HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

BOOKS V—VII

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IN BOOKS V AND VI, THE CONSTANT INTERMIXTURE OF REFERENCES TO EARLIER HISTORY WITH THE ACTUAL NARRATIVE MAKES CHRONOLOGY OBLSCURE 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:

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CH. 17–22. STORY OF A PERSIAN EMBASSY TO MACEDONIA, AND ITS FATE.
CH. 23–27. HISTIAEUS OF MILETUS AT THE PERSIAN COURT; OTANES' CONQUESTS IN N.W. ASIA MINOR AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.
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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 SUZA.
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Ch. 55–96. Aristagoras' visit to Athens; a long digression on Athenian history.
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Ch. 62–65. Expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, by Lacedaemonian help.
Ch. 66–69. Reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens, on the model of those effected by an elder Cleisthenes at Sicyon.
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Ch. 5-10. Preparation of the opposing forces of Persians and Ionians at Miletus; Persian attempts to tamper with the Ionians.
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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.
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Ch. 109-117. Battle at Marathon and complete victory of the Athenians.

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Ch. 121-131. Herodotus' argument against the accusation of treason brought against the Alcmaeonid family at Athens. Story of the family. Success
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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.

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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
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Abydos; Pythius’ request, and its punishment; the order of march.
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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 xii
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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.
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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 βασιλευ̂σ 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"
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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 à priori grounds, but simply on the record of the particular τύραννος. 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 ἔλευθερία—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 ἐλευθερία 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," ἐλευθερία, or ἴσηγορία, which like ἐλευθερία 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 ἐλευθερία (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."
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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 Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἠρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινθίους Ἐλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος Παίονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσωνται σφέας οἱ Περινθίοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐν ἄρη ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐποίεσον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζόμενων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθάδη ποιομαχὴ τριφασία ἐκ προκλήσιος σφὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὰ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἵππῳ ἵππῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. νικώντων δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαισώνας κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ εἶναι καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς· "Νῦν ἀν εἴη ὁ χρήσμος ἐπιτελεόμενος ἢμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον." οὐτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρεύοντι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον 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 δὲ ἀπὸ Παιόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὅτε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περσῶν οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἔπεκράτησαν πλήθει. ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Πέρσης, ἦλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τῶν στρατῶν διὰ τῆς Θρηκῆς, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης οἰκήμενων ἱμεροῦμενος βασιλεύ. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηκῆς καταστρέφεσθαι.

3. Θρηκῶν δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γε Ἰνδῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνός ἁρχοντό ἡ φρονεί Κατὰ τῶντο, ἄμαχον τ' ἀν εἴη καὶ πολὺ κράτιστον πάντων ἑθέων κατὰ γυνάμη τὴν ἐμῆν. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτο ἀπορόν σφὶ καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτὲ ἐγγενῆται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτο ἄσθενες. οὐνόματα δ' ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἐκαστοῖ, νόμοισι δὲ οὕτω παραπλησίοι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρήστωναίων οἰκεύοντων.

4. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἄθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἰρηταὶ μοι· Τραυσοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς ἀλλοισι Θρηκῆς ἐπιτελέουσι, κατὰ δὲ τῶν γυνόμενον σφὶ καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσιν τοιάδε· τῶν μὲν γενόμενων περιζόμενοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρωνται, ὡσα μιν δεὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακά, ἀνηγεόμενο τὰ ἀνθρωπηία πάντα πάθεα· τῶν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παιζοντές τοι, ἡδόμενο γῇ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἤξαπαλλαχθείς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ.

5. Οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρήστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· ἔχει γυναικάς ἐκαστὸς πολλὰ· ἐπείαν ὃν 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,
αὐτῶν ἀποθάνη, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναίκῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαί ἴσχυράι περὶ τοῦ, ἦτοι αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρος· ὡ δὲ ἄν κρίθη καὶ τιμηθῆ, ἐγκωμιασθείσα ὑπὸ τε ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάξεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὦκημοτάτου ἐωτῆς, σφαχθείσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἄνδρι. αἰ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῖν-ταν ἀνείδος γάρ σφι τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

6. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Ἐρηκῶν ἐστὶ οἴδε νόμος-πωλεύσι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ' ἐξαγωγὴ, τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἑώςι τοῖς αὐταῖ βούλονται ἄνδρας μίσγεσθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἴσχυρῶς φυ-λάσσουσι καὶ ὄνεονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενεῖς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἁστίκτον ἁγεννεῖ. ἄργον εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληστύος κάλλιστον.

7. Οὗτοι μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσί, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνους τοὺς ὅδε, 'Αρεα καὶ Δίονυσον καὶ Ἀρτεμίν. οἱ δὲ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτέων, σέβονται Ἐρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὄμνυνοι μοῦνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἐρμῆ ἐωτοὺς.

8. Ταφαί δὲ τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ άίδε-τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάξαντες ἰρήνα εἰσώχεονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαυσάντες ἡ ἄλλως γῆ κρύψαντες, χώμα δὲ χέαντες ἄγωνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἁθλα 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 contemned; 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 λόγου μονομαχίας. ταφαί μὲν δὴ Ἐρηνίκων εἰσὶ αἴδε.
9. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρης ἐτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκές οὕτως εἰσὶ ἀνθρώποι οἰκεῖοι ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἕδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἔρημος χώρη φαίνεται έούσα καὶ ἀπειρος. μοῦνος δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκεῖοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀνθρώπους τοῖς οὖνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρωμένους Μῆδικης τοὺς δὲ Ἰπποὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἀπαν τὸ σώμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμούς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν, ξεγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ὑξυτάτους· ἀρματηλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταύτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὗρους ἁγχόους 'Ἐνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρία. εἶναι δὲ Μῆδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκος δὲ οὕτω Μῆδων ἀποίκους γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δ' ἄν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. σιγύννας δ' ὁν καλέουσι Δίγνες οἱ ἀνώ ὑπὲρ Μασσαλίας οἰκεῖοντας τοὺς κατήλους, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.
10. Ὁς δὲ Ἐρηνίκες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν υν ταῦτα λεγοντες δοκεόνσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ξῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρκτοῦν ἄοικητα δοκεῖ εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ταῦτα μὲν υν τῆς χώρης ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὁν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοι ἐπολεε.
11. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὃς διαβας τάχιστα τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς εξ
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.
'Ιστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐνεργεσίης καὶ τῆς παρανεόσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώων, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδις ἐδίδον αὐτοῖς αἰρέσιν. οὐ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαῖος, ἀλη τυραννεύων τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρῆξε, αἰτεῖ δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνῶν, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτισαί. οὐτός μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἰρέται, ὁ δὲ Κώνης, οἷς τε οὐ τύραννος δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτεῖν Μυτιλήνης τυραννεύσαι.

12. Τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, οὕτω μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἴλοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρείον δὲ συνήνεικε πρήγμα τοιών ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμήσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάξῳ Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστους ποίησαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαυτύς ἄνδρες Παίονες, οἱ ἐπείτε Δαρείος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτὸν ἑθέλοντες Παιόνων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφεῖς μεγάλην τε καὶ ἐνείδεα. φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρείου προκατίζομενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιώνδε σκευάσαντες τὴν ἀδελ- φεῖν ὡς εἰσχύν ἀριστα, ἔπι υδώρ ἐπεμπόν ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίων τῆς ἱππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλάθουσαν λίνον. ὡς δὲ παρεξῆι ἡ γυνή, ἐπιμελεῖς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελεῖς δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυ- φόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύον ὁ φυλάξαι ὁ τι χρήσε- ται τῷ ἱππῳ ἡ γυνή. οὐ μὲν δὴ ὁπισθε εἰποντο- ή δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἢρσε τὸν ἱππον, ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὑδατος ἐμπλησαμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξῆι, φέρουσα
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 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.
τὸ ὑδρῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἑπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίωνος τὸν ἱππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἀτρακτον.

13. Θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τὰ τε ἦκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὄρα, ἀγειν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖλεν ἐώστῳ ἐς ὅψιν. ὡς δὲ ἀχθῆ, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἁδελφοὶ αὐτῆς οὐ κη πρόσω σκοπῆν ἔχοντες τούτων. εἰρωτάντως δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὁποδαπὴ εὖῃ, ἔφασαν οἱ νευνισκοὶ εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκεῖνην εἶναι σφέων ἁδελφην. ὥς δὲ ἀμείβητο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἀνθρωποῦ εἰσὶ καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἴκημένοι, καὶ τὶ κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἐλθοιεν ἐς Σάρδις. οἷς δὲ οἱ ἐφραζόν ὡς ἐλθοιεν μὲν ἐκεῖνω δώσοντες σφέας αὐτοὺς, εἶ].'Ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρόσῳ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου, εὑρανὰν δὲ Τευκρόν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποικοκοι. οἷς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκαστὰ ἐλεγον, δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτὸθι αἱ γυναικὲς εὑρανὸν οὕτω ἐργατίδες. οἷς δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν προθύμως οὕτῳ ἐχειν' αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὅν τούτῳ εἶνεκα καὶ ἐποίετο.

14. Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείος γράφει γράμματα Μεγαβάζῳ, τὸν ἠλπε ἐν τῇ Ἰρηνίη στρατηγού, ἐντελ-λόμενος ἐξαναστήσαι ἐξ ἵθεων Παίονας καὶ παρ' ἐωτοῦ ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππευς θεειε φέρον τὴν ἀγγελίῃ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου, περαιωθεὶς δὲ διδοὶ τὸ βυβλίον τῷ Μεγαβάζῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Ἰρηνίης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

15. Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἤναι, 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, δοκέοντες ταύτη ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἷς Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιστάντα ἐρύκειν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἀνω ὄδον τράπονται, λα-θόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπιπτοῦσι ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἑοῦσας ἄνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἷς δὲ κεινῆι ἐπιπέσοντες ἐπετέως κατέσχον. οἷς δὲ Παίονες ὡς ἐπώθουσα ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτικὰ δια-σκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐσωτερικό ἐκαστοι ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτῶς τοῖς Πέρσης. οὕτω δὴ Παίονων Σιριοπαίονές τε καὶ Πιαόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης εὖ ἦθεν ἐξανα-στάντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην.

16. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαμον ὅρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ 'Αγριάνας καὶ 'Οδομάντους ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου· ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρεῖν ὡδὲ. ἠκριβὲς ἔπτι σταυρῶν ὕψηλῶν ἐξωγμένα ἐν μέση ἑστήκη τῇ λίμνῃ, ἐσοδοὺ ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρον στεινῆ ἐχοντα μὴ γεφύρην. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεώταις τοῖς ἱκρίοισι τὸ οὖν κοῦ ἀρχαῖον ἐστημαν κοινὴ πάντες οἱ πολιῆται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεόμενοι ἵστασι τοιῶδε· κομίζοντες εὖ ὅρεος τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ 'Ὀρ-βήλος, κατὰ γυναίκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστην· ἀνεται δὲ ἐκαστος ςὐχνὰς.

1 Stein brackets καὶ Δοβ. καὶ 'Αγρ. καὶ 'Οδ. ; 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 highland 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^1 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,^2 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,^3 and every man plants three for each woman that he weds; and each has many wives. For the manner

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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.
γυναῖκας. οἰκεύουσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἐκαστὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαίταιται καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φεροῦσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νῆπια παίδια δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτω, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες. τοῖσι δὲ ὑποκουι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίουσι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς. τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτο ὡστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλύῃ, κατεὶ σχοῖνῳ σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλῶν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχῶν ἀνασπᾶ πληρεῖα ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας.

17. Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἠγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παιόνας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀνδράς ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔκεινον ἃσαν δοκιμῶτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὔτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αὐτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὑδῷρ Δαρείῳ βασιλέω. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐς οὐ ύστερον τούτων τάλαντων ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὅρος υπερβάντα εἰναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

18. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οἱ πεμβθέντες οὕτωι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἰτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ βασιλείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδῷρ. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα τε ἐδίδοι καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δείπνου μεγαλοπρεπὸς ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἰπαν 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 "papraikes," 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 1 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 Dysororum 2 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.
"Εἶνε Μακεδών, ἡμῶν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Πέρσησι, ἐπειδὲ δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ νυν, ἐπεὶ περὶ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξασι μεγάλως δὲ ξεινύξεις, διδοῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ύδωρ, ἔπεο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ." εἶπε πρὸς ταύτα 'Αμύντης "'Ο Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῶν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν" ἐπείτε δὲ ύμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπόται προσχρητεῖτε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταύτα." εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ 'Αμύντης μετεπέμπτε τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δὲ ἐπείτε καλεόμεναι ἤλθον, ἐπεξής ἀντία ἵζοντο τοῖς Πέρσησι. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τούτῳ οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφὸν· κρέσσων γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχηθὲν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναίκας ἡ ἐλθοῦσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀληθοῦσας σφὶσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἀπτοντο οία πλεόνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειρᾶτο.

19. Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταύτα ὁρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καὶ περ ἁμόρφων, οία ὑπερδειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεως παρεῖν τε καὶ ὁρέων ταύτα, ἀτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἐτι κατέχειν οὐς τε ἦν, ὡστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. "'Ο πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἰκε τῇ ήλικίᾳ ἀπιόν τε ἀναπαύει, μὴ δὲ λυπάρει τῇ πόσῳ ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖς ξείνοισι." πρὸς ταύτα συνεις Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεότερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν
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
μέλλοι ο Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει "Ὤ παί, σχεδὸν γὰρ σεῦ ἀνακαιομένου συνιήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον ἐγὼ δὲν σεῦ χρήζω μηδέν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχειν ὄρεων τὰ ποιεύμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδῳ τῇ ἐμῇ πείσμαι τοι."  

20. Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας "Γυναικῶν τοπτέων, ὦ ξεῖνι, ἐστι ύμίν πολλὴ εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσησι βούλεσθε μίσγεθεί καὶ ὀκόσησι δὲν αὐτέως. τούτων μὲν πέρι αὐτοῦ ἀποσημανέστε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἥδη τῆς κοιῆς ὧρη προσέρχε- 
ται ύμίν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ύμέας ὦρῳ μέθης, 
γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ύμίν φίλυν ἐστὶ, ἀπετε λούσα- 
θαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε." εἴπασ 
ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας 
μὲν ἐξελθόνης ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικῆν, 
αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἵσους τῆς γυναίξι ἀριθμῶν 
ἄνδρας λειογενεῖσι τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔσθητι σκευά- 
σας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς ὅγε ἔσω, παράγων δὲ τού- 
tous ἔλεγε τοῖς Πέρσῃς τάδε. "Ὤ Πέρσαι, 
οἰκατε πανδαισίη τελέῃ ἱστηθαί· τά τε γὰρ 
ἄλλα ὥσα εἰχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τά οία τε ἡν ἕξεν
rόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ύμῖν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ 
tόδε τό πάντων μέγιστων, τάς τε ἐσωτήρες καὶ 
tάς ἀδελφέας ἐπιδαφίλευμεθα ύμῖν, ὡς 
pαντελέως μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ 
ἐστὶ ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεί τῷ πέμψατι 
adγαγείλητε ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήνης Μακεδόνων ὑπαρ-
χος εν ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέξῃ καὶ κοίτη." 
tαύτα εἴπασ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἄνδρι 
ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναίκα τῷ λόγῳ· οὐ 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 patiently 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 τοῦτῷ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρμησαν, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ θερατήθη αὐτῶν· εἶπε τοῦ γὰρ δὴ σφι καὶ ὀχήματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευὴ· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοις ἥφανιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ξήπησι τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλῃ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σφες Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφία, χρήματα τε δοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν τῇ οὕνωμα ἥν Γυγαίῃ· δοὺς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη ἄνδρι Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

22. Ὁ μὲν νῦν τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσυγήθη. "Ελληνας δὲ εἰναι τοῦτος τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεος γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυχχάνῳ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπισθε λόγοις ἀποδέξω ως εἰσὶ" Ἔλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἁγῶνα Ἐλληνοδικαὶ οὕτω ἐγνωσαν εἰναι. Ἀλέξανδροι γὰρ ἀεθλεῦεν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἐλλήνων ἐξείργον μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἰναι τὸν ἁγῶνα ἄλλα Ἐλλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἰ βαργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἰναι Ἔλλην καὶ ἀγωνισόμενος στάδιον συνεξεπίπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παύσανας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ. ἐνθεύτεν διαπεραιωθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀτε δὲ τεὐχέοντος ἡδή 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.
Μελησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἐτυχε μισθὸν δωρεὶν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίας, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χῶρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν τῶν οὕνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινος, μαθὼν δὲ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δὲ ήλθε ὑπίστατα ἐστὶ Σάρδις ἀγὼν τοὺς Παύνων, ἔλεγε Δαρείω τάδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ, κοίνον τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δὸν ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Ἡράκλῃ, ἵνα ἱδη τε ναυπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἁργύρεα, ὁμιλὸς τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλῆν περιοικεῖε πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἳ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἄν κεῖνος ἐξηγεῖται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον τάυτα ποιεύνα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκηίς πολέμῳ συνεχὴ τρόπῳ δὲ ἦπιο μεταπεμψάμενος παῦσον. ἐπεάν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποιεῖν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἑλλήνης ἀπίζεται." 24. Τάυτα λέγων ὧν Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἐπείθε Δαρείων ὡς εὔ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετα δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὧν Δαρείως ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἰστιαὶε, βασιλεὺς Δαρείως τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρήσκω ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοίς πρῆγμαι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὐνοεστερον τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγουι ἄλλο ἐργοί τε οἶδα μαθὼν. νῦν δὲν, ἐπινοεὼ γὰρ πρῆγματα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπίκεο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι ἀυτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι." τούτους τοῖς ἐπείσι πιστεύσας ὧν Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἀμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέως σύμβουλος ἑγεῦσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὧπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρείως τάδε. "Ἰστιαὶε, ἔγω 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 εξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδὲν καὶ ἄλλο χρῆμα οὕτω ἐν βραχεῖ ἐπεξήγησα ώς σὲ ἵδειν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμωτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὐνοος, τὰ τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδῶς ἐχὼ μαρτυρεῖν ἐσ πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν δὲ, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι. Μίλητον μὲν ἐκ καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχε τὰ περ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐχὼ, ἐμὸς τε σύσσιτος ἓων καὶ σύμβουλος.

25. Ταῦτα Δαρείος εἴπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφρένεα ἀδελφεῖν ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίων, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα ἀμα ἁγόμενος Ἱστιαίον, Ὄτανεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλάσσων ἀνδρῶν τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμμην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἁνθρωπείν, σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἰμάντας ἕξ αὐτοῦ ἐταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἴζων ἐδίκαζε· ἐνταύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστήν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμμεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παίδα τοῦ Σισάμμεω, ἐντειλάμενος οἱ μεμνησθαί εῖν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

26. Οὕτω δὲ Ὁ Ὅτανεα ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοὺς τὸν θρόνον, τὸτε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγίας, Βυζαντίους τε εἰλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους, εἰλε δὲ Ἀνταυνδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι γῇ, εἰλε δὲ Λαμπώνιου, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Δεσβίων νέας εἰλε Λήμμον τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἐτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας.
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 Δήμυνοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὗ καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνου ἐκακώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ περιεύσαντι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχοῦ ἐπιστᾶσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεῖ. οὗτος δὲ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Δήμυνῳ τελευτᾶ. αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε: πάντας ἤνδραποδίζετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν λυπο- στατής ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτίκωμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνασθαί τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὁπίσω ἀποκο- μιζόμενον.

28. Οὗτος δὲ τοσαῦτα ἔξεργάσατο στρατηγή- σας. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἠρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλή- του Ἰωσί. γίνεσθαι κακά. τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίᾳ τῶν νήσων προέφερε, τούτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μιλῆτος αὐτῇ τε ἐωτήτις μᾶλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσαια καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἦν πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἄνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μᾶλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὐ μὴν Πάριοι καθήρτισαν· τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστή- ρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἴλοντο οἱ Μιλῆσιοι.

29. Κατῆλλαξαν δὲ σφέας ὅδε Πάριοι. ὡς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἁριστοί ἐς τὴν Μιλη- τον, ὥρων γὰρ δὴ σφέας δευνὸς οἰκοφθορμένους, ἐφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξέλθειν τὴν χώρην· ποιεύτες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεξόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίαν, ὡς τινὰ ὄιδοιἐν ἐν ἀνεστηκυθῇ τῇ χώρῃ ἄγρῳ εὗ ἔξεργασμένου, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δεσπότεω τοῦ ἄγροι. διεξέλασαν δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην κἂν σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἂστυ, ἀλλὰ ποιησάμε- νοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον
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, Lycaretns the brother of Maeandrius who had been king of Samos. This Lycaretns 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
τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὗ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκείν γὰρ ἐφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐτῶ δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὦσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

30. Πάριοι μὲν νῦν Μιλησίους οὕτω κατηρτισάντες τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὄντε ἥρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἐφύγον ἀνδρεῖς τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγάντες δὲ ἀπίκουσιν ἐς Μιλήτουν. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτουν ἐπίγένθην εὐπτροπος ἐδών Ἀρισταγόρης οἱ Μολπαγόρεως, γαμ- βρὸς τε ἐδών καὶ ἀνεψιος Ἰστιαίος τοῦ Δυσωγόρεως, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος ἐν Σούσοισι κατείχε. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαίος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐπίγενθην τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων ἐδών ἐν Σούσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἠλθον κείνοι πρὶν ἔόντες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτουν ἐδέοντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεως, εἰ δὲ αὐτοῖς παράσχων δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέλθουν ἐς τὴν ἐωτῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὥς ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσε ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀρξεὶ τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ἑωτίν, ἢ Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφί λόγον προσέφερε. "Ἀντὸς μὲν ύμῖν σὺν φερέγγυος εἰμὶ δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαυτὴν ὡς καὶ κατάγειν ἀείκοντοι τῶν τὴν πόλιον ἐχόντων Νάξιον, πυθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα Νάξιοις εἶναι καὶ πλοία μακρὰ πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. ἐπινοεῖ δὲ τῇ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἐως φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτα- φρένης ύμῖν Ἰστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέου ἀδελφός· τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατηγῆν τε πολλήν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τοῦτον δὲν δοκεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἀν χρηίζομαι." ταῦτα ἀκοῦ-
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 sea-coast peoples of Asia and has a great army and many ships; this man then will, I think, do whatever we
σαντες οι Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη πρήσσειν τῇ δύνατο ἀριστα, καὶ υπίσχεθαι δώρα ἐκέλευνο καὶ δαπάνης τῇ στρατηγῆς ὡς αὐτοί διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέσωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα ποιήσειν τους Νάξιους τὰ ἀν αὐτοὶ κελεύσωσι, ὅς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἴδσωτας. τῶν γὰρ νῆσων τούτων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

31. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὡς Νάξος εἰς νῆσος μεγάλος ἡμῖν ἡμαῖρας ἀλλος δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἄγαθὴ καὶ ἄγχον Ιωνίας, χρήματα δὲ ἐνι πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. “σὺ δὲν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην στρατηλάτης, κατάγων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐς αὐτῆς. καὶ τοῖς ταύτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἐτοίμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀνασισμωμάτων τῇ στρατηγῆς ταύτα μὲν γὰρ δικαίον ἡμέας τοὺς ἀγοννας παρέχειν ἐστὶ τοῦτο δὲ νῆσους βασιλεὰ προσκήσεϊ αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρητημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἀνδρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς Κυκλάδας καλεμένας. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὁμολογεῖν ἐγείρετες ἐπιθήσεαι Εὐβοῖα νῆσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, οὐκ ἠλάσουν Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εὐπετέει αἱρεθήναι. ἀποχρώσι δὲ ἐκατόν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι.” δὲ ἀρείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖς τε. “Σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέας ἐξηγήτης γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἄγαθῶν, καὶ ταύτα εὐ παρανεὼς πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεὼν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἀντὶ δὲ ἐκατόν νεῶν διηκοσιᾷ τοι ἐτοιμὸ ἐσονται ἀμα τῇ ἔρει. δὲὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι.”

32. Ὡ μέν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταύτα ἤκουσε,
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 Artaphrenes 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," Artaphrenes 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
περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἀπῆλε ἐς Μίλητον. οὗ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης, ὥς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντες τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρείος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεας, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὀμιλον Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἀνδρὰ Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδέων, ἔως τοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείον ἀνεψιόν, τοῦ Παυσανίδος ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθῆς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τοινύν ἦρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχῆν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπεστείλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

33. Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατηγὴν καὶ τοὺς Νάξιους ἔπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἑπείτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἐσχε τὰς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθύτευν βορέχ αὖμφε ἐς τὴν Νάξου διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐδεί τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Νάξιου ἀπολέσθαι, πρῆγμα τοῖσ' συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι. περιώντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεῶς Μυνδίης ἐτυχε ὀυδεὶς φυλάσσων. δὴ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεῶς, τῷ ὀνύμα ἢν Ἐκύλαξ, τοῦτον δήσαι διὰ θαλαμίς διελόντας τῆς νεῶς κατὰ τούτο, ἐξω μὲν κεφαλῆς ποιεύντας ἐσῳ δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἐκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξείνον οἱ τὸν Μυνδίου Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαίνοντο. δ' ἐλθὼν παραίτεστο 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.
τυγχάνον εἰς εὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη, ὃ δὲ εἶπε Ἔσοι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τι πρήγμασι τί ἐστιν; οὐκ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἄν ἕγον κελεύν; τὶ πολλὰ πρήγμασι;” ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὃ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτῳ, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔτεμπε ὡς ὉΝᾶξον πλοῖῳ ἄνδρας φράσοντας τοῖς Νάξιοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματα.

34. Οἱ γὰρ ὁν Νάξιοι εὐδενὸς πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὅρμησεσθαι. εἶπεν μὲν τοιοῦ ἐπύθουντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνείκαντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων ἔστασις, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σίτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὕτω μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσχόμενοι σφί πολέμοι. οὐ δὲ ἐπείτε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἐχοντες ἤλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδεδαπάνητο σφί, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσανασίμβω τοπόλα, τοῦ πλεύνος τὸ τοῦτο ἐδέετο ή πολιορκία, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Νάξιων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον κακῶς πρήγμασιν.

35. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὕκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι ἀμα δὲ ἐπίεξε μὴν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπαίτεσθαι, ἀρρώδες τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβηλμένος, ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαρεθήσεσθαι. ἀρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἐκαστα ἐβουλευεῖτο ἄποστασιν. συνέπιπτε γὰρ
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
καὶ τὸν ἑστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπῆχθαι ἐκ Σοῦσων παρὰ Ἰστιαιοῦ, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέος. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαιὸς βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆαι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἰχε ἀσφαλέως σημῆναι ὅστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὀδῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τῶν πιστῶτατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστίξε καὶ ἀνέμευε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας, ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ἤπερ ἀπερίσκοιτο μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἔσήμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι εὑρηταί, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαιὸς ἐποίεε συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωτοῦ καταχῆν τὴν ἐν Σοῦσοισι. ἀποστάσιος δὲν γινομένης πολλὰς εἰχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μῇ δὲ νεώτερον τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμά ἐς αὐτὴν ἦξειν ἐτὶ ἐλογίζετο.

36. Ἰστιαιός μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἀγγελοῦ, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο δὲν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἑωτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαιοῦ ἀπιγμένα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τῶν ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι Ἐκαταιὸς δ' ὁ λογοποιὸς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἐσ πόλεμον βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσέων ἀνακριθοῦσαν, καταλέγον τὰ τε ἐθνεα πάντα τῶν ἱρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβουλευε συνέειν ὅκως ναυκρατεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐσονται. ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἐφη λέγων ἐνοραίν.
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 τοῦτον ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐσόσαν ἄσθενεα: εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταρρεθεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἰχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσειν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὗτῳ αὐτοῖς τε ἔξειν τοῖς χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγοι. αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἑνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὁμοὶ ἀπίστασθαι, ἡνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἢς Μυόντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθὼν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνεις πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἑπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγοὺς.

37. Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὁλίατον Ἰβανώλ- λίος Μνασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαίων Τύμνεως Τερμερέα καὶ Κώνην Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείος Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω Κυ- μαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὗτῷ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφα- νεός ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, παῦ ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανόμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετείς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταῖατο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τῶν τοῦτο τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπό τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξου, τούτους δὲ φίλα θουλομένους ποιεσθαι τῆς πόλις ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλου ἢς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδίδους, ὦθεν εἰῇ ἐκαστος.

38. Κώνη μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαῖοι δὲ τῶν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπήκαν· ὡς 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 ἐγίνετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας, Ἄρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Δακεδαίμονα τριήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο· ἔδεε γὰρ ἥ συμμαχίας τινὸς οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθήναι.

39. Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Δέοντος οὐκέτι περιεδύν ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω εἰχε τὴν βασιλικὴν, οὐ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίνην σχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδη γὰρ ἔχουτι γυναῖκα ἀδελφῆς ἐωντοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ έούς της ταῦτας οἱ καταθυμίς, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. τούτων δὲ τοιοῦτον ἔοντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἰπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν "Εἰ τοι ὑπὸ σεωτοῦ μὴ προορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτέου, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἐξήτηλον. σὺ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεῖτε τοι ὑπὸ τίκτει, ἔξεος, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμου καὶ ποιέων ταῦτα Σπαρτιητῆς ἀδήσεις." ὦ δ' ἀμείβετο φᾶς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσειν, ἐκεῖνος τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύει παραίνεοντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἐοῦσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐωντῷ, ταῦτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἑσαγαγέσθαι· οὐδὲ σφι πείσεσθαι.

40. Πρὸς τὰῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδη τάδε. "Επει τοῖνυν τοι περιεχομένον σε ὀρῶμεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναίκος, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτωι, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ἄλλοιν περὶ σὲν Σπαρτιητῖ τα βουλευσώμεθα· γυναῖκος μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθα σεν τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταῦτη 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.  

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.
οσά νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτην ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιοῦν." ταύτα κηλεύοντων συνεχόρθησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διξας ἱστίας οἴκεε, ποιεῖν οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτιητικὰ.

41. Χρόνου δὲ οὗ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσώστερον ἐπέλθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὐτὴν τε ἐπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτιητησί απέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἔοισα τότε καὶ ἐκύψε, συντυχὶ ταύτης χρησαμένη. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεῖ οἶος ὁ τῆς ἐπελθούσῃς γυναῖκος οἰκήμοι πυθὸμενοι ὄχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλοις βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινα δὲ ποιεύτων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμμοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἐφοροὶ τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἦ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωρίεα ἰδέως ἵσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἱδέως ἵσχει Κλεομβροτον· οὗ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεομβροτὸν καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἦ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεῦτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ, ἔοισα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκετί ἐτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42. Ὡς μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής τε, οὐ δὲ Δωρίες ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος, εὖ τε ἐπιστάτα κατ' ἀνδραγαθίαν αὐτὸς σχῆσων τὴν βασιληίην. ὡστε ὡς οὕτω φρονεῶν, ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωρίες δεινὸν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἁξιῶν 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 Anaxandridies’ 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-
Σπαρτήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποκίνην, οὗτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς
χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἑντεύχα γῆν κτίσων ἵνα
οὗτε ποιήσας οὖδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων οἰα δε
βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα·
cατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραίοι. ἀπίκομενος δὲ
ἐς Λιβύην οἴκισε χώρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων
παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν. ἐξελάσθεις δὲ ἐνθεύτεν
τρίτῳ ἐτεί ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχη-
dονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

43. Ἔνθαύτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνιος
συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Δαίων χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείν
τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσειν, φας τὴν Ἑρύκος χώρην
πᾶσαν εἰναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτη-
sαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταύτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχετο
χρησάμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ᾽ ἱν στέλ-
λεται χώρην. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χραὶ αἰρῆσειν.
παραλαβῶν δὲ Δωριέων τῶν στόλων τὸν καὶ ἐς
Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

44. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τούτων, ὡς λέγουσι Συβα-
rίται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωτυὸν
βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι,
tοὺς δὲ Κροτωνίτας περιδέεις γενομένους δεηθῆ-
nαι Δωρεός σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέν-
tας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωρεά
καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταύτα μὲν ὑπὸ Συβα-
rίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωρεά τε καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽
aυτοῦ, Κροτωνίται δὲ οὖδένα σφίσι φασὶ ἦξινον
προσπειλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου
εἰ μὴ Καλλίν τῶν Ἰαμεδέων μάντιν Ἡλεῖον
μοῦνον, καὶ τούτων τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· παρὰ Τῆλυνος
tοῦ Συβαρίτεων 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, ἔπειτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχωρεῖς χρηστὰ θυομένω ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτως λέγομεν. μαρτύρια δὲ τοῦτον ἐκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύονσι τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν Ἑηρῶν Κράθιν, τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωρία λέγομεν Ἀθηναίη ἐπωνύμῳ Κράθιη τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωρίεος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστὸν ποιεῦνται, ὡς παρὰ τὰ μεμαντεμένα ποιέων διεφθαρή; εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπτηκε μηδὲν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεει, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώρην καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ’ αὐ Κροτωνιήται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἑλεῖῳ ἐξαιρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἑτί ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλία δαν. Δωρίεος ἀπογόνοις, Δωρίει δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δωρίεος ἀπογόνοις οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετο γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωρίεος, δοθήναι ἃν οἱ πολλαπλῆσια ἡ Καλλίη. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, δικοτέροις τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοις προσχωρέειν.

46. Συνεπλευν δὲ Δωρίει καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιτέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέως: οἱ ἔπειτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἡς τὴν Σικελίαν, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἔσσωθέντες υπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων. μοῦνος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτίστεών περιεγένετο τοῦτον τοῦ πάθεος. συλλαβῶν δὲ οὕτως τῆς στρατιῆς τοῦς περιγενομένους ἐσχε Μινώῃ τῆς Σελινοῦσίων ἀποκήν, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινοῦσίους τοῦ μοναρχὸν Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὦ τούτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινοῦντος
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,
καὶ ἐμοννάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ’, ὅλγον· οἱ γὰρ μὲν Ἑλληνούσιοι ἐπαναστάτες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Δίος ἀγοραίου βωμὸν.

47. Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριέω καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνήρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλνος τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκηθεὶς τε τριήρει καὶ οἰκήθη ἀνδρῶν δαπάνη, ἑώς τε Ὁλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ’ ἐωτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωτοῦ κάλλος ἥνεικατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἔπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἤρωιον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτοῦ ἰλάσκονται.

48. Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἥνεσχετο βασιλεύομενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἃν Λακεδαιμονίαν· οὐ γὰρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἥρξε ο Ἐλευθέρως τὸν Κλεομένης, ἄλλῳ ἀπέθανε ἅπαις, θυγατέρα μοῦνη λιπῶν, τῆς οὐνομα ἤν Γοργώ.

49. Αἰτικεύεται δὲ ὁ 'Αρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἐχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τὼ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦιε, ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγοντες, ἔχον χάλκεον πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέμθη καὶ θάλασσα τε πάσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἄρισταγόρης ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. "Κλεομενις, σπουδήν μὲν τὴν ἐμήν μὴ θωμάσῃς τής ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰώνων παιδὰς δούλους εἶναι ἄντι ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἐτὶ
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
δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν υμῖν, ὅσον προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 

γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάς ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἀνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ 

ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶδα τε χωρεῖν ἐστὶ· οὐτε γὰρ οἱ Βαρθαροὶ ἄλκιμοι εἰσί, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον 

ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετὴς πέρι, ἢ τε μάχη 

αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιὴδε, τοξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· 

ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ 

κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. οὕτω εὐπετέες 

χειρωθήναι εἰσί. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῦτο τὴν 

ἡπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένουις ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συν-

ἀπασι ἀλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένουις, ἀργυρος 

καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθής ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγια τε 

καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτὸι ἄν ἔχοντε. 

κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐγὼ 

φράσω, Ἰωάνων μὲν τῶν όδε Λυδοί, οἰκεοντες 

τε χώρην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες." 

deinuv δε ἐλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τῆν περίοδον, 

τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι εὐτετμημένην. "Λυδῶν 

dε" ἐφη λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης "οἴδε ἔχονται 

Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡδο, πολυπροβατώτατοι τε 

ἔόντες πάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπότατοι. 

Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς 

Συρίων καλέομεν. τούτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κιλίκες, 

κατήκουτες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τῆνδε, ἐν τῇ ήδε Κύπρος 

νῆσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα βασιλεί τὸν 

ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεύστ. Κιλίκων δὲ τῶν 

ἔχονται Ἀρμενίοι οἴδε, καὶ οὕτοι ἔόντες πολυπρο-

βατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματιηνοί χώρην τήνδε ἔχον-

τες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων ὡς ἡδε Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ 

παρὰ ποταμὸν τῶν Δαύσιν κείμενα ἐστὶ τὰ υπὸ 

Σωσα ταῦτα, ἐνθὰ βασιλεύς 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
παίεσαι, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσίν· ἔλοντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσέοντες ἦδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἀρὰ οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν χρεῶν ἐστὶ ύμεας μάχας ἀναβάλλοντες πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐόντας ἰσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους, τοῦτο οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὕδεν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον ἀποθνησκεῦν- παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἀρχεῖν εὑπετέως, ἀλλὰ τι αἱρήσεσθε;” Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τούτῳ. “Ὡ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαι τοι ἐς τρίτην ἴμμερην ὑποκρινέσθαι.”

50. Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἠλασαν ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἴμμερη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἠλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἴρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀριστα- γόρην ὀκοσέων ἴμμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνου ὀδὸς εἰς παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τὰλλα ἐδών σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὐ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· ἤχρεον γὰρ μν ἴμμεν τὸ ἔος, βουλο- μενὸν γε Ἡπαρτήτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ’ ὅν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρτάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρι- σταγόρης ἄρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ, εἴπε “Ὡ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ὀπαλλάσσει ἐκ Ἡπαρτῆς πρὸ δύντος ἠλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὑπετέα λέγεις Λακέδαιμονίοις, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὀδὸν ἠγαγεῖν.”

51. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης ταῦτα ἐπίσας ἦν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἰκετηρίην ἦν ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐσω ὑπε ἰκετεύων
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
ἐπακούσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποσπάσαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἡν Γοργὼ· τούτο δὲ οἱ καὶ μοῦνον τέκνων ἑτύγχανε ἐδώ ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἡ ἐννέα ἡλικίαν. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βουλεταὶ μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἶνεκα. ἐνθάντα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχυμένον, ἡν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέητο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῦι χρῆμαι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὐ πεντήκοντα τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠνδάξατο "Πάτερ, διαφθερεῖς σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστᾶς ἤς." δὲ τὴ Κλεομένης ἠσθεῖς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραϊνέσι ἔτι ἐτερον οὐκήμα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

52. Ἐχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτη ὡδὲ· σταθμοί τε πανταχῆ εἰσὶ βασιλῆιοι καὶ καταλύσιες καλ- λισται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸσ ἄπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίης καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἰκοσὶ εἰσὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑνενήκοντα καὶ ἡμισυ. ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ "Αλυσ ποταμός, ἐπʼ ὦ πύλαι τε ἐπείσι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκπεραῖ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπʼ αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὸν δέοντες εἰσὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοίς τούτων οὐρωσὶ διξὶς τε πύλας διεξελάς καὶ διξά 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 παραμείφεαι. ταῦτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ
dia tῆς Κιλικίας ὀδὸν ποιεμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσὶ
σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγας δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμῶν.
οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ ποταμὸς
νησιπέρητος, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ
Ἀρμενίᾳ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγεῖστι πεντε-
καίδεκα, παρασάγγας δὲ ἐξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἡμῶν, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματιηνὴν γῆν
σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγας
dὲ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ποταμοὶ δὲ
νησιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ρέουσι, τοὺς
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστὶ, πρῶτος μὲν
Τύγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ὄντος
ὅνομα ἔχει, οὐκ ὄντος ἐὰν ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ρέων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν κατα-
λεχθεῖς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἥκει, ὁ δὲ ύστερον ἐκ Ματιη-
νῆν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνμα ἔχει
Γύνδης, τὸν Κύρος διέλαβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας
ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσιάς. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν
Κισσίην χώρην μεταβαίνοντι ἐνδέκα σταθμοῖς,
παρασάγγας δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἡμῶν
ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Χοάσπην, ἐντὰ καὶ τούτων
νησιπέρητον· ἐπὶ δὲ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται.

53. Ὀντοὶ οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ ἐνδέκα καὶ
ἐκατὸν. καταγωγαὶ μὲν ὑπὸν σταθμῶν τοσαῦτα
εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδιῶν ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. εἰ δὲ
ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὀδὸς ἡ βασιληὴ τοῦσι παρα-
σάγγησι καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα
στάδια, ὡσπερ οὐτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρ-
diων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τα βασιλῆς τὰ Μεμνόνα
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 Memnonian2 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.
παρασαγγέων ἐόντων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων.  
πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ’ ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη 
διεξοθύς ἀναίσμουνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐνενη-
κόντα.

54. Οὔτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ εἶπαντι 
πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεδαμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν 
μηνῶν τὴν ἀνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὀρθῶς εἰρητο. 
eὶ δὲ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ 
καὶ τούτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις 
όδον δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτη. καὶ δὴ λέγω 
σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς 
Ἐλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον 
ἀστυ καλέται) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους 
καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδις εἰσὶ 
tesserakonta kai pentaqosiou stadiai, kai outw 
trisi hemeris miκynetai ti trymnous odos.

55. Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς 
Σπάρτης ἦμε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας γενομένας τυράννων 
όδε ἐλευθέρας. ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχὸν τὸν Πεισιστράτου, 
Ἰππίεω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεύων, ἱδόντα οὐν 
ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην κτείνουσι 
Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμοδίως, γένος ἑόντες τὰ 
ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραίοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο 
Ἀθηναίοι ἐπ’ ἔτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἀλλὰ καὶ 
μᾶλλον ἤ πρὸ τοῦ.

56. Ἡ μὲν νυν οὕς τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν 
ήδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε 
ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἄνδρα ὁ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα 
αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα.

τλῆθι λέων ἀτλήτα παθῶν τετληστὶ θυμῶ· 
οὔδεὶς ἀνδρώπων ἀδικῶν 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.
taúta dé, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φαινεῖσθαι ὑπερτιθέμενος ὑπεροπολοῖοιν· μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπά-
μενος τὴν ὀψιν ἐπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

57. Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονεῖσσει οἱ 'Ιππάρχου, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγονσιν, ἐγεγονέζαν εἰς Ἑρωτρίης τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ οὐαπαπνοὺμένοις εὑρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικο-
μένων Φοίνικων ἐς γην τὴν ὑπὸ Βασιλικήν καλεο-
μένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρης ταῦτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοίραν. ἔνθευτεν δὲ Καθαρεῖων προτερῶν ἐξαναστάντων ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὕτως δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ἐτρά-
ποντο ἐπὶ Ἀθηνέων. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐδεξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιτέας,
πολλῶν τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγητῶν ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργεσθαι.

58. Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὕτως οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπ-
ικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκησάντες ταῦτα τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἐλλησὶ ὡς ἐμὸς δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς καὶ ἀπαντεῖς χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἀμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν τῶν γραμμάτων. Περιοίκεοι δὲ σφέας τὰ
πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἐλλήνων Ἰωνὲς, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχη ὑπαρὰ τῶν Φοίνι-
κων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ

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1 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 Phoenicians ² 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

¹ Tanagra; perhaps Herodotus' theory of an oriental origin is based on the fact that there was a place called Gephyrae in Syria.
² This happened sixty years after the fall of Troy, according to Thucydides.
δίκαιον ἑφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικῆα κεκλησθαι. καὶ τὰς βύβλους
dιφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιὸν οἱ Ἰωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο
dιφθέρησι αἰγέσι τε καὶ οἷέρσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἐς τουάτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

59. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμῆα γράμματα ἐν
tῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπὸλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θῆβαις
τῇ Βουωτῶν, ἔτι τρίτοσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα,
tὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἐόντα τοῖσι Ἰωνικοῖσι. ὁ μὲν δὴ
eἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει

'Αμφιτρύων μ’ ἀνέθηκ’ ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τῆλεβοάων.¹
tαῦτα ἡλικίην εἶχ ἀν κατὰ Λαῖον τὸν Λαβδάκον
tοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

60. Ἔτερος δὲ τρίτοσ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τῶν
λέγει
Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων μὲ ἐκβολὴν Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τείν περικαλλές ἀγαλμα.
Σκαῖος δ’ ἄν εἶχ ὁ Ἰ.:ποκόωντος, οἱ δὴ οὐτὸς γε
ἔστι ὁ ἀναθεῖς καὶ μὴ ἅλλος τὼτο οὖνομα ἔχων
τῷ Ἰπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν
Λαῖον.

61. Τρίτος δὲ τρίτοσ λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν
ἐξαμέτρῳ
Δαοδάμας τρίποδ’ αὐτὸς ἐνσκότῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
μοναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τείν περικαλλές ἀγαλμα.

¹ ἀνέθηκεν ἐδὼν ἀπὸ Τῆλεβοάων (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 ἔλαφος
would do.
Phoenicians had brought them into Hellas) the name of Phoenician.¹ 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.
έπε τούτου δη τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑσεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμείου ὤπ' Ἀργείων καὶ τράπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ὑστερον ὑπὸ Βουιοτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθῆνας καὶ σφὶ ίρὰ ἐστὶ ἐν Ἀθηναίσι ἱδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῆς δημητρὸς ἱρὸν τε καὶ ὄργια.

62. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οθέν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φονεῖς, ἀπήγηταί μοι. δεὶ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἄρχας ἡμὶ λέξων λόγον, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναίοι. Ἰππίεως τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραῖνομένου Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναίοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπείτε σφὶ ἁμα τῶν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν οὐ προεχώρεε κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιοι μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθερῶν τὰς Ἀθῆνας, Δειψυδρίον τὸ ύπερ Παιονίης τειχίσαστε, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς Πεισιστράτιδος μηχανώμενοι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν υἱὸν μισθοῦται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, τὸν ἐνθάτα τότε δὲ οὐκω, τούτον ἐξοικοδομήσατο. οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὑ ἥκοντες καὶ ἐόντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν ἔτε, τὸν τε υἱὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος καλλιον τά τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφὶ πωρίνου λίθου ποιεῖν τὸν υἱὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἐμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

63. Ὡς δὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντε, οὔτοι οἱ
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
κατίμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίαν ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὅκως ἐλθοῦσαν Ἑλληνεῖοι Ἀθηναῖοι, προφέρειν συν ἀλήθειαν 'Αθηναίοι τὰς 'Αθηναίας ἔλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς συν ἀλήθειαν τὼν ἀνδρῶν δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἔξελον τὰς ἀποθέμενους τῇ πόλει τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπνοοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἔξελον τὰς ἀποθέμενους τῇ πόλει τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπιτυχοῦσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοις. δὲ μὲν δὴ προσχῶν ἐς Μήλην τὴν στρατικήν ἀπέβησεν, ὀς δὲ Πεισιστράτιδας προπυγνάομενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκάλεσαν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχία πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφι διεμένοντι ἀπεπεμψαν κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίῳς τὸν Χάλκην καὶ τὸν Βασίλειον τὸν σφέτερον Κυνέην ἄνδρα Κοιναῖον τοὺς ἑπείτε ἐσχών συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστράτιδαι, ἐμχανώντω τοιάδει κείραιτες τῶν Μήλης τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἢππάσιμον ποιήμαιν τοῦτον τὸν χώρον ἐπήκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῆς ἢππηκούσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἅλλον τὸ πόλιον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀχιμόλιον τοὺς δὲ περιγεννυμένους αὐτῶν ἐς τᾶς νεάς κατεὶρξαν. δὲ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων οὕτω ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγησίων εἰσὶν ἀναπαύει τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκής, 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.

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.
λαντες ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἡπειρον τοῖς ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὦππος πρώτη προσέμιζε καὶ οὗ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφεων ἐπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἰχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίης. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἀμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖς βουλομένοις εἶναι ἐλευθέρους ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργ-μένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχει.

65. Καὶ οὐδὲν τι πάντως ἄν ἔξειλον Πεισιστρα-τίδας οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι· οὐτὲ γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σῖτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὐ παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τε ἀν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχία τοῖς μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτή σύμμαχος· ὕπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρης οἱ παιδεῖς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων ἠλώσαν. τούτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρκτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι, ἐπ’ οἷς ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ἔξειχόρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἀρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ’ ἔτα έξ τε καὶ τρυήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἳ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθου, οἳ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖες. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὸντο οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἰπποκράτης τὸ παιδί θέσθαι τὸν Πεισιστρατόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
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 wall 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; 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.
Ούτω μὲν Ἀθηναίων τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· οὐ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἡ ἐπαθὼν ἀξίοχρεα ἀπηγῆσιος, πρὶν ἡ Ἰωνίη τε ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθῆνας χρηίσαι σφέων βοηθείων, ταῦτα πρώτα φράσω.

66. Ἀθηναί, ἔουσα καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονς· ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε ἄνηρ Ἀλκμεώνίδης, ὃς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίνη ἀναπεῖσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισαῦνδρον οἰκίσας μὲν ἐδών δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν διὸ ἐχὼ φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Δι Καρίῳ. οὕτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἑστασίσασαν περὶ δυνάμιος, ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δῆμον προσεταριζέται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἑόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἑποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παϊδῶν Γελέουτος καὶ Αἰγικόρεου καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὁπλιτὸς ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευρών δὲ ἐτέρων ἥρωων ἑπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Ἁἰαντος· τούτον δὲ ἀτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ἤεῖνον ἑόντα, προσέθετο.

67. Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκεέων ἐμοὶ, ἐμμέεστο ὁ Κλεισθένης ὀύτος τὸν ἔωστον μητροπάτορα Κλεισθένεα τὸν Σικυώνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοις πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψιδώς ἐπαυσε ἐν Σικυώνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἴνεκα, οτι Ἀργείοι τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ύμνέαται· τοῦτο δὲ, ἥρωων γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἄγορῃ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστον

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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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

\(^1\) Cleisthenes ruled at Sicyon from 600 to 570.
τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τούτου ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα Ἀργείου ἐκβάλειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔς Δέλφους ἔχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τὸν Ἀδρηστον ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ φάσα Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, κεῖνον δὲ λευστῆρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τούτῳ γε οὔ παρεδίδον, ἀπελθὼν ὄπισώ ἐφροντίζει μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσατο ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἐφῄ θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελανιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θῆβαιοι ἐδοκαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελανιππον τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ προταναγή καὶ μιν ὤδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελανιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τούτῳ δεῖ ἀπηγήσασθαι) ὡς ἔχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρηστο, δς τὸν τε ἀδελφοῦν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεα καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὅρτας Ἀδρηστον ἀπελόμενος ἐδωκε τῷ Μελανιππῷ. οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀδρηστον ἢ γὰρ χώρη ἦν αὐτὴ Πολύβου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου τυγατριδέος, ἀπαίς δὲ Πολυβος τελευτῶν διδοὶ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἄρχῃ. τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρηστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῦ χροοίς ἐγέραρον, τὸν μὲν Διώνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χροοὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίτππῳ.

68. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλάς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ὡς δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐωσι τοίσι Σικυωνίοισι καὶ τοίσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε
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 Dorians, he changed their names, that so these tribes should not be common
HERODOTUS

69. Taúta mén wuv ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπέποιήκες; ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἔων τοῦ Σικυώνιου τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἑξων, δοκείειν ἑμοὶ καὶ οὗτος ὑπερίδων Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταί ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὀμόνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμιμήσατο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀπωσμένου τὸτε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐωτοῦ μοῖραν προσέβη-κατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεύνας εὗ ἐλασσόνων. δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέ-ρων ἐποίησε, δέκαχα 1 δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς. ἤν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

70. Ἔν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε: ἐπικαλεῖται Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀκεδαμιόνιον γενόμενον ἐωντῷ ξείνων 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
eixe aitíh foitâv para toû 'Iasanórew tûn
ynáika. tâ mév ðì pròwta pémpwv ó Kleomévnhs
ês tâs 'Athînas khrûka ëxëballe Kleiosténea kai
met' autôv állrous pôllous 'Athînavô, tou$$
évagéas ëpilégyon. táuta dè pémpwv ëlege ëk
didachh toû 'Iasanórew. ói mév gar 'Alkmewnídai
kai oi sústasîwtaî autôv éiçhun aitíh toû fônou
toûtv, autôs dè oû meteîc=e ou'd' oî filoi autôv.

71. Oi dë 'ënagées 'Athînavô wde òvnomásðhshn.
ûn Kûlôn twôn 'Athînavô aîhîr 'Olympioîkhs
ôutos épî týravndi êkômsh, prôspôntasáme-
nos dè ètaîrîhûn twôn ëlkîwstewn katalâbeîn tûn
âkrôpolin ëpêrîh, ou dvnâmëvos dè ëpîkra-
tîsai ièkîsh îîxetî prôs to ágalma. toûtvos
ânuståsî mèn oi prûtányes twôn vaukrârôv, ou per
ènèmuv tôte tâs 'Athônas, ûpêngûvos plûn ðanatóv
fóvenûs dè autôv aitíh ëxhe i 'Alkmewnídai.
tâuta prô tûs Peisiostrátv ëlkîshh ëgêneto.

72. Kleomévnhs dè dôs pêmpwv ëxëballe Klei-
sténea kai touts 'ënagéas, Kleiosténehs mèn autôs
ûpexêsh, metâ dè ou'dên ëssoûn parîh ës tâs
'Athônas ó Kleomévnhs ou sûn megalh chêri, àpikô-
mevovs dè ùghîlatêêi èptakosía épîstia 'Athînavô,
tâ oî ûpêtheto o 'Iasanórew. táuta dè pôúsas
deuîtara tûn boulhÎn katalûvewn èptêrâtov, trînko-
sîsîsî dè tôsî 'Iasanórew stasîwthshî tâs ûrxaòs
ènêcheîrìsh. àntistâthshîs dè tûs boulhîs kai ou

1 "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 in-
accurate.

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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 boards¹ (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.²

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,³ entrusting the offices of governance to Isagoras’ faction. But the Council resisted him and would

² The probable date is between 620 and 600.
³ Herodotus probably means the new Council of 500, fifty from each tribe.
βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ο τε Κλεομένης και ο Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οι στασιότατοι αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπουνδοι ἐξέρχονταί εκ τῆς χώρης ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέστο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐστὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσειν, ἤε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέφοι· ἤ δὲ ἴρειν ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἀμείψαται, εἶπε ἜΩξ ἔξειν Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρει μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμίτου Δωριέυοι παριέναι ἑνθαῦτα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε ἜΩξ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριέυς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαῖος." ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κλείδῳ οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησε τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναίοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐνδ' ἄδυτοι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφὸν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἐχομι' ἀν μέγιστα καταλέξαι.

73. Οὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτάκοσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις, συμμαχήν Βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας ἡπιστέατο γὰρ σφίσι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. ὑπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἰστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχός ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐόντες ἀνθρώποι καὶ κοῦ

1 MS. σφίσι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους; Stein brackets πρὸς, which is better omitted.

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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, Artaphernes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, "What men are you, and where
γῆς οὐκημένοι δεοίατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενεσθαι, πυθόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφοι σφί τάδε: εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεί Δαρείῳ Ἀθηναίοι γῆν τε καὶ ὤδωρ, ὃ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συνετίθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευν. οἱ δὲ ἀγγέλοι ἔπι σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἐφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιῆσασθαι. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωντῶν αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχοι.

74. Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιμβρύσθαι ἔπει καὶ ἔργουσι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατῶν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσαθαι τε ἐθέλων τῶν δήμων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενον τῦραννον καταστῆσαι: συνεξήλθε γὰρ οἱ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνήματος Οἰνώνιν αἴρεουσι καὶ Ἰσιᾶς δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα ἐσίνωντο ἐπιόντες χόρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, καίτερ ἀμφιβολὴ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδῶν ἐς ὑστερον ἐμελλον ὑπήρχοντο καὶ ποιῆσαθαι, Πελοποννησίοις δὲ ἐσύστο ἐν Ἐλευσίνῳ ἀντία ἐθεντο τὰ ὀπλα.

75. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψεις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτούς ὑπείτεσ Λοχον ὡς οὐ ποιέοιν δικαία μετεβάλλουτο τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστων, ἐὼν καὶ οὕτως βασιλεὺς Σπαρτητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγόν τε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένεϊ. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίας ἐτέθη
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 Ariston, 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 εν Σπάρτη μὴ ἔξειναι ἐπεσθαι ἀμφότερον
τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξιούσιας στρατηγῆς· τέως γὰρ
ἀμφότεροι ἐπιτυγχάνουν δὲ τούτων τοῦ
ἐτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαιδεών τὸν
ἐτέρου· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι
ἐπικλητοὶ σφὶ ἐόντες ἐπιτυγχάνουν.
76. Τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλευσίνῃ ὄροντες οἱ λοι-
ποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν
Δακεδαιμονίων ὁμως ὀμολογεύοντας καὶ Κορν-
θίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἶχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀπαλλάσσομενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τούτο ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωρίες, δις τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ
ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δίς ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλῆθος τοῦ
Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκ-
σαν’ οὕτως ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος
Ἀθηναίων ὅρθως ἀν καλέοιτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ
τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὄρμη-
θέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε
ἐς ᾿Ελευσίνα Κλεομένης ἀγων Πελοποννησίως
ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωρίες ἐσέβαλον
ἐς ᾿Αθηνας.
77. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλέως,
ἐνθαῦτα ᾿Αθηναίοι τίνυσθαι βουλόμενοι πρῶτα
στρατηγὴν ποιεῦντας ἐπὶ Χαλκίδεας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ
τοὺς Χαλκίδευσι βοηθεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπον.
῾Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἔδοξεν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἑδοξε πρότε-
ρον τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἢ τοὺς Χαλκίδευσι ἐπιχει-
ρέων. συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ὅ
῾Αθηναῖοι καὶ πολλῷ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολ-
λοὺς φονεύοντες ἐπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξωγρησαν.
τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι δια-
βάντες ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι
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 Megara ¹ (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 Peloponnesse.
Χαλκιδέωι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἱπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἱ δὲ ἵπποβοτάι ἐκαλέσαντο οἰ πάχες τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐξωγηρήσαν, ἀμα τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ἐξωγημένους εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δήσαντες. χρόνῳ δὲ ἐλυσαν σφέας διμύως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἢσαν περιεύσαν, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχεών περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μῆδου, αὐτῶν δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριπποι χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἐστηκε πρῶτον ἔσιντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι: ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ οἱ τάδε.

ἔθενε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες παίδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ, δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρῷ ἐσβέσαν ὕβριν· τῶν ἱπποὺς δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ᾽ ἔθεσαν.

78. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐ κατ᾽ ἐν μούνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἡ ἱσηγορία ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἴ τι Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύομενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεόντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια, ἀμείνους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μάκρῳ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο. δὴ τῶν ταύτα ὧν ταύτα ὧδε κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὡς δεσπότης ἐργαζόμενοι, ἔλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐσωτῆρ προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάζεσθαι.

1 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.

\(^2\) 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.
79. Οὕτωι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐπρησσον. Ὁ Ἑβαιοὶ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἣ δὲ Πυθίη ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖς εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἁγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν θεοπρότων, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλήθη ποιησάμενοι ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Ὁ Ἑβαιοὶ ἀκούσαντες τούτων ὁ πρὸ τοῦ ἁγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραιοὶ τε καὶ Κορωναιοί καὶ Θεσπίες; καὶ οὐτοὶ γε ἀμα ἡμῖν αὐτὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον τι δὲ τούτων γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἡ το χρηστήριον.

80. Τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἰπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις ἔγα μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήιον. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Ὁ βῆ θε καὶ Αἴγυπτος τοιτέων ἀδελφῶν ἐπουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγυπτεών δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρήσαι τιμωρητήρων γενέσθαι." καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταῦτης ἀμείων γνώμη ἔδοκε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο Αἰγυπτεώς ἐπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον σφι βοηθεῖν, ὡς ἑόντων ἁγχίστων οἱ δὲ σφί αἴτεουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αιακίδας συμπέμπτειν ἐφασαν.

81. Πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Ὁ Ἑβαιῶν κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αιακεδέων καὶ τριχέως περιεφεύγων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτίς οἱ Ὁ Ἑβαιοὶ πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αιακίδας σφί ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο. Αἰγυνήται δὲ εύδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἑπαρθέντες καὶ ἐχθρὸς παλαίης ἀναμνηθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Ὁ Ἑβαιῶν
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
δεθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφεοσεν ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρὴσι νησὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίοις ἐσικνέοντο.

82. Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἄρχῆς τοιῆς. Ἐπιδαυρίσκει ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδου. περὶ ταύτης ὄν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίοι ἐχέρωντο ἐν Δελφοῖς· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίθεο τε καὶ Αὔξησίης ἀγάλματα ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ σφί ἰδρυσαμένοις ἀμεινον συνοίσσεσθαι. ἐπειρώτεον ὃν οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιεύμενα ἀγάλματα ἡ λήθον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης. ἐδέοντο ὃν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφί δοῦναι ταμεσθαι, ἰρωτάτας δὴ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὃς ἐλαίαι ἤσαν ἁλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνου ἡ ἐν Ἀθήνης. οἱ δὲ ἐτὶ τούσιδε δῶσειν ἐφασαν ἐπ' ὕ απάξουσι ἐτεος ἐκάστου τῆ Ἀθηναίης τε τῇ πολιάδι ἵπὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεί. κατανέσαντες δὲ ἐτὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἐτυχοῦν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τούτων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ ἡ τε γῆ σφι ἐφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπετέλεσαν τὰ συνέθεντο.

83. Τούτον δὲ ἐτὶ τῶν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Αἰγινηταῖ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβάινοντες ἐς Ἐπιδαυροῦ ἐδίδοσάν 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 (γη), Earth; Auxesia clearly with αὐξάνω. They were goddesses of increase and fertility.
HERODOTUS

παρ’ ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτῳ νέας τε πνέαμενοι καὶ ἀγνωσταῖς χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑπιδαυρίων. ἀτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι ἐδηλέοντο αὐτούς, ὡστε θαλασσοκράτες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίς καὶ τῆς Λυξησίς ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφαε ἐκόμισαν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὡς εἰκοσὶ ἀπέχει. ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ θυσίασὲ τε σφέα καὶ χοροὶ γυναικημίους κερτομίους ἱλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἑκατέρη τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν κακῶς δὲ ἤγορευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἑπι- χωρίας γυναίκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἑπιδαυρίουσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἱρομηγαί: εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱρομηγαί.

84. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἑπιδαύριους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ συνέθεντο ὅπως ἐπετέλεον. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐμήνιον τοῖς Ἑπιδαυρίουσι οὐ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὕνεκέσιν ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἰχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερηθάντα αὐτῶν, οὐ δικαίως εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἐτὶ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινῆτας πρῆσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐς Αἰγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα: οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρῆγμα.

85. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήμερες μη τῶν ἀστῶν τούτων οἳ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι
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
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

'Εσ Αιγυπτα τα ἀγάλματα ταύτα ὡς σφετέρων ἔυλων ἔοντα ἐπειρώντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἔξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται. οὐ δυναμένοις δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἐλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἐλκουσι βροντήν τε καὶ ἀμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμοῦ ἐπιγενέσθαι τοὺς δὲ τριήριτας τοὺς ἐλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι, παθόντας δὲ τούτῳ κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἀτε πολεμίους, ἐς ὅ ἐκ πάντων ἑνα λειψθέντα ἀνακομισθήναι αὐτῶν ἐς Φάληρον.

86. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αιγυπτιαί δὲ οὐ μὴν ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μή ἔτυχον ἔουσαι νέες, ἀπαριστεῖσθαι ἄν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλὴς νησί ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἰξαί καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τούτῳ διασημήναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἴσονος συγγενεσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τούτῳ εἰξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι τοῦσαι οἶνον τι καὶ ἑποίησαν. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν νυν, ἐπείτε σφι οὗδεις ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένοις δὲ ἀναστάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὖτω δὴ περιβαλόμενος σχοινία ἐλκείν, ἐς οὐ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντο τοῦσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἀλλῷ δὲ τεῇ: ἐς γούνατα γὰρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελεῖν οὖτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ ταύτα ποιεῖν σφέας δὲ Αιγυπτιαί λέγουσι πυθομένοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

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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 self-same 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
ός μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἑτοίμους Ἀργείους πολέεσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίοις ἀποβεβἀναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ ἰκεῖν βοηθέουτας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προαικηκόσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τῇ βροντῇ τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖς.

87. Λέγεται μὲν νῦν ὑπ’ Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐνα μοῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τούτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτον τὸν ἕνα, ἀλλ’ ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοῦδε. κομισθεὶς ἀρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἀπῆγγελλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀγίναν στρατευσαμένων ἄνδρῶν, δεινον τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον μοῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τῶν ἀνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβοῦσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῆς περόνησι τῶν ἰματίων εἰρωτάν ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ὅκου εἴη ὁ ἐωτῆς ἀνήρ.

88. Καὶ τούτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐτι τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερον τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον. ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἔχειν ὅτεως ἐρμώσιος τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίᾳ παραπλησιωτάτην· μετέβαλον δὲν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθὼν, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρέωνται. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀληθεί λόγῳ χρεωμένοις οὔκ.
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
'Ιάς αὐτή ἡ ἐσθής τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεί ἦ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθής πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαί τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὐτή ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. τοίοι δὲ Ἀργείουσι καὶ τοίοι Αἰγυνήτησι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτι τόδε ποιήσαι 1 νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατεροῦσι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τοιτέων περόνας μᾶλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναικας, 'Αττικὸν δὲ μὴτε τὶ ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μὴτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωρίεων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν.

89. 'Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγυνητέων αἱ γυναικες ἐκ τοσοῦ κατ' ἐριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεσον μέξονας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγυνήτας εξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχῆ κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγυνῆται ἐβοήθεον τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς. Αἰγυνῆται τε δὴ ἐδησον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρμημένοι ἐπὶ Αἰγυνήτας στρατεύεσθαι ἥλθε μαντήιον ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυνήτεων ἀδικίου τριήκοντα ἑτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριήκοντῳ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγυνήτας πολέμου, καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βοῦλονται. ἣν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο

1 These words are not intelligible. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ἐτι τάδε ἐδοξε, ποιήσαι κ.τ.λ.

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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 seaboard 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 priestess 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 oracles 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
τίδαλ. ἐπείτε δὲ σφί Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἢκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέ- λους ἔλεγόν σφί Σπαρτηῆται τάδε. "Ἀνδρεῖς σύμ-
μαχοι, συγγυνῶσκομεν αὐτοῖς ἤμιν ὁ ποιήσασι ὅρθῶς· ἐπαερθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλουσι μαντηῖοι 
ἄνδρας ἕξινοις ἐόντας ἦμιν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνα-
δεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τοῦ-
τος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἐπείτα 
ποιήσαντες ταῦτα δήμῳ ἄχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν 
τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπείτε δι᾽ ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀν-
έκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περι-
υβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται, ὡστε 
ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν 
Βοιωτοῖ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος 
ἐκμαθήσεται ἄμαρτών. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιή-
σαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἀμα 
ὐμῖν ἀπικόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου 
ἐνεκεν τόνδε τε Ἰππίην μεταπεμψάμεθα καὶ 
ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ 
κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας 
ἀποδόμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.

92. Οὗ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ 
πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν 
άλλοι ἡσυχήν ἡγοῦν, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς ἔλεξε 
τάδε. "Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἐνερθε ἐσται τῆς γῆς 
καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι 
νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ξεσώσαι καὶ ἱχθεῖς τὸν πρῶτον 
ἄνθρωπον, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὁ Λακεδαίμονοι ἵσοκρατίας 
καταλύντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις κατάγει 
παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ ὁμεῖς ἀδικῶτερον ἐστὶ οὐδέν 
κατ’ ἄνθρωπος οὐτε μαίφοντερον. εἰ γάρ δὴ 
τοῦτο γε δοκεῖν υἱόν 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
νεύεσθαι τὰς πόλις, αὐτὸι πρώτοι τύραννοι κατάστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἀλλοισι δίξησθε κατιστάναι. νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράννων ἀπειροὶ ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τούτῳ δεινότατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχράσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμπειροὶ ἔατε κατὰ περ ἵμεῖς, εἴχετε ἀν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβαλέσθαι ἡ περ ὑν.

Κορινθίοις γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιῇδε ἦν ὀλυγαρχίη, καὶ οὕτω Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἐνεμοῦ τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοῦτο εἰς ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφίοι δὲ ἐόντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλή: οὕνωμα δὲ οἱ ἦν Δάβδα. ταῦτῃ Βακχιάδεων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ὅσχει Ἡτίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεως, δήμου μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης, ὀπὸ τὰ ἄνεκαθεν Δαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀλλής παιδεις ἐγίνοντο. ἑστάλη ὅν ἔς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου. ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδέως ἡ Πυθιά προσαγορεύει τοῖσι τοῖσι ἐπεσι.

'Ἡτίων, οὕτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα.

Δάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ 'Ἡτίων ἐξαγγέλλεται καὶς τοῖσι Βακχιάδησι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστίριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἁσήμον, φέρου τε ἐς τῶντὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ 'Ἡτίωνος καὶ λέγου ὢδε.

1 Because (according to the Elynologicum Magnum) the "outward distortion of the feet" resembled the letter Λ.

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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 Bacchiadae, 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 Bacchiadae 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 Bacchiadae, 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:
αἰετος ἐν πέτρησι κύει, τέξεi δὲ λέοντα
καρτεροῦ ὁμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα
λύσει.

taύτα νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οὗ περὶ
καλήν
Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθου.

tούτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς Βακχιάδησι πρότερον γενόμενον ἢν ἀτέκμαρτον· τότε δὲ τὸ Ἦτειωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνηκαν ἐδών συνωδόν τῷ Ἦτειωνος. συνέντες δὲ καὶ τούτο εἶχον ἐν ἣσυχίᾳ, ἐθέλουτε τὸν μέλλοντα Ἦτειωνι γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθείραι. ὡς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ
tάχυστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν
dήμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἦτειων ἀποκτενέοντας
tὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτωι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην
cαὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλήν τὴν Ἦτειωνος
aίτευ τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυίᾳ τε οὐδὲν τῶν
eἴνεκα ἐκείνω ἀπικολάτῳ, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας
φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἴνεκα αἰτεῖν, φέρουσα
ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐν. τοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο
κατ' ὅδον τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον
προσυνίδισαι. ἐπεὶ δὲν ἐδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα,
tὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἁνδρῶν θείᾳ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε
tὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτός τις
ἰσχει ἀποκτείναι, κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδιδοί τῷ
dευτέρῳ, ὥ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ
πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδενὸς βουλο-
μένου διεργάσασθαι. ἀποδόντες δὲν ὧπισώ τῇ
tεκούσι τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐξω, ἐστεώτεσ
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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 understanding this prophecy too they sat still, purposing 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 ἀπτομτο καταιτιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα, ἐς δὲ ἦν χρόνον ἐγγινομένου ἔδοξε αὐτὶς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. (δ) ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ 'Ἡτίωνος γόνου Κορίνθων κακὸς ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἦ δὲ Ἀβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἦκουν ἐστεώσα πρὸς αὐτὴς τῆς θύρῃς δείσασα δὲ μή σφι μεταδόξη καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντας τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οὐ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἔσεις ἡγεσίαν ἀπικνεόις πάντα ἐρευνήσειν μέλλοντι, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγύνετο. ἔλθοψι δὲ καὶ διξημένοις αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὡς πάντα ποιήσαι τὰ ἐκεῖνο ἐνετείλαντο. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ἡτίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ἦξιάντο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντα τούτων τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐποιημένην Κύψελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθεῖν δὲ καὶ μαντευμένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῷ πίστιν γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησε τε καὶ ἔσχε Κορίνθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὦδε ἦν.

δὲ βιος οὕτος ἄνηρ ὡς ἔμοι δὸμον ἐσκαταβαίνει. Κύψελος ὄντος Ἡτίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτόδο Κορίνθον αὐτός καὶ παιδεῖς, παιδών γε μὲν οὐκέτι παιδές.

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τούτο ἦν, τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος τοίοῦτος δὴ τις ἄνηρ ἐγένετος πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων

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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 Corinth renownèd,
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
αὐπεστέρησε, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τρήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τοὺς βίουν εὖ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννιδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοῖνυν Περίανδρος κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἕπιωτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπείτε δὲ ὠμίλησε δι’ ἀγγέλων Ὁρασύβουλῳ τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαίφοινώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Ὁρασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπιυθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρου ἔξισε ἐξῳ τοῦ άστεος, ἐσβάς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην ἄμα τε διεξῆ ὁ λήιον ἐπειρωτὸν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζου τὸν κήρυκα κατά τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἅπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλου ἄεις ὅκως τινὰ ἵδιο τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχουτα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ὡς οἱ τοῦ λήιου τὸ κάλλιστὸν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ διεξελθῶν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἐπος οὐδὲν ἀποτέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκῃ τοῦ Περίανδρος. ὁ δὲ οὐδέν οἱ ἐφὴ Ὁρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, θωμάξει τε αὐτοῦ παρ’ οἴον μιν ἄνδρα ἀποτέμψεις, ὡς παραπλήγα τε καὶ τῶν ἐωτοῦ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Ὁρασύβουλον ὀπώτεε. Περίανδρος δὲ συνεῖς τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νῦν ἵσχων ὡς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Ὁρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φοινεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς πολιτάς. ὅσα γὰρ Κυψέλος ἅπελιπτε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, 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 Thrasybulus the despot of Miletus, he became much more blood-thirsty than Cypselus. For he sent a herald to Thrasybulus and enquired how he should most safely so order all matters as best to govern his city. Thrasybulus 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 Thrasybulus 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 Thrasybulus do. But Periander understood what had been done, and perceived that Thrasybulus 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, μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη ἀπέδυσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας διὰ τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυναῖκα Μελίσσαν. πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἔσεσσαροι δικαίωσιν παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς οὔτε σημανεῖσιν ἐφή ἡ Μελίσσα ἐπιφανείσαι οὔτε κατερείσιν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη· ρηγοῦ τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνῆ· τῶν γὰρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε ἰματίων ὀφελός εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυηθέντων· μαρτύριον δὲ οἱ εἶναι ως ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ότι ἐπὶ ψυχρῶν τὸν ἰπιόν Περιάνδρος τούς ἀρτοὺς ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, πιστῶν γὰρ ἢν τὸ συμβόλαιον ὃς νεκρῷ ἐσφυγμηνία Μελίσσῃ ἐμίγη, ἰδέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἄγγελῇ κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο ἐς τὸν Ἡραίον ἐξείνασεν πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναίκας. αὐτὸ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν ἤσαν κοσμῷ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, δὴ ὑποστήσας τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπέδυσε σφέας πάσας ὀμοίως, τὰς τε ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους, συμφορῆσαι δὲ ἐς ὀρνίθια Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμψαντι ἐφρασε τὸ εἵδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χώρον τοῦ ἕσιν τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

Τοιοῦτο μεν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ τυραννίς, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θώμα μέγα εἶχε ὅτε ἡμέας εἴδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίνην, υ ν ϐ τι τῇ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθα τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ύμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατεισώπη τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις· οὐκὼν παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθε 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
κατάγονται Ἰππίην· ἵστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ
συναινέοντας."

93. Σωκλέους μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύου ἔλεξε τάδε, Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπι-
καλέσας θεοὺς ἐκεῖνοι, ἢ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα
πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν· σφι
ήκωσι ἥμεραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων.
Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοις ἀμείβατο ὁλα τοὺς χρησμοὺς
ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ
tῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ σφέας
αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ δὲ Σωκλέους ἦκουσαν εἰπαντός ἐλευ-
θέρως, ἀπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας αἴρετο τοῦ
Κορινθίου τὴν γυναῖν, Δακεδαιμονίοις τε ἐπι-
εμαρτυρέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ
τόλιν Ἐλλάδα.

94. Οὔτω μὲν τούτῳ ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππίη δὲ ἐνέθετεν ἀπελαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης οὐ Ὁκα-
κεδώνων βασιλέως Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσ-
σαλοὶ Ἰωλκὸν. δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἴρετο,
ἀνεχώρεε δὲ ὁπίσω ἐς Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισιστρα-
tος αἰχμῆ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ
κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παιδὰ τὸν ἐωτοῦ
νόθου Ἡγησιστρατοῦ, γεγονότα εἰς Ἀργείας ἡνυαι-
κός, ὅσο εὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἰχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ
Πεισιστράτου. ἐπολεμεον γὰρ ἐκ τε Ἀχιλληῖον
πόλιος ὁμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείον ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν
Μυτιληναιόι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, οὗ μὲν ἀπαίτεοντες
τὴν χώρην, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὔτε συγγρυπωσόμενοι
ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μάλλον Αἰολεύσι
μετέδω τῆς Ἐλιάδος χώρης ἦ να καὶ σφίσι καὶ
tοῦτο ἄλλου, ὃσοι Ἐλληνῶν συνεπρήξαντο Μενέ-
λεως τὰς Ἐλένης ἄρπαγάς.

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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, entreating 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 παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῆς μάχης, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἵ πλα ἦσαν Αθηναίοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίον τὸ ἐν Συγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἔπιτιθεὶ ἐσ Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐωτοῦ πάθος Μελανύπτηρον ἀνδρὶ ἔταρφα. Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοισ κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου τοῦτῳ γάρ διαιτησί ἐπετράπουτο κατήλλαξε δὲ ὁδε, νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

96. Σύγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. Ἰππίης δὲ ἔπειτε ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκάνει, διαβάλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἀπαντὰ ὅκως αὐτ' Ἀθηναῖοι γενοῦτα ὑπ' ἐωτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδης ἀγγέλους, οὐκ ἐδῶντες τοὺς Πέρσας πεῖθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοίσι φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοῖατο σὸν εἶναι, καταδέκασθαι ὅπισώ Ἰππίην. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκουτο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθη- ναίοι οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δὲ σφὶ ἐδέδοκτο εκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι.

97. Νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένουις εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλῆσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Δακεδαίμονοι ἔξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκειτο εἰς Ἀθήνας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάστευε μεγίστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον 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
γόρης ταύτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς ὦτε ἀστίδα ὦτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὐπετέες τε χειρωθῆναι εἰήσαν. ταύτα τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἀποικοί, καὶ οἶκός σφεάς εἰῃ ρύσθαι δυναμένους μέγαν· καὶ οὔδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὁ ἀνέπεισε σφέας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἰναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Δακε- δαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἴ- κοσι νέας ἀποστείλαι βοηθοὺς ἵωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέχαντες αὐτῶν εἰναι Μελανθιόν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένετο Ἔλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάρουσι.

98. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου, ἔξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὐ ἵωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἐμελλὲ ὀφελήν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὄν οὐδὲ τούτου εἴνεκα ἐποίηε ἀλλ' ὀκως βασιλεὰ Δαρείων λυπήσει, ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἰχμα- λώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οὐκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρον τε καὶ κόμην ἐπὶ ἐσωτήρων· δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Παίονες, ἔπεμψε με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου γυναῖκας σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἤν περ βούλησθε πεῖθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἵωνι πάσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλεός, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μὲν
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 overpersuaded 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.
θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι ύμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἦδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδησικον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεύτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἦδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἵπποις πολλῇ διώκουσα τοὺς Παῖονας. ὡς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοὺς Παῖοσι ὡκως ἄν ὅπισω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίοι σφέας ἐς Δέσβον ἤγαγον, Δέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δωρίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πεζῷ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

99. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τῇ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπίκοντο εἶκοσι νησί, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρεις, οὐ οὐ τῇ Ἀθηναίοισι χάριν ἐστρατεύόντο ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενα σφι ἀποδιδόντες οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλησίοι πρότερον τοῖς Ἐρετριεῖσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεύσι ἄντια Ἐρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον οὕτω ὦν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποιεῖτο στρατηγήν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτῶς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ’ ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἰναι, τὸν ἐωντοῦ τε ἑδελφὸν Χαροπίνων καὶ τῶν ἄστων ἄλλων Ἐρμόφαντον.

100. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἰωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον πλοία μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορησῷ 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 ¹ in the

¹ A hill (or a part of the town of Ephesus built thereon) south of the Cayster.
'Εφεσίς, αυτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, ποιεύμενοι Ἐφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὀδοῦ. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καὐστριον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπείτε υπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον ἀπίκουτο, αἱρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδένος σφὶ ἀντιωθέντος, αἱρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τᾶλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρότολιν ἐρρύετο αὐτός Ἀρταφρένης ἐχὼν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

101. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατήσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Σάρδῳ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλεύνες καλάμιναι, ὡσαὶ δὲ αὐτέων καὶ πλνθεῖναι ἦσαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφὰς· τούτων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ἦσε ξύπνησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίας ἐπ' οἰκίαν ἠδὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐπενεμέτο τὸ ἀστὺ πᾶν. καλομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὁσοι Περσέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλι, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὥστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμόμενον τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, συνέρρεον ἐς τῇ τῆν ἀγορήν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς σφὶ ψήγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς βέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἐρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδίδοι, δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροιζομένου οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἡναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμμυομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλῆθεὶ πολλῷ προσφερομένους, ἔξανεχώρησαν δεῖσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὁρὸ τοῦ Τμῶλον καλεόμενον, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νῦκτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102. Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπτήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβῆβης· 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 ύστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἔλλησι ἱρά. τότε δὲ ὁ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, συνηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθεον τοῖσι Δυνοῖσι. καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι σύκετι ἑόντας τοὺς Ἰώνας εὑρίσκουσι, ἔπομενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἱρέουσι Ἰντοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ αἶωνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσσώθησαν. καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὁνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετρίεων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἅγιονας ἀναραίηκότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηνίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἔσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

103. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἤγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἄπολυτοίς τοῖς Ἰώνας, ἑπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δὴ ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρῆσειν σφὲ Ἰώνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, οὗτο γὰρ σφὶ ὑπηρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρείου, οὔτε δὴ ἦσον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον Βυζάντιον τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πάσας τὰς ταύτη ὑπ’ ἐωυτοῖς ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντες τε ἐξὸ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφὶς σύμμαχον εἰναι καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὃς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφὶ καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

104. Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθελονταὶ σφὶ πάντες προσεγένεοντο 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\(^1\) 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 Caunos, 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.
οὗτοι ὁδε ἀπὸ Μῆδων. ἦν Ὄνησιλος Γόργον μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφός νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. οὗτος ὤνηρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορεῖτο ἀπίστασθαί ἀπὸ βασιλέως, τότε δὲ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπίθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγε: ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτα μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἀστυ τὸ Σαλαμινῶν δ’ Ὄνησιλος ἀμα τοῦτο ἑωυτοῦ στασιώτητος ἀπεκλήσε τῶν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐφευγε ἐς Μῆδους, Ὄνησιλος δὲ ἧρχε Σαλαμῖνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπτιστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, 'Ἀμαθουσίος δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεοι ἐπολιορκεῖ προσκατήμενος.

105. Ὅνησιλος μὲν των ἑπολιορκεῖς 'Ἀμαθουντα. βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρείως ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαί ὑπὸ τε 'Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὅστε ταῦτα συνυφανθήναι τὸν Μιλήσιον 'Αρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτόν, ὡς ἐπίθετο ταῦτα, ':Iωων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὑρίσκατο ὡς οὕτως γε ὡς καταπροέρχονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οὕτως εἰς οἱ 'Ἀθηναίοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αὐτῆσαι ἔκ τοῦ, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδειντὰ ἑως τοὐν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καὶ μνὶς τὸν ἥρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν ":"Ω Ζεὺς, ἐκγενεῖσθαι μοι 'Ἀθηναίοις τίσασθαι," εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρὶς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν "Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων."

106. Προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε, 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, 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.
οὗν Ἰστιαίον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος κατείχε χρόνον ἦδη πολλὸν, "Πυνθάνομαι Ἰστιαίε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν, τῷ σὺ Μιλητον ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρης ἥπειρου ἐπαγαγόν, καλ Ἰωνας σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἀμα ἐκείνοις ἐπεσθαί, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρησε. νῦν δὲν κὼς τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κὼς δὲ ἀνεν τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήξῃ; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης σεωτοῦν ἐν αὐτῆς σχῆς." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰστιαίος "Βασίλει, κοίλων ἐφθέγξαο ἐπος, ἐμὲ βουλεύσαι πρήγμα εκ τοῦ σοὶ τῇ ἡ μέγα ἡ σμικρὸν ἐμελλὲ λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσει; τὶ δὲ ἂν ἐπιδίζημενος ποιεῖμι ταῦτα, τεῦ δὲ ἐνδείς ἐὼν; τῷ πάρᾳ μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοὶ, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἄξιενμαι. ἀλλ' εἰπέρ τι τοιοῦτον σὸν σὺ εἴρηκας πρήξεις ὁ ἔμος ἐπίτροπος, ἵσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωτοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκις τι Μιλήσιον καὶ ὁ ἔμος ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήξουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖς καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐδώ ἀκήκοας ὁ βασίλειυ, μάθε ὅλον πρήγμα ἐργάσασο ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἔωνες γὰρ οἴκασι ἐμεῖν ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιήσαι τῶν πάλαι ἱμερον εἰχὼν· ἐμεῶ δ' ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμίᾳ πόλις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν δὲν ὡς τάχος ἄπτες με πορευθήναι ἐς Ἰωνίῃ, ἵνα τοι κεῖνα τε πάντα καταρ-
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 τῶντο καὶ τὸν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροπον τούτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανῆσάμενον ἐγχειριθέτον παραδῶ. ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπὶ ὀμνυμι τοὺς βασιλῆιους μὴ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκδύ-
σασθαί τὸν ἕχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἀν τοι Σαρδῶ νήσου τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφό-
ρον ποιήσω."

