδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τὰδε ἐντειλάμενος, θείναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὅρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελεύμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων<sup>17</sup> τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαιψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχεν ὦ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.»

## 1.118

Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἴθυν ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἄρπαγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπαυλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὥς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς· «τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ» ἔφη λέγων «ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ<sup>18</sup> ἐν ἑλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὥς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ σῶστρα<sup>19</sup> γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκέεται πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.»

<sup>15</sup> lying, false    <sup>16</sup> murderer; doer    <sup>17</sup> eunuch    <sup>18</sup> not lightly

<sup>19</sup> reward, offering of thanks

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 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.

#### 1.117

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."

#### 1.118

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.”

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελιηφόρος messenger  
 ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute  
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble  
 ἄλις in plenty; enough ~helix  
 ἄλλοτριόω estrange from  
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover,  
 resume  
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce,  
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,  
 obey, be confident in  
 ἀνασχίζω rip/open up  
 ἀποκαλύπτω uncover, reveal  
 ἀπορράπτω sew up again  
 ἀποσκήπτω hurl from above; fall  
 suddenly  
 ἀποτίλλω pluck  
 ἄρεστός satisfactory, pleasing  
 ἀσθενής weak  
 ἅτε as if; since  
 αὐτοχειρία murder done by one's  
 own hand  
 αὐτοχείριος with one's own hand  
 βορά meat  
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
 βορός gluttonous  
 βουκόλος herdsman ~bovine  
 βυβλίον paper, book  
 γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter  
 δαιτυμῶν -όνος (m, 3) dinner guest  
 ~demon  
 διαιρέω divide, distinguish,  
 distribute  
 διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate  
 διατάσσω arrange, array  
 δίκτυον fishing net  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δορυφόρος spear-bearing  
 δουλόω enslave  
 εἰστίθηναι put in  
 ἐκκεῖμαι expose, set forth  
 ἐκμανθάνω know by heart

ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out  
 ~plectrum  
 ἐκτρέφω raise, rear  
 ἐνείμι be in ~ion  
 ἐνέος speechless, dumbfounded  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block  
 ἐνοράω look at, notice something in  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams  
 ἐξακέομαι cure, appease, make up  
 for  
 ἐπεῖπον say besides or afterwards  
 ἐπιζώννυμι (ῶ) gird on  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;  
 (mid) think over  
 ἐπίπλεος very full  
 ἐπιτελής accomplished  
 ἐπιτεχνάομαι contrive  
 ἐπιτρέφω grow, support  
 ἐποράω look upon  
 ἐπόρνυμι (ῶ) stir up ~hormone  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 εὖτυκος well built; ready  
 ἐφοράω look upon ~panorama  
 ἔψω boil, be boiling  
 ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy  
 ~hedonism  
 ἥλιξ -χος (m) of the same age  
 θηρευτής -οῦ (m, 1) hunter, hunting  
 dog ~fierce  
 θηρευτός hunter, hunting dog  
 θοίνα meal, feast; food  
 θυρωρός doorman, porter  
 ἰδιώτης -ου (m, 1) private; a layman  
 ἱστορέω inquire; relate  
 κάνεον basket  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταβάλλω throw down, cast off  
 ~ballistic  
 κατακαλύπτω cover up  
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;

get; kill  
**κατορθόω** erect; accomplish  
**κείω** rest, go to rest  
**κρέας** -ως (n) meat ~creatine  
**κώμη** village  
**λαγός** hare ~lagomorph  
**λαγών** -όνος (f, 3) flank  
**λεῖμμα** -τος (n, 3) remnant, residue  
**λόγιος** learned, eloquent; oracle  
**μέλεος** vain, idle, useless  
**μηλέα** -ῆς apple tree  
**μηχανάομαι** build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**νοστέω** go home  
**οἰκέτης** -ου (m, 1) household; house  
 slave  
**ὁμοιόω** assimilate, liken  
 ~homoerotic  
**ὄνειρον** dream  
**ὄνειρος** dream  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὀπτάω** roast, bake  
**οὐδαμὸς** not anyone  
**ὄψις** ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
**πάθη** passivity, suffering  
**παλαίω** wrestle ~Pallas  
**πάλη** wrestling ~Pallas  
**πάλλω** shake, brandish ~Pallas  
**πάντως** by all means  
**παρακελεύομαι** recommend,  
 encourage  
**παρατίθημι** put near, put at risk  
 ~thesis  
**παραφέρω** serve; carry past; outdo  
**πέρθω** sack, ravage, plunder

**περιγίγνομαι** surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
**περιχαρής** very glad  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**πικρός** sharp, bitter ~picric  
**πομπή** a sending, expedition ~pomp  
**πομπός** escort, guide ~pomp  
**προθυμία** (ῥ) zeal, alacrity ~fume  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
**πρόνοια** foresight, providence  
**προοράω** see before oneself  
**προσίστημι** set against; (mp) stand  
 near  
**προσφιλής** beloved  
**προφράζω** tell in advance  
**στρατηλατέω** lead an army  
**συγκυρέω** meet or happen by  
 chance  
**συμβουλεύω** give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer  
**συμμίγνυμι** mix with ~mix  
**σφάζω** cut the throat  
**τελέεις** unblemished (victim)  
**τιμωρία** (τι) vengeance, punishment  
**τίνω** (τι) pay, atone for; (mp) punish  
**τίω** value, honor; mp: exact  
 recompense for  
**τοκεύς** -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin  
**τράπεζα** a table ~trapezoid  
**φάτις** -τος (f) report, rumor ~fame  
**φαῦλος** trifling  
**φοβερός** frightful, afraid  
**φονεύς** -ως (m) killer ~offend  
**χρηστός** useful; brave, worthy

## 1.119

Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἀμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἦγε ἐς τὰ<sup>1</sup> οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἷς μόνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκέμπευ ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιείειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα.

Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπύκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε τὰ δὲ ἤψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὖτυκα<sup>2</sup> δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα.

ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γυνομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγῃ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ<sup>4</sup> κατακεκαλυμμένα, ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἅλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἵρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθεῖη τι τῇ θοίνῃ.<sup>5</sup> φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἄρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα,<sup>6</sup> ἰδὼν δὲ οὐτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἵρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν<sup>7</sup> εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοις δὲ ἀμειβόμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦγε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας<sup>8</sup> θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

<sup>1</sup> his own house    <sup>2</sup> well built; ready    <sup>3</sup> dinner guest    <sup>4</sup> basket

<sup>5</sup> meal, feast; food    <sup>6</sup> remnant, residue    <sup>7</sup> satisfactory, pleasing

<sup>8</sup> gather, assemble

## 1.120

Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύπου δὲ πέρι βουλευῶν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτη ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε.

«ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτῶμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεί λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς<sup>9</sup> καὶ ἀγγελιφόρους<sup>10</sup> καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;»

Εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι «εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας τινός, θάρσέε τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὄνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως<sup>11</sup> ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.»

ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. «καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτη πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλευσάτέ μοι εἰ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκαρ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.»

εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι «ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως<sup>12</sup> μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται<sup>13</sup> ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιουσα ἔοντα Πέρσῃν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔοντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἔοντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτόν ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς

<sup>9</sup> doorman, porter      <sup>10</sup> messenger      <sup>11</sup> unblemished (victim)

<sup>12</sup> otherwise      <sup>13</sup> estrange from

φαῦλον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς<sup>14</sup> γευναμένους.»

## 1.121

ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. «ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὅσῃν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἡδίκηον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς<sup>15</sup> δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ.»

## 1.122

ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω<sup>16</sup> τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γευνάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι, ἰστόρεόν τε ὅτεω τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην.<sup>17</sup> ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥιέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ<sup>18</sup> Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν<sup>19</sup> ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρηψε.

## 1.123

ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη<sup>20</sup> κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλικῶν ἀνδριοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμένῳ· ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα,

<sup>14</sup> his parents    <sup>15</sup> escort, guide    <sup>16</sup> his Persian biological father  
<sup>17</sup> passivity, suffering    <sup>18</sup> insulting name for the mother who raised him, explained in the following sentence    <sup>19</sup> report, rumor    <sup>20</sup> this story has been launched

Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος.<sup>21</sup> πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρή Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης.

κατεργασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ δαιτιωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλούμενος Ἄρπαγος δηλώσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε·

λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ<sup>22</sup> τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα<sup>23</sup> δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρὴ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρεῖναι.

### 1.124

ταῦτά τε δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνέον λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε.

«ὦ παῖ Καμβύσειω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορώσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκεν· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τὰ σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ περὶ ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἶα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἣν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχι χώρας, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπέισας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτее ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺν βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρώτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες

<sup>21</sup> assimilate, liken    <sup>22</sup> hare    <sup>23</sup> fishing net

## 1.119

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.

## 1.120

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 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."

#### 1.121

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 Mitrادات 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 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 Cambyzes, 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

*vocabulary*

**ἄγαλμα** -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue

**ἀδικία** injustice, offence

**ἄθλος** ἀέθλου contest, trial ~athlete

**αἰπόλιον** herd of goats

**αἰρετός** takeable, desirable ~heresy

**ἄκανθώδης** thorny

**ἄλιος** of the sea; fruitless

**ἀναγιγνώσκω** recognize, read, understand, persuade

**ἀναίτιος** blameless ~etiology

**ἀνακαΐω** light (a fire) ~caustic

**ἀναπείθω** (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in

**ἀναπίπτω** fall back

**ἀναπτύσσω** unfold

**ἀναρίθμητος** countless

**ἀνασκολοπίζω** impale

**ἀνθρωποφυής** of man's nature

**ἀνταίρω** raise against

**ἀνταίρω** raise against

**ἀπειλέω** vow, threaten, boast

**ἀπειλή** boast, threat

**ἀποβάλλω** throw away, lose

**ἀποδείκνυμι** (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare

**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine

**ἀποφαίνω** display, declare

**ἄροτήρ** -ος (m) plowman ~arable

**ἀρχῆθεν** since forever

**αὐλός** flute, tube, hollow

**αὐτομολέω** desert

**βουκόλιον** herd

**βυβλίον** paper, book

**βωμός** altar; stand, pedestal

**δεσπότης** -ου (m, 1) master, despot

**διαλύω** break up; relax, weaken

**διαμιστύλλω** cut into pieces

**δουλοπρεπής** servile

**δουλοσύνη** slavery

**δρέπανον** sickle ~dermatology

**ἐγγίγνομαι** live in ~genus

**ἐθελοκακέω** wimp out; act maliciously

**ἐκγίγνομαι** be born; be by birth ~genus

**ἐλευθερόω** set free

**Ἑλλήν** Greek

**ἐνθεν** thence, whence

**ἐντίθημι** load; mp: take to heart ~thesis

**ἐξημερώω** tame completely

**ἐπανίστημι** rise up ~station

**ἐπιλαμβάνω** take, attack, seize

**ἐπιλέγω** say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over

**ἐπιμανθάνω** learn besides or after

**ἐπιτελέω** complete; do a religious duty

**ἔπω** (mid) follow, accompany; (act, uncommon) handle, take care of

**εὐώχέω** fete, feed well

**ἔψω** boil, be boiling

**ζωγρέω** capture, give quarter; revive ~zoo

**ἡσάομαι** (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat

**θεοβλαβής** god-struck, infatuated

**θoinάω** host at a meal

**θυμαλγής** (ō) heart-grieving ~fume

**θυσία** sacrifice

**ἱδρύω** establish

**καίριος** deadly

**καταδουλόω** enslave

**κατακερτομέω** rant

**κατακλίνω** (i) lay down ~incline

**καταπαύω** stop, restrain ~pause

**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue ~catastrophe

**καταχαίρω** exult over, greatly

**κατεύχομαι** pray, vow, curse

**κότερος** which, whichever of two

**κύκλος** circle, wheel ~cycle  
**κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
**λάω** grip, pin?  
**λειμών** -ος (m, 3) meadow ~limnic  
**λήθη** forgetting ~Lethe  
**μέλεος** vain, idle, useless  
**μεταμέλομαι** (impers.+dat.) cause regret to; (mp) regret  
**μέτειμι** be among, go, follow ~ion  
**μετέχω** partake of  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μυρίος** (δ) 10,000 ~myriad  
**μύρσινος** myrtle  
**μωρία** folly  
**νομάς** -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing  
**ὀκτωκαίδεκα** 18  
**ὄνειροπόλος** interpreter of dreams  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὀπλίζω** prepare, arm ~hoplite  
**οὐλαί** barley grains  
**οὐλή** scar  
**οὐράνιος** heavenly  
**παλαίω** wrestle ~Pallas  
**πάλη** wrestling ~Pallas  
**πάλλω** shake, brandish ~Pallas  
**πάντως** by all means  
**παραγυμνός** expose, disclose  
**πάρεξ** alongside, diverging from;  
 (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,  
 alongside  
**πέρθω** sack, ravage, plunder  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
**περιτίθηναι** put around, endow with  
 ~thesis  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**πικρότης** -τος (f, 3) bitterness,  
 harshness  
**ποίμνη** flock ~pastor

**πρεσβύτης** -ου (δ, m, 1) old person  
**προαγορεύω** declare, predict, order  
**προεῖπον** foretell, proclaim, order  
 before  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
**προλέγω** prophecy, proclaim;  
 preselect ~legion  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**προσίστημι** set against; (mp) stand  
 near  
**πρόσοιδα** (+χάριν) be grateful  
 besides  
**προσοράω** look at  
**προστάτης** -ου (m, 1) leader,  
 protector  
**προτεραῖος** previous to  
**σκαῖός** left-hand  
**στάδιος** (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
**στέμμα** -τος (n, 3) headband or  
 wreath  
**στεφανός** crown  
**συμμίγνυμι** mix with ~mix  
**συναλίζω** collect; eat with  
**συχνός** long; many; extensive  
**τάχος** -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer  
**ὕποκύπτω** be bowed  
**ὕπολείπω** leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
**ὕποπάσσω** strew under; plaster  
 under  
**ὕστεραῖος** the next; later  
**φαῦλος** trifling  
**φρήτηρ** brotherhood, sub-tribe  
 ~fraternal  
**φροντίζω** consider, ponder  
**χθιζός** yesterday's  
**χώρος** place ~heir

ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταϊρέειν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὦν ἐτόίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἑόντος, ποίειε ταῦτα καὶ ποίειε κατὰ τάχος.»

