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rev. December 31, 2025

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*vocabulary*

ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container  
 ἀγεννής low-born; sordid  
 ἀγγοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina  
 ἀδελφεή sister  
 ἀδύνατος unable; impossible  
 ἀεργός lazy ~ergonomics  
 ἀθανατίζω make immortal  
 ἄθλον ἀέθλου prize ~athlete  
 αἵρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan  
 ἄμαχος unconquerable;  
 noncombatant  
 ἀμήχανος helpless, impossible  
 ~mechanism  
 ἀναπίμπλημι fulfill, endure  
 ~plethora  
 ἀνθρωπήιος human  
 ἀντικαθίζω place instead of; (mp)  
 sit watching against  
 ἄνω (ἄ) accomplish, pass, waste;  
 upwards, out to sea  
 ἀοίκητος uninhabited  
 ἄπειρος untested; infinite  
 ἀπογίγνομαι be taken away  
 ἀπογίνομαι be taken away  
 ἀποικος abroad, colonizing  
 ἀπορος impassable, difficult  
 ἀργός glistening, swift  
 ἄρκτος (f) bear  
 ἄρμα -τος (n, 3) chariot  
 ἀσθενής weak  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 ἄτιμος (i) without honor  
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain  
 βάθος -ους (n, 3) depth, height  
 βοάω shout  
 βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind  
 δάκτυλος finger, toe  
 δημότης -ου (m, 1) commoner  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis  
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus  
 ἐλευθερία freedom

ἐνθαῦτα there, here  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξαγωγή going out, export  
 ἐπιβοάω call to for help  
 ἐπικαλέω call upon  
 ἐπικρατέω rule over  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;  
 (mid) think over  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious  
 duty  
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle  
 ἐπιφανής coming to view;  
 conspicuous  
 ἐπιφράζω realize, think of ~frenzy  
 ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ~chiral  
 ἐπιχώριος native  
 ἐργάτης -ου (ἄ, m, 1) worker  
 ἐρήμιος empty  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὐγενής well born  
 εὐδαιμονία prosperity  
 εὐδαίμων blessed with a good  
 genius  
 εὐειδής good-looking ~wit  
 εὐεργεσία good deed, public service  
 ~ergonomics  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 εὖωχέω fete, feed well  
 ζεύγνυμι (i) yoke, join ~zygote  
 ζῶον being, animal; picture  
 ἡδομαι be pleased, enjoy  
 ~hedonism  
 ἡμερώω tame  
 θάπτω bury ~epitaph  
 θρίξ hair ~tresses  
 κάπηλος merchant  
 κατακαίω burn down ~caustic  
 κατάκειμαι lie down  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 κατήκοος hearing; obedient  
 κατύπερθεν above, from above

**κράτιστος** best  
**κρύπτω** hide, cover ~cryptic  
**κτίζω** found, populate ~oxytocin  
**κῶας κῶως** (n, 3) fleece  
**λάσιος** shaggy, overgrown ~lanolin  
**μέλισσα** bee  
**μεταπέμπω** send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μουνομαχίη** single combat; gladiator  
 fight  
**ὀλοφύρομαι** (ῶ) lament; take pity on  
**ὄνειδος** -εος (n, 3) blame; insult  
**ὄνομαστί** by name  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**πάθος** -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
 passion, condition  
**παίζω** play ~pediatrician  
**παιωνίζω** chant in victory  
**παντοῖος** all kinds of  
**παραθαλάσσιος** by the sea  
**παραίνεσις** -εως (f) speech; advice  
**παραπλήσιος** similar to  
**πάρεξ** alongside, diverging from;  
 (+ῆ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,  
 alongside  
**παρθένος** (f) girl, virgin ~Parthenon  
**πέραν** (ᾱ) on the other side, across  
**περιέπω** treat, handle  
**περιζομαι** sit around  
**Πέρσης** Persian  
**προάστειον** suburb  
**προκαθίζω** keep settling forward  
 ~sit  
**πρόκλησις** challenge; invitation  
**προσδοκάω** expect  
**προσήκω** belong to, it seems

**προσωτέρω** farther  
**προτιθῆμι** prefer, set out ~thesis  
**πωλέω** sell  
**σέβομαι** feel shame, awe  
**σιμός** (ι) snub-nosed  
**σκευάζω** prepare, collect  
**σπουδή** zeal; (dat) with difficulty,  
 hastily ~repudiate  
**στίζω** tattoo  
**στρατός** common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
**συμβάλλω** pit against; compare;  
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
**συμφέρω** bring together; be  
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen  
 ~bear  
**συμφορά** collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
**σφάζω** cut the throat  
**ταφή** burial, grave  
**τάφος** (m) funeral, grave; (n)  
 astonishment  
**τοιόσδε** such  
**τραχύς** (ᾱ) rough ~trachea  
**τριφάσιος** triple  
**τυραννέω** be an absolute ruler  
**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny  
**τύραννος** tyrant  
**ὑπήκοος** heeding, subject  
**χειρώω** dominate, subdue  
**χρησμός** oracular response  
**χρηστήριον** oracle, response  
**χῶμα** -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt  
**ψυχος** -εος (n, 3) coolness  
 ~psychology  
**ὠνέομαι** buy

## 5

## 5.1

οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπήκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὦν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνται σφέας οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ<sup>1</sup> βάσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἐποίεον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μονομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ<sup>2</sup> ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππον ἵππῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. νικῶντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον<sup>3</sup> κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἰπὴν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι «νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμός ἐπιτελούμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον.» οὕτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρέουσι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.

## 5.2

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περινθίων οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθει. ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Πέρινθος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηκίης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος<sup>4</sup> βασιλεί. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηκίην καταστρέφεσθαι.

## 5.3

Θρηκίων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τῶντό, ἄμαχόν<sup>5</sup> τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ

<sup>1</sup> by name    <sup>2</sup> triple    <sup>3</sup> chant in victory    <sup>4</sup> tame    <sup>5</sup> unconquerable; noncombatant

πολλῶ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι, νόμοισι δὲ οὔτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων οἰκεόντων.

#### 5.4

τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἀθανατίζοντες<sup>6</sup> ποιεῦσι, εἴρηταί μοι· Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Θρήξι ἐπιτελέουσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενόν σφι καὶ ἀπογενόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· τὸν μὲν γενόμενον περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται, ὅσα μιν δεῖ ἐπίτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπήια πάντα πάθρα· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἑξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ.

#### 5.5

οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναικας ἕκαστος πολλά· ἐπεὰν ὧν τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνῃ, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἰσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἢ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκιοτάτου ἐωυτῆς, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἀνδρί. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

#### 5.6

τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηίκων ἐστὶ ὁδε νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἑξαγωγῇ, τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἐῶσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναικας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι καὶ ὠνεύονται<sup>7</sup> τὰς γυναικας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενές<sup>8</sup> κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἀγενές. ἀργὸν

<sup>6</sup> make immortal    <sup>7</sup> buy    <sup>8</sup> well born

εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληιστύος κάλλιστον.

## 5.7

οὗτοι μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσὶ, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται<sup>9</sup> μούρους τούσδε, Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὁμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμέως ἑωυτούς.

## 5.8

ταφαὶ<sup>10</sup> δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήια εὐωχέονται,<sup>11</sup> προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῇ κρύψαντες, χῶμα<sup>12</sup> δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηϊκῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε.

## 5.9

τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκέες οἷτινες εἰσὶ ἀνθρωποὶ οἰκέοντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔρημος χώρα φαίνεται εὐῶσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούρους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους τοῖσι οὐνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικῇ· τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους<sup>13</sup> ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους<sup>14</sup> τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς<sup>15</sup> καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἀνδρας φέρειν, ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ὀξυτάτους· ἄρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῃ. εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων ἀποικοὶ γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. Σιγύννας δ' ὧν καλέουσι Δίγνες οἱ ἄνω

<sup>9</sup> feel shame, awe   <sup>10</sup> burial, grave   <sup>11</sup> fete, feed well   <sup>12</sup> mound of dirt   <sup>13</sup> shaggy, overgrown   <sup>14</sup> finger, toe   <sup>15</sup> snub-nosed

ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους,<sup>16</sup> Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.

### 5.10

ὥς δὲ Θρήκες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου, καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα<sup>17</sup> δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα.<sup>18</sup> ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὦν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίεε.

### 5.11

Δαρείος δὲ ὥς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίης καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδεις ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν.<sup>19</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννεύων<sup>20</sup> τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήζε, αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέεται, ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἶά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης<sup>21</sup> τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραννεῦσαι.

### 5.12

τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἴλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεκε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζω Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποιῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης ἄνδρες Παῖονες, οἱ ἐπείτε Δαρείος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παίωνων τυραννεῖν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα.<sup>22</sup> φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὥς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος<sup>23</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ

<sup>16</sup> merchant    <sup>17</sup> uninhabited    <sup>18</sup> coolness    <sup>19</sup> choice, plan    <sup>20</sup> be an absolute ruler    <sup>21</sup> commoner    <sup>22</sup> good-looking    <sup>23</sup> container

the meantime those of the Persians who had been left behind in Europe by Dareios, of whom Megabazos was the commander, had subdued the people of Perinthos first of the Hellespontians, since they refused to be subject to Dareios. These had in former times also been hardly dealt with by the Paionians: for the Paionians from the Strymon had been commanded by an oracle of their god to march against the Perinthians; and if the Perinthians, when encamped opposite to them, should shout aloud and call to them by their name, they were to attack them; but if they should not shout to them, they were not to attack them: and thus the Paionians proceeded to do. Now when the Perinthians were encamped opposite to them in the suburb of their city, a challenge was made and a single combat took place in three different forms; for they matched a man against a man, and a horse against a horse, and a dog against a dog. Then, as the Perinthians were getting the better in two of the three, in their exultation they raised a shout of paion, and the Paionians conjectured that this was the very thing which was spoken of in the oracle, and said doubtless to one another, "Now surely the oracle is being accomplished for us, now it is time for us to act." So the Paionians attacked the Perinthians when they had raised the shout of paion, and they had much the better in the fight, and left but few of them alive.

## 5.2

Thus it happened with respect to those things which had been done to them in former times by the Paionians; and at this time, although the Perinthians proved themselves brave men in defence of their freedom, the Persians and Megabazos got the better of them by numbers. Then after Perinthos had been conquered, Megabazos marched his army through the length of Thracia, forcing every city and every race of those who dwell there to submit to the king, for so it had been commanded him by Dareios, to subdue Thracia.

## 5.3

Now the Thracian race is the most numerous, except the Indians, in all the world: and if it should come to be ruled over by one man, or to agree together in one, it would be irresistible in fight and the strongest by far of all nations, in my opinion. Since however this is impossible for them and cannot ever come to pass among them, they are in fact weak for that reason. They have many names, belonging to their various tribes in different places; but they all follow customs which are nearly the same in all respects, except the Getai and Trausians and those who dwell above the Crestonians.

## 5.4

Of these the practices of the Getai, who believe themselves to be immortal, have been spoken of by me already: and the Trausians perform everything



else in the same manner as the other Thracians, but in regard to those who are born and die among them they do as follows:—when a child has been born, the nearest of kin sit round it and make lamentation for all the evils of which he must fulfil the measure, now that he is born, enumerating the whole number of human ills; but when a man is dead, they cover him up in the earth with sport and rejoicing, saying at the same time from what great evils he has escaped and is now in perfect bliss.

### 5.5

Those who dwell above the Crestonians do as follows:—each man has many wives, and when any man of them is dead, a great competition takes place among his wives, with much exertion on the part of their friends, about the question of which of them was most loved by their husband; and she who is preferred by the decision and so honoured, is first praised by both men and women, then her throat is cut over the tomb by her nearest of kin, and afterwards she is buried together with her husband; and the others are exceedingly grieved at it, for this is counted as the greatest reproach to them.

### 5.6

Of the other Thracians the custom is to sell their children to be carried away out of the country; and over their maidens they do not keep watch, but allow them to have commerce with whatever men they please, but over their wives they keep very great watch; and they buy their wives for great sums of money from their parents. To be pricked with figures is accounted a mark of noble rank, and not to be so marked is a sign of low birth. Not to work is counted most honourable, and to be a worker of the soil is above all things dishonourable: to live on war and plunder is the most honourable thing.

### 5.7

These are their most remarkable customs; and of the gods they worship only Ares and Dionysos and Artemis. Their kings, however, apart from the rest of the people, worship Hermes more than all gods, and swear by him alone; and they say that they are descended from Hermes.

### 5.8

The manner of burial for the rich among them is this:—for three days they expose the corpse to view, and they slay all kinds of victims and feast, having first made lamentation. Then they perform the burial rites, either consuming the body with fire or covering it up in the earth without burning; and afterwards when they have heaped up a mound they celebrate games with every kind of contest, in which reasonably the greatest prizes are assigned for single combat. This is the manner of burial among the Thracians.

## 5.9

Of the region lying further on towards the North of this country no one can declare accurately who the men are who dwell in it; but the parts which lie immediately beyond the Ister are known to be uninhabited and vast in extent. The only men of whom I can hear who dwell beyond the Ister are those who are said to be called Sigynnai, and who use the Median fashion of dress. Their horses, it is said, have shaggy hair all over their bodies, as much as five fingers long; and these are small and flat-nosed and too weak to carry men, but when yoked in chariots they are very high-spirited; therefore the natives of the country drive chariots. The boundaries of this people extend, it is said, to the parts near the Enetoi, who live on the Adriatic; and people say that they are colonists from the Medes. In what way however these have come to be colonists from the Medes I am not able for my part to conceive, but everything is possible in the long course of ages. However that may be, the Ligurians who dwell in the region inland above Massalia call traders sigynnai, and the men of Cyprus give the same name to spears.

## 5.10

Now the Thracians say that the other side of the Ister is occupied by bees, and that by reason of them it is not possible to pass through and proceed further; but to me it seems that when they so speak, they say that which is not probable; for these creatures are known to be intolerant of cold, and to me it seems that the regions which go up towards the pole are uninhabitable by reason of the cold climate. These then are the tales reported about this country; and however that may be, Megabazos was then making the coast-regions of it subject to the Persians.

## 5.11

Meanwhile Dareios, so soon as he had crossed over the Hellespont and come to Sardis, called to mind the service rendered to him by Histiaios the Milesian and also the advice of the Mytilenian Coës, and having sent for them to come to Sardis he offered them a choice of rewards. Histiaios then, being despot of Miletos, did not make request for any government in addition to that, but he asked for the district of Myrkinos which belonged to the Edonians, desiring there to found a city. Histiaios chose this for himself; but Coës, not being a despot but a man of the people, asked to be made despot of Mitylene.

## 5.12

After the desires of both had been fulfilled, they betook themselves to that which they had chosen: and at this same time it chanced that Dareios saw a certain thing which made him desire to command Megabazos to conquer the

Paionians and remove them forcibly from Europe into Asia: and the thing was this: — There were certain Paionians named Pigres and Mantyas, who when Dareios had crossed over into Asia, came to Sardis, because they desired themselves to have rule over the Paionians, and with them they brought their sister, who was tall and comely. Then having watched for a time when Dareios took his seat publicly in the suburb of the Lydian city, they dressed up their sister in the best way they could, and sent her to fetch water, having a water-jar upon

*vocabulary*

ἄγγελία message, news ~angel  
 ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container  
 ἀδελφεή sister  
 ἄζω dry up ~ash  
 ἀλίζω gather, assemble  
 ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ~caustic  
 ἀνακλίνω (ι) lean something back,  
 push back, place ~incline  
 ἀναπαύω cause to cease ~pause  
 ἀνασπάω draw again ~spatula  
 ἄνω (ᾱ) accomplish, pass, waste;  
 upwards, out to sea  
 ἀπαθής unaffected, impassive  
 ἄποδος departure, return; toilet, shit  
 ἀποικος abroad, colonizing  
 ἀργύριον small coin  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 ἀρχῆθεν since forever  
 ἅτε as if; since  
 ἀτρέμας unmovingly, still ~tremble  
 αὐτόθι on the spot  
 ἄω aor: to sate ~sate  
 βαρύς heavy ~baritone  
 βραχίων -ονος (m, 3) upper arm,  
 shoulder  
 βυβλίον paper, book  
 γέφυρα (υ) dam, dike; bridge  
 γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter  
 γυναικῆς of women  
 δειμαίνω be afraid  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate  
 διασχεδάννυμι (υ) scatter, disperse  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δορυφόρος spear-bearring  
 εἰσάγω lead in ~demagogue  
 εἰσβολή -ωβόλης invasion, an  
 entrance ~ballistic  
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in  
 ἐκστρατεύω march out; (mp) take

the field  
 ἐμπίπλημι fill ~plethora  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
 ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out  
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;  
 destroy someone  
 ἐξέργω shut out; prevent; force to  
 ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute  
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;  
 (mid) think over  
 ἐπιμελής careful, cared for  
 ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack  
 ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ~chiral  
 ἐρῆμος empty  
 ἐρημώω raze, bereave; desert, isolate  
 ἐρύκω (υ) hold back ~serve  
 ἔσοδος entrance  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled  
 εὖμορφος beautiful  
 εὖπετής coming out well; (adv)  
 fortunately  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἐφέλω drag; (mid) influence  
 ἐφεξῆς in order, in a row  
 ζεύγνυμι (υ) yoke, join ~zygote  
 ἥθος ἥθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat  
 ~ethos  
 ἡλικία time of life, contemporaries  
 ἡπειρος (f) mainland, continent  
 θεάομαι look at, behold, consider  
 ~theater  
 θέω run, run for  
 ἵζω to seat ~sit  
 ἱκρία -τος (n, 2) fore, aft  
 καθίημι (ιι) speed down upon; take  
 down ~jet  
 καίπερ even if  
 καλύβη hut, cabin  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος

κατακυλίνδω roll down, throw off  
 κατάσκοπος spy, inspector  
 κενός empty, vain  
 κλώθω spin (yarn)  
 κοίτη rest, resting place, sleepiness  
 κουρίδιος wedded, nuptial  
 λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  
 ~limnic  
 λίνον cord, net, linen  
 λιπαρέω (i) persist  
 λούω wash, bathe  
 μαστός nipple, breast  
 μεγαλοπρεπής befitting greatness  
 μέθη strong drink, drunkenness  
 μέταλλον mine; mineral  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 νεηνίσκος young man  
 ξεινίζω be host, treat as a guest  
 ξείνιος of hospitality  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 ὀποδαπός of what country  
 ὀπόσος as many as, how many, how  
 great  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
 παλλακή sex slave  
 πάρεδρος assessor  
 παρέξειμι pass by; transgress  
 παρίζω sit beside ~sit  
 πάσσω sprinkle; insert in a web  
 περαιόω carry across ~pierce  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πλήρης full, complete; (+gen) full of  
 ~plethora

πολίζω build a wall, city  
 ~Minneapolis  
 πόσις -ος (m) (m) husband, master;  
 (f) a drink ~potent  
 προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 πρόσω forward, in the future; far  
 προτίθημι prefer, set out ~thesis  
 σκοπιά place with a view ~telescope  
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise  
 σπάρτον rope  
 σταυρός stake ~station  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 στρέφω turn, veer ~atrophy  
 συνέπαινος joining in approval  
 συνίημι send together; hear, notice,  
 understand ~jet  
 σύντομος truncated, concise  
 συχνός long; many; extensive  
 σχοῖνος rush, bed of rushes; rope,  
 measuring line; 10 km  
 τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight  
 ~talent  
 τοιόσδε such  
 ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis  
 ὑποζύγιον beast of burden ~zygote  
 ὑφίστημι promise, undertake  
 ~station  
 φιλόφρων kindly  
 φοιτάω go back and forth  
 χειρώ dominate, subdue  
 χόρτος barn, corral; fodder  
 χρῆζω need ~chresard  
 χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull  
 down

ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος<sup>1</sup> ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσιν<sup>2</sup> λίνον. ὥς δὲ παρεξήμε ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιούμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ ἢ γυνή. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὅπισθε εἶποντο· ἡ δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ἦρσε τὸν ἵππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξήμε, φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον.

## 5.13

θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τά τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὥρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν. ὥς δὲ ἄχθη, παρήσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ κη πρόσω σκοπιῇν<sup>3</sup> ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὀποδαπῇ<sup>4</sup> εἶη, ἔφασαν οἱ νεηνίσκοι εἶναι Παῖονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν. ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδεις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφραζον ὥς ἔλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνῳ δώσοντες σφέας αὐτούς, εἶη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη,<sup>5</sup> ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, εἶσαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἕκαστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἶσαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποιέετο.

## 5.14

ἐνθαῦτα Δαρεῖος γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ, τὸν ἔλιπε ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ στρατηγόν, ἐντελλόμενος ἐξαναστήσαι ἐξ ἡθέων Παῖονας καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππεὺς ἔθεε φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοῖ τὸ βυβλίον τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὁ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> upper arm, shoulder    <sup>2</sup> spin (yarn)    <sup>3</sup> place with a view    <sup>4</sup> of what country    <sup>5</sup> build a wall, city

ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

## 5.15

πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παῖονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλισθέντες<sup>6</sup> ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης, δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παῖονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τρέπονται, λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εὐρύσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἱα δὲ κεινῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλεις, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδουσιν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. οὕτω δὴ Παιόνων Σιριοπαῖονές τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

## 5.16

οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου· ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε. ἱκρία<sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον<sup>8</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στενὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἱκρίοισι τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολιοῖται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰστάσι τοιῶδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεος τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Ὅρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι· ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναῖκας. οἰκέουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης<sup>9</sup> τε ἐν τῇ διαιτᾶται καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες.<sup>10</sup> τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι

<sup>6</sup> gather, assemble    <sup>7</sup> fore, aft    <sup>8</sup> entrance    <sup>9</sup> hut, cabin    <sup>10</sup> be afraid

χόρτον ἰχθύς· τῶν δὲ πληθὸς ἐστὶ τοσούτο ὥστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατιεὶ σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχὼν ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεια ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας.

## 5.17

παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι<sup>11</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοῖτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὁρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

## 5.18

οἱ ὧν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἵτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐδίδου καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δείπνον μεγαλοπρεπές<sup>12</sup> ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως.<sup>13</sup> ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε. «ξεῖνε Μακεδών, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐπεὰν δείπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακάς<sup>14</sup> καὶ τὰς κουριδίας<sup>15</sup> γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν, ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαιο μέγας δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπειτα νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ.» εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης «ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπόται προσχρηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα.» εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ἐπεὶ καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἕζοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι.

<sup>11</sup> trustworthy; excellent    <sup>12</sup> befitting greatness    <sup>13</sup> kindly    <sup>14</sup> sex slave    <sup>15</sup> wedded, nuptial



ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθαι<sup>16</sup> μὴ ἔλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἄπτοντο οἷα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

### 5.19

Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας<sup>17</sup> εἶχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδεμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεὼν τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἶος τε ἦν, ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. «ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιῶν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρει<sup>18</sup> τῇ πόσι· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι.» πρὸς ταῦτα συνιὲς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν μέλλοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει «ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρηρίζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ' ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχου ὀρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαί τοι.»

### 5.20

ὥς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας «γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, ἔστι ὑμῖν πολλὴ εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι<sup>19</sup> βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσῃσι ὦν αὐτέων. τούτου μὲν περί αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δέ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης<sup>20</sup> ὥρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὀρῶ μέθης,<sup>21</sup> γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστί, ἄπετε λούσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε.» εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ

<sup>16</sup> since forever    <sup>17</sup> unmovingly, still    <sup>18</sup> persist    <sup>19</sup> sprinkle;  
insert in a web    <sup>20</sup> rest, resting place, sleepiness    <sup>21</sup> strong drink, drunkenness

her head and leading a horse after her by a bridle round her arm, and at the same time spinning flax. Now when the woman passed out of the city by him, Dareios paid attention to the matter, for that which was done by the woman was not of Persian nor yet of Lydian fashion, nor indeed after the manner of any people of Asia. He sent therefore some of his spearmen, bidding them watch what the woman would do with the horse. They accordingly followed after her; and she having arrived at the river watered the horse, and having watered him and filled her jar with the water, she passed along by the same way, bearing the water upon her head, leading the horse after her by a bridle round her arm, and at the same time turning the spindle.

### 5.13

Then Dareios, marvelling both at that which he heard from those who went to observe and also at that which he saw himself, bade them bring her into his presence: and when she was brought, her brothers also came, who had been watching these things at no great distance off. So then when Dareios asked of what country she was, the young men said that they were Paionians and that she was their sister; and he replied: "Who then are these Paionians, and where upon the earth do they dwell?" and he asked them also what they desired, that they had come to Sardis. They declared to him that they had come to give themselves up to him, and that Paionia was a country situated upon the river Strymon, and that the Strymon was not far from the Hellespont, and finally that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy. All these things severally they told him; and he asked whether all the women of that land were as industrious as their sister; and they very readily replied to this also, saying that it was so, for it was with a view to that very thing that they had been doing this.

### 5.14

Then Dareios wrote a letter to Megabazos, whom he had left to command his army in Thrace, bidding him remove the Paionians from their place of habitation and bring them to the king, both themselves and their children and their wives. Then forthwith a horseman set forth to ride in haste bearing the message to the Hellespont, and having passed over to the other side he gave the paper to Megabazos. So he having read it and having obtained guides from Thrace, set forth to march upon Paionia:

### 5.15

And the Paionians, being informed that the Persians were coming against them, gathered all their powers together and marched out in the direction of the sea, supposing that the Persians when they invaded them would make their attack on that side. The Paionians then were prepared, as I say, to

drive off the army of Megabazos when it came against them; but the Persians hearing that the Paionians had gathered their powers and were guarding the entrance which lay towards the sea, directed their course with guides along the upper road; and passing unperceived by the Paionians they fell upon their cities, which were left without men, and finding them without defenders they easily took possession of them. The Paionians when they heard that their cities were in the hands of the enemy, at once dispersed, each tribe to its own place of abode, and proceeded to deliver themselves up to the Persians. Thus then it happened that these tribes of the Paionians, namely the Siropaionians, the Paioplians and all up to the lake Prasias, were removed from their place of habitation and brought to Asia;

#### 5.16

But those who dwell about mount Pangaion, and about the Doberians and Agrianians and Odomantians, and about the lake Prasias itself, were not conquered at all by Megabazos. He tried however to remove even those who lived in the lake and who had their dwellings in the following manner:—a platform fastened together and resting upon lofty piles stood in the middle of the water of the lake, with a narrow approach to it from the mainland by a single bridge. The piles which supported the platform were no doubt originally set there by all the members of the community working together, but since that time they continue to set them by observance of this rule, that is to say, every man who marries brings from the mountain called Orbelos three piles for each wife and sets them as supports; and each man takes to himself many wives. And they have their dwelling thus, that is each man has possession of a hut upon the platform in which he lives and of a trap-door leading through the platform down to the lake: and their infant children they tie with a rope by the foot, for fear that they should roll into the water. To their horses and beasts of burden they give fish for fodder; and of fish there is so great quantity that if a man open the trap-door and let down an empty basket by a cord into the lake, after waiting quite a short time he draws it up again full of fish. Of the fish there are two kinds, and they call them paprax and tilon.