107. Ἡσσιαῖος μὲν λέγω ταῦτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείθετο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἑντειλάμενος, ἐπεάν τὰ ὑπέσχετο οἱ ἐπιτελεὰ ποιήσῃ, παρα-
γίνεσθαι οἱ ὅπισο ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

108. Ἐν ὁ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελὴ τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆι καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξου ποιήσας Ἡσσιαῖος ἐς λόγους ὕλθε καὶ Ἡσσιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορ-
κέοντι τῷ Σαλαμῖνὶ Ὁνήσιλῳ Ἀμαθουσίοις ἐξαγγέλλεται νησὶ στρατινή πολλῆν ἄγοντα Περσικῆν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσην προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὁνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλεύμενος σφέας, Ἰώνες δὲ ὦν ἐς μακρὴν 
βουλευσάμενοι ἦκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἰώνες τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νησὶ δια-
βάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα 
πεζῇ. τῇ τε νησὶ οἱ Φοῖνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῖνται Κληθὲς τῆς Κύπρου.

109. Τούτον δὲ τοιοῦτον γινομένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων 
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ὡς Ἀνδρέας Ἰώνες, ἀἱρέσιν ὕμιν 
δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὀκότεροι ὑπολείπον 

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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 kingship¹ that I will not doff the tunic which I wear when I go down to Ionia, ere I make Sardo,² 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.³

109. In this turn of affairs, the despots of Cyprus assembled the generals of the Ionians, and said to them: "Ionians, we Cypriots 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. André) at the end of the long tongue of land now 'the Carpass'" (How and Wells).
προσφέρεσθαι, ἡ Πέρσης ἡ Φοίνιξ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειρᾶσθαι, ὥρη ἄν εἰρ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ. ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξ ἀνταγωνισμένους. εἰ δὲ Φωινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειρᾶσθαι, ποιεῖν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, ὡκότερα ἄν δὴ τούτων ἔλθῃ, ὡκὼς τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἐστιν ἡ τε Ἰωνίη καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη.” εἶπαν Ἰωνεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα “Ἡμέας δὲ ἀπέτεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦνa Κυπρίοις τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεζῇ Πέρσης προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νῦν ἐπ’ οὐ ἕταχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἰναί χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἀναμυνθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μῆδων, γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς.”

110. Ἰωνεῖς μὲν τοῦτοι ἀμείναντο· μετὰ δὲ ἢκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσῶν, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοὺς Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιῶτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέζαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσην. Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσῶν ἑθελοῦν ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

111. ἩΛαννε δὲ ὑπὸν ὁ Ἀρτυβίος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἱστάσθαι ὅρθον. πυθόμενος δὲν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἵνα γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστῆς γένος μὲν Καρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον “Πυθόμενοι τὸν Ἀρτυβίον ὑπὸν ἱστάμενον ὅρθον καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματί κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄν προσενειχθῇ. σὺ δὲν βουλευσάμενος εἶπὲ αὐτίκα
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
όκοτερον βούλεια φυλάξας πλήξαι, εἵτε τοῦ ἱππον εἵτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον." εἵτε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ "Ω βασιλεῦ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἑτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἀν ὤ ἐπιτάσσῃ· ὡς μὲντοι ἐμοῦ θυγατερεῖ εἰναι τοῖς σωίσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω. βασιλεὰ μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὸν εἶναι φημὶ βασιλεί α τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε γὰρ κατέληξ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν, μέγα τοι γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποδανεῖν ἡµίσεα συµµορφή· ἡµέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισι τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἱππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς µηχανὰς µηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦ ὑποδέκομαι µή µιν ἄνδρος ἔτι 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
114. Ὅνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρκησε, ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων κρεμαμένης δὲ τής κεφαλῆς καὶ ἥδη ἐνύσης κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσδύς ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μιν ἐνέπλησε. τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἔχρεωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόγνας θάψει, Ὅνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἦρωι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιεύσι ταῦτα ἀμείνον συνοίσεσθαι.

115. Ἀμαθούσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίειν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῖς. Ἰωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναμαχήσαντες ἐπείτε ἐμαθὼν τὰ πρῆγματα τὰ Ὅνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκεμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμίνος, ταύτῃ δὲ Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεί τούς Σαλαμίνους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίν. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πολιορκεμένη Σόλοι, τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτων μηνὶ εἶλον 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 SALAMINIAN SOPHISTS 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, Aristocypyrus son of Philocyprus—that 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 ἐλεύθερον γενόμενοι αὐτὸς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδούλωτον. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείων θυγατέρα καὶ Τμαίης τε καὶ Ὄτανής ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοὶ, ἔχουτες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων καὶ ἔσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ως ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλις ἐπόρθεον.

117. Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς Ἕλλησπόντιον πόλις εἰλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἰλε δὲ Ἄβυδον τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Δάμψακον καὶ Παισον. ταῦτας μὲν ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη αἵρει, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντι οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἠλθεὶ ἀγγελίᾳ τοὺς Κάρας τῶντὸ Ἰωσὶ φρονίσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέφας δὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἕλλησπόντου ἦλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

118. Καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῦτο Καρσὶ ἔξαγγέλθη πρότερον ἡ τοῦ Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κάρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Δευκάς τε στῆλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύνην, ὃς ὑέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδρίαδος χώρης ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ. συλλεξθὲντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγὼντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἁρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμὸν Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μαυσώλου ἀνδρὸς Κινδυνέος, ὅς τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέος Συνενύσιος εἰχε θυγατέρας τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἐφερε διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κάρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχουτας τὸν ποταμὸν οὐτῳ συμβάλλειν, ἢν μὴ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κάρες αὐτοῦ τε μένεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινοιατο ἐτὶ ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη

1 In 497.
116. 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.

117. Daurises made for the cities of the Hellespont and took Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lamp-sacus, 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.

118. 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 Syennesis, 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

2 Modern Tshina; not to be confused with the better known Marsyas in Phrygia, also a tributary of the Maeander.
μέν νυν οὖν ἑνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πέρσησι κατὰ νότων γίνεσθαι τῶν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι, δηλαδή ἦν φυγῇ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119. Μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τῶν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐτί τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλον τε τοῖς Πέρσησι οἱ Κάρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχάσαντο ἵσχυρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνων πολλῶν, τέλος δὲ ἐσσωθήσαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβραυνδα ἐς Δίδος στρατίον ἱρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλοσ πλατανίστων. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἴμεῖς ἵδον Κάρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὸν στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὅτι οὐτοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὅκοτέρα ἡ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτῶς Πέρσησι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἀμεινον πρήξουσι.

120. Βουλευομένους δὲ σφι ταύτα παραγίνονται βοηθεόντες Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι: ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύσαντο μετῆκαι, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶς πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἐπιοῦσι τε τούτι Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχασμένοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πρότερον ἐσσωθήσαν πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

121. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβον τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κάρες· πυθομένοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὤρμεάται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὀδόν, ἕως 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.
αυτῷ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δὲ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρανος ὁ Γύγεως. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμόν ἦν Ηρακλείδης Ἰβανώλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

122. Ουτοὶ μὲν υἱὶ τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν Ἰμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔως τῶν ἑπτάδων ἄντων τοὺς ἕς Σάρδις στρατευσαμένους Ιώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὸν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην· ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπἐναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἤγε τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν· αὐτὸς τε Ἰμαίης αἱρέων ταύτα τὰ ἔθνεα νοῦσῳ τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι.

123. Οὕτως μὲν ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρτα-φρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχὼς καὶ Ὄτανής ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσέχεα Αἰολίδα στρατεύσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν υἱὶ Κλαξομενᾶς αἱρέοντι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

124. Ἀλεκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἡν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλῆς ὁ ψυχη ὅρκος, ὅς ταράξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε ὁρέων ταύτα: πρὸς δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄδυνα ἔφαν βασιλεὰ Δαρείου ὑπερβαλέσθαι· πρὸς ταύτα δὴ ὅν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασίωτας ἐβούλευτο, λέγων ὡς Ἀμεινοὺς σφίσι εἰη κρησφύγετον τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἡν ἄρα ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλῆτου, εἰτε δὴ ὅν ὅς Σαρδώ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἀγοι ἐς ἀποκίην, εἰτε ἐς
their generals, Daurisces 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 Daurisces 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 Ἰδωνών, τὴν Ἰστιαίως ἔτειχε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὶν λαβῶν. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

125. Ἐκαταίων μὲν υπὸ τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἄνδρος λογοποιοῦ, τοιτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλ·

λειν ἐφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Δέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος

οἰκοδομησάμενον ἥσυχην ἅγειν, ἢν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ

τῆς Μίλητον· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενον

κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

126. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταίως συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρη ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἢν ἐς

tὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον

ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρῃ ἄνδρι τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμω

αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον

ἐπλεῖς ἐς τὴν Ἐρηκίην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώρην ἐπ'

ἡν ἔστάλη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται

ὑπὸ Ἐρηκίων αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ

στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλο-

μένων τῶν Ἐρηκίων ὑποστόνδων ἐξεῖναι.
in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified. Thus questioned Aristagoras.

125. Heeataeus 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.
1. Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ὑπὸ Ἰωνίην ἀποστάσιας οὔτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετέμενος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις ἀπὶ περί-
μένων δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σοῦσων εἴρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδῖων ὑπάρχος κατὰ κοιὸν τι διακόι Ἰωνᾶς ἀπεστάναι. ὃ δὲ οὐτὲ εἰδέναι ἐφ' ἐθόμαζε τε τὸ
γεγονός, ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρήγμα-
των ἐπιστάμενος. ὃ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὅρεών αὐτὸν
tεχνάζοντα εἰπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκείην τῆς ἀπο-
στάσιος, "Οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταύτα τὰ
πρήγματα: τούτῳ τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ,
ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης."

2. Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταύτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἰπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δεῖσας ὡς συνεύνετα Ἀρτα-
φρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπέλθοσαν νῦκτα ὑπέδρη
eti θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐξηπατημοὺς: ὃς
Σαρδῶ νῦσσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργά-
σαθαι ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ
πρὸς Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἕς Χίων ἐδέθη
ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγγωσθεῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεῶτερα
πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μα-
thόντες μὲντοι οἱ Χίοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς
πολέμιος εἰς βασιλέως, ἐλυσαν 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.
3. 'Ενθαῦτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰωνῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ' ἐς τοὺς προθύμως ὑπότεινε τῇ Ἀρισταγόρη ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ κακῶν τοσοῦτον εὐθ Ἰωνας ἔξεργασθέντα, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖς αἰτίην οὐ μᾶλλα ἐξέφαινε, δὲ ἐλεγεῖ σφὶ ως βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνία κατοικί- σαι, Ἰωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἶνα παρὰ ἐπιστείλει. οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταύτα βασιλέως βουλευσματέαν ἐδειγμάτων τοὺς Ἰωνας.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἐρμίπποπος ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνίτεω τοῖς ἐν Σάρδιοι ἐούσι Περσέων ἑπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς προκελεουσμένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὦ δὲ Ἐρμίππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρον δὲ ἐνεχείρον τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένει. ὦ δὲ μαθῶν πάν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευς τὸν Ἐρμίππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαῖου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖς περ ἐφερε, τὰ δὲ ἁμοιβαὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαῖῳ ἐωτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα πολλοὺς Περσέως ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

5. Περὶ Σάρδις μὲν δὴ ἐγκένετο ταραχῆ. Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέntα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χῖοι κατῆγγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαῖου δεηθέντος. οὐ δὲ Μίλησι, ἀσμενοὶ ἀπαλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἢσαν ἄλλουν τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐ̅ς τὴν χώρην, οἱ ἐλευθερίης γενομένοι. καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ένοικῆς βίη ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τεν τῶν Μιλησίων. ὦ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐωτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπό
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
ικνεται ὅπισθεν ἐς τὴν Χίον ἐνθευτεν δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπέιδη τοὺς Χίους ὡστε ἐὼντῷ δοῦναι νέας, διεβή ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἐπείσει Δεσβίους δοῦναι οἱ νέας. οὐ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὡκτῷ τριήρειας ἔπλεον ἀμα Ἰστιαῖος ὡς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἦζομεν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἦ ὁσοὶ αὐτῶν Ἰστιαῖος ἐφασαν ἔτσιμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

6. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν γυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίειν ταῦτα. ἔπει δὲ Μιλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλανον ἐπὶ τὴν Μιλητον, τάλλα πολλόματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦςαν προθυμότατοι, συνεποιητεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ κατεστραμμένοι καὶ Κύπριος τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιος.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μιλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἰωνεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεμπον προβοῦσις σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιόνιον. ἀπικεκρῄσοντο δὲ τούτοις εἰς τούτον τὸν χώρον καὶ Βουλευομενοὶ ἐδοξες πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξον Πέρσης, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν πληροῦν ὑπολιτομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν, πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μιλήτου. ἢ δὲ Λάδη εστὶ νῆσος μικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλησίων κειμένη.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένης τῆς νησί παρῆσαν οἱ Ἰωνεῖς, σὺν δὲ σφῖ καὶ Διολέων ὁσοὶ τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται. ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὡδε. 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.¹ 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.
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πρὸς τὴν ἣδε εἶχον κέρας αὐτοῖ Μιλησίου, νέας παρεχόμενοι ογδόκοντα. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πριηνεῖς δυόδεκα νησὶ καὶ Μυσίους τρισὶ νησὶ; Μυσίων δὲ Τήμιοι εἶχοντο ἐπτακαίδεκα νησὶ; Τηνὶ δὲ εἶχοντο Χίοι ἐκατὸν νησὶ; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαῖες, Ἐρυθραῖοι μὲν ὅκτω νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαῖες δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαῖων δὲ εἶχοντο Δέσβιοι νησὶ ἐβδομήκοντα; τελευταίοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νησὶ; πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριήκοντα τριήρες. τρ

9. Αὐται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἔξακοσίαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐται ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφὶ ἄπας παρῆν, ἑνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἴοι τε ἐωσὶ ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔοιτε ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τὲ Δαρείον κινδυνεύσωσι κακοῖ τῷ λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους, οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἄρχεων ἐφευγον ἐς Μύδους, ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατεύμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγον σφὶ τάδε. Ἄνδρες Ἰωνεῖς, νῦν τις ὑμῶν εὖ ποιήσας φανῆτω τὸν βασιλέα οἶκον; τοὺς γὰρ ἐωστὸν ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν πολίτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προ-ισχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδὲ σφὶ οὔτε
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 ἵππα οὔτε τὰ ἱδία ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὔτε βιαίότερον ἔξουσι οὔτε ἦ πρότερον εἶχον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι, οὐ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύφονται, τάδε ἢ δὴ σφί λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες, τὰ περ σφέας κατεξεύει, ὡς ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανθράπο-
νεύνται, καὶ ως σφέων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀναστάστους ἐς Βάκτρα, καὶ ως τὴν χώρην ἄλλοις παραδώ-
σομεν."

10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον τάδε. τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοὺς ἐξαγγελλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπ-
ίκον το ἅπται ἀγαλλίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέων-
το καὶ οὐ προσέντο τῇ προδοσίῃ ἑωυτοῖς δὲ ἐκαστοί ἐδοκεον μούνοις ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι.

11. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἰδέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Ἔρμην τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συλλεχθέντων ἐς τὴν Ἀδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κοῦ σφί καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορώντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαῖος στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος λέγων τάδε. "Εἰπὲ ἐνροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἰωνεῖς, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθεροὶ ἢ δούλοις, καὶ τούτοις ὡς δηρπέτησιν· γνών ὅπων ὑμὲis ἢ μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῶν ἐσται, οἷοῦ τε δὲ ἐσεθεὶ ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλευ-
θεροί· εἰ δὲ μαλακίη τε καὶ ἀταξία διαχρήσηθη, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἵσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἡ
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
HERODOTUS

ου συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ συμμίσχοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσωθήσεσθαι.”

12. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰωνες ἐπιτράπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὃ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἔπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρήσαιτο διέκπλουσ ποιεύμενος τῇς νησοῖ δὲ ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσει τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων, παρεῖχε τε τοῖσι Ἰωσι πόνον δι’ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ ἐπείδοντό τε καὶ ἐποίειν τὸ κελευόμενον τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ οἱ Ἰωνες, οἱα ἀπαθεῖς ἑόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τε ταλαιπωρώσι τε καὶ ἠλίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἐωυτοὺς τάδε. “Τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπτύμπλαμεν; οὕτως παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἄνδρι Δωκαίαν ἄλαξάν, παρεχωμένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν· ὃ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμησι ἀνηκέστοις, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νοῦσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῶντό τούτο πεἰσθειν εἰσὶ, πρὸ τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῶν γε κρέσσουν καὶ ὁ τι ὄν ἀλλο παθεῖν ἐστί καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουληθήν ὑπομεῖναι ἦτισ ἐσται, μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ παρεούσῃ συννέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ.” ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πεῖθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλ’ οἱα στρατιὰ σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκεπτροφέουντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ’ ἀναπειρᾶσθαι.

13. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμῖων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ 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

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1 This manœuvre consisted in forcing a way through the enemy's line and attacking the broadside or stern of his ships.
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

Διάκες τοῦ Συλοσώντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἐπεμπέ λόγους ὁ Διάκης κελεύοντων τῶν Περσῶν, δεόμενος σφέων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην· οἱ Σάμιοι ὁμ ὀρῶντες έούσαν ἀμα μὲν ἀταξίῃ πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο σφὶ εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλεῖς πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὐ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεδ' ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοίατο τὸν Δαρείον, ἀλλο σφὶ παρέσται πενταπλήσιον. προφάσιοι ὡς ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα εἰδον τοὺς Ἰώνας ὑπὸ βουλομένους εἶναι χρηστοῦς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεύντο περιποίησαι τὰ τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφετερα καὶ τὰ ἱδια. ὁ δὲ Διάκης, παρ ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσώντος τοῦ Διάκες, τύραννος δὲ ἐὼν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρας ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.

14. Τότε ὁμ ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλεον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἰώνες ἀνταμήγου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄγχοι ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισον ἀλληλοις, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν οὐκ ἐχὼ ἀτρεκέως συγγράψατι οὐτίνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἡ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατίωνται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκελμένα πρὸς τὸν Διάκεα ἀνεράμενοι τὰ ἱστία ἀποπλώσασι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμου, πλὴν ἑνδέκα νεῶν τούτων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεοι ἀνήκουστάντες τοὺς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σφὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σάμων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις, καὶ ἔστι
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
αὕτη ἡ στῆλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Δέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῶντο ἐποίεν τοῖς Σαμίοισι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεύνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίεν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα.

15. Τῶν δὲ παραμεινώντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περιέφησαν τρηχύτατα Χίοι ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοι τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέατες. παρείχοντο μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπέρ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἐκατον, καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἄστων λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ὁρέοντες δὲ τους πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίευν γίνεσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν ὁμοίοι, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμονωμένοι διεκπλέουσαν ἐναυμάχεον, ἐς ὁ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνᾶς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων τὰς πλεύνας.

16. Χίοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇ τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι εἰς τὴν ἐωτῶν. ὅσοισι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατο ἔσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὕτωι δὲ ὡς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγόνοι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐποκείλαντες κατέλυτον, οὐ δὲ πεζῆ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἥπειρον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χίοι, μυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτήν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτοθεοθεσμοφορίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὔτε προακηκοότες ὡς εἰχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἱδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβεβληκότα, πάνχυ σφέας καταδόξαστες εἶναι κλώπας καὶ ίέναι ἐπὶ τᾶς γυναικᾶς, ἔξεβοήθεου πανδημεύει καὶ ἐκτεινον τοὺς Χίους.

17. Οὕτωι μὲν τοίνυν τοιαύτης περιέπτυττον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαῖος ἐπείτε ἐμαθε 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 πρῆγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλών τρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὑρεθώς ὡς ἀνδραποδίειται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίᾳ· δὲ ἡθέως ὡς εἰχε ἐπλεε ἐς Φωικήν, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβῶν πολλὰ ἐπλεε ἐς Σικελίαν, ὀρμώμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτευν λιμιτής κατεστήκεε Ἐλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰωνας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκεύοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ πείχεα καὶ παντοίας μηχανάς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι καὶ ἀκρῆς ἔκτω ἐτεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεως καὶ ἑνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε συμπεσειν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ.

19. Χρεωμένουις γὰρ Ἀργείουσι ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινων χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τῆν δὲ παρευθηκήν ἐχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐχον, ἐπεαυν κατὰ τοῦτο γενομαι τοῦ λόγου, τότε μνησθήσομαι· τὰ δὲ τοῖς Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρεούσι ἐχρησε, ἔχει ὅδε.

καὶ τὸτε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, πολλοίσιν δείπνον τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήση, σαλ δὲ ἄλοχοι πολλοίσι πόδας νίψουσι κομήταισι, νησὶ δὲ ἤμετέρου Διδύμωις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.

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1 In 494.  
2 Didyma (oftener called Branchidae), was near Miletus; the temple was of Apollo Διδύμευς. 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.
τότε δή ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὅκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἄνδρα-πόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμουι καὶ ὁ νησὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμ-πρατο. τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολ-λάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην.

20. Ἐνθεύτεν οἱ ξυγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἣγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυ-θρᾷ καλεομένη θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἀμπη πόλι, παρ' ἦν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτῷ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἰχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπερά-κρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτήσθαι.

21. Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περ-σέων οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρῖται, οἱ Δαὸν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστηρημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτονιντέων Μιλῆ-σιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν ἀπεκείρατο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο. πόλιες γὰρ αὐταὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑδὶ ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθη-σαν' οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναίοι. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ δὴλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἄλωσι τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντε Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντε ἐς δάκρυα τε ἐπεσε τὸ θέτρων, καὶ ἐξημιώσαν μὲν ὁς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκήμα κακὰ χιλίης δραχμῆς, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηδένα χράσθαι τοῦτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22. Μιλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἥριμωτο. 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.
μίων δὲ τοισὶ τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθέν οὐδαμῶς ἡρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοις, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοις τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων τούτων πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέουστο τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐς Καλῆν ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτοθείν πολῖν κτίσαι Ἰῶνων. ἢ δὲ Καλῆ αὐτὴ ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τοῦτων δὲν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰῶνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφι Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν οὐ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήθεικε γενέσθαι.

23. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομίζομενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Δοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζευρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τὸ σύνομα ἦν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. μαθὰν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ρηγίος τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε ἐδών διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ώς χρεὸν εἰς Καλῆν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπ᾿ ἢν ἐπλεοῦ, ἐὰν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν οὔσαν ἔρημον ἄνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, εὑθαύτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι, ως ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωτῶν, ἐβοήθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέουστο Ἰπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος. ἐπείτε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἤκε βοηθέων, 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 Tyrrenia. 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 Zancle 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 Zancle while it was deserted by its men. To this the Samians consented and seized Zancle; where-at 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 Zancle and

2 "The epithet distinguishes the Italiot colony from the Locrians of the mother country" (How and Wells).
HERODOTUS

tὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὃς ἀποβαλόντα
τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἀδελ-
φέων αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἰνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενος
τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ ὄρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος
προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένοις ὅδε 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
ἥ πλεύνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
λόγῳ εἰσὶ δῆσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τρι-
ηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖς Σαμίοις κατασφάξαίν ό
μέντοι οὐ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταύτα.

24. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ
τῆς Ἰνυκος ἐκκυθήσεις ἐς Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἁσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα
Δαρείου καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρείος πάντων ἀνδρῶν
δικαίωταν εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐκλάδος παρ᾽
ἐσστόν ἀνέβησαν. καὶ γὰρ παρατησάμενοι βα-
σιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῆς Σικε-
λίης ὁπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὁ γῆρα ἡγείν ὁλβίος
ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσηι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλ-
λαχθέντες Μῆδων ἑπονητὰ πόλιν καλλίστην
Ζάγκλην περιβεβλέατο.

25. Μετά δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου
γενομένην Φοῖνικες κέλευσάντων Περσέων κατ-
ήγουν ἐς Σάμου Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσδύτος ὡς πολλοῦ
tε ἄξιον γενόμενου σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασά-
μενον καὶ Σαμίοις μούνοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων
ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἐκκλεψιν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ
ναυμαχίῃ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱδὰ ἐνεπρήσθη.
Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρινῆν ἐσχοῦν οἱ

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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 Zanclaeanans 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 ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη προσηγάγοντο.

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεοῦσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τῆς Μιλησίου γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἐλλησποντοῦ ἔχουτα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτη Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ Ἀβυδηνῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων φρουρὴν οὐ προσιμενὴ μν ἱνεβαλε ἐν Κοῖλοσι καλεομένουι τῆς Χίης χώρῃς. τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συνχοῦς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, ὅποι ἐκεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὀρμώμενος.

27. Φιλέει δὲ καὶ προσημαίνειν, εὔτ' ἀν μέλλη μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἐθνεὶ ἐσεσθαι καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τοῦτων σημεία μεγάλα ἐγένετο· τοῦτο μὲν σφὶ πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νευείων ἐκατὸν δύο μοῦνοι τοῦτων ἀπενόστησαν, του τοῦ ὀκτὼ τε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνου, ὁλγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας, παισὶ γράμματα διδασκομένουι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὡστε ἀπ' ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσὶ πάϊδων εἰς μοῦνοι ἀπέφυγε· ταῦτα μὲν σφὶ σημεία ὁ θεὸς προεδείξε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἐβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο.

28. Ἐυθεύνετε δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσου ἄγων Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων συνχοῦσ.
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 Apollonipes, 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
κατηκένω δὲ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἄγγελία ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλέουσι εἰς τὴν Μιλήσιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλλήν Ἰωνίην. πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δέσβου ἦπείγετο ἀγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν. ἐκ Δέσβου δὲ λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς πέρῃ διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σίτου τὸν τε ἐνθείτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καῖκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτους τοῖς χωρίοις ἐτύγχανε ἕως Ἀρταγός ἀνὴρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατιάς οὐκ ὀλίγης· οὐ δὲ ἀποβάντι συμβαλῶν αὐτὸν τε Ἰστιαῖον ἡγηρίᾳ ἐλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε.

29. Ἕξωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ὡδε. ὡς ἔμαχοντο οἱ Ἑλλήνες τοῖς Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρης, οὐ μὲν συνεστάσαν χρόνου ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἢ δὲ ὕππος ύπερον ὁμηθείσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἑλλησί. τὸ τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ὑπού τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέως διὰ τὴν παρεοῦσαν ἀμαρτάδα Φιλοψυχίην τοιὴν τινὰ ἀναιρέσεται· ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσων καὶ ὡς καταρεόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε συγκεντρηθῆσαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετείς καταμηνύει ἐωτοῦ ὡς εἰη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

30. Εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς Ἕξωγρήθη, ἁχθη ἄγομενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου, ὃ δὲ οὐτ’ ἄν ἐπαθε κακῶν οὐδὲν δοκεῖειν ἐμοὶ, ἀπῆκε τ’ ἄν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίνῃν νῦν δὲ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἴνεκα καὶ ὡς μὴ διαφυγὼν αὐτῶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλεί κεύσται, Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβων

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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 ταύτη ἄνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταρτεύσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρείος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταύτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μὲν οὐ ξώοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἔωστον, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίον λούσαντας τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὔ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ώς ἀνδρὸς μεγάλως ἕως τε καὶ Πέρσηςι εὐεργέτεω.

31. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαίον ὅτω ἔσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητου, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐτεὶ ὦς ἀνέπλωσε, αἱρεῖ εὐπτέτως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κείμενας, Χίον καὶ Δέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. οἷωσ δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νήσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἱρεύσεις οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγηγήσω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγηνεύσαι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνήρ ἀνθρῶπος ἄψαμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορρᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίν διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διερχονται εἰκθηρεύσεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἱρευν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταύτα, πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγηγήσω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τὴν.

32. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐφεύγοντα τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν τοῖς Ἰωνιστρατοπεδευμένοισι ἐναντία σφισι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδας τε τοὺς εὐεδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμον καὶ ἐποίεν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστευόμενος ἀναστάτους παρὰ βασιλέας ταῦτα τε δὴ ἐποίευν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπτασαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱροῖσι. οὖτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἰωνισ.
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
κατεδούλωθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δεὶς δὲ ἐπεξῆς τὸτε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

33. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὅ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἔπʼ ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἔλλησπόντου αἱρεῖς πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξίᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πέρσησι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατʼ ἠπειρον. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἰδε τοῦ Ἔλλησπόντου, Χερσόνησός τε, ἐν τῇ πόλις συχνῶ ἐνείσι, καὶ Πέρινθος καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρήνης καὶ Σηλυμβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νῦν καὶ οἱ πέριθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδ᾽ ὑπέμεινον ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλὰ οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφατέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν πόντον, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἰκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταῦτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτας νείμαντες ἐπλεον αὐτις ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολίων, ὅσας πρότερον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὐδὲ ἐπλωσαν ἄρχην αὐτοῦ γὰρ Κυζίκηνοι ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ Φοίνικῶν ἐσπλόου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ Βασίλειος, Οἰ-βάρει τῷ Μεσαβάζου ὀμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὕπάρχῳ.

34. Τῆς δὲ Χερσόνησου πλήν Καρδίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐξειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες. ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τὸτε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κύμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἄρχην ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τούτῳ. εἴχον Δόλογκοι Θρήνικες τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὕτω δὲν οἱ Δόλογκοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔσω Δελφοὺς ἐπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλεάς.
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, Oeabares 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
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περὶ τοῦ πολέμου χρησμομένου. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνείλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τοῦτον ὃς ἂν σφέας ἀπίόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἔπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἴόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἠμισαν καὶ σφέας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων.

35. Ἔν δὲ τῇ Αθήνης τηνικαύτα εἰχὲ μὲν τὸ πάν κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε τῇ καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐδὼ οἰκίας τεθριπ-ποτρόφου, τα μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αίακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονός, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναίος, Φι-λαιόν τοῦ Αἰαντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης Ἀθηναίον. οὕτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖς προθύροις τοῖς ἐωτοῖ, ὅρεων τοὺς Δόλογκους παρίόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμᾶς προσεβόσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγειλατο καταγωγήν καὶ ξείνια. οὐ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ἐξευσθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξ-έφαυσαν πάν τῷ μαυτίῳ, ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκού-σαντα παραμόνο ἐπείσε ὁ λόγος οἰα ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Πεισίστρατο ἄρχῃ καὶ βουλόμενου ἐκπο-δὸν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐςτάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπει-ρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ποιοῦ τά περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογκοι προσεδέοντο.

36. Κελευνοῦσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, ὁ Ολυμπία ἀναραιρηκὸς πρότερον τοῦτον τεθρίππω, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἐπλεε ἀμα τοῖς Δόλογκοις, 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 Way¹ 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 Panopens, and Chaeronea, then S.E. by Coronea, Haliartus, and Thebes, then S. over Cithaeron to Eleusis, whence it was continued to Athens by the best-known ὅδεσ ἱερά." (How and Wells.)
τὴν χώρην· καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. ὅ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος ἐς Πακτύην, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφέας οἱ Ἀσινθιοὶ δηλεῖσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώρην. εἰςὶ δὲ οὕτω στάδιοι ἐξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσόνησος ἐσώ πᾶσα ἐστὶ στάδιων εἰκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

37. Ἀποτείχίσας δὲν τὸν αὐξένα τῆς Χερσονήσου οἱ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀσινθιοὺς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὁσάμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν πρῶτοι ἐπολέμησε Λαμψακηνοῦσι καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἱρέουσι ξωγρῆ. ἦν δὲ οἱ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γυνώμη γεγονός· πυθόμενος ὑπὸ Κροίσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προηγόρευε τοῖς Λαμψακηνοῖσι μετεῖναι Μιλτιάδεα. εἰ δὲ μὴ σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τὸ σφι ἀπείλησε ο Κροίσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόγις κατέ μαθὼν τῶν τῆς πρεσβυτέρων εἰπε τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι πίτυος μοῦν πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετει ἀλλὰ πανόλεθρος ἐξαπολλυται. δεῖσαντες δὲν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροίσου λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα.

38. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροίσου ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτὰ ἅπασι, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδόν ςΤησαγόρη τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοὶ παι- δὶ ὀμομυτρίον. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντε Χερσονησι- ταῖ θύωσι ὅς νόμος οἰκιστή, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ Λαμψακηνῶν

1 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 Apsin-
thians 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 after-
wards 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
οὔδεν δὲ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἑόντος πρὸς Δαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαίδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανηῷ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολέμιον δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

39. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοινδέ, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφοῦν, καταλαμψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρει ὁ Πεισιστράτιδαι, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἀθηναῖσι ἐποίειν εὗ ὡς οὐ συνείδοτες δῆθεν τὸν πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἀλλῳ λόγῳ σημανεό ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου εἶχε κατ’ οἶκους, τὸν ἀδελφοῦ Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμεῖν. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινὸς δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἵσχε τὴν Χερσονήσου, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμεῖε Ὀλόρου τοῦ Ἐρημίκων βασιλέως τῇ θυγατέρᾳ Ἡγησιπύλην.

40. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου, κατελάμβανε δὲ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτω μὲν γὰρ ἐτεὶ πρὸ τοῦτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἔρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου [συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἠλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης] τοῦτος ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἐφευγε.
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. τρίτῳ μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ. explains how it was that Miltiades had been till now absent from the Chersonese.
Χερσόνησου, ἐς δὲ ὁ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον Δόλογκοι κατῆγαγον ὁπίσω. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτων ἐτεί πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχομένων.

41. Τοτε δε πυθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ὀρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίνης πόλιος ἐπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμείβετό τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικές οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῆς νυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Ἔλυταὶς σὺν τῆς τέσσερι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἰμβρον, τήν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατείλον διόκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τής δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Ἔλυταίων παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Ἐρίκου ἐόν θυγατρός ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἂλλης· καὶ τούτων ἁμα τῇ νη ἐῖλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὡς εἴη Ἔλυταίων παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήκεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ Ἔλυταὶς γυνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τούτι Ἰωσί πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοίς Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδόντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίαν ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωντῶν. Δαρείος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Ἔλυταίων ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνὰ· καὶ γὰρ οίκον καὶ κτῆσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναίκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τα ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμεῖται. Ἔλυταὶς δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβροῦ ἀπικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

42. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τούτο ἐκ τῶν Περσίων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἰωσί, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρῆσιμα κάρτα τοῖς Ἰωσί ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδιὼν ὑπάρχος.
till the Scythians departed and the Dolonei 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 1 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.
HERODOTUS

μετατεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἰωνάς ἦν ἄγακασε ποιέσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἴεν καὶ μὴ ἄλληλοις φέροιεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταῦτα τε ἦν ἄγακασε ποιέειν, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέσοις οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἐτάξη ἐκάστοις, οἳ κατὰ χώρην διατελέσαντες ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένου· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταύτα καὶ πρῶτον εἰχον. καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναία ἦν.

43. "Ἄμα δὲ τὼ ἐαρί, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέως, Μαρδώνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἀμα ἄγομενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν, ἡλικίαν τε νέον ὠν καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοξώστρην· ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τούτον ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κυλικῇ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ νεός ἐκομίζετο ἀμα τήσι ἄλλησι νησί, στρατιῇ δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνες ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἔλλησποτον. ώς δὲ παραπλέω τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐυθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖς μὴ ἀποδεκομένους Ἔλληνων Περσῶν τοῖς ἐπτὰ ὄστανα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἔχον ἐὰν δημοκρατέσθαι Πέρσαι· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν Ἰωνῶν καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδώνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἦπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἔλλησποτον. ώς δὲ συνελέξη μὲν χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν συνελέξη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς πολλὸς, διαβάντες τῆσι νησί τὸν Ἔλλη.
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 Artostre, 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
44. Αὐταὶ μὲν ὄν ςφί πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὀσάς ἄν πλείστας δύνανται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς νησί Θασίους οὐδὲ χείρας ἀνταειραμένους κατεστρέψαντο, τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἐθνεά πάντα σφι ὣν ὥδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσον διαβαλόντες πέρην ἕπο τὴν ἥπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ῥάκανθου, ἐκ δὲ Ῥάκανθου ὄρμῳ μενοῖ τὸν Ἀθῶν περιέβαλλον. ἐπιτεσσων δὲ σφί περιπλέουσι βορείς ἀνεμοὺς μέγας τε καὶ ἀπορος κάρτα τρηχέως περιέστε, πλήθει πολλάς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἀθων. λέγεται γὰρ τρικοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὡστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀθων, οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαξόμενοι, οὐ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οὐ δὲ ρίγει·

45. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὗτω ἔπρησε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευμένω ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ[υπκτός Βρύγγοι Θρήκες ἐπεχειρήσαν] καὶ σφενὶ πολλοὺς φοιεύσας οἱ Βρύγγοι, Μαρδο-νίου δὲ αὐτῶν τρωματίζουσι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διεφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸτερον ἁπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρεῶν τοιτέων Μαρδο-νιος πρὶν ἡ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρεφόμενοι ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατινὴν ὀπίσω, ἀτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς 190
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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
46. Δευτέρω δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρώτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὅπο τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανῷ, πέμψας ἀγγέλον ἐκέλευσε σφέας τὸ τείχος περιαρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐσ Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οί ὑπὸ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἐχρέωστο τοῖσι χρήμασι νέας τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τείχος ἵσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἢ δὲ πρόσοδος σφί ἐγκεφὰλε ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων· ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσέων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν οὐδόκοντα τάλαντα προσήμε, ἢ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὅστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίους ἑοῦσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι προσήμε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἑτεος ἐκάστου διηνόσία τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

47. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μετάλλα τάντα, καὶ μακρῷ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνέφερον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ἦτες νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ ὀνόμα ἐσχε. τὰ δὲ μετάλλα τὰ Φοινικικά τάντα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντὶον δὲ Σαμοθρήκης, ὁρὸς μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ξητῆσὶ. τούτῳ μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τὸ βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ σφέτερον κατείλουν καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀβδηρα.

48. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ 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, 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"; 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 digged 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

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1 491. 2 On the Thracian coast, opposite Thasos.
Ελλήνων δ' τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κάτερα πολεμεέων ἐωτυτ' ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπτε δὲ κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτείει βασιλείᾳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεμπτε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπτε ἐς τὰς ἐωτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἰππαγωγὰ πλοία ποιέσθαι.

49. Οὗτοὶ τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἐδοσαν τὰ προϊσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιώται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοιατο αὐτήσωντες. οἷς τὲ δὴ ἄλλοι νησιώται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινηταί. ποιήσασι δὲ σφί ταῦτα ἰδέως Ἀθηναίοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκεόντες τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχουσας τοὺς Αἰγινητας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἅμα τό Πέρση ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωνται, καὶ ἀσμενοι προφάσιοι ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

50. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξιανδρίδεω βασιλεύς ἐὼν Σπαρτητέων διέβη ἐς Αἰγιναν, βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αὐτιστάτους. ὡς δὲ ἐπειράτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξου τῶν Αἰγινητέων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κρίδος ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, δοὺς ἐφι' αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίρουτα Αἰγινητέων· ἀνευ γὰρ μιν Σπαρτητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὅπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι ἁμα γὰρ ἄν μιν τὸ ἐπέρω βασιλείᾳ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταύτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς
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
Αλγίνης εἱρετο τὸν Κριόν ὁ τι οί εἴη τὸ σύνομα· ὁ δὲ οἰ τὸ ἐδν ἐφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφη "Ἡδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὦ κρίε τὰ κέρεα, ὡς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ."

51. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τούτων τὸν χρόνῳ ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ Αρίστωνος διεβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένα, ἐδώ βασιλεὺς καὶ οὑτος Σπαρτιητέων, οἰκίας δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστήρης, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστήρης· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὑτοῦ γεγόνασι· κατὰ πρεσβυγενείν δὲ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἡ Εὐρυσθένεος.

52. Δακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὁμολογεόντες οὐδὲν ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Δακεδαίου τοῦ "Τῆλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτείναται, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνου οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναίκα, τῇ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀργείνη ἡ γυναῖκα ὡς αὐτήν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισσαμευοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτῶν. Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεύονται κατὰ νόμον βασιλεά τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὐκὼν δὴ σφεᾶς ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονταί ὡστε καὶ ὁμολέοι καὶ ἐσον ἐόντων’ οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γνώναι, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειροτᾶν τὴν τεκούσαν. τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν. εἰδύιαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἰ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοῖσατο βασιλεῖς. τοὺς ὁν δὴ

1 Κριός = ram.
2 "The most probable origin of this anomaly" (the dual
BOOK VI. 50-52

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.
Δακεδαμινίους ἀπορεῖες, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησμένους δὴ τι χρῆσωνται τῷ πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἠγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραῖτερον. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταύτα σφὶ ἀνελεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ Δακεδαμινίοις ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἦσον ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τῷ πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσήνιον τῷ οἴνομα εἶναι Πανίτην. ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τοῖς Δακεδαμινίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὅκοτέρον τῶν παιδῶν πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει καὶ ἦν μὲν κατὰ ταύτα φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίζειν τι καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν, ἦν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκεῖνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δὴ λα σφὶ ἐσεθεῖ πῶς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἴδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τῷ τραπέσθαι σφέαις ὅδον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσ-σηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παιδῶν λαβεῖν κατὰ ταύτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σύνοιτο καὶ λυτροῦσι, οὐκ εἰδυίαν τῶν ένεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τὴν γειναμένην ὡς ἐν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ οἱ οἶνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. τούτους ἄνδρῳτας αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφούς ἐντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἀλλή-λοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοὺτων γενομένους ὁσαύτως διατελέσαν. 53. Ταύτα μὲν Δακεδαμινίοι λέγουσι μοῦνοι Ελλήνων τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ’ Ἐλλή-νων ἐγὼ γράφω, τούτους τοὺς Δωρεῶν βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν δὴ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ θεοῦ
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
\[\text{Hèrōdοτος, καταλεγομένους ὁρθῶς ὑπ’ Ἐλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰςὶ Ἐλλήνες. ἦδη γὰρ τημικάυτα ἐς Ἐλλήνας οὕτωι ἑτέλευον. ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέως τοῦδε ἐϊνεκα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἐτί ἔλαβον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίη Περσεὶ οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὡςπερ Ἡρακλῆι Ὁμφύτρῳν. ἦδη δὲν ὁ ὀρθὸ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέος ὁρθῶς εἰρηταὶ μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάῃ τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἀνώ αἱε πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοῖ ατο ἀν ἐόντες οἱ τῶν Δωρίων ἤγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ιθαγενεῖς.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἐλλήνες λέγουσι γεγενεθλόγηται ὡς δὲ ὁ παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἄσσυριος ἐγένετο Ἐλλην, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἱ Περσεὺς πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας ὀμολογεόντας κατ’ οἰκητήτητα Περσεὶ οὐδέν, τούτοις δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγύπτιοισ.

55. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νῦν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὃ τι δὲ ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωρίων βασιλείας, ἀλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηταί, ἑάσομεν αὐτά τα δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι.

56. Γέρεα τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεύσι Σπαρτηταί δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διός τε Δακεδαίμονος καὶ Δίὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ἄν βουλωνται χώρην, τούτον δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀγεῖ

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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
no mention of the god,¹—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 Doriacs 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),² 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 Doriacs, 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,³ and Zeus of Heaven; they shall wage war against what land soever they will, and no Spartan shall hinder them son of Danaé daughter of Acrisius. Evidently the Perseus legends are manifold and inconsistent.

¹ Here, as often, the cult of an "Olympian" deity is identified with an earlier local worship; cp. Zeus Amphiaraus, Zeus Agamemnon.
ενέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρῶτος ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι ἐκατὸν δὲ ἀνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς· προ-βάτοις δὲ χράσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίησι οἵκοσοι· ἀν ὧν ἔθελωσι, τῶν δὲ θυμόμενων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας.

57. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφὶ δέδοται. ἢν θυσίη τις δημοτελῆς ποιήται, πρῶτος ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνου ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἀρχεσθαί διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ τοῖς ἀλλοις δαιτυμόνεις, καὶ σπουδαρχίας εἴναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήν τέλεον ἑκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἶνου τετάρτην Δακωνικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι πάσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους. καὶ προξείνους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοις προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀν ἔθελωσι τῶν ἄστων, καὶ Πυθίους αἱρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεσπρόται ἐς Δελφοὺς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλεῶν τὰ δημό-σια. μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφὶ ἐς τὰ οἴκια ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοῦνικας ἑκατέρω καὶ οίνου κοτῦλην, παρεοῦσι δὲ "διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτῶν κληθέντας ἐπὶ δείπνου τιμᾶσθαι. τάς δὲ μαντηνίας τὰς γυνομένας τούτων φυλάσσειν,

1 The content of a "Laconian τετάρτη" is uncertain; for the date, see How and Wells ad loc.
2 Usually, the προξείνος 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 προξείνος
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.
συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μούνοις τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου περὶ, ἐς τὸν ἰκνέται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυνήσῃ, καὶ ὅδων δημοσίεων περὶ· καὶ ἣν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέσθαι ἐθέλη, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέσθαι. καὶ παρίζειν βουλεύονσι τοῖς γέρουσι ἐσύσι δυῶν δέουσι τρήκοντα· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐλθωσί, τοὺς μάλιστα σφὶ τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθέμενους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἔωστῶν.

58. Ταῦτα μὲν ἥξωντο τοῖς βασιλεύσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοίνου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποθανοῦντες δὲ τάδε. ἦπτες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναικῶν περιοῦσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἔπεαν ὅπ τοῦτο γίνηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἢ οἰκίνη ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεσθαι, ἀνδρὰ τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ξημίαν μεγάλαι ἑπικέαται. νόμος δὲ τούσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ἀφότου καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάρουσι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν γὰρ ὅπ βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖντες τῷ ἀφότῳ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἔπεαν γὰρ ἀποθανῆ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστούς ἐς τῷ κῆδος ἱεναί. τοῦτων ὅπ καὶ τῶν εἰληφέτων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπέαν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τώτὸ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες σύμμυγα τῆς γυναιξί, κόπτονται

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.  

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.
τε τὰ μέτωπα προθύμως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτω, φάμενοι τὸν ύστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τούτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον. ὦς δὲ ἄν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδολων σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὐ ἐστρωμένῃ ἐκφέρουσι. ἔπεαν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμέρες οὐκ ἱσταται σφι οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πευθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

59. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο οὕτω τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσηςι: ἐπεάν ἀποδανόντος τοῦ βασιλέος ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιῶν ἑλευθεροὶ ἄστις τι Σπαρτιτέων τῷ βασιλεί ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὅφειλε· ἐν δ' αὐ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προοφείλόμενον φόρον μετει τής πόλις πάσης.

60. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίους Δακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐλητικοὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώιας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέως γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγειροῦ καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακλησίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέσουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται. τότε δέ τὸν Κλεομένεα ἔοντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργάζόμενον ὃ Δημάρχητος δείβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὡς φθόνω καὶ ἀγη χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστῆσας ἀπ'Aἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρχητον παύσαι τῆς βασιληῆς, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιούτῳ ἐπιβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος. Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γῆμαντι γυναικας δύο παιδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ

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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 Aiginetans, 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. Ariston, king of Sparta, had married two wives, but no children were born to him. Believing that he
οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αὐτίος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναῖκα· ὠδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλοι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνηρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστών μᾶλιστα ὁ 'Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε ἑοῦσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναίκων, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστῃ ἕξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη. ἑοῦσαν γὰρ μιν τὸ εἴδος φλαῦρην ἡ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδεά ἑοῦσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρῶσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορῆν τὸ εἴδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἑκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζειτα τοιάδε· ἔφορει αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πάσαν ἥμερην ἐς τὸ τῆς 'Ελένης ἱρόν. τὸ ὁ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπτῃ καλεομένῃ ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβῆιον ἱροῦ. ὄκως δὲ ἐνείκειε ἡ τροφός, πρὸς τε τῶν γαλαμά ἱστα καὶ ἐλάσσετο τὴν θεόν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίας τὸ παιδίον. καὶ ἰὴ κοτε ἁπλοῦσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ γυναῖκα λέγεται ἐπιφανήναι, ἐπιφανείσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὧ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορεῖν, τὴν δὲ κελεύσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι. ἀπειρήσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἑωτῇ κελεύειν ἐπιδέξαι. ὄρωσαν δὲ τὴν γυναίκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι, οὐτω δὴ τὴν τροφὴν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ καταφώσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιτῖ ὡς καλ- λιστεύσει πασέως τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναίκων. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἴδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμον ὀργὴν ἀπικομένην Ἑγήτος ὁ Ἀλκείδεω, οὕτως δὴ ὃ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.
62. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἐκνύει ἀρα-τής γυναίκος ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανάται 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.
εταίρῳ, τοῦ ἡν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ, ὑποδέκεται δωτὴν τῶν ἐωτοῦ πάντων ἐν, τὸ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐληται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐωτῷ ἐκέλευε ὁ σαῦτως τῆς ὁμοίης διδόναι· δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικῇ, ὀρέων ἔοισαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναικα, κατανεὼν ταύτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὀρκουσ ἐπήλασαν. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἄριστων ἐδώκε τούτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἀγητος, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκεῖνον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταῖρον τήν γυναικα ἐπειράτο ἀπάγεσθαι. δὲ πλὴν τούτου μοῦνον τὰ ἄλλα ἐφή κατανέως· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὀρκῷ καὶ τής ἁπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπει ἀπάγεσθαι.

63. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηχάγετο γυναικα ὁ Ἄριστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνῳ ἔλασσον καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μήνας ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῇ τίκτει τούτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρην. καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὀικετέων ἐν θόκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παις γέγονε. δὲ ἐπιστάμενος τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναικα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μήνας, εἰπε ἀπομόσας “Οὐκ ἂν ἔμοι εἴη.” τοῦτο ἦκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἐφόροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. δὲ παῖς ἦξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένου μετέμελε· παίδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρην ἔς τὰ μάλιστα οἱ ἐνόμισε εἰναι. Δημάρην τὸ ἀυτῶν οὐνομα ἐθετο διὰ τὸδε· πρότερον τούτων πανδημεὶ Σπαρτηται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρε ἐυδοκιμέοντο διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παίδα γένεσθαι.

64. Διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὐνομα Δημάρηνος
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
ετέθη· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε, Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλην. ἔδεε δὲ, ὡς ἐσικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπάυσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληῆς διὰ τὰ . ¹ Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερον τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατηγῆν ἐξ Ἕλευσῖνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸτε ἐπὶ Αἰγινητέων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος.

65. Ὀρμηθεὶς δὲν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης συμτίθεται Λευτυχίδη τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἀγιος, ἔοιτι οἷκεῖς τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρίτω, ἐπὶ φ ς τε, ἢν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα αὐτῇ Δημαρητῷ, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπὶ Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἕχθρος τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονός διὰ πρήγμα τούνυν ἀρμοσμένου Λευτυχίδου Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀποστεεῖ Λευτυχίδεα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἢ ἔχθρη ἢ ἐσ τῶν Δημάρητου ἐγεγόνει, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμμυται Δημαρίτῳ, ὁς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτητέων οὐκ ἐόντα παίδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἐδίωκε, ἀνασώζοις ἐκείνου τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἐξήγηγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παίδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώμοσε φᾶς οὐκ ἐσωτοῦ μιν εἶναι. τοῦτον δὴ ἐπιβατεύον τοῦ ῥήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαυσε τοῦ Δημάρητου οὕτε ἐξ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὕτε ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύουσα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφὸρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενοι κείνους οἱ τότε ἑτυγχανον

¹ Perhaps Herodotus wrote διὰ τοὺν ἐπὶ αὐτῆν.
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
πάρεδροι τε ἐόντες καὶ ἀκοῦσαντες ταῦτα Ἄριστωνος.

66. Τέλος δὲ ἐόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτης ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἰη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος. ἀνοίστου δὲ γενομένου ἑκ προνοίας τῆς Κλειμένους ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιεῖται Κλειμένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἀνδρὰ ἐν Δελφοῖσι δυναστεύουσα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλειμένης ἔβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθίη ἐπειρωτῶντων τῶν θεοπρόσων ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρητον παίδα. ύστερῷ μὲντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἐφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαυσθῇ τῆς τιμῆς.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληίας οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἐφυγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μῆδους ἐκ τοιοῦτε ὀνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιληίας τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε αἱρέθεις ἀρχῆν. ἂςαν μὲν δὴ νυμιοπαιδία, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου ὁ Δευτυχίδης γεγονὼς ἤδη βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωστι τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῦν τι εἰη τὸ ἀρχεῖν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. δὲ ἀλγήσας τῶν ἐπειρωτήματι εἴπτε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφότερον ἥδη πεπειρήσθαι, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταῦτην ἀρξεῖν Δακεδαιμονίοισι ἡ μυρίης κακότητος ἡ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ κατακαλυφάμενος ἔνε
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 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.
68. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθεῖς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε, τοιάδε λέγων. "Ὡς μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Δίος τούδε φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείαν, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὅρθῳ λόγῳ. Λευτιχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἐφή ἐν τοίσι νείκεσι λέγων κυνεούσαν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὔω ἐλθείν παρὰ 'Αρίστωνα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθείν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὅνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνον εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγώ σε ὅν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές· οὔτε γὰρ, εἴ περ πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μοῦνῃ δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλέων ὤ. τὸ λόγον πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς 'Αρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιοῦν οὐκ ἐνήν· τεκεῖν γὰρ ἀν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας."

69. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε, ἢ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. "Ὡς παῖ, ἐπείτε με λιτήσι μετέρχει εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθείαν, πάν ἐς σε κατειρήσει τῶληθές. ὡς μὲ ἥγαγετο 'Αρίστων ἐς ἔως τοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἤλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον 'Αρίστωνι, συνευνηθέν δὲ τούς στεφάνους τοὺς εἴχε ἐμὸν περιετίθεε. καὶ τὸ μὲν ρίχωκε, ἥκε δὲ μετὰ ταύτα 'Αρίστων. ὡς δὲ μὲ εἴδε ἔχουσαν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἴη μοι ὁ δοῦς· ἔγω δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατομνυμήν φαμένη αὐτὸν οὐ ποιεῖν καλὸς ἀπαρνεόμενον· ὀλίγῳ γὰρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνευνηθέντα δοῦναι μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὅρεων δὲ με κατομνυμένην ὁ 'Αρίστων 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-
ἐμαθε ὡς θείον εἰν τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἤρωιον τοῦ παρὰ τῇ τῷ θύρῃ τῇ αὐλίησε ἱδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστροβάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἢρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. ούτω δὲ παῖ ἔχεις πάν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλεαι πυθέσθαι ἕ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἢρωος τοῦτον γέγονος, καὶ τοι τατήρ ἐστι Ἀστροβακος ὁ ἢρως, ἢ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γὰρ σε τὴ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δὲ σευ μάλιστα κατάπτουται οἱ ἐχθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγενημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσειε σε ἐσωτυ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γάρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέκω ἐξῆκειν), ἀιδρείη τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος. τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναίκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὁ παῖ ἐπτάμηνου ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ὡς ἀνοίγι τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωτυ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορθῶν αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδη καὶ τοῖς ταύτα τάρεσοι τίκτουειν αἰ γυναίκες παῖδας.

70. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἔλεγε, ὦ δὲ νυθόμενος τε τὰ ἑβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἡλίου τῷ λόγῳ φᾶς ὡς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρη- στηρίῳ πορεύεται. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρχου δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖσιν ἐδίωκον, καὶ καὶ ἐφθῃ ἔς Ζάκυνθον διαβὰς ὁ Δημάρχης ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίους· ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἀπτούτο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ 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
οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ὁσίν 
παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. ὃ δὲ ὑπεδέξατο τε αὐτὸν 
μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. οὕτω 
ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ὁσίν Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτῃ 
χρησάμενος τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ 
ἐργοῖς τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθείς, ἐν δὲ 
δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφὶ ἄνελόμενος τεθρίππῳ προσ- 
έβαλε, μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων 
βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

71. Δευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος Δημαρήτου κατα-
παυσθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλῆν, καὶ οἱ γίνε-
tαι παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι 
Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεσον. οὕτος οἱ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ 
ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης: πρὸ Δευτυχίδου γὰρ τε-
λευτᾶ, λιπῶν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Δευτυχίδης δὲ 
στερηθεὶς Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ θευτέρην γυναῖκα 
Εὐρύδάμην τὴν ἐοῦσαν Μενίου ἄδελφην Διακτο-
ρίδων δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται 
οὐδὲν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δαμπητῶ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος οἱ 
Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖς δόντος αὐτῷ Δευτυχίδου.

72. Οὐ μὲν οὖν δὲ Δευτυχίδης κατεγύρῃ ἐν 
Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιῷδε τινὰ Δημαρήτω 
ἐξέτισε. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς Θεσ-
σαλίην, παρεδὼν δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσα-
thαι εἴσωροδόκησε ἀργυρίου πολλῶν: ἐπὶ αὐτοφόρῳ 
δὲ ἄλογος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος 
χειρίδι πλέε ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δι-
καστήριου ὑπαχθείς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη 
ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

73. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνως ὑστερον̓ τὸτε 
δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει ὁδώθη 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 Lacedaemonian 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 παραλαβὼν Δευτυχίδεα ἦτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, δεινόν τινά σφι ἐγκοστόν διὰ τὸν προτηλακισμόν ἐχὼν. οὐτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγυπτίαι, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἥκοντων ἐπί αὐτοὺς, ἐδικαλευν ἐτὶ ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀνδρας δέκα Αἰγυπτέων τοὺς πλείστουν ἄξιοὺς καὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ γένει ἤγον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίον τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἱ περ ἐχὼν μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τῆν ᾿Αττικήν παρα-θήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγυπτίους ᾿Αθηναίους.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κλεομένεα ἐπάιστον γενό-μενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρχητον δεῖμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιτητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεύ-τεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἐπρησσε ἑργαματά, συνιστᾶς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσώπων σφι ἡ μὲν ἐγεσθαί σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἄν ἐξηγήσεται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νόνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προστεώτας ἀγνεών ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ύδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ύδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐστὶ τοιόνδε τῷ ύδωρ ὅλιγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάξει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἰμασίης τοις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νόνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἤ πηγή αὐτῇ τυγχάνει ἑούσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίης πρὸς Φενεώ.

75. Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Δακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦ-τα πρήσοσιν, κατηγοῦν αὐτῶν δεισάντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖς καὶ πρότερον ἤρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτῶν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη.
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· ὅκως γὰρ τεῷ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέως, ἐνέχρανε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιέοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἐδήσαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ. ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τῶν φύλακοι μουνωθέντα ἴδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτείς μάχαιραν· οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρώτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπείλεε τὰ μιν αὐτίς ποιήσει, ἐς ὁ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἡν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοὶ οἱ μάχαιραι. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κυρίμων ἐωτοῦν λωβόμενος· ἐπιτάμμων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κυρίμων ἐς τοὺς μηροὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τὰ ἱσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὁ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύουν ἀπέβανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίαν ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρίτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναίοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἑλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἐκεῖρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργείοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀργοῦ Ἀργείων τούς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινώσκει κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλοσον ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ἔχων ἐνεπρήσε. 76. Κλεομένει γὰρ μαυτευμένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐξήρθη Ἀργος αἰρήσειν· ἐπείτε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἀγῶν ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασίνου, ὡς λέγεται βέβαιον ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανεῖς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεί, τὸ ἐνθεύτευς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἦδη

1 Cp. ch. 80.
2 The Stymphalian lake, near the base of Cyllene, dis-
BOOK VI. 75-76

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 Erasinus, 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.
τούτο ὑπ’ Ἀργείων Ἕρασίνων καλέσθαι ἀπικο-μενος δ’ ὄν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τούτον ἐσφαγάζετο αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεσ αὐτὸν διαβάνειν μν, ἀγαθαὶ μὲν ἐφη τοῦ Ἕρασίνων οὔ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολείτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ’ ὡς χαιρήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐξαναχωρήσας τὴν στρατιὰν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρένην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦτον πλοίοις σφέας ἔγαγε ἐς τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην.

77. Ἀργείου δὲ ἔβοιθεν πυνθανόμενοι ταύτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὃς δὲ ἄγχοι μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τιρυνθος, χώρα δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Ἡσίπεια οὖν μα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἰσόντο ἀντίοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργείοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχηι οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέσι καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρίγγα εἰχὲ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκουνα ἔχρησε η Πυθὶ τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλη-σίοις, λέγον ὤδε.

ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα υικήσασα ἐξελάσῃ καὶ κύδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρισται, πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θῆσει, ὡς ποτὲ τις ἔρεει καὶ ἐπεσομένων ἀνθρώπων "Δεινὸς ὁφίς τριέλικτος ᾄπώλετο δουρὶ δαμα-σθεῖς."

ταύτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖς Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρείχε. καὶ δὴ σφὶ πρὸς ταύτα ἐδοξε

1 Stein, following the best MSS., reads ἀπέλικτος; 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 Tiryus, and Nauplia.

77. Hearing of this, the Argives came to the coast to do battle with him; and when they had come near Tiryus 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 Σπάρτη over the male Ἀργος.
τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δὲ σφι ἐποίεσαν τοιώνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κήρυξ προσήμανοι τι Δακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίευν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῶντο τούτο.

78. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεύταται τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁκοῦν τι ὁ σφέτερος κήρυξ—σημήνειε, παραγγέλλει σφὶ, ὅταν σημῆνη ὁ κήρυξ ποιέσθαι ἀριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων· ἀριστον γὰρ ποιευμένους τοῖς Ἀργείουσι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέεστο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δὲ τὶ πλεύνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἅργου καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

79. Ἔνθετεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιώνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπτων κήρυκα ὅνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φῶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα. ἀποινα τε ἐστὶ Πελοπονησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνευεν. κατὰ πεντῆκοντα δὴ ὅν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλεῦμενοι ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκτεινε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἔληθε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἀτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐόντος τοῦ ἀλσεος, οὐκ ὅρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἐπηρμησον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δεύδρων κατείδε τὸ ποιεύμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐτὶ καλεόμενοι ἐξήισαν.

80. Ἔνθατα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλώτεων περινείων ὕλη τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐνέπηρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου 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

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,¹ 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
ψαντος πάν οἱ πεποιηθαί ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων πιστά τε καὶ οικότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτιήτησι λέγειν, καὶ διέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83. Ἅργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὡστε οἱ δούλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἁρχοῦτες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὁ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παιδεῖ. ἔπειτα σφέας οὕτωι ἀνακτώμενοι ὁπίσώ ἐς ἐωτοὺς τὸ Ἅργος ἐξέβαλον ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δούλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τύρηνθα. τέως μὲν ἡ σφι ἦν ἅρθμα ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἴλθε ἀνήρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίης, οὕτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγρωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφὶ ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνου συχνόν, ἐς δὴ μόνης οἱ Ἅργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

84. Ὁ Ἅργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιήται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὕδενος μανῆναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθησι δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφὶ Δαρείον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσαρθαι, πεμψάντας δὲ ἐς Ἐπάρτην συμμαχίνην τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἰ ἁυτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἑσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὀρμομένους ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τῶντο ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἥκοντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁμιλῶσον σφὶ μεζόνως, ὁμιλῶσον δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθῶς τὴν ἀκρητοποσίνην παρ'
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.
αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανήναι μν νομίζουσι Σπαρτὶται. ἐκ τε τόσου, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεάν ξωρότερον βουλώνται πιεῖν, "Ἐπισκύθωσον" λέγουσι. οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτὶται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμὸ δὲ δοκεῖ τίςιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρῆτω ἐκτίσαι.

85. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αιγινῆται, ἐπεμποῦν ἐς Σπάρτην ἄγγελους καταβωσομένους Δευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριοι συναγαγόντες ἐγνωσαν περιβρίσθαι Αιγινῆτας ὑπὸ Δευτυχίδεω, καὶ μὲν κατέκριναν ἐκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Λίγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ἐχομένων ἄνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αιγινητέων τὸν Δευτυχίδεα, εἰπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Δεωπρέπεος, ἐδω ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνήρ, "Τί βουλεύσθε ποιεῖν, ἀνδρεῖς Αιγινῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτητέων ἐκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτέων ἄγειν; εἰ μὲν ὅργῃ χρεώμενοι ἐγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτὶται, ὅκως ἐς ὑστέρης μὴ τι ύμῖν, ἢν ταύτα πρήσῃτε, πανώλεθρον κακῶν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐμβάλωσι·" ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐσχουτὸ τῆς ἄγωγης, ὀμολογήδε ἔχρησαντο τοιῆδε, ἐπιστόμενον Δευτυχίδεα ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀποδοῦναι Αιγινῆτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

86. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκομενος Δευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτετε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσιας εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἑόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδίδοναι οὐ φαμένοι δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλεξε·
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 Leuty-
chides 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
σφὶ Δευτυχίδης τάδε. "Ὤ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖτε μὲν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοῖς καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιεῖτε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἑναντία τούτων ὁκοίον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῆται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο Γλαύκον 'Επικύδεος παίδα· τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα περιῆκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἁρίστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὦς τῇ Δακεδαίμονα τούτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεων. συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους προϊσχόμενον τοὐδε. 'Εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἢκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαύκη βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαύσαι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμεωτῷ λόγους ἐθίδουν καὶ ότι ἐπικύδνυνος ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε Ἰωνίη, ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλεῖς ἱδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρῆματα ύφάσμα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ ὀρᾶν ἔχοντας. ταῦτα τε ὅν ἐπιλεγομένω καὶ βουλευομένω ἐδοξὲ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πᾶσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σὲ, εὐ ἐξεπισταμένῳ ὡς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοι σόα. συ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σώζει λαβῶν' ὅσ δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτεῖ, τοῦτο ἀποδοῦναι. 'ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξεῖνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεγε, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολυλοῦ διελθόντος ἤλθον ἐς Σπάρτην τούτον τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παίδες, ἔλθοντες 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
ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα: ὅ ἔδει διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. Ὅψε μέμνημαι τὸ πρήγμα ὡστε με περιφέρει εὑρήσατε τούτων τῶν ύμεῖς λέγετε, βούλομαι τε ἀναμνησθείς ποιέειν πάν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὅρθως ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἰ γε ἄρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοίσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ύμεᾶς. ταῦτα ὃν ύμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τούτῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφόρην ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς ἀπεστηρημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησάμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτώντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὀρκῷ τὰ χρήματα λήσσηται, ἦ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσι ἐπεσι.

Γλαύκε. Ἐπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτῳ ὁρκῷ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λησσασθαι. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὐροκὼν μένει ἀνδρᾶ. ἀλλ' ὀρκοὺ πάς ἔστιν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες οὐδὲ πόδες: κρατινὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὁ κε πᾶσαν συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεῆ καὶ ὅλον ἄπαντα. ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐρόκου γενεῆ μετόπισθεν ἀμείωνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαύκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραίτεετο αὐτῷ ἵσχειν ὑμῶν ῥηθέντων. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη τὸ πειρηθήναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι ὑσον δύνασθαι. Γλαύκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψά-
spoke with Glaucus, showing him the tokens and demanding the money back. But Glaucus put them off with a demur: '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 τούς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀποδίδοι σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἰνεκα ὁ λόγος ὅτε ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ὄρμηθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρῆτεται: Γλαύκου νῦν οὐτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἵστι οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπταὶ τε πρόριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὔτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἡ ἀπαίτεοντων ἀποδιδόναι.”

87. Δευτυχίδης μὲν εἰπας ταύτα, ὡς οἱ οὔδε οὔτω ἐσήκουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑβρισάν Θηβαῖοις χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ αξιόυντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἕν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις πεντετερῆς ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχίσαντες δὴ τὴν θεωρίαν νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐδήσαν.

88. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ παθόντες ταύτα πρὸς Αἰγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπὶ Αἰγινήτησι. καὶ ἕν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνήρ δόκιμος, οὕτως μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέριην ἐωτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, μαθῶν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἐρδεῖν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοις προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ήκειν δεὴσε βοηθόντας.

89. Μετὰ ταύτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοισι ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται
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
ἐς δεῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες σφὶ ἀξιώμαχοι τὴσι Αἰγυπτέων συμβαλεῖν. ἐν φ ὧν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρῆσαι σφὶ νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορινθιοὶ, ἦσαν γὰρ σφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοις διδοῦσι δεομένους εἰκοσὶ νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεῖν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξην δοῦναι. ταῦτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὰς σφητέρας, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπταν καὶ ύστερησαν ἱμέρῃ μιᾷ τῆς συγκειμένης.

90. Νικόδρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβᾶς ἐκδιδήσκει εκ τῆς Αἰγύπτης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτέων ἐίποντο, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοι Σοῦνιον οἰκήσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ οὕτως ὁμώμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγυπτας.

91. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ύστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγυπτέων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντως τὸν δήμου σφὶ ἀμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἐπείτα σφὶς χειρωσάμενοι ἐξήγουν ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἷοι τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηκανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρὸτερον ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἡ σφὶ ἱλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεῶν. ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ξωγρήσαντες ἐξήγουν ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἰσ δὲ τοὺς τούτων ἐκφυγόν, τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισταστήρων εἰχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε μιν ἀποστάσαι οὐκ οἷοι τε ἀπέλκουτε ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες
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. 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 ἦγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκύαι ἦσαν τοῖς ἐπιστατοῖς.

92. Ταῦτα μέν νυν σφέας αὐτοῦς οἱ Ἀιγινῆται ἐργάσαντο, Ὄθηναιοι δὲ ἦκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νησὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δὴ σφὶ οὔτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθεοῦσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Ἀιγιναῖοι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμβάδεσθαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ συναπέβησαν Δακεδαιμονίοις, συναπεβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεὼν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ καὶ σφὶ ὑπ’ Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίᾳ χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσασι, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μὲν νυν συγγνώντες ἀδικηθαί σώμα-γησαν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἄξημικο εἶναι, Ἀιγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἢσαν τε αὐτα-δέστεροι. διὰ δὴ δὲν σφὶ ταῦτα δειμένοις ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθησε, ἐθελονταὶ δὲ ἐς χιλίους· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἄνὴρ ὧ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης, ἄνὴρ πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήςασ. τούτων οἱ πλείους οὐκ ἀπευότηταν ὁπίσω, ἀλλ’ ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ’ Ὅθηναιόν ἐν Ἀιγίνῃ- αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχίᾳ ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνήσκει.

93. Ἀιγινῆται δὲ ἐσύσι ἀτάκτουσι τοῖς Ὅθηναῖοις συμβαλόντες τῆς νησὶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

94. Ὅθηναιοι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτῳ 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.¹ 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.
Αἰγινήτας. ὦ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεις, ὡστε ἀναμμήνησκοντὸς τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμυηθαί μιν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίας, ἀλλοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρταφρένεος παίδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπτε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὅψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

95. Ὁς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδέχθεντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ Βασιλέας ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίας ἐς τὸ Ἀλήνων πεδίον, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι πεζοὺς στρατὸν πολλὸν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευμένου· ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστος, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἦπαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεὶπε τοίς ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροις Δαρείος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἦπους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζοῦ στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἐπλεον ἐξακοσίζει τριήρεις ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν. ἐνθέετεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἱθὺ τοῦ τε Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θράκης, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νῆσον τὸν πλόον ἐποιεύντο, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, δείσαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλου τοῦ Ἀθω, ὅτι τῶν προτέρῳ ἐτεὶ ποιεύμενοι ταύτη τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως.
war. But the Persian was going about his own business; for his servant was ever reminding him to remember the Athenians,¹ 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.
καὶ εὐπείδρον οὐκ ἀλοῦσα.

96. Ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμεθαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ ὅτι πρώτην ἐπείχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὅρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες οὔδε ὑπεμείναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἄνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀνήγγειον.

97. Ἐν γὰρ δὲ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐποίειν, οἱ Δήλιοι ἐκλιτόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δήλου οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνου, τὴς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης ὁ Δάτις προπλῶσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δήλου προσσυμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἦν ἡσαν οἱ Δήλιοι, πέμπτων κήρυκα ἠγόρευε σφὶ τάδε. "Ανδρὲς ἱρὸι, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήθεις καταγγώντες κατ᾽ ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γε φρονεῖ καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλείως ὡδὲ ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σύνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτοράς αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἀπυκτό ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖς Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανύσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἑβυμίησε.

98. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνᾶς καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεύτεν ἔξαναχθέντα Δήλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἐλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὑστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεὶσα. 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,¹ 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 gods² 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.
τούτο μὲν κοι τέρας ἀνθρώπους τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἐβαίνε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ 'Τστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἱρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τοιτέων ἐπεξής γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἕλλαδί ἦ ἐπὶ εἰκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῆς γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμόντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἅπεικες κυνηθῆναι Δῆλου τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον. καὶ ἐν χρημὶ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς οἶδε.

κινήσω καὶ Δῆλου ἀκίνητον περ ἐοῦσαν.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἕλλαδα γλώσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρείος ἢρξει, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἱρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας οἴδε ἄν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν σφετέρῃν Ἕλληνες καλέοιεν.

99. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπήειραν ἐκ τῆς Δῆλου, προσέσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιῇ τε παρελώμβανον καὶ ὀμίρους τῶν νῆσιωτῶν παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον, οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὀμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔβασαν ἐπὶ πόλισις ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες Ἐρετριάν τε καὶ Ἀθῆνας, ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολιόρκεον τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφεων ἐκείρον, ἡ δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσῶν τὴν γνώμην.

100. Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ συνθανόμενος τὴν στρατινὶ τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέονσαν Ἀθηναίον ἐδείπθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ
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.
101. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὡρωτόν ἐσωζόν σφέας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρης κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Άιγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ὑπούς τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκεύαζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖς ἔχθροις. οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριεῖς ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὕτω ἐποιεύντο βουλῆν, εὐς κως δὲ διαφυλάξαιν τὰ τεῖχα, τούτοις σφὶ πέρι ἐμελὲ, ἐπέτει ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπίπτον ἐπὶ ἐξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρως τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ Ἐὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμᾶχος καὶ Φιλαγρός ὁ Κυνέος ἄνδρες τῶν ἁστῶν δόκιμοι προδιδοῦσι τοῖς Πέρσῃς. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύ-
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.
μενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο
dὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἣνδραποδίσαντο κατὰ τὰς
Δαρείου ἐνυτολάς.

102. Χειροσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέστριαν καὶ ἐπι-
σχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλεον ἐς ἕην τὴν Ἀττικήν,
κατέργοντες τε πολλὰ καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τους
Ἀθηναίοις ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρεστριέας
ἐποίησαν. καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεύσατον
χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιπτεύσας καὶ ἀγχοτάτω
tῆς Ἐρεστρίης, ἐς τούτο σφὶ κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ
Πεισίστρατος.

103. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας
στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης·
tοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κύμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεως κατέλαβε
φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκρά-
tεος. καὶ αὐτῶ δεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνέλεσθαι
τεθρίππων συνέβη, καὶ ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἑκατὸν
ἀνελόμενον μιν τῶντο ἐξενεκασθαι τῷ ὄμομητρῷ
ἀδελφῷ Μιλτιάδη· μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυμ-
πιάδι τῇσι αὐτῆσι ὑποποίησι νικῶν παραδιδοῖ
Πεισίστρατῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἑκατὸν
παρεῖς τοῦτο κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος.
kαὶ μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῆσι ὑποποίησι Ἁλλήν
Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πει-
σίστρατον παῖδων, οὐκέτι περιεύοντος αὐτοῦ
Πεισίστρατον· κτείνουσι δὲ οὕτως μιν κατὰ τὸ
πρυτανήμιον νυκτὸς ὑπέσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαται
dὲ Κύμων πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, πέρῃ τῆς διὰ Κόιλης
καλομεῖνης ὄδοις· καταντίον δ’ αὐτοῦ αἱ ὑποὶ
tεθάφαται αὐταί τί τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι.
ἐποίηεραν δὲ καὶ ἀλλαὶ ὑποὶ ἡδῆ τῶντο τούτο
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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 being the fittest part of Attica for horsemen to ride over, and nearest to Eretria, thither they were引导 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.
Ευαγόρεω Λάκωνος, πλέω δὲ τούτων οὐδαμαί. οὐς δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κύμωνι Στησαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πάτρῳ Μιλτιάδη τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κύμων ἐν 'Αθήνῃς, οὐνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω Μιλτιάδης.

104. Οὕτως δὴ ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλῶν θάνατον ἐστρατηγεῖ 'Αθηναίων. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φολνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώκαντες μέχρι Ἰμβροῦ περὶ πολλοῦ ἑποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἀμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ δοκέοντά τε εἶναι εἰς σωτηρίη ἡδή, τὸ ἑνθυτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες εἰδὼξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγός οὔτω 'Αθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρέθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

105. Καὶ τρώτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι εἰς τῷ ἀστεί οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπτοις ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιστῆδην 'Αθηναίων μὲν ἄνδρα, ἀλλαξὶ δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοιούτῳ μελετῶντα: τῷ δὴ, ως αὐτός τε ἐλέγε Φειδιστῆδης καὶ 'Αθηναίοις ἀπηγγέλλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὡρο τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιστίπτει βῶσαντα δὲ τὸ οὐνόμα τοῦ Φειδιστῆδεω τῶν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοις κελεύσαι ἀπαγγέλλαι, δὴ ο τι ἑωτοῦ οὐδεμιᾶν ἑτιμελείην ποιεῦντα ἐόντος εὐνόου 'Αθηναίοις καὶ πολλαχὶ γενομένου σφι ἡδη χρησίμου, τὰ δὲ ἐτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν 'Αθηναίου, καταστάντων σφι εὐ ἡδη τῶν προγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι
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
According to Isocrates the distance traversed was 150 miles.
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

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1 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 Μαράθωνα τὰς νέας ὑμῖζε ὁ ὁ τός, ἑκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταύτα διέποντι ἐπήλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεξόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεν. οἶα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὁδόντων οἱ πλείους ἐσεί- οντο. τούτων δὲ ἐνα τῶν ὁδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βῆξας. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποίετο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρέων. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο οἱ ὁ ὁδὸν, ἀναστενάξας εἰπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας "Ἡ γῆ ἤδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστι, οὐδε μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι ὅκοσον δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὁδὸν μετέχει."
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-

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\(^1\) 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 ἐνδέως was a central altar in the agora, from which distances were reckoned.
λαίδου γάρ Ἀθηναίοι ὁμόψηφοι τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύτο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τούτον ἔλθων Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. "Εὖν σοὶ νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ή καταδοῦσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα· μνημόσυνα λυπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἄπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστοκρατίων λείποντες. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἦκουσι μέγαστον· καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψας τοῖς Μηδοίσι· δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίῃ, ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὐτῇ ἡ πόλις, οὐ̣ ἦν τε ἐς τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πολίων γενέσθαι. καὶ ών δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τε ἐς τῷ πρώτῳ ἰνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσσων· ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔοντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελεύόντων τῶν δὲ οὖν συμβάλλειν. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν· ἐπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασέεθαι ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ 'Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὡστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροις ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἔσα νεμόντων οἰοί τε εἶμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ· ταῦτα δὲν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει καὶ έκ σέο ἤρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἐστὶ τοις πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ πόλις πρώτῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἑλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἁγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία." 110. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκύταται τῶν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρ-264
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.
χου τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἐφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανήη τῆς ἡμέρης. Μιλτιάδη παρεδίδοσαν ὃ δὲ δεκόμενος οὕτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποίεστο, πρῖν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήη ἐγένετο.

111. Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὥδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἠγένετο οἱ πολέμαρχοι Καλλίμαχος. οἱ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἰχε οὕτω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν ἠγεμόνων δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταιές. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γὰρ] σφὶ τῆς μάχης, Ὁ Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῇ πεντετερίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναίος ἀμ᾽ ἐς Ἀθηναίοις λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιείσθ᾽. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶν ἐγένετο τούνδε τί τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατόπεδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὁλίγας, καὶ ταύτη ἡν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πληθεὶ.

112. Ὡς δὲ σφὶ διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγένετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ λευτοὶ ἐς τοὺς χαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἔλασσον τὸν μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἡ ὁκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέουσας δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίῃ τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλέθριην, ὀρέουσας αὐτοὺς.
BOOK VI. 110-112

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 generally; he received it, but would not join battle 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 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 the captain, next to him came the tribes one after another in the order of their numbers; 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, Athenian herald prays that all blessings may be vouchsafed to Athenians and Plataeans alike. But now, when the Athenians were arraying at Marathon, it fell out that their line being equal in length to the Median, the middle part of it was but a few furlongs 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 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 coming they prepared to receive them, deeming the Athenians frenzied to their utter destruction, who

Each general seems to have been generalissimo in turn. There was a fixed official order; but Plutarch's account the battle places certain tribes according to a different em. Perhaps the battle-order was determined by lot. e. g. the great Panathenaca, and the festival of Poseidon.
δλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμων ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἦπεῖν ὑπάρχουσις σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον. Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀθρόοι προσέμεζαν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐμάχοντο ἄξιως λόγου. πρώτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδιεν δρόμων ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρώτοι δὲ ἀνέσχυτο ἐσθητὰ τε Μηδικῶν ὀρέουτες καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ταύτην ἰσθημένους. τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἑλλησκαὶ καὶ τὸ ὅνυμα τὸ Μηδῶν φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.

113. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκ. ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τούτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων 'Αθηναίοι τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς νικώτες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔως, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων 'Αθηναίοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃν εἴποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

114. Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος διαφθείριζα, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἑθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Ὀρασύλεως τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Ἑυφορίων ἐνθάντα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἄφλαστων νεῶν, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι 'Αθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄνωμαστοι.

115. 'Επτα μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε 'Αθηναῖοι· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῆσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου
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 Thrasylaus; moreover, Cynegirus¹ 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.
'Ερετρίης ἀνδράποδα, περὶ ἑπλεον Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῄναι τοὺς 'Αθηναίουν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἁστυ. αἰτήν δὲ ἐσχε ἐν 'Αθηναίους ἐξ 'Αλκμεωνιδέων μηχανῆς, αὐτοὺς ταύτα ἐπινοηθῆναι: τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖς Πέρσαις ἀναδεξαὶ ἀσπίδα ἐσόυ σῇ ἐν τῇσι νήσοι.·

116. Οὗτοι μὲν δὲ περίπλεον Σούνιον. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὸ ἁστυ, καὶ ἐφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπ' ἀγμένου ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθώνι ἐν ἀλλὰ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τήσι νησὶ ὑπερασκέψαντες Φαλήρου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἤν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν 'Αθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπεπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην.

117. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθώνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἐξακισσιλίους καὶ τετρακόσίους ἄνδρας, 'Αθηναίων δὲ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἐπεσον μὲν ἀμφότερων τοσούτοις συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνυμε Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεων ἐν τῇ συντάσσῳ μαχόμενῶν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γυνόμενον ἄγαθον τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι οὐτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὐτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἥσις διατελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου ἐόντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα· τοιόντε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκείειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστήναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιώζειν· τὸ δὲ φάσμα τούτο ἐσωτοῦ μὲν παρεξελθείν, τὸν δὲ ἑωτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. ταύτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπιθόμην λέγειν.
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 Cephagoras, while he fought doughtily in the mêlée lost the sight of his eyes, albeit neither tabbed 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 eard spread all over his shield; this apparition assed Epizelus by, but slew his neighbour in the ne. Such was the tale Epizelus told, as I heard.
118. Δάτις δὲ πορεύομενος ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃν, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἴδε ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ. καὶ ἠτίς μὲν ἦν ἡ ὤψις, οὐ λέγεται ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ξήτησιν ἐποίετο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῷ δὲ ἐν νη Φοινίσσων ἀγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπουθάνετε ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένου εἰη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἡ ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωτοῦ νη ἐς Δήλου καὶ ἀπίκατα γὰρ τηνικαύτα οἱ Δήλοι ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν νήσου κατατίθεταί τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλει λεταί τοῖς Δηλίους ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐς Δήλου τὸ Ἐθβαΐων τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐνυπέλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τούτον Δήλον ὤιχ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μὲν δ' ἐτέων εἰκοσι Θηβαίον αὐτοῦ ἐκ θεσπρωτίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλου.

119. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετρείων ἀνδραποδισμένον Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρέως, ὥς προσέσχον πρὸς τῆς Ἀσίης πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. Βασιλεὶ δὲ Δαρείος, πρὶν μὲν αἴχμαλωτοὺς γενέσθαι τοι Ἐρετρείας, ἐνεῖχε σφί δεινὸν χόλον, οἶα ἀρξάντα ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετρείων ἐπείτε δὲ εἶδος σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ’ ἐωτοῦ καὶ ἐωτοῦ ὑπέχειροις ἑόντας, ἐποίησε κακὰ ἄλλο ὀυδένα, ἀλλ’ σφέας τῆς Κισσίης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἐωτοῦ τῷ οἴνομα ἐστὶ Ἀρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σοῦσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τεκεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχετο τριφασίας ἱδέας καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἐλαιόν ἀρύσσουσι εἶ τοῦ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀν' ἀνέται μὲν κηλωνήν, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἦμιν ἀσκοὶ προσδέδεται ὑποτύψας δὲ τούτῳ 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. Αλκμεωνίδας δισχίλιοι μετά τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβὲν, οὔτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὑστεροὶ δὲ ἀπικομενοὶ τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο ὡμῶν θείσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους ἔλθοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὁπίσω.

121. Θώμα δὲ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἂν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσης ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροσι ἐκ τίνα Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίης οὕτως μᾶλλον ἡ ὁμοίως Καλλίη τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππούικου δὲ πατρὶ, ἑαυτοῖς μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἀπαντῶν ἔτολμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὄνεσθαι, καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐχθιστα ἐς αὐτῶν πάντα ἐμηχανάτο.

122. [Καλλιεω δὲ τούτου ἀξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τούτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλεγέμενα, ως ἀνήρ ἀκρος ἑλευθερῶν τὴν πα-
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 Lace-daemonians 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 Phaenippus 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.
τρίδα· τούτο δὲ τὰ ἐν 'Ολυμπίῃ ἐποίησε· ἦππῳ νικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρῶτον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας πάντας δαπάνησε μεγίστης. τούτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρας οὔσας τρεῖς οἷς τις ἀνήρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδή γὰρ ἐγώνοντο γάμῳ ὀραίαι, ἔδωκε σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκεῖνην τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἑθέλοι ἄνδρα ἑωτῆ ἐκλέξασθαι, ἐδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι.

123. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἦν ὅσον τούτον ἦσαν μισοτύρανοι. θώμα δὲν μοι καὶ οὗ προσέμει τὴν διαβολὴν τούτοις γε ἀναδέξασθαι ἄσπιδα, οὕτως ἐφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ὀλυμπίας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ περ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογέετων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγηρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοιποὺς Πεισιστρατιδέων ἰππαρχοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδὲ τοῖς μᾶλλον ἐπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Αλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανές ἦλευθερώσαν, εἰ δὴ οὕτως γε ἀληθεύσεις ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναιπεῖσαντες προσημαίνειν Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐλευθέροιν τὰς Ὀλυμπίας, ὡς μοι πρῶτον δεδήλωται.

124. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἰσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ὀλυμπιαῖοι τῷ δῆμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα· οὐ μὲν ὡς ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἐν γε Ὀλυμπιαῖοις ἄνδρες οὐδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτως οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει ἀναδεχθήναι ἐκ γε ἄν τούτων ἄσπιδα ἐπὶ τοιούτω λόγῳ· ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἄσπις, καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο.
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, δις μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρῳ εἰπεῖν τούτων.

125. Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀν-έκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκ-μέωνος καὶ αὐτοῦς Μεγακλέως ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέως τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Δυνοίσι παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικυνε-μένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, συμ-πρήκτωρ τε, ἐγινετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Δυνῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεόντων ἐωυτὸν εὐ ποιεῖν μεταπέμ-πεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρεῖται χρυσῷ τὸν ἀν δύνηται τῷ ἐωυτῷ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεῖν ἐούσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερεν ἐνδὺς κιθώνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθύν καταλειπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνου τε τοὺς ἐὐρίσκε ἐυρυτάτους έόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἢμε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἰς κατηγέοντο. ἑστεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρώτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὀςὸν ἐχώρεων οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξῆι ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐλκὼν μὲν μόνις τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τῷ οἴκῳς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ τὸ τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα εξώγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσήλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῖ καὶ πρὸς ἐτερα δωρεῖται οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἐκεῖνων. οὕτω μὲν ἑπλουτήσε ὁ οἰκίη αὐτὴ μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὕτως οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὅλυμ-πιάδα ἀναίρεται.
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\(^1\) 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.

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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 γενεῇ δευτέρη ὑστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τὺραννος ἔξηγερε, ὡστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλησὶ ἦ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστονύμῳ τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυράτηρ τῇ ὀνύμα ἦν Ἀγαρίστῃ. ταὐτὴν ἥθελμε, Ἐλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρών τὸν ἀριστον, τούτῳ γυναίκα προσβείναι. 'Ολυμπίων δὲ ἔστων καὶ νικών ἐν αὐτοῖς τεθρίπτη ὁ Κλεισθένης κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὅστις 'Ελλήνων ἐστὸν ἄξιον Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἤκειν ἐς ἔξηκοστὴν ἁμέρην ἡ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλεισθένεος τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξηκοστῆς ἁρξαμένου ἁμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα 'Ελλήνων ὁσοὶ σφίζον τε αὐτοῖς ἤσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένου, ἐφοίτευοι μνηστήρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαιστρὴν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.

127. Απὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίας ἦλθε Σμινυρίδης ὁ Ἰπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδὴς εἰς ἅνὴρ ἀπίκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας ἦλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφιμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύστως τοῦ Ἐλλήνας ἵσχυν καὶ φυγόντως ἄνθρωποις ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρης, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἄδελφος Μάλης. ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννησοῦ Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Δεσκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ὑβρίσαντος

1 Cleisthenes of Sicyon was contemporary with Alemeon.
126. In the next generation Cleisthenes\(^1\) 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,\(^2\)

\(^1\) 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, δς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλεῖων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγώνα ἔθηκε· τούτου τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀµίαντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκάς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀξῆν ἐκ Παιῶν πόλιος Δαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τούτου δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λέγεται, τῶν Διοσκοῦρων οἰκίσσον καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαῖος, οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἥλθον, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀπίκουντο Μεγακλέης τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρά Κροίσου ἀπικουμένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἰπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλούτως καὶ εἰδεὶ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετρίης ἀνθεύσης τούτου τὸν χρόνον Λυσανίνης οὗτος δὲ ἀπ’ Εὐβοίας μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραυνώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων.

128. Τοσούτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μυστήρες. ἀπικουμένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλειοθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπόθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειράτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσιος τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἰδὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συναπασί, καὶ ἐς γυμνασία τε ἐξαγινέον ὅσοι ἤσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τὸ γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίᾳ διεπειράτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατείχε χρόνων αὐτοῦς, τοῦτο πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μυστήρων ἡρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἰπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ καὶ ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθω Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων.
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. Ἡ κυρία ἐγένετο τῶν ἠμερέων τῆς τε κατακλύσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένης τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἐκατόν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς μνηστήρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἄπο ἐδιπνοῦ ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστήρες ἔχον εἰχόν ἀμφὶ τε μονοικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊόνσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τους ἄλλους ὁ Ἰπποκλέιδης ἐκέλευσε οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλήσαι ἐμμελείν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέων ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέστο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρήγμα ὑπόπτευε. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχῶν ὁ Ἰπποκλέιδης χρόνου ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν ἐσενεκαί, ἐσελθοῦσας δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρώτα μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Δακωνικὰ σχημάτα, μετὰ δὲ ἅλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἑπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοὺς σκέλεσι ἐχειρονομησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεσμένου, ἀποστυγεῖων γαμβρὸν ἀν ὁ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἰπποκλέιδη διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείαν, κατεἰχε ἑωυτὸν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτὸν’ ὡς δὲ εἰδε τοῖς σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε “Ὡς παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαο γε μὲν τὸν γάμον.” ὁ δὲ Ἰπποκλέιδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε “Οὐ φροντίς Ἰπποκλέιδη.” ἀπὸ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο ὄνομαζεται.

130. Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγῆν ποιησάμενος ἐλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε. “Ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστήρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ύμέας ἐπαίνεω καὶ πᾶσι ύμῖν, εἰ οίὸν τε εἰ, χαριζομίν γὰν, μὴν ἕνα ύμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἶα τε ἐστὶν μήτης 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, τοῖς μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένους τούδε τοῦ γὰρ καὶ τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεῖν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἶνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῖ ἄκημα καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημῆς, ὥς δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέι ἐγγυῶν παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων." φαμένου δὲ ἐγνώσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

131. Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μυηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεώνίδαι ἐβοσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν Ἀθηναίους καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ ὅνυμα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου. οὕτος τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέη καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτειος Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη θαλή ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένου Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ ὅνυμα. ἦ συνοικήσασά τε Ἐανθίππω τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος εοῦσα εἰδὲ ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνοῖ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περικλέα Ἐανθίππω.

132. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρώμα γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρότερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, τότε μᾶλλον αὐξητο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατηγί τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, ὡς φράς εἴπ᾽ ἣν ἐπιστρατεύσεται χώρην, ἀλλὰ φᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτεῖν ἢν οἱ ἐπωνταί. ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δὴ τῶν ἄξειν δὴν χρυσὸν ἐυπετέως ἀφθονον οἰσούται λέγων τοιαύτα αἴτε τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαεργάστηκαν παρέδοσαν.

133. Παραλαβῶν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατηγί
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,
Επλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθώνα ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἐγκοτον εἰχε τοῦτι Παρίοις διὰ Λυσσαγόρεα τοῦ Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ἄθάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἤν ἐπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεος, καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἴτεε ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, φάς, ὡς μιν οὐ δώσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσειν τὴν στρατιὰν πρὶν ἡ ἐξέλη σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν τι δύσουσι Μιλτιάδη ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενεύντο, οἱ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο, ἀλλα τὲ ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἐσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπιμαχὸν τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἀμα νυκτὶ ἐξηείρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἄρχαίου.

134. 'Εσ μὲν δὴ τοσότῳ τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὡδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδη ἀπορέουσι ἐλθείν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐσύσαν μὲν Παρὶν γένος, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν ταὐτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὅψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεύσαι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεται Πάρον ἑλεῖν, τά ἀν αὐτὴ ὑποθήται, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολώνον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρον Δήμαρτρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοίξαι, ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἴναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὁ τι δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντὸς, εἰτε κινήσοντα τι τῶν ἀκινήτων εἰτε ὁ τι δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα: πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσι τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτῶν ὑπελθοῦσης ὁπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδὸν ἱεσθαι, 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 σπασθῆναι· οὐ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπιτάσαι λέγουσι.

135. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἐχὼν ἀπέπλεε ὁπίσω, ὡς ἤρματα Ἀθηναίοις ἀγῶν ὤφτε Πάρον προσκητησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάροι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποξάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμώ Μιλτιάδη καθηγήσατο, βουλόμενοι μὲν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρησάθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπτοι εἰς Δελφοὺς ὡς σφαίρα ἡσυχιν τῆς πολιορκίης ἐσχε ἐπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησμένους εἰ καταχρίζονται τὴν ὑποξάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνον ἀρρητὰ ἢ ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδη. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη ὤρκ ἑα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμών εἶναι τὴν αἰτίν τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτὰν μὴ εῦ, φανῖναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν καθηγεμόνα.

136. Παρίσιοι μὲν δὴ ταύτα Ἰ Ἀθηναίοι ἔχρισε· Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἐσχον ἐν στόμασι οὐ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Εὐάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ύπὸ τὸν δήμου Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἴνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογεῖτο· ἢν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὡςτε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέουτο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶν γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένου καὶ τῆν Δήμουν αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἔλον Δήμων τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοις. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ξημώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις, Μιλτιάδης μὲν

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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.
μετὰ ταύτα σφακελίσαντος τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπεύσας τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

137. Δῆμον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὁδὲ ἐσχέ. Πελασγοὶ ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἶτε δὲ δἰκαίως εἶτε ἄδικως· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, διτὶ Ἐκαταιός μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρος ἐφήσε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις λέγων ἄδικως· ἐπείτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χάρην, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰμησσῶν ἐδοσάν οἰκήσαι μισθοῦ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἐληλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὖ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἱμερὸν τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι λέγονσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι· κατοικήμενοι γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰμησσῶ, ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμωμένους ἄδικείως τάδε. φοιτάν γὰρ αἰεὶ τᾶς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ’ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔννεακρονοῦν οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τούτων τῶν χρόνου σφίσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἔλλησι· Ἐλλησι οἰκέτας· ὥς δὲ ἐλθοῦν αὐταῖ, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὑβρίσει τε καὶ ὀλγωρίᾳ βιᾶσθαι σφέας· καὶ ταύτα μέντοι σφί οὐκ ἀποχράν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ. ἐωντοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνων ἀνδρῶν ἀμέινονας, ὄσῳ, παρεδὼν ἐωτοῖς ἀποκτείναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἐτεί σφέας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελήσαι, ἀλλὰ σφί

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1 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 Hagesandrus 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.

\(^1\) S.E. of Athens, near the Ilissus.
προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξεύηναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἔκχωρήσαντας ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Δήμουν. ἐκείνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταίος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες.

138. Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὕτω Αἴμουν τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν 'Αρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρώνι ἀγοῦσας ὀρτήν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναίκας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπαζόντες τοπέων πολλάς οἴκουντο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς Δήμουν ἀγαγόντες παλλακάς εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ αἱ γυναίκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσαν τε τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παιδάς. οἱ δὲ οὕτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναίκῶν παισὶ ἤθελον, εἰ τε τύπτοτο τις αὐτῶν ὕπ’ ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοήθεων τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεων ἀλλήλοις· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παιδεῖς ἐδικαιέναι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτειν. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐσυντοῦσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφιβολευομένοι δεινόν τι ἔσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγνώσκοις σφίςι τε βοηθεῖν οἱ παιδεῖς πρὸς τῶν κουριδεῶν γυναικῶν τοὺς παιδάς καὶ τοὺτοις αὐτικὰ ἄρχειν πειρᾶτο, τί δὴ ἄνδροθέντες δήθεν ποιήσουσι. ἔνθαυτα ἐδοξὲ σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παιδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τοῦτον, τὸ ἐργασάντο αἱ γυναίκες τοὺς ἁμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαί, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Δήμνια καλέσθαι.

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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 τούσ Πελασγοῖς τοὺς σφετέρους παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας οὗτε γῆς καρπὸν ἐφερε οὗτε γυναῖκες τε καὶ ποῦμναι δμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ καὶ ἀπαιδή ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔσπερον λύσιν τινὰ αὐτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας έκέλευε Ἀθηναίοις δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοῖ 'Ἀθηναίοι δικάσωσι. ἦλθον τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανήῳ κλίνῃ στρώσαντες ὡς εἰχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλένη ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν. οἱ δὲ Πε- λασγοὶ υπολαβόντες εἶπαν "Ἐπεάν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερδὸν ἐξανύσῃ νηῆς ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν," ἐπιστάμενοι τὸντο εἶναι ἄδικατον γενέσθαι. ἦ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νόστον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου.

140. Τότε μὲν τοιαύτα ἐτεσί δὲ κάρτα πολ- λοῖσι ύστερον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσόνησος ἡ ἐπ 'Ελλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο υπὸ Ἀθηναίοις, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κύμωνος ἐτησίεων ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηῆ κατανύσας ἐς 'Ελαιούντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσόνησῳ ἐς Λήμνον προηγόρευε ἐξεναι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τοὺς Πελασγοῖς, ἀναμιμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἥλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελεί- εσθαι. Ἡφαιστίες μὲν νῦν ἐπείθοντο, Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέσαν, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὕτως παρέστη- σαν. οὕτω δὴ τὴν Λήμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.
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. Ἔπει δὲ ἀγγελὶ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τὸν Τστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπτων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὰν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσουν ἐκάστοις ἥ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδούνετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἄριστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευμένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἐτεί Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἠγεμονίας, ὡς δὲι μιν ἀποδέξασθαι βασιλεὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον ὑπὸ στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἡ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες 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,¹ 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,

¹ 489-487.
προτέρης γυναίκος, Γοβρύνω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἐτεροὶ τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης. ἐόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαξον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατος τε εἰς παντὸς τὸ γόνον καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενον εἴη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχήν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἴη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖς Πέρσαις τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

3. Δαρείου δὲ οὖκ ἀποδεικνυμένου καὶ γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τῶντο τούτοις καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀριστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείης καὶ φυγήν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐς βασιλείης ἐκ Δακεδαλίου τῶν Δαρείου παῖδων τὴν διαφορήν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔλεγεν ἐπεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἢ ἡ βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτη ἕοντι Δαρείῳ οὖκ ὡς ὁ δικαίως ἐς ἄλλοις τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεί γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔσθη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος ὡς πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὑψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἐκεῖξιν τῆς βασιλείης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεως τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνὸς ὁ Δαρείος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλεύσαι μιν ἄπεδεξε. δοκεῖ εἰς τὸ μου, καὶ ἀνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἀν Ξέρξης· ἡ γὰρ Ἀτόσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν 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 Aristaon 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. Ἀποδεξάς δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσην Ἐρέξα
Δαρείος ὀρμάτῳ στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ
tαῦτα τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ
ἐτεὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον,
βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἦξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα
ἐτεῖς, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς
ἀπεστεώτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις τιμωρή-
σασθαι.

5. Ἀποδανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιλικὴ ἀν
εχώρησε ἐς τὸν παιδὰ τὸν ἐκείνου Ἐρέξην. ὁ
tοῦν Ἐρέξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς
πρόθυμος ἦν καὶ ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ
Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐποίεστο στρατιῆς ἀγέρσιν. παρεών
dὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων
Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρνεω, ὅς ἦν Ἐρέξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς
Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφής παῖς, τοιοῦτον λόγον εἰςχετο,
λέγων “Δέσποτα, οὐκ ὦκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους
ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ
δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τὸ μὲν ἐν
ταῦτα πρήσσοις τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις; ἡμερώσας
dὲ Αἰγυπτοῦ τὴν ἐξυβρίσσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ
tὰς Ἀθηναῖ, ἕνα λόγος τὸ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνδρῶτων
ἀγαθός, καὶ τις υἱὸν φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν
τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.” οὕτως μὲν οἱ ο λόγος
ἡς τιμωρῶς τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην
ποιεσκετο τὴν, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς
eἰς χώρη, καὶ δεύδρα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα,
ἀρετὴν τε ἀκρη, βασιλεῖ τε μοῦνοι θυντῶν ἢι
ἐκτήσαται.

6. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἰα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς
ἐώς καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἰναι.
χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπειο τοῦτο 304
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

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\(^1\) 521–485.

\(^2\) Some take the Greek to mean "this argument was his helper"; but the statement seems rather pointless.
καὶ ἀλλὰ
οὶ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐσ τὸ πείθεσθαι Ἐρέξην.
τούτῳ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίης παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευ-
adέων ἀπηγμένοι ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα
πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα.
οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλίης βασιλέες.
τούτῳ δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναμεθηκότες ἐς
Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἔχομενοι τῶν καὶ
οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτους ἔτι πλέον
προσωρέγοντό οἱ ἔχοντες Ὅνομάκριτον ἄνδρα
Ἀθηναίον, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν
τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἐχθρὴν προ-
katalusάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου
tοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὅνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἁθηνέων,
ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ ἄλοις ὑπὸ Δάσου τοῦ Ἐρμιονέως
ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμῶν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ
Αήμωρ ἐπικείμεναι νήσοι ἀφαίρεσατο κατὰ τῆς
θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξῆλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, προ-
tερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβᾶς
ὁκὼς ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὑπὶ τὴν βασιλέας, λεγόντων
tῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτοῦ σημύνους λόγους,
kατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν ἕι μέν τι ένεοι σφάλμα
φέρου τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ
dὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τὸν τε
Ἑλλησποντοῦ ὡς ξευχθήναι χρεὸν εἰς ὕπ' ἀνδρὸς
Πέρσεως, τὴν τε ἐλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὕτως τε
dὲ χρησμώδεων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρα-
tίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

7. Ὡς δὲ ἄνεγνωσθη Ἐρέξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν

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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 mes-
sengers out of Thessaly from the Aleuadae (who
were princes of Thessaly) with all earnestness in-
viting 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,\(^1\)
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\(^2\) 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 when-
soever 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 ex-
pedition 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.
θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρώτα στρατηγὴν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτοις μὲν νῦν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Ἀγυπτίῳ πᾶσαν πολλὰν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἥν, ἐπιτράπετέ 'Αχαίμενεὶ ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδὶ. Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νῦν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αγυπτίῳ χρόνῳ μετέτειται ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνήρ Δίβυς.

8. Ἐρέξης δὲ μετὰ Αιγυπτίου ἅλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἀξεσθαί τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀριστῶν ἐποίετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πῦθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εἶπη τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέγθησαν, ἐλέξει Ἐρέξης τάδε. "Ἀνδρεῖς Πέρσαι, οὐτ' αὐτὸς κατηγοροῦμαι νόμων τόνδε ἐν υἱῶν τίθεις, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσσομαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὔδαμα κω ἡτρεμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἤγεμονίνην τὴνδε παρὰ Μῆδων, Κύρου κατελύσατος Ἀστυνάγεα: ἀλλὰ θέος τε οὕτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῖσι ὑμῖν πολλὰ ἐπέτουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νῦν Κῦρος καὶ Καμβύςσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένουσι εὐ ὑμᾶς ἀν τις λέγοι. ἔγώ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκος μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τίδε μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσησι: φροντίζων δὲ εὐρύσκω ἀμα μὲν κῦδος τε ὑμῖν προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα ὑμεῖς ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην τε, ἀμα δὲ τιμωρήσει τε καὶ τίς θυμομένην. διὸ υμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνελέξα, ἵνα το νοεῖ πρήσσειν.
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 lordship 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.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

υπερθέωμαι ύμιν' μέλλω ξεύζας τὸν Ἑλλησποντὸν ἐλαῖν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ἐυρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίοις τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν. ὥραντε μὲν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρεῖον ἰθύνοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι: ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀλλων Περσῶν οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἡ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρῶσω τὰς Ἀθηνας, ὅι' γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἀδίκα ποιεύσητε. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἑλθόντες, ἀμα Ἀρισταγόρη τῷ Μιλησίῳ δοῦλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἐνέπρησαν τὰ τὲ ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά' δευτέρα δὲ ἡμέας οἶνον ἔρχαν ἔς τὴν σφετέριν ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δατίς τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεσθον, τὰ ἐπίστασθε κου πάντες. τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἶνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοις πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγός νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Δίδοι αἰθέρι ὀμορέουσαν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἢλιος ὀμουρὸν ἐσώσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἄλλα σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἀμα ύμῖν μίαν χώρην θησώ, διὰ πάσης διεξελθῶν τῆς Ἐυρώπης. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὡδε ἔχειν, οὗτε τίνα πόλιν ἄνδρῶν οὐδεμίας οὗτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἄνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἶον τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραίρημενων. οὕτω οἱ τε ἡμῖν αἱτίοι έξουσί δοῦλους ζυγόν οἱ τε ἰναίτιοι. οὕμεις δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέουτες χαρίζοιςθε· ἐπειδὰν ύμῖν σημήνω τὸν

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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
χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἦκειν δεῖ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ύμέων χρῆσει παρεῖναι. ὦς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἦκη παρέσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δῶσω οἱ δύρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρον. ποιήτεα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐστὶ οὕτω ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἱδοβουλεύειν ύμῖν δοκεῖ, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ύμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι." ταῦτα εἴπας ἐπαύετο.

9. Μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε "Ὡς δέσποτα, οὐ μοῦνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἀριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὡς τὰ τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκεο ἀριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνας τούς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἑόντας ἀναξίους. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἄν εἰη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἀλλὰ τε ὑβνα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτάσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, "Ελληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίας οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα: τι δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφήν; κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐσοῦς ἀσθενεά· ἐχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παιδας καταστρεψάμενοι, τούτους οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολίες καὶ Δωρίες καλέονται. ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἢδη ἐπειλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίας ἐλάσαντι καὶ δλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθηνας

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,


απικέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἐώθασι Ἑλληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἄβουλότατα πολέμους ἱστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαῖρητησ. ἔπειτα γὰρ ἄλληλοις πόλεμον προεῖποσι, ἐξευρότες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τούτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὡστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ὀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσοκυμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχήν· ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· τοὺς χρήν ἑόντας ὀμογλώσσους κήρυξε τε διαχρωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλους καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἡ μάχης· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμέειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρήν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχερωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοῖν τινιν ὡς χρηστῷ Ἑλλήνες διαχρωμένοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίας γῆς, οὐκ ἤλθον ἐς τοῦτον λόγον ὡστε μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλεις τῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντιώσεςθαι πόλεμον προφέρον, ἀγοντὶ καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ δικαίωσθαι γυνῷ καὶ καταπεφάντευτες ἄβουλίᾳ ἐλθοιες ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοι εἰν ὦς εἰμὲν ἄνθρωπον ἀριστοὶ τὰ πολέμια. ἐστὼ δ' ὧν μηδὲν ὀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἄνθρωποι φιλεῖς γίνεσθαι.

10. Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλείψας τὴν Ἐρέξεω γυνῶμην ἐπέταυτο. σιωπῶντον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμῶντων γυνῶμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίθεν τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Τστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ἐρέξη, τῷ δὲ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ, 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 foolhardy enough to do battle with us, they would be taught that we are the greatest warriors on 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,
λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντίεων ἀλλήληςι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἵρεόμενον ἔλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεὶ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χράσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὡσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἐωτοῦ οὗ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῖ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀνδρὰς οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἀστυ νέμοντας. ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενος τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. οὐ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μέλλεις ἐπὶ ἀνδρὰς στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας Ἡ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἀριστοῖ καὶ κατὰ γην λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνεστὶ δεινὸν, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. ξεύξας φης τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ἑὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε σε ἦτοι κατὰ γην ἥ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἑσσωθῆναι, ἥ καὶ κατὰ ἀμφότερα: οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἀλκιμοῖ, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιῇ τῇ τοσαύτῃ σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρενεὶ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθη- ναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκὼς ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἢν τῇτι ὑμοὶ ἐμβάλοσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίᾳ πλέσωσι ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον καὶ ἔπεται λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τούτῳ δὴ βασιλεὺς γίνεται δεινόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ σοφή οἰκητὴ αὐτὸς ταύτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶνον κοτὲ ἥμεας ὀλίγου 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\(^1\) 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 ξεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Ὄρηκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἡστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσας τὸν πόρον, τοῖς ἐπετέραττο ἡ φυλακή τῶν γεφυρῶν τοῦ Ἡστρον. καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαίος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἶ ἐπέσπευτο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἦναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἀν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινῶν, ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέως πρήγματα γεγενήσθαι. σὺ δὲν μὴ βούλευς ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἔσοψῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔμοι πεῖθευ. νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον' αὕτης δὲ, ὅταν τῷ δοκεῖ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωτοῦ προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀρίστα. τὸ γὰρ εὐ βούλευσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω εὖν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθήναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἢσον εὐ, ἐσσωταί δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βούλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπισποιτο, εὐρῆμα εὐρηκε, ἢσον δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὅρας τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ξῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ οἱ θεὸς οὐδὲ εὰ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κνίζει· ὅρας δὲ ὁς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα: φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιὸν ὡς ἐπειν ἵππος οἱ θεὸς φθονῆσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἢ βροντῆν, δι᾽ ὃν ἐφθάρησαν ἀναξίως ἐσωτῆν: οὐ γὰρ εὰ φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἐσωτῆν. ἐπειδήθηναι μὲν νῦν πάν πρήγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι
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.
μεγάλας φιλέουν τή γίνεσθαι· εν δέ τῷ ἐπισχῆν ἔνεστι ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραντικά δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. σοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς συμβουλεύω· σὺ δέ, ὁ παί Γοβρύεως Μαρδόνιε, παύσαι λέγων λόγους ματαῖον περὶ Ἀλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἡ Ἐλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλεέω στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦτον εἶνεκα δοκέως μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν ἐκτείνειν. μὴ γὰρ οὕτω γενηται. διαβολή γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰς τῶν ἄδικεύοντες, εἰς δὲ τῷ ἄδικεύομενος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἄδικεύει οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορεών, ὁ δὲ ἄδικεύει ἀποπειθόμενος πρὶν ἡ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπειών τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄδικεύεται, διαβληθεῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἐτέρου κακὸς εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτός ἐν ἠθεσὶ τοῖς Περσεῖς μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρους παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτες αὐτῶς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενος τε ἀνδρας τοὺς θέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιῆς ὀκόσημα τινὰ βούλειι. καὶ ἢν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλεί τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινόθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγὼ· ἢν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δὲ σφί καὶ σὺ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνευν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀκουσθεῖ τινὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σὲ γε ἐν τῇ Ἀλκεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον 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 Teïspes son of Achaemenes (except that the first "Teïspes" 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 ofArsames, who was the son of Teı̈spes, who was the son of Cyrus, who was the son of Cambyses, who was the son of Teı̈spes, who was the son of Achæmenes,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.
HERODOTUS

tῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὖτω ώς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖ τε ὁνθρωποὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφαμένου καλέονται.”

12. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξην ἐκνιφῆ ἡ Ἀρταβά
νου γνώμῃ νυκτὶ δὲ βουλή διδοὺς πάγχυ εὐρισκὲ
οὶ οὗ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
dedoμένων δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ
κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὡσιν τοινύς, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ
Περσέων' ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀνδρά οἱ ἐπιστάντα
μέγαν τα καὶ εὐειδά εἶπεῖν “Μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεςιν,
ὡ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
προείπτας ἄλλες Πέρσας στρατὸν; οὔτε δὲν μετα-
βουλευόμενος ποιεῖς εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενος τοι
πάρα ἀλλ' ὦσπερ τῆς ἤμερῆς ἐβουλεύσασα ποιεῖν,
ταύτην ἐθι τῶν ὄνων.”

13. Τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης
ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὀνείρου μὲν
τούτων λόγων οὐδένα ἐποίεετο, ὡς Περσέων
συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἐλέεξε σφι
τάδε. “Ἀνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἐχεῖτε ὅτι
ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι’’ φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμε-
ωυτὸ πρῶτα οὖκ ἄνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεόμενοι
ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖιν οὐδένα χρόνον μεν ἀπέχονται.
ἀκούσαντι μεντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης
παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεισε, ὡςτε ἀεικέστερα
ἀπορρίψαι ἐπεα ἐς ἀνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἡ χρεὼ
νῦν μέντοι συγγνούς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμη.
ὡς ὡν μεταδεδομένου μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦσυχοι ἔστε.”

14. Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἢκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες

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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,
Ο Ηρόδωτος είπε: «Τὸ τόπον τὸ Αρτάβανον κατυπνομένον ἐλεγε ἐπιστάν "Ων όποιον τῷ Ἐρέτρι τῆς κοινῆς τῆς στρατηγικῆς καὶ τὰ ἔτη ἐπεξεργασμένος λόγον ὡς παρ’ ὀφθαλμὸς ἀκούσας; εῦνως τῷ Ισθιᾷ τῆς καὶ περί μὴ ἀπήφθει στρατηγικῆς, τὰ διὸ ξένων ἀνασχημένος ὄνομα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ὅτι καὶ ταπεινὸς ὡς καὶ τάχος ἐσυγχρόνος.»

15. Ἐρέτρις μὲν περίδης γενόμενος τῇ ὤψι ἀνά τε ἐδραμὴ εἰς τῆς κοινῆς καὶ πέμπει ἀγγελὸν ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα: ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἐλεγε Ἐρέτρις τάδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραντική μὲν ὁμοίως ἐσωφρόνου εἰπας εἰς σὲ μάταια ἐπεξεργασμένος ἐν οὐκ ἐπεκίνησα μὲν ὁμοίως ἐν συμμιᾶσι βολάσθηκα, μετὰ μέντοις ὁ πολύν χρόνον μετέχον, ἐγὼν δὲ ταῦτα μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεκιόνθηκα. οὐκώς ὑπεράντος τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα Βολόμενος ποιείν τετραμμένω γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεχωκότι ἐπιφοιτεόν ὁνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὖν γιὰν συνεπαίξειν ποιεῖν με ταῦτα νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλθῆκαν οἶχεται. εἰ θὸς οὗτος ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηγικὴν ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοι τὼν τῶν τοῦτο ὁνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρύσκω δὲ ὅδ' ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκέψιν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδυς μετὰ τῶν ὀξον ἑκεῖνος καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνομέσειας."

16. Ἐρέτρις μὲν ταῦτα οἱ ἐλεγε: "Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρῶτω καταστικῆς θεωμόμενος, οὐκ οὐκ ἀξιοῦμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέων θρόνον ἐξεσθαί, τέλος ὡς ἡμαγκazıντο εἰπας τάδε ἐποιεῖ τὸ κατελθοῦμενον. "Ἰσον
BOOK VII. 14–16

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' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονεῖν τε εὐ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλιάς φάσι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περιορᾶν φύσι τῇ ἐωτῆς χρᾶσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἐδακε λύπη ὅσον γνωμεών δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσης, τῆς μὲν ὑβριν αὐχανούσης, τῆς δὲ καταπανούσης καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακῶν εἰθ διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίξησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρέοντος, τοιούτων προκειμενέων γνωμεῶν ὑπ' ἡν σφαλερωτῆς σεωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσης ἀναιρεός. υῦν δὲν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνων, φης τοι μετέντυ τὸν ἔπʼ Ἐλλήνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὁιερων θεοῦ τινος πομπῆ, οὐκ ἑῳτά τε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὔ δε ταύτα ἐστὶ, ὁ παῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γAPT ϵὲ ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἶδά σε ἐγὼ διδάξῳ, ἐτεσὶ σεῦ πολλοῦσι πρεσβύτερος ἐῶν· πεπλανηθῆσαι αὐτὰς μάλιστα ἐώθασι οἱ ψυχεῖ τῶν ὀνειρῶν, τὰς τῆς ἡμέρης φροντίζει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τᾶς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμερᾶς ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἰχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας. εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἔστι τούτῳ τοιοῦτο οἶδον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸ συλλαβῶν εἰρήνας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελεύομενον. φανήναι δὲ οὔδὲν μάλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἥ ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐμῆν, οὔδε τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοιτῇ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυμένῳ ἡ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ, εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανήναι. οὖ 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, ὃ τι δὴ κοτε ἐστὶ, τὸ ἐπιφανώμενον
tοι ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, ὡστε δόξης ἐμὲ ὅρων σὲ εἶναι, τῇ
σῇ ἐσθήτῃ τεκμαιρόμενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ
λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξίωσει ἐπιφανήναι, οὔτε ἂν
τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθήτα ἔχω οὔτε ἂν τὴν σὴν, οὐδὲ ἐπι-
φοιτήσει, τούτῳ ἦδη μαθητέων ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ
ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνεχέως, φαίνην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς
θεῖον εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τοι ὀὔτω δεδοκηται γίνεσθαι
καὶ οὐκ οἶλα τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἦδη δεὶ ἐμὲ
ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνώσαι, φέρε, τοῦτων ἐς ἐμὲν
ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐμοῖ. μέχρι δὲ τοῦτον
τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι."

17. Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Αρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην
ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον.
ἐνδός δὲ τὴν Ξέρξην ἐσθήτα καὶ ἵπομενὸς ἐς
τοῦ βασιληίου θρόνου ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοίτων
ἐποίετο, ὡλθὲ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῶν ὀνειρον τὸ
καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρτα-
βάνου εἶπε: "Ἀρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἰς ὁ ἀποστεύδων
Ξέρξην στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ
κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε
ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νῦν καταπροξεῖαι ἀποτράπων τὸ
χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεὶ ἀνηκουστέοντα
παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδῆλωται."

18. Ταῦτα τε ἔδοκεν Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὀνειρον
ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖς σεισμοῖς ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ
μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. καὶ δς ἄμβωσας μέγα
ἀναθρόσκει, καὶ παρείσομενος Ξέρξη, ὡς τὴν ὤψιν
οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεώμενος, δεύτερα οἱ
λέγει τάδε. "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ἰδὼν ἠδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγ-
ματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, οὐκ ἔως 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 είκειν, ἐπιστάμενος δ' ἡκὼν εἶν τοι πολλοῖς ἐπιθυμεῖν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἐπηρήξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἄιδιόπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀπρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἔπει δὲ δαίμονι τις γίνεται ὀρμή, καὶ Ἑλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὴ θεῆλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμερον μὲν Πέρσης τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπώμενα, χρᾶσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖς ἐκ σεό πρώτοις προειρημένουσι ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεχεσθεὶ μηδέν." τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὅψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ἑρέξῃς τε ὑπερετήθετο ταῦτα Πέρσης, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεῦδων μοῦνος ἔφαινετο, τότε ἐπισπεῦδων φανερὸς ἦν.

19. Ὀρμημένω δὲ Ἑρέξῃ στρατηλατεύειν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτη ὅψις ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τέ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἢ δὲ ὅψις ἦν ἢδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἑρέξῃς ἐστεφανώθηκε ἐλαίης θαλλῳ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφαινοθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρίμαντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνήρ ἐς τὴν ἁρχὴν τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἀπελά- σας εἴχε προθυμίᾳ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, θέλων αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ἑρέξῃς τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ποιεῖται, χώρου πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἥπειρου.
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. 'Απὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἐτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατηγῆς τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατηγῆ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐτεὶ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε χειρὶ μεγάλη πλήθεος. στόλῳν γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ὕδειν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὖτος ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τούτων μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίουσ εἰδόκουν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἐσβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἰνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείως ἐτιμωρεῖτο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀττιδέαν ὡς 'Ἰλιου, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρόν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήκας καταστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἠλασαν.

21. Αὐταί αἱ πάσαι οὐδ' εἰ ἔτεραι πρὸς ταύτης προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι μὴς τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀξίαι. τῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐθνος ἐπὶ τήν Ἐλλάδα Ξέρης ἠκολούθη; κοίλον δὲ πινόμενον μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλυτο, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οὐ δὲ ἐσεύδον ἑτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπτοσ προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπηπαγωγά πλοιά ἀμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ἔτη τε καὶ νέας.

22. Καὶ τούτο μὲν, ὡς προσπτησάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν προετοιμά-

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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, wherefor 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 war-ships 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,

\(^1\) See How and Wells, 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, 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 no doubt actually made and used. Traces of it are said to exist. See, e.g. How and Wells, ad loc.
κρημνοί τοῦ ὅρυγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρείχον· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἐμελλὲ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοινίκες σοφίην ἐν τε τοισι ἀλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὠρυσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυγος ποιεύμενος διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἐδεε αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυγα γενέσθαι, προβαϊνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνήγον οἰεῖ· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἀλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαύτα λειμῶν ἑστι, ἵνα σφι ἄγορη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληθεσμένοι.

24. Ὅς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον ἐφίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἶνεκεν αὐτὸ Ἔρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευς, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευς διώρυγα τῇ θαλάσσῃ εὕρος ὡς δύο τριήρεις πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἑλαστρεομέναις. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τοῦτοισι, τοῖσὶ περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ξεύζαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

25. Ταύτα μὲν νυν ὦντω ἐποίεει, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τὰς γεφυρὰς βύβλινα τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιᾷ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λιμήνειῃ ἡ στρατιᾷ μηδὲ τὰ υποξύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα· ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεότατον εἴη, ἀλλὰ ἄλλῃ ἀγινέοντας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθμηοισι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης παυταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὥν πλείστον 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. 2

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.
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tis te eon anordon Poubios kai kosa xhrimatata ektymenos epagogelloito tauta. o de eite av "O basileu, ou'tos esti os tov ton patera Darenouv edorhamato tη platanistw tη xrusei' kai tη ampe'lo' os kai vin esti prwto's anprowon ploutw ton hmeis' idmen meta se.'

28. Tovn epetoiv to telenuvloi Erxeis avto's devetera eireto Poubion okosa oi eih chrimatata. o de eite "O basileu, ou'te se apekry'wou ou'te skhpsi'mai to mi eidevai tηn emewtovn ouvini, al' epistamenvos toi atrakewos katalxevo. epeite gar tachista se epistomini eti thalassan katabainonta tηn Ellhnida, boulomenvos ton do'vnav eis ton pol geom xhrimatata exemavhanav, kai euvron logizomenos arghvriou men duo xiliadas eouslyas mou talantwv, xrusio'n de tetrakosias muriadas statyrou Darenikon epideousas eptata xiliadov. kai toutois ei ev' dwpromai, aut' o de mou apo anbropovn te kai geopetovn arkeón esti bios.'

29. 'O men tauta eleve, Erxeis de hsthies tou'si eiremenoisi eite 'Exine Lunde, evω epeite exiilhovn tηn Perisida xwró'ni, oudevi anbri sunemixa eis tode ostis ehele'se xeinvna protheivn stratow tω emw, oudev ostis es ephiv tηn emi'n katastas autoepangyelotos eis ton pol geom emi' ehele'se sypbalalei'nav xhrimatata, exw sev. su de kai xeivnav sa megalo's stratov ton emw kai xhrimatata megala epaggeleλειαi. soi onn evω antυ autowv γe'rea toidei'diwm xeivno'te se poievmai emw kai tas tetrakosias muriadas tov statyrov apopli'so par' e'mewntovn douv tas eptata xiliadas, ina mi' toi epi'deeves eisoi ai tetrakosias muriadas eptata xiliad-
BOOK VII. 27-29

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\(^1\) 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

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\(^{1}\) The Daric stater was equivalent to about 22s. of our money.
δων, ἄλλα ἢ τοι ἀπαρτιλογή ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. ἐκτησό τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐκτῆσαο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῖντι οὔτε ἐσ τὸ παρεδὼ οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει."

30. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. Ἀνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἄλες γίνονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσαίς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίας· ἐν τῇ Δύκοσ ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἄφαιρέται, ἐπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαίνομενος ἐκδιδοὶ καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐροὺς τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἐνθα στήλη καταπετηγυία, σταθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὐροὺς.

31. Ὁς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχυζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερῆν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιήν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβήναι τὸν Μαιάνδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ίέναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβου πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοσεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυρῶν ποιεῖσι, ταύτην ἰδὼν ὁ Εέρξης τὴν ὀδὸν εὕρε πλατάνιστο, τὴν κάλλεος ἐίνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσέω καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀἰ δρι ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἅστυ.

32. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὑδώρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεί παρα-
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.
σκευάζειν: πλὴν οὔτε ἐς 'Αθῆνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν ἀπέσεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτῆσιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ, τῶνδε δὲ εἶνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέσεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ' ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχυ ἔδοκε καὶ τὸ δεῖσαντας δῶσειν βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τὸ τούτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβέως ἔσεμπτε.

33. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὄς ἔλον ἐς Ἀβύδου. οὐ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἔλλησποντον ἐξεύγυνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἁσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἔλλησποντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτῇ παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἐνθα μετὰ ταῦτα, χρόνῳ ύστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξαυθίππου τοῦ Ἀρέφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ξύντα πρὸς σαινίδα διεπασσάλευσαν, δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἱρὸν ἐς Ἐλαιώντα ἀγινόμενος γυναίκας ἀθέμιστα ἐρδέσκε.

34. 'Ες ταύτην ὄν τὴν ἀκτῆν εξ Ἀβύδου ὄρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖς προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολινῷ Φοίνικες, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνῃν Ἀἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι εξ Ἀβύδου εἰς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψε τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε.

35. 'Ως δ' ἐπύθετο Ἑρέξης, δεινᾶ ποιεύμενος τοῦ Ἔλλησποντον ἐκέλευσε τρικοσιάς ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγᾶς καὶ κατεῖναι εἰς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων

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1 Between the modern bays of Zemenik (Sestos) and Kilia: 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\(^1\) 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 Artaïctes 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.\(^2\) 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

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\(^1\) 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.
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ζεύγος. ἦδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγεάς ἀμα τοῦτοι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλησπόντουν. ἐντελλέτο δὲ ὅν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρα τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα: ""Ὡ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοῦ δίκην ἐπιτιθεὶς τὴν, ὅτι μν ἠδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασίλειος μὲν Ἑρέξης διαβήσεται σε, ἢ τε σύ γε βούλη ἢν τε μή σοι δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θέει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ." τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐντελέτητο τοῦτοις ζημιοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξῃ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

36. Καὶ οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῦτι προσέκειτο αὐτῇ ἡ ἄχαρις τιμή, τὰς δὲ ἅλλας ἀρχιτεκτονεῖς ἐξεύγυνσαν. ἐξεύγυνσαν δὲ ὅδε, πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριώρες συνθέντες, ὕπο μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Βυζείνου πόντου ἐξήκοντα τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὕπο δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἶνεκεν τῶν ἐσωθεὶ ἐκπυνότων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εἶνεκα. διέκπλοιον δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλυποι τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντου ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοῖοις 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 ἐπικαρσίαι, and those of the lower or S.W. one were κατὰ ρόον. 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.¹ 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.

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σαντες κατετεινου εκ γης στρεβλούντες ονοματικος ξυλόσκοι τα οπλα, ουκετι χωρίς έκατερα ταξινομησεις, αλλα δυο μεν λευκολινου δασάμενοι εστησαν τεσσερα δε των βυβλινων. παχυτης μεν εν τη αυτη και καλλονη, κατα λόγον δε εμβριθεστης της αυτης λινης του ταλαντου ο πηχυς ελλης. επειδη δε εγεφυρωθη ο πορος, κορμοις ξυλων καταπροσαντες και ποιησαντες άσους της σχεδίης τω ευρει κοσμω ετιθεσαν κατυπερθε των οπλων του τόνου, θεντες δε επεξης ενθαυτα αυτις επεξευγνυν ποιησαντες δε ταυτα ιλη έπεφορησαν, κοσμω δε θεντες και την ιλην γην έπεφορησαν, κατανάξαντες δε και την γην φραγμον παρειρυσαν ένθεν και ένθεν, ίνα μη φοβηθατι τα υποζυγια της θαλασσαν υπερρωντα και οι άπποι.

37. 'Ωσ δε τα των γεφυρεων κατεσκευαστο και τα περι των 'Αθων, οι τε χυτοι περι τα στόματα της διώρυχος, οι της ρηχης εινεκεν εποιηθησαν, ίνα μη πιμπληται τα στόματα του ορυγματος, και αυτη η διωρυξ παντελεως πεποιημενη άγγελλετο, ένθαυτα χειμερίσας άμα τω έαρ παρεσκευασμενος ο στρατος εκ των Σαρδιων ορματο ελων εσ 'Αβυδον ορμημενω δε οι ο ήλιος έκλιπτων την εκ του ουρανου έδρην αφαινης ήν ουτε επινεφελων έοντων αιθριης τε τα μαλιστα, άντι ημερης τε νυξ έγενετο. ίδοντι δε και μαθουτι τουτο τω Ξερξη επιμελης έγνενετο, και ειρετο τους Μάγους το θελει προφαινειν το φάσμα. οι δε εφραζον ως 'Ελλης προδεικνυει ο θεος εκλειψων

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

3 Probably about the middle of April 480.
τῶν πολίων, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἐλλήνων προ- δέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οἱ Ἑρέξεως περιχαρῆς ἔως ἐποίετο τὴν ἐλασίν.

38. Ὁ δ' ἔξηλαννε τὴν στρατινήν, Πύθιος ὁ Ἀνδρὸς καταρρωθήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθείς τε τοῖς δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ἑρέξεων ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ω δέσποτα, χρήσασαν τι σεν βουλούμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐδώ υπουργῆσαι, ἔμοι δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ἑρέξεως δὲ πάν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρήσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδήθη, ἔφη τε υπουργήσει καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὦ δὲ ἐπείτε ταῦτα ἴκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρση- σας τάδε. "Ω δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσι μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἀμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα. σὺ δὲ, ὁ βασιλεύ, ἔμε ἐς τόδε ἥλικης ἴκουτα οἰκτείρας τῶν μοι παίδων ἐνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἤμεν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνὸς· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγεν ἀμα σεωτυκαὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσεις ὄπισω."

39. Κάρτα τε ἑθυμώθη ὁ Ἑρέξεως καὶ ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. "Ω κακε ἀνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτὸλμησας, ἐμεύ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἕλλαδα καὶ ἄγοντος παίδας ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀδελφεύσεις καὶ οἰκηίοις καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, ἐων ἐμὸς δούλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικία αὕτη τῇ γυναικί συν- ἐπεσθαι; εὐ ὑν τὸδ ἔξεπιστασο, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοι ὁ θυμός, ὅς χρηστᾶ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναύτια δὲ τοῦτοι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδεῖ. ὦτε μὲν νῦν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἑτέρα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλει, εὐεργεσίησι 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
βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι: ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναίδεστερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμψει, ἔλασσο δὲ τῆς ἀξίης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παῖδων ρύεται τὰ ξείνια: τοῦ δὲ ἔνος, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ξημιώ-σει.· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευ τοῖς προσετέκτω ταῦτα πρῆσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παῖδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεβύτατον μέσον δια-ταμεῖσα, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθέειν τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὄδος τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξεῖε τὸν στρατὸν.

40. Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τούτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξῆς οἱ στρατῶις. ἤγεοντο δὲ πρὸ τοῖς μὲν οἱ σκέυοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτων σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοῖων ἐθνῶν ἀναμίξει, οὐ διακεκριμένοι τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισον οὗτοι βασιλεῖ. προηγεύντο μὲν δὴ ἵπποται χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσῶν πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι: μετὰ δὲ αἵμαρχοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένων, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες: μετὰ δὲ ἰρὸι Νησαίοι καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαίοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούτῳ: ἐστὶ πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Νησαῖον τοὺς δὲν δὴ ἱππος τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τούτο. ὃπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἱππῶν ἄρμα Δίος ἰρὸν ἑπετέτακτο, τὸ ἱπποῖ μὲν ἐιλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτὼ, ὃπισθε δὲ αὐ τῶν ἵππων εἴπετο πεζῆ ἡμῖοχος ἔχομενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὔδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν θρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἔπιβαινεί. τούτου δὲ ὃπισθε αὐτὸς Ἐρέξης ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἱππῶν 354
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.
Νησαίων παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἦν οὖν οὕμορα ἡν Πατριάμφης, Ὄτανεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω παῖς.

41. Ἔξηλασε μὲν οὖν ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, οὐκ οἷον λόγος αἰρέου, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἄρμαμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁπισθε αἵμο-φόροι Περσέων οἱ ἁριστοὶ τε καὶ γενναίοτατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχουτε, μετα δὲ ἱππος ἀλλή χίλιῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετα δὲ τὴν ἱππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένου μύριοι. οὕτως πεξις ήν καὶ τοῦτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοίς δόρας ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιάς εἰχον χρυσέας καὶ πέριξ συνεκλησάντω τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τοῦτων ἐόντες ἄργυρεάς ροιάς εἰχον εἰχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιάς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἀγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξης τοῖς δὲ μυρίους ἐπετέτακτο ἱππος Περσέων μυρίης, μετα δὲ τὴν ἱππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους καὶ ἔπειτα δ λοιπὸς ὁμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξης.

42. Ἐποιεῖτο δὲ τὴν ὄδον ἐκ τῆς Λυδίης ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Καίκου καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίνην, ἀπὸ δὲ Καίκου ὁμρώμενος, Κάνης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἁριστηρῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρέεος ἐς Κα-ρήνην πόλιν ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θῆβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειον τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀνταυδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα παραμεζότερον, τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἁριστηρὴν χεῖρα ἤγε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἶ ύπὸ τῇ Ἰδη νῦκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταί τε καὶ πρηστήρες ἐπεστίπτουσι καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὁμιλον διεφθείραν.

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, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμὼν, ἔπειτε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὠδῷ, ἔπελυπτε τὸ ῥέθρον οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιᾷ τε καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσι πινόμενον ἔπι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Χέρξης, ἦς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμων ἀνέβθη ὕμερον ἔχων θείατα τὰ, τεθησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἐκαστὰ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἡλιάδι ἐδυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοᾶς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖς ἦρωσι ἔχαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησάμενοι νυκτὸς φόβος ἦσ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἀμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῖτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργουν Ῥοῖτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥ περ δη Ἀβύδῳ ὄμουρος ἔστι, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκροῦς.

44. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ἐν Χέρξης ἱδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν καὶ προ- επεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολώνων ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντείλαμενον πρότερον βασιλέος, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμόνος ἔθειτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας, θησάμενος δὲ ἵμερθα τῶν νεῶν ἀμιλλαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ.

45. Ὁς δὲ ὁρὰ πάντα μὲν τὸν 'Ελλησπόντου ὕπο τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμένου, πᾶσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἄνθρωπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Χέρξης ἐωτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

46. Μαθῶν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, οὐ τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐκ ἵππος πάντων.
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,¹ 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 ² 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.
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βουλεύων Ἐρέξη στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὄνηρ φρασθεὶς Ἐρέξην δακρύσαντα εἰρετοῦτάδε. "Ω Βασιλεύ, ὡς πολλῶν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὅληγ ρότερον μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωτοῦν δακρύεις." δ ἔδε οἶπε "Ἐσήλθε γὰρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἶν τὸ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἶ τούτων γε ἔόντων τοσοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἐσ ἐκατοστῶν ἔτος περιέσται." δ ὥδε ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἔτερα τούτον παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνῃ πεπόνθαμεν οὐκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὗτο βραχέι βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὗτο ἀνθρώπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὕτε τούτων οὐτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὖ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπαξ τεθνάναι βουλεύσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. αἳ τε γὰρ συμφορὰ προσπίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσι συνταρασσούσαι καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκεῖν εἰναι ποιεῖσθι τὸν βίον. οὗτο ο μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς Ἰωνῆς καταφυγὴ αἱρετῶςτά τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄγγον, ὅ δὲ θεοὶ γλυκῶν γεύσας τὸν αἱώνα φθονέρος ἐν αὐτῶ εὖρισκεται ἐὼν.

47. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπηίης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οὕτων περ σὺ διαιρέαι εἰναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστά ἔχουτες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσον δὲ μοι τόδε εἰ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργής οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἰχεὶς ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίν γνώμην, οὐκ ἐὼν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἡ μετέστης ἂν; φέρε τοῦτο μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ." δ ὥδε ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ω Βασιλεύ, ὃψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ ὁνείρου ὃς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσει, ἔγω δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσ τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ' ἐντὸς

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selled 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
ἐμεωτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅρων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἑόντα πολεμιώτατα.

48. Ἐρέξις δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοία ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεξὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλῆθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἐσεσθαί τοῦ ἠμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἠμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἶναι τὰ ἠμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἀν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχύτητιν ἄγερσιν ποιέοντο.

49. Ὄ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, οὔτε στρατὸν τούτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ' ἂν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἢν δὲ πλεύνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς βαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμήν τοσούτος οὐδαμώθι, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρο-μένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σεν τούτῳ τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυον ἔσται διασώσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκ ἔνα αὐτὸν δεὶ εἶναι τῶν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάσαν την ἣπειρον παρ' ἥν δὴ κομίζεαι. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποι τῶν συμφορέων. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοῦ τοῦ ἔτερου εἰρήμενον τὸ ἔτερον ἐρχομαι ἔρεων. γῆ δὲ πολεμίη τῇδε τοι κατισταταί· εἰ θέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν καταστήναι, τοσοῦτῳ τῷ γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη ὅσφι ἀν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρω, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίας δὲ οὐκ
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 Ἑρέξης τούσιδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σὺ γε τοῦτων ἐκαστα διαιρέας, ἀτὰρ μῆτε πάντα φοβέο μῆτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγειο. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρῆγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσειας ἀν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρέσοντα ἡμιοῦ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρήξων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τοῦτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἴσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἐόντα κἂς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκεῖ μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοῖνυν βουλομένους ποιεῖν ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ παν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγομένους τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεοῦσι οὐ μᾶλα ἔθελει. ὅρας τὰ Περσέων πρῆγματα ἐς ὁ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοῖνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἔμειν γενόμενοι βασιλέες γνώμης ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίησι καὶ σὺ, ἡ μὴ χρεώμενος γνώμης τοιαύτης ἄλλους συμβούλους εἰχον τοιούτων, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐίδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀπαρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρῆγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἔθελε καταρρέσσαθαι. ἦμεις τοῖνυν ὁμοιεύμενοι ἐκεῖνοις ὄρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι

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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 Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὅπισω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν παθόντες. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορεύομεθα, τούτῳ δὲ, τῶν ἂν κοῦ ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἐξομεν· ἐπὶ ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.”

51. Δέγει Ἀρτάβαινος μετὰ ταύτα "'Ω Βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἀρρωδεῖν οὐδὲν ἐὰς πρήγμα, σὺ δὲ μεν συμβουλὴν ἐνδεξαὶ· ἀναγκαῖας γὰρ ἔχει περί πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτείναι. Κύρος δὲ Καμβύσεω 'Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναίων κατεστρέφατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσησι. τούτων οὖν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμί μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἴοι τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ σφέας, ἡν ἔπωνται, δεὶ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδούλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἡ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώται μὲν νων γινόμενοι οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιοται δὲ γινόμενοι οἴοι τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατὴν γίνονται. ἐσθθυμὸν δὲν βάλει καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εῦ εἰρηται, τὸ μὴ ἁμα ἁρχὴ πάν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι."

52. Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταύτα Ξέρξης "'Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναι γνωμέων σφάλλει κατὰ ταύτην ὀδὴ μάλιστα, ὅσ 'Ἰωνας φοβεάτα μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σὺ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατὴ ἐγένετο διαφθείραι καὶ περιποιήσαι, οἵ
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 δικαιοσύνης καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἅχαρι
de ouδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατα-
λήψεις τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδ'
ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερον τι ποιήσειν. οὕτω μηδὲ
tούτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμόν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σῶζε οἶκον
tε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμὴν. σοι γὰρ ἐγὼ
μοῦν ἐκ πάντων σκῆτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω.

53. Ῥαῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας
ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσῶν
tοὺς δοκιμαστάτους· ἐπεί δὲ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγε
σφι τάδε. "Ὡς Πέρσαι, τῶν ἐγὼ υμὲν χρηίζουν
συνελέξα, ἀνδράς τε γενέσθαι ἀγάθους καὶ μὴ
καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσης,
ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε
ἐκαστὸς καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν
ξυνὸν γὰρ πάσι τούτο ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶν
dὲ εἰνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου
ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπὶ ἀνδρας
στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθούς, τῶν ἡν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ
μὴ τις ἡμῶν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῆ κοτε ἀν-
θρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξύμενοι τοῖς
θεοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι λελόγχασιν."

54. Ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο
ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ύστεραίη ἀνέμενον τὸν
ἥλιον ἐθέλουτες ἰδέασθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιήματα
tε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν καταγίζοντες καὶ
μυρσίνης στορνύντες τὴν ὅδον. ὡς δ' ἐπανε-
tελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης
Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχῆν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἢ
μὲν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην
πρῶτον ἢ ἐπὶ τέμμασι τοῖς ἐκεῖνης γένηται.

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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 strewing 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 Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ χρύσεον κρητήρα καὶ Περσικοῦ ξίφος, τὸν ἀκυνάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὖκ ἔχω ἀπρεκέως διακρῖναι οὕτε εἰ τῷ ἠλίῳ ἀνατιθεῖς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὕτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ὕππος ἀπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Ἅγαθον τὰ ὑποξύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηῆ. ἦγεόντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μὺριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένους πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτοις ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἔθνων. ταῦταν μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὕτω, τῇ δὲ υστεραίη πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὕτω. μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἱπποὶ οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε Ἐρέξης καὶ οἱ αἴχμοφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς. καὶ αἱ νεές ἀμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἦκουσα καὶ ὑστατον διαβήναι βασιλέα πάντων.

56. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐπεὶ διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθεῖτο τῶν στρατῶν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβάινοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπτά ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἐπτά εὐφρόνησι, ἐλυσάς ούδενα χρόνου. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ἐρέξεω ἦδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀνύρι εἰπεῖν Ἐλλησπόντου "Ὤ Ζεῦ, τί δή ἀνύρι εἰδόμενος Πέρση καὶ οὖνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ἐρέξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγον πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνέυ τούτων ἐξήν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα."
phial into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl withal, and a Persian sword, that which they call "acinaces." 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 autivaKris appears to have been a short, straight dagger.
57. Ὅσ δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὀδὸν ὀρμημένους τέρας σφὶ ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ἑρέξῃς ἐν οὐδεὶν λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ πέρ εὐσύμβλητον ἐόν· ὕππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγὸν. εὐσύμβλητον ἄν τὴδε τούτῳ ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐμέλλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατικὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα Ἑρέξῃς ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὅπισώ δὲ περὶ ἔως τοῦ τρέχων ἦξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρῳν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἔτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἠχοῦσαν αἰδοία, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος τὰ δὲ θηλές· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἄμφωτέρων λόγων οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς.

58. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἑμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὃ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐστήρην ἐπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἀπίξιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὃ δὲ κατ᾽ ἢπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἢδω τε καὶ ἠλιὼν ἀνατολάς ἐποίεστο τὴν ὀδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχον τὸν Ἔλλης τάφον τῆς 'Αθάμαντος, ἐν ἁριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίνη πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυχάνει ἐδώ Ἀγορή. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τοὺς Μέλανα καλεόμενου καὶ Μέλανα ποταμόν, ὦκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατικῇ τὸ ρέθρον ἀλλὰ ἐπιλύόντα, τοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν διαβάς, ἐπ᾽ οὖ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὕτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει, ἦς πρὸς ἐστήρην, Ἀἰνὸν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα Λίμνην παρεξών, ἐς ὁ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκον.

59. Ὅ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἐρημίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βέει 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 east 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 Ἔβρος έν τῷ τεῖχος τε ἐδέδημητο βασιλῆιον τούτῳ τῷ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φρουρῆς ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστῆκε ὑπὸ Δαρείου έξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἢδοξε δὲν τῷ Πέρζῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτήρος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίεε τάῦτα. τάς μέν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἳ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Πέρζεως ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχή Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκική πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευτᾶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον ἅρη ὀνομαστῇ. οῦ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἤν Κικόνων. ἐς τούτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. οδὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτου τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμῶν ἐποιέετο.

60. Ὅσον μέν υπὲρ ἔκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαύνη ἐβδομίκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τὸν τρόπον συνήγαγον τε ὡς ἐνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἰχον περιέγραψαι ἐξώθεν κύκλον περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντε τοὺς μυρίους αἵμασιν περιέβαλλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὑπὸς ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν· ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀλλοὺς ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἐθναδιέτασσον.

61. Οἶ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἴδε ἤσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὁδὲ ἐςκευασμένου· περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆις εἰχον
the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Dorisseus, 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 kaloeoménous pílous ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθώνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους.1 . . . .

λεπίδος σιδηρέως ὦΜιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξιρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα: ὅπο δὲ φαρετρῶνες ἐκρέμαντο: αἷχμας δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τὸξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὦιστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρεῖχοντο Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Εὔρηξεω γυναικός, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἀρταιοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεύς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βύλου καὶ ἐσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τούτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλεῖπεν ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἀπαῖς ἕως ὁ Κηφεύς ἐρσενός γόνον. ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον.

62. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· Μῆδικὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἢ σκευὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσική. οὶ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρεἰχοντο Τιγρανήν ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι τρὸς πάντων Ἀριοῖ, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ περὶ σφέων ὡδὲ λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατεύομενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κίσσιοι δὲ

1 Stein and others place a lacuna after ποικίλους, supposing some words meaning "cuirasses," e.g. ὅπο δὲ θάρηκας πεποιημένους, "and under them cuirasses made" to look like (ὅψιν) to be omitted; κιθών 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 ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. "Τρικάνιοι δὲ κατὰ περὶ Πέρσαι ἐσπεύσατο, ἤγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγαπανοῦ τῶν Βαβυλῶνος ύστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.

63. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατεύόμενοι περὶ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν εἰχον χάλκια τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινά βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπτήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμᾶς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῆς Αἰγυπτίσης εἰχον, πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρω, καὶ λυνέους θώρηκας. οὕτω δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἐλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαίων. 1 Ἡρόδοτος δὲ σφέων ὅταν ὁ Ἅρταχαῖος.

64. Βακτριοὶ δὲ περὶ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν ἀγχωτᾶτα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχουντες ἐστρατεύόντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν κυρβασίας ἐσὶ δὲν ἀπηγμένας ὅρθᾶς εἰχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄξινας σαγάρις εἰχον. τούτως δὲ ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον: οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τους Σκύθας καλέοντες Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων Ἡρόδοτος ὅταν Ἰστάστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἄταστης τῆς Κύρου.

65. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εὕματα μὲν ἐνεδεκτόκες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἰχον καὶ οίστους καλαμίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἤν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἰνδοὶ, προσετεύχατο δὲ συστρατεύόμενοι Φαρναξάθρη τῷ Ἅρταβάτεω.

1 Stein brackets this sentence, with probability. μεταξὺ in
BOOK VII. 62–65

turbans and not caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians 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, 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 Χαλδαιοί in I. 181.
66. Ἀριοὶ δὲ τόξους μὲν ἐσκευασμένου ἦσαν Μηδικοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περὶ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμην οὐ 'Τδάρνεος. Πάρθου δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδιοι τε καὶ Γανδαρίου καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἀρταβαζοὺς ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνιος ὁ Ἀρταϊοῦ, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

67. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύνναι τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τοξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμματα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὕτως μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάζοντο, ἤγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριῶμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφόν, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνεπρεπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνο ἀνατείνοντα εἰχον, τοξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμαὶ Μηδικάς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτους δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τοξα ἐπιχώρια εἰχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτους δὲ ἄρχοντα παρεῖχοντο Ἀρταύντην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.

68. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ περὶ Πάκτυς. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε, Οὕτως μὲν καὶ Μύκον Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείος, Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Ολοβάζου.

69. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ξειράς ὑπεξωσμένοι ἦσαν, τοξα δὲ παλίντωνα εἰχον πρὸς δεξιά, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τοξα δὲ εἰχον ἐκ φούνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμύνους οἵστοις μικροῦς. ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου δὲς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφοντο πρὸς δὲ αἰχμὰς εἰχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶ τὴν
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 Artaýntes 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.\(^1\) 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

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\(^1\) 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.
οξὺ πεποιημένου τρόπου λόγχης: εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἡμου ἐξηλείφοντο γύψω ἱόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμου μίλτῳ. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ὑκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τήν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείου εἰκόνων χρυσένθη σφυρηλάτον ἐποίησατο.

70. Τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Ἀθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Ἀθιόπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετεάχατο τοῖς Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐτέρωσι, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Ἀθιόπες ιθύτριχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰβύθης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἐξουσί πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίῆς Ἀθιόπες τὰ μὲν πλέον κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ ἔσεσιν ἐκεῖνο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἰχον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς σὺν τε τοῖς ὁσί ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφῇ καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἡ λοφή κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ῥατα τῶν ἱππῶν ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα εἰχον προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεύντο γεράνων ὁρᾶς.

71. Δίσυνες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτών όρασιν ἱέοντες, ἀκοντίοιοι δὲ ἑπικαυτοίοι χρεώμενοι, ἀρχοῦντα δὲ παρεῖχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Ὁαρίζου.

72. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα πεπλεγμένα ἱέοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε ὁ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἑγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τῶν πόδας πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσῃν κυψήλην ἀνατείνοντα. Δίσυνες δὲ καὶ Ματτινοὶ καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύριοι τὴν
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 Σὺριοι οὕτοι υπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται. Παφλαγόνων μὲν νῦν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δώτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἱρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Διγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυ-στώνης.

73. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευῆς εἶχον, ὅλην παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρύγες χρόνων ὅσοιν Εὐρωπηῖοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἀμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἀποικοί. τούτων συγαμφοτέρων ἱρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.

74. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὀπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηλόνες ἐκαλεύνοτο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, μεταβάλοντες τὸ οὐνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆς εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς, ἀκοντίουσι δὲ ἐξερεύνον ἐπικαύτουσι. οὕτοι δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἀποικοί, ἀπ’ Ὀλύμπου δὲ ὀρέως καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἱρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἀμα Δάτι.

75. Ὁρήκεις δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆς ἀλω-πεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ἥερας περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνῆμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρά. οὕτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκα-
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-

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1 This tends to support a reversal of Herodotus' account of racial migration in ch. 20; see the note there.
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 ἀσπίδαις.

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 ἀσπίδαις.
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 Artabanus.

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,¹ 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 Mossynoei 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 Mossynoei, Artaýctes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont.

¹ From a district bordered by Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycia.
79. Μάρες δὲ ἔπι μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερμάτινας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχου δὲ περὶ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἢρχε Φαρανδάτης ὥ τε Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχοι ἀπλισμένοι ἐστρατεῦοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἢρχε.

80. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νῆσων δὲ ἐν τῇ τοὺς ἀναστάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικών εἰχον ἐσθήτα τε καὶ ὀπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἢρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίον, ὅς ἐν Μυκάλη στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81. Ταύτα ἦν τὰ κατ᾽ ἱππεῖρον στρατεύομενα τὰ ἔθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐσ τῶν πεζῶν. τούτου διὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἢρχον μὲν οὕτωι οἱ περ εὑρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἔξαριθμοσάντες οὕτωι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδεξάντες, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνεῶν ἦσαν ἅλλοι σημάντορες.

82. Ἡσαυ μὲν δὴ οὕτωι οἱ περ εὑρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατηγεὺς δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδονίος τε ὁ Γοβρύνω καὶ Τριταυτήχης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἐλλάδα καὶ Σιμερδομένης ὁ Ὁτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὕτωι ἀδελφεῖς παῖδες, Ἐρέξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο ἀνεψιοί, καὶ Μασίστης.
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, 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.

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, Smerdomenches 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.
ο Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παις καὶ Γέργις ο Ἀριάζου καὶ Μεγαβύζος ο Ζωπύρου.

83. Οὔτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων· τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσῶν τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγησε μὲν Ἄδαρνης ο Ἄδαρνεος, ἐκαλέοντες δὲ ἀδάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὖτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλυπτε τὸν ἄριθμὸν ἡ θανάτῳ βινθεὶς ἡ νοῦσῳ, ἄλλος ἄνηρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλείνεις μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλείστον παρεῖχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευῆς μὲν τοιαύτην εἰχον ἡ περ εἴρηται, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἁρμαμάξας τε ἀμα ἡγοῦτο, ἐν δὲ παλλακᾶς καὶ θερατηθῆν τολλῆν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασμένην· οὕτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν, κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποξύγια ἦγον.

84. Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἑθνεά· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρεῖχετο ὑππον, ἂλλα τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ο πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῆσι εἰχον ἐνίοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

85. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνθρωποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἑθνος μὲν Περσικόν καὶ φωνῆ, σκευῆν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτῦκης· οἱ παρεῖχοντο μὲν ὑππον ὀκτακισχίλιν, ὡπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειρίδιων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρῆσι πεπλεγμένησι ἐξ ἴμαντων· ταύτης πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεάν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἀκρῶν βρόχον.
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.
τὸν δὲ ἄν τύχη, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἄνθρώπου, ἐπ’ ἐωτὸν ἐλκευ· οὐ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται.

86. Τούτων μὲν αὐτῇ ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευῆν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὁσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευῆ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄρμαισι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκενάδατο ὁσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσσιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβνες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ συντοι πάντες ἄρματα. δὲ δὲ αὐτοὶς Κάσσιοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτῆτα ὀυ λειπομένας ἵππων.

87. Ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνεα μοῦνα ἵππευε. ἀριθμοῖς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὅκτω μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἄρματων. οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι ἵππες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ὀράβιοι δὲ ἐσχάτοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἀτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὕτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἵππικον.

88. Ἰππαρχοί δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμάθρης τε καὶ Τίθανος Δάτιος παίδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφί συν- ἰππαρχος Φαρνουχής κατελέειπτο ἐν Ζάρδισι νοσέων. ὡς γὰρ ὀρμώντο ἐκ Ζαρδιῶν, ἐπὶ συμφορήν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητος· ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προϊδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὅρθος ἀπεσεϊσάτο τὸν Φαρνουχεα, πεσὼν δὲ αἶμα τε ἦμεε καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιήλθε ἡ 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
Ιππον αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευστι· ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκέται ἐς τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ περικατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖς γούναις ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνοῦχης μὲν οὔτω παρελύθη τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ.

89. Τῶν δὲ τριτερέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἐπτά καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἴδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροισι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίαις, ὡδὲ ἐσκευασμένοι περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κυνέας εἴχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπων τῶν Ἑλληνίκων, ἐνδεδεκτές δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτις οὐκ ἐχουσάς εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὔτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιόν οἰκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑρμυθῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίης οἰκέουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς δὲ Συρίης τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πάν Παλαιστίνῃ καλέσται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. οὔτοι δὲ εἴχον περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἵτις μεγάλας ἐχουσάς, καὶ δόρατα τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

90. Οὔτοι μὲν οὔτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μύτρησι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἴχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περὶ Ἑλληνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἐθνεα εἰσὶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοίνικης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Λιθιστίνης, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.
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 ἐκατόν παρείχοντο νέας. οὗτοι δ’ αὗ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαιστία δὲ εἶχον ἀντ’ ἀσπίδων ὀμοβοείς πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθώνας εἰριμένους εὐδεδυκότες. δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἐκαστὸς καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇς Αἰγυπτίας μαχαίρης πεποιημένα. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἱππαχαὶ ἐκαλέωντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορου ἄνδρος Φοίνικος ἐσχὼν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τρίγυκτα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοὶ ὀπλοῖ καὶ ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὗτοι εἰς τῶν ἐκ Τροῖς ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἁμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ καὶ Κάλχαντι.

92. Δύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κυνημιδόφοροι, εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανεῖα καὶ ὀστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγός δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὀμοὺς αἰωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τῇς κεφαλῆς πίλους πτεροῖσι περιστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Δύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Δύκον τοῦ Πανδίνου ἄνδρος Ἀθηναίον ἐσχὼν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

93. Δωριέες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τρίγυκτα παρείχοντα νέας, ἐχοῦν τε Ἑλληνικά ὀπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Καρασ δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένους, εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὗτοι δὲ οὕτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι τῶν λόγων εἰρήται.

94. Ἂωνες δὲ ἐκατόν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ἂωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεου τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαίην, καὶ πρὶν ἡ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Ἐοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς 396
BOOK VII. 91–94

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. The Pamphylians furnished a hundred ships: they were armed like Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the dispersal who followed Amphilochus 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, 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 Peloponnese dwelling in what is now called Achaia, before Danaus and

1 Agenor appears to represent the Phoenician Baal.
2 In I. 171.
Πελοπόννησον, ὡς "Ελληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλεῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ "Ἰωνος τοῦ Ἑούθου Ἰωνες.

95. Νησιώται δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὑπλισμένοι ὡς "Ελληνες, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὑστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυσδεκαπόλεις Ἰωνες οἱ ἀπ’ Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολεῖς δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς "Ελληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἐλλήνων λόγος. Ἐλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἄβυδηνοις γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέως κατὰ χώρην μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρείχοντο μὲν ἐκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἥσαν ὡς"Ελληνες. οὕτωι δὲ Ἰῶνων καὶ Δωρίεων ἄποικοι.

96. Ἑπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδαι καὶ Σάκαι. τοῦτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώρῳ ἡγεμόνες, τῶν ἑγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖη ἐξέρχομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμένωμαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἐθνεὶ ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περὶ πόλεις τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, εἰποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέομαι μοι.

97. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεου Ἀριμαβίγνης
BOOK VII. 94-97

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 ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ 'Ασπαθίνεω καὶ Ἔγαβάζος ὁ Μεγάβατεω καὶ Ἀχαμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατηγῆς Ἀριαβίγυνης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρὺνεω θυγατρός. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγησε Ἀχαμένης Ξέρξεω ἐδώ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφῶς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατηγῆς ἐστρατήγησεν οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοία μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἄριστὸν ἐφάνη τρισχίλια. 98. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλέοντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἴδε ἦσαν όνομαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμυνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτῆς Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συνέννησις Ωρομέδουτος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριος Γόργος το ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρών Ἡστιαῖος το ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πύργης ὁ Ἡσσελδόμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω. 99. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνημαι ταξιάρχων ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θώμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός. ἦτος ἀποθανόντως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἡ φυσικὴ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νειλίων ὑπὸ λήπτος το καὶ ἀνδρηῆς ἐστρατεύτω καὶ ὑποκείμενοι οὐκέτι ἀναγκαίος. οὐκ οὗμα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῆς Ἀρτεμισίης, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Δυνάμως, γένους δὲ ἐξ Ἀλκαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς, τὰ μητρόθεν δεὶ Κρῆσα. ἤγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλκαρνησσεῖν τε καὶ Κρῶν καὶ Νιυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδώνων, πέντε νέας παρεχόμενα. καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατηγῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδώνιων, νέας εὐδοξιάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τὸν συμμάχων 400
son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Mega-
 bazus 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: Tetrar-
mnestus 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 Nisyros 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
γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλέως ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ έθνος ἀποφαίνω πάν ἐνό Δωρικῷ, Ἀλικαρνησσεάς μὲν Τροιζήνιους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἦς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἰρήται.

100. Ἐξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἤριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας θεόσασθαι μετὰ δὲ ἐποίες ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελάνων ἑπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ έθνος ἐν ἐκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ὑππον καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην ἤτεο υπὸ σκηνῆς χρυσῆ καὶ παρέπλευ τοῖς πρώσας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειροτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄνεκωχευον, τὰς πρώςας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμου. ὃ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἅθηετο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεός, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα, καλέσας δ' αὐτοῦ εὕρετο τάδε. "Δημάρητε, νῦν μοι σε ἴδυ τι ἑστί εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. συ εἰς "Ελλην τε, καὶ ὃς ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι σευ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ελλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικυνεομένων, πόλιοι οὕτ' ἐλαχίστης οὕτ' ἄσθενεστάτης. νῦν ὃν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ "Ελλήνες υπομενεύουσι χείρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ, ὃς ἐγὼ δοκέω,
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\(^1\) 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?"

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\(^1\) The exiled king of Sparta; see ch. 3.
οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες “Ελληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἀνθρωποὶ συλλεχθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπίοντα υπομείναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἄρθριοι. θέλω μὲντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὠκοῦν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι.” ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἴρωτα, ὃ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη “Βασιλεὺς, κότερα ἀληθεία χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἥδου;” ὃ δὲ μιν ἀληθεία χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φᾶς οὐδὲν οἱ ἀγήστερον ἐσεθαί ἡ πρότερον ἣν.

102. Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσε Δημάρρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. “Βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθεία διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ἴσιον ὑπομείναι, τῇ 'Ελλάδι πενήνθω μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετή δὲ ἐπακτός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίας κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμων ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἡ 'Ελλὰς τὴν τε πενήνθω ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποτών. αἰνέω μὲν νῦν πάντας "Ελλήνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς Δωρίκους χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οἱ περὶ πάντων τοῦσδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Δακεδαιμονίων μούνων, πρώτα μὲν ὦτι οὐκ ἐστιν ὁκὼς κοτε σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνης ἀποροῦντας τῇ 'Ελλάδι, αὕτης δὲ ὦς ἀντιώσουνται τοι ἐς μάχην καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι "Ελλήνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πῦθη ὠρίζος τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἰοὶ τε εἰσὶν; ἢν τε γὰρ τύχωσι ἐξεστρατευμένου χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχησοῦνται τοι, ἢν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἢν τε καὶ πλεῦνες.”

103. Ταῦτα ἄκουσας Ἐρέξης γελάσας ἔφη "Δημάρρητε, οἶνον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος, ἀνδρὰς χυλίους στρατιὰς τοσὶδέ μαχησέσθαι. ἄγε εἰπέ μοι σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὕτως γενέσθαι”.
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
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σὺ ὃν ἐθελῆσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιούτον ὅλον σὺ διαιρεῖς, σὲ γε τὸν κεῖνον βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κεῖνων ἐκαστὸς δέκα ἄνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστὶ, σὲ δὲ γε δίξημαι εἰκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον. καὶ οὐτὸς μὲν ὁρθοὶ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σὲο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιούτοι τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι, ὅσοι σὺ τε καὶ οὗ παρ' ἔμε φοιτῶσι Εὐλήνων ἐς λόγους αὐχέετε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἢ· ἐπεὶ φέρε ίδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι· κῶς ἄν δυνάιτο χίλιοι ἢ καὶ μύριοι ἢ καὶ πεντακισχίριοι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὅμοιος καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῷδε ἀντιστήναι· ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνες περὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν γινόμεθα ὅ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοιάτ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωτὸν ἄρχον ἀμείνονες, καὶ ὀιοεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μᾶστιγὲς πλεύνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον ὅνκ ἄν ποιέοιεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἐγώνε γαλ ἀνισοθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἄν Ἐλλήνως Πέρσης μούνοισι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἐστὶ γε μὲν οὗ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάμον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρον οὗ ἐθελήσουσι Ἐλλήνων ἀνδράσι πρισὶ ὅμοι μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἀπειρος πολλὰ φλυνηρεῖς.

104. Πρὸς ταῦτα Δημάρχως λέγει ταῖ δ Βασιλεύ,
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, 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.
ἀρχήθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· οὐ δὲ ἐπεί ἐνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἐλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Ἐπαρτητήσι. καίτοι ὦς ἔγω τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπί-
στεα, οSCALL με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πα-
τρώια ἀπολίν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασι, πατήρ
de σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τὲ μοι καὶ οἴκον ἔδωκε. οὐκὼν οἰκός ἔστι ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίᾳ φαινομένην διωθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἔγω δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἄνδρᾶςι ὑπίσχομαι οἶνος τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυνάσθαι, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ’ ἄν μονομαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἄναγκαιη εἰς ἡ
μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἁγών, μαχοῦμεν ἀν πάντων ἦδιστα εὐ τοῦτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν οἴ Ἐλλήνων ἐκα-
στός φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. ὃς δὲ καὶ Δακε-
dαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἐνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰοὶ
cοινοὺς ἄνδρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἄριστοι ἄνδρῶν ἀπάν-
tων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἑόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι
eis: ἐπεστὶ γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑπο-
δειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἔτε μᾶλλον ἡ οἱ σοὶ σε. ποιεῦσι γῶν τὰ ἀν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγητο: ἀνώγητε ἔτω ἄριστο
αἰεί, οὐκ ἐδώ φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλήθος ἄνθρωπων ἐκ
μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξῃ ἐπικρατεῖεν ἡ
ἀπόλλυσθαι. οὶ δὲ εἰ φαῖνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυηρεῖν, τάλλα συγάν θέλῳ τὸ λουπὸν νῦν το
ἀναγκασθεῖς ἐλεξα. γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόου
τοι, βασιλεὺ.”

105. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐς
gελωτά τε ἐτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν
οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἢπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τοῦτῳ
de ἐς λόγους ἔλθὼν Ἐρέξης, καὶ ὑπαρχόν ἐν τῷ
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knew from the first that the truth would be unwel-
come 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 Μεγαδόστεο, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα κατα-
παύσας, εξῆλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θηρίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

106. Κατέλυπε δὲ ἀνδρὰ τοιόνδε Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπον
ως ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησεν ἦ Δαρείος ὑπάρχουσι, πέμπον περὶ δὲ ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος
δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξης τοῖς Μασκα-
μείοισι ἐκχόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἐτὶ πρὸτερον
ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπάρχου ἐν τῇ Θηρίκῃ καὶ
tοὐ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχὺ. οὕτω δὲν πάντες οἱ
tε ἐκ Θηρίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ
ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὑπερον ταύτης τῆς
στρατηλασίας ἐξαιρέθησαν τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ
Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ καὶ ἐδυνάσθησαν ἐξελείν
πολλῶν πειρησμάτων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ οἱ τὰ
δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν
Πέρσῃ.

107. Τὸν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲν
βασιλευὸς Ξέρξης ἐνόμισε εἰναὶ ἀνδρὰ ἀγαθὸν εἰ
μὴ Βόγγην μοῦνον τὸν ἦς Ἡιώνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων
οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιεύοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃ
παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐπεὶ καὶ άξιος ἀινοῦ μεγα-
λοὺ ἐγένετο Βόγγης· δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκεῖτο ὑπὸ
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κύμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω, παρεῖν
αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν
Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἦθελησε, μὴ δειλὴ δόξει περείναι
βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἐσχατον. δὲ
οὐδὲν ἐτὶ φορβῆς ἐνὶ ἐν τῷ τείχει, συννήσας
πυρῆν μεγάλην ἐσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
καὶ τὰς παλλακᾶς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα
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 Artaxerxes 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;
써βαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπαντᾷ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος καὶ τὸν ἀργυρον ἐσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐωυτοὺν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὖτος δικαῖως αἰνεῖται ἕτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

108. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἡνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωστο γὰρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἡν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρέψαμένου καὶ ὑστερον Μαρδονίου. παραμεῖβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρώτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρήκια τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη τεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρησι πόλεις τῇ οὐνομα ἔστι Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλεις Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Δίσου ποταμός διαρρέει, διὰ τὸτε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὑδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ἐρέξεω στρατῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπέλειπε. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὐτὴ πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκή, νῦν δὲ βραυνική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὐτῇ Κικόνων.