## 1.125

ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα<sup>1</sup> εἶναι· ἐποίει δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλήην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν<sup>2</sup> στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. «νῦν τε,» ἔφη λέγων, «ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον.» Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε.

Ἦστι δὲ Πέρσεων συχνὰ γένηα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὥλλοι πάντες ἀρτέεται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτηρ,<sup>3</sup> ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες<sup>4</sup> εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες,<sup>5</sup> Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

## 1.126

ὡς δὲ παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἣν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης<sup>6</sup> ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα<sup>7</sup> σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη, τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀέθλον, δεύτερα σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰπόλια<sup>8</sup> καὶ τὰς ποίμνας<sup>9</sup> καὶ τὰ βουκόλια<sup>10</sup> ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὸντοῦτο ἔθυσσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> deadly    <sup>2</sup> Cyrus    <sup>3</sup> brotherhood, sub-tribe    <sup>4</sup> plowman

<sup>5</sup> roaming, grazing    <sup>6</sup> thorny    <sup>7</sup> 18    <sup>8</sup> herd of goats    <sup>9</sup> flock

<sup>10</sup> herd

Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε.<sup>11</sup>

Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἶρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ<sup>12</sup> μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρεην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων «ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα<sup>13</sup> ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰς ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ<sup>14</sup> παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγρονῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγήμαι ἄνδρας Μῆδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμα. ὥς ὦν ἐχόντων ὦδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.»

#### 1.127

Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοὶ ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλοι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξει παρ' ἐκείνων ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μῆδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς<sup>15</sup> ἔων Ἄρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιούμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε. ὥς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ<sup>16</sup> λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλειον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν<sup>17</sup> τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

#### 1.128

διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ. στρατεύματος αἰσχροῦς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ «ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς

<sup>11</sup> fete, feed well      <sup>12</sup> the difference between      <sup>13</sup> servile

<sup>14</sup> yesterday's      <sup>15</sup> god-struck, infatuated      <sup>16</sup> the plot      <sup>17</sup> wimp out; act maliciously

Κῦρός γε<sup>18</sup> χαίρήσει.» τσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄσπεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρησι ἐσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

## 1.129

έόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ προσστὰς ὁ Ἄρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμει, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα<sup>19</sup> ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἵρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκείνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε,<sup>20</sup> ὃ τι εἶη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἐωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κῦρου ἔργον. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι.

Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν<sup>21</sup> τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον έόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλω περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλω τεῷ τὴν βασιληΐην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου έόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους έόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

## 1.130

Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα,<sup>22</sup> ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι<sup>23</sup> ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν

<sup>18</sup> at least    <sup>19</sup> heart-grieving    <sup>20</sup> host at a meal    <sup>21</sup> left-hand

<sup>22</sup> bitterness, harshness    <sup>23</sup> the Medes



μάχη νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἤρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ, ἐς<sup>24</sup> ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. οὕτω δὲ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον. τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἥρξε.

## 1.131

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσινδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας<sup>25</sup> ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Δὺ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὁρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοις μὲν δὴ θύουσι μόνουσι ἀρχῆθεν,<sup>26</sup> ἐπιμεμαθήκασιν δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτταν.

## 1.132

θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῶ, οὐ στέμμασι,<sup>27</sup> οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένον τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ<sup>28</sup> μάλιστα. ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὗ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὃ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὐ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεί· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήμιον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα ὑποπάσας ποιήν ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα

<sup>24</sup> until    <sup>25</sup> of man's nature    <sup>26</sup> since forever    <sup>27</sup> headband or wreath    <sup>28</sup> myrtle

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 Maspian, 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.”

**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.

### 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,

*vocabulary*

ἄγεννής low-born; sordid  
 ἄγενύω purify  
 ἀγώνισμα -τος (n, 3) contest, feat  
 ἀδίκημα -τος (n, 3) wrong, misdeed  
 αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in  
 ἀληθίζω speak truth  
 ἀλῆς crowded; all together  
 ἀμφίβληστρον net for casting  
 ἀναγκαίη of necessity, by force  
 ἀναζητέω investigate, discover  
 ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism  
 ἀνδραγαθία bravery  
 ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ~ion  
 ἀνευρίσκω discover  
 ἀνήκεστος not to be cured, soothed,  
 appeased  
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection  
 against ~ischemia  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  
 ~bear  
 ἀρχός ruler ~archangel  
 ἄση woe; nausea, satiety  
 ἀτρεκής 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  
 ἄω aor: to sate ~sate  
 γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter  
 διάγνοια deliberation  
 διάω blow through  
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal  
 εἰκοσαέτης of 20 years  
 ἐκαστάτω afar, far off  
 Ἑλλῆν Greek  
 ἐμέω vomit ~emetic  
 ἐμπτύω spit into, on

ἐμφανής visible  
 ἔμψυχος (ῶ) animate, animated  
 ἐναπονίζω wash in  
 ἐνουρέω piss in  
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξειρύω draw out, haul off  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐπαεῖδω sing with, to; charm  
 ἐπαιοιδή magic words  
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail  
 ἐπιδιαγινώσκω consider afresh  
 ἐπιτηδεύω practice, pursue  
 ἐπιτροπεύω administrate  
 ἐπιφόρημα dessert  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὐδαίμων blessed with a good  
 genius  
 εὐπάθεια comfort  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit  
 θεογονία birth of gods  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate  
 ~thorax  
 ἱχνεύω track, hunt  
 κάμινος (ι, f) oven, furnace  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 κατακηρόω cover with wax  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 κατήκοος hearing; obedient  
 κουρίδιος wedded, nuptial  
 λέπρα leprosy  
 λεπτός thin  
 μεγαλοπρέπεια magnificence  
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  
 ~jet  
 μεθύσκω (mp) get drunk  
 μεθύω be soaked, drunk ~mead  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μοιχίδιος born of adultery  
 μύρμηξ ant

**νήφω** be sober  
**νόμαιο**s customary  
**οἰκέτης** -ου (m, 1) household; house  
 slave  
**ὄμιουρος** bordering  
**ὀνίνημι** help, please, be available  
**ὄνομαι** blame ~name  
**ὄνος** (f) donkey ~onager  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὀπόσος** as many as, how many, how  
 great  
**ὀπτός** roasted  
**ὀρχέομαι** dance  
**οὐκί** intensified 'not'  
**οὐρέω** piss  
**ὄφεις** ὄφεως (m) serpent ~ophidian  
**ὄψις** ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
**πάθος** -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
 passion, condition  
**παλλακή** sex slave  
**πάλλω** shake, brandish ~Pallas  
**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  
**περιοράω** look around; watch;  
 permit

**περιστερά** dove  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**πετεινός** winged; full-fledged ~petal  
**προβαίνω** surpass, continue ~basis  
**προβουλεύω** take counsel before  
**προΐσχω** be ahead, jut forward; mid:  
 have before one  
**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
**προσβάλλω** hit, attack, approach;  
 attach, offer ~ballistic  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**προσίημι** be allowed near  
**προσπίπτω** attack; befall; kow-tow  
**προτίθημι** prefer, set out ~thesis  
**σαφηνής** plain truth  
**σέβομαι** feel shame, awe  
**σιτέομαι** (ι) eat ~parasite  
**στέγάρχος** master of the house  
**συμμίγνυμι** mix with ~mix  
**συμπίπτω** fall together, happen  
**συντυγχάνω** fall in with; happen  
**τοκεύς** -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin  
**τοξεύω** shoot an arrow at ~toxic  
**τρίφυλλον** clover  
**τρίφυλλος** three-leaved  
**ὑποβολιμαῖος** illegitimate (child)  
**ὑποδεής** inferior; fearful  
**ὑπούργημα** service  
**ὑστεραίος** the next; later  
**φονεύω** kill  
**ψεύδος** -ους (n, 3) a lie ~pseudo-

δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος<sup>1</sup> δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαίδει θεογονίην,<sup>2</sup> οἷον δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

## 1.133

ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτους<sup>4</sup> ἐν καμίνοις,<sup>5</sup> οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι.<sup>6</sup> καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.

οἶνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καὶ σφί οὐκ ἐμέσαι<sup>7</sup> ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρήσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα<sup>8</sup> τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοις, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι<sup>9</sup> προτιθεῖ<sup>10</sup> ὁ στέγαρας,<sup>11</sup> ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιείσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

## 1.134

ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὅμοιοί εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύει ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἡ οὔτερος ὑποδέεστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρεῖας φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἡ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος,

<sup>1</sup> blow through    <sup>2</sup> birth of gods    <sup>3</sup> blessed with a good genius

<sup>4</sup> roasted    <sup>5</sup> oven, furnace    <sup>6</sup> crowded; all together    <sup>7</sup> vomit

<sup>8</sup> most important    <sup>9</sup> be sober    <sup>10</sup> brings back up    <sup>11</sup> master of the house



προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς, δευτέρα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἐωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῶ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχὸν τῶν καὶ ἤρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων,<sup>12</sup> οἳ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον.

## 1.135

ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμια<sup>13</sup> Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθήτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας<sup>14</sup> τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας<sup>15</sup> γυναῖκας, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

## 1.136

ἀνδραγαθίῃ<sup>16</sup> δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος<sup>17</sup> ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος<sup>18</sup> τρία μούνα, ἰχνεύειν<sup>19</sup> καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.<sup>20</sup> πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆσι γυναῖξι δίαίταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιεέται, ἵνα ἢν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσπιν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

<sup>12</sup> bordering      <sup>13</sup> customary      <sup>14</sup> comfort      <sup>15</sup> wedded, nuptial

<sup>16</sup> bravery      <sup>17</sup> for five years      <sup>18</sup> of 20 years      <sup>19</sup> track, hunt      <sup>20</sup> speak truth

## 1.137

αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίας εἶνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται.

ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὅσοσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἔοντα ἢ μοιχίδια.<sup>21</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ, ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

## 1.138

ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἶνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην<sup>22</sup> ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσησι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων<sup>23</sup> πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες.

Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορώσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται<sup>24</sup> ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

## 1.139

καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο σφι ὥδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἔοντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες

<sup>21</sup> born of adultery    <sup>22</sup> leprosy    <sup>23</sup> those diseases    <sup>24</sup> feel shame, awe

μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος<sup>25</sup> εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

1.140

ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως<sup>26</sup> περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω<sup>27</sup> ὁ νέκυσ πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι.

Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδεται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι<sup>28</sup> ἔμφυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρήν πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα<sup>29</sup> μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῖνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας<sup>30</sup> τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἄνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

1.141

Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις<sup>31</sup> παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ<sup>32</sup> τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προῖσχοντο ἔλεξε σφὶ λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν<sup>33</sup> ἰδόντα<sup>34</sup> ἰχθύς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν,<sup>35</sup> δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύεσθαι 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 ἰχθύς «παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι,<sup>36</sup> ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε

<sup>25</sup> seek    <sup>26</sup> plain truth    <sup>27</sup> Persian    <sup>28</sup> purify    <sup>29</sup> contest, feat    <sup>30</sup> ant    <sup>31</sup> the conquered Lydian capital in western Anatolia  
<sup>32</sup> under the same terms    <sup>33</sup> flute player    <sup>34</sup> plural accusative  
<sup>35</sup> play (blow, toot)    <sup>36</sup> dance

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 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

*vocabulary*

ἀγάλλω exalt; mp: exult in  
 αἰένας ever-flowing  
 ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute  
 ἄκρη at the edge, extreme  
 ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop ~acute  
 ἀναμείγνυμι (ō) mix with, join  
 ἀνατίθηνι consecrate, lay on,  
 impute; (mp) reproach  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἀνομέω act lawlessly  
 ἄνω (ᾱ) accomplish, pass, waste;  
 upwards, out to sea  
 ἀποδάσμιος separated, apportioned  
 ἀποικία colony  
 ἀποσχίζω sever  
 ἄρκτος (f) bear  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 ἀσθενής weak  
 αὐχμῶδης dry; a drought; squalid,  
 dull  
 γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis  
 γλῶσσα tongue, language ~glossary  
 γονεύς -ος (m) parent  
 γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter  
 διαλέγω go through, debate ~legion  
 εἰσδέχομαι admit, take in  
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark  
 ~basis  
 ἐκκλείω shut out; prevent  
 ἐκφέρω carry off ~bear  
 ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest  
 Ἑλληγν Greek  
 ἑνδεκα eleven ~decimal  
 ἐξαίρεω pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐπαισχύνομαι be ashamed of  
 ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic  
 ἑσπέρα evening, west  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled

εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ζέφυρος the west wind ~zephyr  
 ζημία loss, penalty ~zeal  
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be  
 overcome; (active) defeat  
 θερμός warm, hot ~thermos  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 καθαρός clean, pure  
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,  
 arrive; be proper  
 καταίρω swoop; land  
 καταντίον facing, across from  
 καταράομαι (αᾱ) curse  
 καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal  
 to ~fugitive  
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;  
 get; kill  
 κατήκοος hearing; obedient  
 κατηλογέω ignore, neglect  
 Κίλλα Cilla  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 λόγιμος notable  
 μεσαμβρία midday; the south  
 μεσόγαιος inland  
 μεταδίδωμι give part of ~donate  
 μετέχω partake of  
 μετοχή sharing  
 μηδαμός no one  
 μωρία folly  
 ναβάτης -ου (m, 1) (of a) sailor  
 νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular  
 νότιος flowing; south  
 ὁμοσιτέω (i) eat with  
 ὁμοφωνέω speak the same  
 language; speak in unison  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὄρκιον oath ~orc  
 ὀρτή holiday, feast  
 ὀρχέομαι dance  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 οὐτις nobody, nothing



πάλαι long ago ~paleo  
 παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas  
 πάλη wrestling ~Pallas  
 πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas  
 παραγωγή leading past, misleading  
 παραλύω detach, disable  
 πεντάπολις league of 5 cities  
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on  
 clothing ~ballistic  
 περιέχω (mid) protect  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πιέζω press, squeeze ~piezoelectric  
 πόλισμα buildings of a city  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 πρόσοικος neighboring  
 προσπασσαλεύω nail to, hang  
 πρυτανήιον town hall, law court  
 σκέπας -ως (n) shelter  
 σκέπη shelter, protection

σκέπω cover, seal  
 σκήψις excuse  
 σμυρναῖος of myrrh  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συναμφότεροι both together  
 συνοικέω live together  
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,  
 punish; aid one who has been  
 attacked  
 τρίπους three-legged cauldron  
 ~pedal  
 ὑγρός wet  
 ὑπόλοιπος left over  
 φονεύω kill  
 χαρακτήρ -ος (m) stamp;  
 characteristic  
 χῶρος place ~heir  
 ψυχρός (υ) cold ~psychology

ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.» Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ.

ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς<sup>1</sup> τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἰσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

#### 1.142

οἱ δὲ<sup>2</sup> Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν<sup>3</sup> οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὥρεων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῶντὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀνυχμώδους.<sup>4</sup>

γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην,<sup>5</sup> μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικῆνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφῶν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφισι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι.<sup>6</sup> ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν

<sup>1</sup> a league of twelve cities (1.143), which, despite the name, did not include most of the Ionian cities    <sup>2</sup> 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    <sup>3</sup> climate    <sup>4</sup> dry; a drought; squalid, dull    <sup>5</sup> midday; the south    <sup>6</sup> speak the same language; speak in unison

τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὸν τότ' διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωνυῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτηῖρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

1.143

τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι<sup>7</sup> μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι<sup>8</sup> ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται.<sup>9</sup> ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι<sup>10</sup> κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένους, πολλῶ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστον· ὅτι<sup>11</sup> γὰρ μὴ Ἀθηναί, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ<sup>12</sup> οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὔνομαι· αἱ δὲ δώδεκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὔνομαι ἡγάλλοντο<sup>13</sup> καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι<sup>14</sup> ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων οὐδ' ἐδείθθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι·

1.144

κατὰ περ<sup>15</sup> οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος<sup>16</sup> νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμοῦς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήρισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκοὺς τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἀλικαρνησησεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν

<sup>7</sup> Miletus was on the coast of Anatolia. <sup>8</sup> insular <sup>9</sup> (of a) sailor

<sup>10</sup> because of <sup>11</sup> except for Athens, which Herodotus considers to be Ionian <sup>12</sup> the label "Ionian" <sup>13</sup> exalt; mp: exult in <sup>14</sup> no one

<sup>15</sup> just like the Ionians <sup>16</sup> league of 5 cities

νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήρισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

## 1.145

δυώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλεις ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι πλεῖνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγαιρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς αἰνίανος<sup>17</sup> ἐστὶ, ἀπ' ὅθεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγίον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρές καὶ Φαρές καὶ Ὠλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἳ μῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι<sup>18</sup> οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

## 1.146

τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλεις ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι<sup>19</sup> μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνاسι, μωρίῃ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφί ἀναμεμίσχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαῦριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίσχεται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου<sup>20</sup> τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναικες αὐται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν<sup>21</sup> καὶ

<sup>17</sup> ever-flowing    <sup>18</sup> inland    <sup>19</sup> adverb: any    <sup>20</sup> town hall, law court

<sup>21</sup> imposed

παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι<sup>22</sup> τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωντῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον.

## 1.147

ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρθήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.<sup>23</sup>

## 1.148

τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον<sup>24</sup> ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρθήν τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα. αὐται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ.

## 1.149

αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἢ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα,<sup>25</sup> Νότιον,<sup>26</sup> Αἰγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὐταὶ ἑνδεκα<sup>27</sup> Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐται

<sup>22</sup> eat with    <sup>23</sup> excuse    <sup>24</sup> the west wind    <sup>25</sup> Cilla    <sup>26</sup> flowing;  
south    <sup>27</sup> eleven

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 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 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





*vocabulary*

ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina  
 αἰρετός takeable, desirable ~heresy  
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
 ἀναμάρτητος blameless  
 ἀναμάσσω wipe a stain from ~mass  
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in  
 ἀναπίπτω fall back  
 ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined  
 ἀναστατόω unsettle, upset  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism  
 ἀνδραποδίζω enslave  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart  
 ἀπείπον refuse, renounce, declare  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away  
 ἀποβάλλω throw away, lose  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδοκέω decide against  
 ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine  
 ἀποκλείω shut out; (+acc) close  
 ἀπολέγω pick; decline  
 ἀπορρίπτω cast away  
 ἀπουρέω urinate  
 ἀπωθέω repel, reject  
 ἄρειος warlike  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 αὐτόθι on the spot  
 δίαίτα way of life; home; arbitration  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 εἶμα -τος (n, 3) garment ~vest  
 εἰσακούω hearken ~acoustic  
 ἐχδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over

ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal  
 ἔλλεσχος commonly talked of  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐμπόδιος getting in the way  
 ἔνδεκα eleven ~decimal  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξανδραποδίζω enslave  
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out  
 ἐξαπατάω trick, cheat ~apatosaurus  
 ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony  
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail  
 ἐπιδιαιρέω divide, distribute  
 ἐπιθαλάσσιος coastal  
 ἐπίκουρος ally; mercenary ~cereal  
 ἐπιπλα -τος (n, 2) stuff, possessions  
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty  
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἔωθα be accustomed, in the habit  
 ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy  
 ~hedonism  
 ἦθος ἥθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat  
 ~ethos  
 ἡπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 θεοπρόπος seer ~theology  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 καπηλεύω be a retailer  
 κατάσκοπος spy, inspector  
 κελευσμοσύνη command  
 κιθαρίζω play the harp  
 κόθορνος high boot  
 κόσος how many, much, far?  
 κτάομαι acquire, possess  
 κτίζω found, populate ~oxytocin  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning

~mantis

μεταβάλλω alter, transform

μεταβουλεύω change one's mind

~volunteer

μίν him, her, it

μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired

ῥμαιμος related by blood

ὁμολογίη agreement, consent

ὀνέω help, please, be available

ὄον οὔ type of fruit

ὅποῖος whatever kind

ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from

ὀρτή holiday, feast

πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
passion, condition

παιδεύω raise; train

πάντως by all means

παράπαν completely

πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars

περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on  
clothing ~ballistic

περιοράω look around; watch;  
permit

πέρνημι export, sell as a slave  
~porno

Πέρσης Persian

πορφύρεος purple

πρῆσις sale

προαγορεύω declare, predict, order

προείπον foretell, proclaim, order  
before

προτείνω hold out, offer

πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive;  
prediction ~fame

ῥῆσις -ος (f) conversation, talk  
~rhetoric

σιναμωρέω ravage

σμύρνα myrrh

σμυρναῖος of myrrh

στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction

στρατηλατέω lead an army

στρατός common people/soldiers

~strategy

στρατόω be on a campaign

~strategy

συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon

συγγνώμη sympathy, leniency

συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion

συμβουλή advice; debate

συνέρομαι come together

τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer

τιμωρέω (i) (+dat) take vengeance,  
punish; aid one who has been  
attacked

ὕγιαίνω be healthy

ὑπείμι be under

ὑπεκτρέχω run out from under,  
escape

ὑποδείκνυμι (υῶ) show, trace out

ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  
~doctrine

ὑποδέω bind under the feet

ὑποδύνω (mp) get under; play a  
character

ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit

ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise

~hypothesis

φείδομαι spare, not use/harm

~aphid

φροντίζω consider, ponder

φυγάζ -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee

~fugitive

χρῆζω need ~chresard

χώρος place ~heir

ψάλλω pluck

ώθέω push

ὠνέομαι buy

ὠνή purchase, contract

δυσώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὥρέων<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

## 1.150

σμήρνην<sup>2</sup> δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες<sup>3</sup> τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμήρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολίτας.

## 1.151

αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους, ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκῆται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν<sup>4</sup> δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἔαδε κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

## 1.152

ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα, εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιηγέων, καὶ καταστὰς<sup>5</sup> ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι

<sup>1</sup> climate    <sup>2</sup> myrrh    <sup>3</sup> exile, refugee    <sup>4</sup> They were not afraid of the Persians.    <sup>5</sup> having been appointed

δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρα, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥήσιν,<sup>6</sup> γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος<sup>7</sup> μηδεμίαν πόλιν συναμωρέειν,<sup>8</sup> ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοιζομένων.

1.153

ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τινες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσσοι «οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστι χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι· τοῖσι, ἣν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα<sup>9</sup> ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκῆμα.» ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσι<sup>10</sup> χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή.

μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδεις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλανε<sup>11</sup> αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροϊσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἡ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπείχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

1.154

ὥς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἄτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε

<sup>6</sup> conversation, talk <sup>7</sup> a term that can include the Greek colonies in Anatolia <sup>8</sup> ravage <sup>9</sup> commonly talked of <sup>10</sup> sale <sup>11</sup> intransitive, rode off

ἐμισθοῦτο<sup>12</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

## 1.155

πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. «Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγμάτα<sup>13</sup> παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἤ<sup>14</sup> ἑξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν<sup>15</sup> παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσατο· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἔοντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι.»

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἑξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον εὐόσαν καὶ τῶν<sup>16</sup> πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἑστέωνων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι· ἅπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήγια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἴμασι καὶ κοθόρνους<sup>17</sup> ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν<sup>18</sup> τε καὶ ψάλλειν<sup>19</sup> καὶ καπηλεύειν<sup>20</sup> παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.»

## 1.156

Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εἰρίσκων

<sup>12</sup> rent out; (pass) be hired    <sup>13</sup> difficulties    <sup>14</sup> He muses about enslaving them, which he has not actually done.    <sup>15</sup> The children, if allowed to survive, will be mortal enemies.    <sup>16</sup> (pf) things that have now arisen    <sup>17</sup> high boot    <sup>18</sup> play the harp    <sup>19</sup> pluck    <sup>20</sup> be a retailer

Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιώχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνει, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες<sup>21</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλονται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπείς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς<sup>22</sup> ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδιδι ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν.

1.157

ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἰόντα δείσας οἶχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην.

Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδιδι τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ κοτὲ ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδιδι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης<sup>23</sup> 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 Βραγχίδῃσι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον<sup>24</sup> ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσι τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέσι ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος 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.

<sup>21</sup> a second time, in the future    <sup>22</sup> the mercenaries from the coast  
<sup>23</sup> command    <sup>24</sup> prophetic warning

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 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.