#### 5.17

So then those of the Paionians who had been conquered were being brought to Asia: and Megabazos meanwhile, after he had conquered the Paionians, sent as envoys to Macedonia seven Persians, who after himself were the men of most repute in the army. These were being sent to Amyntas to demand of him earth and water for Dareios the king. Now from lake Prasias there is a very short way into Macedonia; for first, quite close to the lake, there is the mine from which after this time there came in regularly a talent of silver

every day to Alexander; and after the mine, when you have passed over the mountain called Dysoron, you are in Macedonia.

### 5.18

These Persians then, who had been sent to Amyntas, having arrived came into the presence of Amyntas and proceeded to demand earth and water for king Dareios. This he was willing to give, and also he invited them to be his guests; and he prepared a magnificent dinner and received the Persians with friendly hospitality. Then when dinner was over, the Persians while drinking pledges to one another said thus: "Macedonian guest-friend, it is the custom among us Persians, when we set forth a great dinner, then to bring in also our concubines and lawful wives to sit beside us. Do thou then, since thou didst readily receive us and dost now entertain us magnificently as thy guests, and since thou art willing to give to king Dareios earth and water, consent to follow our custom." To this Amyntas replied: "Persians, among us the custom is not so, but that men should be separate from women. Since however ye being our masters make this request in addition, this also shall be given you." Having so said Amyntas proceeded to send for the women; and when they came being summoned, they sat down in order opposite to the Persians. Then the Persians, seeing women of comely form, spoke to Amyntas and said that this which had been done was by no means well devised; for it was better that the women should not come at all, than that they should come and should not seat themselves by their side, but sit opposite and be a pain to their eyes. So Amyntas being compelled bade them sit by the side of the Persians; and when the women obeyed, forthwith the Persians, being much intoxicated, began to touch their breasts, and some no doubt also tried to kiss them.

### 5.19

Amyntas seeing this kept quiet, notwithstanding that he felt anger, because he excessively feared the Persians; but Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was present and saw this, being young and without experience of calamity was not able to endure any longer; but being impatient of it he said to Amyntas: "My father, do thou grant that which thy age demands, and go away to rest, nor persevere longer in the drinking; but I will remain here and give to our guests all that is convenient." On this Amyntas, understanding that Alexander was intending to do some violence, said: "My son, I think that I understand thy words, as the heat of anger moves thee, namely that thou desirest to send me away and then do some deed of violence: therefore I ask of thee not to do violence to these men, that it may not be our ruin, but endure to see that which is being done: as to my departure, however, in that I will do as thou sayest."

## 5.20

When Amyntas after having made of him this request had departed, Alexander said to the Persians: "With these women ye have perfect freedom, guests, to have commerce with all, if ye so desire, or with as many of them as ye will. About this matter ye shall be they who give the word; but now, since already the hour is approaching for you to go to bed and I see that ye have well drunk, let these women go away, if so it is pleasing to you, to bathe themselves; and when they have bathed, then receive them back into your company." Having so said, since the Persians readily agreed, he dismissed the women, when they had gone out, to the women's chambers; and

*vocabulary*

ἀγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself  
 ἀγωνιστής -οῦ (m, 1) competitor  
 ἀδελφεή sister  
 ἀθλεύω contend for a prize; toil  
 ~athlete  
 αἰτιάομαι blame ~etiology  
 ἀκμάζω be in top form, flourish  
 ἄλιος of the sea; fruitless  
 ἀνδραποδίζω enslave  
 ἄνεσις -εως (f) loosening, indulgence  
 ἀντιθέω run against  
 ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order,  
 promise ~angel  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;  
 (intrans) ride away  
 ἀπογράφω copy, register  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέρω flay completely  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀργύρεος silver ~Argentina  
 ἀριθμός number  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 ἀφανίζω do away with, make off  
 with; (pass) disappear  
 ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful  
 βασιλῆιος kingly  
 βασιλεύω be king  
 δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide  
 ~dermatology  
 δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
 δημόσιος public, the state  
 διάδοχος being successor  
 διαπεραιώω carry across  
 διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion  
 διεξελάνω drive through  
 διεξέρχομαι go through  
 διέπω manage, conduct  
 διεργάζομαι cultivate; kill, end  
 δίζημαι seek ~zeal  
 δικάζω judge

δωρεή gift  
 ἐγχειρίδιος handle, hand tool,  
 dagger  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐντανύω string a bow ~tend  
 ἐντείνω tauten ~tend  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;  
 destroy someone  
 ἐξέργω shut out; prevent; force to  
 ἐξευρίσχω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out,  
 describe ~hegemony  
 ἐπιλαμβάνω take, attack, seize  
 ἐπιμελέομαι take care of, oversee  
 ἐπινοέω intend  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὐδαιμονία prosperity  
 εὖνοος kindly; favorable  
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)  
 fortunately  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ζητήσις -εως (f) search, inquiry  
 ἥπιος kind (adj)  
 θεραπῆν service, tending  
 θεράπων -οντος (m, 3) helper,  
 henchman, servant ~therapy  
 ἵζω to seat ~sit  
 ἱμάς -ντος (ī, m, 3) strap  
 κακώω harm, disfigure ~cacophony  
 καταλαμβάνω seize, understand,  
 catch, overtake; (mp) happen  
 ~epilepsy  
 καταλλάσσω exchange; make up  
 with  
 καταρτίζω fix; equip  
 καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  
 ~catastrophe  
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;  
 get; kill  
 κατῶπερθεν above, from above

κοίτη rest, resting place, sleepiness  
 κτήμα -τος (n, 3) possession  
 μαρτυρέω testify, bear witness  
 μέταλλον mine; mineral  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μηκέτι no more  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μισθός reward, wages  
 μέρος portion, lot in life  
 ναυπηγήσιμος useful in  
 shipbuilding  
 νοσέω be sick, be mad, suffer  
 νοστέω go home  
 οἰκοφθορέω lose one's fortune  
 ὄμιλος (i) crowd, throng ~homily  
 ὄν οὐ type of fruit  
 ὀπισθεν behind, hereafter  
 ὄχημα vehicle  
 παντελής complete, absolute  
 πάντως by all means  
 παράγω deflect; bring forward  
 παραθαλάσσιος by the sea  
 παρίζω sit beside ~sit  
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
 περιλαμβάνω surround, include  
 περιοικέω dwell around  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 προοράω see before oneself  
 προστάτης -ου (m, 1) leader,  
 protector  
 πρόσχημα -τος (n, 3) screen, pretext,  
 appearance, ornament  
 προτείνω hold out, offer  
 προσφέρω bring forth ~bear  
 σιγάω (i) be silent

σίνομαι (i) rob, damage  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 σοῦσον lily  
 σοφία skill; wisdom ~sophistry  
 σοφός skilled, clever, wise  
 σπάνιος rare, scanty  
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided  
 στάσις -εως (f) placing; faction  
 στρατηγέω be a general  
 στρατηγία office of command,  
 strategy ~strategy  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 σύμβουλος adviser  
 συνεκπίπτω be removed together  
 συνετός smart; intelligible  
 συνέχω keep together, constrain  
 σύνοιδα know about someone;  
 think proper  
 σφάζω cut the throat  
 σχεδία raft  
 σχεδίην at close quarters ~ischemia  
 τειχέω build  
 τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize  
 ~tonsure  
 τίμιος honored, precious  
 τράπεζα a table ~trapezoid  
 ὑπαρχος subordinate  
 ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer  
 φροντίζω consider, ponder  
 χώρος place ~heir  
 φαύω be closely touching  
 ὥρος year

Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθῆτι σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δούς ἦγε ἔσω, παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τάδε. «ὦ Πέρσαι, οὔκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ ἰστυῆσθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἵχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἶά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον, τὰς τε ἐωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφεὰς ἐπιδαψιλευόμεθα ὑμῖν, ὡς παντελέως<sup>1</sup> μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ ἐστὲ ἀξιοί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλείᾳ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγεῖλητε ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήνων Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ.» ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναικα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δέ, ἐπεῖτε σφέων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν<sup>2</sup> ἐπειρώντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

## 5.21

καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπῆνὴ αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφί καὶ ὀχήματα<sup>3</sup> καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζήτησις<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, χρήματά τε δούς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Γυγαίῃ· δούς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρῃ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων<sup>5</sup> τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

## 5.22

ὁ μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγήθη. Ἑλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνῳ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν<sup>6</sup> ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξείργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων

<sup>1</sup> complete, absolute    <sup>2</sup> be closely touching    <sup>3</sup> vehicle    <sup>4</sup> search, inquiry    <sup>5</sup> seek    <sup>6</sup> contend for a prize; toil



ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἑλλήν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

## 5.23

ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήποντον· ἐνθεῦτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν δωρεὴν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίστης, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιούμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. «ὦ βασιλεῦ, κοῖόν τι χρήμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ, ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμος<sup>7</sup> ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα, ὅμιλός τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλήν περιουκίει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κείνος ἐξηγέται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιῶντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ· τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον. ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιέειν ὅκως μηκέτι κείνος ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπίξεται.»

## 5.24

ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον ὡς εἶ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρεῖος ἔλεγε τάδε. «Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι ἀλλ' ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθόν. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.» τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεισι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιούμενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις· ἀπικομένων δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος

<sup>7</sup> useful in shipbuilding

τάδε. «Ἴστιαίε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμφάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν. ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχεί ἐπεζήτησα ὥς σέ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος,<sup>8</sup> τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι· Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηκίῃ πόλιν, σὺ δέ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχε τά περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ σύμβουλος.»

## 5.25

ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἄρταφρένεα ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὕπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίῳν, ἀπήλανε ἐς Σοῦσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἴστιαῖον, Ὅτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίῳν ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλῆϊων δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάζας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπείην, σπαδίζας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἱμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἕζων ἐδίκαζε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνήσθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

## 5.26

οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὅτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίης, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἄντανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων νέας εἶλε Λήμνόν τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκομένης.

## 5.27

οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὖ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον

<sup>8</sup> kindly; favorable

ἐκακώθησαν, τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὕπαρχον ἐπιστᾶσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν. οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Δήμῳ τελευτᾷ. αἰτία δὲ τούτου ἦδε· πάντας ἡνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σῖνασθαι<sup>9</sup> τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

## 5.28

οὗτος δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἰωσι γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτῇ τε ἑωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα<sup>10</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα<sup>11</sup> ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι.

## 5.29

κατήλλαξαν δὲ σφέας ὧδε Πάριοι. ὥς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρων γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους,<sup>12</sup> ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώραν· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνестηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. διεξελάσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους<sup>13</sup> εὐρόντες τούτους, ὥς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εἶρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

<sup>9</sup> rob, damage    <sup>10</sup> be in top form, flourish    <sup>11</sup> be sick, be mad, suffer

<sup>12</sup> lose one's fortune    <sup>13</sup> rare, scanty

Alexander himself equipped men equal in number to the women and smooth-faced, in the dress of the women, and giving them daggers he led them into the banqueting-room; and as he led them in, he said thus to the Persians: "Persians, it seems to me that ye have been entertained with a feast to which nothing was wanting; for other things, as many as we had, and moreover such as we were able to find out and furnish, are all supplied to you, and there is this especially besides, which is the chief thing of all, that is, we give you freely in addition our mothers and our sisters, in order that ye may perceive fully that ye are honoured by us with that treatment which ye deserve, and also in order that ye may report to the king who sent you that a man of Hellas, ruler under him of the Macedonians, entertained you well at board and bed." Having thus said Alexander caused a Macedonian man in the guise of a woman to sit by each Persian, and they, when the Persians attempted to lay hands on them, slew them.

#### 5.21

So these perished by this fate, both they themselves and their company of servants; for there came with them carriages and servants and all the usual pomp of equipage, and this was all made away with at the same time as they. Afterwards in no long time a great search was made by the Persians for these men, and Alexander stopped them with cunning by giving large sums of money and his own sister, whose name was Gygaia;—by giving, I say, these things to Bubares a Persian, commander of those who were searching for the men who had been killed, Alexander stopped their search.

#### 5.22

Thus the death of these Persians was kept concealed. And that these descendants of Perdiccas are Hellenes, as they themselves say, I happen to know myself, and not only so, but I will prove in the succeeding history that they are Hellenes. Moreover the Hellanodicaí, who manage the games at Olympia, decided that they were so: for when Alexander wished to contend in the games and had descended for this purpose into the arena, the Hellenes who were to run against him tried to exclude him, saying that the contest was not for Barbarians to contend in but for Hellenes: since however Alexander proved that he was of Argos, he was judged to be a Hellene, and when he entered the contest of the foot-race his lot came out with that of the first.

#### 5.23

Thus then it happened with regard to these things: and at the same time Megabazos had arrived at the Hellespont bringing with him the Paionians; and thence after passing over the straits he came to Sardis. Then, since Histiaios the Milesian was already engaged in fortifying with a wall the place

which he had asked and obtained from Dareios as a reward for keeping safe the bridge of boats (this place being that which is called Myrkinos, lying along the bank of the river Strymon), Megabazos, having perceived that which was being done by Histiaios, as soon as he came to Sardis bringing the Paionians, said thus to Dareios: “O king, what a thing is this that thou hast done, granting permission to a Hellene who is skilful and cunning to found a city in Thracia in a place where there is forest for shipbuilding in abundance and great quantity of wood for oars and mines of silver and great numbers both of Hellenes and Barbarians living round, who when they have obtained a leader will do that which he shall command them both by day and by night. Therefore stop this man from doing so, that thou be not involved in a domestic war: and stop him by sending for him in a courteous manner; but when thou hast got him in thy hands, then cause that he shall never again return to the land of the Hellenes.”

#### 5.24

Thus saying Megabazos easily persuaded Dareios, who thought that he was a true prophet of that which was likely to come to pass: and upon that Dareios sent a messenger to Myrkinos and said as follows: “Histiaios, king Dareios saith these things:— By taking thought I find that there is no one more sincerely well disposed than thou art to me and to my power; and this I know having learnt by deeds not words. Now therefore, since I have it in my mind to accomplish great matters, come hither to me by all means, that I may communicate them to thee.” Histiaios therefore, trusting to these sayings and at the same time accounting it a great thing to become a counsellor of the king, came to Sardis; and when he had come Dareios spoke to him as follows: “Histiaios, I sent for thee for this reason, namely because when I had returned from the Scythians and thou wert gone away out of the sight of my eyes, never did I desire to see anything again within so short a time as I desired then both to see thee and that thou shouldst come to speech with me; since I perceived that the most valuable of all possessions is a friend who is a man of understanding and also sincerely well-disposed, both which qualities I know exist in thee, and I am able to bear witness of them in regard to my affairs. Now therefore (for thou didst well in that thou camest hither) this is that which I propose to thee:—leave Miletos alone and also thy newly-founded city in Thracia, and coming with me to Susa, have whatsoever things I have, eating at my table and being my counsellor.”

#### 5.25

Thus said Dareios, and having appointed Artaphrenes his own brother and the son of his father to be governor of Sardis, he marched away to Susa taking with him Histiaios, after he had first named Otanes to be commander of those

who dwelt along the sea coasts. This man's father Sisamnes, who had been made one of the Royal Judges, king Cambyses slew, because he had judged a cause unjustly for money, and flayed off all his skin: then after he had torn away the skin he cut leathern thongs out of it and stretched them across the seat where Sisamnes had been wont to sit to give judgment; and having stretched them in the seat, Cambyses appointed the son of that Sisamnes whom he had slain and flayed, to be judge instead of his father, enjoining him to remember in what seat he was sitting to give judgment.

#### 5.26

This Otanes then, who was made to sit in that seat, had now become the successor of Megabazos in the command: and he conquered the Byzantians and Calchedonians, and he conquered Antandros in the land of Troas, and Lamponion; and having received ships from the Lesbians he conquered Lemnos and Imbros, which were both at that time still inhabited by Pelasgians.

#### 5.27

Of these the Lemnians fought well, and defending themselves for a long time were at length brought to ruin; and over those of them who survived the Persians set as governor Lycaretos the brother of that Maiandrios who had been king of Samos. This Lycaretos ruled in Lemnos till his death. And the cause of it was this: — he continued to reduce all to slavery and subdue them, accusing some of desertion to the Scythians and others of doing damage to the army of Dareios as it was coming back from Scythia.

#### 5.28

Otanes then effected so much when he was made commander: and after this for a short time there was an abatement of evils; and then again evils began a second time to fall upon the Ionians, arising from Naxos and Miletos. For Naxos was superior to all the other islands in wealth, and Miletos at the same time had just then come to the very height of its prosperity and was the ornament of Ionia; but before these events for two generations of men it had been afflicted most violently by faction until the Parians reformed it; for these the Milesians chose of all the Hellenes to be reformers of their State.

#### 5.29

Now the Parians thus reconciled their factions: — the best men of them came to Miletos, and seeing that the Milesians were in a grievously ruined state, they said that they desired to go over their land: and while doing this and passing through the whole territory of Miletos, whenever they saw in the desolation of the land any field that was well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner of that field. Then when they had passed through the

whole land and had found but few of such men, as soon as they returned to the city they called a general gathering and appointed these men to manage the State, whose fields they had found well cultivated; for they said that they thought these men would take care of the public affairs as they had taken care of their own: and the rest of the Milesians, who before had been divided by factions, they commanded to be obedient to these men.

*vocabulary***ἀγχοῦ** near, nigh; like ~angina**ἀέκων** unwilling**ἀναμένω** wait for ~remain**ἀνατίθηναι** consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach**ἀναφύω** grow back**ἀνδράποδον** -ς slave ~androgynous**ἀνεψιός** cousin ~nepotism**ἀπααιρεθέω** set aside, exclude, prevent**ἀπαιτέω** demand to have returned**ἀπαλλάσσω** free from, remove; be freed, depart**ἀποδείκνυμι** (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine**ἀποπέμπω** send away ~pomp**ἀπόστασις** -εως (f) revolt; separation**ἀποχράω** suffice; abuse**ἀριθμέω** to count ~arithmetic**ἀριθμός** number**ἀρμόζω** fit together; be well fitted to ~harmony**ἀρρωδέω** dread, shrink from**ἀρτάω** hang something on**ἀρτέομαι** be ready**ἀσθενής** weak**ἀφαιρέω** take away ~heresy**βορέας** -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind**γαμβρός** son-in-law, brother-in-law ~bigamy**δαπάνη** cost, funds, extravagance**διαβάλλω** throw across; slander ~ballistic**διαίρῶ** divide, distinguish, distribute**διαλύω** break up; relax, weaken**διανοέω** have in mind**δορυφόρος** spear-bearing**ἔαρ** -ος (n) spring (season)**εἰσφέρω** carry into, carry along ~bear**ἐκτελέω** complete, bring about ~apostle**ἐκφαίνω** bring to light ~photon**ἐκφέρω** carry off ~bear**ἐνείμι** be in ~ion**ἐνθαῦτα** there, here**ἐνθεῦτεν** thence**ἐνοράω** look at, notice something in**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command**ἐξαγγέλλω** bring news out ~angel**ἐξευρίσκω** find; discover ~eureka**ἐξηγητής** -οῦ (m, 1) leader, expounder**ἐπιθαλάσσιος** coastal**ἐπικρατέω** rule over**ἐπιλέγω** say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over**ἐπινοέω** intend**ἐπίτροπος** agent, officer**έτοῖμος** ready; fulfilled**εὐδαίμων** blessed with a good genius**εὐπετής** coming out well; (adv) fortunately**εύς** good, brave, noble**ἥπειρος** (f) mainland, continent**θρίξ** hair ~tresses**θυμός** (ō) anger**καθαίρέω** take down, close ~heresy**καθοράω** look down ~panorama**κάρτα** very much ~κράτος**κατάγω** lead down/home; land ~demagogue**καταδαπανάω** squander, consume**καταλέγω** relate in detail, choose; enroll ~legion**καταρτίζω** fix; equip**κατέρχομαι** come down, out from**λογίζομαι** reckon, consider**λογοποιός** writer, historian



λυμαίνομαι (ὑ) abuse, violate,  
 desecrate  
 μέγαθος tall, big (person)  
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  
 ~jet  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μίν him, her, it  
 νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular  
 ξείνιος of hospitality  
 ξυρέω shave  
 οἰκοδομέω build, build a house  
 ὄμιλος (ι) crowd, throng ~homily  
 ὄον οὐ type of fruit  
 ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from  
 ὀρρώδης of the butt  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 πάντως by all means  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for;  
 decline  
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;  
 (+ῃ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,  
 alongside  
 πάχος -εος (n, 3) thickness  
 ~pachyderm  
 παχύς thick, stout, clotted  
 ~pachyderm  
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
 περιχαρής very glad  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πιέζω press, squeeze ~piezoelectric  
 πολιορκία siege  
 ποτή flight? ~petal  
 ποτός potable  
 προσδέχομαι await, expect; suppose  
 προσκτάομαι get, win as well  
 πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive;  
 prediction ~fame

σάττω pack, compress  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σκήψις excuse  
 σκύλαξ -κος (f) puppy  
 σοῦσον lily  
 σπέρχω set in rapid motion  
 σπουδή zeal; (dat) with difficulty,  
 hastily ~repudiate  
 στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan  
 στίγμα -τος (n, 3) tattoo  
 στίζω tattoo  
 στρατηλατέω lead an army  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 συμβουλευέω give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer  
 συμπίπτω fall together, happen  
 συμφέρω bring together; be  
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen  
 ~bear  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συνέπαινος joining in approval  
 συνέρχομαι come together  
 τοιόσδε such  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὑπερτίθημι hand over; excel; defer  
 ὑπίσχομαι promise, agree to do  
 ὑπόσχεσις -τος (f) promise  
 ~ischemia  
 φράσσω fence in, protect  
 φυγάς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee  
 ~fugitive  
 χειρόω dominate, subdue  
 χίλιοι (ι) thousand ~kilo-  
 χροῖζω need ~chresard

## 5.30

Πάριοι μὲν νυν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατήρτισαν. τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὧδε ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἑὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἑὼν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοις κατεῖχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιάϊος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἑὼν ἐν Σούσοις, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον ξεινοὶ πρὶν ἔόντες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἴ πως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δυνάμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὥς ἦν δι' αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ποιούμενος τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφί λόγον προσέφερε. «αὐτὸς μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὥστε κατάγειν ἀεκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Ναξίοις εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος. ἐπινοέω δὲ τῇδε. Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἑὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ὑστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιὴν τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσῃν τῶν ἂν χρηρίζωμεν.» ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ πρήσσειν τῇ δύναιτο ἄριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ ὥς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα ποιήσῃν τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας.<sup>2</sup> τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

## 5.31

ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὥς Νάξος εἴη νήσος μεγάθι μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλή τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> excuse    <sup>2</sup> insular

ἀνδράποδα. «σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτεις,<sup>3</sup> κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τοι ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἔτοιμα παρ' ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαιον ἡμέας τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ· τοῦτο δὲ νήσους βασιλείᾳ προσκτήσεται αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεται Εὐβοίῃ νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εὐπετεὶ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι.» ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσιδε. «σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ἐξηγητὴς γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν διηκόσιαί τοι ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι.»

## 5.32

ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, περιχαρὴς ἔων ἀπῆι ἐς Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν Ἀχαμενιδέων, ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Πανσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

## 5.33

παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε

<sup>3</sup> lead an army

τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρήγμα τοιόνδε συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περιμόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσω· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ,<sup>4</sup> τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς διελόντας τῆς νεὸς κατὰ τοῦτο, ἕξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἕσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινὸν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαίνοιτο.<sup>5</sup> ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσῃν, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο<sup>6</sup> τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, ὁ δὲ εἶπε «σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἄρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις;» ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς<sup>7</sup> τούτοισι, ὡς νύξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοῖω ἄνδρας φράσσοντας τοῖσι Ναξίοισι πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματα.

## 5.34

οἱ γὰρ ὧν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσθνεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τείχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐσάξαντο.<sup>8</sup> καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφί πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπεῖτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους<sup>9</sup> προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τά τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητό σφί, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναίσιμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλευνός τε ἐδέετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

## 5.35

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένῃ ἐκτελέσαι·

<sup>4</sup> puppy    <sup>5</sup> abuse, violate, desecrate    <sup>6</sup> set in rapid motion    <sup>7</sup> anger

<sup>8</sup> pack, compress    <sup>9</sup> fence in, protect

ἅμα δὲ ἐπιέζε' μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδεε τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλημένος, ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιληίην τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι. ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλευέτο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπῆχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέως. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστήναι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῶς σημῆναι ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξηρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφῦναι τὰς τρίχας, ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά<sup>10</sup> μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα<sup>11</sup> ἐσήμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν ποιούμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι· ἀποστάσιος ὦν γινομένης πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιούσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἦξειν ἔτι ἐλογιζέτο.

## 5.36

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοούμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλευέτο ὦν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπιγμένα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι· Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς<sup>12</sup> πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔα πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τά τε ἔθνεα πάντα τῶν ἥρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιέειν ὅπως ναυκρατές τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταιρεθείη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχιδῆσι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξειν

<sup>10</sup> shave    <sup>11</sup> tattoo    <sup>12</sup> writer, historian

## 5.30

The Parians then had thus reformed the Milesians; but at the time of which I speak evils began to come to Ionia from these States in the following manner:—From Naxos certain men of the wealthier class were driven into exile by the people, and having gone into exile they arrived at Miletos. Now of Miletos it happened that Aristagoras son of Molpagoras was ruler in charge, being both a son in law and also a cousin of Histiaios the son of Lysagoras, whom Dareios was keeping at Susa: for Histiaios was despot of Miletos, and it happened that he was at Susa at this time when the Naxians came, who had been in former times guest-friends of Histiaios. So when the Naxians arrived, they made request of Aristagoras, to see if perchance he would supply them with a force, and so they might return from exile to their own land: and he, thinking that if by his means they should return to their own State, he would be ruler of Naxos, but at the same time making a pretext of the guest-friendship of Histiaios, made proposal to them thus: “I am not able to engage that I can supply you with sufficient force to bring you back from exile against the will of those Naxians who have control of the State; for I hear that the Naxians have an army which is eight thousand shields strong and many ships of war: but I will use every endeavour to devise a means; and my plan is this:—it chances that Artaphrenes is my friend: now Artaphrenes, ye must know, is a son of Hystaspes and brother of Dareios the king; and he is ruler of all the people of the sea-coasts in Asia, with a great army and many ships. This man then I think will do whatsoever we shall request of him.” Hearing this the Naxians gave over the matter to Aristagoras to manage as best he could, and they bade him promise gifts and the expenses of the expedition, saying that they would pay them; for they had full expectation that when they should appear at Naxos, the Naxians would do all their bidding, and likewise also the other islanders. For of these islands, that is the Cyclades, not one was as yet subject to Dareios.