109. Διαβᾶς δὲ τοῦ Δίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ἰσθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμεῖβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε ἐκ παρεξίε ὡς καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὁνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρώνειας μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης Κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστοβέλα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοῖ δύο ἐστείει τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραῦτος τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνη μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν ὁνομαστὴν παραμεῖσατο Ἐρέξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Ἡστον ῥέουτα 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 Samothracian fortresses, 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.
καὶ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἵδιν τὰς ἥπειρωτίδας πόλεις παρῆκε, τῶν ἐν μιᾷ λίμνῃ ἐσύσα τυγχάνει ὡσεὶ τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον, ἢχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ ταύτην τὰ ὑποξύγια μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε. τῇ δὲ πόλι ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἔστι Πίστυρος.

110. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἐλληνίδας ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήγη· ἐθνεα δὲ Ἐθνικῶν δι’ ὅν τῆς χώρης ὀδὸν ἐποιέστο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαίοι Δερσαίοι Ἡδωνολ Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇ θυσί νησὶ εἰποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τὴν μεσόγαιαιν οἰκέοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῇ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἰποντο.

111. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενός κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκουι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἠμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεύσε τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἑόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Ἐθνικῶν οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ ὅρεα υψηλά, ἱδησί τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰς τὰ πολέμια ἀκροί. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήιον εἰς ἐκτημένοι τὸ δὲ μαντήιον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων τῶν υψηλοτάτων, Βησσοῦ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰς οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ποικιλώτερον.

112. Παραμεινήψαμενος δὲ ὁ Ἐρέξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὖνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ 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. 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.

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

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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.
τὴν ὀδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐδώ μέγα τε καὶ υψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσει τε καὶ ἀργύρει ἐνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πλεῖστες τε καὶ Ὄδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113. Ἡ τερεικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παῖονας Δόβηρασ τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξίων ἔμε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἢς ὁ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἱόνα, τῆς ἐτὶ ξωδὸς ἐὼν ἤρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ἢ δὲ γῆ αὐτῆ ἢ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέσται Φυλλῆς, κατατεῖνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδοντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα: ἐς τὸν οἶ Μάγου ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζοντες ὑπὸς πους λευκοὺς.

114. Φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἑνεά ὀδοῖσι τῆς Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὑρόντες ἑξενυμένον. Ἑνεά δὲ ὀδοὺς πυθανόμενοι τὸν χῶρον τούτον καλέσθαι, τοσότους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώοντας κατώρυσσον. Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ἔροντας κατορύσσεων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρμηστρὶν τὴν Ἐρέξων γυναῖκα πυθάνομαι γηράσασαν διὸ ἐπὶ Περσέων παῖδας ἐόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἐωτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσομαι.

115. Ὁς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἔλιον δυσμένων ἐστὶν 416
marched under their very walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangæan 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 Pangæan 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 Pangæan 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

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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.
αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργιλοῦ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήγει: αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέται Βισαλτίς. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ κόλπων τῶν ἐπὶ Ποσιδηνίου ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχουν ἔτι διὰ Συλέου πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀκανθοῦν, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι τούτων ἐκαστον τῶν ἑθνῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὅρος οἰκεόντων, ὀμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχουν οἰκημένους ἐκ υἱοῦ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῆ ἐπομένους. τῷ δὲ ὀδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ἐρέξης τῶν στρατῶν ἠλάσε, οὐτε συγχέουσι Θρήνες οὔτε ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ.

116. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθοῦν ἀπίκετο, ἁγιείη τε ὁ Ἐρέξης τοῦτο Ἀκανθίοιοι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφέας ἐσθήτι Μηδική ἐπαίνεε τε, ὀρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἐόντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὀρνυμα ἀκούων.

117. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ἐρέξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νοῦσον ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεώτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχάιην, δόκιμον ἐόντα παρὰ Ἐρέξη καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγαθρεῖ τε μέγιστον ἐόντα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιληῶν ἀπέλευπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνεύοντα τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὡστε Ἐρέξην συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην ἐξενείκαι τε αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι: ἐτυμβοχόω δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιῆ. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχάιῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεσπροπίου ὡς ἢρωι, ἐποιομάζοντες τὸ ὀφύμα.

118. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἐρέξης ἀπολομένου
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.
Αρταχαίεω ἐποιεῖτο συμφορῆν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδε-κόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνύζοντες Ἑρέξην ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὡστε ἀνα-στατοὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐκών ἐγίνοντο· ὦκον Ἐθασίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετερῶν δεξαμένοις τὴν Ἑρέξεω στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνύσασι Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέως ἀραιημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνήρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεεξε ἐς τὸ δείπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἄργυρίου τετελε-σμένα.

119. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔλλησιν πόλισι οἱ ἐπεστείωτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δείπνον τοιοῦτο τῆς ἐγένετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένων καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένων, τούτῳ μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχυστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σύντον ἐν τῇ πόλισι οἱ ἠστοὶ ἀλευρά τε καὶ ἀλφιτα ἐποίειν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνοὺς· τούτῳ δὲ κτήμα ἐσίτευον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐτρέφον τις ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τούτῳ δὲ χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργύρια ποτηρία τε καὶ κρυπτῆρας ἐποιεῖντο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοστοίοις μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἅλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐς φορβήν μοῦνα τασσόμενα· ὁκὼς δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιῆ, σκηνὴ μὲν ἐσεκε πεπηγυῖα ἑτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτῶς σταθμὸν ποιεόσκετο Ἑρέξης, ἡ δὲ ἅλλῃ στρατιῇ ἐσεκε ὑπαίθριος. ὡς δὲ δείπνοι ἐγίνετο ὁρῇ, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκοι πόλεων, οἱ δὲ ὁκὼς πλησθέντες νῦκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγά-γοιεν, τῇ υστεραῖ τὴν τε σκηνῆν ἀνασπάσαντες

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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 townsmen, 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 οὖτω ἀπελαύνεις, λείποντες οὔδὲν ἄλλα φερόμενοι.

120. "Ενθὰ δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεως ἔτος εὗ εἰρημένου ἐγένετο, ὅς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτης πανδημεί, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἵνὰ ἤξεσθαι ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραίτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἥμισεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἐχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἑρέξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἱρέσθαι παρέχειν γὰρ ἄν Ἀβδηρίτης, εἰ καὶ ἀριστον προείρητο ὅμοιο τῷ δείπνῳ παρασκευάζων, ἡ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ἑρέξην ἐπίοντα ἡ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβήναι.

121. Οἷς μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοὶ τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ἑρέξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἑντειλάμενος τοῖς στρατηγοῖσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμη, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας, Θέρμη δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ ὀικημένη, ἀπ' ἡς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐχεῖν ταύτη γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὡδὲ τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐποίησε τρεῖς μοῖρας ὁ Ἑρέξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, μίαν αὐτέων ἑταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἴɛναι ὁμοῖ τῷ ναυτικῷ ταύτής μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεσθαι Μάρβονιος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἐτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίας τῆς μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγευον Τριτανταίχωμας τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρῶν, μετ' ἤς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ἑρέξης, ὡς 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 παρείχετο Σμερδομένεα τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

122. Ὅ μὲν υπὸ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ως ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Εὔρηξω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διόρυξα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθη γενομένην, διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπουν ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλις καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκηταί, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολίων στρατηγὴν παρέλαβε, ἐπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαίων κόλπον, κάμπτουν δὲ Ἀμπελού τὴν Τορωναιήν ἀκρὴν παραμεῖβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσδε πόλις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατηγὴν παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληψον Σερμύλην Μηκύ-βερναν Ὀλυνθον.

123. Ἡ μὲν υπὸ χώρη αὐτῇ Σιθωνία καλέται, ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Εὔρηξω συντάμων ἄπ' Ἀμπελοῦ ἀκρῆς ἔπι Καναστραίην ἀκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατηγὴν παρελαμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Λιγής καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένης καὶ Σάνης· αὐταί γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν υἱὸν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλεῶν δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατηγὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὄμουρευσεν δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇς οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Λίπαζος Κώμβρεια Λίβσα Γίγανος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἴνεα· ἢ δὲ τούτων χώρῃ Κρόσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείας, ἢς τὴν ἐπελεύσθων καταλέγων τὰς πόλις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἦδη ἐς αὐτὸν τε τῶν Θερμαῖων κόλπου ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τῆς Μυγδοῦνης, πλέων

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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, Potidaea, 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,
δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σίνδου τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιον ποταμὸν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδούνην τε καὶ Βοσπαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χώριον πόλιες Ἰχναὶ τε καὶ Πέλλα.

124. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιον ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιας τούτων περιμένων βασιλέα ἐστρατοπε- δεύετο, Ἐρέξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεξὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνουν τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονίκης καὶ Κρήστωνικής ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρήστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδούνης χώρης καὶ ἐξεῖ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ᾽ Ἀξίων ποταμῷ.

125. Πορευομένω δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθή- καντο τῆςι σιτοφόροις καμήλοις. καταφοι- τεύντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἥθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀπτοντο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώποι, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραίξεων μοῦνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἰτίον, ὅ τι κοτὲ ἦν τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπεχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῆςι καμήλοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὀπώπεσαν θηρίον μῆτ᾽ ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

126. Εἰςὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρεα ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἑλλήνας φοιτέοντα. οὗρος δὲ τοῖς λέονσι ἐστὶ ὁ τε δι᾽ Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι᾽ Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελόδος οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμῶθι πάσης τῆς ἐμπροσθὲ Εὐρώπης ἰδοι τις ἄν 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
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 ἄνω ἄνᾶs alone reach Gonnus; the Tempe route would have done the same.
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τοιήσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήνοι καὶ τοίς ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθέησατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνείου, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὄδος εἴρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρη ἐς θάλασσαν ἔξαγαγεὶν.

129. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὅστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὀρειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡώ ἔχοντα τὸ τε Πήλιον ὄρος καὶ Ἡ Ὁσσα ἀποκλήσει συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρέας ἀλλήλοιας, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Ὀλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τε καὶ ἀνεμον νότον Ὁθρυς. τὸ μέσον δὲ τοῦτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὄρεων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐούσα κοίλη. ὥστε ὃν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχυῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶν, Πηνείου καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀυσχόου καὶ Ἐνιπτεός καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νῦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων τῶν περικλημόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὄνομαζόμενοι δι᾽ ἐνὸς αὐλῶν καὶ τοῦτον στεινοῦ ἐκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντας τὸ ὑδωρ πάντες ἐς τοῦτο. ἐπειν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεύτευν ἢδη ὁ Πηνείος τῶν ὄνυματι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖν. τὸ δὲ παλαιόν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόου τοῦτον, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοῦτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποταμοῖς τοῦτοις, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποταμοῖς τοῦτοις, καὶ τὴν Βοιβηνίδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὄνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περινύν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἔσσον ἢ νῦν, ῥέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. αὐτὸι μὲν νῦν
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 afore-said 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 lake ¹ 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.
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.
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.  

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 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

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2 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.
συχνάς: τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὁρὸς τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἐκείρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίας, ἵνα ταύτη διεξῆ ἀπασά ἡ στρατιὰ ἐς Περραιβοῦς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποσεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οὐ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ.

132. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὔδε, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπος Ἑυπήνες Περραϊβοὶ Δοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιές Ἀχαῖοι οἱ Θησεῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλήν Θεσσαλίων τε καὶ Πλαταιῶν. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ "Ἑλλῆνες ἔταμον ὀρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι τὸ δὲ ὀρκιον ὡδὲ εἰχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς Ἑλλῆνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὀρκιον ὡδὲ εἰχε τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

133. Ἐς δὲ Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἡλερτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ἑρέξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἶνεκα πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐσ φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα οὐκ ἐπέμψε Ἑρέξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας τὸ τὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα ποιήσαι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήθεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαὶ τι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδημώθη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτήν δοκέω γενέσθαι.

134. Τοῖς δὲ Ὕδω Λακαδαιμονίοις μὴν κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν

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1 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 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 Σπάρτη ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρών, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιάδαι καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκηνίας αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι καλλιερήσαι θυμόμενοι οὐκ ἐδύνατο τούτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἢν σφ. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Δακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλὰς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κήρυγμα τοιόνδε ποιεμένων, εἰ τις Βούλοιτο Δακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίς τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιήται φύσι τε γεγονότες εἰ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελονταί ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τίσαι Εἐρξῇ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιήται τούτους ὡς ἀποδανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

135. Ἀὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἔπεα, πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικνέονται παρὰ 'Τδάρνεα' ὁ δὲ 'Τδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παράθαλασσών ἄνθρωπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὡς σφεάς ζείναι προθέμενοι ἱστία, ξεινίζων δὲ εἰρετο τάδε. "'Ἀνδρεὺς Δακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλείᾳ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὅρατε γὰρ ὃς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἐγαθοῦς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ, δεδόξωσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες εἶναι ἐγαθοῖ, ἐκαστοὶ ἄν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς 'Ελλάδος δόντος βασιλεός." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "'Τδαρνεῖς, οὐκ ἔξ ὑσον γίνεται ἡ συμβουλία ἡ ἐς ἡμεῖς τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος
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herald; for at Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius, and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadæ, 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
συμβουλεύεις, τοῦ δὲ ἀπειρούσιν ἐὼν τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστευα, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ' εἰ ἔστι γλυκὸν οὔτ' εἰ μή. εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσασθο, οὐκ ἂν ὁρᾶσι συμβουλεύοντος ἥμιν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσθαι.

136. Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰδάρνεα ἀμέίψαντο. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὡς ἄνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἔσον ἤλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύοντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφή προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖες βασιλέα προσπίπτουσι, οὐκ ἐφασαν ὀθεόμενοι ἕπτ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσει ταῦτα οὖδαμα· οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖες οὔτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δεύτερα σφί λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦτο ἐχόμενα "ὁ Βασιλεὺς Μῆδων, ἔπεμψαν ἤμεας Ἀκεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποιήσουν ἐκείνων τίσοντας," λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοίς ταῦτα Ἐρξῆς ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἐφη ὁμοίας ἔσεσθαι Ἀκεδαιμόνιοις κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέατ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐκ ποιήσειν, οὔτε ἄνταποκτείναις ἐκεῖνους ἀπολύσειν Ἀκεδαιμόνιοις τῆς αἰτίης.

137. Οὖν ὁ Ταλθυβίου μῆνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτητέων ἔπαινοι τὸ παραντίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Ἐπάρτην Ἀκεδαιμόνιον καὶ Ἐπέρθεοι τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίον καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τούτῳ μοι ἐν τούτῳ θείοτατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ὁ Ταλθυβίους μῆνις οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἡ ἐξήλθε, τὸ δίκε
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
oύτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παιδᾶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαι τοῦ τῶν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τοῦ Σπερθίεω, δὴ εἶλε Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλῶσας πλήρεὶ ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὅτι θείον ἐγένετο τὸ πρήγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος: οὗ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Δακεδαμιονίων ἀγγέλοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηκίων βασιλέως καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἦλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντον Κορίνθιος ἄνηρ. ταῦτα μὲν ἦν πολλοίσι ἐτεσι ύπερν ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερων λόγων.

138. 'Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλέως οὖνομα μὲν ἔιχε· ὡς· ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἑλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῖντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἀγαμί πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δειματί μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν· ἄτε οὔτε νεών ἔουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίοντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζύντων δὲ προθύμως.

139. 'Ενθαῦτα ἀναγκαῖη ἐξέρχομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίθυμον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὦμος δὲ τῇ γε μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς 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), 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 Sitalees 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, and with them Aristeas son of Adi-mantus, 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.  

2 In 430; op. Thucyd. II. 67.
ΕΡΩΘΩΣ. ΕΙ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΡΩΔΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΝ ἘΠΙΟΝΤΑ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΝ ΕΞΕΛΙΨΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΦΕΤΕΡΗΝ, Ὁ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ἘΚΛΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ ἈΛΛΑ ΜΕΙΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΞΟΔΟΝ ΣΦΕΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ Άργη, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἀν ἐπειρὼντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλέι. ΕΙ ΤΟΙΝΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝ ΜΗΔΕΙΣ ἩΝΤΙΟΥΤΟ Άργη, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΚΙΘΩΝΕΣ ᾍΣΑΝ ἘΛΗΓΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ἸΣΘΜΟΥ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΙΣ, ΠΡΟΔΟΘΕΝΤΕΣ ἌΝ ΔΑΚΕΙΔΑΜΟΝΙΟΙ ὙΠΟ ΤῶΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΩΝ ΟΥΚ ἘΚΟΝΤΩΝ ἈΛΛ’ ΥΠ’ ΆΝΑΓΚΑΙΗΣ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ ἈΛΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΩΝ ὙΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΥΤΙΚΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΥ, ἝΜΟΥΝΩΘΗΣΑΝ, ΜΟΥΝΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ἂΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΠΟΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΡΓΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ἈΠΕΘΑΝΟΝ ΧΕΝΝΑΙΩΣ. Ἡ ΤΑΥΤΑ ἂΝ ἘΠΑΘΟΝ, Ἡ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΥ ὈΡΩΝΤΕΣ ἂΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΛΛΟΥΣ "ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ ΜΗΔΙΞΟΝΤΑΣ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗ ΑΝ ἘΧΡΗΣΑΝΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ Άργη. ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩ ἂΝ ἔΠ’ ᾽ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΑ Ἡ ἘΛΛΑΣ ἘΓΙΝΕΤΟ ὙΠ’ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ. ΤΗΝ ΓΑΡ ὩΦΕΛΙΝΗ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΙΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ἸΣΘΜΟΥ ἘΛΗΓΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΑΙ ΠΥΘΕΣΘΑΙ ᾽ΗΤΙΣ ἂΝ ᾿ΗΝ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ἘΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ. ΥΝΝ ΔΕ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΣ ἂΝ ΤΙΣ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ἘΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΟΥΚ ἂΝ ἈΜΑΡΤΑΝΟΙ ΤΟ ἈΛΗΘΕΣ. ΟΥΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΙ ὈΚΟΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΗΓΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΤΡΑΠΟΝΤΟ, ΤΑΥΤΑ ΡΕΨΕΙΝ ἘΜΕΛΛΕ ΕΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ἘΛΛΑΔΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΙΝΑΙ ἘΛΕΥΘΕΡΗΝ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ἘΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΝ ΤΟ ΛΟΥΠΟΝ, ὍΣΟΝ ΜΗ ἘΜΗΔΙΣΕ, ΑΥΤΟΙ ΟΥΤΟΙ ᾽ΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ἘΠΕΓΕΙΡΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΓΕ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΑΝΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ. ΟΥΝΔΕ ΣΦΕΑΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΦΟΒΕΡΑ ἘΛΘΟΝΤΑ ΕΚ ΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΔΕΙΜΑ ΒΑΛΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΕΙΣΕ ΕΚΛΙΠΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ἘΛΛΑΔΑ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΝΕΣΧΟΝΤΟ ΤΟΝ ἘΠΙΟΝΤΑ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΔΕΞΑΣΘΑΙ.

140. ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ἘΣ ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ
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 withheld 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, 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 θωρησ.
141. Taúta ákoúsantos ÍI tòv 'Athénow véneton ànthrópou svmmére tì mégystēntì ekréwnto. προβάλλουσι δ' ὑπὸ tòv káto tòv kexhrisménu, Tímov ó 'Anðroboúlyou, tòv Délphóu ánθe dúkimos òmòia tòv máli斯塔, svnveboúlyené svfì iketírìhına laboúsi dévterá aúthìs élthónntas khrásithai tòv khrísthriw òst iKéntas. peidómenous ÍI tauta

1 Lit. spread courage over your evils. But most commentators 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 λέγουσιν ὡναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἁμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθείς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσις τῶν τοῦ ἴκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄδυτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τηδὲ μενέομεν ἐστ' ἀν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν," ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρῆ δεύτερα τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλᾶς Δ' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λισσομένη πωλλοὶς λόγοις καὶ μὴ τίδι πυκνῇ: σοὶ δὲ τὸν' αὕτως ἔπος ἔρεω ἀδάμαντι πελάσθαι τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων ὥσα Κέκρσπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαίρων ξαθεοῦ, τεῖχος Τριτογενεὶ πολὺν διδοὶ εὐρύστα Ζεὺς μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὄνησει.

μηδὲ σού γ' ιπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ιόντα πολλὸν ἀπ' ἢπείρου στρατῶν Ἰσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποξώρειν νότον ἐπιστρέψας: ἐτι τοι ποτε κάντιος ἔσση. ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σοῦ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἡ ποὺ σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

142. Ταῦτα σφὶ ἡπίωτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔδοκε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσ-
oracle. 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 seedtime or harvest.

142. This being in truth and appearance a more merciful answer than the first, they wrote it down
HERODOTUS

σουτο ἐς τὰς 'Αθηνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπῆγγελλον ἐς τὸν δήμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ γίνονται διξημένων τὸ μαντήιον καὶ αἴδε συνεστηκνῖαι μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκεῖν σφίσι τὸν θεόν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περίεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηχῶ ἑπέφρακτο. οὐ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τούτῳ τὸ ἕυλινον τεῖχος εἶναι, οὐ δὲ ἐλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς δὲν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ἕυλινον τεῖχος ἐσφάλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

ὡς ἦν Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖσ δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἥ τοι σκιδυμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταύτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμέων τὰς νέας τὸ ἕυλινον τεῖχος εἶναι ὁ γὰρ χρησμολογοῦ ταύτη ταύτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἄμφι Σαλαμίνα δεὶ σφες ἐσωθήναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασμένους.

143. Ἡν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἄνηρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ συνόμα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέστο. οὐτὸς ωὐρὴ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὅρθως τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε: εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεγε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένου ἐόντως, οὐκ ἄν οὗτῳ μὴν δοκέειν ἢπίως χρησθήναι, ἀλλὰ ὁδε ὁ σχετικὴ Σαλαμίς ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ θεὴν Σαλαμίς, εἴ πέρ γε ἐμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῆ τελευτήσειν ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον

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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
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 χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔγεγόνει. συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδαν Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἁμείνων φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένους αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἐχθρὰς καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ἀλλήλους ἔντασις πολέμους ἤσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκριμένοι, ὁ δὲ ὧν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Ἀιγυπτίσι. μετὰ δὲ πυθανόμενοι Ξέρξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπτειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέων πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους ὀμαχµῖνην συνθησοµένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Ζικελίνην ἄλλους πέμπτειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεον ἐς τὸ Κέρκυραν κελευσοῦντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῶντο πρῆσοιειν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁµοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλησὶ. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρῆγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαµῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέξα.

146. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα σφί ἐδοξείν, καταλυσόμενοι τὰς ἐχθρὰς πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμποντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οὐ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέως στρατινήν, ὡς ἐπάιστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ύπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν πεξοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆγοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατεκέραυντο θάνατος, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώµην πέμπει τῶν τινάς δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἡν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ξόντας, ἄγειν παρ’ ἑωτῶν. 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 Gelo 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 Gelo 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 ἐγκεφανυμι; Reiske’s conjecture for MS. ἐγκεφανυμενοι which Stein prints, admitting the difficulty of interpreting it.
περιέοντας αυτούς κατέλαβον καὶ ἥγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ᾽ οἷσιν ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐτιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἱππον, ἐπεῖν δὲ ταῦτα θεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρες, ἀποστέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἄν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας.

147. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλουτο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ "Ελλήνες ἐόντα λόγου μέζω, οὔτ' ἂν τί τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσίναντο, ἀνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα δοκεέει ἐφι ἀκούσαντάς τοὺς "Ελλήνας τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γυνομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἱδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλάτεύοντας πρήγματα ἐχεῖν οἴκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γυνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδω οἱ Ξέρξεις εἰδε' πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγῇ διεκπλάσοντα τοῦ Ἕλλησποντος, ἐς τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπύθουσι πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοία, ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν αἱρεῖν αὐτά, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὅκοτε παραγγελεῖν. ὃ δὲ Ξέρξεις εἰρετοι αὐτοῦς ὅκη πλέοιν· οἱ δ' ἐίπαν "Ες τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὁ δέσποτα, σῶτον ἀγοῦτες." ὃ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἐφη "Οὐκὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἐνθα περ οὕτω, τοῖσι τε ἀλλοισι ἐξηρτησμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τὶ δήτα ἀδικεοῦσι οὖτοι ἡμῖν οὔτια παρακομίζοντες;"

148. Οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι οὗτοι θεσάμενοι τε καὶ ἀποσελεθέντες 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
The battle of Tiryns, 494; cp. VI. 77.

That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population; σώμα 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 Lacedaemonian 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 beloved,
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
σθαί, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συμμαχίην σπουδὴν δὲ ἐχειν σπουδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκοντότιδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεομενοί, ἡν δὴ σφι οἱ παίδες ἄνδρωθεώσι εὐ τούτοις τούτοι ἐτεσίν μὴ δὲ σπουδεῖν εὖσεων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἢν ἀρὰ σφέας καταλάβη πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλῳ πταίσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Δακεδαμονίων ὑπῆκουι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς ἀμείβασθαι τοῦσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπουδέων ἄνοισείν ἐς τοὺς πλεῖνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐνταλθαὶ ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἐνε· οὐκων δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ομοψηφον τὸν Ἀργείου εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἁρχεθαι ἢ τι ὑπείξαι Δακεδαμονίοις, προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλουσι πρὸ δύντων ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέγεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.

150. Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τοῦτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ὡς Ἕρξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος πρὸτερον ἡ περ ὀρμήσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτων λέγεται εἰσεῖν Ἀνδρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ἕρξης τάδε ἕμων λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀν' οὐ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παιδὰ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφείως θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὔτω ἀν 458
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.
ζων εἶχεν ὑμετέροι ἀπόγονοι. οὕτε ὅν ἦμεας οἶκος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτε ὑμεῖς ἀλλοιοὶ τιμωρέοντας ἤμιν ἀντιξόον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ᾿ ὑμῖν αὐτοἶς ἴσχυρὰν ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. Ἦν γὰρ ἐμὸι γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέξονας ὑμέων ἀξὺ. "ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρήγμα ποιῆσαι θαυμάσσαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίητευῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, οὕτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδόσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Δακεδαιμόνιοι μεταίητευῖν, ἴνα ἐπὶ προφασίου ἴσχυρὰν ἀγωσί.

151. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινὲς Ἑλλήνων πολλοί ἔτεσιν ὑστερον γειόμενον τούτων. τυχέιν ἔν Σοῦσοις τοῖς Μεμνονίοις ἐόντας ἐτέρον πρήγματος εἶνεικα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίν τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτον ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐν Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτᾷν Ἄρτοξέρξεα τὸν Ἕρξεω εἰ σφὶ ἐτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλουσι τὴν πρὸς Ἕρξην φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, ἡ νομιζόσιοτο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι πολέμου βασιλεά δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξεα μαλιστά ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργείος φιλιωτέρην.

152. Εἴ μὲν νῦν Ἕρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐσ Ὄργας καὶ Ἀργείων ἀγγελοι ἀναβάντες ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρώτων Ἄρτοξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἴπειν, οὐδὲ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην γε ή τὴν περ

1 Cr. V. 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 Mennonian,1 about some other business,2 the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artoxerxes "if the friendship which they had compounded with Xerxes still held good, as they desired; or did he consider them as his enemies?" Where to Artoxerxes 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 Artoxerxes about their friendship, I cannot with exactness say; nor do I now declare that I hold

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 κακὰ and αἰσχρὰ (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 foully 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.
όλλα ἵνα τούτων τῶν θεῶν· οἴθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἡ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοις δὲ ὁ πίσινος ἔως κατήγαγε, ἐπὶ οὗ τοῖς ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θώμα μοι ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυθανόμαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔρχον τοσοῦτον τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἀπαντος ἀνδρός νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρήιης· ὥς δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκιτόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυκῆς τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνήρ.

154. Οὗτος μὲν νῦν ἐκτήσατο τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρος δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὡς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἐπτα ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελώου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίνην 'Ιπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀθελφεός. ἔχοντος δὲ 'Ιπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐώς Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίκου 1 ... ὡς ἢν δορυφόρος 'Ιπποκράτεος. μετὰ δὲ οὗ πολλῶν χρόνων δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἐπού εἴναι ἱππαρχὸς· πολιορκεόντος γὰρ 'Ιπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκσίους τε καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων συχυόν, ἀνὴρ ἐφαινετο ἐν τούτοις τοῦσε πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος, τῶν δὲ εἴπον πολιῶν τούτων πλὴρος Συρηκσίους εὐδεμία διέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς 'Ιπποκράτεος· Συρηκσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἔρρυσαντο μάχη ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ, ἔρρυσαντο δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοισὶ καταλλάξαντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἐπποκράτει 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 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 Corecyraeans, who made a peace for them on the

1 In 498.

Something is omitted after this word; Stein suggests viēos.
Συρηκοσίους παραδούναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἵνα Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

155. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἦσα ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεὶν πρὸς πόλιν ἸΒλή στρατευσάμενον ἔπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖς Ἰπποκράτεοι παισὶ Εὐκλείδη τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτέων κατηκόων ἑτὶ εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελών, ἦρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερῆσας τοὺς Ἰπποκράτεοι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ εὐρήμα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου 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 ἐπιοῦντι Γέλων παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωτὸν.

156. Ὡς δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγουν ἐλάσσω ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὴν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφῷ ἑωτοῦ, δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ Συρήκουσαι· αἱ δὲ παρατύπα ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἐβλαστον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἀπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγάγων πολιτήτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἀστυ κατέσκαψε, τούτῳ δὲ Γελώνων ὑπερμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντὸ τοῖς Καμαριναίοις ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὡς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίῃ προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκώντας ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τούτῳ, ἀγαγῶν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιτής ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δήμου τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἑότα 466
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 (Cylllyrians, 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 less 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. Straightway 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 townspeople 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.
καταίτων τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκό-
μενον κακῶν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγών καὶ τούτους
ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπὶ ἔξαγωγήν ἐκ
Σικελίης. τῶντο δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὐβοεάς τοὺς ἐν
Σικελίη ἐποίησε διακρίνας. ἐποίευ μὲν ταῦτα
τούτους ἀμφότεροις νομίσας δήμον εἶναι συνοι-
κήμα ἀγαριτῶτατον.

157. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε
μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δὲ ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ
ἐς λόγους ἐλεγον τάδε. "Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Δακε-
dαιμονίοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμψφο-
mένους σε πρὸ τοῦ βαρβαροῦ τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ στὴ 
τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως κο ἐπίσκεψαι, ὅτι 
Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεὺξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἥδων στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς 
Ἀσίας, στρατηλατήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προ-
σχῆμα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλαυνε,
ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἐσφυ 
πονήσασθαι. σύ δὲ δύναμισ τὸ γὰρ ἥκεις μεγά-
λως καὶ μοῖρα τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη 
μέτα ἄρχοντι γε Σικελίας, βοήθεις τὸ τοῖς 
ἐλευθεροῦσα τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευξέρου. ἄλης 
μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χεῖρ μεγίλη 
συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῖς ἐπιούσι
ἡν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἡμέων καταπροδίδωσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλοι 
τιμωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡ ὀλίγον,
τούτῳ δὲ ἡδὶ δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ 
Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσεη, ἢν ἡμέας καταστρέ-
ψηται ὁ Πέρσης μάχη κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἥξει 
παρὰ σὲ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦτο φύλαξαι βοηθέων
γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωτῷ τιμωρεῖν. 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 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 Dorieus² 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."

² Cp. V. 42-46.
³ Probably active infantry troops, able to keep up with the cavalry.
159. Ταύτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἤνεχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπε τε τάδε. "Ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώξει ο Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνονος πυθόμενος Σπαρτητής τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀπαραίρησθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνήσθης, ὅκως τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν βούλεαι βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἵσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Δακεδαίμονίων εἰ δ' ἀρα μὴ δικαιοὶ ἀρχέσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε." “

160. Πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὃρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύαγρου, τὸν τελευταῖον σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. "Ὡ ξεῖνε Σπαρτητής, ὁνείδεα κατίοντα ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγει τὸν θυμὸν· σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος υβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐ με πείσεις ἀσχήμωνα ἐν τῇ ἁμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. ὅκου δὲ υμεῖς οὕτω περιεχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον υμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατήγης τε ἐόντα πολλαπλησίας ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεὼν πολλὸν πλεῖνων. ἀλλ' ἔπειτε υμῖν, ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ὡμεῖς τι ὑπείρομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ υμεῖς ἡγεοῦσθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ υμῖν ἑδονή τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἑγώ θέλω. καὶ ἢ τούτου περιεχεῖ υμέας χρεόν ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπεινάνει συμμάχων τοιῶν ἐρήμοιν." “

161. Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταύτα προετείνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀγγελὸς τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων ἀμείβετο μὲν τοῖς. "Ὡ βασιλεὺ Συρηκοσίων, σὺ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπεπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῆς. σὺ δὲ ὥς μὲν στρατηγῆς πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, 472
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
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 all the longest lineage, and who alone among Greeks have never changed our dwelling; 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. 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

163. Οἱ μὲν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλευον. Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταύτα δεῖσας μὲν περὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησpción μὴ οὐ δύνωντα τοῦ βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινόν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέτον ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελο-
πόνισσον ἀρχεσθαί ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἔως Σικεδ
λίης τύráννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, δὲ
ἀλλης εἰκέτο. ἔπειτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην
diαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλησποντοῦ, πέμπει πεινηκοντέροιτι τρισὶ Κάδμου τὸν Σκύθεων
ἀνδρα Κών ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ
cαὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδοκήσοντα τὴν μάχην
tῇ πεσέται, καὶ ἤν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾶ, τά τε
χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν
ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἣν δὲ οἱ Ἑλληνες, ὀπίσω
ἀπάγειν.

164. Ο δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος πρότερον τούτων
παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κών εὐ
βεβηκυίαν, ἐκὼν τε εἰναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπιφόρος
οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ 1 δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κώνισι
cαταθείς τὴν ἀρχὴν οἴκετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἐνθα
παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν
Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ
όυνομα. τούτων δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ
tοιούτων τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνης, τὴν οἱ
αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε ἐ眈σαν, ἔπεμπε· ὅς ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀλλοισι δικαίοισι τοῖς ἐξ ἐωυτοῦ ἑργασμένοισι

1 Stein reads ἄπό, with the MSS.; the Oxford text prints ἄπα. There is no real warrant for ἄπα in the sense of "on
account of."
deprived of alliance with him to a year bereft of its spring.¹

163. After such traflicking with Gelon the Greek envoys sailed away. But Gelon feared therefore that the Greeks would not avail to overcome the foreigner, yet deemed it a thing hard and intolerable that he, the despot of Sicily, should go to the Peloponnese to be at the beck and call of Lacedaemonians; 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 friendship; 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 Gelon'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 Gelon 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 (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.
καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλήπτετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεδοὺ κατασχέσαι οὐκ ἦθελησε, ἀλλ’ ἔπει οἱ "Ελληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

165. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὄμως καὶ μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἀν τοῖς Ἐλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Ἀινησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίων μοννάρχου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐς Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου τύραννος ἐδών Ἰμέρης ἐπήγε ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκου καὶ Διβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Διγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμῖλκαν τὸν "Ἀννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξευνήν τε τὴν ἐωτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐδων τύραννος τα ἐωτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμῖλκα ἐπήγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρέων τῷ πενθερῷ. Τήριλλον γὰρ εἰχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὐνομῇ ἡν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶδον τε γενόμενου βοηθεῖν τοῦ Γέλωνα τοῦτοι Ἐλλησι ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

166. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Γέλωνα καὶ

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1 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 Geron, 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 home-ward, 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 Geron 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 Geron three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, 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 Geron sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks.

166. They add this tale too,—that Geron 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.
Θηρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖν τούς Μιλήσιοις τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἑόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντα τε κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίαν Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθηκαί πυθόμεναι: οὕτε γὰρ ζώντα οὕτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς: τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπέξελθεὶν διζήμενον Γέλωνα.

167. Ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁδὲ λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοίοι Ἐλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο εἰς ἥν άρξαμενοι μέχρι δέιλης ὀψίς (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἑθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἵδων δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἐωτοῦ γυνομένην, ὡς ἐτυχε ἐπισπεύδων τοῖσι ἰροῖσι, ὥσε ἐωτοῦν ἐς τὸ πύρ. οὕτω δὲ ἡ κατακαυθήντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπω εἴτε τοιοῦτω ὡς Φοῖνικεσ λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ πόλις τῶν ἀποκιδῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνιοι.

168. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίᾳς τοσάντα. Κερκυ- 

ραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις 

τοιάδε ἐποίησαν: καὶ γὰρ τούτοις παρελάμβανοι 

οἱ αὐτοὶ οἳ περ ἐς Σικελίᾳν ἀπίκουτο, λέγοντες 

τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τούς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον.

1 Stein brackets ὡς Κ. καὶ Σ. ; the Καρχ. are of course the same as the Φοῖνικεσ.
in Sicily on the selfsame day whereon the Greeks vanquished the Persian at Salamis. This Amilcas 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 mellay was drawn out), during all which time Amilcas 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 Coreyraeans, 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 Coreyraeans 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.
οι δὲ παραντίκαι μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνέων, φράξοντες ὡς οὐ σφι περιοττὴν ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολλυμένη· ἂν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφείς γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρωτῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἰη ἐς τὸ δυνατῶτατον. ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὗτῳ εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδει βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ νοεόντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκουντα, μόνιμα δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμεξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλου καὶ Ταίναρου γῆς τῆς Δακεδαμονίων ἀνεκώχευον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν πολέμον τῇ πεσέται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐποίειν δὲν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχοσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τοιάδε. "Ὡς βασίλευς, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πολέμον τοῦτον, ἐχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχιστὴν οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχιστὰς παρασχόντες ἀν ἄλλα πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἕθελήσαμέν τοι ἐναντίονθαι οὐδὲ τὶ ἀποθύμιον ποιήσαι." τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἠλπίζον πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἰσεθαί· τὰ περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἐφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκουντα τριήμερας, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἷοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμίῇ κακότητι λειψθήμα τῆς ναυμαχίας.

169. Οὖτοι μὲν οὗτῳ διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Κρῆτες δὲ, ἐπείτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτους ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, 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 Peloponnesse; but there they anchored off Pylos and Taenarups 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
to make: πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρόσοπος ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρῶτων εἴ σφι ἅμενον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἦ δέ Πυθώ ὑπεκρίνατο ":"Ω νύπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε μηνύων δακρυματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκεῖνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθείσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναικα.” ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας.

170. Δέγεται γὰρ Μίνως κατὰ ξύτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν γῆν Σικελίην καλευμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαῖῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρῆτας, θεοῦ σφί ἐπιτρύναντος, πάντας πλήν Πολιχνίτεων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην πολιορκεῖν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε πόλιν Καμικόν, τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλείν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεώτας, ἀπολιπόντας οὐχεσθαί. ὃς δὲ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν' συναραξθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γὰρ σφὶ ἐτί κομίδην ἐς Κρῆτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ἤρην πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμείναι τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρῆτον γενέσθαι Ἰησους Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησιώτας ἦπειρωτάς. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρην πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξαιστάντες προσέπτασαν μεγάλως, οὗτοι φῶνοι Ἐλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο

1 That is, the Greeks would not help the Cretans to avenge
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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.

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πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ἦηγίνων, οἳ ὑπὸ Μικυθοῦ τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροῖ Ταραντίνοις ἀπέθανον ὁμοίως οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐγέρον 

171. 'Αλλᾶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἦηγίνως τε καὶ 
Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· 
ἐσὶ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθείσαν, ὡς λέγουσι 
Πραίσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλοις τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ 
μάλιστα Ἑλλήνας, τρίτη δὲ γενέῃ μετὰ Μίνων 
tελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τούτῳ οὖ 
φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς 
Μενέλεφ. ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ σφὶ ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ 
Τροῖς λιμὸν τε καὶ λοιμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς 
kαὶ τοῖς προβάτοις, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρη-
μωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους 
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη 
ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἐσχὸς βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν 
tοίς Ἑλλησι.

172. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαῖος τὸ πρῶτον 
ἐμίδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφὶ ἦνδαν οἱ οἱ 
Ἄλευνάδαι ἐμηχανῶντο. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο 
tάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν 
Εὐρώπην, πέμποντο ἐς τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ ἀγγέλους· ἐν 
δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀληθεύειν πρόβουλοι τῆς 
Ἐλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ 
ἀμέριων φρονεοῦσέν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικό-
μενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι 
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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 Aleuadæ. 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,
"Ανδρες Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῆν Ὄλυμπικὴν, ὅνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἐλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἡμεῖς μὲν νῦν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπτεν δὲ χρή καὶ ύμεας στρατήν πολλήν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, επίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ. οὐ γὰρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος μούνους πρὸ ὑμῶν δεῖ ἀπόλεσθαι. βοηθείων δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἶοι τε ἐστε προσφέρειν οὕδαμα γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἐφυ. ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησμέθα αὐτοί τινα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι."

173. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. ὁ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπτειν κατὰ ἀλάσσαν πεζόν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπλεε δι' Ἐυρίπου ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιίης ἐς Ἀλον, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπτῶν, καὶ ἀπίκευτο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν ἢ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνελόν, μεταξύ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τε ὅρεος ἑόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἕλλήνων κατὰ μνημόνια ὑπότας συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ὑπὸς ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Ἀκεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρίνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἐδών οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὅλγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἀγγελοὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβούλευον σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ 488

(Σημείωση: Δύο)
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 ¹ 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 Euaenetus 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.
τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τὰς νέας. ὡς δὲ οὕτωι σφι ταύτα συνεβούλευσιν, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεουν συμβουλεύειν καὶ σφι εὐνοοῦσ ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών, ἐπείθοντο. δοκεῖει δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδὴ ἢν τὸ πείθουν, ὡς ἐπίθυντο καὶ ἄλλην εὐσάν ἐσβολήν ἐς Θεσσαλοῦς κατὰ τὴν ἀνω Μακεδονίαν διὰ Περραϊβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιᾷ ἡ Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οὗ Ἐλληνες ὑπὶ τὰς νέας ὑπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν.

174. Δύτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατηγὴ, βασιλέως τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Ἐυρώπην ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίης καὶ ἑόντος ἦδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὔτω δὴ ἐμῆν ἡσαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἐτί ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὡστε ἐν τοίσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἑόντες χρησιμώτατοι.

