HERODOTUS

III

119
HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

BOOKS V—VII

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXXXII
British ISBN 0 434 99119 8

First printed 1922

Printed in Great Britain
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS V, VI AND VII</strong></td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK V</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK VI</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK VII</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPS—PELOPONNESUS</td>
<td>At end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE ROUTE OF XERXES</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THERMOPYLAE</td>
<td>To face p. 493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In Books V and VI, the constant intermixture of references to earlier history with the actual narrative makes chronology obscure and difficult. I have endeavoured to make the sequence of events clearer by giving dates here and there in the notes.

Book V describes, with a great many digressions, the events leading to, and the beginning of, the Ionian revolt against Darius. The following is a brief analysis of its contents, based on the summary in Stein’s edition:

Ch. 1–16. Megabazus’ conquests in Europe.
Ch. 23–27. Histiaeus of Miletus at the Persian court; Otanes’ conquests in N.W. Asia Minor and the neighbourhood.
Ch. 28–33. Troubles at Miletus and Naxos; Aristagoras’ temporary alliance with Artaphernes, and its breach; Aristagoras instigated by Histiaeus to revolt.
Ch. 39–48. Story of Anaxandrides king of Sparta and his sons Cleomenes and Dorieus. Dorieus’ death in Sicily; Cleomenes king of Sparta.
Ch. 49–51. Aristagoras’ unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Spartan alliance; his map of Asia.
Ch. 52–54. Description of the “Royal Road” from Ephesus to Susa.
INTRODUCTION

Ch. 55-96. Aristagoras' visit to Athens; a long digression on Athenian history.

[Ch. 55-61. The death of Hipparchus; origin of the Gephyraei by whom he was killed.
Ch. 62-65. Expulsion of the Pisistratidae, by Lacedaemonian help.
Ch. 66-69. Reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens, on the model of those effected by an elder Cleisthenes at Sicyon.
Ch. 70-73. Counter-revolution organised by Isagoras with Lacedaemonian help; its failure; Athenian embassy to Persia, without result.
Ch. 74-78. Joint attack on Athens by Lacedaemonians, Boeotians, and Chalcidians; its repulse.
Ch. 79-89. Alliance of Thebes and Aegina against Athens; former feud between Athens and Aegina, arising out of relations between Athens and Epidaurus.
Ch. 90, 91. Debate among the Spartans and their allies, as to restoring Hippias at Athens.
Ch. 92. Protest of the Corinthians against this; story of the Cypselid dynasty at Corinth.
Ch. 93-96. Hippias' retirement to Sigeum; story of how Sigeum had originally been occupied by the Athenians; Hippias' appeal to Persia for protection, leading to a final breach between Persia and Athens.]

Ch. 97, 98. Aristagoras' success in obtaining Athenian help. Escape of the Paeonians from Asia, at his instigation.
Ch. 99-102. Sardis attacked and burnt by Athenians and Ionians; their subsequent retreat.
Ch. 103, 104. Spread of the revolt in Caria and Cyprus.

viii
INTRODUCTION

Ch. 105–107. Histiaeus’ mission from Susa to Ionia, on pretence of dealing with the revolt.
Ch. 108–115. War in Cyprus; battles by sea and land; Cyprus reduced by the Persians.
Ch. 116–123. Persian victories in western Asia Minor.
Ch. 124–126. Flight and death of Aristagoras.

Book VI continues in its earlier chapters the story of the next phase of the Ionian revolts.
Ch. 1–5. Histiaeus’ return from Susa to the west, and the ill-success of his enterprises there.
Ch. 5–10. Preparation of the opposing forces of Persians and Ionians at Miletus; Persian attempts to tamper with the Ionians.
Ch. 11–17. Dionysius’ attempt to train the Ionians for battle. Sea-fight off Lade, Samian treachery, and complete victory of the Persians. Bravery and misfortunes of the Chians.
Ch. 18–21. Fall of Miletus.
Ch. 22–24. Flight of certain Samians to Sicily, and their treacherous occupation of Zancle.
Ch. 25–32. Further Persian successes; capture and death of Histiaeus; complete suppression of the Ionian revolt.
Ch. 33–41. Persian conquest of the Thracian Chersonese and the towns of the Hellespont. Story of the rule there of the elder Miltiades; escape from the Persians of Miltiades the younger.
Ch. 42. Persian administration of Ionia.
Ch. 43–45. First expedition of Mardonius against Greece (492); wreck of his fleet off Athos; his return to Asia.
Ch. 46, 47. Subjection of Thasos to Persia.
INTRODUCTION

Ch. 48–50. Darius' demand of "earth and water" from Greek states. Aeginetans accused as traitors for submitting to it.

Ch. 51–60. Digression on Spartan kingship. Origin of dual system; position and privileges of kings.

Ch. 61–70. Story of Demaratus; his birth; his quarrel with and deposition by Cleomenes, the other king. Succession of Leutychides.

Ch. 71–84. Subsequent career of Cleomenes and Leutychides. Cleomenes' war with Argos, and his death (491, probably).

Ch. 85, 86. Quarrel between Leutychides and Aegina; Leutychides' demand for the restoration by the Athenians of Aeginetan hostages; story of Glaucus.

Ch. 87–93. Incidents in war between Athens and Aegina.


Ch. 102–108. Persian landing at Marathon in Attica, with Hippias; Athenian force sent thither, Miltiades one of their generals. His recent history. Athenian messenger despatched to Sparta for help. Reinforcement sent by Plataea.

Ch. 109–117. Battle at Marathon and complete victory of the Athenians.

Ch. 118–120. Persian retreat; fortunes of the Eretrians taken prisoners by the Persians; arrival of Lacedaemonian reinforcements at Athens.

Ch. 121–131. Herodotus' argument against the accusation of treason brought against the Alcmaeonid family at Athens. Story of the family. Success
of one of its members in being chosen as the husband of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon.

Ch. 132–136. Unsuccessful expedition of Miltiades against Paros; his condemnation by the Athenians, and his death.

Ch. 137–140. Story of the Pelasgian settlements in Attica and subsequently in Lemnos, and the ultimate reduction of Lemnos by Miltiades.

The narrative in Book VII is much easier to follow. There are fewer digressions from the course of the story, and events are described in their chronological order for the most part.

Ch. 1–4. New Persian preparation against Greece. Dispute about the succession to the throne among Darius’ sons; death of Darius and accession of Xerxes (485).

Ch. 5, 6. Influence at the Persian court in favour of war.

Ch. 7–11. Suppression of the Egyptian revolt. Xerxes’ deliberation on invasion of Greece; speeches of Xerxes, Mardonius, and Artabanus.

Ch. 12–18. Xerxes’ doubts; his and Artabanus’ visions; eventual decision for war.

Ch. 19–25. Preparation for the expedition; its magnitude; construction of a canal across the promontory of Athos.

Ch. 26–32. March of Xerxes’ army from Critalla in Cappadocia to Sardis. Story of Pythius’ offer of money.


Ch. 37–43. Route of the army from Sardis to
INTRODUCTION

Abydos; Pythius' request, and its punishment; the order of march.

Ch. 44-56. Review of the fleet and army at Abydos. Xerxes' conversation with Artabanus. Passage of the Hellespont.

Ch. 57-60. From the Hellespont to Doriscus; the numbering of the army.

Ch. 61-99. Catalogue and description of the national contingents composing Xerxes' army and fleet.

Ch. 100-107. Xerxes' review of his forces at Doriscus; his conversation with Demaratus; notice of some of the governors left by Xerxes in charge of Thracian towns.

Ch. 108-121. Route of the army and fleet from Doriscus to Acanthus. How the army was fed.

Ch. 122-126. From Acanthus to Therma.

Ch. 127-131. Xerxes' excursion to Tempe in Thessaly.

Ch. 132-137. Reception in Greece of proposals sent by Xerxes to Greek states. Vengeance alleged to be taken by Talthybius on the Lacedaemonians for their killing of ambassadors; story of Sperthias and Bulis.

Ch. 138-144. Athens' services in the cause of Greek freedom. Oracles given to the Athenians; decision to increase their fleet, on the advice of Themistocles.

Ch. 145-147. General reconciliation among Greeks; their despatch of spies to Sardis; Xerxes' generosity in dealing with these.

Ch. 148-152. Dubious attitude of Argos and Herodotus' reflections thereon.

Ch. 153-167. Greek mission to Sicily. History of
INTRODUCTION

the rise of Gelon. His negotiations with the Greek envoys. Despatch of Cadmus. Victory of Gelon and Theron over the Carthaginians in Sicily.

Ch. 168. Dubious attitude of Corecyra.

Ch. 169–171. Greek mission to Crete; Delphian advice to Cretans to be warned by the fate of Minos, and the Trojan war.

Ch. 172–174. Greek forces in Thessaly; their withdrawal; attitude of the Thessalians.

Ch. 175–178. Greek occupation of Thermopylae and Artemisium. Description of localities. Delphian advice to the Greeks to pray to the winds.

Ch. 179–187. First encounter of Greek and Persian ships; Greek fleet at Chalcis, Persian at Sepias. Herodotus' estimate of total Persian numbers.


Ch. 196, 197. March of Xerxes' army through Thessaly and Achaia. Description of religious custom at Alus.

Ch. 198–201. Further description of Thermopylae and neighbourhood.

Ch. 202–207. Composition of the Greek force with Leonidas; his decision to remain at Thermopylae.

Ch. 208, 209. Persian scouts and the Greeks; Xerxes' conversation with Demaratus.

Ch. 210–212. Fights at Thermopylae and repulse of the Persians.

Ch. 213–218. Flank movement of a Persian force over the hills, guided by Epialtes.
INTRODUCTION

Ch. 219–225. Withdrawal of part of the Greek force by Leonidas’ order. Final battle; annihilation of the Lacedaemonians and Thespians.

Ch. 226–233. Individual instances of bravery; the commemorative inscriptions; fortunes of the few survivors; Theban surrender to Xerxes.

Ch. 234–238. Opinions of Demaratus and Achaemenes as to Xerxes’ future policy. Mutilation of Leonidas’ body.

Ch. 239. Digression as to Demaratus’ secret message to Sparta about Xerxes’ proposed expedition.

Among the highly miscellaneous data for internal Greek history of which Books V and VI are composed, those portions are especially interesting which give an account of governmental changes in the Hellenic world. Here we have the first beginnings of constitutional history. The period to which Herodotus’ narrative generally refers was a time of transition. Those old vague kingships which existed in the Homeric age had passed away; the powers of ruling βασιλείας had passed mostly into the hands of some sort of oligarchy, whether based on wealth or birth. The relations between these and the unprivileged weaker population produced the economic disorders of the seventh century; and different states solved their problems in different ways. Sometimes the fall of an unpopular oligarchy or group of privileged families was brought about by the establishment of “despotism,” some member of the hitherto powerful caste making himself master of the situation by a coup d’état, with or without the support of the unprivileged; thus the rule of the Battiadae at Corinth gave place to the “tyranny”
INTRODUCTION

of the Cypselid dynasty. But despotism was for the most part—at least in Greece Proper—only an interlude. Judged by its works, it became more unpopular than the oligarchical rule which it had displaced; the general estimate of it was that an irresponsible ruler was probably a criminal, and that unchecked power meant the gratification of the worst passions of humanity. It is true that as despotism decayed in Greece Proper, it took a fresh leave of life in the west, where it was justified by its practical utility. The benevolent despotism of Gelo in Sicily was praised as much as the malevolent despotism of Periander at Corinth was condemned; in neither case was there any theoretical objection to an unconstitutional usurper—the system was not judged on any a priori grounds, but simply on the record of the particular τύπαννος. Periander was a mere oppressor, Gelo was an Augustus of Syracuse, whose magnificence impressed even the sternest champions of “freedom,” and whose services to the Hellenic world against the Semites of Africa, and the wild tribes of the west, were of proved efficacy.

Thus despotism endured in Sicily; but in Greece on the whole it gave place to some form of constitutional government. Now, therefore, for the first time we begin to hear of that strange thing ἐλευθερία—the name of which has played so vast a part in the history of the world, and will continue to play it so long as men are the slaves of names.

What “freedom” meant to Herodotus and to the Hellas of which he writes is clear enough—simply freedom from the personal caprice of a single despotic ruler. It is worth pointing out to those who appeal
to Hellas when they claim a traditional connection between "liberty" and democracy, that they will find in the history of the fifth century no warrant for their peculiar theory. Δημοκρατία, of course, was not at all like Democracy, and would in fact have seemed to modern democrats to be a singularly close and oppressive form of oligarchy; but leaving this patent fact out of consideration we may see that Herodotus at least did not connect freedom with popular government. Athens, the stock instance of a democratic state par excellence, achieved ἔλευθερία not by giving power to the δῆμος, but by ridding herself of her despots; that was the "liberating" act; had she established an oligarchy, as she well might have done, on the ruins of despotism, she would have equally gained her "liberty," ἔλευθερία, or ἴσηγορία, which like ἔλευθερία simply means the absence of despotism. That to Herodotus democracy has no prescriptive right to "liberty," is sufficiently shown by the fact that Sparta with her close and tyrannous oligarchy is the typically "free" state. It is a Spartan who points out to a Persian the blessings of freedom. Herodotus, seeing alternative forms of government, and admiring ἔλευθερία (always on the ground of its higher efficiency), has no particular liking for democracy. When he mentions it, he does so without respect. Gelon of Sicily is made to call the δῆμος a "thankless crew." In the discussion of various constitutions in Book III the Persian debaters condemn democracy even more than oligarchy. The Athens which Herodotus lived in and admired was the Periclean city-state of which Thucydides says that "it was a nominal democracy, but in reality the rule of the first man."

xvi
INTRODUCTION

These digressions on constitutional changes and conditions occupy considerable parts of Books V and VI, while the main story works its way to the dénouement. With Marathon, the drama reaches its climax. From this moment we are amidst the great scenes of history; and nothing can detract from the compelling interest of the narrative. Herodotus’ marvellous skill heightens the dramatic appeal throughout by a constantly interwoven personal element. We are made to see the scale of the conflict, and judge of the issues involved, from the particular standpoint of individuals; we see through the eyes of a present witness. Herodotus does not only describe the greatness of Xerxes’ fleet; he describes it as seen by Xerxes; just as Homer’s most admired similes are those where the imagined scene is presented to us as viewed by a spectator. At most of the critical moments, the various reflections which might occur to a thoughtful mind, or the alternative courses of action which might naturally be suggested, are presented to us in a dramatised form by debate or dialogue illustrating the diverse points of view—after the manner later made familiar by Euripides and Thucydides.

So much of fiction there is, obviously; but the trustworthiness of the narrative, apart from these additamenta, has not been seriously assailed. Very many details in this part of Herodotus’ history lend themselves to speculation and controversy. He may exaggerate to the Persian numbers; it is natural that he should. He may lend too ready an ear to legend. But modern research has not detracted from his general credibility. It is not too much to
say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable. The story of Marathon is very briefly told, and it has been left for moderns to fill in what was lacking or explain what brevity makes obscure; but the full and detailed description of Thermopylae is verifiable to-day. Of course one cannot argue with certainty from such instances to the credibility of everything. But they are at least encouraging; and make any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of a priori probability.
1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρῶτος μὲν Περινθίους Ἐλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὃν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνοις Παίονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνται σφέας οἱ Περινθιοὶ ὁνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρείειν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖειν, ἐποίεον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζόμενοι δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μονομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιος σφὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ὕππον ὑπὲρ συνεβαλὼν καὶ κύνα κυνι. νικῶντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιωνίζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐωη καὶ εἰπάν κου παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς· "Νῦν ἂν εἶν ὁ χρησίμος ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἐργον." οὕτω τοῖς Περινθίοις παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρεύοντι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλῶν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.
1. Those Persians whom Darius had left in Europe under the command of Megabazus, finding the Perinthians unwilling to be Darius' subjects, subdued them before any others of the people of the Hellespont. These Perinthians had already been roughly handled by the Paeonians. For the Paeonians from the Strymon had been bidden by an oracle of their god to march against Perinthus, and if the Perinthians being encamped over against them should call to them, crying out their name, then to attack them, but, if there were no such call, then not to attack. Thus the Paeonians did; and the Perinthians being encamped in front of their city, the armies challenged each other to a threefold duel, wherein man was matched against man, horse against horse, and dog against dog. The Perinthians won the victory in two of the combats and raised the cry of "Paean" in their joy. The Paeonians reasoned that this was that whereof the oracle spoke; they said to each other, as I suppose, "This is surely the fulfilment of the prophecy; now here is work for us"; and with that, the Perinthians having cried "Paean," the Paeonians set upon them and won a great victory, leaving few of their enemies alive.
2. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιώνων πρῶτον γενόμενα ὡδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περσῶν οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλῆθει. ὡς δὲ ἔχειρώθη ἡ Περσίδος, ἠλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τῶν στρατῶν διὰ τῆς Ὀρηκῆς, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων ἦμερούμενος βασιλέως ταύτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέλατο ἐκ Δαρείου, Ὀρηκῆς καταστρέφεσθαι.

3. Θρήκιων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἦστι μετά γε Ἰνδῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐνὸς ἄρχοντο ἡ φρονείον κατὰ τῶντο, ἀμαχόν τ’ ἂν εἶη καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνῶν κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτῳ ἀτορόν σφι καὶ ἄμηχανον μὴ κοτὲ ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τούτῳ ἄσθενες. οὐνόματα δ’ ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἐκαστοί, νόμοις δὲ οὕτω παραπλησίωσι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστώναίων οἰκείων τῶν.

4. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἄθανατίζοντες ποιεῖσθαι, εἰρηταὶ μοι· Τραυσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταύτα τοῦτο ἀλλοιοί Θρῆκει ἐπιτελέοισι, κατὰ δὲ τῶν γενόμενον σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῖσθαι τοιάδε· τῶν μὲν γενόμενον περιζέομενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρωνται, ὡσπο ἐν δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπία πάντα πάθεα· τοῦ δ’ ἀπογενόμενον παιξούσι τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἅπαλλαξθεῖς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ.

5. Οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστώναίων ποιεῖσθι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας ἐκαστος πολλά, ἐπειδ’ ἄν τις
2. The Perinthians had already been thus treated by the Paeonians; and now they fought like brave men for their liberty, but Megabazus and the Persians overcame them by weight of numbers. Perinthus being taken, Megabazus marched his army through Thrace, subduing to the king's will every city and every people of that region. For this was the charge given him by Darius, even the conquest of Thrace.

3. The Thracians are the biggest nation in the world, next to the Indians; were they under one ruler, or united, they would in my judgment be invincible and the strongest nation on earth; but since there is no way or contrivance to bring this about, they are for this reason weak. They have many names, each tribe according to its region. All these Thracians are alike in all their usages, save the Getae, and the Trausi, and those that dwell above the Crestonaeans.

4. As for the Getae who claim to be immortal, I have already told what they do; the Trausi, who in all else fulfil the customs of other Thracians, do as I will show at the seasons of birth and death. When a child is born, the kinsfolk sit round and lament for all the tale of ills that it must endure from its birth onward, recounting all the sorrows of men; but the dead they bury with jollity and gladness, for the reason that he is quit of so many ills and is in perfect blessedness.

5. Those who dwell above the Crestonaeans have a custom of their own: each man having many wives, 1

1 IV. 94.
αὐτῶν ἀποθάνη, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαί ἱσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἡτὶς αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ύπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἡ δ’ ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθείσα ύπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ύπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστάτου ἑωυτῆς, σφακθείσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἄνδρι. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῦνται· ὅνειδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

6. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ὁρηίκων ἐστὶ ὁδὲ νόμος· πωλέσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγῇ, τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ’ ἐώσι τοῦτι αὐταὶ βούλουνται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἱσχυρὸς φυλάσσουσι καὶ ὄνεονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενέσι κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἄγεννες. ἄργον εἴναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ γῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληστύδος κάλλιστον.

7. Οὔτοι μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέσταται νόμοι εἰσί, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μοῦνοι τούσδε, "Ἀρεὼ καὶ Δίονυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτεῶν, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὄμνυόν μοῦνον τούτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμῆ ἑωντοῦ.

8. Ταφαὶ δὲ τοῦτο εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἰδείρις μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθείσι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ παντοτοια σφάζαντες ἱρήμα ευχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρώτον· ἐπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἡ ἄλλας γῆς κρύψαντες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγώνα τιθείσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἅθλα τίθεται.
at his death there is great rivalry among his wives, and eager contention on their friends' part, to prove which wife was best loved by her husband; and she to whom the honour is adjudged is praised by men and women, and then slain over the tomb by her nearest of kin, and after the slaying she is buried with the husband. The rest of the wives take this sorely to heart, deeming themselves deeply dishonoured.

6. Among the rest of the Thracians, it is the custom to sell their children to be carried out of the country. They take no care of their maidens, allowing them to have intercourse with what men they will; but their wives they strictly guard, and buy them for a great price from the parents. To be tattooed is a sign of noble birth; to bear no such marks is for the baser sort. The idler is most honoured, the tiller of the soil most contempted; he is held in highest honour who lives by war and foray.

7. These are the most notable of their usages. They worship no gods but Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis. But their princes, unlike the rest of their countrymen, worship Hermes above all gods and swear only by him, claiming him for their ancestor.

8. Among those of them that are rich, the funeral rites are these:—They lay out the dead for three days, then after killing all kinds of victims and first making lamentation they feast; after that they make away with the body either by fire or else by burial in the earth, and when they have built a barrow they set on foot all kinds of contests, wherein the greatest prizes are offered for the hardest fashion

1 Herodotus as usual identifies foreign with Greek deities: v. How and Wells ad loc.
κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηκίων εἰσὶ αἴδε.

9. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρης ἐτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρέκες οὐτίνες εἰσὶ ἀνθρω-

ποι οἰκέουτες αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἕδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἔρημος χώρη φαίνεται ἐνυσα καὶ ἀπειρος.

μοῦνοι δὲ δύναμαι πυθέοθαι οἰκέουτας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀνθρώποι τοὺς οὐνομα εἰσὶν Σιγύνυνας, ἔσθητι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικηί τοὺς δὲ Ἰπποὺς αὐτῶν εἰσὶν λασίους ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἀνδρας φέρειν, ξενυμένους δὲ ὑπ’ ἁρματα εἰσὶν ὁξυτάτος ἐρματηλατείειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τοῦ-

tου τοὺς οὐροὺς ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδριή.

εἰσὶν δὲ Μήδων σφεᾶς ἀποίκους λέγουσιν. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων ἁποικοὶ γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ’ ἄν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. σιγύνυνας δ’ ὄν καλέουσι Λίγκνες ὦ ἵνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίης οἰκέουτες τοὺς κατήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.

10. Ὁς δὲ Θρηκίκες λέγουσιν, μελισσαὶ κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοιτέων οὐκ εἰσὶν διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἔμοι μὲν νῦν ταῦτα λέ-

γοτες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότας τὰ γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἰσὶν δύσρυγα. ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἁρκτον ἁὐκήτα δοκεῖ εἰσὶν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τῆς χώρης ταύτης πέρι λέγεται τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ’ ὄν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοι ἐποίεσε.

11. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διαβάς τάχιστα τοῦ Ἐλ-

λήσιτον ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδης, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἐξ
of single combat. Such are the Thracian funeral rites.

9. For what lies north of this country none can tell with certainty what men dwell there; cross the Ister and you shall see but an infinite tract of deserts. I can learn of no men dwelling beyond the Ister save certain that are called Sigynnae, and wear Median dress. Their horses are said to be covered all over with shaggy hair¹ five fingers' breadth long, and to be small and blunt-nosed and unable to bear men on their backs, but very swift when yoked to chariots; wherefore to drive chariots is the usage of the country. These men's borders, it is said, reach nigh as far as the Eneti on the Adriatic Sea. They call themselves colonists from Media. How this has come about I myself cannot understand; but all is possible in the long ages of time. However that be, we know that the Ligyes who dwell inland of Massalia use the word "sigynnae" for hucksters, and the Cyprians use it for spears.

10. But the Thracians say that all the land beyond the Ister is full of bees, and that by reason of these none can travel there. This is no credible tale, to my mind; for those creatures are ill able to bear cold; but it appears to me rather that it is by reason of the cold that the northern lands are not inhabited. Such, then, are the stories about this region. Whatever be the truth, Megabazus made its sea-coast subject to the Persians.

11. As soon as Darius had crossed the Hellespont and come to Sardis,² he remembered the good service

¹ Strabo says much the same of the Sigynni, according to him a Caucasian tribe.
² Cp. IV. 143.
'Ιστιαίος τε τού Μιλησίου ευεργετής καὶ τῆς παρανύσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώτου, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδις ἐδίδοι αὐτοῖς αἰρέσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἀπε τυραννεύων τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήξε, αιτεῖε δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδώνων, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὕτος μὲν δέ ταύτην αἱρέσεται, ὅ δὲ Κώνις, οἷά τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐόν, αἰτεῖ μυτιλήνης τυραννεύσαι.
done him by Histiaeus of Miletus and the counsel of Coes the Mytilenaean; and he sent for them to come to Sardis and offered them the choice of what they would. Then Histiaeus, seeing that he was despot of Miletus, desired no further sovereignty than that, but asked for Myrcinus\(^1\) in the Edonian land, that he might there build a city. This was Histiaeus’ choice; but Coes, inasmuch as he was no despot but a plain citizen, asked that he might be made despot of Mytilene.

12. The desire of both being granted, they went their ways to the places of their choice; but Darius, as it fell out, saw a sight which put it in his mind to bid Megabazus take the Paeonians and carry them from their homes out of Europe into Asia. There were two Paeonians, Pigres and Mantyes; these would themselves be rulers of their countrymen, and when Darius had crossed into Asia came to Sardis, bringing with them their sister, a woman tall and fair. There, waiting till Darius should be sitting in the suburb of the Lydian city, they put on their sister the best adornment they had, and sent her to draw water, bearing a vessel on her head and leading a horse by the bridle on her arm and spinning flax the while. Darius took note of the woman as she passed by him; for what she did was not in the manner of the Persians or Lydians or any of the peoples of Asia. Having taken note of the thing, he sent certain of his guard, bidding them watch what the woman would do with the horse. So they followed behind her; and she, coming to the river, watered the horse; then, having so done, and filled her vessel with the water, she passed back again by

---

\(^1\) A district rich in timber and precious metals; cp. 23.
13. Θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τὰ τε ἦκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὤρα, ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἑωτῷ ἐς ὅψιν. ὡς δὲ ἀχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφεῖς αὐτῆς οὐ κη πρόσω σκοπήν ἐχοντες τούτων. εἰρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὁποδαπῇ εἶν, ἐφασαν οἱ νευνισκοι εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφείν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἀνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ κὸν γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τὶ κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἐλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδις. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἐφραζοι ὡς ἐλθοιεν μὲν ἐκείνω δὼσοντες σφέας αὐτοὺς, εἰὴ δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τὸ Στρυμόνιον ποταμῷ πεπολ σμενη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἐλληνσπόντου, εὑρον δὲ Θευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκαστὰ ἐλεγον, ὁ δὲ εἰρωτα εὶ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἰ γυναικες εὑρον οὐτω ρηγάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφασαν προθύμως οὕτω ἐχειν αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὃν τούτου εἶνεκα καὶ ἐποιετο.  

14. Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείος γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ, τὸν ἐλπὶς εν τῇ Ἡρηκὴ στρατηγῶν, ἐντελομενοι ἐξαναστήσαι εξ ἡθέων Παίονας καὶ παρ’ ἑωτὸν ἄγαγειν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναίκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ῥπεὺς ἐθεὶ φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίγην ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλληνσποντον, πε-ραιωθείς δὲ διδοὶ τὸ βυβλίον τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Ἡρηκῆς ἐστρατεύτοτο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.  

15. Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἴναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς
the same way, bearing the water on her head and leading the horse on her arm and plying her distaff.

13. Marvelling at what he heard from his watchers and what he saw for himself, Darius bade the woman be brought before him. When she was brought, her brothers, who watched all this from a place near by, came too; and Darius asking of what nation she were, the young man told him that they were Paeonians, and she their sister. "But who," he answered, "are the Paeonians, and where dwell they, and with what intent are you come to Sardis?"

They showed him, that they were come to be his men; that the towns of Paeonia were on the Strymon, a river not far from the Hellespont; and that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy. So they told him all this; and the king asked them if all the women of their country were as notable workers. To this too they very readily answered (for it was for this very purpose that they had come), that it was indeed so.

14. Then Darius wrote a letter to Megabazus, whom he had left as his general in Thrace, bidding him take the Paeonians from their houses, and bring them to him, men, women, and children. Immediately a horseman sped with this message to the Hellespont, and crossing it gave the letter to Megabazus; who, having read it, took guides from Thrace and led his army to Paeonia.

15. When the Paeonians learnt that the Persians were coming against them, they gathered themselves
θαλάσσης, δοκεόντες ταύτη ἐπιχείρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παίονες ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἥγεμόνας τὴν ἀνω ὀδὸν τράπονται, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπιπτοῦσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἔουσας ἀνδρῶν ἔρημους· ολὰ δὲ κεινῆς ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παίονες ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες καὶ ἐωυτοὺς ἐκαστοί ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖς Πέρσῃς. οὕτω δὴ Παίονων Σιριοπαίονές τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἱθέων ἐξαναστάσιμες ἢγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἁσίην.

16. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριάνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἄρχην ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὅδε. ἤκρια ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέση ἐστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἐσοδοὺ ἐκ τῆς ἱπείρου στεινῆν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστείκας τοῖς ἰκρίσσι τὸ μὲν κοῦ ἀρχαῖον ἐστήσαν κοινῆ πάντες οἱ πολίται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἵστασι τοῦτοί κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεος τῷ ὀὖνομα ἐστὶ Ὃρβηλος, κατὰ γυναίκα ἐκαστὴν ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησιν· ἀγεται δὲ ἐκαστος συνήνας

1 Stein brackets καὶ Δοβ. καὶ Ἄγρ. καὶ Ὀδ.; and certainly it is not reasonable to speak of Paeonians living near the Doberes and Agrianes, who are themselves Paeonians.
together and marched away to the sea, thinking that the Persians would essay to attack them by that way. So the Paeonians were ready to stay the onset of Megabazus' army; but the Persians, learning that the Paeonians had gathered their forces and were guarding the sea-coast way into their country, got them guides and marched instead by the high-land road, whereby they took the Paeonians unawares and won entrance into their cities, which were left without men; and finding these empty at their onfall they easily gained them. The Paeonians, learning that their towns were taken, straightway broke and went each his own way and yielded themselves up to the Persians. Thus of the Paeonians the Siriopaeones and Paeoplae and all that dwelt as far as the Prasiad lake were taken away from their homes and carried into Asia.

16. But those near the Pangaean mountains and the country of the Doberes and the Agrianes and the Odomanti and the Prasiad lake itself were never subdued at all by Megabazus; albeit he tried to take the lake-dwellers, whose dwellings were such as I shall show:—There is set in the midst of the lake a platform made fast on tall piles, whereto one bridge gives a narrow passage from the land. The piles which support the platform were set there in old times by all the people working together, but by a later custom this is the manner of their setting: the piles are brought from a mountain called Orbelus, and every man plants three for each woman that he weds; and each has many wives. For the manner

---

1 East of the Strymon.
2 Dwellings of a similar kind have been found in North Italy, Ireland, and other parts of Western Europe.
3 Between the Strymon and the Nestus.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

γυναίκας. οίκεύοντι δὲ τοιούτων τρόπων, κρατέων ἐκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαϊτᾶται καὶ θύρης καταπακτής διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κατὼ φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νῆπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαῖνοντες. τοῖς δὲ ὑποτοι καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτων ἵχθυον τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτο ὡστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατει σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα κεβήν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλῶν τίνα χρόνον ἐπισιχῶν ἀνασπᾶ πλῆρεα ἵχθυων. τῶν δὲ ἵχθυων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέοντι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνας.

17. Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ήγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὑπὸ εὐχερῶστατο τοὺς Παιόνας, πέμπει ἄγγελους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἀνδρὰς ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἤσαν δουκίμωται εν τῇ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὖν τοῖς παρὰ Ἀμύντῃν αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὑδῷρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεὶ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὐ ὑστερον τοῦτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίῳ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφότα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μεταλλὸν Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

18. Οἱ δὲν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὕτως παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντῃν ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἶτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὁμιν ἐς τὴν Ἀμύντῃσ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδῷρ. δὲ ταῦτα τε ἐδίδον καὶ σφεᾶς ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον μεγαλόπρεπος ἐδέκεστο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε.
of their dwelling, each man on the platform owns
the hut wherein he lives and a trap-door in the
platform leading down into the lake. They make a
cord fast to the feet of their little children, lest the
children fall into the water. They give fish for
fodder to their horses and beasts of burden; and of
fish there is such abundance, that a man opens his
trap-door and lets an empty basket down by a line
into the lake, and it is no long time before he draws
it up full of fish. There are two kinds of these, some
called "paprakes," some "tilones."

17. So those of the Paeonians who were taken
were carried into Asia. Then Megabazus, having
made the Paeonians captive, sent as messengers into
Macedonia the seven Persians who (after himself)
were the most honourable in his army; these were
sent to Amyntas to demand earth and water for
Darius the king. Now there is a very straight way
from the Prasiad lake to Macedonia; for first and
near to the lake is that mine wherefrom later
Alexander drew a daily revenue of a talent of
silver, and when he has passed the mine a man
need but cross the mountain called Dysorum to be
in Macedonia.

18. These Persians then who were sent, coming
to Amyntas and being in his presence, demanded
earth and water for Darius the king; which he gave,
and invited them to be his guests; and he prepared
a dinner of great splendour and received them
hospitably. But after dinner, the Persians said to
Amyntas as they sat drinking together, "Macedonian,

1 i.e. the country as extended by Alexander I. east of the
Axius to the Strymon.
2 Apparently not far from the lower Strymon.
"Εἰπε Μακεδὼν, ἢμιν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Πέρσησι, ἐπεάν δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακᾶς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναίκας ἐςάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σὺ νῦν, ἐπεὶ περὶ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξασι μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοὶς δὲ βασιλεὶ Δα- ρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὤδωρ, ἐπεο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης "Ὁ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὖκ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἃνδρας γυναικῶν" εἶπετε δὲ ύμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπόται προσ- χρηίζετε τοῦτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα." εἶπας τοσάτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπτετο τὰς γυναί- κας· αἱ δ' ἐπείτε καλεόμεναι ἤλθον, ἐπεεξής ἀντίας ἵζοντο τοιὸν Πέρσης. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἱδο- μένους γυναίκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφὸν· κρέο- σον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχήθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναίκας ἡ ἐλθοῦσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζονται ἁλγηδόνας σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευεν παρίζειν. πειθομενεῖν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἀπτοῦτο οἷα πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

19. Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἴχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρ- σας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεών τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἀτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθῆς, οὐδαμῶς ἐτι κατέχειν οἷος τε ἦν, ὡστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. "Ὡς πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἰκε τῇ ἠλικίᾳ ἁπτων τε ἀναπάυεσ, μηδὲ λυπά- ρεις τῇ πόσει· εγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῆς πάντα τὰ ἐπιτιθέει παρέξω τοισι ἐξινοισι." πρὸς ταῦτα συνιεῖ Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσετον.
our host, it is our Persian custom after the giving of any great banquet to bring in also the concubines and wedded wives to sit by the men. Do you then (since you have received us heartily and are nobly entertaining us, and are giving Darius our king earth and water) follow our custom.” To this Amyntas replied: “No such custom, Persians, have we ourselves; with us, men and women sit apart; but seeing that you are our masters and would have this too, it shall be as you desire.” With that, Amyntas sent for the women; they came at call, and sat down over against the Persians. Then the Persians, seeing comely women before them, spoke to Amyntas and said that there was no sense in what he had done; it were better (they said) that the women had never come at all than that they should come and not sit beside the men, but sit opposite them to torment their eyes. Amyntas then, as needs must, bade the women sit beside them; which when they did, at once the Persians, flushed as they were with excess of wine, laid hands on the women’s breasts, and one or another would essay to kiss them.

19. This Amyntas saw, but held his peace for all his anger, because he greatly feared the Persians. But Amyntas’ son Alexander, in his youth and ignorance of ill deeds, could by no means bear it longer, but said to Amyntas in great wrath: “My father, do you do as befits your age; leave us and take your rest, and continue not at the drinking; but I will stay here and give our guests all that is needful.” At this Amyntas saw that Alexander had some wild
μέλλον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει ""Ω παῖ, σχέδον γὰρ σε τάς ἀνακαινομένου συνήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ δὲν σεν χρησίζω μὴ δὲν νεοχρωμάται κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξετάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχει ὅρεων τὰ ποιεῖμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδοφ τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαι τοῖς"

20. 'Ως δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρησίσας τούτων οἰχώκει, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας "Γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὃ ξείνοι, ἐστὶ υἱὸν πολλῆς εὐπτείας, καὶ εἰ πάσης βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὀκόσηι δὲν αὐτέων· τούτων μὲν πέρι αὐτοῦ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δὲ, σχέδον γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὅρη προσέρχεται υἱὸν καὶ καλῶς ἐχοντας ὡμέας ὅρῳ μέθης, γυναῖκας ταῦτας, εἰ υἱὸν φίλου ἐστί, ἀπετε λούσασθαι, λουσάμενας δὲ ὁπίσω προσδέκεσθε." εἶπας ταῦτα, συνεπαίνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθοῦσας ἀπέπεμπτε ἐς τὴν γυναικῆν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἱσοῦς τῇ γυναιξὶ ἁριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖοις τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἑσθήτι σκευάσας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοῦν ἥγε ἐσω, παράγων δὲ τούτους ἐλεγα τοῖς Πέρσης τάδε. "'Ω Πέρσαι, ὁ ἂν διείλατε τελεί διατίμηθαι· τα τῃ γὰρ ἀλλὰ ὅσα εὐχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τα ὁλὰ τῇ ἐν ἐξευρότατα παλέχειν, πάντα υἱῶν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τῷ πάντων μέγιστον, τὰς το ἑωτῶν μητέρας καὶ τας ᾧδελφαῖς ἐπιδαφιλοῦμετα υἱῶν, ὡς παντελῶς μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ ἐστὶ ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγείλητε ὅτι ἂν ἐλληνίζητε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἄνδρι ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναίκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἳ δὲ,
deed in mind, and, "My son," he said, "you are angered, and if I guess your meaning aright you would send me away that you may do some violent deed; for my part, then, I entreat you—act not rashly by these men, lest you undo us, but bear patienty the sight of what they do. But if you would have me depart, to that I consent."

20. Amyntas with this request having gone his ways, Alexander said to the Persians, "Sirs, you have full freedom to deal with these women, and may have intercourse with all or any of them. As to that, you will yourselves declare your pleasure; but now, as the hour of your rest draws nigh and I see that you are all well and truly drunk, suffer these women, so please you, to depart and wash; and when they have washed, look for them to come to you again." Having so said, the Persians consenting thereto, he sent the women, when they had gone out, away to their apartment; Alexander then took as many smooth-chinned men as there were women and attired them in the women's dress and gave them daggers; these he brought in, and so doing he said to the Persians: "Methinks, men of Persia, you have feasted to your hearts' content; all that we had and all besides that we could find to give you has been set before you; and now we make you a free gift of our best and choicest possession, our own mothers and sisters. Learn thereby that we accord you the full meed of honour that you deserve, and tell your king who sent you how his Greek viceroy of Macedonia has received you hospitably to board and bed." With that, Alexander made his Macedonians to sit each next to a Persian, as though they were women; and when the Persians began to
21. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπηὴ αὐτῶν· εὕπετο γὰρ δὴ σφὶ καὶ ὥχίματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευὴ· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμα πᾶσι ἐκεῖνοι ἦφανιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνω δὲ πολλῷ ύστερον ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλῃ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφὶ, χρήματά τε δοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωντοῦ ἀδελφῆν τῇ οὐνομά ἤν Γυγαῖν· δοὺς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρδῃ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

22. Ὁ μὲν νῦν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεῖς ἐσυγήθη. Ἔλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδικκεον γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοῦ λέγουσι, αὐτός τε οὕτω τυχχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀπτοσθε λόγουσι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἔλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἶ τοῦ ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγώνα Ἔλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἐγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἀνθελέων ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθεσουμενοὶ Ἔλληνων ἐξειργών μν., φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγώνα ἀιλλὰ Ἔλληνων Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεδέξει ὡς εἰ Ἄργείος, εκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἔλλην καὶ ἀγωνισόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπυπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγαβάςος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παύονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ ἐνθεύτευν διαπεραιωθείς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ
lay hands on them, they were despatched by the Macedonians.

21. This was the fate whereby they perished, they and all their retinue; for carriages too had come with them, and servants, and all the great train they had; the Macedonians made away with all that, as well as with all the envoys themselves. No long time afterwards the Persians made a great search for these men; but Alexander had cunning enough to put an end to it by the gift of a great sum and his own sister Gygaea to Bubares, a Persian, the general of those who sought for the slain men; by this gift he made an end of the search.

22. Thus was the death of these Persians suppressed and hidden in silence. Now that these descendants of Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves say, I myself chance to know and will prove it in the later part of my history; and further, the Hellenodicae who have the ordering of the contest at Olympia determined that it is so. For when Alexander chose to contend and entered the lists for that purpose, the Greeks who were to run against him were for barring him from the race, saying that the contest should be for Greeks and not for foreigners; but Alexander proving himself to be an Argive, he was judged to be a Greek; so he contended in the furlong race and ran a dead heat for the first place.

23. In some such wise these things fell out. But Megabazus came to the Hellespont, bringing with him the Paeonians; thence he crossed it and came to Sardis. Now as Histiaeus the Milesian was by

1 Elean citizens, usually ten, who presided at the Olympic games.
Μιλήσιον τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθοῦ δωρείν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίως, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χῶρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμώνα ποταμὸν τῷ σύνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινος, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐσ τὰς Σάρδις ἁγιόν τοὺς Παῖονας, ἐλέγει Δαρείῳ τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, κοίλον τι χρήμα ἑποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἐλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δὼς ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρήκῃ, ὡς ἠδὴ τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλὸι κωπέες καὶ μεταλλα ἁργύρεα, ὀμιλὸς τέ πολλὸς μὲν Ἐλλην περιοικεῖ εἰ πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οὐ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιή- σοντι τοῦτο τὸ ἄν κεῖνος ἐξηγέται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτὸς, σὺ νῦν τούτον τὸν ἀνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποιεῖντα, ἵνα μὴ ὁικήῃ πολέμῳ συνέχῃ τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμψάμενο παῦσον. ἐπεάν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιεῖν ὁκὼς μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἐλληνας ἀπίξεται.

24. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπτέτεως ἐπείθε Δαρείου ὃς εὐ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρείος ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἰστιαίε, βασιλεὺς Δαρείος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντιζόν εὐρύσκω ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ πρήγμασι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἀνδρα εὐνοε- στερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοις ἄλλο ἐγροισὶ οἶδα μαθὼν. νῦν ὄν, ἐπινοεὶ γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπίκεο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι." τούτοις τοῖς ἐπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἀμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέως σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις· ἀπι- κομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἐλεγε Δαρείους τάδε. "Ἰστιαίε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἶνεκεν. ἐπείτε τάχι-
this time fortifying the place which he had asked of Darius as his reward for guarding the bridge (this was a place called Myrcinus by the river Strymon), Megabazus had learnt what Histiaeus was about, and no sooner had he come to Sardis with the Paeonians than he said to Darius: "Sire, what is this that you have done? You have given a clever and cunning Greek a city to build in Thrace, where are forests in plenty for ship-building, and much wood for oars, and mines of silver, and much people both Greek and foreign dwelling around, who when they have a champion to lead them will do all his behests by day or by night. Do you then stay this man from these his doings, lest you have a war on hand with your own subjects; but to this end bring him to you by gentle means; and when you have him safe, see to it that he never return to Hellas."

24. Darius was readily persuaded by this, for he thought that Megabazus foresaw the future aright; and presently he sent this message to Myrcinus: "These to Histiaeus from Darius the king:—My thoughts can show me no man who is a truer friend to me and mine; not words but deeds have proved this to me. Now therefore let nothing hinder you from coming to me, that I may disclose to you certain great purposes which I have in mind." Trusting these words, and proud, moreover, that he should be the king's counsellor, Histiaeus came to Sardis; and when he had come Darius said to him, "Histiaeus, I will tell you wherefore I sent for you.
στα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ σὺ μου ἐγένεο εἰς ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρήμα οὐτώ ἐν βραχεῖ ἐπεξήγησα ὡς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικε- σθαί, ἐγνωκῶς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιω- τατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὔνοος, τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδώς ἐξὸς μαρτυρεῖν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμὰ. νῦν οὖν, εὖ γαρ ἑποίησας ἀπ- ἱκόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι: Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηκῆ πόλιν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχε τὰ περ ἀν ἐγὼ ἐχω, ἔμος τε σύσσιτοι ἐων καὶ σύμβουλος.

25. Ταῦτα Δαρείου εὗτας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρ- ταφρέαν ἀδελφεῖν ἐωντοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπάρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων, ἀπηλαυνε ἔς Σοῦσα ἀμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαῖον, Ἄσταναι δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγόν εἶναι τῶν παραδαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν· τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήματι δίκην ἀδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀν- θρωπόν, σπασάς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ δέρμα ἰμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐταμε καὶ ἐνέτευν τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἰζων ἐδίκαζε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικα- στήν εἶναι ἄντι τοῦ Σισάμου, τῶν ἄποκτεινας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμου, ἐντειλάμενος οἱ μεμνήσθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

26. Οὕτος ὃν ὁ Ὄστάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦ- τον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγα- βάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίας, Ἰππαυτίους τε εἰλὲ καὶ Καλχηδώνιους, εἰλὲ δὲ Ἀμανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἡγεῖ, εἰλὲ δὲ Λαμπώνιου, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Δεσίδιων νέας εἰλὲ Δημον τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφο- τέρας ἐτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεμένας.
As soon as I returned from Scythia and you were gone from my sight, there was nothing whereof I had so immediate a desire as the seeing and speaking with you; for I knew that the most precious of all possessions is a wise and loyal friend; and I can witness of my own knowledge that you have dealt both wisely and loyally with me. Now therefore, seeing that you have done well in coming hither, I make you this proposal:—leave Miletus and your newly founded Thracian city, and follow me to Susa, to have there all that is mine and to share my table and my counsels.”

25. So said Darius; and appointing Artaphrenes his father’s son to be viceroy of Sardis, he rode away to Susa, taking Histiaeus with him. But first he made Otanes governor of the people on the sea-coast. Otanes’ father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges;⁠¹ Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed off all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgment; and he had then cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and covered therewith the seat whereon Sisamnes had sat to give judgment; which having done, Cambyses appointed the son of this slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to remember what was the judgment-seat whereon he sat.

26. This Otanes then, who sat upon that seat, was now made successor to Megabazus in his governorship; he took Byzantium and Calchedon, and Antandrus in the Troad, and Lamponium; and he conquered with ships that he got from the Lesbians Lemnos and Imbros, both then still inhabited by Pelasgians.

¹ Cp. III. 31.
27. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὗ καὶ ἀμνύόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνου ἐκακωθήσαν, τοῖσι δὲ περευόσι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχοῦν ἐπιστάσι Λυκάρητον τῶν Μαιανδρίων τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφῶν. οὕτως ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ. αἰτή δὲ τούτου ἦδε πάντας ἕνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν ἀποστρατεύσας ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτίωμενος, τοὺς δὲ σώσαθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὑπίσω ἀποκομίζομενον. 

28. Οὕτως δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεσίς κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἰωσί γίνεσθαι κακά. τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίᾳ τῶν νῆσῶν προέφερε, τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων ἡ Μιλήτους αὐτὴ τε ἐσωτήρ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὐ μιν Πάριοι κατηρτίσαν τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἐλλήνων εἴλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι. 

29. Κατηλλάξαν δὲ σφέας ὅδε Πάριοι. ὡς ἀπίκουντο αὐτῶν ἀνδρεῖς οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου, ὄρων γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορμένους, ἑφασαν αὐτῶν ἀναλιποῦνες διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώρην ποιεύμενες δὲ τάυτα καὶ διεξόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίαν, ὅκας τινὰ ἱδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστήκυθη τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρόν εὗ ἐξεργασμένου, ἀπεγραφοῦν τὸ οὖν τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἀγροῦ. διεξέλαγαν δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην καὶ σπανίους εὐροῦτες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἔστω, ἄληθεν ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν ἐυροῦ.
27. The Lemnians fought well and defended themselves, till at last they were brought to evil plight, and the Persians set a governor over those that were left of them, Lycareus the brother of Maeandrius who had been king of Samos. This Lycareus came to his end while ruling in Lemnos; this was because he strove to enslave and subdue all the people, accusing some of shunning service against the Scythians, and others of plundering Darius' army on its way back from Scythia.

28. All this Otanes achieved when he had been made governor. Thereafter, when there had been no long surcease of evils, trouble began to come on the Ionians from Naxos and Miletus once more. For Naxos surpassed all the other islands in prosperity, and at about the same time Miletus was then at the height of her fortunes, insomuch that she was the chief ornament of Ionia; but for two generations before this she had been very greatly troubled by faction, till the Parians made peace among them, being chosen out of all Greeks by the Milesians to be peace-makers.

29. The Parians reconciled them in this manner:—Their best men came to Miletus, and seeing the Milesian households sadly wasted, said that they desired to go about their country. Doing this, and visiting all the territory of Miletus, whenever they found any well-tilled farm in the desolation of the land, they wrote down the name of the owner of that farm. Then, having travelled over the whole country and found but few such men, no sooner had they returned to the city than they assembled the people and appointed as rulers of the state those
τους ἀγροὺς εὑ ἔξεργασμένους· δοκεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὗτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὡστερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλήσιους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθοσθαι.

30. Πάριοι μὲν νῦν Μιλήσιοι οὗτοι κατήρτισαν. τὸτε δὲ ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολίων ὁδὲ ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ. ἐκ Νάξου ἐφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκουσον ἐσ Μιλήτον. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεως, γαμβρὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ ἀνεφίς Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Δυσαγόρεως, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σοῦσοις κατείχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτων καὶ ἐτύγχανε τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σοῦσοις, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἠλθον ξείνοι πρὶν ἐόντες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. ἀπίκομενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου ἐδέουστο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεως, εῦ κως ἀυτοῖς παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθοις ες τὴν ἑωτῶν. ὃ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὥς ἦν δι' ἀυτοῦ κατελθώσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ξεινίην τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε. "Αὐτὸς μὲν ὕμιν οὐ φερέγγυς εἰμὶ δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὡστε κατάγειν ἀεκοτῶν τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντων Νάξιων· πυθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακυσχιλῆν ἄσπίδα Νάξιων εἶναι καὶ πλοία μακρὰ πολλὰ· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. ἐπινοεῖ τὴ τῆς Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἐὼν φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὑμῖν Ἰστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ Βασιλέως ἀδελφός, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλάσσιων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἄρχει πάντων, ἐξων στρατεύμα τε πολλήν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τούτου δὲν δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ποίησειν τῶν ἀν χρηίζωμεν." ταῦτα ἀκού-
BOOK V. • 29–30

whose lands they had found well tilled; for these (they said) were like to take as good care of public affairs as they had of their own; and they ordained that the rest of the Milesians who had been at feud should obey these men.

30. Thus the Parians made peace in Miletus. But now these cities began to bring trouble upon Ionia, and thus it befel:—Certain men of substance, being banished from Naxos by the commonalty, betook themselves to Miletus. Now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristagoras son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of that Histiaeus son of Lysagoras whom Darius kept with him at Susa; for Histiaeus was despot of Miletus, and was at Susa when the Naxians came; and they had been guests and friends of Histiaeus. The Naxians then on their coming to Miletus asked of Aristagoras if haply he could give them some power and so they might return to their own country. Considering that if by his means they were restored to their city he would be ruler of Naxos, and making a pretext of their friendship with Histiaeus, he made them this proposal: "For myself, it lies not in my rights to give you such a power as will restore you, against the will of the Naxians who hold your city; for I am assured that the Naxians have eight thousand men that bear shields, and many ships of war; but I will use all diligence to contrive the matter. And this is my plan. Artaphrenes is my friend; now know, that Artaphrenes is Hystaspes' son and brother to Darius the king; he is governor of all the seacoast peoples of Asia and has a great army and many ships; this man then will, I think, do whatever we
HERODOTUS

σαντες οἱ Νάξου προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη
πρήσσειν τῇ δύνατο ἀριστα, καὶ ὑπέσχεσθαι δώρα
ἐκέλευοι καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύ-
σοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχουσες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέσωσι
ἐς τὴν Νάξου, πάντα ποιήσεως τοὺς Νάξους τὰ ἀν
αὐτοὶ κελεύσσως, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας.
τῶν γὰρ νῆσων τούτων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμιᾶ
καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείω.

31. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις
λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρέενα ὅσι Νάξος εὑρ νῆσος
μεγάθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ
ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίας, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ
καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "σὺ ὄντι ταύτην τὴν χώρην
στρατηλάτεσσα, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐς
αὐτῆς. καὶ τοῖς ταύταις ποιήσαντι τούτῳ μὲν ἐστὶ
ἔτοιμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀνα-
καίον ἡμέας τοὺς ἀγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ. τούτῳ δὲ
νῆσους βασιλεὺς προσκτίθεσαι αὐτήν τε Νάξου καὶ
τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημένας, Πάρου καὶ Ἀνδρον καὶ
ἀλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. ἐνδεύτεν δὲ
ὁμώμενος εὐπτετέως ἐπιθήσεαι Εὐβοῖᾳ νῆσῳ με-
γάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ
κάρτα εὐπτετεί αἱρεθήναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἐκατὸν
νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι." ὃ δὲ ἀμεῖβετο
αὐτῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ.” "Σὺ ἐς οἶκον τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐξηγη-
τὶς γίνει πρεσβυμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὐ
παραίνεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεὼν τοῦ ἁρμοῦ-
ἀντὶ δὲ ἐκατὸν νεῶν διηκοσιαὶ τοῦ ἔτοιμοι ἔσονται
ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτους καὶ αὐτῶν βασιλεὰ
συνεπαινον γίνεσθαι.”

32. Ὁ μὲν δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἠκούσε,
desire.” Hearing this, the Naxians left the matter for Aristagoras to deal with as best he could, bidding him promise gifts and the costs of the army, for which they would themselves be chargeable; for they had great hope that when they should appear off Naxos the Naxians would obey all their commands, and that the rest of the islanders would do likewise. For as yet none of these Cyclades islands was subject to Darius.

31. Aristagoras came to Sardis and told Artaphernes that Naxos was indeed an island of no great size, but for the rest a fair and a good land and near to Ionia, with much wealth withal and many slaves therein. “Do you therefore send an armament against that country, bringing back the men who have been banished thence. And if you so do, I have a great sum at your service, over and above the costs of the armament; for it is but just that we, who bring you, should be chargeable for that; and further, you will win new dominions for the king, Naxos itself and the islands which are its dependants, Paros, Andros, and the rest of those that are called Cyclades. Making these your starting-point, you will easily attack Euboea, which is a great and a wealthy island, no smaller than Cyprus and very easy to take. An hundred ships suffice for the conquest of all these.” “This plan which you set forth,” Artaphernes answered, “is profitable for the king’s house, and all this your counsel is good, save as to the number of the ships; not one hundred but two hundred ships shall be ready for you when the spring comes. But the king too must himself consent to this.”

32. When Aristagoras heard that, he went away to
HERODOTUS

περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἀπῆμε ἐς Μιλήτου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρείως ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα οὐμιλον Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγῶν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδῶν, ἐως τοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Παυσανίτης ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθῆς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἡμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

33. Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατηγὴν καὶ τοὺς Νάξιον ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπὶ Ἔλλησπόντου, ἐπείτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ὡς ἱν αὐξακάσα, ὃς ἐνθεύτευν βορέη ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Νάξιον ἀπολέσθαι, ἐπὶ ὁμίας συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περιοίνως Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεῶς Μυκόνης ἐτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσων. δὲ δὲ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος εἰκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἑξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεῶς, τῷ οὖνομα ἤν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμίς διελόντας τῆς νεῶς κατὰ τούτο, ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεύεντας ἄσω δὲ τὸ σώμα. δεδέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἔξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεινὸν οἱ τῶν Μυκόν Μεγαβάτης δήσας λυμαίνοιτο. δὲ ἐλθὼν παραίτησε τὸν Πέρσην,
Miletus in great joy. Artaphrenes sent a messenger to Susa with the news of what Aristagoras said; and Darius himself too consenting to the plan, he equipped two hundred triremes and a very great company of Persians and their allies besides, and appointed for their general Megabates, a Persian of the Achaemenid family, cousin to himself and to Darius; this was he whose daughter (if indeed the tale be true) Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, son of Cleombrotus, at a later day betrothed to himself, being ambitious of the sovereignty of Hellas. Having appointed Megabates general, Artaphrenes sent his army away to Aristagoras.

33. Then Megabates brought Aristagoras from Miletus, and the Ionian army, and the Naxians, and pretended to make sail to the Hellespont; but when he came to Chios he put in with his ships at Caucasa, that he might cross with a north wind to Naxos. But, since it was not written that the Naxians were to be destroyed by this armament, this befel which I here relate. For when Megabates went his rounds among the ships' watches, it chanced that on a ship of Myndus there was no watch kept; whereat Megabates, being very angry, bade his guards find the captain of this ship (whose name was Scylax) and thrust him partly through an oar-hole of the ship and bind him there, in such fashion that his head was outside the ship and his body inside. So Scylax was bound; and one brought word to Aristagoras, that his Myndian friend was bound and despitefully entreated by Megabates. Aristagoras went then and pleaded with the Persian for Scylax, but ob-

1 Megabates' expedition was in 499.
2 Evidently a harbour on the S.W. coast of Chios.
HERODOTUS

ιυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη, ὃ δὲ εἰπε "Σοι δὲ καὶ τούτοις τοῖς πρήγμασι τί ἔστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἄν ἐγὼ κελεύως; τί πολλὰ πρήγματε;" ταῦτα εἰπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὃ δὲ θυμώθηκε πρότοις, ὦς νῦξ ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε ἐς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἀνδρὰς φρόσουτας τοῖς Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματα.

34. Οἱ γὰρ ὅπως Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκουσι ἐπὶ σφέας τῶν στόλων τοῦτον ὀρμήσθεθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔς τὸ τεῖχος, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σύντα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφὶ πολέμου. οἳ δὲ ἔπειτε δι-έβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιορκεύον μὴνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιορκεύον μὴνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιορκεύον μὴνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιορκεύον μὴνας τέσσερας.
tained nothing that he requested; whereupon he came and released the man himself. When Megabates learnt this, he was very angry, and was violent against Aristagoras. But Aristagoras said, "But you—what have you to do with these matters? Did not Artaphrenes send you to obey me and to sail whithersoever I bid you? Why are you so meddlesome?" So said Aristagoras; Megabates, enraged by this, sent men at nightfall in a boat to Naxos, to tell the Naxians of the trouble in store for them.

34. For the Naxians had no suspicion at all that it was they who were to be attacked by that armament. Howbeit, when they learnt the truth, straightway they brought within their walls all that was in their fields, and stored both meat and drink against a siege, and strengthened their walls. So they made all preparations to face the onset of war; and when their enemies had brought their ships over from Chios to Naxos, it was a city fortified that they attacked, and for four months they besieged it. Then, when the Persians had expended all the money with which they had come, and Aristagoras himself had spent much beside, and ever more was needful for the siege, they built a stronghold for the banished Naxians, and betook themselves to the mainland in very evil case.

35. Aristagoras had no way of fulfilling his promise to Artaphrenes; he was hard pressed by demands for the costs of the armament, and he feared what might come of the ill-success of the army and Megabates' displeasure against him; it was like, he thought, that his lordship of Miletus would be taken away from him. With all these fears in his mind, he began to plan revolt; for it chanced

Arist. plans a revolt
καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλῆς ἀπέχθαι ἐκ Ὁσύσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλεός. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἰχε ἀσφαλέως σημῆναι ὡστε φυλασσομενών τῶν ὄδων, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τῶν πιστῶτατων ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστιξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας, ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἔπεαν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ἤφησαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσῆμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρὸτερον μοι εἴρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατοχὴν τῆς ἐν Σούσοις ἀποστάσιος ὅν γινομένης πολλάς εἴχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερον τα ποιεύσης τῆς Μίλητον οὐδαμά ἐς αὐτὴν ἦξειν ἐτι ἐλογίζετο.

36. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διαινεύμενος ἀπέπεμπτο τῶν ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο δὲν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφίνας τὴν τε ἐωτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπήγαμεν. οἵ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τῶν ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι "Εκάταιος δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν ἄκε ἐν πόλεμον βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσέων ἀναρέσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἑθεα πάντα τῶν ἄρχων Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ ἄκε ἐπείδη, δεύτερα συνεβοῦλευν ποιεύειν ὅκως ναυκρατεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσωνται. ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἐφί λέγων ἐνοράν.
BOOK V. 35–36

that at that very time there came from Susa Histiaeus' messenger, the man with the marked head, signifying that Aristagoras should revolt from the king. For Histiaeus desired to signify to Aristagoras that he should revolt; and having no other safe way of so doing (for the roads were guarded) he shaved and pricked marks on the head of his trustiest slave, and waited till the hair grew again; as soon as it was grown, he sent the man to Miletus with no other message save that when he came to Miletus he must bid Aristagoras shave his hair and examine his head. The writing pricked thereon signified revolt, as I have already said. This Histiaeus did, because he sorely misliked his enforced sojourn at Susa; now he had a good hope that if there were a revolt he would be sent away to the sea-coast; but if Miletus remained at peace, he reckoned that he would return thither no more.

36. With this intent, then, Histiaeus sent his messenger, and it chanced that all these things came upon Aristagoras at one and the same time. He took counsel therefore with those of his faction, and declared his own opinion and what had come to him from Histiaeus. All the rest spoke their minds to the same effect, favouring revolt, save only Hecataeus the historian; he advised them that they would be best guided not to make war on the king of Persia, recounting to them the tale of the nations subject to Darius, and all his power. But when they would not be persuaded by him, he counselled them that their next best plan was to make themselves masters of the seas. This, said he in his
εσόμενον τούτον ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέαν· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταρεθεὶς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδησι, τὰ Κροίσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἄνεβηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσει τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω αὐτούς τε ἐξειν τοὺς χρήματι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὕς συλήσειν αὐτά· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωτοι μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔνικα ἡ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὁμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυσίνατα ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐδὲ ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέουσας στρατηγοὺς.

37. 'Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰηραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὁλίατον Ἰβανώλ-λιος Μυλασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαίον Τύμνων Τερμερέα καὶ Κῶνη Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω Κυρμαίον καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανείου ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκη, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετείς τήν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίησε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλησίοι συγαπισταίατο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τῶν τοῦτο ἐποίησε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνον τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δὲ ἐλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξου, τούτους δὲ φιλὰ βουλόμενος ποιεῖσθαι τῇς πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδίδοις, ὅθεν εἶν ἐκαστος.

38. Κῶνη μὲν υἱῷ Μυτιληναίοι ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρελαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυρμαίοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· δὲ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ
speech, he could see no way of accomplishing save one: Miletus, he knew, was a city of no great wealth; but if they took away from the temple at Branchidae the treasure which Croesus the Lydian had dedicated there, he had good hope that they would gain the mastery of the sea, and so they would have the use of that treasure and their enemies could not plunder it. The treasure was very great, as I have shown in the first book of my history. This counsel was not approved; nevertheless, they resolved that they would revolt, and that one of themselves should sail to Myus, to the army which had left Naxos and was there, and essay to seize the generals who were aboard the ships.

37. Iatragoras, being sent for this very purpose, craftily seized Oliatus of Mylasa son of Ibanollis, and Histiaeus of Termera son of Tymnes, and Coes son of Erxandrus,—to whom Darius gave Mytilene,—and Aristagoras of Cyme, son of Heraclides, and many others besides; which done, Aristagoras revolted openly, devising all he could to Darius’ hurt. And first he made a pretence of giving up his despotism and gave Miletus equality of government, that so the Milesians might readily join in his revolt; then he did likewise in the rest of Ionia; some of the despots he banished; as for those despots whom he had taken out of the ships that sailed with him against Naxos, he gave them over and delivered them each and all to their own cities severally, for he wished to please the cities.

38. So Coes, when the Mytilenaeans received him, was taken out by them and stoned; but the Cymaeans let their own man go, and so did most of the others.

1 Cp. I. 46.
πλεῦνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράννων μὲν νυν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνά τᾶς πόλιας, Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἕκαστους καταστῆσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Δακεδαίμονα τριήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο. ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίας τινὸς οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρέθηναι.

39. Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Δέοντος οὐκέτι περιεύθεν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης εἶχε τὴν βασιλικὴν, οὗ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδη γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφής ἐσώτερον τυγχάνει, καὶ ἐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίσθησαν, παίδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο. τοῦτο δὲ τοιούτου ἑόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἰπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν Ἓλθαν ὑπὲρ της νεκρῆς ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστι οὐ περιππέτευον, γένος τῷ Εὐρυσθέεος γενέσθαι ἐξῆλθον. σὺ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἕχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ οὐ πτικέτει, ἔξεος, ἀλλὰ σὺ γῆμον καὶ ποιεῖν ταύτα Σπαρτήτησι ἀδησεῖς." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο φας τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσῃς, ἐκείνους τὲ οὐ καλώς συμβουλεύειν παρακίνητος, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐουσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐσώτερον, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἀλλην ἔσαγα-γέσθαι οὐδὲ σφι πείσεσθαι.

40. Πρὸς ταύτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες Βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδη τάδε. "Εσπεῖ τούνα τοι περιεχομένων σε ὅρῳμεν τῆς ἕχεις γυναικός, σὺ δὲ ταύτα ποίεε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοις, ἵνα μὴ τί ἀλλοίον περὶ σεύ Σπαρτήται βουλεύσωνται γυναικός μὲν τῆς ἕχεις οὐ προσ-δεύμεθα σεύ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτη τε πάντα
Thus an end was made of despots in the cities. Aristagoras of Miletus, having made an end of the despots, bade all to set up governors in each city; and next he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon; for it was needful that he should find some strong ally.¹

39. At Sparta, Anaxandrides the son of Leon, who had been king, was now no longer alive but was dead, and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides held the royal power. This he had won not by manly merit but by right of birth. For Anaxandrides had to wife his own sister’s daughter, and he was well content with her; but no children were born to him. This being so, the Ephors called him to them, and said, “If you care not to provide for yourself, yet we cannot suffer it to come to pass that the house of Eurysthenes should perish. Do you therefore send away the wife that you have, seeing that she bears you no children, and wed another; this do, and you will please the Spartans.” But Anaxandrides answered and said that he would do neither the one nor the other: “And you,” said he, “are no good counsellors, when you bid me send away the wife that I have, who is void of offence against me, and take another to my house; I will not consent to it.”

40. Then the Ephors and Elders took counsel, and laid this proposal before Anaxandrides: “Seeing then that you cleave, as we see, to the wife that you have, do this our command, and stand not out against it, lest the Spartans find some new way of dealing with you. As for the wife that you have, we ask not that you should send her away; rather, give her

¹ Aristagoras went to Lacedaemon in 499.
ὁσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἀλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐσάγαγε γυναίκα τεκνοποιοῦν." ταύτα κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας, μετὰ δὲ γυναίκας ἔχων δύο διξᾶς ἰστίας οἴκεε, ποιεών οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιτηκόα.

41. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἢ ἔσυστε-ρου ἐπέλθοσα γυνῇ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τού-τον. καὶ αὐτὴ τε ἐπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιτῆςι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνῇ τὸν πρότερον χρό-νον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κως ἐκήνῃ, συντυχὴ ταύτῃ χρησαμένην. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄληθεί- λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπέλθουσας γυναίκας οἰκήου πυθο-μενοι ὠχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἀλλῳς βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιεώτων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνμοντος, ὑπ’ ἀπίστης- οἱ ἐφοροὶ τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζῆμους ἐφύλαξαν. ἦ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωρίεα ιθεώς ἵσχει Λεσώνὶδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ιθεῶς ἵσχει Κλεομ-βροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Λεσώνὶδην γενέσθαι. ἦ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνῇ, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὃς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριέας ἦν τῶν ἰλίκων πάντων πρώτος, εῦ τε ἐπίστατο κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίας αὐτὸς σχῆσιν τὴν βασιληίνην. ἔστε ὅν οὔτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξαγόρας ἀπ- έθανε καὶ οἱ Δακεδαλόμοι Χρεώμοι τὸν νόμον ἐστησαντο βασιλεὰ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωριέας δεινόν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἄξιων ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν
all that you give her now, and marry another woman besides who can give you children.” So they spoke, and Anaxandrides consented; and presently he had two wives and kept two households, a thing in nowise customary at Sparta.

41. After no long time the second wife gave birth to the Cleomenes afore-mentioned. So she gave the Spartans an heir to the royal power; and (as luck would have it) the first wife, having hitherto been barren, did at that very time conceive. She being verily with child, the friends of the later wife learnt of it and began to trouble her; for, they said, she was making a vain boast, that she might substitute a child; and as they were angry, and her time drew nigh, the Ephors would not believe her and sat round to watch her in childbirth; and she gave birth first to Dorieus, then straightway bore Leonidas, and straightway after him Cleombrotus; though some say that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. But the later wife, Cleomenes’ mother (she was the daughter of Prinetadas son of Demarmenus), bore no more children.

42. Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right senses, but crazy; but Dorieus was first among all of like age with himself; and he fully believed that he would be made king for his manly worth. Being thus minded, when at Anaxandrides’ death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and made Cleomenes king by right of age, Dorieus was very angry and would not brook to be subject to Cleomenes; and he asked the Spartans for a com-
Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὗτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἰντίνα γῆν κτίσων ἦν, οὗτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζόμενων· οὐ δὲ βαρέως φέρον, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δεὶ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἶκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμὸν. ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθευτεν τρίτῳ ἑτεὶ υπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

43. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνήρ Ἑλεώνος συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαϊοῦ χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείνη τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσεως, φασά τὴν Ἑρυκος χώρην πάσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησισμένον. δὲ ἀκούσας ταύτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχετο χρησάμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἱρεῖν ἐπὶ ἴνα ἑτεὶ τοῖς τις εὐλεκτείς. ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

44. Τῶν χρόνων δὲ τούτων, ὅς λέγονσι Συβαρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοῦς καὶ Τῆλου τῶν ἑωτυτῶν βασιλεᾶ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κροτονιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους δειθήναι Δωρίεις σφίξι τιμωρήσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δειθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαί τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωρία ἐρακλείν καὶ συνελείν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταύτα μὲν νῦν Συβαρίται λέγονσι ποιήσαι Δωρίεα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ, Κροτονιήται δὲ οὐδένα σφίξι φασὶ ξείνου προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίνθιος Ἡλείον καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοῦτο: παρὰ Τῆλου τοῦ Συβαρίτας τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι

---

1 In Boeotia, near Tanagra.
pany of folk, whom he took away as colonists; he neither enquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should plant his settlement, nor did aught else that was customary; but he set sail in great wrath for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. Thither he came, and settled by the Cinyps river, in the fairest part of Libya; but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae and Libyans and Carchedonians, and returned to Peloponnesus.

43. There Antichares, a man of Eleon, counselled him to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, according to the word of one of Laius' oracles; for Heracles himself (said Antichares) had won all the region of Eryx, and it belonged to his descendants. When Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to enquire of the oracle if he should win the place whither he was preparing to go; and the priestess telling him that so it should be, he took with him the company that he had led to Libya, and went to Italy.

44. Now at this time, as the Sybarites say, they and their king Telys were making ready to march against Croton, and the men of Croton, being greatly affrighted, entreated Dorieus to come to their aid; their request was granted; Dorieus marched with them to Sybaris and helped them to take it. Such is the story which the Sybarites tell of Dorieus and his companions; but the Crotoniats say that they were aided by no stranger in their war with Sybaris save only by Callias, an Elean diviner of the Iamid clan; of whom the story was that he had fled to Croton from Telys, the despot of Sybaris, because

2 The reference appears to be to a cult of the Phoenician Melkart (identified with Heracles) on Mt. Eryx.

3 About 510.
παρὰ σφέας, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ ἵπα ὀὗ προεχώρει χρηστὰ θυμένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτωι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἐκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύοντο τάδε, Συβαρῖται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τῶν ξηρῶν Κράθων, τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωρίεα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίη ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθή; τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωρίεος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιεόν ἀνεφάρη: εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπτηξε μηδὲν, ἐτ' ὁ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἰλὲ ἀν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χῶρην καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδὲ ἀν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατεύ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κροτωνιηταί ἀποδεικνύοι Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιητίδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐτ' ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίου ἀπόγονοι, Δωρίει δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωρίεος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδὲν. καὶ τοῖσι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαρίτικου πολέμου Δωρίεος, δοθήσεται ἄν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἡ Καλλίη. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισι τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τοῦτοισι προσχωρεῖν.

46. Συνέπλευσον δὲ Δωρίει καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτητέως, Θεσσαλός καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέως· οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκου καὶ Ἐγεστάϊων· μοῦνος δὲ Εὐρυλέως τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τοῦτοι τοῦ πάθεος. συλλαβαζόν δὲ οὕτως τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν περιγεμένους ἐπὶ χεὶς Μινώη τὴν Ἁλεοῦσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελειθέρου Ἁλεοῦσίοις τοῦ μονωμέχου Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὁ τοῦτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σέλινοντας.
when he was sacrificing for victory over Croton he could get no favourable omens.

45. This is their tale. Both cities bring proof of the truth of what they say: the Sybarites show a precinct and a temple beside the dry bed of the Crathis, which, they say, Dorieus founded in honour of Athene of Crathis, after he had helped to take their city; and moreover they find their strongest proof in his death, because he perished in the doing of more than the oracle bade him; for had he done that for which he set out and nought beyond it, he would have taken and held the Erycine region, and so neither he nor his army would have perished. But the Crotoniats on the other hand show many gifts of land in the country of Croton that were set apart for Callias of Elis (on which lands Callias' posterity dwelt even to my time), but no gift to Dorieus and his descendants. Yet (they plead) had Dorieus aided them in their war with Sybaris, he would have received a reward many times greater than what was given to Callias. These, then, are the proofs brought by each party; we may take whichever side seems to deserve most credence.

46. Other Spartans too sailed with Dorieus to found his colony, namely, Thessalus, Paraebates, Celees, and Euryleon. These, having come with all their company to Sicily, were overcome and slain in battle by the Phoenicians and Egestans,—all save Euryleon, who was the only settler that survived this disaster. He mustered the remnant of his army and took Minoa, the colony from Selinus, and aided in freeing the people of Selinus from their monarch Pithagoras. Having deposed this man he himself essayed to be despot of Selinus, and
καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γὰρ μὲν Σελευκοῦσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Δίδω ἀγοραίου βωμοῦ.

47. Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωρίει καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεως Κροτωνιήτης ἀνήρ, ὡς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλως τοῦ Συβαρίτεως θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κροτωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἷχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκητῇ τε τριήρει καὶ οἰκητῇ ἁνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἔοις τε ὸλυμπιούκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἐλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωτοῦ κάλλος ἴνεικατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτῶν ἱρώιον ἱδυσόμενοι θυσίησι αὐτῶν ἰλάσκονται.

48. Δωρίεις μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἴνειχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἄν Δακεδαίμονος· οὔ γὰρ τινα πολλὰν χρόνου ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἀπαίσι, θυγατέρα μούνην λιπῶν, τῇ οὖνομα ἣν Γοργώ.

49. Ἀπικνέεται δὲ δῶν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἔχουτος τὴν ἄρχην· τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦνε, ὡς Δακεδαίμονοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσις περίοδος ἐνετέρμητο καὶ θάλασσα τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἔς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. "Κλεομένες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰώνων πάθας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἀλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν, ἔτι
was monarch there, but for a little while only; for
the people of the place rose against him and slew
him at the altar of Zeus of the Market-place, whither
he had fled for refuge.

47. Another that followed Dorieus and was with
him slain was Philippus of Croton, son of Butacides;
he had betrothed himself to the daughter of Telys
of Sybaris and was banished from Croton; but being
disappointed of his marriage he sailed away to Cyrene,
whence he set forth and followed Dorieus, bringing
his own trireme and paying all charges for his men;
this Philippus was a victor at Olympia and the
goodliest Greek of his day. For the beauty of his
person he received honours from the Egestans
 accorded to none else: they built a hero’s shrine
by his grave, and offer him sacrifices of propitiation.

48. Such, then, was the manner of Dorieus’ death.
Had he endured Cleomenes’ rule and stayed at
Sparta, he would have been king of Lacedaemon;
for Cleomenes reigned no long time, and died leaving
no son but one only daughter, whose name was
Gorgo.

49. I return to my story. It was in the reign of
Cleomenes that Aristagoras the despot of Miletus
came to Sparta; and when he had audience of the
king (so the Lacedaemonians say) he brought with
him a bronze tablet on which the map of all
the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all
the rivers. Having been admitted to converse with
Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: “Wonder
not, Cleomenes, that I have been so zealous to come
hither; for such is our present state: that the sons of
the Ionians should be slaves and not free men is a
shame and grief to ourselves in especial, and of all


_HERODOTUS_

dὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 

νῦν ὁν πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ρύσασθε ᾿Ιωνας 

ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπτετέος δὲ 

ὑμῖν τάυτα οἶα τε χωρέειν ἔστι· οὖτε γὰρ οἱ 

βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσί, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον 

ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἄρετῆς πέρι, ἢ τε μάχη 

αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, τούτα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· 

ἀναξιρίδας δὲ ἔχουσι ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ 

κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. οὔτω εὐπτετέες 

χειρῳθήναι εἰσί· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄγαθὰ τοῦτο τὴν 

ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένους ὅσα οὐδὲ τούτοι συν-

ἀπασί ἀλλοιοι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένους, ἀργυρος 

καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγια τε 

καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμὸν βουλόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἄν 

ἔχουσιν. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἔχομενων ὁς ἐγὼ 

φράσω, ᾿Ιὼνων μὲν τῶν οἰδὲ Δυνοὶ, οἰκεούτες 

τε χώρην ἄγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρωτάτου ἐόντες.” 

δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, 

τὴν ἀφέρετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην. “Δυνοὶ 

dὲ” ἐφῃ λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης “οἱ ἔχονται 

Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡδῶ, πολυπροβατῶτατοί τε 

ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἴδα καὶ πολυκαρπότατοι. 

Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς 

Συρίους καλέομεν. τοῦτοι δὲ πρόσομοι Κίλκες, 

κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἡδῶ Κύπρος 

νήσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεί τον 

ἐπέτεεον φόρον ἐπιτελέωσι. Κίλκεων δὲ τῶν 

ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι οἴδα, καὶ οὗτοι ἐόντες πολυπρο-

βατοί, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματινωὺς χώρην τήνδε ἔχο-

ντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῇ ἦδε Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ ἀ 

παρὰ ποταμόν τῶν Ἑούσθη κείμενα ἐστὶ τὰ 

Σοῦσα τάυτα, ἐνθα βασιλεύει τε μέγας δίαιταν.
others to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, we beseech you by the gods of Hellas, save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery. This is a thing that you may easily achieve; for the strangers are no valiant men, and your valour in war is preëminent. And for their fashion of fighting, they carry bows and short spears; and they go to battle with breeches on their legs and turbans on their heads; so they are easy to overcome. Further, the dwellers in that continent have more good things than all other men together, gold first, and silver too and bronze and coloured raiment and beasts of burden and slaves; all this you can have at your heart's desire. And the lands wherein they dwell lie next to each other, as I shall show you:—here are the Ionians, and here the Lydians, who inhabit a good land and have great store of silver" (showing as he spoke the map of the earth which he had brought engraved on the tablet), "and next to the Lydians" (said Aristagoras in his speech) "you see the Phrygians, to the east, men that of all known to me are the richest in flocks and in the earth's produce. Close by them are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; and their neighbours are the Cilicians, whose land reaches to the sea yonder, wherein you see the island of Cyprus lying; the yearly tribute which they pay to the king is five hundred talents. Next to the Cilicians, here are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians the Matieni, whose country I show you; and you see the Cissian land adjoining theirs; therein, on the Choaspes (yonder it is), lies that Susa where lives the great king, and there are the storehouses of
Τὸν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσέλοντες δὲ ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ἦδη τῷ Δίῳ πλούτου περὶ ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἄρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν χρεῶν ἔστι ύμεας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐόντας ἰσοπάλεας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους, τούτοι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὔδεν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ των ἐνάγει προθυμία μαχόμενον ἀποθνῄσκειν παρέχου δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἀρχειν εὐπετέως, ἀλλο τι αἱρήσεθε; ὡς Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῦτο. "Ω ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαι τοῦ ἐστὶ τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινεσθαί."

50. Τὸτε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἠλάσαν ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἠλθοὺ ἐς τὸ συγκεῖμενον, εἴρετο δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὄκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ιωάννην ὀδὸν εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τὰλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὐ ἐν τούτω ἐσφάλη χρεῶν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν, βουλομένου γε Ἡπαρτιῆς ἐξαγαγείν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δὲ ὑν τριῶν μηνῶν φας εἶναι τὴν ἄνωθον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσα τὸν ἐπιλουτὸν λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὄρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ, εἴπε "Ω ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσει ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἥλιου ὡς εὔδενα γάρ λόγον εὐπέτεα λέγεις Δακεδαιμονίουσι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὀδὸν ἀγαγεῖν."

51. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης ταῦτα ἐπιταύτα ἦτε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἰκετηρίην ἦτε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐσώ ὑτε ἰκετεύων 54
his wealth; take that city, and then you need not fear to challenge Zeus for riches. What! you must needs then fight for straitened strips of land of no great worth—fight for that with Messenians, who are as strong as you, and Arcadians and Argives, men that have nought in the way of gold or silver, for which things many are spurred by zeal to fight and die: yet when you can readily be masters of all Asia, will you refuse to essay it?” Thus spoke Aristagoras. Cleomenes replied: “Milesian, my guest, wait till the third day for my answer.”

50. Thus far they advanced at that hearing. But when on the day appointed for the answer they came to the place whereon they had agreed, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days’ journey it was from the Ionian sea to the king. Till now, Aristagoras had been cunning and fooled the Spartan right well; but here he made a false step; for if he desired to bring the Spartans away into Asia he should never have told the truth; but he did tell it, and said that it was a three months’ journey inland. At that, Cleomenes cut short all the rest that Aristagoras began to tell him about the journey, and bade his Milesian guest depart from Sparta before sunset; for never (he said) would the Lacedaemonians listen to the plan, if Aristagoras desired to lead them a three months’ journey from the sea.

51. Having thus spoken Cleomenes went to his house; but Aristagoras took a suppliant’s garb and followed him thither, and entering in he used a
HERODOTUS

ἐπακούσα τε ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένην ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκες γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἤν Γοργῶ· τούτῳ δὲ οἱ καὶ μοῦνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐδώ ἐτέων ὡκτῶ ἡ ἐννέα ἡλικίας. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγεις μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισκεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἶνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἢ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑποχεόμενος, ἣν οἱ ἐπιτελέσθη τῶν ἑδέστο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους προέβαινε τοῖς χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὐ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἑυδάξατο "Πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἢν μὴ ἁποστάσ θῇς." ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἡσθείς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραίνεσί ἤμε ἐς ἑτερον οίκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὑπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἐτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

52. Ἕξει γὰρ ἄμφι τῇ ὀδῷ ταύτῃ ὁδὲ· σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῆ εἰσὶ βασιλῆικι καὶ κατάλυσις κάλλισται, διὰ οἴκεομένης τε ἡ ὀδὸς ἁπάσα καὶ ἁσφαλέος. διὰ μέν γε Λυσίς καὶ Φρυγίς σταθμοὶ τείνουτες εἰκοσιείσι, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἡμισι, ἐκδεκατεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίς ἃ "Αλυσ ποταμός, ὅπ' ὁ πῦλαι τε ἐπεισὶ, τὰς δεξελάσαι πάσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὔτω διεκπέραν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυνῶν δέοντες εἰσὶ τρίηκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐκατῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ποταμοῖς οὐροισι διξάς τε πῦλας δεξέλας καὶ διξὰ φυλα-
suppliant's right to beseech Cleomenes to hear him, but first send the child away; for Cleomenes' daughter, whose name was Gorgo, was standing by him; she was his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes bade him say what he would and not let the child's presence hinder him. Then Aristagoras began to promise Cleomenes from ten talents upwards, if he would grant his request. Cleomenes refusing, Aristagoras offered him ever more and yet more, till when he promised fifty talents the child cried out, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you leave him and go away." Cleomenes was pleased with the child's counsel and went into another room; and Aristagoras departed clean out of Sparta, and could find no occasion for telling further of the journey inland to the king's place.

52. Now the nature of this road is as I shall show. All along it are the king's stages and exceeding good hostelries, and the whole of it passes through country that is inhabited and safe. Its course through Lydia and Phrygia is of the length of twenty stages, and ninety-four and a half parasangs. Next after Phrygia it comes to the river Halys, where there is a defile, which must be passed ere the river can be crossed, and a great fortress to guard it. After the passage into Cappadocia the road in that land as far as the borders of Cilicia is of twenty-eight stages and an hundred and four parasangs. On this frontier you must ride through two defiles and pass two fortresses;

1 "The royal road from Sardis to Susa is far older than the Persian empire," say Messrs. How and Wells. Evidence points to the existence of a Hittite capital in Cappadocia, to connect which with Sardis on the one hand and Assyria on the other was the purpose of the road.
κτήρια παραμείηευα. ταύτα δέ διεξελάσαντι καὶ
diὰ τῆς Κιλικίας ὀδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσὶ
σταθμοῖ, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἤμισυ.
οὗρας δὲ Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ ποταμός
νησιτέρητος, τῶν οὖνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ
Ἀρμενίᾳ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντε-
καίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἐξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἡμισὺ, καὶ φυλακτήριον εἰν αὐτοίσι. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματινίνην γῆν
σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι
δὲ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν. ποταμοὶ δὲ
νησιτέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ἰέουσι, τοὺς
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορμένουσαι ἐστί, πρῶτος μὲν
Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ώντος
νουμαξόμενος, οὐκ ὤντος ἐών ποταμός οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἰέων· ο μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν κατα-
λεχθείς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἰέει, ὁ δὲ ἰστεροῦ ἐκ Ματιν-
ίνων· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἑχει
Γύνης, τὸν Κύρος διελάβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας
ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσιας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν
Κισσίνην χώρην μεταβαίνοντι ἐνδέκα σταθμοὶ,
παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἤμισὺ
ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χούσην, ἐοντα καὶ τούτων
νησιτερήτοιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται.

53. Οὔτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ ἐσίν ἑνδέκα καὶ
ἐκατόν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν τοσάττα
εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. εἰ δὲ
ὁρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλῆς τοῖσι παρα-
σάγγησι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγησι δύναται τριήκοντα
στάδια, ὃσπερ οὕτως ὑπὸ δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρ-
δίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλῆς τὰ Μεμόνια
καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια,
ride past these, and you will have a journey through Cilicia of three stages and fifteen and a half parasangs. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river whereof the name is Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen resting-stages, and fifty-six parasangs and a half, and there is a fortress there. From Armenia the road enters the Matienian land, wherein are thirty-four stages, and an hundred and thirty-seven parasangs. Through this land flow four navigable rivers, that must needs be passed by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and a third of the same name, yet not the same stream nor flowing from the same source; for the first-mentioned of them flows from the Armenians and the second from the Matieni; and the fourth river is called Gyndes, that Gyndes which Cyrus parted once into three hundred and sixty channels.\(^1\) When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs, as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, whereon stands the city of Susa.

53. Thus the whole tale of stages is an hundred and eleven. So many resting-stages then there are in the going up from Sardis to Susa. If I have rightly numbered the parasangs of the royal road, and the parasang is of thirty furlongs' length (which assuredly it is), then between Sardis and the king's abode called Memnonian\(^2\) there are thirteen thousand and five hundred furlongs, the number of

---

1 Cp. I. 189.

2 Memnon was the legendary king of the "eastern Ethiopians," or Assyrians. When tradition began to place the Homeric Ethiopians in Libya, Memnon, the Ethiopian king, came to be associated with Thebes in Egypt.
HERODOTUS

παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων. πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἕκατον στάδια ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστῃ διεξεῖσθαι ἄναισιμοῦνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐνενήκοντα.

54. Οὔτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρη εἴπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον εἰναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἀνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα δρὸς εἰρητο. εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἐτι δίξηται, ἔγω καὶ τούτο σημανέω. τὴν γὰρ ἐξ 'Εφέσου ἐς Σάρδις ὅδον δεὶ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτῃ. καὶ δὴ λέγω στάδιον εἰναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (ποτὸ γὰρ Μεμνόνεον ἀστυ καλέσαι) τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων καὶ μυρίων. οἱ γὰρ ἐξ 'Εφέσου ἐς Σάρδις εἰσὶ τεσσάρακοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ οὔτω τρισὶ ἡμέρῃς μηκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδὸς.

55. Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἦκε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς γενομένας τυράννων ὡδὲ ἐλευθέρας. ἐπεὶ "Ἰππάρχοι τὸν Πεισίστρατον, Ἰππίσεω δὲ τὸν τυράννου ἀδελφεῖον, ἴδοντα ὅφιν ἐνυπνίον τῷ ἐσωτηρὶ ὑποτεθεῖται ἑναργεστάτης κτείνονσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ ἐτεαί τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἡσύχον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸ τοῦ.

56. Ἡ μὲν νῦν ὄψιν τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἦδε. ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππάρχος ἀνδραίοι ὡς ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἐπεα.

τιθεὶ λέων ἀτλητα παθῶν τετληστὶ θυμῷ. οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἄδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.
parasangs being four hundred and fifty; and if each day's journey be an hundred and fifty furlongs, then the sum of days spent is ninety, neither more nor less.

54. Thus Aristagoras of Miletus spoke the truth to Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian when he said that the journey inland was three months long. But if any desire a measurement yet exacter, I will give him that too; for the journey from Ephesus to Sardis must be added to the rest. So then I declare that from the Greek sea to Susa (for that is the city called Memnonian) it is a journey of fourteen thousand and forty stages; for there are five hundred and forty furlongs from Ephesus to Sardis, and thus the three months' journey is made longer by three days.