## 5.31

Aristagoras accordingly having arrived at Sardis, said to Artaphrenes that Naxos was an island not indeed large in size, but fair nevertheless and of fertile soil, as well as near to Ionia, and that there was in it much wealth and many slaves: “Do thou therefore send an expedition against this land, and restore it to those who are now exiles from it: and if thou shalt do this, first I have ready for thee large sums of money apart from the expenses incurred for the expedition (which it is fair that we who conduct it should supply), and next thou wilt gain for the king not only Naxos itself but also the islands which are dependent upon it, Paros and Andros and the others which are called Cyclades; and setting out from these thou wilt easily attack Euboea, an island which is large and wealth, as large indeed as Cyprus, and very easy

to conquer. To subdue all these a hundred ships are sufficient.” He made answer in these words: “Thou makest thyself a reporter of good things to the house of the king; and in all these things thou advisest well, except as to the number of the ships: for instead of one hundred there shall be prepared for thee two hundred by the beginning of the spring. And it is right that the king himself also should join in approving this matter.”

### 5.32

So Aristagoras hearing this went back to Miletos greatly rejoiced; and Artaphrenes meanwhile, when he had sent to Susa and communicated that which was said by Aristagoras, and Dareios himself also had joined in approving it, made ready two hundred triremes and a very great multitude both of Persians and their allies, and appointed to be commander of these Megabates a Persian, one of the Achaimenidai and a cousin to himself and to Dareios, to whose daughter afterwards Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus the Lacedaemonian (at least if the story be true) betrothed himself, having formed a desire to become a despot of Hellas. Having appointed Megabates, I say, to be commander, Artaphrenes sent away the armament to Aristagoras.

### 5.33

So when Megabates had taken force together with the Naxians, he sailed with the pretence of going to the Hellespont; but when he came to Chios, he directed his ships to Caucasa, in order that he might from thence pass them over to Naxos with a North Wind. Then, since it was not fated that the Naxians should be destroyed by this expedition, there happened an event which I shall narrate. As Megabates was going round to visit the guards set in the several ships, it chanced that in a ship of Myndos there was no one on guard; and he being very angry bade his spearmen find out the commander of the ship, whose name was Skylax, and bind him in an oar-hole of his ship in such a manner that his head should be outside and his body within. When Skylax was thus bound, some one reported to Aristagoras that Megabates had bound his guest-friend of Myndos and was doing to him shameful outrage. He accordingly came and asked the Persian for his release, and as he did not obtain anything of that which he requested, he went himself and let him loose. Being informed of this Megabates was exceedingly angry and broke out in rage against Aristagoras; and he replied: “What hast thou to do with these matters? Did not Artaphrenes send thee to obey me, and to sail whithersoever I should order? Why dost thou meddle with things which concern thee not?” Thus said Aristagoras; and the other being enraged at this, when night came on sent men in a ship to Naxos to declare to the Naxians all the danger that threatened them.

## 5.34

For the Naxians were not at all expecting that this expedition would be against them: but when they were informed of it, forthwith they brought within the wall the property which was in the fields, and provided for themselves food and drink as for a siege, and strengthened their wall. These then were making preparations as for war to come upon them; and the others meanwhile having passed their ships over from Chios to Naxos, found them well defended when they made their attack, and besieged them for four months. Then when the money which the Persians had brought with them had all been consumed by them, and not only that, but Aristagoras himself had spent much in addition, and the siege demanded ever more and more, they built walls for the Naxian exiles and departed to the mainland again with ill success.

## 5.35

And so Aristagoras was not able to fulfil his promise to Artaphrenes; and at the same time he was hard pressed by the demand made to him for the expenses of the expedition, and had fears because of the ill success of the armament and because he had become an enemy of Megabates; and he supposed that he would be deprived of his rule over Miletos. Having all these various fears he began to make plans of revolt: for it happened also that just at this time the man who had been marked upon the head had come from Hisiaios who was at Susa, signifying that Aristagoras should revolt from the king. For Histiaios, desiring to signify to Aristagoras that he should revolt, was not able to do it safely in any other way, because the roads were guarded, but shaved off the hair of the most faithful of his slaves, and having marked his head by pricking it, waited till the hair had grown again; and as soon as it was grown, he sent him away to Miletos, giving him no other charge but this, namely that when he should have arrived at Miletos he should bid Aristagoras shave his hair and look at his head: and the marks, as I have said before, signified revolt. This thing Histiaios was doing, because he was greatly vexed by being detained at Susa. He had great hopes then that if a revolt occurred he would be let go to the sea-coast; but if no change was made at Miletos he had no expectation of ever returning thither again.

## 5.36

Accordingly Hisiaios with this intention was sending the messenger; and it chanced that all these things happened to Aristagoras together at the same time. He took counsel therefore with his partisans, declaring to them both his own opinion and the message from Hisiaios; and while all the rest expressed an opinion to the same effect, urging him namely to make revolt, Hecataios the historian urged first that they should not undertake war with the king of



the Persians, enumerating all the nations over whom Dareios was ruler, and his power: and when he did not succeed in persuading him, he counselled next that they should manage to make themselves masters of the sea. Now this, he continued, could not come to pass in any other way, so far as he could see, for he knew that the force of the Milesians was weak, but if the treasures should be taken which were in the temple at Branchidai, which Croesus the Lydian dedicated as offerings, he had great hopes that they might become masters of the sea; and by this means they would not only

*vocabulary*

ἀδελφεή sister  
 ἄδέω have too much of  
 ἄλλοιός of another kind ~alien  
 ἀναμάρτητος blameless  
 ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism  
 ἀνδραγαθία bravery  
 ἀντιβαίνω resist  
 ἀπιστία disbelief, distrust  
 ἀπόγονος descended from  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ὅ) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδιδράσκω escape  
 ἀποικία colony  
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp  
 ἀπόστολος messenger  
 ἀποφαίνω display, declare  
 βαρύς heavy ~baritone  
 βασιλεύω be king  
 δίδυμος twin, double  
 διέρχομαι pierce, traverse  
 διξός double  
 δόλος trick, bait  
 δωρέω give ~donate  
 εἰσάγω lead in ~demagogue  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκὼν willingly, on purpose; giving  
 in too easily  
 ἐμφανής visible  
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξίτηλος fading  
 ἐπικαλέω call upon  
 ἐπιπλέω sail on, over ~float  
 ἐπώνυμος named for a reason  
 ~name  
 ἐστία hearth ~Hestia  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἐφεδρος sitting at  
 ἔφορος fair wind; guardian; hill

ἥλιξ -κος (m) of the same age  
 θύω (ὅ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω  
 ἱδρύω establish  
 ἰσονομία balance; equality  
 ἰσχύς -ος (f) strength; body of troops  
 ἴσχω restrain, hold back ~ischemia  
 καθηγέομαι lead  
 καίτοι and yet; and in fact; although  
 Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian  
 καταθύμιος (ὅ) heart-oppressing  
 ~fume  
 καταλεύω stone to death  
 κατάπαυσις -εως (f) putting down;  
 rest  
 καταπαύω stop, restrain ~pause  
 κομπέω ring, clash  
 κτάομαι acquire, possess  
 κτίζω found, populate ~oxytocin  
 κυέω be pregnant ~accumulate  
 μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis  
 μάντις -ος (m) seer ~mantis  
 μαρτύριον testimony, proof  
 μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis  
 νηός temple, shrine  
 ξηρός dry, the land ~xeriscape  
 οἰκίζω colonize, settle  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὁπότερος which of two, either of two  
 οὐδαμὸς not anyone  
 οὐδέτερος neither  
 ὀχλέω move, disturb ~wagon  
 παραβάτης chariot fighter ~basis  
 παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn  
 περιδεής very timid  
 περίεμι be superior to; be left over;  
 still exist  
 περιέχω (mid) protect  
 περιίζομαι sit around  
 περιοράω look around; watch;

permit	συχνός long; many; extensive
πολλαπλήσιος many times more	σφέτερος their
προοράω see before oneself	τεκνοποιός begetting, bearing
προσδέω bind also; need also	children
προσχωρέω go to, join, support	τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common
προχωρέω proceed, come forward	land
στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle	τιμωρέω (i) (+dat) take vengeance,
στρατιά army ~strategy	punish; aid one who has been
συγχωρέω accede, concede	attacked
συλάω (ō) take off, despoil ~asylum	τοιόσδε such
συλλαμβάνω seize, capture;	τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny
understand ~epilepsy	τύραννος tyrant
συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)	ὕποβάλλω put under, interrupt
consult ~volunteer	~ballistic
συμμαχία alliance	φρενήρης of sound mind
συμπλέω sail with ~float	χρησμός oracular response
συναιρέω put together, crush	χρηστήριον oracle, response
~heresy	χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
συντυχίη event, accident	χώρος place ~heir
συστρατεύω join in an expedition	

τοῖσι χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὥς δεδήλωταί μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἢ γνώμη, ἔδοκε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίσταςθαι, εἴνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.

## 5.37

ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλλιος Μυλασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω Τερμερέα καὶ Κώην Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο,<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδew Κυμαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετείς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην<sup>2</sup> ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὥς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίητο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξον, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς, ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος.

## 5.38

Κώην μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπέιτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πλεῖνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράννων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας, Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὥς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

## 5.39

τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν

<sup>1</sup> give    <sup>2</sup> balance; equality

ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew εἶχε τὴν βασιληίην, οὐ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμῆς, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. τούτου δὲ τοιούτου ἐόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν «εἴ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneος γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπέιτε τοι οὐ τίκει, ἔξεο, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀδήσεις.» ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φᾶς τούτων οὐδέτερα<sup>3</sup> ποιήσῃν, ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν λεύειν παραινέοντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδὲ σφι πείσεσθαι.

#### 5.40

πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε. «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρώμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίεε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἀλλοιοῖν<sup>4</sup> περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτιῇται βουλεύσωνται· γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιόν.»<sup>5</sup> ταῦτά κῃ λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διζὰς ἰστίας<sup>6</sup> οἴκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικά.

#### 5.41

χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκήσε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκῆμοι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον,<sup>7</sup> φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν<sup>8</sup> ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ

<sup>3</sup> neither <sup>4</sup> of another kind <sup>5</sup> begetting, bearing children <sup>6</sup> hearth

<sup>7</sup> move, disturb <sup>8</sup> ring, clash

ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναικα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους<sup>9</sup> λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἡ δὲ Κλεομένηα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνή, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

## 5.42

ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης<sup>10</sup> ἀκρομανής τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλικίων πάντων πρῶτος, εὖ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχίσων τὴν βασιληίην. ὥστε ὦν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένηα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν Σπαρτιῆτας ἦγε ἐς ἀπουκίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἶκισε χώρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν. ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπῆκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

## 5.43

ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνιος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐτου χρησμῶν Ἑρακλείην τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἑρκος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἑρακλείδεων αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλέος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχετο χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν στέλλεται χώραν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

<sup>9</sup> twin, double    <sup>10</sup> of sound mind

## 5.44

τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τήλυν τὸν ἑωτῶν βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεάς γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἥλειον μῶνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

## 5.45

ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἐκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα<sup>11</sup> ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μῆδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἶλε ἂν τὴν Ἑρικήνην χώραν καὶ ἑλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἥλειῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλήσια<sup>12</sup> ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ ἄρεσσι, ὁκοτέρουσί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρέειν.

## 5.46

συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεὶ ἀπίκοντο

<sup>11</sup> to divine    <sup>12</sup> many times more

themselves have wealth at their disposal, but the enemy would not be able to carry the things off as plunder. Now these treasures were of great value, as I have shown in the first part of the history. This opinion did not prevail; but nevertheless it was resolved to make revolt, and that one of them should sail to Myus, to make the force which had returned from Naxos and was then there, and endeavour to seize the commanders who sailed in the ships.

### 5.37

So Iatragoras was sent for this purpose and seized by craft Oliatos the son of Ibanollis of Mylasa, and Histiaios the son of Tymnes of Termera, and Coës the son of Erxander, to whom Dareios had given Mytilene as a gift, and Aristagoras the son of Heracleides of Kyme, and many others; and then Aristagoras openly made revolt and devised all that he could to the hurt of Dareios. And first he pretended to resign the despotic power and give to Miletos equality, in order that the Milesians might be willing to revolt with him: then afterwards he proceeded to do this same thing in the rest of Ionia also; and some of the despots he drove out, but those whom he had taken from the ships which had sailed with him to Naxis, these he surrendered, because he desired to do a pleasure to their cities, delivering them over severally to that city from which each one came.

### 5.38

Now the men of Mitylene, so soon as they received Coës into their hands, brought him out and stoned him to death; but the men of Kyme let their despot go, and so also most of the others let them go. Thus then the despots were deposed in the various cities; and Aristagoras the Milesian, after having deposed the despots, bade each people appoint commanders in their several cities, and then himself set forth as an envoy to Lacedemon; for in truth it was necessary that he should find out some powerful alliance.

### 5.39

Now at Sparta Anaxandrides the son of Leon was no longer surviving as king, but had brought his life to an end; and Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides was holding the royal power, not having obtained it by merit but by right of birth. For Anaxandrides had to wife his own sister's daughter and she was by him much beloved, but no children were born to him by her. This being so, the Ephors summoned him before them and said: "If thou dost not for thyself take thought in time, yet we cannot suffer this to happen, that the race of Eurysthenes should become extinct. Do thou therefore put away from thee the wife whom thou now hast, since, as thou knowest, she bears thee no children, and marry another: and in doing so thou wilt please the Spartans." He made answer saying that he would do neither of these two things, and



that they did not give him honourable counsel, in that they advised him to send away the wife whom he had, though she had done him no wrong, and to take to his house another; and in short he would not follow their advice.

#### 5.40

Upon this the Ephors and the Senators deliberated together and proposed to Anaxandrides as follows: "Since then we perceive that thou art firmly attached to the wife whom thou now hast, consent to do this, and set not thyself against it, lest the Spartans take some counsel about thee other than might be wished. We do not ask of thee the putting away of the wife whom thou hast; but do thou give to her all that thou givest now and at the same time take to thy house another wife in addition to this one, to bear thee children." When they spoke to him after this manner, Anaxandrides consented, having two wives, a thing which was not by any means after the Spartan fashion.

#### 5.41

Then when no long time had elapsed, the wife who had come in afterwards bore this Cleomenes of whom we spoke; and just when she was bringing to the light an heir to the kingdom of the Spartans, the former wife, who had during the time before been childless, then by some means conceived, chancing to do so just at that time: and though she was in truth with child, the kinsfolk of the wife who had come in afterwards, when they heard of it cried out against her and said that she was making a vain boast, and that she meant to pass off another child as her own. Since then they made a great show of indignation, as the time was fast drawing near, the Ephors being incredulous sat round and watched the woman during the birth of her child: and she bore Dorieos and then straightway conceived Leonidas and after him at once Cleombrotos,—nay, some even say that Cleombrotos and Leonidas were twins. The wife however who had born Cleomenes and had come in after the first wife, being the daughter of Primetades the son of Demarmenos, did not bear a child again.

#### 5.42

Now Cleomenes, it is said, was not quite in his right senses but on the verge of madness, while Dorieos was of all his equals in age the first, and felt assured that he would obtain the kingdom by merit. Seeing then that he had this opinion, when Anaxandrides died and the Lacedemonians followed the usual custom established the eldest, namely Cleomenes, upon the throne, Dorieos being indignant and not thinking it fit that he should be a subject of Cleomenes, asked the Spartans to give him a company of followers and led them out to found a colony, without either inquiring of the Oracle at Delphi to what land he should go to make a settlement, or doing any of the things which

are usually done; but being vexed he sailed away with his ships to Libya, and the Theraians were his guides thither. Then having come to Kinyps he made a settlement in the fairest spot of all Libya, along the banks of the river; but afterwards in the third year he was driven out from thence by the Macai and the Libyans and the Carthaginians, and returned to Peloponnesus.

#### 5.43

Then Antichares a man of Eleon gave him counsel out of the oracles of Laïos to make a settlement at Heracleia in Sicily, saying that the whole land of Eryx belonged to the Heracleidai, since Heracles himself had won it: and hearing this he went forthwith to Delphi to inquire of the Oracle whether he would be able to conquer the land to which he was setting forth; and the Pythian prophetess replied to him that he would conquer it. Dorieos therefore took with him the armament which he conducted before to Libya, and voyaged along the coast of Italy.

#### 5.44

Now at this time, the men of Sybaris say that they and their king Telys were about to make an expedition against Croton, and the men of Croton being exceedingly alarmed asked Dorieos to help them and obtained their request. So Dorieos joined them in an expedition against Sybaris and helped them to conquer Sybaris. This is what the men of Sybaris say of the doings of Dorieos and his followers; but those of Croton say that no stranger helped them in the war against the Sybarites except Callias alone, a diviner of Elis and one of the descendants of Iamos, and he in the following manner:—he ran away, they say, from Telys the despot of the Sybarites, when the sacrifices did not prove favourable, as he was sacrificing for the expedition against Croton, and so he came to them.

#### 5.45

Such, I say, are the tales which these tell, and they severally produce as evidence of them the following facts:—the Sybarites point to a sacred enclosure and temple by the side of the dried-up bed of the Crathis, which they say that Dorieos, after he had joined in the capture of the city, set up to Athene surnamed “of the Crathis”; and besides they consider the death of Dorieos himself to be a very strong evidence, thinking that he perished because he acted contrary to the oracle which was given to him; for if he had not done anything by the way but had continued to do that for which he was sent, he would have conquered the land of Eryx and having conquered it would have become possessor of it, and he and his army would not have perished. On the other hand the men of Croton declare that many things were granted in the territory of Croton as special gifts to Callias the Eleisan,

of which the descendants of Callias were still in possession down to my time, and that nothing was granted to Dorieos or the descendants of Dorieos: but if Dorieos had in fact helped them in the way with Sybaris, many times as much, they say, would have been given to him as to Callias. These then are the evidences which the two sides produce, and we may assent to whichever of them we think credible.

**5.46**

Now there sailed with Dorieos others also of the Spartans, to be joint-founders with him of the colony, namely Thessalos and Paraibates and Keleas and Euryleon; and these when they had

*vocabulary*

ἀγοραῖος frequenting the market  
 αἰχμή spear point ~acute  
 ἄλκιμος brave; sturdily made  
 ~Alexander  
 ἀναβάλλω delay; lift up ~ballistic  
 ἀνανεύω raise the chin to say no  
 ἀναξυρίδες Persian pants  
 ἀνδράποδον -ς slave ~androgynous  
 ἀνήκω reach up to; belong  
 ἄνοδος impassable; ascent  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be  
 freed, depart  
 ἄπιξις arrival  
 ἀποικία colony  
 ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina  
 ἀρμόζω fit together; be well fitted to  
 ~harmony  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 βασιλῆις kingly  
 βωμός altar; stand, pedestal  
 δαπάνη cost, funds, extravagance  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis  
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander  
 ~ballistic  
 δίαίτα way of life; home; arbitration  
 διαλαμβάνω distribute  
 διαπορθμεύω ferry, bring across  
 διεκπεράω pass out through  
 διεξελαύνω drive through  
 διξός double  
 διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal  
 δουλοσύνη slavery  
 ἐγγίγνομαι live in ~genus  
 ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth  
 ~genus  
 ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a  
 position  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 Ἑλληγν Greek  
 ἐνάγω lead in/on; arraign  
 ἑνδεκα eleven ~decimal

ἐνενήκοντα ninety  
 ἐντέμνω engrave, cut up  
 ἕξ six ~hexagon  
 ἐπακούω hear, listen to ~acoustic  
 ἐπανίστημι rise up ~station  
 ἐπέτειος of one year  
 ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail  
 ἐπίλοιπος remaining  
 ἐπίσχω aim; restrain  
 ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious  
 duty  
 ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle  
 ἐρίζω struggle, contend  
 ἐσθής clothes ~vest  
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)  
 fortunately  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἐφέτειος of one year  
 ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy  
 ~hedonism  
 ἥμισυς half ~hemisphere  
 ἥρώιος heroic  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be  
 overcome; (active) defeat  
 θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound  
 ~thallium  
 θησαυρός treasury ~treasure  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 ἰκετεύω approach to beg  
 ἰκετήριος of a supplication  
 ἰλάσσομαι appease  
 ἰσοπαλῆς competing equally;  
 equivalent  
 καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall,  
 arrive; be proper  
 καθίημι (ιι) speed down upon; take  
 down ~jet  
 κάλλος -εος (n, 3) beauty  
 ~kaleidoscope  
 καταγωγή landing, stop  
 καταμένω stay; not change

**καταφεύγω** resort to, flee to, appeal to ~fugitive  
**μεταβαίνω** change the subject ~basis  
**μίν** him, her, it  
**μούναρχος** monarch  
**νησιπέρητος** navigable  
**οἶκημα** -τος (n, 3) room  
**ὀκτώ** eight ~octopus  
**ὀμαίων** related by blood  
**ὄνειδος** -εος (n, 3) blame; insult  
**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit  
**ὀπόσος** as many as, how many, how great  
**ὀρέυς** -ος (m) mule ~hormone  
**ὄρος** boundary marker ~horizon  
**οὔρον** boundary stone; unit of distance; limit  
**οὔρος** fair wind; guardian; hill  
**πάθος** -ους (n, 3) an experience, passion, condition  
**πανταχῇ** everywhere  
**παραίνεσις** -εως (f) speech; advice  
**παραμείβω** pass by ~amoeba  
**παράπαν** completely  
**παρασάγγης** -ου (m, 1) Persian unit, ca. 5 km  
**πεντακόσιοι** 500  
**πεντεκαίδεκα** 15  
**περιγίγνομαι** surpass; survive; attain ~genus  
**περίοδος** picket, circuit  
**πίναξ** -χος (m) tablet, platter, board  
**ποικίλος** ornamented; various  
**πολίζω** build a wall, city  
 ~Minneapolis  
**πολύκαρπος** fruitful  
**προβαίνω** surpass, continue ~basis  
**προθυμία** (ῶ) zeal, alacrity ~fume  
**προίστημι** put forward; (+gen) be

head of, guard ~station  
**προσίστημι** set against; (mp) stand near  
**πρόσουρος** neighboring  
**ῥοά** pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
**ῥόος** ῥοῦ stream, flow, current ~rheostat  
**σημαίνω** give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore  
**σοῦσον** lily  
**σταθμός** cottage; post  
**στρατιά** army ~strategy  
**σύγκειμαι** be composed of, agreed on  
**συναποθνήσκω** die along with  
**συνελευθερόω** join in freeing from  
**συνέπομαι** go along with ~sequel  
**σφάλλω** overthrow, balk, stagger  
**τάφος** (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment  
**τέθηπα** be confused  
**τείνω** stretch, tend ~tense  
**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny  
**τύραννος** tyrant  
**ὑπερβάλλω** cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic  
**ὑποδείκνυμι** (υῶ) show, trace out  
**ὑποδέχομαι** welcome, accept, suffer ~doctrine  
**ὑποζύγιον** beast of burden ~zygote  
**ὑποκρίνομαι** (ῖ) answer; pretend  
**ὑπόκρισις** -εως (f) answer; acting, hypocrisy  
**φορέω** frequentative of φέρω, to carry ~bear  
**φόρον** forum  
**φόρος** tribute, revenue  
**φυλακτήριον** fort; safeguard  
**χειρώω** dominate, subdue  
**χρηστός** useful; brave, worthy

παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μῦθος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστῶν περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθους. συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου<sup>1</sup> Πειθαγόρεω· μετὰ δὲ ὡς τοῦτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου<sup>2</sup> βωμόν.

## 5.47

συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεὶ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκίῃ τε τριήρεϊ καὶ οἰκίῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἑὸν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται.

## 5.48

Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἂν Λακεδαίμονος· οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἄπαις, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπῶν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ.

## 5.49

ἀπικνεῖται δὲ ὦν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦμε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέμνητο καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. «Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξις·

<sup>1</sup> monarch    <sup>2</sup> frequenting the market

τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ρύσασθε Ἰωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἀνδρας ὁμαίμονας.<sup>3</sup> εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστί· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσὶ, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι, ἢ τε μάχῃ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιγύδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. οὕτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναι εἰσὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοί, οἰκέοντές τε χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες.» δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πύνακι ἐντετμημένην. «Λυδῶν δέ» ἔφη λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης «οἷδε ἔχονται Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, πολυπροβατώτατοί τε ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. τούτοις δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἦδε Κύπρος νῆσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεῖ τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρόβατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματινηοὶ χώραν τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἡδε Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενα ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαίταν ποιέεται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσὶ· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ἤδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐόντας ἰσοπαλέας<sup>4</sup> καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους, τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς

<sup>3</sup> related by blood    <sup>4</sup> competing equally; equivalent

Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως, ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε;» Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέεσθαι.»

## 5.50

τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἶρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τὰλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνων εὖ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλῃ· χρὲν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλούμενόν γε Σπαρτιήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε «ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐπέα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.»

## 5.51

ὁ μὲν Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦι ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἔσω αἶτε ἱκετεῦων ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δέ οἱ καὶ μόνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνεόμενος, ἣν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὗ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠυδάξατο «πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξείνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἦς.» ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἦσθεις τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινεῖσι ἦι ἐς ἕτερον οἶκημα,<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς

<sup>5</sup> room



παρὰ βασιλέα.

## 5.52

ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε· σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῇ εἰσι βασιλῆιοι<sup>6</sup> καὶ καταλύσεις κάλλισται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίης σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἴκοσι εἰσί, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ἐπ' ᾧ πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὼν δέοντες εἰσὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξᾶς τε πύλας διεξελᾶς καὶ διξὰ φυλακτήρια παραμείβει. ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὖρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νησιπέρητος,<sup>7</sup> τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐς βάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματινὴν γῆν σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ποταμοὶ δὲ νησιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ρέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δεύτερός τε καὶ τρίτος ὡντὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὡντὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ρέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ρέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον ἐκ Ματινῶν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὐνομα ἔχει Γύνδης, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνοντι ἔνδεκα<sup>8</sup> σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐόντα καὶ τοῦτον νησιπέρητον· ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> kingly    <sup>7</sup> navigable    <sup>8</sup> eleven    <sup>9</sup> build a wall, city

reached Sicily with all their armament, were slain, being defeated in battle by the Phenicians and the men of Egesta; and Euryleon only of the joint-founders survived this disaster. This man then having collected the survivors of the expedition, took possession of Minoa the colony of Selinus, and he helped to free the men of Selinus from their despot Peithagoras. Afterwards, when he had deposed him, he laid hands himself upon the despotism in Selinus and became sole ruler there, though but for a short time; for the men of Selinus rose in revolt against him and slew him, notwithstanding that he had fled for refuge to the altar of Zeus Agoraios.