**1.154**

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 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

*vocabulary*

**ἄγαλμα** -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue  
**ἄγγελία** message, news ~angel  
**ἄδυτον** inner sanctum  
**ἄζω** dry up ~ash  
**ἀνάθημα** -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift ~thesis  
**ἀναφαίνω** reveal, shine  
 ~phenomenon  
**ἄνομος** lawless  
**ἀπιστέω** disbelieve ~stand  
**ἀποδείκνυμι** (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine  
**ἀπορέω** be confused, distressed  
**ἀποσπάω** tear/drag away  
**ἀποφέρω** carry off, carry back  
 ~bear  
**ἀσεβέω** be impious  
**ἀτρεκής** precise, certain  
**ἀφειδής** unsparing, cruel ~aphid  
**ἄω** aor: to sate ~sate  
**βίαιος** by force  
**δαίνυμι** (ō) give a feast, feast on  
 ~demon  
**δαίω** light; divide ~demon  
**δειμαίνω** be afraid  
**διάδοχος** being successor  
**δόκιμος** trustworthy; excellent  
**δουλοσύνη** slavery  
**εἰσβαίνω** enter, board ~basis  
**εἰστίθηναι** put in  
**ἐκδίδωμι** hand over ~donate  
**ἐκδοσις** giving up, renting out, publishing, bursting forth  
**ἐκκομίζω** remove; bury a corpse  
**ἐκποιέω** complete, permit; (mp) produce, be adopted  
**Ἑλλην** Greek  
**ἐμπόριον** immigrant, metic, trading post

**ἐμπόριος** immigrant, metic, trading post  
**ἐνθεῦτεν** thence  
**ἐξαιρέω** pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ~heresy  
**ἐξαιτέω** demand ~etiology  
**ἐξανδραποδίζω** enslave  
**ἐξεργάζομαι** accomplish; undo; destroy someone  
**ἐπείρομαι** ask as well; ask then  
**ἐπειρωτέω** consult, ask  
**ἐπελαύνω** beat out ~elastic  
**ἐπιπέμπω** send after, again, to, besides  
**ἐπιπλα** -τος (n, 2) stuff, possessions  
**ἐπιτρέχω** run at, after  
**ἐρείπω** pull down; fall ~reap  
**ἐρημώω** raze, bereave; desert, isolate  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**ἦθος ἥθεος** (n, 3) habit, habitat ~ethos  
**θεοπρόπιον** prophecy ~theology  
**θεοπρόπος** seer ~theology  
**ικέτης** -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee  
**ἴκω** (i) go, arrive  
**καταδείκνυμι** (ō) discover, make known  
**καταπλέω** land ~float  
**καταποντώ** throw into the sea; drown  
**κατάρα** curse  
**κατασπάω** pull down  
**καταφονεύω** slaughter  
**καταχράομαι** (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough  
**κεραίζω** slay, ravage ~caries  
**κριθή** (i) barley plant  
**κύκλος** circle, wheel ~cycle  
**λήϊη** booty  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μισθώω** rent out; (pass) be hired  
**μύδρος** anvil

ναυτιλία sailing ~navy  
 ναυτίλλομαι sail ~navy  
 νηέω pile up, load a ship  
 νόσος (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
 νοσσεύω hatch; nest  
 νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
 ὀγδῶκοντα eighty  
 οἶκημα -τος (n, 3) room  
 οἶκτος compassion  
 οἰνώ make drunk ~wine  
 ὄον οὔ type of fruit  
 ὁπότερος which of two, either of two  
 ὄρκιον oath ~orc  
 οὐλαί barley grains  
 οὐλή scar  
 παραδείκνυμι (ῶ) receive, admit  
 παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow  
 ~jet  
 πέμμα (pl) pastries, sweetmeats  
 πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars  
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on  
 clothing ~ballistic  
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
 περιημεκτέω be aggrieved  
 περίοδος picket, circuit  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πέσσω brood on; ripen ~peptic  
 πόθος longing, regret ~bid  
 πολιοῦχος protecting a city  
 πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder  
 πρόειμι to have been before, earlier  
 ~ion  
 προμαχεών breastwork, battlement  
 πρόνοια foresight, providence  
 προσφιλής beloved

πρόχυσις pouring out  
 πωλέω sell  
 σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite  
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle  
 στρατηγία office of command,  
 strategy ~strategy  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 στρογγύλος round; merchant ship  
 στρουθός (f) sparrow  
 ~struthiomimus  
 συγκατεργάζομαι help to do  
 συμπολιορκέω besiege jointly  
 τειχήρης besieged; fortified  
 τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case  
 τράπεζα a table ~trapezoid  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 ὑπερήμισυς mostly  
 ὑποκρίνομαι (ι) answer; pretend  
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
 φρουρέω keep watch  
 χοή χώς libation  
 χοῦς jar, jug; loose dirt  
 χρησμός oracular response  
 χρηστηριάζω prophesy  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt  
 χῶρος place ~heir  
 ψευδῶρκις violating an oath  
 ὠνέομαι buy  
 ὡσαύτως in the same way

ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο<sup>1</sup> ἐκδιδόναι· ὀρμημένον δὲ ταύτη τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδew ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ<sup>2</sup> καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθές, ἐς ὃ τὸ<sup>3</sup> δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύew ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

## 1.159

ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο<sup>4</sup> ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. «ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ 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 δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν.» ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὃ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· περιῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει<sup>5</sup> τοὺς στρουθοὺς<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα<sup>7</sup> 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 τολμᾷς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;»<sup>8</sup>

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

Τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε «ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.»

<sup>1</sup> The oracle told them to ... (Ionic form of ὀρμάω) <sup>2</sup> oracular response <sup>3</sup> a second journey of hundreds of miles <sup>4</sup> prophesy  
<sup>5</sup> destroyed <sup>6</sup> sparrow <sup>7</sup> hatch; nest <sup>8</sup> slay, ravage

1.160

ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ' ἐωντοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς<sup>9</sup> Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύν, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δῆ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὥς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς<sup>10</sup> Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύν ἐς Χίον.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου<sup>11</sup> ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χιοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα<sup>12</sup> ἐπέσσετο<sup>13</sup> καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.

1.161

Χιοὶ μὲν νυν Πακτύν ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήϊην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὠσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ.

1.162

ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μήδος τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὡνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὥς ἀπύκετο ἐς τὴν

<sup>9</sup> on the island of Lesbos

<sup>12</sup> (pl) pastries, sweetmeats

<sup>10</sup> another island

<sup>13</sup> brood on; ripen

<sup>11</sup> protecting a city

Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλιας<sup>14</sup> χώμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας<sup>15</sup> ποιήσκει, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

## 1.163

πρώτῃ δέ<sup>16</sup> Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι<sup>17</sup> μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν<sup>18</sup> τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναυτίλλοντο<sup>19</sup> δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι<sup>20</sup> νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροις. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν, Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε<sup>21</sup> δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖές οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖεας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

## 1.164

τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη.

Ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς ἐπῆλασε τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προισχόμενος<sup>22</sup> ἔπεα ὥς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖές προμαχεῶνα ἔνα μῶνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι<sup>23</sup> καὶ οἴκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ<sup>24</sup> ἔφασαν θέλιν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν,

<sup>14</sup> He built up dirt ramps against the walls of the cities. <sup>15</sup> besieged; fortified <sup>16</sup> a coastal city <sup>17</sup> sailing <sup>18</sup> a region in southern Iberia <sup>19</sup> sail <sup>20</sup> round; merchant ship <sup>21</sup> be an absolute ruler <sup>22</sup> offering <sup>23</sup> destroying part of their own defenses <sup>24</sup> slavery



ὅμως δὲ σφι παριέναι βουλευσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ  
τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες  
τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναικας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα,  
πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα,  
χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες  
καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν<sup>25</sup>  
ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

1.165

οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, ἐπεῖτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσας<sup>26</sup>  
καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δαιμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ  
μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλημισθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα,  
πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνω  
εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου<sup>27</sup> ἀνεστήσαντο<sup>28</sup> πόλιν,  
τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. Ἀργανθώνιος<sup>29</sup> δὲ τμηκαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκει.  
στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν  
Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε<sup>30</sup>  
παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτο σφι  
ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας<sup>31</sup> τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν  
τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον<sup>32</sup> σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν  
καὶ ὤμοσαν 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<sup>33</sup> τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας,  
ψευδόρκιοι<sup>34</sup> δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ  
αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες<sup>35</sup> ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

1.166

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον

<sup>25</sup> raze, bereave; desert, isolate <sup>26</sup> make drunk <sup>27</sup> prophecy <sup>28</sup> the  
Phocaians <sup>29</sup> ruler of the Tartessos <sup>30</sup> keep watch <sup>31</sup> curse  
<sup>32</sup> anvil <sup>33</sup> compassion <sup>34</sup> violating an oath <sup>35</sup> their anchors

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.“

### 1.160

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 Tyrnesia 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.

**1.165**

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 go 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

*vocabulary*

ἀκέομαι heal, fix  
 ἀκοή hearing ~acoustic  
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume  
 ἀνέκαθεν from the start  
 ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing ~Sp. sin  
 ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet  
 ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join  
 ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀποδοκέω decide against  
 ἀπονίναμαι enjoy, use  
 ἀπόπληκτος stricken, dumb, paralyzed  
 ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off course ~atrophy  
 ἀπωθέω repel, reject  
 ἀριθμός number  
 ἀριστερός left-hand  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch  
 ἅτε as if; since  
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain  
 αὐτόχθων native  
 αὐχὴν -ένος (m, 3) neck  
 ἄχρηστος useless, unprofitable  
 βουλευτήριον council chamber  
 γυμνικός of gymnastics  
 διακρίνω (ι) separate, sort ~critic  
 διάστροφος twisted, distorted  
 διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal  
 διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal  
 δουλοσύνη slavery  
 δουλόω enslave

εἰλαδόν in crowds  
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis  
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over  
 ἐλευθερία freedom  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἔμβολος insertable peg; ram; wedge formation; porch  
 ἔμπηρος crippled  
 ἐναγίζω offer sacrifice to the dead  
 ἐνδύω go into, put on  
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐνιδρύω establish  
 ἐνοράω look at, notice something in  
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐξεύρημα invention, discovery  
 ἐξήκοντα sixty  
 ἐξικνέομαι arrive at  
 ἐπιδέω fasten; lack  
 ἐπικρατέω rule over  
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty  
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle  
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named  
 εὐδαιμονέω be lucky, happy  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 εὐτυχέω be lucky, prosper, succeed  
 ἡβηδόν (adv) grown up  
 ἡλικία time of life, contemporaries  
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent  
 ἡπειρώτης -ιδος (f) landsman  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 ἵππικός of horses ~hippo  
 καθαπλώω spread over  
 κακώω harm, disfigure ~cacophony  
 Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian  
 κασίγνητος brother, sister

**καταδείκνυμι** (ὁ) discover, make known  
**καταλεύω** stone to death  
**καταρρωδέω** fear, dread  
**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
**καταφεύγω** resort to, flee to, appeal to ~fugitive  
**κατήκοος** hearing; obedient  
**κράνος** -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's ram  
**κτάομαι** acquire, possess  
**κτῆσις** -ος (f) chattels  
**κτίζω** found, populate ~oxytocin  
**λαγχάνω** be allotted; (esp. λελα- forms) allot; receive  
**λόγιμος** notable  
**λόφος** neck, crest on a helmet, hilltop  
**μέτειμι** be among, go, follow ~ion  
**μετέπειτα** afterward, next  
**μόρος** portion, lot in life  
**ναυμαχία** naval warfare  
**νίκη** (t) victory ~Nike  
**οἰηκίζω** govern, guide, manage  
**ὁμόγλωσσος** speaking the same language  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὄρεύς** -ος (m) mule ~hormone  
**ὄρκιον** oath ~orc  
**ὄρος** boundary marker ~horizon  
**οὔρον** boundary stone; unit of distance; limit  
**οὔρος** fair wind; guardian; hill  
**ῥανον** shield handle  
**παραπλήσιος** similar to  
**πάτριος** of the father(s), ancestral

**πέλαγος** -ους (n, 3) the open sea  
 ~pelagic  
**περίειμι** be superior to; be left over; still exist  
**περίκειμαι** set about, cover, be a profit  
**περίοικος** dwelling around  
**πόσις** -ος (m) (m) husband, master; (f) a drink ~potent  
**πρόβατον** cattle, flocks, herds  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**προσχωρέω** go to, join, support  
**σχύτινος** (ὁ) of leather  
**στάσις** -εως (f) placing; faction  
**στασιώτης** -ου (m, 1) partisan  
**στρατηγή** expedition, campaign  
**συγγίγνομαι** associate with, meet, have sex ~genus  
**συλλέγω** collect, assemble ~legion  
**συμμίγνυμι** mix with ~mix  
**τοιόσδε** such  
**τριξός** threefold  
**τύπτω** beat, smite ~stupid  
**ὑποζύγιον** beast of burden ~zygote  
**ὑποτελέω** pay a tax  
**φορέω** frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear  
**φόρον** forum  
**φόρος** tribute, revenue  
**χειρώω** dominate, subdue  
**χρήσιμος** useful  
**χρηστός** useful; brave, worthy  
**χῶμα** -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt  
**χωρίζω** divide; distinguish, pull down  
**χώρος** place ~heir  
**ώθέω** push

ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμिसγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμεΐ<sup>1</sup> τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι·<sup>2</sup> ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσῃν οἶαι τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

## 1.167

τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι<sup>3</sup> πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι.

οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι.

καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρῆς ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλέεται· ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνήτεω μαθόντες ὥς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἔοντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

## 1.168

Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἔσχε παραπλήσια δὲ

<sup>1</sup> i.e., Pyrrhic    <sup>2</sup> useless, unprofitable    <sup>3</sup> a Carthaginian city on the Italian coast    <sup>4</sup> heal, fix    <sup>5</sup> of gymnastics



τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι<sup>6</sup> ἐποίησαν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

## 1.169

οὔτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγῳ κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ἔρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἄρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

## 1.170

κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν<sup>7</sup> ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρέιχε ἂν σφί εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῶ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶν καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφί ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστή δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεόμενας μὴδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ ἐς δήμοι

<sup>6</sup> Teos was a coastal city in Ionia. <sup>7</sup> nevertheless

εἶεν.

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

1.171

Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεφόμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καννίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχεύοντος<sup>8</sup> τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα.

καὶ σφι τριξά<sup>9</sup> ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα<sup>10</sup> λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα<sup>11</sup> ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνουσι οἰηκίζοντες,<sup>12</sup> περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοις περιεκείμενοι.

μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας<sup>13</sup> ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοις Διὸς Καρίου ἶρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοις ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν<sup>14</sup> καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἔοντες ἄλλου

<sup>8</sup> be lucky, prosper, succeed    <sup>9</sup> threefold    <sup>10</sup> helmet; ship's ram

<sup>11</sup> shield handle    <sup>12</sup> govern, guide, manage    <sup>13</sup> native    <sup>14</sup> mythical individuals founding their races

ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι<sup>15</sup> τοῖσι Καρσι ἐγένοντο, τούτοις 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, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καννικόν τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι, νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται<sup>16</sup> κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδόν<sup>17</sup> συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μῦνον, χέασθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν,<sup>18</sup> τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα, μέχρι οὖρων<sup>19</sup> τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἶποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

### 1.173

καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοις χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι· διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης τῶν Εὐρώπης παιδῶν Σαρπηδόνο<sup>20</sup> τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας<sup>21</sup> αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἕως<sup>22</sup> μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νυν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος 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 Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον

<sup>15</sup> speaking the same language    <sup>16</sup> they practice    <sup>17</sup> in crowds

<sup>18</sup> (adv) grown up    <sup>19</sup> their borders    <sup>20</sup> a Trojan character in the Iliad    <sup>21</sup> partisan    <sup>22</sup> for as long as

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 Teians 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, 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἀγκών -ος (m, 3) elbow  
 ~ankylosaurus  
 αἶμασιά wall of dry stones?  
 ἀκρόπολις -εως (f) citadel, high part  
 of a city ~acute  
 ἀμαχητί without a fight  
 ἀνάβασις -τος (f) going up,  
 mounting, going inland  
 ἀναδίδωμι yield; give out  
 ἀναισιμώ spend, use up  
 ἀνανέμω distribute; count  
 ἀνάστατος driven out, ruined  
 ἀναστατόω unsettle, upset  
 ἀντίξοος opposed to  
 ἀξιαπήγητος worth telling  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine  
 ἀποικος abroad, colonizing  
 ἀστή inhabitant  
 ἀστός townsman; citizen  
 ἀσφαλτος (f) asphalt, bitumen  
 ἀτιμάω (i) dishonor  
 ἄτιμος (i) without honor  
 βασιλείος kingly  
 βασιλῆος kingly  
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
 γενναῖος noble, sincere ~genesis  
 δάκτυλος finger, toe  
 δέμω build ~domicile  
 διαστοιβάζω stuff between  
 διέργω keep apart  
 δουλόω enslave  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 ἐκδημέω be abroad  
 Ἑλλην Greek  
 ἐνίστημι install; threaten; block  
 ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  
 ~thesis  
 ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet  
 ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute

ἐπεξέρχομαι sally  
 ἑπῆλυς strange, foreign  
 ἐπικαμπή bend; corner; a military  
 tactic  
 ἐπικάρσιος running headlong  
 ἐπιμνησκόμαι remember, speak  
 about ~mnemonic  
 ἐστία hearth ~Hestia  
 ἐσχατάω be at the edge  
 εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the  
 east wind  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be  
 overcome; (active) defeat  
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound  
 ~thallium  
 θεοπρόπος seer ~theology  
 θερμός warm, hot ~thermos  
 θραύω break, shatter  
 θρόμβος lump, drop, nipple  
 ἱρείη priestess  
 ἴς ἰνός (i, f) force, muscle  
 ἰσθμός narrow neck  
 ἰστίον sail ~stand  
 κάλαμος reed  
 κάμινος (i, f) oven, furnace  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 κατατέμνω cut up  
 κατεῖλέω coop up  
 κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf  
 κύκλος circle, wheel ~cycle  
 κύρος -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
 λαύρα alley  
 μεσόγαια inland  
 μεσώω be in the middle  
 μέτωπον forehead, front  
 μήκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature  
 μητρόθεν from the mother  
 μιμέομαι (i) imitate, represent  
 μιν him, her, it  
 νότος south, south wind  
 ὀγδῶνonta eighty



οἰκέτης -ου (m, 1) household; house  
 slave  
 οἶκημα -τος (n, 3) room  
 ὀνομαστός named ~name  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀπτάω roast, bake  
 ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel  
 ὀρύσσω dig  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 παλλακή sex slave  
 παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture  
 παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow  
 ~jet  
 περιβόλος enclosing  
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
 περιέλασις driving about; road  
 περιθέω run around  
 πέριξ all around  
 περίοδος picket, circuit  
 περίοικος dwelling around  
 περίρροος surrounded by water;  
 flowing around  
 πῆχυς forearm, cubit  
 πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of  
 ~plethora  
 πλινθεύω make into bricks  
 πλίνθος (f) brick, block  
 πόλισμα buildings of a city  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 πυλῖς little gate, back door  
 πυργόω wall, fortify  
 πώγων -ος (m, 3) beard  
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat  
 ῥόδον rose

σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στερεός solid, firm ~stereo  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 συναλίζω collect; eat with  
 συνοικέω live together  
 συνόμνυμι (υῶ) join in league  
 ταρσός basket?; top of the foot?  
 ~metatarsal  
 τέθηπα be confused  
 τέθριππος four-horse  
 τειχίζω build  
 τέλμα pond, swamp; mud for  
 mortar  
 τετράγωνος square  
 τετρακόσιοι 400  
 τετρώροφος four stories tall  
 τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case  
 τιτρώσκω wound, bring to grief  
 ~trauma  
 τόνος pitch, stretching  
 τρίμετρος type of verse  
 τριώροφος 3 stories in height  
 ὑποχείριος under one's hand  
 ~chiral  
 ὑφάπτω set on fire from underneath  
 ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit  
 φάρσος -εος (n, 3) portion  
 χαλκόπυλος with bronze gates  
 χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip  
 ὠσαύτως in the same way

νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ<sup>2</sup> δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀσπὸς<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναικὰ ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

## 1.174

οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι· οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίας, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρῆν<sup>4</sup> ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον<sup>5</sup> ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα, τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἄρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστι τὸν ὥρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ, χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θεϊότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι<sup>6</sup> οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης<sup>7</sup> τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὥς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ<sup>8</sup> τόνῳ<sup>9</sup> τάδε.

«Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε<sup>10</sup> μηδ' ὀρύσσετε· Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο.»

<sup>1</sup> from the mother    <sup>2</sup> inhabitant    <sup>3</sup> townsman; citizen    <sup>4</sup> north, north wind    <sup>5</sup> south, south wind    <sup>6</sup> wound, bring to grief    <sup>7</sup> break, shatter    <sup>8</sup> type of verse    <sup>9</sup> pitch, stretching    <sup>10</sup> wall, fortify

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ<sup>11</sup> σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωκαν.

1.175

ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκόντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἢ ἱρεΐῃ<sup>12</sup> τῆς Ἀθηναίης πάγωνα<sup>13</sup> μέγαν ἴσχε. τρὶς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μῦνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

1.176

Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δέ, ὥς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετᾶς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατελιθθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστρῳ συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι<sup>14</sup> αὐταὶ ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσι καὶ οὕτω περιεγέγοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμμήσαντο<sup>15</sup> τὰ πλέω.

1.177

τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίηε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον<sup>16</sup> πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα<sup>17</sup> ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

<sup>11</sup> without a fight   <sup>12</sup> priestess   <sup>13</sup> beard   <sup>14</sup> hearth   <sup>15</sup> like them, suicidally   <sup>16</sup> for Cyrus   <sup>17</sup> worth telling

## 1.178

Κῦρος ἐπέιτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον<sup>18</sup> καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆα κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλῶν, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι, τὸ μὲν 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 πλήη ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆων ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος<sup>19</sup> πῆχυσ τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

## 1.179

δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθῃ, καὶ τὸ τείχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθουν<sup>20</sup> τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους<sup>21</sup> ἱκανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις.<sup>22</sup> μετὰ δὲ τέλματι<sup>23</sup> χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ<sup>24</sup> θερμῇ<sup>25</sup> καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς<sup>26</sup> καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν<sup>27</sup> πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφου τὰ χεῖλεα, δευτέρα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον<sup>28</sup> τεθρίπῳ<sup>29</sup> περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστάσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως.

ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος·

<sup>18</sup> named <sup>19</sup> kingly <sup>20</sup> make into bricks <sup>21</sup> brick, block <sup>22</sup> oven, furnace <sup>23</sup> pond, swamp; mud for mortar <sup>24</sup> asphalt, bitumen <sup>25</sup> warm, hot <sup>26</sup> basket?; top of the foot? <sup>27</sup> build <sup>28</sup> enough space <sup>29</sup> four-horse

Ἦς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἦς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρῆτην ποταμὸν τὸ ρέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἦς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ, ὕδατι θρόμβους<sup>30</sup> ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλούς, ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τείχος ἐκομίσθη.

1.180

ἐτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρῆτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τείχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας<sup>31</sup> ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασιγὴ πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστρῳ αὐτό, ἐὼν πληρὲς οἰκίεων τριωρόφων<sup>32</sup> καὶ τετρωρόφων,<sup>33</sup> κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθίεας τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιγῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπήσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι,<sup>34</sup> τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι... φέρουσαι καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

1.181

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τείχος θῶρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τείχος περιθίει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῶ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆα περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον,<sup>35</sup> καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὐ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι<sup>36</sup> δέ κου τῆς

<sup>30</sup> lump, drop, nipple    <sup>31</sup> elbow    <sup>32</sup> 3 stories in height    <sup>33</sup> four stories tall    <sup>34</sup> alley    <sup>35</sup> with bronze gates    <sup>36</sup> be in the middle

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.

