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HERODOTUS

III

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HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

BOOKS V–VII

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MCMXXVIII
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INTRODUCTION

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

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

Ch. 1–16. Megabazus’ conquests in Europe.
Ch. 23–27. Histiaeus of Miletus at the Persian court; Otanes’ conquests in N.W. Asia Minor and the neighbourhood.
Ch. 28–38. Troubles at Miletus and Naxos; Aristagoras’ temporary alliance with Artaphrenes, and its breach; Aristagoras instigated by Histiaeus to revolt.
Ch. 39–48. Story of Anaxandrides king of Sparta and his sons Cleomenes and Dorieus. Dorieus’ death in Sicily; Cleomenes king of Sparta.
Ch. 49–51. Aristagoras’ unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Spartan alliance; his map of Asia.
Ch. 52–54. Description of the “Royal Road” from Ephesus to Susa.
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Ch. 55–96. Aristagoras’ visit to Athens; a long digression on Athenian history.

[Ch. 55–61. The death of Hipparchus; origin of the Gephyraei by whom he was killed.

Ch. 62–65. Expulsion of the Pisistratidae, by Lacedaemonian help.

Ch. 66–69. Reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens, on the model of those effected by an elder Cleisthenes at Sicyon.

Ch. 70–73. Counter-revolution organised by Isagoras with Lacedaemonian help; its failure; Athenian embassy to Persia, without result.

Ch. 74–78. Joint attack on Athens by Lacedaemonians, Boeotians, and Chalcidians; its repulse.

Ch. 79–89. Alliance of Thebes and Aegina against Athens; former feud between Athens and Aegina, arising out of relations between Athens and Epidaurus.

Ch. 90, 91. Debate among the Spartans and their allies, as to restoring Hippias at Athens.

Ch. 92. Protest of the Corinthians against this; story of the Cypselid dynasty at Corinth.

Ch. 93–96. Hippias’ retirement to Sigeum; story of how Sigeum had originally been occupied by the Athenians; Hippias’ appeal to Persia for protection, leading to a final breach between Persia and Athens.]

Ch. 97, 98. Aristagoras’ success in obtaining Athenian help. Escape of the Paeonians from Asia, at his instigation.

Ch. 99–102. Sardis attacked and burnt by Athenians and Ionians; their subsequent retreat.

Ch. 103, 104. Spread of the revolt in Caria and Cyprus.
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Ch. 105-107. Histiaeus' mission from Susa to Ionia, on pretence of dealing with the revolt.
Ch. 108-115. War in Cyprus; battles by sea and land; Cyprus reduced by the Persians.
Ch. 116-123. Persian victories in western Asia Minor.
Ch. 124-126. Flight and death of Aristagoras.

Book VI continues in its earlier chapters the story of the next phase of the Ionian revolts.
Ch. 1-5. Histiaeus' return from Susa to the west, and the ill-success of his enterprises there.
Ch. 5-10. Preparation of the opposing forces of Persians and Ionians at Miletus; Persian attempts to tamper with the Ionians.
Ch. 11-17. Dionysius' attempt to train the Ionians for battle. Sea-fight off Lade, Samian treachery, and complete victory of the Persians. Bravery and misfortunes of the Chians.
Ch. 18-21. Fall of Miletus.
Ch. 22-24. Flight of certain Samians to Sicily, and their treacherous occupation of Zancle.
Ch. 25-32. Further Persian successes; capture and death of Histiaeus; complete suppression of the Ionian revolt.
Ch. 33-41. Persian conquest of the Thracian Chersonese and the towns of the Hellespont. Story of the rule there of the elder Miltiades; escape from the Persians of Miltiades the younger.
Ch. 42. Persian administration of Ionia.
Ch. 43-45. First expedition of Mardonius against Greece (492); wreck of his fleet off Athos; his return to Asia.
Ch. 46, 47. Subjection of Thasos to Persia.
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Ch. 48–50. Darius' demand of "earth and water" from Greek states. Aeginetans accused as traitors for submitting to it.

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

Ch. 121–131. Herodotus' argument against the accusation of treason brought against the Alemaeonid 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.

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

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


Ch. 37–43. Route of the army from Sardis to
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Abydos; Pythius' request, and its punishment; the order of march.

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 122-126. From Acanthus to Therma.

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 153-167. Greek mission to Sicily. History of
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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 βασιλείας had passed mostly into the hands of some sort of oligarchy, whether based on wealth or birth. The relations between these and the unprivileged weaker population produced the economic disorders of the seventh century; and different states solved their problems in different ways. Sometimes the fall of an unpopular oligarchy or group of privileged families was brought about by the establishment of “despotism,” some member of the hitherto powerful caste making himself master of the situation by a coup d’etat, with or without the support of the unprivileged; thus the rule of the Battiatidae 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 τιμάων. 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 ἡλενθερία—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 ελευθερία not by giving power to the δήμος, 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," ελευθερία, or ἴσηγορία, which like ελευθερία 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 ελευθερία (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 δήμος 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
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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.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Ε

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρώτος μὲν Περσιδίους Ἐλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου κατεστρεφόντα, περιεβάλαντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παίονος τρηχέως. οἱ γὰρ ὁπὸ Στραμόνος Παίονες χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύσθαι ἐπὶ Περσιδίους, καὶ ἣν μὲν ἀντικατιζομένου ἐπικαλεσθοῦνται σφέας οἱ Περινθιοὶ ὅνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβρῶσθαι, μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐποίησον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα. ἀντικατιζομένου δὲ τῶν Περσιδίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μονομαχὴ τριφασίη ἐκ προκλήσιος σφὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ ἦν ἄνδρα ἄνδρι καὶ ὑπὸ ποὺ συνέβαλον καὶ κυνὶν. νικῶντος δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περσιδίων, οὐς ἐπαίωντο κεχαρηκότες, συνέβαλοντο οἱ Παίονες τὸ θρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἰπάν κοι παρὰ σφὶς αὐτοῖς ἑσεί ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἦμιν, νῦν ἤμετερον ἔργον. οὕτω τοῖς Περσιδίοις παισώσασθι ἐπιχειρέσθω τι Παίονες, καὶ τολλόν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.
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BOOK V

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.
αὐτῶν ἀποθάνη, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικών καὶ φίλων σπουδαί ἑσχυναί περὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρος· ἦ δὲ ἄν κρυθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιάσθεισα ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τῶν τάφων ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁικτοτάτων ἔως ἐστὶ, σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἄνδρι. αἱ δὲ ἄλλα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεύονται ὁνείδος γὰρ σφι τούτῳ μέγιστον γίνεται.

6. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Ὑπαίκων ἔστι δὲ νόμος πωλεῖσαι τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ ἐξαγωγῇ, ταῖς δὲ παρθένοις οὐ φυλάσσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἐώς τοῖς αὐτῶν βούλονται ἄνδρας μίσγεσθαι τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἱσχυρὰς φυλάσσοντες καὶ ὁμόστροφας τὰς ὑπερασπίζουσας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐστὶν ἐγενεῖς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἄστικτον ἄγενες. ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀπεμούσα τῷ ἦν ἀναπλήρωτοι καὶ ληστῶν κάλλιστον.

7. Ὁντος μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανεστάται νόμοι εἰσὶ, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μοῦνοι τούσδε, Ἀρεά καὶ Διὸνυσον καὶ Ἄρτεμις. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, πάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτεῶν, σέβονται Ἔρμην μάλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὁμόνοιοι μοῦνοι τούτοις, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἔρμην ἐσπανθῶς.

8. Ταφαῖ δὲ τοῖς εὐδαίμονοι αὐτῶν εἰσὶν ἀδείτρείς μὲν ἡμέρας προτιθεῖσι τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ παλαιοὶ σφάξεις ἰρήνα εὑρίσκονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον ἐπείτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες ἦ ἄλλως ὡς κρύψαντες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγώνα τιθείσι παλαιοῖς, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀεθλα 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.

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1 Herodotus as usual identifies foreign with Greek deities: v. How and Walls ad loc.
κατὰ λόγον μουνημαχίας. ταφαὶ μὲν ὅ Ἐρημίκων εἰσὶν αἶδε.

9. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορὲω τῆς χώρης ἔτι ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκὲς ὀντὶνες εἰςὶν ἀνθρώποις οἰκεύοντες αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἔρημος χώρη φαίνεται εὖοσα καὶ ἀπειρος. μοῦνοις δὲ δύναμαι πυθῆσθαι οἰκεύοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς οὖνοια εἰναι Σιγύννας, ἐσθήτη δὲ χρεωμένων Μηδικῆς τῶν δὲ Ἰπποὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἄνδρας φέρειν, ξενυγμένους δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀρματα εἶναι ὄζυτάτους ἀρματηλατεῖν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τῶν οὐρων ἀγχοῦ Ἑνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδριη. εἶναι δὲ Μηδοῦν σφέας ἀποκός λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὕτω Μηδοῦν ἀποκοί γεγονασί, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένοιτο δὲ ἂν πὰν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ, σιγύνας δὲ ὡν κἀλέουσι Λύννας οἱ ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκεύοντες τοὺς κατῆκοις, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ ὀδότα.

10. Ὡς δὲ Ἐρημίκες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσι τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ ύπὸ τοῦτον οὐκ εἶναι διελθείν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκεούσι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα, τὰ γὰρ ἥβα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσρυγα, ἀλλὰ μοῖς τὰ ύπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον αὐκήτα δοκεῖν εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα, ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τῆς χώρης ταύτης πέρι λέγεται τὰ παραβαλάσσια δὲ ἂν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων κατήκοια ἐποίεε.
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 hair\(^1\) 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 high 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 Cypriots 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,\(^*\) he remembered the good service

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\(^1\) Strabo says much the same of the Sigynni, according to him a Caucasian tribe.

\(^*\) Cp. IV. 143.
HERODOTUS

'Ιστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρανεύσεις τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώσεω, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδις ἔθεδον αὐτοῖς αἷρεσιν. ὁ μὲν ὁ 'Ιστιαίος, ἀτε τυραννεύον τῆς Μιλητοῦ, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμίῇς προσεχρήζε, αἰτεῖε δὲ Μύρκινου τῆς Ἡδωνῆς, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὕτως μὲν δὴ ταύτην αἴρεται, ὁ δὲ Κώσης, οἷα τε οὐ τυραννὸς ὁμότης τε ἑών, αἰτεῖε Μυτιλήνης τυραννεύσαι.

12. Τελεωθέτων δὲ ἀμφοτέρωσι, οὕτως μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἴλουτο ἐτράποντο, Δαρείων δὲ συνήνεικε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἱδομενον ἑπιθυμήσαι ενείλασθαι Μεγαβάζω Παῖονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπᾶστος ποιήσαι ἐς τὴν 'Ασίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πύργης καὶ Μαυτής ἀνδρὸς Παῖονες, οἱ ἐπείτε Δαρείος διεβη ἐς τὴν 'Ασίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παῖονων τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι ἀδελφείν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδεὰ. φυλάζαντες δὲ Δαρείων προκατizoμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Ἀνδοῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε, σκευάζαντες τὴν ἀδελφείν ὡς εἰχον ἀριστα, ἐπὶ ὕδωρ ἐπερπαν ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίων ἱππον ἐπελεκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσαν λίγον, ὡς δὲ παρεξίη ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπιμελεῖς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο, οὕτε ἀγαρ Περσικα ἢν οὕτε Ἀνδοῖα τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὕτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίης οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελεῖς δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπτε κελεύων φυλάξαι ὁ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἱππῳ ἡ γυνή. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὡποίοθε ἐπιστεύοντο. ἦ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τῶν ποτάμων, ἢρε τῶν ἱππων, ἀρσάσα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὑδάτως ἐμπλησμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξίη, 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 Myreinus 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, Pgres 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 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; op. 23.
HERODOTUS

τὸ ὤδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίους τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἀτρα-κτον.

13. Θωμαίων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τά τε ἑκούσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτῶς ὥρα, ἀγείν αὐτήν ἐκέ-λευν ἐωστό ἐσ ὅψιν. ὡς δὲ ἄχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοι αὐτῆς οὐ χρὸνος σκοτήσαν ἔχοντες τοῦτων. εἰρωτάντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὀποδαπή εἶπ, ἐφάσαν οἱ νερικάκοι εἶναι Παιόνεις καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἄδελφεσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παιόνες ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ καί ἡ γῆς ὀικημένοι, καὶ τί κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθοιν εἰς Σάρδης. οἱ δὲ οἱ ἑφραζόν ὡς ἔλθοιν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δώσων τσάφες αὐτῶς, εἰπ δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τὸ Στρυμόνα ποταμό πεπολισμένη, ὁ δὲ Στρυμόνα οὐ πρόσῳ τοῦ Ἐλλη-σπόντου, εἶπαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίας ἄποι-κοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκαστά ἐλεγον, ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα ἐι καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτῶθι αἱ γυναῖκες εἰπαν οὕτω ἐργάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφάσαν προθύμως οὕτω ἔχειν αὐτῶ γὰρ ὅν τοῦτο εἶνεκά καὶ ἐποιεῖτο.

14. Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείος γράφει γράμμα Ρκ Μεγα-βάξῳ, τὸν ἐλιπε ἐν τῇ Ἰορνίκῃ στρατηγοῦν, εὐστελ-λόμενος ἐξαναστῆσαι ἐξ ἱδέων Παιόνας καὶ παρ' ἐωστόν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τὰς γυναίκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἱππεὺς ἢθεε φέρουν τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, πε-ραίωθες δὲ διδοὶ τὸ βυζλίῳ τὸ Μεγαβάξῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπελεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἠγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Ἰορνίκης ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίῃ.

15. Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παιόνες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἠναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύοντο 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 Teurcians 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, δοκεότας ταύτη ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παίονες ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεις ἐρύκειν; οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλλάσσαν τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἄνω ὀδόν τράπονται, λα-
θόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπίπτουσι ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐούσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους ὅλα δὲ κεινής ἐπιπεσόντες εὐπτέεως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παίονες ὃς ἐπιθύμος ἐχομένος τὰς πόλεις, αὐτικὰ δια-
σκεδασθέντες καὶ ἐσωτερικὰ ἐκαστὸν ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδόοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὸῦ Πέρσης. οὔτω δὴ Παίονων Σιριοπαλοῖς τε καὶ Παῖοπλαῖ καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἥθεων ἔκα

16. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ Δάβηρας καὶ Ἀγριάνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους ὁ τῆς πρασιάδα ὁ ἡκερώθησαν ἄρχην ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου ἐπιχείρησθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἔβαρεν ὁ ὁδός. ἦκαρ εἰς τοὺς σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἤχουμεν ἐν μέσῃ ἑστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἱπποῦ τεσσαράς ἔχοντα μὴ γεφυρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστῶσις τοῖς ἱκοίστος τὸ ἐν κοὶ ἀρχαίον ἐστήσαν κοινὴ πάντες οἱ πολιτεῖαι, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἀστάσις τοὺς ἱκοίστος ἐν ὀρείσ τῷ ὑμνῷ ὅστις Ὀρ-

1 Stein brackets καὶ Δαβ. καὶ Ἀγρ. καὶ Ὀδ. ; and certainly it is not reasonable to speak of Paeonians living near the Doberes and Agrianes, who are themselves Paeonians.
together and marched away to the sea, thinking that the Persians would essay to attack them by that way. So the Paeonians were ready to stay the onset of Megabazus' army; but the Persians, learning that the Paeonians had gathered their forces and were guarding the sea-coast way into their country, got them guides and marched instead by the 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 onfalk they easily gained them. The Paeonians, learning that their towns were taken, straightway broke and went each his own way and yielded themselves up to the Persians. Thus of the Paeonians the Siriopaeones and Paeoplae and all that dwelt as far as the Prasiad lake were taken away from their homes and carried into Asia.

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

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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.
γυναικές. οἴκευοντι δὲ τοιούτων τρόπων, κρατέων ἐκαστοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκριῶν καλύψις τε ἐν τῇ διαίταται καὶ θύρης καταπάκτης διὰ τῶν ἱκριῶν κάτω φερόμενης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νῆσια παϊδία δέουσιν τοῦ ποδός σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνουσιν. τοῖς δὲ ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις παρέχουσι χόρτον ἵχθυς τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐςτὶ τοσοῦτο ὡστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπάκτην ἀνακλίνῃ, κατειχοὶ σχοῖνος σπυρίδα κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλὸν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχῶν ἀνασπᾶ πληρεὶ ἵχθυὼν, τῶν δὲ ἵχθυῶν ἐςτὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσιν πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλλονας.

17. Παλόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἣγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὁς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παλόνας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄνδρας ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἥσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέμπουτο δὲ ὦτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἐςτὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχειται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐς οὐ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντων ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μεταλλὸν Δυσσωρὸν καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

18. Οἱ δὲν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὕτως παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκουσι, αἴτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Περσίᾳ βασιλείῃ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. ὁ δὲ ταύτα τε ἐδίδον καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέει, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δείπνου μεγαλοτρεπῆς ἐδεκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνουσε εἴπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε.
of their dwelling, each man on the platform owns the hut wherein he lives and a trap-door in the platform leading down into the lake. They make a cord fast to the feet of their little children, lest the children fall into the water. They give fish for fodder to their horses and beasts of burden; and of fish there is such abundance, that a man opens his trap-door and lets an empty basket down by a line into the lake, and it is no long time before he draws it up full of fish. There are two kinds of these, some called "paprakes," some "tilones."

17. So those of the Paeonians who were taken were carried into Asia. Then Megabazus, having made the Paeonians captive, sent as messengers into Macedonia¹ 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 Dysorum² 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 Axios to the Strymon.
² Apparently not far from the lower Strymon.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

"Δεινε Μακεδών, ἴμων νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Πέρσησι, ἔπειτα δεύτερον προτιθόμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουρίδιας γυναῖκας ἔσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ γὰρ, ἐπεὶ περὶ προθύμως μὲν ἔδειξα μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδότω δὲ βασιλεὺς Δα-μέρεως ἡν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπει οὔτο τοῦ ἡμετέρων," ἐπεὶ πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης ""Ω Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἴμων τὸς τοῖς ὤντος, ἀλλὰ κεχορίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν ἐπείτε δὲ ύμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπότα ἐντόνως ἐπερχηθεὶς τουτέστι, παρέσται ἴμων καὶ ταῦτα." εἰπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπτε τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐτὸ ἐπείτε καλεόμεναι ἠλθοῦν, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίας ἤσοντο τοῖς Πέρσησι. ἐν ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδώ-μενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τούτῳ οὐδὲν εἰναι σοφὸν κρέσ-σον γὰρ εἰναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἡ ἐθνοῦσα καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἔσθηται ἀληθῶς σφίσε ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίζειν πειθομένων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἀπροσπο-λαίους σφισθεὶς ὀλαίον οἰνομένοι, καὶ κού τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο.

19. Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὅρεων ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καὶ περὶ δυσφορέων, οἱ ὑπερδειμαῖνον τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεως παρεών τε καὶ ὅρεων ταῦτα, ἀτε νεός τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθής, οὐδαμῶς ἐγκαλέσθαι ὢν τε ἢ, ὡστε δὲ βαρέως φέρον ἐπεὶ πρὸς Ἀμύντην τάδε. "Ω πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἰκε τῇ ὑλίκῃ ἀπινόν τε ἀναπαύει, μηδὲ κυπαρ-μεί τῇ πόσῃ ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῆς παντὸς ἡ ἐπιτίθεα παρέξω τοῦσι ξείνοις." πρὸς ταῦτα συνεῖς Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν
BOOK V. 18-19

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 Αλέξανδρος, λέγει "Ω παί, σχεδόν γάρ σεν ἀνακαιομένου συνήμι τοῦς λόγους, ὃτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νέωτερον ἐγὼ δὲν σεν χρηίζομαι µηδὲν νεοχµώσαι κατ' ἄνδρας τούτους, ἵνα µὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡµέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέγει ὀρέων τὰ ποιεύµενα: ἀµφὶ δὲ ἀπόδῳ τῇ ἐµῇ πεισοµαί τοι." 20. Ὀς δὲ ὁ Ἀµώντης χρηίζας τούτων οἰχάκεε, λέγει ο Αλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας "Γυναικῶν τούτων, ὃ ξεῖνοι, ἐστὶ ὑµῶν πολλὴ εὐπτείη, καὶ εἰ πάσης ἔσβολες µίσης τῆς καὶ ὁκόσης ὑµῶν αὐτῶν. τούτων µὲν πέρι αὐτὸι ἀποσημανεῖτε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδόν γὰρ ἡδὲ τῆς κοιτῆς ὑµῆς προσέρχεται ὑµῶν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑµέας ὁρὸ µέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑµῖν φίλου ἐστὶ, ἀπέτε λούσασθαι, λουσαµένας δὲ ὑπὸ σω προσδεήσοβε." εἶπας ταύτα, συνεπανοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας µὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπεπεµπτε· ἐς τὴν γυναικήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Αλέξανδρος ἤσους τῆς γυναιξίν ἀριθµῶν ἄνδρας λειογενείους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθητί σκενάσαι καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς ἄγε ἔσω, παράγων δὲ τοῦτος ἔλεγε τοῖς Πέρσαις τάδε. "Ω Πέρσαι, οἶκατε πανδαισίη τελή ἱστιήσατε· τὰ τὸ ἱερὰ ἅλλα ὡσα εἴχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἰα τῇ ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑµῖν πάρεστι, καὶ ᾧ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων µέγιστον, τάς το τειτερόν µετέρας καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ἐπίδασολεύσας ὑµῖν, ὡς παντελῶς µάθητε τιµόµενοι πρὸς ἡµέων τῶν περ ἐστε ἅξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ πέπνυστι ἀπαγγείλετε ὡς ἄνη "Ελλην Μακεδόνων ὕπαρχος εὐ ἡµέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπεζῇ καὶ κοίτη, ταύτα εἶπας ὁ Αλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἄνδρι ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ ὦ οἱ 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
ἐπείτε σφέων οἱ Πέρσαι ψάνειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζότοι αὐτοὺς.

21. Καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπηθή αὐτῶν εἰπέτο γὰρ ἥ σφι καὶ ὁχύματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευὴ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμα πᾶσι ἐκείνοις ἡφάνιστο, μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῶν ἡσύνερ τοῦτοι ξύ̃τησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σφέας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίαν, χρύματα τε δοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ αὔδεφεν τῇ ὅνυμῳ ἢν Γυναί; δοὺς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διξημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

22. Ὅ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων τούτων θάνατος οὔτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσενῆθη. Ἔλληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεος γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυχχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὡσὶς ἐν Ἐλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἐλληνοδίκαι οὔτω ἐγνώσαν εἶναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ αἰθέλευεν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιδεεύουσι τὴν Ἐλλήνων ἐξειργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἄλλα 'Ελλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεδέξε φῶς εἰς Ἀργείων, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι "Ελλῆν καὶ ἄγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγά-βαξος δὲ ἄγον τοὺς Παύνονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐνεδὺτεν διαπερασθεὶς ἀπίκετο ὡς τῶς Σάρδις. ἀτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἡδὴ Ἰςθιαίου 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 Hellenodiceae 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.
Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε μισθὸν δορεὴν φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίασις, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τοῦτον παρὰ Στρυμώνα ποταμὸν τὸ ὀνόμα ἔστι Μύρκινος, μαθὼν οἱ Μεγάβαξος τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὃς ἤλθε τάχιστα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἁγνὸν τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. "Ὅ βασιλεὺς, κοίνων τι χρήμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκτίσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Ῥωμίκῃ, ἢν ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμον ἔστιν ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κυπέες καὶ μέταλλα ἀργυρεὰ, ὁμιλῶ σε πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλην περιοικεῖσθαι πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιησοῦσι τούτῳ τὸ ἀν κεῖνος ἔξηγεται καὶ ἡμέρησι καὶ νυκτὸς. σύν τούτων τὸν ἀνδρα παύσον ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκήμα πολέμω συνέχῃ τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπὶρ μεταπεμψάμενος παύσον. ἐπεάν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβοντο, ποιεῖν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἀπίθεται." 

24. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαξος εὐπετέως ἐπειδὴ Δαρεῖον ὡς εὐ προορῶν τὸ μέλλων γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ὁ Δαρείος ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἰστιαίε, βασιλεὺς Δαρείος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τούτῳ ἐμοί σι πρήγματα εἶναι οὐδένα σεύ ἄνδρα εὐνοεστερον τούτῳ δὲ οὐ λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐργοίς οἶδα μαθὼν. νῦν οὖν, ἐπινοεῖς γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατέργασάσθαι, ἀπίκεω μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι." τούτως τούτο ἐπεισὶ πιστεύομαι ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἀμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέως σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀπίκομεν δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρείος τάδε. "Ἱστιαίε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶνδε εἶνεκεν. ἐπεῖτε 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 μοι ἐγένεστε ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν καὶ ἄλλο χρῆμα σύνω εἰς βραχεία ἐπεξήγησα ὅσ' σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέθηκα, ἐγνώκος ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμώτατον ἄνθρωπος συνετός τε καὶ εὔνοος, τά τοῦ ἐγώ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδῆς ἐχόμενο μαρτυρεῖν ἐς πράγματα τα ἐμά. νῦν ὑμᾶς, εὖ γὰρ ἑποίησας ἀπεικόμενος, τάδε τοῦ ἐγώ προτείνομαι: Μίλητον μὲν ἐκ καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρᾴκῃ πόλιν, σὺ δέ μοι ἑποίησέςς ἐς Σουσα ἐχε τά περ ἄν ἐγώ ἐχω, ἐμὸς τε σύστητος ἐων καὶ σύμβουλος.

25. Ταῦτα Δαρείου εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφρένεα ἀδελφοῦ ἐωτοῦ ὀμοπάτριον ὑπαρχόντα ἐκνομαλῆς ἔστησις, ἀπῆλθεν καὶ παρατηρεῖσα ἡμᾶς ἐν Σαρδίων, ἀπῆλθεν καὶ Σουσα ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιάιον, ὁ ὄταν ἐν τούτῳ ἀποδεξάθης στρατηγὸς εἶναι τῶν παραδικαστῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦ τοῦ πατέρα Σισάμωνι βασιλέως Καμβόσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλείων δικαστῶν, ὁ ἐπὶ χρήματι δίκῃ ἀδίκου ἐδικασε, σφάζας ἀπέδειρε πάσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, σπαδίζας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἰμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἑταίρες καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἐκ παύσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐκτάσεις ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ Καμβόσης ἀπέδεικε δικαστήν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμωνος, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμωνος, ἐντελέμενος οἱ μεμνησθαί ἐν τῷ κατάκειλον θρόνῳ δεικάζει.

26. Οὗτος ὁ Οἶον ὁ ὄγκος κατεξώρομενος ἐς τοῦ τῶν θρόνων, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μηγαβάζῳ τῆς στρατηγῆς, Βυζαντίους τε ἐλλεὶ καὶ Καλχηδόνιους, εἶλε δὲ Ἀντανδρὸν τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι γῆ, εἶλε δὲ Δαμπώνιου, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Δεσδίων νέας εἶλε Δημίου τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφότερα ἐτε τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας.
BOOK V. 24-26

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 Artaphernes 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 Δήμιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὐν καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακοθήσαν, τοῖς δὲ περιεύσαντι αὐτῶν ὁ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχὼν ἐπιστάσι Λυκάρητον τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφῶν. οὕτως ο Λυκάρητος ἄρχων εὐ Δήμιῳ τελευτᾷ. αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦτον ἤδε πάντας ἤγιναίσθενε καὶ κατέστρεφετο τοὺς μὲν λιτοστρατίτης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτίωμενος, τοὺς δὲ σύνησθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὁπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον.

28. Οὕτως δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγίας. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀνεσίς κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἰωσί γίνεσθαι κακά. τούτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονία τῶν νῆσῶν προέφερε, τούτο δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον χρόνον ἡ Μιλήτος αὐτή τε ἐσυνήθη μᾶλλον δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἡ πρόοχα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μᾶλλα στάσει, μέχρι οὐ μιν Πάριοι κατηρτίσαντες τούτως γὰρ καταρτισθήσας ἐκ πάνω τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι.

29. Κατῆλθαν δὲ σφέας ὡδε Πάριοι. ὡς ἀπίκουντο αὐτῶν ἀνδρεῖς οἱ ἀριστοὶ ἐς τὴν Μιλήτον, ὡρῶν γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεινὸς οἰκοφθορθομένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βουλεῦσαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώρην ποιεῖντες δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διεξελίγοντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλήσιν, ὅκως τινὰ ἵδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυῖᾳ τῇ χώρῃ ἄγρον εὐ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ ὅμονα τοῦ δεσποτεύου τοῦ ἄγρου. διεξελάσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλλὰ ποιησάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμεσθι τῶν εὐροῦ
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, Lycareutus the brother of Macandrius who had been king of Samos. This Lycareutus 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 Otanis 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
τούς ἀγροὺς εὐ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκείν γὰρ ἐφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὗτος δὴ σφεις ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μηλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι.

30. Πάριοι μὲν νῦν Μηλησίους οὗτοι κατηρτίσαν· τάτα δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολίων ὠδὴ ἤρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἐφυγόν ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπικοντο ἐς Μιλήτου. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἔως Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεως, γαμβρός τε ἐως καὶ ἀνεψιός Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Δυσαγόρεως, τοῦ δὲ Δαρείου ἐν Σούσοις κατεῖχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαίος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου καὶ ἐτύγχανε τούτων τῶν χρόνον ἐως ἐν Σούσοις, δότε οἱ Νάξιοι ἡλθον ἕξινοι πρὶν ἑοῦτες τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ· ἀπικομενοὶ δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου ἐδέοντο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρεως, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα καὶ κατέθλθον ἐς τὴν ἑωτῆς. ο δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀς ἢν δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσε ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀρρετε τῆς Νάξου, σκῆνεν δὲ ποιεῖμενος τὴν ξείνην τῆς Ἰστιαίου, τὸν δὲ σφι λόγον προσέφερε. “Αὐτὸς μὲν ὡμῖν οὗ φερέγχοις εἰμὶ δύναμιν παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὡστε κατάγειν ἄκοντον τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Νάξιων πυθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακισχίλην ἀσπίδα Νάξιοις εἶναι καὶ πλοία μακρὰ πολλὰ· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεῖμενος. ἐπινοῶ δὲ τῆς. Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυγχάνει ἔως φίλος· ο δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὡμῖν Ἰστιαῖπες μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλεός ἀδελφείς, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἐχον στρατευτὶ τε πόλην καὶ πόλλας νέας. τούτων οὖν δοκέω τῶν ἀνδρὰ ποιήσειν τῶν ἀν χρηίζομεν.” ταῦτα ἀκού-
BOOK V. 29-30

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

30. Thus the Parians made peace in Miletus. But now these cities began to bring trouble upon Ionia, and thus it befell:—Certain men of substance, being banished from Naxos by the commonalty, betook themselves to Miletus. Now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristogoras 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 Aristogoras if haply he could give them some power and so they might return to their own country. Considering that if by his means they were restored to their city he would be ruler of Naxos, and making a pretext of their friendship with Histiaeus, he made them this proposal: "For myself, it lies not in my rights to give you such a power as will restore you, against the will of the Naxians who hold your city; for I am assured that the Naxians have eight thousand men that bear shields, and many ships of war; but I will use all diligence to contrive the matter. And this is my plan. Artaphrenes is my friend; now know, that Artaphrenes is Hystaspes' son and brother to Darius the king; he is governor of all the seacoast peoples of Asia and has a great army and many ships; this man then will, I think, do whatever we
σαντες οι Νάξοι προσέθεσαν των Αρισταγόρη πρόσεγειν τη δύναμιν αρίστα, και υπίσχεσθαι δώρα ἐκελεύον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατηγῇ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἔπιδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐν τῇ Νάξου, πάντα ποιήσειν τοὺς Νάξιους τὰ ἄν αὐτοὶ κελεύσοι, δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησίωτας τῶν γαρ νῆσων τούτων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἢν ὑπὸ Δαρείω.

31. Ἀπεικόμενος δὲ ὁ Αρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὡς Νάξοι εἰς νῆσος μεγαθεὶ μὲν οὐ μεγαλῆ, ἄλλως δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἄγχος Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἐνὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "Ṣὺ δὲν ἔπι ταῦτην τῆν χώρην στρατηλάτησε, κατάγων εἰς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τοὶ ταῦτα ποιῶντα τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἐτοιμα παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρεῖ τῶν ἀνασιμωμάτων τῇ στρατηγῇ ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δικαίων ἡμέας τοὺς ἁγοντας παρέχειν ἐστὶ τουτο δὲ νῆσους βασιλεὺς προσκτήσει αὐτὴν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταῦτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἀπρόν καὶ ἄλλας τῶν Κυκλάδων καλευμένας. ἐνθεύτευς δὲ ὀρμώμενος εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσεαι Εὐβοίας νῆσος μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐναίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσως Κύπρον καὶ κάρτα εὐπετέι αἰρεθήναι, ἀποχρώθησο θα ἐκατον νέες ταῦτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι." ὢδὲ ἀμείζετο αὐτὸν τοίσιδε. "Σὺ ἐς οἰκον τὸν βασιλέας ἑξηγητὴν γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἁγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὐ παραίνεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἁρίθμου· ἄντι δὲ ἐκατον νεῶν διηκόσια τοὶ ἐτοιμο ἔσονται ἀμα τῶ ἑαυτος. δεὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνεπαινον γίνεσθαι."

32. ὁ μὲν δὲ ὁ Αρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἢκουσε,
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
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περιγραφής ἔων ἀπῆλε ἐς Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτα-φρένης, ὅσι οἱ πεμφαντὶ ἐς Σοῦτα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρᾳον λεγόμενα συνεπαινόν καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διήκο-σίας τριήρες, πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁμιλὸ Ἡπείρων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαιμενιδῶν, ἐσωτέρῳ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιον, τοῦ Παυσανίου ὁ Κλεομβρότον Δακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθῆς ὧς ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἠμοῦσατο θυγατέρα, ἔροτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραινος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρᾳα.

33. Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρι-σταγόρᾳα ἐκ τῆς Μίλητον καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς Νάξιοὺς ἐπλεε πρόφασιν ἐπὶ Ἑλλη-σπόντου, ἐπείτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τάς νέας ἐς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνδεύτῃ βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ὡς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐδει τούτω τῷ στόλῳ Νάξιος ἀπολέσθαι, πρίγγῳ τοιὸς συν-ηνεχθῇ γενέσθαι. περιούντος Μεγαβάτεω τάς ἐπὶ τῶν νεὼν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νέως Μυκῆνης ἐστυχε οὔδεὶς φυλάσσων. δὲ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρότας τὸν ἄρχοντα ταύτης τῆς νεῶς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τούτων ὁδέσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς διελάντας τῆς νεῶς κατὰ τοῦτο, ἐξ ὡς μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεύτας ἐσον δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεδέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἔξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τῶν ξείνων ὁ τῶν Μυκῆνων Μεγαβάτης ἡμᾶς λυμαίνοιτο. δ' ἐδὼν παραίτεστο τὸν Πέρσην,
Miletus in great joy. Artaphernes 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, Artaphernes 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-

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1 Megabates' expedition was in 499.

2 Evidently a harbour on the S.W. coast of Chios.
τυγχάνου δε ούδενος τῶν ἐδεῖτο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν έλυσε. πυθόμενος δε κάρτα δεινών ἐποιήσατο οἱ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη, ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Σοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτοι τοῖς πρῆγματε τί ἔστε; οὐ δὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἕμεο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἅν ἐγὼ κελεύο; τὶ πολλὰ πρῆσσεις;" ταῦτα εἶπε ο Ἀρισταγόρης. ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τοῦτοις, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπτε εἰς Νάξον πλοίῳ ἄνδρας φράσοντας τοῖς Νάξιοις πάντα τὰ παρέοντα σφὶ πρῆγματα.

34. Οἱ γὰρ ὁι Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεβέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τούτων ὀρμησθήσαται. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπυθοῦντο, αὐτῖκα μὲν ἐσηνεικαρτο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ τεῖγος, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ σίτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τεῖγος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφὶ πολέμου· οἱ δ' ἐπείτε δι᾽ ἔβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολιορκοῦν μῆνας τέσσερας. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἐχοντες ἥλθον χρηματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδαπάνητο σφί, καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναιμίσατο πολλά, τοῦ πλεύνοις τὸ ἐδεῖτο ἡ πολιορκία, ἐνθαυτὰ τεῖχεα τοῦτο φυγάζει τῶν Νάξιοιν οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλάσσοντο εἰς τὴν ἥπειρον κακῶς πρῆσσοντες.

35. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ ἔιχε τὴν ύπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι, ἁμα δὲ ἔπεσε μὴ ὡς δαπάνῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπαίτεομεν, ἀρρώδει τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρῆμαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος, ἑδοκε ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαρεθήσεσθαι, ἀρρώδεως δὲ τούτων ἐκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν; συνεπιτε 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 ἑστιμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπίχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαιοῦ, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέως. ὦ γὰρ Ἰστιαιός βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστήναι ἄλλως μὲν ὑδαμός εἰχε ἀσφαλέως σημηναί αὐτῷ φυλασσομενῶν τῶν ὀδῶν, ὃ ὃς τῶν δουλῶν τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρίσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠστίξε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας, ὡς ὁ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐκ Μίλητου ἐνετιλάμενος αὐτῷ ἀλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐκ Μίλητου, κελευνεῖ Ἀρισταγόρην ἡρήσαταί μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στύγματα ἑσῆμαινε, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαιός ἐποίεεσσε συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοις: ἀποστάσιος δὲν γνωμένης πολλὰς εἰχε ἐλπίδαις μετήσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεώτερον τι ποιεύσῃς τῆς Μίλητος ὑδαμᾶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤξειν ἐτὶ ἔλογιζετο.

36. Ἰστιαιός μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἀγγέλου, Ἀρισταγόρη δὲ συνεπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χῶνον πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλευότοι οὖν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, ἐκφίνας τὴν τε ἐωτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαιοῦ ἀπηγέμενα. οί μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τῶν ἔξωφρων, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι. Ἔκαταίος δὲ ὁ λογοποῖος πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἐὰν πόλεμον βασιλέως ἂν αἰρεθησθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἔθνα τῶν ἱρχε δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευσε ποιεῖν ὁκὼς ναυκρατεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ἄλλως μὲν νυν ὑδαμῶς ἐφῃ λέγων ἐνορᾶν
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 disliked 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
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐσόμενον τούτον ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἔδωσαν ἀσθενεῖς· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταιρεθεὶς τὰ ἐκ τού ἱσοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδρησι, τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ Αὐνός ἀνέβηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσει τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὐτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξειν τοῖς χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκη ἤ γνώμη, ἐδοκεῖ δὲ ὃμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλῶσαντα ἢς Μυκόντα ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἔνθαυτα, συλλαμβάνεις πειράσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγοὺς.

37. Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰησούρων κατ’ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλω ὁλίστον Ἰβανώλ-λιος Μυλασσέα καὶ Ἰστιαίον Τύμνεως Τερμερέα καὶ Κώνον Ἐρεάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω Κυ-μαίον καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφα-νέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκη, πάν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανῶμενος, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετείς τὴν τυραννίδα ἱσονωμὴν ἐποίηε τῇ Μιλητῷ, ὡς ἤν ἐκοντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλησίων συναπταῖται, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλλῃ Ἰωνίᾳ τῶν τοῦτο τοῦτο ἐποίηε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυραννῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβε τυραννῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξου, τοῦτος δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιῆσθαι τῇς πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλων ἢς ἀλλην πόλεων παραδίδοις, οἴθεν εἰς ἔκαστος.

38. Κώνον μὲν ὑπὸ Μυτιληναίοι ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρελαβοῦν, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαίοι δὲ τῶν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἄπηκαν· ὅς 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 Mytilenaecans 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.
πλείνες ἀπίστευται. τυράννων μὲν νῦν κατάπαυσις ἔγινε τά ἄνα τὰς πόλεις, Ἀρισταγόρῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἕκαστῃ τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσας, δεύτερα αὐτῶς ἐξ Λακεδαιμονία τριήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο, ἔδει γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίας τινὸς ὁι μεγάλης ἐξευρέθηναι.

39. Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξιανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιέργων ἐβασίλευε ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξιανδρίδης εἰχε τὴν βασιληῆν, οὐ κατ᾿ ἀνδραγαθίην σχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξιανδριδὴ γὰρ ἔχοντες γυναίκα ἀδελφὸς ἐοιντοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ εὐσύνης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίς, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο, τούτον δὲ τοιούτων ἔοντος, οἱ ἐφοροὶ εἰπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν "Εἰ τοι σὺ σωτοῦ μὴ προσφάς, ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ οὐ περιπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσένεος γενέσθαι εξίτη- λον, σύ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἑχεις γυναίκα, ἐπεῖτε τοῦτ' οὐ τίκτει, ἐξεό, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον καὶ ποιέων ταύτα Σπαρτήτητι ἀδήσεις." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο φας τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιῆσειν, ἐκείνους τε ὡς καλὸς συμβουλευόμενος παρανεόντας, τὴν ἑχεις γυναίκα ἑούσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐσωτερα, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐσάγα- γέσθαι ὦνδὲ σφε πείσεσθαι.

40. Πρὸς ταύτα οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ γέροντες βουλευόμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξιανδρίδη λάτε. "Επεις τούτων τοι περιεχομένων σε ὀρῷμεν τῆς ἑχεις γυναίκος, σὺ δὲ ταύτα ποιε, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαλε τούτοις, ἰνα μὴ τὰ ἄλλανον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτήται βουλεύσουντι γυναίκος μὲν τῆς ἑχεις σὺ προσ- δεύμεθα σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτη τε πάντα.
Thus an end was made of despots in the cities. Aristagoras of Miletus, having made an end of the despots, bade all to set up governors in each city; and next he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon; for it was needful that he should find some strong ally.  