#### 5.47

There had accompanied Dorieos also and died with him Philip the son of Butakides, a man of Croton, who having betrothed himself to the daughter of Telys the Sybarite, became an exile from Croton; and then being disappointed of this marriage he sailed away to Kyrene, whence he set forth and accompanied Dorieos with a trireme of his own, himself supplying the expenses of the crew. Now this man had been a victor at the Olympic games, and he was the most beautiful of the Hellenes who lived in his time; and on account of his beauty he obtained from the men of Egesta that which none else ever obtained from them, for they established a hero-temple over his tomb, and they propitiate him still with sacrifices.

#### 5.48

In this manner Dorieos ended his life: but if he had endured to be a subject of Cleomenes and had remained in Sparta, he would have been king of Lacedemon; for Cleomenes reigned no very long time, and died leaving no son to succeed him but a daughter only, whose name was Gorgo.

#### 5.49

However, Aristagoras the despot of Miletos arrived at Sparta while Cleomenes was reigning: and accordingly with him he came to speech, having, as the Lacedemonians say, a tablet of bronze, on which was engraved a map of the whole Earth, with all the sea and all the rivers. And when he came to speech with Cleomenes he said to him as follows: "Marvel not, Cleomenes, at my earnestness in coming hither, for the case is this.—That the sons of the Ionians should be slaves instead of free is a reproach and a grief most of all indeed to ourselves, but of all others most to you, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Hellas. Now therefore I entreat you by the gods of Hellas to rescue from slavery the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen: and ye may easily achieve this, for the Barbarians are not valiant in fight, whereas ye have attained to the highest point of valour in that which relates to war: and their fighting is of this fashion, namely with bows and arrows and a short

spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they are easily conquered. Then again they who occupy that continent have good things in such quantity as not all the other nations of the world together possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves; all which ye might have for yourselves, if ye so desired. And the nations moreover dwell in such order one after the other as I shall declare:—the Ionians here; and next to them the Lydians, who not only dwell in a fertile land, but are also exceedingly rich in gold and silver,” 33—and as he said this he pointed to the map of the Earth, which he carried with him engraved upon the tablet,—“and here next to the Lydians,” continued Aristagoras, “are the Eastern Phrygians, who have both the greatest number of sheep and cattle of any people that I know, and also the most abundant crops. Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadokians, whom we call Syrians; and bordering upon them are the Kilikians, coming down to this sea, in which lies the island of Cyprus here; and these pay five hundred talents to the king for their yearly tribute. Next to these Kilikians are the Armenians, whom thou mayest see here, and these also have great numbers of sheep and cattle. Next to the Armenians are the Matienians occupying this country here; and next to them is the land of Kissia here, in which land by the banks of this river Choaspes is situated that city of Susa where the great king has his residence, and where the money is laid up in treasuries. After ye have taken this city ye may then with good courage enter into a contest with Zeus in the matter of wealth. Nay, but can it be that ye feel yourselves bound to take upon you the risk of battles against Messenians and Arcadians and Argives, who are equally matched against you, for the sake of land which is not much in extent nor very fertile, and for confines which are but small, though these peoples have neither gold nor silver at all, for the sake of which desire incites one to fight and to die,—can this be, I say, and will ye choose some other way now, when it is possible for you easily to have the rule over all Asia?” Aristagoras spoke thus, and Cleomenes answered him saying: “Guest-friend from Miletos, I defer my answer to thee until the day after to-morrow.”

### 5.50

Thus far then they advanced at that time; and when the appointed day arrived for the answer, and they had come to the place agreed upon, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days’ journey it was from the sea of the Ionians to the residence of the king. Now Aristagoras, who in other respects acted cleverly and imposed upon him well, in this point made a mistake: for whereas he ought not to have told him the truth, at least if he desired to bring the Spartans out to Asia, he said in fact that it was a journey up from the sea of three months: and the other cutting short the rest of the account which

Aristagoras had begun to give of the way, said: "Guest-friend from Miletos, get thee away from Sparta before the sun has set; for thou speakest a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedemonians, desiring to take them a journey of three months from the sea."

#### 5.51

Cleomenes accordingly having so said went away to his house: but Aristagoras took the suppliant's branch and went to the house of Cleomenes; and having entered in as a suppliant, he bade Cleomenes send away the child and listen to him; for the daughter of Cleomenes was standing by him, whose name was Gorgo, and this as it chanced was his only child, being of the age now of eight or nine years. Cleomenes however bade him say that which he desired to say, and not to stop on account of the child. Then Aristagoras proceeded to promise him money, beginning with ten talents, if he would accomplish for him that for which he was asking; and when Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras went on increasing the sums of money offered, until at last he had promised fifty talents, and at that moment the child cried out: "Father, the stranger will do thee hurt, if thou do not leave him and go." Cleomenes, then, pleased by the counsel of the child, departed into another room, and Aristagoras went away from Sparta altogether, and had no opportunity of explaining any further about the way up from the sea to the residence of the king.

#### 5.52

As regards this road the truth is as follows.—Everywhere there are royal stages and excellent resting-places, and the whole road runs through country which is inhabited and safe. Through Lydia and Phrygia there extend twenty stages, amounting to ninety-four and a half leagues; and after Phrygia succeeds the river Halys, at which there is a gate which one must needs pass through in order to cross the river, and a strong guard-post is established there. Then after crossing over into Cappadokia it is twenty-eight stages, being a hundred and four leagues, by this way to the borders of Kilikia; and on the borders of the Kilikians you will pass through two several gates and go by two several guard-posts: then after passing through these it is three stages, amounting to fifteen and a half leagues, to journey through Kilikia; and the boundary of Kilikia and Armenia is a navigable river called Euphrates. In Armenia the number of stages with resting-places is fifteen, and of leagues fifty-six and a half, and there is a guard-post on the way: then from Armenia, when one enters the land of Matiene, there are thirty-four stages, amounting to a hundred and thirty-seven leagues; and through this land flow four navigable rivers, which cannot be crossed but by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and third called both by the same name, though they are not the same river nor do they flow from the same region (for the first-

mentioned of them flows from the Armenian land and the other from that of the Matienians), and the fourth of the rivers is called Gyndes, the same which once Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty channels. Passing thence into the Kissian land, there are eleven stages, forty-two and a half leagues, to the river Choaspes, which is also a navigable stream; and upon this is built the city of Susa. The number of these stages amounts in all to one hundred and eleven.

*vocabulary*

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

αἴγεις of goats

αἰνίσσομαι hint, speak in riddles

ἀναισιμῶ spend, use up

ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume

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

ἀναπυνθάνομαι study closely

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

ἀναχωρέω return, retreat ~heir

ἀνέκαθεν from the start

ἄνοδος impassable; ascent

ἄξιαπήγητος worth telling

ἅπαρτί completely; on the contrary

ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare

ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away

ἀπολαγχάνω get by lot

ἀποτίνω (i) pay back

ἄστήρ -έρος (m) star

ἄτλητος unbearable ~talent

ἀτρεκής precise, certain

ἀφηγέομαι lead; tell, relate

βασιλείος kingly

βύβλος (f) book, papyrus

γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter

γραμματεὺς -ος (m) clerk, schoolmaster

δημόσιος public, the state

διδαχή teaching

διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion

δίζημαι seek ~zeal

δίζω be in doubt ~dilemma

διφθέρα leather

δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent

εἰσάγω lead in ~demagogue

ἐκηβόλος sharpshooter (epithet of

Apollo)

ἐκπίνω (i) drink up, consume

ἐλεύθερος not enslaved

ἐλευθερόω set free

Ἑλλήν Greek

ἔναρα -ου (n, 2) spoils ~aorta

ἐναργής visible, clear ~Argentina

ἐνδεκα eleven ~decimal

ἐνενήκοντα ninety

ἐνθαῦτα there, here

ἐνθεῦτεν thence

ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams

ἐξάμετρος hexameter

ἐξάνιστημι raise, bring/send out

ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic

ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo; destroy someone

ἐξοικοδομέω build

ἐπίγραμμα -τος (n, 3) inscription, title, maker's signature

ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near

εὐειδής good-looking ~wit

εὖς good, brave, noble

εὐσχοπος hawkeyed, accurate ~telescope

ἡλικία time of life, contemporaries

ἰδρύω establish

καταγωγή landing, stop

κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion

κάτοδος descent, return, cycle

μεταβάλλω alter, transform

μετρέω measure, traverse ~metric

μηκύνω lengthen

μηχανάομαι build, contrive ~mechanism

μισθώω rent out; (pass) be hired

μούναρχος monarch

μυρίος (ō) 10,000 ~myriad

νηός temple, shrine

ξείνιος of hospitality

ὄνειροπόλος interpreter of dreams

ὄον οὖ type of fruit

ὄργια -τος (n, 2) secret rites  
 οὐκω no longer  
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
 passion, condition  
 παράδειγμα -τος (n, 3) model,  
 precedent  
 παρασάγγης -ου (m, 1) Persian unit,  
 ca. 5 km  
 πεντακόσιοι 500  
 περικαλλής very beautiful  
 περιοικέω dwell around  
 πομπή a sending, expedition ~pomp  
 προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis  
 προσλογίζομαι include, count as  
 well  
 προσπταίω batter; be set back  
 προφέρω bring forth ~bear  
 προχωρέω proceed, come forward  
 πυγμάχος boxer  
 ῥυθμός measured; symmetrical  
 σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  
 ~semaphore  
 σοῦσον lily  
 σπάνις -εως (f) scarcity, rarity  
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)  
 στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 σταθμάομαι judge, conclude  
 στάθμη carpenter's line ~station

σταθμάομαι judge, conclude  
 σταθμός cottage; post  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 στρατόω be on a campaign  
 ~strategy  
 σύγκειμαι be composed of, agreed  
 on  
 τειγίζω build  
 τετρακισχίλιοι 4000 ~kilo-  
 τετρακόσιοι 400  
 τλάω take upon oneself ~talent  
 τόνος pitch, stretching  
 τρίμηνος of three months  
 τρίπος three-legged cauldron  
 τρίπους three-legged cauldron  
 ~pedal  
 τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kilo-  
 τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὑπερτίθμι hand over; excel; defer  
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
 φοινικήμιος of palm trees  
 φονεύς -ως (m) killer ~offend  
 φυγὰς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee  
 ~fugitive  
 χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull  
 down  
 χώρος place ~heir

## 5.53

οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοί εἰσι ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν  
 νυν σταθμῶν τοσαῦται εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι.  
 εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται<sup>1</sup> ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ βασιλῆϊή τοῖσι παρασάγγελσι  
 καὶ ὁ παρασάγγελς δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε  
 δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα τὰ Μεμνόνια  
 καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων  
 ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν  
 στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι ἀναισιμούνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ  
 ἐνενήκοντα.

## 5.54

οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν  
 Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα  
 ὀρθῶς εἴρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται,  
 ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ  
 προσλογίσασθαι ταύτην. καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ  
 θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἄστν  
 καλέεται, τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχίλιους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ  
 Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ  
 οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκύνεται<sup>2</sup> ἢ τρίμηνος<sup>3</sup> ὁδός.

## 5.55

ἀπελυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἦγε ἐς τὰς  
 Ἀθήνας γενομένης τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρας. ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον τὸν  
 Πεισιστράτου, Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεόν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν  
 ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἐωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων  
 καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα  
 ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἕτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 μάλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> measure, traverse    <sup>2</sup> lengthen    <sup>3</sup> of three months



## 5.56

ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἱππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἥδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἱππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐεϊδέα<sup>4</sup> αἰνίσσεσθαι<sup>5</sup> τάδε τὰ ἔπεα.

Τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα<sup>6</sup> παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ· οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσκει.

ταῦτα δέ, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος ὀνειροπόλοισι.<sup>7</sup> μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

## 5.57

οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἱππάρχου, ὥς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἑρετρῆς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπνιθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὗτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Ἀθηνέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ ῥήτοισι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολίτας, πολλῶν τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγῆτων<sup>8</sup> ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι.

## 5.58

οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκῆσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἑλλήσι ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν ρυθμὸν<sup>9</sup> τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοίκεον δὲ σφέας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν

<sup>4</sup> good-looking <sup>5</sup> hint, speak in riddles <sup>6</sup> unbearable <sup>7</sup> interpreter of dreams <sup>8</sup> worth telling <sup>9</sup> measured; symmetrical

Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήα<sup>10</sup> κεκληῖσθαι. καὶ τὰς βύβλους<sup>11</sup> διφθέρας<sup>12</sup> καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι<sup>13</sup> βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρῃσι αἰγέῃσι<sup>14</sup> τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

## 5.59

εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἴσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκ' ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων.

Ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λάϊον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

## 5.60

ἕτερος δὲ τρίπους ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ<sup>15</sup> τόνῳ<sup>16</sup> λέγει Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκήβολῳ<sup>17</sup> Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἶη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γε ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντ' οὖνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαῖου.

## 5.61

τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸς ἐνσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστάται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγχελείας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς

<sup>10</sup> of palm trees    <sup>11</sup> book, papyrus    <sup>12</sup> leather    <sup>13</sup> scarcity, rarity

<sup>14</sup> of goats    <sup>15</sup> hexameter    <sup>16</sup> pitch, stretching    <sup>17</sup> sharpshooter (epithet of Apollo)

Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφί ἰρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήγησι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἰρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαΐης Δήμητρος ἰρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.

## 5.62

ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἱππάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἱππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι· δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦμα λέξων λόγον, ὥς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἱππίῳ τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραινομένου Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἱππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφί ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειωμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρεε ἀτόδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Λεϊψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τεχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατιδίῃσι μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται<sup>18</sup> τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ οὐκῶ, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι. οἶα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ ἦκοντες καὶ ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι<sup>19</sup> ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι, τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκεκίμενοι σφί πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

## 5.63

ὥς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προσφέρειν σφί τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφί αἰεὶ τῶντὸ πρόφαντον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ὅμως καὶ ξεινίους σφί ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοις.

<sup>18</sup> rent out; (pass) be hired    <sup>19</sup> trustworthy; excellent

## 5.53

This is the number of stages with resting-places, as one goes up from Sardis to Susa: and if the royal road has been rightly measured as regards leagues, and if the league is equal to thirty furlongs, (as undoubtedly it is), the number of furlongs from Sardis to that which is called the palace of Memnon is thirteen thousand five hundred, the number of leagues being four hundred and fifty. So if one travels a hundred and fifty furlongs each day, just ninety days are spent on the journey.

## 5.54

Thus the Milesian Aristagoras, when he told Cleomenes the Lacedemonian that the journey up from the sea to the residence of the king was one of three months, spoke correctly: but if any one demands a more exact statement yet than this, I will give him that also: for we ought to reckon in addition to this the length of the road from Ephesos to Sardis; and I say accordingly that the whole number of furlongs from the sea of Hellas to Susa (for by that name the city of Memnon is known) is fourteen thousand and forty; for the number of furlongs from Ephesos to Sardis is five hundred and forty: thus the three months' journey is lengthened by three days added.

## 5.55

Aristagoras then being driven out of Sparta proceeded to Athens; which had been set free from the rule of despots in the way which I shall tell. — When Hipparchos the son of Peisistratos and brother of the despot Hippias, after seeing a vision of a dream which signified it to him plainly, had been slain by Aristogeiton and Harmodios, who were originally by descent Gephyraians, the Athenians continued for four years after this to be despotically governed no less than formerly, — nay, even more.

## 5.56

Now the vision of a dream which Hipparchos had was this: — in the night before the Panathenaia it seemed to Hipparchos that a man came and stood by him, tall and of fair form, and riddling spoke to him these verses:

“With enduring soul as a lion endure unendurable evil: No one of men who doth wrong shall escape from the judgment appointed.”

These verses, as soon as it was day, he publicly communicated to the interpreters of dreams; but afterwards he put away thought of the vision and began to take part in that procession during which he lost his life.

## 5.57

Now the Gephyraians, of whom were those who murdered Hipparchos, according to their own account were originally descended from Eretria; but as I find by carrying inquiries back, they were Phenicians of those who came with Cadmos to the land which is now called Boeotia, and they dwelt in the district of Tanagra, which they had had allotted to them in that land. Then after the Cadmeians had first been driven out by the Argives, these Gephyraians next were driven out by the Boeotians and turned then towards Athens: and the Athenians received them on certain fixed conditions to be citizens of their State, laying down rules that they should be excluded from a number of things not worth mentioning here.

## 5.58

Now these Phenicians who came with Cadmos, of whom were the Gephyraians, brought in among the Hellenes many arts when they settled in this land of Boeotia, and especially letters, which did not exist, as it appears to me, among the Hellenes before this time; and at first they brought in those which are used by the Phenician race generally, but afterwards, as time went on, they changed with their speech the form of the letters also. During this time the Ionians were the race of Hellenes who dwelt near them in most of the places where they were; and these, having received letters by instruction of the Phenicians, changed their form slightly and so made use of them, and in doing so they declared them to be called "phenicians," as was just, seeing that the Phenicians had introduced them into Hellas. Also the Ionians from ancient time call paper "skins," because formerly, paper being scarce, they used skins of goat and sheep; nay, even in my own time many of the Barbarians write on such skins.

## 5.59

I myself too once saw Cadmeian characters in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of the Boeotians, engraved on certain tripods, and in most respects resembling the Ionic letters: one of these tripods has the inscription, "Me Amphytryon offered from land Teleboian returning:" this inscription would be of an age contemporary with Laios the son of Labdacos, the son of Polydoros, the son of Cadmos.

## 5.60

Another tripod says thus in hexameter rhythm:

"Me did Scaios offer to thee, far-darting Apollo, Victor in contest of boxing, a gift most fair in thine honour:"

Now Scaios would be the son of Hippocoön (at least if it were really he who offered it, and not another with the same name as the son of Hippocoön), being of an age contemporary with OEdipus the son of Laios:

#### 5.61

And the third tripod, also in hexameter rhythm, says:

“Me Laodamas offered to thee, fair-aiming Apollo, He, of his wealth, being king, as a gift most fair in thine honor:”

Now it was in the reign of this very Laodamas the son of Eteocles that the Cadmeians were driven out by the Argives and turned to go to the Enchelians; and the Gephyraians being then left behind were afterwards forced by the Boeotians to retire to Athens. Moreover they have temples established in Athens, in which the other Athenians have no part, and besides others which are different from the rest, there is especially a temple of Demeter Achaia and a celebration of her mysteries.

#### 5.62

I have told now of the vision of a dream seen by Hipparchos, and also whence the Gephyrynians were descended, of which race were the murderers of Hipparchos; and in addition to this I must resume and continue the story which I was about to tell at first, how the Athenians were freed from despots. When Hippias was despot and was dealing harshly with the Athenians because of the death of Hipparchos, the Alcmaionidai, who were of Athenian race and were fugitives from the sons of Peisistratos, as they did not succeed in their attempt made together with the other Athenian exiles to return by force, but met with great disaster when they attempted to return and set Athens free, after they had fortified Leipsydriion which is above Paionia,—these Alcmaionidai after that, still devising every means against the sons of Peisistratos, accepted the contract to build and complete the temple at Delphi, that namely which now exists but then did not as yet: and being wealthy and men of repute already from ancient time, they completed the temple in a manner more beautiful than the plan required, and especially in this respect, that having agreed to make the temple of common limestone, they built the front parts of it in Parian marble.

#### 5.63

So then, as the Athenians say, these men being settled at Delphi persuaded the Pythian prophetess by gifts of money, that whenever men of the Spartans should come to inquire of the Oracle, either privately or publicly sent, she should propose to them to set Athens free. The Lacedaemonians therefore, since the same utterance was delivered to them on all occasions, sent

Anchimolios the son of Aster, who was of repute among their citizens, with an army to drive out the sons of Peisistratos from Athens, although these were very closely connected with them by guest-friendship; for they held that the concerns of the god should be preferred to those of men: and this force they sent by sea in ships. He

*vocabulary*

ἄγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina  
 ἄγωνίζομαι contend, exert oneself  
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce,  
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,  
 obey, be confident in  
 ἀνέκαθεν from the start  
 ἀντιστασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan  
 adversary  
 ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of  
 ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be  
 freed, depart  
 ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate  
 ἀπήγησις narration  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ū) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine  
 ἀπομνημονεύω remember, record  
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp  
 ἀπωθέω repel, reject  
 ἀστυγείτων near a city  
 ἄτε as if; since  
 ἀφαιρέω take away ~heresy  
 γαμβρός son-in-law, brother-in-law  
 ~bigamy  
 γεραίρω honor  
 διδαχή teaching  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δυναστεύω have power ~δύναμαι  
 εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic  
 ἐκχωρέω depart, back off, cede  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 ἐλευθερόω set free  
 ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal  
 ἐναγής cursed, polluted  
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here  
 ἕξ six ~hexagon  
 ἐξαίρέω pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
 ἐξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξήκοντα sixty

ἐπάγω drive game; induce belief  
 ~demagogue  
 ἔπηλυσ strange, foreign  
 ἐπιγίγνομαι succeed, come after  
 ~genus  
 ἐπιδραίνω run onto  
 ἐπικαλέω call upon  
 ἐπικουρίη rescue; auxiliary force  
 ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose;  
 (mid) think over  
 ἐπινοέω intend  
 ἐπιχώριος native  
 ἐπωνύμιος called, named  
 ἐσσόομαι (pass) be weaker, be  
 overcome; (active) defeat  
 ἐφέδρα siege  
 ἐφέζομαι sit on; bring aboard ~sit  
 ἐφίημι (ti) send at, let fly; mp: rush  
 at, spring upon ~jet  
 ἡλόω sharpen  
 ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent  
 ἡρώιος heroic  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 θύω (ū) rush; sacrifice ~θύω  
 ἰδρύω establish  
 ἱππάσιμος fit for horses or riding  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταγελάω laugh at, deride  
 κατείργω shut in; hinder  
 κατύπερθε above, from above  
 κείρω shave, sever, raze; devour, use  
 up  
 κομέω have long hair  
 μεγαλωστί very greatly  
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform  
 μετατίθημι set or cause among  
 ~thesis  
 μετέπειτα afterward, next  
 μετέχω partake of  
 μετονομάζω rename  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism



μηχανή machine; mechanism, way  
 μιμέομαι (ἷ) imitate, represent  
 μίν him, her, it  
 μισθός reward, wages  
 μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired  
 ὁμώνυμος named alike ~name  
 ὄνομαι blame ~name  
 ὄνος (f) donkey ~onager  
 ὀρτή holiday, feast  
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
 passion, condition  
 πάντως by all means  
 πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;  
 (+ῥ or gen) except; (+acc) beyond,  
 alongside  
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
 πολιορκία siege  
 προπυθάνομαι learn in advance  
 προσεταιρίζομαι befriend  
 προσμύγνυμι reach out to, approach  
 προσποιέω give over to; pretend  
 ~poet  
 πρυτανήιον town hall, law court  
 στασιάζω revolt, be divided  
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle

στρατιά army ~strategy  
 συγγενεύς inborn, kin to  
 συγγενής inborn, kin to  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συνταράσσω mess up  
 συντυχίη event, accident  
 σφέτερος their  
 ταφή burial, grave  
 τελευταῖος last, final  
 τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common  
 land  
 τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid  
 τοιόσδε such  
 τυραννίς -δος (f) tyranny  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 φοιτάω go back and forth  
 φροντίζω consider, ponder  
 φυλή (ῥ) tribe, military unit  
 φύλον race, tribe, class ~phylum  
 φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics  
 χίλιοι (ἰ) thousand ~kilo-  
 χορός dance; chorus ~terpsichorean  
 χρῆζω need ~chresard  
 χρηστηριάζω prophesy  
 χώρος place ~heir  
 ὠθέω push

ὁ μὲν δὴ προσσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυθνόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλῆς ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Θεσσαλοὶ δέ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον· τοὺς ἐπείτε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμηχανῶντο τοιάδε· κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἱππάσιμον<sup>1</sup> ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χώρον ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατεῖρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος οὕτω ἀπήλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιον εἰσὶ ταφαί<sup>2</sup> τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.

## 5.64

μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδριδεω, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἡπειρον· τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφῶν ἔπесον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγενομένοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλῆς. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροις ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.

## 5.65

καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξείλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω

<sup>1</sup> fit for horses or riding    <sup>2</sup> burial, grave

τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἤλωσαν.<sup>3</sup> τοῦτο δὲ ὥς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι, ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἑόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἑόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖς. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῶντ' οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἱπποκράτης τῷ παιδί θέσθαι τὸν Πεισιίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιούμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξιοχρεά ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρηῖσαι σφέων βοηθείην, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

## 5.66

Ἀθηναί, εὐδοῖσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, ὅς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίης μὲν ἔων δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεές αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος, ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἑόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Αἶαντος· τοῦτον δὲ ἅτε ἀστυγείονα<sup>4</sup> καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἑόντα προσέθετο.

## 5.67

ταῦτα δέ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἑώντοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθέnea τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης

<sup>3</sup> sharpen    <sup>4</sup> near a city

γὰρ Ἀργεῖοισι πολεμῆσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψιδούς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυνῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται· τοῦτο δέ, ἡρώιον γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυνωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἔοντα Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο<sup>5</sup> εἰ ἐκβάλῃ τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φάσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυνωνίων βασιλέα, κείνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσθαι ἔδοκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελάνιππον τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανίῳ<sup>6</sup> καὶ μιν ἔδρυσεν ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάνιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι ὥς ἐχθιστον ἔοντα Ἀδρήστῳ, ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνει καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυνῶνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστί<sup>7</sup> κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον· ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδὸς, ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοῖ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυνῶνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον,<sup>8</sup> τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίππῳ.