#### 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





*vocabulary*

**ἄγαλμα** -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue  
**αἰσχροκερδής** shamefully greedy  
**ἀκίνητος** motionless, immovable  
**ἀνάβασις** -τος (f) going up, mounting, going inland  
**ἀνάθημα** -τος (n, 3) consecrated gift ~thesis  
**ἀναισιμῶ** spend, use up  
**ἀνδριάς** -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue  
**ἀνοίγνυμι** (ū) open  
**ἀνοικοδομέω** build up, rebuild  
**ἄνωθεν** from above, the beginning  
**ἀξιοθέητος** well worth seeing  
**ἀπαγορεύω** forbid; fail, be worn out  
**ἀπηγέομαι** lead; tell, relate  
**ἄπληστος** insatiable, greedy  
**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine  
**ἀποξηραίνω** dry up  
**ἀρχαῖος** ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch  
**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 ~Sp.~gordo  
**βωμός** altar; stand, pedestal  
**γαλαθηνός** not yet weaned ~galaxy  
**γέφυρα** (ū) dam, dike; bridge  
**διαβαίνω** pass over, cross ~basis  
**διάβασις** -εως (f) crossing, passage ~basis  
**διαφοιτέω** wander, cast about  
**διεξελαύνω** drive through  
**διῶρυξ** -χος (f) ditch, canal  
**ἐγκολάπτω** cut or carve on stone  
**εἰσβολή** -ωβόλης invasion, an entrance ~ballistic  
**ἐκδέχομαι** receive; succeed to a

## position

**ἐκεῖθι** there  
**ἐκμανθάνω** know by heart  
**ἐκτρέπω** turn aside  
**ἐλος** ἔλεος (n, 3) marsh  
**ἐλυτρον** covering, case; reservoir  
**ἐναυλίζω** live, stay at  
**ἐνειμι** be in ~ion  
**ἐνιδρύω** establish  
**ἐξειμι** go forth; is possible ~ion  
**ἐξίημι** send forth, allow forth ~jet  
**ἐπιβουλεύω** plot, plan, harm ~volunteer  
**ἐπικοσμέω** decorate; celebrate  
**ἐπιμίσγω** deal with, fight ~mix  
**ἐπιπολή** (gen) on top of  
**ἐπιχώριος** native  
**εὖρος** -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind  
**θάκος** seat, session of assembly  
**καμπή** a bend, turn  
**κατάβασις** -εως (f) way down  
**καταγίζω** devote, dedicate  
**καταγωγή** landing, stop  
**καταμένω** stay; not change  
**καταπλέω** land ~float  
**κατασκευάζω** equip, build  
**κατύπερθεν** above, from above  
**κλίνη** (i) bed, couch ~clinic  
**κρηπίς** (i) boot; foundation  
**κύκλος** circle, wheel ~cycle  
**κώμη** village  
**κῶμος** party, celebration  
**λεωφόρος** heavily traveled  
**λιβανωτός** frankincense  
**λίμνη** lake, marsh, basin, sea ~limnic  
**μετέωρος** up in the air ~meteor  
**μηχανάομαι** build, contrive ~mechanism  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μνήμη** reminder, memorial

μνημόσυνον memorial  
 μόλυβδος lead  
 νηέω pile up, load a ship  
 ὀκταχόσιοι 800  
 ὁμιλία (τι) intercourse, company  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὅπόσος as many as, how many, how  
 great  
 ὀπτός roasted  
 ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel  
 ὀρύσσω dig  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 ὀχληρός troublesome  
 παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend  
 ~genus  
 παράκειμαι be at hand, ready  
 παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture  
 παραχέω pour in, beside  
 παρενθήκη an aside, addition  
 ~parentheses  
 πελαγίζω flood; sail the sea  
 περιέρχομαι go around; come next  
 to  
 περίμετρος very long ~metric  
 περιμήκης very long, high  
 περίοδος picket, circuit  
 πῆχυς forearm, cubit  
 πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of  
 ~plethora  
 πλίνθος (f) brick, block  
 προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis  
 προεῖδον look toward, catch sight of  
 ~wit  
 πρόμαντις prophet  
 προοράω see before oneself

προφυλάσσω guard the front  
 πυλῖς little gate, back door  
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat  
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  
 ~rheostat  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 σκολῖος crooked ~scoliosis  
 σπανίζω be scarce; lack; use up  
 σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στερεός solid, firm ~stereo  
 στόρνυμι (ῶ) smooth out  
 συγκατακλήϊω enclose together  
 συνετός smart; intelligible  
 σύντομος truncated, concise  
 τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n)  
 astonishment  
 τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common  
 land  
 τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize  
 ~tonsure  
 τετράγωνος square  
 τετραχόσιοι 400  
 ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit  
 φάρσος -εος (n, 3) portion  
 χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip  
 χοῦς jar, jug; loose dirt  
 χόω heap up  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χρυσίον (ῶ) gold coin  
 χῶμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt  
 ὠθέω push

ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι<sup>1</sup> ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπασσι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ 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 οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίεος γυνή, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμίλην<sup>2</sup> φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκίης ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὦν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἕσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

## 1.183

ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ βάθρον<sup>3</sup> οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. ἕξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ<sup>4</sup> τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ<sup>5</sup> μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδριάς<sup>6</sup> δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> seat, session of assembly    <sup>2</sup> intercourse, company    <sup>3</sup> step, base, bench    <sup>4</sup> the full-grown ones    <sup>5</sup> not yet weaned    <sup>6</sup> portrait, statue

λέγω. τούτω τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος<sup>7</sup> μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Χέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλὰ.

## 1.184

τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεές, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τεῖχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι<sup>8</sup> πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χῶματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα·<sup>9</sup> πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε<sup>10</sup> ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.185

ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο<sup>12</sup> τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα<sup>13</sup> ἄστυα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρῆτην ποταμὸν ρέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ρέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ρέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρῆτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρῆτην ποταμὸν τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχουσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστὶ. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος

<sup>7</sup> Darius I. (Darius II and his son Cyrus, described in the Anabasis, were slightly after Herodotus's time.) <sup>8</sup> generations <sup>9</sup> well worth seeing <sup>10</sup> flood <sup>11</sup> flood; sail the sea <sup>12</sup> the regime <sup>13</sup> perfect participle of αἰρέω

ᾠρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος<sup>14</sup> μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εἶρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιῶσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεῖτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα<sup>15</sup> κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὡς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος<sup>16</sup> εἴη περὶ καμπὰς<sup>17</sup> πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοοὶ ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἕκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῆ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἰ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ<sup>18</sup> σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμωγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

## 1.186

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιγύνη δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκη ἐποιήσατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοία διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν<sup>19</sup> τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ᾠρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκειας, ὡς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ᾠρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ρέεθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι<sup>20</sup> κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ.<sup>21</sup> ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γίνοντο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα,

<sup>14</sup> depth, height   <sup>15</sup> boot; foundation   <sup>16</sup> slow, dull, late   <sup>17</sup> a bend, turn   <sup>18</sup> the direct routes   <sup>19</sup> troublesome   <sup>20</sup> roasted   <sup>21</sup> lead

ἵνα μὴ διαφουιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὄρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὄρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολήτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

## 1.187

ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιγύδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὕπερ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων<sup>22</sup> πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ<sup>23</sup> κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαιψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. «τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίστη χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὅκοντα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον·»

οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον<sup>24</sup> περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐα· Δαρεῖα δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὕπερ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγένετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι.

ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· «εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἕας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής,<sup>25</sup> οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέωγες.» αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

## 1.188

ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ

<sup>22</sup> heavily traveled    <sup>23</sup> for herself    <sup>24</sup> first mentioned in 1.183, in which he coveted a golden statue    <sup>25</sup> shamefully greedy

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 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 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

*vocabulary*

ἀγγήιον vessel  
 ἀγγού near, nigh; like ~angina  
 ἀδρύνω ripen, mature  
 αἰμασιά wall of dry stones?  
 ἀπειλή boast, threat  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;  
 (intrans) ride away  
 ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust  
 ἀπορέω be confused, distressed  
 ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ~pierce  
 ἀπορρέω flow, fall off  
 ἀποψάω wipe off  
 ἀπροσδόκητος unexpected; unaware  
 ἄρδω give water  
 ἀρτάβη 50 liters  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 ἀτελής incomplete, endless; invalid,  
 for free  
 ἀτρεμίζω not be restless  
 ἀχρεῖος serving no purpose  
 ~chresard  
 βαλανηφόρος bearing dates  
 βάλανος (f) nut; pin, bolt  
 βασίλεια noblewoman  
 βασίλειος kingly  
 βρέχω soak; it rains  
 δάκτυλος finger, toe  
 διαβατός crossable, fordable  
 διαλαμβάνω distribute  
 διατάσσω arrange, array  
 δίχα in two, in two ways  
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal  
 ἔαρ -ος (n) spring (season)  
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 εἰσδύνω take part in  
 εἰσέχω stretch into  
 εἰσίημι (mid) speed to ~jet  
 εἰσέχω pour into

ἐκάστοτε each time  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκστρατεύω march out; (mp) take  
 the field  
 ἐκτρέφω raise, rear  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἔλος ἔλεος (n, 3) marsh  
 ἐμβολή putting in; incursion, charge  
 ἐξακισχίλιοι 6000  
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well  
 ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet  
 ἐπαπειλέω threaten  
 ἐσχατάω be at the edge  
 εὐπάθεια comfort  
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)  
 fortunately  
 θέριος of summer  
 θέρω warm up ~thermos  
 καρποφόρος fruit-bearing  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 κατακλείω enclose; shut up  
 κατατείνω stretch out  
 κατατέμνω cut up  
 κατελλέω coop up  
 κατύπερθε above, from above  
 κέγχρος small thing, bit  
 κηλωνήιον shadoof, water lever  
 κριθή (i) barley plant  
 κυκλοτερής rounded (by wear)  
 ~cycle  
 κύρτη sieve, cage  
 λήιον standing grain  
 μέδιμνος bushel  
 μέλι honey, a sweet  
 μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion  
 μίν him, her, it  
 νηυσιπέρητος navigable  
 νομεύς -ος (m) shepherd, herder  
 ~nemesis  
 νομός home, district ~nemesis  
 ὀγδῶκοντα eighty  
 ὀκτακόσιοι 800

ὄλυνθος wild fig  
 ὄον οὐ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend  
 ~genus  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 παράπαν completely  
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;  
 (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,  
 alongside  
 πεπαίνω ripen  
 περιδέω tie around, on  
 περίοιδα have great, greater skill  
 περιτείνω stretch all around, over  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πηγός stout, mighty  
 πλάτος -εος (n, 3) width  
 πολεμιστήριος of/for a warrior  
 πολιορκία siege  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προκόπτω make progress  
 προλέγω prophecy, proclaim;  
 preselect ~legion  
 προπυνθάνομαι learn in advance  
 πυλῖς little gate, back door  
 πυρός (ῥ) wheat  
 πυρόω burn something  
 ῥεῖθρον stream ~rheostat  
 ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  
 ~rheostat  
 σατραπή satrapy

σήσαμον sesame  
 σήσαμος sesame  
 σκύτινος (ῥ) of leather  
 σοῦσον lily  
 στράτευσις expedition  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 συκέα -ῆς (ῥ) fig tree  
 συκῇ fig tree  
 σῦκον fig  
 συμψάω rake over, sweep up  
 συχνός long; many; extensive  
 σχοινοτενής stretched straight  
 τετράκυκλος four-wheeled ~cycle  
 τριτημόριος 1/3  
 ὑποβρύχιος underwater, deep  
 ὑποδείκνυμι (υῦ) show, trace out  
 ὑπολάμπω shine under; begin to  
 shine  
 ὑπονοστέω sink, settle  
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 ὕω (ῥ) to rain  
 φοῖνιξ -κος (m) red or purple dye  
 or color; bay (horse); palm tree  
 φόρον forum  
 χαλεπαίνω be violent, rage  
 χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip  
 χειμερινός of winter  
 χοῖνιξ -κος (f) liter; shackle  
 χορεύω dance

τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα<sup>1</sup> ρέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλον οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπειρημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι<sup>2</sup> ἡμiónεαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγήιοις<sup>3</sup> ἀργυρέοις ἔπονται, ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.189

ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν<sup>5</sup> Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὑπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοὶ, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρών<sup>6</sup> ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο, ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσῃν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικας μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας<sup>7</sup> διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετείς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν<sup>8</sup> διαίρει τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

## 1.190

ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατεύσάμενοι ἔμμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατεκλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

<sup>1</sup> lily    <sup>2</sup> four-wheeled    <sup>3</sup> vessel    <sup>4</sup> each time    <sup>5</sup> the Persian gulf, referred to by the same name as the Red Sea    <sup>6</sup> The horses are holy.  
<sup>7</sup> soak; it rains    <sup>8</sup> expedition

οἶα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρόντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγυνομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

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εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ρέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσίεναι 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 βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ρέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἳ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ρέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μνηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακληίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασις ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖlea τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ.<sup>9</sup> νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὀρτὴν, χορεύειν<sup>10</sup> τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι<sup>11</sup> εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

<sup>9</sup> sieve, cage    <sup>10</sup> dance    <sup>11</sup> comfort

## 1.192

καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλείᾳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυνάδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χωρὴ, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίῃ<sup>12</sup> ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήν<sup>13</sup> καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχημι τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη<sup>14</sup> μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου<sup>15</sup> Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιζι<sup>16</sup> τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμωτηρίων,<sup>17</sup> οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μυρία· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι ἀτελεές,<sup>18</sup> τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἔοντα.

## 1.193

ἡ δὲ γῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔεται μὲν ὀλίγω, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον<sup>19</sup> μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται<sup>20</sup> τε τὸ λήιον<sup>21</sup> καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηιοῖσι<sup>22</sup> ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν

<sup>12</sup> 1/3 <sup>13</sup> satrapy <sup>14</sup> 50 liters <sup>15</sup> bushel <sup>16</sup> liter; shackle <sup>17</sup> of/for a warrior <sup>18</sup> incomplete, endless; invalid, for free <sup>19</sup> give water <sup>20</sup> ripen, mature <sup>21</sup> standing grain <sup>22</sup> shadoof, water lever



Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται<sup>23</sup> ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκὴν οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε<sup>24</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>25</sup> διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδοῖν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος<sup>26</sup> γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου<sup>27</sup> καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστήν πολλὴν ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες<sup>28</sup> πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι,<sup>29</sup> ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροις<sup>30</sup> τὸν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ<sup>31</sup> τε σφι ὁ ψῆν<sup>32</sup> τὴν βάλανον<sup>33</sup> ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.<sup>34</sup>

### 1.194

τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα,<sup>35</sup> πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι

<sup>23</sup> The land doesn't try. <sup>24</sup> approximately <sup>25</sup> expressing a multiple of the seed <sup>26</sup> width <sup>27</sup> small thing, bit <sup>28</sup> red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree <sup>29</sup> fruit-bearing <sup>30</sup> bearing dates <sup>31</sup> ripen <sup>32</sup> a pollinating insect <sup>33</sup> nut; pin, bolt <sup>34</sup> wild fig <sup>35</sup> rounded (by wear)

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 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.