55. Being compelled to leave Sparta, Aristagoras went to Athens; which had been freed from its ruling despots in the manner that I shall show. When Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias the despot, had been slain (after seeing in a dream a very clear picture of the evil that befel him) by Aristogiton and Harmodius, men of Gephyraean descent, after this the Athenians were subject for four years to a despotism not less but even more absolute than before.

56. Now this was the vision which Hipparchus saw in a dream: in the night before the Panathenaea he thought that a tall and goodly man stood over him uttering these riddling verses:

Bear an unbearable lot; O lion, be strong for the bearing:
No man on earth doth wrong but at last shall suffer requital.
Hipparchus was killed in 513.

2 Gephyra (= bridge or dam) was another name for
As soon as it was day, he imparted this (as was seen) to the interpreters of dreams; and presently putting the vision from his mind, he led the procession in which he met his death.¹

57. Now the Gephyraean clan, of which were the slayers of Hipparchus, is said by themselves to have come at first from Eretria; but my own enquiry shows that they were some of the Phoenicians² who came with Cadmus to the country now called Boeotia, and in that country the lands of Tanagra were allotted to them, where they settled. The Cadmeans having been first expelled thence by the Argives,³ these Gephyraeans were in turn expelled by the Boeotians and betook themselves to Athens. The Athenians received them as citizens of their own on set terms, debarring them from many practices not here deserving mention.

58. These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus (of whom the Gephyraeans were a part) at their settlement in this country, among many other kinds of learning, brought into Hellas the alphabet, which had hitherto been unknown, as I think, to the Greeks; and presently as time went on the sound and the form of the letters were changed. At this time the Greeks that dwelt round them for the most part were Ionians; who, having been taught the letters by the Phoenicians, used them with some few changes of form, and in so doing gave to these characters (as indeed was but just, seeing that the Tanagra; perhaps Herodotus' theory of an oriental origin is based on the fact that there was a place called Gephyrae in Syria. ⁸ This happened sixty years after the fall of Troy, according to Thucydides.
HERODOTUS

díkaiou évêre, ἑσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήμα κεκληθαι. καὶ τὰς βυζλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἔωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν στάνι βυζλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγήσι τε καὶ οἰέσιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

59. Εἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμῆα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃ τῇ Βοιωτῷ, ἐπὶ τρίτοις τισὶ εὐγεκολμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοια ἐόντα τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπιγραμμα ἔχει Ἀμφιτρύων μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν.1 

ταῦτα ἡλικίαν εἶ ἂν κατὰ Λάιον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

60. "Ἐτερος δὲ τρίτοις ἐν εξαμέτρῳ τόνω λέγει

Σκαῖος πυγμαχῶν με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἀγαλμα.

Σκαῖος δ᾽ ἂν εἴη ὁ Ἰπποκάωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτος γε ἔστι ὁ ἀνάθεις καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶν ὁμοίων ἐξων τῷ Ἰπποκάωντος, ἡλικίαν κατὰ Οἰδίπον τὸν Λαίον.

61. Τρίτος δὲ τρίτοις λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν εξαμέτρῳ

Λαοδάμας τριποδί αὐτὸς ἐνσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι μονοαρχεῶν ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἀγαλμα.

1 ἀνέθηκεν ἐδῶν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν (the MS. reading) is neither good Greek nor consistent with the legend of Amphitryon’s vengeance on his enemies, the Teleboae of Acarnania. I suggest ἐνάρων, which makes good sense; or Meineke’s ἔλατο would do.
Phoenicians had brought them into Hellas) the name of Phoenician. Thus also the Ionians have from ancient times called papyrus-sheets skins, because formerly for lack of papyrus they used the skins of sheep and goats; and even to this day there are many foreigners who write on such skins.

59. I have myself seen Cadmean characters in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes of Boeotia, graven on certain tripods and for the most part like Ionian letters. On one of the tripods there is this inscription:

I am Amphitryon's gift, from spoils Teleboan fashioned.

This would be of the time of Laïus, the son of Labdacus, who was the son of Polydorus, who was the son of Cadmus.

60. A second tripod says, in hexameter verse:

I am a gift that is given by Scaeus, the conquering boxer,

Archer Apollo, to thee for thy temple's beauteous adornment.

Scaeus the son of Hippocoon, if indeed the dedicator be he and not another of the same name as Hippocoon's son, would be of the time of Oedipus son of Laïus.

61. The third tripod says, in hexameter verse again:

I am the tripod that erst Laodamas, sovereign ruler,

Gave to far-seeing Apollo, his temple's beauteous adornment.

1 Whether Herodotus' theory of derivation be right or not, there is certainly a similarity in the form and order of early Greek and Phoenician letters.
HERODOTUS

ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Δαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων καὶ τράπονται ὡς τοὺς Ἐγχελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὑστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρεούσι ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ σφί ἱρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθηναίαι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὕδεν μέτα τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαῖς Δήμητρος ἱρὸν τε καὶ ὅργια.

62. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὡς τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίοι καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὁθεν ἐγεγονέσαι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φοινές, ἀπήγηται μοι. δεὶ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτὶ ἀναλαβέιν τὸν κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἡμαί λέξων λόγον, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναίοι. Ἰππίεστω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραίνομένου Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναίοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεύθεσε σφὶ ἄμα τοῖς ἀλλοίσι Ἀθηναίῶν φυγᾶσι πειρωμένοι κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιοι μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθερὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Δειψύδρου τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίς τειχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πάν ἐπὶ τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδης μηχανόμενοι παρ᾽ Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νῦν μισθοῦντι καὶ ἔν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, τὸν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ οὐκώ, τούτοις ἐξοικοδομήσαι. οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὐ ἱκουτες καὶ ἑόντες ἀνδρὲς δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἐτί, τὸν τέ νῦν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφὶ πωρίνου λίθου ποιεῖν τῶν νῦν, Παρίον τὰ ἐμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

63. Ὡς δὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντι, οὖν οἱ
BOOK V. 61-63

In the sovereignty of this Laodamas son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives and betook themselves to the Encheleis. The Gephyraeans were left behind, but were later compelled by the Boeotians to withdraw to Athens; and they have certain set forms of worship at Athens, wherein the rest of the Athenians have no part; these, and in especial the rites and mysteries of Achaean Demeter, are different from the other worships.

62. I have shown what was the vision of Hipparchus' dream, and what the first origin of the Gephyraeans, of whom were the slayers of Hipparchus; now I must go further and return to the story which I began to tell, namely, how the Athenians were freed from their despots. Hippias being their despot and growing ever bitterer in enmity against the Athenians by reason of Hipparchus' death, the Alcmeonidae, a family of Athenian stock banished by the sons of Pisistratus, essayed with the rest of the banished Athenians to make their way back by force and free Athens, but could not prosper in their return and rather suffered great hurt. They had fortified Lipsydrium north of Paeonia; then, in their desire to use all devices against the sons of Pisistratus, they hired themselves to the Amphictyons for the building of the temple at Delphi which now is but then as yet was not there. Being wealthy and like their fathers men of reputation, they wrought the temple into a fairer form than the model shown; in particular, whereas they had agreed to build the temple of tufa, they made its front of Parian marble.

63. These men then, as the Athenians say, sat
ἀνδρεὶς ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίνην χρήμασι, ὡς ἐλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνδρεὶς εἶτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἶτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρευν σφί τας Ἀθηνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς σφί αἰεὶ τῶντο πρόφαντον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχυμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶτα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηναῖων ὃμως καὶ εἰνῖν σφί ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. ὃ μὲν δὴ προσσχῶν ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατικὴν ἀπέβησε, οὐ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπικαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην ἐπιστοίητο γὰρ σφὶ συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφὶ δεομένοις ἀπέπεμψαν κοινὴ γρώμη χρεώμενοι χιλίῳ τε ἱππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ σφέτερον Κινένην ἀνδρα Κοιναίοι τοὺς ἐπείτε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμπεπάνων τοῖς ἐκείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πέδλον καὶ ἰππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τούτον τὸν γόρον ἐπὶ κακὸ καὶ τὸ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἱππον ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διεφθειρε ἀλλοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Δακεδαμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀγχυμολίων τοὺς ἐπὶ περιγεγομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατείρξαν. ὃ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Δακεδαμονίων οὐτω ἀπειλάξε, καὶ Ἀγχυμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαί τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκήσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.
them down at Delphi and bribed the Pythian priestess, whenever any Spartans should come to enquire of her on a private or a public account, to bid them set Athens free. Then the Lacedaemonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratus with an army, albeit the Pisistratids were their close friends; for the gods' will weighed with them more than the will of man. They sent these men by sea on shipboard. So Anchimolius put in at Phalerum and there disembarked his army; but the sons of Pisistratus had got word of the plan already, and sent to ask help from Thessaly, wherewith they had an alliance. The Thessalians at their entreaty joined together and sent their own king, Cineas of Conium, with a thousand horsemen. When the Pisistratids got these allies, they devised a plan whereby they laid the plain of Phalerum waste, so that all that land could be ridden over, and then launched their cavalry against the enemy's army; the horsemen charged and slew Anchimolius and many more of the Lacedaemonians, and drove those that survived to their ships. Thus faring, the first Lacedaemonian armament drew off; and Anchimolius' tomb is at Alopecae in Attica, near to the Heracleum in Cynosarges.1

64. After this the Lacedaemonians sent out a greater army to attack Athens, appointing as its general their king Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides;

1 The sites of Alopecae and Cynosarges are doubtful; recent research places them (but with no certainty) south of the Ilissus towards Phalerum. See How and Wells ad loc.
λαυτες ἄλλα κατ’ ἥπειρον: τοῖσι εσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἱππος πρώτῃ προσέμετε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν ἔτραπτετο, καὶ σφεων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἰχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπίκομενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένους ἔλαι ν ἔλευθεροι ἐπολιόρκεσκε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχει.

65. Καὶ οὐδὲν τι πάντως ἃν εξεῖλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενδύουσιν ποιήσασθαι, οὐ τε Πεισιστρατίδας στείροι καὶ ποτοῦσι εὐ παρεσκευάδιο, πολιορκήσαντες τε ἀν ἡμέρας ὀλλογκά ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχίᾳ τοῖσι μὲν κακῇ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ ἁυτὴ σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἐξώ τῆς χώρης οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατίδεων ἠλώσαν. τούτῳ δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετεύρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισιν, ἐπ’ οἷς ἔβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡσε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃς ἐκχυρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ εξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἀρραίνοις μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ’ ἔτεα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλαιοι τε καὶ Νηλείδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπήλυσαν ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖες. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὖν αὐτῶν ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἡπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι τὸν Πεισιστράτον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
BOOK V. 64-65

this army they sent no longer by sea but by land. When they broke into Attica the Thessalian horse was the first to meet them, and was presently routed and more than forty men were slain; those that were left alive made off for Thessaly by the nearest way they could. Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians that desired freedom came before the city, drove the despots' family within the Pelasgic wall¹ and there beleaguered them.

65. And assuredly the Lacedaemonians would never have taken the Pisistratid stronghold; for they had no mind to blockade it, and the Pisistratids were well furnished with food and drink; and the Lacedaemonians would but have besieged the place for a few days and then returned back to Sparta. But as it was, there befel a turn of fortune that harmed the one party and helped the other; for the sons of the Pisistratid family were taken as they were being privily carried out of the country. This made all their plans to be confounded; and they submitted to depart out of Attica within five days on the terms prescribed to them by the Athenians, in return for the recovery of their children. Presently they departed to Sigeum on the Scamander. They had ruled the Athenians for six-and-thirty years;² they too were in lineage of the house of Pylos and Neleus, born of the same ancestors as the families of Codrus and Melanthus, who had formerly come from foreign parts to be kings of Athens. Hence it was that Hippocrates gave his son for a remembrance the name Pisistratus, calling him after Pisistratus the son of Nestor.

¹ An ancient fortification on the N.W. slope of the Acropolis.
² From 545 to 509.
HERODOTUS

66. Αθήναι, ἐούσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες; ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ δυὸ ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἄνηρ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, ὃς περ ἡ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου οἰκίας μὲν ἑὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ὦν ἐχὼ φράσαι. θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὸ Καρίω. οὕτωι οἱ ἄνδρες ἑστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμεος, ἑσσομενοὶ δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δήμον προστατίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τεταράφους ἑόντας Αθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παῖδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ὄργαδεω καὶ Ὅπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρών δὲ ἐτέρων ἕρων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Αἰαντος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ἕξιδον ἑόντα, προσέβετο.

67. Ταύτα δὲ, δοκείειν ἐμοὶ, ἐμμεῖετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὕτως τὸν ἑωτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθένεα τὸν Σικυόνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείου πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψῳδοὺς ἐπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶν ἄγωνιζον τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἔπειν εἰνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργείοι τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέαται· τοῦτο δὲ, ἥρωιοι γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου

1 For a comprehension of the reform briefly recorded by Herodotus, readers are referred to Grote, ch. xxxi.
Thus the Athenians got quit of their despots; and all the noteworthy things that they did or endured, after they were freed and before Ionia revolted from Darius and Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens to ask help of its people—these first I will now declare.

66. Athens, which had before been great, grew now yet greater when rid of her despots; and those that were of chief power there were two, Cleisthenes an Alcmaeonid (it is he who is reputed to have over-persuaded the Pythian priestess), and Isagoras son of Tisandrus, a man of a notable house, but of what lineage I cannot tell; his kinsfolk sacrifice to Zeus of Caria. These men with their factions fell to contending for power, wherein Cleisthenes being worsted took the commonalty into partnership. Presently he divided the Athenians into ten tribes, instead of four as formerly; he called none any more after the names of the sons of Ion, Geleon, Aegicores, Argades, and Hoples, but invented for them names taken from other heroes, all native to the country save only Aias; him he added, albeit a stranger, because he was a neighbour and an ally.

67. Now herein, to my thinking, this Cleisthenes was imitating his own mother’s father, Cleisthenes the despot of Sicyon. For Cleisthenes, after going to war with the Argives, made an end of minstrels’ contests at Sicyon by reason of the Homeric poems, because wellnigh everywhere in these it is Argives and Argos that are the theme of song; furthermore, he conceived the desire to cast out from the land (as being an Argive) Adrastus son of

---

2 Cleisthenes ruled at Sicyon from 600 to 570.
τοῦ Ταλαιοῦ, τούτων ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἕωντα Ἀργεῖον ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστοῦ. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φάσα ᾧ Ἀδρηστοῦ μὲν εἶναι Σικυώνιων βασιλέα, κεῖνον δὲ λευστῆρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὁπίσω ἐφροντίζει μηχανήν τῇ αὐτῶς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἔξευρήσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θῆβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἐφθέγγεο εὐαγγείλωσθαι Μελανίστευπον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θῆβαιοι ἐδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελανίστευπον τέμενος ὁ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ προταπαθῷ καὶ μιν άδρυσε ἐναυτὰ ἐν τῷ ἱσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελανίστευπον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δὲν ἀπηγγέσθαι) ὡς ἔχθεστον ἕωντα Ἀδρήστω. ὅς τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίαις τε καὶ ὅρτας Ἀδρήστον ἀπελόμενος ἐδώκε τῷ Μελανίστευπῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐδοθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμῶν τὸν Ἀδρηστοῦ. ὃ γὰρ χώρη ἦν αὐτὴ Πολύβου, οὐ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ήν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος, ἀπαυς δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοὶ Ἀδρηστῷ τὴν ἁρχήν. τά τε ἂν αὐτὰ οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ ὃ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῦσι χοροῦσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διώνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροῦσι μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίαν Μελανίστευπῳ.

68. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπετυγχά, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ὅν δὲ μὴ αὐτὰ ἐξωσι τοῦτο Σικυώνιοι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργεῖοι, μετέβαλε.
BOOK V. 67-68

Talaus, the hero whose shrine stood then as now in the very market-place of Sicyon. He went then to Delphi, and enquired of the oracle if he should cast Adrastus out; but the priestess in answer said: "Adrastus is king of Sicyon, and thou but a common slayer." When the god would not suffer him to work his will in that, he returned back and strove to devise some plan which might rid him of Adrastus; and when he thought he had found one, he sent to Thebes of Boeotia and said he would fain bring into his country Melanippus son of Astacus; whom when the Thebans gave him he brought to Sicyon, and gave him a precinct in the very town-hall of the city, setting him there in its strongest place. Now the reason why Cleisthenes thus brought Melanippus (for this too I must relate) was, that Melanippus was Adrastus' deadliest foe; for Adrastus had slain his brother Mecisteus and his son-in-law Tydeus. Having then appointed the precinct for him, Cleisthenes took away all Adrastus' sacrifices and festivals and gave them to Melanippus. The Sicyonians had been wont to pay very great honour to Adrastus; for Polybus had been lord of that land, and Adrastus was the son of Polybus' daughter; and Polybus, dying without a son, gave the lordship to Adrastus. Now besides other honours paid to Adrastus by the Sicyonians, they celebrated his lamentable fate with tragic choruses, not in honour of Dionysus but of Adrastus. But Cleisthenes gave the choruses back to Dionysus and the rest of the worship to Melanippus.

68. Such had been his treatment of Adrastus; but as to the tribes of the Doriants, he changed their names, that so these tribes should not be common
HERODOTOUS

ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἐνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ύστερ τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθέστε αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐνυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτη δὲ τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνυτοῦ ἁρχῆς ἐθέτο. οὖτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαιοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἐτεροὶ δὲ Ἄνατω, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὄνεᾶται, ἐτεροὶ δὲ Χοιρεῖαται. τοῦτοις τοῖς οὐνόμαις τῶν φυλῶν ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἁρχοῖτος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεώτος ἐτὶ ἐτε ἐτεα ἐξήκοντα· μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς 'Τλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖς προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδριστοῦ παιδὸς Αγιαλέος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεύμενοι κεκληθθαί Αγιαλέας.

69. Γαρ νῦν ὁ Σικυωνίους Κλεισθένης ἐπετεικήκει· ὃ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναίος Κλεισθένης ἐν τοῖς Σικυωνίου τούτου θυγατριδέοις καὶ τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκεῖς ἐμοὶ καὶ οὕτως ὑπεριδόν Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἐσοι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσὶ, τὸν ὀμόνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμμῆσατο. ὡσ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίον δήμου πρῶτον ἀπωσμένου τότε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐνυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεύνας ἐκ ἐλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ δικάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσάρων ἐποίησε, δέκαχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένευμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς· ἦν τε τὸν δῆμου προσθέμενοι πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

70. Ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε· ἐπικαλεῖται Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἐνυτοῦ ξείνου ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίας· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα

1 Busolt's suggestion: δέκα Stein, after the MS.
to Sicyonians and Argives. In this especially he made a laughing-stock of the Sicyonians; for he named the tribes instead after swine and asses, adding the former ending of the titles, save only for his own tribe; to this he gave a name signifying his own lordship, and calling its folk People-rulers; the rest were Swinites and Assites and Porkites. These were the names of the tribes which the Sicyonians used under Cleisthenes' rule and for sixty years more after his death; but afterwards they took counsel together and changed the names of three to Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanatae, adding thereto a fourth which they made to be called Aegialeis after Aegialeus son of Adrastus.

69. Thus had the Sicyonian Cleisthenes done; and the Athenian Cleisthenes, who was the son of that Sicyonian's daughter and bore his name, did to my thinking imitate his namesake because he contemned the Ionians with his grandsire's contempt and desired that the tribes should not be common to his own people and the Ionians. For having drawn to his own party the Athenian commonalty, which was then debarred from all rights, he gave the tribes new names and increased their number, making ten tribe-wardens in place of four, and assigning ten districts to each tribe; and having won over the commonalty he was stronger by far than the rival faction.

70. Then Isagoras, being on the losing side in his turn, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratids; nay, it was laid to
The naucraries were local districts whose presidents were responsible for levying money and contingents for the army and ships for the fleet” (How and Wells). But the statement that they “ruled Athens” appears to be inaccurate.
Cleomenes' charge that he resorted to Isagoras' wife. Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them; and this he said in his message by Isagoras' instruction; for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held guilty of that bloody deed, but Isagoras and his friends had no part therein.

71. Now the Accursed at Athens got their name on this wise. There was an Athenian named Cylon, that had been a winner at Olympia. This man put on the brave air of one that aimed at despotism; and gathering a company of men of like age he essayed to seize the citadel; but when he could not win it he took sanctuary by the goddess' statue. Then he and his men were brought away by the presidents of the naval boards (who then ruled Athens), being held liable to any penalty save death; but they were slain, and the slaying of them was laid to the door of the Alcmeonidae. All this befel before the time of Pisistratus.

72. Cleomenes then having sent and demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the Accursed, Cleisthenes himself privily departed; but none the less did Cleomenes presently appear before Athens, with no great force; and having come he banished seven hundred Athenian households named for him by Isagoras, to take away the curse. Having so done he next essayed to dissolve the Council, entrusting the offices of governance to Isagoras' faction. But the Council resisted him and would

---

3 The probable date is between 620 and 600.
3 Herodotus probably means the new Council of 500, fifty from each tribe.
HERODOTUS

βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὁ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασίωται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεσαν αὐτοὺς ἢ μέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπουδοι ἔξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὦσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Δακεδαμώνιοι. ἔπετελέστο δὲ τῷ Κλεομενεὶ ἡ φίλη. ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐστὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτήν κατασχῆσεν, ἢ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέφω· ἢ δὲ ἵρει ἐξαναστάσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἡ τὰς θύρας αὐτόν ἀμείψαι, εἰπε ὁ Ἡμίχων Δακεδαμώνιος, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσθη ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν· ὥσ γὰρ θεμιτῶν Δωριεύσι παρέναι ἐνθαῦτα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε ὁ Ἡμίχων, ἀλλ' ἢ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἱαχαὶς." ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληθῷν οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησε τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέσπη τε μετὰ τῶν Δακεδαμώνιων· τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοὺς Ἀθηναίοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ Τιμησίθεου τὸν Δελφὸν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ' ἀν μέγιστα καταλέξαι.

73. Οὕτωι μὲν ὅπως δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ μετὰ ταύτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστα τα διωχθέντα ὕπο Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ὡς Σάρδις, συμμαχίνην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἠπιστέατο γὰρ σφίζει Δακεδαμώνιος τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ο Ἑστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώσα τίνες ἐόντες ἀνθρωποι καὶ κοῦ

1 MS. σφίζει πρὸς Δακεδαμώνιος; Stein brackets πρὸς, which is better omitted.
BOOK V. 72-73

not consent; whereupon Cleomenes and Isagoras and his partisans seized the acropolis. The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them for two days; and on the third they departed out of the country under treaty, as many of them as were Lacedaemonians. Thus the prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard had its fulfilment; for when he went up to the acropolis with intent to take possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her; but the priestess rose up from her seat, and said, before he had passed through the doorway: "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and enter not into the holy place; for it is not lawful that Dorians should pass in here." "Nay, lady," he answered, "no Dorian am I, but an Achaean." So he took no heed to the word of omen, but essayed to work his will, and was, as I have said, then again cast out, with his Lacedaemonians. As for the rest, the Athenians put them in ward under sentence of death, Timestheus the Delphian among them, whose achievements of strength and courage were most mighty, as I could relate.

73. So these were bound and put to death. After that, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes; then they despatched envoys to Sardis, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians; for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, "What men are you, and where
γῆς οίκημένοι δεοίατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενεσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοὺσι βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ 'Αθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, δὲ συμμαχίη σφι συνετιθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοὺσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ ἀγγελοὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἐφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιῆσασθαι. οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐωτῆς αἴτιας μεγάλας εἶχον.

74. Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιμβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοις ὑπ' 'Αθηναίων συνελεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατῶν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συνλέγει, τίςασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δήμων τὸν 'Αθηναίοι καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι· συνεξῆλθε γὰρ οἱ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς ἀκροτόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς 'Ελευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόναι αἱρέουσι καὶ Ἰσιᾶς δήμους τοὺς ἑσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδεῖς τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτερα ἐσίσυντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ, καὶ περ ἀμφίβολη ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδεῶν ἐς ύστερον ἐμελλὸν μνήμην ποιῆσασθαι, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ ἐσύσι ἐν 'Ελευσίνι ἀντία ἐθεντὸ τὰ ὅπλα.

75. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖς δόντες λόγον ὡς οὐ ποιέων δίκαιαι μετεβάλλοντο τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρχητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὕτως βασιλεὺς Σπαρτητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγοῦν τε τὴν στρατιν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς δίχοστασίης ἐτέθη

82
dwell you, who desire alliance with the Persians?" Being informed by the envoys, he gave them an answer whereof the substance was, that if the Athenians gave king Darius earth and water, then he would make alliance with them; but if not, his command was that they should begone. The envoys consulted together and consented to give what was asked, in their desire to make the alliance. So they returned to their own country, and were there greatly blamed for what they had done.

74. But Cleomenes, for the despite which he deemed that the Athenians had done him by word and deed, mustered an army from the whole of Peloponnesus, not declaring the purpose for which he mustered it, which was, to avenge himself on the Athenian commonalty and set up Isagoras as despot;—for Isagoras too had come with him out of the acropolis. So Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with a great host, and the Boeotians by a concerted plan took Oenoe and Hysiae, districts on the borders of Attica, while the Chalcidians attacked on another side and raided lands in Attica. The Athenians, thus caught in a ring of foes, kept the Boeotians and Chalcidians for future remembrance, but set up their array against the Peloponnesians where they were at Eleusis.

75. But when the armies were to join battle, the Corinthians first agreed among themselves that they were doing unjustly, and so changed about and departed; and presently Demaratus son of Aristeus, the other king of Sparta, did likewise, albeit he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. From this disunion a law was
νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἑξεῖναι ἐπεσθαί ἀμφότερος τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξουσίας στρατηγὸς. τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἴποντο· παραλυμένου δὲ τοῦτον τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἠυδαριδέων τὸν ἑτέρον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι ἐπικλητοὶ σφι έώνες εἴποντο.

76. Τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλέουσίν ὁρῶντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλεὰς τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογεόντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, σιγῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωρίες, δίς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δίς ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁτὲ καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόρδου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων ὁρῶς ἀν καλεῖτο. δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὁτὲ ἐπὶ Πεισιστратιδέων ἐξελασσὶ ὁμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπικόμενο τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὁτὲ ἐς Ἑλεουσίνα Κλεομένης ἀγων Ἑλπιοτομησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὗτοι τέταρτον τότε Δωρίες ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθηνάς.

77. Διαλυθέντος δὲν τοῦ στόλου τοῦτον ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνισθαί βουλόμενοι πρῶτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθεοῦσι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑύριπον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἰδοὺ οἱ Βοιωτοῦς ἐδοξε πρῶτερον τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἢ τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρεῖν. συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλῶς ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἐπτακόσιοι αὐτῶν ἐξώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ημέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖς 84
made at Sparta that when an army was despatched both kings should not be suffered to go with it (for till then they had both gone together); thus one of the kings being released from service, one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home; for before that time, both of these also were entreated to aid and went with the army.

76. So now at Eleusis, when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their post, they too went off and away. This was the fourth time that Dorians had come into Attica. Twice had they come as invaders in war, and twice to the help of the Athenian commonalty; the first time was when they planted a settlement at Megara¹ (this expedition may rightly be said to have been in the reign of Codrus), the second and third when they set out from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus, and the fourth was now, when Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with his following of Peloponnesians; thus this was the fourth Dorian invasion of Athens.

77. This armament then having been ingloriously scattered, the Athenians first marched against the Chalcidians, to punish them. The Boeotians came to the Euripus to help the Chalcidians. When the Athenians saw the helpers they resolved to attack the Boeotians before the Chalcidians; and meeting the Boeotians in battle they won a great victory; very many they slew, and seven hundred of them they took prisoners. And on that same day the Athenians crossed to Euboea, where they met the

¹ There is a clear tradition that this happened soon after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesian.
86

Settlers among whom the confiscated land, divided into equal lots, was distributed.
Chalcidians too in battle, and having overcome them likewise they left four thousand tenant farmers\(^1\) on the lands of the horse-breeders; for that was the name of the men of substance among the Chalcidians. As many as they took alive of these also, they fettered and kept in ward with the captive Boeotians; but in time they set them free, each for an assessed ransom of two minae. The fetters in which the prisoners had been bound they hung up in the acropolis, where they were still to be seen in my time, hanging from walls that the Medes’ fire had charred, over against the cell that faces westwards. Moreover, they dedicated a tenth part of the ransoms, making of it a four-horse chariot; this stands on the left hand of the entrance into the outer porch of the acropolis,\(^2\) bearing this inscription:

Athens’ bold Sons, what time in glorious Fight
They quelled Boeotian and Chalcidian Might,
In Chains and Darkness did its Pride enslave;
As Ransom’s Tithe these Steeds to Pallas gave.

78. Thus grew the power of Athens; and it is proved not by one but by many instances that equality is a good thing; seeing that while they were under despotic rulers the Athenians were no better in war than any of their neighbours, yet once they got quit of despots they were far and away the first of all. This, then, shows that while they were oppressed they willed to be cravens, as men working for a master, but when they were freed each one was zealous to achieve for himself.

\(^1\) Probably in the open space in front of the old Propylon; there would not have been room for this monument in the new Propylaea, finished in 432 B.C.

\(^2\)
79. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐπηρήσαν. Ὡηβαίοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεον ἐπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖς εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ εξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἁλίην ποιησίμενον· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Ὡηβαίοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων "Οὐκὼν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἴκεουσι Ταναγραίοι τε καὶ Κορωναιοὶ καὶ Θεσπιέες; καὶ οὗτοι γε ἀμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον· τί δεὶ τούτων γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἣ τὸ χρηστήριον."

80. Τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθῶν τις "Ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἰγίνα· τοιτέων ἄδελφεστὸν ἐνσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινητέω τις δέεσθαι τὸν θεόν χρήσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι." καὶ οὐ γὰρ τις ταῦτης ἁμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγινητέων ἑπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον σφὶ βοηθεῖν, ὡς ἐόντων ἄγχιστων οὐ δὲ σφὶ αἰτεοῦσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέρμπετειν ἐφασαν.

81. Πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Ὡηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακίδων καὶ τριχειῶν περιεβέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίς οἱ Ὡηβαίοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφὶ ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ εὐδαιμονίᾳ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἐξής παλαιῆς ἀναμυνοῦσθεντες ἐξούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Ὡηβαίων.
79. Thus then the Athenians did. But presently the Thebans sent to the god, desiring vengeance on Athens. The Pythian priestess said that from the Thebans themselves there was no vengeance for them; they must lay the matter before the "many-voiced" and entreat their nearest. So when the enquirers returned an assembly was called and the oracle laid before it; and when the Thebans learnt the message "that they must entreat their nearest," they said when they heard it: "If this be so, our nearest neighbours are the men of Tanagra and Coronea and Thespiae; yet these are ever our comrades in battle and zealously wage our wars; what need to entreat them? Nay, mayhap the oracle means not this."

80. Thuswise they reasoned, till at last one understood, and said: "Methinks I perceive what it is that the oracle will have us know. Thebe and Aegina, it is said, were daughters of Asopus and sisters; the gods' answer is, I think, that we should entreat the Aeginetans to be our avengers." Seeing that there seemed to be no better opinion before them than this, they sent forthwith to entreat the Aeginetans and invite their aid, such being the oracle's bidding, and the Aeginetans being their nearest. These replied to their demand that they were sending the Sons of Aeacus in aid.

81. The Thebans took the field on the strength of their alliance with that House, and were roughly handled by the Athenians; and they sent again, giving back Aeacus and his sons, and asking for the men instead. But the Aeginetans were uplifted by great prosperity, and had in mind an ancient feud with Athens; wherefore now at the entreaty of the
δενθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπεφευρείσθαν τοιοῦτον ἡ ἁρπαγμών ἂν τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ἐπιπλωσαντες μακρῆς ὁμοιος ἦσθα τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατὰ μὲν ἑσυχα δύσωρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἀλλᾶς παραλίῃς πολλῶς δήμους, ποιεότες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσκινόντο.

82. Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προσφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆς Ἐπιδαυρίους ἡ γῇ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδον. περὶ ταῦτης δὲ τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίουι ἐχρέωντο ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμής τε καὶ Αὔξησίς ἄγαλματα ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ σφι ἱδρυσαμένοις ἄμεινον συνοισθαι. ἐπειρώτειν δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίουι κότηρα χαλκοὺ ποιεόται τὰ ἄγαλματα ἡ λίθου ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἐξα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίουι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαιὴν σφι δοῦναι ταμεσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅσ ἐλαίας ἦσαν ἀλλοθὶ γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἡ ἐν Ἀθήνης. οὐ δὲ ἔπι τοῦτο δώσειν ἐφασαν ἐπὶ φι ἀπάξουσι ἐτεος ἐκάστου τῆς Ἀθηναίη τῆς πολιάδι ἵπα καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεί. κατανεσάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίουι τῶν τοῦ ἐδέοντο ἐτυχοῦν καὶ ἄγαλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιείων τούτων ποιησάμενοι ἱδρύσαντο καὶ ἡ τη γῆ σφι ἑφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνεθεντο.

83. Τούτων δ’ ἔτι τῶν χρόνων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινηταὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἠκούον τα τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκας διαβαινοντες ἐς Ἐπιδαυρίου εὐδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον
Thebans, without sending of herald they made war on the Athenians; while these were busied with the Boeotians, they descended on Attica in ships of war, and ravaged Phaleron and many other seaboard townships. By so doing they dealt the Athenians a very shrewd blow.

82. Now this was the beginning of the Aeginetans' long-standing arrears of enmity against the Athenians. The Epidaurians' land bore no produce; wherefore they enquired at Delphi concerning this calamity; and the priestess bade them set up images of Damia and Auxesia,¹ saying that if they so did their luck would be better. The Epidaurians then asking further, whether they should make the images of bronze or of stone, the priestess bade them do neither, but make them of the wood of the garden olive. So the men of Epidaurus entreated the Athenians to give them olives for the cutting, supposing the olives there to be the holiest; and indeed it is said that at that time there were no olives anywhere save at Athens. The Athenians consented to give the trees, if the Epidaurians would pay yearly sacred dues to Athene the city's goddess and to Erechtheus. The Epidaurians agreed on this condition, and their request was granted. They set up images made of these olives; and their land brought forth fruit, and they fulfilled their agreement with the Athenians.

83. Now still at this time, as before it, the Aeginetans were in all matters subject to the Epidaurians, crossing over to Epidaurus and there

¹ The name Damia is probably connected with δᾶ ( = γῆ), Earth; Auxesia clearly with αὐξάνω. They were goddesses of increase and fertility.
ταρ' ἄλληλων οἱ Ἀἰγινηται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων νέας
tε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγωνισόμενη χρησάμενοι ἀπε-
ζητησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἕπιδαυρίων. ἀπο δὲ ἐντε
dιάφοροι ἐδηλέουστο αὐτούς, ὡστε θαλασσοκράτ
tωρες ἐντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς
tε Δαμίκης καὶ τῆς Ἀὐξησίης ὑπαινίζονται αὐτῶν,
καὶ σφαῖρα ἐκόμισαν τοὺς καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς ἕφετῆς
χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Ὁλὴ μὲν ἔστι οὐνομα,
στάδια δὲ μᾶλιστα κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς ἔκκοισ
ἀπέχει. ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ
θυσίας τε σφαῖρα καὶ χοροὶ γυναικίδοις κερτο-
μίσοι μι λάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκα-
tέρη τῶν δαμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ
ηγόρευσον οἱ χοροὶ ἀνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπι-
χωρίας γυναίκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἕπιδαυρί-
οισι αἱ αὐταὶ ἱρουργίαι· εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἀρρητοὶ
ἱρουργίαι.
84. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶν τῶν ἄγαλμάτων οἱ
Ἑπιδαυρίων τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ
ἐπετέλεσσίν. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐμὴνοι
τοϊσι Ἕπιδαυρίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὖν
ἀδικέομεν· ὦςον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἴχον τὰ ἁγάλματα
ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέσσαν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἐστερηθοῦσαν αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἴναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι,
αλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Ἀἰγινητας πρήσεσθαι
ἐκέλευον. προς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀἰγινε
πέμψανες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἁγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Ἀἰγινη-
ται ἔφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἴναι οὐδέν
πρήγμα.
85. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ὑν λέγουν μετὰ τὴν ἀπαί-
tησιν ἀποσταλῆσαι τριήρει μῆ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτων
οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινὸν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι
92
getting, and giving one another, satisfaction at law. But from this time they began to build ships, and stubbornly revolted from the Epidaurians; in which state of enmity, being masters of the sea, they wrought them much hurt, and stole withal their images of Damia and Auxesia, and took these away and set them up in the middle of their own country at a place called Oea, about twenty furlongs distant from their city. Having set them up in this place they sought their favour with sacrifices and choruses of mocking women, ten men being appointed providers of a chorus for each of the deities; and the choruses aimed their raillery not at any men but at the women of the country. The Epidaurians too had the same rites; and they have certain secret rites as well.

84. But when these images were stolen, the Epidaurians ceased from fulfilling their agreement with the Athenians. Then the Athenians sent an angry message to the Epidaurians; but these pleaded that they were doing no wrong; “for as long,” they said, “as we had the images in our country, we fulfilled our agreement; but now that we are deprived of them, it is not just that we should still be paying; nay, ask your dues of the men of Aegina, who have the images.” The Athenians therefore sent to Aegina and demanded that the images be restored; but the Aeginetans answered that they had nothing to do with the Athenians.

85. After their demand the Athenians (this is their story) despatched one trireme with certain of their citizens; who, coming as they were sent in the
ες Αίγιναν τα ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὡς σφετέρων ἥλων ἔόντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἔξανασπᾶν, ἦνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωσωνται. οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατήσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἐλκείν τα ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἐλκονοὶ βροντήν τε καὶ ἁμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμῶν ἑπιγενέσθαι τοὺς δὲ τριήριτας τοὺς ἐλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονήσαι, παθόντας δὲ τούτῳ κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἀτε πολεμίους, ἐς ὁ ἐκ πάντων ἔνα λειψθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐς Φάληρον.

86. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αἴγινηται δὲ οὐ μή υἱῇ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὄλιγον πλεὺνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἐτυχον ἔοικαί νέες, ἀπαμώνεσθαι δὲν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλήσι νησὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἴξαι καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τούτῳ διασημῆναι ἀτρέκως, οὔτε εἰ ἕσονες συνεκινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τούτῳ εἴξαι, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιήσαι οἶνον τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπείτε σφι οὐδείς ἐσὶ μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομένους σχοινία ἐλκείν, ἐς οὐ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντο ποιῆσαι, ἐμοῖ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ δὲ τεῷ· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτῳ χρόνον διατελεῖν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίους μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν· σφέας δὲ Αἴγινηται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

94
name of the whole people to Aegina, essayed to tear the images, as being made of Attic wood, from their bases, that they might carry them away; but when they could not get possession of them in this manner, they fastened the images about with cords and made to drag them away, till while they dragged they were overtaken by a thunderstorm, and an earthquake withal; whereby the trireme's crew that dragged the images were distraught, and in this affliction slew each other for enemies, till at last but one of all was left, who returned back by himself to Phalerum.

86. This is the Athenian story of the matter; but the Aeginetans say that the Athenians came not in one ship only; "for," they say, "even if we had had no ships of our own, we could right easily have defended ourselves against one ship, or a few more; but the truth is that they descended upon our coasts with many ships, and we yielded to them and made no fight of it at sea." But they can never show with exact plainness whether it was because they confessed themselves to be the weaker at sea-fighting that they yielded, or because they purposed to do somewhat such as in the event they did. The Athenians then (say the Aeginetans), when no man came out to fight with them, disembarked from their ships and set about dealing with the images; and not being able to drag them from the bases they did there and then fasten them about with cords and drag them, till as they were dragged both the images together (and this I myself do not believe, yet others may) fell with the selfsame motion on their knees, and have remained so from that day. Thus, then, did the Athenians; but as for themselves, the Aeginetans say that they learnt that the Athenians
HERODOTUS

ός μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἄργείοις ποιέσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίαν, καὶ ἤκειν βοηθέουτας σφίσι τοὺς Ἄργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προ- ακηκοίση τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταμο- μένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖς.

87. Δέγεται μὲν νῦν ὑπ᾽ Ἄργείου τε καὶ Ἀἰγυ- νητέων τάδε, ὀμολογέται δὲ καὶ ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἐνα μούνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀτ- τικὴν γενέσθαι τπλὴν Ἄργειοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἑνα τούτων περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτων τὸν ἑνα, ἀλλ’ ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. κομισθεὶς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἀπήγγελλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων στρατευσάμενων ἀν- δρῶν, δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενας κείνον μούνον ἐξ ἀπαντῶν σωθῆναι, πέριξ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν τούτων λαβοῦσας καὶ κεντεύσας τὴς περόνης τῶν ἰμα- τίων εἰρωταν ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ὴκου εἰς ὁ ἐωτύτης ἀνήρ.

88. Καὶ τούτων μὲν οὔτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθη- ναίοις δὲ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι δεινότερον τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἄλλω μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐχειν ὅτερ Ἑμιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθήτα μετέβαλον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα: ἐφὸρεον γάρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναικὲς ἐσθήτα Δωρί- δα, τῇ Κορινθίᾳ παραπλησιωτάτην μετέβαλον ὡς ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ὡς δὴ περόνης μὴ χρέωνται. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ χρεωμένοις οὐκ
were about to make war upon them, and therefore they assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island privily, and then falling upon the Athenians unawares and cutting them off from their ships; and it was at this moment that the thunderstorm came upon them, and the earthquake withal.

87. This, then, is the story told by the Argives and Aeginetans, and the Athenians too acknowledge that it was only one man of them who came safe back to Attica; but the Argives say that it was they, and the Athenians that it was divine power, that destroyed the Attic army when this one man was saved alive; albeit even this one (say the Athenians) was not saved alive but perished as here related. It would seem that he made his way to Athens and told of the mishap; and when this was known (it is said) to the wives of the men who had gone to attack Aegina, they were very wroth that he alone should be safe out of all, and they gathered round him and stabbed him with the brooch-pins of their garments, each asking him "where her man was."

88. Thus was this man done to death; and this deed of their women seemed to the Athenians to be yet more dreadful than their misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women; but they changed their dress to the Ionian fashion; for till then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, very like to the Corinthian; it was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, that so they might have no brooch-pins to use. But if the truth be told, this dress is not in its origin
These words are not intelligible. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ἔτι τὰδε ἔδοξε, ποίησαι κ.τ.λ.
Ionian, but Carian; for in Hellas itself all the women’s dress in ancient times was the same as that which we now call Dorian. As for the Argives and Aeginetans, this was the reason of their even making a law for each of their nations that their brooch-pins should be made half as long again as the measure then customary, and that brooch-pins in especial should be dedicated by their women in the temple of those goddesses; and that neither aught else Attic should be brought to the temple, nor earthenware, but that it be the law to drink there from vessels of the country.

89. So then the women of Argolis and Aegina ever since that day wore brooch-pins longer than before, by reason of the feud with the Athenians, and so they did even to my time; and the enmity of the Athenians against the Aeginetans began as I have told. And now at the Thebans’ call the Aeginetans came readily to the aid of the Boeotians, remembering the business of the images. The Aeginetans laying waste the seacoast of Attica, the Athenians were setting out to march against them; but there came to them an oracle from Delphi bidding them to hold their hands for thirty years after the wrong-doing of the Aeginetans, and in the thirty-first to mark out a precinct for Aeacus and begin the war with Aegina; thus should their purpose prosper; but if they sent an army against their enemies forthwith, they should indeed subdue them at the last, but in the meanwhile many should be their sufferings and many too their doings. When the Athenians heard this reported to them, they marked out for Aeacus that precinct which is
The Pisistratid family appear to have had a special knowledge of current oracles: cp. ch. 93, and VII. 6.
now set in their market-place; but they could not stomach the message that they must hold their hand for thirty years, after the foul blow dealt them by the Aeginetans.

90. But as they were making ready for vengeance a matter hindered them which took its rise in Lacedaemon. For when the Lacedaemonians learnt of the plot of the Alcmaeonids with the Pythian priestess¹ and of her plot against themselves and the Pisistratids, they were very wroth for a double reason, for that they had driven their own guests and friends from the country they dwelt in, and that the Athenians showed them no thankfulness for their so doing. Furthermore, they were moved by the oracles² which foretold that many deeds of enmity would be done against them by the Athenians; of which oracles they had till now no knowledge; but now Cleomenes had brought them to Sparta, and the Lacedaemonians learnt their content. Cleomenes possessed himself of the oracles from the Athenian acropolis; the Pisistratids had possessed them till then, but when they were driven out they left them in the temple, and being left behind they were regained by Cleomenes.

91. And now the Lacedaemonians, when they regained the oracles and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in nowise ready to obey them, and bethought them that were the Attic race free it would be a match for their own, but were it held down under despotism it would be weak and ready to serve a master,—perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus' son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratids' place of refuge; and
τίδαι. ἐπείτε δὲ σφι Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἢκε, μεταπεμφάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγελοὺς ἐλεγόν σφι Σπαρτῆται τάδε. "Ἀνδρείς σύμμαχοι, συγκινώσκομεν αὐτούσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς· ἔπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδῆλοις μαντήσιοι ἄνδρας ἔκινον ἐόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθηνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἐπειτα ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δῆμο ἀχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπείτε δὶ ἡμέας ἐλευθερώθηκας ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν περιυβρίσας ἐξῆβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεσθαι, ὡστε ἐκμεμαθήκαίς μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρτών. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτοι εἴνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππίην μεταπεμψάμεθα καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἔσηκαμεν τούτους ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἀποδώμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα." 92. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγοις. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ὤγον, Κορίνθιοι δὲ Σωκλῆς ἐξέβη τάδε. "Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε ὄρανος ἐνερθὲ ἐσται τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῇ μετέφωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄρανον, καὶ ἀνθρώποι νομόν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐξουσί καὶ ἵνα πόλεως τὸν πρότερον ἀνθρωποὶ, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος ἵσσοντος καταλύσοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατάγειν παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ ὅτι ἄδικοτέρον ἐστὶν οὐδέν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους οὐτε μαινόντερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ γε δοκείει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὡστε τυραν-
Hippias coming at their call, the Spartans sent for envoys from the rest of their allies, and thus bespoke them: "Sirs, our allies, we do acknowledge that we have done wrongly; for, befooled by lying divinations, we drove from their native land men that were our close friends and promised to make Athens subject to us, and presently having so done we delivered that city over to a thankless commonalty; which had no sooner lifted up its head in the freedom which we gave it, than it insolently cast out us and our king, and now has bred a spirit of pride and waxes in power; insomuch that their neighbours of Boeotia and Chalcis have especial cause to know it, and others too are like to know their error anon. But since we erred in doing that which we did, we will now essay with your aid to be avenged of them; for it is on this account and no other that we have sent for this Hippias whom you see and have brought you from your cities, that uniting our counsels and our power we may bring him to Athens and restore that which we took away."

92. Thus spoke the Lacedaemonians, but their words were ill received by the greater part of their allies. The rest then keeping silence, Socles, a Corinthian, said: "Verily the heaven shall be beneath the earth and the earth aloft above the heaven, and men shall dwell in the sea and fishes where men did dwell before, now that you, Lacedaemonians! are destroying the rule of equals and making ready to bring back despotism into the cities—despotism, a thing as unrighteous and bloodthirsty as aught on this earth. For if indeed this seems to you to be a good thing, that the cities be ruled by despots, do
Because (according to the *Etymologicum Magnum*) the "outward distortion of the feet" resembled the letter Λ.
you yourselves first set up a despot among yourselves and then seek to set up such for the rest; but now, having never made trial of despots, and taking most careful heed that none shall arise at Sparta, you deal wrongfully with your allies. But had you such experience of that thing as we have, you would be sager advisers concerning it than you are now.

"For the Corinthian State was ordered in such manner as I will show. The Few ruled; these few, called Bacchiadæ, held sway in the city, marrying and giving in marriage among themselves. Now Amphion, one of these men, had a lame daughter, whose name was Labda. Seeing that none of the Bacchiadæ would marry her, she was wedded to Eetion son of Echecrates, of the township of Petra, a Lapith by lineage, of the posterity of Caeneus. No sons being born to him by this wife or any other, he set out to Delphi to enquire concerning issue; and straightway as he entered the Pythian priestess spoke these verses to him:

Eetion, yet high honour is thine, though honour'd thou art not.
Labda conceiveth anon; and a rolling rock she shall bear thee,
Fated on princes to fall, and execute justice on Corinth.

This oracle given to Eetion was in some wise made known to the Bacchiadæ, by whom the former oracle sent to Corinth was not understood, albeit its meaning was the same as the meaning of the oracle of Eetion; it was this:
HERODOTUS

αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρησι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
καρτερὸν ὁμηστὴν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα
λύσει.

ταύτα νυν εὗ φράξεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ
cαλὴν
Πειρήνην οἴκειτε καὶ ὑφρύσεντα Κόρινθου.

tούτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδησι πρῶτον γενό-
μενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἰετίων γενόμε-
νον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον συνῆκαν
ἐνυ συμφῶνον τῷ Ἰετίωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τούτο
εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἰετίωνι
γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθείραι. ὡς δὲ ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ
tάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν
dήμουν ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἰετίων ἀποκτενόντας
tὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην
καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἰετίωνος
αὐτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἢ δὲ Λάβδα οἴδυια τε οὐδὲν τῶν
eἰνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικοιαντό, καὶ δοκέονσα σφέας
φιλοφοσοφίας τοῦ πατρὸς εἰνεκα αἰτείειν, φέρουσα
ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. τοῖσι δὲ ἅρα ἐβεβούλευτο
κατ' ὅδον τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον
προσούδισαί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδώκει φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα,
tὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἄνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε
τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο ὀικτὸς τις
ἐσχει ἀποκτεῖναι, κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδοδὶ τῷ
dευτέρῳ, ὃ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὔτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ
πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλο-
μένου διεργάσασθαι. ἀποδόντες δὲν ὑπίσω τῇ
tεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεώτες
Lo, where the eagle's mate conceives in the rocks,
and a lion
Mighty and fierce shall be born; full many a knee
shall he loosen.
Wherefore I bid you beware, ye Corinthian folk,
that inhabit
Nigh Pirene fair and the heights o'erhanging of
Corinth.

This oracle, formerly given to the Bacchiadae, was
past their interpretation; but now, when they
learnt of that one which was given to Eetion,
straightway they understood that the former
accorded with the oracle of Eetion; and under-
standing this prophecy too they sat still, pur-
posing to destroy whatever should be born to
Eetion. Then, as soon as his wife was delivered,
they sent ten men of their clan to the township
where Eetion dwelt, to kill the child. These men
came to Petra and passing into Eetion's courtyard
asked for the child; and Labda, knowing nothing of
the purpose of their coming, and thinking that they
asked out of friendliness to the child's father,
brought it and gave it into the hands of one of
them. Now they had planned on their way (as
the story goes) that the first of them who received
the child should dash it to the ground. So then
when Labda brought and gave the child, by heaven's
providence it smiled at the man who took it, and he
saw that, and compassion forbade him to kill it, and
in that compassion he delivered it to a second, and
he again to a third; and thus it passed from hand to
hand to each of the ten, for none would make an end
of it. So they gave the child back to its mother and
ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἀπτοντο κατατίωμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρῶτον λαβόντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα, ἐσ ὃ δὴ σφυ χρόνον ἐγγίνομένου ἐσοῦ ἀυτῶς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. (δ) ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡτίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἡ Δάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἢκονε ἐστεώσα πρὸς αὐτῆς τῇ κυψέλῃ δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφιν μεταδόξη καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἡ τὰ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ἡς εἰ υποστρέψατες ἡς χήρησιν ἀπεκείνιστο πάντα ἐρευνήσεις μέλλονεν τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διηρημένοισι αὐτῶς ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτείμασθαι ὡς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐλεγον ταῦτα. Ἡτίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ηπιζώνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τούτων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίαν Κύψελος οὐνομα ἐτέθη, ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῷ πύσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἐσχέ Κορίνθου. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν.

ὁλβίοις οὕτος ἄνηρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμοιν ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Ἡτίδης, βασίλευς κλειτοίῳ Κορίνθου αὐτός καὶ παιδεῖ, παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παιδεῖ.

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν, τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τῆς ἄνηρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων
BOOK V. 92

went out, and stood before the door reproaching and upbraiding one another, but chiefly him who had first received it, for that he had not done according to their agreement; till as time passed they had a mind to go in again and all have a hand in the killing. But it was written that Eetion’s offspring should be the source of ills for Corinth. For Labda heard all this where she stood close to the very door; and she feared lest they should change their minds and again take the child, and kill it; wherefore she bore it away and hid it where she thought it would be hardest to find, in a chest; for she knew that if they returned and set about searching they would seek in every place; which they did. They came and sought, but not finding they resolved to go their ways and say to those that sent them that they had done all their bidding. So they went away and said this. But Eetion’s son presently grew, and for his escape from that danger he was called Cypselus, after the chest. When he had come to man’s estate, and was seeking a divination, there was given him at Delphi an oracle of double meaning, trusting wherein he grasped at Corinth and won it. This was the oracle:

Happy I ween is the man who cometh adown to my temple,
Cypselus Eetides, great king of Corinthrenowned,
Happy himself and his sons; yet his son’s sons shall not be happy.

Such was the oracle. But Cypselus, having gained despotic power, bore himself in this wise: many Corinthians he banished, many he robbed of their

VOL. III.
ΗΡΩДΟΤΟΣ

άπεστέρησε, πολλοὶ δὲ τὸ πλείστος τῆς ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἐτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὗ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἄρχας μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπείτε δὲ ὄμιλησε δὲ ἀγγέλων Θρασύβουλῳ τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαίφωνώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλου κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο ὡντων ἀν τρόπον ἀσφαλεστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν προηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Θρασύβουλος δὲ τοῦ ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρου ἐξήγη ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, ἔσβας δὲ ἐς ἄροιραν ἐσπαρμένην ἀμα τε διεξῆτι τὸ λήμνον ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζουν τῶν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἀπίστη, καὶ ἐκόλου ὀλεὶ ὀκος την ἰδοι τῶν ἀσταχών ὑπερέχοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἔς ὁ τοῦ λήμνο τὸ κάλλιστον τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτων διεξέλθουν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἐπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τοῦ κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κορίνθου ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι την υποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἐφὶ Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, τοιούτως τε αὐτῶν παρ' οἷον μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψει, ὡς παραπλήγαι τε καὶ τῶν ἑωτοῦ συμάρων, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Θρασύβουλον ὑπάρπα τε, Περίανδρος δὲ συνείδ τὸ ποιηθέν καὶ νῦ ὅσχων ὡς οἱ υπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς υπερόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέβαιν ἐς τοὺς πολιτάς. ὡς γὰρ Κυψέλος ἀπέλτηκε κτείνων τε καὶ διῶκων, Περίανδρος σφέα
goods, and by far the most of their lives. He reigned for thirty years \(^1\) and made a good ending of his life; and his son Periander succeeded to his despotic power. Now Periander at the first was of milder mood than his father; but after he had held converse by his messengers with Thrasylbulus the despot of Miletus, he became much more blood-thirsty than Cypselus. For he sent a herald to Thrasylbulus and enquired how he should most safely so order all matters as best to govern his city. Thrasylbulus led the man who had come from Periander outside the town, and entered into a sown field; where, while he walked through the corn and plied the herald with still-repeated questions anent his coming from Corinth, he would ever cut off the tallest that he saw of the stalks, and cast away what he cut off, till by so doing he had destroyed the best and richest of the crop; then, having passed through the place and spoken no word of counsel, he sent the herald away. When the herald returned to Corinth, Periander was desirous to hear what counsel he brought; but the man said that Thrasylbulus had given him none, 'and that is a strange man,' quoth he, 'to whom you sent me; for he is a madman and a destroyer of his own possessions,' telling Periander what he had seen Thrasylbulus do. But Periander understood what had been done, and perceived that Thrasylbulus had counselled him to slay those of his townsmen who stood highest; and with that he began to deal very evilly with his citizens. For whatever act of slaughter or banishment Cypselus had left undone, that did Periander bring to accomplishment; and in

\(^1\) 655 to 625.
ἀπετέλεσε, μην δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσε πάσας τὰς Κορυθῆς γυναίκας διὰ τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἐς Ὑστρωτοὺς ἐπ’ Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκρομαντήτιον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανέειν ἕφθη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανείσα οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τούτοις χάρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη ῥυγοῦν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τοῖς γὰρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἰματίων ὁφέλος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακυθηντων μαρτύριον δὲ οἱ εἰναι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς οὐ λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τοῦ ἰπποῦ Περιανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὁ πλωκτὸς ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιανδρῳ, πιστὸν γὰρ οἱ ἤν τὸ συμβόλαιον ὃς νεκρὸ ἐγὼ ἡ Μελίσσῃ ἐμῇ, ἱθεώς δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίαν κήρυγμα ἐπονήσατο ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐξείναυ πᾶσας τὰς Κορυθῆς γυναίκας. αὐτὸν δὲ δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτήν ἱσαν κοσμῷ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, δ’ ὑποστῆσας τοὺς δυρυφόρους ἀπέδυσε σφέας πᾶσας ὀμοίωσ, τὰς τε ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφίπολους, συμμφορίσας δὲ ἐς ὀρυγμα Μελίσσῃ ἐπευγόμενος κατέκαιε. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἐφρασε τὸ εἴδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χάρῳ τοῦ ἐξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

Τοιοῦτο μενύμινεστὶ τυραννίς, ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμόνων, καὶ τοιοῦτων ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορυθῶν ὑπὸ αὐτίκα τὸν μέγα εἶχε ὡς καὶ μεγίστως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθα τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ύμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνοις μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις. οὐκών παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον

1 Killed by her husband, perhaps accidentally; cp. III. 50.
a single day he stripped all the women of Corinth naked, by reason of his own wife Melissa. For he had sent messengers to the Oracle of the Dead on the river Acheron in Thesprotia to enquire concerning a deposit that a friend had left; but the apparition of Melissa said that she would tell him nought, nor reveal where the deposit lay; for she was cold (she said) and naked; for the raiment Periander had buried with her had never been burnt, and availed her nothing; and let this (said she) be her witness that she spoke truth—that it was a cold oven whereinto Periander had cast his loaves. When this message was brought back to Periander (for he had had intercourse with the dead body of Melissa and knew her token for true), immediately after the message he made a proclamation that all the Corinthian women should come out into the temple of Here. So they came out as to a festival, wearing their fairest adornment; and Periander set his guards there and stripped them all alike, ladies and serving-women, and heaped all the garments in a pit, where he burnt them, making prayers to Melissa the while. When he had so done and sent a second message, the ghost of Melissa told him the place where the deposit of the friend had been laid.

"Know then, ye Lacedaemonians, that such a thing is despotism, and such are its deeds. We of Corinth did then greatly marvel when we saw that you were sending for Hippias; and now we marvel yet more at your speaking thus; and we entreat you earnestly in the name of the gods of Hellas not to establish despotism in the cities. But if you will not cease from so doing, and will unrighteously essay
κατάγοντες 'Ιππίην' ἵστε ύμιν Κορινθίοις γε οὐ συνανέοντας." 

93. Σωκλέης μὲν ἀπὸ Κορινθοῦ προσβευὼν ἔλεξε τάδε, 'Ιππίης δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς εἰκείνῳ, ἢ μὲν Κορινθίους μᾶλλον πάντων ἐπιτοθήσειν Πεισιστράτιδα, οταν σφί ἤκωσι ἣμεραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιασθαι ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων. 'Ιππίης μὲν τούτοις ἀμείψατο οἴα τοὺς χρήσμοις ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος: οὶ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἰχον εν ἡσυχίῃ σφέας αὐτοὺς, ἔπειτε δὲ Σωκλέους ἦκουσαν εἰπάντος ἐλευθέρως, ἀπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν βήξας αἱρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Δακεδαμονίοις τε ἐπεμαρτύρετο μη ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν ἑλλάδα.

94. Οὔτω μὲν τούτῳ ἐπαύσθη. 'Ιππίη δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἀπελαυνουμένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσ-σαλοῦ Ἰωλκοῦ. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἱρέτο, ἀνεχώρη ὁ δὲ ὅπλος ἐς Σιγειόν, τὸ εἰλε Πεισιστράτος αἰχμῆ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παίδα τοῦ ἐωτοῦ νόδου Ἡγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἔξ Ἀργείης γυναι-κός, δὲ οὐκ ἀμαχητὴ εἰχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἐκ τῇ Αχιλληνίαν πόλιος ὁμομοῖοι καὶ Σιγείον ἐπὶ χρόνου συχνῶν Мυτιληναίοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέουσι τὴν χώρην Ἁθηναίοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεκυνύτες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Ἀιολεύης μετεδὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἡ οὐ καὶ σφίς καὶ τούτι ἄλλοις, ὁσοὶ Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέ- λεος τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς.
to bring Hippias back, then be it known to you that the Corinthians for their part consent not thereto."

93. Thus spoke Socles, the envoy from Corinth; Hippias answered him, calling the same gods as Socles had invoked to witness that verily the Corinthians would be the first to wish Pisistratus' house back, when the time appointed should come for them to be vexed by the Athenians. Hippias made this answer, inasmuch as he had more exact knowledge of the oracles than any man; but the rest of the allies, who had till now kept silence, when they heard the free speech of Socles, each and all of them spoke out and declared for the opinion of the Corinthians, entreat ing the Lacedaemonians to do no hurt to a Greek city.

94. Thus this design came to nought, and Hippias perforce departed. Amyntas king of the Macedonians would have given him Anthemus, and the Thessalians Iolcus; but he would have neither, and withdrew to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken at the spear's point from the Mytilenaeans, and having won it set up as its despot Hegesistratus, his own bastard son by an Argive woman. But Hegesistratus kept not without fighting what Pisistratus had given him; for the Mytilenaeans and Athenians waged war for a long time 1 from the city of Achilleum and Sigeum, the Mytilenaeans demanding the place back, and the Athenians not consenting, but bringing proof to show that the Aeolians had no more part or lot in the land of Ilium than they themselves and whatsoever other Greeks had aided Menelaus to avenge the rape of Helen.

1 Herodotus, whose sixth-century chronology is often inaccurate, appears to be wrong in assigning this war to the period of Pisistratus; its date cannot be later than 600.
95. Πολεμεόντων δὲ σφέων παντοία καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἄλκαιος ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολὴς γενομένης καὶ νικῶντων Ἄθηναιῶν αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὁπλα ἱσχοῦσι Ἄθηναιοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθῆναιον τὸ ἐν Συγείω. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαιος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐς τοῦ πάθος Μελανίπτῳ ἀνδρί ἐταίρῳ. Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἄθηναιοις κατῆλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλους τοῦτο γὰρ διανηθῇ ἐπετράπουτο κατῆλλαξε δὲ ὁδε, νεμεσθαὶ ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

96. Σύγχρονοι μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἄθηναιοισι. Ἡπιψὶς δὲ ἐπείτε ἄπικετο ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεις, διαβάλλον τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἀπαντά ὅκως αἱ Ἀθήναι γενοίατο ὑπ' ἐωστὸς τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἡπιψὶς δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἔωτες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖς φυγάσι. ο δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοἵατο σὸν εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὡς ὅπισώ Ἡπιψίν. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἄθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοις δὲ σφι ἐδέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖς Πέρσησι πολέμοιος εἶναι.

97. Νομίζοντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοις ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Δακεδαίμονος ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο εἰς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δῆμου ὁ Ἀριστα-
95. Among the many chances that befel in the fights of this war, this is noteworthy, that in a battle when the Athenians were gaining the victory Alcaeus the poet took to flight and escaped, but his armour was taken by the Athenians and hung up in the temple of Athene at Sigeum. Alcaeus made of this and sent to Mytilene a poem, wherein he relates his own misfortune to his friend Melanippus. But as for the Mytilenaeans and Athenians, peace was made between them by Periander son of Cypselus, to whose arbitrament they committed the matter; and the terms of peace were that each party should keep what it had.

96. Thus then Sigeum came to be under Athenian rule. But Hippias, having come from Lacedaemon into Asia, left no stone unturned, maligning the Athenians to Artaphrenes, and doing all he could to bring Athens into subjection to himself and Darius; and while Hippias thus wrought, the Athenians heard of it and sent messengers to Sardis, warning the Persians not to believe banished Athenians. But Artaphrenes bade them receive Hippias back, if they would be safe. When this bidding was brought back to the Athenians, they would not consent to it; and as they would not consent, it was resolved that they should be openly at war with Persia.

97. They being thus minded, and the Persians hearing an evil report of them, at this moment Aristagoras the Milesian, driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, came to Athens; for that city was more powerful than any of the rest. Coming before the people, Aristagoras spoke
HERODOTUS

γόρης ταυτά ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπτεῖες τε χειρωθῆναι εἶχαν. ταυτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἀποικοί, καὶ οἱκός σφέας εἰς ῥύσθαι δυναμένους μέγα καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὁ ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἰκε εἶναι εὐπτεῖστην διαβάλλειν ὃ ἑνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Δακε- δαμόνιον μοῦν οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάς Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπειθέντες ἑψηφίσαντο εἰ- κοσί νέας ἀποστείλας βοήθους Ἰωσὶ, στρατηγῶν ἀποδέχαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστών ἔντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐτάε δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχή κακῶν ἐγένουτο Ἐλληνικὸ τε καὶ βαρβάρους.

98. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μιλήσιον, ἐξευρόν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἰωσὶ μὲν οὐδεμία ἐμελλε ὑφελή ἐσέσθαι, οὐδ᾽ ὅν οὐδέ τούτου εἶνεκα ἐποίησε ἀλλ᾽ ὅκως βασιλέα Δαρείου λυπήσει, ἐπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνας ποταμοῦ αἷχμα- λώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χώρον τε καὶ κόψῃν ἐπὶ ἑωτοῦ· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. ὡς Ἀνδρεὶς Παίονες, ἐπεμψε μὲ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιον τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἢν περ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πάσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν
BOOK V. 97-98

to the same effect as at Sparta, of the good things of Asia, and how the Persians in war were wont to carry neither shield nor spear and could easily be overcome. This he said, and added thereto, that the Milesians were settlers from Athens, and it was but right to save them, being a very wealthy people; and there was nothing that he did not promise in the earnestness of his entreaty, till at last he over-persuaded them. Truly it would seem that it is easier to deceive many than one; for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand Athenians he could. The Athenians, then, were over-persuaded, and voted the sending of twenty ships in aid of the Ionians, appointing for their admiral Melanthius, a citizen of Athens in all ways of good repute. These ships were the beginning of troubles for Greeks and foreigners.

98. Aristagoras sailed before the rest; and coming to Miletus, he invented a design wherefrom no advantage was to accrue to the Ionians (nor indeed was that the purpose of his plan, but rather to vex king Darius): he sent a man into Phrygia, to the Paeonians who had been led captive from the Strymon by Megabazus, and now dwelt in a Phrygian territory and village by themselves; and when the man came to the Paeonians, he thus spoke: "Men of Paeonia, I am sent by Aristagoras, despot of Miletus, to point you the way to deliverance, if you will be guided by him. All Ionia is now in revolt against the king, and you have the power to win back safely to your own

1 But even in the palmiest days of Athens the number of voters did not exceed 20,000.
HERODOTUS

θαλάσσης αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἢδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παύδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδρησικον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεύτεν ἐς Χίων διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἡδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵππος πολλὴ διόκουσα τοὺς Παῖονας. ὡς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίου τοῖς Παίοσι ὄκως ἄν ὑπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίοι σφέας ἐς Δέσβουν ἤγαγον, Δέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

99. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδῇ οὐ τε Ἀθηναίοι ἀπίκοντο εἰκοσι νήσι, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρεστρεών πέντε τριήρεις, οὐ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἄλλα τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενα σφι ἀποδιδόντες οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλησίοι πρότερον τοῖς Ἐρετρεύοντι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνειαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεύσι αὐτία Ἐρετρεών καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον οὕτω ἄν ἐπειτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποιεῖτο στρατηγήν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτῶς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἄλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγοὺς ἄκκλου απέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἑσυχοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ Χαροπίνων καὶ τῶν ἄστοι ἄλλον Ἐρμόφαντον.

100. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἰονες ἐς Ἐφεσου πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῳ τῆς
country; this shall be your business as far as the sea, and thereafter we will see to it." The Paeonians were right glad when they heard that; some of them abode where they were, fearing danger; but the rest took their children and women and made their flight to the sea. Having come thither, the Paeonians crossed over to Chios; and they were already there, when a great host of Persian horse came hard after them in pursuit. Not being able to overtake them, the Persians sent to Chios, commanding the Paeonians to return back; whereto the Paeonians would not consent, but were brought from Chios by the Chians to Lesbos, and carried by the Lesbians to Doriscus; whence they made their way by land to Paeonia.

99. As for Aristagoras, when the Athenians came with their twenty ships, bringing with them five triremes of the Eretrians (who came to the war to please not the Athenians but the Milesians themselves, thereby repaying their debt; for ere now the Milesians had been the allies of the Eretrians in the war against Chalcis, when the Samians came to aid the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians)—when these, then, and the rest of the allies had all come, Aristagoras planned a march against Sardis. He himself went not with the army but stayed still at Miletus, and appointed others to be generals of the Milesians, namely, his own brother Charopinus, and another citizen named Hermophantus.

100. The Ionians, having with this armament come to Ephesus, left their ships at Coresus in the

1 A hill (or a part of the town of Ephesus built thereon) south of the Cayster.
'Εφεσίσης, αυτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὅρδου. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καύστριου, ἐνθεύτευν ἔπειτε υπερβάντες τὸν Τμώλου ἀπίκουτο, αἱρεοῦσαι Σάρδις οὐδενὸς σφὶ ἄντιωθέντος, αἱρεοῦσαι δὲ χωρίς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τάλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρέης ἔχων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

101. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεγατήσαι ἔλοντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἐσχῆ τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλοῦνται ἦσαν, καλάμου ἐχον τὰς ὄροφας· τουτέων δὲ μιᾶν τῶν τῆς ἑπικεχομένης ὡς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίας ἐπὶ οἰκίαν ἱδον τὸ τῦρ οἴκοις ἐπενέμεστο τὸ ἀστυ πᾶν. καιμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Περσεῖς ἔνθεσαν ἐν τῇ πόλι, ἀπολλομφέντες πάντοθεν ὡστε τὰ περίσσαχια νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, συνέρρεσαν ἐς τῇ ἀγορῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλίου ποταμὸν, ὅσι σφὶ ψῆφῳ χρυσῷ καταφρέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥεεὶ καὶ ἐπειτα ἐς τὸν "Ερμον ποταμὸν ἐκδίδοι, δὲ ἐς χαλάσσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροισμένου οἱ τοῦ Λυδοῦ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἡμαγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς ὀρέουσαι τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολέμιων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πληθεὶ πολλῷ προσφερομένους, ἔξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Τμώλου καλεόμενον, ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ύπο νύκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102. Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἰρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβηθῆς· τὸ
Ephesian territory, and themselves marched inland with a great host, taking Ephesians to guide them on their way. Journeying beside the river Caicus, and crossing thence over Tmolus, they came to Sardis and took it, none withstanding them; all of it they took, save only the citadel, which was held by Artaphrenes himself with a great power.

101. Now this it was that hindered them from plundering the city. The greater part of the houses in Sardis were of reeds, and as many as were of brick, even they had roofs of reeds. So it was that when one of these was set afire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house all over the whole city. While the city was burning, the Lydians and all the Persians that were in the citadel, being hemmed in on every side (for the fire was consuming the outer parts), and having no exit from the city, came thronging into the market-place and to the river Pactolus, which flows through the market-place carrying down gold dust from Tmolus, and issues into the river Hermus as does the Hermus into the sea; they assembled in the market-place by this Pactolus, and there of necessity defended themselves, Lydians and Persians. When the Ionians saw some of their enemies defending themselves and a great multitude of others approaching, they were afraid, and drew off out of the city to the mountain called Tmolus; whence at nightfall they departed to their ships.

102. So Sardis was burnt, and therein the temple of Cybebe, the goddess of that country; which

1 In 498.
2 Or Cybele, the great goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians.
σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὑστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν
tὰ ἐν Ἑλλησί ἱρᾶ. τότε δὲ oἱ Πέρσαι oἱ ἐντὸς
"Αλνος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἐχουτες, προπυνθανόμενοι
ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθεον τοῖς Λυδοῖς.
καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδις οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἰωνας
εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἱρέουσι
αὐτοὺς ἐν 'Εφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ
Ἰωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλῶν ἔσσωθησαν. καὶ
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φωνεύουσι ἄλλους τε
ὄνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα
'Ερετρεῶν, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγώνας ἀναραιρη-
κότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ
αινεθέντα: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην,
ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνά τὰς πόλιας.

103. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγούμενος. μετὰ δὲ
'Ἀθηναίοι μὲν τὸ παρὰπαν ἀπολυπόντες τοὺς
Ἰωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δὲ ἄγγελων
Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσειν σφι. Ἰωνες
δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας στερηθέντες, οὕτω
γάρ σφι ὕπηρχε πεποιημένα ἐσ Δαρείων, οὐδὲν δὴ
HELL. τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκενάζοντο.
πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον Βυζάντιον
tε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πάσσας τὰς ταῦτα ὑπ'
ἐωτοἰσι ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντες τε ἐξω τὸν
Ἑλλησποντον Καρίας τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτή-
σαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Καῦνον
πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχείν, ὡς ἐνέπρη-
σαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφι καὶ αὐτὴ προσεγένετο.

104. Κύπριοι δὲ ἔθελονταί σφι πάντες προσ-
εγένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ
burning the Persians afterwards made their pretext for burning the temples of Hellas. But, at this time, the Persians of the provinces this side the Halys, on hearing of these matters, gathered together and came to aid the Lydians. It chanced that they found the Ionians no longer at Sardis; but following on their tracks they caught them at Ephesus. There the Ionians stood arrayed to meet them, but were utterly routed in the battle; many men of renown among them the Persians put to the sword, of whom was Evalcides the general of the Eretrians, one that had won crowns as victor in the lists and been greatly belauded by Simonides of Ceos; those of the Ionians that escaped from the battle fled scattered, each to his city.

103. Thus for the nonce they fared in their fighting. But presently the Athenians wholly separated themselves from the Ionians and refused to aid them, though Aristagoras sent messages of earnest entreaty; yet the Ionians, though bereft of their Athenian allies, did none the less busily carry forward their war against the king, so heavily they stood committed by what they had done to Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont and made Byzantium subject to them, and all the other cities of that region; then sailing out from the Hellespont they gained to their cause the greater part of Caria; for even Caunus, which till then had not willed to be their ally, did now join itself to them after the burning of Sardis.

104. The Cyprians did likewise of their own free will, all save the people of Amathus; for these too

1 Lit. "within"; that is, from the Greek point of view, and so west of the Halys.
οὕτῳ ὡδὲ ἀπὸ Μῆδων. ἦν Ὁνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφοὺς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθουντος παῖς. οὕτως ὡρὶ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργουν παρηγορέσατο ἀπίστασαν ἀπὸ βασιλέως, τότε δὲ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐυήγε: ὦς δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἀστυ τὸ Σαλαμίνων ὁ Ὁνήσιλος ἀμα τοίς ἐωυτοῦ στασιώτητι ἀπεκλήσε τῶν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλεως ἐφευγε ἐς Μῆδους, Ὁνήσιλος δὲ ἤρχε Σαλαμίνως καὶ ἀνέπεθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασαν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεσε, Ἀμαθοῦσιος δὲ οὐ θωλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκηκε προσκατήμενος.

105. Ὁνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκηκε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλείας δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἑξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπερηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τοῦ δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας ὡςτε ταῦτα συναφνοῦσθαι τὸν Μελίσσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρότα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὡς οὕτως γε οὐ καταπροιζοῦσιν ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οἴτινες εἰςοι Ἀθηναίοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτήσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ ὡςτὸν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείνα, καὶ μὲν ἐς τὸν ἥρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν “Ὡς Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίοις τίσασθαι,” εἰπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι εἰν τῶν θεραπόντων δεῖπνου προκειμένου αὐτῶ εἰς τρίς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.”

106. Προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα εἴπε, καλέσας ἐς
revolted from the Medes in such manner as I will show. There was one Onesilus, a younger brother of Gorgus king of the Salaminians,¹ and son of Chersis, who was the son of Siromus, who was the son of Evelthon. This man had often before counselled Gorgus to revolt from Darius, and now when he learnt that the Ionians too had revolted he was very instant in striving to move him; but when he could not persuade Gorgus, he and his faction waited till his brother had gone out of the city of Salamis, and shut him out of the gates. Gorgus then having lost his city took refuge with the Medes, and Onesilus was king of Salamis and over-persuaded all Cyprus to revolt with him, all save the Amathusians, who would not consent; and he sat down before their city and besieged it.

105. Onesilus, then, besieged Amathus. But when it was told to Darius that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras the Milesian had been leader of the conspiracy for the weaving of this plan, at his first hearing of it (it is said) he took no account of the Ionians,—being well assured that they of all men would not go scatheless for their rebellion,—but asked who were the Athenians; and being told, he called for his bow, which he took, and laid an arrow on it and shot it into the sky, praying as he sent it aloft, “O Zeus, grant me vengeance on the Athenians,” and therewithal he charged one of his servants to say to him thrice whenever dinner was set before him, “Master, remember the Athenians.”

106. Having given this charge, he called before

¹ Of Salamis in Cyprus.
όψιν Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατ- 
εἰχε χρόνον ἣδη πολλὸν, "Πινθάνομαι Ἰστιαῖε 
ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν, τῷ σὺ Μιλησίου ἐπέτρεψας, 
νεώτερα ἐσ ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα: ἀνδρας 
γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρης ἥπειρου ἐπαγαγόν, καὶ 
Ἰωνας σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν 
ἐποίησαν, τούτων ἀναγνώσας ἁμα ἐκεῖνοις ἐπε-
σθαί, Σαρδίων μὲ ἀπεστέρησε. ὦν δὲν κῶς τοι 
ταῦτα φαίνεται ἐχειν καλῶς; κῶς δὲ ἀνευ τῶν 
σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήξηθη; ὅρα μὴ 
ἐξ ὑστέρης σεωτυὸν ἐν αὐτῇ σχῆς." εἶπε πρὸς 
ταῦτα Ἰστιαῖος "Βασιλεὺ, κοίνῳ ἐφθέγξαο ἑπος, 
ἐμὲ βουλεύσαι πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἡ μέγα ἡ 
σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσει; τί δ' ἄν 
ἐπιδιξήμενος ποιεόμην ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδει ἐὼν; 
τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὤσα περ σοὶ, πάντων δὲ πρὸς 
σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἄξιευμαι. ἄλλ' εἴπερ 
ti τοιοῦτον οἶ οὐν εἴρηκας πρῆσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπί-
τροπος, ἵσθι αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐώτου βαλόμενον πεποιη-
κέναι. ἄρχην δὲ ἐγὼ γε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκουμαι τὸν λόγον, 
ὡς τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον 
πρῆσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ' ἄρα τι 
toiou toioeusai kai su to edon akhkaos o basileuv, 
μάθη oion prhigma ergasao eme aπo thalaszhe 
anaspaston poihsas. "Iwneis gar oikasti emev 
ex ofthalouмон σφι γενομένου ποιησαί τουν πάλαι 
imeron einov. emeo d' an eontos en 'Iwini oudeimia 
poliis upekinve. uvuv oyn ois taxis apes me poreu-
thetainai es 'Iwini, ina to keiva te panta katapa-
him Histiaeus the Milesian, whom Darius had now kept for a long while with him, and said: "I learn, Histiaeus! that your vicegerent, to whom you gave Miletus in charge, has done me strange wrong: he has brought men from the mainland overseas, and persuaded to follow them certain Ionians,—who shall yet pay me the penalty of their deeds,—and has robbed me of Sardis. Now, therefore, I ask you, how think you that this is well done? And how came such things to be done without counsel from you? Look well to it, that you have not cause to blame yourself hereafter." To this Histiaeus made answer: "Sire, what is this word that you utter—that I and none other should devise a plan whence aught great or small was like to arise for your hurt? And what then have I to desire, and what do I lack, that I should do that? All that you have is mine, and I am deemed worthy to hear all your counsels. Nay, if indeed my vicegerent has any such thing in hand as this whereof you speak, be well assured that he has acted of his own motion. For myself, I cannot even so much as believe the report that the Milesians and my vicegerent are doing you strange wrong. But if it appears that they are so dealing, and it is the truth, O king, that you have heard, then I bid you perceive what it was that you wrought when you brought me from the sea into exile. For it would seem that the Ionians have taken occasion by my being removed out of their sight to do that whereon their hearts had long been set; but had I been in Ionia no city would have stirred. Now therefore send me away on my journey to Ionia with all speed, that I may bring that country to its former peace, and deliver into
τίσω ἐς τῶντὸ καὶ τῶν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τῶν ταύτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειριθέτον παραδό. ταύτα δὲ κατὰ νῦν τὸν σὸν ποιῆσας, θεοὺς ἐπὶ-όμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους μὴ μὲν προτεροῦ ἐκδύ-σασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθώνα καταβισσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίαν, πρὶν ἀν τοὺ Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφό-ρον ποιῆσω.”

107. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταύτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεάν τὰ ὑπέσχετο οἱ ἐπιτελεά ποιήσῃ, παρα-γίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

108. Ἐν ὅ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελία τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἄντις καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιῆσας Ἰστιαῖος ἐς λόγους ἥλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παυτὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορ-κέοντι τῷ Σαλαμίνῳ Ὄνησίλω Ἀμαθούσιος ἑξαγγέλλεται νησὶ στρατιῶν πολλῆς ἀγοντα Περσικῆν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσην προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα οἱ Ὄνησίλως κήρυκας διέπεμπτε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπικαλεύμενος σφέας, Ἰωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἰωνές τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νησὶ δια-βάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας ἤσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ. τῇ δὲ νησὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦται Κληρίδες τῆς Κύπρου.

109. Τούτῳ δὲ τοιοῦτον γινομένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰωνῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, “Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνες, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἤμεις οἱ Κύπριοι ὁκοτέροισὶ βουλευσθε
your hands that vicegerent of Miletus who has devised all this. Then, when I have done this according to your desire, I swear by the gods of your kingship that I will not doff the tunic which I wear when I go down to Ionia, ere I make Sardo, the greatest of the isles of the sea, tributary to you."

107. Thus spoke Histiaeus, with intent to deceive; and Darius consented and let him go, charging Histiaeus to appear before him at Susa when he should have achieved what he promised.

108. Now while the message concerning Sardis went up to the king, and Darius, having done as I said with his bow, held converse with Histiaeus, and Histiaeus being suffered to go by Darius made his way to the sea, in all this time matters fell out as I shall show. While Onesilus of Salamis was besieging the Amathusians, news was brought him that Artybius, a Persian, was thought to be coming to Cyprus with a great Persian host; learning which, Onesilus sent heralds about to Ionia to summon the people, and the Ionians after no long deliberation came with a great armament. So the Ionians were in Cyprus when the Persians, crossing from Cilicia, marched to Salamis by land, while the Phoenicians in their ships sailed round the headland which is called the Keys of Cyprus.

109. In this turn of affairs, the despots of Cyprus assembled the generals of the Ionians, and said to them: "Ionians, we Cyprians bid you choose which

1 Cp. III. 65. In the inscription at Persepolis Darius invokes Ormazd and the "gods of his race."
2 Sardinia.
3 "The promontory (Cap St. Andrë) at the end of the long tongue of land now 'the Carpass'" (How and Wells).
προσφέρεσθαι, ἡ Πέρσης ἡ Φοίνιξ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βουλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειράσθαι, ὥρη ἢν εἶπ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἤμεας δὲ εὐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνισμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βουλεσθε διαπειράσθαι, ποιεῖν χρεόν ἑστι ὑμεας, ὀκότερα ἢν δὴ τούτων ἔλησΘε, ὡκὼς τὸ κατ᾽ ὑμεάς ἑσται ἢ τέ Ἰωνίη καὶ ἡ Κυπρος ἔλευθέρη." εἰπαν Ἰωνες πρὸς ταῦτα "'Ημέας δὲ ἀπέτευρυε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦνα Κυπρίοιςι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοῦ πεζῇ Πέρσης προσφερόμεθα. ἤμεις μὲν νῦν ἐπ᾽ οὐ ἐτάχθημεν. ταῦτη πειρησόμεθα εἰναι χρηστοὶ ὑμεας δὲ χρεόν ἑστι ἀναμνησθέντας ὦν ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων, γινεσθαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς."

110. Ἰωνες μὲν τούτοις ἀμέλευσαν· μετὰ δὲ ἦκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινῶν τῶν Περσέων, ἄετασσον οἱ Βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινῶν δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέκαντες τὸ ἀριστὸν ἀντέτασσον Πέρσης. 'Αρτυβίω δὲ τὸ στρατηγὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντὴς ἀντετάσσετο ὦν ὀνύσιλος.

111. "Ἡλαυνε δὲ ὑπον τὸ Αρτυβίος δεδηδαγμένον πρὸς ὑπάτην ἱστασθαι ὁρθόν. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὦ ὀνύσιλος, ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὴς γένος μὲν Καρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τούτον "Πυνθανοῦμαι τὸν 'Αρτυβίον ὑπον ἱστάμενον ὁρθόν καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἂν προσενειχὴς. σὺ ὄν βουλευσάμενος εἶπε αὐτικα
you will encounter, the Persians or the Phoenicians.

For if you will set your army in array on land and try conclusions with the Persians, then it is time for you to get you out of your ships and array yourselves on land, and for us to embark in your ships to contend with the Phoenicians; but if you desire rather to try conclusions with the Phoenicians, you must so act, whichever you choose, that as far as in you lies Ionia and Cyprus shall be free.” To this the Ionians answered, “Nay, we were sent by the common voice of Ionia to guard the seas, not to deliver our ships to men of Cyprus and encounter the Persians on land. We will essay then to bear ourselves bravely in the task whereto we were set; and it is for you to prove yourselves valiant men, remembering what you suffered when you were slaves to the Medians.”

110. Thus answered the Ionians; and presently, the Persians being now in the plain of Salamis, the Cyprian kings ordered their battle line, arraying the chosen flower of the Salaminians and Solians over against the Persians and the rest of the Cyprians against the rest of the enemy's army; Onesilus chose for himself a place where he had before him Artybius, the Persian general.

111. Now the horse whereon Artybius rode was trained to fight with men-at-arms by rearing up. Hearing this, Onesilus said to his esquire (who was Carian born, of great renown in war, and a valiant man ever), “I learn that Artybius' horse rears up and kicks and bites to death whomsoever he encounters. Bethink you then and tell me straightway
"HERODOTUS

όκότερον βούλεαι φυλάξας πλήξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον." εἴπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὅπάων αὐτοῦ "Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγώ εἰμί ποιέων καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἔτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἀν σὺ ἐπιτάσσῃς· ὦς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι τοῦτο σοῖς πρήγμασι προσφέρεστερον, φράσω. βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἴναι φημὶ βασιλεῖ τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέληγον ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν, μέγα τοῦ γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκείνοις, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὕπο ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔτερουι τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς Ἱππον τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦ ὑπόδεκομαι μὴ μν ἄνδρος ἢ τι γε μηδενὸς στήσεσθαι ἐναντίον."
which you will watch and smite, Artybius himself or his horse.” To this his henchman answered, “O King, ready am I to do either or both, and whatever your bidding be, that to do; yet I will tell you what I judge to accord best with your state. To my mind, it is right that king and general should by king and general be encountered. For if you lay low a man that is a general, you have achieved a great feat; and failing that, if he lay you low (as I pray he may not), it is but half the misfortune to be slain by a noble foe; and for us that are servants it is meet that we fight with servants like ourselves, yea, and with that horse; fear not his tricks; for I promise you that never again shall he do battle with any man.”

112. Thus he spoke; and immediately the mellay of the hosts began by land and sea. The Ionian shipmen showed surpassing excellence that day, and overcame the Phoenicians; among them, the Samians were most valorous; and on land, when the armies met, they charged and fought. With the two generals it fared as I shall show. Artybius rode at Onesilus; Onesilus, as he had agreed with his esquire, dealt Artybius a blow as he bore down upon him; and when the horse smote his hoofs on Onesilus’ shield, the Carian shore away the horse’s legs with a stroke of his falchion.

113. Thus and there fell Artybius the Persian general, with his horse. While the rest yet fought, Stesenor despot of Curium (which is said to be an
'Ερυθρός ό ςμακρήν. οί δὲ Κουριέες οὕτωι λέγονται εἶναι ἀργείων ἀποικοι. προδότων δὲ τῶν Κουριέων αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινῶν πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα τῶν τούτων Κουριεύσι ἐποίεε. γυνομένων δὲ τούτων κατυπέρτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. πετραμμένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι τε ἐπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἡνήσιλος τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὁς περὶ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἐπρηζε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀρεστόκυπτρος ὁ Φιλόκυπτρος, Ἐλευθερίος ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύπρον ἐν ἐπεσι αἰνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

114. Ὡνησίλου λυκίνοι οὐ ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ὅτι σφέα ἐποικοκήσε, ἀποταμώντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσδύς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε. τούτων δὲ γενομένων τοιούτων, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ἐμαυτεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελύουτας θάγαι, Ὡνησίλου δὲ θύειν ὡς ἦρωι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἐτος, καὶ σφι ποιεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἀμείνων συνοίσεσθαι.

115. Ἀμαθοῦσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποιεῖν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμέν. Ἡωνιδὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες ἐπείτε ἐμαθοῦν τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὡνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλῆν Σαλαμίνος, ταῦτα δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τοις Σαλαμίνιοις παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἡωνιδὶ ταῦτα ἀπέπλευον ἐς τὴν Ἡωνίν. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστων πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ ἐλιον οἱ Πέρσαι.
Argive settlement) played the traitor, with his great company of men; and at the treachery of the Curians the war-chariots of the Salaminians did likewise. Thus it was brought about, that the Persians gained the upper hand over the Cyprians. So the army was routed, and many were there slain; among whom was Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had wrought the Cyprian revolt, and the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus son of Philocyprus—that son of Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, extolled in a poem above all other despots.