## 5.68

ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικυνωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργεῖοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἔνθα καὶ πλείστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυνωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὔνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἕτεροι

<sup>5</sup> prophesy    <sup>6</sup> town hall, law court    <sup>7</sup> very greatly    <sup>8</sup> honor

δὲ Ὑᾱται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶται, ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοις τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένης ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐκείνους τεθνεώτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἔτεα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενοι κεκλησθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

## 5.69

ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυνῶνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκε· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυνῶνιου τούτου θυγατριδὸς καὶ τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἴωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον<sup>9</sup> Κλεισθέnea ἐμμήσατο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκαχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένευμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῶ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

## 5.70

ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε· ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετείχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

## 5.71

οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὥδε ὠνομάσθησαν. ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος

<sup>9</sup> named alike

therefore, having put in to shore at Phaleron, disembarked his army; but the sons of Peisistratos being informed of this beforehand called in to their aid an auxiliary force from Thessaly, for they had made an alliance with the Thessalians; and the Thessalians at their request sent by public resolution a body of a thousand horse and also their king Kineas, a man of Conion. So having obtained these as allies, the sons of Peisistratos contrived as follows: — they cut down the trees in the plain of Phaleron and made this district fit for horsemen to ride over, and after that they sent the cavalry to attack the enemy's camp, who falling upon it slew (besides many others of the Lacedemonians) Anchimolios himself also: and the survivors of them they shut up in their ships. Such was the issue of the first expedition from Lacedemon: and the burial-place of Anchimolios is at Alopecai in Attica, near the temple of Heracles which is at Kynosarges.

#### 5.64

After this the Lacedemonians equipped a larger expedition and sent it forth against Athens; and they appointed to be commander of the army their king Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and sent it this time not by sea but by land. With these, when they had invaded the land of Attica, first the Thessalian horse engaged battle; and in no long time they were routed and there fell of them more than forty men; so the survivors departed without more ado and went straight back to Thessaly. Then Cleomenes came to the city together with those of the Athenians who desired to be free, and began to besiege the despots shut up in the Pelasgian wall.

#### 5.65

And the Lacedemonians would never have captured the sons of Peisistratos at all; for they on their side had no design to make a long blockade, and the others were well provided with food and drink; so that they would have gone away back to Sparta after besieging them for a few days only: but as it was, a thing happened just at this time which was unfortunate for those, and at the same time of assistance to these; for the children of the sons of Peisistratos were captured, while being secretly removed out of the country: and when this happened, all their matters were thereby cast into confusion, and they surrendered receiving back their children on the terms which the Athenians desired, namely that they should depart out of Attica within five days. After this they departed out of the country and went to Sigeion on the Scamander, after their family had ruled over the Athenians for six and thirty years. These also were originally Pylans and sons of Neleus, descended from the same ancestors as the family of Codros and Melanthos, who had formerly become kings of Athens being settlers from abroad. Hence too Hippocrates had given to his son the name of Peisistratos as a memorial, calling him after

Peisistratos the son of Nestor.

Thus the Athenians were freed from despots; and the things worthy to be narrated which they did or suffered after they were liberated, up to the time when Ionia revolted from Dareios and Aristagoras the Milesian came to Athens and asked them to help him, these I will set forth first before I proceed further.

#### 5.66

Athens, which even before that time was great, then, after having been freed from despots, became gradually yet greater; and in it two men exercised power, namely Cleisthenes a descendant of Alcmaion, the same who is reported to have bribed the Pythian prophetess, and Isagoras, the son of Tisander, of a family which was highly reputed, but of his original descent I am not able to declare; his kinsmen however offer sacrifices to the Carian Zeus. These men came to party strife for power; and then Cleisthenes was being worsted in the struggle, he made common cause with the people. After this he caused the Athenians to be in ten tribes, who were formerly in four; and he changed the names by which they were called after the sons of Ion, namely Geleon, Aigicoreus, Argades, and Hoples, and invented for them names taken from other heroes, all native Athenians except Ajax, whom he added as a neighbour and ally, although he was no Athenian.

#### 5.67

Now in these things it seems to me that this Cleisthenes was imitating his mother's father Cleisthenes the despot of Sikyon: for Cleisthenes when he went to war with Argos first caused to cease in Sikyon the contests of rhapsodists, which were concerned with the poems of Homer, because Argives and Argos are celebrated in them almost everywhere; then secondly, since there was (as still there is) in the market-place itself of the Sikyonians a hero-temple of Adrastos the son of Talaos, Cleisthenes had a desire to cast him forth out of the land, because he was an Argive. So having come to Delphi he consulted the Oracle as to whether he should cast out Adrastos; and the Pythian prophetess answered him saying that Adrastos was king of the Sikyonians, whereas he was a stoner of them. So since the god did not permit him to do this, he went away home and considered means by which Adrastos should be brought to depart of his own accord: and when he thought that he had discovered them, he sent to Thebes in Boeotia and said that he desired to introduce into his city Melanippos the son of Astacos, and the Thebans gave him leave. So Cleisthenes introduced Melanippos into his city, and appointed for him a sacred enclosure within the precincts of the City Hall itself, and established him there in the strongest position. Now Cleisthenes introduced

Melanippos (for I must relate this also) because he was the greatest enemy of Adrastos, seeing that he had killed both his brother Mekisteus and his son in law Tydeus: and when he had appointed the sacred enclosure for him, he took away the sacrifices and festivals of Adrastos and gave them to Melanippos. Now the Sikyonians were accustomed to honour Adrastos with very great honours; for this land was formerly the land of Polybos, and Adrastos was daughter's son to Polybos, and Polybos dying without sons gave his kingdom to Adrastos: the Sikyonians then not only gave other honours to Adrastos, but also with reference to his sufferings they specially honoured him with tragic choruses, not paying the honour to Dionysos but to Adrastos. Cleisthenes however gave back the choruses to Dionysos, and the other rites besides this he gave to Melannippos.

#### 5.68

Thus he had done to Adrastos; and he also changed the names of the Dorian tribes, in order that the Sikyonians might not have the same tribes as the Argives; in which matter he showed great contempt of the Sikyonians, for the names he gave were taken from the names of a pig and an ass by changing only the endings, except in the case of his own tribe, to which he gave a name from his own rule. These last then were called Archelaoi, while of the rest those of one tribe were called Hyatai, of another Oneatai, and of the remaining tribe Choireatai. These names of tribes were used by the men of Sikyon not only in the reign of Cleisthenes, but also beyond that for sixty years after his death; then however they considered the matter and changed them into Hylleis, Pamphyloi, and Dymanatai, adding to these a fourth, to which they gave the name Aigialeis after Aigialeus the son of Adrastos.

#### 5.69

Thus had the Cleisthenes of Sikyon done: and the Athenian Cleisthenes, who was his daughter's son and was called after him, despising, as I suppose, the Ionians, as he the Dorians, imitated his namesake Cleisthenes in order that the Athenians might not have the same tribes as the Ionians: for when at the time of which we speak he added to his own party the whole body of the common people of the Athenians, which in former time he had despised, he changed the names of the tribes and made them more in number than they had been; he made in fact ten rulers of tribes instead of four, and by tens also he distributed the demes in the tribes; and having added the common people to his party he was much superior to his opponents.

#### 5.70

Then Isagoras, as he was being worsted in his turn, contrived a plan in opposition to him, that is to say, he called in Cleomenes the Lacedemonian to



help him, who had been a guest-friend to himself since the siege of the sons of Peisistratos; moreover Cleomenes was accused of being intimate with the wife of Isagoras. First then Cleomenes sent a herald to Athens demanding the expulsion of Cleisthenes and with him many others of the Athenians, calling them the men who were under the curse: this message he sent by instruction of Isagoras, for the Alcmaionidai and their party were accused of the murder to which reference was thus made, while he and his friends had no part in it.

#### 5.71

Now the men of the Athenians who were “under the curse” got this name as follows: — there was one Kylon among the Athenians, a man who had gained the victory at the Olympic games: this man behaved with arrogance, wishing to make himself despot; and having

*vocabulary*

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

**ἄγχι** near, nigh ~angina

**ἄδυτον** inner sanctum

**ἀκλεής** without fame, inglorious  
~Euclid

**ἀκρόπολις** -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute

**ἄλιος** of the sea; fruitless

**ἄλίσκομαι** be captured ~helix

**ἀνακρεμάννυμι** (ō) get snagged on

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

**ἀνθίστημι** face, make a stand  
~station

**ἀπαλλαξείω** wish to get rid of

**ἀπαλλάσσω** free from, remove; be freed, depart

**ἀριστερός** left-hand

**βασιλεύω** be king

**δέκατος** tenth ~decimal

**δεσμός** bond, latch, strap; also (pl) headdress

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

**διαβαίνω** pass over, cross ~basis

**διαλύω** break up; relax, weaken

**διάφορος** different; difference; disagreeing; balance, bill

**δῖς** twice

**ἐγχειρίζω** entrust

**ἐθελοκακέω** wimp out; act maliciously

**εἰσβάλλω** throw into ~ballistic

**εἴσειμι** go in; come in range; come to mind ~ion

**ἐκλείπω** leave out, pass over

**ἐκπίπτω** fall out of ~petal

**ἐκπολεμώ** antagonize to war

**ἐκφέρω** carry off ~bear

**ἐλευθερόω** set free

**ἐναγής** cursed, polluted

**ἐνθαῦτα** there, here

**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command

**ἐξανίστημι** raise, bring/send out

**ἐξειμι** go forth; is possible ~ion

**ἐξέλασις** expulsion; expedition

**ἐπειρωτάω** consult, ask

**ἐπιγράφω** scratch, graze

~photograph

**ἐπικλητός** summoned, appointed

**ἐπικρατέω** rule over

**ἐπίστιον** ship's slip ~stand

**ἐπίστιος** hearthside

**ἐπιτελέω** complete; do a religious duty

**ἐπιχειρέω** do, try, attack ~chiral

**ἐπτακόσιοι** 700

**ἐσπέρα** evening, west

**ἔσχατος** farthest, last

**ἐταιρήϊη** association

**εὖς** good, brave, noble

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

**ἡλικία** time of life, contemporaries

**ἡλικιώτης** -ου (m, 1) equal in age, contemporary

**θεμιτός** legal, righteous

**θεοπρόπος** seer ~theology

**ἵζω** to seat ~sit

**ικέτης** -ου (m, 1) suppliant, refugee

**ἱπόβοτος** grazed ~hippo

**ἱρεΐη** priestess

**ἰσηγορία** political equality

**καίπερ** even if

**κάρτα** very much ~κράτος

**καταδέω** tie up; fall short

**καταλαμβάνω** seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen

~epilepsy

**καταλέγω** relate in detail, choose; enroll ~legion

**κατεργάζομαι** achieve; cultivate; get; kill

κατοικίζω colonize  
 κληδών -ηδόνης (f, 3) news, omen  
 ~gallo  
 κρεμάννυμι (ῥ) hang  
 λῆμα will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence  
 λύτρον ransom, recompense  
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform  
 μεταπέμπω send; (mid) summon  
 ~pomp  
 μνήμη reminder, memorial  
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 οὐδαμός not anyone  
 πανταχῇ everywhere  
 παραλύω detach, disable  
 παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow  
 ~jet  
 παχύς thick, stout, clotted  
 ~pachyderm  
 πεδάω impede, chain ~impede  
 πέδη shackles ~pedal  
 περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist  
 περιοικέω dwell around  
 περιωβρίζω insult wantonly  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 προθυμέομαι (ῥ) be eager  
 πρόθυμος (ῥ) willing, eager ~fume  
 προπύλαιος before the gates, gateway  
 προσαγορεύω address, call by name  
 προσφωνέω speak to  
 σβέννυμι (ῥ) extinguish, go out  
 σιδήρεος of iron ~siderite  
 σίνομαι (ἱ) rob, damage  
 σπουδαῖος quick, active; excellent  
 στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan

στρατήγη expedition, campaign  
 στρατιά army ~strategy  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;  
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συνάπτω join, partake; adjoin;  
 consult; fight ~haptic  
 συνδιαφέρω bring along  
 συνεξέρχομαι go out with  
 σύνθημα -τος (n, 3) agreed signal  
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis  
 τέθριππος four-horse  
 τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid  
 τετρακισχίλιοι 4000 ~kilo-  
 τίνυμαι chastise, punish  
 τίνω (ἱ) pay, atone for; (mp) punish  
 τίω value, honor; mp: exact  
 recompense for  
 τριηκόσιοι three hundred  
 τυραννέω be an absolute ruler  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὕβρις -εως (f) pride, insolence, outrage  
 ὑπαρχος subordinate  
 ὑπεξέχω withdraw secretly  
 ὑπόσπονδος under truce  
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 φήμη speech, rumor ~fame  
 φονεύω kill  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)  
 ~heir  
 χώρος place ~heir

δὲ ἑταιρήν<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἰκέτης ἕζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτους ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων, οἳ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύνους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο.

## 5.72

Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπέξεσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρί, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγηλατέει ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων, τά οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειράτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρειω στασιώτῃσι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη.<sup>2</sup> ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχέσειν, ἦε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱερίη<sup>3</sup> ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμειψαί, εἶπε «ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἶρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν<sup>4</sup> Δωριεῦσι παρίεναι ἐνθαῦτα.» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός.» ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληιδόν<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος<sup>6</sup> ἔχοιμ' ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξει.

## 5.73

οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθέnea καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος

<sup>1</sup> association    <sup>2</sup> speech, rumor    <sup>3</sup> priestess    <sup>4</sup> legal, righteous

<sup>5</sup> news, omen    <sup>6</sup> will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence

μεταπεμφόμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις, συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἡπιστάετο γὰρ σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἄρταφρένης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος Σαρδίῳ ὕπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες εἶντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

## 5.74

Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιωβρίσθαι ἔπεισι καὶ ἔργοισι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι· συνεξήλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλως. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο<sup>7</sup> ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

## 5.75

μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποιοῖεν δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε

<sup>7</sup> rob, damage

χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσης στρατῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι ἐῖποντο· παραλυομένοι δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ κλητοῖ σφι ἑόντες εἶποντο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλευσίνῃ ὄρωντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἷχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι,

## 5.76

τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριέες, δῖς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δῖς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπύκοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἑλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριέες ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

## 5.77

διαλυθέντος ὧν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς,<sup>8</sup> ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαι<sup>9</sup> βυλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρεῖν. συμβάλλουσί τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλῷ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἐπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐζώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἱ δὲ ἵπποβοτάι ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δήσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσαν σφέας δήμεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν,

<sup>8</sup> without fame, inglorious    <sup>9</sup> chastise, punish

ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον. καὶ τῶν λύτρων<sup>10</sup> τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον<sup>11</sup> χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ἐπιγέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε.

Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ ἐν ἀχλυνόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν· τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

## 5.78

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠϋξήντο. δηλοὶ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μόνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἢ ἰσηγορίῃ<sup>12</sup> ὥς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον,<sup>13</sup> εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικέοντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο. δηλοὶ ὦν ταῦτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον<sup>14</sup> ὥς δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐωυτῷ προεθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι.

## 5.79

οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκοντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων,<sup>15</sup> ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὥς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων «οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπίες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δὲ τούτων γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ

<sup>10</sup> ransom, recompense<sup>13</sup> quick, active; excellent<sup>11</sup> four-horse<sup>12</sup> political equality<sup>14</sup> wimp out; act maliciously<sup>15</sup> seer

formed for himself an association of men of his own age, he endeavoured to seize the Acropolis: but not being able to get possession of it, he sat down as a suppliant before the image of the goddess. These men were taken from their place as suppliants by the presidents of the naucraries, who then administered affairs at Athens, on the condition that they should be liable to any penalty short of death; and the Alcmaionidai are accused of having put them to death. This had occurred before the time of Peisistratos.

### 5.72

Now when Cleomenes sent demanding the expulsion of Cleisthenes and of those under the curse, Cleisthenes himself retired secretly; but after that nevertheless Cleomenes appeared in Athens with no very large force, and having arrived he proceeded to expel as accursed seven hundred Athenian families, of which Isagoras had suggested to him the names. Having done this he next endeavoured to dissolve the Senate, and he put the offices of the State into the hands of three hundred, who were the partisans of Isagoras. The Senate however making opposition, and not being willing to submit, Cleomenes with Isagoras and his partisans seized the Acropolis. Then the rest of the Athenians joined together by common consent and besieged them for two days; and on the third day so many of them as were Lacedemonians departed out of the country under a truce. Thus was accomplished for Cleomenes the ominous saying which was uttered to him: for when he had ascended the Acropolis with the design of taking possession of it, he was going to the sanctuary of the goddess, as to address her in prayer; but the priestess stood up from her seat before he had passed through the door, and said, "Lacedemonian stranger, go back and enter not into the temple, for it is not lawful for Dorians to pass in hither." He said: "Woman, I am not a Dorian, but an Achaian." So then, paying no attention to the ominous speech, he made his attempt and then was expelled again with the Lacedemonians; but the rest of the men the Athenians laid in bonds to be put to death, and among them Timesitheos the Delphian, with regard to whom I might mention very great deeds of strength and courage which he performed.

### 5.73

These then having been thus laid in bonds were put to death; and the Athenians after this sent for Cleisthenes to return, and also for the seven hundred families which had been driven out by Cleomenes: and then they sent envoys to Sardis, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians; for they were well assured that the Lacedemonians and Cleomenes had been utterly made their foes. So when these envoys had arrived at Sardis and were saying that which they had been commanded to say, Artaphrenes the son of Hystaspes, the governor of Sardis, asked what men these were who requested



to be allies of the Persians, and where upon the earth they dwelt; and having heard this from the envoys, he summed up his answer to them thus, saying that if the Athenians were willing to give earth and water to Dareios, he was willing to make alliance with them, but if not, he bade them begone: and the envoys taking the matter upon themselves said that they were willing to do so, because they desired to make the alliance.

#### 5.74

These, when they returned to their own land, were highly censured: and Cleomenes meanwhile, conceiving that he had been outrageously dealt with by the Athenians both with words and with deeds, was gathering together an army from the whole of the Peloponnese, not declaring the purpose for which he was gathering it, but desiring to take vengeance on the people of the Athenians, and intending to make Isagoras despot; for he too had come out of the Acropolis together with Cleomenes. Cleomenes then with a large army entered Eleusis, while at the same time the Boeotians by agreement with him captured Oinoe and Hysiai, the demes which lay upon the extreme borders of Attica, and the Chalkidians on the other side invaded and began to ravage various districts of Attica. The Athenians then, though attacked on more sides than one, thought that they would remember the Boeotians and Chalkidians afterwards, and arrayed themselves against the Peloponnesians who were in Eleusis.

#### 5.75

Then as the armies were just about the join battle, the Corinthians first, considering with themselves that they were not acting rightly, changed their minds and departed; and after that Demaratos the son of Ariston did the same, who was king of the Spartans as well as Cleomenes, though he had joined with him in leading the army out from Lacedemon and had not been before this at variance with Cleomenes. In consequence of this dissension a law was laid down at Sparta that it should not be permitted, when an army went out, that both the kings should go with it, for up to this time both used to go with it, and that as one of the kings was set free from service, so one of the sons of Tyndareus also should be left behind; for before this time both of these two were called upon by them for help and went with the armies.

#### 5.76

At this time then in Eleusis the rest of the allies, seeing that the kings of the Lacedemonians did not agree and also that the Corinthians had deserted their place in the ranks, themselves too departed and got them away quickly. And this was the fourth time that the Dorians had come to Attica, twice having invaded it to make war against it, and twice to help the mass of the

Athenian people,—first when they at the same time colonised Megara (this expedition may rightly be designated as taking place when Codros was king of the Athenians), for the second and third times when they came making expeditions from Sparta to drive out the sons of Peisistratos, and fourthly on this occasion, when Cleomenes at the head of the Peloponnesians invaded Eleusis: thus the Dorians invaded Athens then for the fourth time.

#### 5.77

This army then having been ingloriously broken up, the Athenians after that, desiring to avenge themselves, made expedition first against the Chalkidians; and the Boeotians came to the Euripos to help the Chalkidians. The Athenians, therefore, seeing those who had come to help, resolved first to attack the Boeotians before the Chalkidians. Accordingly they engaged battle with the Boeotians, and had much the better of them, and after having slain very many they took seven hundred of them captive. On this very same day the Athenians passed over into Euboea and engaged battle with the Chalkidians as well; and having conquered these also, they left four thousand holders of allotments in the land belonging to the “Breeders of Horses”: now the wealthier of the Chalkidians were called the Breeders of Horses. And as many of them as they took captive, they kept in confinement together with the Boeotians who had been captured, bound with fetters; and then after a time they let them go, having fixed their ransom at two pounds of silver apiece: but their fetters, in which they had been bound, they hung up on the Acropolis; and these were still existing even to my time hanging on walls which had been scorched with fire by the Mede, and just opposite the sanctuary which lies towards the West. The tenth part of the ransom also they dedicated for an offering, and made of it a four-horse chariot of bronze, which stands on the left hand as you enter the Propylaia in the Acropolis, and on it is the following inscription:

“Matched in the deeds of war with the tribes of Boeotia and Chalkis The sons of Athens prevailed, conquered and tamed them in fight: In chains of iron and darkness they quenched their insolent spirit; And to Athene present these, of their ransom a tithe.”

#### 5.78

The Athenians accordingly increased in power; and it is evident, not by one instance only but in every way, that Equality is an excellent thing, since the Athenians while they were ruled by despots were not better in war than any of those who dwelt about them, whereas after they had got rid of despots they became far the first. This proves that when they were kept down they were wilfully slack, because they were working for a master, whereas when

they had been set free each one was eager to achieve something for himself.

**5.79**

These then were faring thus: and the Thebans after this sent to the god, desiring to be avenged on the Athenians; the Pythian prophetess however said that vengeance was not possible for them by their own strength alone, but bade them report the matter to the “many-voiced” and ask help of those who were “nearest” to them. So when those who were sent to consult the Oracle returned, they made a general assembly and reported the oracle; and then the Thebans heard them say that they were to ask help of those who were nearest to them, they said: “Surely those who dwell nearest to us are the men of Tanagra and Coroneia and Thespiai; and these always fight zealously on our side and endure the war with us to the end: what need is there that we ask of

*vocabulary*

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

**ἄγνωμοσύνη** senselessness, ignorance, folly

**ἄγχι** near, nigh ~angina

**ἀκήρυκτος** unannounced, unproclaimed

**ἄλλοθι** elsewhere, abroad

**ἄλλοφρονέω** dazed, crushed ~frenzy

**ἀναδίδωμι** yield; give out

**ἀνακομίζω** take back/away

**ἀναμνησῶ** (+2 acc) remind someone ~mnemonic

**ἀνασπάω** draw again ~spatula

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

**ἀπαγγέλλω** announce, order, promise ~angel

**ἀπάγω** lead away, back ~demagogue

**ἀπαιτέω** demand to have returned

**ἀπέχω** ward off, drive off, refrain, be at some distance

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

**ἀποπέμπω** send away ~pomp

**ἀποσώζω** save from

**ἀποφαίνω** display, declare

**ἀποφέρω** carry off, carry back ~bear

**ἄρρητος** unspoken, unspeakable ~rhetoric

**ἀρχαῖος** ancient, from the beginning ~oligarch

**ἄτε** as if; since

**ἀτρεκής** precise, certain

**βάθρον** step, base, bench

**βροντή** thunder ~brontosaurus

**γυναικίος** of women

**δαιμόνιος** voc: you crazy guy

**δαίμων** -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom ~demon

**δηλέομαι** hurt, spoil, steal ~delenda

**διαβαίνω** pass over, cross ~basis

**διασημαίνω** point out, signal

**διατελέω** accomplish; keep doing ~apostle

**διάφορος** different; difference; disagreeing; balance, bill

**ἐλαία** olive, olive tree ~olive

**ἔλαιον** oil, olive oil ~olive

**ἐπαιέω** raise, place on ~aorta

**ἐπειρωτέω** consult, ask

**ἐπιγίγνομαι** succeed, come after ~genus

**ἐπικαλέω** call upon

**ἐπικεῖμαι** impose; shut a door

**ἐπικουρίη** rescue; auxiliary force

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

**ἐπιπίπτω** fall upon, attack

**ἐπιπλέω** sail on, over ~float

**ἐπιτελέω** complete; do a religious duty

**ἐπιτέλλω** order ~apostle

**ἐπιφέρω** bestow, impute ~bear

**ἐπιχώριος** native

**ἐσθής** clothes ~vest

**έτοιμος** ready; fulfilled

**εὐδαιμονία** prosperity

**εὐπετής** coming out well; (adv) fortunately

**εύς** good, brave, noble

**ἔχθρη** hate

**ζημιόω** fine, punish

**ἡμιόλιος** 1.5 times ~hemisphere

**θυσία** sacrifice

**ιδρύω** establish

**ἰλάσκομαι** appease

**καταινέω** agree, promise, grant

**κεντέω** whip, goad

**κερτόμιος** mocking, abusive

~cardiac  
 κλέπτω steal  
 κότερος which, whichever of two  
 λίνεος linen  
 μαντεῖον prophetic warning  
 ~mantis  
 μεσόγαια inland  
 μεταβάλλω alter, transform  
 μέτρον measure ~metric  
 μηνίω be enraged at  
 ναυμαχία naval warfare  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 οὐδαμοῦ nowhere  
 οὐδέτερος neither  
 πάθος -ους (n, 3) an experience,  
 passion, condition  
 παράλιος seaside  
 παραπλήσιος similar to  
 περιβάλλω act: excel; mid: put on  
 clothing ~ballistic  
 περιγίγνομαι surpass; survive;  
 attain ~genus  
 περιέπω treat, handle  
 περίξ all around  
 περονάω pierce, transfix; mp: fasten  
 ~pierce  
 περόνη nail, pin, clasp; cleat; fibula  
 ~pierce  
 πήγνυμι (ῥ) stick, set, build ~fang  
 προακούω hear beforehand  
 σεισμός shaking  
 στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc)

στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm;  
 (pl noun) 200 meters  
 στερέω steal, take  
 συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συμπέμπω send with ~pomp  
 συμφέρω bring together; be  
 expedient; agree; (mp) happen  
 ~bear  
 συμφορά collecting; accident,  
 misfortune  
 συνίημι send together; hear, notice,  
 understand ~jet  
 συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis  
 σύρω (ῥ) drag  
 σφέτερος their  
 σχοινίον cord  
 τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize  
 ~tonsure  
 τοιόσδε such  
 τραχύς (ᾱ) rough ~trachea  
 τριηρίτης -ου (m, 1) trireme  
 crewman  
 ὑποτέμνω undercut, intercept  
 ὑφαιρέω take from under; filch  
 φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to  
 carry ~bear  
 χορηγέω lead a chorus  
 χορός dance; chorus ~terpsichorean  
 χρηστήριον oracle, response  
 χώρος place ~heir

μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ χρηστήριον.»

5.80

τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις «ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Ἄσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴγινα· τουτέων ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι.» καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἐπικαλούμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὥς ἐόντων ἀγχίστων· οἱ δέ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν.