**1.191**

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-wheel: 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:

### 1.192

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 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



*vocabulary*

ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container  
 ἀετός eagle ~avis  
 ἄλης crowded; all together  
 ἄμορφος misshapen, shapeless  
 ἀναδέω wreath, tie  
 ἀναμίγνυμι mix ~mix  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away  
 ἀποδοκιμάω reject  
 ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  
 ~bear  
 ἀπωθέω repel, reject  
 ἄρτισις equipment  
 ἅτε as if; since  
 αὐαίνω to dry; (mp) wither  
 ἀφοσιόω purify, atone  
 βίκος jar, cask  
 γόμος cargo  
 διατίθημι arrange; set out goods for sale ~thesis  
 διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion  
 διεξέρχομαι go through  
 διέξοδος διαξόδου (f) outlet, path; narrative  
 διφθέρα leather  
 ἐγγυητής -οῦ (m, 1) guarantor  
 ἔδαφος -ους (n, 3) ground, floor  
 ~edifice  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive  
 ἐκφορέω carry out ~bear  
 ἐμβάς slipper  
 ἔμπηρος crippled  
 ἐνείμι be in ~ion  
 ἐνιαχῇ in some places; sometimes  
 ἔξειμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξωνέομαι redeem, pay off

ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then  
 ἐπενδύνω put on over  
 ἐπίγαμος marriageable  
 ἐπισάττω pile a load on  
 ἐπίσημον mark, badge  
 ἐπίσημος marked, significant  
 ἐπιχώριος native  
 ἐτέρωθι opposite, elsewhere, anywhere ~other  
 εὐδαίμων blessed with a good genius  
 εὐειδής good-looking ~wit  
 εὖμορφος beautiful  
 ἐφάπτω fasten upon ~haptic  
 ζεύγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals  
 ~zygote  
 θηρεύω hunt, fish ~fierce  
 θρήνος dirge ~threnody  
 θυμίαμα incense  
 θώμιγξ cord, string  
 ἱητρός (ī) physician  
 ἰθύνω (tō) straighten, aim, guide; accuse; punish ~justice  
 κακώω harm, disfigure ~cacophony  
 καλάμη straw, stubble  
 καλλιστεύω be the best  
 καμάρα covered carriage, boat  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταγίζω devote, dedicate  
 κατάγω lead down/home; land  
 ~demagogue  
 καταπορνεύω treat as a prostitute  
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill  
 κρίνον lily  
 κυκλοτερής rounded (by wear)  
 ~cycle  
 λίνεος linen  
 μᾶζα barley bread; lump  
 μάσσω handle, knead ~mass  
 μέλι honey, a sweet  
 μὲν him, her, it

μίτρα metal waist guard  
 μυρίζω anoint  
 νομεύς -ος (m) shepherd, herder  
 ~nemesi  
 οἰκοφθορέω lose one's fortune  
 ὄλμος roller ~helix  
 ὄνος (f) donkey ~onager  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 ὅποῖος whatever kind  
 ὀπτάω roast, bake  
 ὄρθρος dawn  
 ὀσάκις as often as, whenever  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 παρεξέρχομαι pass by, slip past  
 πατριά family, tribe  
 περίξ all around  
 πέρνημι export, sell as a slave  
 ~porno  
 πλῆκτρον plectrum, barge pole  
 ποδηγετής reaching to the feet  
 πρίαμαι buy  
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 προσίημι be allowed near  
 προσμένω await, cleave to  
 πρῶρα bow, prow ~prolog  
 πωλόμαι go back and forth  
 πωλέω sell  
 πῶλος (f) foal ~foal  
 ῥόδον rose  
 σιγά silence

σιγάω (i) be silent  
 σινδών -όνης (f, 3) linen  
 σιτέομαι (i) eat ~parasite  
 σκήπτρον scepter, staff ~scepter  
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry  
 σπανίζω be scarce; lack; use up  
 στεγαστρίς roof, covering  
 στέφανος ring  
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer  
 συνοικέω live together  
 σχινοτενής stretched straight  
 ταφή burial, grave  
 τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer  
 τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common  
 land  
 τετραέτης of four years  
 τοσόσδε this much  
 τριέτης for three years  
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;  
 delay ~ballistic  
 ὕπερον pestle, club; pupa  
 ὕπερος pestle, club; pupa  
 ὑπερφρονέω be snobby  
 ὑπόδημα -τος (n, 3) sandals  
 φοινικήμιος of palm trees  
 φορτίον burden, load  
 φόρτος outward cargo ~bear  
 χειροποίητος artificial  
 χλανίδιον woman's mantle  
 χρυσίον (i) gold coin  
 ὠθέω push  
 ὠνέομαι buy

τούτοις διφθέρας<sup>1</sup> στεγαστρίδας<sup>2</sup> ἔξωθεν ἐδάφους<sup>3</sup> τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης<sup>4</sup> πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιείσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων<sup>5</sup> πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους<sup>6</sup> φοινικίους<sup>7</sup> κατάγουσι οἶνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων<sup>8</sup> καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον<sup>9</sup> ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον,<sup>10</sup> νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπιάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπον τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

## 1.195

τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθήτη δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκί<sup>11</sup> λινέω,<sup>12</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπειδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον<sup>13</sup> λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι<sup>14</sup> ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι<sup>15</sup> πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον.<sup>16</sup> ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον<sup>17</sup> ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

<sup>1</sup> leather    <sup>2</sup> roof, covering    <sup>3</sup> ground, floor    <sup>4</sup> straw, stubble  
<sup>5</sup> burden, load    <sup>6</sup> jar, cask    <sup>7</sup> of palm trees    <sup>8</sup> plectrum, barge pole  
<sup>9</sup> cargo    <sup>10</sup> outward cargo    <sup>11</sup> reaching to the feet    <sup>12</sup> linen  
<sup>13</sup> woman's mantle    <sup>14</sup> metal waist guard    <sup>15</sup> anoint    <sup>16</sup> artificial  
<sup>17</sup> lily



## 1.196

αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις<sup>18</sup> περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὥδε κατεστάσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίαιτο γάμων ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας,<sup>19</sup> πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ πωλλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην<sup>20</sup> ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίῃσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες<sup>21</sup> τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενούσας·<sup>22</sup> ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἳ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὥς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἣ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ<sup>23</sup> τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσιν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεω βούλοιοτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροίαιτο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι.<sup>24</sup> ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελεῖ ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἀλόντες<sup>25</sup> ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν,<sup>26</sup> πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

<sup>18</sup> equipment   <sup>19</sup> crowded; all together   <sup>20</sup> good-looking   <sup>21</sup> blessed with a good genius   <sup>22</sup> be the best   <sup>23</sup> beautiful   <sup>24</sup> buy   <sup>25</sup> the nation   <sup>26</sup> lose one's fortune

## 1.197

δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἡτροῖσι. προσιόντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσον, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινεύουσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπέιρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

## 1.198

ταφαί<sup>27</sup> δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι,<sup>28</sup> θρῆνοι<sup>29</sup> δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις<sup>30</sup> δ' ἂν μυχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίος, περὶ θυμῖμα<sup>31</sup> καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι<sup>32</sup> δὲ ἢ γυνὴ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιέει, ὀρθρου δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος<sup>33</sup> γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτ' ἀνὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιέουσι.

## 1.199

ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοις ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναικὰ ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μυχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιούμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων<sup>34</sup> ἐν καμάρῃσι<sup>35</sup> ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπείῃ δὲ σφι ὅπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ποιέουσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος<sup>36</sup> πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων, ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα, μυχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε·

<sup>27</sup> burial, grave    <sup>28</sup> honey, a sweet    <sup>29</sup> dirge    <sup>30</sup> as often as, whenever    <sup>31</sup> incense    <sup>32</sup> opposite, elsewhere, anywhere  
<sup>33</sup> container    <sup>34</sup> team of animals    <sup>35</sup> covered carriage, boat    <sup>36</sup> cord, string

«ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.» Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι.

τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπόσσηται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμῇ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μυχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῷπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμβηαι.

ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδὲός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι<sup>37</sup> αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα<sup>38</sup> καὶ τετράετα<sup>39</sup> μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

## 1.200

νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατρίαὶ τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μόνον, τοὺς ἐπέιτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες ἀνήνωσι<sup>40</sup> πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιέουσι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον<sup>41</sup> καὶ λειήναντες ὑπέροισι σώσι διὰ συνδόνας,<sup>42</sup> καὶ ὅς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἄτε μαῖζαν<sup>43</sup> μαζάμενος<sup>44</sup> ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὁπτήσας.

## 1.201

ὥς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίῳ ἀνατολᾷ, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

<sup>37</sup> misshapen, shapeless    <sup>38</sup> for three years    <sup>39</sup> of four years    <sup>40</sup> to dry; (mp) wither    <sup>41</sup> roller    <sup>42</sup> linen    <sup>43</sup> barley bread; lump  
<sup>44</sup> handle, knead

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.

#### 1.196

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 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.



*vocabulary*

**ἄκρητος** pure, unmixed ~crater  
**ἀμήχανος** helpless, impossible  
 ~mechanism  
**ἀνακαίω** light (a fire) ~caustic  
**ἀνασχετός** enduring  
**ἀνατέλλω** cause to grow ~apostle  
**ἀνθρωπῆιος** human  
**ἀντιθέω** run against  
**ἀντιόω** meet, fight, join  
**ἀντιτίθηναι** oppose, balance  
**ἀπαθής** unaffected, impassive  
**ἀπεῖπον** refuse, renounce, declare  
**ἄπειρος** untested; infinite  
**ἀπείρων** boundless  
**ἀπόδεξις** acceptance; (Ion) showing  
**ἀποέργω** exclude; divide; confine  
**ἀποτρέπω** divert from ~trophy  
**ἀποφαίνω** display, declare  
**ἀπόφημι** speak out ~fame  
**ἀράσσω** smash  
**ἀφειδής** unsparing, cruel ~aphid  
**ἀφηγέομαι** lead; tell, relate  
**ἄχαρις** -δος (f) ungracious  
**βασίλεια** noblewoman  
**βασίλειος** kingly  
**γένεσις** -εως (f) source, origin  
 ~genus  
**γέφυρα** (ὑ) dam, dike; bridge  
**δέρμα** -τος (n, 3) skin, hide  
 ~dermatology  
**διαβαίνω** pass over, cross ~basis  
**διάβασις** -εως (f) crossing, passage  
 ~basis  
**διαλαμβάνω** distribute  
**διαπορθμεύω** ferry, bring across  
**διῶρυξ** -χος (f) ditch, canal  
**ἐγγράφω** engrave, enroll  
**εἰρεσία** rowing ~row  
**εἴριον** wool ~Eriogonum  
**εἰσδέχομαι** admit, take in  
**εἰστίθηναι** put in

**ἐκδέχομαι** receive; succeed to a position  
**ἐκδίδωμι** hand over ~donate  
**ἐκπλύνω** (ὑ) wash dirt out; wash thoroughly  
**Ἑλλήν** Greek  
**ἔλος** ἔλεος (n, 3) marsh  
**ἐμπαλιν** backwards, on the contrary  
**ἐμφανής** visible  
**ἐνείμι** be in ~ion  
**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command  
**ἐνυφαίνω** weave in  
**ἐξαναχωρέω** retreat, withdraw  
**ἐξερεύγομαι** spew, discharge  
**ἐξευρίσκω** find; discover ~eureka  
**ἐπασείρω** raise, place on ~aorta  
**ἐσθής** clothes ~vest  
**ἐσπέρα** evening, west  
**εὖρος** -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind  
**εὕτυχέω** be lucky, prosper, succeed  
**εὕτυχία** good luck, success  
**ζεύγνυμι** (ὑ) yoke, join ~zygote  
**ζῶον** being, animal; picture  
**ἡσάομαι** (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
**ἡσυχία** peace and quiet  
**θάλλω** bloom, flourish, abound  
 ~thallium  
**θέρος** -εος (n, 3) summer ~thermos  
**ιδέα** ἰδῆς semblance; kind, style  
**ιθύω** (ι) charge at, head for ~justice  
**καταγίζω** devote, dedicate  
**κατακόπτω** cut down, shatter  
**κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine  
**κύκλος** circle, wheel ~cycle  
**κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity  
**μάθημα** -τος (n, 3) lesson, knowledge  
**μεθύσκω** (mp) get drunk  
**μεθύω** be soaked, drunk ~mead