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

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1 Aristagoras went to Lacedaemon in 499.
ὅσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἑσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιοῖν." ταύτα κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ο Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναικᾶς ἔχων δυὸ διξάς ἱστίας οἴκεε, ποιεών οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτητικά.

41. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος η ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν Ἰ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον, καὶ αὐτὴ τε ἐπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτητήτου ἀπέφαυνε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τοῦ πρῶτον χρόνον ἄτοκος έύοσα τότε καὶ έκύπηςε, συντυχὴ ταύτη χρησμαγήν. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἅληθὲς λόγοι οἱ τῆς ἐπελθοῦσης γυναίκος οἰκῆςι τυθόμενοι ἀγγεύουν, φάμε νοι αὐτὴν κομπείων ἄλλως βουλομενήν ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιεύοντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμωντος, ὑπ’ ἀπίστηςι οἱ ἐφοροὶ τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναίκα περιμένοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἢ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωρεά ιθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἴθέως ἴσχει Κλεομβροτον. οὐ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι Κλεομβροτον καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἢ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνῆ, έύοσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκετί ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42. ὁ μὲν οὖ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἢν τε οὗ φρενής ἀκρομανὴς τε, ὁ δὲ Δωρεύς ἢν τῶν ἱδίων πάντων πρῶτος, εὐ τε ἐπίστατο κατ’ ἀνδραγαθὴν αὐτὸς σχῆσιν τὴν βασιληήν. ὡςτε ὁι οὐ τῷ φρονέων ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστῆσαντο βασιλέα τοῦ πρεσβυτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωρεύς δεινὸν τε ποιεύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἂξιον ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύσεθαι, αἰτήσας λεων
all that you give her now, and marry another woman
besides who can give you children.” So they spoke,
and Anaxandrides consented; and presently he had
two wives and kept two households, a thing in nowise
customary at Sparta.

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

42. Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in
his right senses, but crazy; but Dorieus was first
among all of like age with himself; and he fully
believed that he would be made king for his manly
worth. Being thus minded, when at Anaxandrides’
death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and
made Cleomenes king by right of age, Dorieus was
very angry and would not brook to be subject to
Cleomenes; and he asked the Spartans for a com-
Σπαρτήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίας, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἤτεινα γῆν κτίσων ἐρ., οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρον, ἀπίεει ἐς τὴν Διβύνην τὰ πλοῖα· καθηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραίοι· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Διβύνην οἴκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Διβύνων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμῶν. ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέαν τὸ Διβύνων καὶ Καρχηδόνιον ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

43. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντειχάρης ἀνήρ Ἐλεώνοις συνεβόλευσε ἐκ τῶν Δαίων χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείη τὴν ἐν Σικελίη κτίσειν, φασὶ τὴν Ἐρυκος χώρην πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλειδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους κτησμένον. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἴχετο χρησάμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἱρέει ἐπὶ ἧν στέλλεται χώρην, ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρὰ αἰρήσειν, παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωρεᾶς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Διβύνην ἤγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

44. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τούτον, ὡς λέγοντο Συβαρίται, σφεᾶς τε αὐτοῦς καὶ Τῆλυν τῶν ἐσωτέρων Βασίλεα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τους δὲ Κροτωνίτας περιδέας γενομένους δεσποτικοὺς Δωρεάς σφίζῃ τιμωρησάτο καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωρεάν καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Συβαρίται λέγοντες ποιήσατο Δωρεάν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνίται δὲ οὕδενα σφίζῃ φασὶ ξείνων προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίν τῶν 'Ιαμιδέων μάντειν Ἡλείον μοῦνον, καὶ τούτον τρόπῳ τοιοῦτον παρὰ Τῆλυν τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι.

1 In Boeotia, near Tanagra.
pany of folk, whom he took away as colonists; he
never 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 Maecae and Libyans and
Carchedonians, and returned to Peloponnesus.

43. There Antichares, a man of Eleon,¹ counselled
him to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, according
to the word of one of Laius' oracles; for Heracles²
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,³ 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

¹ The reference appears to be to a cult of the Phoenician
Melkart (identified with Heracles) on Mt. Eryx.
² About 510.
παρὰ σφέας, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ ἵππα οὐ προεχώρησε χρηστὰ θυομένω ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.
45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτωι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρῖται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νῆον έόντα παρὰ τὸν Ἑπρόν Κράθιν, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωρίεα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίη ἐποινύμφο Κραθίη τούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωρίεος τὸν βάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεύοντα, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιεών διεφθάρη: εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μὴδὲν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεις, εἶλε ἃν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώρῃ καὶ ἔλων κατέσχε, οὐδὲ ἃν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ διεφθάρη, οἱ δ' αὐτῷ Κροτωνινῖται ἀποδεικνύουσι Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἡλεῷ ἐξαιρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνινίτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐς ἐνέμουν ὁι Καλλίεων ἀπόγονοι, Δωρίει δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δωρίεος ἀπογόνοις οὐδὲν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετο γε τοῦ Συβαρίτηκον πολέμου Δωριεῶς, δοθήσατο ἃν οἱ πολλαπλῆσια ἡ Καλλίη. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὀκοντορίσει τις πειθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοις προσχωρεῖν.
46. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωρίει καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιτείων, Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελές καὶ Εὐρυλέων οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουτο πατρί στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μᾶχη ἐσσιωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φωικῶν καὶ Ἐγεσταίων μοῦνος δὲ Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθεος. συλλαβῶν δὲ οὕτως τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἐσχῆ Μινώῃ τὴν Σελευκοσίαν ἀποκύνη, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελευκοσίους τοῦ μονάρχου Πειθαγόρεως, μετὰ δὲ ὧς τούτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδε ἐπεχείρησε Σελευκοσίας.
when he was sacrificing for victory over Croton he
could get no favourable omens.

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

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

47. Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωρίει καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεως Κροτωνίητης ἀνήρ, ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλυς τοῦ Συβαρίτεως θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ὕπευθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἰχεὶ τοῦ πλέων ἐς Κυρηνῆν, ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμομένοις συνέσπετο οἰκήσης τε τριήρει καὶ οἰκήσῃ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνη, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ᾽ ἐωτοῦν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωτοῦ κάλλος ἤνείκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιν ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίας αὐτοῦ ἰδακούνται.

48. Δωριεὺς μὲν ὑπ᾽ ὑπὸ τρόπον τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐς ἤνείσχυντο βασιλευομένοι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσεν δὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις οὕτω τινα πολλῶν χρόνων ἠρξε τὸ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέθανεν ἀπαίς, θυγατέρα μούνης λιπών, τῇ οὐνομὰ ἡν Γοργώ.

49. Ἀπεικύνεται δὲ ὄν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μελίτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην Κλεομένεος ἠχουσας τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ὃς ἂν λόγους ἦμεν, ὡς Λακεδαιμιοῦ οἱ λέγουσιν, ἐχον χαλκεον πίνακα ἐς τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδος ἐνετέμεντο καὶ θάλασσα τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμὸν πάντες, ἀπεικύνεομεν δὲ ἂν λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτοῦν τάδε. Ὅλος Κλεομένε, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθάδε αἵτιος τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντα ἐστὶ τοιάτα: Ἱόνιον παῖδας δοῦλους εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἅλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥμιν, ἔτι
was monarch there, but for a little while only; for
the people of the place rose against him and slew
him at the altar of Zeus of the Market-place, whither
he had fled for refuge.

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

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

49. I return to my story. It was in the reign of
Cleomenes that Aristagoras the despot of Miletus
came to Sparta; and when he had audience of the
king (so the Lacedaemonians say) he brought with
him a bronze tablet on which the map of all
the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all
the rivers. Having been admitted to converse with
Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: "Wonder
not, Cleomenes, that I have been so zealous to come
hither; for such is our present state: that the sons of
the Ionians should be slaves and not free men is a
shame and grief to ourselves in especial, and of all
dedan loipton uvyn, oso prorostate tis 'Ellaodos. onn on pror theon twn Ellinon rousothe. Iovnas ek doulosunis andras omaimonas. eupetewos de uvyn taunta oia te chorein esti: ouste gar ois barbaroi alkimoies iosi, uimeis te ta es toon polemon es ta megista anikete arethis peri, ni te makhe auton esti toihde, toxa kai aixmy braxes anaxyridas de exontes eixontai es tais maikas kai kurbasias esti tihi kefalisi. oustw eupetees xeirowthnai iosi. esti de kai agath a toys tin uperion ekeinun vemoenousi osta oude toysi sunapasi allousi, apo xwrou arxameneisi, argyros kai xalkos kai esthii poikelik kai upozyma te kai anodoroda: ta thumw boulomenei autoi in en eixonte. katoiknntai de allhllwn exomenei ois egho frasw, Iwovon men tonde iode Ludoi, oikostnites te chwron agath kai poluvrurwtoatai èontes." deiknws de elene taunta es tis ghtis tin periodon, tin efere sto ton pinake eneternmeni. "Ludoi de" efhi leghon o Aristagorfihi "oidhe exontai phyges ois pror tin hoi, poluvrurwtoatai te èontes panta tov egh oida kai poluvrurwtoatai. Phrygon de exontai Kappadokai, tois himeis Syrious kaleameun. toutousi de prosyroui Kikies, katikontes epit thalassan tynde, en t' hide Kypros nioss keentai: oi pentakosiia talanta basilei ton epiteion foron enitelews. Kikieson de tonde exontai Armeinoi oide, kai outhe éontes poluvrurwtoatai, Armeinon de Matiervoi xorwn tynde exontes. eixetai de touton ght hide Kioshi, en t' hide parax protamou tonde Xoaspon keimeva esti ta Souda taunta, evtha bavileus te megas diaitaan
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
ποιέται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσὶν ἔλοντες δὲ ταῦτην τὴν πόλιν βαρσέντες ἦδη τῷ Διᾷ πλοῦτον πέρι ἔριζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἀρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὐρὼν σμικρῶν χρεῶν ἐστὶν ὡμέας μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους οὖντας ἱσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείοις, τοῖς οὕτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὕτω ἀργύρων, τῶν περὶ καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προβυμία μαχόμενου ἀποβυθισκεῖν παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπέτεως, ἀλλὰ τις αἰρήσεις; Ἡ Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἐλέξει, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμέσως τοῦτο ὑποκριμένεσθαι.

50. Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἦλασαν ἐπείτε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἠλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἰρετὸ ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην οκοσέων ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὀδὸς εἰς παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης τάλλα ἐῶν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκεῖνον εὑ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη χρεῶν γὰρ μὴ λέγειν τὸ εὔος, βουλόμενον γε Σπαρτῆτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δὲ ἑνὶ τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον. ὁ δὲ ἱπποπάσας τοῦ ἐπιλοίπου λόγου τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ, εἶπε ὁ δὲ Ἡ Ἐξείνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ ὄντως ἦλιον οὐδέια γὰρ λόγου εὐπέτεα λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίας, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὀδὸν ἀγαλμάτων.

51. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας ἦπε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίπλη μὲν ἐς τῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐσω ἅτε 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
ἐπακοῦσαί ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον προσετήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οόνομα ἦν Γοργώ τοῦτο δὲ οἱ καὶ μουχον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἕων ἐτέων οκτὼ ἢ ἐνεέα ἡλικίας. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἰνεκα, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλαντῶν ὑποσχεόμενος, ἦν οἱ ἐπιτελέσθη τῶν ἐδεέτο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένους προέβαινε τοῖς χρήματι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὖν πεντήκοντὰ τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέδεκτο καὶ τὸ παιδίον νῦδάξατο "Πάτερ, διαφθερεῖ σε ὁ ξέινος, ἡν μὴ ἀποστάξῃ ἅρ." ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἤσθελες τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραίνησι ημε ἐς ἐτέον οὔκιμα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξεγενετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἐτὶ σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρά βασιλέα.

52. Ἐχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὅδῷ ταύτη ὀδ海尔οκεμόνες τε πανταχῆ εἰσὶ βασιλήμοι καὶ καταλύσεις καλ-λισται, διὰ οἰκεμόνες τε ἡ ὅδος ἀπασα καὶ ἀσφαλέος. διὰ μὲν γε Ἀυδῆς καὶ Φρυγῆς σταθμῷ τεύνοντες εἴκοσι εἰσί, παρασάγγαλα δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενίκητα καὶ ἡμιου. ἐκδιτεκται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγῆς ὁ Ἀλυς ποταμός, ἐπ᾽ ὃ πῦλαι τε ἐπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκπεραῖν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ. διαβάντω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίνην καὶ ταύτη πορευόμενος μέχρι οὕρων τῶν Κελίκων σταθμῷ δυνῶν δέοντες εἰς τρήκοντα, παρασάγγαλα δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς οὐροις διξάς τε πῦλας 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 παραμείνεια. ταύτα δὲ διεξελάσαντι καὶ
dιὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὀδὸν ποιεμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσὶ
σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαζι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμεῦν.
οὔρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς
νυσσόπερητος, τῶν ὄνυμα Εὐφρήτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ
Ἀρμενίη σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντε-
καίδεκα, παρασάγγαζι δὲ ἐξ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἡμεῦν, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματηινὴν γῆν
σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαζι
δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ποταμὸς δὲ
νυσσόπερητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ὑεύον, τοὺς
πάσα ανάγκη διαπορθηθεῖσα ἐστὶ, πρῶτος μὲν
Φύρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ὄντος
ὅνομαξόμενος, οὐκ ὁωτὸς ἐὼν ποταμὸς οὔδὲ ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἰῶν. ὁ μὲν ἡαὶ πρότερον αὐτῶν κατα-
λεγθεῖς ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἐνεῖ, ὁ δὲ ὑστεροῦ ἐκ Ματη-
ινῶν ἐκ δὲ τεταρτοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν ὄνυμα ἔχει
Γύμνης, τῶν Κύρου διέλαβε κοτε ἐς διώρυγας
ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσις. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν
Κισσίν χώραν μεταβαίνοντι ἔνδεκα σταθμοὶ,
παρασάγγαζι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἡμεῦν
ἐστὶ ἑπὶ ποταμῶν Χοάσπην, ἐνεῖ καὶ τούτον
νυσσόπερητον ἐπὶ ὁ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπολίσται.

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

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

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\(^1\) Cp. L. 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.
54. �垸ς τὸν Ὀδύσσειον Ἀρισταγόρη ἐπέπεμπτε πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἄνω ἐκ τὴν παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ὁρθῶς ἔρημος εἰρητο. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἐτεί διεξίκεται, ἐγὼ καὶ τούτο σημανεῖ τὴν γὰρ ἐξ 'Εφέσου ἦς Σάρδης ὁδὼν δὲ προσολογίζεται ταύτη. καὶ δὴ λέγω στάδιον εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνειον ἁπτο ναλεται) τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τετρακισίλιους καὶ μυρίους. οἱ γὰρ ἐξ 'Εφέσου ἦς Σάρδης εἰσὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι, καὶ Ὀδύσσει τριὸν ἡμέρρισον μηκύνεται η τριών ὁδὸς.

55. Ἀπελαυνώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἤμε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας γεγομένας τυραννῶν ὅδε εὐερέστες. ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτον, Ἰππίσεος δὲ τοῦ τυραννοῦ ἀδελφῶν, ἱδίοντα ὅψιν ἐννυπνίον τῷ ἐωτοῦ πάθει ἐναργησταῖ τὴν κτείνουσι Ἀριστογέλειον καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἑωτερεῦ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραίοι, μετὰ ταῦτα ἑταρνυνίων Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ ἔπει τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἦσον ἄλλα καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸ τοῦ.

56. Ἡ μὲν νῦν ὅψις τοῦ Ἰππαρχοῦ ἐννυπνίον ἦν ἢδεν ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἔδοκεν ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἀνδρὰ σὲ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα πινίσσεσθαι τάδε τῇ ἔπει.

τῇδε λέον ἀτλήτα παθῶν τετληστεθεὶς θυμό- οὔδες ἀνθρώπων ἑδικῶν 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 Aristogoras 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, Aristogoras 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 befell 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 Panathenaeae 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.
57. Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονεῖς οἱ Ἱππάρχου, ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγονέσαν εἰς Ἐρετριᾶς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπνευσάμονες εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων Φοίνικων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βουιτίτην καλεόμενην, οίκεον δὲ τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαγόντες τὴν Ταναγρικήν μοίραν. ἐνθεύτερον δὲ Καδμεῖων πρότερον ἐξαισαστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οὕτως δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βουιτών ἐξαισαστάντες ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ ῥητοῦσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιτείας, πολλῶν τεὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγήτων ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργεσθαί.

58. Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὕτως ὁ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικομένων, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταυτὶ τὴν χώρην ἐσημαγοῦν δίδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γραμμάτα, οὐκ ἔστω ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλῆνων ὡς ἐμὸν δοκείσθην, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς καὶ ἀπαντὸς χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον προβαίνοντος ἀμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν ρυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοίκεον δὲ σφέας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἐλλήνων Ἰωναὶ, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδασκῇ παρὰ τῶν Φοίνικων τὰ γραμμάτα, μεταρρυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἔχρεωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὅσπερ 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.

57. Now the Gephyraeans 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 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, these Gephyraeans were in turn expelled by the Boeotians and betook themselves to Athens. The Athenians received them as citizens of their own on set terms, debarring them from many practices not here deserving mention.

58. These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus (of whom the Gephyraeans were a part) at their settlement in this country, among many other kinds of learning, brought into Hellas the alphabet, which had hitherto been unknown, as I think, to the Greeks; and presently as time went on the sound and the form of the letters were changed. At this time the Greeks that dwelt round them for the most part were Ionians; who, having been taught the letters by the Phoenicians, used them with some few changes of form, and in so doing gave to these characters (as indeed was but just, seeing that the

Tanagra; perhaps Herodotus' theory of an oriental origin is based on the fact that there was a place called Gephyrae in Syria.

9 This happened sixty years after the fall of Troy, according to Thucydides.
δίκαιον ἐφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, Φοινικήματα κεκληθαν. καὶ τὰς βυβλίους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἄπό τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἴ¨Ιωνες, δότι κοτὲ ἐν παντὶ βυβλίῳ ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγήσι τε καὶ οἰέρσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.

59. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμιών γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἱσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃ τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τοῖς ἐγκεκολλημένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἐντὰ τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει Ἐμφιτρύων μ᾽ ἀνέθηκε ἑνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλέβων, ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἰῇ ἄν κατὰ Δαίον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.

60. Ἐτερος δὲ τρίποσ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τὸν λέγει·

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλω Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἅγαλμα.

Σκαῖος δὲ ἂν εἴη ὁ Ἰπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὐτὸς γε ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντο ὅνομα ἔχων τοῦ Ἰπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίποντον τὸν Δαίον.

61. Τρίτος δὲ τρίποσ λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ.

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐνυσκόπω Ἀπόλλωνι μοναρχέων ἀνέδικηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἅγαλμα.

1 ἀνέθηκεν εἰς ἀπὸ Τηλέβων (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 ἐναρων, which makes good sense; or Meineke's ἐλὼν 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 Amphitrion'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 Scæus, the conquering boxer,

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

Scæus 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.
επὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ 'Ετεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξαισιστέαται Καμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργεῖον καὶ πράσσονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχελέας. οί δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειθήσετε ὑστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθηναῖαν καὶ σφι ἵπτι ἐστὶ ἐν Ἀθηναίας ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μετὰ τούτων λοιποῖοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιὸς Δήμητρος ἵρων τε καὶ ὅργια.

62. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου εὐνυπίου καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι οἴκου ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φοινεῖς, ἀπῆλθαν γὰρ δὲ δὲ δοῦλος τούτοις ἐτὶ ἀναλαβὲν τὸν καὶ ἀρχὼς ἔμα τέλεων λόγων, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναίοι. Ἰππίσσω τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραίνομένου Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τοῦ Ἰππάρχου βασιλέως, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐοιντεῖς Ἀθηναίοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας, ἐπεῖτε σφι ἁμα τοῦτο άλλοισι Ἀθηναίοιν φυγαiator πειρωμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐ προσέφερε κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρωμένοι κατείναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροὺς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς, Δεινῦδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίας τειχίσαντες, εὐθανὰ τοί δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πάν ἐτὶ τοῦτο Πεισιστρατίδησι μηχανομένου παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν θανὸν μισθοῦν τὸν εἰς Δελφοῖ, τὸν νῦν έοντα τὸτε δὲ οὐκ, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι. οδα δὲ χρημάτων εἰ ἕκοντες καὶ ἐοιντεῖς ἄνδρες δόκημοι ἀνέκαθεν ἐτι, τὸν τε θνὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος καλλίου τὰ τε ἅλλα καὶ συγκειμένου σφι πώρινου λίθου ποιεῖν τὸν θνὸν, Παρίον τὰ ἐμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν.

63. Ὡς ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι, οὔτε οἱ
In the sovereignty of this Laodamas son of Eteocles, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives and betook themselves to the Eucheleis. 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 worship.

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
HERODOTUS

άνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖς κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθινήν χρήμασι, ὥς ἔθεσαν Σπαρτιτέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἱδών στόλον εἴτε δημοσίων χρησάμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθηνὰς ἑλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς σφι αἰεὶ τῶντο προφαντὸν ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐγώτα τῶν ἄστων ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελώντα Πεισιστράτιδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἄμως καὶ ἕπινοις σφι ἑώτας τὰ μάλιστα, τὰ γάρ τού θεοῦ προσβύτερα ἐποιεύτω ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄνδρων πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσπήλως ἐς Φάληρον τὴν στρατινὴν ἀπέβηση, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστράτιδας προπυθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην ἐπεποίητο γάρ σφι συμμαχίῃ πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφι δεομένουσι ἀπέπεμψαν κοινὴ γνώμην χρεώμενοι χιλίην τε ἵππων καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέων ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἐς χοῦν συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστράτιδης, ἐμηχανώτο τοιάδε, κείραντες τῶν Ἀληθεῶν τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἅπασιμον ποιῆσαν τούτων τῶν χώρων ἐπίκαιρον τῷ στρατῷ, πέδιον τὴν ἵππων ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀγχιμόλιον τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένοις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατείρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶ ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιον εἰσὶ ταφαί τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκήσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.

64. Μετὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μέξῳ στόλον στελνασι ἀπέφευραν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηνὰς, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατινῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένεα τῶν Ἀναξανδρίδεων, οὐκέτε κατὰ θάλασσαν στελ-
them down at Delphi and bribed the Pythian priestess, whenever any Spartans should come to enquire of her on a private or a public account, to bid them set Athens free. Then the Lacedaemonians, when the same command was ever revealed to them, sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a citizen of repute, to drive out the sons of Pisistratus with an army, albeit the Pisistratids were their close friends; for the gods’ will weighed with them more than the will of man. They sent these men by sea on shipboard. So Anchimolius put in at Phalerum and there disembarked his army; but the sons of Pisistratus had got word of the plan already, and sent to ask help from Thessaly, wherewith they had an alliance. The Thessalians at their entreaty joined together and sent their own king, Cineas of Conium, with a thousand horsemen. When the Pisistratids got these allies, they devised a plan whereby they laid the plain of Phalerum waste, so that all that land could be ridden over, and then launched their cavalry against the enemy’s army; the horsemen charged and slew Anchimolius and many more of the Lacedaemonians, and drove those that survived to their ships. Thus faring, the first Lacedaemonian armament drew off; and Anchimolius’ tomb is at Alopecae in Attica, near to the Heracleum in Cynosarges.\(^1\)

64. After this the Lacedaemonians sent out a greater army to attack Athens, appointing as its general their king Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides;\(^1\)

\(^{1}\) 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."
καντές ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἥπειρον τούτοις ἔσβαλον ξέ 

τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην ἡ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἦπε 

πρώτη προσέμειξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν ἐτραπέτο, 

καὶ σφέων ἐπέσον ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ 

ὁ θερινοὶ ἀπάλλασσον ὡς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλῆς. 

Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικομένου ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἄμα Ἀθηναίων τούτους βουλομένουι εἶναι 

ἐλευθέρους ἐπολιορκεῖ τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργ 

μένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τεῖχει.

65. Καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἄν ἔξειλον Πεισιστρ 

τίδας οἱ Λακεδαίμονοι οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόει 

ποιήσασθαι, οὐ γε Πεισιστράτιδας σίτοις καὶ 

ποτοῖς εἰς παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τέ 

ἄν ἡμέρας ὄλιγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. 

νῦν δὲ συντυχία τούτη μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖς 

dὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτὴ σύμμαχος ὑπεκτιθέμενοι καὶ ἐξ 

τῆς χώρης τῶν παιδῶν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἦλθαν. 

τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρῆγμα 

συνετεύρακτο, παρέατησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθὸ τοῖς 

tέκνοις, ἐπὶ οἷς ἐβουλοῦτοι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ὡστε ἐν 

πέντε ἡμέραις ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. 

μετὰ δὲ ἔξεχωρησαν ἐς Σιγεμοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ 

Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἄρχαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ ἔτεα ἐξ 

tε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτω ἄν καθὲ 

Πύλαιο 

τε καὶ Νηλείδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ 

ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπτίλ 

λιδεῖ ἐόντες ἐγένοτο Ἀθηναίων βασιλεῖς. 

ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τώτῳ ὄνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε 

Ἱπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι τὸν Πεισιστρατον, 

ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν 

ἐπωνυμήν.
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 befell 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.
Οὔτω μὲν Ἀθηναίοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὡσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἐρξαν ἡ ἐπαθὼν ἀξιόχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἡ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστημαῖ απὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρα τοῦ Μιλήσιου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθηνάς χρησάει σφέων βοηθείων, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

66. Ἀθηναί, ἐσύς καὶ πρὶν μεγαλὰ, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι τυράννων ἐγένοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἄνδρες ἐδυναστευοῦ, Κλεισθένης τε ἄνηγε Ἀλκμενίδης, δὲ περὶ δὴ λόγου ἔχει τὴν Πυθήνι παναπείσα, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τιςάνδρου οἰκής μὲν ἐνὸν δοκίμων, ἀτὰ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν υἱὸν ἔχων φράσατο τύνων δὲ οὐκ ἱσχενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὸ Καρίῳ. οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἐσταισάσαν περὶ δυνάμεος, ἐσταυροῦν δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δήμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αιγίκόρεος καὶ Ἄργαδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐξευροῦ δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιχωρίων, πάρεξ Αἰαντοῦ τούτου δὲ ἀτε ἀστυγεῖτον καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἔοντα, προσέθετο.

67. Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκεῖν εἴμω, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τῶν ἐωτοῦ μητροπο넝α τοῦ Ἀργάδεως τῶν Σικυώνος τυράννων. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείους πολεμήσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαφίδους ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρεῶν ἐπέεν ἐνεκα, ὅτε Ἀργεῖοι τε καὶ Ἀργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμέεται· τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρώων γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου

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

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

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

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2 Cleisthenes ruled at Sicyon from 600 to 570.
τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τούτου ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα Ἀργείου ἐκβαλειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστημαζέτο εἰ ἐκβάλω τὸν Ἀδρήστον ἢ δὲ Πυθίη ὁι χρὰ φάσα Ἀδρήστον μὲν εἶναι Σικυώνιων βασιλέα, κείνον δὲ λευστήρα, ἐπεί δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο γε ὑπο παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὅπισώ εφρύντιξε μηχανή τῇ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀδρήστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσατο ἐδώκει, πεμψάς ἐς Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἐφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελανίττον τοῦ Ἀστακοῦ οἱ δὲ Θήβαιοι ἐδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελανίττον τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανηῷ καὶ μιν ἱδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἵσχυροτάτῳ. ἐπηγαγείτο δὲ τὸν Μελανίττον ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσαθαι), ὡς ἐχθροῦν ἐώντα Ἀδρήστον, διὸ τὸν τὸ ἀδελφὸν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυνάει τε καὶ ὅρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἐδώκε τῷ Μελανίττῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐσθέσαν μεγαλώστι κάρτα τιμῶν τῶν Ἀδρήστον ἢ γὰρ χώρῃ ἢν αὐτὴ Πολύβου, οἱ δὲ Ἀδρήστος ἢν Πολύβου υπερτριδέουσα, ἀπαίς δὲ Πολύβους τελευτῶν διδοὶ Ἀδρήστῳ τῇ ἀρχῇ, τά τε ὅλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τῶν Ἀδρήστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῦς χοροὺς ἐγεραιροῦν, τὸν μὲν Διώνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρήστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διώνυσῳ ἀπεδώκε, τὴν δὲ ἀλλήν θυσίη Μελανίττῳ.

68. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρήστον οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωρίεων, ἰνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐστὶν Σικυώνιοι καὶ τοῦτο Ἀργεῖοι, 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
ἐς ἄλλα οὖνόματα. ἐνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυώνων· ἐπὶ γὰρ ύστερ τε καὶ ύστερ τοὺς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθέεις αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταία ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωτου ἀρχὴς· ταύτη δὲ τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκάλεσαν, ἐτεροὶ δὲ Ἀταί, ἀλλοὶ δὲ Ὀνεῖται, ἐτεροὶ δὲ Χαιρεῖται. τούτοις τοῖς οὖνόμαις τῶν φυλῶν ἔχρεων οἱ Σικυώνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεος ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεώτος ἐτὶ ἐπὶ ἐτελεῖσκοντα· μετεπείτα μὲνοι λόγοι σφίζοντες μετέβαλον ἐς τῶν Ἀθηναίων Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτούς προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδριστοῦ παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέως τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ποιεύμενοι κεκλήσθαι Αἰγιαλέας.

69. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν ὁ Σικύωνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποίηκε· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι Κλεισθένης ἔως τοῦ Σικυώνιου τυφόθυγατρίδεος καὶ τὸ οὖνόμα ἐπὶ τούτου ἐχων, δοκεῖσιν ἐμοὶ καὶ οὕτως ὑπερηφάνου Ἰωνας, ἱνα μὴ σφίζοι αἱ αὐταὶ ἐσσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσί, τὸν ὅμωνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμμυριστο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμων πρότερον ἀπωσµένων τότε πάνως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ μοῦραν προσέβηκατο, τῶς φυλῶν μετονοµασία καὶ ἐσπόησε πλεύς ἐπὶ ἐλασσόνων· δέκὰ τε δὴ φυλάρχος ἀντὶ τεσσερῶν ἐσπόησε, δέκαχα ¹ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε ἐς τῶς φυλας· ἵνα τε τῶν δήμων προσθέμενος πολλῷ κατύπερθαι τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

70. Εν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐςσούμενος ὁ Ισαγόρης ἀντιτεχνάται τάδε· ἐπικαλεῖται Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀκεδαίμονιον γενόμενον ἐωτοῦ ξείνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατίδεων 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 Hyleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanatae, adding thereto a fourth which they made to be called Aegialeis after Aegialeus son of Adrastus.

69. Thus had the Sicyanon 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
HEodoTus

eίχε αἰτήθη φοιτᾶν παρά τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τῆς
γυναίκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρώτα πέμπτων ο Κλεομένης
ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνάς κηρύκη εξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ
μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς
ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγον ταῦτα δὲ πέμπτων ἔλεγε ἐκ
dιδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι
καὶ οἱ συστασίωται αὐτῶν εἰχον αἰτήθη τοῦ φόρου
tοῦτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετείχε οὐδ’ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

71. Οἱ δ’ ἐναγέας Ἀθηναίων ὁδὸν ὑφομάσθησαν.
ἡν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνήρ Ὁλυμπιονίκης;
οὗτος ἔπι τυραννίδα ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος
δὲ ἐταιρείαν τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὗ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρα-
thsai ἰκέτης ἤτοι πρὸ τοῦ ἄγαλμα. τούτους
ἀνιστᾶσθαι μὲν οἱ πρυταίνες τῶν ναυκράτων, οἱ
περ ἐνεμον τὸτε τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὑπεγγύως πλὴν θανάτου
φονεύσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτήθη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδαις.
tαῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίας ἐγένετο.

72. Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ πέμπτων ἐξέβαλλε Κλει-
σθένεα καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένεας μὲν αὐτὸς
ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσσον παρῆν ἐς τὰς
Ἀθηνᾶς ο Κλεομένης ού σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρί, ἀπικο-
μένος δὲ ἀγνόιαν ἕπτακοσία ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων,
τὰ οὐ ὑπεθεῖ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας
δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριήκο-
νοιος δὲ τοῖς Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτητα τὰς ἀρχὰς
ἐνεχείρισε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ

1 "The naucrarias 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.

78
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

¹ The probable date is between 620 and 600.
² Herodotus probably means the new Council of 500, fifty from each tribe.
βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὦ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετέλεστο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη, ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσειν, ἢς ἐς τὸ ἀδυτὸν τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσέρευν ἦ δὲ ἰρείη ἐξαναστάσα ἐκ τοῦ βρόντου, πρὶν ἦ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἀμείψαι, εἰπὲ "Ὡς ξεὶνε Λακεδαιμόνει, πάλιν χώρες μὴ δὲ ἐσίθη ἐς τὸ ἱρών ὦν γὰρ θεμετὸν ἰωρεύεται παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα." ὁ δὲ εἰπὲ "Ὡς γυναῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριέως εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαίος." ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κλεπθὸν οὐδὲν χρεὼμενος ἐπεχείρησε τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπηπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀθηναίοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τιμησίθεου τὸν Δελφῶν, τὸν ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιν ἀν μέγιστα καταλέξαι.

73. Οὕτω μὲν μιᾷ νῦν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστι αὐτὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεµψάµονοι πέµποντι ἀγγέλους ἡς Σάρδις, συµµαχήν Βουλόµενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἑπιστέατο γὰρ σφίσει Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεια ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι. ἀπικοµένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἡς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλµένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἰστάσπεος Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἐστεῖν ἀνθρωποι καὶ κοὐ

1 MS. σφίσει πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους; Stein brackets πρὸς, which is better omitted.
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, Timesitheus the Delphian among them, whose achievements of strength and courage were most mighty, as I could relate.

73. So these were bound and put to death. After that, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes; then they despatched envoys to Sardis, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians; for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, “What men are you, and where
γής οἰκήμενοι δεσίατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφοι σφι τάδε: εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεὶ Δαρείῳ Ἀθηναίοι γῆν τε καὶ ὤδωρ, ὦ δὲ συμμαχίας σφι συννέθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἐφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωτῶν αἰτίαις μεγάλας εἶχον.

74. Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιυβρίσθαι ἔπεσε καὶ ἔργοις ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατῶν, οὐ φραξὶν ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἔθελον τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσαγόρῃ βουλόμενος τύμλαιν καταστήσας συνεξήλθε γάρ οἱ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Κλεομένης τε ὃς στόλοι μεγάλω ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἑλευσῖνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οινόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Τσιᾶς δῆμους τοὺς ἐςχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέας τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσερα ἐσώτοτο ἐπίστοις χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, καὶ συνεβιβλή ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς υστερον ἐμελλὼν μνήμην ποιῆσασθαι, Πελοποννησίουσι δὲ οὕσι ἐν Ἑλευσῖνι ἕνεστι ἐθεντό τὰ ὀπλα.

75. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάφειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρὸτεροὶ σφισί αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὡς οὐ ποιεόντες δίκαια μετεβάλλουσι τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρχος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὕτως βασιλεὺς Σπαρτητέων καὶ συνέξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατὴν ἐκ Δακεδαιμονίσι ὑπ᾿ ἐων διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσωπε χρώνω Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίας ἐτέθη

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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 Athe-
nians 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 ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἔξειναι ἔπεσθαι ἀμφότερος τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξίσουσις στρατηγῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι εἰποντο· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἔτερου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαιδέων τὸν ἔτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὕτωι ἀμφότεροι ἑπικλητοὶ σφι ἔνοτες εἰποντο.

76. Τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλευσίνῃ ὀρθῶτες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλειπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἶχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τούτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπικόμενοι Δωριέες, διὸς τε ἐπὶ πολέμων ἐσβαλόντες καὶ διὸς ἐπὶ άγαθοῦ τοῦ πλῆθος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκησαν, οὕτος οἱ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόρων Βασιλεύστος Ἀθηναίων ὁρὸς ἀν καλέωτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατίδεων ἔξθεσιν ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς Ἑλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίων ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριέες ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθηναίας.

77. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἄκλεος, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι τίνυσθαμ βουλόμενοι πρώτα στρατηγὸν ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκίδεας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖς Χαλκιδεουσὶ βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τῶν Εὐρυπον. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἑδοὺσι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐδοξεὶ πρότερον τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἣ τοῖς Χαλκιδεοὺς ἐπισχεῖσθαι. συμβάλλουσι τε δὴ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ὅ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ πολλῷ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἐπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εύβοιαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖς
made at Sparta that when an army was despatched both kings should not be suffered to go with it (for till then they had both gone together); thus one of the kings being released from service, one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home; for before that time, both of these also were entreated to aid and went with the army.

76. So now at Eleusis, when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their post, they too went off and away. This was the fourth time that Dorians had come into Attica. Twice had they come as invaders in war, and twice to the help of the Athenian commonalty; the first time was when they planted a settlement at Megara¹ (this expedition may rightly be said to have been in the reign of Codrus), the second and third when they set out from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus, and the fourth was now, when Cleomnes 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 Peloponnes.
Χαλκιδεύσι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτων τετρα-
κυκλιών κληρούχοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰπποβοτέων τῇ
χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἱ δὲ ἰπποβόται ἐκαλέοντο ὁι
παχές τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὅσοις δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐξογρήσαν, ἀμα τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ἐξογρημένοις
ἐξέχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δίσαντες. Χρόνῳ δὲ
ἐλυσαν σφέας δίμνων ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ
πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇ διὰ ἐδέσατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς
τὴν ἄκροπολιν· αἱ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἡσαν
περιείσθαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχῶν περιπετευ-
σμένου πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιδοῦ, ἀντίλοι δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου
τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. καὶ τῶν λύτρων
tὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον
χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἐστήκε ράτων
ἐσίοντε ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄκροπολι
ἐπηγραφασάν ὅ ὁι τάδε.

ἐθνεὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παιῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐργασὶν ἐν πολέμων,
δεσμὸν ἐν ἀχλούσει σιδηρῶν ἐσβεσαν ὑβρίς
τῶν ἰππων δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἐβεσαν.

78. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν τῶν ἤμετρον. δηλοὶ δὲ οὐ
κατ' ἐν μοῖρον ἀλλὰ πανταχὺ ἡ ἰσημορία ὡς ἐστὶ
χρῆμα σπουδαίον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τυραννεύομενοι
μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικεύσων ἦσαν τὰ
πόλεμα ἀμένοις, ἀπαλλαχέστες δὲ τυράνων
μακρῷ πρώτῳ ἐγένοντο. δηλοὶ ὁμ ταῦτα ὅτι
κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον ὡς δεσπότη ἐργαζό-
μενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐνυτὸ
προευθυμεῖτι 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 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, 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.

*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. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν ταῦτα ἐπρησσόμεν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσθεν ἐπεμπότων, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθή ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖς εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενίκατος ἐκέλευς τῶν ἀγχιστὰ δέσθαι. ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν θεοπρότων, ἐξέφερο τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλήθειας ὑπεραμένοις ὡς ἐπινοθάνοντο δὲ λέγοντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγχιστὰ δέσθαι, εἰπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων ὁμώς ἀγχιστα ἡμέως οἴκεον Ταναγραῖοι τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες; καὶ οὕτως ἔµεθα ηὲ ἤμιν αἰὲ μαχομενοὶ προθύμως συνδιάφεροντες τὸν πόλεμον τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐς δέσθαι; ἀλλὰ μάλλον μὴ ὁ τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ χρηστήριον.

80. Τοιαύτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι εἴπεν δὴ κοτε μαθῶν τις Ἐγώ μοι δοκεῖον συνεῖναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τῷ μαντηίῳ. Ἀσωπὸς λέγοντας γενέσθαι θυγατέρας Θήβη τε καὶ Αἰγίνα τουτέων ἀδελφῶν ἐουσέων, δοκεῖ εἴμι Αἰγινητῶν δέσθαι τὸν θεον χρηστήριον τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι; καὶ οἷς γὰρ τις ταῦτα ἀμείνον γνώμη ἐκδοκεῖ φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέστω Αἰγινητῶν ἑπικαλεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον σφι βοηθειείν, ὡς ἐότων ἀγχιστῶν οἱ δὲ σφί αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἐφασαν.

81. Πειρησαμένοι δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακίδων καὶ τρηχέως περιεβοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὶς οἱ Θηβαῖοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ αὐδρῶν ἐδέστω. Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ εὐδαιμονία τις μεγάλη ἐπαρθένες καὶ ἔκθρης παλαίης ἀναμνησθέντες ἔχουσις ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων.
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
δεικτέων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφεσον ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῆς νυσί ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσπεραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς ὁμοίως, ποιεῖτες δὲ ταύτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσικνέοντα.

82. Ἡ δὲ ἐχθρὴ ἡ προσφείλεμένη ἔς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀιγινητέων ἐγένετο ὡς ἀρχὴς τοῖνυν. Ἔπιδαυρίσει ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδοι. περὶ ταύτης ὁν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἔπιδαυριοὶ ἐχρέωστο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἡ δὲ Πυθία σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμής τε καὶ Ἀυξησίς ἀγάλματα ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ σφί ἱδρυσάμενοι ἄμεινον συνοίσθαι. ἐπειρώτευον δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιεώνται τὰ ἀγάλματα ἡ λίθου ἡ δὲ Πυθία οὐδέτερα τούτων ἐν, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρῃς ἔλαίης. ἐδέοντο δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι Ἀθηναίοιν ἔλαιην σφί δοῦναι ταμεσθαί, ἰρωτάτας δὴ κεῖνας νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγε- ται δὲ καὶ ὁς ἔλαιαι ἤσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνου ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις. οἱ δὲ ἐπί τούτῳ δοσίν ἔφασαν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀπάξουσί ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῆς Ἀθηναίης τῆς πολιάδι ἵνα καὶ τῆς Ἔρεχθείς. καταινέσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπι- δαύριοι τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἐτυχὸν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἔλαιων τούτων ποιησάμενοι ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ ἢ τε γῆ σφὶ ἐφεβε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐπιστέλεον τὰ συνόβεντα.