5.81

πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὶς οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδωσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλη ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν<sup>2</sup> Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσικνέοντο.

5.82

ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἢ προσφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε. Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὧν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμῖης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης ἀγάλματα ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφι ἰδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. ἐπειρώτεον ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέωνται τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ λίθου· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὧν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὴ

<sup>1</sup> unannounced, unproclaimed    <sup>2</sup> drag

κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι<sup>3</sup> γῆς οὐδαμοῦ<sup>4</sup> κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνησι. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ Πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεῖ. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιέων τουτέων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρυσάντο· καὶ ἦ τε γῇ σφί ἐφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο.

5.83

τοῦτον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινήται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδauρον ἐδίδουσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινήται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη<sup>5</sup> χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο<sup>6</sup> αὐτούς, ὥστε θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμῆς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἰδρυσάντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαϊαν, τῇ Οἷῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει. ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίησί τε σφέα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικίῳσι<sup>7</sup> κερτομίῳσι<sup>8</sup> ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ αὐταὶ ἱεροεργαίαι· εἰσὶ δὲ σφί καὶ ἄρρητοι<sup>9</sup> ἱουργαίαι.

5.84

κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον<sup>10</sup> τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελείειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερηθῆναι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ

<sup>3</sup> elsewhere, abroad    <sup>4</sup> nowhere    <sup>5</sup> senselessness, ignorance, folly  
<sup>6</sup> hurt, spoil, steal    <sup>7</sup> of women    <sup>8</sup> mocking, abusive    <sup>9</sup> unspoken,  
unspeakable    <sup>10</sup> be enraged at

τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἶγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα.

## 5.85

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἶγιναν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται. οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία<sup>11</sup> ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἄμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας<sup>12</sup> τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι,<sup>13</sup> παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους, ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον.

## 5.86

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μὴ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἥσσοις συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπεῖτε σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομένους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὗ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντὸ ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλω δὲ τεῶ· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιέειν· σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργεῖους ποιέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ

<sup>11</sup> cord    <sup>12</sup> trireme crewman    <sup>13</sup> dazed, crushed



Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγυναίην, καὶ ἦκεν βοηθόντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι.

## 5.87

λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγυνητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἓνα μῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαυμονίου· περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κομισθεὶς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγυναν στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον μῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας καὶ κεντεύσας<sup>14</sup> τῇσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκου εἴη ὁ ἐωυτῆς ἀνὴρ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθους δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεφω ζημιώσῃσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθήτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθήτα Δωριδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παραπλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλον ὦν ἐς τὸν λίνεον<sup>15</sup> κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται.

## 5.88

ἔστι δὲ ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἰὰς αὕτη ἡ ἐσθὴς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἦ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθὴς πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὕτη ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωριδα καλούμεν. τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργεῖοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγυνήτῃσι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τὸδε ποιῆσαι νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέροισι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας<sup>16</sup> ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας, Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε

<sup>14</sup> whip, goad    <sup>15</sup> linen    <sup>16</sup> 1.5 times

these? Rather perhaps that is not the meaning of the oracle.”

#### 5.80

While they commented upon it thus, at length one perceived “that which the oracle means to tell us. Asopos is said to have had two daughters born to him, Thebe and Egina; and as these are sisters, I think that the god gave us for answer that we should ask the men of Egina to become our helpers.” Then as there seemed to be no opinion expressed which was better than this, they sent forthwith and asked the men of Egina to help them, calling upon them in accordance with the oracle; and they, when these made request, said that they sent with them the sons of Aiacos to help them.

#### 5.81

After that the Thebans, having made an attempt with the alliance of the sons of Aiacos and having been roughly handled by the Athenians, sent again and gave them back the sons of Aiacos and asked them for men. So the Eginetans, exalted by great prosperity and calling to mind an ancient grudge against the Athenians, then on the request of the Thebans commenced a war against the Athenians without notice: for while the Athenians were intent on the Boeotians, they sailed against them to Attica with ships of war, and they devastated Phaleron and also many demes in the remainder of the coast region, and so doing they deeply stirred the resentment of the Athenians.

#### 5.82

Now the grudge which was due beforehand from the Eginetans to the Athenians came about from a beginning which was as follows:—The land of the Epidaurians yielded to its inhabitants no fruit; and accordingly with reference to this calamity the Epidaurians went to inquire at Delphi, and the Pythian prophetess bade them set up images of Damia and Auxesia, and said that when they had set up these, they would meet with better fortune. The Epidaurians then asked further whether they should make images of bronze or of stone; and the prophetess bade them not use either of these, but make them of the wood of a cultivated olive-tree. The Epidaurians therefore asked the Athenians to allow them to cut for themselves an olive-tree, since they thought that their olives were the most sacred; nay some say that at that time there were no olives in any part of the earth except at Athens. The Athenians said that they would allow them on condition that they should every year bring due offerings to Athene Polias and to Erechtheus. The Epidaurians, then, having agreed to these terms, obtained that which they asked, and they made images out of these olive-trees and set them up: and their land bore fruit and they continued to fulfil towards the Athenians that which they had agreed to do.

## 5.83

Now during this time and also before this the Eginetans were subject to the Epidaurians, and besides other things they were wont to pass over to Epidaurus to have their disputes with one another settled by law: but after this time they built for themselves ships and made revolt from the Epidaurians, moved thereto by wilfulness. So as they were at variance with them, they continued to inflict damage on them, since in fact they had command of the sea, and especially they stole away from them these images of Damia and Auxesia, and they brought them and set them up in the inland part of their country at a place called Oia, which is about twenty furlongs distant from their city. Having set them up in this spot they worshipped them with sacrifices and choruses of women accompanied with scurrilous jesting, ten men being appointed for each of the deities to provide the choruses: and the choruses spoke evil of no man, but only of the women of the place. Now the Epidaurians also had the same rites; and they have also rites which may not be divulged.

## 5.84

These images then having been stolen, the Epidaurians no longer continued to fulfil towards the Athenians that which they had agreed. The Athenians accordingly sent and expressed displeasure to the Epidaurians; and they declared saying that they were doing no wrong; for during the time when they had the images in their country they continued to fulfil that which they had agreed upon, but since they had been deprived of them, it was not just that they should make the offerings any more; and they bade them demand these from the men of Egina, who had the images. So the Athenians sent to Egina and demanded the images back; but the Eginetans said that they had nothing to do with the Athenians.

## 5.85

The Athenians then report that in one single trireme were despatched those of their citizens who were sent by the State after this demand; who having come to Egina, attempted to tear up from off their pedestals the images, (alleging that they were made of wood which belonged to the Athenians), in order to carry them back with them: but not being able to get hold of them in this manner (say the Athenians) they threw ropes round them and were pulling them, when suddenly, as they pulled, thunder came on and an earthquake at the same time with the thunder; and the crew of the trireme who were pulling were made beside themselves by these, and being brought to this condition they killed one another as if they were enemies, until at last but one of the whole number was left; and he returned alone to Phaleron.

## 5.86

Thus the Athenians report that it came to pass: but the Eginetans say that it was not with a single ship that the Athenians came; for a single ship, and even a few more than one, they could have easily repelled, even if they had not happened to have ships of their own: but they say that the Athenians sailed upon their country with a large fleet of ships, and they gave way before them and did not fight a sea-battle. They cannot however declare with certainty whether they gave way thus because they admitted that they were not strong enough to fight the battle by sea, or because they intended to do something of the kind which they actually did. The Athenians then, they say, as no one met them in fight, landed from their ships and made for the images; but not being able to tear them up from their pedestals, at last they threw ropes round them and began to pull, until the images, as they were being pulled, did both the same thing (and here they report something which I cannot believe, but some other man may), for they say that the images fell upon their knees to them and that they continue to be in that position ever since this time. The Athenians, they say, were doing thus; and meanwhile they themselves (say the Eginetans), being informed that the Athenians were about to make an expedition against them, got the Argives to help them; and just when the Athenians had disembarked upon the Eginetan land, the Argives had come to their rescue, and not having been perceived when they passed over from Epidaurus to the island, they fell upon the Athenians before these had heard anything of the matter, cutting them off secretly from the way to their ships; and at this moment it was that the thunder and the earthquake came upon them.

## 5.87

This is the report which is given by the Argives and Eginetans both, and it is admitted by the Athenians also that but one alone of them survived and came back to Attica: only the Argives say that this one remained alive from destruction wrought by them upon the army of Athens, while the Athenians say that the divine power was the destroyer. However, even this one man did not remain alive, but perished, they say, in the following manner:—when he returned to Athens he reported the calamity which had happened; and the wives of the men who had gone on the expedition to Egina, hearing it and being very indignant that he alone of all had survived, came round this man and proceeded to stab him with the brooches of their mantles, each one of them asking of him where her husband was. Thus he was slain; and to the Athenians it seemed that the deed of the women was a much more terrible thing even than the calamity which had happened; and not knowing, it is said, how they should punish the women in any other way, they changed their fashion of dress to that of Ionia,—for before this the women of the Athenians

wore Dorian dress, very like that of Corinth,—they changed it therefore to the linen tunic, in order that they might not have use for brooches.

**5.88**

In truth however this fashion of dress is not Ionian originally but Carian, for the old Hellenic fashion of dress for women was universally the same as that which we now call Dorian. Moreover it is said that with reference to these events the Argives and Eginetans made it a custom among themselves in both countries to have the brooches made half as large again as the size which was then established in use, and that their women should offer brooches especially in the temple of these goddesses, and also that they should carry neither pottery of Athens nor anything else of Athenian make to the temple, but

*vocabulary*

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

**ἄδαής** not knowing how to

**ἄετός** eagle ~avis

**ἀκρόπολις** -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute

**ἀναβλαστάνω** shoot up

**ἀναδέχομαι** catch, receive

**ἀναλαμβάνω** take up, recover, resume

**ἀναμνησκω** (+2 acc) remind someone ~mnemonic

**ἀνάρσιος** hostile, harmful ~harmony

**ἀνδρώ** make a man

**ἀνέκαθεν** from the start

**ἀπαλλάσσω** free from, remove; be freed, depart

**ἄπειρος** untested; infinite

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

**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine

**ἀποφέρω** carry off, carry back ~bear

**ἄσημος** not marked; unclear

**ἀσθενής** weak

**αὐλή** courtyard

**αὐτόθι** on the spot

**ἀχάριστος** ungracious, unpleasant ~eucharist

**γόνος** offspring ~genus

**δηιώ** be inimical, hurt, tear, kill

**διαφεύγω** escape, survive

**διεξέρχομαι** go through

**διεργάζομαι** cultivate; kill, end

**δίζημι** seek ~zeal

**δίζω** be in doubt ~dilemma

**δικαιώ** demand/make justice

**διπλόος** double, overlapping

**ἐγγίγνομαι** live in ~genus

**ἐγγειρίζω** entrust

**εἰσάγω** lead in ~demagogue

**εἴσεμι** go in; come in range; come to mind ~ion

**ἐκμανθάνω** know by heart

**ἐλεύθερος** not enslaved

**ἐλευθερόω** set free

**ἐμπειρος** experienced

**ἐμπόδιος** getting in the way

**ἐνάγω** lead in/on; arraign

**ἐνδέχομαι** accept, admit, be possible

**ἐνερθε** beneath, below

**ἐντέλλω** (mp) command

**ἐξαγγέλλω** bring news out ~angel

**ἐξελαύνω** drive out, exile ~elastic

**ἐπαείρω** raise, place on ~aorta

**ἐπέχω** hold, cover; offer; assail

**ἐπικαλέω** call upon

**ἐπιστρατεύω** march against

**ἐπίσχω** aim; restrain

**ἐπιχειρέω** do, try, attack ~chiral

**ἐπιχώριος** native

**ἐπωνύμιος** called, named

**ἐρευνάω** hunt for

**έτοιμος** ready; fulfilled

**εύς** good, brave, noble

**ἔχθρη** hate

**ζήτησις** -εως (f) search, inquiry

**ἡσυχία** peace and quiet

**ιδρύω** establish

**ἵππιος** of horses

**ἰσχύς** -ος (f) strength; body of troops

**ἴσχω** restrain, hold back ~ischemia

**καρτερός** strong, staunch

**κατάγω** lead down/home; land

~demagogue

**κατακρύπτω** hide, cover ~cryptic

**κατάστασις** -εως (f) establishment

**καταστρέφω** overturn, subdue

~catastrophe

**καταφεύγω** resort to, flee to, appeal to ~fugitive

**κατοικτείρω** have mercy,

compassion

**κατοικτίρω** have mercy, compassion

**κέραμος** clay vessel ~ceramic

**κίβδηλος** bogus

**κυέω** be pregnant ~accumulate

**κυψέλη** box, ear canal

**κύω** be pregnant

**μαντεῖον** prophetic warning

~mantis

**μαντεύομαι** to divine ~mantis

**μεταδοκέω** change one's mind

**μεταξύ** between

**μεταπέμπω** send; (mid) summon

~pomp

**μετέωρος** up in the air ~meteor

**μετίσχω** partake of

**μηχανάομαι** build, contrive

~mechanism

**μιαιφόνος** blood-stained ~miasma

**μούναρχος** monarch

**νομός** home, district ~nemesis

**οἶκτος** compassion

**ὀλιγαρχία** oligarchy

**ὀλοοίτροχος** rolling stone

**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit

**οὐδαμός** not anyone

**οὔτις** nobody, nothing

**ὄφρυόεις** at/on a summit, brow

**παραθαλάσσιος** by the sea

**παραχράομαι** abuse, treat

contemptuously

**πειθαρχέω** obey authority

**περίοικος** dwelling around

**περιυβρίζω** insult wantonly

**περονάω** pierce, transfix; mp: fasten

~pierce

**περόνη** nail, pin, clasp; cleat; fibula

~pierce

**πίσυνος** trusting in, relying on

(+dat)

**πρόθυμος** (ὁ) willing, eager ~fume

**προσαγορεύω** address, call by name

**στέλλω** prepare, send, furl ~apostle

**συγγιγνώσκω** acknowledge; pardon

**συμβάλλω** pit against; compare;

mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic

**συμφορά** collecting; accident,

misfortune

**συνίημι** send together; hear, notice,

understand ~jet

**τέμενος** -εος (n, 3) non-common

land

**τιμωρία** (ἡ) vengeance, punishment

**τίνω** (ἰ) pay, atone for; (mp) punish

**τίω** value, honor; mp: exact

recompense for

**τοιόσδε** such

**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny

**τύραννος** tyrant

**ὑποστρέφω** turn around, go back

~atrophy

**ὑποχείριος** under one's hand

~chiral

**φιλοφροσύνη** consideration,

friendliness ~frenzy

**φορέω** frequentative of φέρω, to

carry ~bear

**φῦσα** bellows

**φυσάω** (ὁ) blow, puff, blow out

**φύω** produce, beget; clasp ~physics

**χρησμός** oracular response

**χρηστήριον** oracle, response

**χρηστός** useful; brave, worthy

**χωλός** lame

**χωρέω** withdraw, give way to (+dat)

~heir

**ὠμηστής** eating raw flesh or carrion

**ᾠρος** year

κέραμον,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

## 5.89

Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινητέων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τόσου κατ' ἔριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχὴ κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐβοήθηον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινῆται τε δὴ ἐδήλιον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμημένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἤλθε μαντήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητέων ἀδικίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριηκοστῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμου, καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ὕδρυται, τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅκως χρεὸν εἶναι ἐπισχεῖν πεπονθότας ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων ἀνάρσια.

## 5.90

ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζόμενοι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορὴν ἐποיעῖντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξείνους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοις ἐνήγον σφέας οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαέες,<sup>2</sup> τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτίησας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος

<sup>1</sup> clay vessel    <sup>2</sup> not knowing how to



τοὺς χρησμούς, τοὺς ἔκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε.

## 5.91

τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων<sup>3</sup> αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτόιμους ἐόντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον ἂν τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι<sup>4</sup> ἔτοιμον· μαθόντες δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο Ἰππὶν τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφι Ἰππὶς καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμφόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους ἔλεγόν σφι Σπαρτιῆται τάδε. «ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκωμεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδηλοῖσι<sup>5</sup> μαντηίοισι ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δήμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ<sup>6</sup> παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπεῖτε δι' ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιωβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασιν μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδῆες, τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρτῶν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππὶν μετεπεμφόμεθα καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλούμεθα.»

## 5.92

οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἤγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς ἔλεξε τάδε.. «ἦ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔνερθε<sup>7</sup> ἔσται τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος

<sup>3</sup> year    <sup>4</sup> obey authority    <sup>5</sup> bogus    <sup>6</sup> ungracious, unpleasant

<sup>7</sup> beneath, below

ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσι καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατὰγειν παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὥστε τυραννεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίζησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἄπειροι ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τοῦτο δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατὰ περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν.. Κορινθίοισι γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιγδε· ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδουσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίονι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνεται θυγάτηρ χολή· οὐνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. ταύτην Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἵσχει Ἡετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος, δήμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καυνείδης. ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. ἐστάλη ὦν ἐς Δελφούς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθέως ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

Ἡετίων, οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιμον ἐόντα. Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοῖτροχον·<sup>8</sup> ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται ἀνδράσι μοννάρχοισι,<sup>9</sup> δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

Ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται· κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τὸντο καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὦδε.

Αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲλέοντα καρτερὸν ὠμῆστίην·<sup>10</sup> πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει. ταῦτά νυν εἷ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα<sup>11</sup> Κόρινθον.. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὥς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνῆκαν

<sup>8</sup> rolling stone <sup>9</sup> monarch <sup>10</sup> eating raw flesh or carrion <sup>11</sup> at/on a summit, brow

ἔδον συνωδὸν τῷ Ἡετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὥς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡετίων ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος αἶτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυῖα τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι ἀπικοῖατο, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θεῇ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτός<sup>12</sup> τις ἴσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδιδῶι τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὴ διεξήλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι. ἀποδόντες ὦν ὀπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἄπτοντο καταιτιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρῶτου λαβόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα, ἐς ὃ δὴ σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου ἔδοξε αὐτῖς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν.. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστῆν. ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφι μεταδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατόν οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην,<sup>13</sup> ἐπισταμένη ὥς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν<sup>14</sup> ἀπικνεοῖατο πάντα ἐρευνήσῃν<sup>15</sup> μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι<sup>16</sup> αὐτοῖσι ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἔδοκε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμφαντας ὥς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκείνοι ἐνετειλαντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα.. Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ἠγξάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφνέοντι τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὐνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι<sup>17</sup> δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τῷ πίσυνος<sup>18</sup> γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ

<sup>12</sup> compassion    <sup>13</sup> box, ear canal    <sup>14</sup> search, inquiry    <sup>15</sup> hunt for  
<sup>16</sup> seek    <sup>17</sup> make a man    <sup>18</sup> trusting in, relying on (+dat)

that it should be the custom for the future to drink there from pitchers made in the lands themselves.

### 5.89

The women of the Argives and Eginetans from this time onwards because of the quarrel with the Athenians continued to wear brooches larger than before, and still do so even to my time; and the origin of the enmity of the Athenians towards the Eginetans came in the manner which has been said. So at this time, when the Thebans invaded them, the Eginetans readily came to the assistance of the Boeotians, calling to mind what occurred about the images. The Eginetans then were laying waste, as I have said, the coast regions of Attica; and when the Athenians were resolved to make an expedition against the Eginetans, an oracle came to them from Delphi bidding them stay for thirty years reckoned from the time of the wrong done by the Eginetans, and in the one and thirtieth year to appoint a sacred enclosure for Aiacos and then to begin the war against the Eginetans, and they would succeed as they desired; but if they should make an expedition against them at once, they would suffer in the meantime very much evil and also inflict very much, but at last they would subdue them. When the Athenians heard the report of this, they appointed a sacred enclosure for Aiacos, namely that which is now established close to the market-place, but they could not endure to hear that they must stay for thirty years, when they had suffered injuries from the Eginetans.

### 5.90

While however they were preparing to take vengeance, a matter arose from the Lacedemonians which provided a hindrance to them: for the Lacedemonians, having learnt that which had been contrived by the Alcmaionidai with respect to the Pythian prophetess, and that which had been contrived by the Pythian prophetess against themselves and the sons of Peisistratos, were doubly grieved, not only because they had driven out into exile men who were their guest-friends, but also because after they had done this no gratitude was shown to them by the Athenians. Moreover in addition to this, they were urged on by the oracles which said that many injuries would be suffered by them from the Athenians; of which oracles they had not been aware of before, but they had come to know them, since Cleomenes had brought them to Sparta. In fact Cleomenes had obtained from the Acropolis of the Athenians those oracles which the sons of Peisistratos possessed before and had left in the temple when they were driven out; and Cleomenes recovered them after they had been left behind.

## 5.91

At this time, then, when the Lacedemonians had recovered the oracles and when they saw that the Athenians were increasing in power and were not at all willing to submit to them, observing that the Athenian race now that it was free was becoming a match for their own, whereas when held down by despots it was weak and ready to be ruled,—perceiving, I say, all these things, they sent for Hippias the son of Peisistratos to come from Sigeion on the Hellespont, whither the family of Peisistratos go for refuge; and when Hippias had come upon the summons, the Spartans sent also for envoys to come from their other allies and spoke to them as follows: “Allies, we are conscious within ourselves that we have not acted rightly; for incited by counterfeit oracles we drove out into exile men who were very closely united with us as guest-friends and who undertook the task of rendering Athens submissive to us, and then after having done this we delivered over the State to a thankless populace, which so soon as it had raised its head, having been freed by our means drove out us and our king with wanton outrage; and now exalted with pride it is increasing in power, so that the neighbours of these men first of all, that is the Boeotians and Chalkidians, have already learnt, and perhaps some others also will afterwards learn, that they committed an error. As however we erred in doing those things of which we have spoken, we will try now to take vengeance on them, going thither together with you; since it was for this very purpose that we sent for Hippias, whom ye see here, and for you also, to come from your cities, in order that with common counsel and a common force we might conduct him to Athens and render back to him that which we formerly took away.”

## 5.92

Thus they spoke; but the majority of the allies did not approve of their words. The rest however kept silence, but the Corinthian Socles spoke as follows: (a) “Surely now the heaven shall be below the earth, and the earth raised up on high above the heaven, and men shall have their dwelling in the sea, and fishes shall have that habitation which men had before, seeing that ye, Lacedemonians, are doing away with free governments and are preparing to bring back despotism again into our cities, than which there is no more unjust or more murderous thing among men. For if in truth this seems to you to be good, namely that the cities should be ruled by despots, do ye yourselves first set up a despot in your own State, and then endeavour to establish them also for others: but as it is, ye are acting unfairly towards your allies, seeing that ye have had no experience of despots yourselves and provide with the greatest care at Sparta that this may never come to pass. If however ye had had experience of it, as we have had, ye would be able to contribute juster opinions of it than at present. (b) For the established

order of the Corinthian State was this:—the government was an oligarchy, and the oligarchs, who were called Bacchiadai, had control over the State and made marriages among themselves. Now one of these men, named Amphion, had a daughter born to him who was lame, and her name was Labda. This daughter, since none of the Bacchiadai wished to marry her, was taken to wife by Aëtion the son of Echecrates, who was of the deme of Petra, but by original descent a Lapith and of the race of Caineus. Neither from this wife nor from another were children born to him, therefore he set out to Delphi to inquire about offspring; and as he entered, forthwith the prophetess addressed him in these lines:

’ ” Much to be honoured art thou, yet none doth render thee honour. Labda conceives, and a rolling rock will she bear, which shall ruin Down on the heads of the kings, and with chastisement visit Corinthos.’