114. As for Onesilus, then, the Amathusians cut off his head and brought it to Amathus, where they set it aloft above their gates, because he had besieged their city; and the head being there set aloft, when it was hollow a swarm of bees entered it and filled it with their cells. On this an oracle was given to the Amathusians (for they had enquired concerning the matter) that they should take the head down and bury it, and offer yearly sacrifice to Onesilus as to a hero; so doing (said the oracle) they should fare the better.

115. This the Amathusians did, and have done to this day. But when the Ionians of the sea-fight off Cyprus learnt that Onesilus’ cause was lost, and that all the cities of Cyprus were beleaguered save only Salamis, which the Salaminians had delivered up to their former king Gorgus, straightway at this news they made sail away to Ionia. Of the Cyprian cities that which longest stood a siege was Soli; the Persians took it in the fifth month by digging a mine under its walls.
116. Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὸς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωτο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἐχὼν Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ 'Τμαίης τε καὶ 'Οτάνης ἀλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί, ἔχουτες καὶ οὕτω Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώκαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσάμενοι Ἰώνων καὶ ἐσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ εὐθεύτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλις ἐπόρθεον.

117. Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενοι πρὸς τὰς Ἐλλησπόντου πόλις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ "Ἀβιδῶν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Δάμψακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἥμερῃ ἕκαστῃ αἱρεῖε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἑλαύνοντι οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίᾳ τοὺς Κάρας τῶντο Ἰώσι φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέψας ὁν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ἠλαύνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

118. Καὶ κως ταύτα τοῦτι Καρσί ἔγαγγέλθη πρότερον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κάρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκὰς τε στῆλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύνην, ὅς βέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρης ἐς τὸν Μαιανδρὸν ἑκδεικτικὸ. συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρών ἐνθαῦτα ἐγένοντο βουλαὶ ἀλλαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκεούσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πεξωδάρου τοῦ Μαυσώλου ἄνδρὸς Κινυνῶς, ὅς τοῦ Κιλίκιον βασιλέως Συννέσιος εἰχε θυγατέρα. τούτου τοῦ ἄνδρος ἡ γνώμη ἐφερε διαβάσας τὸν Μαιανδρὸν τοὺς Κάρας καὶ κατὰ νότον ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλεω, ὡς ἐγὼ 'ἔχουτες ὁπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κάρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινομένοι· ἐτὶ ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη

1 In 497.
So the Cyprians, having won freedom for a year, were enslaved once more. Daurises and Hymaees and Otanes, all of them Persian generals and married to daughters of Darius, pursued after those Ionians who had marched to Sardis, and drove them to their ships; after which victory they divided the cities among themselves and sacked them.

Daurises made for the cities of the Hellespont and took Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampasacus, and Paesus, each of these on its own day; and as he marched from Paesus against Parium, news came to him that the Carians had made common cause with the Ionians and revolted from the Persians; wherefore he turned aside from the Hellespont and marched his army to Caria.

It chanced that news of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises' coming; and when the Carians heard, they mustered at the place called the White Pillars, by the river Marsyas which flows from the region of Idria and issues into the Maeander. There they mustered, and many plans were laid before them, the best of which, in my judgment, was that of Pixodarus of Cindya, son of Mausolus (he had to wife the daughter of Syennessis, king of Cilicia); the purport of Pixodarus' opinion was, that the Carians should cross the Maeander and fight with the river at their back, that so being unable to flee and compelled to stand their ground they might prove themselves even braver than nature made them. Yet not this, but another

Modern Tshina; not to be confused with the better known Marsyas in Phrygia, also a tributary of the Maeander.
μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκη ἡ γυνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πέρσῃς κατὰ νῦτον γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἡ σφίσι, δηλαδή ἢν φυγῇ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐξουθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119. Μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλον τε τοῖς Πέρσῃς οἱ Κάρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο Ἰσχυρὰς καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνων πολλῶν, τέλος δὲ ἐσσώθησαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἐπέσον ἄνδρες ἐσ τιςκιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειληθήσαν ἐς Λάβραυνδα ἐς Διὸς στρατίων ἱρὸν, μέγα τε καὶ άγιον ἄλσος πλαταιστῶν. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ήμείς ἵδεμεν Κάρες εἰς οἱ Διὸ στρατίων θυσίας ἀνάγονσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ἤν οὕτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα ἡ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτῶν Πέρσης ἢ ἐκλιπτόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἁμείνον πρῆξουσι.

120. Βουλευομένοις δὲ σφι ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οὐ δὲ αὖτις πολεμεέω ἔς ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἐπιτούσι τε τοῖς Πέρσῃς συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρότερον ἐσσώθησαν πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

121. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρόμα ἀνέλαβον τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κάρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ως στρατευοῦνται ὁμεῖαι οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἔλοχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὄδον, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεθάρησαν καὶ
opinion prevailed, to wit, that the Persians and not the Cilicians should have the Maeander at their back, the intent being that if the Persians were worsted in the battle and put to flight they should not escape but be hurled into the river.

119. Presently, when the Persians had come and had crossed the Maeander, they and the Carians joined battle by the river Marsyas; the Carians fought obstinately and long, but at the last they were overcome by odds. Of the Persians there fell as many as two thousand men, and of the Carians ten thousand. Those of them that escaped thence were driven into the precinct of Zeus of Armies at Labraunda,¹ a great and a holy grove of plane-trees. (The Carians are the only people known to us who offer sacrifices to Zeus by this name.) Being driven thither, they took counsel how best to save themselves, whether it were better for them to surrender themselves to the Persians or depart wholly away from Asia.

120. But while they took counsel, the Milesians and their allies came up to their aid; whereupon the Carians put aside their former plans, and prepared to wage a new war over again. They met the Persian attack and suffered a heavier defeat in the battle than the first; many of their whole army fell, but the Milesians were hardest stricken.

121. Yet the Carians rallied and fought again after this disaster; for learning that the Persians had set forth to march against their cities, they beset the road with an ambush at Pedasus, wherein to the Persians fell by night and perished, they and

¹ Site of the cult of a war-god, whose emblem was the ἀβρυς or battle-axe.
αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἄμοργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δὲ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσις ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἥγεμῶν ἦν Ἴρακλείδης Ἰβανόλλιος ἂνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

122. Οὔτοι μὲν νῦν τῶν Περσέων οὔτω διεφθάρησαν Ἰμαιής δὲ καὶ αὐτός ἐώς τῶν ἐπιδιωκόμενων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὸν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην ταύτην δὲ ἐξελῶν, ως ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἕλλησπόντου ἐκλελοιτεῖαι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλυτῶν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τῶν Ἕλλησπόντου ἤγε τὸν στρατόν, καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τενκρῶν αὐτὸς τε Ἰμαιής αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνεά νούσῳ τελευτᾶ ἐν τῇ Ἱρυάδι.

123. Οὔτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρταφρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδὼν ὑπαρχός καὶ Ὁτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰώνιην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰώνιης μὲν νῦν Κλαξομενᾶς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

124. Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὁς διεδέχετο Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλῆσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὅς ταράζας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρῆγμα μεγάλα δρησάμον ἐβούλευε ὁρέων τάντα· πρὸς δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄδυνα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρείου ὑπερβαλέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασίωτας ἐβουλεύετο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσθαι εἰς κρισθοῦντον τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἢν ἄρα ἔξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλῆτου, εἰτε δὴ ὁμ ἐς Σαρδὼ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἰτε ἐς
their generals, Daurises and Amorges and Sisimaces; and with these fell also Myrsus, son of Gyges. The captain of this ambuscade was Heraclides of Mylasas, son of Ibanollis.

122. Thus did these Persians perish. Hymaees, who had also been one of those who pursued after the Ionians who marched on Sardis, turned now towards the Propontis, and there took Cius in Mysia; having subdued which, when he heard that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching towards Caria, he left the Propontis and led his army to the Hellespont, and made himself master of all the Aeolians that dwell in the territory of Ilium, and of the Gergithae, who are all the remnant that is left of the ancient Teucri; but while he was conquering these nations, Hymaees himself died of a sickness in the Troad.

123. So he died there; and Artaphrenes, viceroy of Sardis, and Otanes, the third general, were appointed to lead the army against Ionia and the Aeolian territory on its borders. They took Clazomenae in Ionia, and in Aeolia Cyme.

124. Aristagoras the Milesian was a man of no high courage, as he plainly showed; for after he had troubled Ionia and thrown all into dire confusion, when he saw what he had done he began to bethink himself of flight; and moreover it seemed to him to be impossible to overcome Darius; wherefore, while the cities were being taken, he called his fellow-rebels together and took counsel with them, saying that it was best for them to have some place of refuge provided, if they should be thrust out of Miletus; and questioning whether he should lead them thence to a settlement in Sardo, or Myrcinus
Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδώνων, τὴν Ἰστιαιός ἔτειχεν παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὰν λαβὼν. ταύτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

125. Ἐκαταίον μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τοιτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλ- λευν ἐφερε ἡ γυώμη, ἐν Δέρφῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἢν ἐκτέση ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπειτά δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου.

126. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος συνεβούλευε, αὐτὸ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρη ἡ πλεῖστῃ γυώμῃ ἢν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μιλήτου ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρη ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον ἐπλεε ἐς τὴν Ὀρηίκην, καὶ ἐσχε τὴν χώρην ἐπ' ἢν ἐστάλη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπολλυται ὑπὸ Θρήκου καὶ τὸν Ὀρηίκην αὐτὸς τὴν Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλο- μένων τῶν Θρήκων ὑποσπόνδων ἔχιέναι.
in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified. Thus questioned Aristagoras.

125. Hecataeus the historian, son of Hegesander, inclined to the opinion that they should set forth to neither of these places, but that Aristagoras should build him a fortress in the island of Leros and there abide, if he were driven from Miletus; and afterwards he might set out from thence and return to Miletus.

126. Such was the counsel of Hecataeus, but Aristagoras himself deemed it best to take his departure for Myrcinus. So he entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of repute, and himself sailed to Thrace with any that would follow him, and took possession of the place whither he had set out; and issuing from thence he was put to the sword by the Thracians, he and his army, while he beleaguered a town, even though the Thracians were ready to depart from it under treaty.
BOOK VI
1. 'Αρισταγόρης μέν· νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας ούτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαίος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὕπο Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις· ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εὗρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδιών ὕπαρχος κατὰ κοίλον τι δοκεοί Ἰωνας ἀπεστάναι. ὁ δὲ οὕτω εἰδέναι ἔφη θάμαξε τε τὸ γεγονός, ὡς οὖδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὁρέων αὐτὸν τεχνῶν τε εἰπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀπρεκείνην τῆς ἀποστάσιος, "Οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαίε ἔχει κατὰ ταύτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραγας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης."

2. Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταύτα ἐς τὴν ἀποστασίν ἔχοντα εἶπε. Ἰστιαίος δὲ δεῖσας ὡς συνέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὕπο τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νῦκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐξηπατηκώς· ὡς Σαρδῶν νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσθαι ὑπέδυε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὕπο Χίων, καταγγεισθεῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήκσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μὲντοι οἱ Χίοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέμιος εἶνα βασιλεῖ, ἔλυσαν αὐτὸν.
BOOK VI

1. This was the end of Aristagoras, after he had brought about the Ionian revolt. But Histiaeus, the despot of Miletus, being let go by Darius, arrived in Sardis. When he came thither from Susa, Artaphrenes the governor of Sardis asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians to have rebelled; Histiaeus said that he did not know, and that he marvelled at what had happened; pretending to have no knowledge of the present troubles. But Artaphrenes saw that he dissembled, and said, speaking out of his exact knowledge of the story of the revolt: “I will tell you, Histiaeus, the truth of this business: it was you that stitched this shoe, and Aristagoras that put it on.”

2. Thus said Artaphrenes regarding the revolt; and Histiaeus, affrighted by Artaphrenes’ understanding of the matter, fled at the next nightfall to the sea; for he had deceived Darius, promising to subdue Sardo, the greatest of the islands, with secret intent to make himself leader of the Ionians in their war against Darius. Crossing over to Chios, he was taken and bound by the Chians, they judging him to be sent by Darius to do them some mischief; howbeit when they learnt the whole story of his enmity to the king they set him free.

149
3. Ἐνθαύτα δὴ εἰρωτῶμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατʼ ὃ τι προθύμως ὦτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέας καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἴη Ἰώνας ἔξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτήν οὐ μάλα ἔξεφαίνε, ὃ δὲ ἐλεγέ σφι ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ κατοικί- σαι, Ἰώνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοίνικῃ, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα ἐπιστείλει. οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα βασιλεός βουλευσάμενός ἐδειμάτο τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἀγγέλον ποιεύμενος Ἐρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνίτεω τοῖς ἐν Σάρδισι ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἐπεμπτεὶ βυβλία, ὡς προλει- σχημεύμενον αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὃ δὲ Ἐρμίππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὖ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένει. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευ τὸν Ἐρμίππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖς περ ἐφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαία τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαῖῳ ἑωτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαύτα πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

5. Περὶ Σάρδισ μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίοι κατήγγειλεν ἐς Μιλήτον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαῖοι δεσπότες. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι, ἀσμενοὶ ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρως, οὐδαμῶς πρὸθυμοὶ ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, οἷα ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίη ἐπειρᾶτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτον, τυρπόσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλήσιων. ὃ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἑωτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπ-
3. Then Histiaeus was asked by the Ionians, why he had so zealously charged Aristagoras to revolt from the king and done the Ionians so great harm; the true reason he did by no means reveal to them, but told them instead that king Darius had planned to remove the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenice; for this reason, he said, he had sent the charge. No such plan had the king made; but Histiaeus would affright the Ionians.

4. Presently Histiaeus, using for messenger Hermippus, a man of Atarneus, sent letters to the Persians at Sardis; this he did, because they had ere now held converse with him about revolt. But Hermippus gave not these letters to those to whom he was sent, and carried and delivered them to Artaphrenes instead. Artaphrenes, learning all that was afoot, bade Hermippus carry Histiaeus' letters to those for whom he was bringing them, and give him those which the Persians sent in answer to Histiaeus. Thus these men became known to Artaphrenes, and he put many Persians there and then to death.

5. So troubles arose in Sardis. Histiaeus being disappointed of this hope, the Chians brought him back to Miletus, at his own entreaty. But the Milesians were glad enough to be rid of Aristagoras himself, and had no wish to receive another despot into their country, now that they had tasted of freedom; and when Histiaeus essayed by night to force his way into Miletus, he was wounded by a Milesian in the thigh. So, being thrust out from
6. Ἡστιαίος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα. ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συντραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἦλαννον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τάλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προθυμότατοι, συνε- στρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμ- μένοι καὶ Κύκλικὲς τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.

7. Ὁ δὲ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν Ἀλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἰωνεὶς δὲ πυθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεμπὸν προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοις ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον καὶ βουλευομένοισι ἐδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξουν Πέρσησι, ἄλλα τὰ τείχεα ῥύασθαι αὐτῶν Μιλήσιοι, τὸ δὲ ναυτι- κῶν πληροῦν ὑπολιπομένους μηδείμαν τῶν νεῶν πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου. ὡδὲ Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος μικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλήσιων κειμένη.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένης τῆς νυστὶ παρῆσαν οἱ Ἰωνεὶς, σὺν δὲ σφὶ καὶ Αἰολέων ὅσοι τὴν Λέσβου νέμονται. ἔτασσοντο δὲ ὁδε. τὸ μὲν
his own city, he went back to Chios; and there, when he could not persuade the Chians to give him ships, he crossed over to Mytilene and strove to persuade the Lesbians to give him ships. They manned eight triremes, and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium; there they encamped, and seized all the ships that were sailing out of the Euxine, save when the crews consented to serve Histiaeus.

6. Such were the doings of Histiaeus and the Mytilenaeans. As regards Miletus itself, there was expectation of a great fleet and army coming against it; for the Persian generals had joined their power together and made one host, which they led against Miletus, taking less account of the other fortresses. Of the fleet, the Phoenicians were the most eager to fight, and there came with them to the war the newly subdued Cyprians, and the Cilicians and Egyptians.

7. These then coming to attack Miletus and the rest of Ionia, the Ionians, when they had word of it, sent men of their own to take counsel for them in the Panionium. These, when they came to that place and there consulted, resolved to raise no land army to meet the Persians, but to leave the Milesians themselves to defend their walls, and to man their fleet to the last ship and muster with all speed at Lade, there to fight for Miletus at sea. This Lade is an islet lying off the city of Miletus.

8. The Ionians came presently thither with their ships manned, and as many Aeolians with them as dwell in Lesbos. And this was their order of

1 Cp. I. 148.
πρὸς τὴν ἡδεὶς εἴχον κέρας αὐτοῦ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὑγιῶντα; εἰχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνεῖς δυσδεκα νυσί, καὶ Μυηνεῖας τρισὶ νυσί, Μυηνεῖας δὲ Τήμιοι εἴχοντο ἐπτακάιδεκα νυσί, ὑνὶ δὲ εἴχοντο Χίων ἐκατόν νυσί. πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ἐρημβραίοι τε ἐτάσοντο καὶ Φωκαέας, Ἐρημβραίον μὲν ὅκτω νεάς παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαέας δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαεων δὲ εἴχοντο Λέσβιοι νυσί ἐβδομίκοντα. τελευταίοι δὲ ἐτάσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐπιφέρει κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νυσί. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσια τριήρεις.

9. Αὐταὶ μὲν Ἰώνιοι ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἐξακόσια. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ ἄπικατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίαν καὶ ὁ τεξός σφί ἄπας παρῆν, ἐνθάδε οἱ Περσεῖς στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώνοντες μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένονται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὕτε τὴν Μίλητον οἷοῖ τε ἐώσι ἔξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακοῦ τε λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους, οὐ ὑπ τὴν Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ τὴν Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἅρχων ἔφευγον οἷος Μύδος, ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν τοὺς παρέοντας συγκαλέσαντες ἐλεγόν σφί τάδε. "Ἀνδρέας Ἰωνες, νῦν τὸν ὑμᾶς εὐ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέα οἶκον τοὺς γὰρ ἐσόμεθο ἐκατότων ὑμῶν πολιτῶς περάσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ συμμαχικοῦ, προ- ἵσχομενοι δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλασθε τάδε, ὡς πεισοῦνται τε ἄχαρι οὖθεν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδὲ σφί οὐτε
battle:—The Milesians themselves had the eastern wing, bringing eighty ships; next to them were the men of Priene with twelve ships, and they of Myus with three; next to the men of Myus were the men of Teos with seventeen ships; next to these the Chians with a hundred; near these in the line were the Erythraeans, bringing eight ships, and the Phocaeans with three, and next to these the Lesbians with seventy; last of all in the line were the Samians, holding the western wing with sixty ships. All these together attained to the number of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

9. These were the Ionian ships; the ships of the foreigners were six hundred. Now these, too, being come to the Milesian shore, and all their land power being there, the Persian generals, when they learnt the number of the Ionian ships, began to fear lest they should be too weak to overcome the Greeks, and thereby, if they had not the mastery of the sea, should fail of taking Miletus and peradventure be evilly entreated by Darius. Having this in mind, they assembled the despots of the Ionians, who had been deposed from their governments by Aristagoras of Miletus and had fled to the Medes, and were now as it chanced with the army that was led against Miletus; they assembled, I say, as many of these as were with them, and thus they addressed them: "Men of Ionia, let each one of you now show that he has done good service to the king's house; let every one of you essay severally to separate his own countrymen from the rest of the allied power. Set this before them, and promise withal, that they shall suffer no hurt for their rebellion, and that neither
τὰ ἰρὰ οὗτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδὲ βιαίοτερον ἐξουσί οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσιν, οὐ ἔσθεν τὰ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἡ ἀδιάφοροτε ἐπηρεαζόμενο, τὰ περὶ σφαίρας κατέχει, ἥς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανθραποδειώνται, καὶ ἤς σφέων τοὺς παιδὰς ἐκτομίαις ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀναστάστους ἐσ Ἰάκτρα, καὶ ὡς τὴν χώρην ἀλλοιοῦ παραδώσεμεν."  

10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐλεγον τάδε. τῶν δὲ 'Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπτον νυκτὸς ἐκαστος ἐσ τοὺς ἐσωτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ 'Ἰωνεῖς, ἢς τοὺς καὶ ἀπαίκοντα αὐταί ἀγγελίαι, ἀγωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσέντο τὴν προδοσίην εἰσεχώλησι δὲ ἐκαστοῦ ἐθέον νομοίνι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγελλέσθαι.  

11. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰδέας ἀπικομένων ἢς τῆν Μίλητον τῶν Περσῶν ἐγίνετο: μετὰ δὲ τῶν 'Ἰώνων συλλειχθέντων ἢς τῆν Δάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγορά, καὶ δὴ κοῦ σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἠγορόντω, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαίους στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. "Ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμής ἔχεται ἡμῖν τα πρήγματα, ἀνδρές 'Ἰωνεῖς, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθεροίσιν δούλοις, καὶ τούτοις ὡς δρηπετήσιν νῦν ἀν ὑμεῖς ἢ μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοι τε δὲ ἐσσεθεῖ ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλευθεροί εἰ δὲ μαλακὴ νέος καὶ ἀτάξιο διαχρήσιμο, οὐδεμιαν ὑμέων ἡχοι ἐλπίδαι μή οὐ δώσεις ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεί τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιπρέξατε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἱσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἡ 156
BOOK VI. 9-11

their temples shall be burnt nor their houses, nor shall they in any regard be more violently used than aforetime. But if they will not be so guided, and nothing will serve them but fighting, then utter a threat that shall put constraint upon them, and tell them that if they are worsted in battle they shall be enslaved; we will make eunuchs of their boys, and carry their maidens captive to Bactra, and deliver their land to others."

10. Thus said the generals; the Ionian despots sent their messages by night, each to his own countrymen; but the Ionians to whom these messages did indeed come were stubborn and would have none of the treachery, each part thinking that the Persians made this offer to it alone.

11. This befel immediately after the Persians' coming to Miletus. Presently, the Ionians being gathered at Lade, assemblies of them were held; among those whom I suppose to have addressed them were Dionysius the Phocaean general, who spoke thus: "Our cause, Ionians, stands on the very razor-edge of decision whether we be freemen or slaves, yea, runaway slaves; now therefore if you consent to endure hardness, you will have toil for the present time, but it will be in your power to overcome your enemies and gain freedom; but if you will still be slothful and disorderly, I see nothing that can save you from being punished by the king for your rebellion. Nay, do you take my word, and entrust yourselves to me; and I promise you that (if heaven deal fairly with us) either our enemies
οὐ συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίοις ἡ συμμίσσιγιντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι."

12. Ταῦτα ἄκοιμαντες οἱ Ἰωνεὶς ἐπιτράπουσι σφέας αὐτοῦς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὅ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖς ἔρετησι χρήσαϊτο διέκπλουν ποιεύμενος τῆς νυσῆς δι᾽ ἄλληλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσει, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων, παρεῖχε τε τοῖς Ἰωσί πόνον δὲ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπὶ ἐπείδοντό τε καὶ ἐποίειν τὸ κελευόμενον τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης οἱ Ἰωνεὶς, οία ἀπαθεῖς ἐώντες πόνων τοιοῦτοι τετριμένοι τε ταλαιπωρών ἐτε καὶ ἡλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸ ἐωτοὺς τάδε. "Τίνα δαμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; οὕτως παραφρονύσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἄνδρι Φωκαεί ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐχόμεν; δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμησι ἀνηκέστοις, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασιν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῶν τούτω τοῦτο πείτεσθαι εἰς, πρὸ τοῦ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῶν γε κρέσσων καὶ ὁ τι ὁν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἔστι καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουλήνυν ὑπομείναι ἤτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθοντας ὤδείς ἤθελε, ἀλλ' οία στρατηγικὴ σκηνᾶς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκινθροφέσιντο καὶ ἐσβαινεν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειρᾶσθαι.

13. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰωνῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα ἔθη παρ'
shall not meet us in battle, or if they so do they shall be utterly vanquished."

12. When the Ionians heard this, they put themselves in Dionysius' hands. He then ever put out to sea with ships in column, and having used the rowers to pierce each other's line of ships, and armed the fighting men on board, he would for the rest of the day keep the fleet at anchor; all day he made the Ionians work. For seven days they obeyed him and did his bidding; but on the next day, untried as they were in such labour and worn out by hard work and the sun's heat, the Ionians began to say each to other, "Against what god have we sinned that we fulfil this hard measure? We have gone clean daft and launched out into folly, committing ourselves into the hands of this Phocaean braggart, who brings but three ships; and having got us he afflicts us with afflictions incurable, whereby many of us have fallen sick already and many are like so to do; better than these ills it were for us to endure any and every lot, and abide this coming slavery whatsoever it be, rather than be oppressed by that which is now upon us. Marry, let us obey him no longer!" Thus they said; and from that day no man would obey: they built them booths on the island (as though they had been an army) wherein they lived sheltered from the sun, and never would embark in their ships nor exercise themselves therein.

13. But when the generals of the Samians learnt of this that the Ionians did, they bethought them of

---

1 This manoeuvre consisted in forcing a way through the enemy's line and attacking the broadside or stern of his ships.
Αιάκεος τοῦ Συλλογῶντος κεῖνον τοὺς πρότερον ἐπεμπελόγιον ὁ Αιάκης κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενος σφέων ἐκλπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὃι όρόντες ἐσώσαν ἀμα μὲν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλείος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εῦ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεῦν ναυτικῶν ὑπερβαλοῖστο τὸν Δαρείον, ἀλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον. προφάσιον ὡν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα εἰδον τοὺς Ἰωνας ὡς βουλομένους εἶναι χρηστοὺς, εὖ κέρδει ἐποεύντο περιποίησαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἱδία. οἱ δὲ Αιάκης, παρ' ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐκεντοῦν οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλλογῶντος τοῦ Αιάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρου ἀπεστήρητο τὴν ἄρχην κατὰ περ οἱ ἀλλοι τῆς Ἰωνῆς τύραννοι.

14. Τότε ὁ Ίωνας ἀντανήγην καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἔγινοντο καὶ συνέμισθον ἀλλήλοις, τὸ ἐνθεῦσθε όυκ ἔχω ἄτρεκέως συγγράφαι οὕτινες τῶν Ἰωνῶν ἔγινοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἄγαθοι ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιθένται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκεῖμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεα ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱστιά ἀποτλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἔνδεκα νεὼν τούτων δὲ οἱ πριήραρχοι παρέμενοι καὶ ἐναυμάχεον ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖς στρατηγοῖσι καὶ σφι τὸ κοίνον τῶν Σαμίων ἐδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδράσι ἄγαθοίς γενομένοις, καὶ ἔστιν 160
that message which Aeaces son of Syloson had already sent them at the Persians’ bidding, entreat-ing them to desert the Ionian alliance; now there-fore, when they saw much disorder on the Ionian side, they consented to the message; moreover, it seemed to them to be a thing impossible to overcome the king’s power, and they were well assured that if they overcame Darius’ present fleet they would have another fivefold greater on their hands. Therefore as soon as they saw that the Ionians would not be serviceable, they laid hold on that for a pretext, thinking themselves in luck’s way so to save their temples and their own houses. This Aeaces, to whose message the Samians consented, was son of Syloson the son of Aeaces, and had been despot of Samos, till he was deposed from his government by Aristagoras of Miletus, even as the other Ionian despots.

14. Now therefore, when the Phoenician fleet came sailing against them, the Ionians for their part put out to sea with their ships in column. When they drew near together and met in battle, which of the Ionians did thereafter quit themselves ill or well in that sea-fight my history cannot with exactness record; for they all blame each other. But this is said, that the Samians, according to their compact with Aeaces, did then make all sail for Samos, leaving their post, all save eleven ships, the captains whereof stood their ground and fought, disobeying their admirals; and by reason of this deed the Samian people granted them for their valour that their names and their fathers’ should be engraved on a pillar, which pillar now stands in their
15. Τών δὲ παραμειναίτων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περιέβησαν τρχύτατα Χίοι ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοι τε ἔργα λαμπρά καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρεῖχοντο μὲν γάρ, ὡσπερ καὶ πρῶτον εἰρέθη, νέας ἐκατόν, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἄστων λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ὅρεοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδοδόντας οὐκ ἐδίκαιειν γίνεσθαι τοῖς κακοίσι αὐτῶν ὅμοιοι, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὅλιγων συμμάχων μεμονωμένοι διεκπλέουντες ἐναιμάχεον, ἐς ὁ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνᾶς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων τὰς πλεύνας.

16. Χίοι μὲν δὴ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι εἰς τὴν ἔωτον. ὅσοις δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατον ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ ὃς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγαίνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐποκείλαντες κατέκατον, οὐ δὲ πεζῷ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἱππείρου. ἐπειδή δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἑφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χίοι, νυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐοίνυμι τῆς γυναῖξι αὐτοθεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἑφέσιοι, οὕτε προακυκοῦσες ὡς εἰχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἴδοντες τε σπρατῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλώπας καὶ ιέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναίκας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεί τε ἐκτεινόν τοὺς Χίους.

17. Οὕτω μὲν τοῖς τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ο Φωκαῖος ἐπείτε ἔμαθε 162
market-place. But the Lesbians, seeing their neighbours fly, did even as the Samians; and so, too, the greater part of the Ionians did likewise.

15. Of those that stood their ground in the sea-fight, most roughly handled were the Chians, for they would not be cravens but achieved deeds of renown. They brought an hundred ships, as I have before told, to the fleet, and on each ship were forty picked men of their citizens; and seeing themselves betrayed by the greater part of their allies they thought shame to bear themselves like the baser sort of the rest, but albeit with none but a few allies to aid them they fought on and broke the enemy's line, till they had taken many of his ships but lost the greater part of their own.

16. So with the remnant of their ships the Chians fled to their own country; but the crews of the Chian ships that were crippled by hurts fled before the pursuit to Mycale. There the men beached and left their ships, and made their way thence across the mainland. But when the Chians entered the lands of Ephesus on their march, it chanced that they came by night and the women were keeping their Thesmophoria; and the Ephesians thereupon, never having heard the story of the Chians and seeing an army invading their country, were fully persuaded that these were robbers come after their women; so they mustered all their force and slew the Chians.

17. They, then, met with such fate as I have said. As for Dionysius the Phocaean, when he saw that
τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ Ἀλλῇ Ἰωνίᾳ ὦ δε ἰδέως ὡς εἰχὲ ἔπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαῖλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἔπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ὀρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ληιστῆς κατεστίκηκε Ἐλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτη τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰωνας, τὴν Μιλήτου πολιορκεύοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ύπορύσσουτε τὰ τείχεα καὶ ταυτοίᾳ μηχανάς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι καὶ ἀκρῆς ἐκτὸ ἐτεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἱμβραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μιλήτου γενομένῳ.

19. Χρεωμένοις γὰρ Ἀργείοις ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τῆς σφετέρης ἔχρισθη ἐπίκοινων χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρουν, τὴν δὲ παρευθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχον, ἐπεάν κατὰ τοῦτο γένομαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθῶμαι: τὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μιλησίοις οὐ παρεούσι ἔχρησε, ἔχει οὖν.

καὶ τότε δή, Μιλήτη κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, πολλοῖσιν δειπνῶν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσῃ, σαι δὲ ἄλοχοι πολλοίσι πόδας νύφουσι κομήταις, νηοὶ δ’ ἤμετέρου Διδύμωις ἀλλοίσι μελήσει.

Q In 494.
2 Didyma (oftener called Branchidae), was near Miletus; the temple was of Apollo Διδύμειος. Cp. I. 46.
the Ionian cause was lost, he sailed away with three enemy ships that he had taken; but not to Phocaea, now that he knew well that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia; he sailed then and there with a straight course to Phoenice instead, and having sunk there certain galleons and taken much substance he made sail to Sicily, making which his station he set up for a pirate, robbing Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians, but no Greeks.

18. When the Persians had vanquished the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, till in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras they took the city high and low and enslaved it. Thus did this calamity accord with the oracle concerning Miletus.

19. For when the Argives enquired at Delphi of the safety of their city, there was given them an oracle of twofold import, part of it regarding the Argives themselves, but there was an oracle added thereto for the Milesians. Of that which concerned the Argives I will then make mention when I come to that part of my history; but this was the prophecy given to the Milesians, they not being then present:

In that day, Miletus, thou planner of works that are evil,
Thou for a banquet shalt serve and a guerdon rich of the spoiler;
Many the long-locked gallants whose feet shall be washed by thy women;
Woe for my Didyman shrine! no more shall its ministers tend it.
HERODOTUS

tότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, οἷοτε ἀνδρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἑόντων κομμητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἄνδρα-πόδων λόγῳ ἐγώνυντο, ἵρον δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμωσι καὶ ὁ νησὸς τοῖς τὸ κρήστηριον. συλληθέντα ἐνεπίμ-πρατο. τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολ-λάκις μνήμην ἐπέρωθη τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην.

20. Ἐνθεύτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἡγοῦτο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἐπὶ τῇ Ερυ-θρῇ καλειμένη θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἀμυτὶ πόλι, παρ' ἦν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέως ἐς θάλασσαν ἔζειε. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτοῖ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπερά-κρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτήσθαι.

21. Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοις πρὸς Περ-σέων οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὠμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Δαὸν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἶκεν τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτονιητέων Μιλη-σίου πάντες ἤβηδον ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκατο τοῖς πόλεις γὰρ αὐτοῖ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδιον ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθη-σαν τοϊδὲν ὀμοίως καὶ 'Ἀθηναίοι. 'Ἄθηναιοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλητίνου ἀλώσι τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίκῳ δράμα Μιλητίνου ἀλώσι καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυα τῇ ἐπεσε τὸ θέτρον, καὶ ἐξημιώσαν μὲν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆα κακὰ χιλῆσι δραχμὰς, καὶ ἐπετάξαν μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22. Μιλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἢρήμωτο. Σα-
All this now came upon the Milesians; for the most part of their men were slain by the long-haired Persians, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt. Of the wealth that was in this temple I have often spoken elsewhere in my history.

20. After that, the captive Milesians were brought to Susa. King Darius did them no further hurt, but settled them by the sea called Red, in the city called Ampe, whereby flows the river Tigris as it issues into the sea. Of the Milesian land the Persians themselves held what was nearest to the city, and the plain, giving the hill country into the possession of Carians from Pedasa.

21. Now when the Milesians suffered all this at the hands of the Persians, the men of Sybaris (who had lost their city and dwelt in Laüs and Scidrus) gave them no just requital for what they had done; for when Sybaris was taken by the men of Croton, all the people of Miletus, young and old, shaved their heads and made great public lamentation; no cities within my knowledge were ever so closely joined in friendship as these. The Sybarites did nothing after the Athenian manner. For the Athenians, besides that they signified in many other ways their deep grief for the taking of Miletus, did this in especial:—Phrynichus having written a play entitled "The Fall of Miletus" and set it on the stage, the whole theatre brake into weeping; and they fined Phrynichus a thousand drachmae for bringing to mind a calamity that touched them so nearly, and forbade for ever the acting of that play.

22. Miletus then was left empty of its people.
μιων δὲ τοισι τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐσ τοὺς Μῆδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιήθεν ὀυδαμῶς ἤρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοις, πρὶν ἢ σφὶ ἐσ τὴν χώρην ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένονται Μῆδοις τε καὶ Αἰακεῖ δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαίων γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τούτων πέμπτοντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἁγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἰωναῖς ἐς Καλῆν ἀκτήν, βουλομένοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἢ δὲ Καλῆ αὐτὴ ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίνην τετραμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τοῦτων ὧν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφὶ Μηλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν Ὁ τοιὸνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι.

23. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγύνοντο ἐν Δοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιξεφυρίσι, καὶ Ζαγκλαίων αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἢν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεύν βουλομένοι. μαθῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀνάξιλεως, τότε ἐῶν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεόν εἰς Καλῆν μὲν ἀκτῆν, ἐπὶ ἢν ἐπλεούν, ἐαν χαῖρεν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐουσαν ἔρημοιν ἀνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαίοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἑωτῶν, ἐβοίηθεν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἰπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον. ἢν γὰρ δὴ σφὶ οὕτως σύμμαχος. ἐπείτε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἥκε βοηθεῶν, Σκύθην μὲν

1 Zancle is the later Messene, modern Messina.
But as regards the Samians, their men of substance were ill-pleased by the dealings of their generals with the Medes; after the sea-fight they took counsel straightway and resolved that before Aeaces the despot came to their country they would sail away to a colony, rather than remain and be slaves to the Medes and Aeaces. For the people of Zancle in Sicily about this time sent messengers to Ionia inviting the Ionians to the Fair Coast, desiring there to found an Ionian city. This Fair Coast, as it is called, is in Sicily, in that part which looks towards Tyrrhenia. At this invitation, then, the Samians alone of the Ionians, with those Milesians who had escaped, set forth; and in their journey a thing befel them such as I will show.

23. As they voyaged to Sicily the Samians came to the country of the Epizephyrian Locrians at a time when the people of Zancl and their king (whose name was Scythes) were besieging a Sicilian town, desiring to take it. Learning this, Anaxilaus the despot of Rhegium, being then at feud with the Zanclaeans, consorted with the Samians and persuaded them from their purpose; they had best, he said, leave off their voyage to the Fair Coast, and seize Zancl while it was deserted by its men. To this the Samians consented and seized Zancl; whereat the Zanclaeans, when they learnt of the taking of their city, came to deliver it, calling to their aid Hippocrates the despot of Gela, who was their ally. But Hippocrates, when he came bringing his army to aid them, put Scythes the monarch of Zancl and

1 "The epithet distinguishes the Italiot colony from the Locrians of the mother country" (How and Wells).
τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἰννικα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος
τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὅσο ὑπὸ τῶν
Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἰπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν
δὴ πλείνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
λόγῳ εἰχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τρι-
ηκοσίους ἐδῶκε τοῖς Σαμίοις κατασφάξαι· οὐ
μέντοι οὐ γε Σάμιοι εποίησαν ταῦτα.  

24. Σκύθηδε ὃ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ
τῆς Ἰννικος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄνεβη παρὰ βασιλέα
Δαρείου καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρείου πάντων ἀνδρῶν
δικαιότατον εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος παρ’
ἐσωτὲρ ἄνεβησαν· καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βα-
σιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὐτὴς ἐκ τῆς Σικε-
λίης ὑπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὁ γῆραὶ μέγα ὅλβῃς
ἐως ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃς. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλ-
λαχθέντες Μῆδων ἀπονητῆ πόλιν καλλιότην
Ζάγκλην περιβεβλέατο.  

25. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου
γενομένην Φοινίκες κελευσάντων Περσέων κατ-
ήγου ὡς Σάμου Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσσώντος ὡς πολλοῦ
τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασά-
μενον καὶ Σαμίοις μούνυσι τῶν ἀποστάτων
ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἐκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ
ναυμαχίῃ, οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνεπρῆσθη.
Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτικα Καρῆν ἔσχον οἱ
his brother Pythogenes in chains for Scythes' losing of the city, and sent them away to the town of Inyx; and for the rest of the people of Zancle, he betrayed them into the hands of the Samians, with whom he had taken counsel and exchanged oaths of agreement. The price which the Samians covenanted to give him was, that Hippocrates should take for his share half of the movable goods and of the slaves in the city, and all that was in the country. The greater number of the Zancleans were kept in chains as slaves by Hippocrates himself; three hundred, that were their chief men, he delivered to the Samians to be put to death; but the Samians did not so with them.

24. Scythes the monarch of Zancle escaped from Inyx to Himera, and thence being arrived in Asia went up the country to king Darius. He was esteemed by Darius the most honest man of all who had come up to him from Hellas; for he returned by the king’s permission to Sicily and from Sicily back again to Darius; at the last he ended his life in Persia, full of years and of great possessions. Thus lightly did the Samians plant themselves in that most excellent city of Zancle, when they had escaped from the Medes.

25. After the fight at sea for Miletus, the Phoenicians at the Persians’ bidding brought Aeaces, son of Syloson, back to Samos, for the high worth of his service to them, and his great achievements; and by reason of the desertion of their ships in the sea-fight the Samians were the only rebel people whose city was not burnt, nor their temples. Miletus being taken, the Persians thereby at once gained possession of Caria, some of the towns submitting.
Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἔθελοντήν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη προσηγάγοντο.

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο. Ἰστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἔστι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὅλκαδας ἐκπλεούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν Μιλήτην γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλησποντοῦ ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτη Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίον ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρούρη οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοῖλοις καλεομένοις τῆς Χίης χώρης. τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, οὰ δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίκην τῆς Χίων ορμώμενος.

27. Φιλέει δὲ κως προσημαινεῖν, εὐτʹ ἀν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἣ πόλι ἢ ἐθνεὶ ἔσεσθαι καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τοῦτων σημῆνα μεγάλα ἐγένετο· τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψαι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεωτέρων ἐκατὸν δύο μοῦνοι τοῦτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ ὁκτὼ τε καὶ ἐενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβῶν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτων χρόνων, ὁλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένουι εἴεπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὡστε ἀπ᾽ ἐκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παῖδων εἰς μοῦνος ἀπέφυγεν. ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημῆνα ὁ θεὸς προεδεξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχία ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνι τῆς πόλιν ἐβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Δεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπτετέως αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο.

28. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσου ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοὺς. περὶ-
themselves of their own accord and others being subdued perforce.

26. All this fell out as I have said. But Histiaeus the Milesian was at Byzantium, seizing the Ionian merchant ships as they sailed out of the Euxine, when he had news of the business of Miletus. Thereupon, leaving all matters concerning the Hellespont in charge of Bisaltes of Abydos, son of Apollonophanes, he himself sailed with Lesbians to Chios, and there did battle in the Hollows of Chios (as they are called) with Chian guardships that would not receive him. Many of their crews he slew; the rest of the people of the country (so crippled were they by the sea-fight) Histiaeus with his Lesbians subdued to his will, coming out from Polichne in Chios.

27. Ever is some warning given by heaven, when great ills threaten cities or nations; for before all this plain signs had been sent to the Chians. Of a band of a hundred youths whom they had sent to Delphi two only returned, ninety-eight being caught and carried off by pestilence; moreover, at about this same time, a little before the sea-fight, the roof fell in on boys at school, insomuch that of a hundred and twenty of them one alone escaped. These signs had been shown to them by heaven; thereafter the sea-fight brake upon them and beat the city to its knees, and with that came Histiaeus and the Lesbians to end what the sea-fight began; and the Chians being in so evil a case, he easily subdued them.

28. Thence Histiaeus brought a great force of Ionians and Aeolians against Thasos. But while he
κατημένως δὲ οἱ Θάσον ἢλθε ἄγγελις ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Λέσβον ἤπειργετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν. ἐκ Δέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς πέρην διαβάϊνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνεός ὃς ἀμῆσως τὸν σίτον τὸν τε ἐνθεύτευν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καίκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίσιι ἐπάγγελε ἔδω πρὸς Ἀσπαγος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὃς οἱ ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτὸν τε Ἰστιαίον εἰσφράξε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέων διέφθειρε.

29. Ἐξωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὃδε. ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἐλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσης ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῇ Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρῃς, οἱ μὲν συνεστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλον, ἢ δὲ ἵππος ὑστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἐλληνες. τὸ τε ἐργον τῆς ἦπερον τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέως διὰ τὴν παρεόυσαν ἀμαρτάδα φιλοψυχία τοῦνδε τινά ἀναιρέσει. ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἄνδρος Πέρσων καὶ ὡς καταιρῷμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε συγκεντρήσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλώσσαν μετείς καταμηνύει ἐσωτόν ὡς ἐδὲ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

30. Εἰ μὲν ὑπ’, ὡς ἔξωγρηθη, ἄχθη ἄγομενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου, ὃ δὲ οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπάθε κακὸν οὐδὲν δοκεέων ἐμοί, ἀπῆκε τ’ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην νῦν δὲ μν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἴνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλεῖ γένηται, Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπάρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν 174
beleaguered Thasos there came to him a message that the Phoenicians were putting out to sea from Miletus to attack the rest of Ionia; learning which he left Thasos unsacked, and made haste instead with all his army to Lesbos. Thence, for his men were anhungered, he crossed over with intent to reap from Atarneus the corn of that place and the Mysian corn of the Caicus plain. Now it chanced that in that region was Harpagus, a Persian, having no small force under him; who, when Histiaeus landed, met him in battle and took Histiaeus himself alive and slew the greater part of his army.

29. Histiaeus was taken prisoner after this wise: the Greeks fought with the Persians at Malene in the country of Atarneus, and for a long time the armies battled foot to foot, till the Persian horse charged and fell upon the Greeks; thus it was they that achieved the victory; then, the Greeks being routed, Histiaeus, supposing that the king would not put him to death for his late transgression, did what showed him to love his life too well. Being overtaken in his flight by a Persian, and so caught and like to be stabbed, he cried out in the Persian language and discovered himself for Histiaeus of Miletus.

30. Now had he been taken prisoner and brought on his way to king Darius, no harm had been done him (to my thinking) and the king had forgiven his guilt; but as it was, Histiaeus being brought to Sardis, there both by reason of what he had done, and for fear that he might escape and again win power at the court, Artaphrenes, viceroy of Sardis,
"Αρπαγος, ώς ἀπίκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταῦτῃ ἀνεστάύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταραχεύσατες ἀνήμεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρείος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μὴν οὐ ζῴωντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὅσῳ τὴν ἔωσθο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λουσάντας τε καὶ περιστειλαντας εὑ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὃς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἔσωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὔνεγέτεω.

31. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαίου οὕτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρεῖ εὐπτεῖνος τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἱππείρα κειμένας. Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὡκος δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσου, ὡς ἐκάστην αἱρέωτες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγηγήσεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγηνεύοντες δὲ τῶν εὐρεία τὸν τρόπον. ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νῆσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἱρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱππείρᾳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατα ταῦτα, πλην οὐκ ἐσαγηγήσεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ώς γὰρ οὐ τῇ ἰν.

32. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἑσεύ- σαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπιτείλησαν τούσ Ἰωσὶ στρατοπεδευομένους ἐναντία σφίσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολιῶν, παῖδας τε τοὺς ἐνείδε- στάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξὲτάμων καὶ ἐποίειν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἑνόρχιας εὐνοῦχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλ- λιστευοῦσας ἀναστάσεως παρὰ βασιλέα ταῦτα τε δὴ ἐποίειν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνετείπρασαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱροῖσι. οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἰωνες 176
and Harpagus who had taken Histiaeus, impaled his body on the spot, and sent his head embalmed to king Darius at Susa. When Darius learnt of this he blamed those who had so done, because they had not brought Histiaeus before him alive; for the head, he gave command that it should be washed and buried with full observance, as the head of one that had done great good to Darius himself and to Persia.

31. Thus it fared with Histiaeus. The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus, and putting out to sea in the next year easily subdued the islands that lie off the mainland, Chios and Lesbos and Tenedos. Whenever they took an island, the foreigners would "net" each severally. This is the manner of their doing it:—the men link hands and make a line reaching from the northern sea to the southern, and then advance over the whole island hunting the people down. They took likewise also the Ionian cities of the mainland, albeit not by netting the people; for that was not possible.

32. There the Persian generals failed not to fulfil the threats which they had uttered against the Ionians when they were encamped over against them; for when they had gained the mastery over the cities, they chose out the comeliest boys and castrated them, making them eunuchs instead of men, and they carried the fairest maidens away to the king; this they did, and burnt the cities, yea, and their temples. Thus thrice had the Ionians
κατεδουλώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δὲς δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσῶν.

33. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίας ἀπαλλασσόμενος οὐ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντα τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἱρεῖ πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖς τοίοι Πέρσηι ὑποχείρια ἢν γεγονότα κατ’ ἦπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἴδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσόνησός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλεις συχνὰ ἐνεισυ, καὶ Πέρμυθος καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Ὄρηκης καὶ Σηλυμβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νῦν καὶ οἱ πέρπηκε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ’ ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ’ οἷοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἐσώ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον, καὶ ἐνθάυτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίαν οἰκήσαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταῦτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τράπονται ἐπὶ τὶς Προκόψησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτας νεῖμαντες ἐπλεοῦν αὐτὺς ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολίων, ὡσας πρότερον προσεχόντες οὐ κατέσυναν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κύκικον οὐδὲ ἐπλώσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γὰρ Κυζίκην οἴτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοίνικων ἐσπλόου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖς, Οἰ-βάρει τῷ Μεγαβάζου ὄμολογησαν τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ.

34. Τῆς δὲ Χερσόνησος πλῆν Καρδίνης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτῶν μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κιμωνος τοῦ Στηθαγόρου, κυριακόντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοῦδε. εἰχόν Άλογκοι Ὄρηκες τῆς Χερσόνησος ταύτην. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Άλογκοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ 'Αψινθίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας 178
been enslaved, first by the Lydians and then once and now yet again by the Persians.

33. Then the fleet departed from Ionia and took all that lay on the left hand of the entrance of the Hellespont; for what was to the right had been subdued by the Persians themselves from the side of the land. These are the regions of Europe that belong to the Hellespont,—the Chersonese, wherein are many towns; Perinthus, and the forts that lie towards Thrace, and Selymbria and Byzantium. The people of Byzantium, and they of Calchedon beyond, did not even await the onfall of the Phoenicians, but left their own land and fled away within the Euxine, and there settled in the town Mesambria. The Phoenicians, having burnt these places aforesaid, turned against Proconnesus and Artace, and having given these also to the flames sailed back to the Chersonese to make an end of the remnant of the towns, as many as they had not destroyed at their former landing. But against Cyzicus they did not so much as sail at all; for the Cyzicenes had before this visitation of the fleet already made themselves the king's subjects, by an agreement which they made with the viceroy at Dascyleum, Oebares son of Megabazus.

34. As for the Chersonese, the Phoenicians subdued all the towns in it, save only Cardia. These had been ruled till then by Miltiades son of Cimon who was the son of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had been formerly won by Miltiades son of Cypselus in such manner as I will now show. The Dolonci, who were Thracians, possessed this Chersonese; they then, being hard pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their princes to Delphi to ask
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησομένους. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνείλε οἰκιστήν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τούτον δὲ ἂν σφέας ἀπίοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξεύνια καλέσῃ. ἱόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἔσθαν καὶ σφέας ὡς οὐδεὶς έκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων.

35. Ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Αθήνησι τηνικαίτα εἰχὲ μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισιστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπ- πτρόφον, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ᾽ Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονός, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναίοις, Φι- λάιου τοῦ Λαύντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτον τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίοι. οὕτως ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖς προθύροις τοῖς ἑωτοῦ, ὀρέων τοὺς Δόλογκους παριόντας ἔσθητα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμᾶς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφὶ προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξεύνια. οὐ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐξ- ἐφαίνου πᾶν τὸ μαντήμα, ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μὲν πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκού- σαντα παραντικά ἐπεισε ὁ λόγος οἷα ἁχθομενον τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκπο- δῶν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπει- ρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήμιον εἰ ποιοὶ τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογκοι προσεδέοντο.

36. Κελευσθής δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, 'Ολύμπια ἀναραιρηκὼς πρότερον τούτον τεθριππὼ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἐπλελε ἀμα τοῖς Δολόγκοις, καὶ ἐσχε

1 “The Sacred Way seems to have led E. by Daulis,
an oracle concerning the war; and the priestess in her reply bade them bring him in to found their state who should first offer them hospitality when they departed from the temple. Then the Dolonci followed the Sacred Way and journeyed through Phocis and Boeotia; and when none invited them in they turned aside towards Athens.

35. Now at this time the supreme ruler of Athens was Pisistratus, but Miltiades also, son of Cypselus, was a man of power; he was of a house that kept four-horse chariots, tracing his earliest descent from Aeacus and Aegina, but by later lineage Athenian; the first Athenian of that house was Philaeus son of Aias. This Miltiades, as he sat in his porch, saw the Dolonci pass by with raiment and spears of foreign fashion, and he hailed them, and when they approached offered them lodging and hospitality. They consented thereto; and when he had received them as guests they laid before him all the words of the oracle, and entreated him to obey the god. Hearing this, Miltiades was persuaded by what they said; for he was impatient of the rule of Pisistratus and desired to be away from it. Forthwith he set out for Delphi, to enquire of the oracle if he should do as the Dolonci entreated him.

36. The priestess too bidding him consent, thereupon Miltiades son of Cypselus, that Miltiades who had ere now won a race of four-horse chariots at Olympia, took with him all Athenians who desired to share his enterprise, and sailing with the Dolonci Panopeus, and Chaeronia, then S.E. by Coronea, Haliartus, and Thebes, then S. over Cithaeron to Eleusis, whence it was continued to Athens by the best-known ὀδὸς ἔπα. (How and Wells.)
Across the isthmus of the peninsula of Gallipoli, near Bulair; a distance of about four and a half miles.
gained possession of their country; and they who had brought him in made him their despot. First he built a wall across the isthmus of the Chersonese from the town Cardia to Pactye,1 that so the Apsinthians might not be able to harm them by invading the country. The breadth of the isthmus is six-and-thirty furlongs; and the length of the Chersonese on the hither side of that isthmus is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

37. Having then built a wall across the neck of the Chersonese, and thus thrust the Apsinthians back, Miltiades made war upon the Lampsacenes first of all the rest; and they lay in ambush and took him captive. But Miltiades was well known to Croesus the Lydian; wherefore Croesus, learning of what had been done, warned the men of Lampsacus to let Miltiades go; “or,” he threatened, “I will raze you from the earth like a pine-tree.” The men of Lampsacus were all astray in their counsels as to what this threat of Croesus to them (that he would raze them like a pine-tree) might mean, till after much seeking one of their elders at last told them the truth, to wit, that the pine is the only tree that sends forth no shoots after it is cut down, but perishes utterly; wherefore in fear of Croesus they freed Miltiades and let him go.

38. So Miltiades was saved by Croesus; but afterwards he died childless, leaving his government and his possessions to Stesagoras, the son of his full brother Cimon; and since his death the men of the Chersonese have ever offered him such sacrifice as is a founder’s right, ordaining days for horse-races and feats of strength, wherein no man of Lampsacus
οὐδεὶς ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Δαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδα, πληγεύτα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανηῷ πρὸς ἄνδρος αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

39. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεως τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τῶν Κύμωνος, Στησαγόρεως δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφοῦ, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρει οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐποίευεν εὐ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δήθεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κύμωνος αὐτοῦ τῶν θάνατον, τὸν ἔγο ἐν ἀλλῳ λόγῳ σημανεό ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου ἐχεί κατ’ οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφόν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμεῖ. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἵσχεν τὴν Χερσονήσου, πεινακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμεῖε Ὄλορον τοῦ Θηρίκων βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Ἡγησιπύλην.

40. Οὕτως δὲ ὁ Κύμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεώστη μὲν ἑληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου, κατελάμβανε δὲ μιν ἐλθόντα ἀλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει πρὸ τοῦτον Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Ἀκύθας γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἠλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τοῦτος ἐπιοῦτας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ο Μιλτιάδης ἐφευρε 184.
is suffered to contend. But in the war against the Lampsacenes Stesagoras too met his end and died childless; he was smitten on the head with an axe in the town-hall by one that feigned to be a deserter but in truth was an enemy and a man of violence.

39. Such having been the end of Stesagoras, Miltiades son of Cimon and brother of the dead Stesagoras was sent in a trireme to the Chersonese, there to take control of the country, by the sons of Pisistratus; these had already used him well at Athens, feigning that they had not been accessory to the death of Cimon his father, the manner whereof I will relate in another place. Being come to the Chersonese, Miltiades kept himself within his house, professing thus to honour the memory of his brother Stesagoras. When this was known to the people of the Chersonese, the ruling men gathered together from all their cities on every side, and came in a body, as with intent to show fellow-feeling with his mourning; but he put them in bonds. So Miltiades made himself master of the Chersonese; there he maintained a guard of five hundred men, and married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace.

40. But not long after this Miltiades, son of Cimon, had come to the Chersonese, he was overtaken by a visitation heavier than the former. For he had been driven from the country three years ere this by the Scythians, their nomad tribes, provoked by Darius, having gathered themselves together and ridden as far as the Chersonese aforesaid. Not abiding their onset, Miltiades fled from the Chersonese,

1 In 493. τρίτω μέν γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. explains how it was that Miltiades had been till now absent from the Chersonese.
Χερσόνησουν, ἐς ὁ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον ὁπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων.

41. Τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήμερας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἄθηνας. καὶ ὡσπερ ῥημήθη ἐκ Καρδίτης πόλιος ἐπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου παραμείβετο τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσερι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς 'Ἰμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατέβουν διὸκουτε οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς 'Ολόρου τοῦ Ῥήμικος ἔων θυγατρός ἀλλ' εἰς ἀλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἀμα τῇ νη ἐίλου οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὡς εἴη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκεόμετε χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γυνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖς Ἰωσὶ πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖς Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέουντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν έσωτῶν. Δαρείος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακά μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἰκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἐδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οί τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμεῖται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἔξ Ἰμβρον ἀπικυνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἄθηνας.

42. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἰωσὶ, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῦ Ἰωσὶ ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτους· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδῖων ὑπαρχὸς.
till the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back again. All this had happened three years before the matters that now engaged him.

41. But now, learning that the Phoenicians were in Tenedos, he sailed away to Athens with five triremes laden with the possessions that he had by him. Setting sail from Cardia he crossed the Black Bay, and as he sailed past the Chersonese the Phoenician ships fell in with him. Miltiades himself escaped with four of his ships to Imbros, but the fifth was pursued and overtaken by the Phoenicians. Now, it chanced that the captain of this ship was Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades by another wife, not the daughter of Olorus the Thracian; this man the Phoenicians took captive with his ship, and hearing that he was Miltiades' son brought him up to the king; they thought that this would be a very thankworthy service, seeing that Miltiades had given his voice among the Ionians for obeying the Scythians when they demanded of the Ionians that they should break the bridge of boats and sail away to their homes. But when the Phoenicians brought Miltiades' son Metiochus before him, Darius did him no hurt but much good, giving him a house, and substance, and a Persian wife, who bore him children that were reckoned as Persians. As for Miltiades, he made his way from Imbros to Athens.

42. In this year no further deed of enmity was done by the Persians against the Ionians; but at this same time certain things happened which greatly benefited them. Artaphrenes viceroy of

\[1\ 493.\]
μεταπεμψάμενος ἁγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοίσι τοὺς Ἰωνικὸς ἠνάγκασε ποιέσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἰεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταύτα τε ἠνάγκασε ποιέειν, καὶ τάς χώρας μετρήσασι σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέσαντι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοις, οἱ κατὰ χώρην διατελέοντες ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἐτί καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταύτα καὶ πρῶτοι πολέοι ἔχον. καὶ σφί ταύτα μὲν εἰρηναία ἤν.

43. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἐαρί, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέως, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύνω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στράτου πολλῶν μὲν κάρτα πεζῶν ἀμα ἁγόμενος πολλῶν δὲ ναυτικῶν, ἡλικίην τε νέος ἔως καὶ νεωτέρη γεγαμηκὸς βασιλέος Δαρείον θυγατέρα Ἀρτοζωστρην ἀγὼν δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπείετε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλκίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ νέος ἐκομίσετο ἀμα τῇς ἄλλης νυσί, στρατινὴν δὲ τὴν πεζῶν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἤγον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλήσποντων. ως δὲ παραπλέων τὴν 'Ασίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖς μὴ ἀποδεκομένοις Ἐλλήνων Περσέων τοῖς ἐπτὰ 'Οτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ως χρεοῦ εἰς δημοκρατέσθαι Πέρσας τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰωνίων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας ἠπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον. ως δὲ συνελέξῃ μὲν χρῆμα πολλῶν νεῶν συνελέξῃ δὲ καὶ πεζῶς στρατὸς πολλὸς, διαβάντες τῇς νυσί τὸν Ἐλλή-
Sardis summoned to him ambassadors from the cities and compelled the Ionians to make agreements among themselves, that they might submit to redress at law and not harry and plunder each other. This he compelled them to do; and he measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty furlongs, and appointed that each people should according to this measurement pay a tribute which has remained fixed ever since that time to this day, even as it was ordained by Artaphrenes; the sum appointed was about the same as that which they had rendered heretofore. This then tended to their peace.

43. But at the beginning of spring, the other generals being now deposed by the king from their offices, Mardonius son of Gobryas, a man young in years and lately wedded to Darius' daughter Artazostre, came down to the coast at the head of a very great army and fleet; with which when Mardonius was come to Cilicia, he himself embarked on shipboard and sailed with the rest of his ships, while the land army was led by other captains to the Hellespont. When Mardonius arrived at Ionia in his voyage by the coast of Asia, he did a thing which I here set down for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the Seven that democracy was best for Persia: Mardonius deposed all the Ionian despots and set up democracies in their cities. This done, he made all speed for the Hellespont; and a great multitude of ships and a great army being there assembled, the Persians crossed the Hellespont on shipboard and

1 492.  
2 III. 80.  

189
44. Αὕτα εύνην ὅτι πρόσχειμα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου, ἀπάρ εὖ νόῳ ἔχουσε οὕσας ἃν πλείστας δύναται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνῶν πολίων, τούτο μὲν δὴ τῇ τῆς Ἡσίους οὐδὲ χείρας ἀνταπαραμένους καταστρέφαντο, τούτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοις ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσ-εκτήσαντο τά γὰρ εὐτός Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφὶ ἢν ἦδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἦπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὅρμομενοι τῶν Ἕλθον περιέβαλλον. ἐπιτεσσων δὲ σφὶ περιπλέουσι βορές ἀνεμός μέγας τα τι καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα πρεσκεφαλίζετε, πληθεὶς πολλάς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἕλθον. ξέγεται γὰρ τρικόσιας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρέσσας εἶναι, ὑπὸ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἄνθρωπών. ὥστε γὰρ θηριῳδεστάτης ἐσύστης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἕλθον, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεθεῖτο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἳ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασόμενοι οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστεάτο καὶ κατὰ τούτο διεθεῖτο, οἳ δὲ βίγαλεν.

45. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὕτω ἐπηρεσθε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευμένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ οὐκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήκες ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύοντες οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδονίον δὲ αὐτῶν τροματίζουσι. οὐ μεντοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέως οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρεών τούτων Μαρδονίους πρὶν ἡ σφεως ὑποχειρίως ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μεντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατηγὴν ὁπίσω, ἀτε τῷ πεζῷ τα προσπταίσιας πρὸς τοὺς
BOOK VI. 43-45

marched through Europe, with Eretria and Athens for their goal.

44. This was the avowed end of their expedition; but their intent being to subdue as many of the Greek cities as they could, first their fleet subdued the Thasians, who did not so much as lift up their hands against it; and next, their land army added the Macedonians to the slaves that they had already; for all the nations nearer to them than Macedonia had been made subject to the Persians ere this. Crossing then over from Thasos they voyaged near the land as far as Acanthus, and putting out from thence they would have rounded Athos. But as they sailed, there brake upon them a north wind great and irresistible, and dealt very roughly with them, driving many of their ships upon Athos; three hundred, it is said, was the tale of the ships that perished, and more than twenty thousand men. For inasmuch as these coasts of Athos abounded in wild beasts, some were carried off by these and so perished; others were dashed against the rocks; and those of them that could not swim perished by reason of that, and others again by the cold.

45. Thus then it fared with the fleet; as for Mardonius and his land army, while they were encamped in Macedonia the Brygi of Thrace attacked them by night, and slew many of them, wounding Mardonius himself. Nevertheless not even these themselves could escape being enslaved by the Persians; for Mardonius did not depart out of those lands before he had made them subject to him. Yet when he had subdued them, he led his host away homewards, seeing that the Brygi had
HERODOTUS

Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὕτος μὲν νῦν ὁ στόλος αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

46. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτῶν ὃς ἀπόστασιν μηχανόματο, πέμψας ἅγγελον ἐκέλευε σφέας τὸ τείχος περιαρείειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οὐδὲ Ἰστιαῖοι τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδους ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἔχρεωντο τοῖς χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τείχος ἱσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσοδος σφιεγίνειτο ἐκ της ἑπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὅγδοκοντα τάλαντα προσήμε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἔλασσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίῳσι Εὐσίσι καρπὸν ἀτελέσι προσήμε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἑπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἐτεος ἐκάστου διηκόνια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον προσήλθε, τριηκοσία.

47. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἷοι Φώνικες ἀνεύρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἢτοι νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φώνικος τὸ οὐνομα ἐσχε. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φώνικικὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρήκης, ὁρὸς μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ξητήσι. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλείῳ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ σφέτερον κατείλουν καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀβδηρα.

48. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν
dealt a heavy blow to his army and Athos a blow yet heavier to his fleet. This expedition then after an inglorious adventure returned back to Asia.

46. In the next year after this, 1 Darius first sent a message bidding the Thasians, of whom it was falsely reported by their neighbours that they were planning rebellion, destroy their walls and bring their ships to Abdera. For the Thasians, inasmuch as they had been besieged by Histiaeus of Miletus and had great revenues, had used their wealth to build their ships of war and encompass themselves with stronger walls. Their revenue came from the mainland and the mines. Eighty talents for the most part they drew from the gold-mines of the "Digged Forest"; 2 and from the mines of Thasos itself, albeit less than that, yet so much that the Thasians, paying no tax for their crops, drew for the most part a yearly revenue from the mainland and the mines of two hundred talents, and three hundred when the revenue was greatest.

47. I myself have seen these mines; most marvellous by far were those of them that were found by the Phoenicians who came with Thasos and planted a settlement in this island, which is now called after that Phoenician Thasos. These Phoenician mines are between the place called Aenyra and Coenyra in Thasos, over against Samothrace; they are in a great hill that has been dug up in the searching. Thus much I have to say of this. The Thasians at the king's command destroyed their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera.

48. After this, Darius essayed to learn whether

1 491. 2 On the Thracian coast, opposite Thasos.
Ελλήνων δ' τι ἐν νόμῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμεῖν ἐστιν ἢ παραδίδοναι σφέας αὐτοῖς. διέσπερνε ὃν κήρυκας ἀλλοὺς ἀλλη λάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύσων αἴτεον βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδώρ. τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέρρης, ἀλλοὺς δὲ κήρυκας διέσπερνε ἐς τὰς ἐστιν δαμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἰππαγωγά πλοία ποιέοσθαι.

49. Οὗτοι τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταύτα, καὶ τοῖς ἡκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὺ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἐδοσαν τὰ προϊσχέτο αἴτεων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιώταται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιώται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὑδώρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινήται. ποιήσασι δὲ σφὶ ταύτα ἱδέως Ἀθηναίοι ἐπεκέκατο, δοκέουσες τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινήτας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται, καὶ ἀσμενοὶ προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέουσες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητῶν τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

50. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίαν Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας ἐν Σπαρτητέων διέβη ἐς Αἰγιναν, βουλομένους συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ὡς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγινοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοι τῶν Αἰγινητῶν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κρής ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, δος οὐκ ἔφη αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἂξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητῶν· ἀνευ γὰρ μιν Σπαρτητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγρωσθέντα χρήμασιν ἂμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν. ἐλεγε δὲ ταύτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς 194
the Greeks purposed to wage war against him or to surrender themselves. Therefore he sent heralds this way and that about Hellas as they were severally appointed, bidding them demand a gift of earth and water for the king. These he despatched to Hellas, and others he sent severally to his own tributary cities of the sea-coast, commanding that ships of war and transports for horses be built.

49. So the cities set about these preparations; and the heralds that went to Hellas received that which the king's proclamation demanded, from many of the dwellers on the mainland and all the islanders to whom they came with the demand. Among the islanders that gave earth and water to Darius were the Aeginetans. These by so doing straightway brought the Athenians upon them, who supposed the Aeginetans to have given the gift out of enmity against Athens, that so they might join with the Persians in attacking the Athenians; and, gladly laying hold of this pretext, they betook themselves to Sparta and there accused the Aeginetans of an act that proved them traitors to Hellas.

50. On this impeachment, Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, being then a king of Sparta, crossed over to Aegina, that he might lay hands on the guiltiest of its people. But when he essayed to lay hands on them, Crius son of Polycritus, with other Aeginetans at his back, withstood him, and bade Cleomenes take no man of Aegina, or he would rue it; "for," said he, "you have no authority from the Spartans for what you do, but a bribe from Athens; had you such, the other king had come with you to take us." This he said, being so instructed in a letter by Demaratus. Being thus compelled to depart from Aegina, Cleomenes
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

Αυγήνης εὗρετο τὸν Κριῶν ὁ τι οἱ ἦν τὸ οὖνομα: ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐδώ εἴρρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη "Ἡ ὑπὲν καταχαλκοῦ ὁ κριὲ τὰ κέρεα, ὡς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ.

51. Ἐν δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης τοῦ τὸν χρόνων ὑπομένων Δημάρχητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἔως βασιλεύς καὶ οὗτος Σπάρτητέως, αἰκίδις δὲ τῆς ὑποδειστήρης, κατ' ἅλλο μὲν οὖν ὑποδειστήρης ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονασί κατὰ πρεσβυγενείαν δὲ καὶ τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἣ Εὐρυσθένεος.

52. Λακεδαιμονίοι γὰρ ὠμολογεύοντες οὔδειν ποιητῆ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδάιου τοῦ "Τῆλου βασιλεύσεταί ἀγαγείν σφεαζ ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν υἱόν ἐκτεαται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παιδας, μετὰ δὲ χρόνων οὐ πολλῶν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκείν τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργείην θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὔστειώνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ταύτην δὴ τεκείν διδύμα, ἐπιδώντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νοῦσω τελευτάν. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ τοὺς τότε ἑώτας βουλεύει κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὗκων δὴ σφεαζ ἐχειν ὥστε καὶ ὠμοίων καὶ ἱσων ἑόντων οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γρᾶναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τοῦτο, ἑπειρωτάν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. τὴν δὲ οὕδε αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν. εἴδυλλαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταύτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἰ καὶ υἱοφόροι γενοίατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὁν δὴ

1 Κριῶν = ram.
2 "The most probable origin of this anomaly" (the dual
asked Crius what was his name; and when Crius told him what it was, "Now is the time to put bronze on your horns, Sir Ram," said Cleomenes, "for great calamity will confront you."

51. All this time Demaratus son of Ariston abode at Sparta and spread evil reports of Cleomenes. This Demaratus was also king of Sparta, but of the less worthy family of the two; not indeed in any other regard less worthy (for they have a common ancestor), but the house of Eurysthenes has in some sort the greater honour by right of primogeniture.

52. For by the Lacedaemonian story, wherewith no poet agrees, it was Aristodemus (the son of Aristomachus, who was the son of Cleodaeus, who was the son of Hyllus), and not his sons, who led them to that land which they now possess. After no long time Aristodemus' wife, whose name was Argeia, bore him offspring; she, they say, was daughter of Autesion, who was the son of Tisamenus, who was the son of Thersander, who was the son of Polynices; she bore him twins; Aristodemus lived to see the children, and presently died of a sickness. The Lacedaemonians of that day planned to follow their custom and make the eldest of the children king. But the children being in all respects alike, they knew not which to choose; and when they could not judge between them, or perchance even before they had essayed, they asked the mother. But she said that she knew no better than the Lacedaemonians which was the elder; this she said, though she knew right well, because she desired that by some means both might be made kings. Being kingship) "is the fusion of two distinct communities whose chiefs shared the throne." How and Wells, p. 82.
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὡς τι χρήσωνται τῷ πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἄμφοτερα τὰ παιδία ἢγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραιτέρον. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταύτα σφὶ ἀνελείν, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπορέουσι σύνδεν ἢσον ὁκὰς ἔξευροςι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἀνδρὰ Μεσσήνου τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Παυίτην· ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τούτον τὸν Παυίτην τάδε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκέτερον τῶν παιδῶν πρότερον λούσαι καὶ στιτίζει· καὶ ἣν μὲν κατὰ ταύτα φαύνηται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πάν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίξηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἔξευρεῖν, ἢν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δὴ λά σφὶ ἐσεσθαι ὡς ὀυδὲ ἐκεῖνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἴδε, ἐπ᾽ ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδὸν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου υποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν 'Αριστοδήμου παιδῶν λαβεῖν κατὰ ταύτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σῖτισι καὶ λοντροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδύιαν τῶν εὗνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γειναμένης ὡς ἔδων πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ οἱ οὖνομα τεθήναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας αὐτοὺς τε ἄδελφεος ἔόντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνου τῆς ξοῆς ἀλληλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν.

53. Ταύτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μοῦνοι Ἐλλήνων τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ᾽ Ἐλλήνων ἔγω γράφω, τούτους τοὺς Δωρίδον βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ

198
then in a quandary (so the story goes), the Lacedaemonians sent to Delphi to enquire how they should deal with the matter. The priestess bade them make both the children kings, but honour the first of them most. On this answer of the priestess, the Lacedaemonians knowing no better than before how to discover the eldest child, a certain Messenian, called Panites, gave them counsel; and this was his counsel, that they should watch the mother and see which of the children she washed and fed before the other; and if in this she should ever follow one rule, they would then have all that they sought and desired to discover; but if she changed about in her practice at haphazard, then it would be manifest to the Lacedaemonians that she know no more than they did, and they must betake them to some other means. Thereupon the Spartans did as the Messenian counselled, and watching the mother of Aristodemus' children, found her ever preferring the first-born of the two when she fed and washed them, she not knowing wherefore she was watched. So they took the child that was preferred by its mother and brought it up at the public charge as the first-born; and they called it Eurysthenes, and the other Procles. These two brothers, it is said, when they came to man's estate, were ever at feud with each other as long as they lived, and their descendants too continued in the same state.

53. Such is the story told by the Lacedaemonians, but by no other Greeks. But I in what I write follow the Greek report, and hold that the Greeks are right in recording these kings of the Dorians as far back as to Perseus son of Danaë,—wherein they make
HERODOTUS

54. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι γεγενημύλγαντι, ός ἔδε ο παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ο Περσέως ἔδων Ἀσσυρίως ἐγένετο Ἐλλην, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἱ Περσέως πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογεοῦντας κατ’ οἰκημοτητα Περσέι οὐδέν, τούτοις δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους.

55. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νῦν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθων. ο τι δ’ ἔοντες Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ ο τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωρίδεων βασιλείας, ἄλλοις γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρήται, ἐάσομεν αὐτὰ. τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι.

56. Γέρεα τε δὴ τάδε τοῖς βασιλεύσει Σπαρτηται διδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Δακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ’ ἥν ἄν βούλωνται χώρην, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτητιτεῶν διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγεῖ

1 i.e. Zeus; Perseus being by one legend son of Zeus and Danaë.
2 But in VII. 150 the Persian story is, that Perseus was
BOOK VI. 53-56

no mention of the god,—and in proving the said kings to be Greek; for by Perseus’ time they had come to be reckoned as Greeks. As far back as Perseus, I say, and I take the matter no farther than that, because none is named as the mortal father of Perseus, as Amphitryon is named father of Heracles. It is plain, then, that I have right reason on my side when I say that the Greek record is right as far back as to Perseus; farther back than that, if the king’s ancestors in each generation, from Danaë daughter of Acrisius upward, be reckoned, then the leaders of the Dori ans will be shown to be true-born Egyptians.

54. Thus have I traced their lineage according to the Greek story; but the Persian tale is, that Perseus himself was an Assyrian, and became a Greek, which his forbears had not been; as for Acrisius (say the Persians), his ancestors had no bond of kinship with Perseus, and they indeed were, as the Greeks say, Egyptians.

55. Enough of these matters. Now the reason why and for what achievements these men, being Egyptian, won the kingship of the Dori ans, has been told by others; of this therefore I will say nothing, and will make mention of matters which others have not touched.

56. These prerogatives, then, the Spartans have given to their kings:—They shall have two priesthoods, of Zeus called Lacedaemon, and Zeus of Heaven; they shall wage war against what land soever they will, and no Spartan shall hinder them son of Danaë daughter of Acrisius. Evidently the Perseus legends are manifold and inconsistent.

Here, as often, the cult of an “Olympian” deity is identified with an earlier local worship; cp. Zeus Amphiaras, Zeus Agamemnon.
The content of a "Laconian tetartē" is uncertain; for the date, see How and Wells ad loc.

Usually, the ἴπτενος is a citizen who out of friendship for a particular state undertakes the protection of its nationals in his city; e.g. Miltiades at Athens is the ἴπτενος.
therein, on peril of being laid under the curse. When the armies go forth the kings shall be first in the advance and last in the retreat. A hundred chosen men shall guard them in their campaigns. They shall use for sacrifice at the setting out of their expeditions as many sheep and goats as they will, and shall take the hides and the chines of all sacrificed beasts.

57. Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are according as I shall now show. At all public sacrifices the kings shall be first to sit down to the banquet, and shall be first served, each of them receiving a portion double of what is given to the rest of the company; theirs shall be the first libations, and theirs the hides of the sacrificed beasts. At each new moon and each seventh day of the first part of the month, there shall be given to each of them from the public store a full-grown victim for Apollo's temple, and a bushel of barley-meal and a Laconian quart\(^1\) of wine, and chief seats set apart for them at the games. Moreover, to these it shall belong to appoint what citizens soever they will to be protectors of foreigners;\(^2\) and they shall choose the Pythians, each of them two. (The Pythians are messengers sent to enquire at Delphi, who eat with the kings at the public charge.) And if the kings come not to the public dinner there shall be sent to their houses two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine, but when they come they shall receive a double share of everything; and the same honour shall be theirs when they are bidden by private citizens to dinner. All oracles that are given of Sparta. But here he is apparently an official appointed to watch over the interests of all foreign residents.
HERODOTUS

58. Ταύτα μὲν ξῶσι τοιοὶ βασιλεῖσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν, ὕποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. Ἰππεῖς περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Δακωνικὴν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γνωαίκες περισσοῦσι λέβητα κροτεύοσι. ἔπειν δὲ τοῦτο γίνεται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίσθη ἐκάστης ἐλευθερος δύο καταμιᾶνεσθαι, ἀνδρὰ τε καὶ γυναῖκα μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τούτο ξημέρει μεγάλα ἐπικέασαι. νόμος δὲ τοισὶ Λακεδαίμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὁποῖος καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν ἱππῶν ἄρα ὅτι ἐφαρμόσων οἱ πλεῖνες τὸ αὐτὸ νόμῳ χρέωσαι κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἔπειν γὰρ ἀπόθανη βασιλεὺς Λακεδαίμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀριθμῶν τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἰέναι. τούτων ὡς καὶ τῶν εἰλικτέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐπεάν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τῶν τοῦτο πολλαὶ χιλιάδες σύμμωγα τῇσι γυναιξί, κοπτοῦνται

1 "Herodotus, though the expression is obscure, probably means not that each king had two votes, but that two votes..."
shall be in the king's keeping, the Pythians also being cognisant thereof. The kings alone shall judge concerning the rightful possessor of an unwedded heiress, if her father have not betrothed her, and concerning the public ways, but in no other cases. And if a man desire to adopt a son he shall do it in the presence of the kings. And they shall sit with the twenty-eight elders in council; but if they come not thereto, then those elders that are nearest of kin to them shall have the king's prerogative, giving two votes over and above the third which is their own. 1

58. These rights have the kings received from the Spartan commonwealth for their lifetime; when they die, their rights are as I shall now show. Horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Laconia, and in the city women go about beating on a caldron. So when this is done, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, must needs put on the signs of defilement, or incur heavy penalties if they fail so to do. The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as have the foreign people of Asia; for the most of the foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. For when a king of the Lacedaemonians is dead, from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans, such and such a number of their subject neighbours must perforce come to the funeral. These then and the helots and the Spartans themselves being assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously smite their foreheads and were given for the two absent kings, and that the vote of the relative who acted as proxy for both was the third.” How and Wells, p. 87.
HERODOTUS

te tā μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτω, φάμενοι τὸν ύστατον αἰεί ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τούτων δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον. δὲ δὲ ἄν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτω δὲ εἰδώλουν σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὐ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεάν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἵσταται σφί οὐδ’ ἀρχαίρεις συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταῦτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

59. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὕτω τόδε τοῖς Πέρσησι· ἐπεάν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέας ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεύς, οὗτος ο ἐσιῶν ἐλευθεροὶ ὅστις τι Σπαρτητέων τῷ βασιλείῳ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφειλε· ἐν δ’ αὐ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεύς τῶν προοφειλόμενον φόρον μετεί τῇς πόλισι πάσης.

60. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοις Δακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατριώτας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέων γίνεται καὶ μάγειροι μαγείρου καὶ κήρυκες κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληόνσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέονσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται· τότε δὲ τῶν Κλεομένεα ἐντά τῇ Ἀιγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρχης διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγυπτιτεῶν οὕτω κηδόμενοι ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἀγῇ χρεώμενοι. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ὑπ’ Ἀιγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρχητον παύσαι τῆς βασιλείης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοῦοῦ ἐπίβασιν εἰς αὐτῶν ζωεύμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύσωτι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γῆμαντι γυναικὰς δύο παιδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ
make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is lateliest dead, whoever he be, the best of all their kings. Whenever a king is slain in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-bedecked bier, and after burial, for ten days thereafter there is no meeting for market or assize, nor for choosing of magistrates, but these are days of mourning.

59. Here is another matter wherein the Lacedaemonians are like to the Persians:—When one king is dead and another takes his office, this successor releases from debt what Spartan soever owed anything to the king or the commonwealth; so too among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute.

60. Moreover the Lacedaemonians are like the Egyptians, in that their heralds and flute-players and cooks inherit the craft from their fathers, a flute-player's son being a flute-player, and a cook's son a cook, and a herald's son a herald; no others usurp their places, making themselves heralds by loudness of voice; they ply their craft by right of birth.

61. Such is the way of these matters. But at the time whereof I speak, while Cleomenes was in Aegina, there working for what should be afterwards the common advantage of Hellas, Demaratus spread ill reports of him, less because he cared for the Aeginetans, than out of jealousy and malice. When Cleomenes returned back from Aegina, he planned to depose Demaratus from his kingship; for what cause he thus assailed him I will now show. Aristo, king of Sparta, had married two wives, but no children were born to him. Believing that he
οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τοὺτον εἶναι αὐτίς, γαμέει τρίτην γυναίκα· ὥδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλοι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνήρ, τῷ προσεκέπτο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι ἐτύγχανε εὐσά σα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταύτα μεντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχρίστης γενομένη. εὐσάν γὰρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἡ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οὐα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων ὀχυράει καὶ δυσειδεὰ εὐσάν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁρώσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταύτα ἐκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνα τάσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἐλένης ἱρὸν. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπτης καλευμένη ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβησίου ἱρὸν. δὲς δὲ ἐνείκεισε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῶγαλμα ἱστα καὶ ἐλύσετο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίας τὸ παιδίου. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούση ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ γυναίκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιφανείσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὃ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελεύσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρήσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γενιμένων μηδεὶς ἐπιδεικνύσαι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωτῇ κελεύσει ἐπιδέξαι. ὀρώσαν δὲ τὴν γυναίκα περὶ πολλὸν ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ κατα- ψώσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπέτα ὡς καλ- λιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἴδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ὡς γάμον ὀρὴν ἀπικομένην ἀγητὸς ὁ Ἀλκείδεα, οὕτω δὴ ο τοῦ Ἀρίστωνοις φίλος.

62. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἐκνιζὲ ἅρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς τε τῷ
himself was not in fault, he married a third wife; and this was how it came about. There was a certain Spartan who was Ariston’s nearest and dearest friend. This man had a wife who was by far the fairest of Spartan women, yet albeit she was now the fairest she had been most ill-favoured. For, she being of mean aspect, her nurse having in mind that the daughter of a wealthy house was so uncomely, and that her parents took her appearance much to heart, bethought her for these reasons of a plan, and carried the child every day to the shrine of Helen, which is in the place called Therapne,1 above the temple of Phoebus. Thither the nurse would bear the child, and set her by the image, and pray the goddess to deliver her from her ill looks. Now on a day, as the nurse was departing out of the temple, a woman (it is said) appeared to her, and asked her what she bore in her arms. “It is a child,” said the nurse. “Show it to me,” said the woman. “That,” quoth the nurse, “I cannot do; for I am forbidden by the parents to show it to any.” “Nay,” said the woman, “but you must by all means show me the child.” So when the nurse saw that the woman was very desirous to see the child, she did then show it; whereupon the woman stroked the child’s head, and said that this should be the fairest of all Spartan ladies. From that day, it is said, the child’s appearance changed; and when she came to marriageable age she was wedded to that friend of Ariston, Agetus son of Alcidas.

62. But Ariston, it would seem, conceived a passion for this woman; and this was his device to

1 S.E. of Sparta; the legendary burial-place of Menelaus and Helen. The foundations of a temple are still visible.
63. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναῖκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποτελείματος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσοντι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μήνας ἡ γυνὴ αὐτή τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρχον. καὶ τίς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θῶκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἑφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. δὲ ἐπιστάμενος τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενοι τοὺς μῆνας, εἰπε ἀπομόσιας "Οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἶν," τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἑφοροί, πρῆγμα μὲντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτικά. ὁ δὲ παῖς ηὔξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παίδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρχον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρχον δὲ αὐτῷ οὐνομά ἔθετο διὰ τὸ δὲ πρότερον τούτων παν- δημεῖ Σπαρτητῖται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἄνδρι εὐδοκιμόντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παίδα γένεσθαι.

64. Διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρχος
get her. He promised his friend, the husband of this woman, that he would make him a present of some one of his possessions, whatever the friend himself should choose, on condition that his friend should give him a recompense in like manner. Having no fear for his wife,—seeing that Ariston had a wife also,—Agetus consented thereto; and they swore an oath upon it. Then Ariston gave Agetus whatsoever it was that he chose out of Ariston's treasures; for himself, as the recompense that he was fain to win from Agetus, he essayed to take away his friend's wife. Agetus said he would consent to all else, save only that; howbeit he was compelled by his oath and the trick whereby he was deceived, and suffered Ariston to take her.

63. Thus Ariston brought home his third wife, having divorced the second; and in a shorter time than the full ten months his wife bore him a child, the Demaratus aforesaid. He was sitting in council with the ephors when one of his household came to tell him that a son was born to him; and knowing the time of his marriage, he reckoned the months on his fingers and said, with an oath, "The boy cannot be mine." The ephors heard that; but for the nonce they took no account of it. As the boy grew, Ariston repented him of what he had said; for he believed Demaratus to be in very truth his son. He called him Demaratus, because ere this the whole "people" of the Spartans had "prayed" that Ariston might have a son, he being held in greater honour than any king of Sparta.

64. For that cause the name Demaratus was
Perhaps Herodotus wrote διὰ τὸν ἱερὸν τῷ αἰτίῳ.
given to the boy; and as time went on Ariston died, and Demaratus obtained his kingship. But fate (it would seem) willed that these matters should be discovered and lose Demaratus his kingship for some such reason as this. Cleomenes had been bitterly at enmity with Demaratus ere this, when Demaratus led his army away from Eleusis, and as bitterly now when he himself had crossed over to punish those Aeginetans who espoused the Persian cause.

65. Being therefore desirous of revenge, Cleomenes made an agreement with a man of Demaratus' family, Leutychides son of Menares, who was the son of Agis, that if he made Leutychides king in Demaratus' stead, Leutychides should go with him against the Aeginetans. Now Leutychides was a mortal foe of Demaratus; for he having been betrothed to Percalus, daughter of Chilon the son of Demarmenus, Demaratus had plotted and robbed Leutychides of his bride, carrying her off before the marriage and wedding her himself. Such was the reason of Leutychides' feud with Demaratus; and now by Cleomenes' instigation he brought an accusation against Demaratus, alleging him to be no rightful king of Sparta, seeing that he was not the son of Ariston; which accusation being laid he impeached Demaratus in court, ever keeping in mind what Ariston had said when the servant brought news of the birth of a son, and on a reckoning of the months he swore that the boy was none of his. On that saying Leutychides took his stand, and strove to prove that Demaratus was no son of Ariston or rightful king of Sparta, by calling as witnesses those
πάρεδροί τε ἐόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταύτα Ἀρίστωνος.

66. Τέλος δὲ ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος. ἀνοίστοι δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίας τῆς Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιεῖται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τῶν Ἀριστοφάντων, ἀνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖς δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντι ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτόων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παίδα. ὦστέρος μὲντοι χρόνος ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταύτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἐφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρίτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείας οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἐφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μηδοὺς ἐκ τοιοῦτο ὅνειδεσ. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρχε αἵρεθείς ἀρχῆν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι, θεωμένους δὲ τοῦ Δημαρίτου ὁ Δευτυχίδης γεγονὼς ἦδη βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀντὶ ἐκείνου, τέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωτι τε καὶ λάσθη εἰρήτα τὸν Δημαρίτου ὁκεών τι εἰ ἦ τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. δὲ δὲ ἀλγήσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φᾶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἦδη πεπειρηθαί, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντων ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Δακεδαιμονίοις ἢ μυρίῃς κακότητος ἢ μυρίῃς εὐδαιμονίης. ταύτα δὲ εἰπας καὶ κατακαλυφάμενος ἢμε
ephors who had then been sitting in council and heard Ariston say that.

66. At the last, the matter being in dispute, the Spartans resolved to enquire of the Delphic oracle if Demaratus were the son of Ariston. This was reported to the Pythian priestess by the instigation of Cleomenes; who then gained the aid of Cobon son of Aristophantus, a man of very great power at Delphi; and Cobon over-persuaded Perialla, the prophetess, to say what Cleomenes desired to be said. On this the priestess, when the messengers enquired of her, gave judgment that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. But at a later day these doings were discovered; Cobon was banished from Delphi and Perialla the prophetess was deprived of her honourable office.