83. Τούτων δὲ ἐτε τῶν χρόνων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀιγινηταὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουσαν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκαια δια- βαίνοντες ἡ Ἐπιδαύρου 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 townsships. 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 ἄδαι (=γῆ), Earth; Auxesia clearly with αὖξεσθαι. They were goddesses of increase and fertility.
παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινηταῖς τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε νέας τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωστόν χρησάμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑπιδαυρίων. ἀτε δὲ ἔτοις διάφοροι ἐξηλέουσιν αὐτοὺς, ὅστε βαλασσοκράτοιες ἔτοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαιμόν καὶ τῆς Λυξησίης ύπαιρέονται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφαίρα ἐκόμισαν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἰι μὲν ἐστὶ σύνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὑσ ἐκοσὶ ἀπέχει. ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ ὑψίστω τε σφέα καὶ χρονίσι γυναικείοις κερτομίοις ἱλάσκοντο, χρησάων ἀποδεικνυμένων ἕκατερῃ τῶν δαίμονων δέκα ἄνδρῶν κακῶς δὲ ἐγρήγορουν οἱ χοροί ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπε- χωρίας γυναῖκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἑπιδαυρί- οισι οἱ αὐταῖ ἱρουργίαι εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἅρρητοι ἱρουργίαι.

84. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἑπιδαύριοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ συνέδέντο σοφύ ἐπετελέσαν. πέμφαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι εμήνουν τοῖς Ἑπιδαύριοις, οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγια ως οὐκ ἀδικεῖοιν ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἰχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτέλεσαν τὰ συνέδέντο, επεὶ δὲ ἐστερῆσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δικαίων εἰναι ἀποφέρειν ετε, ἀλλὰ τους ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Λιγινηταὶ πρῆσσεσθαι ἐκέλευσι. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐς Λιγιναν πέμφαντες ἀπαίτειον τὰ ἀγάλματα, οἱ δὲ Λιγινη- ται ἐφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εῖναι οὐδὲν πρόγιμα.

85. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν νῦν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαί- τησιν ἀποστάλησαν τριήρει μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν τούτων οἱ 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
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ek λέγεται τα ἀγάλματα ταύτα ως σφετέρων ξύλων ἐόντα ἐπειρώντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἔξαναστάν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται. οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατήσαι, περιβαλοῦντας σχοινία ἐλκείν τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ σφι ἐλκουσί βροντήν τε καὶ ἀμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπυγενέσθαι τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἐλκοντας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονήσαι, παθόντας δὲ τούτο κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἀτε πολεμίους, ἐς δὲ εἶκαν τῶν ἔνα λειβθέντα ἀνακομίσθηναι αὐτῶν ἐς Φάληρον.

86. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Ἀιγυπτίος δὲ οὖ μὴ νη ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους, μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅλην πλεύνας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίςι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐόνται νέες, ἀπαμύνεσθαι ὑπὸ εὐπτέως ἀλλὰ πολλήσε ηὑσὶ καὶ ἑπιπλέειν σφίςι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αὐτῶ δὲ σφι εἴξας καὶ οὐ ναυμαχήσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τούτῳ διασημήναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἔσονε κυριηθεσκόμενοι εἰναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τούτῳ εἴξαν, οὔτε εἰ Βουλῆμενοι ποιῆσαι οἴων τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν νυν, ἐπείτε σφι οὔδεις ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὕτω δὴ περιβαλομένους σχοινία ἐλκείν, ἐς οὐ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντο ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἀλλὸ δὲ τεύχοντα γὰρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτον χρόνον διατελέσειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ ταύτα ποιεῖν σφέας δὲ Ἀιγυπτίος λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους...
name of the whole people to Aegina, essayed to tear the images, as being made of Attic wood, from their bases, that they might carry them away; but when they could not get possession of them in this manner, they fastened the images about with cords and made to drag them away, till while they dragged they were overtaken by a thunderstorm, and an earthquake withal; whereby the trireme's crew that dragged the images were distraught, and in this affliction slew each other for enemies, till at last but one of all was left, who returned back by himself to Phalerum.

86. This is the Athenian story of the matter; but the Aeginetans say that the Athenians came not in one ship only; "for," they say, "even if we had had no ships of our own, we could right easily have defended ourselves against one ship, or a few more; but the truth is that they descended upon our coasts with many ships, and we yielded to them and made no fight of it at sea." But they can never show with exact plainness whether it was because they confessed themselves to be the weaker at sea-fighting that they yielded, or because they purposed to do somewhat such as in the event they did. The Athenians then (say the Aeginetans), when no man came out to fight with them, disembarked from their ships and set about dealing with the images; and not being able to drag them from the bases they did there and then fasten them about with cords and drag them, till as they were dragged both the images together (and this I myself do not believe, yet others may) fell with the selfsame motion on their knees, and have remained so from that day. Thus, then, did the Athenians; but as for themselves, the Aeginetans say that they learnt that the Athenians
όως μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Διονυσίην, καὶ ἤκειν βοηθεύτας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακούσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τῆς βροντῆς τε γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν αὐτούς.

87. Δέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ’ Ἀργείων τε καὶ Διονυσίων τάδε, ὀμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐνα μοῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι: πλὴν Ἀργείοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἐνα τούτου περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδέ τούτων τὸν ἐνα, ἀλλ’ ἀπολέσθαι τρόπω τοιῷδε, κομίσθηκεν ἀρὰ εἰς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς ἀπηγγέλλε τὸ πάθος πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναίκας τῶν ἐπὶ Διονυσίων στρατευσμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενας κείνον μοῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέρι τὸν ἀνθρώπον τοῦτον λαβοῦσα καὶ κεντεύσας τῇς περοῦσι τῶν ἰματίων εἰρωτάν ἑκάστην αὐτέων ὁκον εἰ ὁ ἑωτύης ἀνήρ.

88. Καὶ τούτων μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἐτί τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερον τι δοξᾷ εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐργον. ἄλλος μὲν δὴ ὁκ ἐχειν διειρωτής ἤσοι γυναικὰς, τῇ δὲ ἐνθήτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα: ἐφόρεσαν γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναικῶς ἐνθήτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθία παραπλησιωτάτην μετέβαλον ὅν ἐς τὸν λίθου κισών, ὡς δὴ περοῦσι μὴ χρέωνσαι. ἔστι δὲ ἀλήθεια λόγῳ χρεωμένοις οὐκ
were about to make war upon them, and therefore they assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island privily, and then falling upon the Athenians unawares and cutting them off from their ships; and it was at this moment that the thunderstorm came upon them, and the earthquake withal.

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

88. Thus was this man done to death; and this deed of their women seemed to the Athenians to be yet more dreadful than their misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women; but they changed their dress to the Ionian fashion; for till then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, very like to the Corinthian; it was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, that so they might have no brooch-pins to use. But if the truth be told, this dress is not in its origin
'Ιάς αὕτη ἡ ἐσθής τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἦ γε Ελληνική ἐσθής πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαῖα τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὕτη ἦν τὴν ὑπὸ Δωρίδα καλέομεν. τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τούτῳ Αἰγινητήσι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τὸ δεῖ ποιήσαι τὸν νομὸν εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι ἐκατέρωσι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεώτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τούτων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναικας, Ἀττικοῦ δὲ μὴ τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μῆτε κέραμον, ἀλλὰ ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπί- χυρείων νόμων τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸθε εἶναι πίνειν.

89. Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινητέων αἱ γυναικεῖς ἐκτόσον κατ᾽ ἐριν τὴν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεου μέξονας ἡ πρὸ τοῦ, τής δὲ ἔχθρῆς τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινητάς ἐξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχῆ κατὰ τὰ εἰρήται ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Ὀμήρων ἐπι- καλεομένων, προθύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἁγαλματα γενομένων ἀναμμηνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινηταὶ ἐβοήθεον τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς. Αἰγινηταὶ τε δὴ ἐδησίων τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὁμημέρουσι εἵπών Αἰγινητᾶς στρατεύοντας ἱλιοὶ μαντήμων ἐκ Δελφῶν, ἐπιαχύντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινητῶν ἀδικίαν τριήκοντα ἕτεα, τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ τριῆ- στῳ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαται ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινητᾶς πολέμου, καὶ σφί χωρῆσειν τὰ βούλονται  ἃν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστατεύονται, πολλὰ μὲν σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσεσθαι, τέλος μὲντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὅς ἀπενεχθέντα ἠκουσάν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο

1 These words are not intelligible. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ἔτι τὰς ἔδει, ποιήσαι κ.τ.λ.
BOOK V. 88–89

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
τὸ γὰρ ἔπληκτον τὰ ἀνέχαντες ὅσαν χρείαν ἔχον ἠπισχεῖν πεποιθότας ὑπὲρ Ἀιγινητῶν ἀνάρσια.

90. Ἔστιν ἐπιβαρυὸν δὲ παρασκευαζόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἔκ Δακεδαίμονι οἱ πρήγμα ἐγείρομεν ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Δακεδαίμονι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκεινώδιων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανήμενα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστράτιδας συμφορῆν ἐποείντο διπλῆν, ὅτι τοις ἄνδρας ἥξιντον σφίσει ἑόντας ἔξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων, καὶ ὅτι ταύτα ποιήσαι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ἔτι τε πρὸς τοὺς ἔγχριον σφίας οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἑσεθαι αὐτοὶ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἄδαες, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἔξεμαθον, ἐκτῆσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμοὺς, τοὺς ἐκτυποτο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστράτιδαι, ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἐλιπον ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἄνελαβε.

91. Τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Δακεδαίμονι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱρὰς αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἑόντας πείθεσθαι σφίσει, νῦν λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἕως τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἱσόρροπον ἀν τῷ ἐνυπό τοῦ γάνητο, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενεῖ καὶ πειθαρχεύσει ἐτοιμοῦ μαθόντες δὲ ποσῶν ἕκαστα μετεπέμποντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Συμείου τοῦ ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὁ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρα-
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 Laced-
aemon. For when the Lacedaemonians learnt of
the plot of the Alemaeonids with the Pythian
priestess 1 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 Athe-
nians showed them no thankfulness for their so doing.
Furthermore, they were moved by the oracles 2 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 Lacedae-
monians 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 increas-
ing 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
τίδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφὶ Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμφάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγρα-
λους ἐλεγόν σφὶ Ἐπαρτήται τάδε. "Ἀνδρές σύμ-
μαχοι, συνγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ὦ ποιήσασι ἀρθῶις ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδήλωσι μαντήσιοι ἄνδρας ξεινόντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνα-
δεκτέονοι ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθηνας, τού-
τους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἔξησάμεν, καὶ ἐπείτα ποιήσαντες ταύτα δήμων ἀχαρίστων παρεδόκαμεν τῷ πόλιν δὲ ἐπείτε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευθερώθηκα διὰ τὴν ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ τὸν Βασιλέα ἡμῶν περι-
υβρίας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξώνεται, ὡστε ἐκμεμαθήκοι μάλιστα μὲν ὁ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρτῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιή-
σαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἃμα ἡμῖν ἀπικομένοις τίσασθαι αὐτῶν γὰρ τούτων εἴνεκεν τόνδε τῷ Ἰππίην μεταπεμψάμεθα καὶ ἡμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, ὥστε κοινῷ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἐσπαγαγόντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀποδώμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα."

92. Οἱ μὲν ταύτα ἐλεγόν, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκτο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι ἦσυχην ἡγοῦν, Κορίνθιοι δὲ Ἐκκλήσῃ ἐλέξει τάδε. "Ἡ δὲ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἐνερεθὲ ἐσταὶ τὴς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέφερος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἔζησον καὶ ἱγθῶν τῶν πρῶτων ἄνθρωπων, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι σωκρατίας καταλύσατε τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατάγειν παρασκευάζοντες. τοῦ ὅπε τὸ ἀδικώτερον ἐστι σωματί
καὶ ἄνθρωπος ότρε μαίσωνοτερον. οἱ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ γε δοκεῖ υἱῶν εἶναι χρηστῶν ὅπε τὸ 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
νεύσθαι τὰς πόλις, αυτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον κατα-
στησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι οὔτω καὶ τοῖσι
ἀλλοιοι διέξησθε κατιστάναι νῦν δὲ αὐτοῖ τυρά-
νων ἀπειροὶ ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τοῦτο δεινο-
τατα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχράσθε ἐς
τοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμπειροὶ ἑατε κατὰ
περ ἡμεῖς, εἰχετε ἀν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμεῖνονας
συμβαλέσθαι ἢ περ νῦν.

Κορινθίοις γὰρ ἦν πόλιος κατάστασις τοιὴδε;
ἡ ὀλυναρχία, καὶ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι
ἐνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοῦντο ἐξ
ἀλλήλων. Ἀμφοὶ δὲ ἐόντες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἀνηκαὶ θυγατρὶς χωλῆς οὖνομα δὲ οὐ ἦν Λάβδα.
ταῦτην Βακχιαδέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἥθελε γῆμαι, ἵσχει
'Ητίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεως, δήμου μὲν ἐώς ἐκ Πέτρης,
ἀταρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Δαυῖδος τε καὶ Καὶνεῖδος. ἐκ
δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀλλής παιδὸς
ἔγινοτο. ἔσται ὁ ὃς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνων.
ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ιδέως ἡ Πυθίς προσαγορεῦσε
τοῖσι ἐπεσή.

'Ἡτίων, οὕτως σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα.
Δάβδα κυίε, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίωσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ 'Ητίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως
tοῖσι Βακχιάδρισι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γενό-
μενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον
tε ἐς τῶντο καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡτίωνος καὶ λέγων ὁδὲ.

1 Because (according to the Elymologicium Magnum) the "outward distortion of the feet" resembled the letter Δ.
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:
αἰετός ἐν πέτρησι κύων, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
καρτερὸν ὁμηστήν. πολλῶν δὲ ὕπο γούνατα
λύσει.

ταῦτα νυν εὐ φράξεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἵ περὶ
καλῆν
Πειρήμην αἰκεῖτε καὶ ὁφρυώεντα Κόρινθον.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς Βακχιάδησι πρῶτερον γενό-
μενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡτίων γενόμε-
μενον ως ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρῶτερον συνήκα
εἵν συνόφθον τῷ Ἡτίωνοις. συνέτες δὲ καὶ τὸν
ἐξαν εὖ ἄσυνχρον, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡτίων
γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθείραι. ὡς δὲ ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ
τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἡς τὸν
δήμον ἐν τῷ κατολίκητο ὁ Ἡτίων ἀποκτηνέουτας
τὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτως ἐς τὴν Πέτρην
καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλήν τὴν Ἡτίωνοις
αὔτεον τὸ παιδίον ἦ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυία τε οὐδὲν τῶν
εἰνεκα ἐκείνων ἀπικόματο, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας
φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἰνεκα αἰτείων, φέρουσα
ἐνεχείροις αὐτῶν ἐν. τοῖς δὲ ἂρα ἑβεθοῦλεντο
κατ’ ὅδον τῶν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον
προσονύσατο. ἔπει ἅν οἴοικε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα,
τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείᾳ τυχῷ προσεγέλασε
τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τοῦτο οἰκτός τις
ἰσχεί ἀποκτείναι, κατοικτείρας δὲ παραδίδοντο
τὸν δευτέρῳ, δὲ τὸ τρίτῳ. οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ
πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδίδομενον, οὗτοι βουλο-
μένοι διεργάσασθαι. ἀποδόντες ἄν οπίσω τῆ
τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἔστεώτες
Lo, where the eagle's mate conceives in the rocks,
and a lion
Mighty and fierce shall be born; full many a knee
shall he loosen.
Wherefore I bid you beware, ye Corinthian folk,
that inhabit
Nigh Pirene fair and the heights o'erhanging of
Corinth.

This oracle, formerly given to the Bacchiadae, was
past their interpretation; but now, when they
learnt of that one which was given to Eetion,
straightway they understood that the former
accorded with the oracle of Eetion; and under-
standing this prophecy too they sat still, pur-
posing to destroy whatever should be born to
Eetion. Then, as soon as his wife was delivered,
they sent ten men of their clan to the township
where Eetion dwelt, to kill the child. These men
came to Petra and passing into Eetion's courtyard
asked for the child; and Labda, knowing nothing of
the purpose of their coming, and thinking that they
asked out of friendliness to the child's father,
brought it and gave it into the hands of one of
them. Now they had planned on their way (as
the story goes) that the first of them who received
the child should dash it to the ground. So then
when Labda brought and gave the child, by heaven's
providence it smiled at the man who took it, and he
saw that, and compassion forbade him to kill it, and
in that compassion he delivered it to a second, and
he again to a third; and thus it passed from hand to
hand to each of the ten, for none would make an end
of it. So they gave the child back to its mother and
επὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἀπτοντο κατατιθέμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρῶτον λαβόντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα, ἐς ὁ δὴ σφὶ χρόνον ἐγγυνομένου ἔδοξε αὐτὶς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φονὸν μετίσχειν. (δ) ἐδεί δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἡ Δάβδα γὰρ πάντα τὰ ταῦτα ἦκουν ἔστεώσα πρὸς αὐτῆς τῇς θύρας ἰδίσασα δὲ μὴ σφὶ μεταδοξῆ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένῃ ὡς οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἐς ξήραν ἀπεκκυνοῖο πᾶντα ἐρευνῆσειν μέλλοιεν τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διημένοις αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἐδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τόν ἀποπεμψάντας ὡς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετίλαντο. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐλεγον ταῦτα. Ἰετίων ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ο παῖς μεγάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες τούτων τὸν κύνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπονυμάλην Κυψέλος οὕνωμα ἔτειθη. ἀνθρωπίνοις δὲ καὶ μαντευομένοις Κυψέλος ἐγένετο ἀμφιπλέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἑπεχείρησε τε καὶ ἔσχε Κορίνθων. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς οδε ἑν.
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 renowned,
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

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Ἀπεστήρησε, πολλῷ δὲ τὶ πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρξαντός δὲ τούτον ἐπὶ τρεῖκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τὸν βλοῦ εὖ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίων Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἤπιωτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπείτε δὲ ὠμᾶλλον δὲ ἀγγέλων Ὁρασύβουλος τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἦτι ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μαίφωντερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Ὁρασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπιναθάντος δύτια ἀν τρόπον ἀσφαλεστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων καλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι. Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρον ἐξῆγε ἐξω τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, ἐσβάς δὲ ἐς ἀρουραν ἐσπαρμένην ἀμα τε διεξῆμε τὸ λήμνον ἐπειρωτόν τε καὶ ἀναποδιζών τοῦ κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἀπίζον, καὶ ἐκόλουθον αἰεὶ δικός τινα ἐσοῦ τῶν ἀσταχῶν υπερέχοντα, κολοῦν δὲ ἐρριπτε, ὡς τοῦ λήμνο τὸ κάλλιστον τε καὶ βαθύτατον διεύθυνε τρόπω τοιούτω διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἐπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τοῦ κήρυκα. νοστήσαντω δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κορίνθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὁ Περίανδρος. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἐφὶ Ὁρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι, θωμάζειν τε αὐτὸν παρ' οίνοι μὲν ἀνδρὰ ἀποπέμψει, ὡς παραπληγή γα καὶ τῶν ἐντούμ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τὰ περὶ πρὸς Ὁρασύβουλον ὀπωπεῖε. Περίανδρος δὲ συνεις τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νόω Ἰσχων ὡς οἱ ὑπετίθητο Ὁρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεῖειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέβαινε ἐς τοὺς πολιτὰς. ὅσα γὰρ Κυψέλου ἀπελιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περίανδρος σφέα
goods, and by far the most of their lives. He reigned for thirty years 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 πᾶσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναίκας διὰ τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυναίκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἔς Θεσπρωτοῦς ἐπ' Ἀχέρωντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκρομαντήμα τοῖς παρακαταθήκης πέρι ἡμινικῆς οὕτε σημανεῖν ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπισφαινεῖσα οὕτε κατερείνειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ τῆς παρακαταθήκης ρυγοῦ τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνῆ τῶν γὰρ οἱ συγκατέδαφε ἱματίων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυβέντων μαρτύρων δὲ οἱ εἶναι ἡ ἀληθέα ταύτα λέγει, δι' ἐπὶ κυρίου τῶν ἰππὸν Περιανδρὸς τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταύτα δὲ ὃς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιανδρῷ, πιστῶν γὰρ αἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον δὲ νεκρὰ ἐναρξῳ Μέλισσῃ ἐμίη, ἱδέως ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κηρύγμα ἐποίησατο ἐς τὸ Αραιοῦ εἶναι πᾶσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναίκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὃς ἐς ὀρθῇ ἡμᾶς κοσμῷ τὸ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, ὦ ὑπόστησας τοὺς δυρυφόρους ἀπέδυσε σφέας πᾶσας ὀμοίως, ὅπως ἐς τῇ θεῖῃ καὶ τὰς ἄμφιτολοις, συμφόρησας δὲ ἐς οὐρημα Μέλισσῃ ἐπευγχώμενος κατέκαιε. ταύτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντε καὶ τὸ δευτερον πέμψαντε ἐφρασε τὸ διδαλοῦ τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατεθήκη χώρῳ τοῦ ἐξείνῳ τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

Τοιοῦτο μεν ἡμῖν κυριευστή τυραννίς, οἱ Δακεδαμώνει, καὶ τοιούτων ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τους Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἰχε ὁτε ἡμέας εἰδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίην, νῦν τε ὅτι καὶ μεξόνων θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταύτα, ἐπιμαρτυρομεθα τε ἐπικαλέομενοι μὴν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἐλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις. οὐκὼν παύσασθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσασθε 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,\(^1\) 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

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κατάγοντες Ἰππίην· ἵστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας.

93. Σωκλέως μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεγε τάδε, Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνοις, ἢ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφι ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνίασθαι ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτους ἀμείβατο οὐ τοὺς χρήσμοις ἀνερέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεσπασμένους· οὐ δὲ λοιπά τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἰχόν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ σφέας αὐτοὺς, ἔπειτε δὲ Σωκλέως ἤκουσαν εἴπαντο ἐλευθέρως, ἀπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ὑβέχας αἱρέστο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γρωμὴν, Λακεδαιμονίους τε ἐπεμαρτυρεῖτο μὴ ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα.

94. Οὔτω μὲν τούτῳ ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἀπελαυνομένου ἐδίδον μὲν Ἀμύνθης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδον σὺν Θεσσαλοί Ἡσίλεων. ὃ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδέτερα αἱρέστο, ἀνεχόρευ ὁ ὅπιστος ἡς Σύγειος, τὸ εἶλε Πεισιστράτου αἰχμή παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κράτησας δέ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τοῦ ἐσωτερικοῦ νόμου Ἡγησιστρατοῦ, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείας γυναικοῦ, ὡς οὐκ ἀμαχῇ εἰσέ τα παρελαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. ἐπολέμησεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀχιλλείου πόλεως ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ Σύγειον ἐπὶ χρόνον συγχρονίων Μυτιληναίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτεότες τὴν χώρην, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὔτε συγγυνωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύετε τὴν λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Ἀιολιστεῖτε μεταν τὴς Ἑλλάδος χώρης ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίοι καὶ τούτι ἀλλοιοῦν τοσοὶ Ἐλληνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενελεῶς τὰς Ἑλληνὶς ἀρπαγάς.
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 Cor-
inthians 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 know-
ledge 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 Macedo-
nians would have given him Anthemus, and the
Thessalians Ioleus; but he would have neither, and
withdrew to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken
at the spear's point from the Mytileneans, 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 Mytileneans and Athenians waged
war for a long time 1 from the city of Achilleum and
Sigeum, the Mytileneans demanding the place
back, and the Athenians not consenting, but bring-
ing 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. Πολεμεώντων δὲ σφέων παντοτά καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇς μάχης, ἐν δὲ ἡ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἐσχούσι Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἐν Συνείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μελεῖ ποιῆσας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγέλλομενος τὸ ἐωτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐταῖρῳ. Μυτιληναίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατῆλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου τούτῳ γὰρ διαυτὴν ἐπετράποντο κατῆλλαξε δὲ ὅδε, νεμέσθαι ἐκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

96. Σύνετον μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων. Ἡπιός δὲ ἐπέτει ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, πᾶν χρήμα ἐκίνησε, διαβάλλον τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἀπαντὰ ὅκως αἱ Ἀθηναὶ γενοῖτο ὑπ’ ἐωτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἡπιός τε δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα πέμπουσιν ἐς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους, ω公报 ἔωντες τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖς φυγάσι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλεύτω σοὺς εἰναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὑπὸς Ἡπιόν. οὐκόν δὴ ἐνδεδεκτὸ τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, οὐκ ἐνδεδεκτοί οὐ σφὶ ἐθεδοκτὸ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦτο Πέρσης πολεμίου εἰναι.

97. Νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημέναι εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ δὴ τῷ καίρῳ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελάβεθαι ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο εἰς Ἀθηναῖς· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάστευε μεγίστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον ὁ Ἀριστα-
95. Among the many chances that befell 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 Mytileneaeans 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
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γόρης ταῦτα ἐλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι εὑπετέεις τε χειρωθήναι εἶναι. ταῦτα τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκός σφέας εἰ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐκ ὕπισχετο ὅια κάρτα δεόμενος, ἐς ὁ ἀνεπείες σφέας. πολλοὺς ἦκα πὸρε ἐναι εὑπετέστερον διαβαλλεῖν ἡ ἕνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τῶν Δακε- δαϊμονίου μοῦνον οὐκ οἶος τὸ ἐγένετο διαβαλλεῖν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας 'Ἀθηναίων ἔποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο εἰ- κοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοήθους Ἰωσί, στρατηγὴν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτὸν εἶναι Μελανθίου άνδρα τῶν ἁστῶν ἐόντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον 'αὐτὰ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχῇ κακῶν ἐγένοστο "Ἐλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάρωσι.

98. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μιλήσιον, ἐζευρῶν βουλευμα ἄπ' οὐ 'Ἰωσί μὲν οὐδεμία ἐμελλε ὡφελὴ ἐσεσθαι, οὐδ' ὃν οὐδὲ τούτοι εἰςκα ἐποίησε ἀλλ' ὅκος βασιλέα Δαρείων λυπήσει, ἐπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίνην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παῖονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἰχμα- λώτους γενεμοίνις ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκεότας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίνης χώρων τε καὶ κόμην ἐπ' ἑωτών' ὦς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Παῖονας, ἔλεγε τάδε, "Ἀνδρείς Παῖονες, ἐπεμψε μὲ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιον τύραννος σωτηρίν υποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἡν περ βουλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίαν πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν υμετέρην 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 over-persuaded them. Truly it would seem that it is easier to deceive many than one; for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand 1 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.
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θαλάσσης αὐτοῦ ὤμοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἦμῖν ἰδὴ μελῆσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παίονες κάρα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποίησαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας καὶ γυναίκας ἀπεδιδρησκόν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ ὅις Παίονες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεύτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν. ἐόντων δὲ ἦδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσέων ἱππος πολλῇ διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὁς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῖς Παίοσι ἀκος ἄν ὁπίσω ἀπελθοῦν. οἱ δὲ Παίονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκνοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίοι σφέας ἐς Δέσβον ἡγαγον, Δέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζομενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίην.

99. 'Αρισταγόρης δὲ, ἑπείδη οἱ τε 'Αδηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο εἴκοσι νησὶ, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι 'Ερετρείων πέντε τριήρεις, οἱ οὐ τὴν 'Αθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὠφειλόμενα σφι ἀποδιδόντες οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλησίων πρότερον τοῖς 'Ερετρείοις τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδηνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀντίλα 'Ερετρείων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμμιοι ἐβοήθεον οὕτω ὅν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἀλλοὶ σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἑποιεῖτο στρατηγὴν ὁ 'Αρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτῶς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατευότο ἀλλ' ἐμεν ἐν Μιλητῷ, στρατηγοῦς δὲ ἀλλοὺς ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίαν εἶναι, τὸν ἐωτοῦ τε ἀδελφεῖον Χαροτῖνον καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ἀλλον 'Ερμοφαντον.

100. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ 'Ἰωνὲς ἐς Ἑφεσον πλοία μὲν κατέλησον 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 in the

1 A hill (or a part of the town of Ephesus built thereon) south of the Cayster.
Εφεσίσης, αυτοί δὲ ἀνέβαινον χείρι πολλῆ, ποιεύ-μενοι Εφεσίσης ἑγεμόνας τῆς οἴκου. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστρου, ἐνθεύτεν ἐπέλευ- υπερβάντες τὸν Τμώλον ἀπίκουτο, αἱρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδενὸς σφί ἀντιωθέντος, αἱρέουσι δὲ χωρίς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τάλλα πάντα τῇ δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐφυέτο αὐτὸς Ἀρσαφρέης ἔχων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

101. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λειπλατήσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε τόδε. ἦσαν εἰς τῇ Σάρδις οἰκίσαι οἱ μὲν πλεὺνες καλάμιναι, ὡςαὶ δὲ αὐτέων καὶ πλεῖστοι ησαν, καλάμου εἶχον τὰς ὀροφὰς· του- τεὼν δὴ μίαν τῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίς ἐπ' οἰκίς ἐν τῷ πύρ ἐπενεμέτο τὸ ἄστυ πάν. καὶ ὁμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὁσοὶ Περσέων ἔνησαν εἰς τῇ πόλι, ἀπολαμ- φθέντες πάντοθεν ὡστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένον τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀστεος, συνέρρεον ἐς τῇ τῆν ἀγορῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πακτωλο- ποταμῶν, ὡς σφί ψῆγμα χρυσὸν καταφερέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ἰδεί καὶ ἐπείτα ἐς τὸν Ἐρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὡς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τῶν Πακτωλον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροιζόμενοι οἱ οἱ Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἦναγκά- ξουτο ἀμύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες ὁρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμῶν τοὺς ὡς σὺν πληθεῖ πολλῷ προσφερομένους, ἐξανεργήσαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὅρος τοῦ Τμώλον καλεομένου, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νῦκτα ἀπαλλάσσουτο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102. Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρήθης θεοῦ Κυβήθης· 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,1 and therein the temple of Cybebe,2 the goddess of that country; which

1 In 498.
2 Or Cybele, the great goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians.
σκηπτόμενοι οί Πέρσαι ιστηρον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἡλλης ἱρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπανθανόμενοι ταύτα, συνηλίξωντο καὶ ἐβοῆθεοι τοῖς Δυδοῖσι, καὶ κας ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκετί ἐόντας τοὺς Ἰωνας εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβου αἱρέουσι Ἰωτοὺς ἐν Ἕφεσῳ, καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ αώνες, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλῶν ἔσσωθησαν. καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε ὄνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδῃ στρατηγέοντα Ἰερετρίεων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγώνας ἀναραιρήκοτα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κηίου πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

103. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὖτω ἠγωνίσαντο. μετὰ δὲ Ἰωναὶ μὲν τὸ παράσαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἰωνας, ἐπικαλεομένου σφαίρας πολλὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσειν σφικτὰς Ἰωνας δὲ τῆς Ἰωναίων συμμαχίας στερηθέντες, οὖν γὰρ σφικτὰς ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρεῖον, οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντους Βυζάντιον τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πάσας τὰς ταύτης ὑπ’ ἐωντοῖς ἐποίησαντο, ἐκπλώσαντες τε ἐξ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησποντοῦ Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτήσαντο σφικτὰ συμμαχοῦσαν καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον προτερον ὅποι βουλομένων συμμαχεῖν, ὡς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφικτὰ καὶ αὐτὴ προσεγένετο.

104. Κύϕριοι δὲ ἐθελοῦτατε σφικτὰ πάντες προσεγένεντα πλῆν 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 Euralcides 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.
ούτοι ὤδε ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἦν Ὄνησιλος Γόργου μὲν τὸν Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἀδελφόν χειροῦ, Χέρσιος δὲ τὸν Σιρώμου τὸν Εὐκλῆντος παῖς. οὗτος ὄμηρ πολλὰκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργου παρηγορεῖτο ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα, τότε δὲ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνὰς ἐπὶ ξυπέθετο ἀπεσταίνα, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἔνθην: ὡς δὲ οὕκ ἐπείδη ὁ Γόργος, ἐναυτὰ μὲν φυλάξας ἔξελθον τὸ ἀστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὅ Ὄνησιλος ἀμα τοῖς ἐνυτοῖ στασίωντης ἀπεκλήσε τὸν πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλεως ἐφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὄνησιλος δὲ ἤρχε Σαλαμίνοις καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυκλούς συναπήστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθοῦσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οὐ πείθεσθαι ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατημένους.

105. Ὅνησιλος μὲν νῦν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθόντα. βασιλέα δὲ Δαρείων ὡς ἐπερεγέλθη Σάρδεις ἀλούτας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἄγεμὼν γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὁποτε ταύτα συνυφανθῆναι τὸν Μηλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπιθετο ταύτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὐ ἐιδότα ὡς οὐτὸν γε οὐ καταπράξονται ἀποστάντες, εἰρέσθαι οὕτως εἰς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτήσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἐκπέλευντα δὲ ὅστον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καὶ μιᾷ ἐς τὸν ἥρα βύλλοντα εἰπείν "Ὡς Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίοι τίσασθαι," εἰπάντα δὲ ταύτα προστάξαι ἐν τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκείμενον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τρις ἐκάστοτε εἰπείν "Δέσποτα, μέμνει τῶν Ἀθηναίων."

106. Προστάξας δὲ ταύτα 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,\(^1\) and son of Chersis, who was the son of Siromus, who was the son of Evelthon. This man had often before counselled Gorgus to revolt from Darius, and now when he learnt that the Ionians too had revolted he was very instant in striving to move him; but when he could not persuade Gorgus, he and his faction waited till his brother had gone out of the city of Salamis, and shut him out of the gates. Gorgus then having lost his city took refuge with the Medes, and Onesilus was king of Salamis and overpersuaded 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

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\(^{1}\) Of Salamis in Cyprus.
δὲν ἦν Ἰστιαῖος τῶν Μιλήσιων, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος κατείχε χρόνον ἕδη πολλόν, "Πανθάνομαι Ἰστιαῖε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν, τῷ σὺ Μιλήτων ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἀνδρὰς γὰρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἥπειρον ἐπαγαγόν, καὶ Ἰωνᾶς σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἡμᾶ ἐκείνοις ἐπεσθαί, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρησε. νῦν ὃν κἂν τοι ταύτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κἂν δὲ ἀνεῖ τῶν σών βουλευμάτων τούτων τῷ ἐπρήξῃ; ὃρα μὴ ἐξ ὑπέρθης σχεκτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σχῆς," εἶπε πρὸς ταύτα Ἰστιαῖος "Βασιλεῦ, κοίνον ἐφθέγξαο ἐπος, ἐμὲ βουλεῦσαι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοὶ τῇ μέγη ἡ σμικρὸν ἐμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχῆσειν; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέωμι ταύτα, τεύ δὲ ἐνδεχὴς ἐών; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοι, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἄξειμαι. ἄλλ' εἰπερ τι τοιοῦτον οἶδα σὺ εἰρήκας πρῆσες ἐς ἐμὸς ἐπιτροπος. ἂνθ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἐωτοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιηκέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐγγυε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρῆσονται περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ' ἂρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖτε καὶ σὺ τῷ ἐνω ἀκήκοας ὁ Βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶδα πρῆγμα ἐργάσαι ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας. Ἰωνῆς γὰρ οἶκας ἐμὲ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφι γενομένου ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἔμερον εἰχον· ἐμέο δ' ἄν ἐντος ἐν Ἰωνῇ οὐδεμίᾳ πόλεις ὑπεκίνησε. νῦν ὃν ὡς τάχος ἄπες με πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνὴν, 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
τίσοι ες τωνοτο και τον Μελίρον οπλασμένον τούτον τον ταύτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθετον παραδόντες κατὰ νόον τού ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπιμνημονεύον τοὺς Βασιλείους μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδυσασθαι τον ἔχων κινδύνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίαν, πρὶν ἀν τοι Σαρδῶν νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφόρον ποιῆσοι.

107. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν λέγων ταύτα διέβαλλε, Δαρεῖος δὲ ἑπείθετο καὶ μιν ἀπίει, ἐντελόμενος, ἐπεάν τὰ ὑπέσχετο οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὁπίσω εἰς τὰ Σοῦσα.

108. Ἐν οἴ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελὴ τέ περὶ τῶν Σαρδῶν παρὰ Βασιλείαν ἀνήμε καὶ Δαρεῖος τα ἐπὶ τὸ τόξον ποιῆσας Ἰστιαῖῳ ἐς λόγους ἠλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετεμένος υπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ βάλασσαι, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορκεύετο τῷ Σαλαμίνῳ Ὀνήσιλῳ Ἀμαθοῦσίοις ἐξαγγέλλεται νησὶ στρατηγὺς πολλὴν ἀγωνία Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσην προσδόκεισθαι εἰς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐπικαλεύμενος σφέας, Ἰωνεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἦκον πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἰωνεῖς τε ὁ δὴ παρῆσαν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νυνὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλίκίας ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ. τῆς δὲ νυνὶ οἱ Φωκίκες περιέπλευσαν τὴν ἀκρίνην αὐτή καλεῦσαν Κληδῆς τῆς Κύπρου.

109. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινόμενον ἐλέξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰωνίων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, "Ανδρέας Ἰωνεῖς, αἱρέσων ὑμῖν διδομέν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὀκτέρουσι βούλευσθε.
your hands that vicegerent of Miletus who has devised all this. Then, when I have done this according to your desire, I swear by the gods of your kingship that I will not doff the tunic which I wear when I go down to Ionia, ere I make Sardo, the greatest of the isles of the sea, tributary to you."

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

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

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

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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 πεξῆ βουλεσθε ταχέντες Περσεών διαπειράσθαι, ὥρη ἀν εἰν ὑμῖν ἔκβαντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεξῆ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐσ ὡς νέοις ἐσβαίνειν τὰς ὑμέτερας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνισμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βουλεσθε διαπειράσθαι, ποιεῖν εὐρέων ἐστὶ ὑμέας, ὁκότερα ἀν δὴ τούτων ἐλησθε, ὅκως τὸ κατ' ὑμεᾶς ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνίη καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη." εἶπαν Ἰωνες πρὸς ταῦτα "Ημέας δὲ ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν βάλασσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἢν Κυπρίοις τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεξῆ Πέρσης προσφερῶμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νῦν ἐπ' οὐ ἐτάχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρασμένα εἰναι χρηστοὶ ὑμέας ὅποιεν ἀναμηνησθέντας οὐ ἔπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μῆδων, γίνεσθαι ἀνδρὰς ἀγαθοῖς."

110. Ἰωνες μὲν τούτωι ἀμέλησατο· μετὰ δὲ ἥκοντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινῶν τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινῶν δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέζαντες τὸ ἀριστὸν ἀντέτασσον Πέρσης; 'Αρτυβίω δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελοντῆς ἀντετάσσετο 'Ουήσιλος.

111. Ἡλαυνε δὲ ἔπον ὅ 'Αρτυβίος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθῶν. πυθόμενος ὄν ταῦτα ὅ 'Ουήσιλος, ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστής γένος μὲν Καρ τὰ δὲ πολέμα κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλος λήματος πλέος, εἰπτ πρὸς τούτον "Πυθάνομαι τὸν 'Αρτυβίον ἔπον ἰστάμενον ὀρθῶν καὶ πολὺ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄν προσενεῖχθη. σύ ὅν βουλευσάμενος εἰπτ αὐτίκα

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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 whereeto 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
οὐκότερον βούλεαί φυλάξας πλήξαι, εἶτε τὸν ἰππὸν εἶτε αὐτὸν Ἄρτυβιον." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ἀπάων αὐτοῦ οὐ Βασιλεῦ, ἔτειμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἐτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἁν σὺ ἐπιτάσσῃς· ἃς μέντοι ἐμοὶ ἔμοισε δοκεῖμεν εἶναι τοῦτο σοὶ πρῆγμας προσφερέστερον, φράσω. Βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγῶν χρεόν εἶναι φημιβασιλέα τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφερέσθαι. ἵνα τε γὰρ κατέληγε ἀνδρὰ στρατηγοῦ, μὲν γάρ τι γίνεται, καὶ δεύτερα, ἢν σὲ ἐκείνως, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιοχρέου καὶ ἀποδανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορὴ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέρουσι τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφερέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἰππὸν τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦ ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἀνδρὸς ἐτὶ γε μηδενὸς στήσεθαι ἐναντίον.

112. Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταντικὰ συνέμοιχα τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νησί· νησί μὲν γὰρ Ἰωνικὸς ἀκροὶ γενόμενοι ταὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοῖνικας, καὶ τοὺτων Σάμιοι ὁρίστευσαν· πεζῇ δὲ, ὡς συνήλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσοῦσαν ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀμφότερος τάδε ἐγίνετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὑψιστόν ὁ Ἄρτυβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰπποῦ κατῆμενος, ὁ Ὕψιστος κατὰ τὰ συνεδρία κατὸ ὑπασπιστῇ παῖει προσφερόμενον αὐτῶν· Ἄρτυβιος ἐπιβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἰπποῦ τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑψιστοῦ ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Καρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπράσιος τοῦ ἰπποῦ τοὺς πόδας.

113. Ἄρτυβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τοῦ ἰπποῦ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. μαγικῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· Στηθῖνωρ τύραννος ἔως Κουρίου προδιδοὺ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ
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 melleay 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. Ὄνησιλοὺς μὲν νῦν Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολύρκησε, ἀποταμώντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μὴν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἣδε ἐνοῦσας κοιλῆς, ἐσμὸς μελισσέων ἐσόνες ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μὴν ἐνέπλησε. τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἔχρεωτο γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴς οἱ Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ἐμαυτεύθησαν σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας βὰραι, Ὅνησιλὸς δὲ θύειν ὡς ἤρωι ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος, καὶ σφι ποιεῖν τὰ ταῦτα ἁμείναι συνοισεθᾶι.

115. Ἀμαθοῦσιοι μὲν νῦν ἐποίειν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμὲν Ἡώνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχῆσαντες ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὅνησιλοῦ διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμίνος, ταύτην δὲ Γόργω τῷ προτέρῳ βασίλει τοὺς Σαλαμίνους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἡώνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἡώνην. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέχει χρόνον ἐπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν περὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τείχος πέμπτον 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 Salaminians did likewise. Thus it was brought about, that the Persians gained the upper hand over the Cyprians. So the army was routed, and many were there slain; among whom was Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had wrought the Cyprian revolt, and the king of the Solians, Aristocypclus 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. Κύριοι μὲν δὴ ἐναυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὸς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδουλωμένοι. Δαιρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ Τμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἄλλων Πέρσαι στρατηγοί, ἔχοντες καὶ οὕτωι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώκοντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδης στρατευσάμενοι Ἰωάννης καὶ ἑσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνευθεῖαν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεσαν.

117. Δαιρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληστούντων πόλεις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἀβυδόν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισών. ταῦτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη αἰρεῖ, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισῶν ἐλαύνοντι οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριου πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίᾳ τοὺς Κάρας τὸντο Ἰωσίφφονησαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἀποστρέφας δὲν εἰς τὸν Ἑλληστοῦντον ἠλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

118. Καὶ καί ταῦτα τούτα Καρσί ἔξαγγελθη πρότερον ἡ τὸν Δαιρίσην ἀπεκέφαλι τυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κάρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Δενκας τε στήλας καλεσμένας καὶ ποταμῶν Μαρσύνην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς ᾽Ιδρίαδος χώρης ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρου ἐκκινεῖ. συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρών εὐθαῦτα ἐγινοντο βουλαὶ ἀλλα τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀριστῆς ἐς δοκέοντα εἶναι ἐμὸν Πεινόδαρον τοῦ Μαυσωλοῦ ἄνδρος Κινδύνεος, ὅς τοῦ Κέλλων Βασιλέως Συνεννέος εἶχε θυγατέρα τοῦτον τοῦ ἄνδρος ἡ γνώμη ἐφερε διαβάλλετας τὸν Μαιάνδρου τοὺς Κάρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἐχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἐχοντες ὁπίσω φεῦγειν οἱ Κάρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινοιται ἐτε ἀμείνουσε τῆς φύσεως. αὕτη

1 In 497.
116. So the Cyprians, having won freedom for a year, were enslaved once more.¹ 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, Lamprocus, and Paesus, each of these on its own day; and as he marched from Paesus against Parius, 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 ² 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

¹ Modern Tahina; not to be confused with the better known Marsyas in Phrygia, also a tributary of the Maeander.
μέν νυν οὖς ἐνίκα ἡ γρώμη, ἀλλὰ τοίς Πέρσηι κατὰ νότου γίνεσθαι τῶν Μαλανδρῶν μᾶλλον ἡ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ ἢ φυγὴ τῶν Περσῶν γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς οὖν ἀπονοστήσουσι εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπάπτοντες.

119. Μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τῶν Μαλανδρῶν τῶν Περσῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλον τε τοῖς Πέρσηι οἱ Κάρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχαίραν ἰσχύρην καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλὸν, τέλος δὲ ἐσσωθήσαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες ἐς δισχίλιους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίους. Ἐνθεύτων δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανωδα ἐς Δίως στρατιῶ τοῖς, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλσος πλαταιτών. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμέρι ὕδαμεν Κάρες εἰσὶ οἱ Διὸς στρατίων θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὁ δὲν οὕτω ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύουσαν περὶ σωτηρίας, ὡς ἀρνετρώς ἡ παραδόντες σφέας αὐτῶς Πέρσηι ἡ ἐκληπτόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἅμεινον πρήξουσι.

120. Βουλευομένως δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοσθέοντες Μιλῆσιοι τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύουσαν μετήκαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῖς πολεμοῦνεν ἐκ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέουτο. καὶ ἐπισίλευσε τοῖς Πέρσηι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ πρότερον ἔσσωθήσαν πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλῆσιοι ἐπλήγχησαν.

121. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπον ἀνελάβον τε καὶ ἀνεμαχόσαντο οἱ Κάρες· πνυθομένοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμεῖται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλις σφέων, ἐλάχιστα γευτὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὄδον, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν 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 them-
selves, 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
Annaion or battle-axe.
αυτοί καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δὲ σφί ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμόνος ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανόλλιος ἀνήρ Μυλασσεύς.

122. Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν 'Τμαίης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωκόμαντων τόσον ὡς Σάρδις στρατευσάμενος Ἰώνων, τραπέμενος ἐν τούς Προποντίδα ἐκλίνει Κίον τὴν Μυσίν, ταῦτα δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπέθετο τοῖς Ἐλλησπόντου ἐκκλεοιπέναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύοις ἐπὶ Καρῆς, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλλησπόντου ἄγε τοὺς στρατόν, καὶ εἰπὶ μὲν Ἀιολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἰπὸ δὲ Γέργιδας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν αὐτὸς τε 'Τμαίης αἰρέων ταύτα τὰ ἔθνεα νοῦσῳ τελευτᾶ ἐν τῇ Τρομάδῃ.

123. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε, Ἀρταφρένης δὲ οἱ Σαρδῖοι ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ Ἡστάς ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς εὐάρσθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύοντα. Ἰωνίης μὲν γὰρ Κλαζομενᾶς αἱρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

124. Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὁς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὡς ταρακαζόμενος τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος πρόφυσι μεγάλα ὁρημόν ἐβοῦλευε όρεων ταύτα πρὸς ὅι καὶ ἀδύνατα ἑβάνθι βασιλέα Δαρείον ὑπερβαλέσθαι πρὸς ταύτα δὴ ὁ ὁ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασίωτας ἐβοὐλεύτωτο, λέγων ὅσο ἄμεινον σφίσει εἰς κρησφύγετον τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἦν ἀρα ἐξωθεῖται εἰς τὴν Μιλήσιον, εἶτε δὴ ὁ ἦν ἐς Σαρδῶν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίαν, εἶτε ἐς
their generals, Daurises and Amorges and Sisimaces; and with these fell also Myrsus, son of Gyges. The captain of this ambuscade was Heraclides of Mylasas, son of Ibanollis.

122. Thus did these Persians perish. Hymaees, who had also been one of those who pursued after the Ionians who marched on Sardis, turned now towards the Propontis, and there took Cius in Mysia; having subdued which, when he heard that Daurises had left the Hellespont and was marching towards Caria, he left the Propontis and led his army to the Hellespont, and made himself master of all the Aeolians that dwell in the territory of Ilium, and of the Gergithae, who are all the remnant that is left of the ancient Teueri; 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 Ἡδωνῶν, τὴν Ἰσταῖος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβὼν. ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

125. Ἐκαταίον μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἄνδρος λογοτεῖοῦ, τοιτέων μὲν ἐσ οὐδετέρην στέλ- λειν ἐφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Δέρω δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν, ἢν ἐκπέση ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου. ἐπείτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτον.

126. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταίος συνεβούλευε, αὐτὸ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρη ἢ πλείστη γνώμη ἢν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μιλήτον ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρη ἄνδρι τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμωο, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τῶν βουλόμενον ἐπιλεε ἐς τὴν Θρῆκην, καὶ ἐσχε τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ ἢν ἐστάλην ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμώμενος ἀπολλυται ὑπὸ Θρηκίων αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ βουλο- μένου τῶν Θρηκίων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.
in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified. Thus questioned Aristagoras.

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

126. Such was the counsel of Hecataeus, but Aristagoras himself deemed it best to take his departure for Myreinus. 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 ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας οὔτω τελευτᾶ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις· ἀπεγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἰρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχός κατὰ κοίτων τι δοκεοὶ Ἰωνᾶς ἀπεστάναι. ὃ δὲ οὕτω εἰδέναι ἐφη ἐθώμαζε τὸ γέγονος, ὡς οὖν δὲ ὅθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἔπιστάμενος. ὃ δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὁρέων αὐτὸν τεχνάζοντα εἰπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀπροκείμην τῆς ἀποστάσιος, "Οὕτω τοι Ἰστιαῖε ἔχει κατὰ ταύτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραγας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδῆσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης." 

2. Ἀρταφρένης μὲν ταύτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔγοντα εἰπε. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δεῖσας ὡς συνιέντα Ἀρταφρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νῦκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαι, βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐξηπατηκὼς· ὃς Σαρδὶκός ἦσον τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσατο ὑπέδυσε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβάς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγγωσθεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν, νεότερα πρήσειν πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου. μαθόντες μὲντοι οἱ Χίοι τοῦ πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέμως ἐπὶ βασιλεύει, ἔλυσαν αὐτὸν.
BOOK VI

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

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

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3. 'Ενθαύτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰωνῶν ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ’ Ὠ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρᾳ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέας καὶ κακῶν τοσοῦτον εἰς Ἰωνᾶς ἐξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοὶ αἰτίην οὐ μάλα ἐξέφαινε, δὲ ἐλεγεῖ σφι ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείου ἐξουλεύσατο Φοινίκας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ κατοικίας, Ἰωνᾶς δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα ἐπιστέλλει. οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταύτα βασιλεῶν θουλευσαμένου ἑδεμάτου τούς Ἰωνᾶς.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος διʼ ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἐρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἄταρητεως τοῖς ἐν Σάρδις ἔοισί Περσέων ἐπέμπει βυβλία, ὡς προκελεσθησαμένοι αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος περί. δὲ Ἐρμίππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη ὡς διδῆν, φέρων δὲ ἐνεγείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένης. δὲ μαθὼν πᾶν τὸ γιρόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἐρμίππον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖς περ ἐφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαία τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαῖῳ ἐσωτῆρ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαύτα πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

5. Περὶ Σάρδις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ τάυτῆς ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίου κατήγγειλεν ἔς Μιλῆτον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαῖον δεδέντος. οὐ δὲ Μιλῆσιοι, ἀσμενοὶ ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεως, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, οὐα ἐλευθερίας γενομένου. καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς ὑπὸ ἑωύῃ βίγη ἐπειράτο κατὰ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μιλῆτον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλῆσιοι. δὲ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπ-
3. Then Histiaeus was asked by the Ionians, why he had so zealously charged Aristagoras to revolt from the king and done the Ionians so great harm; the true reason he did by no means reveal to them, but told them instead that king Darius had planned to remove the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenice; for this reason, he said, he had sent the charge. No such plan had the king made; but Histiaeus would affright the Ionians.

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

5. So troubles arose in Sardis. Histiaeus being disappointed of this hope, the Chians brought him back to Miletus, at his own entreaty. But the Milesians were glad enough to be rid of Aristagoras himself, and had no wish to receive another despot into their country, now that they had tasted of freedom; and when Histiaeus essayed by night to force his way into Miletus, he was wounded by a Milesian in the thigh. So, being thrust out from
πρὸς τὴν ἥδι εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μηλησιοὶ, νέας παρεχόμενοι οὐδόκοντα: εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πρεπνείες ὀνώδεκα νυσί καὶ Μηλησίων τρισὶ νυσί, Μηλησίως δὲ Τημιοὶ εἶχοντο ἐπτακαίδεκα νυσί, Τημιοὶ δὲ εἶχοντο Χίοι ἐκατὸν νυσί: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἔρυθραιοι τε ἑτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαέες, Ἔρυθραιοι μὲν ὀκτὸ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαέες δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λεσβίοι νυσὶ ἔδομεν κοντα: τελευταῖοι δὲ ἑτάσσοντο ἑχουτεῖ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην κέρας Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νυσὶ. πάντων δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμπας ἄριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήμερες.

9. Αὐταὶ μὲν Ἰωνοὶ ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεών ἦσαν ἐξακόσιαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐταί ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μηλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφί ἄπας παρῇ, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσεῖς στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἱάδων νεῶν καταρωδησάν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω ποτε τὴν Μηλησίαν οἴοι τε ἐκεῖ ἐξελείν μὴ οὐκ ἐντες ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τε Δαρεῖον κινοῦντες κακὸν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰωνῶν τοὺς τυράννους, οἱ ὑπὸ Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μηλησίου καταλυκέντες τῶν ἄρχων ἐφευροῦν ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύχανον δὲ τοῦτο συντρατεύμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μηλησίαν, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρείπτας συγκαλέσαντες ἐλεγόν σφι τάδε. "Ανδρεῖς Ἰωνεῖς, τῶν τις ὑμῶν εὐ ποιήσας φανῆτω τὸν βασιλέα οἰκὸν" τὸς γὰρ ἑωυτὸν ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν πολιτῆς πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προ- ἵχομενοι δὲ ἑπαγγεῖλας τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὔδεν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὔδε 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 compatriots 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 ἢρα οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, οὐδὲ βιαίωτερον ἐξοψί, οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον. εἰ δὲ ταύτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσωσι, οὐδὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, τάδε ἢδη σφι λέγετε ἐπιρρέαζοντες, τὰ περ σφέας κατέξει, ὡς ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐξανδρατο- διεύνσαν, καὶ ὡς σφέων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν, τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα, καὶ ὡς τὴν χώρην ἀλλοις παραδώ- σομεν."  

10. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλεγον τάδε. τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διεπέμπουν νυκτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐς τοὺς ἐωστὸῦ ἐξανγγέλλομενος. οἱ δὲ "Ἰωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπ- ἱκοντο αὐταῖ αἰ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωσθυνητε διεχρέων- το καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην" ἐωστοίς δὲ ἐκαστοὶ ἐδόκεον μοῦνοισι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξανγγέλλεσθαι.  

11. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν ἰδέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσῶν ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων συνλεχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί, καὶ δὴ κοῦ σφι καὶ ἄλλου ηγοροῦντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαῖος στρατηγὸς Διονύσιος γέγον τάδε. "Επὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμὴς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀνδρεῖς Ἰωνες, ἦ εἶναι ἐλευθεροὶ ἡ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὡς δρητέροις: νῦν ὡν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε ταλαιπωρίας εὐδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραξῆνα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἷοὶ τε δὲ ἐστε ὑπερβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰναι ἐλευ- θεροὶ· εἰ δὲ μαλακίη τε καὶ ἀταξίη διαχρήσσηθε, οὔδεμιαν ὑμέων ὑγίον ἐπίθετα μὴ ὡς δώσεων υμέας δίκην βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ υμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ υμῖν ἐγώ, θεῶν τὰ ἱσα νεμόντων, ὕποδεκομαι ἦ
BOOK VI. 9-11

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

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

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

12. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰωνεῖς ἐπιτράπουσιν σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀνάγων εκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῦτε ἐρέθησαι χρήσαι τοῖς ὑπεράσπιζον ποιεύμενος τὴν ἵνα δι' ἄλληλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὑπόλιτει, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων, παρεῖχε τὸ τοῖς Ἦωνι πόνον δὴ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν ἤν ἡμερέων ἐστὰ ἐπείδουτο τε καὶ ἐποίειν τὸ κελευόμενον τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταὐτήσει οἱ Ἰωνεῖς, οὐά ἀπαθεῖς εὑρίσκοντο πόνων τοιούτων τετραμένουτε ταλαπαωρήσετε τε καὶ ἥλιῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἐσωτήρας τάδε. "Τίνα δαμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίπτομαι; οἵτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νοοῦ ἀνδρὶ Φακαέ αλαζώνι, παρεχομένου νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέφαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχουμεν; ὃ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμησε ἀνηκέστοισι, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασιν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῶντο τούτο πείσεσθαι εἰσί, πρὸ τοῦ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῶν γε κρέσσον καὶ ὅ τι ὄν ἀλλο παθεῖν ἔστι καὶ τὴν μελλούσαν δουλήν ὑπομείναι ἠτίς ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν παρευρήσαν συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἰθέλε, ἀλλ' οἰα στρατηγὴ σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκινητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνουν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειράσθαι.

13. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰωνῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἔνταφτα 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,1 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 Phoccean braggart, who brings but three ships; and having got us he afflicts us with afflictions incurable, whereby many of us have fallen sick already and many are like so to do; better than these ills it were for us to endure any and every lot, and abide this coming slavery whatsoever it be, rather than be oppressed by that which is now upon us. Marry, let us obey him no longer!" Thus they said; and from that day no man would obey: they built them booths on the island (as though they had been an army) wherein they lived sheltered from the sun, and never would embark in their ships nor exercise themselves therein.

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

1 This manoeuvre consisted in forcing a way through the enemy's line and attacking the broadside or stern of his ships.
Αλάκεος τοῦ Συλοσσώντος κείνους τοὺς πρῶτον ἐπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αλάκης κελεύοντων τῶν Περσῶν, ὁ δεύτερος σφέων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἱώνων συμμαχίην ὦν Σάμιοι ὁ δεύτερος ἄρωσιν ἅμα μὲν ἀταξίαν πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἱώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέως πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὔ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεῦ κατοικίαν ὑπερβαλοιάτο τῶν Δαρείων, ἀλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλῆσιον. προφυσίος ὁν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπείτε τἄχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἱωνᾶς οὐ βουλομένους εἶναι χρῆστος, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεύντο περιποιήσατα τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἱδια. ὦ δε Αλάκης, παρ ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσσώντος τοῦ Αλάκεος, τύραννος δὲ εῶν Σάμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρου ἀπεστήρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ περ ὦν ἄλλοι τῆς Ἱωνῆς τύραννοι.

14. Τότε ὦν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλεον οἱ Φοῖνικες, οἱ Ἱωνες ἀντανήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας, ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμοισον ἀλληλοις, τῶν ἐνθεύτων οὐκ ἔχον ἀπεκεῖσαν συγγράψαι οἴνεις τῶν Ἱωνῶν ἐγίνοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἡ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλους γὰρ κατατιθέονται. Λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αλάκεα ἀειρίμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμου, πλὴν ἐνδέκα νεῶν τοιῶν δὲ οἱ τριήμαρχοι παρέμενοι καὶ ἐναυμάχους ἀννηκουστήσαντες τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἐδώκες διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδρᾶς ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις, καὶ ἔστι.
that message which Aeaces son of Syloson had already sent them at the Persians' bidding, entreating them to desert the Ionian alliance; now therefore, 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
αὐτῇ ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. ἱδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Δέσ-βιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φευγοντας τῶν ἐποίειν τοῖς Σαμίοις· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίειν τὰ αὐτὰ ταύτα.

15. Τῶν δὲ παραμεινόντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χίοι ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοι τε ἐργα λαμπρά καὶ οὐκ ἑθελοκακέοντες. παρεῖ-χοντο μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ καὶ πρῶτον εἰρέθη, νέας ἕκατον, καὶ ἐπ’ ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἀνδρὰς τεσσε-ράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδι-δόντας οὐκ ἐδικαίως γίνεσθαι τοῖς κακοὶς αὐτῶν ὁμοίοι, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμονωμένους διεκπλέοντες ἔναυμαχεοῖς, ἐς ὧν τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συγνάσει ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετέρων ταῖς πλεύραις.

16. Χίοι μὲν δὴ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν νεῶν ἀπο-φεύγουσι· ἐς τὴν ἑωτίων ὅσοις δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδώνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὕτω δὲ ὡς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγόντες πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ταύτη ἐποκεῖται κατέλειπον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἤπειρος. ἔπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν κομίζομενοι οἱ Χίοι, νυκτὸς τε γὰρ ἀπίκατο ἐστὶν καὶ ἐοιτῶν τῆς γυναιξί αὐτοῦς θεμοφορίων, ἔθαυτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι, οὐτε προκακοῦσι οὐς εἰχὲ περὶ τῶν Χίων ἴδοντες τας στρατοὺς ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβε-βληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλώτας καὶ λέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναικές, ἐξεβοήθει τῶν πανημέρι καὶ ἐκείνως τοὺς Χίους.

17. Οὕτως μὲν τοῖς τουαυτῇς περιέπεπτον τύχης. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαῖος ἐπείτε ἐμαθεῖ

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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 Phoccean, when he saw that
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tῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλῶν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς ἀνδραποδιέται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰώνῃ, ὃ δὲ ἱθεῖς ὡς εἰχε ἐπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πόλλα ἐπλεε ἐς Σικελίην, ἵππωμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ληστῆς καταστήκεε Ἐλλήνων μὲν οὐδενος, Καρχηδονιῶν δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε τῇ ναύμαχῳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰώνας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκεύοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχα καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι καὶ ἀκρῆς ἐκτὸς ἐτεί ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἱδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε συμπεσεῖν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γεγομένῳ.

19. Χρεωμένοις γὰρ Ἀργείοις ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστηρίου, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλήσιους. τὸ μὲν ὡς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχων, ἐπεάν κατὰ τούτο γένομαι τὸν λόγον, τὸτε μηνισθόμαι: τὰ δὲ τοῖς Μιλήσιοις οὐ παρεσύνει ἔχρησε, ἐχεὶ ὅδε.

καὶ τὸτε δὴ, Μίλητε κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, πολλοῖς ἔξειν τε καὶ ἄγλαι δῶρα γενήσθη, σαι δ᾽ ἄλοχοι πολλοίσι πόδας νίψουσι κομηταῖς, νησοῦ δ᾽ ἡμετέρου Διδύμων ἄλλοισι μελησεί.

1 In 494.
2 Didyma (oftener called Branchidae), was near Miletus; the temple was of Apollo Διδύμων. Cp. I. 46.

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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 Didyman² shrine! no more shall its ministers tend it.
τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῖστες ἔκτεινοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδρά- πόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἵνα δὲ τὸ Ἐδήμῳ καὶ ὁ νησὶς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον συλλήβηταν ἐνεπιμ- πρατο. τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἤδη τούτῳ χρημάτων πολ- λάκις μνήμην ἔτερωθε τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην.

20. Ἐνθεύτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἡγοῦτο ἐς Σούσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρείου κακόν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἕρω- θρῇ καλεομένῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἀμπη πόλι, παρ' ἥν Τήγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἔσθαλασαν ἐξει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτοί μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσί Πηδασεῦς ἐκτῆσθαι.

21. Παιδοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περ- σῶν οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμολογίαν Συμβαρίται, οἱ Δαῖον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἶκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συμβάριος γὰρ ἄλοιφης ὑπὸ Κροτωνητέων Μιλη- σίου πάντες ἡβηδον ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεθήκαντο πόλεις γὰρ αὐτὰ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀλλήληρσι ἐξειναύθη- σαν' οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναίοι. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ δήλου ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλῆτος ἀλώσει τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ πολλαχῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντε Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μιλῆτοι ἀλώσαν καὶ διδάξαντε ἐς δάκρυα τε ἐπεσε τὸ βέθρον, καὶ ἔξωμοον μὲν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆα κακὰ χελέσαι δραχμὴς, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηδένα χράσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22. Μιλητὸς μὲν νῦν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο. 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 τοῖς τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐστι τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθέν οὐδαμῶς ἦρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν αὐτικὰ βουλευομένους, πρὶν ὡς τῇ χώρῃ ἀπικέσθαι τῶν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐσ ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν μηδὲ μὲνοντας Μήδουσι ταῖς Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαίοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίας τοῦ ἀυτῶν χρόνων τούτων πέμποντες ἐστὶ τὴν Ἰώνιν ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐς Καλήν ἀκτὴν, βουλομένους αὐτὸδε πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰωνων. ἢ δὲ Καλὴ αὐτὴ ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἐστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίας. τούτων ὁ οὖν ἐπικαλεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰωνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφὶ Μελησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν οἶ τοιώδε ὡς τα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι.

22. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομβόμενοι ἐς Σικελίαν ἐγώνυτο ἐν Δοκροίσαι τοῖς Ἐπιζεύγοντες, καὶ Ζαγκλαίοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασίλευς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖν οὐνόμα ἦν Ἱκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. μαθὼν δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ῥηγίος τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε ἐως διάφοροι τοῖς Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμεῖας τοῖς Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεόν εἰς Καλὴν μὲν ἀκτὴν, ἐπὶ ἥν ἐπέλευσαν, εἶναι χαῖρειν, τῇ δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἑπων ἔρημαν ἄνδρῶν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαίοι, ὡς ἐπύθουσαν ἐχωμένη τὴν πόλιν ἑωντῶν, ἐβοηθεὶς αὐτὴ καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο Ἰπποκράτεα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον ἢ γὰρ δὴ σφὶ οὕτως σύμμαχος. ἐπείτη δὲ αὐτοίσι καὶ ὁ Ἰπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατηγῷ ἦκε βοηθεῶν, Ἰκύθην μὲν

1 Zancle is the later Messene, modern Messina.
BOOK VI. 22-23

But as regards the Samians, their men of substance were ill-pleased by the dealings of their generals with the Medes; after the sea-fight they took counsel straightway and resolved that before Aeaces the despot came to their country they would sail away to a colony, rather than remain and be slaves to the Medes and Aeaces. For the people of Zancle in Sicily about this time sent messengers to Ionia inviting the Ionians to the Fair Coast, desiring there to found an Ionian city. This Fair Coast, as it is called, is in Sicily, in that part which looks towards Tyrrhenia. At this invitation, then, the Samians alone of the Ionians, with those Milesians who had escaped, set forth; and in their journey a thing befell 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 Zancleans, 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 Zancleans, 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 Italoid colony from the Locrians of the mother country" (How and Wells).
τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἁδελ-
φεῖν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἐνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογήσαμενος
τοὺς Σαμίωσι καὶ ὅρκους δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος
προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἐν εἰρήμενος ὦδε ὑπὸ τῶν
Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἑστίπλων καὶ ἄνδραπόδων τὰ
ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλις, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἰπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν
ὅτι πλεύνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἄνδραπόδων
λόγοι εἶχε δήσασ, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τρι-
ηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοὺς Σαμίως κατασφάζαι οὐκ
μέντοι οὔ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

24. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἐνυκος ἐκδιδρήσκει ἡ Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταυτῆς
παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἄνεβη παρὰ βασιλέα
Δαρείου καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρείος πάντων ἄνδρῶν
δικαιότατον εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος παρ’
ἐξωτὸν ἄνεβησαν, καὶ γὰρ παρατηρήσαμενος βα-
σιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικε-
λίης ὑπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς δὲ γήραι μέγα δῆμος
ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πάρθησι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλ-
λαχθέντες Μῆδων ἀπονεῖτο πόλιν καλλίστην
Ζαγκλήν περιεβεβλέατο.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου
γενομένην Φοίνικες κελευσάντων Περσῶν κατ-
ηγοῦν ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεα τὸν Συλοσσάντος ὡς πολλοῦ
τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφίσι καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασά-
μενον καὶ Σαμίωοι μουνοις τῶν ἀποστάτων
ἀπὸ Δαρείου διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ
ναυμαχίᾳ οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱδα ἐνεπρήσθη.
Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχου οἴ
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BOOK VI. 23–25

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 Zanciaeans 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 ἑθελοντήν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψα- 
σας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκη προσηγάγοντο.
26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ θ' 
Μιλησίων ἐστιν περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμβάνον 
tὰς Ἰωνικὸν ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεοῦσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου 
ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν Μιλησίαν γενόμενα. 
τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπι-
τράπει Βισᾶλτη Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδὶ Ἀθανασίῳ,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Δεσφίον ἔστι Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων
φρουρὶ οὐ προσεμείη μιν συνεβάλε ἐν Κοίλοις 
καλεομένοις τῆς Χίης χώρης. 
τούτων τε δὲ ἐφόνευσε συγχώς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίου, οἷα δὲ
κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων
τοὺς Δεσφίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολύχνης τῆς Χίου 
ὁμολόγον.
27. Φιλέει δὲ κως προσημαίνειν, εἰς ἀν μὲλλὴ 
μεγάλα κακὰ ἡ πόλις ἢ ἐθνεῖ ἐσεσθαὶ καὶ γὰρ 
Χίοις πρὸ τούτων σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐγένετο: τούτῳ 
μὲν σφι πέμψας ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεφριέως 
ἐκατὸν δύο μούνιον τούτων ἀπευστησαν, τοὺς δὲ
οκτῶ τε καὶ ἑνενήκοντα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν
ἀπῆνεικε τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων 
χρόνον, ὅλων πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, πανικὸς γ θράμ-
ματα διδασκομένου ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὡστε ἀπ'
ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι παίδων εἰς μούνιον ἀπέφυγε.
ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημεία ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε, μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνω τῆς πόλιν
ἐβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγενετο Ἰστιαῖος 
Δεσφίοις ἅγων κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, κατα-
στροφὴν εἰσπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν.
28. Ἐνυπεύθην δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ 
Θάσου ἅγων Ἰωνικῶν καὶ Χίων καὶ Ἀιολεων συνχώς. περι-
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 Apollophanes, 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
κατημένω δέ οἱ Θάσου ἦλθε ὄγχελη ὡς οἱ Φοῖ
νικες ἀναπλέουσι ἕκ τῆς Μαλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν
Ἰωνίαν. πυθόμενος δέ ταῦτα Θάσου μὲν ἀπόρ-
θητον λέει, αὐτὸς δέ ἐσ τὴν Δέσβου ἕπειγετο
ἀγών πᾶσαν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ἐκ Δέσβου δὲ λαμια-
νοῦσις οἱ τῆς στρατηγίας πέρην διαβαινεί, ἐκ τοῦ
'Αταρνέως ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν
καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καίκου πεδίον τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ
τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις ἐτύγχανε ἐώς ὁ Αρταγός
ἀνήρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατηγίας οὐκ ὀλίγης:
ὅς οἱ ἀποβάντες συμβαλῶν αὐτῶν τε Ἰστιαιῶν
ζωγρή ἐλαθε καὶ τῶν στρατῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πλέω
διέφθειρε.

29. Ἐξωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαιῶς ὁδε. ὡς ἐμάχοντο
οἱ Ἐλληνες τοῖς Πέρσῃς ἐν τῇ Μαλήτῃ τῆς
Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρης, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον
ἐπὶ πολλὸν, ἡ δὲ ἑπταὶ ὑστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπι-
πίπτει τοῖς Ἐλλησι. τὸ τε ὁ ἔργον τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ
τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὁ
Ἰστιαιῶς ἐπίτξων οὐκ ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέως
diὰ τὴν παρεόθου ἀμαρτάδα φελοψυχήν τοιήθη
τῶν ἀναρέεται; ὡς φεύγον τε κατελάμβανε
ὑπὸ ἄνδρος Πέρσης καὶ ὡς καταρεόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐμελλε συγκεντρηθῆσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσ-
σαι μετεῖς καταμηνύει ἔως ὅτι Ἰστιαιὸς ὁ
Μιλῆσιος.

30. Ἕ μὲν νῦν, ὡς Ἐξωγρήθη, ἀχθη ἀγόμενος
παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου, δὲ δὲ οὗτ ἐπαθὲ κακὸν
οὐδὲν δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἀπὶκε τ' ἄν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην
νῦν δὲ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἴνεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ
διαφυγῇν αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλέως γένηται,
Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπάρχος καὶ ὁ λαβῶν

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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, ως ἀπίκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες ἀνήνεκαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρείου δὲ πυθόμενος ταύτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταύτα ποιῆσαντας ὅτι μὲν οὐ ξώοντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς οἴνῳ τὴν ἐωτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λουσαντας τε καὶ περιστελλάντας εὐ ἐνετειλάτο θάψαι ὅσον ἄνδρος μεγάλως ἐωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσηι εὐρέγετεν.

31. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαίου οὐτω ἐσχε. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἱρεῖται εὐπτεῖως τὰς νῆσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἱπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λαῖβο τινὰ τῶν νῆσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἱρέοντες οἱ βαρ-βαροι ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. σαγηνευοῦσι δὲ τόνδε τοῦ τρόπου ἀνὴρ ἄνδρος ἀφάμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορείης ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην διήκουσι, καὶ ἐπείτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νῆσου διέρχονται ἐκθρεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. αἱρεοῦ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταύτα, πλὴν οὖν ἐσαγήνευον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὐ γὰρ οἷα τῇ ἦν.

32. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐξεύ- σαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλησαν τοῖς Ἡσιο- στρατοπεδευμένους ἐναντία σφίσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδας τε τοὺς εὐειδε- στάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέτασαν καὶ ἐποίειν ἀντὶ εἰναι ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλ- λιστευόσας ἀνασπάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταύτα τε δὴ ἐποίειν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῦς τοῖς ἱροῖς. οὕτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἡσιον
and Harpagus who had taken Histiaeus, impaled his body on the spot, and sent his head embalmed to king Darius at Susa. When Darius learnt of this he blamed those who had so done, because they had not brought Histiaeus before him alive; for the head, he gave command that it should be washed and buried with full observance, as the head of one that had done great good to Darius himself and to Persia.

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

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

33. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικός στρατὸς τὰ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ ἔπλεοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἱρεῖ πάντα: τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Περσηφῆτι ὕποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἱππεῖρον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἕλληνῃ ἀιδὲ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσονήσους τε, ἐν τῇ πόλεις συχναλέχεται καὶ Περσηφῆτι καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηκίης καὶ Σηλυμβρίης τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν γενοῦν καὶ οἱ περὶ Κάλλικάνδων υἱῶν ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλὰ ὁ χοντὸς ἀπολείποντες τὴν σφετερίνα ὡσοὶ ἦσαν τῶν Ἕλληνων πόλεων, καὶ ἐνείποντα πόλιν Μεσσαμβρίην οἰκήσαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες τὰν ταῖς χώραι τὰς καταλεγέσσαις τράπονται ἐπὶ τῇ Προκόπησιν καὶ Ἀρτάκην, τυρί δὲ καὶ ταῦτα νείμαντες ἔπλεον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσου ἐξαιρήσαντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολέων, ὅσας πρῶτον προσφέροντες εὐθὺς κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κυζικοῦ οὐδὲ ἐπλώσαν ἄρχην αὐτοῖς γὰρ Κυζικήν ἔστι πρῶτον τῶν Φοίνικῶν ἔσπλοον ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλεὺς, Οἰ-βαρέι τῷ Μεγαβάζοι ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ἕπαρχῃ.

34. Τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου πλῆθος Καρδακῆς πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐγερώσας αὐτοῖς Φοίνικες, ἐστι ράνθενε δὲ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τὸτε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίλιωνος τοῦ Στηπανόρου, κτησμένον τὴν ἁρχὴν ταύτην πρῶτον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυζικοῦ τρόπῳ τούτῳ. ἐλθόν πόλεοι Θρηκίης τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτην, οὕτως ὁ Πολιοχός πιστεύει τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας.
been enslaved, first by the Lydians and then once and now yet again by the Persians.

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

34. As for the Chersonese, the Phoenicians subdued all the towns in it, save only Cardia. These had been ruled till then by Miltiades son of Cimon who was the son of Stesagoras. This sovrenignty 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
ἀνέβησαν τοὺς ἱερατεύμονας. ἦς δὲ Πυθία σφίγγεται ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τούτον ὡς ἐν σφεάς ἀπίστως ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέσῃ. ἱόντες δὲ οἱ Δολόγκοι τὴν ἱρῖν ὠδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἦσαν καὶ σφεάς ὡς οὔδεις ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπὶ 'Αθηναίων.

35. Ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Αθήνῃ την ικανὰ εἶχε μὲν τὸ πάν κράτος Πεισιστράτως, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἐως οἰκίης τεθριπτορόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Ἁιακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονός, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα 'Αθηναίως, Φιλαιτοῦ τοῦ Λιαντοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου πρῶτον τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης 'Αθηναίων. οὕτως ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τούτῳ προθύρεοι τοῖς ἄνωτοι, ὀρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παρίοντας ἔσθιτα έχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμάς προσεβόσιατο καὶ σφι προσεβοθοῦσί ἐπιγυμνίως καταγωγήν καὶ ξείνια. οὗ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξενισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐφαίνον πάν τὸ μαυτήριον, ἐκφύτησάς δὲ ἐδιόνυσεν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ μην πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παρατίκα ἐπείσε ὁ λόγος οία ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Πεισιστράτῳ ἄρχῃ καὶ Βουλόμενον ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. αὐτικά δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησόμενος τοῦ χρηστήμου εἰ ποιοί τα περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δολόγκοι προσεδόντο.

36. Κελευόμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίας, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλυμπία ἀναρειρηκὼς πρῶτον τούτων τεθριπποῦ, τότε παραλαβὼν 'Αθηναίων πάντα τῶν Βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἐπλεξε ἀμα τοῖς Δολόγκοισι, καὶ ἔσχε

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

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

36. The priestess too bidding him consent, thereupon Miltiades son of Cypselus, that Miltiades who had ere now won a race of four-horse chariots at Olympia, took with him all Athenians who desired to share his enterprise, and sailing with the Dolonci Panopeus, and 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 ἀριστα ἔρεν." (How and Wells.)
τὴν χώρην· καὶ μεν ὁ ἐπαγαγόμενος τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. ὃ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετέλεσε τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίς πόλεως ἐς Πακτύν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοις σφέας οἱ Ἀσινθίοι δηλε- εσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώρην. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἐξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος ἐσώ πᾶσα ἐστὶ στάδιων ἐκοσὶ καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

37. Ἀποτειχίσας δὲν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονή- σου ὁ Μιλτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀσινθίους τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἡσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρῶτοι ἐπολε- μησα. Λαμψακηνοὶ· καὶ μεν ὁ Λαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἱρέουσι ξυγίσῃ. ἢ δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονός· πυθόμενος ὃν ὁ Κροίσος ταῦτα, πέμπουν προηγορέως τοὺς Λαμψακηνοῖς μετείναι Μιλτιάδεα. εἰ δὲ μὴ σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανωμένους δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὸ ἄθελο τὸ ἐπος εἶναι τὸ σφι ἀπείλησε ὁ Κροίσος, πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν, μόνος κοτέ μαθῶν τῶν τῆς πρεσβυτέρων εἰπε τὸ ἐχ, ὅτι πίτυς μοῦνη πάντων δενδρῶν ἐκκοπεῖσα βλαστῶν οὐδένα μετεί ἀλλὰ πανόλεθρο εξαπόλλυται. δείσαντες δὲν οἱ Λαμψακηνοὶ Κροίσον λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα.

38. Οὕτου μὲν ὡς ἔτη Κροίσον ἐκβιώγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτά ἀπαίς, τὴν ἀργήν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδόντως Στησαγορῳ τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφίου παί- δι ὅμωμηριον. καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντε Χερσονησί- ται θύσεις ὁς νόμος οἰκίστη, καὶ ἀγώνα ἰππικῶν τε καὶ γυμνικῶν ἐπιστάσε, 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 Paetyle, that so the Apsinthians might not be able to harm them by invading the country. The breadth of the isthmus is six-and-thirty furlongs; and the length of the Chersonese on the hither side of that isthmus is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

37. Having then built a wall across the neck of the Chersonese, and thus thrust the Apsinthians back, Miltiades made war upon the Lampascenes 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 Lampascus to let Miltiades go; "or," he threatened, "I will raze you from the earth like a pine-tree." The men of Lampascus were all astray in their counsels as to what this threat of Croesus to them (that he would raze them like a pine-tree) might mean, till after much seeking one of their elders at last told them the truth, to wit, that the pine is the only tree that sends forth no shoots after it is cut down, but perishes utterly; wherefore in fear of Croesus they freed Miltiades and let him go.

38. So Miltiades was saved by Croesus; but afterwards he died childless, leaving his government and his possessions to Stesagoras, the son of his full brother Cimon; and since his death the men of the Chersonese have ever offered him such sacrifice as is a founder's right, ordaining days for horse-races and feats of strength, wherein no man of Lampascus
οὐδενὶ ἐγχύνεται ἄγωνιξεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἐόντος πρὸς Λαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανήῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολέμιον δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

39. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τῶν Κίμωνος, Στησα-γόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεὸς, καταλαμ-ψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονῆσιν ἀποστέλ-λοντι τρηστός Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἳ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθηναίᾳ ἐπαινοῦν εὖ ὡς ὁσ συνειδότες δήθεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἀλλ’ ἐν λόγῳ σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσονῆσιν εἰς κατ’ οίκους, τῶν ἀδελφῶν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμῶν. οἳ δὲ Χερσονήςται πυθαγόμενοι ταῦτα συνελέγη-σαν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύουσας πάντοθεν, κοινῶ δὲ στόλῳ ἄπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἐσχε τὴν Χερσονῆσιν, πεντακοσίους βόσκον ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμεῖε Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηκίων βασιλέας τὴν θυγατέρα Ἡρησιπύλης.

40. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νέωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε ἐς τὴν Χερσονῆσιν, κατελάμβανε δὲ μὲν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτω μὲν γὰρ ἔτει πρὸ τοῦτων Σκύθας ἐκφεύγει. Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομαδεῖς ἐρε-θισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἠλάσαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης τοῦ- τόου ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἐφεύγε·
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\(^1\) 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. \(\tau\rho\iota\iota\iota\ \mu\iota\ie\iota\gamma\iota\iota\iota, \kappa\tau\lambda.\) explains how it was that Miltiades had been till now absent from the Chersonese.
Χερσόνησου, εσ δ οι τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖνον Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον ὅπισώ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτω ἐτεὶ πρῶτερον ἐγεγόνει τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχόντων.