This answer given to Aëtion was by some means reported to the Bacchiadai, to whom the oracle which had come to Corinth before this was not intelligible, an oracle which had reference to the same thing as that of Aëtion and said thus:

“ ‘ An eagle conceives in the rocks and shall bear a ravening lion, Strong and fierce to devour, who the knees of many shall loosen. Ponder this well in your minds, I bid you, Corinthians, whose dwelling Lies about fair Peirene’s spring and in craggy Corinthos.’ (c) This oracle, I say, having come before to the Bacchiadai was obscure; but afterwards when they heard that which had come to Aëtion, forthwith they understood the former also, that it was in accord with that of Aëtion; and understanding this one also they kept quiet, desiring to destroy the offspring which should be born to Aëtion. Then, so soon as his wife bore a child, they sent ten of their own number to the deme in which Aëtion had his dwelling, to slay the child; and when these had come to Petra and had passed into the court of Aëtion’s house, they asked for the child; and Labda, not knowing anything of the purpose for which they had come, and supposing them to be asking for the child on account of friendly feeling towards its father, brought it and placed it in the hands of one of them. Now they, it seems, had resolved by the way that the first of them who received the child should dash it upon the ground. However, when Labda brought and gave it, it happened by divine providence that the child smiled at the man who had received it; and when he perceived this, a feeling of compassion prevented him from killing it, and having this compassion he delivered it to the next man, and he to the third. Thus it passed through the hands of all the ten, delivered from one to another, since none of them could bring himself to destroy its life. So they gave the child back to its mother and went out; and then standing by the doors they abused and found fault with one another, laying blame especially on the one who had first received the

child, because he had not done according to that which had been resolved; until at last after some time they determined again to enter and all to take a share in the murder. (d) From the offspring of Aëtion however it was destined that evils should spring up for Corinth: for Labda was listening to all this as she stood close by the door, and fearing lest they should change their mind and take the child a second time and kill it, she carried it and concealed it in the place which seemed to her the least likely to be discovered, that is to say a corn-chest, feeling sure that if they should return and come to a search, they were likely to examine everything: and this in fact happened. So when they had come, and searching had failed to find it, they thought it best to return and say to those who had sent them that they had done all that which they had been charged by them to do. (e) They then having departed said this; and after this the son of Aëtion grew, and because he had escaped this danger, the name of Kypselos was given him as a surname derived from the corn-chest. Then when Kypselos had grown to manhood and was seeking divination, a two-edged answer was given him at Delphi, placing trust in which he made an attempt

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel  
 αἰχμή spear point ~acute  
 ἀμαχητί without a fight  
 ἀμφίπολος female servant ~pole  
 ἀνακρεμάννυμι (ῶ) get snagged on  
 ἀναπείθω (aor, plupf) seduce,  
 persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust,  
 obey, be confident in  
 ἀναποδίζω step back; retract;  
 cross-examine  
 ἀνθεμόεις flowery  
 ἀνιάω (ῖ) vex  
 ἀπαιτέω demand to have returned  
 ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off;  
 (intrans) ride away  
 ἀπηγγέομαι lead; tell, relate  
 ἄπιξις arrival  
 ἀποδείκνυμι (ῶ) show, point out;  
 appoint; (mid) declare  
 ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine  
 ἀποδύνω (ῶ) strip off, dump  
 ἀποδύω strip off, dump  
 ἄποικος abroad, colonizing  
 ἀποστερέω despoil, defraud  
 ἀποτελέω accomplish, produce  
 ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  
 ~bear  
 ἄρουρα land ~arable  
 ἀρπαγή seizure; rape  
 ἄσταχυς ear of corn  
 ἀτρεκής precise, certain  
 βαθύς high, deep ~bathysphere  
 βούλευμα -τος (n, 3) resolution,  
 purpose  
 γυμνός naked, unarmed  
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander  
 ~ballistic  
 διάδοχος being successor  
 διέξιμι pass through; recount ~ion  
 διεξέρχομαι go through  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent

δορυφόρος spear-bearing  
 δυναστεύω have power ~δύναμαι  
 εἶδωλον phantom, unreal image  
 ~wit  
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis  
 εἰσκαταβαίνω go down to ~basis  
 ἐκφαίνω bring to light ~photon  
 ἐκφεύγω flee from, escape ~fugitive  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
 ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel  
 ἔξιμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic  
 ἐξεπίσταμαι know well  
 ἐξευρίσχω find; discover ~eureka  
 ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet  
 ἐπειρωτέω consult, ask  
 ἐπεύχομαι exult (over); pray ~vow  
 ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for  
 ~ballistic  
 ἐπικαλέω call upon  
 ἐπιτροπεύω administrate  
 ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon  
 εὐπετής coming out well; (adv)  
 fortunately  
 εὐπέτης flying well  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἥπιος kind (adj)  
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet  
 θῶμα a wonder, feeling of surprise  
 ~theater  
 ἵππιος of horses  
 ἴσχω restrain, hold back ~ischemia  
 κακότης -τος (f, 3) badness  
 ~cacophony  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 κατάγω lead down/home; land  
 ~demagogue  
 κατακαίω burn down ~caustic  
 καταλέγω relate in detail, choose;



enroll ~legion

**καταλλάσσω** exchange; make up with

**κατατίθηναι** put down, deposit, lay aside ~thesis

**κήρυγμα** -τος (n, 3) proclamation

**κλειτός** renowned ~Euclid

**κολούω** skimp, fail

**λήιον** standing grain

**λυπέω** (ῥ) annoy, distress

**μαρτύριον** testimony, proof

**μέλος** -ους (n, 3) limb; melody

**μεταπέμπω** send; (mid) summon ~pomp

**μέτεμναι** be among, go, follow ~ion

**μιαϊφόνος** blood-stained ~miasma

**μίν** him, her, it

**μυριάς** -δος (ῥ, f, 3) countless, myriad

**νόθος** bastard

**νοστέω** go home

**ὄλβιος** happy, wealthy

**ὀμιλέω** (ι) associate with ~homily

**ὄον** οὖ type of fruit

**ὄρτή** holiday, feast

**ὄρυγμα** -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel

**οὐδέτερος** neither

**ὄφελος** -εος (n, 3) a use, a help

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

**παντοῖος** all kinds of

**παρακαταθήκη** a deposit in trust

**παραπλήξ** -γος (f) sticking out ~plectrum

**Πέρσης** Persian

**ποιητής** -οῦ (m, 1) maker, author

**πρεσβεύω** be the elder, be an ambassador

**ρήγνυμι** (ῥ) to break

**ρίγέω** (ι) shudder with fear; be flustered ~frigid

**ρίπτω** hurl

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

**σόος** safe, alive

**σπείρω** sow ~diaspora

**συγγιγνώσκω** acknowledge; pardon

**συγκαταθάπτω** bury along with

**συμβόλαιος** contractual

**συμβολή** encounter; contribution

**συμφορέω** collect

**συνίημι** send together; hear, notice, understand ~jet

**συχνός** long; many; extensive

**τυραννεύω** be an absolute ruler

**τυραννίς** -δος (f) tyranny

**τύραννος** tyrant

**ὑπείροχος** preeminent

**ὑπερέχω** be over; protect

**ὑπίσχομαι** promise, agree to do

**ὑποθήκη** advice, warning; deposit

**ὑποτίθηναι** suggest, advise

~hypothesis

**ὑφίστημι** promise, undertake

~station

**φονεύω** kill

**φυγάς** -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee

~fugitive

**χειρόω** dominate, subdue

**χρησμός** oracular response

**χρηστήριον** oracle, response

**χώρος** place ~heir

**ψηφίζω** count, vote

**ψυχρός** (ῥ) cold ~psychology

**ὠφέλεια** -ίας profit

ἔσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν.

Ὅλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύνελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννέουσας δὲ ὁ Κύνελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῶ δέ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς.. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὠμίλησε δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῶ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυνέλου μαιφονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπέοι. Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου ἐξήγε ἕξω τοῦ ἄστεος, ἐσβάς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην ἄμα τε διεξήγε τὸ λήιον<sup>1</sup> ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε<sup>2</sup> αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων<sup>3</sup> ὑπερέχοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς ὃ τοῦ ληίου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, θαμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ' οἷόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψει, ὡς παραπλήγᾳ τε καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ συνάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπεε.. Περίανδρος δὲ συνιῖς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστών φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κύνελος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρος σφέα ἀπετέλεσε, μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα

<sup>1</sup> standing grain    <sup>2</sup> skimp, fail    <sup>3</sup> ear of corn

ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήιον παρακαταθήκης πέρι  
 ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μελίσσα ἐπιφανείσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν  
 τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη· ῥιγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυνή· τῶν  
 γάρ οἱ συγκατέθειψε ἱματίων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων·  
 μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἱπνὸν  
 Περιάνδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ  
 Περιάνδρῳ, πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον ὃς νεκρῷ ἐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ  
 ἐμίγη, ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα<sup>4</sup> ἐποιήσατο ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον  
 ἐξίειναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν ἦσαν  
 κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὃ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους<sup>5</sup>  
 ἀπέδυσσε σφέας πάσας ὁμοίως, τὰς τε ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους,  
 συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα<sup>6</sup> Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε. ταῦτα  
 δέ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ  
 Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χώρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ἡ τυραννίς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων  
 ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε  
 ὅτε ὑμέας εἶδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππὴν, νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως  
 θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλούμενοι ὑμῖν  
 θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνιους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις. οὐκὼν  
 παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατάγοντες Ἰππὴν· ἵστε  
 ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας.»

## 5.93

Σωκλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε, Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν  
 ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνῳ, ἥ μὲν Κορινθίους  
 μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφί ἦκωσι  
 ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοισι  
 ἀμείψατο οἷα τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ  
 δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ σφέας αὐτοὺς,  
 ἐπεῖτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἦκουσαν εἶπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν  
 φωνὴν ῥήξας αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαιμονίουςί

<sup>4</sup> proclamation    <sup>5</sup> spear-bearing    <sup>6</sup> trench, tunnel

τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο μὴ ποίειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα.

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οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππὶή δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπελαννομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδουσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρεε δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ νόθον<sup>7</sup> Ἥγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός, ὃς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ<sup>8</sup> εἶχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἔκ τε Ἀχιλλείου πόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν Μυτιληναῖοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγνωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεδὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς.<sup>9</sup>

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πολεμεόντων δὲ σφέων παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητῆς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικόντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὅπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίπῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναῖους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο· κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε, νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

5.96

Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπέιτε ἀπύκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε, διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποίεων ἅπαντα ὅκως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἰππίης

<sup>7</sup> bastard    <sup>8</sup> without a fight    <sup>9</sup> seizure; rape

τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδεις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἑώντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φηγάσι.<sup>10</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοῖατο σοὶ εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππὶν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δέ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι.

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νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπύκετο ἐς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὥς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἴησαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὥς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἶκός σφας εἴη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἶα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα, εἰ Κλεομένης μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἑόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλήσιν τε καὶ βαρβάρουσι.

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Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλῶσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελὴ ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὧν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίεε ἀλλ' ὅπως βασιλέα Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος

<sup>10</sup> exile, refugee

upon Corinth and obtained possession of it. Now the answer was as follows:

’ ” Happy is this man’s lot of a truth, who enters my dwelling, Offspring of Aëtion, he shall rule in famous Corinthos, Kypselos, he and his sons, but his children’s children no longer.’

Such was the oracle: and Kypselos when he became despot was a man of this character,— many of the Corinthians he drove into exile, many he deprived of their wealth, and very many more of their lives. (f) And when he had reigned for thirty years and had brought his life to a prosperous end, his son Periander became his successor in the despotism. Now Periander at first was milder than his father; but after he had had dealings through messengers with Thrasybulos the despot of Miletos, he became far more murderous even than Kypselos. For he sent a messenger to Thrasybulos and asked what settlement of affairs was the safest for him to make, in order that he might best govern his State: and Thrasybulos led forth the messenger who had come from Periander out of the city, and entered into a field of growing corn; and as he passed through the crop of corn, while inquiring and asking questions repeatedly of the messenger about the occasion of his coming from Corinth, he kept cutting off the heads of those ears of corn which he saw higher than the rest; and as he cut off their heads he cast them away, until he had destroyed in this manner the finest and richest part of the crop. So having passed through the place and having suggested no word of counsel, he dismissed the messenger. When the messenger returned to Corinth, Periander was anxious to hear the counsel which had been given; but he said that Thrasybulos had given him no counsel, and added that he wondered at the deed of Periander in sending him to such a man, for the man was out of his senses and a waster of his own goods,—relating at the same time that which he had seen Thrasybulos do. (g) So Periander, understanding that which had been done and perceiving that Thrasybulos counselled him to put to death those who were eminent among his subjects, began then to display all manner of evil treatment to the citizens of the State; for whatsoever Kypselos had left undone in killing and driving into exile, this Periander completed. And in one day he stripped all the wives of the Corinthians of their clothing on account of his own wife Melissa. For when he had sent messengers to the Thesprotians on the river Acheron to ask the Oracle of the dead about a deposit made with him by a guest-friend, Melissa appeared and said she would not tell in what place the deposit was laid, for she was cold and had no clothes, since those which he had buried with her were of no use to her, not having been burnt; and this, she said, would be an evidence to him that she was speaking the truth, namely that when the oven was cold, Periander had put his loaves into it. When the report of this was brought back to Periander, the token made him believe, because he had had commerce with Melissa after she was dead; and

straightway after receiving the message he caused proclamation to be made that all the wives of the Corinthians should come out to the temple of Hera. They accordingly went as to a festival in their fairest adornment; and he having set the spearmen of his guard in ambush, stripped them all alike, both the free women and their attendant; and having gathered together all their clothes in a place dug out, he set fire to them, praying at the same time to Melissa. Then after he had done this and had sent a second time, the apparition of Melissa told him in what spot he had laid the deposit entrusted to him by his guest-friend.

“Such a thing, ye must know, Lacedemonians, is despotism, and such are its deeds: and we Corinthians marvelled much at first when we saw that ye were sending for Hippias, and now we marvel even more because ye say these things; and we adjure you, calling upon the gods of Hellas, not to establish despotisms in the cities. If however ye will not cease from your design, but endeavour to restore Hippias contrary to that which is just, know that the Corinthians at least do not give their consent to that which ye do.”

#### 5.93

Socles being the envoy of Corinth thus spoke, and Hippias made answer to him, calling to witness the same gods as he, that assuredly the Corinthians would more than all others regret the loss of the sons of Peisistratos, when the appointed days should have come for them to be troubled by the Athenians. Thus Hippias made answer, being acquainted with the oracles more exactly than any other man: but the rest of the allies, who for a time had restrained themselves and kept silence, when they heard Socles speak freely, gave utterance every one of them to that which they felt, and adopted the opinion of the Corinthian envoy, adjuring the Lacedemonians not to do any violence to a city of Hellas.

#### 5.94

Thus was this brought to an end: and Hippias being dismissed from thence had Anthemus offered to him by Amyntas king of the Macedonians and Iolcos by the Thessalians. He however accepted neither of these, but retired again to Sigeion; which city Peisistratos had taken by force of arms from the Mytilenians, and having got possession of it, had appointed his own natural son Hegesistratos, born of an Argive woman, to be despot of it: he however did not without a struggle keep possession of that which he received from Peisistratos; for the Mytilenians and Athenians carried on war for a long time, having their strongholds respectively at Achilleion and at Sigeion, the one side demanding that the place be restored to them, and the Athenians on the other hand not admitting this demand, but proving by argument that the Aiolians

had no better claim to the territory of Ilion than they and the rest of the Hellenes, as many as joined with Menelaos in exacting vengeance for the rape of Helen.

#### 5.95

Now while these carried on the war, besides many other things of various kinds which occurred in the battles, once when a fight took place and the Athenians were conquering, Alcaios the poet, taking to flight, escaped indeed himself, but the Athenians retained possession of his arms and hung them up on the walls of the temple of Athene which is at Sigeion. About this matter Alcaios composed a song and sent it to Mytilene, reporting therein his misadventure to one Melanippos, who was his friend. Finally Periander the son of Kypselos made peace between the Athenians and the Mytilenians, for to him they referred the matter as arbitrator; and he made peace between them on the condition that each should continue to occupy that territory which they then possessed.

#### 5.96

Sigeion then in this matter had come under the rule of the Athenians. And when Hippias had returned to Asia from Lacedemon, he set everything in motion, stirring up enmity between the Athenians and Artaphrenes, and using every means to secure that Athens should come under the rule of himself and of Dareios. Hippias, I say, was thus engaged; and the Athenians meanwhile hearing of these things sent envoys to Sardis, and endeavoured to prevent the Persians from following the suggestions of the exiled Athenians. Artaphrenes however commanded them, if they desired to be preserved from ruin, to receive Hippias back again. This proposal the Athenians were not by any means disposed to accept when it was reported; and as they did not accept this, it became at once a commonly received opinion among them that they were enemies of the Persians.

#### 5.97

While they had these thoughts and had been set at enmity with the Persians, at this very time Aristagoras the Milesian, ordered away from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedemonian, arrived at Athens; for this was the city which had most power of all the rest besides Sparta. And Aristagoras came forward before the assembly of the people and said the same things as he had said at Sparta about the wealth which there was in Asia, and about the Persian manner of making war, how they used neither shield nor spear and were easy to overcome. Thus I say he said, and also he added this, namely that the Milesians were colonists from the Athenians, and that it was reasonable that the Athenians should rescue them, since they had such great power;



and there was nothing which he did not promise, being very urgent in his request, until at last he persuaded them: for it would seem that it is easier to deceive many than one, seeing that, though he did not prove able to deceive Cleomenes the Lacedemonian by himself, yet he did this to thirty thousand Athenians. The Athenians then, I say, being persuaded, voted a resolution to despatch twenty ships to help the Ionians, and appointed to command them Melanthios one of their citizens, who was in all things highly reputed. These ships proved to be the beginning of evils for the Hellenes and the Barbarians.

**5.98**

Aristagoras however sailed on before and came to Miletos; and then having devised a plan from which no advantage was likely to come for the Ionians (nor indeed was he doing what he did with a view to that, but in order to vex king Dareios), he sent a man to Phrygia to the Pionians who had been

*vocabulary*

**ἀγωνίζομαι** contend, exert oneself  
**ἀθροίζω** press close together; (mid) muster  
**αἰνέω** praise, assent, acquiesce in  
**αἰχμάλωτος** captive ~acute  
**ἀκρόπολις** -εως (f) citadel, high part of a city ~acute  
**ἀλίσκομαι** be captured ~helix  
**ἄλλομαι** to jump ~sally  
**ἀναγιγνώσκω** recognize, read, understand, persuade  
**ἀναλαμβάνω** take up, recover, resume  
**ἀναπείθω** (aor, plupf) seduce, persuade; (mp, pf, aor ppl) trust, obey, be confident in  
**ἄνευ** away from; not having; not needing ~Sp. sin  
**ἀνίημι** urge, impel; release ~jet  
**ἀντιόω** meet, fight, join  
**ἀντιτάσσω** set against  
**ἄνω** (ἄ) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea  
**ἀπαγγέλλω** announce, order, promise ~angel  
**ἀπαλλάσσω** free from, remove; be freed, depart  
**ἀποδείκνυμι** (οῦ) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare  
**ἀποδέχομαι** accept ~doctrine  
**ἀπολαμβάνω** receive, recover, take aside, cut off ~epilepsy  
**ἀποστερέω** despoil, defraud  
**ἀποφεύγω** avoid, escape, go free  
**ἀσπαστός** gladly, with glad welcome  
**βούλευμα** -τος (n, 3) resolution, purpose  
**δεσπότης** -ου (m, 1) master, despot  
**διαβαίνω** pass over, cross ~basis  
**ἐθελοντής** -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer  
**ἐκάστοτε** each time

**ἐκγίγνομαι** be born; be by birth  
 ~genus  
**ἐκδίδωμι** hand over ~donate  
 Ἑλλήν Greek  
**ἐμπύρομαι** burn up ~pyre  
**ἐμπρήθω** burn up  
**ἐνάγω** lead in/on; arraign  
**ἐνδεής** inadequate  
**ἐνδέχομαι** accept, admit, be possible  
**ἐνείμι** be in ~ion  
**ἐνθαῦτα** there, here  
**ἐνθεῦτεν** thence  
**ἐντός** within  
**ἐξαγγέλλω** bring news out ~angel  
**ἐξαναχωρέω** retreat, withdraw  
**ἐξήλυσιν** exit  
**ἐπάγω** drive game; induce belief  
 ~demagogue  
**ἐπακούω** hear, listen to ~acoustic  
**ἐπικαλέω** call upon  
**ἐπικεῖμαι** impose; shut a door  
**ἐπινέμω** give out ~nemesis  
**ἐπιτρέπω** entrust, decide, allow  
 ~trophy  
**ἐπίτροπος** agent, officer  
**ἐπιχώριος** native  
**εὖς** good, brave, noble  
**ἥπειρος** (f) mainland, continent  
**ἡσάομαι** (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
**θεράπων** -οντος (m, 3) helper, henchman, servant ~therapy  
**καλάμινος** of reed  
**κάλαμος** reed  
**κάρτα** very much ~κράτος  
**καταλαμβάνω** seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen  
 ~epilepsy  
**καταμένω** stay; not change  
**καταπροΐξομαι** escape unpunished  
**κῶας κῶως** (n, 3) fleece  
**ληηλατέω** plunder

λυπηρός (ῶ) painful, causing pain,  
 sad  
 μίν him, her, it  
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis  
 νομός home, district ~nemesis  
 ὀιστός arrow  
 ὀνομαστός named ~name  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὀροφή roof  
 ὀρρωδέω dread, shrink from  
 ὀφείλω owe, should, if only  
 ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  
 ~thanatopsis  
 πάγχι entirely  
 πάντοθεν from all directions  
 παράπαν completely  
 παρηγορέω console, advise  
 περιέσχατα extremities, edges  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πλίνθινος of brick  
 πρόκειμαι be placed by; be devoted  
 to  
 προπυνθάνομαι learn in advance  
 προσγίγνομαι become ally to  
 προσδοκάω expect  
 προσκάθημαι sit by; besiege  
 προσκτάομαι get, win as well  
 προστάσσω post at, attach to,  
 command  
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat  
 σχεδάννυμι (ῶ) shed, disperse  
 σκευάζω prepare, collect  
 σκήπτω prop up; (mp) feign  
 ~scepter  
 στασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan

στερέω steal, take  
 στίβος trail  
 στρατηγέω be a general  
 στρατηγή expedition, campaign  
 συλλογή gathering, summary,  
 raising troops  
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;  
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
 συμμαχέω be an ally  
 συμμαχία alliance  
 συναλίζω collect; eat with  
 συνδιαφέρω bring along  
 συνυφαίνω weave together  
 συρρέω flow together  
 σωτηρία saving, preservation  
 τιμωρέω (ι) (+dat) take vengeance,  
 punish; aid one who has been  
 attacked  
 τίνω (ι) pay, atone for; (mp) punish  
 τίω value, honor; mp: exact  
 recompense for  
 τρίς 3 times  
 τύραννος tyrant  
 ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis  
 ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise  
 ~hypothesis  
 ὑστέρα womb; ovary  
 φθέγγομαι make a sound, utter  
 ~diphthong  
 φονεύω kill  
 χωρίς separately; except, other than  
 ~heir  
 χώρος place ~heir  
 ψῆγμα gold dust; shavings,  
 scrapings

ποταμοῦ αἰχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χώρῳν τε καὶ κόμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄνδρες Παίονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἣν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σῶζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει.» ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παίονες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδρησκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἳ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐηλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖσι Παίοσι ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παίονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίοι σφέας ἐς Λέσβον ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

## 5.99

Ἀρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἑρετριέων πέντε τριήρεις, οἳ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἑρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἑρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον· οὗτοι ὦν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρήσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγούς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἐωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἄλλον Ἑρμόφαντον.

## 5.100

ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῶ τῆς Ἐφεσίου, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ

πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπέιτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπίκοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδενός σφι ἀντιωθέντος, αἰρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἄρταφρένης ἔχων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

5.101

τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατῆσαι<sup>1</sup> ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες καλάμναι,<sup>2</sup> ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι<sup>3</sup> ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς.<sup>4</sup> τουτέων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὡς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐπ' οἰκίην ἰὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἄστυ πᾶν. καιομένων δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περσέων ἐνήσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν<sup>5</sup> ὥστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν, ὅς σφι ψῆγμα<sup>6</sup> χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοί, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροίζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἠναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους, ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμῶλον καλεόμενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

5.102

καὶ Σάρδιες μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης· τὸ σκηπτόμενοι<sup>7</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι ὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνισι ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ὄντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον<sup>8</sup> αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> plunder    <sup>2</sup> of reed    <sup>3</sup> of brick    <sup>4</sup> roof    <sup>5</sup> from all directions  
<sup>6</sup> gold dust; shavings, scrapings    <sup>7</sup> prop up; (mp) feign    <sup>8</sup> trail

ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν. καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστούς,<sup>9</sup> ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἑρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραιρηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν<sup>10</sup> ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις.

## 5.103

τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσειν σφί· Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρείον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο.<sup>11</sup> πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις πάσας τὰς ταύτῃ ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφί καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

## 5.104

Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθελονταί σφί πάντες προσεγένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἡ Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. οὗτος ὠνὴρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, τότε δέ, ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτά μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ στασιώτῃσι<sup>12</sup> ἀπεκλήμισε τῶν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

<sup>9</sup> named    <sup>10</sup> shed, disperse    <sup>11</sup> prepare, collect    <sup>12</sup> partisan

## 5.105

Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλεί δὲ Δαρείῳ ὥς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδεις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὥς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὥς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οἷτινες εἰεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ οἷστον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν «ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι,» εἵπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρις ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν «δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.»

## 5.106

προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε, καλέσας ἐς ὄψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος κατέχευε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν, «πυιθάνομαι Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σόν, τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου ἐπαγαγών, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρησε. νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>13</sup> σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτήῃ σχῆς.» εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰστιαῖος «βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαι ἔπος, ἐμὲ βουλευσάμενον πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν<sup>14</sup> ἀνασχῆσιν; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἐών; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακοῦεν ἀξιούμαι. ἀλλ' εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐώντοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον,

<sup>13</sup> womb; ovary    <sup>14</sup> painful, causing pain, sad

taken captive by Megabazos from the river Strymon, and who were dwelling in a district and village of Phrygia apart by themselves; and when the messenger came to the Paionians he spoke these words: "Paionians, Aristagoras the despot of Miletos sent me to offer to you salvation, if ye shall be willing to do as he says; for now all Ionia has revolted from the king and ye have an opportunity of coming safe to your own land: to reach the sea shall be your concern, and after this it shall be thenceforth ours." The Paionians hearing this received it as a most welcome proposal, and taking with them their children and their women they began a flight to the sea; some of them however were struck with fear and remained in the place where they were. Having come to the coast the Paionians crossed over thence to Chios, and when they were already in Chios there arrived in their track a large body of Persian horsemen pursuing the Paionians. These, as they did not overtake them, sent over to Chios to bid the Paionians return back: the Paionians however did not accept their proposal, but the men of Chios conveyed them from Chios to Lesbos, and the Lesbians brought them to Doriscos, and thence they proceeded by land and came to Paionia.

#### 5.99

Aristagoras meanwhile, when the Athenians had arrived with twenty ships, bringing with them also five triremes of the Eretrians, joined the expedition not for the sake of the Athenians but of the Milesians themselves, to repay them a debt which they owed (for the Milesians in former times had borne with the Eretrians the burden of all that war which they had with the Chalkidians at the time when the Chalkidians on their side were helped by the Samians against the Eretrians and Milesians),—when these, I say, had arrived and the other allies were on the spot, Aristagoras proceeded to make a march upon Sardis. On this march he did not go himself, but remained at Miletos and appointed others to be in command of the Milesians, namely his brother Charopinos and of the other citizens one Hermophantos.

#### 5.100

With this force then the Ionians came to Ephesos, and leaving their ships at Coresos in the land of Ephesos, went up themselves in a large body, taking Ephesians to guide them in their march. So they marched along by the river Caÿ ster, and then when they arrived after crossing the range of Tmolos, they took Sardis without any resistance, all except the citadel, but the citadel Artaphrenes himself saved from capture, having with him a considerable force of men.

#### 5.101

From plundering this city after they had taken it they were prevented by



this: — the houses in Sardis were mostly built of reeds, and even those of them which were of brick had their roofs thatched with reeds: of these houses one was set on fire by a soldier, and forthwith the fire going on from house to house began to spread over the whole town. So then as the town was on fire, the Lydians and all the Persians who were in the city being cut off from escape, since the fire was prevailing in the extremities round about them, and not having any way out of the town, flowed together to the market-place and to the river Pactolos, which brings down gold-dust for them from Tmolos, flowing through the middle of their market-place, and then runs out into the river Hermos, and this into the sea; — to this Pactolos, I say, and to the market-place the Lydians and Persians gathered themselves together, and were compelled to defend themselves. The Ionians then, seeing some of the enemy standing on their defence and others in great numbers coming on to the attack, were struck with fear and retired to the mountain called Tmolos, and after that at nightfall departed to go to their ships.

#### 5.102

Sardis was then destroyed by fire, and in it also the temple of the native goddess Hybebe; which the Persians alleged afterwards as a reason for setting on fire in return the temples in the land of the Hellenes. However at the time of which I speak the Persians who occupied districts within the river Halys, informed beforehand of this movement, were gathering together and coming to the help of the Lydians; and, as it chanced, they found when they came that the Ionians no longer were in Sardis; but they followed closely in their track and came up with them at Ephesos: and the Ionians stood indeed against them in array, but when they joined battle they had very much the worse; and besides other persons of note whom the Persians slaughtered, there fell also Eualkides commander of the Eretrians, a man who had won wreaths in contests of the games and who was much celebrated by Simonides of Keos: and those of them who survived the battle dispersed to their various cities.

