

**1. Herodotus 1.6.2**

οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους.

Croesus was the first non-Greek we know of to have subjected Greeks to the payment of tribute, though he made alliances with some of them. The ones he made his tributaries were the Ionians, Aeolians, and Asian Dorians, while he allied himself with the Lacedaemonians.

**2. Herodotus 1.46.1**

Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαζάρεω ἡγεμονία καταίρεται ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσος ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ πως δύναίτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν.

For two years Croesus sat in deep grief over the loss of his son, but then, when Cyrus the son of Cambyses deprived Astyages the son of Cyaxares of his power, the growing might of the Persian caused Croesus to put aside his grief and he began to wonder whether there might be a way for him to restrain the growing power of the Persian before it became too great.

**2a. Herodotus 1.73.1**

ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἰμέρω προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἔων καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κύρον.

The main reasons for Croesus' invasion of Cappadocia, in addition to the fact that his desire for land led him to want to increase his share of territory, were his faith in the oracle and his wish to punish Cyrus for what had happened to Astyages.

**2b. Herodotus 1.75.2**

τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου **χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου**, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν.

It was because Croesus had this complaint against Cyrus that he sent emissaries to the oracle to see if he should attack Persia. And so, when he received the ambiguous response from the oracle, he assumed it was favorable to him and invaded Persian territory.

**3. Herodotus 1.77.2-3**

(ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), [3] ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν ἀλίσας τε δὴ τοὺτους καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας.

He had made an alliance with the Egyptian king Amasis, which preceded his alliance with Lacedaimon, and he had also entered into a similar treaty with the Babylonians too (whose ruler at the time was Labynetus). He intended to send for the Egyptians and the Babylonians, according to their sworn promises, as well as telling the Lacedaimonians to come at a specific time; then, once they were all present and he had mustered his own army too, he would let the winter go by and attack the Persians as soon as it was spring.

**4. Herodotus 1.79.3**

ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδριώτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

The Lydians were the most courageous and warlike race in Asia at that time; they fought on horseback, carried long spears, and were superb horsemen.

## 5. Herodotus 1.93.1-2

θώματα δὲ γῆ ἢ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμόλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. [2] ἔν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων: ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροΐσου πατρὸς σῆμα,

Compared with other countries, Lydia does not really have any marvels which are worth recording, except for the gold-dust which is washed down from Mount Tmolus. However, there is one edifice in Lydia which is by far the biggest in the world, with the exception of those in Egypt and Babylon, and this is the tomb of Alyattes, Croesus' father.

### 5a. Thucydides 1.10.2

Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἢ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθεῖη, λειφθεῖη δὲ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἂν οἶμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος αὐτῶν εἶναι. καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης ἡγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἕξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν: ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελεσί χρησαμένης, κατὰ κόμας δὲ τῶ παλαιῶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνονται ἂν ὑποδεστέρα.

for example, if the city of Sparta were to become deserted, with only the temples and the foundations of buildings left to the view, I imagine that with the passage of time future generations would find it very hard to credit its reputed power. And yet the Spartans occupy two-fifths of the Peloponnese and lead the whole, as well as many external allies: but their dispersed settlement, devoid of temples of expensive buildings, more a collection of villages in the old Greek way, would seem rather disappointing.

## 6. Herodotus 1.53.3

τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

[they advised him] to find out which was the most powerful Greek state and ally himself with it.

## 7. Herodotus 1.69.3-4

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροΐσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξει τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποίησαντο ὄρκια ξεινῆς πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης: καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοῦς εὐεργεσία εἶχον ἐκ Κροΐσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγυῖται. [4] πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἴδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος: Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτήνην.

They were pleased that the Lydians had approached them, and they swore solemn oaths of friendship and alliance with Croesus. Actually, they were already indebted to Croesus for certain favors he had done them in the past, because the Lacedaemonians had once sent men to Sardis to buy gold, which they wanted to use for a statue of Apollo (the one which now stands in Thornax in Laconia), but although they came to buy it, Croesus gave it to them for free.