41. Τότε δὲ πυμθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε εἰς τὰς Ἀδηνας. καὶ ὀσπερ ὀρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίνης πόλιος ἐπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμέβετο τε τὴν Χερσόνη-σον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νησί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσερις τῶν νεὼν καταφεύγει ἐς 'Ἰμβρον, τῇν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεὼν κατείλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὼς ταύτης ἐτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παῖδον ὁ προ- σθύτατος ἄρχων Μητίσχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήκους εὖν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀλλής· καὶ τούτον ἁμα τῇ νη πῆλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μεν πυθό- μενοι ὡς εἰς Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ Βασιλέα, δοκεοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταβήσε- σθαι, ὅτε δὴ Μιλτιάδης γρώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἰωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθαις, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέουσα λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίαν ἀπο- πλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν. Δαρεῖος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίσχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κα- κοῦ μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίσχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ ὁλοκαίνον καὶ κτῆσιν ἐδώκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναίκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμεῖται. Μιλ- τιάδης δὲ ἐξ 'Ἰμβρου ἀπικυνδεῖ ές τὰς Ἀδηνας.

42. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τοῦτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἰωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἰωσι ἐγένετο τοῦτον τοῦ ἐτεος· Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος
till the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back again. All this had happened three years before the matters that now engaged him.

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

42. In this year¹ 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. Artaphernes viceroy of

¹ 493.
μεταπεμφάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολέων συνθῆκας σφίσει αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἰωνικὰς ἡνάγκασε ποιέσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἰς καὶ μὴ ἄλληλοις φεροίεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταύτα τε ἡνάγκασε ποιέσθαι, καὶ τὰς χώρας μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέσαντι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τρίηκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἐτάξει ἐκάστοις, οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέσαντες ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τῷ χρόνῳ αἰεὶ ἑτερικαὶ ἐτερικαὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένευς· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταύτα καὶ πρῶτον εἰχον. καὶ σφι ταύτα μὲν εἰρηναία ἦν.

43. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ Βασιλεός, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεως κατέβαινε επὶ θύλασαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα πεζὸν ἄμα ἄγομενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτίκον, ἤλικὴν τε νέον καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὸς Βασίλεος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοξώστρην ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τούτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Κιλικίῳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβὰς επὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἀμα τῆς ἄλλης νησίς, στρατιῶν δὲ τῆς πεζῆς ἄλλων ἠγεμόνες ἦγον επὶ τῶν Ἑλλήσποντων. ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖς μὴ ἀποδεκμένοις Ἑλληνῶν Περσαῖοι τοῖς ἐπτά Ἐλεύθερα γνώμην ἀποδέχασθαι ὡς χρεὼν εἰς δημοκρατεῖσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς ἄρα τυράννους τῶν Ἰωνίων κατατέθαντες πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρατίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας ἠπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεὼν συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς στρατὸς πολλὸς, διαβάντες τῆς νησίτων Ἑλλησποντος.
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,¹ the other generals being now deposed by the king from their offices, Mardonius son of Gobryas, a man young in years and lately wedded to Darius' daughter Artazostre, came down to the coast at the head of a very great army and fleet; with which when Mardonius was come to Cilicia, he himself embarked on shipboard and sailed with the rest of his ships, while the land army was led by other captains to the Hellespont. When Mardonius arrived at Ionia in his voyage by the coast of Asia, he did a thing which I here set down for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the Seven that democracy was best for Persia:² Mardonius deposed all the Ionian despots and set up democracies in their cities. This done, he made all speed for the Hellespont; and a great multitude of ships and a great army being there assembled, the Persians crossed the Hellespont on shipboard and

¹ 492. ² III. 80.
σπουδον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας.

44. Αὕτη μὲν δὲν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στολοῦ· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόφι ἔχοντες σφι ἀν πλείστας δύνανται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν, τούτο μὲν δὴ ἡ θησι ὑμοὶ Θάσιοι οὗτε χειρᾶς ἀνταείραμένους καταστρέφαμεν, τούτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσασιν τὰ γάρ έντος Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἡ ὑποχειρία γεγονότα. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσιοι διαβάλοντες πέρην ὕπο τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὄρμῳ καὶ ποιον περιεβαλλον. ἐπιπεδῶν δὲ σφι περιπλέουσιν θερέας ἀνέμος μέγας τε καὶ ἀπορος κάρτα τρητέως περιέστε, πληθεὶ πολλάς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβαλλόν πρὸς τὴν Αθῆνα. Λέγεται γάρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρέσθαι εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυρίδας ἀνθρώπων. οὕτω γάρ θηρωδεστάτης έκοις τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄν τῶν θυρίων διεθεῖροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασάμενοι· οἱ δὲ ἀυτῶν νεών οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεθεῖρον, οἱ δὲ ἰόνιε.

45. Ὁ μὲν δὲ ναυτικός στρατὸς οὕτω ἐπηρήσασε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευμένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρυγοὶ Θρήκεικες ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ σφεων πολλῶν φονεύοντο οἱ Βρυγοί, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτῶν προματίξοντι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διεφύγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρεῶν τουτέων Μαρδόνιος πρὶν ἡ σφεαί υποχειρίας ἐσποιστε. τοῦτος μέντοι καταστρεφάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατηγὴν ὕπισώ, ἀτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς
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
Βρύγοιος καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλος περὶ Ἀθηνῶν, οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχρός ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

46. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Ἰσιαῖος διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτῶν ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανόμετο, πέμψας ἀγγέλον ἐκέλευεν σφέας τὸ τεῖχος περιαρίσειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρὰ κομίσειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Ἰσιαῖοι, οία ὑπὸ Ἰσιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολιορκηθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγαλέων, ἔχρεωντο τοιοῦτο χρημασί' νέας τε καὶ ναυπηγεύμενοι μακραὶ καὶ τεῖχος ἵσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενον. ἦ δὲ πρόσοδὸς σφι ἐγινετο ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων ἐκ μέν ὧν ἐκ Σκαπτησίλης τῶν ἱσχεχων μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὕγοδοκοντα τάλαντα προσήηε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐναυτῆς Θάσου ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συνιᾷ δὲ οὕτω διὰ τὸ ἐπίπαν Θάσιοι ἐδούσι καρπῶν ἀτελέος προσήηε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετάλλων ἐτεος ἐκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλέοστον προσῆλθε, τριήκοσια.

47. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μετάλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἢν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοινίκες ἀνεύρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταῦταν, ἢτοι νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοινίκος τὸ σύνομα ἐσώ. τὰ δὲ μετάλλα τὰ Φοινικεῖα ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Λινύρων τε χώρον καλεμένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρῆκης, ὅποι μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ξητῆσι, τούτῳ μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλείᾳ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκομίσαν ἐς Ἀβδηρὰ.

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 dug up in the searching. Thus much I have to say of this. The Thasians at the king's command destroyed their walls and brought all their ships to Abdera.

48. After this, Darius essayed to learn whether

1 491. 2 On the Thracian coast, opposite Thasos.
Ελλήνων ὁ τε ἑν νῦν ἥχοιεν, κότερα πολεμεῖειν ἐσούτῳ ἡ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέσπεμπτε ὁ ἐκ κυρικας ἄλλος ἄλλη τάξας ἀνά τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἵτειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεμπτε, ἄλλους δὲ κυρικας διέσπεμπτε ἐς τὰς ἐσούτου δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραβαλασίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρᾶς καὶ ἰππαγωγα πλοία ποιέεσθαι.

49. Οὔτοι τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖς ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κυριεῖ πολλοὶ μὲν ἢπειρωτέων ἐδοσαν τὰ προϊσχετο αἵτειν ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησίωται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικολατο αἵτήσοντες. οἱ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησίωται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινηταί. ποιήσασι δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἤδεως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέκατο, δοκεόντες τε ἐπὶ σφίσι ἑπέχονται τοὺς Αἰγινητας δεδώκεναι ὡς ἁμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύωντα, καὶ ἀσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτέοντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεον τοῦ Αἰγινητῶν τὰ πεποιηκοιεν προδότες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

50. Πρὸς ταῦτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίαν Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεως βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτητέων διεβίη ἐς Αἰγινας, θυμόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητῶν τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους. ὃς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοι τῶν Αἰγινητῶν, εὖ δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριὸς ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, δὲ οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲν αξίων ἀνάρτητα Αἰγινητῶν ἀνευ γὰρ μιν Σπαρτητέων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖσθι ταῦτα, ὥς Ἀθηναίων ἀναγεννηθέντα χρήμασι ἅμα γὰρ ἀν μιν τῷ ἑτέρῳ βασιλεἶ ἐθόντα συλλαμβάνει. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρῆτου. 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; 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
Αἰγίνης εἶπε τούν Κρίον ὃ τε οἱ εἳ ἐν τῷ οἴνομα. ὁ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐνο ἐφράσε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη "Ἡδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὁ κριὲ τὰ κέρα, ὡς συνυσώμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ."

51. 'Εν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τούτῳ τοῦν χρόνου ὑπομένων Δημάρχης ὁ Ἀρίστωνος διεβάλλε τῶν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Ἀριστοτέων, οἰκίας δὲ τῆς ὑποδεσποτῆς, κατὰ ἀλλ' ἀλλ' οὔτε ὑποδεσπότης ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνας' κατὰ πρεσβυγενείν δὲ κως τετίμηται μάλλον ἡ Εὐρυστήρεως.

52. Δακεδαιμώνιοι γὰρ ὀμολογεύοντες οὔτει ποιητῇ λέγουσι αὐτῶν Ἀριστόδημον τῶν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦν Κλεοδαίου τοῦν "Τῆλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγείν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ' οὔ τοὺς Ἀριστόδημου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνων οὐ πολλοῦ Ἀριστόδημῳ τεκεῖν τὴν γυναίκα, τῷ οἴνῳμα εἶναι Ἀργείην θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦν Τισαμενοῦ τοῦν Θεσσαλίδου τοῦν Πολυνείκους ταύτην δὴ τεκεῖν δίδυμα, ἐπίδοντα δὲ τῶν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νοσφω τελευταίν. Δακεδαιμώνιοι δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεύται κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παιδῶν τῶν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι. οὕκων δὴ σφέας ἔχειν ὀκότερον ἐλωνται ὅστε καὶ ὀμοίων καὶ ἰσον ἐστίν οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ γνώναι, ἡ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρώταν τὴν τεκοῦσαν. τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγιγόσκειν, εἶδον μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταύτα, βουλομένη δὲ εἰ κως ἀμφότεροι γενούλατο βασιλέες. τοὺς ὁν δὴ

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1 Κρίον = rem.
2 "The most probable origin of this anomaly." (the dual

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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," I 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 Antesion, who was the son of Tisamenus, who was the son of Thersander, who was the son of Polynices; she bore him twins; Aristodemus lived to see the children, and presently died of a sickness. The Lacedaemonians of that day planned to follow their custom and make the eldest of the children king. But the children being in all respects alike, they knew not which to choose; and when they could not judge between them, or perchance even before they had essayed, they asked the mother. But she said that she knew no better than the Lacedaemonians which was the elder; this she said, though she knew right well, because she desired that by some means both might be made kings. Being kingship) "is the fusion of two distinct communities whose chiefs shared the throne." How and Wells, p. 82.
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορεέω, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρήσσομένους ὅ τι χρῆσινται τῷ πρήγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἤγισασθαι βασιλεᾶς, τιμῶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον. τὴν μὲν δὲ Πυθίην ταύτα σφὶ ἀνελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέουσιν οὐδὲν ἡσοῦν ὅκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσηνίου τῷ οἴνῳμα εἰναι Πανίτην ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, φυλάξαι τὴν γεναμένην ἰκότερον τῶν παιδῶν πρότερον λουεί καὶ σιτίζει καὶ ἂν μὲν κατὰ ταύτα φαινῆται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἐξεῖν ὅσον τε καὶ δίξειν ταῖς καὶ ἡλιθοῖς ἐξεφεύρειν, ἢν δὲ πλαγάται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλὰξ ποιεῦσα, δὴ λα γὰρ ἐσέσθαι ὡς οὔδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν σιδε, ἐπ' ἄλλην τε τραπέσθαι σφέας ὁδὸν. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παιδῶν λαβεῖν κατὰ ταύτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδὼν τῶν εἴνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τὴν γεναμένην ὡς ἐν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ οἱ οἴνῳμα τεθήναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέα. τούτους ἀνδρῳβέντας αὐτοὺς τῇ ἀδελφοῦς ἐνταῖς λέγουσι διαφόρους εἰναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆσις ἀλλῇ λοιπον, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέσειν.
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
άπεόντος, καταλεγομένους ὀρθῶς ὑπ’ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ Ἔλληνες ἡδή γὰρ τημικαύτα ἐς Ἔλληνας οὕτω έτελευον. ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέως τούδε εἴνεκα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἐτε ἔλαβον, οὔτε ἐπεστει ἐπώνυμη Περσείς οὐδεμία πατρὸς θυτοῦ, ὡς πέρ Ἡρακλεὶ Ἀμφιτρύων ἡδή ὅτι ὅρθῳ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέως ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι: ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάῃς τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντες τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φανοῖ- ἀτο ἀν εόντες τοῖς Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι Θαγενεῖς.

54. Ταύτα μὲν γε κατὰ τὰ Ἔλληνες λέγουσι γεγενηλόγηται ὡς ὅτι ὁ παρὰ Περσέως λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεύς ἐδώ Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο Ἐλλην, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἱ Περσέως πρόγονοι τοὺς ὅτι Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογεῖται κατ’ οἰκημο- τητα Περσέοι οὐδέν, τούτους δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἔλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι.

55. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν γε περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὃ τι δὲ εόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὃ τι ἀποδεξαμένου ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων Βασιλείας, ἀλλοις γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηταὶ, ἐάσομεν αὐτὰ τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατ- ελάβωντο, τούτων μὴν οὖν ποιήσομαι.

56. Πέρα τε ὅτι ταύτῃ βασιλεύσῃ Σπάρτης- ται δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Δίος τε Δακεδαίμονος καὶ Δίος οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ’ ἡν ἄν βούλωνται χώρην, τούτων δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρ- τητέων διακωλυτήν, εἰ δὲ μη αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγεί

1 ὅη Ζεὺς; Perseus being by one legend son of Zeus and Danaé.
2 But in VII. 150 the Persian story is, that Perseus was
no mention of the god,—and in proving the said kings to be Greek; for by Perseus' time they had come to be reckoned as Greeks. As far back as Perseus, I say, and I take the matter no farther than that, because none is named as the mortal father of Perseus, as Amphitryon is named father of Heracles. It is plain, then, that I have right reason on my side when I say that the Greek record is right as far back as to Perseus; farther back than that, if the king's ancestors in each generation, from Danaë daughter of Acrisius upward, be reckoned, then the leaders of the Dorians will be shown to be true-born Egyptians.

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

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

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

Here, as often, the cult of an "Olympian" deity is identified with an earlier local worship; *ep. Zeus Amphiaraurus, Zeus Agamemnon.*
57. Ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηματία κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. Ἡμ θυσία τις δημοτελῆς ποιήται, πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἤζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλῆσθαι νέμοντας ἐκατέρω τὰ πάντα ἦ τοῖς ἄλλοις δαιτυμόνεσι, καὶ σπουδαρχίας εἰναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα. νεομηνίας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐθόμας ἰσταμένου τού μηνὸς διδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήνου τέλεον ἐκατέρω ἐσ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἶνον τετάρτην Λακωνικήν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἄγωσι πάσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτοις, καὶ προείνους ἀποδεικνύει τούτοις προσκείσθαι τοὺς ἀν ἠθέλωσα τῶν ἁστόν, καὶ Πυθίους αἴρεσθαι δύο ἐκατέρων, οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσὶ θεοπρότει ἐς Δελφοὺς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημοσία. μή ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς βασιλεύσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποτέμπεσθαι σφι ὡς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοινικαῖς ἐκατέρω καὶ οἶνον κοτύλην, παρεσάζουσι δὲ διπλῆσθαι πάντα διδοσθαι τῶντο ὡς τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτῶν κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι, τὰς δὲ μαντημάς τὰς γινομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν.

1 The content of a “Laconian τεράφρη” is uncertain; for the date, see How and Wells ad loc.
2 Usually, the πρόξενος 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 πρόξενος.
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 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; and they shall choose the Pythians, each of them two. (The Pythians are messengers sent to enquire at Delphi, who eat with the kings at the public charge.) And if the kings come not to the public dinner there shall be sent to their houses two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine, but when they come they shall receive a double share of everything; and the same honour shall be theirs when they are bidden by private citizens to dinner. All oracles that are given of Sparta. But here he is apparently an official appointed to watch over the interests of all foreign residents.
HERODOTUS

συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μοῦνοι τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ζητεῖται ἔχειν, ἡν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτήν ἐγγυήσῃ, καὶ ὁδὸν δημοσίων πέρι καὶ ἡ τις θετὸν παιδα ποιέσσαν ἐθέλη, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιεσσαί. καὶ παρίζειν βουλεύουσι τοῖς γέρουσι ἐνούσι δυὸν δέουσι τριήκοντα ἡν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσε, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσηκοντας ἐχειν τα τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τριήκοντα δὲ τῆν ἐσωτάρν.

58. Ταῦτα μὲν ἄσωσι τοῖς βασιλεύσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε. ἀπειρίες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Λακωνίκην, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναίκες περιούσι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἐπεάν οὖν τοῦτο γίνεται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἐλευθερός δύο καταμαίνεσθαι, ἀνάρη τε καὶ γυναίκα μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ἐξίμιαι μεγάλα ἐπικέπται. νόμος δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους, ἐστὶ ωτός καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν γαρ ὅν βαρβάρων οἱ πλεῖνες τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων χρεώσται κατὰ τῶν θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεάν γαρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, χωρὶς Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀριθμὸ τῶν περιοικῶν ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κήδος ἔναι. τούτων ὁμι καὶ τῶν εἰλωτῶν καὶ αυτῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐπεάν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τῶν πολλῶν χιλιάδες σύμμεγα τῆς γυναίκες, 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 cognizant thereof. The kings alone shall judge concerning the rightful possessor of an unwedded heiress, if her father have not betrothed her, and concerning the public ways, but in no other cases. And if a man desire to adopt a son he shall do it in the presence of the kings. And they shall sit with the twenty-eight elders in council; but if they come not thereto, then those elders that are nearest of kin to them shall have the king's prerogative, giving two votes over and above the third which is their own.¹

58. These rights have the kings received from the Spartan commonwealth for their lifetime; when they die, their rights are as I shall now show. Horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Laconia, and in the city women go about beating on a caldron. So when this is done, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, must needs put on the signs of defilement, or incur heavy penalties if they fail so to do. The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as have the foreign people of Asia; for the most of the foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. For when a king of the Lacedaemonians is dead, from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans, such and such a number of their subject neighbours must perforce come to the funeral. These then and the helots and the Spartans themselves being assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously smite their foreheads and were given for the two absent kings, and that the vote of the relative who acted as proxy for both was the third." How and Wells, p. 87.
τε τὰ μέτα τα προθύμως καὶ ὀιμωγὴ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτω, φάμενοι τὸν ὦστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τούτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἀριστον. ὡς ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνη, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδωλον σκεφάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὐ ἑστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι. ἐπεὶ δὲ διάφωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἵσταται σφὶ οὐδ' ἀρχαίρεις συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταῦτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

59. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἀλλὰ οὕτω τόδε τόσοι Πέρσησι ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος ἐνιστηται βασιλεύς, οὗτος ὁ ἔσιὼν ἔλεύθεροι ὅστις τι Σπαρτιτεύων τῷ βασιλείᾳ τῷ δῆμοσίῳ ὁφειλὲ ἐν δ' αὐτῷ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεύς τὸν προοφελόμενον χώρον μετιεῖτης πόλισι πάσχοσι.

60. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίωσι Δακεδαλομῶνοι οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατριώτικες τέχνες, καὶ αὐλητὴς τε αὐλητέως γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος, οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφές παρακλησιοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται, τότε δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεα ἔστατα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προεργαζόμενον οἱ Δημάρχοι διεβαλε, οὐκ Ἀἰγινητέων οὗτοι κηδόμενοι ὡς φθόνῳ καὶ ἀγη χρεώμενοι. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπὶ Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρχον παύσαι τῆς βασιλείας, διὰ πρήγμα τοιοῦτο ἐτίβασιν ἢ αὐτῶν ποιεύμενος. Αἵρεσιν ἐβασιλεύνοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἡμαντὶ γυναικαῖς δύο παιδεῖς οὐκ ἐγένοντο. 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, his successor releases from debt what Spartan soever owed anything to the king or the commonwealth; so too among the Persians the king at the beginning of his reign forgives all cities their arrears of tribute.

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

61. Such is the way of these matters. But at the time whereof I speak, while Cleomenes was in Aegina, there working for what should be afterwards the common advantage of Hellas, Demaratus spread ill reports of him, less because he cared for the Aeginetans, than out of jealousy and malice. When Cleomenes returned back from Aegina, he planned to depose Demaratus from his kingship; for what cause he thus assailed him I will now show. Ariston, king of Sparta, had married two wives, but no children were born to him. Believing that he
οὐ γὰρ αυνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἰτίως, 
γαμέει τρίτην γυναίκα· ὅδε δὲ γαμέει· ἢν οἱ 
φίλοι τῶν Ὀπαρτιπτείων ἀνήρ, τῷ προσεκέπτω τῶν 
ἀστῶν μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ 
ἐτύχανε ἑώσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν 
Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ 
αισχίστης γενομένη· ἑώσαν γὰρ μιν τὸ εἶδος 
φλαύρην ἢ τροφῆς αὐτῆς, οὐ ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων 
θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα ἑώσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρόσα 
τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, 
ταῦτα ἑκαστα μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφορεῖ 
αὐτὴν ἀνά πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρὸν, 
τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπτε καλεομένῃ ὑπέρθε τοῦ 
Φοιβήσιον ἱρὸν. ὅκως δὲ ἐνείκειε τὴν τροφῆς, πρὸς τε 
τόγαλμα ἱστα καὶ ἐλισσετο τὴν θεον ἀπαλλάξαι 
τῆς δυσμορφίας τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ 
ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῇ γυναίκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆς, 
ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὁ τι φέρει ἐν τῇ 
ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορεῖ, τὴν 
δὲ κελεύσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρῆσθαι 
γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γεναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν 
δὲ πάντως ἐωτῇ κελεύεις ἐπιδέξαι. ὀρὼσαν δὲ 
τὴν γυναίκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἱδέσθαι, οὐτῶ 
ὁ τὴν τροφὴν δέξαι τῷ παιδίῳ· τὴν δὲ κατα-
ψῶσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι ὡς καλ-
λιστεύει πασέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ 
μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μετατέστειν τὸ εἶδος. 
γαμέει δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμου ὀρὴν ἀπικομένην· Ἀγιτος 
ὁ Ἀλκείδεως, οὔτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστονος φίλος. 

62. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἐκεῖνος ἄρα τῆς γυναικῶς 
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, 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 Aleidas.

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

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1 S.E. of Sparta; the legendary burial-place of Menelaus and Helen. The foundations of a temple are still visible.
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έταιρω, τού ἢν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτή, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην ὑσσείν τῶν ἐωυτῶν πάντων ἐν, τὸ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἠληταί, καὶ τὸν ἐταίρον ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ἀσαντῶς τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι· ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἁμβη τῇ γυναικί, ἀρέων ἐσώσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναικά, κατανέει ταύτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὄρκους ἐπῆλασαν, μετά δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι ὑπή, τὸ εἰλετο τῶν κειμέλην τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἀγης, καὶ αὐτός τὴν ὁμοίην ἤπειρον φέρεσθαι παρ’ ἐκεῖνον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταίρου τὴν γυναίκα ἐπειράτο ἀπάγεσθαι. δὲ πλὴν τούτου μοῦνον τὰ ἀλλὰ ἐφ’ κατανέσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῆς παραγωγῆς ἀπιεῖ ἀπάγεσθαι.

63. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναίκα ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμφάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ χρόνων ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασαι τοὺς δέκα μήνας ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὴ τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον. καὶ τὶς οἱ τῶν οἰκέτεων ἐν θάκοι κατημένοι μετὰ τῶν ἑφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὡς οἱ παῖς γέγονε. δὲ ἐπιστάμενος τε τῶν χρόνων τῷ ἡγαγετο τῇ γυναίκῃ καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μήνας, εἰπὲ ἀπομόσας "Οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἶν," τοῦτο ἰκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἑφοροι, πρήγμα μεντοι οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἰδέατο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παίδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρητον ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα οἱ ἐνώμοσε εἶναι. Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτὸ ὀνόμα ἔθετο διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ προτερον παῦντων πανδημεῖι Σπαρτῆς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμεύνῃ διὰ πάντων δή τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀργὴν ἐποιήσαντο παίδα γένεσθαι.

64. Διὰ τούτο μὲν οἱ τὸ ὀνόμα Δημάρητος
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
65. Ὅρμηθές ὦν ἀποτίνυνθαί ὁ Κλεομένις συντίθεται Λευτυχίδη τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἀγίος, ἐόντι οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς Δημάρητος, ἐπ᾽ ὅ τε, ἂν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα αὐτή Δημάρητον, ἑφε- ταί οἱ ἐπ᾽ Αἰγινητάς. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἢν ἔχθρος τῷ Δημάρητῳ μάλιστα γεγονός διὰ πρήγμα τοιόντε: ἀρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλοι τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύομεν ἀποστερεῖε Λευτυχίδεα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναίκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἢ ἔχθρῃ ἢ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνει, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένους προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται Δημάρητῳ, φας αὐτόν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτητέων οὐκ ἐόντα παιδὰ Ἀρίστωνος μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατομοσίην ἐδίωκε, ἀνασώζων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παιδὰ γεγονέναι, δὲ συμβαλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας ἀπώρασε φας οὐκ ἐωτοῦ μιν εἶναι. τούτου δὴ ἐπιβατεύον τὸν ήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἡ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα οὔτε ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς εφόρος μάρτυρας παρεχόμενοι κείνους οὗ τότε ἐτύγχανον

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

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

66. Τέλος δὲ ἔντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεκέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτης ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἶχ ἐπὶ παῖς ὁ Δημάρχης. ἀνοίστον δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προοίμιος τῆς Κλεομένης ἐς τὴν Πυθίᾳ, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιεῖται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντος, ἀνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖς δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐμπούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὐτω δὴ ἡ Πυθία ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπτων ἐκρίνε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρχητον παῖδα. ὦστερο μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταύτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις ἐπαισθῇ τῆς τιμῆς.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρίτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείας οὔτω ἐγένετο, ἔφυγε δὲ Δημάρχητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιούθε ὀνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρχης ἔρχε ἀρετείς ἀρχήν. ἤσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδία, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρίτου ὁ Δευτυχίδης γεγονὼς ἤδη βασίλευς αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἐπὶ γέλωτι τε καὶ λάσθη εἰρώτα τὸν Δημάρχητον ὅκοιν τι εἶν ἃ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀληθώς τῷ ἐπειρώτηματι εἶπε φάς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἢ δὴ πεπειρήσθαι, κεῖνον δὲ οὖ, τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτῃ ἄρξειν Δακεδαίμονιοι ἡ μυρίς κακότητος ἡ μυρίς εὐδαιμονίας. ταύτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος ἔς 214
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 wherefore he had been elected. Now while the festival of the Naked Men\(^1\) was celebrating, and Demaratus watching it, Leutychides, having by this time been made king in his place, sent his servant to ask Demaratus by way of mere mockery and insult how he liked his office after being a king. Wroth at that question, Demaratus made answer that he had made trial of both states, which Leutychides had not; but of that question (he said) 'twas likelier that huge calamity would come upon Lacedaemon than huge prosperity. Thus he spoke, and covering his head he quitted the

\(^{1}\) A midsummer festival, celebrated at Sparta by bands of naked boys and men.
ἐκ τοῦ θείτρου ἔσ τὰ ἑωτοῦ οἰκία, αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθευ τῷ Διῷ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε.

68. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθείς ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε, τοιάδε λέγων. ""صة Μήτερ, θεών σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτομένου ικετεώ καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Δίως τοῦθε φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθείαν, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατήρ ὁρθὸν λόγων. Δευτεροχώρησι μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐν τοῖς νείκεσι λέγων κυέουσαν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρός ὑπὸ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστωνα: οἴ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τῶν ὀνομαρβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκείνου εἶναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σε οὖν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῷλθέτες. οὔτε γὰρ, εἰ περ πεποίηκάς τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλέων δὲ ὁ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ως Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιοῦσι ὁκ εἴην τεκεῖν γὰρ ἄν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας ἴμναικάς.

69. "Ο μὲν δή τοιάυτα ἔλεγε, ἢ δὲ ἀμείβετο τούσιδε. ""صة παῖ, ἐπείτε με λιτήσι μετέρχεσαι εἰπέιν τὴν ἀληθείαν, πᾶν ἐσε κατεπρηκηται τῷλθέτες. ὡς μέ ἤγαγεν Ἀρίστων ἐς ἑωτοῦ, μυκτὶ τρίτη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἤλθε μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι, συνενεθηκέν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς εἰς ἐμοὶ περιεῖθες. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀίχωκες, ἢκε μὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων. ὡς δὲ με εἰδε ἐγούσαν στεφάνους, εἰρῶτα τίς εἰη μοί ὁ δοὺς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνου, ὦ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδεκετο. ἐγὼ δὲ κατομνυμήν φαμένη αὐτῶν οὐ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀπαρρεύμενον. ὅλιγο γάρ τι προτέρου ἐλθόντα καὶ συνενεθθέντα δούναι μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὀρέων δὲ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων
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-
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ἐμαθε ὡς θείον εἴη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τούτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρωίου τοῦ παρὰ τῇ θύρῃ τῇ αὐλήσει ἱδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι 'Ἀστροβάκον, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντις τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἡρωῖν ἀναίρεσαν εἶναι, οὔτω ὦ παῖ ἔχεις πάν, ὦ σοι καὶ βούλεις πυθῆσαι ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἡρωίου τοῦτον γέγονας, καὶ τοι πατὴρ ἔστι 'Ἀστροβάκος ὁ ἡρωῖς, ἡ 'Ἀρίστων' ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναίρεσαι, τῇ δὲ σεν μάλιστα κατάπτονται οἱ ἐγχροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ 'Ἀρίστων, ὁτε αὐτὸ σὺ ἡγείλήθης γεγενημένος, πολλόν ἄκοινον ὦ φήσεις σε ἐντούτῳ εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ, τοὺς δέκα μήνας, οὐδέκα ἔξηκειν), ἀνδρείᾳ τῶν τοιοῦτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος. τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μήνας ἐκτελέσσασαι ἐγώ δὲ σὲ ὦ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ 'Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλοὺ χρόνου ὡς ἀνοίγῃ τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωτοῦ μὴ δέκεο, τὰ γὰρ ἀληθεῖται πάντα ἀκίκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφροβῶν αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδη καὶ τούτες ταύτα λέγοντας τίκτοιειν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας."
ceived that the hand of heaven was in the matter; and not only were the garlands plainly seen to have come from the hero’s shrine they call Astrobacus’ shrine, that stands by the door of the courtyard, but the diviners declared that it was that same hero, Astrobacus, that had visited me. Thus, my son, you have all that you desire to know; for either you are the son of that hero, and the hero Astrobacus is your father, or Ariston is; for on that night did I conceive you. But as touching the plea that they most urge against you, namely, that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced to him, said in the hearing of many that you were not his son, the full ten months’ time being not completed: that was an idle word that he spoke, as not knowing the truth of such matters; for not all women complete the full ten months’ time, but some bear children after nine months, or even after seven; and you, my son, were born after seven months. It was not long ere Ariston himself came to know that this was a foolish word that had escaped him. Give no credence to any other tales concerning your birth; for this is very truth that I have told you; and for Leutychides himself and those that tell such tales, may they be cuckolded by their ass-keepers."

70. Thus his mother spoke. Demaratus, having learnt what he desired, took provision for the way and journeyed to Elis, pretending that he journeyed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle. But the Lacedaemonians suspected that he planned to escape, and pursued after him; Demaratus was by some means beforehand with them and crossed the sea from Elis to Zacynthus; the Lacedaemonians crossed over after him and strove to lay hands on him, carrying
οι Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατο τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρχους καὶ τοιαύτῃ χρησάμενος τύχῃ, ἀλλὰ τε Λακεδαιμονίοις συνχα ἔργοις τε καὶ γνώμῃς ἀπολαμπρυνθέντος, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφί ἀνελόμενος τεθρύμπῳ προσέβαλε, μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

71. Δευτυχίδης δέ ὁ Μενάρεους Δημαρήτου κατα-πανοθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ οἱ γινε-ται πάσης Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὲ Κυνίσκου μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιτητέων ἐκάλεσαν. οὕτως ο Ζευξίδημος ὕψος βασίλευος Σπάρτης· πρὸ Δευτυχίδου γὰρ τε-λευταί, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Δευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ δευτέρην γυναίκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν ἐνύσαν Μενίου ἀδελφήν Διακτο-ρίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, ἐκ τῆς οί ἐρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὐδὲν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δαμπιτὼ, τὴν Ἁρχίδημοι ὁ Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ δόντος αὐτῶ Δευτυχίδου.

72. Οὐ μὲν οὖν Δευτυχίδης κατεγίρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τόσιν τούχδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἔξεστι. ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς Θεσ-σαλίνην, παρέον δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσα-σθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολλὸν· ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ δὲ ἀλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλέον ἀργυρίου, ἐφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δι-καστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ τὰ οὐκ ὁι κατεσκαφὴν ἐφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

73. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὑστερον τότε 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 befell 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.
πρόγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Δευτυχίδεα ῥμε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι ἑγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμὸν ἔχον. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε ὁ Αἰγυπτιας, ἀμφότερον τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς, ἐδικαίων ἐκ ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀνδρὰς δέκα Αἰγυπτέων τοὺς πλείστον ἄξιοὺς καὶ πλοῦτο καὶ γένει ἄγων καὶ ἄλλως καὶ δὴ καὶ Κριόν τε τὸν Πολυκρίτον καὶ Κάσσαμβον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἱ περ ἔχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραθύ̄κην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγυπτίησι Ἁθηναίος.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κλεομένεα ἐπέβας οὐκομενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρχον δείμα ἐλαβεῖ Σπαρτητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίνην. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπικομένος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεότερα ἐπηρήσε προγμάτα, συνιστάς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτη, ἄλλους τε ὅρκους προσάγων σφι ἡ μὲν ἐψεσθαί σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἀν ἐξηγήται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἐν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοὺς προστεώτας ἀγινεόν ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Ἀκνηστήν ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ Σπαρτήν ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐστὶ τοιάνδιε τῇ ὕδωρ ὅλην φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάξει ἐς ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἰματίης τίς περιβέθει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγή αὐτὴ τυχώμενε ἐσούσα, πόλεσ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίης πρὸς Φεινεφ. 75. Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Δακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτα πρησόντα, κατήγον αὐτὸν δεῖσαντες ἐπὶ τοίοι αὐτοῖς ἐς Σπάρτην τοίσι καὶ πρότερον ἔρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανή
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, ἔντα καὶ πρῶτον ὑπομαργότερον ὅκως γὰρ τετ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραει ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποίεστα ἰαὐτῶν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὃ δὲ δεδεις τὸν φύλακον μονωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἴτεει μάχαιραν οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φύλακον διδότας ἀπείλει τὰ μν ἀυτίς ποιήσει, ἐς δὲ δεῖσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὸ φύλακος (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλατέων) διδοὶ οἱ μάχαιραι. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τῶν σίδηρον ἀρχετὸ ἐκ τῶν κηφείων ἔωσόν λωβώμενος ἐπιτάμων γὰρ κατὰ μήκος τὰς σάρκας προεβαίνε τὰ γνησίων ἐς τοὺς μηροὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τὰ τὰ ἱσχία καὶ τὰς λατάρας, ἐς δὲ τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύον ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Εὐλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθήνια ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μοῦνοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ελευσίνα ἐσβάλων ἐκεῖρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργείοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἵππων ἰαυτῶν τοῦ Ἀργοῦ Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀλαχος ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ἐχον ἐνέπρησε.

76. Κλεομένης γὰρ μαίτευμαν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐξηρήθη Ἀργος αἰρήθειν ἐπείτε δὲ Σπαρτιητας ἄγων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐρασίνου, ἃς λέγεται ἐπὶ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης· τὴν γὰρ ἡ λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφάνεις ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεί, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τὸ ώδερ ἤδη

1 Cp. ch. 80.

2 The Stymphalian lake, near the base of Cyllene, dis-
not wholly in his right mind, and now he fell sick of a madness; for any Spartan that he met he would smite in the face with his staff. For so doing, and for the frenzy that was on him, his nearest of kin made him fast in the stocks. But he saw in his bonds that his guard was left alone and none by, and he asked him for a dagger; the guard at first would not give it, but Cleomenes threatening what he would do to him thereafter, the guard, who was a helot, was affrighted by the threats and gave him the dagger. Then Cleomenes took the weapon and set about gashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, and from the thigh to the hip and the flank, till he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, as the most of the Greeks say, because he over-persuaded the Pythian priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus; as the Athenians say (but none other) because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods; and as the Argives say, because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus ¹ 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 ² 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 Ἐρασίνου καλέσθαι ἀπικομενος δ’ ων ο Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων ἐσφαγμένετο αὐτῷ καὶ οὗ γὰρ ἐκαλλιέρεει οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἀγασθαί μὲν ἐφὶ τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολείτας, 'Ἀργείους μέντοι οὖδ’ ὡς χαρήσειν, μετὰ δ’ ταῦτα ἐξαναχορήσας τὴν στρατηγὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ βαλάσσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοις σφεάς ἤγαγε ἐς τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην.

77. Ἀργείοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ βάλασσαν ώς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῆς Τιρυνθοῦ, χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Ἡσίπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὖ μέγα ἀπολυτῶντες ἤζυντο ἀντίοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. ένθαῦτα δ’ οἱ Ἀργείοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλ’ μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθέοντε καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἴχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη τοῦτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοις, λέγον ὠδὲ.

ἀλλ’ οὖν ἡ θήλεια τῶν ἄρσενα νίκησασα ἐξελάσθη καὶ κύδος ἐν 'Ἀργείωσιν ἄρρηται, πολλαὶ Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφέας τότε θῆσει. ὅς ποτὲ τις ἔρεει καὶ ἐπεσομένων ἀνθρώπων "Δεινὸς ὅφις τριελικτος ἀπώλετο δουρὶ δαμασθεὶς."

taũta δη πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖς Ἀργείωις φόβου παρείχε. καὶ δὴ σφὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐδοξε

1 Stein, following the best MSS., reads ἀπελικτος; but the words appear to be otherwise unknown; I prefer τριελικτος, for which there is some MS. authority.

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Argives Erasimus)—when Cleomenes came to this river he sacrificed victims to it; and being in nowise able to get favourable omens for his crossing, he said that he honoured the Erasinus for keeping true to its countrymen, but that even so the Argives should not go unscathed. Presently he withdrew thence and led his army seaward to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and carried his men on shipboard to the region of Tiryns, and Nauplia.

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

Woe for the day when a woman shall vanquish a man in the battle,\(^1\)
Driving him far from the field and winning her glory in Argos:
Many an Argive dame her cheeks shall be rending in sorrow.
Yea, and in distant days this word shall be spoken of mortals:
"There lay slain by the spear that thrice-twined terrible serpent."

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

\(^1\) This would be fulfilled by a victory of the female Σπάρτη over the male Αργος.
τῶν κήρυκτῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δὲ σφι ἐποίεσαν τοιούτως ὡς ὁ Σπαρτιάτης κήρυξ προσημαίνοι τι Δακεδαίμονίοις, ἐποίεσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τῶντό τοῦτο.

78. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεύτας τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁκεῖν τί ὁ σφέτερος κήρυξ σημήνει, παραγγέλλει σφι, ὅταν σημήνη ὁ κήρυξ ποιεσθαὶ ἁριστῶν, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρείν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ταῦτα καὶ ἑγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων ἁρίστων γὰρ ποιευμένοις τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέλειτο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἑφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλείνας ἐς τὸ ἀλσος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ καταφυγόντας περιζόμενοι ἐφύλασαν.

79. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίεε τοιοῦτος. ἔχων αὐτόμολος ἄνδρας καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλεε πέμπων κήρυκα ὅνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους, ἐξεκάλεε δὲ φᾶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἀποινά. ἀποινά δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοις δύο μὲνει τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμαλώτων ἐκτίνευν. κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκτεινε. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ γενόμενα ἐλευθερεῖε ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει ἀτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀλσος, οὐκ ὃρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὁ τι ἐπηρήσαν, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρων κατεῖδε τὸ ποιευμένον. ὦκων δὴ ἐτὶ καλεόμενοι ἐξήσαν.

80. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινά τῶν εἰλοτέων περινεῖν ὑλή τὸ ἀλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐπέτρησε τὸ ἀλσος. 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
ηδή ἐπελευσεν τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων τίνος εἴη θεών τὸ ἄλσος· ὁ δὲ ἐφὶ "Ἀργοὺ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε "Ω Ἀπολλὸν χρηστήριε, ἡ μεγάλως με ἡπάτηκας φάμενος "Ἀργος αἰρήσειν συμβάλλομαι δ' ἐξηκεῖν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον."

81. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατηγὴν ἀπῆκε ἀπειναῖ ἐς Σπάρτην, χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἤτε ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον θύσιν βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτόν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱερὸς ἀπηγόρευε, φαὶ σὺν ὅσιον εἶναι ξεινῷ αὐτῷ δὲ θυεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱέραν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστηγώσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε· पοιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆκε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

82. Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπῆργον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἔφορους, φάμενοι μιν δωροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἔλειν τὸ "Ἀργοὺ, παρεῦν εὐπετέως μιν ἔλειν. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, οὕτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὕτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων, ἔχω σαφένεως εἰπαί, ἔλεξε δ' ὃν φάμενος, ἐπείτε ὅ τοῦ "Ἀργοὺ ἱρὸν εἶλου, δοκεῖν οἱ ἐξελπισθέναι τὸν τοῦ βοῶς χρησμὸν πρὸς ὅν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τὴν πόλιος, πρὶν γε ὅ ἱρούσε χρηστὰ καὶ μάθῃ εἰπε οὐ τὸς παραδίδοι εἰτε ἐμποδῶν ἑστηκε· καλλιερευμένος δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψας, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκεὶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀἱρέει τὸ "Ἀργοῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἱρέειν ἄν κατ’ ἀκρῆς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμ-

1 About four miles N.E. of Argos.
BOOK VI. 80–82

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
83. Ἀργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐξηρόθη σύτω ὅστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἀρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὁ ἐπιθύμησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἐπείτα σφέας οὕτωι ἀνακτῶμενοι ὁπίσω ἐς ἐσωτερικὸ τὸ Ἀργος ἐξέβαλον ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τήρυνθα· τέως μὲν δὴ σφί ἡν ἄρθρα εὺς ἀλλήλους, ἐπείτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δοῦλους ἦλθε ἀνήρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐών Φυγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὕτως τοὺς δοῦλους ἀνέγραψε εἰπεδέσθαι τοῖς διεσπόρτησε· ἐκ τούτῳ δὴ πόλεμος σφί ἤτι χρώνον συχνὸν, ἐς δὴ μόνος τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐπεκράτησαν.

84. Ἀργείοι μὲν νῦν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτήται φασὶ ἐκ δαμασκοῦ μὲν υδατός μανήναι Κλεομένεα, Σκύθροι δὲ ὀμηλήσαντα μὲν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανήναι. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφί Δαρείον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μὲν τίσασθαι, περιψάντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχεῖν τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὡς χρεόν εἴη αὐτοῖς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτήτας κελεύειν ἐς Ἐφέσον ὅρμωμενος ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ἐπείτα ἐς τωτὸ ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγοντι ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὀμιλεῖν σφί μεζόνως, ὀμιλεύοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεομένου μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποιοῖσιν 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.
αυτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναλ μὴ νομίζουσι
Σπαρτήται. ἐκ τε τόσου, ὡς αὐτὸι λέγουσιν
ἐπεάν ζωρότερον βουλόνται πιείν, "Ἕπισκύθι-
ςον" λέγουσιν. οὔτω δὴ Σπαρτήται τὰ περὶ
Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην
ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρῆτο ἐκτίσαι.

85. Τελευτάσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπίθυμον
Αἰγινῆται, ἐπεμπόν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους κατα-
βωσομένους Λευτυχίδεος περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις
ἀμήρων ἕχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον
συνάγαγοντες ἐγνωσαν περιυβρέσθαι Αἰγινῆτας
ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεως, καὶ μὲν κατέκριναν ἐκδοτὸν
ἀγεσθαι ἐς Αἰγινᾶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἕχομέ-
nων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητῶν
τῶν Λευτυχίδεα, εἰπτε σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Δεσπρέτεος,
ἔως ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἄνηρ, "Τὰ βουλεύεσθε
ποιέειν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν
Σπαρτητῶν ἐκδοτὸν ἑνὸμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν
ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεῶμενοι ἐγνωσαν οὕτω
Σπαρτήται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ύμι, ἢ
ταῦτα πρήσησθε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν
χώρην ἐμβάλωσιν." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγι-
νῆται ἐσχυντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογή δὲ ἐχρή-
σαντο τοιῷδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδεα ἐς Αθήναις
ἀποδοῦναι Λευτυχίδη τούς ἄνδρας.

86. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθή-
nᾶς ἀπαίτει τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι προ-
φάσις εἰλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες
δύο σφὲς ἕόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ
dικαιοῦν τὸ ἐτέρον ἁνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι
οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλεξέ
this the Spartans hold to have been the cause of his madness. Ever since, as they themselves say, when they desire a strong draught they will call for "a Scythian cup." Such is the Spartan story of Cleomenes; but to my thinking, it was for what he did to Demaratus that he was punished thus.

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

86. So when Leutychides came to Athens and demanded that what had been entrusted be restored, and the Athenians, being loath to restore it, made excuses, and said that, having been charged with the trust by both the kings, they deemed it wrong to restore it to the one alone without the other,—when the Athenians refused to restore, Leutychides said to
σφί Δευτυχίδης τάδε. "Ω Αθηναίοι, ποιεῦτε μὲν ὅκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδότες ποιεῦτε δόσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδότες τὰ ἑναντία τοῦ· τῶν ὁκότων μέντοι τε ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνεῖχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὕμων εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἥμεις οἱ Σπαρτητίται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαϊμον κατὰ τρίτην γενεὰν τῆς ἀπ' ἑμέος Γλαύκου Ἐπικύδεος παίδα· τούτων τῶν ἄνδρα φαμέν τα τὲ ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἀριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Δακεδαϊμονα τούτον τὸν χρό- νον οἴκεον. συννεχίζομαι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἴκνευ- μένῳ τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλῆσιον ἀπεκόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἔλθεν ἐς λόγους προ- ἱσχύμενον τούδε. 'Ειμι μὲν Μιλῆσιος, ἥκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαύκη βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι. ὅς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαι μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμεσωτῷ λόγους έδίδουν καὶ δτὶ ἐπικύδινος ἐστὶ αἰεὶ κοτε ἦ Ἰωνίῃ, ἦ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφα- λέως ἱδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμά τοὺς ἄν- τους ἐστὶ όραν ἔχοντας· ταύτα τε ὁν εἰπεργομένο καὶ βουλευμένο ἐδοξεί μοι τὰ ἡμίσει πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα δέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὑ ἐξεπι- σταμένον ὡς μοι κείμενα ἐσται παρὰ σοι σά ν, σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σώζε λαβών· δ' ἂν ἔχων ταύτα ἀπαίτει, τούτῳ ἀποδόναι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλῆτου ἦκων ξείνως τοσαύτα ἔλεξε, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακα- ταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνου δὲ πολ- λῷ διελθόντος ἠλθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἐλθόντες δὲ 236
them: "Men of Athens, do whichever thing you desire; if you restore, you do righteously, if you restore not you do contrariwise; yet hear from me the story of what befell at Sparta in the matter of a trust. It is told by us Spartans that three generations ago 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, befell 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 established, 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
HERODOTUS

ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτεστο τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ διωθέτῳ ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. Ὅψε μέμνημαι τὸ πρήγμα οὔτε μὲ περιφέρει οὔδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ύμεῖς λέγετε, βουλομαί τε ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιέων πάν τὸ δικαίον καὶ γὰρ εἶ ἐλαβὼν, ὅρθως ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἰ γε ἄρχῃ μὴ ἐλαβὼν, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσωμαι ἐς ύμέας. ταῦτα ὡν ύμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ὡς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐπορευέτο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησμωμένος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτώντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ χρηστηρίου εἰ ὁρκῷ τὰ χρήματα ληστηται, ἡ Πυθία μετέρχεται τοιίδε τοῖσι ἐπεσι.

Γλαύκε· Ἐπεικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὔτω ὁρκῷ νικήσαι καὶ χρήματα λησσασθαι. ὡμων, ἔπει θάνατος γε καὶ εὐρόκοιν μὲνεὶ ἄνδρα. ἄλλο ὁρκοῦν πάις ἑστιν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ χείρες οὔδὲ πόδες· κραίπνος δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὦ κε πᾶσαν συμμάρφας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴ καὶ οἶκον ἀπαντα. ἄνδρος δὲ εὐρὸκον γενεὴ μετοπισθεὶν ἀμείνων.

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

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

When Glaucus heard that, he entreated the god to pardon him for what he had said. But the priestess answered, that to tempt the god and to do the deed were of like effect. Glaucus, then, sent for the
μενος των Μιλησίων ξείνων ἀποδιδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκα ὁ λόγος ὁδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμίληθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσται: Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἱστή αὐθεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου, ἐκτέτριπται τε πρόριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὗτος ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἄλλο γε ἡ ἀπαιτεόντων ἀποδιδόναι.

87. Δευτυχίας μὲν εὖπας ταῦτα, ὥσ οἱ οὖν οὐτῶ ἔσθεκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο: οἱ δὲ Λιγνήται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑβρίσαν Θεβαιοὶς χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν τοιοῦτο, μεμφόμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἀξιώντες ἀδικεέσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο: καὶ ἢν γὰρ δὴ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πεντετρῆς ἐπὶ Σούνιος, λογίσαντες ὡς τὴν θεωρία νέα εἴλου πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων Ἀθηναίων, ἱστότες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἐξήσαν.

88. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Λιγνήτεων ὑπεκέπ ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μιχανησάσθαι ἐπὶ Λιγνήτητοι. καὶ ἢν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κυνίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Λιγνῆ ἀνήρ δόκιμος, οὔτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖς Λιγνήτηται προτέρην ἐξυπότι ἐξέλαθιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, μαθὼν δὲ τοτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους έρδειν Λιγνήτας κακῶς, συντιθέται Ἀθηναίοις προδοσίην Λιγνῆς, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπεχειρήσει καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν ἤκειν δεῖσθε βοηθέουτα.

89. Μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο Ἀθηναίοις 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 Glauce's 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
HERODOTUS

ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἔσθαι νέες σφὶ ἀξιόμαχοι
tῆς Αἰγυπτέων συμβαλεῖν. ἐν ὅ ὁν Κόρινθιον
ἐδέοντο χοίσαι σφὶ νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ
πρόχματα. οἱ δὲ Κόρινθοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφὶ τοῦτον
τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναίοις
διδοῦσι δεσμεύοισι εἰκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πεντα-
드ράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεὴν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ
ἐξῆν δοῦναι. ταῦτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι
καὶ τὰς σφετέρας, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοπτα
νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἐπιθεὺν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ
ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρη μὴ τῆς συγκεκίμησιν.

90. Νικόδρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐς τὸν
καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλούον ἐσβας ἐκδιδρή-
σκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτες· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν
Αἰγυπτέων εἴποντο, τοῦτοι Ἀθηναίοι Σουίνιον
οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἑυθεύτευν δὲ οὕτωι ὅρμωμενοι
ἔφερον τε καὶ ἢγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ Αἰγύπτες.

91. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ υστερον ἐγένετο. Αἰγυπτέων
δὲ οἱ παχεῖς ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δῆμου σφὶ ἄμ
Νικόδρομῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἔπειτα σφες χειρο-
σάμενοι ἔξῆγαν ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ καὶ
ἀγος σφὶ ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἶοι τε
ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐφθησαν ἐκπε-
σόντες πρῶτερον ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἡ σφὶ ὕλεον γενέσθαι
τὴν θέαν. ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ἵππη-
σαντες ἔξῆγαν ἀπολέοντες, εἰς δὲ τοὺς τούτων
ἐκφυγόν τὰ δεσμα καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα
Δημητρος Θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν
ἐπισταστήρων εἰχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε μιν ἀποσπάσαι
οὐκ οἶοι τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγένοντο, ἀποκόψατες

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arriving at the right time; for it chanced that they had not ships enough to cope with the Aeginetans; wherefore they entreated the Corinthians to lend them ships, and by that delay their business was thwarted. The Corinthians, being at that time their close friends, consented to the Athenians' entreaty and gave them twenty ships, at a price of five drachmas apiece; for by their law they could not make a free gift of them. Taking these ships and their own, the Athenians manned seventy in all and sailed for Aegina, whither they came a day later than the time agreed.

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

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

¹ That is, it was done between 490 and 480.
αυτού τὰς χειρὰς ἥγουν οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἔκειναι ἐμπεφυκνιᾶς ἤσαι τοῖς ἐπισπάστροις.

92. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀιγυνηταὶ ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἦκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νησιὶ ἕβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργεῖον, καὶ δὴ σφι οὕτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθεοῦσι, μεμφόμενοι δὴτ αι Ἀιγυναιαὶ νέες ἀνάγκη λαμβανεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ συναπέβησαν Δακεδαιμονίοις, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεὼν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργεῖον ἐπεβλήθη ζημία χῆλα τάλαντα ἐκτίσαν, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυωνίοι μὲν νῦν συγγυρνότες ἀδικήσαν ὁμολογησαν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἄξιμοι εἰσὶ, Αἰγυνηταὶ δὲ οὕτε συνεργώσκοντο ἤσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὴ οὐν σφι ταύτα δεομένοις ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὕδετο Ἀργεῖων ἐτὶ ἔβοηθε, ἐθελοντι δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἥγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγῷ αὐτῷ ὁ ὀνομα Ἐυρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάεσθον ἐπασκῆσας, τοὺτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὅπισώ, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγυνῇ αὐτοῖς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἐυρυβάτης μουσομαχίην ἐπασκέως τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπω τούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελεός ἀποθνήσκει.

93. Αἰγυνηταὶ δὲ ἔσοι ἀτάκτοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συμβαλόντες τῇς νησιὶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

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

92. Thus the Aeginetans dealt with each other; when the Athenians had come, they fought with them at sea with seventy ships, and being worsted in the sea-fight they asked help of the Argives, as they had done before. But this time the Argives would not aid them, for a grudge that they bore the Aeginetans; since ships of Aegina had been taken perforce by Cleomenes and put in on the Argolid coast, where their crews landed with the Lacedaemonians; and there were men too from ships of Sicyon that took part in this same onfall; and the Argives laid on them the payment of a fine of a thousand talents, each people five hundred. The Sicyonians owned that they had done wrongfully and agreed to go scathless for a payment of a hundred talents, but the Aeginetans made no such confession, and were stiff-necked. For this cause the Argive state sent no man at their entreaty to aid them, but about a thousand came of their own will, led by a captain whose name was Eurybates, a man practised in the five contests.\(^1\) 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

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\(^1\) The 'Pentathlon' consisted of jumping, discus-throwing, spear-throwing, running, and wrestling.
Αϊγυνήτας. ο δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐωτοῦ ἔποιεε, ὡστε ἀναμμήνησκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνησθαι μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσ-κατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προ-φάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδονίων μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίας, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθηνας, Δατίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδων γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρέεα τὸν Ἀρτα-φρέεος παῖδα, ἀδελφίδεον ἐωτοῦ ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἐξαιρετοδίσαντας Ἀθηνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἐωτόν ἐς ὅψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

95. Ὁς δὲ τὸ στρατηγὸς οὕτωι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορεύομενοι παρὰ βασιλέως ἄπικοντο τῆς Κελικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήμων πεδίον, ἀμα ἄγομενος πεζὸν στρατον πολλόν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκενασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατο-πεδευομένοις ἐπήλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππαγωγοί νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεί προεύπε τούτι ἐωτοῦ δασμοφόρουσι Δαρείος ἐτοιμάζειν, ἔσβαλομενοι δὲ τοὺς ὑπονε᾽ς εἰς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἐπλευν ἐξακοσίσας τρίχρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεύτην δὲ οὗ παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον εἰχον τὰς νέας ἱδὰ τοῦ τε Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Ὁρνίκης, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νῆσων τῶν πλῶν ἐποιεύτο, ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκείειν, δείσαντες μᾶλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἀθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεί ποιεύμενοι ταύτη τῇ κομίδῃ μεγάλως.
war. But the Persian was going about his own business; for his servant was ever reminding him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidae were at his elbow maligning the Athenians, and moreover Darius desired to take this pretext for subduing all the men of Hellas that had not given him earth and water. As for Mardonius, who had fared so ill with his armament, him he dismissed from his command, and appointed other generals to lead his armies against Athens and Eretria, Datis a Mede, and his own nephew Artaphrenes son of Artaphrenes; and the charge he gave them at their departure was, to enslave Athens and Eretria, and bring the slaves into his presence.

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

1 Cp. V. 105.
προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἤνάγκαζε πρῶτερον οὐκ ἀλούσα.

96. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιζαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτην ἐπείχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρῶτερον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὅρεα οἶχοντο φεύγοντες οὔτε ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι αὐδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἵππα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀνήγγειλον.

97. Ἐν ό δὲ οὖτοι ταύτα ἐποίειν, οἱ Δῆλοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δήλου οἰχοντο φεύγοντες ἢς Τήνου. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης ὁ Δάτης προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δήλου προσομίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ ἀυτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἢν ἦσαν οἱ Δήλοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἤγορευε σφι τάδε. „Ἤδρες ἵπποι, τί φεύγοντες οἰχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπετήδεα καταγυνόντες κατ' ἐμεύ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γε φρονέω καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλείας ὠδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σῶσθαι, μήτε αὐτήν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. τῶν δὲν καὶ ἀπίτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε.” ταύτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῖς Δηλίοισι, μετὰ δὲ λεβανωτοῦ τρικόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμήσε.

98. Δάτης μὲν δὴ ταύτα ποιήσας ἐξέλε αὕμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ιωνᾶς καὶ Λιόλεας. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἐνεθεύτεν ἐξαναχθέντα Δήλος ἐκείνηθ, ὡς ἐλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ υστάτα μέχρι ἐμεύ σεισθέισα. καὶ
and moreover Naxos constrained them, in that they had not yet taken it.

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

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

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

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1 This probably refers to the Persian treatment of rebels, described in chs. 31 and 32.
2 Apollo and Artemis.
τούτο μὲν κοι τέρας ἀνθρώπωσε τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφαινε ὁ θεός. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὀστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεως τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεως τοῦ Ξέρξεως, πρῶτον τούτων ἐπεξῆς γενεάων, ἐγένετο πλέον κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ ἐκείσο ἄλλας γενεάς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῆ γενομένα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολε-μεϊντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἁείκες κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον, καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὡδε.

κινῆσο καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητον περ ἐοῦσαν.

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταύτα τὰ σύνοματα, Δαρείου ἔρξειν, Ξέρξης ἀρχ fullfile, Ἀρτο-ξέρξης μέγας ἀρχ fullfile. τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν βασιλεάς ὡδὲ ἄν ὅρθως κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφατέρην."Ελλήνες καλέωιν.

99. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπῆειραι ἐκ τῆς Δῆλου, προσέσχον πρὸς τὰς υἱόσους, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ στρατήμα τε παρελάβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτῶν παῖδας ἐλάμβανον. ὡς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς υἱόσους προσέσχον καὶ Κάρυστον, οὗ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε ὁμήρους ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιας ἀστυνεῖτονας στρατεύεσθαι, λέγοντες 'Ἐρετρίας τε καὶ Ἀθηνάς, ἐνθαῦτα τού- τους ἐποικίρκεον τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφαῖραν ἔκειρον, οὐ δὲ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρέστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην.

100. Ἐρετρίες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στρατηγὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἔπι σφαῖρας ἐπιπλέουσαν Ἀθηναίων ἑδεύθησαν σφίση βοηθούς 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 Artaxerxes son of Xerxes,¹ more ills beset Hellas than in twenty generations before Darius; which ills came in part from the Persians and in part from the wars for precminence 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, Artaxerxes 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

¹ 322-424.
οὐκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρονομούσας τῶν ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώρην, τούτους οὐκ θὰ διδοῦσιν τιμωροῦσι. τῶν δὲ Ἐρετρίεων ἦν ἀρὰ οὐδὲν ύγιὲς βουλευμα, οἱ μετεπέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διαφανίας ἴδεας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Ἕβοις, ἀλλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω οἴσεσθαι προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερα ὡς εἴχε Ἀἰσχύνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἔως τῶν Ἐρετρίεων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖς ἤκουσι Ἀθηναίοι πάντα τὰ παρεώντα σφί πρίγματα, προσεδετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφέτερην, ἵνα μὴ προσπαθῶνται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ταῦτα Ἀἰσχύνη συμβουλεύσαντε πείθονται.

101. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὀρσοῦν σφέας αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρίκης χώρης κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρεάς καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα Ἰπποὺς τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοιόμενοι τοῖς εἴθροις, οἱ δὲ Ἐρετρίες ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσασθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῖντο βουλήν, εἰ καὶ δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφὶ πέρι ἐμελεῖ, ἐπείτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν, προσβολὴς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐπιπτοῦν ἐπὶ ἐξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφιτέρων τῇ δὲ ἐβδομῇ Ἕβορβος τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχος καὶ Φιλαγρος ὁ Κυνέον ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκειοι προδιδοὺσι τοῦτο Πέρσῃς. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλησάντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτεινύ
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, τούτο δὲ τούς ἀνθρώπους ἤνδραποδίσαυτο κατὰ τάς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπλεοῦ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, κατέργουσες τές πολλὰς καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσεις τά καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετριάς ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἢν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεύτατον χώριον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἑρετρίης, ἐς τούτο σφι κατηγέτεο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

103. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπόθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγος δὲ σφέας στρατηγὸν δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κιμωνα τῶν Στηναγόρεως κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων Πεισιστράτου τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος, καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνέλεσθαι τεθρίππωσι συνεβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνέλομενον μιν τῶντὸ ἐξενεκασθαὶ τῷ ὑμομυρτρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Μιλτιάδην μετὰ δὲ τῇ ἰστέρῃ Ὀλυμπιάδα τήσι αὐτήσι ἱπποισι νικῶν παραδίδοι Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυγγήναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρεῖς τούτῳ κατήλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ ἱππόσπονδος. καὶ μιν ἀνέλομενον τήσι αὐτήσι ἱπποισι ἅλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὔκετε περεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου κτείνουσι δὲ οὕτως μιν κατὰ τὸ πρωτανήμιον νυκτὸς ὑπέσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὀδοῦ· καταντῶν δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἱπποι τεθάφαται αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνέλομεναι, ἱπποῖσαν δὲ καὶ ἅλλαι ἱπποὶ ἡδη τῶντὸ τούτο.
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 Marathon¹ being the fittest part of Attica for horsemen to ride over, and nearest to Eretria, thither they were guided by Hippias son of Pisistratus.

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

¹ For a detailed discussion of various questions connected with the battle of Marathon, readers are referred to How and Wells, Appendix XVIII.
Εὐαγγέρεω Λάκωνος, πλέω δὲ τούτων οὐδαμαί. οὐ μὲν δὴ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παιδῶν τῷ Κλωνί Στησαμώνης ἦν την ἑαυτὸν παρὰ τὸ πάτρῳ Μελτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ’ αὐτῷ Κλωνί ἐν Ἀθήνῃς, οὐνομα ἔχον ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς Χερσονήσου Μελτιάδεω Μελτιάδης.

104. Οὕτως δὴ ὁ τὸτε ὁ Μελτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφυγὼς διπλῶν θάνατον ἐστρατήγησε Αθηναίων. ἀμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοινίκες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώκαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρον περί πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλεάς· ἀμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ δοκεόντα τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίᾳ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἱποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαστὴριον αὐτὸν ἀναγόντες ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Αθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου.

105. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀστεί ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποσίμηποι έξ Σπάρτης κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναίου μὲν ἀνδρα, ἀλλος δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τούτῳ μελετώντα. τὸ δὴ, ὡς αὐτὸς τὰ ἐλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίουσι ἀπήγγελλε, περὶ τὸ Παρθένου ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέας ὁ Πάνω περιτίππτει: βωσάντα δὲ τὸ οὐνόμα τοῦ Φειδιππίδου τῶν Πάνω Ἀθηναίους κελεύσαι ἀπαγγελλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἐωτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῖται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πολλαχῆ γενομένου σφι ἡδη χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐσο- μένου. καὶ ταύτα μὲν Ἀθηναίοι, καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἡδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι 256
the Laconian Evagoras had ever achieved the same. Now Stesagoras, the eldest of Cimon's sons, was at that time being brought up in the Chersonese with Miltiades his uncle; but the younger, named Miltiades after that Miltiades who planted a settlement on the Chersonese, was with Cimon himself at Athens.

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

105. And first, while they were yet in the city, the generals sent as a herald to Sparta Phidippides, an Athenian, and one, moreover, that was a runner of long distances and made that his calling. This man, as he said himself and told the Athenians, when he was in the Parthenian hills above Tegea, met with Pan; who, calling to Phidippides by name, bade him say to the Athenians, "Why is it that ye take no thought for me, that am your friend, and ere now have oft been serviceable to you, and will be so again?" This story the Athenians believed to be true, and when their state won to prosperity they founded a
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άληθεά ἵδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλῃ Πανός ἵρων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἁγγελίας θυσίας ἐπετείοις καὶ λαμπάδι ἵλασκονταί.

106. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδίππηδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρι οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πάνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ του Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔτι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε "Ὡς Δακεδαίμονιοι, Ἀθηναίοι ὑμέων δεόνται σφίσι βοήθησαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιότατην ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γὰρ ἅν Ἐρέτρια τῇ ἰδραπόδισται καὶ πόλις λογίμῳ ἡ Ἕλλας γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρης." Ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελε, τοίσι δὲ ἐχάδε μὲν βοήθεεν Ἀθηναίοις, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφί ἢν τὸ παραυτικα ποιεῖν ταύτα, οὐ βουλομένοις λῦειν τὸν νόμον ἢ γὰρ ἑταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἔξελευσθαι ἐφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεως ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

107. Οὕτως μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον, τοίσι δὲ βαρβάροις καταγέετο Ἐπιτής ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἱδῶν τοιήδε τέ οῖκος ἕδοκε. Ἐπιτής τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωτοῦ συνεννηθήματο συνεβάλετο ὅπι ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατέλθων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν τελευτησεν ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ γηραιοῦ. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψις συνεβάλετο ταύτα, τότε δὲ κατηγομένος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην ὑπὸ Ἀλιγλείνη, τούτο δὲ

1 According to Isocrates the distance traversed was 150 miles.

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temple of Pan beneath the acropolis, and for that message sought the gods' 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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*This statement probably applies only to the month Carneias (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 Μαραθώνα τὰς νέας δρμίες οὕτως, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπήλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βηδεῖι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεν· οἶα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέροι ἐόντε τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλείους ἐσεῖοντο· τοῦτον ὁ ἐνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίνθος βηδεῖας ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποίεστο σπουδὴν πολλήν ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἰπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας "Ἡ γῆ ἤδε οὐκ ἡμετέρῃ ἐστὶ, οὐδὲ μν ὁνήσιμα ὑποχειρὶ ποιῆσας ὁκόσον δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ο ὀδὼν μετέχει." 108. Ἡπίπης μὲν δὴ ταῦτῃ τῆς ὄψιν συνεβάλλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τεταγμένοις ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον θυγάτερας Πλαταίας πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοῖς τούς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ Πλαταίαις, καὶ πόνου ύπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συνχνοῦς ἢδη ἀναραίετο ἐδοσαν δὲ ὠδέ. πιέζουμεν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταίαις ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεο-μένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Δακεδαμώνιοι σφέας αὐτοῦς, οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἑλέγον σφι τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρω τε οἰκέωμεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιῇδε τις γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρὴ ψυχρῇ φθαίnte γὰρ ἄν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ή τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλεύομεν ὁμως ὑμῖν δοῦναι ύμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, πλησιογοροῦσι τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρεῖν ἑώοσι οὐ κακοῖσι." ταῦτα συνεβούλευν οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν οὕτω τῶν Πλαταίων ὡς βουλόμενοι τοὺς
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, and the Athenians had taken upon them many labours for their sake. The manner of the Plataeans’ so doing was this:—Being hard pressed by the Thebans, they had offered themselves to the first comers, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides and the Lacedaemonians; but these would not accept them, and said: “We dwell afar off, and such aid as ours would be found but cold comfort to you; for you might be enslaved many times over ere any of us heard of it. We counsel you to put yourselves in the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and can defend you right well.” This counsel the Lacedaemonians gave not so much out of their goodwill to the Plataeans, as because they desired that the Athenians should bring trouble on them-

1 In 519, according to Thucydides (iii. 68); Grote gives a later date.
'Αθηναίοις ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖς. Δακεδαλόντων μὲν ὕπνοι Πλαταιεύσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευοι, ὦ γε σὺ ἤπιστησαν, ἀλλ' Αθηναίοι ἵπταντο τούτα δυνάμεικα θεοί ἵκεται ἰξώμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοῦς. Θηβαιοὶ δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἑσπερεύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν Πλαταιεάς, 'Αθηναίοι δὲ σφί ἐβοήθεοι. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιέδουν, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὕρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε, εἰκὼν Θηβαιοὶς Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτῶν τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὲ ταῦτα γρώντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, 'Αθηναίοις δὲ ἀπιούσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπιδεέμενοι δὲ ἔσωθήσαν τῇ μάχῃ ὑπερβάντες δὲ ὦ 'Αθηναίοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεύσι εἶναι οὕρους, τούτοις ὑπερβάντες τὸν 'Ασωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὕρον Θηβαίοις πρὸς Πλαταιές εἶναι καὶ 'Ἰταῖς, ἔδοσαν μὲν δὲ οἱ Πλαταιές σφέας αὐτοῦς 'Αθηναίοις τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τὸτε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθεύσατε.

109. Τοῖσι δὲ 'Αθηναίοι στρατηγοὶ ἐγίνοντο δέχα αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβαλεῖν (ὁλγοὺς γὰρ εἶναι στρατῆ τῇ Μῆδῳ συμβάλλειν) τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδος κελεύσων· ὡς δὲ δίγα τα ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἑνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γυνώμων, ἑνδάυτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυνάμῳ λαχῶν 'Αθηναίων πολέμαρχεῖν (τὸ πα-
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

Harmes, Hestia. The βωμός was a central altar in the agora, from which distances were reckoned.
λαίνον γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῖντο τοῦτο στρατηγοῖς), ἂν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφίδναίος πρὸς τούτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. "Εν σοί νῦν Καλλίμαχε ἐστὶ ή καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας ή ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι εἰς τὸν ἀπαντὰ ἀνθρώπων βιόν οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμοδίος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων καίποιοι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἔξ ὡς ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κύδινον ἦκουσι μέγιστον, καὶ ἂν μὲν γε ύποκύψωσι τοῖς Μηδοίσι, δέδοκτα τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίη, ἂν δὲ περιγενήται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οὔ τε ἔστι πρῶτῃ τῶν Ἐλληνών πολίων γενέσθαι. κἂς ὁν δὴ ταῦτα οίᾳ τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κἂς ἐς σέ τοι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν προγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἥμεν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἔοντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβάλλειν. ἂν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἐλπομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασέισειν ἐμπεσοῦσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μισίσαι· ἂν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρὶς τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροις ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ίσα νεμόντων οἷοὶ τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὁπ πάντα ἐς οὐ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σεό ἤρηται. ἂν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατοίς τε ἐλευθέρῃ καὶ πόλις πρῶτῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι· ἂν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολήν ἐλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἑνώ κατέλεξα ἰγαθῶν τὰ ἑναντία."

110. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτάται τὸν Καλλίμαχον: προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου.
chosen as polemarch 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.
χοῦ τῆς γυνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γυνώμη ἐφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυταινή τῆς ἁμέρης, Μιλτιάδη παρεδίδοσαν· ὃ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτε κοὐ συμβολὴν ἐποιεῖτο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυταινή ἐγένετο.

111. Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὅδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρας ἤγετεο τὸ πολέμαρχον Καλλίμαχον· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τὸτε εἰχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν ἤγεσιμον δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἔχοντες ἀλληλεών, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας Πλαταίες. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ] σφί τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρις τὰς ἐν τῇ πεντηκοσίῳ γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοις λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἄγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταίες· τὸτε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶν ἐγίνετο τοιοῦτο τι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεσοῦμεν τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτη ἡ ἀσθενεστάτου τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας εκάρτερον ἔρρωτο πληθεὶς.

112. Ὡς δὲ σφί διετέστακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι δρόμῳ ἐνετὸς ἐς τοὺς Βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχυμον αὐτῶν ἡ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπὶ σταθμὸν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι, μανίη τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτούς.
was resolved to fight. Thereafter the generals whose counsel was for fighting made over to Miltiades the day’s right of leading that fell to each severally;¹ he received it, but would not join battle till the day of his own leadership came round.

111. When his turn came, then were the Athenians arrayed for battle as I shall show: the right wing was commanded by Callimachus the polemarch; for it was then the Athenian custom, that the holder of that office should have the right wing. He being there captain, next to him came the tribes one after another in the order of their numbers²; last of all the Plataeans were posted on the left wing. Ever since that fight, when the Athenians bring sacrifices to the assemblies that are held at the five-yearly festivals,³ the Athenian herald prays that all blessings may be granted to Athenians and Plataeans alike. But now, when the Athenians were arraying at Marathon, it so fell out that their line being equal in length to the Median, the middle part of it was but a few ranks deep, and here the line was weakest, each wing being strong in numbers.

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

¹ Each general seems to have been generalissimo in turn.
² There was a fixed official order; but Plutarch’s account of the battle places certain tribes according to a different system. Perhaps the battle-order was determined by lot.
³ e.g. the great Panathenaea, and the festival of Poseidon.
διέγειρας καὶ τοῦτος δρόμῳ ἐπενεχομένους, οὔτε ἀποκρούσθης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οἱ βαρβαροὶ κατείκαζον. Ἄθηναιοι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀθρόι προσέμεθαν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐμάχητο ἄξιος λόγον. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνοὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμείς ἠδὲν δρόμῳ ἐς πολέμιος ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχυτο ἐσθήτα τε Μηδείην ὀρέους καὶ τόσον ἀνδρὰς ταύτην ἠθημένους τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἑλληστής καὶ τὸ σύνομα τοῦ Μηδῶν φόβος ἀκούσασι.

113. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγινετο πολλός, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βαρβαροὶ, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αυτοὶ καὶ Σάκας ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βαρβαροὶ καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Πλαταιές· ἐκκόμισε δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμέσω τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἑως, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξαι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαι εἰπόντο κύπτοντες, ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἵτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

114. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόλῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἐδανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στρατιάλης ὁ Ῥασύλεως τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίων ένθαὑτα ἐπιλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἀφλάστων νεῶς, τὴν χειρὰ ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί.

115. Ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιῷ̄δε Ἀθηναίοι· τῆςι δὲ λουπῆςι οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου
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, Stesilas son of Thrasylaus; moreover, Cynegirus\(^1\) son of Euphorion fell there, his hand smitten off by an axe as he laid hold of a ship's poop, and many other famous Athenians.

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

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\(^1\) Brother of the poet Aeschylus.
116. Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ περιέπλεον Σῶνιον Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ός ποδῶν εἰχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθεον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ ἐθῆσαν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστράτωπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶν ἐν ἀλλω Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ τῆσι νησί ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, τούτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὁπλῶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην.

117. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶν μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχίλιους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἔκατον καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφότεροι τοσοῦτοι, συνήκειε δὲ αὐτοῖς θώμα γενέσθαι τοιώδε, Ἀθηναίοι ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεον ἐν τῇ συντάσσο μαχόμενον τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὄμματων στερηθῆναι οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζοῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου έόντα τυφλῶν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιώδε τινά λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκείν ὁπλίτην ἀντιστήναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἠσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν τὸ δὲ φάσμα τούτο ἐωτοῦ μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐωτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπιθύμην 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 Cuphagoras, while he fought doughtily in the mêlée lost the sight of his eyes, albeit neither stabbed in any part nor shot, and for the rest of his life continued blind from that day. I heard that he told the tale of this mishap thus: a tall man-at-arms (he said) encountered him, whose beard spread all over his shield; this apparition passed Epizelus by, but slew his neighbour in the line. Such was the tale Epizelus told, as I heard.
118. Δάτις δὲ πορεύομενος ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκώνῳ, εἰδὲ ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ. καὶ ἦτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὅψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἠμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ξύνησις ἐποιεῖτο τῶν νεών, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νη Φοινίκης ἀγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπηθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένου εἴη, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὐ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῷ ἐσωτῷ νη ἐς Δήλον καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ τηνικάιτα οἱ Δήλων ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν ἡγοῦσα, κατατίθεται τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλ- λεται τοῖς Δηλοῖσι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐς Δήλον τῷ Θηβαίῳν τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίου. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντει- λόμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τούτον Δήλων ὁυκ ἀπῆγαγον, ἀλλὰ μὲν δ’ ἐτέων εἰκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεσπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλον.

119. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετρείων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ὡς προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρείους, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετρείας, ἐνείχε σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίας προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετρείων ἐπείτε δὲ εἰδὲ σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ’ ἐσωτὺ καὶ ἐσωτῷ ὑπο- χειρίους ἑστάς, ἐποίησε κακοὺ ἀλλο οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας τῆς Κισσίνης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑσωτὸ τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Αρδέρικκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σοῦ- σων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους στάδιους ἀπέχοντι, τεσ- σεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἐλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· ἀντ- λέεται μὲν κηλωνίων, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλου ἤμισον ἁσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται. ὑποτύφας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ

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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
ἐπειτα ἐγχέει ἐς δεξαμενήν ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο
dιαχεόμενον τράπεται τριφασίας ὄδοις. καὶ ἡ
μὲν ἀσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλει πήγινται παραυτικά·
tὸ δὲ ἠλαθύν ὁι Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο Ῥαδινάκην,
ἐστὶ δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀμην παρεχόμενον βαρέαν.
ἔνθαίτα τοὺς Ἐρητρείας κατοίκισε βασιλεὺς Δα-
ρείος, οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώρην ταύτην,
φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαῖν γλῶσσαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ
περὶ Ἐρητρείας ἐσχῆ οὕτω.

120. Δακέδαιμονιον δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἁθηνας
dισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν
πολλῆν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ὡστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρ-
tῆς ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὅστεροι δὲ ἀπικα-
μενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἱμειροῦντο ὁμος θεῖασαθι
tοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα
ἐδεῆσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἴνευται Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ
ἐργὸν αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὑπίσω.

121. Θόδωμα δὲ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδεκόμαι τὸν λόγον
Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἀν κοτὲ ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃς ἐκ συν-
thῆμας ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάρους τὸ
eῖναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίῳ οἴτινες μᾶλλον
ἡ ὁμολόγως Καλλῆ τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππονίκου δὲ
πατρὶ, φαίνονται μισοτύρανοι ἐντέσεσ. Καλλίς
tε ὑπὸ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτολμᾶ, ὃκος
Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσει ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρη-
ματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀνὲ-
εσθαι, καὶ τὰ κάλλα τὰ ἔμεθστα ἐς αὐτὸν πάντα
ἐμπιστεύοντο.

122. [Καλλιερ δὲ τούτῳ ἄξιον πολλαχοὶ μνή-
μην ἐστὶ πάντα τινά ἔχειν. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ τὰ
προάρσελεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν 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, which the Persians call rhadinace, is dark and evil-smelling. There king Darius planted the Eretrians, and they dwelt in that place till my time, keeping their ancient language. Such was the fate of the Eretrians.

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

121. It is to me a thing marvellous and incredible, that the Alcmeonidae could ever by agreement have held up a shield as a sign for the Persians, desiring to make Athens subject to foreigners and to Hippias; for it is plain to see that they were despot-haters as much as Callias (son of Phaeinippus 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. [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 Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἔποιησε Ίππωρ νεκύσας, τεθρίππω δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πυθία δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς τοὺς "Ελλήνας πάντας δαπάνης μεγίστης, τούτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἔωστοι βυγατέρας εὕστας τρεῖς οἶδ' τις ἀνήρ ἐγένετο· ἑπείδη γὰρ ἐγινότο γάμου ὑφαίαι, ἐδωκε σφι δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνης τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἔθελον ἄνδρα ἐωτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι, ἐδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρι.

123. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ὡμοίως ἢ οὐδὲν ἤσσον τούτοις ἦσσον μισοτύραννοι. θῶμα δὲν μοι καὶ οὐ προσέμει τὴν διαβολὴν τούτως γε ἀναδέξατο ἀσπίδα, οὐτίνες ἐφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῶν τυράννων, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον Πεισιστράτιδα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ οὐτῳ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς οὗτοι ἦσσον οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤ περ Ἀρμόδιος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγηρίσασαν τῶν ὑπολοίτων Πεισιστρατιδέων Ἰππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδὲ τὶ μᾶλλον ἔπαισαν τῶν λοιπῶν τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὕτωι γε ἀληθεῖοι ἦσσον οἱ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Δακεδαιμονίασι ἠλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὥσ μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

124. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἵσσω τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὡς ἦσσον σφέων ἄλλοι δοκίμωτεροι ἢ γε Ἀθηναίοις ἄνδρες οὕοι μᾶλλον ἐτετιμεστο. οὐτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἄν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ λόγω. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσφίσι, καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐστὶ 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 δει μέντοι ἂν ο ἀναδέξας, οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἴπειν τούτων.

125. Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰθήνῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος καὶ αὐτίς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροὶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖς ἑκ Σαρδίων Λυδοίς παρὰ Κροίσον ἀπικνεόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μὲν Κροίσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεώντων ἐωντῶν εὖ ποιεῖν μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀπικνεόμενον δὲ δωρεῖται χρυσῷ τὸν ἄν δύνηται τὸ ἐωτοῦ σώματι ἐξενεκασθαι ἐσάπαξ, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεῖν ἐώςαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερεν ἐνδυτικὸν μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθάρων, κοθόρνως τε τοὺς εὐρίσκει εὐρυτάτους ἐωτούς ὑποδησάμενος, ἢ ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἷς κατηγρέωντο. ἐσπευσάτω δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψῆφιματος πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κηφιᾶς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρευοι οἱ κοθόρνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψῆφιματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξῆλε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐλκων μεν μόγης τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τῶν οἰκῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ τὸ τε στόμα ἐξέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἤδοντα δὲ τὸν Κροίσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐτερα δωρεῖται οὖν ἐλάσσων ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὐτῆς μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμέων οὗτος οὕτως τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρεῖται.