#### 5.103

Thus then they fought at that time; and after the battle the Athenians left the Ionians together, and when Aristagoras was urgent in calling upon them by messengers for assistance, they said that they would not help them: the Ionians, however, though deprived of the alliance of the Athenians, none the less continued to prepare for the war with the king, so great had been the offences already committed by them against Dareios. They sailed moreover to the Hellespont and brought under their power Byzantion and all the other cities which are in those parts; and then having sailed forth out of the Hellespont, they gained in addition the most part of Caria to be in alliance with them: for even Caunos, which before was not willing to be their ally,

then, after they had burnt Sardis, was added to them also.

#### 5.104

The Cyprians too, excepting those of Amathus, were added voluntarily to their alliance; for these also had revolted from the Medes in the following manner:—there was one Onesilos, younger brother of Gorgos king of Salamis, and son of Chersis, the son of Siromos, the son of Euelthon. This man in former times too had been wont often to advise Gorgos to make revolt from the king, and at this time, when he heard that the Ionians had revolted, he pressed him very hard and endeavoured to urge him to it. Since however he could not persuade Gorgos, Onesilos watched for a time when he had gone forth out of the city of Salamis, and then together with the men of his own faction he shut him out of the gates. Gorgos accordingly being robbed of the city went for refuge to the Medes, and Onesilos was ruler of Salamis and endeavoured to persuade all the men of Cyprus to join him in revolt. The others then he persuaded; but since those of Amathus were not willing to do as he desired, he sat down before their city and besieged it.

#### 5.105

Onesilos then was besieging Amathus; and meanwhile, when it was reported to king Dareios that Sardis had been captured and burnt by the Athenians and the Ionians together, and that the leader of the league for being about these things was the Milesian Aristagoras, it is said that at first being informed of this he made no account of the Ionians, because he knew that they at all events would not escape unpunished for their revolt, but he inquired into who the Athenians were; and when he had been informed, he asked for his bow, and having received it and placed an arrow upon the string, he discharged it upwards towards heaven, and as he shot into the air he said: “Zeus, that it may be granted me to take vengeance upon the Athenians!” Having so said he charged one of his attendants, that when dinner was set before the king he should say always three times: “Master, remember the Athenians.”

#### 5.106

When he had given this charge, he called into his presence Histiaios the Milesian, whom Dareios had now been keeping with him for a long time, and said: “I am informed, Histiaios, that thy deputy, to whom thou didst depute the government of Miletos, has made rebellion against me; for he brought in men against me from the other continent and persuaded the Ionians also,—who shall pay the penalty to me for that which they did,—these, I say, he persuaded to go together with them, and thus he robbed me of Sardis. Now therefore how thinkest thou that this is well? and how without thy counsels was anything of this kind done? Take heed lest thou afterwards find reason

to blame thyself for this.” Histiaios replied: “O king, what manner of speech is this that thou hast uttered, saying that I counselled a matter from which it was likely that any vexation would grow for thee, either great or small? What have I to seek for in addition to that which I have, that I should do these things; and of what am I in want? for I have everything that thou hast, and I am thought worthy by thee to hear all thy counsels. Nay, but if my deputy is indeed acting in any such manner as thou hast said, be assured that he has done it merely on his own account. I however, for my part, do not even admit

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel  
 αἰνέω praise, assent, acquiesce in  
 αἵρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan  
 ἄκρα at the edge, extreme ~acute  
 ἄκρος at the edge, extreme ~acute  
 ἀνακρεμάννυμι (ῥ) get snagged on  
 ἀναμνησῶ (+2 acc) remind  
 someone ~mnemonic  
 ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ~ion  
 ἀνταγωνίζομαι vie with  
 ἀντέχω hold up as protection  
 against ~ischemia  
 ἀντιτάσσω set against  
 ἀπαράσσω sever  
 ἀποικος abroad, colonizing  
 ἀπολέγω pick; decline  
 ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp  
 ἀποπλέω sail away ~float  
 ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure  
 ἀριστεύω be the best ~aristocrat  
 ἄρμα -τος (n, 3) chariot  
 βασιλῆος kingly  
 δασυμόρος tributary  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis  
 διαβάλλω throw across; slander  
 ~ballistic  
 διαπειράω test; have experience in  
 διαπέμπω send out/over  
 διατάσσω arrange, array  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δουλεύω serve, be a slave  
 δρέπανον sickle ~dermatology  
 ἐθελοντής -οῦ (m, 1) a volunteer  
 εἰσβαίνω enter, board ~basis  
 εἰσδύω take part in  
 ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark  
 ~basis  
 ἐκδύω take off; leave; avoid  
 ἐλεύθερος not enslaved  
 ἐμπίπλημι fill ~plethora  
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here

ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐντέλλω (mp) command  
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel  
 ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for  
 ~ballistic  
 ἐπιδιαιρέω divide, distribute  
 ἐπιδιώκω chase after  
 ἐπικαλέω call upon  
 ἐπικρατέω rule over  
 ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near  
 ἐπιτελής accomplished  
 ἐπίτροπος agent, officer  
 ἐπόμενυμι (ῥ) swear by  
 ἐτοῖμος ready; fulfilled  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἥμισυς half ~hemisphere  
 θάπτω bury ~epitaph  
 θύω (ῥ) rush; sacrifice ~θύω  
 ἕμερος (ι) desire, inclination (+gen)  
 καθαιρέω take down, close ~heresy  
 καθάλλομαι rush down ~sally  
 κάρτα very much ~κράτος  
 καταδουλόω enslave  
 καταρτίζω fix; equip  
 κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate;  
 get; kill  
 κατυπέρτερος having the upper  
 hand  
 κηρίον honeycomb  
 κλείς κληῖδος (f) bar, key ~clavicle  
 κοῖλος hollow ~hollow  
 κρεμάννυμι (ῥ) hang  
 λῆμα will, desire, purpose; courage,  
 insolence  
 μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis  
 μέλισσα bee  
 μεταυτίκα right after  
 μηχανάομαι build, contrive  
 ~mechanism  
 μηχανή machine; mechanism, way  
 μιν him, her, it  
 ὁμός same ~homoerotic

ὁμοῦ together	προσφερέῃς similar; useful
ὁμόω unite ~homoerotic	σόλος lump of iron for throwing
ὄον οὖ type of fruit	σοῦσον lily
ὁπάων -ονος (ᾱ, m, 3) comrade	στρατιά army ~strategy
ὁπή hole	συγκαλέω call together ~gallo
ὁπός fig juice	συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix
ὁπότερος which of two, either of two	συμπίπτω fall together, happen
ὄψ voice	συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen ~bear
παίω hit	συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune
πάλαι long ago ~paleo	συνέρχομαι come together
παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas	συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis
πάλη wrestling ~Pallas	τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ~tachometer
πάλλω shake, brandish ~Pallas	τύραννος tyrant
πάντως by all means	ὕπασπιστής -οῦ (m, 1) armored soldier
παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend ~genus	ὕπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ~ballistic
πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon	ὕπέχω promise; hold out one's hand; submit to
περίξ all around	ὕπηρέτης -ου (m, 1) servant, officer
περιπλέω sail around ~float	ὕποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer
Πέρσης Persian	χρηστός useful; brave, worthy
πλήσσω hit ~plectrum	
πολεμιστήριος of/for a warrior	
πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder	
προδίδωμι betray	
προσδόκιμος expected	

ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεύσι καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὼν ἀκήκοας ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἷον πρήγμα ἐργάσαιο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἴωνες γὰρ οὔκασι ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἤμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ' ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὦν ὡς τάχος ἄπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κεινὰ τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὠντὸ καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθεται παραδῶ. ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμενυμι τοὺς βασιλεῖους<sup>1</sup> μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον<sup>2</sup> ποιήσω.»

## 5.107

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

## 5.108

ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆκε καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο τάδε. πολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνησίῳ Ἀμαθουσίου ἐξαγγέλλεται νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλούμενος σφέας, Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα πεζῇ. τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου.

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<sup>1</sup> kingly    <sup>2</sup> tributary

## 5.109

τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, «ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἴρεσιν<sup>3</sup> ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεισθαι, ἢ Πέρσῃσι ἢ Φοίνιξι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴῃ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνιευμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλῃσθε, ὅκως τὸ κατ' ὑμέας ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνίῃ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρῃ.» εἶπαν Ἴωνες πρὸς ταῦτα «ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάζοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοισι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεζῇ Πέρσῃσι προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ' οὗ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστι ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων, γίνεσθαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς.»

## 5.110

Ἴωνες μὲν τούτοις ἀμείψαντο· μετὰ δὲ ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσῃσι· Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐβελοντῆς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

## 5.111

ἤλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γάρ οἱ ὑπασπιστῆς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος<sup>4</sup> πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον «πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἰστάμενον ὀρθὸν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἂν προσενειχθῇ· σὺ

<sup>3</sup> choice, plan    <sup>4</sup> will, desire, purpose; courage, insolence

ὦν βουλευσάμενος εἶπε αὐτίκα ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πλῆξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον.» εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιέειν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν σὺ ἐπιτάσσης· ὡς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκέει εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω. βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὼν εἶναι φημι βασιλίᾳ τε καὶ στρατηγῶ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλῃς ἄνδρα στρατηγόν, μέγα τοι γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισι τε ὑπηρετήσι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῇς· ἐγὼ γάρ τοι ὑποδέκομαι μή μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στήσεσθαι ἐναντίον.»

## 5.112

ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταντίκα συνέμισγε τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσί. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἴωνες ἄκροι γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν.<sup>5</sup> πεζῇ δέ, ὡς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε ἐγένετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κὰρ δρεπάνῳ πλῆξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας.

## 5.113

Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στησήνωρ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίῳ προδιδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν. οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι. προδόντων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίων πολεμιστήρια<sup>6</sup> ἄρματα τῶντὸ τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίεε. γινομένων δὲ τούτων κατυπέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένον δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου

<sup>5</sup> be the best    <sup>6</sup> of/for a warrior



ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνησίλος τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὅς περ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἴνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

## 5.114

Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρκησε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων· κρεμαμένης<sup>7</sup> δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμός μελισσέων ἐσδὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε. τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, Ὀνησίλω δὲ θύειν ὡς ἥρωι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιέῃσι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι.

## 5.115

Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίουν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ· Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχῆσαντες ἐπέιτε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοὺς Σαλαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι,<sup>8</sup> τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἶλον οἱ Πέρσαι.

## 5.116

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ Ὑμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οἶτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἴωνων καὶ ἐσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.

<sup>7</sup> hang    <sup>8</sup> lump of iron for throwing

the report to be true, that the Milesians and my deputy are acting in any rebellious fashion against thy power: but if it prove that they are indeed doing anything of that kind, and if that which thou hast heard, O king, be the truth, learn then what a thing thou didst in removing me away from the sea-coast; for it seems that the Ionians, when I had gone out of the sight of their eyes, did that which they had long had a desire to do; whereas if I had been in Ionia, not a city would have made the least movement. Now therefore as quickly as possible let me set forth to go to Ionia, that I may order all these matters for thee as they were before, and deliver into thy hands this deputy of Miletos who contrived these things: and when I have done this after thy mind, I swear by the gods of the royal house that I will not put off from me the tunic which I wear when I go down to Ionia, until I have made Sardinia tributary to thee, which is the largest of all islands.”

#### 5.107

Thus saying Histiaios endeavoured to deceive the king, and Dareios was persuaded and let him go, charging him, when he should have accomplished that which he had promised, to return to him again at Susa.

#### 5.108

In the meantime, while the news about Sardis was going up to the king, and while Dareios, after doing that which he did with the bow, came to speech with Histiaios, and Histiaios having been let go by Dareios was making his journey to the sea-coast,—during all that time the events were happening which here follow.—As Onesilos of Salamis was besieging those of Amathus, it was reported to him that Artybios a Persian, bringing with him in ships a large Persian army, was to be expected shortly to arrive in Cyprus. Being informed of this, Onesilos sent heralds to different places in Ionia to summon the Ionians to his assistance; and they took counsel together and came without delay with a large force. Now the Ionians arrived in Cyprus just at the time when the Persians having crossed over in ships from Kilikia were proceeding by land to attack Salamis, while the Phenicians with the ships were sailing round the headland which is called the “Keys of Cyprus.”

#### 5.109

This being the case, the despots of Cyprus called together the commanders of the Ionians and said: “Ionians, we of Cyprus give you a choice which enemy ye will rather fight with, the Persians or the Phenicians: for if ye will rather array yourselves on land and make trial of the Persians in fight, it is time now for you to disembark from your ships and array yourselves on the land, and for us to embark in your ships to contend against the Phenicians; but if on the other hand ye will rather make trial of the Phenicians,—whichever of

these two ye shall choose, ye must endeavour that, so far as it rests with you, both Ionia and Cyprus shall be free." To this the Ionians replied: "We were sent out by the common authority of the Ionians to guard the sea, and not to deliver our ships to the Cyprians and ourselves fight with the Persians on land. We therefore will endeavour to do good service in that place to which we were appointed; and ye must call to mind all the evils which ye suffered from the Medes, when ye were in slavery to them, and prove yourselves good men."

#### 5.110

The Ionians made answer in these words; and afterwards, when the Persians had come to the plain of Salamis, the kings of the Cyprians set in order their array, choosing the best part of the troops of Salamis and of Soloi to be arrayed against the Persians and setting the other Cyprians against the rest of the enemy's troops; and against Artybios, the commander of the Persians, Onesilos took up his place in the array by his own free choice.

#### 5.111

Now Artybios was riding a horse which had been trained to rear up against a hoplite. Onesilos accordingly being informed of this, and having a shield-bearer, by race of Caria, who was of very good repute as a soldier and full of courage besides, said to this man: "I am informed that the horse of Artybios rears upright and works both with his feet and his mouth against any whom he is brought to attack. Do thou therefore consider the matter, and tell me forthwith which of the two thou wilt rather watch for and strike, the horse or Artybios himself." To this his attendant replied: "O king, I am ready to do both or either of these two things, and in every case to do that which thou shalt appoint for me; but I will declare to thee the way in which I think it will be most suitable for thy condition. I say that it is right for one who is king and commander to fight with a king and commander; for if thou shalt slay the commander of the enemy, it turns to great glory for thee; and again, if he shall slay thee, which heaven forbid, even death when it is at the hands of a worthy foe is but half to be lamented: but for us who are under thy command it is suitable to fight with the others who are under his command and with his horse: and of the tricks of the horse have thou no fear at all, for I engage to thee that after this at least he shall never stand against any man more." Thus he spoke; and shortly afterwards the opposed forces joined battle both on land and with their ships.

#### 5.112

On that day the Ionians for their part greatly distinguished themselves and overcame the Phenicians, and of them the Samians were best: and meanwhile

on land, when the armies met, they came to close quarters and fought; and as regards the two commanders, what happened was this:—when Artybios came to fight with Onesilos sitting upon his horse, Onesilos, as he had concerted with his shield-bearer, struck at Artybios himself, when he came to fight with him; and when the horse put its hoofs against the shield of Onesilos, then the Carian struck with a falchion and smote off the horse's feet.

### 5.113

So Artybios the commander of the Persians fell there on the spot together with his horse: and while the others also were fighting, Stesenor the despot of Curion deserted them, having with him a large force of men,—now these Curians are said to be settlers from Argos,—and when the Curians had deserted, forthwith also the war-chariots of the men of Salamis proceeded to do the same as the Curians. When these things took place, the Persians had the advantage over the Cyprians; and after their army had been put to rout, many others fell and among them Onesilos the son of Chersis, he who brought about the revolt of the Cyprians, and also the king of the Solians, Aristokypros the son of Philokypros,—that Philokypros whom Solon the Athenian, when he came to Cyprus, commended in verse above all other despots.

### 5.114

So the men of Amathus cut off the head of Onesilos, because he had besieged them; and having brought it to Amathus they hung it over the gate of the city: and as the head hung there, when it had now become a hollow, a swarm of bees entered into it and filled it with honeycomb. This having so come to pass, the Amathusians consulted an Oracle about the head, and they received an answer bidding them take it down and bury it and sacrifice to Onesilos every year as a hero; and if they did this, it would go better with them.

### 5.115

The Amathusians accordingly continued to do so even to my time. But the Ionians who had fought the sea-fight in Cyprus, when they perceived that the fortunes of Onesilos were ruined and that the cities of the Cyprians were besieged, except Salamis, and that this city had been delivered over by the Salaminians to Gorgos the former king,—as soon as they perceived this, the Ionians sailed away back to Ionia. Now of the cities in Cyprus Soloi held out for the longest time under the siege; and the Persians took it in the fifth month by undermining the wall round.

### 5.116

The Cyprians then, after they had made themselves free for one year, had

again been reduced to slavery afresh: and meanwhile Daurises, who was married to a daughter of Dareios, and Hymaies and Otanes, who were also Persian commanders and were married also to daughters of Dareios, after they had pursued those Ionians who had made the expedition to Sardis and defeating them in battle had driven them by force to their ships,—after this distributed the cities amongst themselves and proceeded to sack them.

*vocabulary*

ἀγγελία message, news ~angel  
 ἀδύνατος unable; impossible  
 ἄκρος at the edge, extreme ~acute  
 ἀλίσκομαι be captured ~helix  
 ἄλλος -εος (n, 3) grove, sacred place  
 ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume  
 ἀναμάχομαι retry a fight  
 ἀπάγω lead away, back  
 ~demagogue  
 ἀποικία colony  
 ἀπονοστέω go home  
 ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off  
 course ~atrophy  
 ἀρτέομαι be ready  
 ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  
 ~oligarch  
 δηλαδὴ clearly  
 διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis  
 διαδέχομαι be next, succeed  
 ~doctrine  
 διαφεύγω escape, survive  
 δισχιλίοι 2000 ~kilo-  
 δόκιμος trustworthy; excellent  
 δρησμός running away  
 δωρεή gift  
 εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in  
 ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate  
 ἐκκεράννυμι (ō) pour and mix  
 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over  
 ἐκπίνω (i) drink up, consume  
 ἐκπίπτω fall out of ~petal  
 ἐκπίτνω fall out of  
 ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ~petal  
 ἐνθαῦτα there, here  
 ἐνθεῦτεν thence  
 ἐξαγγέλλω bring news out ~angel  
 ἐξαίρῃ pick, steal; dedicate;  
 destroy ~heresy  
 ἔξιμι go forth; is possible ~ion  
 ἐξίημι send forth, allow forth ~jet

ἐξωθέω drive out  
 ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask  
 ἐπιδιώκω chase after  
 ἐπιτρέπω entrust, decide, allow  
 ~trophy  
 εὖς good, brave, noble  
 ἡσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat  
 ἡσυχία peace and quiet  
 θυσία sacrifice  
 κατεiléω coop up  
 κατέρχομαι come down, out from  
 κρησφύγετον refuge  
 λογοποιός writer, historian  
 λοχάω lie in wait for  
 λόχος ambush, band, childbirth ~lie  
 μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  
 ~jet  
 μυρίος (ō) 10,000 ~myriad  
 νέμω to allot, to pasture ~nemesis  
 νόσος (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
 νοῦσος (f) plague, pestilence  
 ~noisome  
 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  
 οἰκοδομέω build, build a house  
 ὄον οὖ type of fruit  
 ὁπότερος which of two, either of two  
 οὐδέτερος neither  
 παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend  
 ~genus  
 παράπαν completely  
 πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder  
 περικάθημαι be seated all around  
 Πέρσης Persian  
 πλατάνιστος (f) plane tree  
 πλήσσω hit ~ppectrum  
 προσεχής close  
 ῥέω flow ~rheostat

ῥοά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat  
 ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  
 ~rheostat  
 στέλλω prepare, send, furl ~apostle  
 στήλη post, column  
 στρατός common people/soldiers  
 ~strategy  
 συγκαλέω call together ~gallo  
 συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion  
 συμβάλλω pit against; compare;  
 mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic  
 συμβολή encounter; contribution  
 συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid)  
 consult ~volunteer

σωτηρία saving, preservation  
 ταράσσω mess things up ~trachea  
 τειχέω build  
 ὑπαρχος subordinate  
 ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond;  
 delay ~ballistic  
 ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a  
 person behind ~eclipse  
 ὑπόσπονδος under truce  
 φυγή flight, means of escape  
 ~fugitive  
 φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)  
 ~physics

## 5.117

Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἄβυδόν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμφιακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη αἴρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη τοὺς Κᾶρας τῶντ' ὧσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας ὦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

## 5.118

καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε στήλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ἐκδιδοί. συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου ἀνδρὸς Κινδυέος, ὃς τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέος Συνενέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε διαβάντας τὸν Μαϊάνδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ κατὰ νώτου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινώσκοιτο ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσεως. αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατὰ νώτου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαϊάνδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ ἦν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

## 5.119

μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαϊάνδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύνῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα ἐς Διὸς στρατίου ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος<sup>1</sup> πλατανίστων.<sup>2</sup> μῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Κᾶρες εἰς οἱ

<sup>1</sup> grove, sacred place    <sup>2</sup> plane tree



Δὲ στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὧν οὗτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα ἢ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἄμεινον πρήξουσι.

## 5.120

βουλευομένοισι δέ σφι ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλευόντο μετήκαν, οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο.<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐπιούσῃ τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρότερον ἐσώθησαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

## 5.121

μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρῶμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέεται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὁδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

## 5.122

οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν· Ὑμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὸν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην· ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν· αὐτὸς τε Ὑμαίης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

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<sup>3</sup> be ready

## 5.123

οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρταφρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν Κλαζομενὰς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

## 5.124

ἀλικομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς ταραξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν<sup>4</sup> ἐβούλευε ὀρέων ταῦτα· πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἶη κρησφύγετόν<sup>5</sup> τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἣν ἄρα ἐξωθένται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδὰ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβών. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

## 5.125

Ἐκαταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενοι κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

## 5.126

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστών δοκίμῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

<sup>4</sup> running away    <sup>5</sup> refuge



## 5.117

Daurises directed his march to the cities on the Hellespont, and he took Dardanos and Abydos and Percote and Lampsacos and Paisos, of these he took on each day one; and as he was marching from Paisos against the city of Parion, the report came that the Carians had made common cause with the Ionians and were in revolt from the Persians. He turned back therefore from the Hellespont and marched his army upon Caria. 118. And, as it chanced, a report of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises arrived; and the Carians being informed of it gathered together at the place which is called the "White Pillars" and at the river Marsyas, which flows from the region of Idrias and runs out into the Maiander. When the Carians had been gathered together there, among many other counsels which were given, the best, as it seems to me, was that of Pixodaros the son of Mausolos, a man of Kindye, who was married to the daughter of the king of the Kilikians, Syennesis. The opinion of this man was to the effect that the Carians should cross over the Maiander and engage battle with the Persians having the river at their backs, in order that the Carians, not being able to fly backwards and being compelled to remain where they were, might prove themselves even better men in fight than they naturally would. This opinion did not prevail; but they resolved that the Persians rather than themselves should have the Maiander at their backs, evidently in order that if there should be a flight of the Persians and they should be worsted in the battle, they might never return home, but might fall into the river.

## 5.119

After this, when the Persians had come and had crossed the Maiander, the Carians engaged with the Persians on the river Marsyas and fought a battle which was obstinately contested and lasted long; but at length they were worsted by superior numbers: and of the Persians there fell as many as two thousand, but of the Carians ten thousand. Then those of them who escaped were shut up in Labraunda within the sanctuary of Zeus Stratios, which is a large sacred grove of plane-trees; now the Carians are the only men we know who offer sacrifices to Zeus Stratios. These men then, being shut up there, were taking counsel together about their safety, whether they would fare better if they delivered themselves over to the Persians or if they left Asia altogether.

## 5.120

And while they were thus taking counsel, there came to their aid the Milesians and their allies. Then the Carians dismissed the plans which they were before considering and prepared to renew the war again from the beginning: and

when the Persians came to attack them, they engaged with them and fought a battle, and they were worsted yet more completely than before; and while many were slain of all parties, the Milesians suffered most.

#### 5.121

Then afterwards the Carians repaired this loss and retrieved their defeat; for being informed that the Persians had set forth to march upon their cities, they laid an ambush on the road which is by Pedasos, and the Persians falling into it by night were destroyed both they and their commanders, namely Daurises and Amorges and Sisimakes; and with them died also Myrsos the son of Gyges. Of this ambush the leader was Heracleides the son of Ibanollis, a man of Mylasa.

#### 5.122

These then of the Persians were thus destroyed; and meanwhile Hymaies, who was another of those who pursued after the Ionians that had made the expedition to Sardis, directed his march to the Propontis and took Kios in Mysia; and having conquered this city, when he was informed that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching towards Caria, he left the Propontis and led his army to the Hellespont: and he conquered all the Aioliens who occupy the district of Ilion, and also the Gergithes, who were left behind as a remnant of the ancient Teucrians. While conquering these tribes Hymaies himself ended his life by sickness in the land of Troas.

#### 5.123

He thus brought his life to an end; and Artaphrenes the governor of the province of Sardis was appointed with Otanes the third of the commanders to make the expedition against Ionia and that part of Aiolia which bordered upon it. Of Ionia these took the city of Clazomenai, and of the Aioliens Kyme.

#### 5.124

While the cities were thus being taken, Aristagoras the Milesian, being, as he proved in this instance, not of very distinguished courage, since after having disturbed Ionia and made preparation of great matters he counselled running away when he saw these things, (moreover it had become clear to him that it was impossible to overcome king Dareios),—he, I say, having regard to these things, called together those of his own party and took counsel with them, saying that it was better that there should be a refuge prepared for them, in case that they should after all be driven out from Miletos, and proposing the question whether he should lead them from thence to Sardinia, to form a colony there, or to Myrkinos in the land of the Edonians, which Histiaios

had been fortifying, having received it as a gift from Dareios. This was the question proposed by Aristagoras.

**5.125**

Now the opinion of Hecataios the son of Hegesander the historian was that he should not take a colony to either of these places, but build a wall of defence for himself in the island of Leros and keep still, if he should be forced to leave Miletos; and afterwards with this for his starting point he would be able to return to Miletos.

**5.126**

This was the counsel of Hecataios; but Aristagoras was most inclined to go forth to Myrkinos. He therefore entrusted the government of Miletos to Pythagoras, a man of repute among the citizens, and he himself sailed away to Thrace, taking with him every one who desired to go; and he took possession of the region for which he had set out. But starting from this to make war, he perished by the hands of the Thracians, that is both Aristagoras himself and his army, when he was encamped about a certain city and the Thracians desired to go out from it under a truce.