175. Οἶ δὲ 'Ελληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεκθέντα ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσουνται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷοις χώροις. η νυκῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγίνετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλησι ἐσβολήν φυλάξαι. στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐσά τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἀμα ἀγχοτέρη τῆς ἑωτῶν τὴν δὲ ἀταπον, δι' ἦν ἔλωσαν οἱ ἑλώνες Ελλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλησι, οὕτω δὴ ἔδεαν εὐσάν πρότερον ἡ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θηρμοπῦλας ἐπίθυμον Τρηκυνίων. ταύτην ἡν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολήν μὴ παρείναι ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν

1 MS. ἀγχοτέρη τε, in consequence of which Stein marks a lacuna, for words (e. g. καὶ μούνη) corresponding to τε, after ἑωτῶν. But τε may easily be a mistake, arising out of τῆς.
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 therefore 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. 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.
HERODOTUS

θερμον τοτε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ την ἐσοδον, ὡς ἄν χαρα-
δρωθείη ὁ χῶρος, πάν μηχανώμενοι ὅκως μη σφι
ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλὸι ἐπὶ την χώρην. το μέν
νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ
το πλέον αὐτοῦ ἡδὴ ὑπὸ χρόνου ἐκείτο· τοῖς δὲ
αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἐδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ
τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισκευαί-
σθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ "Ελληνες.

177. Οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὕτω τοῖς Ἐλληνοῖς
ἐναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτηδεύον· πάντα γὰρ προσκεψά-
μενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλῆθει ἔξωσι
χράσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ὕπτω, ταύτῃ σφι ἐδοξε
δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ την Ὁ.Ελλάδα. ὡς δὲ
ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσην ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες
ἐκ τοῦ Ἡσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς
Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἀλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ
Ἀρτέμισιον.

178. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοηθειν
diataxθέντες, Δελφοὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ ἑωτῶν καὶ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ σφι ἐχρήσθῃ ἀνέ-
μοισι εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἐσεσθαί
τῇ Ἐλλάδι συμμάχοις. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ
μαντήμιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἐλλήνων τοῖς βουλομένοισι
ἐναι διευθέρωτος ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖ-
sι, καὶ σφι δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον
ἐξαγγείλαντες χαίρων ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ
dὲ ταύτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοισι βωμὸν τε
ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς
Θυίης τὸ τέμενος ἐστὶ, ἐπ’ ἥς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὕτος
tην ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίησι σφέας μετήσαν.
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 δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσχουται. ὃ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ἐρέχεω στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε υνυί τῇ ἄριστα πλεούσῃ δέκα ἰδὴ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσι νέας τρεῖς Ἐλληνίδες, Τροιζήνη τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη καὶ Ἀττικὴ. προϊόντες δὲ οὕτω τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαν.

180. Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζήνην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτικα αἱρέουσι ἐπιστόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐπειτὰ τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τῶν καλλιστεύουτα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης τῆς νεός ἐσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι τὸν εἴλον τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ καλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὐνόμα ἦν Δέων' τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τὸν οὖνόματος ἐπαύρωτοι.

181. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέρην' ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἡ νῆσς ἡλικεῖ τοῦτο ἄντειχε μαχόμενος ἢ δ' κατεκρεουργήθη ἄπασ. ὡς δὲ πεσόν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἐμπνεος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἳ πέρ ἐπεβατεύον ἑπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τῆς ἐκείνου περιποίησαί μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαντο, σμύρνησι τε ἱώμενοι τὰ ἐλκεα καὶ συνδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῳκατειλίσσοντες καὶ μιν, ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγελόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατῇ περιέποντες εὖ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον εν τῇ νη ταῦτῃ περιείπον ὡς 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 Sciathus, 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 \(^1\) 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 \(^2\); 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.

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\(^1\) Commonly used for mummy-wrappings in Egypt; \(\text{cp. II. 86.}\)

\(^2\) Stein derives it rather from \(\delta\iota\alpha\delta\varepsilon\chi\varepsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\), supposing the meaning to be “a sacrifice where the portions of the victim are handed round among the sacrificers.”
182. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἢ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτυρηράρχεις Φόρμος ἀνήρ Ἀϑηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολάς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σχάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν οὐ· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀϑηναῖοι, ἀποθορύντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

183. Ταύτα οἱ Ἔλληνες οἱ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίω στρατοπεδεύομενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθουν πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμάζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξουντες μὲν τῶν Εὐριποῦ λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκόπους περὶ τὰ ύψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας. τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπῆλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐνοῦ Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμικα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθον ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτὸι ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφί τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγεγόνει καθαρῶν, ἐπέπλεον πάσησι τῆς νησοῦ, ἐνδέκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφί κατηγήσατο ἐνοῦ ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλεόντες οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐξανύσουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αὐγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἑόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαύτα ἐτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἐουσέων ἑπτά καὶ διηκοσίεων καὶ χιλιεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἑκάστων τῶν ἑθνῶν ἑόντα δῆμοιν
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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 Sciathus; 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 Sciathus 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
tésseris kai eikosi myriades kai pros xiliada te kal tetrapokosious, ws ana dihexosious andras logizomenvosi en ekashti. epebanteun dè eti tou-teon toon nevon, xories ekastou tòn epitachwron epiwastedon, Persseon te kai Mherwv kal Sakewv trimekonta andres. outos alllos omilos ginetai triemurioi kal exakiskiloi kal pros dihexosi kai kal deka. prosothésow d' eti touton kai tò proterov arithmof toous ek tòn penteikonterous, poíhssas, o ti pleon hen auton h elasson, an' ofiódokonta andres eneinai. sunelekhthe de tauta tè plodía, ws kai protéron eiréthi, trisxilia. hde an andres an eive en autousi tésseress myriades kai eikosi. touto men h dé to ek tis 'Asis nausikon hir, smiptan edon penteikonta myriades kai mia, xiliades de epeisi eti taúthsi ettta kai pros ekatonhatades ez kal dekas. toû dé pezou ebdomikonta kal ekaton myriades egeunoto, tòn dé ipepan óktono myriades. prosothésow d' eti toutoisi tas karmilous toous elaimountas 'Araibious kai toous tà armata Libnavas, plithos poihsas dismuryous andras. kai dé to te ek tòn nevon kai toû pezou plithos sunitheumenon ginetai dihexosi te myriades kai trimekonta kai mia, kai pros xiliades etpta kai ekatonhatades ez kai dekas. touto men to ez autis theis 'Asis sthrateuma ekanachthei eirhtai, anue te theis theraptis theis epomenvis kai tòn sittagwv plodiwn kai òssoi enépleun toutoisi.

185. To dé dé ek tis Euvóptis agómenon stráteuma eti prosochistéa toutw panti to éxhri therménn, dékhsan de dei légein. vèas men
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 Ὑπατίκης Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Ὑπατίκη παρείχοντο εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν· ἐκ μὲν νυν τούτων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. πεξοῦ δὲ τῶν Ὑπατίκης παρείχοντο καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Ὑορδοὶ καὶ Βοτταίοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πέρες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐυήνες καὶ Δύλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Ὑπατίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκεῖο γενέσθαι. αὐτὶ δὲν αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθεῖσα τῇ ἔκ τῆς Ἀσίης, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἄνδρῶν αἱ μάχημοι μυριάδες διηκόσια καὶ ἐξῆκοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἐπεισὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐκατοντάδες ἐκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.

186. Τοῦ μαχιμοῦ δὲ τούτου ἐοντος ἀριθμὸν τοσοῦτον, τὴν θεραπηῆν τὴν ἐπομένην τούτους καὶ τους ἐν τοῖς σιταγγοῖς ἀκάτοις ἐοντας καὶ μᾶλα ἑν τοῖς ἄλλους πλοῖοις τοῖς ἀμα πλέονσαι τῇ στρατῇ, τούτως τῶν μαχιμῶν ἄνδρῶν οὐ δοκεῖο εἴναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλέυνας. καὶ δὴ σφεας ποιῶν ἵσους ἐκείνους εἴναι καὶ οὗτε πλέυνας οὗτε ἐλάσσονας οὕδεν· ἐξισοῦμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχιμῷ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνους. οὕτω πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ ἐκκοσί καὶ ὅκτω καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἐκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἄνδρῶν ἡγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπτιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.

187. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ἐρξεών στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδεὶς ἄν εἴποι ὑπεκέα ἀριθμοῦ· οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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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
κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ’ ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεos οὐδεὶς ἄν εἴποι ἄριθμόν. ὦστε οὐδὲν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ἰδικὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι ὃν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θῶμα μοι μυριάσι τοσαύτης. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἐκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάµβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἐνδεκα μυριάδας μεθύμων τελεομένας ἐπ’ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίους τε ἀλλους μεθύμους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα· γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνοῦχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγιοσι καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ εὑσεσών τοσοωτέων μυριάδων, κάλλεος τε εἴνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἁξιονικότερος ἢν αὐτοῦ Ἡρέξεω ἔχειν τούτο τὸ κράτος.

188. ὃ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὅρμηθες ἐπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίας χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὁρμεων πρὸς γῆ, ἅλλαι δ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσαὶ ὁρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὅκτῳ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω, ἀμα δὲ ὅρθρῳ ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νημείης τῆς θαλάσσης θεσσάς ἐπέπεσε σφί χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἀνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἐλλησποντίνη καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὃςοι μὲν νῦν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἐμαθον τῶν ἀνεμον καὶ τοῖς οὕτω εἴχε ὁμον, οὐ δ’ ἐφθησαν τῶν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιήσαν 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 Magnesia 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 110,067 1/4. 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 ὃσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρρύθμισε ἔλαβε, 
τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰππονοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν 
Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αὐγιαλόν. αἰ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν 
τὴν Σηπτιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἰ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν 
πόλιν, αἰ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε 
τοῦ χειμῶνος χρήμα ἀφόρητον.

189. Δέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τὸν Βορέην 
ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου 
χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. 
Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλήνων λόγον ἤχει γυναίκα 
Ἀττικῆν, Ὀρειθυὴν τὴν Ἐρεχθέαν. κατὰ δὴ τὸ 
κῆδος τούτο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς φάτις ὀρμηταῖ, 
συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, 
ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς ἐμαθο 
αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύνοντό 
τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὀρει-
θυὴν τιμωρήσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθείραι τῶν βαρ-
βάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθην. 
εἰ μὲν νῦν διὰ τάντα τούτα βαρβάροις ὀρμέουσι 
Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δὲ ὧν Ἀθηναῖοι 
σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότε-
ρον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν 
ἀπελθόντες Βορέω ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ τοσοῦν 
Ἰλισσόν.

190. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας 
λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, 
ἀνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλῆθος 
ἀφθονον. ὡστε Ἀρεινοκλεῖ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἄνδρι 
Μάγνητι γηγείντο περὶ Σηπτιάδα μεγάλως ἡ 
ναυηγία αὐτή ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρυ-
σεα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασόμενα ἀνεῖλε 
pollα δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυροὺς τῇ τῶν Περσῶν

506  ἀστ  ἂνω
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,
εὑρε, ἄλλα τε ἀφατα ἡρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἄλλο μὲν τάλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τούτων ἄχαρις συμφορή λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος.

191. Συταγωγῶν δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπήν ἀριθμός. ὥστε δεῖσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοις ἐπιθέονται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἔρκος ὕψηλον ἐκ τῶν ναυηγῶν περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχεῖμαξε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἐντομά τε ποιεῖτες καὶ καταεἰδοῦτες γόησι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτους καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇ Νηρηίδισι θύοντες, ἐπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρη, ἡ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἰς τῇ ἀπάσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιᾶς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων.

192. "Ο μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρη ἐπέπαντο· τούσι δὲ Ἑλλησί οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὔβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρη ἡμέρη ἀπ’ ἤς ὁ χειμῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγήν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσείδεωνι σωτήρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπουδᾶς προχέατες τὴν ταχίστην ὁπίσω ἥπειρον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὅλιγας τινᾶς σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας.

193. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσείδεωνι σωτήροις ἐπωνυμήν ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τάδε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατο τε ὁ ἄνεμος 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 mischance 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 θλα τε [χρύσεα] Stein.
194. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τουτέων ἐτυχόν 

tε ὑσταταὶ πολλοὶ ἔξαναχθεῖσαι καὶ κως κατείδιον 
tag ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξάν 

tε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ, πλέοντες 

ἔσεπτον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγησε ὁ 

ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αιολίδος ὑπαρχός Σανδώκης οὐ 

Θαμασίον τὸν δὴ πρότερον τοῦτων βασιλεῖς 

Δαρείου ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τοῦτη λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἔντα 

τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων. οὐ Σανδώκης 

ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἐδίκασε. ἀνακρεμα-

σθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρείος εὐρέ 

οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτιμάτων πεποιημένα ἐς 

οἶκον τῶν βασιλῆων εὐρών δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, 

καὶ γνὸς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἦ σοφώτερα ἔργα-

σμένος ἐν, ἐλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρείον οὐτὸ 

dιαφύγων μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιή, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς 

"Ἑλληνας καταπλώσας ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον 

dιαφύγων ἐσεθαι· ὡς γὰρ σφέας εἰδον προσ-

πλέοντας οἱ "Ἑλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γι-

νομένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφέας 

εἶλον.

195. Ἔν τοιτέων μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, 

τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ, ἐν ἑτέρῳ 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 ἀφέναι, to send off or launch) gave rise to the legend.
Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν δυνάμεα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἐνδεκα τῷ χειμῶν τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένῃ κατατελείαν ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισιον ἦλθα. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες έξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πνεύσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρβεως στρατηγῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν.

196. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαϊδέα νεῶν τῶν εἰπὼν Σανδώκεα στρατηγείειν, ἀπίκουντο ἐς Ἀφέτας, Ἡσέρβης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεξὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαίας ἔσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλέας, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ μὲν ἀμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν τε ἐωντοῦ ἀποπειράμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνεῖ ἐνθα δὴ ἡ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλεύσοντο πολλοῦν τῶν μὲν νῦν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατῇ τὸ ἱέθρον πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὁστῖς μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστι Ἡπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

197. Ἐς Ἀλων δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιάς ἀπικομένῳ Ἡσέρβη οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέσσατο ἐλεγὼν νὶ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Δαφνίστου Δίος, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰώλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον σὺν Ἰνόι βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπών Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθείσι τοῖς ἑκείνου ἀπογόνουι ἀέθλους τοιούτῳ δὲ ἃν ἦ τοῦ γένους τοῦτον πρεσβύτατον, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργεσθαι τοῦ λητοῦ αὐτὸς φυλακὰς ἔχουσιν, λητοῦ δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανῆιον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ. ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθη, οὐκ ἐστὶ ὅκως 512
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, a 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 Aeclus 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 λεῶς or ληῆς.
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.  

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. 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.

1 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.
διὰ εἰκοσὶ κοινοὶ σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός τῷ οἴνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθεοῦτα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καθομένῳ λόγος ἐστι ἀναφανήναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι’ ἄλλων εἰκοσὶ σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστὶ ὁς καλέται Μέλας.

199. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πεντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὑρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ’ ἀ τρηχίς πεπολίσται δισχίλια τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστὶ. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικλητεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινήν ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ ὄρεος.

200. Ἑστὶ δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὁς ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέων εἰς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικα ποταμοῦ στεινότατον ἐστὶν ἀμαξίτος γὰρ μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κόμη τε ἐστὶ τῇ οἴνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ’ ἧν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτῆς εὑρᾶς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυόνοις ἱδρυται καὶ ἐδραί εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοις καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρῶν.

201. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἔρξες ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινή, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν

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1 This must be a measure not of length but of superficial extent: more than 5000 acres.

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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 builted 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

² Lit. dwellers around: neighbouring tribes forming a league, and sending representatives (Pylagori) to a conference held twice a year.

³ In the space between the eastern and western narrow ἐσόδοι.
τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπόλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πυλαι. ἐστρατοπε- 
δεύοντο μὲν τῶν ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοιοὶ χωρί-
οις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ δὲ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἀνέμων ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρῆχινος, οἳ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἐποτού καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἥπελρου.

202. Ἡσαυ δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ υπομένοντες τῶν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιητέων τε 
τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων 
χίλιοι, ἡμίσεις ἐκατέρω, ἐξ Ὄρχομενοι τε τῆς 
Ἀρκαδίης εἰκοσί καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς 
Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ 
δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος 
διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὁγδόκοντα. οὕτωι μὲν 
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν 
Θεσπιέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Ἡθβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Δοκροῖ 
τε οἱ Ὑπούντιοι πανστρατικῇ καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. 
αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέ-
γοντες δ’ ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκοιεν πρὸδρομοι 
τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσ-
δόκιμοι πάσαν εἰνὲν ἡμέρην, ἡ θάλασσα τε σφι 
εἰη ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ 
Ἀγαμητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν 
ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἰη δειων οὐδέν οὐ γὰρ θεόν 
εἰναι τον ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τῆν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπον, 
εἰναι δὲ θυντὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐσεσθαι τῷ κακὸν ἐξ 
ἀρχῆς γεγομένοι τοιοῦτοι τῷ κακοῦ εἰς 
οφείλειν ὃν καὶ τῶν ἐπελαύνοντα,
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\(^1\) 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 Mycenaean. These were they who had come from Peloponnesus: from Boeotia, seven hundred Thespian 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.
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ως ἑόντα θυητοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσείν άν. οὶ δὲ ταύτα πυθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

204. Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν ὦν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, δὲ ἰδιαμόνοις μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἤγεόμενος Λακε- 

dαιμόνιος ἡν Δεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Δέοντος 

tοῦ Εὐρυκράτιδεω τοῦ Ἀναξανδροῦ τοῦ Εὐρυκρά-

tεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλο 

tοῦ Ἀρχέλω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσου τοῦ 

tοῦ Λεωβώτεω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἡγίος τοῦ Εὐρυ-

tσένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοτήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ 

tοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἡλλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, κτησάμενος 

tὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπρόσδοκητοῦ.

205. Διξὸν γάρ οἱ ἑόντων προσβυτέρων ἀδελ-

φεῶν, Κλεομένεος τε καὶ Δωρίεος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς 

φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ 

Κλεομένεος ἀπαιδὸς ἔρσενος γόνου, Δωρίεος τε 

οὐκέτι ἑόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν 

Σικελίᾳ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Δεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλικὴ, 

καὶ διότι πρὸτερος ἐγεγονεę Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος 

γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς) καὶ δὴ καὶ 

eἰχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. δὲ τότε ἦν ἐς Θερμο-

πύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀνήρ τε τοὺς κατεστεώτας 

τρικοσίους καὶ τούτοι ἐτύχανον παῖδες ἐόντες 

παραλαβῶν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Ἡβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν 

ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἴπον, τῶν ἑστρατήγη τὸν 

τιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τούδε δὲ εἶνεκα τούτους 

σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Δεωνίδης μούνους Ἑλλήνων 

παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορήτο μηδι-

1 The regular number of the royal body-guard, the so-called ἰππεῖς. 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, 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. Macan's theory that Herodotus made a mistake. Of course if ἐπιλέγαμενοι could mean "selecting from," the difficulty might be removed; but I do not think it can.
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ζειν· παρεκαλεύ δεν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψαντι εἴτε καί ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἔλληνων συμμαχίην. οὔ δὲ ἄλλοφρονεύτες ἔπεμπον.

206. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέσειμψαν Σπαρτηταῖς, ὡν τούτους ἡρῴτες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύονται μηδὲ καὶ οὕτω μηδίσωσι, ἡν αὐτοῦς πυνθάνονται ὑπερβαλλομένους. μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γὰρ σφι ἐν ἐμποδῶν, ἐμελλὼν ὅρτασαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν παυδημεί. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνεώντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαύτα ποιήσειν· ἡν γὰρ κατὰ τώντο Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοίσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκών δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακρήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλησι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προ-δρόμους.

207. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι "Ελληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέειντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοπονησίοις ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελο-πόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ. Δεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκεών καὶ Δοκρῶν περισσερχοῦντων τῇ γυνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τῇ ἄγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντας σφι ἐπι-βοηθεῖν, ὡς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατόν τὸν Μῆδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208. Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ἐρέχθης κατάσκοπον ἰππέα ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι 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 Peloponnesians 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 ὁ τι ποιέοιειν. ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἐτὶ ἑὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ὡς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτη στρατιᾷ ὀλύγη, καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας ὡς εἶχαν Δακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Δεσποίνης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἰππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηείτο τε καὶ κατώρα πάν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶᾳ τῇ κατιδέσθαι ὅ δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἐμάνθανε, τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὀπλα ἐκεῖτο· ἐτυχὸν δὲ τούτον τὸν χρόνον Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὃρα γυμναζόμενους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἑθώμαξε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπῆλαινε ὅπίσω κατ' ἥσυχην· οὐτε γὰρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἑνεκύρησε πολλής· ἀπελθὼν τε ἔλεγεν πρὸς Ξέρξην τὰ περ ὀπώτε πάντα.

209. Ἀκοῦσων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὅς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἑόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν εἰρῶτα Ξέρξης ἐκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων. ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ἡκουσας μὲν καὶ προτέρον μεν, εὖτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτα με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὠρῶν ἐκβιωσόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀσκείειν ἀντία σεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀγῶν μέγιστος ἐστὶ· ἀκούσων δὲ καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἄνδρες οὕτω ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἦμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γὰρ σφι ἔχων.
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. Marveling 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
οὗτος ἔστιν ἐπειδὴ μέλλωσιν κινδυνεῦειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέουται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτοις γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατα-
στρέφεαι, ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπομενέει χειρὰς ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληνίτιν τε καὶ καλλιστὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐν "Ελλησὶ προσφέρεαι καὶ ἄνδρας ἄριστους."
κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξην ἀπίστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὅτι πρὸς τὸ πόλεμον τοσοῦ-
τοι ἔοντες τῇ ἑωτοῦ στρατηγῷ μαχησόνται. δὲ δὲ εἶπεν ""Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἄνδρι ψεύτῃ, ἂν μὴ ταὐτά τοι ταὐτῇ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἑγώ λέγω."

210. Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπειθῇ τὸν Ξέρξην.
τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφαῖς ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλ-
λάσσοντο ἄλλα οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείᾳ τε καὶ ἀβουλίᾳ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς
Μῆδος τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμώθεις, ἐντελόμενοι σφαῖς ἥγησάντας ἄγειν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ.
οἷς δὲ ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας ἡ
Μῆδοι, ἐπιτοῦ πολλοῖ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπεσήμαναν, καὶ
οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καὶ περὶ μεγάλως προσπηλαύνεις.
δῆλον δὲ ἐπολέυν παντὶ τεω καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῷ
βασιλεὺς, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶν, ὀλίγοι δὲ
ἀνδρεῖς. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δὲ ἡ ἡμέρης.

211. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχεῖσις περείπτοντο,
ἐνθαῦτα οὕτωι μὲν ὑπεξήισαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδε-
ξάμενοι ἐπήισαν, τοὺς ἡθανάτους ἠκάλεε βασιλεὺς,
τῶν ἤρχε Ἠδάρμης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοι γε εὐπτεῖκες κατ-
erγαζόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὕτωι συνεμισοῦν τοῖς
"Ελλησὶ, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατηγῆς τῆς
Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἀτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε
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dress their hair whensoever 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 καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἦ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἁξίως λόγου, ἀλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἔπισταμένοι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῦτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δὴθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρῶντες φεύγοντας βοῦ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπῆσαν, οὗ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῦσι βαρβάροις, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτος τῶν Περσῶν· ἐπιπτὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐνθαῦτα ὅλιγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάτο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπῆλαυνον ὁπίσω.

212. Ἐν ταύτησι τῆς προσόδοσι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρις ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ. τότε μὲν οὐτω ήγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἀμεινον ἄθλεον. ἀτε γὰρ ὅλιγων ἐοντων, ἐπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οὖν των τε ἐσεσθαι ἐτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι συνεβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες κατὰ τάξεις τε καὶ κατὰ έθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχουσαν, πλὴν. Φωκέων οὕτω δὲ ἐσ τὸ ὅρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξαντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὐρίσκον ἀλλούστερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκ τῆς προτεραίης ἐνώρων, ἀπῆλαυνον.

213. Ἀπορεόντος δὲ βασιλέως ὁ τῷ χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἑπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνήρ Μηλεώς ἦλθε οἱ οὲς λόγοις. ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκέων οἴσεσθαι ἐφρασάτε τε τῇ 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.
214. 'Επιάλτης μὲν οὖτω ύστερον τούτων ἀπέθανεν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὁνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἄνηρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεύς εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπαντε πρὸς βασιλέα τούτων τῶν λόγους καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῖς Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοίγε πιστῶς. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τόδε χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων Πυλαγόρων ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὁνήτης τε καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς ἀργύριον ἀλλʼ ἐπὶ 'Επιάλτη τὸ Τρηχινώ, πάντως κοι τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενον τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα 'Επιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οὐδαμεν. εἰδείῃ μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐδώ νῆ Μηλίεως ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπον Ὁνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὡμίληκὼς εἴη ἀλλʼ 'Επιάλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπόν, τοῦτον αἰτίου γράφω.

215. Ἐέρξης δὲ, ἔπει ἦρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ 'Επιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτῖκα περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπεμπε 'Τδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατῆγες

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.
HERODOTUS

'Τδάρνης' ὀρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἔξευρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλεῖες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖς κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τὸτε ὅτε οἱ Φωκεῖς φράξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέψῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ τε τόσον δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστῇ Μηλεῖοι.

216. "Ἐχεῖ δὲ ὅδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὐτή· ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος βεόντος, οὐνόμα δὲ τῷ ὀρεί τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τῶντο κεῖται, Ἀὐσπαῖα· τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀὐσπαία αὐτῇ κατὰ ράχιν τοῦ ὀρέος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τῆς Ἀλπηνῶν πόλιν, πρῶτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Δοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμπύγου τῇ καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἔστι.

217. Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἐχοῦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πάσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἐχοντες ὀρεα τὰ Οἰταιῶν, ἐν ἀριστερῆ δὲ τὰ Τρηχυνῶν. ἡώς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἳ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ άκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὀρέος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτῳ τοῦ ὀρέος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρήται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλίται, ρυόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ἦ μὲν γὰρ κατω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο υπὸ τῶν εἰρητῶν· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀρέος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταί Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδη ἐφύλασσον.

1 Plutarch in his life of Cato (13) describes the difficulty which troops under Cato's command encountered in trying to follow it.
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.

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.

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 Trachitian 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.

This is Stein's interpretation; others make oδδεν χρηστῆ refer to the ἀτραπός, meaning there "pernicious."

The Cercopes, mischievous dwarfs, had been warned against a "μελάμπυγος" 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. Ἑμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκεῖς ὡδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἠλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ όρος πᾶν ἐδών δρυῶν ἐπὶ πλεον. ἣν μὲν δὴ νηνεμίῃ, ψόφου δὲ γυνομένου πολλοῦ, ὡς οίκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων υπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ, ἀνὰ τε ἐδράμε τοι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὡς δὲ εἴδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυμένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ, ἐνθαῦτα Ἄδαρνης καταρρῳδήσας μή οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔσωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο Ἐπιάλτην ὀποδαπόσ εἰς ὅ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖς τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, οὐχοντες φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὀρμήσασαν ἀρχήν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Ἐπιάλτην καὶ Ἄδαρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεύετο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ όρος κατὰ τάχος.

219. Τοῖς δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἔουσι Ἐλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίς ἐσίδων ἐς τὰ ἱα ἐφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι ἀμα ἢ νοὶ σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτομόλοι ᾤσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον. οὔτοι μὲν ἐτὶ νυκτὸς ἐσήμεναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι κατάδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἡδη διαφαίνοντος ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἐλλήνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γυναίκαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν τὴν τάξιν ἐκλπτεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακρίνετες 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 ἔκαστοι ἔτραποντο, οὗ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμα Λεωνίδη μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς σφαιρα ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖς παρεούσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλειπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἥλθον φυλάξοντες ἁρχήν. ταῦτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην πλείστους εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπείτε ἠσθετο ποὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινεῖν, κελεύσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπίέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν μένουτι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐθαμονίη οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. ἐκεχρηστὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθῆς τοῖς Σπαρτητήσι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἡ Δακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφὶ ἐν ἐπεσι ἐξαμέτρουσι χρὰ λέγοντα ὅδε.

ὑμῖν δ', ὅ Σπάρτης ἀικήτορες εὐρυχόρου, ἡ μέγα ἀστυ ἑρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδησι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχὶ, ἀφ' 'Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης πενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενον Δακεδαίμονος οὐρος. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ταύρων σχῆσει μένος οὐδὲ λεώντων ἀντιβίην. Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδὲ ἐ φημὶ σχῆσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν ἐτερον 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 border 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.
ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μούνων 1 Σπαρτητέων, ἀποπέμψας τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόςμος οὖχεσθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους.

221. Μαρτύριον δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτον πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μᾶντιν ὃς εἴπετο τῇ στρατιᾷ ταῦτῃ, Μεγυστήν τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμπυδος, τούτῳ εὐπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντα σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερὸς ἐστὶ Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπτων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι. ὃ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλυπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συνετρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ μονογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

222. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι σύχοντο τε ἀπίοντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδη, Θεσπιές δὲ καὶ Ἡβαίοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Δακεδαμονίοισι. τοῦτον δὲ Ἡβαίοι μὲν ἀκόντες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι καταίχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος. Θεσπιές δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολύτοντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμέιναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγησε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεως.

223. Ἐρέχθης δὲ ἐπεί ήλιον ἀνατείλαντος σπονδᾶς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐσ ἀγορῆς κοι μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποίεσα καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτό ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω σύμων ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὀρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλόν ἡ περ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἐρέχθην προσῆσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἔλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ 538
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 befall 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 Lacedaemonians; 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.1 So the foreigners that were with Xerxes attacked; but the Greeks with Leonidas, knowing

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1 Stein reads μοῖνον, with most MSS.; but μοῖνων 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, ἢ δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον
ἡ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήγαγαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ
αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσ-
σετο, οὗ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξίοντες
ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχουσιν. τότε δὲ συμμύσχομεν
ἐξω τῶν στεινῶν ἐπιπτούν πληθεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν
βαρβάρων. ὁπιστα γὰρ ὅ ἢ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων
ἐχοντες μάστυγας ἐφράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ
ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπιπτοῦντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσε-
πιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,
pολλῷ δ' ἐτὶ πλεῖνες κατεπατέοντο ξωλὶ υπ'
ἀλλήλων· ἢν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου.
ἀτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσι ἐσεθαι
θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιπότων τὸ ὀρος, ἀπεδεικνυτο
ῥώμης ὅσον εἰχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους,
παραχρεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῦτο πλέοσι αὐτῶν
τηνικάυτα ἢ δὴ ἐτύγχανε κατεγρώτα, οἳ δὲ τοῖσι
ζήφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Δεωνίδης
τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνήρ γενόμενος
ἀριστος καὶ ἑτέροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτι-
τέων, τῶν ἑγώ ὅς ἄνδρῶν ἄξιων γενόμενοι ἐπυ-
θόμην τὰ οὐνόματα, ἐπιθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων
τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτομεν
ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ
δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον δύο παῖδες 'Αλβροκόμης τε· καὶ
Τεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς 'Αρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φρα-
tαγούης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ 'Αρτάνης Δα-
ρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέας ἣν ἄδελφεος, Τστάσπεος
δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδίδοις τὴν
θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ τὸν οἶκων πάντα τὸν ἐωτοῦ
ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μοῦνης οἱ ἐσύσης ταύτης τέκνου.
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.
225. Ζέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἄδελφεοι ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ύπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Δεωνίδου Περσέων τε καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων ὁθισμὸς ἐγίνετο πολλός, ἐς τοῦτον τε ἀρετῆ οἳ "Ελληνες ὑπεξειρύσαν καὶ ετρέψαν τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τούτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὓς οἱ σὺν Ἑπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἢκεών ἐπύθοντο οἳ "Ελληνες, ἐνθεύτευν ἡδη ἐτεροιούτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἐς τὸ γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὁπίσω, καὶ παραμενόμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἔλθοντες ζυνοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ πάντες ἄλεες οἳ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ εἰς τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Δεωνίδη. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρης, τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιευότασι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχοσαν οἳ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἳ μὲν ἐς ἐναντίας ἐπιποτέμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχους συγχώσαντες, οἳ δὲ περιεστόντες πάντοτεν περιστάδον.

226. Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὁμος λέγεται ἄνηρ ἀριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τὸδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἡ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖς Μηδοῖσιν, πυθόμενον πρὸς τέν τῶν Τρηχίων ὡς ἐπεάν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσε τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἡλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτους εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογῇ ποιεύμενον τὸ Μηδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφὶ ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίων ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μηδων τὸν ἡλίου ὑπὸ σκιῆ ἐσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.
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 mêlėy 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 τοιούτατρα ἔπεα φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λυπέσθαι μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἄδελφεοι, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμευ μάλιστα τῷ οὖν ομοῖα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

228. Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφί αὐτοῦ ταῦτη τῇ περ ἐπεσον, καὶ τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασι ή ὑπὸ Δεωνίδεω ἀποτελεῖσθεντας οὐχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκώσιαι ἐμάχοντο ἐκ Πελοποννασσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖς δὲ Ὑπαρτήσασι ἱδίῃ.

ὁ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ὅτι τῇδε κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ρήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τούτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε.

μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μήδοι Ἀπερχείσαι ποταμόν κτείναν ἀμειψάμενοι, μάντιος, ὅς τότε κήρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἴδως οὐκ ἔτη Σπάρτης ἤγεμόνα προλίπειν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ξείω ἡ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύνους εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμησάντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω Σιμωνίδης ὂ Δεσπρέπεος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξείνην ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

229. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκώσιων λέγεται Εὐρυτῶν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεδόν αὐτοῖσι

1 As a matter of fact Simonides composed all three
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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.
ἀμφοτέρους κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοις ἐς ἀποσωθῆναι ὡς μεμετημένοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ύπὸ Δεωνίδεω καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖς ὑφαλμιώντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον, ἡ εἰ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἃμα τοίς ἄλλοις, παρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ ἐτερα ποιέων οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας Ἐὔρυτον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντα τε τὰ ὀπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἑωτοῦ κελεύσαι τὸν εἰλωτὰ ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἄγαγόντα οἶχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὀμιλὸν διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λυποψυχέοντα λειψθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἡ μοῦν Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγῆσαντα ἀπονοστῆσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἣ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν ἐμοῖ, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτῆτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελῆσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαῖος σφι ἑχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστο-δῆμῳ.

230. Οὔ μὲν νυν οὔτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστό-δημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε, οὐ δὲ ἀγγέλον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔξεδον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα εἰς τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀπο-θανεῖν.

231. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἰχε ὁνειδός τε καὶ ἀτμιήν πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πύρ οὐδεὶς ἔνανε

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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 ἀλογίσατα, of which I can make no good sense. There is MS. authority for both.
Σπαρτιητέων ουτε διελέγετο. ονειδος δε ειχε ο τρέσας 'Αριστόδημος καλεόμενος.

232. 'Αλλ' ο μεν εν τη εν Πλαταιησι μαχη ανέλαβε πάσαν την επενειχθεισαν αιτην' λέγεται δε και άλλον ἀποπεμφθεντα αγγελον ες Θεσσαλην τον τριηκοσίων τοιτων περιγενέσθαι, τω ουνομα ειναι Παντίτην νοστήσαντα δε τοιτων ες Σπάρτην, ως ητίμωτο, ἀπάξασθαι.

233. Οι δε Θηβαιου, των ο Λεοντιάδης εστρατήγες, τεσσερες μεν μετα των Ελλήνων ένοτες έμαχοντο υπ' αναγκαιης εχομενοι προς την βασιλεος στρατηγην' ως δε ειδου κατυπέρτερα των Περσεων γινόμενα τα πρήγματα, ουτω δη, των συν Λεωνίδη Ελλήνων έπειγομενων έπε τον κολωνον, ἀποσχισθεντας τοιτων χειρας τε προετεινον και ήσαν άσσων των βαρβαρων, λέγοντες των άληθεστατον των λόγων, ως και μηδιζουσι και γην τε και ύδωρ εν πρώτοις έδοσαν βασιλεις, υπ' δε άναγκαιης εχομενου ες Θερμοπύλαις απικοιατο και αναίτιω ειεν του τρόματος του γεγονότος βασιλεις. ώστε ταυτα λέγοντες περιεγινοντο ειχον γαρ και Θεσσαλους τοιτων των λόγων μάρτυρας ου μεντο τα γε πάντα ευτύχησαιν ως γαρ αυτους ἐλαβον οι βάρβαροι ἑλθοντας, τους μεν τινας και ἀπεκτειναν προσιόντας, τους δε πλεινας αυτων κελεύσαντος ο Ερξεω έστιξον στηγματα βασιληια, άρξαμενοι απο του στρατηγου Λεοντιάδεω του τον παιδα Ευρύμαχον χρόνω μετέπειτα εφόνευσαν Πλαταιες στρατηγησαντα ανδρων Θηβαιων τετρακοσιων και σχοντα το άστυ το Πλαταιεων.

234. Οι μεν δη περι Θερμοπύλαις "Ελληνες
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\(^1\) 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.
οὔτω ἡγούνσαντο, Ἐρέξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητου εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθέειδε. "Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἁγαθὸς. τέκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὅσα γὰρ εἴπας, ἀπαντά ἀπέβη οὔτω. νῦν δὲ μοι εἶπέ, κόσοι τινὲς εἰσὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἴτε καὶ ἀπαντες." ὁ δὲ εἶπε ὡς βασιλεὺς, πλήθος μὲν πολλῶν πάντων τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεως πολλάι: τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι Σπάρτῆ πόλις ἄνδρῶν ὀκτακισ-χιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοίων τούσ ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοις. οὗ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Δακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοίων, ἁγαθοὶ δὲ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἐρέξης "Δημάρητε, τέφροι τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων ἐπι-κρατήσομεν; ἦθελ ἐξηγεῖά· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων ὅλα βασιλεὺς γενόμενοι."

235. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὡς βασιλεὺς, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλεύεται μοι προθύμως, δίκαιον με σοὶ ἐστὶ φράξειν τὸ ἀριστον· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Δάκαιμαν χώρην. ἐστι δὲ ἐπ τὴν ἔφοι βιοτος ἐπικειμένη τῇ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνήρ παρ ἦμιν σοφῶτατος γενόμενος κέρδος μέξον ἄν ἐφη εἶναι Ἡπαρτιῆτης κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέαι μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπέρέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οὗ τοι ἐγώ ἐξηγεύομαι, οὗτο τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδοῦς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὀμοίως φοβε-όμενος ἄνδρῶν στόλον. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενοι φοβεοῦσιν τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους. παρ-οίκοι δὲ πολέμου σφὶ έντος οἰκηθοῦν, 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 τοιῷ μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἁλισκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθεύσοι ταῦτη. κατα- δουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενές ἥδη τὸ Δακωνικῶν μοῦνον λείπεται. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιές, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἐσεσθαί. ἐστὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἰσθμὸς στεινῶς· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χῶρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοὶ μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομενῶν προσ- δέκεο ἐσεσθαί τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιῆσαντι ἁμαχητὶ ὁ τε ἰσθμὸς οὕτως καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρῆσον;”

236. Δέγει μετὰ τούτον Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφός τε ἐὼν Ἑξέξεω καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατη- γός, παρατυχών τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀνα- γνωσθῇ Ἑξέξης ποιεῖν ταῦτα, “ὦ Βασίλειε, ὅρω σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον λόγους δὲ φθονεῖ τοι εὗ- πρήσσοντι ἦ καὶ προδιδοὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποις τοιούτοις χρεώμενοι Ἑλλη- νες χαίροντες τοῦ τε εὐτυχεῶς φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς παρεύσῃς τύχης, τῶν νέων νευανηγήκαςι τετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρῆκοσσίας ἀποπέμψεις περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοὶ τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι ἄλης δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στράτος δυσμεταχείριστος τοῦ αὐτοῦς γίνεται, καὶ ἁρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοὶ τοι ἐσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευό- μενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὕτε σὺ ἐσεαὶ ἐκεῖνοις χρήσιμος οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι σοὶ. τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὗ γνώμην ἑχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέ- γεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον τὰ τε ποιῆσον ὅσοι τε πλῆθος εἰσί. ἰκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἑωτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί,
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
Ημείς δὲ ἡμέων ὁμάτως. Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἐσι ἀντία Πέρσης ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεῖν τρόμα ἀκεφάλαια."  

237. Ἄμειβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσιδε. "Ἀχαΐμενε, εὖ τε μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἁριστὰ ἐλπηται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μὲντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεῖνο γε ἐνδεξομαι ὁκως οὐκ εὑνοεῖ τοῖσι ἐμοίσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσι τε λεγομένουσι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμῶ-μενος καὶ τῷ ἑόντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτη εὖ πρήσασται φθονεῖ καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενὴς τῇ συγῇ, οὐδὲ ἀν συμ βουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολιήτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἁριστά οἱ δοκεόντα εἶναι ὑποθέειτο, εἰ μὴ πρῶς ἀρετῆς ἀνήκου σπάνιοι δὲ εἰςι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ξεῖνοι δὲ ξεῖνω εὖ πρήσασται ἐστὶ εὑμενέσσετο πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἀν συμ βουλευόσει τὰ ἁριστα. οὔτω δὲν κακολογηθora 1 τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἑόντος ἐμοὶ ξεῖνου πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω."  

238. Ταῦτα εἰπας Ἑρξῆς διεξῆμε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Δεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Δακεδαμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμότας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσαι. δῆλα μοι πολλοὶς μὲν καὶ ἀλλοίς τεκμηρίωσι, εὖ δὲ καὶ τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἑρξῆς πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἑθυμῶθη ζωτὶ Δεωνίδη. οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενό-μησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἀνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οὐ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίειν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.  

239. "Ἀνειμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τῷ

1 [περ] κακολογήσαν στέιν.
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
HERODOTUS

πρότερον ἔξελιπτε. ἐπύθουντο Δακεδαίμονοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρώτοι, καὶ οὔτω δὴ ἐσ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐσ Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ἔχρησθη τὰ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴπον· ἐπύθουντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασιω. Δημάρχητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μίδους, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οίκος ἔμοι συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὔνοος Δακεδαίμονοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἶτε εὔνοη ταύτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχάρων. ἔπειτε γὰρ Ξέρξη ἔδοξε στρατηλάτειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔων ἐν Σοῦσοις ὁ Δημάρχητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταύτα ἥθελησε Δακεδαίμονοισι ἔξαγγείλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἰχε σημῆναι· ἐπικινδύνου γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμβθεὶν· ὅ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον δι- πτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκυνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βα- σιλέως γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα ὑπὸ ἐπέτηξε- τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὅπως ἐρόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρήγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὀδοφυλάκων. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Δακε- δαίμονα, οὐκ εἰχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι, πρὸν γε δὴ σφὶ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμενοι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Δεσπίδω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργὼ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθείσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν καὶ κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθό- μενοι δὲ εὐρὸν καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοισι" Ἐλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταύτα μὲν δὴ οὔτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

1 220, where Herodotus mentioned the bare fact of the
BOOK VII. 239

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.
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