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thing was done; but who did it I know not, and can say no further.

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

1 Alcmeon 'flourished' about 590; Croesus' reign was 560-546; it was Megacles son of Alcmeon, and not Alcmeon himself, who was Croesus' contemporary.
126. Μετὰ δὲ γενέθη δευτέρη ὡστερον Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξῆιερε, ὡστε πολλῷ ὑομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τούτῳ Ἑλλησίν προ- 
τερον ἦν. Κλεισθένειοι γὰρ τῶν Ἀριστοκράτων τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυράτηρ τῇ σύνομῳ 
ἡ Ἀγαρίστῃ. ταύτῃ ἡθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων ἄπαν-
tων ἐξευρόν τὸν ἀριστον, τοῦτῳ γυναίκα προσ-
θείναι. Ἀλυμπίων ὁν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν 
αὐτοῖς τεθρίππω ὁ Κλεισθένης κηρυγμα ἐποίη-
σατο, ὡς τε Ἑλλήνων ἐσώτερον ἄξιοι Κλεισθένεος 
γαμβρῶν γενέσθαι, ἤκειν ἐς ἑξηκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἦ 
καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυώνα, ὡς κυρώσοντος Κλει-
stένεος τῶν γάμων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξηκοστῆς 
ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ἔνθαίτα Ἑλλήνων ὁσοὶ σφίσε 
τε αὐτοῖς ἤσαν καὶ πάρῃ ἐξιώκωμεν, ἐφοίτευ 
mαντήρες τοῖς Κλεισθένης καὶ ἄρομον καὶ πα-
λαίστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε.

127. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἡταλῆς ἤλθε Σμινθύριδης ὁ 
Ἱπποκράτειος Συβαρίτης, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλε-
δῆς εἰς ἀνήρ ἀπίκετο (ἡ ἡ Ἱπποκράτης ἱκμαζέ τοὺτον 
τῶν χρόνων μάλιστα), καὶ Σιριτῆς Δάμασος Ἀμύ-
ριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παῖς, οὕτω μὲν ἄπο 
Ἠταλίης ἤλθον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰωιόν 
Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμανος, οὕτω 
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωιόν κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἤλθε 
Τιτόρ-
μου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τοῖς Ἑλλήνως ἱσχύν καὶ φυ-
γόντος ἄνθρωποι εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος 
χώρης, τοῦτον τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἅδελφον Μάλης, 
ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων 
τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τα 
μέ-
τρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ὑβρίσαντος

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

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

² P. introduced the "Aeginetan" system of weights and measures. For the chronological difficulty connected with this mention of him, see the commentators.
μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλληνῶν πάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὄλυμπῃ ἀγώνα ἔθηκε τούτοις ὑπὲρ παίς καὶ Ἀμάντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκάς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ Ἀξίνη ἐκ Παλοῦ πόλεως Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκάδῃ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοκουροὺς ὁικοίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τούτους ξεινοδοκεόντος πάντας ἀνδρῶπους, καὶ Ἡλείου Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίον, οὕτως μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοπονησίου ἠλθὼν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκου τοῦ Μεγακλήσης τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἰπποκλείδης Τισανδρός, πλοῦτω καὶ εἰδεί προφέρων Ἀθηναίων, ἀπὸ δὲ Επετρίης ἀνθυπῆ τοῦ τοῦ τῶν χρόνων Δυσαινής οὗτος δὲ ἀπ᾽ Εὐβοίης μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων Δικατορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν "Αλκων.

128. Τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἑγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. ἀπικομένους δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἥμερην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτος μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθητο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχουν ἔνιαυτόν διεπείρατό αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγάθης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσεως τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἕνι ἐκάστῳ ἵδων ἐς συννοίην καὶ συνάπασιν, καὶ ἐς γυμνασία τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τὸ γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνετί ἀπειράτῳ ὅσον γὰρ κατείχε χρόνον αὐτοὺς, τούτων πάντα ἐποίησε καὶ ἀμα ἐξελινη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ δὴ κοιν οὖσα τῶν μνηστήρων ἰρέσκουτο οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τῶν μάλλον Ἰπποκλείδης ὁ Τισανδρός καὶ κατ᾽ ἀνδραγάθην ἐκρίνετο καὶ δὴ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν τοῦτο ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυφελίδης ἡν 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 Paean, 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. Ὡς δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένεος τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῶς ἔκατον ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτούς τε τοὺς μνηστήρας καὶ Σικυωνίους πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοτο, οἱ μνηστήρες ἐριν ἔχουν ἀμφὶ τε μουσικὴ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προιόυσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχον πολλὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσε οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμελείν, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέων ὁρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἐστὶ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέστω, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὅρεων ὅλου τὸ πρήγμα ὑποτευ. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης χρόνων ἐκέλευσε τινά τράπεζαν ἑσενείκαι, ἐσελθοῦσας δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ὁρχήσατο Λακωνικά σχημάτα, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπείπι πῶς τὴν τράπεζαν τοὺς σκέλεσε ἐγειρονομήσε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὁρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἴ ἔτε γενέσθαι Ἰπποκλείδεις διὰ τὴν τῇ ὀρκησίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀναίδειᾳ, κατείχε ἐστιν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτῶν ὁς δὲ εἴδε τοὺς σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε "Τισάνδρου ἀπορχήσαι γε μὲν τὸν γάμον." ὁ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε "Οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδης." ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται.

130. Κλεισθένης δὲ συγνί ποιησάμενος ἐλέξει ἐς μέσον τάδε. "Αὖθις παιδὸς τῆς ἔμης μνηστήρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω καὶ πάσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ οὖν τε εἰς, χαρισίμην ἄν, μήτ' ἔνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνον μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἰκε τε ἐστὶ μής πέρι παρθένου βουλεύνοντα.
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, τούσι μὲν ύμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τουδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὶν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἰνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημῆς, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέι ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τήν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τούσι Ἀθηναίων,” φαμένοι δὲ ἐγγυάσθαι Μεγακλέως ἐκεκύρωτο ο ἡμὸς Κλεισθένει.

131. Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μηνστήρων τοσαύτα ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβωσθήσαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν Ἀθηναίοις καταστήσας, ἔχουν τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικυωνίου οὐτὸς τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέι καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος Μεγακλέος τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὖνομα· η συνοικισάτα τὲ Ξανθίππω τὸ Ἀρίστος καὶ ἐγκυος εὐσάλα εἰς ὁψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκείν, καὶ μετ’ ὁλίγας ἥμερας τίκτει Περικλέα Ξανθίππω.

132. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρόφῳ γενόμενον Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρῶτον εὐδοκιμεῖσι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, τοτε μᾶλλον αὐξεῖ. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκουντα καὶ στρατηγὴν τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθηναίους, οὐ γράφας σφε ἐπὶ ἂν ἐπιστρατεύεσται χώρην, ἄλλα φας αὐτοὺς καταπλουτεῖν ἢν οἱ ἐπιστράτευστοι ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δὴ τίνα ἂξειν ὃθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετεῶς ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαύτα αἰτεί τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαρβήντες παρέδοσαν.

133. Παραλαβῶν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατηγὴν
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 πρῶτοι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ἐς Μαραθώνα ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. τούτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἤν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἐγκόστον εἰχὲ τοῦτο Παρίωσι διὰ Δυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, εὐντα γένος Πάριων, διαβαλόντα μὲν πρὸς 'Ταύρεα τὸν Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ’ ἦν ἐπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατηγῇ ἐπολιόρκησε Παρίους κατελημένους ἐντὸς τείχεως, καὶ ἐπεμπὼν κήρυκα αἰτεῖ ἐκατῶν τάλαντα, φᾶς, ἤ χι μὲν οὗ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσει τὴν στρατηγὴν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὁκὼς μὲν τε δώσουσι Μιλτιάδη ἀργύριον οὐδὲ διενοεῖντο, οὐ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τούτο ἐμπαχωνύτο, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπιφραξόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἐσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχους, τούτῳ ἀμα νυκτὶ ἐξηείρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου.

134. 'Ες μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὡδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδη ἀπορέουσι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναίκα, ἐσόσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, σύνομα δὲ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν, εἶναι δὲ ύποξάκορον τῶν χρυσών θεῶν: ταυτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς δὴν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλεύεσι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιέται Πάρον ἔλειν, τὰ ἀν αὐτὴ ὑποθῆται, ταῦτα ποιέων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποδέσθαι, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθερείν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοίξαι, ὑπερθορύσα τὸ δὲ ἐναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τε δὴ ποιήσοντα ἐντὸς, εἴτε κινήσοντα τε τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ὃ τε δὴ κοτε πρήξοντα: πρὸς τῇς θύρησι τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθοῦσης ὑπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον ἔσθαι,
on the pretext that the Parions 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 Parions 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 Parions 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 Parions 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 Parions 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
καταθρόφισκοντα δὲ τὴν αἰμασινθήν τῶν μηρῶν σπασθήναι: οὔ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ γόνον προσπταίσαι λέγουσι.

135. Μιλτιάδης μὲν ὑπὸ φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπεπλες ὅπισώ, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἡμέρας καὶ δημώςας τὴν νῆσον. Πάροι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμώ Μιλτιάδης κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοι μὲν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρῆσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς σφεας ἡσυχία τῆς πολιορκίης ἐσχε ἐπεμενον δὲ ἐπειρησμένοι εἰ καταχρηστώνται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἐξηγησαμενήν τοὺς ἐκθροίς τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενα γόνων ἄρρητα ἢρα ἐκφίνασαν Μιλτιάδης. ἦ δὲ Πυθή οὐκ ἔα, φάσα οὐ Τιμωνίν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τούτων, ἀλλὰ δειν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτῶν μὴ εὑ, φεύναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμώνα.

136. Παρίσσι μὲν ὅταν ἡ Πυθή ἔχρησε Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἐσχὸν ἐν στόμασι οἱ τῷ ἅλλοι καὶ μᾶλλον Εάνθιππος ὁ Ἄριφρονος, ὁς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δήμου Μιλτιάδεα ἔδιωκε τῇς Αθηναίων ἀπάτης εἰνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτῶς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογεύετο· ἦν γὰρ ἄδυνατος ὡςτε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτῶι ἐν κλίνῃ ύπεραπελογεύοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομενής πολλὰ επιμεμενεμένοι καὶ τὴν Δήμου αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἐλὼν Δήμουν τε καὶ τισάμενοι τῶς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοις. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῶ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ἐξιμωσάντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἅδικην πεντήκοντα ταλαντιούς, Μιλτιάδης μὲν
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 ταῦτα σφακελίσαντος τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπείτος τελευτᾶ, τὰ δὲ πεντηκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κήμων.

137. Δήμουν δὲ Μελτιάδης ὁ Κήμωνος ὥθε ἔσχε. Πελασγοὶ ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Αττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἁθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, ἐπεὶ ὅν δὴ δικαιῶς εἶτε ἀδίκως: τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτε Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησανδρὸς ἔφησε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις λέγων ἀδίκως: ἐπείτε ὅποι ἄς ἔδωκας Πελασγοῦσι σικητᾶσαι μισθοῦ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐπηλαμένου, ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἁθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὐ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβείν φθόνον τε καὶ ἱμερὸν τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην προφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἁθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἁθηναίοι λέγουσι, δικαιῶς ἐξελάσαι, κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἑμησσῶ ἐνθεύτεν ὁμοφείντως ἀδικεῖσιν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παιδας ἐπ’ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου σφίσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλησι οἰκέταις· ὅκις δὲ ἐλθοιν αὐταί, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὑβρίσι τε καὶ ὀλγορίζη βιῶσθαι σφέας, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφι οὐκ ἀποχράν ποιείναι, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσαιν φανήσαι ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ. ἔως τούτῳ παρειδοῖ τοῖς ἑκείνων ἀνδρας ἀμείνονας, ὅσω, παρειδοῖ ἐπιχείρησαι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἐπεὶ σφέας ἔλαβον ἐπὶ βουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελήσαι, ἀλλὰ σφι

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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1} S.E. of Athens, near the Ilissus.
προειπείν ἐκ τῆς ἑλής ἐξείναι. τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἀλλὰ τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄμμον. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.

138. Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὕτω ἄμμον τὸτε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὐ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀρτᾶς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρώνι ἀγούσας ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναίκας, ἐνθευτεν δὲ ἀρπάζαντες τοὺτοις πολλὰς οἰχοντο ἀποπλέουσας καὶ σφεάς ἐς ἄμμον ἀγαγόντες παλλακάς εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐτῶν οἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήθησαν, ἐφάνετο τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παιδας. οἱ δὲ οὕτω συνυμίσσεισθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παιδὶ ἠθελον, εἰ τῇ τύπτοιτο τις αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τιμῶς, ἐβοηθεῦν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτείμωρευν ἀλλήλωι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀρχεῖν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίων καὶ πολλῷ ἐπεκράτειν. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐσυντοίς λόγους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ σφῆ βουλευομένευσα δεινὸν τι ἐσένυνε, εἰ δὴ διὰγνωσκον σφώσατε τοὺς βοηθεῖν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδίων γυναικῶν τους παιδας καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειράματο, τι δὴ ἀνδροθέντες ὑθέν ποιήσουσε, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδοξάζε σφῆ κτείνειν τοὺς παιδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικῶν γυναικῶν. ποιεῦσα δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολύσουσι δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἔργον καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἄμα Θόαντε ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἐργα πάντα Δῆμια 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. "Αποκτέναις δὲ τοίς: Πελασγοίς τοὺς σφητέρους παῖδας τε καὶ γυναίκας οὔτε γῆς καρπῶν ἐφερε οὔτε γυναίκας τε καὶ ποῦμαι ὀμοίως ἐκτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πιεζόμενοι δὲ λεμφὶ καὶ ἀπαιδής ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμπτον λύσει τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρέοντων κακὸν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευεν "Ἀθηναίοι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοῖς "Ἀθηναίοι δικάσσωσι. ἦλθον τὸ δὴ ἐς τὸς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκαις ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρωταγίῳ κλίνῃ στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλέεν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίζει παραδίδοναι οὕτω ἔχουσαι. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν "Επεὶ ἀνέμφω αὐτήμερον ἐξαιρετήν υἱὸς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν," ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδικῶν γενέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Δήμουν.

140. Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐτεσί δὲ κάρτα πολυτεία υἱότερον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσονησοῦ ἡ ἐπὶ 'Ελλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Αθηναίους, Μελτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ἠκοίμησεν ἀνέμφω κατεστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ 'Ελαιούντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονησῷ ἐς Δήμουν προηγόρουν ἐξίναι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τοῖς Πελασγοῖς, ἀναμμηνησίκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἠλπίσαν σφίζει οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Ἡφαιστίες μὲν ὑν ἐπείθοντο, Μυρωναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσονησίσιν Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέσθαι, ἐς οἶκοι οὐκοῦν παρέστησαν. οὗτος δὴ τὴν Δήμουν ἔσχος Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Μελτιάδης.
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"; whereeto 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\(^1\) 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. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγέλη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθώι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τῶν Σταύρεων, καὶ πρῖν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τούς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδης ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐπολεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτόκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπτων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὰν, πολλῶν πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοις ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ὑπονυμένων καὶ νυνιῶν καὶ πλοίων. τούτων δὲ περι- ἀγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσία ἐδοκεῖ ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀριστῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀγγύπτου ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δολωθέντος ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2. Στεφλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπὶ Ἀγγύπτου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς, τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥς δὲ μὲν ἀπο- δέξατα βασιλέα κατὰ τῶν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἡ βασιλεύσας 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, 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,
προτέρης γυναικὸς, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι εξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου έτεροι τέσσερες. τῶν μὲν δὲ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγεγομένων Ξέρξης. εὔντες δὲ μητρός οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατος τε εἰς παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομίζομενον εἰν πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβύτατον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἰς τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἰν ὁ κτησάμενος τοιαὶ Πέρσης τὴν ἐλευθερίην.

3. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύμενον καὶ γνώμην, ἐννυχανε κατὰ τῶν τούτων καὶ Δημάρχος ο Ἀρίστονος ἀνάβεθηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστηρνέονε τῇ τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείᾳ καὶ φυγήν ἐπιζωλὼν ἐωτῷ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. οὕτος ὁμὴρ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παιδών τῆν διαφορήν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις μὲν ἔχει, Ξέρξης συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖς ἔλεγε ἐπεισε, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείο ἵνα δασιλεύσῃ καὶ ἔχουσι τὸ Περσέων κράτος. Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἐτὶ ἱδιώτῃ ἐστὶ Δαρείφιον οὐκον οὐτε οἰκός εἰν οὐτε δίκαιον ἄλλου τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἐωτοῦ. ἐπει γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφι ο Δημάρχος ὑποτεθεμένου οὕτοι νομίζεσθαι, ἂν οὐ μὲν προσγεγονότες ἔστι πρὶν ἡ τῶν πατέρων σφέων βασιλεύσαι, δὲ βασιλεύσων ὑφίσταν οὐ πηγήσεω προ ἐωτῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἰδέης εἴη. Χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξου τῇ Δημάρχου ὑποθήκῃ, γινοὺς ὁ Δαρείος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλεύσαι μὴ ἤπεδεξί. δοκεῖεν δὲ μοι, καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἃν Ξέρξης ἡ γὰρ Ἀτόσσα εἰς το 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 Ariston had come up to Susa, banished of his own will from Lacedaemon after he had lost the kingship of Sparta. Learning of the contention between the sons of Darius, this man, as the story goes, came and counselled Xerxes to add to what he said another plea, to wit, that he had been born when Darius was already king and ruler of Persia, but Artobazanes when Darius was yet a subject; therefore (Xerxes should say) it was neither reasonable nor just that any rather than he should have the royal prerogative; for at Sparta too (said Demaratus in his counselling) it was ever customary, that if there be sons born before their father became king, and another son born later when the father was king, to the latter-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. Ἅποδήξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσην Ξέρξειν Δαρείον ὀρμάτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τε καὶ Ἀιγυπτίου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐτεί παρασκευάζομεν συνήνεικε αὐτοῦ δαρείου, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἐξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἐτεά, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὕτω τοὺς ἀπεστείωτας Ἀιγυπτίους οὕτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσαται.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιλεία ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παίδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τοῦτον Ξέρξην ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα σύναμως πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀιγυπτίου ἐποιεῖτο στρατηγῆς ἄγερσαι. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρὰ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδάνιος ο Γοβρύς, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξη μὲν ἀνεψιός Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἰχετο, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστὶ Ἀθηναῖος ἐργασμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ σοὶ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα πρῆσοις τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶν ἑείς ἡμερώσας δὲ Ἀιγυπτίου τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεαι ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀθηναῖας, ὥσ λόγος τὲ σὲ ἑχρ πρὸς ἀνδρῶπων ἄγαθος, καὶ τὶς υστέρους φυλάσσεται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι." οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθηκεν ποιεῖσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικάλλης εἶν χώρη, καὶ δένδρεα παντοτα ἐφέρε τὰ ἡμερα, ἀρετὴν τε ἀκρὴ, βασιλεῖ τε μοῦνοι θυντῶν ἡμί ἐκτῆσθαι.

6. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἱ νεωτέρων ἐργῶν ἐπιθυμητὴς ἔως καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ύπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὡστε 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.
ποιεῖν ταῦτα Ἑρέξην συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχοι γενόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ἑρέξην. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίης παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευ- αδέων ἀπήγμενοι ἀγγελοὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πάσαν προθυμίαν παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὕτως ἦσαν Θεσσαλίης βασιλεῖς. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβήκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων ἔχομενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτως ἐτὶ πλέον προσωρέγοντο οἱ ἔχοντες Ὀμομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναίον, χρησμολογοῦν τε καὶ διαβήτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου, ἀναβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προ- καταλυσάμενοι. ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀμομάκριτος ἐς Ἀθηναίων, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοψίᾳ ἄλος ὑπὸ Δάσου τοῦ Ἑρμούνεος ἐμποιεῖτο ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμῶν, ὡς αἱ ἑπὶ Λήμνου ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφαιρεῖσαι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξηλάσθη μὲν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, πρό- τερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τὸτε δὲ συναναιβάς ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς ὃς ἔν την βασιλείαν, λεγόμενον τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων περὶ αὐτὸν σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγες οὐδὲν, δὲ τὰ εὑρυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς ξευκθήναι χρεόν εἰς ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεως, τὴν τε ἐλασίων ἐξηγούμενος. οὕτως τε δὴ χρησμοφόρων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρα- τιδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἡμῶν ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

7. Ὡς δὲ ἀνεγνωσθῇ Ἑρέξης στρατεύεσθαι ἔτι τῆς Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν

1 The word sometimes means "a diviner"; here, prob-
that the king was moved to do as he said; for there were other things too that allied themselves to aid in winning Xerxes’ consent. Firstly, there came messengers out of Thessaly from the Aleuadæ (who were princes of Thessaly) with all earnestness inviting the king into Hellas; and secondly, those of the house of Pisistratus who had come up to Susa did likewise, using the same plea as the Aleuadæ, 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 Hermion 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 whenever 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 Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ with their counsels.

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

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\(^1\) A poet and musician, Pindar’s teacher.

\(^2\) A poet and musician, Pindar’s teacher.
θάματος τῶν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηγήν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεώτας. τούτους μὲν νῦν καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Διὸν Ποπτού πάσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην πολίσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἐωτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νῦν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Διὸν Ποπτοῦ χράνω μετέπειτα ἑφόνευεσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμιτήκοι ἄνηρ Λίζως.

8. Ἐφέσης δὲ μετὰ Διὸν Ποπτοῦ ἀλώσων ὡς ἐμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἀξέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τάς Ἀθηναῖς, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀριστῶν ἐποίετο, ἦν γνώμας τε πύθησαι σφέων καὶ αὐτός ἐν πάσι εἶπῃ τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέγθησαν, ἔλεξε Ἐφέσης τάδε. "Ἀνδρέας Πέρσαι, οὐτ αὐτὸς κατηγοροῦμαι νόμων τόνδε ἐν ὑμῶν τιθείς, παραδεξάμενος τε αὐτῷ χρῆσομαι. ὡς ἡμᾶρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμά καὶ ἕτεροι συμφέρεται ἐπεὶ παρ' Μηδών, Κύρου κατελύντος Ἀστυάγεας ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε σοῦτω ἄγει καὶ αὐτοῦς ἡμῶν πολλὰ ἐπέποντος συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείνων, τὰ μὲν νῦν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβόσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείος καταγέννατο καὶ προσεκτῆσαντο ἐθνεᾶ, ἐπισταμένοις εὐς ὁ ναὶ τίς λέγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τοῖς θρόνοι τούτοι, ἐφροντίζον ὅκος μὴ λείψομαι τοῖς πρότεροι γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇ γε μὴ ἐλάσσων προσκτῆσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσην: φροντίζον δὲ εὐρίσκω ἀμα μὲν κύδως τε ἡμῖν προσγινόμενον χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτήμεθα σοῦ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ ψαλιστέρην παμφρωτῆρν τε, ἀμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίς ψων γιομένην. διὸ ύμεῖς νῦν ἐγὼ συνελέξα, ὅτα 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 day¹ 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 480; ep. III. 15.
ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμᾶν' μέλλω ἤευξας τῶν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλάν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ἐυρώπης ἐπί τῆν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποίηκας Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι. ἀφάτε μὲν νῦν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι Δαρείου ἰδύοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἤξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὸς ἡ ἔλοι τε καὶ πυρόσω τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἷς γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἔμοι ὑπῆρξαν ἀδίκα ποιεῦντες. πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Σάρδις ἐλθόντες, ἀμα Ἀρισταγορῆ τῷ Μιλησίῳ δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικομισαί, ἐνεπηρ- σαν τὰ τὸ ἄλσος καὶ τὰ ἱρά· δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας ὑλα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεοι, τὰ ἐπίστασθε κου πάντες. τούτων μὲν τοῖνυν εἶνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζόμενος· εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοις πλησιοχώρους καταστρεφόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοποι τοῦΦρυγός νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξαμεν τῷ Δίῳ αἰθέρι ὀμοφευτεσ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἢλιος ὀμορυγος ἐούσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἀμα μίμην καὶ χώρην θῆσιν, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Ἐυρώπης. πυθήνων γὰρ ὄλε έγειμ, ὡστε τινὰ πολὺν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὗτε έθοσ οὐδὲν ἀνδρῶτων ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ χήμι οἴον τε ἐσται ἐλθεῖν καὶ μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαραγμένων. οὔτω οἱ τε ἢμῖν αἰτίοι ἤξουσι δούλων ξυγόν οἱ τε αναίτιοι. ύμείς δ' ἄν μοι τάδε ποιεύντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεάν υμῖν σημήνω τὸν
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 Artaphernes 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 ἥκειν δεί, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρῆσει παρεῖναι. ὅσι θαν γὰρ ἔχων ἡρ ἡ παρεκκεφασμένον στρατόν καλλίστα, ὀσοὶ δὲ δέρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν γὰρ τούτα ἐστὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δημογονείσιν ὑμῖν ὁδει, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι. ταῦτα εἶπας ἐπανετο.

9. Μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγεν Ἡμέρας ἀνθίζετα, οὐ μοῦνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἀριστοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὅσα τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ λέγουν ἐπίκεφε ἀρισταὶ καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνα ὑπὸ τὴν Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους ὡς ἐνέσεις καταγελάσαι ἕως ἐνοτα ἁναξιοὺς. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἰ τῆς πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἀθήνας τέ καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἀλλὰ τε ἐθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκάθανι βουλόμενον, καταστρεφόμενοι δούλους ἔχουμεν, ὑπάρχαις ἀδικίας ὑπὸ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δείκνυες; καὶ πλήθους συστροφήν; καὶ πλῆθος ἀθρωμάτων δυνάμεν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εὕτους ἀσθενεία· ἔχουμεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφόμενοι, τούτους οἷς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι Ιωνὲς τε καὶ Ἀιολεῖς καὶ Δαρίδες καλέονται. ἐπιερήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη ἐπιεικεῖν ἔπι τούτων ἄνδρας τούτων ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοὺς σοῦ κελεύσθεις, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίας ἐλάσαντε καὶ ὑλίγον ἀπολεποῦντε ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθηναῖς.
time for your coming, every one of you must appear, and with a good will; and whosoever comes with his army best equipped shall receive from me such gifts as are reckoned most precious among us. All this, then, must so be done; but that none may think that I take counsel of myself alone, I lay the matter before you all, and bid him who will to declare his opinion." So spoke Xerxes, and ceased.

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

104 the Persian ambassador addresses a Greek as χαιρέτωρ, λαον.
άπικεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἡμιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἔσθασι "Ελληνες, ὡς πυθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἰστασθαί ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαιότητος. ἐπειδὸν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χαρίαν καὶ λειτουργοῦν, ἐς τούτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὡστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσομένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν ἐξῶλες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται τοὺς χρήματα ἐντας ὁμογλώσσους κηρυκτὶ τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλωσι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἡ μάχη αἱεὶ δὲ πάντως ἐδει πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρήμα τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειραιτοῦντας καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν. τρόπῳ τοῖσιν οὐ κρησταὶ. "Ελληνες διαχρεωμένου, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μεχρὶ Μακεδονίας γῆς, οὐκ ἔλθων εἰς τούτου λόγον ὡστε μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὦ βασιλεὺς ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρον, ἀγοντί καὶ πλήθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκεώ, οὐκ ἐς τούτῳ θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἕλληνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼν ψευδεῖς ἡγώμη καὶ ἑκεῖνοι ἐπαρδείνετε ἀβουλία ἐλθοῖν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοντι ἃν ὡς εἰμὲν ἀνθρώποις ἁριστοὶ τὰ πολέμια. ἐστώ δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον αὐτόματον ἀργῷ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρας πάντα ἀνθρώποις φιλέει γίνεσθαι."
yet none came out to meet me in battle. Yet wars
the Greeks do wage, and, as I learn, most senselessly
they do it, in their wrongheadedness and folly.
When they have declared war against each other,
they come down to the fairest and most level ground
that they can find and there they fight, so that the
victors come not off without great harm; and of the
vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are
utterly destroyed. Yet speaking as they do the
same language, they should end their disputes by
the means of heralds and messengers, and by any
way rather than fighting; or if needs must that they
war against each other, they should discover each
where his strongest defence lies, and there make his
essay. The Greek custom, then, is no good one;
and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia,
it came not into their thoughts to fight. But against
you, O king! who shall make war? For you will
have at your back the multitudes of Asia, and all
your ships; for myself, I think there is not so much
boldness in Hellas as that; but if time should show
me wrong in my judgment, and those men were fool-
hardy enough to do battle with us, they would be
taught that we are the greatest warriors no earth.
But whatsoever betide, let us be ever venturesome;
for nought comes of itself, and all men's gains are
the fruit of adventure."

10. Thus smoothly Mardonius spoke of Xerxes'
opinion, and made an end. The rest of the Persians
held their peace, not daring to utter any counsel
contrary to that which had been given; then spoke
Artabanes the son of Hystaspes, who was the king's
uncle, and emboldened thereby. "O king," he said,
λεχθεισέων μὲν γρωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνων αἰρεόμενον ἔλεοθαι, ἀλλὰ δεὶ τῇ εἰρήμενῃ χράσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὡσπερ τον χρυσὸν τον ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωτου οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλω χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνων. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρί τῷ σῷ, ἀδέλφῳ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρείῳ ἤγορευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀνδρας οὐδαμόθε γῆς ἀστι νέμοντας. ὁ δὲ Ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεθαι ἐμοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατευσάμενος τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατεύσης ἀποβαλῶν ἀπῆλθε. οὐ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλῶν ἀμείνους ἢ Σκύθας, οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἀριστοὶ καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἰναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνεστὶ δεινῶν, ἐμὲ σοι δίκαιον ἔστι φράζειν. ζεύγας φης τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐλαύν στρατῶν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε σε ἡτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐσσωθήναι, ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα: οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἰναι ἀλκιμοὶ, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμόσασθαι, εἰ στρατεύσης τε τοσαῦτη σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφρένει ἔλθουσας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέθειραν. οὐκων ἀμφότερη σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἤν τῇ νησὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχία πλέσωσι ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπείτα λῦσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τούτο δὴ βασιλεὺς γίνεται δεινῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμίη σοφία ὅικησεν αὐτός ταύτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶον κοτὲ ἡμέας ὀλίγων ἐδέσει καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ
"if opinions opposite the one to the other be not uttered, it is not possible that choice should find the better, but that one which has been spoken must be followed; but if they be spoken, the better can be found; even as the purity of gold cannot of itself be discerned, but when gold by rubbing is compared with gold, we then discern the better. Now I forbade Darius, your father and my brother, to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he, in his hope to subdue the nomad Scythians, would not be guided by me; he led his army, and returned from that expedition with the loss of many gallant men of his host. You, O king! are purposing to lead your armies against men far better than the Scythians—men who are said to be most doughty warriors by sea and land; and it is right that I should show to you what danger lies therein. You will bridge the Hellespont (so you say) and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now I will suppose that matters have so fallen out that you are worsted either by land or by sea, or even both; for the men are said to be valiant, and well may we guess that it is so, seeing that so great a host, that followed Datis and Artaphernes 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 Ἰεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Ῥημίκων, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε παντοίοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τούτῳ ἐπετέραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρών τοῦ Ἰστρον, καὶ τότε γε Ἡστιαῖος ὁ Μιλῆτος τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπευτο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ μηδὲ ἡναντιώθη, διέγραστο ἀν τὰ Περσέων πρῆγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγοι ἀκοῦσαι δεινῶν, ἔπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλείου πρῆγματα γεγενήσθαι. σὺ ὁ ὁνὶ διακούν ἕως κινδύνων μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικεσθαι μηδεμῆς ἀνάγκης έσώσθη, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ πείθεν. νῦν μὲν τῶν σύλλογον τὸν διάλυσον αὐτὸς δὲ, οὗ τοι δοκεῖ, προσκεψάμενος εἰπ' σεωτοῦ προαγόρευε τὰ τοι δοκεῖ εἰναι ἀριστα. τὸ γάρ εὐ βουλεύεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω εὖν εἰ γάρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν συνεδρία, ἥσσον εὐ, ἐσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βουλευμάτι ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρός, εἰ ὁ τῆς επιστοίης, εὐρημα εὐρηκε, ἡσσον δὲ συνεδρὶ ὁ κακός; βεβούλευται. ὅρας τὰ ὑπερέχουτα χώα ὁς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεός συνεδριὰ εὰν φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ συνεδριὰ μιν κνίζει: ὅρας δὲ ὁς ἐσεικόματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεῖ καὶ δεῦρεα τὰ τοιοῦτα ἀποσκίπτει τὰ βέλεα: φιλεῖ γάρ ὁ θεός τὰ ὑπερέχουτα πάντα κολυεῖν. οὔτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλγοῦ διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιοῦτον ἐπεὰν σφί ο θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ ἡ βροτησίμ, δὲ ὁν ἐρθάρης ἀναξίως ἑωτῶν. οὐ γάρ εὰν φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεός ἄλλον ἡ ἑωτών. ἐπειδήθηναι μὲν νυν πάν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίων.
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\(^1\); and then, if Histiaeus the
despot of Miletus had consented to the opinion of the
other despots and not withstood it, the power of Persia
had perished. Yet it were a thing of dread even in
the telling, that one, and he but a man, should hold in
his hand all the king's fortunes. Do you then make
no plan to run into any such danger, when there is
no need therefor, but be ruled by me: for the nonce,
dismiss this assembly; and presently, whenever you
so please, having first considered the matter by
yourself, declare what seems to you best. A well-
laid plan is ever to my mind most profitable; for even
though it be thwarted later, yet none the less has the
plan been good, and it is but chance that has baffled
the design; but he that has made a sorry plan has
gotten, if fortune favour him, but a chance prize, and
none the less has his plan been evil. You see how
the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of
greatness more than common, nor suffers them to
display their pride, but such as are little move him
not to anger; and you see how it is ever on the
tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for it is
heaven's way to bring low all things of surpassing
bigness. Thus a numerous host is destroyed by one
that is lesser, the god of his jealousy sending panic
fear or thunderbolt among them, whereby they do
unworthily perish; for the god suffers pride in none
but himself. Now haste is ever the parent of failure,

\(^1\) Cp. IV. 136 ff.
μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἐνεστὶ ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραντικά δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ χρόνου ἐξεύροι τις ἀν. σοι μὲν ὅτι ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεύς συμβουλεύω· σὺ δὲ, ὁ παῖ Γοβρύνων Μαρδόνιος, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαιοὺς περὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐόντων ἄξιων φλαύροις ἄκουειν. Ἐλλήνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ τούτον ἐνεκα δοκεῖς μοι πάσαν προβυμήν ἐκτείνειν. μὴν γὰρ σὺν οὕτω γένηται, διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἄδικοι τις, εἰς δὲ ὁ ἄδικοίμην. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἄδικεις οὐ παρεόντι κατηγορεῖν, ἃς ἄδικεις ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθη: ὁ δὲ ἂν που τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄδικεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔτερου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἔτερου κακὸς εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δὲ ἂν πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτός ἐν ἡθεσε τοῖς Περσεών μενέω, ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφότεροι παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτες αὐτῶς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενος τρὸς τῶν ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιθν ὁκόσην τινά βούλεια. καὶ ἂν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέω τρήματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγὼ· ἂν δὲ τῇ ἐνώ προλέγω, οἱ σοι ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺν δὲ σφί καὶ σὺ, ἂν ἀπονοστήσησ. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνεις ὅθεν ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στρατεύμα ἀνάζεις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἄκουσθαι δὲ νὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῆς ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιων, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνὸν τε καὶ ὀργήσων διαφορεύμενον ἡ κον ἐν ὑψή τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σὲ γέ ἐν τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἂρα καὶ πρῶτον κατ'
whereof grievous hurts are apt to come; but in waiting there is good, which in due time shall appear, though in the present it seem not so. This, O king, is my counsel to you. But to you I say, Mardonius son of Gobryas! cease from foolish speaking about the Greeks, for they deserve not to be maligned. It is by speaking calumniously of the Greeks that you would hearten the king to send this expedition; and that, methinks, is the end to which you press with all eagerness. Nay, let it not be so. Calumny is a very gross business; there are two in it that do and one that suffers wrong. He that utters the calumny wrongs another, accusing an absent man, and the other does a wrong likewise in that he is overpersuaded before he has learnt the whole truth; and he that is absent and hears not what is said of him suffers wrong in the matter, being maligned by the one and condemned by the other. Nay, if an army must by all means be sent against these Greeks, hear me now: Let the king himself abide in the Persian land, and let us two stake our children's lives upon it; then do you lead out the army, choosing what men you will and taking as great an armament as you desire; and if it fare with the king's fortunes as you say it will, let my sons be slain, and myself too with them; but if the issue be as I foretell, let your sons be so treated, and you likewise, if you return. But if you will not submit yourself to this, and will at all hazards lead your army overseas to Hellas, then I think that they who are left behind in this place will hear that Mardonius has wrought great harm to Persia, and is torn asunder by dogs and birds in the land of Athens or of Lacedaemon, if not peradventure ere that on
1 The first seven names represent two parallel lines of descent from Teispes son of Achaemenes (except that the first "Teispes" is a fiction), which Herodotus has apparently fused into one direct line. Xerxes could claim descent from both, in virtue of his mother Atossa, Cyrus' daughter; hence
the way thither; and that thus you have learnt what manner of men are they whom you would persuade the king to attack."

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

perhaps the confusion. For a complete discussion see How and Wells, Appendix IV. It may be remembered that Herodotus probably deals with Egyptian chronology in the same way, making a sequence out of lists of kings some of whom were contemporaries.
τῶν ἐμῶν δούλων, κατεστρήψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοῖς τε ὅνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλεοῦνται.

12. Ταύτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρονή τε ἐγκύνη καὶ Ἐξέρσην ἐκνιξε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γυνώμη νυκτὶ δὲ βουλήν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὐρισκότας οὗ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατευσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δεδογμένου δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν τούτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δηκού ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἰδε ὡς τοιόῦτα, ὡς λέγεται ὅπως Περσῶν ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἐξέρξης ἀνδρὰς οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐείδεα εἰπεῖν "Μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεσαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἀγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἁλίζειν Πέρσας στρατὸν; οὔτε ὁ μεταβουλεύμονος ποιεῖς εἰ ὁυτὲ ὁ συγγνωσόμενος τοῖς πάρα ἀλλ' ὀσπορή τῆς ἁμέρης ἐβουλεύσασα ποιεῖς, ταῦτην ἢ τὸν ὁδὸν.

13. Τὸν μὲν ταύτα εἰπόντα ἔδοκεε ὁ Ἐξέρξης ἀποπτάσαθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης ὅνειρον μὲν τούτων λόγων οὐδένα ἐποίετο, ὃ δὲ Περσῶν συναλίζας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνελέξε, ἐλεξε σφιτάδε. "Ἀνδρεῖς Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι; φρενῶν τε γὰρ ὅ τὰ ἐμε- νοῦτον πρῶτα οὐκ ἄνηκος, καὶ οἱ παρηγοροῦμενοι ἔκεινα ποιεῖς οὐδένα χρόνον μὲν ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντε μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γυνώμης παρανύκτικα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὡστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρίψαι ἐπεα ἐς ἀνδρὰ πρεσβύτερον ἡ χρεώνυ τούτου συγγνώμονας ἐκεῖνα τῇ ἐκείνω γυνώμῃ. ὡς ὁμ μεταδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆν Ἑλλάδα, ἠσυχοὶ ἐστε."  

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

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

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

14. When the Persians heard that, they rejoiced,
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προσεκύνεων. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὐτὶς τῶντο ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ καταπνομένῳ ἐλεγε ἐπιστάν "Ὡς παὶ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεις ἐν Πέρσῃς τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίαν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἑπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τὸὐ ἱσθή ἂν περ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέης, τάδε τοῦ ἔξι αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσει ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένει ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἐσεία."  

15. Ξέρξες μὲν περιδεθῇς γενόμενος τῇ ὅψι ἃνα τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπτει ἀγγελον ἐπὶ 'Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα' ἀπεκομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἐλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σε μάται ἑπεα χρηστής εἶνεκα συμβολῆς' μετὰ μὲντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἐγνω δὲ ταυτά μοι ποιήτεα ἑόντα τὰ συ ὑπεθήκαο. οὐκὼν δυνάτος τοι εἰμὶ ταύτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτέου ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαυμένοι ποιεῖν με ταυτα' νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλήσαν οἴχεται. εἰ ὄν θεὸς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιπέμπων καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἔδονθ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι στратηλασίην ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τώντο τοῦτο ὄνειρον, ὀμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὅτι ἀν γινόμενα ταύτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πάσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο ἵζοι ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ καταπνώσειας."  