## 8. Spartans' Ambiguous Oracle 1.66.2-3

ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾶ τάδε.

“Ἄρκαδίην μ’ αἰτεῖς: μέγα μ’ αἰτεῖς: οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν Ἄρκαδίη βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν, οἳ σ’ ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω: δώσω τοί Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.”

[3] ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, **χρησμῶ κибδῆλω** πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

The Pythia replied: “You ask me for Arcadia? You ask much; I grant it not. There are many men in Arcadia, eaters of acorns, who will hinder you. But I grudge you not. I will give you Tegea to beat with your feet in dancing, and its fair plain to measure with a rope.” When the Lacedaemonians heard the oracle reported, they left the other Arcadians alone and marched on Tegea carrying chains, relying on the deceptive oracle. They were confident they would enslave the Tegeans, but they were defeated in battle.

## 9. Herodotus 1.83.1

τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροΐσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἳ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοιμῶν ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὲ οὔτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυοντο.

Despite their problems [from Thyrea], the Spartiate response to the man's news was to set about providing help. But in the middle of their preparations, when their ships were ready, another message came, this time with the news that the Lydian city had fallen and that Croesus had been taken prisoner. Then, though very sorry, they ceased their efforts.

## 10. Herodotus 5.91.1

τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄρων ἀξιομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοιμοὺς ἔοντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐὼν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἄττικὸν ἰσόροπον ἂν τῷ ἐωυτῶν γίνοιτο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέεσθαι ἔτοιμον;

It was not just that the Lacedaemonians had the oracles by then, they could also see that Athenians' power was on the increase and that there was no way in which Athens was going to accept their hegemony. They realized that the Attic people, given its freedom, would become a match for them, whereas if it was oppressed by tyranny, it would be weak and submissive.

## 11. Thucydides 1.23.5-6

διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστη. [6] τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν;

I have set out the grievances and disputes which led to this breach, so that nobody in future will need to look for the immediate cause, which brought such a great war on the Greeks. In my view the real reason, true but unacknowledged, which forced the war was the growth of Athenians power and Spartan fear of it.

### 11a. Thucydides 1.86.3-5: Sthenelaidas speaks in favor of war.

“ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει. [4] καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλεύεσθαι ἀδικουμένους μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλεύεσθαι. [5] ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔατε μείζους γίνεσθαι μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας.”

“We must punish now, quickly and in full strength. And let no one try to tell us that when we are wronged we should stop to think about it – it is more the intending wrongdoers who should think hard. So, Spartans, vote for war and for the honor of Sparta. Do not allow the Athenians to grow stronger. Let us not abandon our allies, but with the gods' help let us go out and attack the guilty.”

### 11b. Thucydides 1.88

ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἤδη ὄντα.

In voting for war on the grounds of breach of the treaty the Spartans were not so much influenced by the arguments of their allies as by their fear of increasing Athenian power, when they could see much of Greece already subject to Athens.

## 12. Herodotus 1.87.2-3

καταβιάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέεσθαι τάδε. [3] ‘Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;’ ὁ δὲ εἶπε ‘ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεῦεσθαι.’

So once he had got Croesus down from the pyre he asked him who had persuaded him to invade his country and be his enemy rather than his friend. “My lord,” Croesus replied, “it was my doing. You have gained and I have lost from it. But responsibility lies with the god of the Greeks who encouraged me to make war on you.”

## 13. Herodotus 1.4.1,3-4

μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι: προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεῦεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. . . . [3] σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομένεων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἑλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. [4] ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον.

Now, so far it had only been a matter of abducting women from one another, but the Greeks were basically responsible for the next step, the Persians say, since they took the initiative and launched a military strike against Asia before the Asians did against Europe... The Persians claim that whereas they, on the Asian side, did not count the abduction of their women as at all important, the Greeks raised a mighty army because of a woman from Lacedaemon, and then invaded Asia and destroyed Priam and his forces. Ever since then, the Persians have regarded the Greeks as their enemies.

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