67. This then was how Demaratus was deposed from his kingship; and he betook himself from Sparta into banishment among the Medes by reason of a reproach of which I will now tell. After he was deposed, Demaratus held an office whereto he had been elected. Now while the festival of the Naked Men 1 was celebrating, and Demaratus watching it, Leutychides, having by this time been made king in his place, sent his servant to ask Demaratus by way of mere mockery and insult how he liked his office after being a king. Wroth at that question, Demaratus made answer that he had made trial of both states, which Leutychides had not; but of that question (he said) 'twas likelier that huge calamity would come upon Lacedaemon than huge prosperity. Thus he spoke, and covering his head he quitted the

1 A midsummer festival, celebrated at Sparta by bands of naked boys and men.
HERODOTUS

ἐκ τοῦ θείτρου ἐς τὰ ἐωτου ὁικία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθνε τῷ Διῷ βοῶν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε.

68. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχων κατικέτευε, τοιάδε λέγων. "Ὡ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἀλλῶν καταπτόμενος ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείαν, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὁρθὸς λόγῳ. Δευτερικής μὲν γὰρ ἐφὶ ἐν τοῖς νείκεσι λέγων κυνεύσαν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἢνδρὸς οὔτω ἐλθείν παρὰ Αρίστωνα. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασί σε ἐλθείν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὁμοφορόβιον, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σὲ ὄν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπείν τῶληθές· οὔτε γὰρ, εἰ περ πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μοὐνὴ δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλῶν δὲ· ὁ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιοῦν ὦκ ἐνήν· τεκείν γὰρ ἀν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναικας."

69. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἔλεγε, ἦ δὲ ἀμείβετο τούσιδε. "Ὡ παῦ, ἐπεῖτε με λιτῆσι μετέρχεαι εἰπείν τὴν ἀληθείαν, τὰν ἐς σὲ κατειρήσεται τῶληθές. ὡς μὲ ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἐωτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἤλθε μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστων, συνενυθέν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιτίθεε. καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων ὡς δὲ με εἴδε ἔχουσαν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἰς μοὶ ὁ δοῦς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνου, ὃ δὲ ὦκ ὑπεδέκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατομνύμην φαμένη αὐτῶν οὐ ποιεῖν καλὸς ἀπαρνεόμενον. ὁλίγῳ γὰρ τι προτέρου ἐλθόντα καὶ συνενυθέντα δούναι μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὄρεων δὲ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων
216
theatre and went to his own house; there he made ready and sacrificed an ox to Zeus; after which sacrifice he called to him his mother.

68. She came, and he put a part of the entrails in her hands, and said in entreaty: "My mother, I entreat you in the name of the gods, but especially Zeus of the household in whose presence we stand: tell me now truly, who was in very deed my father. For Leutychides said in those disputes, that you had a son in you by your first husband when you came to Ariston; and others there are that have a yet more random tale, saying that you consorted with one of the household that was the ass-keeper, and that it is his son that I am. Therefore I entreat you by the gods to tell me the truth; for if you have done aught such as they say of you, not you only but many other women have done the like; and it is currently reported at Sparta that Ariston had it not in him to be a father, else would his former wives have borne him children."

69. Thus he spoke, and thus she answered him: "My son, since you pray and entreat me to tell you the truth, the whole truth shall be told to you. On the third night after Ariston had brought me to his house, there came to me an appearance like to Ariston, and lay with me, and then put on me the garlands which he had. So when that figure was gone, presently Ariston came to me. Seeing the garlands on me, he asked me who had given them; I said they were his gift, but he denied it. Then I said, and swore it, that he did not well to deny it; for, I told him, he had come but a little while ago and lain with me and so given me the garlands. When Ariston saw that I swore to that, he per-
HERODOTUS

ἐμαθε ὡς θείον εἶν τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱρωίου τοῦ παρὰ τῇ βουλῇ τῇ αὐλῇ ἱδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστροβάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντεις τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἴρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὔτω δὲ παῖ ἔχεις παῖ, ὥσπερ τι καὶ βουλεῖαι πυθέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱρωίου τούτου γέγονα, καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστὶ Ἀστρόβακος ὁ ἴρως, ἢ Ἀρίστων. ἐν γὰρ σὲ τῇ νυκτί ταύτῃ ἀναίρεομαι. τῇ δὲ σεν μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἔχθροι, λέγοντες ως αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγέλθης γεγενημένος, πολλῶν ἀκούοντων οὐ φήσεις σὲ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκις ἐξήκειν), ἀδρεία τῶν τοιούτων κείνων τούτω ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔτος. τίκτοις γὰρ γνυάκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἕπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσας δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὁ παῖ ἐπτάμινῳ ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων σὺ μετὰ πολλῶν χρόνων οὐ παῖσας ὃς ἀνοίη τὸ ἔτος ἐκβάλοι τούτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γεγένεσις τῆς σεωτοῦ μὴ δέκεστα τὰ γὰρ ἀλθὲστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδη καὶ τοῖς ταύτα λέγουσι τίκτοις αἴ γνυάκες παῖδας.”

70. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐλέγε, δὲ πυθόμενος τε τὰ ἐβουλευταὶ ἐπόδια καὶ ἐπούξια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς ’Ἡλιον, τῷ λόγῳ φᾶς ὃς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπότοποι θέντες Δημάρχον δρησμὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔδωκον. καὶ κως ἐφθῇ ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς ὁ Δημάρχος ἐκ τῆς ’Ηλιδος· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτῶν τε ἀποτυγκοῦ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἀπαιρέονται. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτῶν
ceived that the hand of heaven was in the matter; and not only were the garlands plainly seen to have come from the hero's shrine they call Astrobacus' shrine, that stands by the door of the courtyard, but the diviners declared that it was that same hero, Astrobacus, that had visited me. Thus, my son, you have all that you desire to know; for either you are the son of that hero, and the hero Astrobacus is your father, or Ariston is; for on that night did I conceive you. But as touching the plea that they most urge against you, namely, that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced to him, said in the hearing of many that you were not his son, the full ten months' time being not completed: that was an idle word that he spoke, as not knowing the truth of such matters; for not all women complete the full ten months' time, but some bear children after nine months, or even after seven; and you, my son, were born after seven months. It was not long ere Ariston himself came to know that this was a foolish word that had escaped him. Give no credence to any other tales concerning your birth; for this is very truth that I have told you; and for Leutychides himself and those that tell such tales, may they be cuckolded by their ass-keepers."

70. Thus his mother spoke. Demaratus, having learnt what he desired, took provision for the way and journeyed to Elis, pretending that he journeyed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle. But the Lacedaemonians suspected that he planned to escape, and pursued after him; Demaratus was by some means beforehand with them and crossed the sea from Elis to Zacynthus; the Lacedaemonians crossed over after him and strove to lay hands on him, carrying
οι Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεῦτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος τύχῃ, ἄλλα τε Δακεδαιμονίοις συχνὰ ἔργοις τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφί ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπτω προσέβαλε, μοῦνος τούτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιῆσας.

71. Δευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημάρητος καταπαυσθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλήν, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἑκάλεον. οὕτως ο Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευε Σπάρτης: πρὸ Δευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελεύτω, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Δευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ θευτῆρη γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐόσιαν Μενίου ἄδελφην Διακτο-ρίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσει μὲν γίνεται οὐδέν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δαμπιτῶ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ο Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ δόντος αὐτῷ Δευτυχίδεω.

72. Οὐ μὲν οὖδὲ Δευτυχίδης κατεγύρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιῇδε τινὰ Δημάρητῳ ἔξετυσε. ἐστράτηγησε δὲ Αδακεδαιμονίοις ἐς Θεσσαλίην, παρεόν δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποξείμα ποιήσα-σθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλὸν: ἐπὶ αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέξ ἀργυρίου, ἐφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ τὰ οἰκίοι τε κατεσκάφη ἐφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

73. Τάυτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὑστερων τότε δὲ ως τῷ Κλεομένει ὁ ὅστη τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον
off his servants. Then, the Zacynthians refusing to
give him up, he crossed thence to Asia and betook
himself to king Darius, who received him royally and
gave him lands and cities. Thus and after such
adventures came Demaratus to Asia, a man that had
gained much renown in Lacedaemon by his many
achievements and his wisdom, but most by making
over to the state the victory in a chariot-race that
he had won at Olympia; he was the only king of
Sparta who did this.

71. Demaratus being deposed, Leutychides son
of Menares succeeded to his kingship; and there
was born to him a son, Zeuxidemus, called by some
of the Spartans Cyniscus. This Zeuxidemus never
came to be king of Sparta; for he died in
Leutychides’ lifetime, leaving a son, Archidemus.
Having thus lost Zeuxidemus, Leutychides married
a second wife, Eurydame, sister of Menius and
daughter of Diactorides; by her he had no male
issue, but a daughter, Lampito, to whom Archidemus
son of Zeuxidemus was married by Leutychides.

72. But neither did Leutychides himself win to
old age in Sparta; he was punished for his dealing
with Demaratus, as I will show: he led a Lace-
daemonian army to Thessaly, 1 and when he might
have subdued all the country he took a great bribe;
and being caught in the very act of hoarding a
sleeve full of silver there in the camp, he was
brought before a court and banished from Sparta,
and his house destroyed; and he went into exile at
Tegea and there died.

73. This befel long afterwards; but at the time
of my story, Cleomenes, his dealing in the matter of

1 The date is uncertain; about 475 or 470, probably.
πρήγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβῆν Δευτυχίδεα ἦς ἐπὶ
tοὺς Αἰγυπταῖς, δεινὸν τιμᾶ σφὶ ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν
προπηλακισμὸν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγυπταῖ,
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἥκοντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς,
ἐδικαίων ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι
ἀνδρὰς δέκα Αἰγυπτέων τοὺς πλείστον ἄξιοις καὶ
πλοῦτῳ καὶ γένει ἣγον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ
Κρὸν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβου τῶν
'Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ ἔχον μέγιστον κράτος·
ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν 'Αττικὴν παρα-
θήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Αἰγυπτησί
'Αθηναίους.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κλεομένεα ἐπάιστον γενό-
μενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρχητον δείμα ἔλαβε
Σπαρτιτέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθευ-
τεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν 'Αρκαδίην νεώτερα
ἐπρησε πρήγματα, συνυστάς τοὺς 'Αρκάδας ἐπὶ
τὴν Σπάρτην, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων σφὶ ἡ
μὲν ἐψεσθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἄν ἐξηγήσοι, καὶ δὴ
καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἡν τῶν 'Αρκάδων
τοὺς προστεώτας ἀγινέων ἔξωρκον τὸ Στυγός
ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὅπο
τῶν 'Αρκάδων τὸ Στυγός ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐστὶ
tουόνδε τῷ ὕδωρ ὀλίγων φαινόμενον εἰκ πέτρης
στάξει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασίης τις περι-
θέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγῇ αὐτῆ
τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς 'Αρκαδίῆς πρὸς
Φενέω.

75. Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Δακεδαίμονι ταύ-
tα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτοῦ δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖς καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε,
κατέλθοντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη
222
Demaratus being so sped, forthwith took Leutychides with him and went to punish the Aeginetans, against whom he was terribly wroth by reason of their despiteful usage of him. When the Aeginetans saw that both the kings were come after them, they now deemed it best to offer no further resistance; and the kings chose out ten men of Aegina who were most honoured for wealth and lineage, among them Crius son of Polycritus and Casambus son of Aristocrates, the two most powerful men in Aegina; these they carried to Attica and gave them into the keeping of the Athenians, the bitterest foes of the Aeginetans.

74. After this, Cleomenes' treacherous plot against Demaratus became known; and he was seized with fear of the Spartans and slunk away into Thessaly. Coming thence into Arcadia he wrought disorder in that country; for he strove to unite the Arcadians against Sparta; besides his other ways of binding them by oath to follow him to whatsoever enterprise he led them, he was fain to bring the chief men in Arcadia to the town of Nonacris and make them to swear by the water of Styx.¹ Near this town is said to be the Arcadian water of Styx, and this is its nature: it is a stream, small to behold, that flows from a cliff into a pool; a wall of stones runs round the pool. Nonacris, where this spring rises, is a town of Arcadia nigh to Pheneus.

75. When the Lacedaemonians learnt that such was Cleomenes' intent, they took fright, and brought him back to Sparta, there to be king as he had heretofore been. But Cleomenes had ere now been

¹ The "water of Styx" is a mountain torrent flowing through a desolate ravine on the N. face of Chelmos.
νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον ὡς γὰρ τεῖ δὲ εὐτύχοι Σπαρτιτησίων, ἐνέχρανε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκουντες ἐν ξύλῳ. δὲ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φυλάκον μυνωθέντα ἐδοξοῦν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτεῖ αμάχαιραν οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδοὺν ἀπείλεε τὰ μν ἄνδρας ποιῆσε, ἐς δὲ δεῖσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φυλάκος (ἡ γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτεῦσι) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραι. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβῶν τὸν σίδηρον ἁρχετὸ εκ τῶν κυμέων ἐωτοῦ λωβόμενος· ἐπιτάμων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κυμέων ἐς τοὺς μηροὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ὡς εἶ τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπεθανεὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι. Ἐλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνέγινοσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναίοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἐκείρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργείοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱερῶν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀργοῦ Ἀρχιάν τοὺς κατα- φυγόντας εἶ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλογον ἐν ἄλογῃ ἔχων ἐνέπτησε.

76. Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευμένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἄργος αἵρήσεως ἐπείτε ὡς Σπαρτιτήσας ἄγον απίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασίσων, ὡς λέγεται ἡ δὲ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος ἱμνησις· τὴν γὰρ δὴ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανῆ ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀνα- φαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεί, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη

---

1 Cp. ch. 80.
2 The Stymphalian lake, near the base of Cyllene, dis-
not wholly in his right mind, and now he fell sick of a madness; for any Spartan that he met he would smite in the face with his staff. For so doing, and for the frenzy that was on him, his nearest of kin made him fast in the stocks. But he saw in his bonds that his guard was left alone and none by, and he asked him for a dagger; the guard at first would not give it, but Cleomenes threatening what he would do to him thereafter, the guard, who was a helot, was affrighted by the threats and gave him the dagger. Then Cleomenes took the weapon and set about gashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, and from the thigh to the hip and the flank, till he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, as the most of the Greeks say, because he over-persuaded the Pythian priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus; as the Athenians say (but none other) because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods; and as the Argives say, because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus he brought them out thence and cut them down, and held the sacred grove itself in no regard but burnt it.

76. For when Cleomenes was seeking a divination at Delphi, an oracle was given him that he should take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasmus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake (for this lake, they say, issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the charges itself into a cavern at the foot of a cliff; the river which reappears near Argos (the Erasinus) has been generally identified with this stream.
τότο υπ' Ἀργείων Ἔρασίνων καλέσθαι ἀπικόμενος δ' ἄν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγμάζετο αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεει οὐδαμῶς διαβάινειν μιν, ἀγασθαὶ μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἔρασίνων οὗ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολιτάς, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὦς χαίρησειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὰν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦρον πλοίουσι σφέας ἠγαγε ἔσ τε τῇ Τιρυνθίνῃ χῶρην καὶ Ναυπλίνη.

77. Ἀργείοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θαλάσσαν· ὡς δὲ ἄγχοι μὲν ἐγινόντο τῆς Τίρυνθος, χῶρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Ἡσίπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ζυντο ἀντίοι τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθάδε δὴ οἱ Ἀργείοι τῇ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθῶσι καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθίη τούτου ὑπὲρ Μιλησίουσι, λέγουν ὥδε.

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θῆλεια τοῦ ἀρσεν αικήσασα ἐξειλάγη καὶ κύδος ἐν Ἀργείουσιν ἄρταια, πολλάς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τὸτε θῆσει. ὅς ποτέ τις ἔρρει καὶ ἐπεσομένων ἀνθρώπων "Δεινὸς ὄψις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο δοῦρ δαμασθεὶς."

ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖς Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρεῖχε. καὶ δὴ σφὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐδοξὲ

1 Stein, following the best MSS., reads ἀδέλικτος; but the words appear to be otherwise unknown; I prefer τριέλικτος, for which there is some MS. authority.
Argives Erasinus),—when Cleomenes came to this river he sacrificed victims to it; and being in nowise able to get favourable omens for his crossing, he said that he honoured the Erasinus for keeping true to its countrymen, but that even so the Argives should not go unscathed. Presently he withdrew thence and led his army seaward to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and carried his men on shipboard to the region of Tiryns, and Nauplia.

77. Hearing of this, the Argives came to the coast to do battle with him; and when they had come near Tiryns and were at the place called Hesipaea, they encamped over against the Lacedaemonians, leaving but a little space between the armies. There the Argives had no fear of fair fighting, but rather of being worsted by guile; for it was that which was signified by the oracle which the Pythian priestess gave to the Argives and Milesians in common, which ran thus:

Woe for the day when a woman shall vanquish a man in the battle,\(^1\)

Driving him far from the field and winning her glory in Argos:

Many an Argive dame her cheeks shall be rending in sorrow.

Yea, and in distant days this word shall be spoken of mortals:

“There lay slain by the spear that thrice-twined terrible serpent.”

All these things meeting together spread fear among the Argives. Therefore they resolved to defend

\(^1\) This would be fulfilled by a victory of the female \(\Sigma \pi \alpha \rho \tau \eta\) over the male \(\alpha \rho \gamma \omega \).
τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμῶν χράσθαι, δόξαν δὲ σφι ἔποιεον τοιόνδε: ὁκιως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κήρυξ προσημαίνω τι Δακεδαιμονίσι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τἀυτὸ τοῦτο.

78. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεύτας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖν τι ὁ σφέτερος κήρυξ σημηνεε, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνῃ ὁ κήρυξ ποιεσθαι ἀριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅταν χωρεῖν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀριστον ἡμᾶρ ποιεμένοις τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλεύνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

79. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἀνδρας καὶ πυθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπτων κήρυκα ὁνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργέμενος, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φᾶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἄποινα δὲ ἑστὶ Πελοποννησίοις δύο μνεία τεταγμέναι κατ’ ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἑκτίνεν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ δὲν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκάστως ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἑκτείνε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἔλειπθε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἀτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὁ τι ἐπρημόθησον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβᾶς ἔπλενδρον κατεῖδε τὸ ποιεύμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐτὶ καλεόμενοι ἐξήσαν.

80. Ἐνθαύτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων περινεειν ὅλῃ τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καὶομένου δὲ
themselves by making the enemies' herald serve them, and, being so resolved, whenever the Spartan herald cried any command to the Lacedaemonians they, too, did the very thing that he bade.

78. When Cleomenes saw that the Argives did whatever was bidden by his herald, he gave command that when the herald cried the signal for the men to breakfast, they should then put on their armour and attack the Argives. The Lacedaemonians performed this bidding: for when they assaulted the Argives they caught them breakfasting in obedience to the herald's signal; many of them they slew, and more by far of the Argives fled for refuge into the grove of Argus, where the Lacedaemonians encamped round and closely watched them.

79. Then Cleomenes' plan was this: he had with him certain deserters, from whom he made due enquiry, and then sent a herald calling the names of the Argives that were shut up in the sacred precinct and inviting them to come out; saying therewith, that he had their ransom. Now among the Peloponnesians there is a fixed ransom to be paid for every prisoner, two minae for each. So Cleomenes invited about fifty Argives to come out, one after another, and slew them. It happened that this slaying was unknown to the rest that were in the temple precinct; for the grove being thick, they that were within could not see how it fared with them that were without, till one of them climbed a tree and saw what was being done. Thereafter they would not come out at the herald's call.

80. On that Cleomenes bade all the helots pile wood about the grove; they obeyed, and he burnt the grove. When the fire was now burning, he
HERODOTUS

81. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ο Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὰν ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι εἰς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστεὰς ἂς ἐς τὸ "Ἡραίων θύσιων" βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἵρεις ἀπηγόρευε, φας οὐκ ὁσιον ἐναι ξεινόν αὐτόθι θύειν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἵρεα ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτασ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγώσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑθυσε' ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆκε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

82. Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἔχθροι ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους, φάμενοι μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἐλείν τὸ "Ἀργος, παρεδών εὔπτετῶς μιν ἐλεῖν. ο δὲ σφί ἐλεξε, οὔτε εἰ γευσόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἄλθεα λέγων, ἐχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἐλεξε δ' ὑν φάμενοι, ἐπείτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἀργον ἵρον ἐλον, δοκεῖν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν πρὸς ὁν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλεος, πρὶν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσηται καὶ μᾶθῃ εἴτε οἱ ο θεὸς παραδίδοι εἴτε ἐμποδῶν ἐστηκε' καλλιεργοῦμεν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὔτω τὴν ἀτρεκεῖν, ὃτι οὐκ αἱρείει τὸ "Ἀργος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρεῖν ἄν κατ' ἀκρης τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμ-  

1 About four miles N.E. of Argos.
asked of one of the deserters, to what god the grove was sacred; "to Argus," said the man; when he heard that he cried loudly and lamentably: "Apollo, thou god of oracles, sorely hast thou deceived me with thy word that I should take Argos; this, I guess, is the fulfilment of that prophecy."

81. Presently Cleomenes sent the more part of his army back to Sparta; he himself took with him a thousand that were his best warriors, and went to the temple of Here, to there to sacrifice. But when he would have sacrificed on the altar the priest forbade him, saying that no stranger might lawfully sacrifice there. Thereupon Cleomenes bade the helots bring the priest away from the altar and scourge him, and he himself offered sacrifice; which done, he returned to Sparta.

82. But after his returning his enemies brought him before the ephors, saying that it was for a bribe that he had not taken Argos, when he might have taken it easily. But Cleomenes alleged (whether falsely or truly, I cannot rightly say; but this he alleged in his speech) that he had supposed the god's oracle to be fulfilled by his taking of the temple of Argus; wherefore, he had thought it best not to make any assay on the city before he should have enquired by sacrifice and learnt whether the god would deliver it to him or withstand him; and while he took omens in Here's temple a flame of fire had shone forth from the breast of the image, whereby he had learnt the truth of the matter, that Argos was not for his taking. For (said he) had the flame come out of the head of the image, he would have taken the city from head to foot utterly; but its coming from the breast signified that he had done as
ψαντός πάντιν οἱ πεποιηθῆσαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83. Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη ὦτω ὡστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἀρχοῦτες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὅ ἐπῆβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες ἐπειτα σφέας οὐτοὶ ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἔωτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἥν ἀρθμα ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δοῦλους ἦλθε ἀνήρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεύς ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας οὕτος τοὺς δοῦλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσατο τοῦτι δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ τὸλμος σφι ἥν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν, ἐς δὴ μόνης οἱ Ἀργείοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

84. Ἀργείοι μὲν νῦν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτητίας φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίῳ μὲν οὐδενὸς μανήναι Κλεομένα, Σκύθης δὲ ὁμιλήσαντα μὲν ἀκρητοπότην γενέοθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφι Δαρείου ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονεύει μὲν τίσαιθαι, πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχιὰ τε ποίεσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεοῦ εἰ ἄυτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν περάν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτητίας κελεύειν ἐξ’ Ἐφέσου ὁρμωμένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἐπειτα ἐς τῶντο ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἣκόντων τῶν Σκυθεόν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλεῖει σφί μεζόνω, ὀμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ’
BOOK VI. 82–84

much as it was the god’s will should happen. This plea of his seemed to the Spartans to be credible and reasonable, and he far outdistanced the pursuit of his accusers.

83. But Argos was so wholly widowed of her men, that their slaves took all in possession, and ruled and governed, till the sons of them that were slain came to man’s estate. Then these recovered Argos for themselves and cast out the slaves, who, being thrust out, took possession of Tiryns by force. For a while they were at peace with each other; but presently there came to the slaves one Cleander, a prophet, a man of Phigalea in Arcadia by birth; he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. From this out for a long time there was war between them, till at last with much ado the Argives got the upper hand.1

84. This was the reason (say the Argives) of Cleomenes’ madness and his evil end; but the Spartans themselves say, that heaven had no hand in Cleomenes’ madness, but by consorting with Scythians he became a drinker of strong wine, and thence the madness came. For (so they say) the nomad Scythians, after Darius had invaded their land, were fain to be revenged upon him, and made an alliance with Sparta by messengers sent thither; whereby it was agreed, that the Scythians themselves should essay to invade Media by way of the river Phasis, while the Spartans by their counsel should set out and march inland from Ephesus, and meet the Scythians. When the Scythians had come with this intent, Cleomenes, it is said, kept too close company with them, and by consorting with them out of measure learnt from them to drink strong wine; and

1 About 468, apparently.
αυτῶν ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσιν Ἑρωδότου. ἐκ τε τόσον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, ἐπεὰν ξώρότερον βουλωνται πιέων, "Ἐπισκύθησον" λέγουσιν. οὔτω δὴ Ἑρωδότοι τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι.

85. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπόθυντο Ἀιγυνῆται, ἐπεμποῦν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσόμενοις Λευτυχίδεοι περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες ἐγνωσαν περιυβρύσθαι Αἰγυνήταις ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεως, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἐκδοτὸν ἀγεσθαί ἐς Αἰγυναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἀγεῖν τῶν Αἰγυνητῶν τῶν Λευτυχίδεως, εἰπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Δεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἄνηρ, "Τὸ βουλεύσθε ποιέων, ἀνδρεῖς Αἰγυνῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπάρτηστέων ἐκδοτὸν γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτεῶν ἀγεῖν; εἰ νῦν ὅργῃ χρεῶμενοι ἐγνωσαν ὀὕτω Σπάρτησται, ὅκως εἴς ὑστέρης μή τί ὕμω, ἢν ταύτα πρήσῃτε, πανόλθερον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐμβιάσοι." ταύτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγυνῆται ἐσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὀμολογὴ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῇδε, ἐπισπομένου Λευτυχίδεα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγυνήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

86. Ὁς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτει τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναίοι προφάσιας εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι οὐ φαμένως δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξεν.
this the Spartans hold to have been the cause of his madness. Ever since, as they themselves say, when they desire a strong draught they will call for "a Scythian cup." Such is the Spartan story of Cleomenes; but to my thinking, it was for what he did to Demaratus that he was punished thus.

85. When Cleomenes was dead, and the Aeginetans heard of it, they sent messengers to Sparta to cry for justice on Leutychides, for the matter of the hostages that were held at Athens. The Lacedaemonians then assembled a court and gave judgment that Leutychides had done violence to the Aeginetans; and they condemned him to be given up and carried to Aegina, in requital for the men that were held at Athens. But when the Aeginetans were about to carry Leutychides away, a man of repute at Sparta, Theasides, son of Leoprepes, said to them, "Men of Aegina, what is this that you purpose to do? Would you have the king of the Spartans given up to you by the citizens and carry him away? Nay, if the Spartans have now so judged in their anger, look to it lest at a later day, if you do as you purpose, they bring utter destruction upon your country." Hearing this, the Aeginetans stayed their hand from carrying the king away, and made an agreement that Leutychides should go with them to Athens and restore the men to the Aeginetans.

86. So when Leutychides came to Athens and demanded that what had been entrusted be restored, and the Athenians, being loath to restore it, made excuses, and said that, having been charged with the trust by both the kings, they deemed it wrong to restore it to the one alone without the other,—when the Athenians refused to restore, Leutychides said to
ERODOTUS

σφι Δευτυχίδης τάδε. "'Ω Αθηναῖοι, ποιέετε μὲν ὦκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιέετε ὀσία, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ὦκοιον μὲντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι μὴν εἶπαι. Λέγομεν ἢμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῶται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενέθη τὴν ἄπ' ἔμεω Γλαύκον 'Επικύδεος παῖδα· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἁρύστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὀσοῦ τῇ Δακεδαίμονα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὀίκεον. συνενείχθημαι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένω τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς ΣΠάρτῃ βούλεσθαι οἱ ἔλθειν ἐς λόγους προ- ἰσχύομενον τοιάδε. 'Εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἢκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαύκε βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ὃς γὰρ δὴ ἄνα πάσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢν λόγος πολλός, ἐμεωντὸς λόγους ἔδιδον καὶ δὴ ἐπικάνδυνος ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε Ἡ Ἰωνίη, ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλεῖα ἰδρύμενη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὔδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ ὅραν ἔχοντας. ταῦτα τε ὅν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἐδοξέ μοι τὰ ἥμισα πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέοθα παρὰ σὲ, εὐ ἐξεξε- σταμένῳ ὡς μοι κείμενα ἐστάτα παρὰ σοὶ σά. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβῶν· ὅσ' ἄν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτεί, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἢκων ξείνους τοσαῦτα ἐλεξέ, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακα- ταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρήμενῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολ- λοῦ διελθόντος ἦλθον ἐς Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παιδεῖς, ἐλθόντες δὲ 236
them: "Men of Athens, do whichever thing you desire; if you restore, you do righteously, if you restore not you do contrariwise; yet hear from me the story of what befel at Sparta in the matter of a trust. It is told by us Spartans that three generations agone there was at Lacedaemon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes. This man (so the story goes) added to his other excellences a reputation for justice above all men who at that time dwelt in Lacedaemon. But in the fitting time this, as it is told, befel him:—There came to Sparta a certain man of Miletus, desiring to hold converse with Glaucus, and making him this proffer: 'I am,' he said, 'of Miletus, and hither am I come, Glaucus! to reap advantage from your justice. For seeing that all about Hellas and Ionia too there was much talk of your justice, I bethought me in myself that Ionia is ever a land of dangers and Peloponnesus securely stablished, and in Ionia nowhere are the same men seen continuing in possession of wealth. Considering and taking counsel concerning these matters, I resolved to turn the half of my substance into silver and give it into your charge, being well assured that it will lie safe for me in your keeping. Do you then receive the sum, and take and keep these tokens; and restore the money to him that comes with the like tokens and demands it back.' Thus spoke the stranger who had come from Miletus, and Glaucus received the trust according to the agreement. When a long time had passed, there came to Sparta the sons of the man who had given the money in trust; they
ες λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύοντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαιτεῖν τὰ χρήματα· ὦ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. Ὅψε μὲν μεμνημα τὸ πρῆγμα ὦτε μὲ περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, ὑπολογίστε τε ἀναμνησθείς ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐλαβον, ὅρθως ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἰ γε ἄρχην μὴ ἐλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλληνῶν χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας. ταῦτα ὦν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μήνα ἀπὸ τούτων· οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορήν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσουσον ὡς ἀπεστερημένου τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἔπειροτώντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὀρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λησθαι, ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσι ἐπειδή τοῖσι ἐπεσι.

Γλαύκ᾽ Ἑπικυνδείθη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὐτω, ὀρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λησθασθαι. ὁμων, ἐπεὶ θάνατος γε καὶ εὐρόκον μένει ἄνδρα. ἀλλ᾽ ὀρκου πἀσι ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμοσ, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ χεῖρες οὐδὲ πόδες κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὁ κε πᾶσαν συμμάρυσις ὀλέσθ γενεὴν καὶ οἴκου ἀπαιντα. ἀνδρός δ᾽ εὐρόκον γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαύκος συγγυμνὴν τὸν θεόν παρατέθηεται αὐτῷ ὤσχειν τῶν ῥήθεντων· ὡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐφ ὁ πειριθήναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποίησαι ἵσον δύνασθαι. Γλαύκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψά-
spoke with Glaucus, showing him the tokens and demanding the money back. But Glaucus put them off with a demurrer: 'I have no remembrance,' he said, 'of the matter, nor am I moved to any knowledge of that whereof you speak; let me bring it to mind, and I will do all that is just; if I took the money I will duly restore it, and if I never took it at all I will deal with you according to the customs of the Greeks. Suffer me, therefore, to delay making my words good till the fourth month from this day.' So the Milesians went away in sorrow, as men robbed of their possessions; but Glaucus journeyed to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle. When he asked the oracle whether he should swear and so ravish the money, the Pythian priestess threatened him in these verses:

Hear, Epicydes' son: 'twere much to thy present advantage
Couldst thou prevail by an oath and ravish the stranger's possessions:
Swear an thou wilt; death waits for the just no less than the unjust.
Ay—but an oath hath a son, a nameless avenger of evil:
Hands hath he none, nor feet; yet swiftly he runneth pursuing,
Grippeth his man at the last and maketh an end of his offspring.
Better endureth the line of the man that sweareth not falsely.

When Glaucus heard that, he entreated the god to pardon him for what he had said. But the priestess answered, that to tempt the god and to do the deed were of like effect. Glaucus, then, sent for the
μενος τους Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἰνεκα ὁ λόγος ὁδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἡς ὑμεάς, εἰρήσεται. Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ᾽ ἵστιν οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτρυπται τε πρόριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὔτω ἄγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι."

87. Δευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὡς οἱ οὖν οὗτοι ἐσῆκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Ἀιγινηταὶ, πρὶν τῶν πρὸτερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκαι τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑβρισάν Θηβαίους χαριζόμενοι, ἔποίησαν τοιοῦτε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἠξιοῦντες ἀδικεέσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τούς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις πεντετερίς ἐπὶ Σουνίος, λοχήσαντες δὲν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τούς ἄνδρας ἔδησαν.

88. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλουν μὴ οὐ τῶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπὶ Αἰγινητήσι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοὺθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἄνηρ δόκιμος, οὕτως μεμφόμενοι μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινητήσι προτέρην ἐσωτερικόν ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθῶν δὲ τότε τούς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἐρείπων Αἰγινητάς κακός, συντιθεται Ἀθηναίοις προδοσίαν Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμερη ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἔκεινος ἐς τὴν ἥκιν δεῖσε βοηθέουσας.

89. Μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὰν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται 240
Milesian strangers and restored them their money; but hear now, Athenians! why I began to tell you this story. There is at this day no descendant of Glaucus, nor any household that bears Glaucus’ name; he and his have been utterly uprooted out of Sparta. So good a thing it is not even to design aught concerning a trust, save the restoring of it on demand.”

87. Thus spoke Leutychides; but even so the Athenians would not listen to him, and he took his departure. But the Aeginetans, before paying the penalty for the high-handed wrong they had done the Athenians to please the Thebans, did as I will show. Having a grudge against Athens and deeming themselves wronged, they prepared to take vengeance on the Athenians. Among these there was now a five-yearly festival toward on Sunium; wherefore the Aeginetans set an ambush and took the ship that bore deputies to the festival, with many noble Athenians therein, and put in prison the men whom they took.

88. Thus mishandled by the Aeginetans, the Athenians delayed no longer to devise all mischief against Aegina. Now there was one Nicodromus, son of Cnoethus by name, a notable man in Aegina. He, having a grudge against the Aeginetans for his former banishment from the island, and learning now that the Athenians were set upon doing hurt to the Aeginetans, agreed with the Athenians to betray Aegina to them, naming the day whereon he would essay it and whereon they must come to aid him.

89. Presently, according to his agreement with the Athenians, Nicodromus took possession of the Old City, as it was called; but the Athenians failed of
ες δεον, ου γαρ έτυχον ενοσα νεες σφι αξιόμαχοι τησι Αιγυπτεων συμβαλειν. εν δ ουν Κορινθιων εδεντο χρησαι σφιει νεας, εν τοιτω διεφθαρη τα πρήγματα. οι δε Κορινθιοι, ησαν γαρ σφι τοιτον τον χρονον φιλοι ες τα μαλλια, Αθηναιοι διδουσι δεομενουι εικοσι νεας, διδουσι δε πενταδραχμους αποδομενου. δωρην γαρ εν τοι νομοφ ουκ εξην δουναι. ταυτα τε δη λαβοντες οι Αθηναιοι και τας σφετερας, πληρωσαντες εβδομηκοντα νεας τας απασας, επλεον επι την Αιγυναν και υστερησαν ημερη μη της συγκεκμενης.

90. Νικοδρομος δε, ως οι Αθηναιοι ες τον καιρον ου παρεγνυντο, ες πλοιου εσβας εκδηρησκε εκ της Αιγυνης. συν δε οι και άλλοι εκ των Αιγυπτεων ειποντο, τοις Αθηναιοι Σούνιον οικησαι εδοσαι. ενθευτεν δε ουτοι ορμομενοι εφερον τε και ηγον τους εν τη νησιο Αιγυνητα.

91. Ταυτα μεν δη υστερον εγνυντο. Αιγυπτεων δε οι παχες επανασταντος του δημου σφι άμα Νικοδρομο επεκρατησαι, και επειτα σφεας χειρωσαμενοι εξηγον απολεουντες. απο τοιτον δε και άγος σφι εγνυντο, το εκθυσασθαι ουκ οιοι τε εγνυντο επιμηχανωμενοι, άλλε εφθησαι εκπεσωτες προτερον εκ της νησου η σφι άλευν γενεθαι την θεον. επτακοσιους γαρ δη του δημου ζωγρησαντες εξηγον ως απολεουντες, εις δε τις τοιτων εκφυγων τα δεσμα καταφευγει προς προθυρα Δημητρος θεσμοφορου, επιλαμβανομενος δε των επιστατηρων εχετο. οι δε επεσετε μιν αποστασαι ουκ οιοι τε απελκοντες εγνυντο, αποκοψαντες.
arriving at the right time; for it chanced that they had not ships enough to cope with the Aeginetans; wherefore they entreated the Corinthians to lend them ships, and by that delay their business was thwarted. The Corinthians, being at that time their close friends, consented to the Athenians' entreaty and gave them twenty ships, at a price of five drachmas apiece; for by their law they could not make a free gift of them. Taking these ships and their own, the Athenians manned seventy in all and sailed for Aegina, whither they came a day later than the time agreed.

90. But Nicodromus, the Athenians not being at hand on the day appointed, took ship and escaped from Aegina, he and other Aeginetans with him, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium to dwell in; making which their headquarters they harried the Aeginetans of the island.

91. This was done after the time whereof I have spoken.¹ But the rich men of Aegina gained the mastery over the commonalty, who had risen against them with Nicodromus, and having made them captive led them out to be slain. For this cause a curse fell upon them, whereof for all their devices they could not rid themselves by sacrifice, but they were driven out of their island ere the goddess would be merciful to them. For they had taken seven hundred of the commonalty alive; and as they led these out for slaughter one of them escaped from his bonds and fled to the temple gate of Demeter the Lawgiver, where he laid hold of the door-handles and clung to them; so when his enemies could not drag him away for all their striving, they cut off his hands,

¹ That is, it was done between 490 and 480.
αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἢγου ὀὔτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεθυκύαι ἦσαν τοῖς ἐπισπάστροις.

92. Ταῦτα μέν νυν σφέας αὐτοῦς οἱ Ἀιγινῆται ἔργασαντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν ἡμοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχῇ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δὴ σφὶ οὕτωι μὲν ὦκετί βοηθέουσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Ἀιγιναῖοι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ συναπέβησαν Δακεδαιμονίοις, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ καὶ σφὶ ὑπ’ Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημία χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσατο, πεντακόσια εκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνώμης ἀδικήσασιν ὁμολόγησαν ἐκατον τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἄχημοι εἶναι, Ἀιγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγκώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὅν σφὶ ταῦτα δεομένους ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἐτί ἐβοήθεε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χελίους ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνήρ ὡς οὕνωμα Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνήρ πεντάεθθων ἐπασκήσας. τούτων οἱ πλεῦνες οὐκ ἀπευότητσαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ’ ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Ἀιγίνῃ αὐτοὺς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης οὐνομαχῆς ἐπασκέως τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθυνῆσει.

93. Ἀιγινῆται δὲ ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῆς νυσᾶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἄνδρας εἶλον.

94. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς
and so brought him off; and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles.

92. Thus the Aeginetans dealt with each other; when the Athenians had come, they fought with them at sea with seventy ships, and being worsted in the sea-fight they asked help of the Argives, as they had done before. But this time the Argives would not aid them, for a grudge that they bore the Aeginetans; since ships of Aegina had been taken perforce by Cleomenes and put in on the Argolid coast, where their crews landed with the Lacedaemonians; and there were men too from ships of Sicyon that took part in this same onfall; and the Argives laid on them the payment of a fine of a thousand talents, each people five hundred. The Sicyonians owned that they had done wrongfully and agreed to go scathless for a payment of a hundred talents, but the Aeginetans made no such confession, and were stiff-necked. For this cause the Argive state sent no man at their entreaty to aid them, but about a thousand came of their own will, led by a captain whose name was Eurybates, a man practised in the five contests. Of these the greater part never returned back but met their death by the hands of the Athenians in Aegina; Eurybates himself, their captain, fought in single combat and thus slew three men, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes the son of Deceles.

93. The Aeginetan ships found the Athenians in disarray, and attacked and overcame them, taking four Athenian ships and their crews.

94. Thus Athens and Aegina grappled together in

1 The ‘Pentathlum’ consisted of jumping, discus-throwing, spear-throwing, running, and wrestling.
Αιγυπτίας. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωτυτὸ ἐποίεε, ὡστε ἀναμμηνήσκοντος τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμυήσθαι μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένοιν καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίον, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσεως καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τούς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνου μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγῆς, ἀλλού δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξασιν ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖς, Δατίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένου καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παίδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωτυτῷ ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἑξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωτυτῷ ἐς ὅψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα. 95. Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὕτως οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέως ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίας ἐς τὸ Ἀλήμον πεδίον, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλὸν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκεουσμένου, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευμένοις ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοις, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἳ ἰππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεὶ προεύπε τοῖς ἑωτυτῷ δασμοφόροις Δαρείος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιποὺς ἐς ταύτας καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἐπλεοῦν ἐξακοσίης τριήρεις ἐς τὴν Ἴωνήν. ἐνθεύτω δὲ ὅπαρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον εἰχὸν τὰς νέας ᾗν τοῦ τε Ἐλλησποντοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἐρείπης, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, δεῖσαις μάλιστα τὸν περίπλου τοῦ Ἀθῶ, ὡς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεὶ ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως.
war. But the Persian was going about his own business; for his servant was ever reminding him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidae were at his elbow maligning the Athenians, and moreover Darius desired to take this pretext for subduing all the men of Hellas that had not given him earth and water. As for Mardonius, who had fared so ill with his armament, him he dismissed from his command, and appointed other generals to lead his armies against Athens and Eretria, Datis a Mede, and his own nephew Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes; and the charge he gave them at their departure was, to enslave Athens and Eretria, and bring the slaves into his presence.

95. When these the appointed generals on their way from the king's presence were arrived at the Aleian plain in Cilicia, bringing with them a host great and well furnished, there they encamped and were overtaken by all the armament of ships that was assigned to each portion; and the transports too for horses came up, that in the year before this Darius had bidden his tributary subjects to make ready. Having cast the horses into these, and embarked the land army in the ships, they sailed to Ionia with six hundred triremes. Thence they held their course not by the mainland and straight towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but setting forth from Samos they sailed by the Icarian sea and from island to island; this, to my thinking, was because they feared above all the voyage round Athos, seeing that in the year past they had come to great disaster by holding their course that way;

1 Cp. V. 105.
προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἴνα γαίες πρὸτερον οὐκ ἀλούσα.

96. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενου προσέμιξαι τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ ὅτι πρωτὴν ἐπέχουσα στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένου τῶν προτερον οἱ Νάξοι πρὸς τὰ ὀρεα οἴχουσον φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀνήγγειλον.

97. Ἐν δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίειν, οἱ Δήλιοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δήλου οἴχουσον φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύσεως ὁ Δάτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δήλου προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἦνα ἔσαν οἱ Δήλιοι, πέμπτων κήρυκα ἡγόρευε σφὶ τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς ἱροὶ, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγρύντες κατ' ἔμει; ἑγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶς ἔπι τοσοῦτο γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέως ὥδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἔγενοντο, ταύτην μὴν σύνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οίκητοράς αὐτῆς, νῦν δὲν καὶ ἀπίτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖς Δηλίοις, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτὸν τριήκοσια τάλαντα κατανύσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμήσει.

98. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἐπλεε ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἐνθεύτευν ἐξαναχθέντα Δήλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ύστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθείσα. καὶ
and moreover Naxos constrained them, in that they had not yet taken it.

96. When they approached Naxos from the Icarian sea and came to land (for it was Naxos which the Persians purposed first to attack), the Naxians, mindful of what had before happened, fled away to the mountains, not abiding their coming. The Persians enslaved all of them that they caught, and burnt even their temples and their city; which done, they set sail for the other islands.

97. While they so did, the Delians also left Delos and fled away to Tenos. But Datis, when his host was sailing landwards, went before it in his ship and bade his fleet anchor not off Delos, but across the water off Rhenaea; and being informed where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this proclamation: "Holy men, why have you fled away, and so misjudged my intent? For it is my own desire, and the king's command to me, to do no harm to the land wherein the two gods were born, neither to the land itself nor to those that dwell therein. Now, therefore, I bid you return to your homes and dwell in your island." This proclamation he made to the Delians, and presently laid upon the altar and burnt there three hundred talents' weight of frankincense.

98. This done, Datis sailed with his host against Eretria first, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians; and after he had put out thence to sea, there was an earthquake in Delos, the first and last, as the Delians say, before my time. This portent was sent by

---

1 This probably refers to the Persian treatment of rebels, described in chs. 31 and 32.

2 Apollo and Artemis.
HERODOTUS

τούτο μὲν κού τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἐφαίνε τὸ θεὸς. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ 'Στάσπεος καὶ Ἑρέως τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ἑρέως, τριῶν τοιαύτων ἐπεξῆς γενεέων, ἐγένετο πλέον κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδὶ ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεάς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῆς γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἄρχης πολεμεόντων. οὕτω οὖν ἦν άεικὲς κινηθῇνα Δήλου τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὁδε.

κινήσω καὶ Δήλου ἀκίνητον περ ἐοῦσαν.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρείους ἑρέεις, Ἑρέως ἄρηδος, Ἀρτοξέρξεως μέγας ἀρήδος. τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὁδὲ ἄν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφητέρην Ἑλλήνες καλέοιεν.

99. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήρειαν ὑπὶ τῆς Δήλου, προσέχων πρὸς τὰς νῆσους, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ στρατηγὸν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτῶν παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ὃς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νῆσους προσέχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἐφαίναν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες Ἐρετρίαν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα τούτοις ἐπολιόρκεον τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἐκείρου, ἐς δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην.

100. Ἐρετρίεσσ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατηγὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφεώς ἐπιτελέουσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἐδεικήσαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ 250
heaven, as I suppose, to be an omen of the ills that were coming on the world. For in three generations, that is, in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius and Artoxerxes son of Xerxes,¹ more ills befel Hellas than in twenty generations before Darius; which ills came in part from the Persians and in part from the wars for preëminence among the chief of the nations themselves. Thus it was no marvel that there should be an earthquake in Delos where none had been ere that. Also there was an oracle concerning Delos, wherein it was written:

Delos itself will I shake, that ne'er was shaken aforetime.

Now as touching the names of those three kings, Darius signifies the Doer, Xerxes the Warrior, Artoxerxes the Great Warrior; and such the Greeks would rightly call them in their language.

99. Launching out to sea from Delos, the foreigners put in at the islands, and gathered an army thence and took the sons of the islanders for hostages. When in their voyage about the islands they came to Carystos, the Carystians gave them no hostages and refused to join with them against neighbouring cities, whereby they signified Eretria and Athens; wherefore the Persians besieged them and laid waste their land, till the Carystians too came over to their side.

100. The Eretrians, when they learnt that the Persian host was sailing to attack them, entreated aid from the Athenians. These did not refuse the

¹ 522–424.
οὔκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρονόμους τῶν ἰπποβοτέων Χαλκιδῶν τὴν χώρην, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωροῦσι. τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἁρὰ οὔδὲν υγιὲς βουλευμα, οἱ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἱδέας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἱδα κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω σῴζοντα προδοσίην ἑσκενάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτων ἐκατέρα ὃς ἔχει Ἀισχύνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἔδω τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖς ἢκουσι Ἀθηναίου πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, προσεδετὸ τε ἀπαλλάσσοσαθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἱνα μὴ προσαπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Ἀισχύνη συμβουλεύσαντι πείθονται.

101. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὁρωπῶν ἔσωζον σφέας αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς χώρης κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκενάζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. οἱ δὲ Ἑρετριεῖς ἐπεξεσθείν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν βουλήν, εἰ καὶ δὲ διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφὶ πέρι ἐμελεῖ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐνὶ ἡκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γνωσμένης καρτέρης πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐπιτυπτον ἐπὶ ἐξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τὴ δὲ ἐβδομὴ Ἐὔφροβος τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέον ἀνδρες τῶν ἄστων δόκιμοι προδιδοῦσι τοῖς Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύθων.
aid, but gave the Eretrians for their defenders the four thousand tenant farmers that held the land of the Chalcidian horse-breeders. But it would seem that all was unstable in the designs of the Eretrians; for they sent to the Athenians for aid, but their counsels were divided; the one part of them planned to leave the city and make for the heights of Euboea, the other part plotted treason in hope so to win advantage for themselves from the Persians. Then Aeschines son of Nothon, who was a leading man in Eretria, out of his knowledge of both designs told those Athenians who had come how matters stood, and entreated them, moreover, to depart to their own country, lest they should perish like the rest; and the Athenians in this followed Aeschines' advice.

101. So they saved themselves by crossing over to Oropus; the Persians in their sailing held their course for Temenos and Choereae and Aegilea, all in Eretrian territory, and having taken possession of these places they straightway disembarked their horses and made preparation to attack their enemies. The Eretrians had no design of coming out and fighting; all their care was to guard their walls, if they could, seeing that it was the prevailing counsel not to leave the city. The walls were stoutly attacked, and for six days many fell on both sides; but on the seventh two Eretrians of repute, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cineas, betrayed the city to the Persians. These entered the city and plundered and burnt the temples, in

1 Cp. V. 77.
μενοὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραπόδισαντο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολὰς.

102. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν 'Ερετρίαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐπλεον ἐς γῆν τὴν 'Αττικήν, κατέργουσιες τε πολλὰς καὶ δοκέουσι εἰς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς 'Ερετριάς ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἢν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεύτατον χωρίου τῆς 'Αττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαε καὶ ἀγγειατῷ τῆς 'Ερετρίας, ἐς τούτο σφὶ κατηγέεετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

103. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ὡς ἐπήθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγου δὲ σφίας στρατηγοῦ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ᾧν Μιλτιάδης τοῦ τῶν πατέρα Κύμωνα τὸν Στηθαγόρου κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐς 'Αθηνέων Πεισιστρατοῦ τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὁλυμπίαδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπτων συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενον μιν τῶν ἔξενείκασθαι τῷ ὁμομυρτρίῳ ἀδελφῶ Μιλτιάδης μετὰ δὲ τῇ ύστερῃ Ὁλυμπίαδι τῇσ αὐτῆσι ἐποίοις νικῶν παραδίδοι Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρεῖς τοῦτο κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωτοῦ ὑπότοισον. καὶ μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῆσι ἐποίοις ἄλλην Ὁλυμπίαδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν υπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, ὡκείτε περεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου κτείνουσι δὲ οὕτου μιν κατὰ τὸ προτανόμου νυκτὸς ὑπείσαστες ἀνδράς. τέθαπται δὲ Κύμων πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, πέρῃ τῆς διὰ Κοιλῆς καλεομένης ὁδοῦ καταντὶον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἐποἰο τεθάφαται αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὁλυμπίαδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐποὶ ἴδῃ τῶν ὁτόν τοῦτο

254
revenge for the temples that were burnt at Sardis; moreover they enslaved the townspeople, according to Darius’ command.

102. Having subdued Eretria they delayed for a few days, and then sailed to the Attic land, pressing hard forward and thinking that they would do to the Athenians what they had done to the Eretrians; and Marathon 1 being the fittest part of Attica for horsemen to ride over, and nearest to Eretria, thither they were guided by Hippias son of Pisistratus.

103. When the Athenians learnt of this, they too marched out to Marathon. Ten generals led them, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father, Cimon son of Stesagoras, had been, as fate would have it, banished from Athens by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates. Being an exile, he had the luck to win the prize for four-horse chariots at Olympia, by this victory gaining the same honour as his mother’s son Miltiades had won. At the next Olympiad he was a winner again with the same team of mares, but suffered Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor, for which surrender of his victory he returned to his home under treaty. A third Olympic prize he won with the same team; after that, Pisistratus himself being now dead, fate willed that Miltiades should be slain by Pisistratus’ sons; these suborned men and slew him by night in the town-hall. Cimon lies buried outside the city, beyond the road that is called Through the Hollow; and the mares that won him the three Olympic prizes are buried over against his grave. None others save the mares of

1 For a detailed discussion of various questions connected with the battle of Marathon, readers are referred to How and Wells, Appendix XVIII.
Εὐαγγέλω Λάκωνος, πλέω δὲ τοιτέων οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παιδῶν τῶν Κίμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικάυτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδη τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμων ἐν Ἀθήνῃ, οὐνομά ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.

104. Οὗτος δὴ ὄν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκὼν ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφυγὼς διπλόν θάνατον ἐστρατήγησε Αθηναίων. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώκαντες μέχρι Πυθρόπου περὶ πόλλῳ ἐποιεῖντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἄγαγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα. ἀμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τοῦ τούτου καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ δοκέοντα τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίᾳ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευσάν των οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξώμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστηρίων αὐτῶν ἄγαγόντες ἐδώξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἀποφυγόν ὅλα καὶ τούτους στρατηγοὺς οὔτω Αθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

105. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναίοι μὲν ἀνδρα, ἀλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα: τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγειλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένον ὅρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Ῥεχές ὁ Παῖν περιπτέτει βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδου τῶν Πάνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὁ τι ἑωτοῦ οὐδεμιαν ἐπιμελεῖν ποιεῖνται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχὶ γενομένου σφι ἢδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἐτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταύτα μὲν Ἀθηναίοι, καταστάντων σφι εὑ ἢδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι 256.
the Laconian Evagoras had ever achieved the same. Now Stesagoras, the eldest of Cimon's sons, was at that time being brought up in the Chersonese with Miltiades his uncle; but the younger, named Miltiades after that Miltiades who planted a settlement on the Chersonese, was with Cimon himself at Athens.

104. This Miltiades, then, had now come from the Chersonese and was a general of the Athenian army, after twice escaping death; for the Phoenicians, who held him in chase as far as Imbros, set great store by catching him and bringing him before the king; and when he had escaped from them to his country and supposed himself to be now in safety, he was next met by his enemies, who haled him before a court and would have justice on him for his rule of the Chersonese. From them too he was freed, and after that was appointed a general of the Athenians by the people's choice.

105. And first, while they were yet in the city, the generals sent as a herald to Sparta Phidippides, an Athenian, and one, moreover, that was a runner of long distances and made that his calling. This man, as he said himself and told the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian hills above Tegea, met with Pan; who, calling to Phidippides by name, bade him say to the Athenians, "Why is it that ye take no thought for me, that am your friend, and ere now have oft been serviceable to you, and will be so again?" This story the Athenians believed to be true, and when their state won to prosperity they founded a
106. Tότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς υπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἱ Φειδιππίδης οὐτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πάνα φανῆναι, δευτεράδος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀστεοὺς ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγεν "Ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι υμέων δέονται σφώς βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιυδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν 'Ερέτριά τε ἑνδραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμῳ ἡ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρης." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφὶ τὰ ἑντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελε, τοῖς δὲ ἔδαξε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοις, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφὶ ἢν τὸ παραυτίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένους λῦειν τὸν νόμον· ἢ γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἔξελεύσεσθαι ἐφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεσος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

107. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις κατηγέοντο Ἰππίης οἱ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδῶν τοιῆδε: ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωτοῦ συνεννηθήναι. συνεβάλετο δὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὅνειρου κατεβαθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὀψιὸς συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγομένους τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἢ Ἔρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγιλέων, τοῦτο δὲ

---

1 According to Isocrates the distance traversed was 150 miles.
BOOK VI. 105-107

temple of Pan beneath the acropolis, and for that message sought the god’s favour with yearly sacrifices and torch-races.

106. But now, at the time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him, this Phidippides was at Sparta on the day after he left Athens; and he came before the rulers and said, “Lacedaemonians, the Athenians entreat you to send them help, and not suffer a most ancient city of Hellas to be brought into bondage by foreigners; for even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas is the weaker by the loss of a notable city.” Thus Phidippides gave the message wherewith he was charged, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to send help to the Athenians; but they could not do this immediately, being loath to break their law; for it was the ninth day of the first part of the month, and they would make no expedition (they said) on the ninth day, when the moon was not full.

107. So they waited for the full moon. As for the Persians, they were guided to Marathon by Hippias son of Pisistratus. Hippias in the past night had seen a vision in his sleep, wherein he thought that he lay with his own mother; he interpreted this dream to signify that he should return to Athens and recover his power, and so die an old man in his own mother-country. Thus he interpreted the vision; for the nonce, being the Persians’ guide, he carried the slaves taken in Eretria to the island of the Styreans called Aeglea; moreover, it was he who made the

This statement probably applies only to the month Carneius (Attic Metageitnion), when the Carneia was celebrated at Sparta in honour of Apollo, from the 7th to the 15th of the month.
καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὅμως ὀφθαλμοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἐκβάντας τε ἔς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταύται διεποντί ἐπὶ ἐκείνους πταρεῖν τε καὶ βεβηκαὶ μεξόνως ἢ ὡς ἔωθες: οἶα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρωι ἐόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεύνες ἑσεί-ουσό, τοῦτον ὅν ἔνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βεβηκας; ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἔς τὴν ἤλαμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρέω, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο οἰ ὁ ὀδών, ἀναστενάζεσ εἰπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας "Ἡ γῆ ἣδε οὐκ ἤμετέρα ἐστι, οὐδὲ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι: ἀκόσον δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετην, ὁ ὀδών μετέχει." 108. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτη τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τεταγμένοις ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπήλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταῖες πανδημεὶ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Πλαταῖες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι συνχοῦσ ἢδη ἀναρίρεατο, ἐδοσαν δὲ ἀδε. πιεζομενον ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταῖες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσιν Κλεο- μένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω καὶ Δακεδαμονίοις σφέας αὐτοὺς. οἰ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγον σφι τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρω τε οἰκέομεν, καὶ ὡμιν τούτη τις γίνοιτ ἐπικουρὶ ψυχρῇ φθαίτε γὰρ ἄν πολλάκις ἔξανδραποδισθέντες ἡ τιν πυθέσθαι ἢμεῶν. συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὡμίν δοῦναι ἢμεᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, πλησιοχώρουσι τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρεῖν εὑσί οὐ κακοίσι." ταύτα συνεβούλευοι οἱ Δακεδαμόνοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίην ὀυτῶ τῶν Πλαταίεων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς 260
ships to anchor when they had put in at Marathon, and who set the foreigners in array when they were landed. Now while he dealt with these matters he fell a-sneezing and a-coughing more violently than he was wont; he was well stricken in years, and the most of his teeth were loose; whereby the violence of his cough made one of his teeth to fall out. It fell into the sand, and Hippias used all diligence to find it; but the tooth being nowhere to be seen, he said lamentably to them that stood by, “This land is none of ours, nor shall we avail to subdue it; my tooth has all the share of it that was for me.”

108. This then Hippias guessed to be the fulfilment of his dream. The Athenians were arrayed in the precinct of Heracles, and now the whole power of the Plataeans came to their aid; for the Plataeans had put themselves under the protection of Athens,\(^1\) and the Athenians had taken upon them many labours for their sake. The manner of the Plataeans so doing was this:—Being hard pressed by the Thebans, they had offered themselves to the first comers, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides and the Lacedaemonians; but these would not accept them, and said: “We dwell afar off, and such aid as ours would be found but cold comfort to you; for you might be enslaved many times over ere any of us heard of it. We counsel you to put yourselves in the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and can defend you right well.” This counsel the Lacedaemonians gave not so much out of their goodwill to the Plataeans, as because they desired that the Athenians should bring trouble on them-

\(^1\) In 519, according to Thucydides (iii. 68); Grote gives a later date.
The twelve gods were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Hephaestus, Athene, Ares, Aphrodite.
selves by making enemies of the Boeotians. The Lacedaemonians, then, gave them this counsel; the Plataeans obeyed it, and when the Athenians were sacrificing to the twelve gods they came as suppliants and sat them down by the altar, and so put themselves under protection. Hearing of this the Thebans sent an army against the Plataeans, and the Athenians came to the Plataeans' aid; but when they were about to join battle, the Corinthians would not suffer them; as they chanced to be there, they made a reconciliation at the instance of both the parties, and drew a frontier line on the condition that the Thebans should not meddle with such Boeotians as desired not to be reckoned as part and parcel of Boeotia. Having given this judgment the Corinthians took their departure; but when the Athenians were on their way home the Boeotians set upon them and were worsted in the fight. The Athenians then made a frontier beyond that which had been assigned by the Corinthians for the Plataeans, and set the Asopus itself for the Theban border on the side of Plataea and Hysiae.—In the manner aforesaid the Plataeans had put themselves in the protection of the Athenians, and now they came to Marathon to aid them.

109. But the counsels of the Athenian generals were divided; some advised that they should not fight, thinking they were too few to do battle with the Median army, and some, of whom was Miltiades, that they should. Now there was an eleventh that had a vote, namely, that Athenian who had been

Hermes, Hestia. The βωμός was a central altar in the agora, from which distances were reckoned.
λαίδων γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι οἱ όμόψηφοι τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύντο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς), ἢν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τούτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐν σοι υἱὲ Καλλίμαχε ἔστι ἡ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἔλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λυπέσαι εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οὐ δεῦ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. υἱὲ γὰρ δὴ ἐξ ὦ ἔγενοντο Ἀθηναίοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἢν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖς Μήδοις, δέδοκτα τα πεῖσοντα παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίης, ἢν δὲ περιγενηταὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις, οἶδε τε ἐστὶ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνιδῶν πολίων γενέσθαι. κῶς ὁ δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σὲ τοῖς τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν προγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, ὦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἦμεν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίκα γύνονται αἰ γυνῶμαί, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. ἢν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἐλπιάμε τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασεῖσειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὡστε μηδίσατε· ἢν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρὶν τί καὶ σαβρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροις ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἱσα νεμόντων οἴοι τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα δὲν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἡρτηται. ἢν γὰρ σὺ γυνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσήθη, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἢν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποστευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία." 110. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτάται τὸν Καλλίμαχον προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρ-
chosen as polemarch\(^1\) by lot,—for by old Athenian custom the polemarch voted among the generals,—and at this time the polemarch was Callimachus of Aphidnae; so their counsels being divided and the worse opinion like to prevail, Miltiades betook himself to this man. “Callimachus,” said he, “it is for you to-day to choose, whether you will enslave Athens, or free her and thereby leave such a memorial for all posterity as was left not even by Harmodius and Aristogiton. For now is Athens in greater peril than ever since she was first a city; and if her people bow their necks to the Medes, their fate is certain, for they will be delivered over to Hippias; but if our city be saved, she may well grow to be the first of Greek cities. How then this can be brought about, and how it comes that the deciding voice in these matters is yours, I will now show you. We ten generals are divided in counsel, some bidding us to fight and some to forbear. Now if we forbear to fight, it is likely that some great schism will rend and shake the courage of our people till they make friends of the Medes; but if we join battle before some at Athens be infected by corruption, then let heaven but deal fairly with us, and we may well win in this fight. It is you that all this concerns; all hangs on you; for if you join yourself to my opinion, you make your country free and your city the first in Hellas; but if you choose the side of them that would persuade us not to fight, you will have wrought the very opposite of the blessings whereof I have spoken.”

110. By this plea Miltiades won Callimachus to be his ally; and with the polemarch’s vote added it

\(^{1}\) One of the nine archons, all chosen by lot.
χοὺ τής γυνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γυνώμη ἐφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρωτανηὴ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδης παρεδίδοσαν. οὗ δὲ δεκάμενος οὗτο κω συμβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρωτανηή ἐγένετο.

111. Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνου περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὅδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγεῦτο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος. ὁ γὰρ νόμος τὸτε εἶχε οὗτο τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐξέχειν κέρας τὸ δεξίον· ἡγεμόνευ δὲ τούτου ἐξέδεκοντο ὡς ἀριθμόντοι αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταίοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐχοντες τὸ εὐνόμου κέρας Πλαταιές. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γὰρ] σφὶ τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῇ πεντετερῷσι γενομέναις, κατεύχεται ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναίος ἀμα τῇ Ἀθηναίοις λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἄγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας δὲ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἄσθενεστατοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.

112. Ὡς δὲ σφὶ διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δρόμῳ ἔστω ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἔλασσον τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἡ ὅκτω. οἳ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιστάτας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίη τοῦ τοίσι Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέθεσαν καὶ τάγχυ ὀδηρήθη, ὀρέοντες αὐτοῦσ
was resolved to fight. Thereafter the generals whose counsel was for fighting made over to Miltiades the day’s right of leading that fell to each severally; \(^1\) he received it, but would not join battle till the day of his own leadership came round.

111. When his turn came, then were the Athenians arrayed for battle as I shall show: the right wing was commanded by Callimachus the polemarch; for it was then the Athenian custom, that the holder of that office should have the right wing. He being there captain, next to him came the tribes one after another in the order of their numbers \(^2\); last of all the Plataeans were posted on the left wing. Ever since that fight, when the Athenians bring sacrifices to the assemblies that are held at the five-yearly festivals, \(^3\) the Athenian herald prays that all blessings may be granted to Athenians and Plataeans alike. But now, when the Athenians were arraying at Marathon, it so fell out that their line being equal in length to the Median, the middle part of it was but a few ranks deep, and here the line was weakest, each wing being strong in numbers.

112. Their battle being arrayed and the omens of sacrifice favouring, straightway the Athenians were let go and charged the Persians at a run. There was between the armies a space of not less than eight furlongs. When the Persians saw them come running they prepared to receive them, deeming the Athenians frenzied to their utter destruction, who

---

\(^1\) Each general seems to have been generalissimo in turn.

\(^2\) There was a fixed official order; but Plutarch’s account of the battle places certain tribes according to a different system. Perhaps the battle-order was determined by lot.

\(^3\) e.g. the great Panathenaea, and the festival of Poseidon.
διέξοντας καὶ τούτους δρόμου ἐπευγομένους, οὔτε ὑπο
τού ὑπαρχοὺσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα
μὲν νυν ὁι βάρβαροι κατείκαζον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
ἐπείτε ἀδρόοι προσέμεξαν τοῖς βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχο-
τον ἄξιωσ λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων
πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρησ-
σαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθητά τε Μηδικὴν
ὀρέωντες καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ταῦταν ἤσθημένους. τέως
dὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἑλληνικαῖ τοῦ Μηδωνικοῦ φόβος ἀκούσαι.

113. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος
ἐγίνετο πολλὸς, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου
ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκαι
ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι
καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίξαν ἔσ τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ
κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Πλαταιές
νικώντες δὲ τὸ μὲν πετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων
φεύγειν ἐων, τοίσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν
συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ
ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσαις
ἐφυπνο ὑπότοντες, ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικό-
μενοι πῦρ τε αὐτέον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεὼν.

114. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέ-
μαρχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγάθος, ἀπὸ
δὲ ἐδαν τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεως
τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγερος ὁ Εὐφορίων ἐνθαῦτα ἐπι-
λαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεῶν, τὴν ἱερὰν
ἀποκοπεῖς πελεκεῖ πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἅλλοι Ἀθη-
ναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὑμομαστοί.

115. Ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ
τούφδε ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες εκ τῆς νήσου
268
being (as they saw) so few were yet charging them at speed, albeit they had no horsemen nor archers. Such was the imagination of the foreigners; but the Athenians, closing all together with the Persians, fought in memorable fashion; for they were the first Greeks, within my knowledge, who charged their enemies at a run, and the first who endured the sight of Median garments and men clad therein; till then, the Greeks were affrighted by the very name of the Medes.

113. For a long time they fought at Marathon; and the foreigners overcame the middle part of the line, against which the Persians themselves and the Sacae were arrayed; here the foreigners prevailed and broke the Greeks, pursuing them inland. But on either wing the Athenians and Plataeans were victorious; and being so, they suffered the routed of their enemies to fly, and drew their wings together to fight against those that had broken the middle of their line; and here the Athenians had the victory, and followed after the Persians in their flight, hewing them down, till they came to the sea. There they called for fire and laid hands on the ships.

114. In this work was slain Callimachus the polemarch, after doing doughty deeds; there too died one of the generals, Stesilaus son of Thrasylus; moreover, Cynegirus\(^1\) son of Euphorion fell there, his hand smitten off by an axe as he laid hold of a ship's poop, and many other famous Athenians.

115. Seven ships the Athenians thus won; with the rest the Persians pushed off from shore, and

\(^{1}\) Brother of the poet Aeschylus.
116. ὁμοίως ἦν καὶ ἰον χρόνῳ τοῦ Ἱσραήλ. εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ ἔδρασεν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔθνες τῆς ἐθνοκομίας. εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθινὴ γνῶσις.

117. ἔπες ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰσραήλ, οὗτοι ἔχουν πλῆθος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐξορίσαμεν τὸν Ἰσραήλ ἐκ τῶν ἔθνων τῆς ἡπτὼν εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔδρασεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ.
taking the Eretrian slaves from the island wherein they had left them, sailed round Sunium, hoping to win to the city before the Athenians' coming. There was an accusation rife at Athens that this plan arose from a device of the Alcmeonidae, who, it was said, made a compact with the Persians and held up a shield for them to see when they were now on shipboard.

116. So they sailed round Sunium; but the Athenians marched back with all speed to defend their city, and outstripped the foreigners in their coming; they came from one precinct of Heracles at Marathon, and encamped in another at Cynosarges. The foreign fleet lay a while off Phalerum, which was then the Athenians' arsenal; there they anchored and thence sailed away back to Asia.

117. In this fight at Marathon there were slain of the foreigners about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians a hundred and ninety-two. These are the numbers of them that fell on both sides. And it fell out that a marvellous thing happened: a certain Athenian, Epizelus son of Cuphagoras, while he fought doughtily in the mellay lost the sight of his eyes, albeit neither stabbed in any part nor shot, and for the rest of his life continued blind from that day. I heard that he told the tale of this mishap thus: a tall man-at-arms (he said) encountered him, whose beard spread all over his shield; this apparition passed Epizelus by, but slew his neighbour in the line. Such was the tale Epizelus told, as I heard.
118. Δάτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἄμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἦτο μὲν ἦν ἡ ὁψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ξητησίων ἐποίεσθε τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νη Φωισίση ἀγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχυρωμένου ἑπιθεόντο ὦκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἰή, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔξ οὐ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἐπλεε τῇ ἐσωτοῦ νη ἐς Δήλου· καί ἀπίκατο γὰρ τημικαῦτα οἱ Δήλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἐντελ- λεται τοῖς Δηλίοις ἀπαγαγείν τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐς Δήλιον τό Θηβαῖων· τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντεί- λάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τούτον Δήλιοι οὐκ ἀπῆηγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δ’ ἐτέων εἰκοσὶ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεσπροπιού ἐκομίσαμεν ἐπὶ Δήλιου.

119. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετρίεων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρείος, ποῦν μὲν αἱχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας, ἐνεῖχε σφὶ δεινὸν χόλον, οὐα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίας προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετρίεων· ἐπείτε δὲ εἴδε σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ’ ἐσωτερικῶν καὶ ἐσωτερικῶν ἐσώτεροι ἐστώσα, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας τῆς Κισσίης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἐσωτερικῶν τοὺς οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σοῦσων δέκα καὶ δικοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τρυφασίας ἱδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλτοῖ καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται εἰς αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τούτῳ. ἀντ- λέεται μὲν κηλωνίνω, ἀντὶ δὲ γαλάζου ἡμισὺν ἄσκοι οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύφασις δὲ τοῦτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ

272
118. Datis journeyed with his army to Asia; and being arrived at Myconos he saw a vision in his sleep. What that vision was, no man says; but as soon as day broke, Datis made search through his ships; and finding in a Phoenician ship a gilt image of Apollo, he enquired whence this plunder had been taken. Learning from what temple it had come, he sailed in his own ship to Delos; where, the Delians being now returned to their island, Datis set the image in the temple, and charged the Delians to carry it away to the Theban place Delium, on the sea-coast over against Chalcis. This charge given, Datis sailed back. But the Delians never carried that statue away; twenty years after that, the Thebans brought it to Delium, being so commanded by an oracle.

119. When Datis and Artaphrenes touched Asia in their voyage, they carried the enslaved Eretrians inland to Susa. Before the Eretrians were taken captive king Darius had been terribly wroth with them for doing him unprovoked wrong; but seeing them brought before him and subject to him, he did them no hurt, but gave them a domain of his own called Ardericca in the Cissian land to dwell in; this place is two hundred and ten furlongs distant from Susa, and forty from the well that is of three kinds, whence men bring up asphalt and salt and oil. This is the manner of their doing it:—a windlass is used in the drawing, with half a skin made fast to it in place of a bucket; therewith he that draws dips into
120. Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας δισκίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεὶν, οὕτω ὡστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὤστεροι δὲ ἀπίκομενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμειροντο ὁμος θείσαισθαι τοὺς Μίδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθείσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνεόντες Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὁπίσω.

121. θῶμα δὲ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσηι ἐκ συνθῆματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροις τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίην· οὕτινες μᾶλλον ἡ ὁμοίως Καλλῖς τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἰππονίκου δὲ πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννι εὔοντες. Καλλῖς τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἀπαντῶν ἐτόλμη, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνεόν, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυγγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὄνεισθαι, καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐχθιστα ἐς αὐτῶν πάντα ἐμηχανάτο.

122. [Καλλιερω δὲ τούτον ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἔστι πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τούτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλεγεμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀκρος ἐλευθερών τὴν πα-

274
the well, and then pours into a tank, whence what is drawn is poured into another tank, and goes three ways; the asphalt and the salt grow forthwith solid; the oil,\(^1\) which the Persians call rhadinace, is dark and evil-smelling. There king Darius planted the Eretrians, and they dwelt in that place till my time, keeping their ancient language. Such was the fate of the Eretrians.

120. After the full moon two thousand Lacedaemonians came to Athens, making so great haste to reach it that they were in Attica on the third day from their leaving Sparta. Albeit they came too late for the battle, yet they desired to see the Medes; and they went to Marathon and saw them. Presently they departed back again, praising the Athenians and their achievement.

121. It is to me a thing marvellous and incredible, that the Alcmeonidae could ever by agreement have held up a shield as a sign for the Persians, desiring to make Athens subject to foreigners and to Hippias; for it is plain to see that they were despot-haters as much as Callias (son of Phaeonippus and father of Hipponicus), ay, and even more than he. Callias was the only Athenian who dared buy Pisistratus' possessions when they were put up to auction by the state after Pisistratus' banishment from Athens; and he devised other acts of bitter enmity against him.

122.\(^2\) [This Callias is worthy of all men's remembrance for many reasons: firstly, because he so excellently freed his country, as I have said;

---

1 Petroleum.

2 This chapter is generally held to be an interpolation; it is only found in one (not the best) class of the MSS., and contains un-Herodotean words and phrases.
HERODOTUS

trída: toúto dé tē tā ēn 'Olimpíē ēposiše. ἵππων νικήσας, τεθρίππω δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πυθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνως πάντας δαπάνησε μεγίστης. τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἔσωτοι θυγατέρας ἐσώτας τρεῖς οἷς τις ἄνηρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὤραια, ἐδωκὼ σφὶ δωρεῖν μεγαλοπρεπεστὶν ἐκείνης τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἄνδρα ἔσωτή ἐκλέξασθαι, ἐδωκὼ τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι.]

123. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμενώνιδαι ὡμοίως ἡ οὐδὲν ἦσον τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα δὲν μοι καὶ οὐ προσέμει τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀστίδα, οίτινες ἐφευγὼν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξελειπὼν Πεισιστράτιδα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ οὐτὼ τὰς Ἀθηνὰς οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἥ περ Ἀρµόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρῖνω. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐχηγρίσασαν τοὺς ὑπολοίησαν Πεισιστράτιδῶν Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδὲ ταῖς ὑπαυσάν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας. Ἀλκμενώνιδαι δὲ ἐμφανώς ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἴ δὴ οὗτοι γε ἄληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημάκειν Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθηνὰς, ὡς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

124. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἵσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναῖων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν δὲν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμῶτεροι εὖ γε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνδρεῖς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπετιμέατο. οὔτω οὖν λόγος αἱρεῖς ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἂν τοῦτον ἀστίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀναδεχθῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀστίς, καὶ τούτῳ οὖκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο 276
secondly, for what he did at Olympia, where he won a horse-race, and was second in a four-horse chariot-race, having already won a Pythian prize, and was the cynosure of all Hellas for the lavishness of his spending; and thirdly, for his way of behaviour in the matter of his three daughters. For when they were of marriageable age, he gave them a most splendid gift and one very pleasant to them, promising that each of them should wed that husband whom she should choose for herself in all Athens.]

123. The Alcmeonidae were despot-haters as much as ever was Callias. Therefore it is to me a strange and unbelievable accusation, that they of all men should have held up a shield; for at all times they shunned despots, and it was by their devising that the sons of Pisistratus were deposed from their despotism. Thus in my judgment it was they who freed Athens much more than did Harmodius and Aristogiton; for these did but enrage the rest of Pisistratus' kin by killing Hipparchus, and did nought to end the rule of the rest of them; but the Alcmeonidae did most plainly set their country free, if indeed it was in truth they by whose persuasion the Pythian priestess signified to the Lacedaemonians that they should free Athens, as I have ere now made plain.

124. Nay (one will say), but they bore perhaps some grudge against the Athenian commonalty, and therefore betrayed their country. But there were none at Athens that were of better repute or more honoured than they; wherefore plain reason forbids to believe that they of all men could have held the shield aloft for any such cause. Indeed a shield was held aloft, and that cannot be denied; for the
γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

125. Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἁν-έκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκ-μέωνος καὶ αὐτὸς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροὶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοις ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖς παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεο-μένοις ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συμ-πρήκτωρ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προβήμως, καὶ μιν Κροίσου πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεώντων ἐσωτόν εἰ ποιεῖν μεταπέμ-πεται ἐς Σαρδίς, ἀπικνεομένες δὲ δωρεῖται χρυσῷ τὸν ἄν δύνηται τῷ ἐσωτόν σῷματε ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ· ὃ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρείαν ἐποίησαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερεν· ἐνδὺς κιθώνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθώνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἥμε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο· ἐσπεσῶν δὲ ἐς σωροὺς ψῆγματος πρώτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κυβίμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐξώρεαν οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψῆγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβῶν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξῆμε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τῶν οίκων μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ τὸ τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἱδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροίσου γέλως ἐσήλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκείνα δεδοὶ καὶ πρὸς ἑτερα δωρεῖται οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἐκεῖνων· οὕτω μὲν ἐπιλύσθησε ἡ οἰκίη αὐτῆς μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὕτως οὕτω τεθριπποτροφῆς ὡς Ὀλυμ-πιάδα ἀναιρεῖται.
thing was done; but who did it I know not, and can say no further.

125. The Alcmeonidae had been men of renown in old time at Athens, and from the days of Alcmeon and also Megacles their renown increased. For when the Lydians sent from Sardis came from Croesus to the Delphic oracle, Alcmeon son of Megacles wrought with and zealously aided them; so Croesus, hearing from the Lydians who visited the oracle of Alcmeon's benefits to himself, sent for him to Sardis, and there made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. Such being the gift, Alcmeon planned and practised a device: he donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and shod himself with the most spacious buskins that he could find, and so entered the treasury whither he was guided. There, falling upon a heap of gold-dust, first he packed by his legs as much gold as his buskins would contain; then he filled the fold of his tunic all full of gold and strewed the dust among the hair of his head, and took more of it into his mouth; till when he came out of the treasury, hardly dragging the weight of his buskins, he was like anything rather than a human creature, with his mouth crammed full and all his body swollen. When Croesus saw him he fell a-laughing, and gave him all the gold he already had and as much more again. Thus that family grew very rich, and Alcmeon came to keep four-horse chariots, and won therewith at Olympia.

1 Alcmeon 'flourished' about 590; Croesus' reign was 560-546; it was Megacles son of Alcmeon, and not Alcmeon himself, who was Croesus' contemporary.
126. Μετὰ δὲ γενεθ' δευτέρη ύστερον Κλεισθένης αυτὴν ο Σικυώνιος τύραννος εξήερε, ὡστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρῳ γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς Ἔλληνης ἡ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ 'Αριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ 'Ανδρέω γίνεται θυράτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν 'Αγαρίστη. ταύτην ἥθελησε, 'Ελλήνων ἀπαντῶν ἐξευρών τὸν ἄριστον, τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὄλυμπίων δὲν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῦσι τεθρίπτω ὁ Κλεισθένης κηρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὡστὶ 'Ελλήνων ἐσωτοὺ ἄξιοι Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἤκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστὴν ἡμέρῃν ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυωνία, ὡς κυρωσοῦν Κλεισθένεος τὸν γάμον ἐν ἑπάνω, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρῃς. ἐνθαῦτα 'Ελλήνων ὅσου σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγικωμένου, ἐφοίτους μακρινές τοῖς Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμοι καὶ παλαιστρῆς ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῶ τούτῳ εἴχε.

127. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίης ἦλθε Σιμινδρίδης ὁ Ἰπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, διὰ ἐπὶ πλείοντο δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνήρ ἀπίκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τούτῳ τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. οὕτω μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίης ἤλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰούνιον Ἀμφιμυστὸς Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμιος. οὕτως δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰούνιο κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμοι τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τῷ Ἔλληνας ἠγχύι καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρης, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης. ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Δεσποτίδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιησάντος Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ὑβρίσαντος

1 Cleisthenes of Sicyon was contemporary with Alcmeon.
126. In the next generation Cleisthenes¹ the despot of Sicyon raised that house yet higher, so that it grew more famous in Hellas than it had formerly been. For Cleisthenes son of Aristonymus, who was the son of Myron, who was the son of Andreas, had one daughter, whose name was Agariste. He desired to wed her to the best man he could find in Hellas; wherefore, the Olympian games being then toward, wherein he was victor in a race of four-horse chariots, Cleisthenes made a proclamation, bidding whatever Greek thought himself worthy to be his son-in-law come on the sixtieth day from then or earlier to Sicyon, where (said Cleisthenes) he would make good his promise of marriage in a year from that sixtieth day. Then all the Greeks who were proud of themselves and their country came to ask the lady's hand; whom, having that end in view, Cleisthenes made to contend in running and wrestling.

127. From Italy came Smindyrides of Sybaris, son of Hippocrates, the most luxurious liver of his day (and Sybaris was then at the height of its prosperity), and Damasus of Siris, son of that Amyris who was called The Wise. These came from Italy; from the Ionian Gulf, Amphimnestus son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian; he was of the Ionian Gulf. From Aetolia came Males, the brother of that Titormus who excelled all Greeks in strength, and fled from the sight of men to the farthest parts of the Aetolian land. From the Peloponnese came Leocedes, son of Phidon the despot of Argos, that Phidon who made weights and measures for the Peloponnesians,²

² P. introduced the "Aeginetan" system of weights and measures. For the chronological difficulty connected with this mention of him, see the commentators.
μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγώνα ἐθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμιάντος Δυκούργου Ἀρκας ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀζην ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Δαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὃς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαθῆ Λέγεται, τῶν Διοσκοροὺς οἰκίσσει καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέουστος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνύμαστος Ἀγαίου. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἠλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροίσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἰπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλοῦτω καὶ εἴδει προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετῆρίς ἀνθεύσης τοῦ τοῦ χρόνου Δυσανίς· οὕτως δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίς ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων. 128. Τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπτύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχουν ἐνιαυτῶν διεπείρατο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς ὁργῆς καὶ παιδεύσιος τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἔνι ἐκάστῳ ἰὸν ἐς συνουσίαν καὶ συνάπαι, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσια τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τὸ γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίᾳ διεπείρατο· ὅσον γὰρ κατείχε χρόνον αὐτούς, τούτου πάντα ἐποίει καὶ ἀμα ἐξεινίζει μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἥρεσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀπιγμένου, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἰπποκλείδης ο τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίν έκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν τοίσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἢν προσήκον.
and dealt more high-handedly than any other Greek; for he drove out the Elean stewards of the lists, and ordered the contests at Olympia himself; this man's son now came; and Amiantus an Arcadian from Trapezus, son of Lycurgus; and an Azenian from the town of Paeus, Laphanes son of that Euphorion who, as the Arcadian tale relates, gave lodging to the Dioscuri, and from that time forward kept open house for all men; and Onomastus from Elis, son of Agaeus. These came from the Peloponnese itself; from Athens, Megacles, son of that Alcmeon who visited Croesus, and beside him Hippoclides son of Tisandrus, the richest and goodliest man in Athens. From Eretria, which at that time was prosperous, Lysanias; he was the only man from Euboea; from Thessaly came a Scopad, Diactorides of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon.

128. Such was the roll of the suitors. When they were come on the day appointed, Cleisthenes first enquired the country and lineage of each; then he kept them with him for a year, making trial of their manly worth and temper and upbringing and manner of life; this he did by consorting with them alone and in company, putting the younger of them to contests of strength, but especially watching their demeanour at the common meal; for as long as he kept them with him he did all for them and entertained them with magnificence. Now those of the suitors that best pleased him were they who came from Athens, and of these Hippoclides son of Tisandrus was judged the foremost, both for his manly worth and because by his lineage he was akin to the Cypselid family of Corinth.
129. Ὅστε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἁμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσεως τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένης τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἔκατον ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς μινηστήρας καὶ Σωκυννίους πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μινηστήρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφὶ τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προιόνισες δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλού τους ἄλλους ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσε οἱ τοῦ αὐλητήν αὐλησαί ἐμμελείν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέων ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἐωτῷ μὲν ἄρεστως ὀρχέστο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὅρεων ὅλου τὸ πρῆγμα ὑπώπτευεν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὸν ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης χρόνον ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν ἑσενείκαι, ἑσελθοῦσις δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Δακονικᾶ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἂλλα Ἀττικὰ, τὸ τρῖτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖς σκέλεσι ἐχειρονομῆσα. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρόν ἀν ὃι ἐτι γενέσθαι Ἰπποκλείδεα διὰ τὴν τὸ ὀρχήσαιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείαν, κατεῖχε ἐσωτόν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν ὡς δὲ εἰδε τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομησάντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε Ἡ ὁ παῖς Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαο γε μὲν τῶν γὰμον," ὁ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης ὑπολαβῶν εἶπε ὁ προφητις Ἰπποκλείδης ἀπὸ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο ὄνομάζεται.

130. Κλεισθένης δὲ συγνήν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε. ὁ Ἀνδρές παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μυηστήρας, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινῶ καὶ πάσι υμῖν, εἰ οἶον τε εἰς, χαριζομεν ἄν, μὴ ἐν ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίσων μήτε τούς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶα τε ἐστὶ μὴς πέρι παρθένου βουλεύοντα.
129. When the day appointed came for the marriage feast to be held and Cleisthenes himself to declare whom he chose out of all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors themselves and the whole of Sicyon. After dinner the suitors vied with each other in music and social discourse. As they sat late drinking, Hippoclides, now far outdoing the rest, bade the flute-player play him music, and when the flute-player so did, he began to dance; and he pleased himself marvellous well with his dancing; but Cleisthenes saw the whole business with much disfavour. After a while, Hippoclides bade a table be brought; when it came he danced on it Laconian first and then Attic figures; last of all he rested his head on the table and made gestures with his legs in the air. Now Cleisthenes at the first and the second bout of dancing could no more bear to think of Hippoclides as his son-in-law, for his dancing and his shamelessness; yet he had held himself in check, not willing to vent his wrath on Hippoclides; but when he saw him making gestures with his legs, he could no longer keep silence, but cried, "'Tis very well, son of Tisandrus, but you have danced yourself out of your marriage." Whereat quoth the other, "Hippoclides cares nought for that!" which is a byword from that day.

130. Then Cleisthenes bade them all be silent, and spoke to the company at large. "Suitors for my daughter's hand," said he, "I thank you one and all; and were it possible I would grant each of you his wish, neither choosing out one to set him above another nor disparaging the rest. But seeing that I have but one damsel to plan for and so cannot
πάσι κατὰ νόον ποιεῖν, τοίσι μὲν ύμέων ἀπελαυνομένους τούδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἰνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμὲ ηῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημῆσις, τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέι εἰγνῦ παιδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων." φαμένου δὲ εἰγνασθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

131. Ἀμψὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαύτα ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτῳ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβωσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικισάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίης Ἀθηναίων καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὖν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου. οὕτος τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέι καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος Μεγακλέος τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὖν ὄνομα. ἢ συνοικίσασα τὰ Ξανθῖππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρωνος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐσώσα εἰδε ὁψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν, καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθῖππῳ.

132. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρώμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, τότε μᾶλλον αὐξετο. αὐτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκουτα καὶ στρατηγῇ τε καὶ χρηματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφι ἐπὶ ἢν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώρῃν, ἀλλὰ φας αὐτῶς καταπλούτειν ἢν οἱ ἐπέωνται ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρῃν τοιαύτῃ δὴ τινὰ ἄξεων ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον ὀσοῦται λέγων τοιαύτα αἰτεῖ τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαρθένετε παρέδοσαν.

133. Παραλαβῶν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατηγῇ 286
please all of you, to those of you whose suit is rejected I make a gift of a talent of silver to each, for his desire to take a wife from my house and for his sojourn away from his home; and to Megacles son of Alcmeon do I betroth my daughter Agariste, as by Athenian law ordained.” Megacles accepted the betrothal, and so Cleisthenes made good his promise of the marriage.

131. Such is the tale of the choice among the suitors; and thus the fame of the Alcmeonidae was noised abroad in Hellas. Of this marriage was born that Cleisthenes (so called after him of Sicyon, his mother’s father) who gave the Athenians their tribes and their democratic state; he and Hippocrates were born to Megacles; Hippocrates was father of another Megacles and another Agariste, called after Agariste who was Cleisthenes’ daughter; she, being wedded to Xanthippus son of Ariphron, and with child, saw a vision in her sleep whereby she thought she gave birth to a lion. In a few days she bore Xanthippus a son, Pericles.