μέμφομαι blame; reject  
 μέτεμι be among, go, follow ~ion  
 μετέχω partake of  
 μήκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μῖξις mixing; sex, commerce  
 μνάομαι be mindful of, woo, take  
 for sex ~mnemonic  
 μόθος toil  
 ναυτίλλομαι sail ~navy  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὁπότερος which of two, either of two  
 ὀρθόω stand up  
 ὀρύσσω dig  
 ὄρχησις dancing  
 ὀσμὴ smell ~osmium, odor  
 ὀσφραίνομαι catch scent of  
 πάθημα -τος (n, 3) suffering,  
 condition  
 παντοῖος all kinds of  
 πάντως by all means  
 παραμίγνυμι mix in  
 παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture  
 πεντεκαίδεκα 15  
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
 περιίζομαι sit around  
 περιφέρω carry around  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 προαγορεύω declare, predict, order  
 προθυμία (ō) zeal, alacrity ~fume  
 πρόσοδος (f) approach, procession;  
 a rent  
 προχωρέω proceed, come forward

ῥίζα root ~rhizome  
 σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 στήλη post, column  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 συγκαλέω call together ~gallo  
 συγκαταγαγρόσχω grow old together  
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer  
 συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix  
 συναγείρω gather together ~agora  
 συνεκπίπτω be removed together  
 συχνός long; many; extensive  
 σφάλμα stumble  
 τέναγος -εος (n, 3) shoal, shallows  
 τρίβω (ī) rub; (mid) be worn out  
 ~tribulation  
 ὑπέξειμι withdraw; go out  
 ὑπέχω promise; hold out one's  
 hand; submit to  
 ὑποθήκη advice, warning; deposit  
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 ὑποχωρέω recoil ~heir  
 φλαῦρος trifling  
 φορβή food, pasture ~euphorbia  
 φώκη seal (animal) ~Fr. phoque  
 χειμερινός of winter  
 ὠμός raw  
 ὠραίος ripe; young adult

## 1.202

ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης<sup>1</sup> λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ· νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβω μεγάθρα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπεῖτε ἂν ἐς τὼντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὁσφραινομένους<sup>2</sup> δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι<sup>3</sup> τῇ ὁσμῇ κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν<sup>4</sup> τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι.

ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλέα τε καὶ τενάγεια<sup>5</sup> ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς<sup>6</sup> σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνεὺς ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἕξω<sup>7</sup> στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει.

## 1.203

ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν ὀρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> smash    <sup>2</sup> catch scent of    <sup>3</sup> The smoke drugs them.    <sup>4</sup> dancing

<sup>5</sup> shoal, shallows    <sup>6</sup> raw    <sup>7</sup> The pillars of Hercules, modern Gibraltar.

καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρῆς ζώνοντα· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῷσδε ἰδέης<sup>8</sup> παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς<sup>9</sup> τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγυράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ<sup>10</sup> κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν<sup>11</sup> 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 ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποιμν. τοῦ ὦν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλὰ τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ<sup>12</sup> γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη<sup>13</sup> ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε<sup>14</sup> στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκείνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

#### 1.205

ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετῶν βασίλεια. Τόμυρίς οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνειῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνόμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετῶν βασιλῆήν, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσδοτον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξαι ἐποίεετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηγὴν, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.

<sup>8</sup> semblance; kind, style

<sup>9</sup> rub; (mid) be worn out

<sup>10</sup> wool

<sup>11</sup> mixing; sex, commerce

<sup>12</sup> of Cyrus

<sup>13</sup> good luck, success

<sup>14</sup> charge at, head for

## 1.206

ἔχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· πανσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωντοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῇσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμείαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον<sup>15</sup> μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποίεε.»

Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἰ γινώμει συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν.

## 1.207

παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὀρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα<sup>16</sup> ἔόντα ἀχάρिता μαθήματα<sup>17</sup> γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα<sup>18</sup> γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν.<sup>19</sup>

«ἦδ' ὦν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν,

<sup>15</sup> toil <sup>16</sup> suffering, condition <sup>17</sup> lesson, knowledge <sup>18</sup> it will not be profitable <sup>19</sup> be lucky, prosper, succeed

ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἐσσωθεῖς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι. τὡντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος.

«χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω<sup>20</sup> γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας.

«νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεῖ διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιῶντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι<sup>21</sup> καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθείες. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου<sup>22</sup> καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὶς ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.»

### 1.208

γνώμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὲ μετείς<sup>23</sup> τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροΐσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἦ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχώρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροΐσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθείς τῷ ἐωντοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληήν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενος οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ,<sup>24</sup> ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>20</sup> Cyrus's son <sup>21</sup> inexperienced <sup>22</sup> pure, unmixed <sup>23</sup> going away from <sup>24</sup> stand up

## 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.

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 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 shouldst overcome the Massagetai after crossing over into their land and shouldst 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 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.

*vocabulary*

ἀδής (ἄ) fearless ~Deimos  
 ἀζήμιος not paying, not punished  
 αἰχμή spear point ~acute  
 αἰχμοφόρος spearman  
 ἀλέξω ward off; aid  
 ἄμαξα wagon  
 ἀμπέλινος of the vine  
 ἀναφέρω bring up ~bear  
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong  
 ἀνθρωπῆιος human  
 ἄνιππος horseless  
 ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;  
 (intrans) ride away  
 ἄπλετος boundless, immense,  
 abundant  
 ἄπληστος insatiable, greedy  
 ἀποκρεμάζω let hang down; (mp)  
 hang, come off  
 ἀπολαμβάνω receive, recover, take  
 aside, cut off ~epilepsy  
 ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina  
 ἄρδις arrowhead  
 ἀσκός wine skin, leather bag  
 ἀτρεχής precise, certain  
 αὐτως just so, merely; in vain ~after  
 ἀφθονος ungrudging, plentiful  
 ἀχρεῖος serving no purpose  
 ~chresard  
 γαλακτοπότης -ου (m, 1) milk  
 drinker  
 δαίνυμι (ῖ) give a feast, feast on  
 ~demon  
 δατέομαι divide into portions  
 ~demon  
 δεσμέω to chain  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis  
 δίατα way of life; home; arbitration  
 διεργάζομαι cultivate; kill, end  
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal

διίστημι stand apart ~stand  
 δολώω trick, trap, disguise  
 ἐγγειρίδιος handle, hand tool,  
 dagger  
 εἰσακούω hearken ~acoustic  
 ἐκτοξεύω shoot out  
 ἔλεγχος (n) shame, disgrace; (m)  
 refutation  
 ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 ἐλευθερόω set free  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐμπίμπλημι fill with  
 ἐναφίημι release into  
 ἐξεγείρω awaken  
 ἐπασείρω raise, place on ~aorta  
 ἐπαναπλέω sail back  
 ἐπιβουλεύω plot, plan, harm  
 ~volunteer  
 ἐπίκοινος in common  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;  
 (mid) think over  
 ἐπισκιάζω throw shade on  
 ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute ~bear  
 ἐπόμενυμι (ῖ) swear by  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὕδω sleep, lie down, rest  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἔψω boil, be boiling  
 ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive  
 ~zoo  
 ζωστήρ -ος (m) belt ~zone  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 θώραξ -ηκος (m) breastplate  
 ~thorax  
 ἵπποτης -ου (m, 1) horseman  
 ~hippo  
 καθυβρίζω insult  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καρτερός strong, staunch  
 κατασιτέομαι (ῖ) eat up, feed on  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue

~catastrophe

**κάτειμι** go down, disembark ~ion

**κατευχέομαι** party on; entertain

**κῆδω** distress, hurt; mp: care about (+gen) ~heinous

**κλίνω** (ι) lean, recline ~incline

**κορέννυμι** (υ) sate; pf, mp: have enough ~cereal

**κοσμέω** marshal, array ~cosmos

**κῦρος** -εος (n, 3) authority; validity

**λυμαίνομαι** (υ) abuse, violate, desecrate

**μαίνομαι** be berserk ~maenad

**μασχαλιστήρ** girth, band

**μετέχω** partake of

**μηχανή** machine; mechanism, way

**μίν** him, her, it

**νόσος** (f) plague, pestilence

~noisome

**νοῦσος** (f) plague, pestilence

~noisome

**ὄλβιος** happy, wealthy

**ὄν** οὐ type of fruit

**οὐδέτερος** neither

**ὄψιος** late, in evening

**ὄψις** ὄψεως (f) sight, view

~thanatopsis

**παραγίγνομαι** be beside, attend

~genus

**παραινέω** recommend, exhort, warn

**παροίχομαι** pass, keep going

**περαιώω** carry across ~pierce

**πέρθω** sack, ravage, plunder

**περιβάλλω** act: excel; mid: put on clothing ~ballistic

**περιγίγνομαι** surpass; survive; attain ~genus

**περιχωρέω** go around, rotate

**Πέρσης** Persian

**πιθανός** persuasive

**προδείκνυμι** (υ) show by example; foreshadow

**προέρχομαι** proceed, come out

**πρόκειμαι** be placed by; be devoted to

**προφαίνω** show; pass: appear

~photon

**πτέρυξ** -γος (f) wing ~archeopteryx

**σέβομαι** feel shame, awe

**σημαίνω** give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore

**σίδηρος** iron ~siderite

**στέρνον** breast, chest, seat of feelings ~sternum

**στόμιον** aperture; bit

**στρατηγέω** be a general

**στρατιά** army ~strategy

**στρατόω** be on a campaign

~strategy

**συλλέγω** collect, assemble ~legion

**συμπίπτω** fall together, happen

**συμφορά** collecting; accident, misfortune

**συνέρχομαι** come together

**συνέχω** keep together, constrain

**τελευτή** conclusion, fulfilment

~apostle

**τοξεύω** shoot an arrow at ~toxic

**τοξότης** -ου (m, 1) archer ~toxic

**τριτημορίς** 1/3

**ὑποτίθηναι** suggest, advise

~hypothesis

**φάλαρον** bosses on a helmet,

cheek-piece for horses

**φαρετρεών** quiver

**φάρμακον** drug, potion ~pharmacy

**φονεύω** kill

**φορβή** food, pasture ~euphorbia

**φορέω** frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear

**χαλινός** (ι) bit for a horse

**χειρώω** dominate, subdue

**χρυσόω** (υ) make golden, gild

## 1.209

ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεια, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὖδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χωρῇ τοιγύνη· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας<sup>1</sup> καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσιν κου μάλιστα ἔτα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι.

ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἐνωτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὥς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦθον εἶπε «Ὑστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὖδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.»

## 1.210

Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληΐῃ αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖ ἐς Δαρεῖον.

ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονώς ὅστις τοὶ ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ' ἐστί, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὅς<sup>2</sup> ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχων ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τις τοὶ ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.»

<sup>1</sup> wing    <sup>2</sup> you, who

1.211

Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἦι ἐς Πέρσας φυλάζων 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<sup>3</sup> στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις<sup>4</sup> τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ἡῖδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

1.212

ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἅπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ<sup>5</sup> καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας<sup>6</sup> ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὧν μευ εἰδὲ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος,<sup>7</sup> Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἡ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἅπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω.»

1.213

Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποίετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε,

<sup>3</sup> fit, sound    <sup>4</sup> 1/3    <sup>5</sup> of the vine    <sup>6</sup> trick, trap, disguise    <sup>7</sup> not paying, not punished

ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωντόν.

## 1.214

καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωντῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσα δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοις συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους<sup>8</sup> ἐθέλειν φεύγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο, ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο<sup>9</sup> ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὥς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαινομένη<sup>10</sup> δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· «σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ· σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατὰ περ ἠπείλυσα, αἵματος κορέσω.» τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος<sup>11</sup> εἴρηται.

## 1.215

Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἵπποται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι,<sup>12</sup> σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις<sup>13</sup> καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας<sup>14</sup> καὶ μασχαλιστήρας,<sup>15</sup> χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὥς δ' αὕτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα<sup>16</sup> χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι,

<sup>8</sup> neither    <sup>9</sup> seek    <sup>10</sup> abuse, violate, desecrate    <sup>11</sup> persuasive  
<sup>12</sup> spearman    <sup>13</sup> arrowhead    <sup>14</sup> belt    <sup>15</sup> girth, band    <sup>16</sup> breast, chest, seat of feelings

τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς<sup>17</sup> καὶ στόμια<sup>18</sup> καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῶ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χωρῇ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

## 1.216

νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσινδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκουνα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἑλληνες ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμύσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα<sup>19</sup> ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὐρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλ' γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπεύρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται<sup>20</sup> δ' εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μῶνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον दाτέονται.

<sup>17</sup> bit for a horse    <sup>18</sup> aperture; bit    <sup>19</sup> quiver    <sup>20</sup> milk drinker

**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."

#### 1.213

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 things.