132. After the Persian disaster at Marathon, the fame of Miltiades, which had before been great at Athens, was increased. He asked of the Athenians seventy ships and an army and money, not telling them against what country he would lead them, but saying that he would make them rich men if they followed him; for he would bring them to a country whence they should easily carry away abundance of gold; so he promised when he asked for the ships; which the Athenians, being thus assured, gave him.

133. Miltiades took his army and sailed for Paros,
HERODOTUS

ἐπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπήρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεις ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τούτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἐγκοτον εἰχε τούτοι Παρίοις διὰ Δυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίων, ἐώτια γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς 'Τεχνην νί τὸν Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἦν ἐπλεε ο Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατηγῇ ἐπολιορκεῖ Παρίοις κατειλημέονος ἐντὸς τειχεος, καὶ ἐστέιμπων κήρυκα αἰτεῖ ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, φᾶς, ἦν μιν οὐ δώση, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατηγὶν πρὶν ἡ ἕξηλη σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὠκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδη ἀργύρων οὐδὲ διευοιντο, οἱ δὲ ὠκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανώντο, ἀλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἐσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τειχεος, τοῦτο ἀμα νυκτὶ ἕξηερετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἄρχαῖου.

134. Ἔσ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἔλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι δοὺλε γέγονες. Μιλτιάδη ἀπορέουντι ἐξθείν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτων γυναῖκα, ἐσώσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὔνομά δὲ οἱ εἰναι Τιμοῦν, εἰναι δὲ ὑποξάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν ταῦτην ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὦν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεύσας, εἴ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεται Πάρον έλείν, τά ἀν αὐτὴ ὑποθήται, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. μετά δὲ τήν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν κοιλον τοῦ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος έσώτα ἑρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖνι, οὐ δυνάμενοι τὰς θύρας ἀνοίξει, ὑπερθοροῦντα δὲ ἵναι ἔπι τὸ μέγαρον ὧ τι δὴ ποιήσομαι έσώτα, εἰτε κινήσουτα τι τῶν ἅκυντων εἰτε ὧ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα πρὸς τής θύρης τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτῶν ὑπελθούσης ὀπίσω τῆν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν ἴερθαι, 288
on the pretext that the Parians had brought this on themselves by first sending triremes with the Persian fleet to Marathon. Such was the pretext whereof he spoke; but he had a grudge against the Parians because Lysagoras son of Tisias, a man of Parian descent, had made ill blood between him and Hydarnes the Persian. Having come to the place to which he sailed, Miltiades with his army drove the Parians within their walls and there besieged them; and sending in a herald he demanded a hundred talents, which (said he) if they would not give him, his army should not return before it had stormed their city. The Parians had no thought at all of giving any money to Miltiades, and had no other purpose but to defend their city, which they did by building their wall at night to double its former height where it was most assailable, and also by other devices.

134. As far as this all Greeks tell the same story; thenceforward this is the tale as it is told by the Parians themselves: Miltiades (they say) being in a quandary, a Parian slave woman named Timo, who was an under-priestess of the goddesses of the dead, had speech with him; coming before Miltiades, she counselled him, if he set great store by the taking of Paros, to do as she should advise him. Presently, at her advice, he passed through to the hill before the city, and there he climbed over the fence of the precinct of Demeter the Lawgiver,—not being able to open the door,—and having so done went to the shrine, whether to move something that should not be moved, or with some other intent; but when he was at the very door he was seized straightway by panic fear and returned by the same way; and in
καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἴμασιν τὸν μηρὸν σταθήναι· οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνον προσπταίσαι λέγουσι.

135. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρῆματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἠγὼν οὔτε Πάρων προσκετσάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἡμέρας καὶ δηδῶςα τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ υποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμώ Μιλτιάδη κατηγήσατο, Βουλόμενοι μὴν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρότους πέμπουσι ἐσὶ Δελφοῦς ὡς σφεας ἡσυχία τῆς πολιορκίης ἐσχε ἐπεμπὼν δὲ ἑπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρῆσωται τὴν υποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τούς ἐχθροῦς τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσι καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρεινα γόνον ἀρρῆτα ἰρά ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμών εἶναι τὴν αἰτίν τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανηγαί ὁ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμώνα.

136. Παρίοιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσατα ἔσχον εἰς στόμασι οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μᾶλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος, δὲ θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δήμου Μιλτιάδεα ἐδῶκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἶνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεών οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὡστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογεύοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμημένοι καὶ τὴν Δήμουν αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἐλὼν Δήμιον τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοις. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις, Μιλτιάδης μὲν 290
leaping down from the wall he twisted his thigh, or as some say took a blow on his knee.

135. So Miltiades sailed back home in sorry plight; for he brought no wealth, nor had he won Paros; he had besieged the town for six-and-twenty days and laid waste the island. The Parians, learning that Timo the under-priestess of the goddesses had been Miltiades’ guide, desired to punish her for this, and having now rest from the siege sent messengers to Delphi to enquire if they should put the under-priestess to death for having compassed the taking of her country by guiding its enemies, and revealing to Miltiades the rites that no male should know. But the Pythian priestess forbade them; it was not Timo, she said, that was in fault, but Miltiades was doomed to make an ill end, and an apparition had guided him in these evil courses.

136. Such was the priestess’ reply to the Parians; but when Miltiades returned back from Paros many tongues were let loose against him at Athens; and Xanthippus son of Ariphron impeached him before the people, calling for the penalty of death for the deceit which he had practised on the Athenians. Miltiades was present, but could not speak in his own defence, his thigh being mortified; but he was laid before the court on a bed, and his friends spoke for him, ever calling to mind the fight at Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos,—how Miltiades had punished the Pelasgians and taken Lemnos and delivered it to the Athenians. The people took his side in so far as they would not condemn him to death, but they fined him fifty talents for his wrongdoing. Presently Miltiades died of the gangrene
The Pelasgians were driven into Attica by the Boeotian
and mortification of his thigh, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon.

137. Now this is how Miltiades son of Cimon won Lemnos. When the Pelasgians\(^1\) were cast out of Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly,—as to that I can say nothing, beyond what is recorded, namely, that Hecataeus the son of Hegesandrus declares in his history that the act was unjust; for (says Hecataeus) when the Athenians saw the land under Hymettus which, being their own, they had given to the Pelasgians as a dwelling-place in reward for the wall that had once been built round the acropolis,—when the Athenians saw how well this place was tilled which erewhile had been bad and worthless, they grudged and coveted the land, and so drove the Pelasgians out on this and no other pretext. But the Athenians themselves say that their reason for expelling the Pelasgians was just. The Pelasgians, they say, issued out from their settlement at the foot of Hymettus and dealt wrongfully with the Athenians in this wise: neither the Athenians nor any other dwellers in Hellas had as yet servants at that time, and their sons and daughters resorted to the Nine Wells\(^2\) for water; and whenever they came, the Pelasgians maltreated them out of mere arrogance and pride. Nor yet were they content with so doing, but at last were caught in the act of planning to attack Athens. The Athenians, by their own showing, dealt so much more rightly than the Pelasgians, that when they might have killed them, caught plotting as they were, they would not so do.

immigration, about sixty years after the Trojan war according to legend.

\(^{2}\) S.E. of Athens, near the Ilissus.
138. Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὕτω Ἀδημὸν τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὑ τε ἔξεπιστάμενοι τὰς 'Αθηναίων ὀρτᾶς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρώνι ἀγώνας ὀρτῆν τὰς τῶν 'Αθηναίων γυναικῶν, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς Λήμνον ἀγαλμάτως παλλακάς εἴχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ οἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήθησαν, γλῶσσαν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς 'Αθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας. οὐ δὲ οὕτε συμμισγεσθαὶ τοιοῦ ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ἦθελον, εἰ τε τύππατό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τινῶς, ἐβοηθεὶς τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παίδες ἐδίκαιεν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτεον. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐωτυποῖσι λόγοις ἐδίδοσαν καὶ σφι Βουλευομένοις δεινὸν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοις σφίσι τε βοηθεῖς οἱ παίδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδεῶν γυναικῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν περίφατο, τί δὴ ἀνδροθέντες δὴθεν ποιήσουσι. εὐθαίτα ἐδοξέ σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παιδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικῶν γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύοντι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαστο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἁμα Θώαντι ἀνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέσθαι.
but bade them depart out of the country. Thereupon the Pelasgians departed, and took Lemnos in possession, besides other places. This is the Athenian story; the other is told by Hecataeus.

138. These Pelasgians, dwelling at that time in Lemnos and desiring vengeance on the Athenians, and well knowing the time of the Athenian festivals, got them fifty-oared ships and lay in ambush for the Athenian women when they were celebrating a festival for Artemis at Brauron; carrying off many of the women, they sailed away further with them and brought them to Lemnos to be their concubines. Now as these women bore more and more children, they taught their sons the speech of Attica and Athenian manners. These boys would not consort with the sons of the Pelasgian women; if one of themselves were beaten by one of the others, they would all run to his aid and help each other; nay, the Athenian-bred boys even claimed to rule the others, and were much the stronger than they. When the Pelasgians perceived that, they took counsel together; and it troubled them much in their counsels to think what the boys would do when they grew to man's estate, if they were resolved to help each other against the sons of the lawful wives and essayed to rule them forthwith. Thereupon the Pelasgians judged it best to slay the sons of the Attic women; and this they did, and slew the boys' mothers likewise. From this and the former deed which was done by the women, when they slew their own husbands who were Thoas' companions, a "Lemnian crime" has been a proverb in Hellas for any deed of cruelty.
139. Ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖς Πελασγοῖς τοὺς ἵππους εἰς ταῖς ἱππαῖς, εὐθείᾳ καὶ ποταμοῖς ὡς οὕτως ἔτην, ἥκερ πρὸς τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἀπαιδής ἢς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμπὼν λύσιν τινὰ αἰτήσομενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἦ δὲ Πυθία σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίωι δίκας διδόναι ταῦτας τὰς ἀν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοι δικάσωσι. ἦλθον τε δὴ ἐς τὸς Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανηῶν κλῆσι στρώσαντες ὡς εἰχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιτπλήν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραδέδεντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφῖσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν "Επεάν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν ἐξανύσῃ νῆς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν," ἐπιστάμενοι τούτῳ εἰναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἦ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεσαι πολλῶν τῆς Δήμου.

140. Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοὶ ὑστερον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσονήσους ἢ ἐπ' Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀθηναίωι, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κιμωνος ἐτησιεῖν ἀνέμου κατεστηκότων τῇ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἢς Δήμου κατηγορεῖε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς υἱόσου τοῦι Πελασγοὶ, ἀναμιμήσεων σφέας τὸ χρηστήμιον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἠλπίσας σφίση οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέσθαι. Ἑδαιστείες μὲν ὑπὸ ἄποιθον, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγενιωσκόμενοι εἰναι τὴν Χερσονήσου Ἀττικήν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἢς ο καὶ οὕτω παρέστησαν. οὕτω δὴ τὴν Δήμουν ἔσχον Ἀθηναίοι το ἡλτινδής.
139. But when the Pelasgians had slain their own sons and the women, their land brought forth no fruit, nor did their wives and their flocks and herds bear offspring as before. Under stress of hunger and childlessness they sent to Delphi to ask for some way of release from their present ills; and the Pythian priestess bidding them pay the Athenians whatsoever penalty the Athenians themselves should adjudge, the Pelasgians went to Athens and offered to pay the penalty for all their wrong-doing. The Athenians set in their town-hall a couch adorned to the best of their power, with a table thereby covered with all manner of good things, and said to the Pelasgians, “Deliver your land to us in a like state”; whereto the Pelasgians answered, “We will deliver it when a ship shall accomplish her voyage with a north wind from your country to ours in one day”; this they said, well assured that the thing was impossible; for Attica is far to the south of Lemnos.

140. This and no more was then said. But a great many years afterward, when the Chersonese by the Hellespont was made subject to Athens, Miltiades son of Cimon did, by virtue of the Etesian winds then constantly blowing, accomplish the voyage from Elaeus on the Chersonese to Lemnos; which done, he issued a proclamation to the Pelasgians bidding them leave their island, reminding them of the oracular word which the Pelasgians thought they would never see fulfilled. The men of Hephaestia, then, obeyed him; but they of Myrina would not agree that the Chersonese was Attic land, and they stood a siege; but in the end they too submitted. Thus did Miltiades and the Athenians take Lemnos in possession.

1 North-east winds, blowing in July, August, and September.
BOOK VII
1. Ἕπει δὲ ἀγγελία ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τὸν Τστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένου τούς Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδης ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸτε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπτῳ ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιῶν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσεων έκάστοις ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ὑπόστοις καὶ σῖτων καὶ πλοίᾳ. τούτων δὲ περι- ἀγγελλομένων ἢ Ασίη ἐδονέτο ἐπὶ τρία έτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτω δὲ ἐτεί Αὐγύπτωι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ὄντω οὐκολωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσῶν. ἐνθάδε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπὶ Αὐγύπτου καὶ Ἀθηνας, τῶν παιδών αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς δὲ μὴν ἀπο- δέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον οὐτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἡ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παιδεῖ ἐκ τῆς
BOOK VII

1. When the message concerning the fight at Marathon came to Darius son of Hystaspes, greatly wroth as he was already against the Athenians for their attack upon Sardis, he was now much more angered and the more desirous of sending an expedition against Hellas. Forthwith he sent messengers to all cities commanding the equipment of an army, charging each to provide much more than they had before provided of ships and horses and provision and vessels of transport. By these messages Asia was shaken for three years, the best men being enrolled for service against Hellas and making preparation therefor. In the fourth year the Egyptians, whom Cambyses had enslaved, revolted from the Persians; thereupon Darius was but the more desirous of sending expeditions even against both.

2. But while Darius was making preparation against Egypt and Athens, there arose a great quarrel among his sons concerning the chief power in the land, they holding that he must before his army marched declare an heir to the kingship according to Persian law. For Darius had three sons born to him before he became king by his first wife,
HERODOTUS

προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἢξ' Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἐτερον τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. εἶναι δὲ μητρός οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατος τε εἶν παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἶν πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶν τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶν ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖς Πέρσηι τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

3. Δαρείου δὲ οὖν ἀποδεικνυμένου καὶ γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τῶντο τοῦτοι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἔς Σοῦσα, ἔστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείας καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβάλων ἐσωτῷ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. οὗτος ὁμὴν πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὰν, ἐλθὼν, ὅσ ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔλεγε ἐπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτη ἐστὶν Δαρείῳ· οὕκων οὐτε οἴκος εἰν οὐτε δίκαιον ἀλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἕχειν πρὸ ἐσωτῶν· ἔτει γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφὶ ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὖτω νομίζεσθαι, ἢν οὐ μὲν προγεγονότες ἐσωτ πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύσαι ὑψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἐκδεξίν τῆς βασιλείας γίνεσθαι. χρησμαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεως τῇ Δημαρῆτον ὑποθήκη, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρείος ὃς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκεῖν δὲ μοι, καὶ ἀνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἀν Ἐρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτόσσα εἶξε τὸ πάν κράτος.
the daughter of Gobryas, and four besides after he became king by Atossa daughter of Cyrus; of the earlier sons Artobazanes was the eldest, and Xerxes of the later; and being sons of different mothers they were rivals, Artobazanes pleading that he was the eldest of all Darius' offspring and that it was everywhere customary that the eldest should rule; Xerxes, that he was son of Cyrus' daughter Atossa and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom.

3. Darius delaying his judgment in this matter, it chanced that at this time Demaratus son of Ariston had come up to Susa, banished of his own will from Lacedaemon after he had lost the kingship of Sparta. Learning of the contention between the sons of Darius, this man, as the story goes, came and counselled Xerxes to add to what he said another plea, to wit, that he had been born when Darius was already king and ruler of Persia, but Artobazanes when Darius was yet a subject; therefore (Xerxes should say) it was neither reasonable nor just that any rather than he should have the royal prerogative; for at Sparta too (said Demaratus in his counselling) it was ever customary, that if there be sons born before their father became king, and another son born later when the father was king, to the later-born should fall the succession to the kingship. Xerxes then following Demaratus' advice, Darius judged his plea to be just and declared him king. But to my thinking Xerxes would have been made king even without this advice; for Atossa was all-powerful.
4. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσης Ξέρξεα Δαρείος ὁρμᾶτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ύστερῷ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἢ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἢτα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεώτας Αἰγύπτιους οὔτε Αἰθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληγὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦ ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τούν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἐλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ’ ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐποιεῖτο στρατιῶς ἀγερσιν. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύνω, ὃς ἦν Ἐξέρξης μὲν ἀνεψιος Δαρείου δὲ ἅδελφης παῖς, τοιοῦτοι λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων “Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Αἰθηναίοις ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτην ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἐχή πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθός, καὶ τις ύστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.” οὕτως μὲν οἱ οἱ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιεῖσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς ἐιὶ χώρη, καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τέ ἄκρη, βασιλεί τε μοῦνω θυντῶν αξίη ἐκτήσθαι.

6. Ταῦτα ἐλεγε οἱ νεωτέρων ἐργοῦ ἐπιθυμητῆς ἕως ἦν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑπαρχός εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὡστε
4. Having declared Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this, and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparation, after a reign of six and thirty years\(^1\) in all; nor was it granted to him to punish either the revolted Egyptians, or the Athenians.

5. Darius being dead, the royal power descended to his son Xerxes. Now Xerxes was at first by no means eager to march against Hellas; it was against Egypt that he mustered his army. But Mardonius son of Gobryas, who was Xerxes' cousin and son of Darius' sister, and was ever with the king and had more influence with him than any Persian, reasoned thus in his discourse: "Sire, it is not seemly that the Athenians should go unpunished for their deeds, after all the evil they have done to the Persians. Nay, my counsel is that for the nonce you do what you have in hand; then, when you have tamed the insolence of Egypt, lead your armies against Athens, that you may have fair fame among men, and that all may in time to come beware how they invade your realm." This argument of his was for vengeance' sake;\(^2\) but he would ever slip a plea into it, that Europe was an exceeding fair land, one that bore all kinds of orchard trees, a land of high excellence, worthy of no mortal master but the king.

6. This he said, because he desired adventures, and would himself be viceroy of Hellas. And at the last he so wrought upon and over-persuaded Xerxes

---

\(^1\) 521-485.

\(^2\) Some take the Greek to mean "this argument was his helper"; but the statement seems rather pointless.
ποιείν ταύτα Ἑρέξην· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα
οἱ σύμμαχοι γενόμεναι ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ἑρέξην.
τούτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑθσαλίης παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευ-
αδέων ἀπεμβοῦν ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλεόντο βασιλέα
πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὕτως ἦσαν Ἑθσαλίης βασιλέες.
τούτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς
Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ
οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλέον
προσωρέγοιτο οἱ ἔχοντες Οὐσιώμακρτον ἄνδρα
Ἀθηναίον, χρησιμολογοῦν τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησιμῶν
τῶν Μουσαίον, ἀναβεβηκέσαν, τὴν ἐχθρὴν προ-
καταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου
τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀσιώμακρτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν,
ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρῳ ἀλὸν ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἐρμονέος
ἐμποιεῶν ἐς τὰ Μουσαίον χρησμὸν, ὑς αἱ ἐπὶ
Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴς
θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξῆλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρό-
τερον χρεόμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβας
ὁκὼς ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὑγίω τὴν βασιλέα, λεγόντων
τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους,
κατέλεγε τῶν χρησιμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἔνεοι σφάλμα
φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, τὸ
dὲ τὰ εὐτυχείστατα εκλεγόμενοι ἔλεγε τῶν τοῖς
Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ξευχθῆναι χρεόν εἰπ’ ὑπ’ ἄνδρος
Πέρσεω, τὴν τε ἐλασίων ἔξηγόμενοι. οὕτως τοῖς
dὲ χρησιμόδεων προσεφέρετο καὶ οὐ τοῖς Πεισιστρα-
tιδαῖς καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδέκνυμενοι.

7. Ὁσ ὁ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ἑρέξης στρατευέσθαι ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθάντα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἐτεί μετὰ τὸν

1 The word sometimes means “a diviner”; here, prob-
that the king was moved to do as he said; for there were other things too that allied themselves to aid in winning Xerxes’ consent. Firstly, there came messengers out of Thessaly from the Aleuadae (who were princes of Thessaly) with all earnestness inviting the king into Hellas; and secondly, those of the house of Pisistratus who had come up to Susa did likewise, using the same pleas as the Aleuadae, and offering Xerxes besides even more than they. With these came Onomacritus, an Athenian oracle-monger, one that had set in order the oracles of Musaeus; with him they had come, being now reconciled to him after their quarrel: for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus’ son Hipparchus, having been caught by Lasus of Hermione in the act of interpolating in the writings of Musaeus an oracle showing that the islands off Lemnos should disappear into the sea. For this cause Hipparchus banished him, though before that they had been close friends. Now he came to Susa with Pisistratus’ kin; and whencesoever he came into the king’s presence they would use high language concerning him and he would recite from his oracles; all that portended disaster to the Persian he left unspoken, but chose out and recited such prophecies as were most favourable, telling of the Hellespont, how it must be bridged by a man of Persia, and how the host should march. So Xerxes was beset by Onomacritus with his oracles, and by the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae with their counsels.

7. Having been over-persuaded to send an expedition against Hellas, Xerxes first marched against

ably, rather a “selecter and publisher” of existing oracles, by recitation or otherwise.

1 A poet and musician, Pindar’s teacher.
8. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αιγύπτου ἀλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι τὸ στρατεύμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀριστῶν ἐποίετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πάσι εἰπῇ τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἐλέξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "'Ανδρεὶς Πέρσαι, οὔτ' ἀυτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόδε ἐν ὑμῖν τιθεὶς, παραδεξάμενος τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι. ὡς γὰρ ἑγὼ πυθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὔδαμά κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίνην τῇδε παρὰ Μῆδων, Κῦρον κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα: ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτῷ οὕτω ἡμῖν πολλὰ ἐπετουσὶ συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείνουν. τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτίσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὗ υὸν ἀν τις λέγοι. ἑγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τούτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν προτέρων γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσομαι προσκείσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσησι. φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἀμα μὲν κῦδος τε ἡμῖν προσγινώμενον χώρην τε τῆς νυν ἐκτήμεθα ὅμως ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυρωτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε, ἀμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίς ἴσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέας νυν ἑγὼ συνελέξα, ἵνα τὸ νοεῖ πρήσσειν 308
the rebels, in the year after Darius' death. These
he subdued, and laid Egypt under a much harder
slavery than in the time of Darius; and he committed
the governance of it to Achaemenes, his own brother,
Darius' son. This Achaemenes, being then viceroy
of Egypt, was at a later day \(^1\) slain by a Libyan,
Inaros son of Psammetichus.

8. After the conquest of Egypt, purposing now to
take in hand the expedition against Athens, Xerxes
held an assembly of the noblest among the Persians,
convened with special intent, that he might learn
their opinions and himself declare his will before
them all. When they were assembled, Xerxes spoke
to them as follows:— "Persians! this is no new law
of my bringing in and ordaining, but one that I have
received and will obey. As I learn from our eldest,
we have never yet remained at peace ever since
Cyrus deposed Astyages and we won this our lord-
ship from the Medes. It is the will of heaven; and
we ourselves win advantage by our many enterprises.
Now of the nations that Cyrus and Cambyses and
Darius my father subdued and added to our realm,
none need tell you; for well you know them. But
for myself, ever since I came to this throne, I have
taken thought how best I shall not fall short in this
honourable place of those that were before me, nor
gain for the Persians a lesser power than they; and
my thought persuades me, that we may win not only
renown, but a land neither less nor worse, but more
fertile, than that which we now possess; and not
only so, but vengeance and requital withal. For this
cause I have now summoned you together, that I may

\(^1\) In 460; cp. III. 15.
HERODOTUS

ὑπερθεώματι ύμιν" μέλλων ξεύξασ τὸν Ἑλλῆσπον-τον ἐλαύν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἐπὶ τῆν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ἀθηναίοις τιμωρήσωμαι ὡς δῇ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι. ὥρατε μὲν νων καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι Δαρείου ἱθύνοτα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι' ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν οὗ πρότερον παῦσομαι πρῶν ἡ ἐλω τε καὶ πυρρόσω τας 'Αθηνας, οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι ὑπῆρξαν ἀδίκα ποιεῖσθε. πρῶστα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες, ἀμα Ἀρισταγόρη τῷ Μιλησίῳ δοῦλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπίκομενοι, ἐνέπρη-σαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἳα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δατίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεοι, τά ἐπίστασθέ κού πάντες. τούτων μὲν τοῖν ποιεῖσθαι αὐτήν καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκοι λογιζόμενοι· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοις πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἳ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγός νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὀμουρέουσαν. οὗ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόφεται ἥλιος ὀμουρὸν ἐσύνα τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλ' ἑφαύσκως πάσας ἐγὼ ἀμα χώρην, οὗτων τοῖν πολλὶ πολὺ τοῦ ἄνδρον οὐδεμίαν οὖτε ἑδονας ὀδεσεν ἄνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἶον τε ἐσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὕπεξαραίρημένων. οὗτοι ώς ἡμῖν αἴτιοι ἔξονους ὀδύλουν ζυγόν οἳ τε ἀναίτιοι. ύμεῖς ὃ ἐν μοι τάδε ποιεῖσθε χαρίζομεθε· ἐπεάν ἡμῖν σημῆνω τὸν 310
BOOK VII. 8

impart to you my purpose. It is my intent to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, that I may punish the Athenians for what they have done to the Persians and to my father. You saw that Darius my father was minded to make an expedition against these men. But he is dead, and it was not granted him to punish them; and I, on his and all the Persians' behalf, will never rest till I have taken and burnt Athens, for the unprovoked wrong that its people did to my father and me; first they came to Sardis with our slave Aristagoras the Milesian, and burnt the groves and the temples; and next, how they dealt with us when we landed on their shores and Datis and Artaphrenes were our generals, all of you, I think, know. For these causes then I am resolved to send an army against them; and thus much advantage, as my reckoning shows me, we shall gain thereby: if we subdue those men, and their neighbours who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven to be the same; for no land that the sun beholds will lie on our borders, but I will make all to be one country, when I have passed over the whole of Europe. For, as I learn, there will then be left neither inhabited city, nor nation of men, that is able to meet us in battle, if those of whom I speak are once taken out of our way. Thus they that have done us wrong and they that have done us none will alike bear the yoke of slavery. As for you, this is how you shall best please me: when I declare the

311
χρόνου ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ύμέων χρῆσει παρεῖναι. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἥκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δῶσῳ οί δῶρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἕμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἕστι οὕτω 'ίνα δὲ μὴ ἱδιοβουλεύειν ύμῖν δοκεῖ, τίθημι τὸ πρήγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ύμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι." ταῦτα εἴπας ἐπαύετο.

9. Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἐλεγε ""Ὡς δέσποτα, οὐ μοῦνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὡς τὰ τὰ ἁλλὰ λέγων ἐπίκειο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ὦνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνίδῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἔσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξιόν. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἀν εἴη πρήγμα, εἰ Σάκκας μὲν καὶ Ἰουδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπάς τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἀλλὰ τε ἔθνεα πολλά καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκατάσβαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἐχομεν, "Εἰληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικήσης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα: τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συμποτήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπίσταμέθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐούσαν ἀσθενεά; ἐχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἕμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Δωρίες καλέονται. ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι καὶ ὁλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθηναῖς.

1 To an oriental all Greeks alike were "Ionians," Persian Yaunâ; cp. the "Javan" of the Bible. In Aristoph. Acharn. 312
time for your coming, every one of you must appear, and with a good will; and whosoever comes with his army best equipped shall receive from me such gifts as are reckoned most precious among us. All this, then, must so be done; but that none may think that I take counsel of myself alone, I lay the matter before you all, and bid him who will to declare his opinion.” So spoke Xerxes, and ceased.

9. After him spoke Mardonius, and said:—“Sire, you surpass not only all Persians that have been but also all that shall be; for besides that you have dealt excellently and truly with all other matters, you will not suffer the Ionians that dwell in Europe to make a mock of us, which thing they have no right to do. For it were strange indeed, that we, who have subdued and made slaves of Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations, for no wrong done to the Persians but of mere desire to add to our power,—that we, I say, shall not take vengeance on the Greeks for unprovoked wrong-doing. What have we to fear from them? Have they mighty hosts or abundance of wealth to affright us? Their manner of fighting we know, and their wealth we know, that it is but little; and we have conquered and hold their sons, even those who dwell in our land and are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians. I myself have tried conclusions with these men, when by your father’s command I marched against them; and I marched as far as Macedonia and wellnigh to Athens itself,

104 the Persian ambassador addresses a Greek as ἄναπαρκτ’ ἱαοναῦ.
άπικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἔωθασι Ἀλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἄβουλότατα πολέμους ἱστασθαί ύπό τε τῆς ἀγιωμοσύνης καὶ σκαλώτητος. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἄλληλοις πόλεμον προείποσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίων καὶ λειτατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατίόντες μάχονται, ὡστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσουμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἄρχὴν. ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται τοὺς χρήν ἐόντας ὁμογλῶσσος κηρύξει τε διαχρεώμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλουσι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι. εἰ δὲ πάντως ἐδεε πολεμεένη πρὸς ἄλληλοις, ἐξευρίσκειν χρὴν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειράν. τρόπῳ τοῖνυν οὐ χρηστῶ Ἀλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέδ ἐλάσσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίας γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτο λόγον ώστε μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὁ βασιλεύς ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἁγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἔγω δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἀλληνῶν πρήγματα: εἰ δὲ ἁρὰ ἐγὼ γυναικεῖαν μνήμην καὶ ἑκεῖνοι ἐπαερθέσεις ἀβουλίαν ἐλθοιεν ἣμιν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἄν ως εἰμὲν ἀνθρώπων ἀριστοῖ τὰ πολέμια. ἑστὸν δὲ ὅν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον ἀυτόματον γὰρ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποις φιλέει γίνεσθαι.

10. Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεγήσας τὴν Ἐρέχθεως γυνώμην ἐπέπαντο: σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γυώμην ἀποδεῖκνυσθαι ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης Ἀρτά-βανος ὁ Τστάσπεος, πάτρως ἕως Ἐρέχθη, τῷ δὲ καὶ πίσυνος ἐώς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, μὴ
yet none came out to meet me in battle. Yet wars the Greeks do wage, and, as I learn, most senselessly they do it, in their wrongheadedness and folly. When they have declared war against each other, they come down to the fairest and most level ground that they can find and there they fight, so that the victors come not off without great harm; and of the vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are utterly destroyed. Yet speaking as they do the same language, they should end their disputes by the means of heralds and messengers, and by any way rather than fighting; or if needs must that they war against each other, they should discover each where his strongest defence lies, and there make his essay. The Greek custom, then, is no good one; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it came not into their thoughts to fight. But against you, O king! who shall make war? For you will have at your back the multitudes of Asia, and all your ships; for myself, I think there is not so much boldness in Hellas as that; but if time should show me wrong in my judgment, and those men were fool-hardy enough to do battle with us, they would be taught that we are the greatest warriors no earth. But whatsoever betide, let us be ever venturesome; for nought comes of itself, and all men’s gains are the fruit of adventure.”

10. Thus smoothly Mardonius spoke of Xerxes’ opinion, and made an end. The rest of the Persians held their peace, not daring to utter any counsel contrary to that which had been given; then spoke Artabanus the son of Hystaspes, who was the king’s uncle, and emboldened thereby. “O king,” he said,
κεθεισέων μὲν γυμνός βασιλεὺς εἶναι καὶ άλληλησι οὐκ ἔστι τῇ τὴν ἀμείνων αἱρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένη χρᾶσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὡστερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπὶ ἐωντοῦ οὖ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεάν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἀλλὰ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνων. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῖ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρέω ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀνδρασ οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἀστὶ νέμοντας. ὦ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοὶ τε οὐκ ἔπειθετο, στρατευσάμενός τε πολλύν καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. οὐ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μέλλεις ἐπὶ ἀνδρασ στρατεύεσθαι πολλὰν ἀμείνωνας ἡ Σκύθας, οὐ κατὰ θάλασσαν τὰ ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστὶ δεινῶν, ἔμε σοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζεων. ξεύξας φης τὸν 'Ελλησποντοῦν ἐλαῖ στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώτης ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε σε ἦτοι κατὰ γῆν ἡ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθῆναι, ἡ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα: οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιῶν γε τοσαῦτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἄρταφρεῖνε 'ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν 'Αττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκὼν ἀμφοτέρη σφι ἐξόρθησε. ἀλλ' ἢν τῇ σοι νυσί ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν 'Ελλησποντοῦν καὶ ἐπείτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τούτο δὴ βασιλεὺς γίνεται δεινῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιὴ σοφὴ οἰκηθῇ αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶον κοτὲ ἥμεας ολίγον ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ.
"if opinions opposite the one to the other be not uttered, it is not possible that choice should find the better, but that one which has been spoken must be followed; but if they be spoken, the better can be found; even as the purity of gold cannot of itself be discerned, but when gold by rubbing is compared with gold, we then discern the better. Now I forbade Darius, your father and my brother, to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he, in his hope to subdue the nomad Scythians, would not be guided by me; he led his army, and returned from that expedition with the loss of many gallant men of his host. You, O king! are purposing to lead your armies against men far better than the Scythians—men who are said to be most doughty warriors by sea and land; and it is right that I should show to you what danger lies therein. You will bridge the Hellespont (so you say) and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now I will suppose that matters have so fallen out that you are worsted either by land or by sea, or even both; for the men are said to be valiant, and well may we guess that it is so, seeing that so great a host, that followed Datis and Artaphrenes to Attica, was destroyed by the Athenians alone. Be it, then, granted that they win not success both by sea and by land; but if they attack with their ships and prevail in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and thereafter break your bridge, that, O king, is the hour of peril. It is from no wisdom of my own that I thus conjecture; it is because I know what disaster was that which wellnigh once overtook us, when

1 i.e. rubbing against the touchstone, which would be stained by pure gold.
σὸς ζεὺξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηκίων, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσαι τὸν πόρον, τοίσι ἐπετέταπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. καὶ τότε ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἡναντίωθη, διέργαστο ἀν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καὶ τοῖς καὶ λόγῳ ἀκούσαι δεινόν, ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ γε ἐν πάντα τὰ βασιλεῖς πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. σὺ ὁ νῦν μῆ βούλειν ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τουτοῦν ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμῆς ἀνάγκης ἐσύσης, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθεν. νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον αὐτὸς δὲ, ὅταν τοῖς δοκέῃ, προσκεφάλεμον ἐπὶ σεωτοῦ προσαγόρευε τὰ τοὶ δοκεῖ ἐναι ἀριστα. τὸ γὰρ εὗ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἐὼν εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἢςου εὗ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπισποιτὸ, εὐρήμα εὐρηκε, ἢςου δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὅρας τὰ ύπερέχουντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐὰ φανταζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σωματὶ οὐδέν μιν κυίζηι· ὅρας δὲ ὡς ὡς ὁ σικῆμα τὰ μέγιστα ἀἰεὶ καὶ δευδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκηπτεῖ τὰ βέλεα· φιλεῖ εἰς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ύπερέχουντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλύγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιοῦτε ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονίσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἡ βροντή, διό νῦν ἐφθάρσαν ἀναξίως ἐσωτήρ. οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἐσωτήρ. ἐπειδὴ θηρίων καὶ νυν πᾶν πρήγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιμίασ
your father, making a highway over the Thracian Bosporus, and bridging the river Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreating the Ionians, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister, to break the way of passage; and then, if Histiaeus the despot of Miletus had consented to the opinion of the other despots and not withstood it, the power of Persia had perished. Yet it were a thing of dread even in the telling, that one, and he but a man, should hold in his hand all the king's fortunes. Do you then make no plan to run into any such danger, when there is no need therefor, but be ruled by me: for the nonce, dismiss this assembly; and presently, whenever you so please, having first considered the matter by yourself, declare what seems to you best. A well-laid plan is ever to my mind most profitable; for even though it be thwarted later, yet none the less has the plan been good, and it is but chance that has baffled the design; but he that has made a sorry plan has gotten, if fortune favour him, but a chance prize, and none the less has his plan been evil. You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness more than common, nor suffers them to display their pride, but such as are little move him not to anger; and you see how it is ever on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for it is heaven's way to bring low all things of surpassing bigness. Thus a numerous host is destroyed by one that is lesser, the god of his jealousy sending panic fear or thunderbolt among them, whereby they do unworthily perish; for the god suffers pride in none but himself. Now haste is ever the parent of failure,

1 Cp. IV. 136 ff.
μεγάλαι φιλέουσιν γινέσθαι· έν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἐνεστὶ ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραντίκα δοκεόντα εἶναι, ἀλλ’ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἀν. σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὡς βασιλεύς συμβουλεύω· σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γοβρύνω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαιόως περὶ Ἐλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἁξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. "Ελληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῖ δὲ τούτοι εἶνεκα δοκείεις μοι τᾶσαι προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μὴννον οὖτω γένηται. διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικεότες, εἰς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορεοῦν, δὲ ἀδικείει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἡ ἀπρεκέως ἐκμάθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπέων τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικεῖται, διαβληθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεῖς πρὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κακός εἶναι· ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρου παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτες αὐτοῦ σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενος τε ἄνδρας τοὺς θέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατηγὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλεαι. καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σοὶ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέα τὰ πρόγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοί παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγὼ· ἢν δὲ τῇ ἑγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δὲ σφί καὶ σὺ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνεις οὐκ ἑθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στρατεύαμεν ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇ δὲ ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακῶν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὅμιλων διαφορεύμενον ἢ κοῦ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σε γε ἐν τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρῶτον κατ’
whereof grievous hurts are apt to come; but in waiting there is good, which in due time shall appear, though in the present it seem not so. This, O king, is my counsel to you. But to you I say, Mardonius son of Gobryas! cease from foolish speaking about the Greeks, for they deserve not to be maligned. It is by speaking calumniously of the Greeks that you would hearten the king to send this expedition; and that, methinks, is the end to which you press with all eagerness. Nay, let it not be so. Calumny is a very gross business; there are two in it that do and one that suffers wrong. He that utters the calumny wrongs another, accusing an absent man, and the other does a wrong likewise in that he is overpersuaded before he has learnt the whole truth; and he that is absent and hears not what is said of him suffers wrong in the matter, being maligned by the one and condemned by the other. Nay, if an army must by all means be sent against these Greeks, hear me now: Let the king himself abide in the Persian land, and let us two stake our children's lives upon it; then do you lead out the army, choosing what men you will and taking as great an armament as you desire; and if it fare with the king's fortunes as you say it will, let my sons be slain, and myself too with them; but if the issue be as I foretell, let your sons be so treated, and you likewise, if you return. But if you will not submit yourself to this, and will at all hazards lead your army overseas to Hellas, then I think that they who are left behind in this place will hear that Mardonius has wrought great harm to Persia, and is torn asunder by dogs and birds in the land of Athens or of Lacedaemon, if not peradventure ere that on
The first seven names represent two parallel lines of descent from Teispes son of Achaemenes (except that the first "Teispes" is a fiction), which Herodotus has apparently fused into one direct line. Xerxes could claim descent from both, in virtue of his mother Atossa, Cyrus' daughter; hence
the way thither; and that thus you have learnt what manner of men are they whom you would persuade the king to attack."

11. Thus spoke Artabanus. But Xerxes answered in wrath, "Artabanus, you are my father's brother; that shall save you from receiving the fit reward of foolish words. Yet for your craven lack of spirit I lay upon you this disgrace, that you shall not go with me and my army against Hellas, but abide here with the women; and I myself will accomplish all that I have said, with no help from you. For may I not be the son of Darius, who was the son of Hystaspes, who was the son of Arsames, who was the son of Ariaramnes, who was the son of Teïspes, who was the son of Cyrus, who was the son of Cambyses, who was the son of Teïspes, who was the son of Achaemenes,¹ if I do not avenge me on the Athenians; well knowing, that if we remain at peace, yet so will not they, but will assuredly invade our country, if we may infer from what they have done already, for they burnt Sardis and marched into Asia. Wherefore, it is not possible for either of us to turn back; to do or suffer is our task, that what is ours be under the Greeks, or what is theirs under the Persians; there is no middle way in our quarrel. Honour then demands that we avenge ourselves for what has been done to us; thus shall I learn what is this evil that will befall me when I march against these Greeks—men that even Pelops the Phrygian, the

perhaps the confusion. For a complete discussion see How and Wells, Appendix IV. It may be remembered that Herodotus probably deals with Egyptian chronology in the same way, making a sequence out of lists of kings some of whom were contemporaries.
τῶν ἐμῶν δούλοις, κατεστρέψατο οὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὀνθρώποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφαμένου καλέονται.

12. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγώνετο καὶ Ἑρέξην ἐκνίζε ἢ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμην νυκτὶ δὲ βουλήν δεδοὺς πάγχυν εὐρισκέ οί οὗ πρήγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδογμένων δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ κοῦ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἰδὲ ὁψίν τοι ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐδόκεε ο Ἑρέξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδεά εἰπεῖν "Μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεις, ὃ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προεῖπτας ἀλίζεων Πέρσας στρατον; οὐτε δὲν μεταβουλεύομενοι ποιεῖς εὗ οὔτε ὁ συγγυμνὸς τοι πάρα ἀλλ' ὀστερ τῇς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσας ποιεῖς, ταῦτην ὅθι τῶν ὁδῶν.

13. Τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ο Ἑρέξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσθαι ὁνείροι μὲν τούτων λόγον οὐδένα ἐποίεστο, ὃ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἐλεξεὶ σφι τάδε. "Ἀνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμε- ωυτοῦ πρώτα οὐκός ἁνήκως, καλ' οἱ παρηγορέομενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖν οὐδένα χρόνον μεν ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης παραντίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὅστε οἰκείστερα ἀπορρίψαι ἐπέα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἡ χρεον' νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκεῖνου γνώμη. ὡς δὲν μεταδεδογμένοι μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢσυχοι ἐστε."

14. Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἠκούσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες
slave of my forefathers, did so utterly subdue that
to this day they and their country are called by the
name of their conqueror."

12. So far discourse went; and presently came the
night-time, and Xerxes was pricked by the counsel
of Artabanus; and taking counsel of night, he saw
clearly that to send an army against Hellas was none
of his business. Having made this second resolve
he fell asleep; then it would appear (for so the
Persians say) that in the night he saw this vision:
It seemed to Xerxes that a tall and goodly man
stood over him and said, "Art thou then changing
thy counsel, Persian, and wilt not lead thine army
against Hellas, albeit thou hast proclaimed the
mustering of thy host? thou dost not well to change
thy counsel, nor will he that thou seest pardon thee
for it; nay, let thy course be according to thy
design of yesterday."

13. Thus the vision spake, and seemed to Xerxes
to vanish away; but when day dawned the king
took no account of this dream, but assembling the
Persians whom he had before gathered together, he
thus addressed them: "Forgive me, Persians! for
that I turn and twist in my purpose; for I am not
yet come to the fulness of my wisdom, and they are
ever with me who exhort me to do as I said. 'Tis
true that when I heard Artabanus' opinion my
youthful spirit did for the nonce take fire, whereby
there brake from me an unseemly and wrongful
answer to one older than myself; yet now I see my
fault and will follow his judgment. Know there-
fore that my purpose of marching against Hellas is
changed, and abide in peace."

14. When the Persians heard that, they rejoiced,
προσεκύνεον. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὺς τῶν ὄνειρων τῷ Ἑρέξῃ κατυπυνομένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάται "ὃ ὅρις ἔρησις καὶ δὴ φαίνει ἐν Πέρσησι τε ἀπευπάμενος τὴν στρατηγικήν καὶ τὰ ἔμα ἔτεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὥς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖν τὸ τῷ ἀυτίκα στρατηγικής, τάδε τοι ἐξ ἀυτῶν ἀνασχήσει ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένετο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινῶς ὁπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαίν.

15. Ἑρέξης μὲν περιδής γενόμενος τῇ ὅπι ἀνὰ τε ἐδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ἑρέξης τάδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτικά μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεισας κρήστης εἶνεκα συμβουλίας σε μέντοι οὐ πολὺν χρόνον μετέγραψας, εἴη ποιεῖ ἐλπιάλαμα τῷ μοι ποιητέα ἐστά ἐν ὑπεθήκας. οὗκαν δυνάτος τοι εἰμὶ ταύτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτέων ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινεόν ποιεῖν με ταύτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπελήσας οἴχεται. εἰ δὲν θεός ἐστι οἱ ἐπιτευμονίας καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηγικήν ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιφτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῶν τούτῳ τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἔμοι ἐντελλόμενον, ἐυρίσκω δὲ ὦν ἡγιόμενα ταύτα, εἰ λάβοις τῆς ἐμῆς σκευῆς πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδύσῃ τοῦτο ἵκοιο ἐστὶ τῶν ἐμῶν θρόνων, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπυνώσεις."

16. Ἑρέξης μὲν ταύτα οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτῳ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, οἷα οὐκ ἄκουσμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα θρόνον ἢσθαι, τέλος οὐς ἡμαρκαζότο εἴπας τάδε ἐποίησε τὸ κελεύμενον. "Ἰσον 326
and did obeisance. But when night came on, the same vision stood again over Xerxes as he slept, and said, "Son of Darius, hast thou then plainly renounced thine army’s march before the Persians, and made my words of no account, as though thou hadst not heard them? Know then this for a surety: if thou leadest not thine army forthwith, this shall be the outcome of it, that as a little while made thee great and mighty, so in a moment shalt thou be brought low again."

15. Greatly affrighted by the vision, Xerxes leapt up from his bed, and sent a messenger to Artabanus to call him; and when he came, "Artabanus," said Xerxes, "for the moment my right judgment forsook me, and I answered your good counsel with foolish words; but after no long time I repented, and saw that it was right for me to follow your advice. Yet, though I desire, I cannot do it; for since I have turned me and repented, a vision comes haunting my sight, that will in no wise consent that I should do as you counsel; and even now it has gone with a threat. Now if it be a god that sends the vision, and it be his full pleasure that there be this expedition against Hellas, that same dream will hover about you and lay on you the same charge as on me; and I am persuaded that this is likeliest to be, if you take all my attire and sit so clothed upon my throne, and presently lie down to sleep in my bed."

16. Thus said Xerxes; Artabanus would not obey the first command, thinking it was not for him to sit on the royal throne; at last he was compelled, and did as he was bidden, saying first: "O king,
ἐκεῖνο ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ’ ἔμοι κέκριται, φρονεῖν τε ἐν καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἔθελεν πείθεσθαι. τά σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλιὰν σφάλλουσι, κατὰ περὶ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποις θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα πο περιόραν φῦσι τῇ ἔωστης χρῶθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἄκουσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσης, τῆς μὲν ὑβριν αὐξανοῦσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυσοῦσας καὶ λεγοῦσας ὡς κακῶν εἰς διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχήν πλέον τι δίξησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντως, τοιούτων προκειμενέων γνωμῶν ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην σεωτῶ τε καὶ Πέρσης ἀναίρεο. νῦν ὡν, ἐπειδὴ τέραται ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείων, φής τοι μετεύκην τὸν ἔπ’ Ἐλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτάν ὁνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῆ, οὔκ ἐσούτα σε καταλύειν τῶν στόλων. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ταύτα ἔστι, ὁ παῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἐτεσί σεῦ πολλοῦσι πρεσβύτερος ἐὼν: πεπλανήσθαι αὐτὰ μάλιστα ἑώθασι αἱ ὁψίες τῶν ὀνειράτων, τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρό τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἰχομεν μετὰ χειρας. εἰ δὲ ἀρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο ὅσον ἐγὼ διαιρῶ, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θείου μετέχων, σι πᾶν αὐτὸ συνλαβῶν εὐρήκας; φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακέλουμεν. φανῆμαι δὲ οὐδέν μᾶλλον μοι ὑφείλει ἐχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμῆν, οὐδὲ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυμένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆμαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο γε εὐθείας.
I judge it of equal worth whether a man be wise, or be willing to obey good counsel; to both of these you have attained, but evil communications are your bane; even as the sea, who is of all creatures the most serviceable to men, is hindered (they say) from following his natural bent by the blasts of winds that fall upon him. But for myself—it was not the hard words I had from you that stung me so much as this, that when two opinions were laid before the Persians, the one tending to the increase of pride, and the other to its abatement, showing how evil a thing it is to teach the heart continual desire of more than it has, of these two opinions you preferred that one which was most fraught with danger to yourself and the Persians. Now, therefore, since you are turned to the better opinion, you say that while you would renounce your expedition against the Greeks you are haunted by a dream sent by some god, which forbids you to leave off from the expedition. But you err again, my son; this is none of heaven’s working. The roving dreams that visit men are of such nature as you shall learn of me, that am many years older than you. Those visions that rove about us in dreams are for the most part the thoughts of the day; and in these latter days we have been very earnestly busied about this expedition. But if nevertheless this be not such as I determine, and have in it somewhat of heaven’s will, then you have spoken the conclusion of the matter; let it appear to me even as it has to you, and utter its command; but if it has ever a mind to appear, I must needs see it none the more by virtue of wearing your dress instead of mine, and sleeping in your bed rather than my own. Whatever be this that appears to
HERODOTUS

ἀνήκει τούτο, ὅ τι δή κοτε ἐστὶν, τὸ ἐπιφανόμενον τοι ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, ὡστε δόξην ἐμὲ ὅρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθήτῃ τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆμα, οὔτε ἴν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθήτα ἔχω οὔτε ἴν τὴν σὴν, οὐδὲ ἐπι- φοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἦδη μαθητέον ἐσταί. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαινὴν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἰναι. εἰ δὲ τοι οὗτω δεδοκιμαί γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἷα τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλὰ ἦδη δεὶ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνώσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἴμεν ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοὶ. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρίσομαι.

17. Τοσάτα εἴτας Ἀρτάβανος, ἐππίξων Ἐρέξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τῇ Ἐρέξεω ἐσθήτα καὶ ἴζομενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήμον θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταύτα κοίτον ἐκοίμησε, ἣλθε οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῶν ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ἐρέξην ἐφοίτη, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρτα- βάνου εἴπε. "Ἀρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἰς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ἐρέξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλὰ οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτικά νῦν καταπροήξας ἀποστάσις τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ἐρέξην δὲ τὰ δεὶ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ δεδήλωται." 18. Ταύτα τε ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλεῖν καὶ θερμότατα σιδηρόσι έκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. καὶ δὲ ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παρεξόμενος Ἐρέξη, ὡς τὴν ὦφιν οἱ τὸν ἐνυπνίου διεξήλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερα οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Εγὼ μὲν, ὁ βασιλεῦ, οὐα ἀνθρώπος ἰδαν ἦδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγ- ματα ὑπὸ ἡσόμον, οὖκ ἐσώ σε τὰ πάντα τῇ
you in your sleep, assuredly it has not come to such folly as to infer from your dress that I am you, when it sees me. We are now to learn if it will take no account of me and not deign to appear and haunt me, whether I wear your robes or my own; for if indeed it will continually be coming, I myself would say that it is of heaven’s sending. But if you are resolved that so this must be done, and there is no averting it, but it has come to this pass, that I must lie down to sleep in your bed, so let it be; this duty I will fulfil, and let the vision appear also to me. But till then I will keep my present opinion.”

17. So saying, Artabanus did as he was bidden, hoping to prove Xerxes’ words vain; he put on Xerxes’ robes and sat on the king’s throne. Presently while he slumbered there came to him in his sleep the same dream that had haunted Xerxes, and standing over him thus it spoke: “Art thou then he that would dissuade Xerxes from marching against Hellas, thinking so to protect him? But neither hereafter nor now shalt thou go scathless for striving to turn aside that which must be. To Xerxes himself hath it been declared what shall befall him, if he disobey.”

18. With this threat (so it seemed to Artabanus) the vision made as though it would burn his eyes with hot irons, and he leapt up with a loud cry; then sitting by Xerxes he told him all the tale of what he had seen in his dream, and next he said: “O king, having seen, as much as a man may, how the greater has often been brought low by the less, I was loath that you should always give the rein to your youthful
Ηλικη εϊκεν, επιστάμενος ός κακὸν εἰθ τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἔπει Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἐπερηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατεύομενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην ἐίχον ἀτρεμίζοντα σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαμοῦν πις γίνεται ὀρμή, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς οἰκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεηλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμην μὲν Πέρσησι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χράσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖς ἐκ σέο πρῶτοι προερημένοις ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποίες δὲ οὔτω ὦκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδίδοντός τῶν σῶν ἑυδεῖς μηδέν.” τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαερθέντες τῇ ὁψι, ὡς Ἰμέρη ἐγένετο τάξιστα, Ἑρξῆς τε ὑπερετήθη ταῦτα Πέρσησι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανους, ὅς πρότερον ἀποσπεῦδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

19. Ὁρμημένω δὲ Ἑρξῆς στρατηλατεῖει μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτη ὁψις ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τε οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἢ δὲ ὁψις ἤν ἢδε. ἐδόκεε τὸ Ἑρξῆς ἐστεφάνωσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεὶν, μετὰ δὲ ἄφανισθήναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινόντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἴχε προβυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, θέλων αὐτὸς ἐκατος τὰ προκείμενα δώρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ἑρξῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγεσιν ποιεῖται, χωρὸν πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἦπείρου.

332
spirit; for I knew how evil a thing it was to have many desires, remembering the end of Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae and Cambyses' against the Ethiopians, and having myself marched with Darius against the Scythians. Knowing this, I judged that you had but to abide in peace for all men to deem you fortunate. But since heaven impels, and the gods, as it seems, mark Hellas for destruction, I myself do change and correct my judgment; and do you now declare the god's message to the Persians, and bid them obey your first command for all due preparation: so act, that nought on your part be lacking to the fulfilment of heaven's commission."

After this discourse, the vision giving them courage, Xerxes when daylight came imparted all this to the Persians, and Artabanus now openly persuaded to that course from which he alone had before openly dissuaded.

19. After this Xerxes, being now intent on the expedition, saw yet a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians interpreted to have regard to the whole earth and to signify that all men should be his slaves. This was the vision: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive bough, the shoots of which spread over the whole earth, and presently the crown vanished from off his head where it was set. This the Magians interpreted; and of the Persians who had been assembled, every man forthwith rode away to his own governorship and there used all zeal to fulfil the king's behest, each desiring to receive the promised gifts; and thus it was that Xerxes dealt with the mustering of his army, searching out every part of the continent.
20. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἀιγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἐτεις πληρεὰ παραρτέτο θραττὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατηγῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένω ἐστρατηλάτεε χεὶρὶ μεγάλῃ πλῆθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑδευν πολλὴ δὴ μὲγιστος οὖτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μιᾷ ἐν τούν Δαρείου τοῦ ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τούτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μῆτε τοῦν Σκυθικῶν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἐσβαλόντες σχέδον πάντα τὰ ἀνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεφεῖμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἰνεκεν ύστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρεῖτο, μῆτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τοῦν Ἀτρείδεων ἐς Ἰλιον, μῆτε τοῦν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τενκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἷον διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τούς τε Θηρίκας καταστρέφαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰオンιν πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἐλασαν.

21. Αὕται αἱ πᾶσαι οὖν εἰ ἔτεραι πρὸς ταῦτην προσγενόμεναι στρατηλάσια μηὴς τῆς ὑπὸδε οὐκ ἀξιαί. τι γὰρ οὐκ ἦγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα Ξέρξης; καίον δὲ πινομένον μιν ὑδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλυτε, πλῆθυ τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρεῖχοντο, οὗ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἰππὸς προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἰππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἀμα στρατευομένοις, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ οἰκτὰ τε καὶ νέας.

22. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὅς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τοῦ Ἀθων προετοιμά-

---

1 484-481.  
2 Cp. I 103; IV. 1.  
3 It seems fairly clear that there was some sort of move-
20. For full four years \(^1\) from the conquest of Egypt he was equipping his host and preparing all that was needful therefor; and ere the fifth year was completed he set forth on his march with the might of a great multitude. Of all armaments whereof we have knowledge this was by much the greatest, insomuch that none were aught in comparison of it, neither the armament that Darius led against the Scythians, nor the host of the Scythians when in pursuit of the Cimmerians they brake into Media \(^2\) and subdued and ruled wellnigh all the upper lands of Asia, wherefore Darius afterwards essayed to punish them, nor—in so far as report tells—the armament led by the sons of Atreus against Troy, nor that Mysian and Teucrian host which before the Trojan war crossed the Bosporus into Europe,\(^3\) subduing there all the Thracians and coming down to the Ionian sea, and marching southward as far as the river Peneus.

21. All these armaments and whatsoever others have ever been could not together be compared with this single one. For what nation did not Xerxes lead from Asia against Hellas? What water did not fall short of the needs of his host, save only the great rivers? Some supplied him with ships, some were enrolled in his infantry, some were charged with the provision of horsemen, others of horse-bearing transports to follow the army, and others again of warships for the bridges, or of food and ships.

22. First of all he had now for about three years been making all his preparations in regard of Athos, from the one continent to the other; Herodotus makes it from Asia to Europe; but on the evidence it is just as likely to have been the other way. See How and Wells, \textit{ad loc.}
In spite of the incredulity of antiquity, the canal was
inasmuch as they who first essayed to sail round it had suffered shipwreck. Triremes were anchored off Elaeus in the Chersonese; with these for their headquarters, all sorts and conditions of men in the army were made to dig a canal under the lash, coming by turns to the work; and they that dwelt about Athos dug likewise. Bubares son of Megabazus and Artachaees son of Artaeus, Persians both, were the overseers of the workmen. This Athos is a mountain great and famous, running out into the sea; it is inhabited by men. At the mountain’s landward end, it is in the form of a peninsula, and there is an isthmus of about twelve furlongs’ width; here is a place of level ground or little hills, from the sea by Acanthus to the sea which is over against Torone. On this isthmus, which is at the end of Athos, there stands a Greek town, Sane; there are others too seaward of Sane and landward of Athos, which it was now the Persians’ intent to make into island and not mainland towns; to wit, Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, Cleonae.

23. These are the towns situate on Athos; and the foreigners dug as I shall show,\(^1\) dividing up the ground among their several nations. They drew a straight line near to the town of Sane; and when the channel had been digged to some depth, some stood at the bottom of it and dug, others took the stuff as it was digged out and delivered it to yet others that stood higher on stages, and they again to others as they received it, till they came to those that were highest; these carried it out and cast it away. With all save only the Phoenicians the steep sides of the

---

\(^1\) See, e.g. How and Wells, ad loc.
κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὄρυγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρείχον· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιεῖμένων, ἐμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίν ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἔκεινοι. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὄσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τής διώρυχος ποιεῖμεν διπλήσιον ἢ ὄσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνήγγον αἰεὶ· κάτω τε δὴ ἔγνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα λειμῶν ἔστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορῇ τε ἔγνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῶτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληθεσμένος.

24. Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενου εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἶνεκεν αὐτῷ Ξέρβης ὄρυγμαίνας ἐκέλευε, ἑθέλων τε δύσαις ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λυπέσθαι: παρεῦν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὄρυγμαίνα ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ εὔρος ὡς δύο τρίηρες πλέειν ὁμοί ἐλαστρεομένας. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοις, τοῖς περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέκτω καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ξεύξαντας γεφυρώσαι.

25. Ταύτα μὲν νυν ὦτῳ ἔποιεε, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βὐβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατηγῷ καταβάλλει, ἢν μὴ λιμήσει ἡ στρατηγῇ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χῶρους καταβάλλει εκέλευε ἢν ἐπιτηδεύτατον εἴη, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη ἀγνινέυτας ὀλίκασι τε καὶ πορθμησίοις ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὄν πλεῖστον ἐς
canal brake and fell, doubling the labour thereby; for inasmuch as they made the span of the same breadth at its highest and its lowest, this could not but happen. But the Phoenicians showed therein the same skill as in all else that they do; having taken in hand the portion that fell to them, they so dug as to make the topmost span of the canal as wide again as the canal was to be, and narrowed it ever as they wrought lower, till at the bottom their work was of the same span as what the rest had wrought. There is a meadow hard by, where they made a place for buying and marketing; and ever and anon much ground grain was brought to them from Asia.

24. As far as I judge by conjecture, Xerxes gave command for this digging out of pride, because he would display his power and leave memorials of it; for they might very easily have drawn their ships across the isthmus; yet he bade them dig a canal from sea to sea, wide enough to float two triremes rowed abreast. The same men who were charged with the digging were also charged to join the banks of the river Strymon by a bridge.

25. Thus did Xerxes accomplish this work; and for the bridges he charged the Phoenicians and Egyptians with the making of ropes of papyrus and white flax, and storing of provision for his army, that neither it nor the beasts of burden in the march to Hellas should starve; in such places as enquiry showed to be the fittest he bade them store it, carrying it to the several places from all parts of Asia in vessels of merchandise and transports. For

1 λευκόλινον is apparently not really flax but “Esparto grass,” imported from Spain by the Phoenicians.
This implies a considerable divergence to the south from the "Royal road," for which see V. 52. Xerxes here turns
the corn, they brought that as they were severally charged to the White Headland (as it is called) in Thrace, or Tyrodiza in the Perinthian country, or Doriscus, or Eion on the Strymon, or Macedonia.  

26. While these wrought at their appointed task, all the land force had been mustered and was marching with Xerxes to Sardis, setting forth from Critalla in Cappadocia, which was the mustering-place appointed for all the host that was to march with Xerxes himself by land. Now which of his viceroys received the promised gifts from the king for bringing the best-equipped army, I cannot say; for I know not even if the matter was ever determined. But when they had crossed the river Halys and entered into Phrygia, they marched through that country to Celaenae, where is the source of the river Maeander and another as great as the Maeander, which is called Cataractes; it rises in the very market-place of Celaenae and issues into the Maeander. There also hangs the skin of Marsyas the Silenus, of which the Phrygian story tells that it was flayed off him and hung up by Apollo.  

27. In this town sat awaiting them a Lydian, Pythius, son of Atys; he entertained Xerxes himself and all the king's army with the best of good cheer, and declared himself willing to provide money for the war. Pythius thus offering money, Xerxes asked the Persians that were about him who this south to avoid the difficult route through the Hermes valley, probably; cp. How and Wells, ad loc. 

2 The legend of the contest between Marsyas the flute-player and Apollo the lyre-player seems to indicate a change in the national music, the importance of which was more easily understood by a Greek than it is by us.
HERODOTUS

tis te eōn ándrōn Púthios kai kósa χρήμαta ἐκτημένos ἐπαγγέλλωντo taúta. oí dé eπαν ὧν βασιλεύ, οútoσ ἐστι ὡς τoι τoν πατέρα Δαρείου ἐδωρήσατo τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ kai tῇ ἀμπέλῳ ὧς kai νῦν ἐστι πρῶτοσ ἀνθρώπoιν πλούτων tῶν ἥμεισ ὧδεν μετὰ σὲ.

28. Θωμᾶσας δὲ τῶν ἐπεῶν τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἰρέτο Púthion òκοσα οἱ εἴη χρήμαta. ὃ δὲ εἰπε ὧν βασιλεύ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκῆψιομαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωντοῦ ὀυσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενος τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἑπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπιθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενος τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήμαta ἐξεμάθανον, καὶ εὐρον λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ἐούσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυρίας στατήρων Δαρεικῶν ἐπιδεύοςας ἐπτὰ χιλιάδοιν, καὶ τούτωι σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δὲ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἄρκεων ἐστὶ βίος.

29. "Ο μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγεν, Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεῖς τούτων εὐρήμενοις ἔπεε Ἑείνε Δυὸν, ἐγὼ ἐπείτε ἐξήλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώρῃ, οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ συνέμεξα ἐς τόδε ὅστις ἡθέλησε ξείνια προθείειν στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὔδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔμοι ἡθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεύ. σὺ δὲ καὶ ξείνισας μεγάλως στρατῷ τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλει. σοὶ δὲν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι ξείνιον τὲ σε ποιεύμαι ἔμοι καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποτλήσω παρ' ἐμεωντοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἴνα μή τοι ἐπιδεέες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσιαι μυριάδες ἐπτὰ χιλιά-

342
Pythius was that offered it and how much wealth he possessed: "O king," said they, "this is he who gave your father Darius that gift of a golden plane-tree and vine; and now he is, next to yourself, the richest man of whom we have knowledge."

28. Marvelling at this last saying, Xerxes next himself asked Pythius how much wealth he had. "O king," said Pythius, "I will not conceal the quantity of my substance from you, nor pretend that I do not know it; I know and will tell you the exact truth. As soon as I learnt that you were coming down to the Greek sea, being desirous to give you money for the war, I enquired into the matter, and my reckoning showed me that I had two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four million Daric staters lacking seven thousand. All this I freely give to you; for myself, I have a sufficient livelihood from my slaves and my farms."

29. Thus he spoke; Xerxes was pleased with what he said, and replied: "My Lydian friend, since I came out of Persia I have met with no man yet who was willing to give hospitality to my army, nor any who came of his own motion into my presence and offered to furnish money for the war, save you alone. But you have entertained my army nobly, and offer me great sums. Therefore in return for this I give you these privileges: I make you my friend, and of my own wealth I give you the seven thousand staters which will make up your full tale of four millions, that your four millions may not lack the seven thousand, but by my completing of

1 The Daric stater was equivalent to about 22s. of our money.
δων, ἄλλα ἡ τοι ἀπαρτιλογία ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένην. ἐκτησό τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ ἀυτὸς ἐκτίσασο, ἐπίστασο τε εἶναι αἱεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ τοι ταύτα ποιεῖντι οὔτε ἐσ τὸ παρεῖν οὔτε ἐσ χρόνον μεταμελήσει.

30. Ταύτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. "Ἀναίων δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμεῖβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἄλες γίνονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσᾶς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίας· ἐν τῇ Δύκος ποταμὸς ἔσ χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἐπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μᾶλιστα κη ἀναφαίνομεν ἐκδίδοι καὶ οὕτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁμοφυλος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἐνθα στήλη καταπεπτήγυα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμνήσει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὐρους.

31. Ὅσ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίαν, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερήν ἐπὶ Καρίης φεροῦσας τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξίην ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευόμενον διαβήνη τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμοῦ πάσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ έπειτα παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημιουργοι μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεύτω, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ Ἐρέξης τῆς ὁδοῦ εὑρε πλατάνιστον, τῆν κάλλεος ἐνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῳ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

32. Ἀπίκομενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρότα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δειπνα βασιλεί παρα-
BOOK VII. 29–32

it you may have the full and exact tale. Continue yourself in possession of that which you now possess, and have skill ever to be such as you are; for neither now nor hereafter shall you repent of what you now do."

30. Having thus spoken and made his words good Xerxes journeyed ever further. Passing by the Phrygian town called Anaua, and the lake from which salt is gotten, he came to Colossae, a great city in Phrygia; wherein the river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth out of sight, till it appears again about five furlongs away and issues like the other river into the Maeander. From Colossae the army held its course for the borders of Phrygia and Lydia, and came to the town Cydrara, where stands a pillar set up by Croesus, with a writing thereon to mark the boundary.

31. Passing from Phrygia into Lydia, he came to the place where the roads part, the left hand road bearing towards Caria and the right hand to Sardis, by which latter way the traveller must needs cross the river Maeander and pass by the town of Callatebus, where craftsmen make honey out of wheat and tamarisks; by this road went Xerxes, and found a plane-tree, to which for its beauty he gave adornment of gold, and charged one of his immortals to guard it; and on the next day he came to the chief city of the Lydians.

32. Having arrived in Sardis, he first sent heralds to Hellas to demand earth and water and command the preparation of meals for the king; to all other

1 The Lycus here flows in a narrow gorge, but there is no indication of its ever having flowed underground, except for a few yards.
33. Metà de taúta parēsekueázeo ωs élōn éS 'Aβudou. ol de ev tou tev tòn 'Ellhístovontov exev-

γνυσαν ek tìs 'Asíhs éS thn Eu'róptin. éstì de tìs Xeropoinhíou tìs ev 'Ellhístovontov, Σηστòu te

pólio metaexi kai Μαδútou, áktì pachèa ès

thálassan katìkoura 'Aβúdo katanntíon ènì thé

meta taúta, chroñvo ýsteron ou polllò, èpti

Σanvítpou toù Arífrovoσ σtratìghov 'Athnaiòi

'Artaukthìn ándra Perònh labóntes Sëstòu

úparchou ðọnnta pròs saniða diexasèlesuvan, òs

kai ès toù Prowstísilew to íroν ès 'Ellainónta

agnivómenov gnanaíkas áthémìsta érdeiske.

34. 'Es taúthìn òw tìn áktìhì ex 'Aβúdou orìmò-

mévoi exefýronov toìsi prosèkeitò, tìn mév leu-

kolínon Phóunikès, tìn ð' ètérhn tìn býblihn

Aigniptioù. éstì de èptà stàdhiou ex 'Aβúdou ès

tìn ápantíon. kai ðì exevýmevo toù póron èpí-

genyómenov xeiðìon mégas svnèkopfì te èkeìna pántìa

cal dièluse.

35. 'Oσ ð' èptìðevo Æírpèhs, deinà poieýmevo

tòn 'Ellhístovontov èkèleuse trúkostía èpikèsgòh

màstugì plègàs kai katènài ès to plèlagos pedyòv

1 Between the modern bays of Zemenik (Sestos) and Kilía: some four miles broad.
places he sent to demand earth, only neither to Athens nor to Lacedaemon. The reason of his sending for earth and water the second time was this—he fully believed that as many as had formerly not given it to Darius' messengers, would now be compelled to give by fear; and he sent because he desired to know this of a surety.

33. After this he prepared to march to Abydos; and meanwhile his men were bridging the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. On the Chersonese, which is by the Hellespont, there is between the town of Sestus and Madytus a broad headland running out into the sea over against Abydos; it was here that not long after this the Athenians with Xanthippus son of Ariphron for general took Artaýctes a Persian, who was governor of Sestus, and crucified him alive; he had even been wont to bring women into the temple of Protesilaus at Elaeus and do impious deeds there.

34. Beginning then from Abydos they whose business it was made bridges across to that headland, the Phoenicians one of flaxen cables, and the Egyptians the second, which was of papyrus. From Abydos to the opposite shore it is a distance of seven furlongs. But no sooner had the strait been bridged than a great storm swept down and brake and scattered all that work.

35. When Xerxes heard of that, he was very angry, and gave command that the Hellespont be scourged with three hundred lashes, and a pair of

* The modern width at the narrowest part is nearly half as much again; perhaps this can be explained by the washing away of the coasts, due to a current which strikes them near Sestos and rebounds on Abydos.
36. Ὅταν τὰ δεῖν ποιὸν, τοῖς προσέκειτο αὐτῷ ἡ ἄξιος τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἑξεύγυνον. ἑξεύγυνον δὲ ὄννε, πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριήρεις συνθέντες, ὅπως μὲν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἔλυσινον πόντον ἑξήκοντα τε καὶ τριήκοσια, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἑτέρην πεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριήκοσιας, τὸν μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τὸν δὲ Ἐλλησπόντου κατὰ βόσιν, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλῶν· συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατηκαν περιμήκεσας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τὸν Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἶνεκεν τῶν ἑσωθεὶν ἐκπνεοῦντων, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἶνεκα. διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλυσαν τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τῶν Πόντου ἑχῇ ο ὑπολογομενός πλέειν πλοίοις λεπτοῖσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-

1 Or it may mean, as Stein thinks, that the ships of the upper or N.E. bridge were ἐπικαρσία, and those of the lower or S.W. one were κατὰ βόσιν. For a discussion of the various
fetters be thrown into the sea; nay, I have heard ere now that he sent branders with the rest to brand the Hellespont. This is certain, that he charged them while they scourged to utter words outlandish and presumptuous: "Thou bitter water," they should say, "our master thus punishes thee, because thou didst him wrong albeit he had done thee none. Yea, Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou wilt or no; it is but just that no man offers thee sacrifice, for thou art a turbid and a briny river." Thus he commanded that the sea should be punished, and that they who had been overseers of the bridging of the Hellespont should be beheaded.

36. So this was done by those who were appointed to that thankless honour; and new masters of their craft set about making the bridges. The manner of their doing it was as I will show. That they might lighten the strain of the cables, they laid fifty-oared ships and triremes alongside of each other, three hundred and sixty to bear the bridge that was nearest to the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen to bear the other; all lay obliquely to the line of the Pontus and parallel with the current of the Hellespont. Having so laid the ships alongside they let down very great anchors, both from the end of the ship nearest the Pontus to hold fast against the winds blowing from within that sea, and from the other end, towards the west and the Aegean, to hold against the west and south winds. Moreover they left for passage an opening in the line of fifty-oared ships and triremes, that so he that would might be able to voyage to the Pontus, or out difficulties and interpretations of the whole passage, see How and Wells' notes, ad loc.
HERODOTUS

σαντες κατέτεινων ἐκ γῆς στρεβλούντες ὅνουσι
ξυλίνοις τὰ ὀπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαν-
tες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην,
tέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίων. παχύτης μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθέ-
στερα ἢν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πήχυς ἐῖλκε.
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρόθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων καταπρίσαντας καὶ ποιήσαντες ἰσον τῆς σχεδίας
tῶ εὑρέτ ἀδίσμω ἔτιθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλών
tοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεζήσει ἐνθαῦτα αὐτές ἐπεζεύ-
gνυνον ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὑλὴν ἐπεφορήσαν,
κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὑλὴν γῆν ἐπεφορήσαν,
κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρεῖρυσαν
ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν, ὡν μὴ φοβηταὶ τὰ ὑποξύγα τῆς
θάλασσαν ὑπερροῦντα καὶ οἱ ὕπποι.

37. Ὁς δὲ τὰ τῶν γεφυρεῶν κατεσκεύαστο
καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ
στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, οἳ τῆς ῥηχύς εἶνεκεν
ἔποιηθησαν, ὡν χημπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ
ὅρυγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελῆς πεποιθ-
μένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἁμα τῷ ἔαρι
παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδῶν
ὅρματο ἐδῶν ἔσ "Ἀβυδον" ὀρμημένῳ δὲ οἳ ὁ ἠλιος
ἐκλυτῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἢν ὦτ
ἐπιεφεῖλῳ ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, αὐτὶ
ἡμέρης τε νυξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι
τοῦτο τῷ Ἐρέσῃ ἐπιμελεῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰρετο τοὺς
Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἳ δὲ
ἐφραζον ὡς "Ελλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψιν

1 About 80 lbs.
2 i.e. the line of ships supporting the cables.
of it. Having so done, they stretched the cables from the land, twisting them taut with wooden windlasses; and they did not as before keep the two kinds apart, but assigned for each bridge two cables of flax and four of papyrus. All these were of the same thickness and fair appearance, but the flaxen were heavier in their proportion, a cubit thereof weighing a talent. When the strait was thus bridged, they sawed balks of wood to a length equal to the breadth of the floating supports, and laid them in order on the taut cables, and having set them alongside they then made them fast. This done, they heaped brushwood on to the bridge, and when this was all laid in order they heaped earth on it and stamped it down; then they made a fence on either side, lest the beasts of burden and horses should be affrighted by the sight of the sea below them.

37. When the bridges and the work at Athos were ready, and the moles at the canal's entrances, that were built to prevent the surf from silting up the entrances of the digged passage, and the canal itself was reported to be now perfectly made, the army then wintered, and at the beginning of spring was ready and set forth from Sardis to march to Abydos. When they had set forth, the sun left his place in the heaven and was unseen, albeit the sky was without clouds and very clear, and the day was turned into night. When Xerxes saw and took note of that, he was moved to think upon it, and asked the Magians what the vision might signify. They declared to him, that the god was showing to the Greeks the desolation of their cities; for the

1 Probably about the middle of April 480.
τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἢλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προ-
δέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταύτα πυθόμενοι ὁ
Ξέρξης περιχαρῆς ἔως ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.
38. Ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλαυνε τὴν στρατηγὴν, Πύθιος ὁ
Δυνὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα
ἐπαρθεὶς τε τοῖς δωρήμασι, ἔλθων παρὰ Ξέρξην
ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς δέσποτα, χρήσας ἂν τι σεῦ
βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει
ἐδών ύπουργήσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ξέρξης
dὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκεῶν μιν χρησίμει ἣ τὸ ἐδεήθη,
ἐφη τε ύπουργήσειν καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν
dέοιτο. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε ταύτα ἥκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσή-
σας τάδε. "Ὡς δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσι μοι παῖ
δες ἐόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας
άμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺ δὲ,
ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐμὲ ἐς τὸδε ἥλικις ἥκουντα οἰκτείρας
τῶν μοι παῖδων ἐνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς
τῶν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῖ καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων ἢ μελεδώνος τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἀγεν
άμα σεωτῷ, καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας
ὁπίσω." 39. Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ ἀμείβετο
tοισίδε. "Ὡς κακὴ ἀνθρώπη, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῖ
στρατευμένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος
παῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ ἄδελφους καὶ οἰκίσιος καὶ
φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σεὸ παιδός, ἐὼν ἐμὸς
doὺλος, τὸν χρήν παινοικὴ αὐτή τῇ γυναικὶ συν-
έπεσθαι; εὖ νυν τὸδ' ἐξεπίστασο, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ὡς
τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός, δὲ χρηστὰ μὲν
ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπτεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία
dὲ τοῦτοις ἄκούσας ἀνοίδεει. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ
ποιήσας ἔτερα τοιαύτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, ἐνεργεσίησι
352
sun (they said) was the prophet of the Greeks, as the moon was theirs. Xerxes rejoiced exceedingly to hear that, and kept on his march.

38. As he led his army away, Pythius the Lydian, being affrighted by the heavenly vision and encouraged by the gifts that he had received, came to Xerxes and said, "Sire, I have a boon to ask that I desire of you, easy for you to grant and precious for me to receive." Xerxes, supposing that Pythius would demand anything rather than what he did verily ask, answered that he would grant the boon, and bade him declare what he desired. Thereupon Pythius took courage and said: "Sire, I have five sons, and all of them are constrained to march with you against Hellas. I pray you, O king! take pity on me that am so old, and release one of my sons, even the eldest, from service, that he may take care of me and of my possessions; take the four others with you, and may you return back with all your design accomplished."

39. Xerxes was very angry, and thus replied: "Villain, you see me myself marching against Hellas, and taking with me my sons and brothers and kinsfolk and friends; and do you, my slave—who should have followed me with all your household and your very wife—speak to me of your son? Then be well assured of this, that a man's spirit dwells in his ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the contrary thereto it swells with anger. At that time when you did me good service and promised more, you
HERODOTUS

βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐσ τὸ ἀναίδεστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μεν ἄξιην οὐ λάμψεαι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἄξιης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παῖδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείωμα· τοῦ δὲ ἑνός, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ἔκμισθεν. ὃς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευ τοῖς προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παῖδων ἐξευρότας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμείν, διαταμώτας δὲ τὰ ἢμίτομα διαθείναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὄδος τὸ δ' ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταῦτῃ διεξέναι τὸν στρατὸν.

40. Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήγη ὁ στρατὸς. Ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οι σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ υποξύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοῖον ἐθνεῦν ἀναμέλει, οὐ διακεκριμένοι τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ένθαυτα διελέειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνεμισθον οὕτω βασιλεῖ. προηγεύντο μὲν δὴ ἵπποι ταχίοι, ἐκ Περσῶν πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὕτω εκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ίροι Νησαίοι καλέσμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαιοὶ δὲ καλέσουσαν ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούδε· ἐστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδίκης τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Νησαίον· τοὺς δὲν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἀρμα Δίως ίρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτὼ, ὅπισθε δὲ αὐ τῶν ἵππων εἴπετο πεξη ἡμίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδές γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν θρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτων δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ἐξέρχης ἐπὶ ἀρματος ἵππων
will never boast that you outdid your king in the matter of benefits; and now that you have turned aside to the way of shamelessness, you shall receive a lesser requital than you merit. 'You and four of your sons are saved by your hospitality; but you shall be mulcted in the life of that one whom you most desire to keep.' With that reply, he straightway bade those who were charged to do the like to find the eldest of Pythius' sons and cut him asunder, then having so done to set the one half of his body on the right hand of the road and the other on the left, that the army might pass this way between them.

40. This they did, and the army passed between. First went the baggage train and the beasts of burden, and after them a mixed host of all sorts of nations, not according to their divisions but all mingled together; when more than half had passed there was a space left, and these latter came not near the king. After that, first came a thousand horsemen, chosen out of all Persians; next, a thousand spearmen, picked men like the others, carrying their spears reversed; and after them, ten horses of the breed called Nesaean, equipped with all splendour. The horses are called Nesaean, because there is in Media a wide plain of that name, where the great horses are bred. Behind these ten horses was the place of the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, the charioteer on foot following the horses and holding the reins; for no mortal man may mount into that seat. After these came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaean

\[1\] That is, of Ormuzd.
Ηρόδοτος


dε οἱ ἤμοιοι τῷ οὐνόμα


41. Ἐξῆλθε μὲν οὖν ἐκ Σαρδίων Ἐρέμης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἀρματος ἐς ἁρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁπισθείς αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ὑππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολειεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολειεγμένου μῷροι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτῆρων ῥοιάς εἰχον χρυσάς καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήσιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀγυρφέας ῥοιάς εἰχον εἰχον δὲ χρυσάς ῥοιάς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπομενοί Ερέμης.

τοῖς δὲ μυρίους ἐπετέτακτο ὑππος Περσέων μυρίῇ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ὑππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὀμλος ἦν ἀναμίξι.

42. Ἐποιεῖτο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ό στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικου καὶ γῆν τὴν


Μυσίνην, ἀπὸ δὲ Κάικου ὄρμῳμενος, Κάικης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἄριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρήνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θῆβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειον τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμειβόμενος. τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἄριστερὴν χείρα ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἱλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδὴ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ πρήστηρες ἐπεσπίττουσι καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ταύτης συχνῶν ὀμλοῦν διέφθειραν.

43. Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν
horses, his charioteer, Patiramphes, son of Otanes a Persian, standing beside him.

41. It was thus that Xerxes rode out of Sardis; but when he was so minded he would alight from the chariot into a carriage. Behind him came a thousand spearmen of the best and noblest blood of Persia, carrying their spears in the customary manner; after them a thousand picked Persian horsemen, and after the horse ten thousand that were footmen, chosen out of the rest of the Persians. One thousand of these latter bore golden pomegranates on their spear-shafts in place of the spike, and surrounded the rest; the nine thousand were enclosed within, and bore silver pomegranates; they that held their spears reversed carried golden pomegranates also, and they that were nearest to Xerxes, apples of gold. After the ten thousand came ten thousand Persian horsemen in array. After these there was a space of two furlongs, and next the rest of the multitude followed without order or division.

42. From Lydia the army took its course to the river Caicus and the land of Mysia, and leaving the Caicus, through Atarneus to the town of Carene, keeping the mountain of Cane \(^1\) on the left. Thence they journeyed over the plain of Thebe, passing the town of Adramytteum and the Pelasgian town Antandrus; and then came into the territory of Ilium, with Ida on their left. Then this first befel them, that when they had halted for the night at the foot of Ida they were smitten by a storm of thunder and fiery winds, whereby very many there perished.

43. When the army had come to the river Scam-

---

\(^1\) Modern Kara Dagh.
Σκάμανδρον, ὅς πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπείτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὄδῷ, ἐπέλυτε τὸ ῥέθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιᾷ τε καὶ τοῖς κτήμεσι πινόμενοι· ἔπὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἢς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη ομερὸν ἔχων θεσάμεναι· θεσάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἐκαστὰ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἡπαίδῃ ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖς ἕρωσι ἔχεαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοι νυκτὸς φόβοι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἀμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτεν, εὐν ἀριστερῆ μὲν ἀπέργων Ρούτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἡ περ δὴ Ἀβύδῳ ὄμουροι ἔστι, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Γέργυθας Τευκροῦς.

44. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγενετο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ μέση, ἥθελησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν καὶ προεποίησε γὰρ ἐπὶ κολώνου ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντελαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἱετο, κατορὼν ἐτὶ τῆς ἡμόνοι ἐθηκεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θησάμενος δὲ ἱμέρῃ τῶν νεών ἁμιλλαν γινομένην ἱδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγενετο τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἡσθε τῇ ἁμίλλη καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ.

45. Ὀς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεών ἀποκεκρυμένου, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλευ ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἐωτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἐδάκρυσε.

46. Μαθὼν δὲ μν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμ-
ander, which was the first river after the beginning of their march from Sardis that fell short of their needs and could not suffice for the army and the cattle,—being arrived at this river, Xerxes ascended to the citadel of Priam, having a desire to view it; and having viewed and enquired of all that was there he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athene of Ilium, and the Magians offered libations to the heroes. After their so doing, the army was seized with a panic fear in the night. When it was day they journeyed on thence, keeping on their left the towns of Rhoetium and Ophryneum and Dardanus, which marches with Abydos, and on their right the Teucrian Gergithae.

44. When Xerxes had come to the midst of Abydos, he desired to see the whole of his army; and this he could do, for a lofty seat of white stone had been set up for him on a hill there with that intent, built by the people of Abydos at the king's command. There Xerxes sat, and looked down on the sea-shore, viewing his army and his fleet; and as he viewed them he was fain to see the ships contend in a race. They did so, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won it; and Xerxes was pleased with the race, and with his armament.

45. But when he saw the whole Hellespont hidden by his ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos thronged with men, Xerxes first declared himself happy, and presently he fell a-weeping.

46. Perceiving that, his uncle Artabanus, who in the beginning had spoken his mind freely and coun-

---

1 It was about nine miles from Abydos.
2 Probably what is called Mal-Tepe, on the promontory of Nagara.
HERODOTUS

βουλεύων Ἐρέξη στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ὁνὴ φρασθεῖσ Ἐρέξην δακρύσαντα εἰρητο τάδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλῶν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάζασ τὸν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρὸτερον μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωτοῦ δακρύεις." ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐσῆλθε γὰρ μὲ λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἰ, ὅ πας ἀνθρώπων βίος, εἰ τοῦτον γε ἐόντων τοσοῦτων οὔδεις ἐσ ἐκατοστὸν ἐτος περιέσται." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἐτερα τοῦτον παρὰ τὴν ἥθην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέι βίω οὔδεις οὕτω ἀνθρώποις ἐων εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὔτε τοῦτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκι ἄπαξ τεθνάναι βουλεύσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖν. αἳ τε γὰρ συμφοραί προσπήπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχῶν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεύσαι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐσύσης τῆς ἥθης καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὃ δὲ θεὸς γλυκῶν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐων." 47. Ἐρέξης ὃ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτής μὲν νῦν ἀνθρωπηής πέρι, ἐσύσης τοιαύτης οὕτως περὶ σὺ διαιρέατα εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμωμέθα χρήστα ἔχουντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσω δὲ μου τὸδε εἰ τοὶ ἡ όψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μη ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφανῇ, εἰχες ἂν τὴν ἄρχαίνῃ γνώμην, οὐκ εἴὼν μὲ στρατευεσθαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣ μετέστης ἂν; φέρε τοῦτο μοι ἀπρεκέως εἰπέ." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγον οο "Ω βασιλεῦ, όψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείας τοῦ οὐείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτι καὶ ἐσ τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ' ἐντὸς 360
sold Xerxes not to march against Hellas—Artabanus, I say, marking how Xerxes wept, questioned him and said, "What a distance is there, O king, between your acts of this present and a little while ago! Then you declared your happiness, and now you weep." "Ay verily," said Xerxes; "for I was moved to compassion, when I considered the shortness of all human life, seeing that of all this multitude of men not one will be alive a hundred years hence." "In our life," Artabanus answered, "we have deeper sorrows to bear than that. For short as our lives are, there is no man here or elsewhere so fortunate, that he shall not be constrained, ay many a time and not once only, to wish himself dead rather than alive. Misfortunes so fall upon us and sicknesses so trouble us, that they make life to seem long for all its shortness. Thus is life so sorry a thing that death has come to be a man's most desirable refuge therefrom; the god is seen to be envious therein, after he has given us but a taste of the sweetness of living."

47. Xerxes answered and said, "Human life, Artabanus, is such as you define it to be. Yet let us speak no more of that, nor remember evils in our present prosperous estate; but tell me this. If you had not seen the vision in your dream so clearly, would you still have held your former opinion, and counselled me not to march against Hellas, or would you have changed from it? Come, tell me that truly." Artabanus answered and said, "O king, may the vision that appeared in my dream bring such an end as we both desire! But for myself, I am even now full of fear, yea distraught, for many other reasons that I
εμεωτου, άλλα τε πολλά ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δῆ καὶ ὀρῶν τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἔόντα πολεμιώτατα.”

48. Ἑρέξης δὲ πρὸς ταύτα ἀμείβετο τοῦτιδε. “Δαμόνε ἀνδρῶν, κοία ταύτα λέγεις εἰναί δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτός κατὰ πλήθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἐσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνου, ἢ καὶ συμμαχήσερα ταύτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἑνδείκτερα εἰναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἀν ἄλλον τις τήν ταχίστην ἀγερσίν ποιέωτο.”

49. Ὅ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ὡς βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τούτον, ὡστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ’ ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος. ἢν δὲ πλείνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἐτὶ πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταύτα ἐστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γάρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστι λαμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὥσ ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὡστις ἐγειρομένου χειμώνος δεξάμενος σειν τούτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἐσται διασώσατι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκ’ ἑνα αὐτὸν δεί εἰναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάσαν τὴν ἡπειρον παρ’ ἦν δὴ κομίζεαι. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐόντων τοι τὴν ζημένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀντρώπων ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐκ’ ὀνθρωποὶ τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἐτέρου ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ δὲ πολεμίη τηδε τοῖς κατίσταται εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοους καταστήναι, τοσοῦτοι τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτήρη ὅσῳ ἀν προβαίνῃς ἐκαστέρω, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος εὐπρηξίης δὲ οὐκ ἡπείρος.
have, and this in especial—that I see the two greatest things in the world to be most your enemies.”

48. “Sir,” Xerxes answered, “I marvel at you. What are these two things that you say are most my enemies? Is it that you find some fault with the numbers of my land army, and suppose that the Greek host will be many times greater than ours? Or think you that our navy will fall short of theirs? Or that the fault is in both? For if in this regard our power seems to you to lack aught, it were best to muster another host with all speed.”

49. “O king,” Artabanus answered and said, “there is no fault that any man of sound judgment could find either with this army or with the number of your ships; and if you gather more, those two things whereof I speak grow yet the more your enemies. These two are the land and the sea. The sea has nowhere any harbour, as I guess, that if a storm arise will be warrantable to receive this navy and save your ships. Yet such harbours there should be, not in one place alone but all along the land along which you sail. Seeing then that there are no harbours able to receive you, learn thereby that men are the subjects and not the rulers of their accidents. Now I have spoken of one of the two, and I will tell you of the other: this is how the land is your enemy: if so be that nothing stands in your way to hinder you, the land is the more your enemy the further you advance, with never true knowledge of what lies beyond;
50. Ἀμείβεται Ἐρέξης τοῖς ἰεί, "᾽Αρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σὺ γε τούτων ἐκαστα διαίρεαι· ἀτὰρ μῆτε πάντα φοβέο μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσειαι ἃν οὐδαμὰ οὐδὲν κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἦμισυ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίοντα μηδαμά μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεσθαι, σφάλλεσθαι ὅφεὶλες ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τοῦτοις λέξαι. τοῦτο μὲν ψω ἐπ᾽ ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἐόντα κῶς χρῆ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖς τοῖνυν βουλομένους ποιέειν ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιλεγομένους τὸ πάντα καὶ ὀκνεύουσι ὁυ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὀρᾶ τὰς Περσέων πρήγματα ἐσὶ δ ὅμοιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοῖνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεὶς γενόμενοι βασιλέας γνώμησι ἐχρέωςτο ὁμοίς καὶ σύ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμησι τοιαύτης ἄλλους συμβούλους εἰχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κατε ἐίδες αὐτὰ ἐστὸ τοῦτο προσέλθοντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐστὸ τοῦ σφέα προηγόγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἔθελει καταρρέεσθαι. ἦμεῖς τοῖνυν ὁμοιεύμενοι ἐκεῖνοι ὤρην τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορεύόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι 364
and no man is ever full fed with success. Therefore, I say, if none withstand you, the increase of your territory and the time passed in getting it will beget famine. He is the best man, who is timid in counsel because he takes all that may befall him into account, but is in action bold."

50. "Artabanus," Xerxes answered, "you do reasonably in so defining all these matters. But this I say, fear not everything, nor take account of all alike; for if on whatever occasion befall you were minded to take everything alike into account, you would never do anything; better it is to suffer half the dreaded ill by facing all with a stout heart, rather than to fear all chances and so suffer nought. But if you quarrel with whatever is said, yet cannot show where security lies, you must be proved as wrong on your part as he that holds the contrary opinion. In this then both are alike; and how shall one that is but man know where there is security? It is, I think, impossible. It is they, then, who have the will to act that do oftenest win the prizes, not, truly, they that palter and take account of all chances. You see, to what power Persia has attained. Now, if those kings who came before me had held such opinions as yours, or not holding them themselves had had counsellors like you, you would never have seen our fortunes at their present height; but as it is, those kings encountered dangers, and by so doing advanced them to this height. Great successes are not won save by great risks. We, then, will do as they did; we are using the fairest season of the year to journey in, and we will return home the conquerors
πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὁπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἑντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὖν ἔνοικα παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖ πολλὴν φοβῆσαν πορεύμεθα, τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἄν κού ἐπιθέωμεν γην καὶ ἔθνους, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἔξομεν ἐπὶ ἀρπήγας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατεύόμεθα ἄνδρας.”

51. Δέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα “*Ω βασιλεύ, ἐπείτε ἀρρωδεύειν οὐδὲν εἶς πρήγμα, σὺ δὲ μὲν συμβούλιν ἐνδεξάς ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἐχει περί πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτείνα. Κύ-ρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ιωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέφατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσης. τοὺ-
τος ὁν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμὴ 
μηχανὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ 
τούτων οἰοὶ τε οἱ μὲν τῶν ἑχθρῶν κατυπέρτε-

ροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφέας, ἢν ἐπωνται, δει 
ἀδικωτάτος γίνεσθαι καταδουλομένους τὴν μη-
τρόποιν, ἡ δικαιοτάτοις συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδι-
κωταί μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα 
ἡμῖν προσβάλλονσι, δικαίοτατοὶ δὲ γινόμενοι 
οἰοὶ τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὰν 
γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὁν βάλει καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν 
ἐπος ως εν εἰρήται, τὸ μη ἁμα ἄρχη πᾶν τέλος 
καταφάϊνεσθαι.”

52. Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ἑρέξης “Αρτάβανε, 
τῶν ἀπεφήνας γυναικῶν σφάλλεσα κατὰ ταύτην 
δὴ μάλιστα, δὲ Ἰωνίας φοβέαι μὴ μεταβάλλωσι, 
τῶν ἔχομεν γυνὰκα μέγιστον, τῶν σὺ τε μάρτυς 
γίνει καὶ οἱ συστατευσάμενοι Δαρείω άλλοι 
ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτους ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ 
στρατιὰ ἐγένετο διαφθείραι καὶ περιτοιχίσαι, οἱ 366
of all Europe, having nowhere suffered famine or any other harm; for firstly, we carry ample provision with us on our march, and secondly we shall have the food of those whose land and nation we invade; and those against whom we march are no wandering tribes, but tillers of the soil.”

51. Then said Artabanus: “O king, I see that you will not suffer us to fear any danger; yet take from me this counsel: for needs must there be much speaking when our businesses are so many. Cyrus son of Cambyses subdued and made tributary to Persia all Ionians save only the Athenians. It is my counsel, then, that you do by no means lead these Ionians against the land of their fathers; even without their aid we are well able to overcome our enemies; for if they come with our army, they must behave either very unjustly by enslaving their parent state or very justly by aiding it to be free. Now, if they deal very unjustly, they bring us no great advantage, but by dealing very justly they may well thereby do great harm to your army. Take therefore to heart the truth of even that ancient saying, ‘That the end of every matter appeareth not at its beginning.’”

52. “Artabanus,” Xerxes answered, “there is no opinion which you have declared wherein you are so misled as in this your fear lest the Ionians change sides; we have the surest warranty for them (and you and all that marched with Darius against the Scythians can witness it) in that with these it lay to destroy or to save the whole Persian army; and they
δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνεδώκαν, ἀχαρὲς δὲ οὖν. πάρεξὶ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καταλυπώντας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὖν ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρηστεύσειν τι ποιήσειν. οὔτω μηδὲ τούτῳ φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οίκον τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμὴν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνω ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω."  

53. Ταύτα εἴπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ἐρέξης Περσέως τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Ὡς Πέρσαι, τώνδε ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρησίμους συνέλεξα, ἀνδρας τε γενέσθαι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μή κατασχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσαις, ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοί ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἐκαστὸς καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμήν ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ πάσι τούτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθᾶνομαι, ἐπὶ ἀνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἢν κρατήσομεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῶν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κατε ἄνθρωπον. νῦν δὲ διαβαινώμεν ἐπενζάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι λελόγχασι."  

54. Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ ἀνέμενον τῶν ἦλιων ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνης στορνύστης τὴν ὄδον. ὡς δ' ἐπανετελλε ὁ ἦλιος, σπέυδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ἐρέξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἦλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντριχήν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἡ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἦ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖς ἐκείνης γένηται.

368
gave proof of justice and faithfulness, and no evil intent. Moreover, seeing that they have left in our country their children and wives and possessions, we need not deem it even possible that they will make any violent change. Therefore be quit of that fear too; keep a stout heart and guard my household and sovereignty; for to you alone I entrust the symbols of my kingship."

53. Having thus spoken, and sent Artabanus away to Susa, Xerxes next sent for the most notable among the Persians; and when they were present, "Persians," he said, "I have assembled you to make this demand, that you bear yourselves bravely and never sully the great and glorious former achievements of the Persians; let us each and all be zealous; for this is the common advantage of all that we seek. For this cause I bid you set your hands to the war with might and main; for as I am assured, we march against valiant men, whom if we overcome, it is certain that no other human host will ever withstand us. Now let us cross over, having first prayed to the gods who hold Persia for their allotted realm."

54. All that day they made preparation for the crossing; and on the next they waited till they should see the sun rise, burning all kinds of incense on the bridges, and strewning the way with myrtle boughs. At sunrise, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden phial into the sea, praying to the sun that no such accident should befall him as to stay him from subduing Europe ere he should reach its farthest borders. After the prayer, he cast the
εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἥλιῳ ἀνατιθεῖς κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησε οἳ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον μαστυγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρῶν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεξός τε καὶ ἡ ἱππος ἀπάσα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαίον τὰ ἕπος ὑπολογία καὶ ἡ θεραπεία. ἡγεόμενο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμμικτος στράτος παντοῖον ἐθνῶν. ταῦταν μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὕτω, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίη πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωσαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω. μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἱπποί οἱ ἰροὶ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ἑρέξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στράτος. καὶ αἱ νέαι ἀμα ἄνηγοντο ἐσ τὴν ἀνευαιντίου. ἦδη δὲ ἢκουσα καὶ ὑστατον διαβῆ缅α βασιλέα πάντων.

56. Ἑρέξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηέντο τὸν στρατὸν ὕπο μαστύγον διαβαίνοντα διέβη δὲ ὁ στράτος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλυσόεν συδενα χρόνον. ἐναύτα λέγεται, Ἑρέξω ἡδη διαβεβήκότος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, ἀνδρα οἰς ἐπεὶν Ἑλλησπόντιον ὡς Ζεὺ, τί δή ἀνδρὶ εἰδομένος Πέρση καὶ οὕνωμα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ἑρέξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιήσαι, ἀγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων ἔξην τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.”

370
phial into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl withal, and a Persian sword, that which they call “acinaces.” 1 As to these, I cannot rightly determine whether he cast them into the sea for offerings to the sun, or repented of his scourging of the Hellespont and gave gifts to the sea as atonement.

55. This done, they crossed over, the foot and horse all by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, and the beasts of burden and the train of service by the bridge towards the Aegean. In the van came the ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands, and after them the mixed host of divers nations. All that day these crossed, and on the next, first the horsemen and they that bore their spears reversed; these also wore garlands. After them came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, then Xerxes himself and the spearmen and the thousand horse, and after them the rest of the host. Meanwhile the ships put out and crossed to the opposite shore. But I have heard ere now, that the king crossed last of all.

56. Having passed over to Europe, Xerxes viewed his army crossing under the lash; seven days and seven nights it was in crossing, with never a rest. There is a tale that, when Xerxes had now crossed the Hellespont, a man of the Hellespont cried, “O Zeus, why hast thou taken the likeness of a Persian man and changed thy name to Xerxes, leading the whole world with thee to remove Hellas from its place? For that thou mightest have done without these means.”

1 Sometimes translated “scimitar”; but that is, I believe, a curved weapon, whereas the ἀκινάνης appears to have been a short, straight dagger.
57. Ὅς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοις τέρας σφί ἐφαύῃ μέγα, τὸ Ἐέριχης ἐν οὔδενι λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καίπερ εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ἦππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὄν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐμελλε μὲν ἐλάν στρατὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέριχης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὡπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωτοῦ τρέχων ἦξεν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἑτέρον αὐτῷ τέρας ἑόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίνος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίνον διξά ἐξουσιον αἰδοία, τὰ μὲν ἐρρενος τὰ δὲ θηλεία· κατῴπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἐρρενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγων οὔδενα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.

58. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλῆσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίξετο, τὰ ἐμπαλιν πρήσουν τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὃ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἀπίξω, ἐς τὴν αὐτὸ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμέειν· ὃ δὲ κατ᾽ ἥπερον στρατὸς πρὸς ἦω τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολας ἐποιεύτο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἐλλῆς τάφων τῆς Ἀθαμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίνην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορεοῦμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυχάνει ἐὸν Ἀγορῆ. ἐνθεύετο δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ἰδίον ἀλλ' ἐπιλειπότα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐπὶ οὐ καὶ οἱ κόλποι οὕτως τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, ἢς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Ἀινὸν τα πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Σεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξιῶν, ἐς δὲ ἀπικετε ἐς Δορίσκουν.

59. Ὅ δὲ Δορίσκος ἄστι τής Θρηίκης αὐγιαλὸς τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βρεῖ ποταμὸς
57. When all had passed over and they were ready for the road, a great portent appeared among them, whereof Xerxes took no account, though it was easy of interpretation: a mare gave birth to a hare. The meaning of it was easy to guess, being this: Xerxes was to march his army to Hellas with great pomp and pride, but to come back to the same place fleeing for his life. There was another portent, that was shown to him at Sardis: a mule gave birth to a mule, that had double privy parts, both male and female, the male above the other. But of neither sign did he take any account, and journeyed on, his land army with him.

58. His navy sailed out of the Hellespont and coasted along by the land, contrariwise to the land army; for the ships voyaged westwards, laying their course for the headland of Sarpedon, whither Xerxes had bidden them come and there await him; but the army of the mainland travelled towards the east¹ and the sunrise through the Chersonese, with the tomb of Athamas’ daughter Helle on its right and the town of Cardia on its left, and marching through the midst of a town called Agora. Thence turning the head of the Black Bay (as it is called) and crossing the Black River, which could not hold its own then against the army, but fell short of its needs—crossing this river, which gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian town of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, till they came to Doriscus.

59. The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea, and through it flows a great river,

¹ North-east, strictly speaking: they marched through the promontory of Gallipoli.
μέγας "Εβρος; ἐν τῷ τεῖχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλῆιον τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἑκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἢδοξὲ ὁ τῷ Ἐρέξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεους ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἑξαρθμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἔποιει ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομέναις ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναάρχοι κελεύσαντος Ἐρέξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκων ἐκομίσαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηκίαν πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευτᾶ ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειου ἀκρὴ ὀνομαστῇ. ὁ δὲ χῶρος ὁδὸς τὸ παλαιῷ ἢν Κικόνων. ἐς τούτων τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνεκκύώντες. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτων τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατίτης ἀριθμὸν ἐποίεστο.

60. Ὁσον μὲν νυν ἐκαστοὶ παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρέκες· ὥς γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίμησαν δὲ τοῦτων τῶν τρόπων συνήγαγον τε ἐς ἕνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξοντες ταύτῃ ὡς μάλιστα ἐίχον περιέγραψαν ἐξὼθεν κύκλων περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντε τοὺς μυρίους αἰμασθὴν περιβάλλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὑψὸς ἀνάκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν ταύτῃ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβήβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτων τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασαν.

61. Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἴδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῆι ἐίχον 374
the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against Scythia. It seemed therefore to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to array and number his host, and he did so. All the fleet, being now arrived at Doriscus, was brought by its captains at Xerxes' command to the beach near Doriscus, where stands the Samothracian town of Sane, and Zone; at the end thereof is Serreum, a headland of some name. This country was in former days possessed by the Cicones. To this beach they brought their ships in, and hauled them up for rest. In the meanwhile Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscus.

60. What the number of each part of it was I cannot with exactness say; for there is no one who tells us that; but the tale of the whole land army was shown to be a million and seven hundred thousand. The numbering was on this wise:—Ten thousand men were collected in one place, and when they were packed together as closely as might be a line was drawn round them; this being drawn, the ten thousand were sent away, and a wall of stones built on the line reaching up to a man's middle; which done, others were brought into the walled space, till in this way all were numbered. When they had been numbered, they were marshalled according to their several nations.

61. Those that served in the army were as I will now show. Firstly, the Persians; for their equip-
tiáras kaloeuménous pílonous ἀπαγέας, ἑπὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κυθώνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους,¹ λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὑψιν ἠχυνειδέος, ἑπὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα. ὑπὸ δὲ φαρτετῶν ἐκρέμαυτο: αἰχμᾶς δὲ βραχέας εἰχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὑστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐνχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ξώνης. καὶ ἀρχοντα παρεῖχοντο Ὁτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Εὔρηξος γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφήνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταίοι. ἑπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βήλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τούτω δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει: ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἐδών ὁ Κηφέας ἔρσενος γόνου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμὴν ἔσχον.

62. Μήδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένου ἐστρατεύοντο: Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικῆ. οἱ δὲ Μήδοι ἀρχοντα μὲν παρεῖχοντο Τιγράνην ἀνδρα Ἀχαμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοί, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος εἰς Αθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίοις τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὔτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτῶν δὲ σφέων ὡδὲ λέγουσι Μήδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ πέρ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων μιτρηφόροι ἤσαν. Κισσίων δὲ

¹ Stein and others place a lacuna after ποικίλους, supposing some words meaning "cuirasses," e.g. ὑπὸ δὲ θάρηκας πετοιμένους, "and under them cuirasses made" to look like (ὑψιν) to be omitted; κιθὼν itself in Homer bears the meaning of cuirass, but apparently not in Herodotus.
ment they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras, and on their bodies sleeved tunics of divers colours, with scales of iron like in appearance to the scales of fish, and breeches on their legs; for shields they had wicker bucklers, their quivers hanging beneath these; they carried short spears, long bows, and arrows of reed, and daggers withal that hung from the girdle by the right thigh. Their commander was Otanes, father of Xerxes' wife and son of Amestris. These Persians were in old time called by the Greeks Cephenes, but by themselves and their neighbours Artaei. But when Perseus the son of Danaë and Zeus had come to Cepheus the son of Belus, and taken his daughter Andromeda to wife, a son was born to him whom he called Perses, and him he left there; for Cepheus had no male issue; it was from this Perses that the Persians took their name.¹

62. The Medes in the army were equipped like the Persians; indeed that fashion of armour is Median, not Persian; their commander was Tigranes, an Achaemenid. These were in old time called by all men Arians,² but when the Colchian woman Medea came from Athens among the Arians they changed their name, like the Persians. This is the Medes' own account of themselves. The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but they wore

¹ Herodotus is always prone to base ethnological conclusions on Greek legends and the similarity of names; so in the next chapter Medea supplies the name of the Medes. — But it is strange that Perseus, being commonly held great-grandfather of Heracles, is here made to marry the granddaughter of Belus, who in I. 7, is Heracles' grandson.

² Modern philology gives the name "Aryan" of course a very much wider extension; which indeed was beginning even in the time of Strabo.
Ηρόδοτος  Ανάφης ο Οτάνεως. Τρκάνιοι δε κατά περ Πέρσαι εσσεσάχατο, ήγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγα- πανον τον Βαβυλώνος ύστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύ- σαντα.

63. 'Ασσύριοι δε στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἱχον χάλκεα τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον των βάρβαρων οὐκ εὐαπήγητον, ἀσπίδας δέ καὶ αἰχμάς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῆς Αιγυπτίης εἰχον, πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυ- λωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λυνέους θόρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν 'Ελλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων 'Ασσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαίων. ¹ Ἦρχε δὲ σφέων 'Οτάσπης ὁ 'Αρταχαίεως.

64. Βακτριοί δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡγχό- τατα τῶν Μηδίκων ἔχουσε ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμια ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρβασίας ἐς ὃς ἁπηγμεναὶ ὅρθὰς εἰχον πεπτηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίως σαγαρίς εἰχον. τούτων δὲ ἑόντας Σκύθας 'Αμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεσον ὁ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέοντι Σάκας. Βακτριών δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε 'Τστάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ 'Ατόσπης τῆς Κύρου.

65. 'Ινδοὶ δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδύκοτες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμια εἰχον καὶ ὄστοις καλαμίνοις. ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ᾧσαν οὔτω 'Ινδοὶ, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρα- τευόμενοι Φαρνακάζαβη τῷ 'Αρταβιτεω.

¹ Stein brackets this sentence, with probability. μεταξὺ in
turbans and not caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians\(^1\) were armed like the Persians; their leader was Megapanus; who was afterwards the governor of Babylon.

63. The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe. They bore shields and spears and daggers of Egyptian fashion, and wooden clubs withal studded with iron, and they wore linen breastplates. These are called by Greeks Syrians, but the foreigners called them Assyrians. With them were the Chaldeans. Their commander was Otaspes son of Artachaees.

64. The Bactrians in the army wore a headgear most like to the Median, carrying their native bows of reed, and short spears. The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call “sagaris.” These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; for that is the Persian name for all Scythians. The commander of the Bactrians and Sacae was Hystaspes, son of Darius and Cyrus’ daughter Atossa.

65. The Indians wore garments of tree-wool,\(^2\) and carried bows of reed and iron-tipped arrows of the same. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres son of Artabates.

\(^1\) Not mentioned in the list of Darius’ subjects in Book III; they lived on the S.E. coast of the Caspian.

\(^2\) Cotton.

the sense of “among” is not otherwise known, and the statement is inconsistent with the use of \(\alpha\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\) in I. 181.
66. Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοι σέ μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ὦσαν Μηδικοὶς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριου. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμης ὁ 'Τδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδιοι τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριου ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἴδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χοράσμιων Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἄζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίου, Γανδάρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων ὁ Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρτάβαζον.

67. Κάστιοι δὲ σισύριας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμων ἔχοντες καὶ ἁκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὕτωι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφέον, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνεπρεποὺ ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνι ἀνατείνοντα εἴχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζος. Πάκτυς δὲ σισυφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἴχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυς δὲ ἀρχοντα παρεῖχοντο Ἀρταύντην τὸν Ἰβαμίτρεω.

68. Οὕτωι δὲ καὶ Μύκωι κε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ὦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυς. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἴδε, Οὕτωι μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμήνης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζος.

69. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειρᾶς ὑπεξωσμένοι ὦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντουα εἴχον πρὸς δεξία, μακρά. Αἴθιοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἴχον ἐκ φοινίκων στάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὖκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίων οὐστοὺς μικροὺς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ πῆν λίθος δέξις πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἴχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν 380
66. The Arians were equipped with Median bows, but in all else like the Bactrians; their commander was Sisamnes son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae in the army had the same equipment as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians had for their commander Artabazus son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians Azanes son of Artaeus, the Gandarians and Dadicae Artyphius son of Artabanus.

67. The Caspians in the army wore cloaks, and carried the reed bows of their country and short swords. Such was their equipment; their leader was Ariomardus, brother to Artyphius; the Sarangae made a brave show with dyed garments and boots knee-high, carrying bows and Median spears. Their commander was Pherendates son of Megabazus. The Pactyes wore cloaks and carried the bows of their country and daggers; their commander was Artayntes son of Ithamitres.

68. The Utians and Mycians and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes; the Utians and Mycians had for their commander Arsamenes son of Darius, the Paricanians Siromitres son of Oeobazus.

69. The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapt in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palm-wood strips, full four cubits long, and short arrows therewith, pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone, that stone wherewith seals are carved; moreover they had spears pointed with a gazelle’s horn.

1 That is, the ends of the bow when unstrung curved upwards, against the natural curve of the whole; which would of course increase its power.
70. Τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀιγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ 'Αραβίων ἄρξε 'Αρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἥλιον ἀνατολέων Αἰθιόπες (δι' οὗ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετετάχατο τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, διαλλάσσοντες εἰδός μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐτέρωσι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἥλιον Αἰθιόπες ιθύτρικες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ καὶ τής Λιβύης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἐχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἄσίας Αἰθιόπες τὰ μὲν πλέον κατὰ πέρ 'Ινδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ὑπὸν εἰχον ἐπὶ τῇς κεφαλῆς σὺν τε τοῖς ὅσι ἐκδεδαμένα καὶ τῇ λοφῇ· καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφον ἡ λοφή κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὅτα τῶν ἑπτά ποθὰ πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων ἐποιεύτων γεράνων δορᾶς.

71. Δίβυς δὲ σκέψην μὲν σκυτίνην ἦσαν ἐχοντες, ἀκούτιοις δὲ ἐπικαιύτοις χρεώμενοι, ἀρχούτα δὲ παρέσχοντο Μαςσάγην τὸν Ὁαρίζου.

72. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύουσι ἐπὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε ὅλη μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐσ μέσην κυμήν ἀνατείνοντα. Δύνες δὲ καὶ Ματινοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τήν 382
sharpened to the likeness of a lance, and studded clubs withal. When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermilion. The Arabians, and the Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt, had for commander Arsames son of Darius and Artystone daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved best of his wives, and had an image made of her of hammered gold.

70. The Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabians had Arsames for commander, and the Ethiopians of the east (for there were two kinds of them in the army) served with the Indians; they differed nothing in appearance from the others, but only in speech and hair; for the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but they of Libya have of all men the woolliest hair. These Ethiopians of Asia were for the most part armed like the Indians; but they wore on their heads the skins of horses' foreheads, stripped from the head with ears and mane; the mane served them for a crest, and they wore the horses' ears stiff and upright; for shields they had bucklers of cranes' skin.

71. The Libyans came in leathern garments, using javelins of charred wood. Their commander was Massages son of Oarizus.

72. The Paphlagonians in the army had plaited helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and javelins and daggers withal; they wore the shoes of their country, reaching midway to the knee. The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and

---

1 For these see III. 94. The "eastern Ethiopians" were apparently in or near Beluchistan.
αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματινών Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἤρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Διγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης.

73. Φρύγιες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευήν εἶχον, ὀλύγων παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγιες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες χρόνου ὅσον Εὐρωπῆιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἀμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας.

Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἑσεσάχατο, ἐοντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἤρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἐχών θυγατέρα.

74. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅτα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίονες ἐκαλεύντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυνος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβάλοντες τὸ οὖνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆι εἶχον κράνεα ἑπίχωραι, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς, ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοισι. οὐτοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι, ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίου δὲ ὀρεος καλέονται Ὁλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἤρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς ἐς Μαραθώνα ἐσέβαλε ἀμα Δάτι.

75. Ῥήμικες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆι ἄλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιβώναις, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. οὐτοὶ δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιδνοὶ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἕκα

384
Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. Dotus son of Megasidrus was commander of the Paphlagonians and Matieni, Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone of the Mariandyni and Ligyes and Syrians.

73. The Phrygian equipment was most like to the Paphlagonian, with but small difference. By what the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia they changed their name also and were called Phrygians. The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. Both these together had for their commander Artochmes, Darius' son-in-law.

74. The Lydian armour was most like to the Greek. The Lydians were formerly called Meiones, till they changed their name and were called after Lydus, son of Atys. The Mysians wore on their heads helmets of native form, carrying small shields and javelins of charred wood. These are settlers from Lydia, who are called Olympieni after the mountain Olympus. The commander of the Lydians and Mysians was that Artaphrenes, son of Artaphrenes, who made the onfall on Marathon with Datis.

75. The Thracians in the army wore fox-skin caps on their heads, and tunics on their bodies; mantles of divers colours were their covering; they had shoes of fawnskin on their feet and legs, carrying withal javelins and little shields and daggers. These took the name of Bithynians after they crossed over to Asia; before that they were called (as they them-

---

1 This tends to support a reversal of Herodotus' account of racial migration in ch. 20; see the note there.
λέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οίκεοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. ἔξαναστήναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἥθεων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηκίων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἤρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

76. . . . ἀσπίδας ¹ δὲ ὁμοβοῖνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργάς ἐκαστὸς εἰχὲ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ σι κεφαλῆσι κράνεα χάλκεα: πρὸς δὲ τοῖς κρανεῖ ὑδά τε καὶ κέρεα προσήν βοῶς χάλκεα, ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι τὰς δὲ κυνῆς ράκεσι φωικεῖσε κατειλίχατο. ἐν τούτους τοῖς ἀνδράσι ᾗ Ἄρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.

77. Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηνίους, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κλίξι εἶχου σκευῆν, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεάν κατὰ τὴν Κλίκων τὰς διεξιδο γένωμαι, τὸτε σημανέω. Μιλύαι δὲ αἰχμᾶς τε βραχέας εἶχον καὶ εἶματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τὸξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῆσι ἑκ διθθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἤρχε Βάρδης ὁ Τστάνεος.

78. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμᾶς σμικρὰς: λόγχαι δὲ επῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρνοῖ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι κατὰ περὶ Μόσχοι ἐσκενασμένοι ἐστρατεύομοντο. τούτους δὲ συνετάσσου ἄρχοντες οἶδε, Μόσχος μὲν καὶ Τιβαρνοὺς Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμος τῆς Σμέρδιως τοῦ Κύου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσυνοῖκος Ἀρταύκτῃς ὁ Χεράσμος, ὃς Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.

¹ Some tribal name is probably omitted before this word; Stein suggests Πισίδαι (cp. III. 90), which might have slipped out because of its similarity to ἀσπίδας.
selves say) Strymonians, as dwelling by the Strymon; they say that they were driven from their homes by Teucrians and Mysians. The commander of the Thracians of Asia was Bassaces son of Artabanes.

76. The [Pisidians] had little shields of raw oxhide; each man carried two wolf-hunter’s spears; they wore helmets of bronze, with the ears and horns of oxen wrought in bronze thereon, and crests withal; their legs were wrapped round with strips of purple stuff. In this country is a place of divination sacred to Ares.

77. The Cabelees, who are Meiones, and are called Lasonii, had the same equipment as the Cilicians; when I come in my recording to the place of the Cilicians, I will then declare what it was. The Milyae had short spears and garments fastened by brooches; some of them carried Lycian bows, and wore caps of skin on their heads. The commander of all these was Badres son of Hystanes.

78. The Moschi wore wooden helmets on their heads, and carried shields and small spears with long points. The Tibareni and Macrones and Mossynoeici in the army were equipped like the Moschi. Their commanders who marshalled them were, for the Moschi and Tibareni, Ariomardus son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus’ son Smerdis; for the Macrones and Mossynoeici, Artaiectes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont.

¹ From a district bordered by Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycia.
79. Μάρης δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφάλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀστίδας δὲ δερμάτινα μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχωι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφάλῆς κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀστίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῦνας μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἱρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεώστιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχωι ὁπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρως ἱρχε.

80. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νῆσον δὲ ἐν τῇ τοὺς ἀναστά- στους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτῳ τῶν Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθήτα τε καὶ ὀπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἱρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίον, διὰ ἐν Μυκάλη στρατηγεύων δευτέρῳ ἐτεί τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81. Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ᾽ ἡπειρον στρατεύομενα τε ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζὸν. τούτων ὡμ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἱρχον μὲν οὕτωι οἱ περ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαρθμήσαντες οὕτωι ἤσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἐκατον- τάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνεῶν ἤσαν ἄλλοι σημαντορεῖς.

82. Ἡσαν μὲν δὴ οὕτωι οἱ περ εἰρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατηγεύων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρύνεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὕτωι ἀδελφεῖς παῖδες, Ἐρέξε, δὲ ἐγώνυτο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης

1 479.
79. The Mares wore on their heads the plaited helmets of their country, carrying small shields of hide and javelins. The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears, and swords withal. The commander of the Mares and Colchians was Pharandates son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and Saspires in the army were armed like the Colchians; Masistius son of Siromitres was their commander.

80. The island tribes that came from the Red Sea, and from the islands where the king plants those who are called Exiles, wore dress and armour likest to the Median. The commander of these islanders was Mardontes son of Bagaeus, who in the next year,¹ being then general at Mycale, was there slain in the fight.

81. These are the nations that marched by the mainland and had their places in the land army. Of this host the commanders were those of whom I have spoken, and these were they that marshalled and numbered the host and appointed captains of thousands and ten thousands, the captains of ten thousands appointing the captains of hundreds and of tens. Others too there were, leaders of troops and nations.²

82. The commanders then were as aforesaid. The generals of these and of the whole land army were Mardonius son of Gobryas, Tritantaechmes son of that Artabanus who counselled that there should be no expedition against Hellas, Smerdomenes son of Otanes (these two latter were sons of Darius' brethren, whereby they were Xerxes' cousins),

² That is, native leaders, not the regular officers of the army.
63. Οὕτως ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζῶν χωρίς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγεε μὲν 'Τδάρνης ὁ ὤδάριος, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ ἅθανατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὕτως ἔπε τούδε· εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔξελπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἡ διανάτῳ βεβείης ἡ νοῦσω, ἀλλός ἀνήρ ἀραύρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὖδαμα οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσωνες. κόσμου δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο δια πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀριστοὶ ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτῃ εἶχον ἡ περ ἐξήρηται, χωρίς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἀρμα- μάξας τε ἄμα ήγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακάς καὶ θερα- τήν πολλήν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασμένην· σιτα δὲ σφί, χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν, κάμηλοι τε καὶ ὑποξύγια ἤγον.

64. 'Ἰππεῦει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνε'; πλῆν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἢππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτῇ ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλῆν ἐπὶ τῇς κεφαλήσι εἶχον ἐνιοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκας καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

65. Εἰςὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικῶν καὶ φωνή, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτιβίκης· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἢππον ὀκτακισχίλην, ὡσποῦ δὲ αὐτὸν νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειρίδιων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι πεπλεγμένησι ἐξ ἰμάντων ταύτῃς πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἦδε· ἔπεαν συμμίσγουσι τοῖς πολε- μώσι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἀκροὶ βρόχους.
Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, Gergis son of Ariazus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.

83. These were the generals of the whole land army, saving the Ten Thousand; Hydarnes son of Hydarnes was general of these picked ten thousand Persians, who were called Immortals for this reason, that when any one of them fell out of the number by force of death or sickness, another was chosen, and so they were never more or fewer than ten thousand. The Persians showed of all the richest adornment, and were themselves the best in the army. Their equipment was such as I have recorded; over and above this they made a brave show with the abundance of gold that they had; carriages withal they brought, bearing concubines and servants many and well equipped; and their food was brought to them on camels and beasts of burden, apart from the rest of the army.

84. There are horsemen in these nations, yet not all of them furnished cavalry, but only such as I will show: first the Persians, equipped like their foot, save that some of them wore headgear of hammered bronze and iron.

85. There are also certain nomads called Sagartian; they are Persian in speech, and the fashion of their equipment is somewhat between the Persian and the Pactyan; they furnished eight thousand horsemen. It is their custom to carry no armour of bronze or iron, save daggers only, and to use ropes of twisted leather.¹ In these they trust when they go to battle; and this is their manner of fighting: when they are at close quarters with their enemy, they throw their ropes, these having a noose at the end;

¹ i.e. lassoes.
ξούσας· οτευ δ’ ἄν τοὺχη, ἢν τε ἔπου ἡν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ’ ἐωντόν ἐλκει· οὗ δε ἐν ἔρκειε ἐμπαλασόμενοι διαφθείρονται.

86. Τούτων μὲν αὐτὴ ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίοσιοι ὀσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἰλαυνὸν δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἀρματὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρμασὶ ὑπῆραν ὕπποι καὶ οὗοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκενάδατο ὀσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Δίβνες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἰλαυνὸν δὲ καὶ οὗοι πάντες ἀρματα. δὲ δ’ αὐτῶς Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνωι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἰλαυνὸν δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτήτα οὐ λειπομένας ὕπποιν.

87. Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μοῦνα ἱππεύει. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἱπποῦ ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμη- λῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἐσχάτων ἐπετετάχατο· ἀτε γὰρ τῶν ἱππῶν οὕτω ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμηλίους, ἵπποι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβεῖτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

88. Ἡππαρχοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συν- ἱππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέειπτο ἐν Σάρδιοι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὀρμῶντο ἐκ Σαρδών, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιπέτεισε ἀνεθέλητων ἐλαύνοντι γἀρ οἱ ὑπὸ τὸσ πόδας τοῦ ἱπποῦ ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἱππός οὐ προιδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὰς ἀπεσεῖτο τὸν Φαρνούχηα, πεσὼν δὲ αἰμά τε ἦμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσων περὶ ἡν νοῦσος. τὸν δὲ
and whatever they catch, be it horse or man, the thrower drags it to himself, and the enemy thus entangled in the prisoning coils is slain.

86. This is their manner of fighting; their place in the army was with the Persians. The Median horse were equipped like their foot, and the Cissians likewise. The Indians were armed in like manner as their foot; they rode swift horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped as were their foot, and the Caspians in like manner. The Libyans too were armed like the men of their infantry, and all of them too drove chariots. So likewise the Caspians and Paricanians were armed as the men of their infantry. The Arabians had the same equipment as the men of their infantry, and all of them rode on camels no less swift than horses.

87. These nations alone are riders; and the number of the horsemen was shown to be eighty thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. All the rest of the riders were ranked in their several troops, but the Arabians were posted hindmost; for the horses not enduring the sight of camels, their place was in the rear, that so the horses might not be affrighted.

88. The captains of horse were Harmamithres and Tithaeus, sons of Datis; the third who was captain with them, Pharnuches, had been left behind sick at Sardis. For as they set forth from Sardis, an unwelcome mishap befel him; a dog ran under the feet of the horse that he rode, and the horse taken unawares reared up and threw Pharnuches; after his fall he vomited blood and his hurt turned to a
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

'ιππον αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευεν ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκεταὶ ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖς γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρμούχης μὲν οὖτω παρελύθη τῆς ῥγεμονίας.

89. Τῶν δὲ τριηρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαί καὶ χίλιαί, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἴδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροισι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίαις, ὥδε ἐσκευασμένοι περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κυμέας εἰχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θάρηκας λινέας, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἢτοι οὐκ ἔχουσας εἰχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιόν ὀλίσσον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ερυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίης οἰκέσθω τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς δὲ Συρίης τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Ἀἰγύπτου πάν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέσται. Ἀἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίαις. οὕτω δὲ εἰχον περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἢτοι μεγάλας ἔχουσας, καὶ δόρατα τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἰχον.

90. Οὕτωι μὲν οὖτω ἑστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὥδε τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρησι οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰχον κιθώνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσὶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰορκίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύμνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοίνικης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.
BOOK VII. 88–90

wasting sickness. The horse was straightway dealt with according to Pharnuches' command; his servants led it away to the place where it had thrown their master, and cut off its legs at the knee. Thus it was that Pharnuches lost his captaincy.

89. The number of the triremes was shown to be twelve hundred and seven; and these were they that furnished them. First, the Phoenicians; they, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. For their equipment, they had on their heads helmets well-nigh of Greek fashion; they wore linen breastplates, and carried shields without rims, and javelins. These Phoenicians dwelt in old time, as they themselves say, by the Red Sea; passing over from thence, they now inhabit the sea-coast of Syria; that part of Syria and as much of it as reaches to Egypt, is all called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships. These wore plaited helmets, and carried hollow shields with broad rims, and spears for sea-warfare, and great poleaxes. The greater part of them wore cuirasses and carried long swords.

90. Such was their armour: the Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships; for their equipment, their princes wore turbans wrapped round their heads; the people wore tunics, but in all else were like the Greeks. Their tribes are these: some are from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phoenice, and some from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say.

1 That is, the entire population contains everywhere these component parts; they are not locally separate.
91. Κήλικες δὲ ἐκατὼν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δὲ αὐ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαυσία δὲ ἐίχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἄμοβσεὶς πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθώνας εἰρινεύους ἐνδεδυκότες. δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἐκαστὸς καὶ ξίφος εἴχον, ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ἀγνυπτήσει μαχαίρησι πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν 'Τπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο, ἔπὶ δὲ Κήλικος τοῦ Ἄγημορος ἀνδρός Φώσικος ἐσχον τὴν ἐπιώνυμην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἐλληνικοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐσκενασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἔκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἀμα 'Αμφίλόχο καὶ Κάλχαντι.

92. Δύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θαρηκοφόροι τε ἑοντες καὶ κινημιδοφέροι, ἐίχον δὲ τόξα κρανέινα καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγός δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὠμοὺς αἰωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς πίλους πτεροῦσι περιεστεφανωμένους ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἴχον. Δύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἔπὶ δὲ Δύκιον τοῦ Παυδίους ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἐσχον τὴν ἐπιώνυμην.

93. Δωρίες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἄσιης τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἑχοντες τε Ἐλληνικά ὀπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κάρες δὲ ἐβδομηκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες ἐσταλμένου, εἴχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ ὀίτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν λόγων εἰρηται.

94. Ἰωνεὶς δὲ ἐκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο ἑσκενασμένοι ὡς Ἐλληνες. Ἰωνεὶς δὲ ὑσιν μὲν χρόνου ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεου τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαίην, καὶ πρὶν ἡ Δαναών τε καὶ Ἐσθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς 396
91. The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. These, too, wore on their heads the helmets of their country, carrying bucklers of raw oxhide for shields, and clad in woollen tunics; each had two javelins and a sword fashioned well-nigh like the falchions of Egypt. These Cilicians were in old time called Hypachaei, and took the name they bear from Cilix a Phoenician, son of Agenor.¹ The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships: they were armed like Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the dispersal who followed Amphilochochus and Calchas.

92. The Lycians furnished fifty ships; they wore cuirasses and greaves, carrying bows of cornel-wood and unfeathered arrows and javelins; goat-skins hung from their shoulders, and they wore on their heads caps set about with feathers; daggers they had too, and scimitars. The Lycians were of Cretan descent, and were once called Termilae; they took the name they bear from Lycus, an Athenian, son of Pandion.

93. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; their armour was Greek; they were of Peloponnesian descent. The Carians furnished seventy ships; they had scimitars and daggers, but for the rest Greek equipment. Of them I have spoken in the beginning of my history,² telling by what name they were formerly called.

94. The Ionians furnished a hundred ships; their equipment was like the Greek. These Ionians, as long as they were in the Peloponnesian dwelling in what is now called Achaia, before Danaus and

¹ Agenor appears to represent the Phoenician Baal.
² In I. 171.
Πελοπόννησον, ὡς "Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλεῖς, ἕπὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἰωνες.

95. Ἡσιώται δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὃπλισμένοι ὡς "Ἐλληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὼν ἔθνος; ὑστέρου δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυσδεκαπόλεις Ἰωνες οἱ ἀπ᾿ Ἀθηναίων. Ἀιδλέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς "Ἐλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοὶ, ὡς Ἐλλήνων λόγος. Ἐλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἄβυδηνοις γὰρ προσετέκτωκο ἐκ βασιλέως κατὰ χώρην μένουσι φύλακας εἰναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατεύμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἐκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς "Ἐλληνες. οὕτωι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριέων ἀποικοί.

96. Ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδοι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοιι αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἤγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ἐξέρχομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐθνεος ἐκάστου ἑπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἤγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἐθνεῖ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλις τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἤγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἰπόντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἂλλι ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι ἔπει στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνεὼν ἐκάστων, ὡσὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι.

97. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατηγευν Ἀριαβηγνη
Xuthus came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, were called Aegialian Pelasgians; they were named Ionians after Ion the son of Xuthus.

95. The islanders furnished seventeen ships; they were armed like Greeks; they also were of Pelasgian stock, which was later called Ionian by the same right as were the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came from Athens. The Aeolians furnished sixty ships; they were equipped like Greeks; in former days they were called Pelasgian, as the Greek story goes. Of the people of the Hellespont, they of Abydos had been charged by the king to abide at home and guard the bridges; the rest that came from Pontus with the army furnished a hundred ships, and were equipped like Greeks. They were settlers from the Ionians and Dorians.

96. There were fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae on all the ships. The best sailing ships were furnished by the Phoenicians, and among them by the Sidonians. These, like those of them that were ranked in the land army, had their native leaders severally, whose names I do not record, as not being needful for the purpose of my history; for these several leaders of nations are not worthy of mention, and every city, too, of each nation had a leader of its own. These came not as generals but as slaves, like the rest of the armament; who the generals of supreme authority were, and who the Persian commanders of each nation, I have already said.

97. Of the navy, the admirals were Ariabignes

1 Herodotus generally uses the name “Pelasgian” for the oldest known population of Greece: cp. I. 146; II. 171.

2 For the twelve cities, see I. 142.
Τε ο Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάστης ο' Ασπαθίνων καὶ Μεγάβαζος ο' Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Άρχαμένης ο' Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρυκῆς στρατηγῆς Άριαβλίγης ο' Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρίνων θυγατρός. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατηγεῖ Ἀρχαμένης Ξέρχεω ἑών ἀπ' ἀμφότερον ἀδέλφεος, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατηγῆς ἐστρατῆγεον οἱ δύο. τριθίκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἰππαγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τοὺς ἀριθμόν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.

98. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλέοντων μετά γε τούς στρατηγοὺς οἳ δὲ ἤσαι ὅνομαστότατοι, Σεδώνιος Τετράμυνης Άνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτῆν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Σινέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Δύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριος Γόργος τε ο Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμώναξ ο Τιμαγόρεως, καὶ Καρόν Ιστιαίος τε ο Τύμυνης τον Ἀσσαλοῦμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ο Κανδαύλεω.

99. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένειναι ταξιάρχου ός οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἤτοι ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρός αὐτῆς τε ἐξουσία τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νευτίως ὑπὸ λήματος τε καὶ ἀνδραίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμίης οἱ ἐσύνης ἀναγκαίης. οὖνομα μὲν δὴ ἢν αὐτῆς Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἢν Δυνάμιος, γενόμεν δὲ ἐξ Ἀλκαρυνησίου τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρῖθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρυσσέως καὶ Κώινων καὶ Νιούριω δε καὶ Καλυδίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένης καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατηγῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων.
son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Megabazus son of Megabates, and Achaemenes son of Darius, Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, being admiral of the Ionian and Carian fleet; the admiral of the Egyptians was Achaemenes, full brother to Xerxes, and the two others were admirals of the rest. As for the ships of thirty and of fifty oars, and light galleys, and great transports for horses, the sum of them altogether was shown to be three thousand.

98. Of those that were on shipboard, the most famous, after the admirals, were these: Tetramnestus of Sidon, son of Anysus, Matten of Tyre, son of Siromus, Merbalus of Aradus, son of Agbalus, Syennesis of Cilicia, son of Oromedon, Cyberniscus of Lycia, son of Sicas, Gorgus son of Chersis, and Timonax son of Timagoras, Cyprians both; and of the Carians, Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules.

99. I name none of the rest of the captains, having no need so to do, save only Artemisia, who moves me to marvel greatly that a woman should have gone with the armament against Hellas; for her husband being dead, she herself had his sovereignty and a young son withal, and followed the host under no stress of necessity, but of mere high-hearted valour. Artemisia was her name; she was daughter to Lygdamis, on her father's side of Halicarnassian lineage, and a Cretan on her mother's. She was the leader of the men of Halicarnassus and Cos and Nisyrus and Calydnos, furnishing five ships. Her ships were reputed the best in the whole fleet after the ships of Sidon; and of all his allies she
HERODOTUS

γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλέως ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλῶν ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἐθνὸς ἀποφαίνω πάν ἐνῶ Δωρικῶν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίως. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐβριται.

100. Ἐρέξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ήριθμῷν τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξέλασας θεὴσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἁρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκαστόν ἐπινυθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματίσται, ἐως ἕξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἱπποῦ καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥσ δὲ ταῦτα ὃ ἐπεποίησε, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισῶν ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ἐρέξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἁρματος ἐς νέα Σιδώνιην ἡκτο ὑπὸ σκηνῆς χρυσῆ καὶ παρέπλευε παρὰ τάς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζόν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναυαρχοὶ ἀναγγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῇν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἔσπλαισαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθησείτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101. Ὁς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρχητον τὸν Ἀριστωντος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἰρετο τάδε. "Δημάρχητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἥδυ τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἐλλήνως τε, καὶ ὅσον ἐγὼ πυνθίνωται σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὐτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν οὐ μοι τὸ δὲ φρίσον, εἰ Ἐλληνες ὑπομεινόντοι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ, ὅσ ἐγὼ δοκέω,
BOOK VII. 99-101
gave the king the best counsels. The cities, whereof I said she was the leader, are all of Dorian stock, as I can show, the Halicarnassians being of Troezen, and the rest of Epidaurus. Here ends what I have said of the fleet.

100. When his host had been numbered and marshalled, Xerxes had a desire to ride through and view it. This he presently did; riding in a chariot past the men of each nation, he questioned them, and his scribes wrote all down, till he had gone from end to end of the horse and foot. This done, and the ships being drawn down and launched in the sea, Xerxes alighted from his chariot into a ship of Sidon, sitting wherein under a golden canopy he was carried past the prows of the ships, questioning of them in like manner as of the army and making the answers to be written down. The captains put out as far as four hundred feet from the shore, and there kept the ships anchored in a line, their prows turned landward, and the fighting men on them armed as for war; Xerxes viewed them, passing between the prows and the land.

101. Having passed by all his fleet likewise and disembarked from his ship, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was marching with him against Hellas, and called and questioned him, saying: “Now, Demaratus, it is my pleasure to ask you what I would fain know. You are a Greek, and, as I am told by you and the other Greeks that converse with me, a man of not the least nor the weakest of Greek cities. Now therefore tell me this: will the Greeks offer me battle and abide my coming? For

1 The exiled king of Sparta; see ch. 3.
οὐ” εἰ πάντες “Ελληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρῃς οἰκέοντες ἀνδρωποί συλλεχθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπίωντα ὑπομείναν, μὴ ἔόντες ἀρθμοί. θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὅκοιον τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “Βασιλεὺς, κότερα ἀληθείᾳ χρῆσομαι πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἡδονὴ;” ὁ δὲ μιν ἀληθείᾳ χρῆσασθαί ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδὲν οἱ ἀνδρείας ἑσσαθαὶ ἡ πρὸτερον ἢν.

102. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἣκουσε Δημάρχης, ἐλεγε τάδε. “Βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρῆσασθαὶ πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενοι τις ὑστερον ἦπο σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἐλλάδι πενίῃ μὲν αἰεὶ κατε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετῆ δὲ ἐπακτὸς ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ τε σοφίας κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμον ἱσχυρὸν. τῇ διαχρεωμένῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνεῖο μὲν νῦν πάντως Ἑλλήνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκέλους τοὺς Δωρυκοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Ἀκεδαμούνων μοῦνων, πρότα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ ὁκως κοτέ σοις δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἐλλάδι, αὕτις δὲ ως ἀντιώσονται τοι εἰς μάχην καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλήνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πῦθη ὅσοι τινεῖς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἶοι τε εἰσίν. ἢν τε γὰρ τύχωσι εὖστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχητοῦνται τοι, ἢν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἢν τε καὶ πλεῦνες.”

103. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἑρέξης γελάσας ἔφη “Δημάρχητε, οἷον ἐφθέγξασα ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους στρατιῶ τοσῷδε μαχησθαῖν. ἀγε εἰπέ μοι σὺ ἔρξ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι.” 404
to my thinking, even if all the Greeks and all the men of the western lands were assembled together, they are not of power to abide my attack, if they be not in accord. Nathless I would fain learn your mind and hear what you say of them." To this question Demaratus made answer, "O king, must I speak truly, or so as to please you?" Xerxes bade him speak the truth, and said that he would lose none of the king's favour thereby.

102. Hearing that, "O king," said Demaratus, "seeing that you bid me by all means speak the whole truth, and say that which you shall not afterwards prove to be false,—in Hellas poverty is ever native to the soil, but courage comes of their own seeking, the fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of courage Hellas defends herself from poverty and tyranny. Now I say nought but good of all Greeks that dwell in those Dorian lands; yet it is not of all that I would now speak, but only of the Lacedaemonians; and this I say of them; firstly, that they will never accept conditions from you that import the enslaving of Hellas; and secondly, that they will meet you in battle, yea, even though all the rest of the Greeks be on your side. But, for the number of them, ask me not how many these men are, who are like to do as I say; be it of a thousand men, or of more or of fewer than that, their army will fight with you."

103. Hearing that, Xerxes smiled, and said, "A strange saying, Demaratus! that a thousand men should fight with a host so great as mine! I pray you tell me this: you were (you say) these men's
HERODOTUS

σὺ δὲν ἔθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶν τοιοῦτον ὅλον σὺ διαίρεσις, σὲ γε τὸν κείσων βασιλεὰ πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείσων ἐκαστὸς δέκα ἄνδρῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστί, σὲ δὲ γε δίζημαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον. καὶ οὔτω μὲν ὀρθοῦτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοιοῦτοι, ὅσοι σὺ τε καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐμὲ φοίτωσι Ἑλλήνων ἡς λόγους αὐχέετε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἡ. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἵδω παυτί τὸ οἰκότι κώς ἂν δυναίατο χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισίμφριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῷς ἀντιστήναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνες περὶ ἕνα ἐκαστὸν γινόμεθα ἡ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὕπο μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τροπὸ τῶν ἡμέτερον γενοίατ' ἄν, δειμαίνοντες τούτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑωτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ίον ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστυνι ἐς πλεύνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνείμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιέοιεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἐγώνε καὶ ἀνισοθέντας πληθεὶς χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλλήνας Πέρσηι μούνοις μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι τούτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἐστὶ γε μὲν οὐ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἔμων αἱρμόφοροι οὐ ἔθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῖ μάχεςθαι τῶν σὺ ἐδω ἀπειρος πολλὰ φλυτρείς."  

104. Πρὸς ταύτα Δημάρητος λέγει "Ὤ βασιλεῦ,
king: will you consent at this present to fight with ten men? Yet if the order of your state be such as you define it to be,¹ you, being their king should rightly encounter twice as many according to your laws; for if each of those Greeks is a match for ten men of my army, then it is plain to me that you must be a match for twenty. That were a proof that what you say is true; but if you Greeks who so exalt yourselves are like in stature and all else to yourself and those of your nation who have audience of me, then beware lest the words you have spoken be but idle boasting. Nay, let us look at it by plain reason’s light: how should a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, if they be all alike free and not under the rule of one man, withstand so great a host as mine? For grant your Greeks to be five thousand, we should so be more than a thousand to one. For, were they under the rule of one according to our custom, they might from fear of him show a valour greater than natural, and under compulsion of the lash might encounter odds in the field; but neither of these would they do while they were suffered to be free. For myself, I think that even were they equal in numbers it would go hard with the Greeks to fight against the Persians alone. Not so; it is we alone and none others that have this skill whereof you speak, yet even of us not many but a few only; there are some among my Persian spearmen that will gladly fight with three Greeks at once; of this you have no knowledge and do but utter arrant folly.”

104. To this Demaratus answered, “O king, I

¹ This no doubt alludes to the double portion given to a Spartan king at feasts; cp. VI. 57.
ἀρχήθηκεν ἡπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθεία χρεώμενος οὐ 
φίλα τοι ἔρεω· σὺ δ’ ἐπεὶ ἡνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν 
λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα 
Σπαρτιήτησι. καὶ τοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν 
tάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπι-
στεαί, οἱ με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πα-
τρῶα ἀπολίων τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι, πατὴρ 
de σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἴκον ἔδωκε. 
οὐκὼν οἴκος ἔστι ἀνδρὰ τὸν σώφρονα 
εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέονται, ἀλλὰ στέργειν 
μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι 
οἴς τε εἰναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυναῖ, ἐκὼν τε εἰναι 
οὐδ’ ἃν μονομαχέομι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖη εἰς ἡ 
μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἁγών, μαχοῖμην ἄν πάντων 
ἡδίστα ἐν τούτων τῶν ἂνδρῶν οὐ Ἐλλήνων ἐκα-
στος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιοι εἰναι. ὃς δὲ καὶ Δακε-
δαμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἔνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰς 
κακίους ἂνδρῶν, ἁλλὰς δὲ ἁριστοὶ ἂνδρῶν ἄπαν-
tων. ἔλευθεροι γὰρ ἐχόντες οὐ πάντα ἔλευθεροι 
eἰςι· ἐπεστὶ γὰρ σφὶ δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑπο-
dειμαίνοντα πολλῷ ἐτί μᾶλλον ἣ οἱ σοὶ σε. 
ποιεῦσι γόν τὰ ἂν ἔκεινος ἀνώγηγος ἀνώγης δὲ τῶν 
ἀιεί, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἄνθρωπον ἐκ 
μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας εὖ τῇ τάξι ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ 
ἀπόλλυσαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων 
φλυρέειν, τάλα σιγὰν θέλω τὸ λοιπὸν νῦν τε 
ἀναγκασθείς ἔλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον 
tοι, βασιλεῦ.”

105. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐς 
γέλωτα τε ἔτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησατο ὅργην 
oυδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἦπιος αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ 
de ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ἐρέξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ 
408
knew from the first that the truth would be unwelcome to you. But since you constrained me to speak as truly as I could, I have told you how it stands with the Spartans. Yet you yourself best know what love I bear them—men that have robbed me of my honourable office and the prerogative of my house, and made me a cityless exile; then it was your father that received me and gave me dwelling and livelihood. It is not then to be thought that a right-minded man will reject from him plain good will, but rather that he will requite it with full affection. But for myself, I will not promise that I can fight with ten men, no, nor with two, and of my own will I would not even fight with one; yet under stress of necessity, or of some great issue to spur me on, I would most gladly fight with one of those men who claim to be each a match for three Greeks. So is it with the Lacedaemonians; fighting singly they are as brave as any man living, and together they are the best warriors on earth. Free they are, yet not wholly free; for law is their master, whom they fear much more than your men fear you. This is my proof—what their law bids them, that they do; and its bidding is ever the same, that they must never flee from the battle before whatsoever odds, but abide at their post and there conquer or die. If this that I say seems to you but foolishness, then let me hereafter hold my peace; it is under constraint that I have now spoken. But may your wish, O king! be fulfilled."

105. Thus Demaratus answered; Xerxes made a jest of the matter and showed no anger, but sent him away with all kindness. Having thus conversed
Δορίσκω τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστεω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα κατα-παύσας, ἐξῆλαυν τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρήκης ἔπι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

106. Κατέληπτε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιούτου Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ἐέρξῃς δώρα πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε ἡ Δαρείος ὑπάρχους, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ἐέρξεω τοῖσι Μασκα-μείοις ἐκγόνοις. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἐτὶ πρότερον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπάρχοι ἐν τῇ Θρήκη καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῦ. οὗτοι ὅποι πάντες οἳ τε ἐκ Θρήκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλῆν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ύστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηγιασίας ἐξαιρέθησαν τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ καὶ ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελείν πολλῶν πειρησμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ τὰ δώρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃ.

107. Τὸν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ἐέρξης ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον τὸν ἐξ Ἡμίωνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιεύντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃ παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αὐνὸν μεγά-λον ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὅς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολυορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεῖν αὐτῷ ὑπόστουν ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἦθελησε, μὴ δειλὴ δόξει περείναι βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ες τὸ ἐσχατον. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἐτὶ φορβῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τὸ τείχεῖ, συνυήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἐσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰς παλακᾶς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἐπειτα

410
with Demaratus, and having appointed Mascames son of Megadostes his viceroy of that same Doriscus, deposing him whom Darius had set there, Xerxes marched his army through Thrace towards Hellas.

106. This Mascames, whom he left, so bore himself that to him alone Xerxes ever sent gifts, as being the most valiant of all the viceroys that he or Darius set up; every year he would send them; and so too did Artoxerxes his son to Mascames' descendants. For before this march, viceroys had been appointed everywhere in Thrace and on the Hellespont. All these in that country, except the viceroy of Doriscus, were after this expedition dispossessed by the Greeks; but Mascames of Doriscus could never be dispossessed by any, though many essayed it. For this cause it is that the gifts are sent by whoever is at any time king of Persia.

107. Of those who were dispossessed by the Greeks there was none whom king Xerxes deemed a valiant man except only Boges, from whom they took Eion. But this Boges he never ceased praising, and gave very great honour to his sons who were left alive in Persia; and indeed Boges proved himself worthy of all praise. Being besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, he might have departed under treaty from Eion and so returned to Asia; yet he would not, lest the king should think that he had saved his life out of cowardice, but he resisted to the last. Then, when there was no food left within his walls, he piled up a great pyre and slew and cast into the fire his children and wife and concubines and servants;
HERODOTUS

ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος καὶ τὸν ἀργυρον ἐσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωτυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὐτω μὲν οὕτω δικαιώς αἰνέται ἐτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

108. Ἐέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἴνα καθαρίσῃ ἐξεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης πάσα καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφαμένου καὶ ύστερον Μαρδονίου. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ Δορίσκου πρώτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλυσται πρὸς ἑσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Ἰσαίων πόλις Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Δίσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει, ὅς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὑδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ἐέρξεω στρατῷ ἅλλῳ ἐπέλιπτε. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὐτὴ πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέσετο Γαλλαϊκῆ, νῦν δὲ Βριαντικῆ ἐστὶ μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὐτῇ Κικόνων.

109. Διαβάς δὲ τοῦ Δίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήγε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα λίμνας ὁνομαστάς τάσδε, Μαρώνειας μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐστειλαὶ τὸ ὑδωρ, Τραϊῶς τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐνταῦθαν ὀνομαστὴν παραμείπατο Ἐέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ἰέντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ
after that, he took all the gold and silver from the city and scattered it from the walls into the Strymon; which done, he cast himself into the fire. Thus it is that he is justly praised by the Persians to this day.

108. From Doriscus Xerxes went on his way towards Hellas, compelling all that he met to go with his army; for, as I have before shown, all the country as far as Thessaly had been enslaved and was tributary to the king, by the conquests of Megabazus and Mardonius after him. On his road from Doriscus he first passed the Samothradian fortresses,¹ whereof that one which is builded farthest westwards is a town called Mesambria. Next to it is a Thasian town, Stryme; between them runs the river Lisus, which now could not furnish water enough for Xerxes' army, but was exhausted. All this region was once called Gallaic, but it is now called Briantic; yet it too is by rights a land of the Cicones.

109. Having crossed the bed (then dried up) of the river Lisus he passed by the Greek cities of Maronea, Dicaea, and Abdera. Past these he went, and past certain lakes of repute near to them, the Ismarid lake that lies between Maronea and Stryme, and near Dicaea the Bistonian lake, into which the rivers Travus and Compsantus disembogue. Near Abdera Xerxes passed no lake of repute, but crossed the river Nestus where it flows into the sea. From

¹ Erected doubtless by the Samothracians to protect their possessions on the mainland.
δὲ ταύτας τὰς χῶρας ἵδιν τὰς ἥπειρωτίδας πόλεις παρῆι, τῶν ἐν μιᾷ λίμνῃ έουσα τυγχάνει ὡσεί τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἅλμυρή· ταύτην τὰ ὑποξύγια μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρησε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.

110. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἐλληνιδας ἐξ ἐνωνύμων χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξῆς· ἔθνεα δὲ Ἐθνικῶν δι' ὅν τῆς χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεσα τοσάδε, Παίτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπάιοι Δερσαίοι Ὤνδον Σάτραι. τούτων οἵ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇ σι νησὶ εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσόγαιαν οἰκέοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ἅπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἵ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο.

111. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός καὶ ἄνθρωπων ὑπήκουοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν, ἄλλα διατελεύσει τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Ἐθνικῶν· οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ ὅρεα ψῆφιά, ἴδοςί τε παντοτιθαί καὶ χίονι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀκροί. οὕτω οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον εἰςὶ ἐκτημένοι· τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων τῶν ψήφιατῶν, Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰςὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἰδοῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

112. Παραμείπαμενος δὲ ὁ Ἐρέξις τὴν εἰρήμενη, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείπετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνι Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἑτέρῳ Πέργαμος. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα
these regions he passed by the cities of the mainland, one whereof has near it a lake of about thirty furlongs in circuit, full of fish and very salt; this was drained dry by no more than the watering of the beasts of burden. This town is called Pistyrus.

110. Past these Greek towns of the sea-board Xerxes marched, keeping them on his left; the Thracian tribes through whose lands he journeyed were the Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaei, Dersaei, Edoni, and Satrae.1 Of these tribes they that dwelt by the sea followed his host on shipboard; they that dwelt inland, whose names I have recorded, were constrained to join with his land army, all of them save the Satrae.

111. But these Satrae, as far as our knowledge goes, have never yet been subject to any man; they alone of all Thracians have ever been and are to this day free; for they dwell on high mountains covered with forests of all kinds and snow; and they are warriors of high excellence. It is they who possess the place of divination sacred to Dionysus; which place is among the highest of their mountains; the Bessi, a clan of the Satrae, are the prophets of the shrine, and it is a priestess that utters the oracle, as at Delphi; nor is aught more of mystery here than there.2

112. Passing through the land aforesaid Xerxes next passed the fortresses of the Pierians, one called Phagres and the other Pergamus. By this way he

1 All these are tribes of the Nestus and Strymon valleys or the intervening hill country.

2 Hdt. appears to mean that the method of divination is the "usual" one, as at Delphi; perhaps there were exaggerated accounts of the mysterious rites of the Bessi.
HERODOTUS

τὴν ὅδον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργιον, ἔδω μέγα τε καὶ υψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἕνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιερές τε καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113. Ἡπευκέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παιώνας Δόβηρας τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξίων ἡμὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἦς ὅ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὼν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἄργον, τῆς ἐπὶ ἥως ἐδὼ ἡρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τοῦτον λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ὧ δὲ γῇ αὐτῇ ὑ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἁγγίτην ἐκδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τεῖνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἶ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ὑπ' οὐς λευκοὺς.

114. Φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἐννέα ὀδοῖς τῆς Ἡδονῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὑρόντες ἐξενιμένων. Ἐννέα δὲ ὀδοὺς πυθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τούτον καλέσθαι, τοσοῦτος ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἄνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώοντας κατάρωσαν. Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώοντας κατορύσσευν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν τῆς Ἑρξεως γυναῖκα πυθανόμεναι ἔχονται μεγάλαι ἐπιτάμειας ἄνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἰναι θεῷ ἀντιχείσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.

115. Ὀς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμένων ἔστη 416
BOOK VII. 112-115

marched under their very walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaean range, wherein the Pierians and Odomanti and the Satrae in especial have mines of gold and silver.

113. Marching past the Paeonians, Doberes, and Paeoplae, who dwell beyond and northward of the Pangaean mountains, he went ever westwards, till he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eion, the governor whereof was that Boges, then still alive, of whom I have lately made mention. All this region about the Pangaean range is called Phyllis; it stretches westwards to the river Angites, which issues into the Strymon, and southwards to the Strymon itself; by that water the Magi slew white horses, offering thus sacrifice for good omens.

114. Having used these enchantments and many other besides on the river, they passed over it at the Edonian town of Nine Ways, by the bridges which they found thrown across it. There, learning that Nine Ways was the name of the place, they buried alive that number of boys and maidens, children of the people of the country. To bury alive is a Persian custom; I have heard that when Xerxes' wife Amestris attained to old age she buried fourteen sons of notable Persians, as a thank-offering on her own behalf to the fabled god of the nether world.

115. Journeying from the Strymon, the army passed by Argilus, a Greek town standing on a

---

1 In 112 Xerxes was marching along the coast; here he is far inland. Doubtless the explanation lies in the division of his army into three parallel columns (121).

2 About three miles above Eion on the Strymon.
aiγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργυλὸν πόλιν Ἑλλάδα
παρεξήνει: αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης
καλέσαι Βισιλτί. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κόλπον τῶν
ἐπὶ Ποσιδίνιου ἢς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχον ἦν διὰ
Σύλεος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρου πόλιν
Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀκαν-
θον, ἀμα ἁγόμενος τούτων ἐκαστον τῶν ἑβνέων
καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκεότων, ὁμοίως
καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θά-
λασσαν ἔχον οἰκημένους ἐκ νησιὶ στρατευμένους,
τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ
οδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ἑρέξης τὸν στρατὸν
ἥλασε, οὕτε συγχέουσι Θρῆκες οὐτ' ἐπιστηροῦσι
σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

116. Ὄς δὲ ἀρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθὸν ἀπίκετο,
ζεύγην τε ὁ Ἑρέξης τοίσι Ἀκανθίοις προεῖπε
καὶ ἐδώρησατο σφέας ἑσθήτη Μηδική ἐπαινεῖ τε,
ὁρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους έόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούσων.

117. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ἑρέξεω συνήνεικε
ὑπὸ νοῦσον ἀπόθανειν τὸν ἐπεστεώτα τῆς διώρυ-
χος Ἀρταχαίην, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ἑρέξῃ καὶ
γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἐόντα
Περσῶν (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλῆιν ἀπέλειπτε
τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνεότα τε
μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὡστε Ἑρέξην συμφορῆν
ποιησαμένου μεγάλην ἐξενεῖκα τε αὐτὸν κάλ-
λιστα καὶ θάνατο: ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιν.
tοῦτω δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσί Ἀκάνθῖοι ἐκ
θεοπροπίου ὡς ἦρωι, ἐποιομάζουσι τὸ οὖνομα.

118. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἑρέξης ἀπολομένου

418
stretch of sea-coast further westwards; the territory of which town and that which lies inland of it are called Bisaltia. Thence, keeping on his left hand the gulf off Poseideion, Xerxes traversed the plain of Syleus (as they call it), passing by the Greek town of Stagirus, and came to Acanthus; he took along with him all these tribes, and those that dwelt about the Pangaean range, in like manner as those others whom I have already recorded, the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army. All this road, whereby king Xerxes led his army, the Thracians neither break up nor sow aught on it, but they hold it in great reverence to this day.

116. When Xerxes came to Acanthus, he declared the Acanthians his guests and friends, and gave them a Median dress, praising them for the zeal wherewith he saw them furthering his campaign, and for what he heard of the digging of the canal.

117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it so befel that Artachaees, overseer of the digging of the canal, died of a sickness. He was high in Xerxes' favour, an Achaemenid by lineage; he was the tallest man in Persia, lacking four finger-breadths of five royal cubits\(^1\) in stature, and his voice was the loudest on earth. Wherefore Xerxes mourned him greatly and gave him a funeral and burial of great pomp, and the whole army poured libations on his tomb. The Acanthians hold Artachaees a hero, and sacrifice to him, calling upon his name; this they do by the bidding of an oracle.

118. King Xerxes, then, mourned for the death of

---

\(^1\) This would make Artachaees eight feet high.
'Αρταχαίεως ἐποίετο συμφορήν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδε-κόμενοι Ἕλληνων τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνύουσει Ἐέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὔτω ὡστε ἀνά-στατοι ἐκ τῶν οἴκων ἐγίνοντο· ὥκου Θασίοιος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετερέων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ἐέρξεω στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνύοσαν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὄργεος ἀραιριμένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὀμοια τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δείπνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελε-σμένα.

119. Ὁς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἁλλησί πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστείλετο ἀπεδείκνυσαι τῶν λόγων, τὸ γὰρ δείπνου τοιόνδε τι ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνου προειρημένου καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ποιειμένων τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σίτου ἐν τῇ πόλισι οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἅλφια ἐποίειν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνοὺς· τούτῳ δὲ κτῆμαι ἐσπένον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμής τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρε-φόν τε ὀρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοισι, ἐς ὑποδοχαὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦτο δὲ χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτηρία τε καὶ κρητήρας ἐποιεύντο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τρώπεσαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ὀμποῦτοι μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπετοίητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐς φορβῆν μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκουσο ἡ στρατιᾷ, σκηνή μὲν ἐςκε πετηγυία ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτῶς σταθμὸν ποιεῖσκετο Ἐέρξης, ἡ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ ἐςκε ὑπαίθριος. ὡς δὲ δείπνου ἐγίνετο ὦρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἐξεσκοῦν πόνον, οἱ δὲ ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἁγά-γοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπᾶσαντες.
Artachaees. But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to the depth of misery, insomuch that they were driven from house and home; witness the case of the Thasians, who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatrus son of Orgeus, as notable a man as any of his towns-men, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner.

119. A like account was rendered in all the other cities by the controllers. For since the command for it had been given long before, and the matter was esteemed a weighty one, the dinner was somewhat on this wise: As soon as the townsmen had word from the heralds' proclamation, they divided corn among themselves in their cities and all of them for many months ground it to wheaten and barley meal; moreover they fed the finest beasts that money could buy, and kept landfowl and waterfowl in cages and ponds, for the entertaining of the army; and they made gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table. These latter were made for the king himself and those that ate with him; for the rest of the army they provided only what served for food. At the coming of the army, there was a pavilion built for Xerxes' own lodging, and his army abode in the open air. When the hour came for dinner, the hosts would have no light task; as for the army, when they had eaten their fill and passed the night there, on the next day they would rend the pavilion from the ground and take
καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὕτω ἀπελαύνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἄλλα φερόμενοι.

120. Ἕνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἐπος εὖ εἰρημένου ἐγένετο, ὁς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτης πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναίκας, ἐλθόντας ἐσ τὰ σφέτερα ἢρα ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιοντῶν κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἐχείν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἐρέχθης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτου αἰρέσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἄν Ἀβδηρίτης, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ἁμοια τῷ δεότινο παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ υπομένειν Ἐρέξην ἐπιοντα ἢ καταμείναντα κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβήναι.

121. Οὔ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὠμῶς τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπτελέον. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαῖῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἢς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὕτως τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· ταύτη γὰρ ἐπυρθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένον ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὄδον ἐποιεῖτο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ἐρέξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζόν στρατον, μιᾶν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵναι ὁμοί τῷ ναυτικῷ ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεου Μαρδῶνος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἐτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἢμε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεου Τριταυταίχης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρῶν, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ἐρέξης, ἢ μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν,
all things movable, and so march away, leaving nothing but carrying all with them.

120. It was then that there was a very apt saying uttered by one Megacreon of Abdera: he counselled his townsmen to go all together, men and women, to their temples, and there in all humility entreat the gods to defend them in the future from half of every threatened ill; and let them (so he counselled) thank the gods heartily for past favour, in that it was Xerxes' custom to take a meal only once a day; else, had they been commanded to furnish a breakfast of like fashion as the dinner, the people of Abdera would have had no choice but either to flee before Xerxes' coming, or to perish most miserably if they awaited him.

121. So the townsmen, hard put to it as they were, yet did as they were commanded. Quitting Acanthus, Xerxes sent his ships on their course away from him, giving orders to his generals that the fleet should await him at Therma, the town on the Thermaic gulf which gives the gulf its name; for this, he learnt, was his shortest way. For the order of the army's march, from Doriscus to Acanthus, had been such as I will show: dividing all his land army into three portions, Xerxes appointed one of them to march beside his fleet along the sea-coast, with Mardonius and Masistes for its generals; another third of the army marched as appointed further inland, under Tritantaechmes and Gergis; the third portion, with which went Xerxes himself,
στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρεῖχετο Σμερδομένεα τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

122. Ὅ μεν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ἐρέξεω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθω γενομένην, διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλις καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκηνταί, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοιτέων τῶν πολίων στρατιῆς παρέλαβε, ἐπλεε ἀπτέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτοι δὲ Ἀμπέλου τὴν Τορυναίην ἀκρὴν παρακείμενο Ἐλληνίδας γε τάσσει πόλις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιῆς παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψόν Σεμύλην Μηκύ-βεριαν Ὀλυνθόν.

123. Ἡ μὲν νυν χώρῃ αὐτὴ Σιθωνίη καλεῖται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ἐρέξεω συντάτιθεν ἂν ἂν Ἀμπέλου ἀκρῆς ἐπὶ Καναστραίην ἀκρῆν, τὸ δὲ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιῆς παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Λεγής καὶ Θερμαξίω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης· αὐταί γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλῆν πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρης καλεομένην νεμόμεναι, παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρη-μένου, παραλαμβάνου στρατιῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσ-εχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλῆν, ὀμουρευσάουν δὲ τῷ Θερμαῖῳ κόλπῳ, τῆς οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Δαπάξιος Κώμβρεεια Λίσα Γύγνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἴνεια· ἢ δὲ τοιτέων χώρῃ Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόν τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλοῦς καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδούην, πλέον
BOOK VII. 121-123

marched between the two, and its generals were Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

122. Now when the fleet had left Xerxes and sailed through the canal made in Athos (which canal reached to the gulf wherein stand the towns of Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarte), thence taking on board troops from these cities also, it stood out to sea for the Thermaic gulf, and rounding Ampelus, the headland of Torone, it passed the Greek towns of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, from all which it received ships and men.

123. This country is called Sithonia. The fleet held a straight course from the headland of Ampelus to the Canastraean headland, where Pallene runs farthest out to sea, and received ships and men from the towns of what is now Pallene but was formerly called Phlegra, to wit, Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aege, Therambus, Scione, Mende, and Sane. Sailing along this coast they made for the place appointed, taking troops from the towns adjacent to Pallene and near neighbours of the Thermaic gulf, whereof the names are Lipaxus, Combrea, Aesa, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, Aenea; whose territory is called Crossaea to this day. From Aenea, the last-named in my list of the towns, the course of the fleet lay thenceforward to the Thermaic gulf itself and the Mygdonian territory,
δε ἀπίκετο ἐσ τῇ τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδου τῇ πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τοῦ "Αξιοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅσον οὐρίζει χώρην τῇν Μυγδονίῃν τῇν καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τῷ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίων πόλεις Ἰχναὶ τῇ καὶ Πέλλα.

124. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ "Αξιοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιας τούτων περιμένων βασιλέα ἐστρατοπέδευτο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τῇν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐσ τῇ Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστονικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστονικῶν ἄρξαμενος ἰέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρης καὶ ἐξείπα παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ᾽ "Αξίῳ ποταμῷ.

125. Πορευμένῳ δὲ ταῦτῃ λέοντές οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇς σιτοφόροις καμήλουσι. καταφυτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα θεαὶ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίον οὔτε ἄνθρωπον, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους εκεράζουν μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τῷ αὐτιον, ὃ τι κοτὲ ἵν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇς καμήλοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὑπώπεσαν θηρίον μήτ᾽ ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

126. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βῶς ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρατα ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς "Ελληνας φοιτέοντα. οὕρος δὲ τοῖς λέονσι ἐστὶ ὁ τε δι᾽ Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι᾽ Ἀκαρνάνης ῥέων Ἀχέλως: οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡ ὁ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμῷ πάσης τῆς ἐμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἵδιος τις ἀν λέοντα, 426
till its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns of Sindus and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; this is the boundary, between the Mygdonian and the Bottiaean territory, wherein stand the towns of Ichnae and Pella on the narrow strip of sea-coast.

124. So the fleet lay there off the river Axius and the city of Therma and the towns between them, awaiting the king. But Xerxes and his land army marched from Acanthus by the straightest inland course, making for Therma. Their way lay through the Paeonian and the Crestonaean country to the river Cheidorus, which, rising in the Crestonaean land, flows through the Mygdonian country and issues by the marshes of the Axius.

125. As Xerxes thus marched, lions attacked the camels that carried his provision; nightly they would come down out of their lairs and made havoc of the camels alone, seizing nothing else, man or beast of burden; and I marvel what was the reason that constrained the lions to touch nought else but attack the camels, creatures whereof till then they had no sight or knowledge.

126. There are many lions in these parts, and wild oxen, whose horns are those very long ones which are brought into Hellas. The boundary of the lions' country is the river Nestus that flows through Abdera and the river Achelous that flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west...
oúte πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀσελφοῦ εν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' εν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

127. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Εὔρηκος, ἴδρυσε αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τῇ παρὰ θάλασσαν χώρῃ τοσῇδε, ἄρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίας μέχρι Λυδίων τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Αλιάκμονος, οὗ οὐρίζοντι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαιάδα τε καὶ Μακεδονία, ἐς τῶντι βεθρον τὸ ὅδορ συμμύσχοντες. ἑστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτουι τοῖς χαρίσι οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ρέων Χείδωρος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀντέχησε τῇ στρατιᾷ πινόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλειπτε.

128. Εὔρηκος δὲ ὄρεων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης οἴρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὁλυμποῦ καὶ τὴν Ὅσσαν, μεγάθει τε ὑπερμῆκεα ἑόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶν στεινὸν πυθανόμενος εἶναι δὲ οὐ ρέει ὁ Πηνείος, ἄκουόν τε ταύτῃ εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεύσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνείου, ὅτι τὴν ἀνω ὁδὸν ἐμειλε ἐλαῖν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἐστε Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννων πόλιν ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀσφαλεστατοῦ ἐπινιθάνετο εἶναι. ϊὸς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίεε ταύτα: ἐσβάς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβανε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο

1 Not the whole of Macedonia, but the region originally ruled by the Temenid dynasty, between the rivers Haliacmon and Axius and the foothills of Bermius. Edessa was the chief town.
of the Achelous in the rest of the mainland, is any lion to be seen; but they are found in the country between those rivers.

127. Being come to Therma Xerxes quartered his army there. Its encampment by the sea covered all the space from Therma and the Mygdonian country to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which unite their waters in one stream and so make the border between the Bottiaean and the Macedonian territory. In this place the foreigners lay encamped; of the rivers aforesaid, the Cheidorus which flows from the Crestonaean country was the only one which could not suffice for the army’s drinking but was thereby exhausted.

128. When Xerxes saw from Therma the exceeding great height of the Thessalian mountains Olympus and Ossa, and learnt that the Peneus flows in a narrow pass through them, which was the way that led into Thessaly, he was taken with a desire to view the mouth of the Peneus, because he was minded to march by the upper road through the highland people of Macedonia to the country of the Perrhaebi and the town of Gonnus; for it was told him that this was the safest way. As he desired, so he did; embarking in a ship of Sidon, wherein he ever embarked when he had some such business in

2 Xerxes’ army might have entered Thessaly by marching along the coast between Olympus and the sea, and up the Peneus valley (the pass of Tempe) to Gonnus. Instead, it crossed the mountains; probably both by a route which runs across the southern slope of Olympus to Gonnus, and also by the Petra pass, further inland, between Olympus and Bermius. But Herodotus is mistaken in making the άνω άδος alone reach Gonnus; the Tempe route would have done the same.
HERODOTUS

ποιήσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήνοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἔθεσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολήν τοῦ Πηνείου, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰρετοὶ εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρη ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.

129. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἔστι τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὡστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἱὴρ ἔχοντα τὸ τε Πήλιον ἄρος καὶ Ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκλήσει συμμίσχοντα τὰς ὑπωρέας ἄλλοις δομοῖς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς θόρακα ἄνεμου Ὀλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐστέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμπρίην τε καὶ ἀνεμον νότου Ἡ Ὀθρυς. τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὁρέων Ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἔστι ἐούσα κοίλη. ὡστε ὁν ποταμῷ ἐς αὐτήν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκιμών μάλιστα τῶν, δη, Πηνείον καὶ Ἀτηδανοῦ καὶ Ὄνοχων καὶ Ἐυπείσι καὶ Παμίσου, οὐ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν περικλημόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὄνομαξόμενοι δὲ ἐνός αὐλῶν καὶ τοῦτον στείνην ἔκρουν ἕκοψι ἔς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσχοντες τὸ ὑδρὸν πάντες ἐς τῶν ὑδρῶν ἐπεάν δὲ συμμεθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνδείπνευ τῇ Ὀθρῦ Ὁ Πηνεῖος τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι ποιεῖι. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντως καὶ τοῦ αὐλῶν καὶ διεκρόου τοῦτον, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποταμοῖς τοῦτοις τῇ Βοιβηίδᾳ λίμνῃ, οὔτε ὄνομάξεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσον ἡ νῦν, ἰδέοντας δὲ ποιεῖι τὴν Θεσσαλίην πῆσαν πέλαγος. αὐτοὶ μὲν νυν
hand, he hoisted his signal for the rest also to put out to sea, leaving his land army where it was. Great wonder took him when he came and viewed the mouth of the Peneus; and calling his guides he asked them if it were possible to turn the river from its course and lead it into the sea by another way.

129. Thessaly, as tradition has it, was in old times a lake, being enclosed all round by exceeding high mountains; for on its eastern side it is fenced in by the joining of the lower parts of the mountains Pelion and Ossa, to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, towards the south and the southerly wind by Othrys; in the midst of which mountains aforesaid lies the vale of Thessaly. Seeing therefore that many rivers pour into this vale, whereof the five most notable are Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamisus: these five, while they flow towards their meeting from the mountains that surround Thessaly, have their several names, till their waters all unite together and so issue into the sea by one and that a narrow passage; but as soon as they are united, the name of the Peneus thereafter prevails and makes the rest to be nameless. In ancient days, it is said, there was not yet this channel and outfall, but those rivers and the Boebean lake¹ withal, albeit not yet named, had the same volume of water as now, and thereby turned all Thessaly into

¹ In eastern Thessaly, west of Pelion. Naturally, with the whole country inundated, the lake would have no independent existence.
130. Οἱ δὲ κατηγγεόμενοι, εἰρμομένοι Ξέρξεω εἰ ἐστὶ ἀλλη ἐξοδος εἰς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνεῶ, ἔξεπιστάμενοι ἄτρεκεώς εἴπον "Βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀλλη ἐξήλυσις ἢ θάλασσαν κατ’ κουσα, ἀλλ’ ἴδε αὐτήν ὅρεσι γὰρ περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη." Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπέιν πρὸς ταῦτα "Σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰςὶ Θεσσαλοί, ταύτ’ ἀρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γησσιμαχέοντες καὶ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἀρα εἰχον εὐαιρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον. τόν γὰρ ποταμοῦ πρῆγμα ἄν ἦν μοῦνον ἐπειῶν σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλώνος ἐκβιβάσαντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι’ ὅν νῦν ῥέει ῥεῖθρων, ὡστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἐξω τῶν ὀρέων ὑποβρυχέα γενέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τούς Ἀλευῶν ταίδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἔλληνων ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἑωτοὺς βασιλεῖ, δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παυτὸσ σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεσσαμενος ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

131. Ὡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίνην διέστριβε ἡμέρας

---

1 The correspondence in formation of the two sides of the pass (salients on one side answering to recesses on the other) gives the impression that they were once united and have been violently separated.
BOOK VII. 129-131

a sea. Now the Thessalians say that Poseidon made this passage whereby the Peneus flows; and this is reasonable; for whosoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth, and that rifts made by earthquakes are that god’s handiwork, will judge from sight of that passage that it is of Poseidon’s making; for it is an earthquake, as it seems to me, that has riven the mountains asunder.¹

130. Xerxes enquiring of his guides if there were any other outlet for the Peneus into the sea, they answered him out of their full knowledge: “The river, O king, has no other way into the sea, but this alone; for there is a ring of mountains round the whole of Thessaly.” Whereupon, it is said, quoth Xerxes: “They are wise men, these Thessalians; this then in especial was the cause of their precaution long before ² when they changed to a better mind, that they saw their country to be so easily and speedily conquerable; for nought more would have been needful than to let the river out over their land by barring the channel with a dam and turning it from its present bed, that so the whole of Thessaly save only the mountains might be under water.” This he said with especial regard to the sons of Aleues, these Thessalians being the first Greeks who surrendered themselves to the king; Xerxes supposed that when they offered him friendship they spoke for the whole of their nation. Having so said, and ended his viewing, he sailed back to Therma.

131. Xerxes delayed for many days in the parts of

¹ As a matter of fact the Thessalians had determined on their policy very recently indeed; but Xerxes apparently supposes that they had resolved to join him from the first.

433
Not all the inhabitants of Thessaly, here, but the tribe...
Pieria; for a third part of his army was clearing a road over the Macedonian mountains, that all the army might pass by that way to the Perrhaebian country; and now returned the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth, some empty-handed, some bearing earth and water.

132. Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians,\(^1\) Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespiae and Plataea. Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious they would dedicate to the god of Delphi a tithe of the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks.

133. But to Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this was the reason: when Darius had before sent men with this same purpose, the demanders were cast at the one city into the Pit\(^2\) and at the other into a well, and bidden to carry thence earth and water to the king. For this cause Xerxes sent no demand. What calamity befel the Athenians for thus dealing with the heralds I cannot say, save that their land and their city was laid waste; but I think that there was another reason for this, and not the aforesaid.\(^3\)

134. Be that as it may, the Lacedaemonians were visited by the wrath of Talthybius, Agamemnon's of that name which had settled in the Peneus valley and given its name to the surrounding peoples.

\(^1\) Possibly the burning of the temple at Sardis (V. 102).
γὰρ Ἑροδότος ἦστι Ταλθυβίου ἴρων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖς αἱ κηρυκηνίαι αἱ ἐκ Ἑροδότης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑροδότηται καλλιερήσαι θυμήσεις οὐκ ἐδύνατο τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Δακεδαίμονίων, ἀλήθες τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κηρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιευμένων, εἰ τις βούλοιτο Δακεδαίμονίων πρὸ τῆς Ἑροδότης ἀποθνήσκειν, Ἑροδότης τε ὁ Ἀνθρώποι καὶ Βούλιος ὁ Νικόλεως, ἄνδρες Ἑροδότηται φύσι τε γεγονότες εὗ καὶ χρήσιμα ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἔθελοντα ὑπέδυσαν τοιὴν τίσαν Ἑρέξη τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Ἑροδότῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Ἑροδότηται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέτευμαν.

135. Αὐτὴ τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν θώματος ἁζίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ Ἰδάρνεα: ὁ δὲ Ἰδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἄνθρωπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὅσ σφεας ζεύγια προθέμενοι ἰστιᾶ, ξενίζωντες δὲ εἰρετο τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Δακεδαίμονιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεί βίλοι γενέσθαι; ὅρατε γὰρ ὡς ἔπιστατας βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς τιμῶν, ἐς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοῖτε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοῖ, ἐκαστός ἀν ὑμέων ἄρχων γῆς Ἑλλάδος δόντος βασιλέος." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἰδαρνεῖ, οὐκ ἔξ ἴσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλὴ ἡ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένου 436
BOOK VII. 134-135

herald; for at Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius, and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadae, who have by right the conduct of all embassies from Sparta. Now after that deed the Spartans could not win good omens from sacrifice, and for a long time it was so. The Lacedaemonians were grieved and dismayed; ofttimes they called assemblies, and made a proclamation inviting some Lacedaemonian to give his life for Sparta; then two Spartans of noble birth and great wealth, Sperthias son of Aneristus and Bulis son of Nicolaus, undertook of their own free will that they would make atonement to Xerxes for Darius' heralds who had been done to death at Sparta. Thereupon the Spartans sent these men to Media for execution.

135. Worthy of all admiration was these men's deed of daring, and so also were their sayings which I here record. As they journeyed to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian, who was general of the sea-coast of Asia; he entertained and feasted them as guests, and as they sat at his board, "Lacedaemonians," he questioned them, "why do you shun the king's friendship? You can judge from what you see of me and my condition how well the king can honour men of worth. So might it be with you; would you but put yourselves in the king's hands, being as you are of proven worth in his eyes, every one of you might by his commission be a ruler of Hellas." To this the Spartans answered: "Your counsels to us, Hydarnes, are ill assorted; one half
HERODOTUS

συμβουλεύεις, τοῦ δὲ ἀπειρος ἐὼς τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξετάσθαι, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ' εἰ ἐστὶ γλυκὸ οὔτ' εἰ μη. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρῆσαι, οὐκ ἂν δόρας συμβουλεύουσι ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι.”

136. Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰδάρνεα ἀμείγαντο. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεία ἐς ὤψιν ἥλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύστων καὶ ἀνάγκης σφι προσφέροντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὁθεύμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφάλην ποιήσειν ταῦτα οὐδαμά: οὔτε γὰρ σφίσει ἐν νόμῳ εἰναι ἀνθρωπον προσκυνεῖν οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἤκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τότε, δεύτερά σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγον τοιούτο ἐχόμενα “Ω βασιλεῦ Μῆδων, ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποιήν ἐκείων τίσοντας,” λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῦσι ταῦτα Ἐέργες ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοίως ἔσεσθαι Δακεδαιμόνιοι· κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέα τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτεῖναντας κηρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνους ἐπιτιλῆσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν, οὔδὲ ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Δακεδαιμόνιον τῆς αἰτίας.

137. Ὁυτῷ ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντικα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερβίεω τε καὶ Βοῦλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναιῶν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Δακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτὸ μοι ἐν τούτῳ θεότατον φανεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις οὓδε ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἡ ἔξηλθε, τὸ δίκαιον

438
of them rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance; you know well how to be a slave, but you have never tasted of freedom, to know whether it be sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes.

136. This was their answer to Hydarnes. Thence being come to Susa and into the king's presence, when the guards commanded and would have compelled them to fall down and do obeisance to the king, they said they would never do that, no not if they were thrust down headlong; for it was not their custom (said they) to do obeisance to mortal men, nor was that the purpose of their coming. Having beaten that off, they next said, "The Lacedaemonians have sent us, O king of the Medes, in requital for the slaying of your heralds at Sparta, to make atonement for their death," and more to that effect; whereupon Xerxes of his magnanimity said that he would not imitate the Lacedaemonians; "for you," said he, "made havoc of all human law by slaying heralds; but I will not do that which I blame in you, nor by putting you in turn to death set the Lacedaemonians free from this guilt."

137. Thus by this deed of the Spartans the wrath of Talthybius was appeased for the nonce, though Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta. But long after that it awoke to life again in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedaemonians say. That seems to me to be a sure sign of heaven's handiwork. It was but just that the wrath of Talthybius descended on ambassadors, nor was
οὔτω ἑφεξε τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μήνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνηρίστου τὸν Σπερθίεω, ὦς εἴλε Ἀλίεας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὅλκάδι καταπλώσας πλῆρει ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὅτι θείον ἑγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μήνιος· οὐ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀγγελοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θήρικων βασιλέως καὶ Νυμφοδόρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἡλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεμάντου Κορίνθιος ἀνήρ. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι ύστερον ἑγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου, ἐπάνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον λόγον.

138. Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασία ἡ βασιλείας οὕνωμα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηνας ἐλαύνει, κατιέτο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἵ Ἑλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες ἑών καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἀχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὗ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἄτε οὔτε νεὼν ἔοισέν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀρκὴν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίοντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἄντιππεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδείς ὑμών δὲ προθύμωσ.

139. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαῖα ἐξέρχομαι γνώμην ἀποδεξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἄλληθες οὐκ

1 Halia was a port in Argolis. The event took place prob-
abated till it was satisfied; but the venting of it on the sons of those men who went up to the king to appease it, namely, on Nicolas son of Bulis and Aneristus son of Sperthias (that Aneristus who landed a merchant ship's crew at the Tirynthian settlement of Halia and took it),\(^1\) makes it plain to me that this was heaven's doing by reason of Talthybius' anger. For these two had been sent by the Lacedaemonians as ambassadors to Asia; betrayed by the Thracian king Sitalces son of Tereus and Nymphodorus son of Pytheas of Abdera, they were made captive at Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and carried away to Attica, where the Athenians put them to death,\(^2\) and with them Aristeas son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. This happened many years after the king's expedition; I return now to the course of my history.

138. The professed intent of the king's march was to attack Athens, but in truth all Hellas was his aim. This the Greeks had long since learnt, but not all of them regarded the matter alike. Those of them that had paid tribute of earth and water to the Persian were of good courage, thinking that the foreigner would do them no harm; but they who had refused tribute were sore afraid, since there were not in Hellas ships enough to do battle with their invader, and the greater part of them had no stomach for grappling with the war, but were making haste to side with the Persian.

139. Here I am constrained perforce to declare an opinion which will be displeasing to most; but I will not refrain from uttering what seems to me to be ably between 461 and 450, when Athens and Argos were allied against Sparta.\(^3\) In 430; cp. Thucyd. II. 67.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

ἐπισχῆσω. εἰ Ὄθηναιοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἐρέξη, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἄν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλέω. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἦντο Ἐρέξη, κατὰ γε ἄν τὴν ἥπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχῶν κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἑλπιμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίων, προδοθέντες ἄν Δακεδαμώνιοι ύπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίην, κατὰ πόλεις ἀλυσκομένων ύπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμονωθήσαν, μονωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. ἢ ταῦτα ἄν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὁρῶντες ἄν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας μηδίζοντας ὀμολογή ἄν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ἐρέξην. καὶ οὕτω ἄν ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἢ Ἐλλάς ἐγίνετο ύπὸ Πέρσης. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλπιμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἢτις ἃν ἄν, βασιλέως ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ὄθηναιοι ἄν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος οὐκ ἄν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἄλθες. οὕτω γὰρ ἔπι οὐκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτράπων, ταῦτα βέβαιοι ἐμελλεῖ ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθερίην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν πάν τὸ λουπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμῆθησι, αὐτῶν οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοῦ ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβέρα ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεύμα βαλόντα ἐπείσι ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχυντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.

140. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ὄθηναιοι ἐς Δελφῶν
true. Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered themselves to Xerxes, none would have essayed to withstand the king by sea. If, then, no man had withstood him by sea, I will show what would have happened by land: though the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their armour,¹ yet the Lacedaemonians would have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter, but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), till at last they would have stood alone; and so standing they would have fought a great fight and nobly perished. Such would have been their fate; or it may be that, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes; and thus either way Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians. For I cannot perceive what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. But as it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviours of Hellas is to hit the truth. For which part soever they took, that way the balance was like to incline; and by choosing that Hellas should remain free they and none others roused all the rest of the Greeks who had not gone over to the Persians, and did under heaven beat the king off. Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles that came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and were bold to abide the invader of their country.

140. For the Athenians had sent messages to

¹ Cp. I. 181, where the wall of Babylon is called a θῶρνε.
HERODOTUS

...καὶ σφι πολίσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομίζωμεν, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἔζοντο, ἡ Ἑλληνική, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἄριστονίκη, τάδε.

ὅ μέλειον, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεύγῃ ἔσχατα γαίης
dώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἀκρα κάρηνα.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἐμπεδοῦν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὅν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἀζηλα πέλευ κατὰ γάρ μιν
ἐρείπει
τῷ τε καὶ ὡς Ἀρης, Συρινγήνες ἄρμα διόκων
πολλὰ δὲ κάλλι' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σῶν
οἶνον,
pολλοὺς δ' ἄθανάτων νηοὺς μαλεφὶ πυρὶ δώσει,
οἱ ποὺ νῦν ἰδροῦτι ἰδούμενοι ἐστήκασι,
δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτως ὀρό-
φοισι
αύμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὸν κακότητος
ἀνάγκασ.
ἀλλ' ἵππον ἕξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοὶς δ' ἐπικίνδυνε
θυμόν.

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἥθε-

1 Lit. spread courage over your evils. But most commentatars translate “steep your souls in woe.”
Delphi and asked that an oracle be given them; and when they had performed all due rites at the temple and sat them down in the inner hall, the priestess, whose name was Aristonice, gave them this answer:

Wretches, why tarry ye thus? Nay, flee from your houses and city,
Flee to the ends of the earth from the circle embattled of Athens!
Body and head are alike, nor one is stable nor other,
Hands and feet wax faint, and whatso lieth between them
Wasteth in darkness and gloom; for flame destroyeth the city,
Flame and the War-god fierce, swift driver of Syrian horses.
Many a fortress too, not thine alone, shall he shatter;
Many a shrine of the gods he'll give to the flame for devouring;
Sweating for fear they stand, and quaking for dread of the foeman,
Running with gore are their roofs, foreseeing the stress of their sorrow;
Wherefore I bid you begone! Have courage to lighten your evil.¹

141. When the Athenian messengers heard that, they were very greatly dismayed, and gave themselves up for lost by reason of the evil foretold. Then Timon son of Androbulus, as notable a man as any Delphian, counselled them to take boughs of supplication, and to go once again and in that guise enquire of the
τοίσι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ λέγουσι "nvarchar, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἀμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάς τοι ἢκομεν φέροντες, ἢ ού τοι ἀπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἁδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν ἐστ’ ἢν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν," ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαυτις χρᾷ δεύτερα τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλᾶς Δί’ Ολύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λυσομένη πολλοῖς λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.

σοι δὲ τὸδ’ αὐτῖς ἔπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας.

τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων ὅσα Κέκροπος οὕρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κενθμῶν τε Κιθαιρῶνος ξαθέουο, 

τεῖχος Τριτογενεῦ ξύλινον διδοὶ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὄνησει.

µηδὲ σὺ γ’ ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἑντα πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἡσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχωρεῖν 


νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας. ἔτι τοι ποτε κάντιος ἔσσῃ.

ὁ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναῖκῶν 


η ποὺ σκιδναμενης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιουςης.

142. Ταῦτα σφι ἰπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἢν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἰναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσ-

446
Thus the Athenians did; "Lord," they said, "regard in thy mercy these suppliant boughs which we bring to thee, and give us some better answer concerning our country; else we will not depart out of thy temple, but abide here till we die." Thereupon the priestess gave them this second oracle:

Vainly doth Pallas strive to appease great Zeus of Olympus;
Words of entreaty are vain, and cunning counsels of wisdom.
Nathless a rede I will give thee again, of strength adamantine.
All shall be taken and lost that the sacred border of Cecrops
Holds in keeping to-day, and the dales divine of Cithaeron;
Yet shall a wood-built wall by Zeus all-seeing be granted
Unto the Trito-born, a stronghold for thee and thy children.
Bide not still in thy place for the host that cometh from landward,
Cometh with horsemen and foot; but rather withdraw at his coming,
Turning thy back to the foe; thou yet shalt meet him in battle.
Salamis, isle divine! 'tis writ that children of women
Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-time or harvest.

142. This being in truth and appearance a more merciful answer than the first, they wrote it down
σοντο ἐσ τὰς Ἀθηναίας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ
θεσπρόποι ἀπήγγειλον ἐς τὸν δήμον, γυναῖκι καὶ
ἀλλαὶ πολλαὶ γίνονται διξημένων τὸ μαντήιον
καὶ αἴδε συνεστηκυῖα μᾶλλοντα. τῶν πρεσβύ-
tέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκεεὶν σφία τὸν θεὸν
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρήσαι περιεσθαι. ἦ γάρ ἀκρό-
pολις τὸ πάλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηξῷ ἐπέφρακτο.
οὐ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συμβαλλόντο
τούτῳ τὸ ἔξυλινον τείχος εἶναι, οὐ δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς
νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παρατέθεσθαι
ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὄν δὲ τὰς νέας
λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ἔξυλινον τείχος ἐσφάλλε τὰ δύο
τὰ τελευταῖα ῧθεντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθῆς,

ὡ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολείπες δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν
ἡ που σκεδασμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἴ γυνῶ μαι τῶν
φαμέων τὰς νέας τὸ ἔξυλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ γάρ
χρησμολογοῦν ταύτῃ ταύτα ἑλάβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ
Σαλαμίνα δεὶ σφες ἔσσωθηναι ναυμαχὴν παρα-
σκευασμένους.

143. Ἡν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνήρ ἐς πρῶτος
νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς,
παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλεῖτο. οὕτως ὄνηρ οὐκ ἔφη
πάν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλοντο,
λέγον τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἴχε τὸ ἔτος
εἰρημένον ὄντως, οὐκ ἂν οὖτω μὲν δοκεεῖν ἥπιῶς
χρησάμεναι, ἀλλὰ ὅδε ὡς ὁ σχετλή Σαλαμίς” ἀντὶ
τοῦ “ὁ θείη Σαλαμίς,” εἶ πέρ γε ἐμέλλον οἱ οἰκι-
τορες ἀμφὶ αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς
πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον

448
and departed back to Athens. So when the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much enquiry concerning its meaning, and there were two contrary opinions in especial among the many that were uttered. Some of the elder men said that the god’s answer signified that the acropolis should be saved; for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, and by their interpretation it was this fence that was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god signified their ships, and they were for doing nought else but equip these. They then that held their ships to be the wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the priestess’ answer:

Salamis, isle divine! ’tis writ that children of women
Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-time or harvest.

These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the wooden wall; for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean, that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown.

143. Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He said, that the readers of oracles had not rightly interpreted the whole; and this was his plea: had the verse been verily spoken of the Athenians, the oracle had used a word less mild of import, and had called Salamis rather “cruel” than “divine,” if indeed the dwellers in that place were in it and for it to perish; nay (said he), rightly understood, the god’s oracle
HERODOTUS

συλλαμβάνοντι κατά τὸ ὅρθὸν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐσ’ Ἀθη
ναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι δὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχή-
σοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόντος τοῦ ἔξω
νου τεῖχεος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου
Ἀθηναίου ταύτα σφίσι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετωτέρα εἶναι
μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἱ οὐκ ἔσω ναυ-
μαχήν ἀρτέσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ
χείρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν
Ἀττικῆν ἅλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

144. Ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέης γυώμη ἐμπρόσθε
tαύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοις γενο-
mένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν
μετάλλων σφί προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Δαυρείου,
ἐμελλον λάξεσθαι ὄρχηδόν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμάς·
tότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίοις τῆς
dιαιρέσεως ταύτης πανσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν
χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον,
tὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίας λέγον. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος
συστασὲ ἔσωσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας
θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ
μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ σύνῳ
τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐτὰ τε δὴ αἱ νεοὶ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπήρχον, ἔτερας τε
ἐδει προσνυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τε σφί μετὰ τὸ
χρηστήριον βουλευομένους ἐπίνοντα ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον διεκέσθαι τῇ γυναι παν-
δημεί, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἀμα Ἐλλήνων τοῖς
βουλευομένους.

1 Silver, lead, and perhaps copper mines in Attica, from
which the state drew an annual revenue. Apparently when
this exceeded the usual amount the general public received
a largess. Even if the population numbered 30,000 (cp. V.
450
was spoken not of the Athenians but of their enemies; and his counsel was that they should believe their ships to be the wooden wall, and so make ready to fight by sea. Themistocles thus declaring, the Athenians judged him to be a better counsellor than the readers of oracles, who would have had them prepare for no sea fight, and in brief offer no resistance at all, but leave Attica and settle in some other country.

144. Themistocles had ere this given another counsel that seasonably prevailed. The revenues from the mines at Laurium had brought great wealth into the Athenians' treasury, and when they were to receive each man ten drachmae for his share, then Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to make no such division, but out of the money to build two hundred ships for the war, that is, for the war with Aegina; it was that war whereof the outbreak then saved Hellas, by compelling the Athenians to become seamen. The ships were not used for the purpose wherefor they were built, but it was thus that they came to serve Hellas in her need. These ships, then, had been made and were already there for the Athenians' service, and now they must build yet others besides; and in their debate after the giving of the oracle they resolved, that they would put their trust in heaven and meet the foreign invader of Hellas with the whole power of their fleet, ships and men, and with all other Greeks that were so minded.

97) ten drachmae per head would be only 50 talents; far too small a sum for the building of 200 ships; Herodotus cannot mean more than that the Laurium money was a contribution towards a ship-building fund.
145. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήστηρια ταύτα τοισὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνει. συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα Ἐλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείων φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίςι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἑνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἐξθέρας καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ἀλλήλους ἑόντας πολέμους ἶσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἀλλούς ἐγκεκρηκμένοι, ὁ δὲ ὅν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ἐρέξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην τῶν βασιλέων πρηγγιμάτων, ἐς Ἀργὸς τε ἀγγέλους ὀμαιχμῆνην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀλλούς πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος ἐς τε Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτῃν ἄλλους, φρουράσαντες εἰ κως ἐν τε γένουσι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῶν πρὸς τὸν πρήσσοντες πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπίσων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἀλλησί. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλῶν μέξω.

146. Ὡς δὲ ταύτα σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἐξθέρας πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμποντι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὐ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τε ἐς Σάρδισ καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέως στρατινῆ, ὡς ἐπάιστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆγοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατεκέριοθοι θάνατος, Ἐρέξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταύτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην πέμπει τῶν τινὰς δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἣν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ἑόντας, ἀγείν παρ' ἐσωτέρον. ὡς δὲ ἔτι
145. These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks that had the better purpose for Hellas now assembling themselves together and there taking counsel and plighting faith, they resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and their wars against each other, from whatever cause arising; and among others that were afoot the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king's doings, and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corcyra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete; for they hoped that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas.

146. Being so resolved, and having composed their quarrels, they first sent three men as spies into Asia. These came to Sardis, and took note of the king's army; but they were discovered, and after examination by the generals of the land army they were led away for execution. So they were condemned to die; but when Xerxes heard of it he blamed the judgment of his generals, and sent some of his guards, charging them if they found the spies alive to bring them before him. They were

1 From ἐγκέρανυμι; Reiske's conjecture for MS. ἐγκέρανυμι which Stein prints, admitting the difficulty of interpreting it.
HERODOTUS

περιεύντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἤγου ἐς ὁφίν τὴν βασιλέας, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν πυθόμενος ἐπὶ οἷς ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἐπεὰν δὲ ταύτα θηεύμενοι ἔσωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἄν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἁσινέας.

147. Ἕπιλέγον δὲ τὸν λόγον τόυτο ταύτα ἑνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτὲ ἂν τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα προεπούθητο οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐόντα λόγου μέξω, οὔτὲ ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσύναντο, ἀνδρᾶς τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες νυστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα δοκεέει ἐφ‘ ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἐλληνας τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσεως σφέας τὴν ἱδιήν ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὔδὲ δεήσειν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέντας πρήγματα ἐχεῖν. οἰκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλη. ἐδὼ γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ἑρέξης εἴδε πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλάωντα τὸν Ἐλλησποντούν, ἐς τε Ἀργον καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπύθυντο πολέμα εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἱρείειν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὡς ὁκότε παραγγελεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἑρέξης εἰρετο αὐτοὺς ὁκὴ πλέωιν· οὐ δὲ εἴπαν “Ἔσ τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὡ δέσποτα, ὁτὸν ἁγοντες.” ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἐφ‘ ὁ ποῦ ἢμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἐνθα περ οὕτω τοι ἂν ἄλλοις ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί δὴ ἀδικέουσι οὕτω ἢμῖν σιτία παρακομίζουσι;”

148. Οἱ μὲν νῦν κατάσκοποι οὐτω θεσάμενοι τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην,
found still living and brought into the king's presence; then Xerxes, having enquired of them the purpose of their coming, bade his guards lead them about and show them all his army, horse and foot; and when the spies should have seen all to their hearts' content, send them away unharmed whithersoever they would go.

147. The reason alleged for his command was this: had the spies been put to death, the Greeks would not so soon have learnt the unspeakable greatness of his power, and the Persians would have done their enemy no great harm by putting three men to death; "but if they return to Hellas," said he, "methinks when the Greeks hear of my power they will before the expedition surrender this peculiar freedom that they have, and so we need not be at pains to march against them." This was like that other saying of Xerxes', when he was at Abydos and saw ships laden with corn sailing out of the Pontus through the Hellespont, voyaging to Aegina and the Peloponnese. They that sat by him, perceiving that they were enemy ships, were for taking them, and looked to the king for him to give the word. But Xerxes asked them whither the ships were sailing; "to your enemies, Sire," said they, "carrying corn." Whereto Xerxes answered, "And are not we too sailing to the same places as they, with corn among all our other provisions? What wrong are they doing us in carrying food thither?"

148. So the spies were sent back after they had thus seen all, and returned to Europe. They of the
In the battle of Tiryns, 494; cp. VI. 77.

That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population; σῶμα being the remainder.
Greeks who had sworn alliance against the Persian next after sending the spies sent messengers to Argos. Now this is what the Argives say of their own part in the matter:—They were informed from the first that the foreigner was stirring up war against Hellas; knowing this, when they learnt that the Greeks would essay to gain their aid against the Persian, they sent (they say) messengers to Delphi, there to enquire of the god how it were best for themselves that they should act; for six thousand of them had been lately\(^1\) slain by a Lace-daemonian army and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides its general; for this cause, they said, the messengers were sent. The priestess gave this answer to their questioning:

Hated of dwellers around, by the gods' immortal belovéd,
Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in his armour,
Guarding thy head\(^2\) from the blow; and the head shall shelter the body.

This answer had already been uttered by the priestess; and presently the messengers came to Argos, and there appeared in the council chamber and spoke as they were charged. Then the Argives (this is their story) answered to what was said, that they would do as was asked of them if they might first make a thirty years' peace with Lacedaemon, and the command of half the allied power were theirs; they would be content with half, albeit if they had their rights they should have commanded the whole.

149. This, they say, was the answer of their
σθαι, καίτερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστήριον μή ποιεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμμαχίην σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπουδάς γενέσθαι τριηκοντάετέδας καίτερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι, ὡν δὴ σφι οἱ παίδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοίς ἐτεσίν μὴ δὲ σπουδέων ἐνοσέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἢν ἀρα σφέας καταλάβη πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἂλλῳ πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μή τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Δακεδαιμονίων ὑπῆκοοι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείβασθαι τοῖς: περὶ μὲν σπουδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεύνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοις δὲ ἕνα οὐκών δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παύσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὀμόψη- φον τὸν Ἀργείον εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργείοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρχεσθαι ἢ τι υπεξεὶ λακεδαιμονίοις, προειπέν τε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, περίεξεσθαι ὑς πολεμίους.

150. Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργείοι τοσαῦτα τοῦτον πέρι λέγοντες ἀρα οὐκ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενοι ἀνὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ὡς Ἐρέξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα εἰς Ἀργοὺς πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμησάστῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν "Ἀνδρεῖς Ἀργείοι, βασιλεῖς Ἐρέξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέως τοῦ Δαμάς, γεγονοτα ἐκ τῆς Κηφεοῦς θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἄν
council, although the oracle forbade them to make the alliance with the Greeks; and though they feared the oracle, yet they were instant that a thirty years' treaty might be made, that so their children might have time in those years to grow to be men; were there no such treaty,—so, by their account they reasoned,—then, if after the evil that had befallen them the Persian should deal them yet another wound, it was to be feared that they would be at the Lacedaemonians' mercy. Then those of the envoys that were Spartans replied to what was said by the council, "That the matter of a treaty would be brought before their general assembly; but as touching the command, they themselves had been commissioned to answer, and to say, that the Spartans had two kings, and the Argives but one; now it was impossible to deprive either Spartan of his command; but there was nought to hinder the Argive from having the same right of voting as their two had." At that,—say the Argives,—they deemed that the Spartans' covetousness was past all bearing, and that it was better to be ruled by the foreigners than give way to the Lacedaemonians; and they bade the envoys depart from the land of Argos before sunset, else they would be entreated as enemies.

150. Such is the Argives' account of this matter; but there is another story told in Hellas: That before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes), "Men of Argos, this is the message to you of king Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danaë for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus
θν εἶημεν ύμετεροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὁν ἡμέας οἶκος ἑτὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἀλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξόους γίνε- σθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἢν γὰρ ἐμὸ λέγειται κατὰ νόου, οὐ- δαμός μεξονᾶς ύμέων ἄξω.” ταῦτα ἀκοῦσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παρα- χρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μετατείνειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, οὗτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδόσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Δακεδαμόνιοι μετατείνειν, ἵνα ἑτὶ προφα- σίος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι.

151. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἐλλήνων πολλοίς ἑτέσι ύστερον γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσιοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοισι έόντας ἐτέρον πρήγματος εἶνεα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίην τε τὸν ᾿Ιππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτον ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τούτων χρόνων πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σούσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτάν Ἀρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ἐρέξεω εἰ σφι ἑτὶ ἐμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ἐρέξεως φιλίην συνεκεραίαν, ὅ νομιζότατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναι πολέμου βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν ᾿Αργεος φιλωτέρην.

152. Εἰ μὲν νῦν Ἐρέξεως τε ἀπέτεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς ᾿Αρχος καὶ ᾿Αργείων ἀγγελοὶ ἀναβάντες ἐς Σούσα ἐπειρῶτων Ἀρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἴπειν, οὐδὲ τίνα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ἡ τῆν περ

1 Οπ. Β. 53.
for his mother; if that be so, then we are descended from your nation. Wherefore in all right and reason neither should we march against the land of our forefathers, nor should you become our enemies by aiding others, nor do aught but abide by yourselves in peace; for if all go as I desire, I will hold none in higher esteem than you.” Hearing this, the Argives were thereby much moved; and though for the nonce they made no promise and demanded no share, yet when the Greeks strove to gain their aid, then, knowing that the Lacedaemonians would not grant it, they did demand a part of the command, that so they might have a pretext for abiding at peace.

151. This is borne out (say some Greeks) by the tale of a thing which happened many years afterwards. It chanced that while Athenian envoys, Callias son of Hipponicus, and the rest who had come up with him, were at Susa, called the Memonian,¹ about some other business,² the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes’ son Artaxerxes “if the friendship which they had compounded with Xerxes still held good, as they desired; or did he consider them as his enemies?” Whereunto Artaxerxes answered, “Ay indeed it holds good, and I deem no city a better friend to me than Argos.”

152. Now, if it be true that Xerxes sent a herald with the aforesaid message to Argos, and that the Argive envoys came up to Susa and questioned Artaxerxes about their friendship, I cannot with exactness say; nor do I now declare that I hold

¹ In 448, apparently. See How and Wells ad loc. for a full discussion of the matter.

² In 448, apparently. See How and Wells ad loc. for a full discussion of the matter.
The general idea,—rather obscurely expressed,—seems to be that some who judge the Argives harshly have really just as many kakà and aîsçrà (which Herodotus appears to confuse) of their own.
aught for truth but what the Argives themselves say. But this I know full well,—if all men should carry their own private troubles to market for barter with their neighbours, not one but when he had looked into the troubles of other men would be right glad to carry home again what he had brought. Thus judging, you shall see that others did yet more fouly than the Argives. For myself, though it be my business to set down that which is told me, to believe it is none at all of my business; let that saying hold good for the whole of my history; for indeed there is another tale current, whereby it would seem that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Hellas, because after the breaking of their battle by the Lacedaemonians there was nothing that they would rather not have than their present distresses.

153. Thus ends the story of the Argives. As for Sicily, envoys were sent thither by the allies to hold converse with Gelon, Syagrus from Lacedaemon being among them. This Gelon's ancestor, he who made a settlement at Gela, was of the island of Telos that lies off Triopium; he, when the founding of Gela by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes was afoot, would not be left behind. His posterity became in time ministering priests of the goddesses of the nether world and continued so to be; this office had been won as I shall show by Telines, one of their forefathers. Certain Geloans, worsted in party strife, having been banished to the town of Mactorium, inland of Gela, Telines brought them back to Gela, with no force of men to aid him but

2 Demeter and Persephone.
HMEROUS

άλλα ἴπα τούτων τῶν θεῶν· οὖν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἡ
αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἶπεῖν· τοῦ-
τοι σι ὅν πίσωνος ἐὼν κατήγαγε, ἐπ' ὧ τε οἱ
ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται.
θῶμα μοι ὃν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνο-
μαι, κατεργάσασθαι Θηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ
τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἀπαντὸς ἄνδρος
νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχής τε ἄγαθής
καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρής· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Ἐικε-
λίης τῶν οἰκτόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυ-
κέναι θηλυκότης καὶ καὶ μαλακότερος ἀνήρ.

154. Οὗτος μὲν νυν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας·
Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεως τελευτήσαντος τῶν
βίων, ὃς ἔτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἐπτὰ ἑτεα, ἀπέθανε
δὲ υπὸ Σαβύλλου ἄνδρος Γελφόου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμ-
βάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἰπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν
ἀδελφής. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα,
ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Θηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολ-
λὼν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησίδημον τοῦ Παταίκου
... ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος. μετὰ δὲ οὐ
πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς
ὑππού εἶναι ἱππαρχος· πολιορκεύοντος γὰρ Ἰππο-
κράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Νάξιος καὶ Ζαγ-
κλαίους τε καὶ Δευτίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκσίους
τε καὶ τῶν ἱαράρων συνοικοῦς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν
τοῦτοι τοῖς πολέμοισι ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρό-
τατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων τούτων πλῆν
Συρηκοσσέων οὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς
Ἰπποκράτεος· Συρηκσίους δὲ Κορίθθιαὶ τε καὶ
Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ
ποταμὸς Ἑλώρα, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵδε
καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ὧ τε Ἰπποκράτει Καμάριναν
464
only the holy instruments of the goddesses' worship. Whence he got these, and whether or no they were of his own discovering, I cannot say; however that be, it was in their strength that he restored the exiles, on the condition that his posterity should be ministering priests of the goddesses. Now the story that is told me makes me marvel that Telines should have achieved such a feat; for I have ever supposed that such feats are not for every man's performing but only such as have a stout heart and a manly strength; but Telines is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to have been contrariwise of a soft and womanish habit.

154. So he won this right; and at the decease 1 of Cleandrus son of Pantares,—who was for seven years despot of Gela, and was slain by a man of that city named Sabyllus,—the sovereignty passed to Cleandrus' brother Hippocrates. While Hippocrates was despot, Gelon, a descendant of the ministering priest Telines, was one of Hippocrates' guard, as were Aenesidemus son of Pataecus and many others; and in no long time he was appointed for his worth to be captain of all the horse; for Hippocrates besieging Callipolis and Naxos and Zancle and Leontini, nay, Syracuse too and many of the foreigners' towns, Gelon in those wars shone pre-eminent. None of the cities aforesaid escaped being enslaved by Hippocrates save only Syracuse; the Syracusans were defeated in battle on the river Elorus, but were rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, who made a peace for them on the

1 In 498.

1 Something is omitted after this word; Stein suggests "vitae."
Συρηκοσίους παραδούναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

155. Ὅς δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἢ σα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν ὶΒλη στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελίους, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρεών τούτι Ἰπποκράτεος παίσι Εὐκλείδη τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτέων καθηκόων ἔτι εἶναι, τῶν ἔργων, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχη τῶν Γελών, ἄρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερῆσας τοὺς Ἰπποκράτεος παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ εὐρήμα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐσχε καὶ ταύτας, ὁ γὰρ δήμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλων παραδίδοι την πόλιν καὶ ἑωτόν.

156. Ὅ δὲ ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγων ἐλάσσω ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρων ἀδελφῆς ἐωτοῦ, δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρηκούσαι· αἱ δὲ παρατίκα ανά τ' ἐδραμοι καὶ ἐβλαστοῦν. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἀπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγών πολιτῆς ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἀστυ κατέσκαψε, τούτῳ δὲ Γελώφων ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντο τούτῳ τοῦτο Καμαριναῖοι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίῃ προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκώντας ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τούτο, ἀγαγῶν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιτῆς ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δήμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἑοντα
condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to
Hippocrates Camarina, which was formerly theirs.

155. When Hippocrates, too, after reigning the
same number of years as his brother Cleandrus,
came to his end near the town of Hybla, whither he
had marched against the Sicels, then Gelon made a
pretence of serving the cause of Hippocrates' sons
Euclides and Cleandrus, whose rule the citizens
would no longer bear; but in very deed, when he
had defeated the men of Gela, he deposed the sons
of Hippocrates and held sway himself. After this
stroke of good fortune, the Syracusan landowners
(as they were called) being driven into banishment
by the commonalty and their own slaves (Cyllyrians,
as they were called), Gelon brought them back
from the town of Casmena to Syracuse, and took
possession of that city also; for the Syracusan
commonalty delivered themselves and it to Gelon
at his coming.

156. Having taken Syracuse for his own, he made
ess account of his rule over Gela, which he gave in
charge to his brother Hiero; over Syracuse he
reigned, and all his care was for Syracuse. Straight-
way that city grew and waxed great; for not only
did Gelon bring all the people of Camarina to
Syracuse and give them its citizenship, razing the
town of Camarina, but he did likewise to more
than half of the townsmen of Gela; and when the
Megarians in Sicily surrendered to him on terms
after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who
had made war on him and looked to be put to death
therefor, and brought them to Syracuse to be
citizens there; but as for the commonalty of Megara,

1 At Hybla, N. of Syracuse, on the E. coast of Sicily.
μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὔδε προσδεκό-
μενον κακῶν οὔδεν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγών καὶ τούτους
ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδωτο ἔπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ
Σικελίης. τώμο τοῦτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν
Σικελίη ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἔποιες δὲ ταῦτα
tούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δήμον εἶναι συνοἰ-
kῆμα ἀχαρίτωτατον.

157. Τοιούτω μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνει
μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ' ὡς οἱ ἀγγέλοι τῶν Ἑλλή-
nῶν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔλθοντες αὐτῷ
ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Δακε-
dαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμψω-
μένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον στὸν γὰρ ἐπιώντα
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως καὶ πυθάνεαι, ὅτι
Πέρσης ἄνηρ μέλλει, ξεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντον
καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡρὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίνης, στρατηλάτησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προ-
σχῆμα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀθῆνας ἐλαύνει,
ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ’ ἐωτῶ
ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμοισ τε γὰρ ἦκεις μεγά-
λως καὶ μοῖρα τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἑλάχιστη
μέτα ἄρχοντι γε Σικελίης, βοήθεε τε τοῖς ἐκ
ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρου. ἀλής
μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χείρ μεγάλη
συνάγεται, καὶ ἄξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι
ἣν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδιώσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι
τιμωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλγοῦν,
τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ
Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἂν ἡμέας καταστρέ-
ψηται ὁ Πέρσης μάχη κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἦκει
παρὰ σὲ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι· βοηθέων
γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωτῷ τιμωρεῖς· τῷ δὲ εὐ βουλευ-
468
who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be carried out of Sicily. In like fashion he dealt with the Euboeans\(^1\) of Sicily, making the same difference; the cause of his so doing to the people of both places was, that he held the commonalty to be an exceeding thankless crew to live withal.

157. By these means Gelon had grown to greatness as a despot; and now, when the Greek envoys were come to Syracuse, they had audience of him and spoke as follows. "The Lacedaemonians and their allies," said they, "have sent us to win your aid against the foreigner; for it cannot be, we think, that you have no knowledge of the Persian invader of Hellas, how he purposes to bridge the Hellespont and lead all the hosts of the east from Asia against us, making an open show of marching against Athens, but in very deed with intent to subdue all Hellas to his will. Now you are rich in power, and being lord of Sicily you rule thereby what is not the least part of Hellas; wherefore, we pray you, send help to them that would free Hellas, and aid them in so doing. For the uniting of all of Greek stock is the mustering of a mighty host, able to meet our invaders in the field; but if some of us play false, and others will not come to our aid, and the sound part of Hellas be but small, then it is to be feared that all Greek lands alike will be undone. Think not that if the Persian defeat us in battle and subdue us, he will leave you unassailed; but look well to yourself ere that day come. Aid us, and you champion your

\(^1\) A colony from Chalcis, at Leontini.
The Carthaginians were as influential in the west of the island as Gelon in the east; Greeks and Semites continually competed for commercial supremacy.
own cause; a well-laid plan commonly leads to a happy issue."

158. Thus they spoke; whereto Gelon answered, speaking very vehemently, "Men of Hellas, it is with a self-seeking plea that you have made bold to come hither and invite me to be your ally against the foreigners; yet what of yourselves? When I was at feud with the Carchedonians,¹ and prayed you to stand my comrades against a foreign army, and when I was instant that you should avenge the slaying of Dorieus ² son of Anaxandrides by the men of Egesta, and when I promised to free those trading ports whence great advantage and profit have accrued to you,—then neither for my sake would you come to aid nor to avenge the slaying of Dorieus; and for all that you did, all these lands lie beneath the foreigners' feet. Let that be; for all ended well, and our state was bettered. But now that the war has come round to you in your turn, 'tis the time for remembering Gelon! Yet albeit you so slighted me, I will not take example by you; I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand horse, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed men to run with horsemen;³ and I undertake that I will furnish provision for the whole Greek army till we have made an end of the war. But I thus promise on this one condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the foreigner. On no other condition will I come myself or send others."

¹ Cp. V. 42-46.
² Probably active infantry troops, able to keep up with the cavalry.
159. Ταύτα ἀκούσας οὕτε ἥνεχτε ὁ Σύναγρος εἶπέ τε τάδε. "Ἡ κε μὲγά λοίμωξε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιητᾶς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπαραίρησθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτω μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μυθοθῆκε, ὡκος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοι παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἵσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Δακεδαμισίων εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ δικαιοῖς ἀρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε."  

160. Πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὡρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύναγρος, τὸν τελευταίον σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. "Ὡς ἐξεῖν Σπαρτιητῆ, ὅνειδα κατόντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλεῖ εἰπανάγειν τὸν θυμὸν σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος υβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὗ με πείσεις ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἁμοιβῇ ἱενέσθαι. ὅκου δὲ υμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὐκόσι καὶ ἔμε μᾶλλον ὑμείν περιέχεσθαι, στρατής τε ἐόντα πολλαπληγίας ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλῶν πλεύσων. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατιστάται, ὑμεῖς τι ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου, εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ υμείς ἤγεοισθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ υμῖν ἦδον τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγώ θέλω. καὶ ἡ τούτοις υμέας χρεόν ἔστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπείναι συμμάχου τούτων ἐρήμους.”

161. Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταύτα προετέινετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖον ἀγγέλος τοῦ Δακεδαμισίων ἀμεῖβετο μὲν τούσιδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπέφυγες ἢμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατής. σὺ δὲ ὡκος μὲν στρατηγῷ πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις,
159. When Syagrus heard that, he could not contain himself; "Verily," he cried, "loud would lament Agamemnon son of Pelops, an he heard that the Spartans had been bereft of their command by Gelon and his Syracusans! Nay, put that thought from you, that we will deliver up the command to you. If it is your will to aid Hellas, know that you must obey the Lacedaemonians; but if (as I think) you are too proud to obey, then send no aid."

160. Thereupon Gelon, seeing how unfriendly were Syagrus' words, thus and for the last time declared his mind to them: "My Spartan friend, the hard words that a man hears are apt to arouse his anger; but for all the arrogant tenor of your speech you shall not move me to make an unseemly answer. When you set such store by the command, it is but reasonable that I should set yet more, being the leader of an army many times greater than yours and more ships by far. But seeing that you answer me thus stiffly, we will abate somewhat of our first condition. It might be, that you should command the army, and I the fleet; or if it be your pleasure to lead by sea, then I am willing that the army should be mine. With that you must needs be content, unless you would depart hence without such allies as we are."

161. Such was Gelon's offer; and the Athenian envoy answered him ere the Lacedaemonian could speak. "King of the Syracusans," said he, "Hellas sends us to you to ask not for a leader but for an army; and you say no word of sending an army save and except you can be the leader of Hellas; it
Most Greek populations had traditionally immigrated
BOOK VII. 161-162

is for the command that all your desire is. Now as long as you sought the leadership of the whole armament, we Athenians were content to hold our peace, knowing that the Laconian was well able to answer for both of us; but since, failing to win the whole, you would fain command the fleet, we would have you know how the matter stands. Even though the Laconian should suffer you to command it, not so will we; for the command of the fleet is ours, the Lacedaemonians desire it not for themselves. If they desire to lead it, we withstand them not; but none other will we suffer to be admiral. For it were vain that we should possess the greatest multitude of sea-faring men in Hellas, if, being Athenians, we yield up our command to Syracusans,—we who can show of all the longest lineage, and who alone among Greeks have never changed our dwelling;¹ and whose he was of whom the poet Homer says, that of all who came to Ilion he was the best man in ordering and marshalling armies.² Thus we are not to be reproached for this that we say."

162. "My Athenian friend," Gelon answered, "it would seem that you have many that lead, but none that will follow. Since, then, you will waive no claim but must have the whole, 'tis high time that you depart home with all speed and tell your Hellas that her year has lost its spring." Of which saying this is the signification, that Gelon's army was the most notable part of the Greek army, even as the spring is of the year; so he compared Hellas into their present localities from elsewhere; but the Athenians had no such tradition; their writers often dwell on the fact with pride.

¹ Menestheus: Iliad ii. 552.
HERODOTUS

τῆς ἑωτοῦ συμμαχής εἰκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαιρημένον εἰη.

163. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἅγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον. Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖς "Ελλησί μὴ οὐ δύνονται τοὺς βάρβαρους υπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄνασχετον ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελο-
πονησίους ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἐδών Σικε-
λίης τύραννος, ταύτης μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, δὲ ἀλλής εἰχετο. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τοῦ Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τῶν Ἐλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέρουσι τρισὶ Κάδμου τὸν Σκύθεοι
ἀνδρα Κῳθὼν ὡς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκούσοντα τὴν μάχην
τῇ παρείσαν, καὶ ἢν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶ διδόει καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδρ τῶν
ἀρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἢν δὲ οἱ Ἐλληνες, ὁπίσω ἀπάγων.

164. Ο δὲ Κάδμος οὔτος πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κωθὼν εὖ ἀπεθηκυθαν, ἐκὸν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπίστολος οὔδενος ἄλλα ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κωθοῦ καταθέτει τὴν ἀρχὴν οἶκετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἐνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν
Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὁὐνόμα. τούτων δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τουσίᾳ πρὸς ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τῇ οἱ αὐτῶς ἄλλην συνήθει ἐσόσαν, ἐπεμπετεί δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖς ἐξ ἑωτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι

1 Stein reads ἀπό, with the MSS.; the Oxford text prints ὑπὸ. There is no real warrant for ἀπό in the sense of "on account of.

476
BOOK VII. 162-164

deprived of alliance with him to a year bereft of its spring.\(^1\)

163. After such trafficking with Gelo\n
n the Greek envoys sailed away. But Gelo\n
n feared therefore that the Greeks would not avail to overcome the for\n
eigner, yet deemed it a thing hard and intolerable that he, the despot of Sicily, should go to the Pe\n
loponnese to be at the beck and call of Lacedae\n
monians; wherefore of this plan he thought no more, but followed another instead. As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus son of Scythes,\(^2\) a man of Cos, to Delphi with three ships of fifty oars, carrying with them money and messages of frie\n
ndship; Cadmus was to watch the event of the battle, and if the foreigner should be victorious then to give him the money, and earth and water withal on behalf of Gelo\n
n's dominions; but if the Greeks, then to carry all back again.

164. This Cadmus had ere now inherited from his father the despotism of Cos; and albeit it was strong and well stablished, yet of his own will and under no constraint of danger, but of mere justice, he gave over the government to the whole body of Coans and betook himself to Sicily, where he was given by the Samians that city of Zancle which changed its name to Messene, and he planted a colony there. Thus had Cadmus come, and it was he now whom Gelo\n
n sent, by reason of the justice that he knew to be ever in him; and this that I will relate was

\(^1\) According to Aristotle (\textit{Rhet.} i. 7 and iii. 10) Pericles used the same simile in a funeral oration, referring to the State's loss of its young men.

\(^2\) Probably the expelled ruler of Zancle; cp. the following chapter, and VI. 23.
The Carthaginians invaded Sicily with a force drawn from Africa and the western Mediterranean. The Ligyes are Ligurians, the Cynrians Corsicans; the Elisyci an Iberian
not the least of the many just acts of Cadmus’ life; he had in his power great sums entrusted to him by Gelo, and might have kept them; yet he would not so do, but when the Greeks had prevailed in the sea-fight and Xerxes had betaken himself homeward, Cadmus for his part returned back to Sicily with all that money.

165. But there is another story told by the dwellers in Sicily: that even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority Gelo would still have aided the Greeks, had it not been for Terillus son of Crinippus, the despot of Himera; who, being expelled from Himera by Theron son of Aenesidemus, sovereign ruler of Acragas, did at this very time bring against Gelo three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cyrmians, led by Amilcas son of Annon, the king of the Carchedonians; whom Terillus won to this purpose partly by private friendship, but chiefly by the zealous aid of Anaxilaus son of Cretines, despot of Rhegium; he gave his own children as hostages to Amilcas, and brought him into Sicily to the help of his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus had to wife Terillus’ daughter Cydippe. Thus it was (they say) that Gelo sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks.

166. They add this tale too,—that Gelo and Theron won a victory over Amilcas the Carchedonian people living on the coast between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. According to a statement quoted from the historian Ephorus, this Carthaginian expedition was part of a concerted plan, whereby the Greek world was to be attacked by the Carthaginians in the west and the Persians in the east simultaneously.
Οἱρώνα νυκάν Ἀμῖλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμῖλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντα τε καὶ ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδόνιων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἔσσωτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι: οὕτε γὰρ ἰχώτα οὕτε ἀποθανόντα φανήναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πάν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διϊζήμενον Γέλωνα.

167. Ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Καρχηδόνιων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενοι, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοίσι "Ελλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο εἴ ἢ ήος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δείλης ὑψίτης (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἡ ποζῃταὶ ἐκκυσάι τὴν σύστασιν), ό δὲ Ἀμῖλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύνετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρής μεγάλης σώματα ὀλα καταγίζων, ἵδου δὲ τροτὴς τῶν ἐωτοῦ γινομένης, ὡς ἐτυχε ἐπιστεύουν τοίσι ἱροδίσι, ὡσ ἐωτοὺς ἐς τὸ πῦρ: οὔτω δὴ κατακαυθεῖτα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμῖλκα ἀρόπῳ εὐτε τοιοῦτο ὡς Φολικες Λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσιν, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἑποίησαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πόλις τῶν ἀποκιδών, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδοῦ.

168. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίας τοσαῦτα. Κερκυραιοὶ δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινόμενοι τοίσι ἀγγέλοισιν τοιάδε ἑποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοί οὐ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκουσα, λέγουτες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον.

1 Stein brackets ὡς Κ. καὶ Σ.; the Καρχ. are of course the same as the Φολικες.

480
in Sicily on the selfsame day whereon the Greeks vanquished the Persian at Salamis. This Amilceas was, on his father's side, a Carchedonian, and a Syracusan on his mother's, and had been made king of Carchedon for his manly worth. When the armies met and he was worsted in the battle, it is said that he vanished out of sight; for Gelon sought for him in every place, yet nowhere on earth could he be found, dead or alive.

167. The story told by the Carchedonians themselves has a show of truth. They say, that the foreigners fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn till late evening (so long, it is said, the mellow was drawn out), during all which time Amilceas stayed in his camp offering sacrifice and striving to win favourable omens by burning whole bodies on a great pyre; and when he saw his army routed, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; whereby he was consumed and no more seen. Whether it were thus that he vanished, as the Phoenicians say, or in some other way, as say the Carchedonians and Syracusans, sacrifice is offered to him, and monuments have been set up in all the colonists' cities, the greatest of all which is in Carchedon itself.

168. Thus much of the Sicilian part. As for the Coreycraeans, their answer to the envoys and their acts were as I will show; for the men who had gone to Sicily sought their aid too, using the same plea as they had used with Gelon; and the Coreycraeans for

The story may be true; or it may have arisen out of the name Hamilcar (= Abd Melqart, servant of Melqart); for self-immolation by fire is closely associated with Melqart worship.

481
οὐ̃ δὲ παραντίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέων, φράζοντες ὡς οὖν σφί περισσότερος ἐστι ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολλυμένη· ἣν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἰς ζὸ δυνατότατον. ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὗτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐτει ὃ ἐδει βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ νοεότες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκουτα, μόνιμα δὲ ἀναχέντες προσέμειαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλου καὶ Ταϊναρῳ γῆς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχενο τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἐλληνας ὑπερβαλέεσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐποίειν δὲν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τούδε. "Ὁ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανότων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχιστὴν οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχιστὰς παρασχόντες ἄν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ Ἰ Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἡθελήσαμέν τοι ἐναντιοῦσαί οὐδὲ τι ἀποθύμιοι ποιήσαι." τοιαύτα λέγοντες ἦλπίζον πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οὐσεῦαί· τά περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἐλληνας σφί σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὦτι οὐκ ἐβοηθεῖον, ἐφεσαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκουντα τριήμερα, ὅπο ὑπὸ ἐτεισείων ἀνέμων ὑπερβάλεις Μαλέην οὐκ οἶοι τε γενέσθαι· οὐτω οὐκ ἅπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιὴ κακότητι λειψθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

169. Οὗτοι μὲν οὗτο διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἐλληνας. Κρήτης δὲ, ἐπείτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχέντες Ἐλληνων, ἐποίησαν 482
the nonce promised to send help and protection, declaring that they could not suffer Hellas to perish,—for if she should fall, of a surety the very next day would see them also enslaved,—but they must render aid to the best of their power. Thus they gave a specious answer; but when the time came for sending help, their minds were changed; they manned sixty ships, and did with much ado put out to sea and make the coast of the Peloponnese; but there they anchored off Pylos and Taenarus in the Lacedaemonian territory, waiting like the others to see which way the war should incline; they had no hope that the Greeks would prevail, but thought that the Persian would win a great victory and be lord of all Hellas. What they did, therefore, was done of set purpose, that they might be able to say to the Persian, "O king, we whose power is as great as any, and who could have furnished as many ships as any state save Athens,—we, when the Greeks essayed to gain our aid in this war, would not resist you nor do aught displeasing to you." This plea they hoped would win them some advantage more than ordinary; and so, methinks, it would have been. But they were ready with an excuse which they could make to the Greeks, and in the end they made it; when the Greeks blamed them for sending no help, they said that they had manned sixty triremes, but by stress of the etesian winds they could not round Malea; thus it was (they said) that they could not arrive at Salamis: it was no craven spirit that made them late for the sea-fight.

169. With such a plea they put the Greeks off. But the Cretans, when the Greeks appointed to deal with them strove to gain their aid, did as I will
That is, the Greeks would not help the Cretans to avenge
show. They sent messengers to Delphi, enquiring if it should be for their advantage to succour the Greeks. The priestess answered them, “Foolish folk, ye are not then content with the weeping that Minos sent upon your people for the help given to Menelaus, angered because that those others would not aid to avenge his death at Camicus, yet ye did aid them to avenge the stealing of that woman from Sparta by a foreigner.” This being brought to the ears of the Cretans, they would have nought to do with succouring the Greeks.

170. For Minos (it is said), having gone to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search for Daedalus, there perished by a violent death; and presently all the Cretans save the men of Polichne and Praesus were bidden by a god to go with a great host to Sicania, where for five years they beleaguered the town of Camicus, where in my day the men of Acragas dwelt; but since they could not take it nor abide there for the famine that afflicted them, they left it and departed away. But when they were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore; and their ships being wrecked, and no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and abode in it, changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland. From Hyria they made settlements in those other towns, which a very long time afterwards the Tarentines essayed to destroy, but suffered great disaster thereby; so that none has ever heard of so great a slaughter of the death of Minos; yet afterwards the Cretans helped the Greeks to avenge the carrying off of Helen.
πάντων τῶν ἥμεις ἱδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραυτίνων καὶ Ἡρηγίνων, οἷς ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραυτίνοις ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὗτοι αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραυτίνων οὔκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μικύθος οἰκέτης ἔδω Ἀναξίλεω ἐπὶτροπος Ἡρηγίου καταλείπτο, οὕτως ὡς περ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ἡρηγίου καὶ Τεγένη τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδράντας.

171. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἡρηγίνους τε καὶ Ταραυτίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε, ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημώθησαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζοντο ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἐλλήνας, τρίτη δὲ γενέθη, μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωκά, ἐν τοῖς οὐ φλαυροτάτοις φαινέσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω. ἀπὸ τοῦτων δὲ σφῆ ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροῖς λιμῶν τε καὶ λοιμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς προβάτοις, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημώθεσις Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν πῶν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὲ Πυθή ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἐσχε βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν τοῖς Ἐλλησι.

172. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαῖης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδεισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὥς τυχεῖ ήδη ἄλλως Ἡρηγίνας ἐμηχανόντο. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Ἑυρώπην, πέμπουσι ές τὸν Ἴσθμον ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμέινον φρουρουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἀγγέλοι 486
Greeks as was made of the Tarentines and Rhegians; three thousand townsmen of these latter were slain, who had been constrained by Micythys son of Choerus to come and help the Tarentines, and of the Tarentine slain no count was kept. Micythys was a servant of Anaxilaus, and had been left in charge of Rhegium; it was he who was banished from Rhegium and settled in Tegea of Arcadia, and who set up those many statues at Olympia.

171. But this business of the Rhegians and Tarentines is a matter apart from my history. Crete being thus left desolate (so the Praesians say), it was peopled by Greeks in especial among other men; and in the third generation after Minos befel the Trojan business, wherein the Cretans bore themselves as bravely as any in the cause of Menelaus. After this when they returned from Troy they and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and pestilence, till Crete was once more left desolate; then came a third people of Cretans, and it is they who, with those that were left, now dwell there. It was this that the priestess bade them remember, and so stayed them from aiding the Greeks as they would have done.

172. The Thessalians had at first taken the Persian part not willingly but of necessity, as their acts showed, because they disliked the devices of the Aleuadae. For as soon as they heard that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where were assembled in council for the Greek cause men chosen from the cities that had the best will towards Hellas. To these the Thessalian messengers came, and said,
ἐλεγον ""Ανδρές Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἔσβολην τὴν Ὀλυμπικήν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἕλλᾶς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐτοιμοὶ εἰμὲν συμφιλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρῆ καὶ ὑμεῖς στρατηγὸν πολλῆν, ὥσ, εἴ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ, οὐ γὰρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἐλλάδος μοῦνος πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαῖαν ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἷοὶ τε ἐστὲ προσφέρειν οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίας ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἐφ᾽. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησθὸ-μεθα αὐτὸι τινα σωτηρίην μηχανόμενοι."  

173. Ταύτα ἐλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταύτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἔσβολήν. ὡς δὲ συνελέξθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπλεε δὲ Εὐρίπου ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιάς ἐς � ling Αλου, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἔσβολήν ἢ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πνειῶν, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τὸ οἴρος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἕλληνων κατὰ μνήμοις ὁπλίταις συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ὅποιος ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Ἐναίνετος ὁ Καρθηνὸς ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραίρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐνὶ οὐ τῷ βασιλεῖον, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἀγγελοὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβούλευν σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἔσβολη καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ 488
BOOK VII. 172-173

"Men of Hellas, the pass of Olympus must be guarded, that Thessaly and all Hellas may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to guard it with you; but you too must send a great force; if you will not send it, be assured that we shall make terms with the Persian; for it is not right that we should be left to stand alone for an outpost of Hellas and so perish for your sakes. If you will not send help, there is no constraint that you can put upon us; for no necessity can prevail over lack of ability. As for us, we will essay for ourselves to find some way of deliverance." Thus spoke the men of Thessaly.

173. Thereupon the Greeks resolved that they would send a land army to Thessaly by sea to guard the pass. When the army had mustered, they passed through the Euripus, and came to Alus in Achaea, where they disembarked and took the road for Thessaly, leaving their ships where they were; and they came to the pass of Tempe, which runs from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. There the Greeks encamped, to the number of about ten thousand men-at-arms altogether, and the Thessalian horse was there withal; the general of the Lacedaemonians was Euænetus son of Carenus, chosen among the polemarchs, yet not of the royal house; and of the Athenians, Themistocles son of Neocles. They remained but a few days there; for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, counselling them to depart and not abide there to be trodden under foot of the invading

1 As opposed to the hill country further inland.
HERODOTUS

tου στρατού τού ἑπίοντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος
tε τῆς στρατηγῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὃς δὲ οὕτωι σφὶ
tαὐτὰ συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβου-
λευεῖν καὶ σφὶ εύνοος ἐφαίνετο ἔδων ὁ Μακεδών,
ἐπείδουτο. 

174. Αὐτῇ ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατηγῆς,
βασιλέως τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην
ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίης καὶ ἐόντος ἦδη ἐν 'Αβύδῳ. Θεσσα-
λοι δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὔτω δὴ ἐμήδεισαν
προθύμως οὐδ' ἐτί ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὡστε ἐν τοῖς
πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἐόντες
χρησιμώτατοι.

175. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἰσθμῶν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ
Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
ἐν οἷοισι χάροισι. ἡ νικώσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγίνετο
tὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλης ἐσβολῆν φυλάξαι· στεινο-
tέρῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἑώσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ
ἄμα ἀγχοτέρην

τῆς ἑωτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπῶν,
δι' ἦν ἠλώσαν οἱ ἄλοντες 'Ελλήνων ἐν Θερμο-
πύλης, οὐδὲ ἦδεσαν ἑώσαν πρότερον ἡ περ
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλης ἐπύθοντο Θρηκτίνων.
ταύτην ὅν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβο-
λῆν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν

1 MS. ἀγχοτέρη τε, in consequence of which Stein marks
a lacuna, for words (e. g. καλ μοῦνη) corresponding to τε, after ἑωτῶν. But τε may easily be a mistake, arising out of τῆς.

490
host; whereby the message signified the multitude of the army, and the ships. Thus admonished by the messengers (as they thought that the advice was good and that the Macedonian meant well by them), the Greeks followed their counsel. But to my thinking what persuaded them was fear, since they were informed that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnus; which indeed was the way whereby Xerxes' army descended on Thessaly. So the Greeks went down to their ships and made their way back to the Isthmus.

174. This was their expedition to Thessaly, while the king was planning to cross into Europe from Asia and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, being bereft of their allies, did thereupon take the Persian part whole-heartedly and with no further doubt, so that in their acts they approved themselves men most useful to the king.

175. Being come to the Isthmus, the Greeks consulted together how and where they should stand to fight, having regard to what was said by Alexander. The counsel that prevailed was, that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae; for they saw that it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and moreover nearer home; and for the path which brought about the fall of those Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, they knew not even that there was one till they came to Thermopylae and learnt of it from the men of Trachis. This pass then they were resolved to guard, and so stay the foreigners' passage into Hellas, while their fleet should sail to
Hellas in the narrower sense, not including Thessaly.

2. Herodotus' points of the compass are wrong throughout.
Artemisium in the territory of Histiaea. These places are near together, so that each force could be informed of the other’s doings; and their nature is as I will now show.

176. As touching Artemisium first: the wide Thracian sea draws in till the passage between the island of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia is but narrow; and this strait leads next to Artemisium, which is a beach on the coast of Euboea, with a temple of Artemis thereon. The pass through Trachis into Hellas is at its narrowest fifty feet wide. Yet it is not here but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, namely, in front of Thermopylae and behind it; at Alpeni, which lies behind, it is but the breadth of a cart-way, and the same at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele. To the west of Thermopylae rises a high mountain inaccessible and precipitous, a spur of Oeta; to the east of the road there is nought but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called by the people of the country The Pots, and an altar of Heracles stands thereby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate therein; it was built by the Phocians for fear of the Thessalians, when these came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land which they now possess; inasmuch as the Thessalians were essaying to subdue them, the Phocians made this their protection, and in their in his description of Thermopylae; the road runs east and west, not north and south as he supposes; so “west” here should be “south” and “east” “north.” “In front” and “behind” are equivalent to “west” and “east” respectively.

* It is to be noted that in 480 the pass of Thermopylae was no longer in Phocian territory.
θερμών τότε ἔποιηκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαρα-
δρωθεὶς οἱ χώρος, πάν μηχανόμενοι ὁκὼς μὴ σφι
ἔσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τὸ μὲν
νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέσμητο καὶ
τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἴδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἐκείτο· τοῖς δὲ
αὐτὸς ὁρθώσασι ἔδωξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνει ὁπὸ τῆς
'Ελλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κἂν δὲ ἔστι ἀγχοτάτῳ
tῆς ὀδοῦ 'Ἀλπηνοὶ σύννομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισκεῖ-
σθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ 'Ελληνες.

177. Οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὖν τοῖς "Ελληνοῖς
ἐναι ἐφαίνουτο ἐπιτήδειοι· πάντα γὰρ προσκεφά-
μενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὐτε πλῆθεὶ ἔξωσι
χράσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ὑπό ταύτῃ σφι ἔδωξε
dέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα. ὡς δὲ
ἐπύθοντο τῶν Πέρσην ἔοντα ἐν Πειρή, διαλυθέντες
ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἑστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἐρμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ'
Ἀρτέμισιον.

178. Οἱ μὲν δὴ "Ελληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεσιν
dιαταχθέντες, Δελφοὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
ἔχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἐωτῶν καὶ τῆς
'Ελλάδος καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθη ἀνέ-
μοισι εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι
tῇ 'Ελλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξαμενοὶ τὸ
μαντήγιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἐλλήνων τοῖς βουλομένοις
ἐναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτο-
σι, καὶ σφι δεινὸς καταρρωδέσου τῶν βάρβαρον
ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἄθανατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ
δὲ ταύτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοισι βωμὸν τε
ἀπεδεῖξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς
Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστὶ, ἐπὶ ἤς καὶ οἱ χώροι οὖν
τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει, καὶ θυσίζει σφέας μετήσαν.

494
search for every means to keep the Thessalians from invading their country they then turned the stream from the hot springs into the pass, that it might be a watercourse. The ancient wall had been built long ago and time had by now laid the most of it in ruins; it was now built up again, that the foreigners' way into Hellas might thus be barred. Very near the road is a village, called Alpeni, whence the Greeks reckoned that they would get provender.

177. These places, then, were thought by the Greeks to suit their purpose; for after due survey they reckoned that the foreigners could not make use of their multitude, nor of their horsemen; and therefore they resolved, that here they would encounter the invader of Hellas. Then, hearing that the Persian was in Pieria, they broke up from the Isthmus and set out with their army to Thermopylae and their fleet to Artemisium.

178. So with all speed the Greeks went their several ways to meet the enemy. In the meantime, the Delphians, being sore afraid for themselves and for Hellas, enquired of the god, and the oracle was given them, That they should pray to the winds; for these would be potent allies of Hellas. Having received the oracle, the Delphians first sent word of it to such Greeks as desired to be free, for which message in their mortal fear of the foreigner these were for ever grateful; and next, they made an altar to the winds at Thyia, where is now the precinct of Thyia the daughter of Cephisus; and they offered sacrifices to them.
179. Δελφοί μὲν δῇ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται. ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ἀέρεξεως στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νυσὶ τῇσι ἀριστα πλεούσησι δέκα ιθὺ Σκιάθου, ἐνθὰ ἦσαν προφυλάσσονται νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιξηνίνθ τε καὶ Αἰγυαία καὶ Ἀττικὴ, προϊόντες δὲ οὕτως τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν.

180. Τὴν μὲν δῇ Τροιξηνίνθ, τῆς ἱρχὲ Πρηξίνος, αὐτικὰ αἱρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατῶν αὐτῆς τῶν καλλιστέουντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης τῆς νεὸς ἐσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρώτων καὶ καλλιστόν. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτω ὀνύμα ἡν Δέων’ τάχα δ’ ἀν τι καὶ τοῦ ὀνυόματος ἐπαύροιτο.

181. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγυαίη, τῆς ἑτρυπάρχεε Ἀσσωύδης, καὶ τινὰ σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην δς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νῆς ἡλικεῖ τοῦτο ἀντέχει μαχόμενος ἐς ὁ κατεκρεουργηθή ἀπας. ως δὲ πεσόνων οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐμπυονος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ περ ἐπεβάτουν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δς ἀρέτην τὴν ἐκείνου περιπόησαί μυν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαν, σμύρησι τε ἱώμενοι τὰ ἐλκεα καὶ σινδόνος βυσσάρις τελαμώσι κατελισσοῦσαν καὶ μυν, ως ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεθείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεύμενοι πάση τῆς στρατιῆς περιέποντες ευ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἐλαβον ἐν τῇ νη ταύτῃ περιεῖσθαι ως ἀνδράποδα.

1 διαδέξιον has been otherwise translated, as meaning “of
179. So the Delphians offer to the winds sacrifice of propitiation to this day by the oracle’s bidding. But Xerxes’ fleet set forth from the city of Therma, and the ten swiftest of the ships laid their course straight for Sciaithus, where there lay an advance guard of three Greek ships, a Troezenian and an Aeginetan and an Attic. These, when they sighted the foreigners’ ships, took to flight.

180. The ship of Troezen, whereof Prexinus was captain, was pursued and straightway taken by the foreigners, who thereupon brought the goodliest of its fighting men and cut his throat on the ship’s prow, so making a common sacrifice of the first and goodliest of their Greek captives. The name of him that was thus offered up was Leon; and mayhap it was his name that he had to thank for it.

181. But the Aeginetan trireme, whereof Asonides was captain, did even give them some trouble. There was a fighting man aboard, Pytheas son of Ischenous, who that day bore himself very gallantly; for his ship being taken, he would not give over fighting till he was all hacked about with wounds; and when he fell, yet was not slain but had life in him, the Persian soldiers on the ships were at great pains to save him alive for his valour, tending his wounds with ointments and wrapping him in bandages of linen cloth; and when they returned back to their own station, they showed him to the whole host in admiration, and made much of him and kindly entreated him. But the rest that they took in that ship they used as slaves.

good augury”; Stein derives it rather from διαδεχεσθαι, supposing the meaning to be “a sacrifice where the portions of the victim are handed round among the sacrificers.”

2 Commonly used for mummy-wrappings in Egypt; cp. II. 86.
182. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὔτω ἐξειρώθησαν ἢ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐπιμηράρχει Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίος, φεύγουσα ἔξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεως ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὅσο γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορίωσαν κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομισθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

183. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίω στρατοπεδεύομενοι πυθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξουσι μὲν τὸν Εὐρίπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ υψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοῖας. τῶν δὲ δεκαετῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπῆλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐνὸς Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίας, καλεσμένου δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπειδῇ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφι τὸ ἐμπτοδῶν ἐγερόνεε καθαρὸν, ἔπτεπλευν πάσης τῆς νηυσί, ἐνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγησατο ἐν ἐν τὸρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύρων. πανημερῶν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίας χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίες τε πόλιοι ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδως ἀκτῆς.

184. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τοῦτον τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἐν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τημικαίτα ἐτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐουσέων ἐπτα καὶ διηκοσεῶν καὶ χιλεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐόντα ὀμίλουν 498.
182. So two of the ships were thus made captive; the third trireme, whereof Phormus an Athenian was captain, ran ashore in her flight at the mouth of the Peneus, and the foreigners got the hull of her, but not the crew; for the Athenians, as soon as they had run their craft aground, leapt out of her and made their way through Thessaly to Athens.

183. The Greeks that had their station at Artemisium were informed of these matters by beacons from Scithus; whereupon, being affrighted, they changed their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, purposing to guard the Euripus, and leaving watchmen on the heights of Euboea. Three of the ten foreign ships ran foul of the reef called the Ant, between Scithus and Magnesia. The foreigners then brought a pillar of stone and set it on the reef; and presently, when their course was plain before them, the whole fleet set forth and sailed from Therma, eleven days after the king had marched thence. Pammon of Scyros it was who showed them where the reef lay, in the strait itself. Voyaging all day, the foreign fleet made Sepias in Magnesia and the beach between the town of Casthanaea and the Sepiad headland.

184. Until the whole host reached this place and Thermopylae it suffered no hurt; and calculation proves to me that its numbers were still such as I will now show. The ships from Asia being twelve hundred and seven, the whole multitude of all the nations, which was in them from the first, was two
τέσσερας καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογίζο-
μένοις ἐν ἑκάστῃ νῆλ. ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ του-
τέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἑκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων, Περσέων τε καὶ Μῆδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὕτος ἄλλος ὁμιλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκόσιοι τε καὶ δέκα. προσθήσω δὲ ἐτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὁ τι πλέον ἢν αὐτῶν ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν ὁγδόκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνεῖναι. συνελέξθη δὲ ταῦτα 
τὰ πλοία, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήθη, τρισχίλια. ἢδη ὁν ἄνδρες ἂν εἰεν ἐν αὐτοῖς τέσσερες μυριά-
δες καὶ εἰκοσι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης 
ναυτικῶν ἢν, σύμπαυ ἔων πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ 
μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἐπεισὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτης ἐπτὰ καὶ 
πρὸς ἑκατοντάδες ἔξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ 
ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν 
δὲ ἱππέων ὁκτώ μυριάδες. προσθήσω δὲ ἐτὶ 
τούτῳ τις καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαιώνους Ἀραβίους 
καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἀρματα Δίβνας, πλῆθος ποιήσας 
δισμύριοις ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τὸ τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν 
καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διη-
κόσια πε τομυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ 
πρὸς χιλιάδες ἐπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἔξ καὶ δεκάς. 
τούτῳ μὲν τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης ἑστράτευμα 
ἐξαναχθὲν εἰρήται, ἀνευ τῆς τῆς ἑρατῆς τῆς 
ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιναγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὁσοὶ 
ἐνέπλεον τοῦτοις.

185. Τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἐὐρώπης ἀγόμενον 
στράτευμα ἐτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ 
ἐξημιθμησῖν. δόκησι δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν 
500
hundred and forty-one thousand and four hundred men, two hundred being reckoned for each ship.\(^1\) On board of all these ships were thirty fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae, over and above the company which each had of native fighters; the sum of this added multitude is thirty-six thousand, two hundred and ten. But to this and to the first number I add the crews of the ships of fifty oars, reckoning each at eighty men, be they more or fewer. Now seeing that, as has already been said,\(^2\) there were collected three thousand of these craft, the number of men in them must be on that showing two hundred and forty thousand. These then were the ships' companies from Asia, and the total sum of them was five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. The footmen were shown to be seven hundred thousand and one hundred in number, and the horsemen eighty thousand; to whom I add the Arabian camel-riders and Libyan charioteers, reckoning them at twenty thousand men. Thus if the forces of sea and land be added together their total sum will be two millions, three hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. Thus far I have spoken of the armament that came from Asia itself, without the service-train that followed it and the corn-bearing craft and the companies thereof.

185. But I must still take into account, besides all the host that I have numbered, the armament brought from Europe, speaking to the best of my belief.

---

\(^1\) 200 was the usual complement for a Greek trireme—170 rowers, 30 fighters.

\(^2\) In 97. But Herodotus' total of 3000 there is only partly composed of fifty-oared ships.
νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥηϊκῆς "Ελλήνες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικείμενων τῇ Ῥηϊκῇ παρεῖχοντο ἐκκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν τουτέων τῶν νεῶν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Ῥηϊκῆς παρεῖχοντο καὶ Παίνοντες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαιοὶ καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικῶν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περφαίδοι καὶ Ἐνιῆς καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Ῥηϊκῆς τὴν παραλήπτην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἑθεόν τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκεός γενέσθαι. αὐτοὶ δὲν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθέναι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίς, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες δινόκοσι καὶ ἕξις κοιναὶ καὶ τέσσερες, ἐπεισὶ δὲ ταύτῃς ἐκατοντάδες ἐκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.

186. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἑόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσοῦτον, τὴν θεραπήν τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς συναγογοῖς ἀκάτοις ἑόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖς ἁμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατηγῇ τούτως τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκεός εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλεύνας. καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιέω ἵσους ἐκείνους εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλεύνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὔτε ἔξισούμενοι δὲ οὕτω τῷ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἱσας μυριάδας ἐκείνους. οὔτω πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἐκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἡγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείων μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν.

187. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεως στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδὲς ἀν εἶποι ἄτρεκέα ἀριθμόν οὗδ' αὐτῷ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 502
For ships, then, the Greeks of Thrace and the islands off Thrace furnished one hundred and twenty; the companies of these ships must then be twenty-four thousand men; and of the land army supplied by all the nations—Thracians, Paeonians, Eordi, Bottiaei, Chalcidians, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhaebi, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achaeans, dwellers on the seaboard of Thrace—of all these I suppose the number to have been three hundred thousand. These numbers being added to the numbers from Asia, the full tale of fighting men is seen to be two millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten.

186. Such was the sum of the fighting part of the whole; as for the service-train that followed them, and the crews of the light corn-bearing vessels and all the other craft besides that came by sea with the armament, these I suppose to have been no fewer but more than the fighting men. But put the case that they were as many, neither more nor fewer: then if they were equal to the fighting part they make up as many tens of thousands as the others; and thus the number of those whom Xerxes son of Darius led as far as the Sepiad headland and Thermopylae was five millions, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty.

187. That is the number of Xerxes' whole armament: but none can say what was the exact sum of cooking women, and concubines, and eunuchs; nor
κηνέων τῶν ἄχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ’ ἂν τούτων ύπὸ πλήθεος ούδεις ἀν εἶποι ἀριθμὸν. ὡστε οὖδέν μοι θῶμα παρισταται προδοῦναι τὰ ἰέθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστι δὲν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁκὼς τὰ σίτια ἀντέχρησε θῶμα μοι μυριάς τοσαύτης. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἐκατός τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέουν, ἐνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ’ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίων τε ἀλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα’ γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοις καὶ ὑποτυγχάσοι καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἂνδρῶν δὲ εἰσούσων τοσούτων μυριάδων, κάλλεος τε εἶνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἄξιωνικότερος ἢν αὐτοῦ Ἐξέθεω ἐχειν τούτο τὸ κράτος.

188. Ὅ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὀρμηθεῖς ἐπλεκε καὶ κατέσχε τῇς Μαγνησίας χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεον πρὸς γῆ, ἄλλαι δ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνησι ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων’ ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλοι, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέωντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὄκτῳ νέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὴν εὐφράνην οὔτω, ἀμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νημεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης ἐπέπεσε σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πόλλος ἁνέμος ἀπηλώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντῖνι καλέοσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χορία οἰκημένοι. ὁσοὶ μὲν οὐν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἁνέμον καὶ τοὺς οὔτω εἰχε ὀρμον, οἱ δ’ ἐφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιήγαν καὶ αἱ

1 The figure is wrong. Reckoning 48 choenixes to the
of the beasts of draught and burden, and the Indian dogs that were with the host, could any one tell the number, so many they were. Wherefore it is to me no marvel that some of the streams of water ran dry; rather I marvel how there were provisions sufficient for so many tens of thousands; for calculation shows me, that if each man received one choenix of wheat a day and no more, there would be every day a full tale of eleven hundred thousand and three hundred and forty bushels; and in this I take no account of what was for the women and eunuchs and beasts of draught and dogs. Of all those tens of thousands of men, for goodliness and stature there was not one worthier than Xerxes himself to hold that command.

188. The fleet having put to sea and come to the strand of Magne-ia which is between the town of Casthanaea and the Sepiad headland, the first comers of the ships lay close to the land, and others outside them at anchor; for the strand being of no great length, they lay eight ships deep, their prows pointing seaward. So it was with them for that night; but at dawn, after clear and calm weather, the sea began to boil, and there brake upon them a great storm and a strong east wind, that wind which the people of that country call the Hellespontian. As many of them as noted the wind’s rising, or so lay that this could be done, hauled their ships ashore ere the storm came, and thereby saved themselves

medimnus, Herodotus has of course divided 5,283,220 by 48. The right quotient is 110,067½. 5,280,000 divided by 48 produces 110,000; 3220 divided by 48 leaves a dividend, after the first stage of division, of 340, and this for some unexplained reason Herodotus has added to the quotient. The medimnus is the chief Attic unit for dry measure; said to be the equivalent of six gallons.
νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρρίας ἐλαβε, 
τὰς μὲν ἔξεφερε πρὸς Ἰπποῦς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν 
Πηλίω, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αὖ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν 
τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αὖ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν 
πόλιν, αὖ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν 
τὸν χειμῶνος χρήμα ἀφόρητον.

189. Δέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τὸν Βορέην 
ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφὶ ἄλλου 
χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. 
Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναικα 
Ἀττικήν, Ῥωμείνην τὴν Ἑρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ 
κήδος τούτο ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐς φάτις ὅρμηται, 
συμβαλλόμενοι σφίζε τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, 
ναυλοχέωτες τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Χάλκιδι ὡς ἔμαθον 
αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἤ καὶ πρὸ τοῦτο, ἐθύνοτο 
τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ῥω- 
μείνην τιμωρήσαι σφίζε καὶ διαφθείραι τῶν βαρ-
βάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθηνῶν. 
εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅρμεον 
Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἴπειν· οἱ δ᾽ ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι 
σφίζε λέγουσι βοηθῶσαν τὸν Βορέην πρότε-
ρον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἰδον 
ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἱδρύαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν 
Ἰλισσόν. 

190. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας ὦ ἔλαχιστας 
λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, 
ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλήθος 
ἀφθονον. ὡστε Ἀμεινοκλεῖ τῷ Κρητίνω άνδρὶ 
Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἡ 
ναυηγία αὕτη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύ-
σεα ποτήρια ύστερῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνειλέτο 
πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσέων.
and the ships; but the ships that were caught at sea were driven some on the rocks of Pelion called Ovens, and some on the beach; others were wrecked on the Sepiad headland itself, and others cast up at the town of Meliboea, or at Casthanaea. In truth the storm was past all bearing.

189. There is a tale that the Athenians at an oracle's bidding prayed to Boreas to aid them, another divination having been sent them that they should call for help to their son-in-law; the Greek story makes Boreas the husband of an Attic wife, Orithyia daughter of Erechtheus; by reason of which kinship the Athenians, if the tale current is to be believed, inferred that Boreas was their son-in-law, and when at their station of Chalcis they perceived that the storm was rising, then (or mayhap before that) they offered sacrifice and called on Boreas and Orithyia to aid them and destroy the foreigners' ships, even as before on the coast of Athos. Now if this was the cause that the wind Boreas assailed the foreigners, I cannot tell; however it be, the Athenians say that Boreas came to their aid before and that the present effect was of his achieving; and when they went home they built a temple of Boreas by the river Ilissus.

190. In that stress there perished by the least reckoning not fewer than four hundred ships, and men innumerable and a great plenty of substance; insomuch, that Aminocles son of Cretines, a Magnesian who held land about Sepias, was greatly benefited by that shipwreck; for he presently gathered many drinking-cups of gold and silver that were cast ashore, and he found Persian treasures,
εὐρε, ἀλλα τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἵν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνοι.

191. Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαβθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἄριθμός. ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ψηλόν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγών περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἐυτομά τε ποιεύτε καὶ καταείδουτε γόσπι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇ Νηρήσι τὸν θύοντες, ἐπανασαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἡ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἔθελων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἐθυνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἱώνων τὸν λόγον. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείν ὑπὸ Πηλεόν, εἴη τε ἀπασα ἡ ἀκτῇ ἡ Σηπτιᾶς ἐκεινῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων.

192. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυστο· τοὺς δὲ "Ἐλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι απὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Ἑβδομίκην καταδραμώντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἦς ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρώτος ἐγένετο, ἐσπήματον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγήν. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτηρί ηὐζάμενοι καὶ σπουδαῖς προχέαντες τὴν ταχύτητην ὁπίσω ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐπιτίσαντες οἰκίας τινάς σφι ἀντι-ξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας.

193. Οἷς μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνι σωτήρος ἐπωνυμίην ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἑτε καὶ ἐς τὸν νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατο τε ὁ ἀνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἐστρωτο, καταστάσαντες τὰς νέας ἐπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἀκρὴν τῆς 508
and won unspeakable wealth besides. Yet though luck greatly enriched him he was not in all things fortunate, for even he was afflicted by a grievous mishance in the slaying of his son.

191. The corn-bearing ships of merchandise and other craft destroyed were past all counting; wherefore the admirals of the fleet, fearing lest the Thessalians should set upon them in their evil plight, built a high fence of the wreckage for their protection. For the storm lasted for three days; and at last the Magians, by using victims and wizards' spells on the wind, and by sacrificing also to Thetis and the Nereids, did make it to cease on the fourth day, or mayhap it was not of their doing but of itself that it abated. To Thetis they sacrificed after hearing from the Ionians the story how that it was from this country that she had been carried off by Peleus, and all the Sepiad headland belonged to her and the other daughters of Nereus.

192. So on the fourth day the storm ceased; and the watchers ran down from the heights of Euboea on the second day after its beginning and told the Greeks all the story of the shipwreck; who, hearing this, offered prayer and libation to Poseidon their deliverer, and made all speed back to Artemisium, supposing that they would find but few ships to withstand them.

193. So they came back once more and lay off Artemisium; and ever since then to this day they have called Poseidon by the title of Deliverer. The foreigners, when the wind ceased and the waves no more ran high, put to sea and coasted along the

1 ἀλλα τε [χρύσεα] Stein.
Μαγνησίας ίδεαν ἐπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίας, ένθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπὶ ὑδάρῳ πεμφθέντα, εὑρ’ ἐπὶ τὸ κῶδας ἐπλεον ἐς Αιαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἐμελλον ὑδρευσάμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφῆσειν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ σύνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταί. ἐν τούτῳ ἄν ὅρμου ὁ Ἐξοξεος ἐποιευτο.

194. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἐτυχόν τε ὡςται πολλῶν ἔξαναχθείσαι καὶ κως κατεῖδου τάς ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίω τῶν Ἐλλήνων νέας, ἔδοξάν τε ὡς τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι ὁ βαρβαροὶ καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν ἐστρατηγεῖο ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπάρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίου τοῦ δὴ πρῶτον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρείου ἐπὶ αὐτὴ τοιῇδε λαβὼν ἀνεστάρωσε ἐόντα τῶν βασιλείων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε. ἀνακρημα-
σθέντος ὃν αὐτός, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ἐὑρὲ αἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς ὅλον τῶν βασιλείων. εὐρὼν δέ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρείος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτός ἡ σφώτερα ἐργα-
σμένος εἴη, ἐλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρείον ὄúτῳ διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περίς, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας καταπλώσας ἐμελλε οὗ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἐσεθαιν ὡς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσ-
πλέοντας οἱ Ἐλληνες, μαθῶντες αὐτῶν τὴν γν-

195. Ἐν τούτων μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἤλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἐν ἑτέρῃ δὲ ὁ
mainland, and turning the headland of Magnesia ran straight into the gulf that stretches toward Pagasae. There is a place on this gulf in Magnesia, where, it is said, Heracles was sent for water and so left behind by Jason and his comrades of the Argo, when they were sailing to Aea in Colchis for the fleece; for their purpose was to draw water thence and so launch out to sea; and thence that place has been called Aphetae. Here Xerxes' men made their anchorage.

194. Fifteen of those ships had put to sea a long time after all the rest, and it chanced that they sighted the Greek ships off Artemisium. Supposing these to be their own fleet, the foreigners held on their course into the midst of their enemies. Their captain was the viceroy from Cyme in Aeolia, Sandoces son of Thamasius; he had once before this, being then one of the king's judges, been taken and crucified by Darius because he had given unjust judgment for a bribe. But Sandoces having been hung on the cross, Darius found on a reckoning that his good services to the royal house were more than his offences; whereat the king perceived that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, and so set Sandoces free. Thus he escaped with his life from being put to death by Darius; but now that he was borne into the midst of the Greeks he was not to escape a second time; for when the Greeks saw the Persians bearing down on them they perceived their mistake, and put to sea and easily took them captive.

195. They took in one of these ships Aridolis, the despot of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the

1 More probably, the name (from ἀφέσω, to send off or launch) gave rise to the legend.
Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάμεια νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἐνδεκατῶν χειμῶνι τὸ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηππίαδα, μὴ τῇ περιγεγομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦλιῳ. τούτους οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρέξεως στρατηγῆς, ἀποτέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορυνθίων ἱσθμὸν.

196. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Σαυνδόκης στρατηγεύειν, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ἐρέξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιίας ἐσβεβηκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τρεῖτος ἐς Μηλιάς, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ μὲν ἀμίλλαν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τε ἐσωτερικῶν ἀποπεράμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἑπτοῦ, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλληνοῦ ἐνθα δὴ ἐν Ἐλληνίδες ἑπτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι πολλοὶ. τῶν μὲν μόνῃ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατηγῇ τὸ ἀρέθρον πυθόμενον τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίᾳ ποταμῶν ἑπτῶν ὡς ὡς ἐπίσημος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπείρουν, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαγώς.

197. Ἑς Ἄλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίας ἀπικομένῳ Ἐρέξη να κατηγομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενον τὸ πάν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Δαφνετίου Διός, ὡς Ἀθαμᾶς ὁ Αἰόλου ἔμηχανήσατο Φριξὼς μόρον σὺν Ἰνοὶ βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθείσι τούτῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀπογόνοις ἀέθλους τοιοῦτος δὲ ἄν ἦ τοῦ γενέους τουτοῦ πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργαζόμεθα τῷ λητικόν αὐτοῖς φυλακὰς ἔχουσι. λητιτὸν δὲ καλέσαντε τὸ πρωτανήμον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ. ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθη, οὐκ ἐστὶ ὅκως.
Paphian captain Penthylus son of Demonous; of twelve ships that he had brought from Paphos he had lost eleven in the storm off the Sepiad headland, and was in the one that remained when he was taken as he bore down on Artemisium. Having questioned these men and learnt what they desired to know of Xerxes' armament, the Greeks sent them away to the isthmus of Corinth in bonds.

196. So the foreign fleet, all but the fifteen ships whereof, as I have said, Sandoces was captain, came to Aphetae. Xerxes and his land army journeyed through Thessaly and Achaea, and it was three days since he had entered Malis. In Thessaly he made a race for his own horses, wherein he also tried the mettle of the Thessalian horse, having heard that it was the best in Hellas; and the Greek horses were far outpaced. Of the Thessalian rivers, the Onochonus was the only one that could not give water enough for his army's drinking. But in Achaea, even the greatest river there, the Apidanus, gave out, all but a sorry remnant.

197. When Xerxes was come to Alus in Achaea, his guides, desiring to inform him of all they knew, told him the story that is related in that country concerning the worship of Laphystian Zeus: how Athamas son of Aeolus plotted Phrixus' death with Ino, and further, how the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding compel Phrixus' posterity to certain tasks: namely, they bid the eldest of that family forbear to enter their town hall (which the Achaeans call the People's House), and themselves keep watch there;

1 The Apidanus and Enipeus unite; the whole stream, a tributary of the Peneus, is sometimes called Apidanus and sometimes Enipeus.

2 From λαδός or ληδός.
The legend, in its main features, originates in the cult of "Zeus Laphystius," a tribal god who, like the Jehovah of the O.T. and the Moloch and Melqart of the Phoenicians, has a right to all first-born, especially of the priestly house.
if he enter, he may not come out, save only to be sacrificed; and further also, how many of those that were to be sacrificed had fled away in fear to another country, but if they returned back at a later day and were taken, they had been brought into the town hall; and the guides showed Xerxes how the man is sacrificed, with fillets covering him all over and a procession to lead him forth. It is the descendants of Phrixus' son Cytissorus who are thus dealt with, because when the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding made Athamas son of Aeolus a scapegoat for their country and were about to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from Aea in Colchis and delivered him, but thereby brought the god's wrath on his own posterity. Hearing all this, Xerxes when he came to the temple grove forbore to enter it himself and bade all his army do likewise, holding the house and the precinct of Athamas' descendants alike in reverence.¹

198. These were Xerxes' doings in Thessaly and Achaea; whence he came into Malis along a gulf of the sea, in which the tide ebbs and flows daily.² There is low-lying ground about this gulf, sometimes wide and sometimes very narrow; and about it stand mountains high and inaccessible, enclosing the whole of Malis, called the Rocks of Trachis. Now the first town by the gulf on the way from Achaea is Anticyra, near to which the river Spercheus flows from the country of the Enieni and issues into the sea. About

In time human sacrifice is avoided by the substitution of a ram; but even then the first-born child must leave the country.³ Tidal movement is rare in the Mediterranean. But there is a strong ebb and flood in the Euripus, which is not far from the Malian gulf.
HERODOTUS

199. Ῥηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τοῦτον ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἀ Ῥηχίς πεπόλισται δισχίλια τε γάρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστὶ. τοῦ δὲ ὀρέος τὸ περικληπτὴν τὴν γῆν τὴν Ῥηχινίνην ἐστὶ διασφάξ ἐπὶ μεσαμβρίην Ῥηχινίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγους Ἀσσωπὸς ποταμὸς ρέει παρὰ τὴν υπορέχην τοῦ ὀρέους.

200. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξς ποταμὸς οὗ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσσωπὸν, δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων τοῦτον ρέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσσωπὸν ἐκδίδοι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμοῦ στεινότατον ἐστὶ· ἀμαξίτος γὰρ μοῦνη δέδημηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κόμη τε ἐστὶ τῆς οὐνομα Ἀνθήλης κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὔρυς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυόνοιδος ἱδρυται καὶ ἐδραί εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύσσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύσσοι ἱρόν.

201. Βασίλειος μὲν δὴ Ἐέρξης ἔστρατοπεδεύετο τῇς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Ῥηχινίνῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰννηνεῖς ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν

---

1 This must be a measure not of length but of superficial extent: more than 5000 acres.

516
twenty furlongs from that river is another named Dyras, which is said to have risen from the ground to aid Heracles against the fire that consumed him; and twenty furlongs again from that there is another river, called the Black river.

199. The town of Trachis is five furlongs distant from this Black river. Here is the greatest width in all this region between the sea and the hills whereon Trachis stands; for the plain is two million and two hundred thousand feet in extent. In the mountains that hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, wherethrough flows the river Asopus past the lower slopes of the mountains.

200. There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream, that flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is but the space of a single builded cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs distant from the river Phoenix. Between the river and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space about it wherein stands a temple of Amphictyonid Demeter, and seats withal for the Amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

201. King Xerxes, then, lay encamped in that part of Malis which belongs to Trachis, and the Greeks in the midst of the pass: the place where

Lit. dwellers around: neighbouring tribes forming a league, and sending representatives (Pylagcri) to a conference held twice a year.

In the space between the eastern and western narrow

Σκόποι.
ΗΡΟDéΤΟΣ

τῶν πλεόνων Ἔλληνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπε-
δεύοντο μὲν νυν ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρί-
οις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέων ἀνέμων ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνων, οἳ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότου καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

202. Ἡσαυ δὲ οὐδὲ Ἔλληνων οἴ ὁμένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσées ἐκατέρων, ἔξ 'Ορχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι τοσοῦτο μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὁγδόκοντα. οὕτωι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιεῶν τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203. Πρὸς τούτους ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Δοκροὶ τε οἱ 'Οπούντιοι πανστρατὴρ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέ-
γοντες δὴ ἀγγέλλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκουεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσ-
δόκιμοι πᾶσαι εἰέν ἡμέρην, ἡ θάλασσά τε σφι
eἰη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Ἀγιονητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τῶν νιατικῶν στρατῶν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἰη δεινὸν οὐδέν οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τήν Ἐλλάδα ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποῦ, εἶναι δὲ θυτῶν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐσεθαί τῷ κακῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένω οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖς δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὁφείλειν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἐπελαύνοντα,
BOOK VII. 201-203

they were is called by most of the Greeks Thermopylae, but by the people of the country and their neighbours Pylae. In these places, then, they lay encamped, Xerxes being master of all that was north of Trachis, and the Greeks of all that lay southward towards this part of the mainland.²

202. The Greeks that awaited the Persian in that place were these:—Of the Spartans, three hundred men-at-arms; a thousand Tegeans and Mantineans, half from each place; from Orchomenus in Arcadia a hundred and twenty, and a thousand from the rest of Arcadia; besides these Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty Mycenaeans. These were they who had come from Peloponnesus: from Boeotia, seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

203. Besides these the whole power of the Opuntian Locrians and a thousand Phocians had been summoned, and came. The Greeks had of their own motion summoned these to their aid, telling them by their messengers that they themselves had come for an advance guard of the rest, that the coming of the remnant of the allies was to be looked for every day, and that the sea was strictly watched by them, being guarded by the Athenians and Aeginetans and all that were enrolled in the fleet; there was nought (they said) for them to fear; for the invader of Hellas was no god, but a mortal man, and there was no mortal, nor ever would be, to whom at birth some admixture of misfortune was not allotted; the greater the man, the greater the misfortune; most surely then he that marched against them, being but mortal,

¹ West, properly speaking; “southward” below should be “eastward.”
² That is, Greece.
The regular number of the royal body-guard, the so-called ιππεῖς. No other translation of this sentence than what
would be disappointed of his hope. Hearing that, the Locrians and Phocians marched to aid the Greeks at Trachis.

204. All these had their generals, each city its own; but he that was most regarded and was leader of the whole army was Leonidas of Lacedaemon, whose descent was from Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxandrus, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Hegesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, Hyllus, Heracles; who was king at Sparta, yet had not looked to be such.

205. For since he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had renounced all thought of the kingship. But when Cleomenes died without male issue, and Dorieus was dead too (having met his end in Sicily), so it came about that the succession fell to Leonidas, because he was older than Anaxandrides' youngest son Cleombrotus, and moreover had Cleomenes' daughter to wife. He now came to Thermopylae, with a picked force of the customary three hundred,¹ and those that had sons; and he brought with him too those Thebans whom I counted among the number, whose general was Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas was at pains to bring these Thebans more than any other Greeks, because they were constantly charged with favouring

I have given is possible; but if "those that had sons" are added to the 300, this is inconsistent with the received tradition that there were only 300 Spartans at Thermopylae. There seems to be no explanation of the matter, except Dr. Ma•an's theory that Herodotus made a mistake. Of course if ἐπιλεξάμενος could mean "selecting from," the difficulty might be removed; but I do not think it can.
Ζειν̄ παρεκαλεῖ οὐν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφαινόσ τῆν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίνην. οὐ δὲ ἀλλοφρονεύοντες ἐπεμποῦν.

206. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδην πρῶτον ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτηταί, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύονται μηδὲ καὶ οὕτως μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους: μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἢν ἐμποδῶν, ἐμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωτο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαύτα ποιήσειν· ἢν γάρ κατὰ τῶν Ὁλυμπιαδὸς τούτοις τοῖς πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὕκων δοκέουσι κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλης πόλεμον ἐπεμποῦν τοὺς προδρόμους.

207. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωτο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλης "Ελληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τής ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέουντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐχεῖν ἐν φυλακῇ. Δεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Δοκρῶν περισσερχοῦντων τῇ γυνώμη ταύτη, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐγνηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελευντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθεῖν, ὡς οὕτως αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μῆδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208. Ταῦτα διοικούμενοι σφέων, ἐπεμπεῖ Ἐρέχθης κατάσκοπον ἱππέα ἱδέσθαι οἰκοσοι εἰσὶ
the Persian part; therefore it was that he summoned them to the war, because he desired to know whether they would send their men with him or plainly refuse the Greek alliance. They sent the men; but they had other ends in view.

206. These, the men with Leonidas, were sent before the rest by the Spartans, that by the sight of them the rest of the allies might be moved to arm, and not like others take the Persian part, as might well be if they learnt that the Spartans were delaying; and they purposed that later when they should have kept the feast of the Carnea,¹ which was their present hindrance, they would leave a garrison at Sparta and march out with the whole of their force and with all speed. The rest of the allies had planned to do the same likewise; for an Olympic festival fell due at the same time as these doings; wherefore they sent their advance guard, not supposing that the war at Thermopylae would so speedily come to an issue.

207. Such had been their intent; but the Greeks at Thermopylae, when the Persian drew near to the entrance of the pass, began to lose heart and debate whether to quit their post or no. The rest of the Peioponnesians were for returning to the Peloponnese and guarding the isthmus; but the Phocians and Locrians were greatly incensed by this counsel, and Leonidas gave his vote for remaining where they were and sending messages to the cities to demand aid, seeing that he and his were too few to beat off the Median host.

208. While they thus debated, Xerxes sent a mounted watcher to see how many they were and

¹ The national festival in honour of Apollo, held in September.
καὶ δ’ τι ποιεοίειν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἤδον ἐν Ὑσσαλίᾳ ὡς ἀλισμένῃ εἰς ταύτη γενεὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἱγεμόνας ὡς εἰςαν Λακεδαιμονίοι τα καὶ ἐν τοὶ ἁρκλείδης ἄνω γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππευς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθεικτὸ τε καὶ κατάρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς γὰρ ἐσῳ τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἰχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶα τῇ ἐν κατιδέσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὁπλα ἐκεῖτο. ἐτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ὁρόν Λακεδαιμονίοι ἐξω τεταγμένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὠρα γυμναζόμενους τῶν ἄνδρων, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενζουμένους. ταῦτα δὴ τεθέμενος θεώμαε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθῶν δὲ πάντα ἀπρεκέως ἀπῆλανυ ὀπίσω κατ’ ἱσυχίαν οὔτε γὰρ τὰς ἐδώκει ἀλογίας τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς. ἀπελθῶν τε ἐλεγε πρὸς Ἐρέξην τὰ περ ὀπώπε τάντα.

209. Ἀκούων δὲ Ἐρέξης οὐκ εἴχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἄν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολεόμενα κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ γελοία γὰρ ἐφαίνουτο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐστα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπεκόμενον δὲ μνειρώτα Ἐρέξης ἐκατὰ τοῦτον, ἐθέλον μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεόμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. δὲ ἔητε ὡς ἦκουσας μὲν καὶ πρῶτορὸν μεν, εὑτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτα με ἔθευν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὀρον ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀσκεῖν ἀντὶ σεβασίευ ἂγων μέγιστος ἐστι. ἀκούσαν δὲ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἄνδρες ὅτοι ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἣμιν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι ἐχὼν.
what they had in hand; for while he was yet in Thessaly, he had heard that some small army was here gathered, and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, Leonidas a descendant of Heracles among them. The horseman rode up to the camp and viewed and overlooked it, yet not the whole; for it was not possible to see those that were posted within the wall which they had restored and now guarded; but he took note of those that were without, whose arms were piled outside the wall, and it chanced that at that time the Lacedaemonians were posted there. There he saw some of the men at exercise, and others combing their hair. Marvelling at the sight, and taking exact note of their numbers, he rode back unmolested, none pursuing nor at all regarding him; so he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

209. When Xerxes heard that, he could not understand the truth, namely, that the Lacedaemonians were preparing to slay to the best of their power or be slain; what they did appeared to him laughable; wherefore he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp, and when he came questioned him of all these matters, that he might understand what it was that the Lacedaemonians were about. "I have told you already," said Demaratus, "of these men, when we were setting out for Hellas; but when you heard, you mocked me, albeit I told you of this which I saw plainly would be the outcome; for it is my greatest endeavour, O king, to speak truth in your presence. Now hear me once more: these men are come to fight with us for the passage, and for that they are preparing; for it is their custom to
οὐτώ ἦστι· ἐπεὶ δὲν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεοῦνται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτοις γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψει, ἐστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπομενεῖ χείρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληνὶ τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν Ἰὸν Ἔλλησι προσφέρει καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους."

κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξη ἀπίστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα δυνατα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωτοῦ στρατή μαχήσονται. δὲ ἐπὶ "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἄνδρι φεύστη, ἦν μὴ ταὐτά τοι ταὐτῇ ἐκβή τῇ ἐγώ λέγω."

210. Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπείθει τὸν Ξέρξην. τέσσαρας μὲν δὴ παρέξηκε ἥμερας, ἔλπιζον αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἄλλα οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναδείξῃ τε καὶ ἄβουλη διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπτε ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Μῆδος τε καὶ Κισσίων θυμωθεῖς, ἐντελάμενος σφέας ξωγρησαντας ἁγειν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐσφευρότα φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἔλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιτευκτον πολλοὶ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπεσῇσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπαθαύτησ. δὴ λοι δ' ἐποίειν παντὶ τεῳ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεύν, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποὶ εἶν, ὅλοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγινετο δὲ κυμβολὴ δι' ἱμέρης.

211. Ἐπείθε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περείποτο, ἐνθαυτὰ οὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπεξήμαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπίθαναν, τοὺς ἀθανατοὺς ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἦρχε 'Τῶρνῃσ, ὡς δὴ οὕτω πεθαίνως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὕτω συνέμισαν τοῖς Ἐλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἄτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε
dress their hair whenever they are about to put their lives in jeopardy. Moreover I tell you, that if you overcome these and what remains behind at Sparta, there is no other nation among men, O king! that will abide and withstand you; now are you face to face with the noblest royalty and city and the most valiant men in Hellas.” Xerxes deemed what was said to be wholly incredible, and further enquired of him how they would fight against his army, being so few. “O king,” Demaratus answered, “use me as a liar, if the event of this be not what I tell you.”

210. Yet for all that Xerxes would not believe him. For the space of four days the king waited, ever expecting that the Greeks would take to flight; but on the fifth, seeing them not withdrawing and deeming that their remaining there was but shamelessness and folly, he was angered, and sent the Medes and Cissians against them, bidding them take the Greeks alive and bring them into his presence. The Medes bore down upon the Greeks and charged them; many fell, but others attacked in turn; and though they suffered grievous defeat yet they were not driven off. But they made it plain to all and chiefly to the king himself that for all their number of human creatures there were few men among them. This battle lasted all the day.

211. The Medes being so roughly handled, they were then withdrawn from the fight, and the Persians whom the king called Immortals attacked in their turn, led by Hydarnes. It was thought that they at least would make short and easy work of the Greeks; but when they joined battle, they fared neither better nor worse than the Median soldiery, fighting
Χώρφ μαχομενοι και δόραι βραχυτέρουσι χρεώμενοι ἡ περ οἱ Ἐλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρῆσασθαι. Δακεδαμίονοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἀλλὰ τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νότα, ἀλέες φεύγουσιν δὴθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὄρωντες φεύγουντας βοῆ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀν καταλαμβάνομενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, μεταστρέφομενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτως τῶν Περσέων ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάτο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοῖς προσβάλλοντες, ἀπῆλαυνον ὑπίσω.

212. Ἐν ταύτησι τῇς προσόδοις τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θησυμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δεῖσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὗτο ηγούμενον, τῇ δ' ύστεραι οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἀμείνων ἀέθλεον. ἀτε γάρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐξπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶους τε ἐσεσθαι ἐτὶ χείρας ἀνταείρασθαι συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἤσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐκαστοῖ ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων οὕτοι δὲ ἐσ τὸ ὄρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξουντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὐρισκὸν ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπῆλαυνον.

213. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὅ τι χρῆσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλινεύς ἤλθε οἱ ὑπὸ λόγους. δὴ μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκέων οὐσεσθαι ἐφρασε τῇ τὴν ἀτραπόν
as they were in a narrow space and with shorter spears than the Greeks, where they could make no use of their numbers. But the Lacedaemonians fought memorably. They were skilled warriors against unskilled; and it was among their many feats of arms, that they would turn their backs and feign flight; seeing which, the foreigners would pursue after them with shouting and noise; but when the Lacedaemonians were like to be overtaken they turned upon the foreigners, and so rallying overthrew Persians innumerable; wherein some few of the Spartans themselves were slain. So when the Persians, attacking by companies and in every other fashion, could yet gain no inch of the approach, they drew off out of the fight.

212. During these onsets the king (it is said) thrice sprang up in fear for his army from the throne where he sat to view them. Such was then the fortune of the fight, and on the next day the foreigners had no better luck at the game. They joined battle, supposing that their enemies, being so few, were now disabled by wounds and could no longer withstand them. But the Greeks stood arrayed by battalions and nations, and each of these fought in its turn, save the Phocians, who were posted on the mountains to guard the path.¹ So when the Persians found the Greeks in no way different from what the day before had shown them to be, they drew off from the fight.

213. The king being at a loss how to deal with the present difficulty, Epialtes son of Eurydemus, a Malian, came to speak with him, thinking so to receive a great reward from Xerxes, and told him of

¹ For which see below, ch. 215, 216.
HERODOTUS

tʰ̣n dià toû ñr̩eos férousan ès Θηρμoπύλασ, kai
diēfbheire toûs taûtʰ̣̓h υπομεινάντας 'Ελλἠ̣νων.
ûsteroûn ðè deîsas ðakēdaiμónious èfyn̩e ès Θεο-
salîn̩h, kai ðì ðyν̩yntî ðû toûν ðυλαγόρων toû
'Arμfiκτυν̩wôn ès tʰ̣̓n ðυlaị̓n ñûllêgōmẹ̄̓nôn
âr̩yρiôn èpεkhrụ̂̓chụ̂̓h. χrŏn̩hû deûsteroûn, kâtílðe
 gáị̓r ès 'Aνtîkụ̂̓rụ̂̓h, àpèðâvû ñû 'Αðηνâdèw àûndρûs
Trhụ̂̓xînîû. ðè 'Αðηnâdès ðûtǒs àpêkêteîne ùên
'Épiaîl̩tèa ði' ìlûnî aûtînû, tʰ̣̓n ègò øn ðû tôû
ðêîsî ðêîsî lôgouî sêmâvêw, ètímîhû mèntô ðû
ðakêdaiμónwôn ðùdèv ðûsou.

214. 'Epiâlûthûs ðûn ðûtwû ðûsteroû tôûwû àpê-
thâvû, èstî ðè ètêrops lêgîmûnêwos lôgous, ðûs 'Oûnîhûs
tê ø Fànagôrëw àûnûr Kàrrûstîos kai Kôrûdallûs
'Àntîkûrêûs èisî ðî ðûîpàntûs ðûs bâsiléa tôûwû
 tôûs lôgous kai pêrîîhîsâmûnû tô ôpòs tôûsî
Pèrûsîsî, ðûðàmûsî èmûÎiγû pîstôsî. tôûto mân ðûr
 tôû ðûðè ðrûhû sàtûmûsàsàshî, ðtî îî ðî tôûn 'Eûlînûw
Pûlûgûrûë epêkhrûzûwûn oûk èplî 'Oûnîhû te kai
Kôrûdallû àûrûrîôn àûl' èplî 'Epiâlûthû tû
Trhụ̂̓xînîw, pàûtwû kô tû àûtrêkêstûtûn pûthûmûnô
 tôûto ðè ðêîsî fêûγûntà 'Epiâlûthûn tâûtûh tûn aûtînû
 oûðâmûn. èiðêîh mân ðûr àûn kai èwûn ðû Mûllîwûs
tâûtûh tûn àûtrûpûn 'OûnîhûsÎ, èî tûh ðûrûh pûllà
ômîlûkûs eîh' àûl' 'Epiâlûthûs ðûr èstî ø pêrê-
îhîsâmûnû tô ôpòs kàtû tûn àûtrûpûn, tôûtwôn
aûtînû yraûfû.

215. Ýérêûs ðè, èpêî ðûresî tû ðûpûsçhêto ø
'Epiaîlûthûs kàtergàsûsûshôî, àûtîkû pêrîhàrûs gê-
vûmûnûs èpemûpê 'Tôðàrûwëa kai tôûn èstôpûtaîyugëe

1 Cp 200 (note).
2 The expression proves Herodotus' intention of con-
the path leading over the mountain to Thermopylae; whereby he was the undoing of the Greeks who had been left there. This Epialtes afterwards fled into Thessaly, for fear of the Lacedaemonians; and he being so banished a price was put on his head by the Pylagori when the Amphictyons sat together in their council at Thermopylae; and a long time after that, having returned to Anticyra, he was slain by Athenades, a man of Trachis. It was for another cause (which I will tell in the latter part of my history) that this Athenades slew Epialtes, but he was none the less honoured for it by the Lacedaemonians.

214. Such was the end of Epialtes at a later day. There is another story current, that it was Onetes son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra, who spoke to the king to this effect and guided the Persians round the mountain; but I wholly disbelieve it. For firstly, we must draw conclusion from what the Pylagori did; they set a price on the head of the Trachinian Epialtes, not of Onetes and Corydallus; and it must be supposed that they used all means to learn the truth; and secondly, we know that Epialtes was for this cause banished. I do not deny that Onetes might know the path, even though not a Malian, if he had many times been in that country; but the man who guided them by that path round the mountain was Epialtes, and on him I here fix the guilt.

215. Xerxes was satisfied with what Epialtes promised to accomplish; much rejoicing thereat, he sent Hydarnes forthwith and Hydarnes’ following; and

continuing his history beyond 479, the year with which Book IX ends.
Plutarch in his life of Cato (13) describes the difficulty which troops under Cato’s command encountered in trying to follow it.
BOOK VII. 215–217

they set forth from the camp about the hour when lamps are lit. Now this path had been discovered by the Malians of the country, who guided the Thessalians thereby into Phocis, at the time when the Phocians sheltered themselves from attack by fencing the pass with a wall; thus early had the Malians shown that the pass could avail nothing. 2

216. Now the path runs thuswise. It begins at the river Asopus which flows through the ravine; the mountain there and the path have the same name, Anopaea; this Anopaea crosses the ridge of the mountain and ends at the town of Alpenus, the Locrian town nearest to Malis, where is the rock called Blackbuttock and the seats of the Cercopes; and this is its narrowest part. 3

217. Of such nature is the path; by this, when they had crossed the Asopus, the Persians marched all night, the Oetean mountains being on their right hand and the Trachinian on their left. At dawn of day they came to the summit of the pass. Now in this part of the mountain-way a thousand Phocians were posted, as I have already shown, to defend their own country and guard the path; for the lower pass was held by those of whom I have spoken, but the path over the mountains by the Phocians, according to the promise that they had of their own motion given to Leonidas.

1 This is Stein’s interpretation; others make οὐδὲν χρηστῆ refer to the ἄτρων, meaning there “pernicious.”

2 The Cercopes, mischievous dwarfs, had been warned against a “μελάμπυνγος” enemy. Heracles, to rid the country of them, carried off two on his back, hanging head downwards, in which position they had every opportunity of observing his title to the above epithet; until their jests on the subject moved him to release them.
218. Ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκέες ὅτε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὄρος πάν ἐὼν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ νυνεμίη, ψόμου δὲ γιυμένου πολλοῦ, ὡς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσί, ἀνά τε ἐδραμοί οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὅς δὲ εἰδὼν ἄνδρας ἐνυφυμένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐπὸμενοι γὰρ συνεδέασθαι ἀντίξοις ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ, ἔθαυτὰ Ἰδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔσωσι Δακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰρέτο Ἐπιαλτὴν ὁποδαπὸς εἰς ὁ στρατός, πυθὸμενος δὲ ἀτρέκεως διέτασε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοίς τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, οὗτοι δὲ φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν κόρυμβων, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὁρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τᾳῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιαλτὴν καὶ Ἰδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τάχος.

219. Τούτω δὲ ἐν Θερμοπολίς ἐσοίης Ἔλληνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγίστης ἐσιδῶν ἦς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἑσεθαί ἀμα ἢο φι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρὶτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἦδη διαφαίνοιτις ἡμέρης. ἐνθαύτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἔλληνες, καὶ σφέων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γυναῖκες οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄσκ ἐων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλυπείν, οἱ δὲ ἀντίτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τούτω διακριθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδα-
218. Now the mountain-side where the Persians ascended was all covered by oak woods, and the Phocians knew nothing of their coming till they were warned of it, in the still weather, by the much noise of the enemy's tread on the leaves that lay strewn underfoot; whereupon they sprang up and began to arm, and in a moment the foreigners were upon them. These were amazed at the sight of men putting on armour; for they had supposed that no one would withstand them, and now they fell in with an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians, and asked Epialtes of what country they were; being informed of the truth he arrayed the Persians for battle; and the Phocians, assailed by showers of arrows, and supposing that it was they whom the Persians had meant from the first to attack, fled away up to the top of the mountain and prepared there to perish. Such was their thought; but the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes paid no regard to the Phocians, but descended from the mountain with all speed.

219. The Greeks at Thermopylae were warned first by Megistias the seer; who, having examined the offerings, advised them of the death that awaited them in the morning; and presently came deserters, while it was yet night, with news of the circuit made by the Persians; which was lastly brought also by the watchers running down from the heights when day was now dawning. Thereupon the Greeks held a council, and their opinions were divided, some advising that they should not leave their post, and some being contrariwise minded; and presently they parted asunder, these taking their departure and
σθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἐκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμα Λεωνίδη μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφέας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλογανται κηδόμενος. αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Ἑρακλείτης οἱ οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἴδιον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπείτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἑόντας ἀπροθύμονας καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντας συνδιακιν- δυνεῖσιν, κελεύσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπεῖναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Ἐπάρτης εὐδαιμονίᾳ οὐκ ἔξηλεῖφετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας τοῖς Ἑρακλείτησι χρεωμένοις περί τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἑγειρομένου, ἡ Λα- κεδαιμονίᾳ ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλεία σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταύτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροις χρὰ λέγοντα ὅδε.

ύμιν δ', ὡς Ἐπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο, ἢ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδείς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσειδῆσι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης πενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον Λακεδαιμόνους οὐρος. οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρον σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων ἀντιβήν. Ζηνόδος γὰρ ἔχει μένος: οὐδὲ ἐ φημὶ σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν ἔτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.
dispersing each to their own cities, and those resolving to remain where they were with Leonidas.

220. It is said indeed that Leonidas himself sent them away, desiring in his care for them to save their lives, but deeming it unseemly for himself and the Spartans to desert that post which they had first come to defend. But to this opinion I the rather incline, that when Leonidas perceived the allies to be faint of heart and not willing to run all risks with him he bade them go their ways, departure being for himself not honourable; if he remained, he would leave a name of great renown, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out. For when the Spartans enquired of the oracle concerning this war at its very first beginning, the Pythian priestess had prophesied to them that either Lacedaemon should be destroyed of the foreigners, or that its king should perish: which answer was given in these hexameter verses:

Fated it is for you, ye dwellers in wide-wayed Sparta,
Either your city must fall, that now is mighty and famous,
Wasted by Persian men, or the watcher of fair Lacedaemon.
Mourn for a king that is dead, from Heracles' line descended.
Yea, for the foe thou hast nor bulls nor lions can conquer;
Mighty he cometh as Zeus, and shall not be stayed in his coming;
One of the two will he take, and rend his quarry asunder.
221. Μαρτυριον δὲ μοι καὶ τὸδε ὦκ ἐλάχιστον τούτον πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν δὲ εἴπετο τῇ στρατηγῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίνῃ τῶν Ἀκαρνανίων, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμπυδος, τούτων εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰρῶν τὰ μέλλοντα σφὶ ἐκβαίνειν, φανερὸς ἔστι Δεονίδης ἀποπέμπτων, ἦν μὴ συναπολύται σφὶ. ὃ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὦκ ἀπέλιπε, τὸν δὲ παίδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔόντα οἱ μουνογενεῖα, ἀπέτεμψε.

222. Οἱ μὲν υἱὸν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οὖχοντο τε ἀπιόντες καὶ ἐπείδοντο Δεονίδη, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Δακεδαμονίοισι. τοῦτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεἰχε γὰρ σφεὰς Δεονίδης ἐν όμηρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος. Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μᾶλιστα, οὐ οὖκ ἐφασάν ἀπολύτοντες Δεονίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατηγεῖ δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεως.
Of this (it is my belief) Leonidas bethought himself, and desired that the Spartans alone should have the glory; wherefore he chose rather to send the allies away than that the departure of those who went should be the unseemly outcome of divided counsels.

221. In which matter I hold it for one of my strongest proofs, that Megistias the Acarnanian (reputed a descendant of Melampus), who advised the Greeks from the offerings of what should befal them, was past all doubt bidden by Leonidas to depart, lest he should perish with the rest. Yet though thus bidden Megistias himself would not go; he had an only son in the army, and him he sent away instead.

222. So those of the allies who were bidden to go went their ways in obedience to Leonidas, and the Thespians and Thebans alone stayed by the Lace daemonians; the Thebans indeed against their will and desire, and kept there by Leonidas as hostages; but the Thespians remained with great goodwill. They refused to depart and leave Leonidas and his comrades, but remained there and died with him. Their general was Demophilus son of Diadromes.

223. Xerxes, having at sunrise offered libations, waited till about the hour of marketing and then made his assault, having been so advised by Epialtes; for the descent from the mountain is more direct and the way is much shorter than the circuit and the ascent. So the foreigners that were with Xerxes attacked; but the Greeks with Leonidas, knowing

---

1 Stein reads μοῦνον, with most MSS.; but μοῦνον has some authority, and expresses the sense much better.
2 So that the Persians who came by the Anopaea path, leaving the top of the pass at dawn (cp. 217), could reach the low ground by the early forenoon.
θανάτω ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἕδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχάς ἐπεξήγαγαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐρμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οὐ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξίόντες ἐς τὰ στεινότορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν ἔπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὁπίσθεν γὰρ οἱ ἠγεμόνες τῶν τελεόν ἔχοντες μᾶστιγας ἐρράπτιζον πάντα ἀνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεύνες κατεπατέοντο ξῶλ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὗδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυτο ῥώμης ὡςον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τὸισι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαύτα ἕδη ἐτύγχανε κατεγορᾶ, οὐ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Δεονύδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνήρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἐτεροί μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομαστοι Σπαρτιντέων, τῶν ἔγω ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἄξιων γενομένων ἐπιθόμην τὰ σοῦμάτα, ἐπιθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὄνομαστοι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες 'Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ 'Τπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεως θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ο δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἄδελφες, 'Τστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παις· δὲ καὶ ἐκείδους τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μοῦνης οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. 54ο
that they went to their death, advanced now much farther than before into the wider part of the strait. For ere now it was the wall of defence that they had guarded, and all the former days they had withdrawn themselves into the narrow way and fought there; but now they met their enemies outside the narrows, and many of the foreigners were there slain; for their captains came behind the companies with scourges and drove all the men forward with lashes. Many of them were thrust into the sea and there drowned, and more by far were trodden down bodily by each other, none regarding who it was that perished; for inasmuch as the Greeks knew that they must die by the hands of those who came round the mountain, they put forth the very utmost of their strength against the foreigners, in their recklessness and frenzy.

224. By this time the spears of the most of them were broken, and they were slaying the Persians with their swords. There in that travail fell Leonidas, fighting most gallantly, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learnt for their great worth and desert, as I have learnt besides the names of all the three hundred.1 There too fell, among other famous Persians, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, two sons of Darius by Phratagune daughter of Artanes. This Artanes was brother to king Darius, and son of Hystaspes who was the son of Arsames; and when he gave his daughter in marriage to Darius he dowered her with the whole wealth of his house, she being his only child.

1 Leonidas' body was brought to Sparta and there buried in 440; a column was erected on his grave bearing the names of the three hundred, which Herodotus probably saw.
HERODOTUS

225.

οὐκ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ
καὶ ἴπτον ὁ θεὸς ὧν ἐπούσσωσαν διὰ τοὺς αἰτιοὺς, ἂν ἐτέλεσθαι οὐκ ἔποιησεν." Σὺ δὲ προῆκας ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰρήνευσας τὴν τοῦ ἐπούσσους θεὸν, ἵνα ἡ γῆ ἀφελθῇ, καθὼς ἡ προειρήσθη σαράντα μῆνες, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔκρυσεν τὸν μεγάλον θάνατον, ἦτορ μὲν ἔστη θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος τῶν ἵπτων, ἐίπεντο τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦ μεγάλου θάνατος τοῦ ἐπούσσους θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεγάλον θάνατον τοῦ ἐπούσσους θεοῦ ἔκρυσεν τὴν γῆν. Ἡ γῆ ἀφελθῆσθαι ἦσαν ἐπούσσους αἰτίας, ἔστησαν τοὺς ἰπτόμενους, ἔστησαν τοὺς ἰπτόμενους ἡ γῆ. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος ἦσαν ἐπούσσους αἰτίας. Εἰ δὲ τὸν μεγάλον θάνατον τοῦ κριόνος ἐπούσσους αἰτίας ἔκρυσεν τὴν γῆ, ἐφεξῆς ἐπούσσους ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος ἐδέω, ἢ ἂν τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος τοῦ ἐπούσσους θεοῦ ἔκρυσεν τὴν γῆν. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος ἦσαν ἐπούσσους αἰτίας. Ἡ γῆ ἀφελθῆσθαι ἦσαν ἐπούσσους αἰτίας. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ κριόνος ἦσαν ἐπούσσους αἰτίας.
225. So two brothers of Xerxes fell there in the battle; and there was a great struggle between the Persians and Lacedaemonians over Leonidas' body, till the Greeks of their valour dragged it away and four times put their enemies to flight. Nor was there an end of this melly till the men with Epialtes came up. When the Greeks were aware of their coming, from that moment the face of the battle was changed; for they withdrew themselves back to the narrow part of the way, and passing within the wall they took post, all save the Thebans, upon the hillock that is in the mouth of the pass, where now stands the stone lion in honour of Leonidas. In that place they defended themselves with their swords, as many as yet had such, ay and with fists and teeth; till the foreigners overwhelmed them with missile weapons, some attacking them in front and throwing down the wall of defence, and others standing around them in a ring.

226. Thus did the men of Lacedaemon and Thespiae bear themselves. Yet the bravest of them all (it is said) was Dieneces, a Spartan, of whom a certain saying is reported: before they joined battle with the Medes, it was told Dieneces by a certain Trachinian that the enemies were so many, that when they shot with their bows the sun was hidden by the multitude of arrows; whereby being no whit dismayed, but making light of the multitude of the Medes, "Our friend from Trachis," quoth he, "brings us right good news, for if the Medes hide the sun we shall fight them in the shade and not in the sunshine."
227. Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα ἔπεα 
φασὶ Δηνέκεα τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνη-
μόσνα: μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀριστεύει λέγονται 
Δακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μά-
ρων Ὀρσιφάντων παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμησε 
μάλιστα τῷ οὖνομα ἵνα Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

228. Θαφθείσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταῦτῃ τῇ περ 
έπεσον, καὶ τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἡ ὑπὸ 
Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οὐχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται 
γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

μυρίσων ποτὲ τῇ δε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο 
ἐκ Πελοποννᾶσοι χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς πάσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖς δὲ 
Σπαρτιήτρισι ἵδιη.

ὁ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Δακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇ δὲ 
κείμεθα τοῖς κεῖσθαι πρήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Δακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τὸδε.

μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μήδοι 
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτείνασιν ἀμείψαμενοι,

μάντιος, δὲ τὸτε κήρας ἑπερχομένας σάφα εἰδῶς 
οὐκ ἔτη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπέειν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ 
μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύοιες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμησαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίων 
Σιμωνίδης ὁ Δευπρέπεος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίν ὁ 
ἐπιγράφας.

229. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται 
Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἄριστόδημον, παρεῦαν αὐτοῖσι

1 As a matter of fact Simonides composed all three
227. This and other sayings of a like temper are recorded of Dieneces, whereby he is remembered. The next after him to earn the palm of valour were, it is said, two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

228. All these, and they that died before any had departed at Leonidas' bidding, were buried where they fell, and there is an inscription over them, which is this:

Four thousand warriors, flower of Pelops' land,
Did here against three hundred myriads stand.
This is the inscription common to all; the Spartans have one for themselves:

Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their words we lie.
That is for the Lacedaemonians, and this for the seer:

Here fought and fell Megistias, hero brave,
Slain by the Medes, who crossed Spercheius' wave;
Well knew the seer his doom, but scorned to fly,
And rather chose with Sparta's king to die.

The inscriptions and the pillars were set there in their honour by the Amphictyons, except the epitaph of the diviner Megistias; that inscription was made for him for friendship's sake by Simonides son of Leoprepes.¹

229. There is a story told concerning two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus. Leonidas inscriptions; but the epitaph of Megistias was the only one which he made at his own cost.
άμφωτέροις κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοις ἢ ἀπο-
σωθήναι ὁμοί ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε
ήσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Δεωνίδων καὶ
κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖς ὁφθαλμῶντες ἐς τὸ
ἐσχατον, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀπο-
θανεῖν ἀμα τοισι ἄλλοισι, παρεόν σφι τούτων
τὰ ἐτερα ποιέειν οὐκ ἑθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ
γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας Εὐρυτον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν
Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντα τε τὰ ὀπλα
καὶ ἐνυδότα ἁγεῖν ἐωτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἰλωτά
ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτῶν ἢγαγε, τὸν μὲν
ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα
ἐς τὸν ὁμίλον διαφαρῆσθαι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ
λυποψυχέοντα λειφθήναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἡ μοῦνον
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγήσαντα ἢ απονοστῆσαι ἐς Σπάρ-
την ἡ καὶ ὁμοῖ σφεών ἄμφωτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν
gενέσθαι, δοκεῖσιν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφὶ Σπαρτῆτας
μὴν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν
αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένον
προφάσιον οὐκ ἑθελῆσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀν-
ἀγκαίος σφὶ ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστο-
δήμῳ.

230. Οἱ μὲν νυν οὗτο σωθήναι λέγουσι Ἀριστό-
δῆμον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οἱ δὲ
ἀγγελον πεμφθέντα εκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεῦθεν αὐτῷ
καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἑθελῆσαι,
ἀλλ' ὑπομείνατα εὖ τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ
συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀπο-
θανεῖν.

231. 'Απονοστῆσας δὲ ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀρι-
στόδημος εἶχε οὐνείδος τε καὶ ἀτιμίν πάσχοι
δὲ τοιάδε ἦτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔνανε
546
had suffered them both to leave the camp, and they were lying at Alpeni, very sick of ophthalmia; they might have both made common cause and returned in safety to Sparta, or if they had no desire to return have died with the rest; but though they might have done one thing or the other, they could not agree, and each followed his own plan. Eurytus, when he learnt of the Persians' circuit, called for his armour and put it on, and bade his helot lead him into the battle; the helot led him thither and then himself fled; and Eurytus rushed into the press and was slain. But Aristodemus' heart failed him, and he stayed behind. Now if Aristodemus alone had been sick, and so returned to Sparta, or if they had betaken themselves home together, then to my thinking the Spartans would have shown no anger against them; but as it was, when one of the two was slain, and the other had the selfsame pretext to rely upon, yet would not die, they could not but be very wroth with Aristodemus.

230. Some, then, say that it was thus and with such an excuse that Aristodemus came safe back to Sparta; according to others he had been sent on a message from the camp, and might have come back in time for the battle's beginning, yet would not, but lingered on the way and so saved his life; whereas his fellow-messenger returned for the battle and was there slain.

231. When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon, he was disgraced and dishonoured; this was the manner of his dishonour, that no Spartan would give

1 Stein reads ἀλογήσαντα. of which I can make no good sense. There is MS. authority for both.
Σπαρτητέων ούτε διελέγετο. ὁνειδὸς δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος.

232. 'Αλλ' ο μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσαν αἰτίνα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἅλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τρικοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Παντίτην νοστίσαντα δὲ τούτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὦς ἦτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

233. Ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Δεοντιάδης ἑστρατήγησε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλείας στρατιῶν τῷ δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρόγραμμα, οὗτο δὴ, τῶν σὺν Δεοντιάδῃ Ἐλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τῶν κολωνίων, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χειράς τε προετεινὸν καὶ ἤμας ἀναφέν τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθεστατὸν τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ ἐν πρώτοις ἐδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοινότα καὶ ἀναίτιοι ἐίναι τοῦ τρόματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεία. ὡστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγύνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θισσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· οὐ μὲντοι τὰ γε πάντα εὐτύχειαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεύνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω ἐστίζον στίγματα βασιλεία, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δεοντιάδου τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιάς στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαιῶν τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιών.

234. Ὁ δὲ ἦν περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἐλλήνως 548
him fire, nor speak with him; and they called him for disgrace, Aristodemus the coward.

232. But he repaired all that was laid to his charge in the fight at Plataeae. It is said too that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, was saved alive, carrying a message into Thessaly; he also returned to Sparta, but being there dishonoured hanged himself.

233. As for the Thebans, whose general was Leontiades, they were for a while with the Greeks and constrained by necessity to fight against the king’s army; but as soon as they saw the Persians gaining the upper hand, then, when the Greeks with Leonidas were pressing towards the hillock, the Thebans separated from them and drew nigh to the foreigners, holding out their hands and crying that they were the Persians’ men and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king; it was under constraint (they said) that they had come to Thermopylae, and they were guiltless of the harm done to the king; which was the truest word ever spoken; so that by this plea they saved their lives, the Thessalians being there to bear witness to what they said. Howbeit they were not wholly fortunate; for when the foreigners caught them coming, they even slew some of them as they drew near; the most of them were branded by Xerxes’ command with the king’s marks, from their general Leontiades downwards. This is he whose son Eurymachus long afterwards put himself at the head of four hundred Thebans and seized the citadel of Plataeae, but was slain by the Plataeans.

234. Thus did the Greeks at Thermopylae contend.

1 In 431; cp. Thucyd. II. 2 ff.
οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, Ἐρέβης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἄρξάμενος ὑθείτε. "Δημάρητε, ἄνηρ Ἰσ ἀγαθός, τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὃσα γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δὲ μοι εἰπέ, κόσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἴτε καὶ ἄπαντες." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὤ βασιλεύ, πλήθος μὲν πολλῶν πάντων τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεως πολλαί τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἄνδρῶν ὀκτακισ- χιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοίω τοῖς ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισιν οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Δακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοίοι, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἐρέβης "Δημάρητε, τέω τρόπῳ ἀπονήτωτα τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων ἐπι- κρατήσουμεν; ἦθελεν ἐξηγεῖν σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεύς γενόμενος." 235. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο "Ὤ βασιλεύ, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβούλευει μοι προθύμοις, δίκαιον με σοὶ ἐστὶ φράσειν τὸ ἁριστὸν· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιᾶς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Δάκαναν χώρην. ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἄνηρ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν σοφότατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέζον ἄν ἐφη εἴναι Σπαρτήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τὶ προσδοκῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐγὼ ἐξηγοῦμαι, οὕτω τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδός, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβε- ρόμενος ἄνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νῆσου ὄρμωμενοι φοβεόντων τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους. παρ- οίκου δὲ πολέμου σφὶ ἑόντος οἰκήσω, οὐδὲν 550
Xerxes then sent for Demaratus and questioned him, saying first, "Demaratus, you are a right good man. I hold that proved by the plain truth; for the event has been none other than what you foretold. Now, tell me this: how many are the Lacedaemonians that are left, and how many of them are warriors like these? or is it so with them all?" "O king," said Demaratus, "the Lacedaemonians altogether are many in number, and their cities are many. But what you would know, I will tell you: there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have here fought; the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these; yet they are valiant men." "And how, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, "shall we with least ado master those men? Come, make that plain to me; for you have been their king, and know the plan and order of their counsels."

235. "O king," Demaratus replied, "if you do in sincerity ask my counsel, it is but right that I should point out to you the best way. It is this: that you should send three hundred ships of your fleet to the Laconian land. There is an island lying off their coasts called Cythera, whereof it was said by Chilon, a man of much wisdom among us, that for the Spartans' advantage Cythera were better beneath the sea than above it; for he ever looked that some such business should spring from thence as I now set before you; not that he had any foreknowledge of your armament, but he dreaded all men's armaments alike. Let them then make that island their station and issue thence to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians; if these have a war of their own on their borders, you will have no cause to fear lest they send
δεινοὶ ἐσονταὶ τοῦ μὴ τῆς ἄλλης; Ἐλλάδος ἀλεσκομένης ὅποτε τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ. κατα-
δουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος ἀσθενεῖς ήδὲ τὸ Δακωνικὸν μοῦνον λειτεται. ἥν δὲ ταύτα μὴ 
ποιέσ, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἐσεσθαί. ἐστὶ τῆς 
Πελοποννήσου Ἰσθμός στεινὸς· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ 
pάντων Πελοπονησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ 
μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομενέων προσ-
dέκευ ἐσεσθαί τοι. ἐκείνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ σὲ 
τοῖο ἰσθμὸν οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσιν.

236. Δέχεται τοῦτον Ἀχαιμένην, ἀδελφέος 
tε ἑῶν Ξέρξεων καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατη-
γὸς, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀνα-
γνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταύτα, ὡς Ἡβασίλευς, ὁρῶ 
σε ἁνδρὸς ἐνδεκομενον λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὐ 
πρήσοντι ἵ καὶ προδίδοι πρήγματα τὰ σὰ, καὶ 
γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποις τοιοῦτοις χρεώμενοι Ἐλλη-
νεσ χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐνυχείνι φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ 
κρέσσον στυγέουσι. ἐι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆσι παρεουσῆσι 
tύχησι, τῶν νεὼς νενισχήκασι τετρακώσιαι, 
ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις 
περιπλέειν Πελοποννήσου, ἄξιόμαχοι τοι γίνονται 
οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἄλης δὲ ἑῶν ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς 
dυσμεταχείριστος τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται, καὶ ἄρχην 
ὑκ ἄξιόμαχοι τοι ἐσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ 
πεζῷ ἁρκεῖ καὶ ὁ πέζῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευό-
μενος· εἰ δὲ διασπᾶσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἐσεῖς ἐκεῖνοις 
χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι σοὶ. τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον 
eὐ γνῶμην ἕχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέ-
γεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον 
tὰ τε ποιήσουσι όσοι τε πλῆθος εἰςί. ἵκαιοι γὰρ 
ἐκεῖνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἐωτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰςί, 
552
men to save the rest of Hellas from being overrun by your armies: and the enslavement of the rest of Hellas must weaken Laconia, if it be thus left to stand alone. But if you will not do this, then look for that whereof I tell you: a narrow isthmus leads to the Peloponnese; all the Peloponnesians will be there banded together against you, and you may expect battles more stubborn than those that you have fought already. But if you do as I have said, then you may have that isthmus and all their cities without striking a blow.”

236. Next spoke Achaemenes, Xerxes' brother and admiral of the fleet; it chanced that he was present at their converse, and he feared lest Xerxes be over-persuaded to follow Demaratus' counsel. “O king,” said he, “I see that you are hearkening to a man who is jealous of your good fortune or perchance is even a traitor to your cause. These are the ways that are dear to the hearts of all Greeks: they are jealous of success and they hate power. Nay, if after the late calamity which has wrecked four hundred of your ships you send away three hundred more from your fleet to sail round the Peloponnese, your enemies will be enough to do battle with you; but while your fleet is united, it is thereby invincible, and your enemies will not so much as be enough to fight; moreover, all your navy will be a help to your army and your army to your navy, both moving together; but if you separate some from yourself, you will be of no use to them, nor they to you. My counsel is rather that you lay your own plans well, and take no account of the business of your adversaries, what battlefields they will choose, and what they will do, and how many they be. They are well able to think
HERODOTUS

ἡμεῖς δὲ ήμέων ὁσαύτως. Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ἣν ἱσῶν ἀντία Πέρσῃς εἰς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεόν τρώμα ἀκεινύται.

237. Ἀμείβεται Ἐρέξης τοῖς δεῖ. "ἲἈχαίμενες, εὐ τε μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω παῦτα. Δημάρχης δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἁριστὰ ἔλπηται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μὲντοι ἔσονται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεῖνό γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως οὐκ εὑρεῖ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πρῆγμασι, τοῖς τε λεγομένοις πρὸτερον ἐκ τοῦτον σταθμώμενοι καὶ τῷ ἑόντι, ὅτι πολικῆς μὲν πολικῇ εὐ πρῆσοντι φθονεῖ καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενῆς τῇ σιγῇ, οὐδὲν συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἄστοι πολικῆς ἀνὴρ τὰ ἁριστὰ οἱ δοκεόντα εἶναι ὑπόθευσοι, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἁνήκοι σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι. Ξεῖνος δὲ ξεῖνῳ εὐ πρῆσοντι ἐστὶ εὐμενεστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἄν συμβουλεύσει τὰ ἁριστὰ. οὔτω ὅν κακολογήσῃ τῆς ἐς Δημάρχητον, ἑόντος ἐμοὶ ξεῖνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω." 238. Ταῦτα εἶπα τὸν Ξεῖνον, καὶ Δεονίδεω, ἄκηκοι δὲ δὴ Βασίλευς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαίμονίως, ἐκείλεσα ἀποταμῶντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσας. δὴ δὲν οὐ Πολλοῦσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ δὲ οἷς ἦκιστα γεγονεῖ, δὴ τοῦτοι Σέρες τῶν μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθνικὸι ξύντε Δεονίδης οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν παῦτα παρενομησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζοντο τῶν ἐγὼ οἴδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οὐ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίειν, τοῖς ἐπετέλεσκο τοιεῖν. 239. "Ἀνεμιμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ

1 [περὶ] κακολογήσει Stein.
for themselves, and we likewise for ourselves. As for the Lacedaemonians, if they meet the Persians in the field, they will in nowise repair their late hurts.”

237. “Achaemenes,” Xerxes answered, “methinks you say well, and I will do as you counsel. But Demaratus, albeit your advice is better than his, says what he supposes to be most serviceable to me: for assuredly I will never believe that he is no friend to my cause; I judge that he is so by all that he has already said, and by what is the truth, namely, that if one citizen prosper another citizen is jealous of him and shows his enmity by silence, and no one (except he have attained to the height of excellence; and such are seldom seen) if his own townsman asks for counsel will give him what he deems the best advice. But if one stranger prosper, another stranger is beyond all men his well-wisher, and will if he be asked impart to him the best counsel he has. Wherefore I bid you all refrain from maligning Demaratus, seeing that he is a stranger and my friend.”

238. Having thus spoken, Xerxes passed over the place where the dead lay; and hearing that Leonidas had been king and general of the Lacedaemonians, he bade cut off his head and impale it. It is plain to me by this especial proof among many others, that while Leonidas lived king Xerxes was more incensed against him than against all others; else had he never dealt so outrageously with his dead body; for the Persians are of all men known to me the most wont to honour valiant warriors. So they who were thus charged did as I have said.

239. I return now to that place in my history
πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. ἐπύθουσιν Δακεδαίμονιοι οὕτως βασιλεὺς στέλλοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὗτως δὴ ἐσ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἐνθά δὴ σφί ἔχρησθη τὰ διόγε μοῖρον εἶπον· ἐπύθουσιν δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. Δημάρχητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μῆδους, οὐς μὲν ἑγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὔνοιας Δακεδαίμονιοι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοια ταῦτα ἑποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχάρων. ἐπείτε γὰρ Ξέρξη ἐδοξῆ στρατηλατεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σοῦσσοι ὁ Δημάρχητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα θέλησε Δακεδαίμονιοι ἔξαγγείλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἰχε σημῆναι· ἐπικινδυνοῦν γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθείη· ὃ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον δι- πτυχος λαβῶν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκυψε, καὶ ἐπεῖτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βα- σιλέως γυνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὡτίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρήγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὀδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκιτο ἐς τὴν Δακε- δαίμονα, οὐκ εἰχον συμβάλεσθαι οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφί, ὡς ἑγὼ πυθόμοναι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Δεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθείσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν κυάν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθό- μενοι δὲ εὐρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἐπείτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις· Ἑλλησπόντων ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὗτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

1 220, where Herodotus mentioned the bare fact of the
where it lately left off. The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer whereof I spoke a little while ago; and the way of their being so informed was strange. Demaratus son of Ariston, being an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or despiteful triumph. Xerxes being resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians. But he feared to be detected, and had no other way of acquainting them than this trick:—taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king's intent on the wood; which done, he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of the tablet thus left blank might not be troubled by the way-wardens. When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, till at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes' daughter and Leonidas' wife, discovered the trick of herself and advised them to scrape the wax away, when they would find writing on the wood. So doing, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

Spartans getting early intelligence of Xerxes' plans against Greece. Now he completes the story.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Name</th>
<th>Volume(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abdera</td>
<td>vi. 46, 47; vii. 109, 120, 126, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrocomes</td>
<td>vi. 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>v. 117; vi. 26; vii. 33, 34, 37, 44, 95, 147, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acanthus</td>
<td>vii. 4; vi. 44; vii. 115, 116, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaemenes</td>
<td>vii. 7, 11, 97, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achaemenidae</td>
<td>vii. 32; vii. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acheclus</td>
<td>vii. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acheron</td>
<td>v. 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achillesium</td>
<td>v. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acragas</td>
<td>vii. 165, 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acrathoum</td>
<td>vi. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acrisius</td>
<td>vi. 53, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adimantus</td>
<td>v. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adrastus</td>
<td>v. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agariste</td>
<td>vi. 126, 128, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agbalus</td>
<td>vii. 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenor</td>
<td>vi. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ageus</td>
<td>v. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeliaea</td>
<td>vii. 104, 108, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegialeus</td>
<td>v. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegean</td>
<td>vii. 36, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegeus</td>
<td>vi. 81, 89; vi. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegeus</td>
<td>viii. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegialeus</td>
<td>v. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegialian</td>
<td>vii. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegiores</td>
<td>v. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegilea</td>
<td>vii. 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegilis</td>
<td>vi. 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegina</td>
<td>v. 80-91; vi. 35-49, 50, 61, 73, 85, 87-93; vii. 145, 147, 181, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeinea</td>
<td>vii. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeneidemus</td>
<td>vii. 154, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aenus</td>
<td>vii. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aenys</td>
<td>vii. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aetolica</td>
<td>vii. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegleus</td>
<td>vii. 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcon</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aelaein plain</td>
<td>vi. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcides</td>
<td>vi. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcimachus</td>
<td>vii. 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeones</td>
<td>vi. 62; vii. 213, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alopecae</td>
<td>v. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpeni</td>
<td>vii. 176, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpheus</td>
<td>vii. 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alus</td>
<td>vii. 173, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almathus</td>
<td>v. 104, 108, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almias</td>
<td>vii. 61, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aminocles</td>
<td>vii. 165-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabanda</td>
<td>vii. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabanda</td>
<td>vi. 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcon</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aelaeidae</td>
<td>vi. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>vii. 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amathus</td>
<td>v. 104, 108, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amestris</td>
<td>vii. 61, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aminocles</td>
<td>vii. 165-167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphion</td>
<td>v. 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphimnestus</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alopeca</td>
<td>vii. 213, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amphimnestus</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphes</td>
<td>vii. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alogos</td>
<td>vi. 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aelaein plain</td>
<td>vi. 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcmaeonidae</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66, 70, 71, 90; vii. 115, 121-124, 125, 127, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaxandrides</td>
<td>vi. 33, 40, 64; vii. 108; vii. 158, 203, 205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antipatrus</td>
<td>vii. 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antichares</td>
<td>vii. 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apidanus</td>
<td>vii. 129, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apolo</td>
<td>v. 59, 60; vi. 57, 118; vii. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollonos</td>
<td>vi. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apianus</td>
<td>vii. 34, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arachne</td>
<td>vii. 59, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arachneus</td>
<td>vii. 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcadia</td>
<td>v. 49; vi. 74, 83, 127; vii. 90, 170, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archelaus</td>
<td>v. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archilochus</td>
<td>vii. 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archimedes</td>
<td>vi. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardericca</td>
<td>vii. 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arens</td>
<td>v. 7; vii. 76, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arges</td>
<td>v. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argos</td>
<td>v. 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argiastes</td>
<td>vii. 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argo</td>
<td>vii. 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argoes</td>
<td>v. 22, 49, 57, 61, 67, 86, 88, 113; vi. 19, 75–83, 92, 127; vii. 145, 148–152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabanes</td>
<td>vii. 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arilamnes</td>
<td>vii. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizaurus</td>
<td>vii. 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arildis</td>
<td>vii. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artai</td>
<td>vii. 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artiomardus</td>
<td>vii. 67, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artiphon</td>
<td>vii. 131, 130; vii. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistagoras passim ap. v.</td>
<td>; vi. 9, 13, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artostytytus</td>
<td>vi. 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristodemus (1)</td>
<td>vi. 51, 52; vii. 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2)</td>
<td>; vi. 229, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristoxiton</td>
<td>v. 55; vi. 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristochasius</td>
<td>vi. 51; vii. 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariston</td>
<td>v. 51, 75; vi. 61–69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristonice</td>
<td>vii. 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristopontus</td>
<td>vi. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armades</td>
<td>vi. 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>v. 49, 52; vii. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsames</td>
<td>vii. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Arsames</td>
<td>vii. 11, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabanus</td>
<td>vii. 10–18, 46–52, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabates</td>
<td>vii. 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabazus</td>
<td>vii. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artace</td>
<td>vi. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artachaeus</td>
<td>vii. 22, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artachaeus</td>
<td>vii. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaeus</td>
<td>vii. 22, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artanes</td>
<td>vii. 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaphernes (1)</td>
<td>v. 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 73, 96, 100, 123; vi. 1, 2, 4, 30, 42, 94; vii. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2)</td>
<td>; vii. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaxerxes</td>
<td>vii. 98; vii. 106, 151, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artayctes</td>
<td>vii. 33, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artazostre</td>
<td>vi. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artemis</td>
<td>vi. 7; vi. 138; vii. 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artémisia</td>
<td>vi. 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artemisium</td>
<td>vii. 175, 177, 182, 192, 194, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artobarzanes</td>
<td>vi. 2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artocomes</td>
<td>vi. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artybius</td>
<td>vi. 108, 111, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artynistes</td>
<td>vii. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artyphiotes</td>
<td>vii. 66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artystone</td>
<td>vii. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asonides</td>
<td>vii. 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asopus</td>
<td>vi. 108; vii. 199, 200, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspathines</td>
<td>vi. 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assa</td>
<td>vi. 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyria</td>
<td>vi. 54; vi. 9, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astacus</td>
<td>v. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aster</td>
<td>v. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrabacus</td>
<td>vi. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astyages</td>
<td>vi. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atarneus</td>
<td>vi. 28, 29; vii. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athamanas</td>
<td>vi. 58, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenades</td>
<td>vi. 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athene</td>
<td>v. 45, 82; vii. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athen passim; esp. v. 55–99 and vi. 94–140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athos</td>
<td>vi. 44, 45; vii. 22, 37, 122, 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atossa</td>
<td>vii. 2, 3, 64, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atramyttium</td>
<td>vii. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atys (1)</td>
<td>vii. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2)</td>
<td>; vii. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atesion</td>
<td>vi. 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxesia</td>
<td>vi. 82, 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Axius, vii. 123, 124
Azanes, vii. 66
Azenian, vi 127

Babylon, vii. 62
Bacchiadæ, v. 92
Bactria, v. 9
Badres, vii. 77
Bagaeus, vii. 80
Bassaces, vii. 75
Belus, vii. 61
Bessi, vii. 111
Bisaltes, vii. 26
Bisaltia, vii. 115
Bisanthe, vii. 137
Branchidae, vii. 25
Branchis, vii. 186
Brygi, vii. 225
Bubares, vii. 28
Brises, vii. 133
Briantice, vii. 23
Bottiaea, vii. 123, 127, 185
Bosporus, vii. 10, 20
Bosporus, vii. 109-110
Bosphorus, vii. 75
Bosphorus, vii. 129
Brygel, vi. 45; vii. 185
Brygos, vi. 21; vii. 22
Bulis, vii. 135, 137
Butades, vii. 47
Byzantium, vi. 26, 104; vi. 5, 26, 33

Cabelees, vii. 77
Cadmus (1), v. 57, 58, 59, 61
(2), vii. 163, 164, 165
Calcis, vi. 28; vii. 42
Calchas, vi. 91
Calchides, vi. 26
Callatebus, vii. 31
Calissia (1), v. 44, 45
(2), vi. 121, 122; vii. 151
Callimachus, vi. 109, 110, 111, 114
Callipolis, vii. 154
Calymanus, vi. 99
Camara, vii. 154, 156
Cambyces, v. 25; vi. 1, 8, 11, 18, 51
Canmus, viii. 160, 170
Canusa, vii. 123
Canastraenum, vii. 123
Candaulas, vii. 98
Cane, vii. 42

Cappadocia, v. 49, 52
Carchedon, v. 42; vi. 17; vii. 165-167
Cardia, vi. 33, 36, 41; vii. 58
Carenus, vii. 173
Carya, vi. 66, 87, 103, 111, 112, 118-121, 122; vi. 20, 26; vii. 31, 93, 97, 98
Carina, vii. 42
Carnea, vii. 206
Carysos, vi. 99; vii. 214
Casambus, vi. 73
Casmena, vii. 155
Caspius, vii. 67, 86
Caspiri, vii. 86
Casthanea, vii. 183, 188
Cataractes, vii. 26
Caucasia, v. 33
Cauinus, v. 103
Caystrus, v. 100
Cecrops, vii. 141
Celeres, vii. 26
Celaeas, vii. 46
Ceos, v. 102
Cephenes, vii. 61
Cepheus, vii. 61, 150
Cephissus, vii. 178
Chalcis, v. 74, 77, 91, 99; vi. 100, 118; vii. 182, 185, 189
Chaldeans, vii. 63
Chalestra, vii. 123
Chaldei, vii. 123
Chaldaeans, vii. 183, 188
Chersonesus, vi. 33, 36-41, 103, 104, 140; vii. 33, 58
(1), vii. 22
Chilon, vi. 65; vii. 235
Chios, v. 34, 98; vi. 5, 15, 16, 26, 27, 31
Chospes, v. 49
Choerere, v. 101
Chor＂, v. 170
Chorese, vi. 110
Chios, vi. 49, 52, 108; vi. 6, 43; vii. 77, 91, 98
Chimer, vii. 20
Cimon (1), vi. 34, 39, 103
(2), vi. 136
Cion (1), v. 118
Cinyclus, v. 63
Cionyns, v. 42
Cissians, v. 49, 52; vi. 119; vii. 62, 86, 210
Cithaeron, vii. 141
Clazomenae, v. 123
Clazomenae, v. 123
Cleandrus (1), vi. 83
(2), vii. 154, 155
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Oleisthenes (Athens), v. 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73; vi. 131
— (Sicyon), v. 67, 68, 126-130, 131
Cleodaeus, vi. 52; vii. 204
Cleombrotus, v. 32, 41; vii. 205
Cleomenes, v. 39, 42, 48–51, 64, 70, 72–76, 90, 97; vi. 50, 51, 61, 64–66, 73–84, 92, 108; vii. 205, 239
Cleomae, vii. 22
Cnoethus, vii. 22
Cypselus, vii. 22
Conia, vii. 22
Conon, vii. 22
Codrus, v. 65, 76
Coenya, vi. 47
Coes, v. 11, 37, 38
Colchis, viii. 62, 79, 193, 197
Combrea, vii. 123
Compsantus, vii. 109
Coria, v. 63
Corcyra, vii. 145–154, 168
Corressus, v. 100
Corinth, v. 74, 75, 87, 92, 93; vi. 89, 108; vii. 137, 154, 195, 202
Corydallas, vii. 214
Cos, vii. 99
Cronon, vi. 127
Cristian, v. 45
Crathis, v. 45
Crestoanæan, v. 3; vii. 124, 127
Cretæ, v. 92, 99, 145, 169–171
Cretines, vii. 165, 190
Crinippus, vii. 165
Crittæ, vi. 26
Cruis, vii. 50, 73
Croesus, v. 36; vi. 37, 38, 125, 127
Crossæa, vii. 123
Croton, v. 44, 45, 47; vi. 21
Cuphagoras, vii. 117
Curium, v. 113
Cybebe, v. 102
Cyberniscus, vii. 98
Cyklades, v. 31
Cydippe, vii. 165
Cydrara, vii. 30
Cylljrians, vii. 155
Cylon, vi. 70
Cyme, v. 37, 38, 123; vii. 194
Cynægirus, vi. 114
Cyneus, vi. 101
Cyniscus, vi. 71
Cynosargæ, v. 63; vi. 116
Cypselus (Athens), vi. 34
— (Corinth), v. 92, 95; vi. 129
Cyprus, v. 9, 31, 104, 108–110, 113, 115; vi. 6; vii. 90, 98
Cyprus, vii. 165
Cyrus, v. 52; vii. 2, 8, 11, 18, 51, 69
Cythera, vii. 73
Cythnus, vii. 90
Cytíssorus, vii. 197
Cyzicus, vi. 33

Dadicæ, vii. 66
Daedalus, vii. 170
Damasus, vi. 127
Damia, v. 82, 83
Danae, vii. 53; viii. 61, 150
Danaus, vii. 94
Dardanus, vii. 43
Darius, passim
Dascyleum, vi. 33
Datís, vi. 94, 97, 98, 118, 119; vii. 10. 74, 88
Daurises, v. 116, 121, 122
Dececles, vi. 92
Delos, vi. 97–99, 118
Demaratus, v. 75; vi. 51, 61, 63–71, 74, 75, 84; vii. 101–104, 234, 237, 239
Demarmenus, v. 41; vi. 65
Demeter, vi. 91, 134; vii. 142
Demonous, vii. 195
Demophilus, vii. 222
Dersæi, vii. 110
Diactorides, vii. 71
Diadromes, vii. 222
Dicaæa, vii. 109
Didyma, vi. 19
Dienceces, vii. 226
Dinomenes, vii. 145
D Ionysius, vii. 11, 12, 17
Dionysius, v. 7; vii. 111
Dioscuri, vi. 127
Dithyrambus, vii. 227
Dium, vii. 22
Doberes, v. 16; vii. 13
Dolonci, vi. 34, 35, 36
Dolopes, vi. 132, 185
Dorians, v. 68, 72, 76, 87; vi. 53, 55; vii. 9, 99
Dorieus, v. 41–48; vii. 158, 205
Doriscus, v. 98; vii. 25, 59, 105, 106. 108, 121
Doryssus, vii. 204
Dotus, vii. 72
Dymanatae, v. 68
Dyran, vii. 198
Dysoræm, v. 17

562
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Echecrates, v. 92
Echestratus, vili. 204
Echidoms, vi. 92
Echelons, vi. 46, 47
Echestratus, vii. 53, 54, 60; vii. 2, 4, 7, 8, 20, 25, 34, 63, 69, 89, 91, 97
Echestratus, vii. 25, 113
Echestratus, vii. 140; vii. 22, 33
Echestratus, vi. 43
Echestratus, vii. 74, 75, 76; vii. 75
Echestratus, vi. 44; vi. 70, 127
Echestratus, vi. 108
Echestratus, vii. 61
Echestratus, v. 9
Echestratus, vii. 132, 185, 198
Echestratus, vi. 129
Echestratus, vii. 114
Echestratus, vii. 185
Echestratus, vii. 54, 100, 102; vi. 16, 84
Echestratus, vii. 213-218, 223, 225
Echestratus, vi. 86
Echestratus, vi. 127
Echestratus, vii. 82-86; vii. 99
Echestratus, vii. 127
Echestratus, vi. 117
Echestratus, vi. 23
Echestratus, vi. 76
Echestratus, vi. 82; vii. 189
Echestratus, vii. 37
Echestratus, vii. 8
Echestratus, vi. 43, 45
Echestratus, vi. 61
Echestratus, vi. 15, 69, 70, 90
Echestratus, vi. 103
Echestratus, vi. 102
Echestratus, vi. 77; vi. 127; vii. 176, 182, 189, 192
Echestratus, vii. 66
Echestratus, vi. 82; vii. 189
Echestratus, vii. 114
Echestratus, vi. 127
Echestratus, v. 92
Echestratus, vi. 92
Echestratus, vii. 204
Echestratus, vii. 204
Echestratus, vii. 71

Eurydemus, vii. 213
Euryleon, v. 46
Eurymachus (1), vii. 205
Eurymachus (2), vii. 233
Euryphemus, vii. 52; vii. 204
Eurytus, vii. 229
Euxine, vii. 36
Galepsus, vii. 122
Galanthos, vii. 108
Gandaril, vii. 66
Gela, vi. 25; vii. 153, 154, 156
Geleon, v. 66
Gelion, vi. 145, 153-166
Gephyraeus, vi. 55, 57, 58, 61
Gergis, vi. 81, 121
Gergithes, vi. 122
Getae, v. 3
Gigonus, vii. 123
Glaucus, vi. 86
Gobryas (1), vi. 43; vi. 2, 10, 82
Gobryas (2), vi. 72
Gonnus, vii. 128, 173
Gorgo, vi. 48, 51; vi. 239
Gorgus, vi. 104
Gyges, vi. 21
Greges, vi. 121
Gyndes, vi. 52
Halicarnassus, vii. 99
Halys, v. 52, 102; vi. 26
Harmamithes, vii. 88
Harmatides, vii. 227
Harmodius, v. 55; vi. 109, 123
Harpagus, vi. 28, 30
Hephaestus, vii. 59
Hebe, vi. 36, 125; vi. 137
Peter, vi. 125; vi. 137
Peter, vi. 204
Peter, vi. 94
Peter, v. 94; vi. 61
Peter, Hellenes passim
Peter, vi. 53
Peter, v. 11, 13, 14, 23; vi. 43, 95; vi. 8, 10, 35, 36, 56, 58, 167, 163
Peter, vi. 140
Peter, v. 43
Peter, vi. 43; vi. 53; vii. 176, 198, 204
Peter, vi. 63; vi. 116
Peter, v. 37
Peter, v. 92; vi. 81, 82
Peter, v. 7
Hermion, v. 6
Peter, vi. 4
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Hermophantus, v. 99
Hieron, vii, 156
Himera, vi, 24; vii, 165
Hipparchus, v. 55, 56, 62; vi. 123; vii, 6
Hippias, v. 55, 62, 91, 92, 93-96; vi. 107
Hippocles, vi. 127-129
Hippocoon, v. 60
Hippocrates (1), vi. 23
— (2), vi. 127
— (3), vi. 131
— (4), vii. 154, 155
Hipponicus, vii. 151
Histaiaus (1), v. 11, 23-25, 30, 35, 36, 106-108, 124; vi. 1-6, 26-30, 46; vii. 10
— (2), v. 37; vii. 98
Homer, v. 67; vii. 161
Hopes, v. 66
Hyatæae, v. 68
Hybla, vi. 155
Hydarnes, vi. 133; vii. 83, 133, 215, 218
Hyellea, v. 68
Hyllus, vi. 51; vii. 204
Hyneas, v. 116, 122
Hymassus, vi. 137
Hyphaeæ, vii. 91
Hyperanthus, vi. 224
Hyrcanians, vi. 62
Hyria, vi. 170
Hysiae, vi. 108
Hystanes, vii. 77
Hystaspes, v. 30, 73; vi. 98; vii. 10, 11
Iamidae, v. 44
Iapygians, vii. 170
Iason, vi. 193
Iatragoros, v. 37
Ibanollis, v. 37, 121
Iberians, vii. 165
Icarian sea, vi. 95, 96
Ichnææ, vi. 123
Ida, vii. 42
Idria, v. 118
Ilissus, vi. 189
Ilium, vii. 20, 42, 43, 161
Imbros, v. 26; vi. 41, 104
Indians, v. 3; vi. 9, 65, 187
Ino, vi. 197
Incyus, vi. 23, 24
Iolcus, v. 94
Ion, v. 66
Ionians, v. 28, 30, 33, 37, 49, 58, 69, 87, 97-124; vi. 1, 2, 3, 7-18, 22-23, 48, 86, 95, 98; vii. 9, 10, 20, 51, 94, 97
Isagoras, v. 66, 70, 72, 74
Ischenous, vii. 181
Ister, v. 9, 10; vii. 10
Isthmus, vii. 139, 172, 174, 175, 207
Italia, v. 43; vi. 127
Ithamiræ, vii. 67
Labda, v. 92
Labdacus, v. 59
Labbranda, v. 119
Lacedaemon (& Sparta), passim; esp. vi. 49-86, and vii. 202-239
Lade, vi. 7
Laius, v. 59, 60
Lamponium, v. 26
Lampsacus, v. 117; vi. 37, 38
Laodamas, v. 61
Laphanes, vi. 127
Lapithæ, v. 92
Lasus, vi. 6
Lemnos, v. 26; vi. 136, 137-140; vii. 6
Leobotes, vii. 204
Leon, vii. 204 (Lac.), 180 (Troæzen)
Leonidas, v. 41; vii. 204-208, 217, 219-225, 228, 229, 233, 238
Leontiades, vi. 233
Leontini, vi. 154
Leoprepes, vi. 85; vii. 228
Leotychides, vi. 65, 67, 69, 71, 72, 85, 86
Léros, v. 125
Lebros, vi. 8, 26
Libya, v. 42; vi. 7, 70, 165, 184
Ligyas, vii. 72
— (Ligurians), vii. 165
Lindus, vi. 153
Lipaxus, vi. 123
Lipsydrium, v. 62
Lisææ, vi. 123
Lissus, vii. 108, 109
Locrians (Sicyli), vi. 23
— (Greece), vii. 132, 203, 207, 216
Lycaretus, v. 27
Lycia, vi. 77, 98
Lycurgus, vi. 127
Lydia, v. 49, 52, 102; vi. 125; vii. 30, 31, 74
Lydis, vii. 127
Lygdamis, vi. 99
<p>| Lysagoras, vi. 133 |
| Macae, v. 42 |
| Macedonia, v. 17, 20, 94; vi. 44; vii. 9, 25, 73, 127, 128, 131, 173, 185 |
| Macrones, vii. 98 |
| Mactorium, viii. 153 |
| Madytus, vi. 33 |
| Maelander, vi. 118, 119; vii. 26, 31 |
| Maeandrius, v. 27 |
| Magisias, viii. 113, 191 |
| Magnesia, viii. 132, 176, 183, 185, 188, 193 |
| Malea, vii. 168 |
| Malene, vi. 29 |
| Malis, vi. 127 |
| Malis, vii. 132, 196, 207, 213, 215 |
| Mantinea, vi. 202 |
| Mantys, v. 12 |
| Marathon, vii. 102, 103, 107, 111-117; vi. 1 |
| Mardonius, vi. 43-45, 94; vi. 5, 9, 10, 82, 108, 121 |
| Mardontes, vii. 80 |
| Mares, vii. 79 |
| Mariandyni, vii. 92 |
| Maronea, vii. 109 |
| Marsyas, v. 118, 119 |
| Mascames, vii. 105, 106 |
| Massates, vii. 82, 121 |
| Massistas, vii. 79 |
| Massigis, vii. 71 |
| Massagetae, vii. 18 |
| Massalia, v. 9 |
| Mattiene, v. 49, 52; vii. 72 |
| Matten, vii. 98 |
| Mansolus, v. 118 |
| Mecisteus, v. 67 |
| Mecyberna, vii. 122 |
| Medes (for Persians) passim; (dissimilatively), vii. 62 |
| Megabates, v. 32, 33, 35; vii. 97 |
| Megabazus, v. 1, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 23, 26; vii. 33; vii. 22, 97, 108 |
| Megabyzos, vii. 82, 121 |
| Megacles (1), vi. 125, 127, 130 |
| — (2), vi. 131 |
| Megacreon, vii. 120 |
| Megadostes, vii. 105 |
| Megapanus, vii. 62 |
| Megara, v. 76 |
| — (Sicily), vii. 156 |
| Megassidrus, vii. 72 |
| Megistias, vii. 219, 221, 228 |
| Meliones, vii. 74, 77 |
| Melampus, viii. 221 |
| Malanippus, v. 67 |
| Melanthius, v. 97 |
| Melanthos, v. 65 |
| Melas (gulf), vi. 41 |
| — (rivers), vii. 58, 198 |
| Meliboea, vii. 188 |
| Melissa, v. 92 |
| Memnonian, v. 53, 54; vii. 151 |
| Menares, vi. 65 |
| Mende, vii. 123 |
| Menelaus, v. 94; vii. 169, 171 |
| Menius, vii. 71 |
| Merbalus, vii. 98 |
| Messambria, vi. 33; vii. 108 |
| Messapians, vii. 170 |
| Messenia, v. 49; vi. 52 |
| Metiochus, vi. 41 |
| Micythus, vii. 170 |
| Miletus, v. 11, 24, 23-37, 49, 92, 97, 99, 106, 124-126; vi. 5-10, 18-21, 25, 28, 86; vii. 10 |
| Miltiades (1), vi. 35-37 |
| — (2), vi. 34, 39-41, 103, 104, 109, 110, 132-137, 140 |
| Mylaceae, vii. 77 |
| Minas, v. 46 |
| Minoas, viii. 169, 171 |
| Molossians, vii. 127 |
| Molpagoras, v. 30 |
| Moschi, vii. 78 |
| Mosynoei, vii. 78 |
| Musaeus, vii. 6 |
| Mycale, vi. 16; vii. 80 |
| Mycene, vii. 202 |
| Mycii, vii. 68 |
| Myconus, vi. 118 |
| Mygdonia, vii. 123, 124, 127 |
| Mylasa, v. 37, 121 |
| Myndus, v. 33 |
| Myrinnus, v. 11, 24, 124 |
| Myrione, vi. 140 |
| Myrmex, vii. 183 |
| Myron, vi. 126 |
| Myrus, v. 121 |
| Mysia, vi. 28; vii. 20, 42, 74, 75 |
| Mytilene, v. 11, 37, 38, 94 |
| Myus, v. 36; vi. 8 |
| Nauplia, vi. 76 |
| Naxos, v. 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36; vi. 96 |
| — (Sicily), vii. 154 |
| Neapolis, vii. 123 |
| Neleus, v. 65 |
| Neocles, vii. 143 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nereids</td>
<td>vii. 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesaean</td>
<td>vii. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestor</td>
<td>v. 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestus</td>
<td>vii. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicodromus</td>
<td>vi. 88, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolas (1)</td>
<td>vii. 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2)</td>
<td>vii. 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisyra</td>
<td>vii. 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonacris</td>
<td>vi. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothon</td>
<td>vi. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oarizus</td>
<td>vii. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oea</td>
<td>v. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeasides</td>
<td>vi. 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oebores</td>
<td>vi. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oedipus</td>
<td>v. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeneo</td>
<td>v. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeobazus</td>
<td>vii. 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeta</td>
<td>vi. 166, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oilotus</td>
<td>vi. 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olophyxus</td>
<td>vii. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olorus</td>
<td>vii. 39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympia</td>
<td>v. 22,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (Europe)</td>
<td>vii. 126, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olynthos</td>
<td>vi. 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oteatae</td>
<td>v. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oetes</td>
<td>vi. 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onesilus</td>
<td>v. 104, 108, 111-114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onochonus</td>
<td>vii. 129, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomacritus</td>
<td>vi. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onomastus</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ophryneum</td>
<td>vii. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opuntians</td>
<td>vi. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orbelus</td>
<td>v. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchomenus</td>
<td>vii. 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orgeus</td>
<td>vii. 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orithyia</td>
<td>vii. 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromedon</td>
<td>vii. 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oropus</td>
<td>vi. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ossa</td>
<td>vi. 129, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otanes</td>
<td>v. 129, 136; vii. 43; vii. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otapes</td>
<td>vii. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othrys</td>
<td>vi. 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pactolus</td>
<td>v. 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pactyes</td>
<td>vi. 67, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeonia</td>
<td>v. 12-15, 23, 62, 98; vii. 113, 124, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paecoplae</td>
<td>v. 15; vii. 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paesus</td>
<td>v. 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeti</td>
<td>vii. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paeum</td>
<td>vi. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pegasae</td>
<td>vi. 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>v. 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallas</td>
<td>vii. 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallene</td>
<td>vi. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamisus</td>
<td>vii. 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pammon</td>
<td>vi. 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphylia</td>
<td>v. 68, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td>vi. 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panathenea</td>
<td>v. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandion</td>
<td>vii. 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangaenum</td>
<td>v. 16, vii. 112, 113, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panlonium</td>
<td>v. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panites</td>
<td>vi. 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantares</td>
<td>vii. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphlagonians</td>
<td>vii. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>vi. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraebates</td>
<td>v. 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parianii</td>
<td>vii. 68, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parium</td>
<td>v. 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmygios</td>
<td>vii. 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paros</td>
<td>v. 28, 29, 31, 62; vi. 123-135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthians</td>
<td>vii. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patalicus</td>
<td>vii. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausanios</td>
<td>v. 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedasa</td>
<td>vi. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelagian</td>
<td>v. 64; vii. 157-160; vi. 42, 94, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelaeus</td>
<td>vii. 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelion</td>
<td>vii. 129, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>vi. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peloponnesians</td>
<td>vi. 74, 76; vi. 79; vii. 93, 94, 137, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peneus</td>
<td>vi. 129, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penthyclus</td>
<td>vi. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percaulus</td>
<td>vi. 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percote</td>
<td>vi. 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perdiccas</td>
<td>v. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pergamum</td>
<td>vii. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perialla</td>
<td>v. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perlandier</td>
<td>v. 92, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pericles</td>
<td>vi. 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perrhaebi</td>
<td>vii. 129, 131, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perses</td>
<td>vii. 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseus</td>
<td>vi. 53, 54; vii. 61, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persians, passim</td>
<td>esp. vi. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaenippus</td>
<td>vi. 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalerum</td>
<td>v. 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phanagoras</td>
<td>vii. 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharandates</td>
<td>vi. 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaces</td>
<td>vi. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmazathres</td>
<td>vi. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phasis</td>
<td>vi. 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheneus</td>
<td>vi. 74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Pherendates, vii. 67
Phidippides, vi. 105
Phidon, vi. 127
Phigalea, vi. 83
Philaenus, vi. 35
Philippus, v. 47
Philocyprus, v. 113
Phegra, vii. 123
Philius, vii. 202
Phocaea, vi. 8, 11, 17
Phocis, vi. 34; vii. 176, 203, 207, 215-219
Phoebeum, vi. 51
Phoenice, vi. 17, 90
Phoenicians, v. 57, 58, 109; vi. 3, 25, 28, 33, 41, 47; vii. 23, 25, 89, 91, 165, 167
Phoenix, vii. 200
Phormus, vii. 182
Phrixia, vii. 197
Phrygia, v. 49, 52, 98; vii. 30, 73
Phrynichus, vi. 21
Phthia, vii. 132
Pieres, vii. 112, 185
Pierla, vii. 131
Pigres, v. 12
Pilorus, vii. 122
Pindus, vii. 129
Pisistratidae, v. 52-65, 76, 91, 93; vi. 39, 94, 123; vii. 6
Pisistratus, v. 55, 65, 71, 94; vi. 103
Pithagoras, v. 46
Pixodarus, v. 118
Plataea, vi. 108, 111, 113; vii. 231
Polichne, vi. 26; vii. 170
Polybus, v. 67
Polycritus, vi. 50, 73
Polydorus, v. 59; vii. 204
Polynices, vi. 51
Pontus, vi. 5, 26; vii. 36, 147
Posidemum, vii. 115
Posidon, vii. 129, 192
Potidaeae, vii. 123
Praeui, vi. 170, 171
Prasiaid lake, vi. 15, 17
Presargas, vii. 97
Presinus, vii. 180
Priam, vii. 43
Priene, vi. 8
Prenetades, v. 41
Procles, vi. 52
Proconnesus, vi. 33
Propontis, v. 122
Protesilaus, vii. 33
Psammitichus, vii. 7

Pylae, vii. 201
Pylaea, vii. 213
Pylagori, viii. 213, 214
Pylus, vii. 185
Pythagoras, v. 126
Pythes, vii. 181
Pythia, see Delphi
Pythius, vii. 27, 28, 38
Pythogenes, vi. 23

Rhegium, vi. 23; vii. 170
Rhenaea, vi. 97
Rhodes, vii. 153
Rhoeotum, vii. 43

Sabyllus, vii. 154
Sacae, vii. 113; vii. 9, 64, 96, 184
Sagartii, vii. 85
Salamis (Greece), vii. 90, 141-143, 166, 168
— (Cyprus), v. 104, 108, 110, 113, 115
Sale, vi. 59
Samos, v. 27, 112; vi. 8, 13, 14, 22-25, 95
Samothrace, vi. 47; vii. 59, 108
Sancoces, vii. 194, 196
Sane, vii. 22, 123
Sapaei, vii. 110
Sarangae, vii. 67
Sardis, v. 11, 13, 23, 24, 52, 54, 73, 95, 99-102, 105, 108, 116, 122, 123; vi. 1, 4, 30, 42, 125; vii. 8, 26, 31, 37, 41, 57, 88, 145
Sardo, v. 106, 124; vi. 1; vii. 165
Sarpodinia, vii. 58
Sarte, vii. 192
Saspilae, vii. 79
Satrae, vii. 100
Scamander, v. 65
Scapte Hyale, vi. 46
Sciatbus, vii. 179, 182, 183
Scicrhus, vi. 21
Sicione, vi. 123
Scopadeae, vi. 127
Scylax, v. 33
Scyros, vii. 183
Scythes, vi. 23; vii. 163
Scythia, v. 24, 27; vi. 40, 41, 84; vii. 10
Seldomus, vii. 98
Selinus, v. 46
Selymbria, vi. 33
Sepea, vi. 77
Sepias, vii. 182, 186, 190, 191, 195

567
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Sermoyle, vii. 122
Serreum, vii. 59
Sestus, vii. 33, 78
Scania, vii. 170
Sicas, vii. 98
Sicily, v. 43, 46; vi. 17, 22-24; vii. 145, 153-156, 163-167, 205
Sicynon, v. 67, 68, 69; vi. 92, 126, 131
Sidon, vii. 98, 99, 100
Sigeum, v. 65, 91, 94, 95
Sigynnae, v. 9
Silenus, vii. 26
Simonides, v. 102; vii. 228
Singuos, vii. 122
Siris, v. 127
Siromtres, vii. 68, 79
Siropaeones, v. 15
Sisamnes, v. 25; vii. 66
Sisimaces, v. 121
Sitalces, vii. 137
Sithonia, vii. 122
Smerdis, vii. 78
Smerdones, vi. 82, 121
Smila, vii. 123
Sogdi, vii. 66
Sol, vi. 110, 113, 115
Solon, v. 113
Sophanes, vi. 92
Sosicles, v. 92, 93
Sparta, v. Lacedaemon
Spercheius, vii. 228
Sperthias, vii. 134, 137
Stagirus, vii. 115
Stenorid lake, vii. 58
Stesagoras (I), vi. 34, 38, 39, 103
— (2), vi. 103
Stesenor, v. 113
Stesilas, vi. 114
Strype, vii. 108, 109
Strymon, vi. 1, 13, 23, 98; vii. 107, 113, 114
Strymonii, vii. 75
Stymphalian lake, vi. 76
Styra, vi. 107
Sunium, vi. 87, 90, 115
Susa, v. 25, 30, 32, 35, 49, 52; vi. 20, 30, 119; vi. 3, 6, 20, 151, 239
Syagrus, vi. 153, 159
Sybaris, v. 44, 45; vi. 21, 127
Synesia, v. 118; vi. 98
Sylean plain, vii. 115
Sylos, vi. 13
Syracuse, vii. 154-157, 161, 167
Syri, v. 49; vii. 72
Syrla, vii. 63, 89
Talus, v. 67
Talthybulus, vii. 134, 137
Tamyra, vi. 101
Tanagra, v. 79
Taras, vii. 170
Teaspis, vii. 79
Tegea, vi. 72, 105; vii. 170, 202
Telaptes, vii. 11
Teleboae, v. 59
Tellines, vii. 153, 154
Telos, vii. 153
Telys, v. 44, 47
Tenedos, vi. 31, 41
Teos, vi. 8
Tereus, vii. 137
Terillus, vii. 165
Termerus, v. 37
Termiae, vii. 92
Tetramnestus, vii. 98
Tencrit, v. 13, 122; vii. 20, 43, 75
Thamasius, vii. 194
Thasos, vi. 46, 47; vii. 108
Thebe (daughter of Asopus), v. 80
— (in Asia), vii. 42
Thebes, v. 59, 67, 79, 81, 89; vi. 108, 118; vii. 132, 222, 233
Themistocles, vii. 143, 144, 173
Therambus, vii. 123
Thersandrus, vi. 138
Therma, vi. 121, 123, 127
Thermopylae, viii. 175, 177, 201, 206-234 passim
Thersandrus, vi. 51
Thespiæ, vi. 132, 222
Thesprotia, v. 92; vii. 176
Thessalus, v. 46
Thessaly, vi. 63, 64; vii. 108, 128-130, 173, 174, 176, 196, 215
Thoas, vi. 138
Thrace, v. 3, 6, 10, 14, 23, 24, 126; vi. 45; vii. 10, 20, 76, 105, 185
Thresbutus, v. 92
Thyia, vii. 178
Thyssus, vii. 22
Tibarenī, vii. 78
Tigris, v. 52
Timagoras, vi. 98
Timesitheus, v. 72
Timo, vi. 134, 135
Timon, vii. 141
Timonax, vii. 98
Tiryns, vi. 76, 83; vii. 137
Tisandrus, v. 66; vi. 127
Tisias, vi. 133
Titormus, vi. 127
Tmolus, v. 100, 101
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Torone, vii. 22, 122
Trachis, vii. 175, 176, 198, 199, 201, 213, 217
Trapezus, vi. 127
Trausi, v. 3, 4
Triopium, vii. 153
Tritantaechmes, vii. 82, 121
Tritogene (Athene), vii. 141
Troad, v. 26, 122
Troezen, vii. 179
Troy, v. 13; vii. 20, 91, 171
Tydeus, v. 67
Tymnes, vii. 98
Tyndaridae, v. 75
Tyre, vii. 98
Tyrodiza, vii. 25
Tyrrenia, vi. 17, 22
Utii, vii. 68

Xanthippus, vi, 131
Xanthus, vi. 131, 136; vii. 33
Xerxes, vi. 98; passim ap. vii.
Xuthus, vii. 94

Zacynthus, vi. 70
Zancle, vi. 22, 23, 24; vii. 154, 164
Zeus, vi. 67; vii. 56, 61, 141, 221
— ἀγοράς, v. 46
— ἐφέκτος, vi. 68
— Καρις, v. 66
— Δακεδαιμων, vi. 56
— Δαφυστος, vii. 197
— στρατιος, v. 119
Zeuxidemus, vi. 171
Zone, vii. 59
Zopyrus, vii. 82

Printed in Great Britain by Fletcher & Son Ltd.,
Norwich
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.


ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.
AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.
Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.

CAESAR: ALEXANDRIAN, AFRICAN and SPANISH WARS. A. G. Way.
CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett.
CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish. TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate.
PERVIGILIIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail.
CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols.
CICERO: BRUTUS and ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell.

[CICERO]: AD HERENNIIUM. H. Caplan.
CICERO: DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
CICERO: DE NATURA DEORUM and ACADEMICA. H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller.
CICERO: DE REPUBLICA and DE LEGIBUS. Clinton W. Keyes.


Cicero: Letters to Atticus. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.


Cicero: Pro Caecina, Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio. H. Grose Hodge.


Cicero: Tusculan Disputations. J. E. King.


Claudian. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.


Florus. E. S. Forster, Cornelius Nepos. J. C. Rolfe.


Fronto: Correspondence. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

Gellius. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.

Horace: Odes and Epodes. C. E. Bennett.


Lucan. J. D. Duff.


Manilius. G. P. Goold.


Ovid: Fasti. Sir James G. Frazer
Ovid: Heroides and Amores. Grant Showerman. Revised by G. P. Goold
Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto. A. L. Wheeler.
Phaedrus and Babrius (Greek). B. E. Perry.
Plautus. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols.
Propertius. H. E. Butler.
Quintilian. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols.
Sallust. J. C. Rolfe.
Scriptores Historiae Augustae. D. Magie. 3 Vols.
Seneca: Tragedies. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.
Silius Italicus. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols.
Suetonius. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.
Greek Authors

Achilles Tatius. S. Gaselee.
Aeneas Tacticus. Asclepiodotus and Onasander. The Illinois Greek Club.
Aeschines. C. D. Adams.
Aeschylus. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols.
Apollodorus. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols.
Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton.
Apostolic Fathers. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols.
Appian: Roman History. Horace White. 4 Vols.
Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics. H. Rackham.
Aristotle: Posterior Analytics, Topics. H. Tredennick and E. S. Forster.
Aristotle: Politics. H. Rackham.
Babrius and Phaedrus (Latin). B. E. Perry.
Demosthenes II.: De Corona and De Falsa Legatione. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince.
Dio Cassius: Roman History. E. Cary. 9 Vols.


Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols.


Epicurus. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols.


Greek Anthology. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.

Greek Bucolic Poets (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus). J. M. Edmonds.

Greek Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.


Greek Mathematical Works. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.


Herodian. C. R. Whittaker. 2 Vols.

Herodotus. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols.


Isaakus. E. W. Forster.

Isocrates. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.


Julian. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols.


Lyra Graeca, J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.
Marcus Aurelius. C. R. Haines.
Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus. A. W. Mair.
Philo: two supplementary Vols. (Translation only.) Ralph Marcus.
Philostratus: Imagines; Callistratus: Descriptions. A. Fairbanks.
Philostratus and Eunapius: Lives of the Sophists. Wilmer Cave Wright.
Pindar. Sir J. E. Sandys.
Plato: Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias. H. N. Fowler.
Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus, H. N. Fowler.
Plato: Theaetetus and Sophist. H. N. Fowler.


Polybius. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.

Procopius. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols.


Strabo: Geography. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols.

Theocritus. Cf. Greek Bucolic Poets.


Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.


Thucydides. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols.


Xenophon: Cyropaedia. Walter Miller. 2 Vols.

Xenophon: Hellencia. C. L. Brownson. 2 Vols.

Xenophon: Anabasis. C. L. Brownson.


All library items are subject to recall at any time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Due</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APR 6 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR 16 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOV 7 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOV 8 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUN 3 2011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAY 24 2011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brigham Young University