16. Ξέρξες μὲν ταυτά οἱ ἐλεγε 'Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος, σια οὐκ ἄξιεύμενος καὶ τοῦ Βασιλέων θρόνον ἱεσθαι, τέλος ὡς ἤραγκάζετο εἴπας τάδε ἐποίεε το κελευμένον. "Ἰσον
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 forsok 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 βασιλεύ παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται, φρονεῖν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι: τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὁμιλεῖ σφάλλουσι, κατά περὶ τὴν πάντων χρησιμο- τάτην ἀνθρώποις θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασὶ ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα οὐ περισσάν φύσι τῇ ἐωτῆς χράσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμε- νέων Πέρσῃς, τῆς μὲν ὑβρίν αὐξάνουσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυσοῦσας καὶ λεγούσης ὡς κακῶν εἰν διδα- σκεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι διζηθεὶς αἰεί ἔχειν τὸν παρέοντος, τοινυτέων προκειμενέων γνωμέων ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέρην σεωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσῃς ἀναιρεό, νῦν ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φης τοι μετεντὶ τὸν ἐπ" Ἐλλήνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτάν ὅνερον θεοῦ τινος πομπῆς, οὐκ ἔωτόν τα σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ' οὐδέ ταῦτα ἐστὶ, ὦ παῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐσ ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οὔτα σε ἐγὼ ἀδίκω, ἐτεσί σεῦ πολλοῖς προσβύτερος ἔων πεπλανηθαί αὐτα μᾶλλον έόθασε αἴ ὀψις τῶν ὅνειράτων, τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας φροντίξει. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταυτήν τὴν στρατη- λασίν καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἰχομεν μετὰ χειρας. εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἔστι τούτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλ' τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχων, σὺ πάντω συλ- λαβῶν εἰρήκασε φανήτως γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακελεύομενον. φανὴνι δὲ οὐδεν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφειλε ἔχοντε τὴν σὴν ἐσθήτα ἥ οὔ καὶ τὴν ἑμῆν, οὐδὲ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυμένῳ ἥ οὔ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑμῆ, εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανήνι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγε 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
ἀνήκει τούτο, δι' ἐκείνης ἡ ἐστὶν, ἵνα ἔπιφαίνομενον τού ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, ὅστε δόξει ἐμέ ὅρον σέ εἶναι, ὡς ἡ ἐστὶν ἐπικηρύσσωσιν. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὖν διήκον οὐδὲν λόγον ποιήσεται οὖν διὰ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιφανήναι, οὐτε ἡν ἡν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθήτα ἔχω οὔτε ἡν τὴν σήν, οὔτε ἐπιφοιτήσει, τούτῳ ἦδη μαθητέου ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιφοιτήσεις γε συνεχέως, φαίνῃ ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς θείον εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ δεδοκίμηται γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶδα τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἦδη δεί ἐμὲ ἐν κολὴ τῇ σῇ κατυπνύσας, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεύ ἐπιτελευμένων φανήτω καὶ ἐνοι. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρεσύρῃ γνώμῃ χρήσομαι.

17. Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Αρτάβανος, ἐξπίζον Εὔρηξιν ἀποδέχειν λέγοντα οὖν, ἐποίεει τὸ κελευόμενον. ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Εὔρηξιν ἐσθήτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐστὶν τὸν βασιλέα θρόνον ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοίτων ἐποίεσεν, ἦλθε οἱ κατυπνωμένων σωτῆρον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Εὔρηξιν ἐφοίτησαν, ὑπερτάν δὲ τοῦ Αρτάβανου εἰπε: "Ἀρα σὺ δι' ἐκεῖνος ἢ πρὸς ἄποστευδών Εὔρηξιν στρατευθῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐστὶν τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐστὶν τὸ παραυτίκα τῶν καταπροέει ἀποτράπων τὸ χρεόν γενέσθαι. Εὔρηξιν δὲ τὰ δεί ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνον δεδήλωται." 

18. Ταῦτα τε ἐδόκεε Αρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλεῖν καὶ θερμοῦσι συδηρίζει ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. καὶ δὲ ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναβρόογει, καὶ παρεῖρεμενος Εὔρηξιν, ὡς τὴν ἄλλην οἱ τῶν ἐνυπνίοι διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερα οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἱ αὐθροποσ ἱδὼν ἢ πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγ- 

ματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, εὐκ ἐων 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 befal 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
Ηλεκτρική εικενι, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακῶν εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μεμημένοι μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρον στόλον ὡς ἐπηρήξε, μεμημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰδίσσας τὸν Καμβύσσεως, συστατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γνώμην εἶχον ἀπρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς παντὸς ἀνθρώπων. ἦπει δὲ δαιμονὶς τῆς γίνεται ὀρμή, καὶ "Ἐλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, καταλαμβάνει τῆς φθορῆς θείατος, ἔγω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμην μὲν Πέρσης τὰ ἑκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χράσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖς ἑκ σὲ πρώτοις προειρημένοις ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποιέει δὲ οὖτω ὅκος τοῦ θεοῦ παραδίδοντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν." τούτων δὲ λεγέντων, ἐνθάῦτα ἑπαρθέντες τῇ ὁψι, ὡς ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ἐρέξης τοῖς ὑπερετῆτο ταῦτα Πέρσης, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρῶτος ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τὸτε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

19. Ὄρμημένῳ δὲ Ἐρέξη στρατηγλατεῖσιν μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτη ὄψις εὖ τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐγένετο, τῇν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκριμαν ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆς δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἦ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἰδιῶς ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἐρέξης ἐστεφανώσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆς πᾶσαν ἐπισυχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινόντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεγέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνήρ ἐς τὴν ἄρχην τὴν ἑσύντων ἀπελάσας εἰχὲ προβομίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, θέλων αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς τὰ προκείμενα δώρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ερέξης τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ ἐπάγερσιν ποιεῖται, χῶρον πᾶντα ἑρευνῶν τῆς ἱπείρου.
spirit; for I knew how evil a thing it was to have many desires, remembering the end of Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae and Cambyses' against the Ethiopians, and having myself marched with Darius against the Scythians. Knowing this, I judged that you had but to abide in peace for all men to deem you fortunate. But since heaven impels, and the gods, as it seems, mark Hellas for destruction, I myself do change and correct my judgment; and do you now declare the god's message to the Persians, and bid them obey your first command for all due preparation: so act, that nought on your part be lacking to the fulfilment of heaven's commission." After this discourse, the vision giving them courage, Xerxes when daylight came imparted all this to the Persians, and Artabanus now openly persuaded to that course from which he alone had before openly dissuaded.

19. After this Xerxes, being now intent on the expedition, saw yet a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians interpreted to have regard to the whole earth and to signify that all men should be his slaves. This was the vision: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive bough, the shoots of which spread over the whole earth, and presently the crown vanished from off his head where it was set. This the Magians interpreted; and of the Persians who had been assembled, every man forthwith rode away to his own governorship and there used all zeal to fulfil the king's behest, each desiring to receive the promised gifts; and thus it was that Xerxes dealt with the mustering of his army, searching out every part of the continent.
20. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Διγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἐτεα πλήρεα παρατέτεο στρατιὰς τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιᾷ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐτεὶ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατιλάτες χειρὶ μεγάλη πλήθεος, στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο, ὡστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τούτων μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, οὗται Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν γύρων ἐσβάλωντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἀνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἰνέκεν ὑπερεον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρεῖτο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρείδεων ἐς Ἱλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσίων τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τροικῶν γενόμενον, οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Ῥώμικας καταστρέφαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον πόλων κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἠλασαν.

21. Λύται αἱ πᾶσαι οὐδὲ εἰ ἐτεραι πρὸς ταῦτα προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι μὴς τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀξιά. τι γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα Ἑρέπης; καὶ οὖν δὲ πινόμενον μιν υδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλῆν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρεῖχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐσπείρον ἐτετάχτω, τοῦτο δὲ ἱππος προσετέτακτο, τοῦτο δὲ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοία ἀμα στρατευομένοις, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῦτο δὲ σιτά τε καὶ νέας.

22. Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρῶτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τῶν Ἀθῶν προετοιμά-

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1 484-481.  2 Cp. I 108; IV. 1.  3 It seems fairly clear that there was some sort of move-
20. For full four years 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 and subdued and ruled wellnigh all the upper lands of Asia, wherefore Darius afterwards essayed to punish them, nor—in so far as report tells—the armament led by the sons of Atreus against Troy, nor that Mysian and Teucerian host which before the Trojan war crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, subduing there all the Thracians and coming down to the Ionian sea, and marching southward as far as the river Peneus.

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

22. First of all he had now for about three years been making all his preparations in regard of Athos,
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ητο εκ τριων ετεων κου μαλιστα τα ες τον "Αθων. εν γαρ Ελαιουντι της Χερσονησου ορμουν τριπερες ενθευτεν δε ορμωμενοι ωρυσον υπο μαστηγων παντοδαποι της στρατης, διαδοχοι δι εφοιτεου ωρυσον δε και οι περι τον "Αθων κατοικημενοι. Βουβάρης δε ο Μεγαβάζου και Αρτακαίης ο Αρταλοι ανδρες Περσαι επέστασαν τον έργον. ο γαρ "Αθως εστι ρος μεγα τε και ονομαστον, εσε θαλασσαι κατηκου, οικημενον υπω ανθρωπων. τη δε τελευτα εσ την ηπειρον το ρος, χερσονησουειδες τε εστι και ισθμος ως διωδεκα σταιδεων πεδιον δε τουτο και κολωνοι ου μεγαλοι εκ θαλασσης της Ακανθηων επι θαλασσαι την αντιον Τορωνης. εν δε τω ισθμω τουτω, εσ τον τελευτα ο "Αθως, Σανη πολις 'Ελλας οικηται, αι δε εκτος Σανης, εσω δε του "Αθω οικημεναι, τας τοτε ο Περσης υπειρωτιδας αντι ηπειρωτιδων ρομητο ποιειν εισι δε αιδε, Διον Ολοφυζος Ακροτρω το υσσος Κλεωναι.

23. Πολλες μεν αυται αι τον "Αθων ιεμονται, ωρυσον δε ωδε δασαμενοι τον χωρον οι βαρβαροι κατα εδεασαν κατα Σανην πολιν σχοινοτεν εσιναμενοι, επειτε εγινετο βαθεα η διωρυξ, ο μεν κατωτατα εστινωτες ωρυσον, ετεροι δε παρεδοσαν τον αιε έξορυσομενον χων αλλοις κατυπηρθε εστινωτες επι βαθρων, οι δι αυτ εκδεκομενοι ετεροις, εως απικοντο ες τους ανωτατα ουτοι δε έξεφορεον τε και έξεβαλλον. τοιοι μεν νυν αλλοις πλην Φοινικων καταρρηγνυμενοι οι

1 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 Artachaeus 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, Dimn,
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 dug to some depth, some stood
at the bottom of it and dug, others took the stuff as
it was dug 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.
κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιεῖν· ἐμελλὲ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοινίκες σοφίς ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἀποδείκνυται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκέινῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἐπέβαλλε, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῖσθαι ἡ ὅσον ἔδεε αὕτην τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνήγον αἰει· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισούτο τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἔργον· ἕνθαυτα λειμῶν ἔστι, ἢν σφι ἀγορῇ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ προτίμησιν σῖτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα εἰκα τῆς Ἀσίης ἀπολεσμένοις.

24. Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἶνεκεν αὐτὸ Ἐρέξης ὀρύσσεων ἐκέλευε, ἔθελον τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λειτέσθαι· παρεῖν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἵσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσεων ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ εὕρος ὡς δύο τριήρεις πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεομένας. τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτους, τοὺς περὶ καὶ τὸ ὄργυμα, προσετετακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρώσατο.

25. Ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ ἐντὸ ἐποίειε, παρεσκευάζειν δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύθινα τε καὶ λευκόλινον, ἑπετάξας Φοινίκι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίωσι, καὶ σεία τῇ στρατιᾷ καταβάλλει, ἵνα μὴ λιμνεῖ ἡ στρατιὰ μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀναπτυθένους δὲ τοὺς χωρίς καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἢν ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐν ἓν, ἄλλα ἄλλη ἀγινέοντας ὅλκασι τε καὶ πορθμήσωσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὧν 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

\[\text{λευκόλιον is apparently not really flax but "Esparto grass," imported from Spain by the Phoenicians.}\]
Δευκήν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Ὁρχής ἄγλυσον, οἵ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περιμβίων, οἳ δὲ ἐς Δορέσκου, οἳ δὲ ἐς Ἡλώνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἳ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν διασταταγμένοι.

26. Ἐν οὗ δὲ οὕτω τὸν προκείμενον πόλον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπασ συλλεγόμενοι ἀμα Ξέρξη ἐπορευότα ὡς Σάρδης, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθείς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ’ ἡπειρόν μέλλοντα ἀμὰ αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατοῦ. ὃς μὲν ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατῶν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένων ἀγαθῶν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλεός ἐλαβε ὀφα, οὐκ ἵππος ἠρῴα: οὔδε γὰρ ἄρχην ἐς κρίσεως τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδα. οὐ δὲ ἐπεῖτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἀλύν ποταμόν ὁμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, δι’ αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελαινάς, ἀνα πηγαί αναδιδοῦσι Μαίανδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάτησον οἱ Μαίανδρου, τῷ οἴνομα τυγχανεί ἄγον Καταρρήκτης, οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἁγορῆς τῆς Κελαινών ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδότα, ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἐχει ὑπὸ Ἀπολλώνος ἐκδαρέτα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

27. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ὑποκατήμενος Πολῖος ὁ Ἀτνος ἀνὴρ Λυδοῦ εξείνησε τὴν βασιλείαν στρατηγὴν πᾶσαν ξεινίοις μεγίστοις καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματα τε ἐπαγγέλλετο θεολόμενος ἐς τῷ πόλεμῳ παρέχειν ἐπαγγέλλομένος ἐν Χρήματα Πολίων, εἰρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας.

1 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,\(^1\) 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

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1. *Celaenae* is a place in Thrace, near the mouth of the river Maeander.
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.
τις τε ἐδών ἀνδρῶν Πῦθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ εἰπαν ""Ω βασιλεῦ, οὗτος ἐστὶ ὁ τοῦ τῶν πατέρα Δαρείων ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ ὅσ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνδρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱκεμεν μετὰ σὲ.

28. Θωμᾶσας δὲ τῶν ἔπεων τὸ τελευταῖον Ἐρέξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἰρέτο Πῦθιον ὅκοσα οἱ εἰς χρήματα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε ""Ω βασιλεῦ, οὗτε σα ἀποκρύψω οὕτε σκήφουμαι τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν ἐμεωτοῦ ὑπότην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενος τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπιθύμην ἐπὶ βαλασαν καταβαινοῦτα τὴν Ἐλληνιδα, βουλόμενος τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμανθανον, καὶ εὑρόν λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ἐνυσάς μοι ταλαντῶν, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυρίας ἑπτα χιλιάδων, καὶ τούτοις σε ἐγὼ δωρέωμαι, αὐτῷ δὲ μοι ἀπὸ ἀμπρόδων τε καὶ γεωπέδων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος.

29. ""Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ἐρέξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἶπε ""Εἰσιν Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπείτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώρην, οὐδέν ἀνδρὶ συνέμεζα ἐς τὸν ὅπος ἠθελήσε ξείνια προθέναι στρατῶν τὸ ἐμῶ, οὐδὲ ὅπος ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἐμῆν καταστὰς αὐτεπαγγελτὸς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἐξω σεῦ. οὐ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλοις στρατῶν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλει. σοι ὅπον ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γερεὰ τοιάδε δίδωμι. ξείνιον τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυρίας τοῖ τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλῆσαι παρ' ἐμεωτοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπτά χιλιάδας, ὥσ μὴ τοι ἐπειδεῖς ἑωςι αἱ τετρακόσιαι μυρίας ἐπτά χιλιάδας.
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

{1} The Daric stater was equivalent to about 22s. of our money.
δῶν, ἀλλὰ ἴ τοι ἀπαρτιλογιὴ ὑπ’ ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. ἑκτησὸ τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἑκτῆσαο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῖντε οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεῦν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.”

30. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέει ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ. "Ἀνανὶ δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγών πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἄλες γήγονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσᾶς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης· εν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἔς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἐπεῖτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος εκδιδοῖ καὶ οὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Μαιανδροῦ. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσίων ὁ στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐροὺς τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἐνθα στήλη καταπεπηγνία, σταθείο σὲ ὑπὸ Κράσον, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὐροὺς.

31. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζόμενης τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φεροῦσας τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξίην ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβήνη τὸν Μαιανδροῦ ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἵναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοσεργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυρὸν ποιεῦσι, ταῦτην ἦν ὁ Ἑρέξης τὴν ὄδον εὐρέ πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἶνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσίῳ καὶ μελεσωνῶ θανάτῳ αἰ ὁρε ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἀστυ.

32. Ἀπεκόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τέ καὶ ἴδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δείπνα βασιλείᾳ 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,¹ 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, πλην οὔτε ἐσ’ Ἀθήναις οὔτε ἐσ’ Δακεδαιμονὶ ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τῶνδε δὲ εἰνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρὸτερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντε, τούτους πάγχυ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δώσειν' βουλόμενος ὁν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβεῖς ἐπεμπε.  

33. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα παρεσκευάζετο ως ἠλών ἐς Ἀβύδον. οὐ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἔξευγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταζύ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτῇ παχέᾳ ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον· ἐνθα μετὰ ταύτα, χρόνῳ υπότερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρωνος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίοι Ἀρταύκτην ἄνδρα Πέρσης λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπάρχου ζωντα πρὸς σανίδα διεπασάλευσαν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰρῶν ἐς Ἑλαιοῦντα ἀγινεόμενος γυναικὸς ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεσκε.  

34. Ἐσ ταύτην ὅν τὴν ἀκτήν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δὲ ἔτερην τὴν Βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ σταδίοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξενιμένον τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χείμῶν μέγας συνέκοψε τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ δίέλυσε.  

35. Ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ἐκέλευσε τρικοσίας ἑπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγᾶς καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων

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 running out into the sea over against Abydos; it was here that not long after this the Athenians with Xanthippus son of Arichron for general took Artayctes 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 Elacus and do impious deeds there.

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

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

* The modern width at the narrowest part is nearly half as much again; perhaps this can be explained by the washing away of the coasts, due to a current which strikes them near Sestos and rebounds on Abydos.

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ζεύγος. ἦδη δὲ ἦκονσα ὡς καὶ στυγέας ἄμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἐλλησπόντουν. ἐντέλλετο δὲ ὧν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρα τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα: "Ὤ πικρῶν ὑδρορ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεὶ τὴνδε, ὅτι μν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἑρέξης διαβήσεται σε, ἢν τε σὺ γε βούλῃ ἢν τε μὴ σοί δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἀρα οὐδελα ἀνθρώπων θυεί ως ἐοντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ." τὴν τε δὴ βάλλασαν ἐντέλλετο τούτους ἑσμον καὶ τῶν ἐπεστειώτων τῇ ζεύξῃ τοῦ Ἐλληςπόντου ἀποταμείν τὰς κεφαλάς.

36. Καὶ οἳ μὲν ταύτα ἐποίεων, τοῖσι προσέκειτο αὐτῇ ἡ ἀχαρίς τιμῆ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγυνεαν. ἐξεύγυνεαν δὲ ὑδέ, πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήμερας συνάντησε, ὑπὸ μὲν τήν πρὸς τοῦ Ἑὔξεινου πόντου ἦσιν οὕτω τε καὶ τριήμεραι, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρῃ τεσσαράκοιδεκα καὶ τριήμεραι, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικάρσεις τοῦ δὲ Ἐλλησπόντου κατὰ ρόου, ἴνα ἀνακοχεύῃ τοῦ τόν τῶν ὅπλων συναντήσε δὲ ἀγκύρος καθῆκαν περιμήκεις, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἶνεκεν τῶν ἐσοδευ ἐκπενδούτων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Δηναιοῦ ξεφύρου τε καὶ νοτοῦ εἶνεκα. διέκπλουν δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριήμερῶν, ἴνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντου ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλεῖον πλοῖοις λεπτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξ. ταύτα δὲ ποιη·

1 Or it may mean, as Stein thinks, that the ships of the upper or N.E. bridge were ἐπικάρσεις, and those of the lower or S.W. one were κατὰ ρόου. For a discussion of the various
fetters be thrown into the sea; nay, I have heard ere now that he sent branders with the rest to brand the Hellespont. This is certain, that he charged them while they scourged to utter words outlandish and presumptuous: "Thou bitter water," they should say, "our master thus punishes thee, because thou didst him wrong albeit he had done thee none. Yea, Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou wilt or no; it is but just that no man offers thee sacrifice, for thou art a turbid and a briny river." Thus he commanded that the sea should be punished, and that they who had been overseers of the bridging of the Hellespont should be beheaded.

36. So this was done by those who were appointed to that thankless honour; and new masters of their craft set about making the bridges. The manner of their doing it was as I will show. That they might lighten the strain of the cables, they laid fifty-oared ships and triremes alongside of each other, three hundred and sixty to bear the bridge that was nearest to the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen to bear the other; all lay obliquely to the line of the Pontus and parallel with the current of the Hellespont. Having so laid the ships alongside they let down very great anchors, both from the end of the ship nearest the Pontus to hold fast against the winds blowing from within that sea, and from the other end, towards the west and the Aegean, to hold against the west and south winds. Moreover they left for passage an opening in the line of fifty-oared ships and triremes, that so he that would might be able to voyage to the Pontus, or out difficulties and interpretations of the whole passage, see How and Wells' notes, ad loc.
σαντες κατέπεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλούντες όνοισι ξυλίνοις τὰ ὅπλα, οὐκέτι χωρίς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρθη, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτή καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβριθήστερα ἦν τὰ λίνα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἰλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ἱσοὺς τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὄπλων τοῦ τόνου, βέντες δὲ ἐπεζήσαν ἐνθαῦτα αὐτίς ἐπεζεύγυνον ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὑλῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ βέντες καὶ τὴν ὑλήν γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβεῖται τὰ ὑποξύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερῳντα καὶ οἱ ἐπποι. 37. Ὗς δὲ τὰ τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἀθών, ὦ τε χυτοῖ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυγος, οἳ τῆς ρηχίας εἶνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πιμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ διώρυξ παντελῶς πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίας ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στράτος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμάτω ἔλων ἐς "Ἀβυδον" ὀρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἰλιοσ ἐκλιπῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδραν ἀφανῆς ἢν οὕτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νυῶ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ μαθοῦντο τοῦτο τῷ Ἐρέτῃ ἐπιμελεῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰρετο τοὺς Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἐφραζοῦν ὡς "Ἐλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλεισθεὶς

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 ἦλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προ-
δέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ Ἐρέξης περιχαρῆς ἔως ἑποτέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

38. Ὡς δὲ ἔξηλανε τὴν στρατηγὴν, Πύθειος ὁ Ἀυδός καταρρῳδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαερθεὶς τε τοῖς δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ἐρέξην ἐλεγε τάδε. ""Ω δέσποτα, χρήσασας ἃν τε σεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐών ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ἐρέξης δὲ πάν μᾶλλον δοκεών μιν χρήσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἐφ' ἡ ὑπουργησεῖν καὶ ἡ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο. ὦ δὲ ἔπειτε ταῦτα ἠκούσε, ἐλεγε ταρση-
σας τάδε. ""Ω δέσποτα, τυγχάνονσι μοι παῖδες έόντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἁμα σοὶ στρατευέσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ὅτι τὸ δε ἡλικίας ἠκούσα οἰκείως τῶν μοι παῖδων ἐνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτὸ τὸ ἔμεθ' καὶ τῶν χρηματῶν ἡ μελεδωνὸς τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἀγεν ἁμα σεωτοῦ, καὶ θρήσας τὰ νοεῖς νοστῆσεις ὁπίσω.

39. Κάρτα τε ἐθυμόθη ὁ Ἐρέξης καὶ ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. ""Ω κακὴ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτολμήσας, ἐμεῖ στρατευομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀδείφεους καὶ οἰκυόνος καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός, ἐων ἔμος δούλος, τῶν χρηματῶν πανοικία αὐτῆς ἡ γυναικὴ συν-
έπεσθαι; εὖ νυν τὸν ἐξετίστασο, ἢς ἐν τοῖς ώς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκείοις θυμός, ὥς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτους ἄκουσας ἀνοίξει. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἔτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλει, εὐεργεσίης
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 encour-
aged 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 kins-
folk and friends; and do you, my slave—who should
have followed me with all your household and your
very wife—speak to me of your son? Then be well
assured of this, that a man's spirit dwells in his
ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole
body with delight, but when it hears the contrary
thereto it swells with anger. At that time when
you did me good service and promised more, you
HERODOTUS

βασιλέα οὗ καυχήσεαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἑτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἄξιην οὐ λάμψει, ἔλαύσω δὲ τῆς ἄξιης. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παῖδων ρύεται τὰ ξένια: τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχεια μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσεαι." ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτικά ἐκέλευε τοῖς προσετέκτο ταῦτα πρῆσειν, τῶν Πυθλοὺ παῖδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διατάμειν, διατάμονας δὲ τὰ ἡμῶν διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ τὸ δʼ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταῦτῃ διεξέναι τοὺς στρατοὺς.

40. Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήμε ὁ στρατός. ἤγεόντω δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποξύμια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους σύμμικτος στρατός παντοῖον ἐθνεῶν ἀναμίζων ἐν τῇ ὑπερημίσεις ἠσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελείπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισον οὕτως βασιλείᾳ προηγεύόμενοι μὲν δὴ ἐπίτοιχες χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσῶν πάντων ἀπολελεγμέναι μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένων, τὰς λόγχας κατὰ ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέφαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἤρωι Νησαίοι καλεόμενοι ἰπποὶ δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαίοι δὲ καλέονται ἰπποί ἐπὶ τουδεῖ ἐστὶ πεδίου μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ ὄνομα ἐστὶ Νησαίον τοὺς ὃν δὴ ἰπποὺς τους μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦτων τῶν δέκα ἰππῶν ἄρμα Δίως ἤρων ἐπιτετάκτο, τὸ ἰπποὶ μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὁκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ αὐ τῶν ἰππῶν ἐπίτετο πεζῷ ἡνίοχοι ἐχόμενοι τῶν χαλικῶν αὐτῷ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῶν βρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τοῦτον δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ἡρόδης ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἱππῶν.
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

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1 That is, of Ormuzd.
Νησαίων παραβεβήκε δέ οἱ ἦν ὁποιοὶ τῷ οἴνομα ἤν Πατράμφως, Ὦτανεὼ ἄνδρος Πέρσεω παῖς.

41. Ἐξῆλασε μὲν οὗτοι ἐκ Σαρδῶν Ἐρῆνα, μετεκβαίνεσκε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἱρεῖ, ἐκ τοῦ ἀρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαζαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑπεσθε αἵμαρο- φόροι Πέρσεων οἱ ἀριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χιλιοί, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἔπος ἄλλη χιλίς ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔπον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μυρίοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν καὶ τούτων χιλιοί μεν ἐπὶ τοῖς δόρασι αυτὶ τῶν σαυρωτηρίων ροιάς εἰχον χρυσάς καὶ πέριξ συνεκλησάν τους ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ροιώς εἰχον εἰχὸν δὲ χρυσάς ροιάς καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἁγχιστα ἐπὸμενοι Ερῆνης τοῖς δὲ μυρίοις ἐπετετακτο ἔπος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔπον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὁμίλος ἢ ἄναμίξ.

42. Ἐποιεέτο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατός ἐπὶ τε ποταμῶν Κάικοι καὶ γῆν τὴν Ὑμησίν, ἀπὸ δὲ Καΐκου ὄρμομενος, Κάικης ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Κα- ρήνην πόλιν ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Ὀβῆς πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειον τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀρτανδρον τὴν Πελασγία παραμεβόμενος. τὴν Ἰδῆν δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερῆν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ ἠ τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδή νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ προστήρες ἐπεσπίττουσι καὶ τινὰ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγχον ὁμίλοι διέφθειραν.

43. Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμῶν
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 Atarnæus to the town of Carene, keeping the mountain of Cane¹ 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 besel 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, δε πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπείτε ἐκ Σαρ-
δών ορμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλειπε τὸ
ῥέεσθρον οὖν ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατείᾳ τε καὶ τοῖς
κτήτοις πινομένοις ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν
ὡς ἀπίκετο Ἐρέβης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον
ἀνέβη ἤμερον ἑων θεσαμάσθαι θεσάμενοι δὲ
καὶ πυθόμενοι ἐκείνων ἔκαστα τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ
Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῖς χιλίας, χοῖς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖς
ἥρωις ἔκέντησα. τάντα δὲ ποιησαμένοιι νυκτὸς
φόβος ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἀμα ἡμέρη
δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθευτεὶ, ἐν ἀριστήρῃ μὲν ἀπέργῃ
Ῥοίτιον πόλιν καὶ Ὄφρυνεον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἢ
περὶ τῇ Ἀμβυδώ όμοιρους ἐστὶ, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ Γέρμηδας
Τευκροῦς.

44. Ἔπει δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀμβυδώ μέση, ἦσελripe
Εἰρέβης ἵδεσθαι πάντα τῶν στρατῶν καὶ προ-
ηποιήθη γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνίαν ἐπίπτησε αὐτῷ ταύτῃ
προεξέδρῃ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἁμβυδνην
ἐπιτελαμένου πρότερον βασιλέως, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς
ζητοῦν, κατορχῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐθηκτο καὶ τῶν
πεζῶν καὶ τὰς νεας, θηρύμενοι δὲ ἰμέρη τῶν νεῶν
ἀμελλαν γινομένην ἱδεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγενέτο τε
καὶ ἐνίκησε Φοῖνικες Σιδώνιου, ἦσθη τῇ τῇ
ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατείᾳ.

45. Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τῶν Ἐλλησποντων
ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκερυμένων, πάσας δὲ τὰς
ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἁμβυδνην πεδία ἐπὶπλεὰ ἄν-
θρωπῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Εἰρέβης ἑωτοῦ ἐμακάρισε,
μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἐδάκρυσε.

46. Μαθῶν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὡς τὸ
πρῶτον γυνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμ-
ander, which was the first river after the beginning of their march from Sardis that fell short of their needs and could not suffice for the army and the cattle,—being arrived at this river, Xerxes ascended to the citadel of Priam, having a desire to view it; and having viewed and enquired of all that was there he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athene of Ilium, and the Magians offered libations to the heroes. After their so doing, the army was seized with a panic fear in the night. When it was day they journeyed on thence, keeping on their left the towns of Rhoetium and Ophryneum and Dardanus, which marches with Abydos,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 hill² 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 Nagar.
βουλεύων Ἑρέξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ὁμήρος φρασθεὶς Ἑρέξης δακρύσαντα εἰρετο τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ὡς πολλῶν ἄλληλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσασαν νῦν τε καὶ ὁλίγων πρότερον μακαρίσασα γὰρ σεωτοῖν δακρύσεις." ὦ δὲ εἶπε "Εσῆλθε γὰρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτείραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τοὺς γε ἐντὸν τοσοῦτον οὐδεὶς ἔσε ἐκατοστῶν ἐστος περιέσται." ὦ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ετερα τοῦτον παρὰ τὴν ἥξιν πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεῖ βίων οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθρώπος ἄτων εὐδαιμονίαν πέμπει οὕτω τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τὼ οὗ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἀπαξ τεθνᾶναι βουλεύσει μᾶλλον ἡ ἥξιν. αἱ τε γὰρ συμφορὰ προσπιπτούσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχῶν ἐντὰ μακρὸν δοκεῖσθαι εἴαι ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βίων. οὕτω ὁ μὲν ἄνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς ἥξις καταφυγῆ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε, ὦ δὲ ἔθος γλυκῶν γεύσας τῶν αἰώνα φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται εἴων."

47. Ἑρέξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἁνθρωπηγῆς πέρι, ἐξουσίας τοιαύτης οὕτω περὶ σὺ διαιρέαται εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνωμέθα χρηστά ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ, φράσον δὲ μοι τόδε εἰ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνοῦ μὴ ἐναργής οὕτω ἔφανη, εἰχες ἂν τὴν ἄρχαιν γνώμην, οὐκ έσω με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦ μετέστης ἄν; φέρε τούτο μοι ἀτρέκεως εἰπέ." ὦ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων ὡς βασιλεὺς, ὃς καὶ ἢ ἐπιφανεία τοῦ ὄνειρον ὡς βουλόμεθα ἁμφότεροι τελευτήσει, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτι καὶ ἐν τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδὲ ἐντὸς.
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
48. Ξέρετε δὲ πρὸς ταύτα ἀμείβετο τούτοις. "Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοίνα ταῦτα λέγεις εἰναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερα τοίς ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλῆθος ἦστι καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στρατευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλῆσιον ἔσσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμετέρου λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνου, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταύτα; εἰ γὰρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἐνδεέστερα εἰναι τὰ ἡμετέρα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἄν ἀλλον τις τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀγέρσιν ποιέστω.

49. Ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, οὔτε στρατὸν τούτον, ὡστὶς γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτἀν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλήθος ἢν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοῖς τὰ λέγον πολλῷ ἐτῶπολομεῖται, τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἦστι γῇ τῇ καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἦστι λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόδι, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὡστὶς ἐγειρομένου χειμώνος δεξάμενος σεν τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυον ἐστάσθαι τὰς νέας, καὶ οὐκ ἕνα αὐτῶν δὲ ἐΙΝΑI τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάσαν τὴν ἡπειρόν παρ’ ἡν δὴ κομίζει. οὖκων δὴ ἐοντῶν τοῦ λιμένον ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀργουσι καὶ οὐκὶ ὀνθρωποί τῶν συμφόρων, καὶ δή τῶν δύο τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἐτέρον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῇ δὲ πολεμίᾳ τήδε τοι κατίσταται εἰ θέλει τοι μὴν ἀντίξοιν καταστήναι, τοσοῦτοι τοῖς γίνεται πολεμιωτέρην ὅσον ἀν προβαίνης ἐκαστῶρ, 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 Ξέρξης τούτως. "Αρτάβανε, οἰκότως μὲν σὺ γε τούτων ἐκαστα διαϊρέας ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοι τῷ ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἃν οὐδαμὰ οὐδὲν κρέσσον δὲ πάντα διαζύγησιν ἦμισον τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶν χρήμα προδεμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις εἰν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἱσθα ἐχεῖ εἰδέναι δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν εὖντα κὼς χρῆ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς, τοῖσι τοῖνυν βουλομένουι ποιεῖν ὡς τὸ εἵπταν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγμένοιι τε πάντα καὶ ὁκνέουσι οὐ μᾶλα ἔθελει. ὅρας τὰ Ἑροδότος Περσέων πρήγματα ὅσον δυνάμεις προκεχωρηκέ. εἰ τοῖνυν ἔκεινοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῖς γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμης ἐχρέωστο ὁμοῖοι καὶ σὺ, ἡ μή χρεώμενοι γνώμης τοιαῦτης ἄλλος συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κατε ἐδέσ αὐτὰ ὡς τούτο προελθόντα. νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέοντες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐθέλει καταφέρεσθαι. ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν ὁμοιεύμενοι ἐκεῖνοι ὡς τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορεύμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι
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
πάσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστησομεν ὁπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἀχαρί οὔδέν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα, τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἣν καὶ ἔπιβέβημεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἔξομεν· ἐπ’ ἀρατήρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.

51. Δέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ο Βασιλεύς, ἐπείτε ἀρρωδείς ὦν ὑπὲρ πρήγμα, σὺ δὲ μὲν συμβουλήν ἐνδείξῃ ἀναγκαῖος γὰρ ἔχει περὶ τολμῶν προγμάτων πλείον λόγον ἕκτειναι. Κύρος ο Καμβώτα Ίωνήν πάσαν πλῆκ Αθηναίων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσης. τούτους ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμία μηχανὴ ἂγει ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας· καὶ γὰρ ἀνεύ τούτων οἱ τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἔχθρων καταπέρτε- ροι ἔγνεσθαι. ἦ γὰρ σφέας, ἢν ἔπονται, δει ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μη- τρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδι- κώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὔδεν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλοντο, δικαιώτατοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἱ τε δηλίσασθαι μεγάλος τὴν σὴν στρατιὰν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὁν βάλει καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἕπος ὡς εὐ εἰρηται, τὸ μὴ ἀμα ἀρχὴ πάν τέλος καταφάινεσθαι.

52. Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Πέρης ὁ Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναυ γρωμέων σφάλλει κατὰ ταύτην ὁδὶ μάλιστα, δε Ἡμιε ὁ φοβέαρ μὴ μεταβάλλουσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γρῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν ὑπὸ τε μάρτυς γίνει καὶ οἱ συστρατευσόμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὰ ἐγένετο διαφθείραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι, οἱ 366
of all Europe, having nowhere suffered famine or any other harm; for firstly, we carry ample provision with us on our march, and secondly we shall have the food of those whose land and nation we invade; and those against whom we march are no wandering tribes, but tillers of the soil."

51. Then said Artabanus: "O king, I see that you will not suffer us to fear any danger; yet take from me this counsel: for needs must there be much speaking when our businesses are so many. Cyrus son of Cambyses subdued and made tributary to Persia all Ionians save only the Athenians. It is my counsel, then, that you do by no means lead these Ionians against the land of their fathers; even without their aid we are well able to overcome our enemies; for if they come with our army, they must behave either very unjustly by enslaving their parent state or very justly by aiding it to be free. Now, if they deal very unjustly, they bring us no great advantage, but by dealing very justly they may well thereby do great harm to your army. Take therefore to heart the truth of even that ancient saying, 'That the end of every matter appeareth not at its beginning.'"

52. "Artabanus," Xerxes answered, "there is no opinion which you have declared wherein you are so misled as in this your fear lest the Ionians change sides; we have the surest warranty for them (and you and all that marched with Darius against the Scythians can witness it) in that with these it lay to destroy or to save the whole Persian army; and they
δε δικαιοσύνην και πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἀχαίρι
dε οὐδέν, πάρεξ δε τούτου, εν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατα-
λειψόντας τέκνα και γυναίκας καὶ χρήματα οὐδὲ
ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερον τι ποιήσειν. οὕτω μηδὲ
tούτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν σώζει οἰκε
τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμὴν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ
μοῦνοι ἐκ πάντων σκηντρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπων."

53. Ταύτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστέλλας
ἐς Σοῦσα δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ἑρέξης Περσέων
τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἔλεγε
σφι τάδε. "Ὅ Πέρσαι, τόνδε ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρησίμων
συνέλεξα, ἀνδρὰς τε γενέσθαι ἁγαθοὺς καὶ μὴ
κατασχύνειν τὰ πρῶτα ἐργασμένα Πέρσηςι,
ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἅξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε
ἐκαστὸς καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμὴν ἔχομεν·
ξυνὸν γὰρ πᾶσι τούτῳ ἁγαθὸν σπεῦδεται. τόνδε
δὲ εἰνέκω προαγορεύων ἀντέχασθαι τοῦ πολέμου
ἐντεταμένως· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθῆσομαι, ἐπ' ἀνδρὰς
στρατεύομεθα ἁγαθοὺς, τῶν ἡν κρατῆσομεν, οὐ
μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀν-
θρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξαμενοι τοῖς
θεοῖς οἱ Πέρσαι λελογχάσι."  

54. Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο
ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τῇ δὲ ύστεραι ἀνέμενον τὸν
ἤλιον ἔθελοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμήματα
tε παντοίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν καταγιζοντες καὶ
μυρσίνης στορνύτης τὴν ὁδὸν. ὥς δὲ ἐπανε-
tελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης
Ἑρέξης ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
μιθεμίαν οἱ συντυχήν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἡ
μὲν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην
πρότερον ἡ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖς ἐκείνης γένηται.
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 ἱεροθέαν κρητήρα καὶ Περσικοῦ εἴφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀπερεκόμηδον διὰ κρύονα οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἕληφο ἀνατιθείς κατηχεῖ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμείλησε οἴ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου μαστίγωσαντε καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν τάλασσαν ἐδωρεύετο.

55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διεβαίνον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἔτερην τῶν γευμάρων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἴππους ἀπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαίον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ ἑραπηνία. ἦγεοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτων ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντούν ἐθνεύων ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὔτοι, τῇ δὲ ύστεραι ἄριστοι μὲν οἴ τε ἁπτότα καὶ οἰ τὰς λόγχας κατὰ τράποντες ἐστεφάνωσαν δὲ καὶ οὔτοι. μετὰ δὲ οἳ τε ἁπτομὲν οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶς τοῖς Ἑρέξεσης καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλώτος οἱ ἁπτόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους ὁ ἄλλος στράτος, καὶ αἱ νεόπος ἀμα ἁνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπενεντόν. ἦδη δὲ ἠκούσα καὶ ὑστατον διαβύνει βασίλεα πάντων.

56. Ἑρέξεσης δὲ ἐπεί διεβή ἐς τὴν Ἐυρώπην, ἔθειτο τοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα ψεύδη δὲ ὁ στράτος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἐπτὰ εὐφρονώσα, ἐλιὖσας οὐδὲνα χρόνον. ἔνθαυτα λέγεται, Ἑρέξεος ἥδη διαβεβηκοῦς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀνδρὰ εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντου "Ὥς Ζεὺ, τι δὴ ἀνδρι εἰδόμενοι Πέρση καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Δῖος Ἑρέξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα θέλεις τοιῆσαι, ἀγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων ἔξην τοιεσθειν 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 ἀκρασις appears to have been a short, straight dagger.
57. Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμημένοις τέρας σφὶ ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ἐρέβης ἐν ὠυδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ περ ἐτεκε λαγόν. ἐνυμπθήτων ὧν τῇ δὲ τοῦτο ἑγένετο, ὅτι ἐμέλλε μὲν ἔλαν στρατῆν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἐρέβης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὅπισώ δὲ περὶ ἑωτοῦ τρέχων ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἑγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἔστω ἐν Σάρδισι: ἡμίονος γὰρ ἐτεκε ἡμίονον διξά ἐγγος αἰδών, τὰ μὲν ἔρσενος πά τὰ δὲ θηλῆς κατυπερθὲ δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσενος. τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγων οὐδένα ποιησάμενοι τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ ὀξὺς στρατὸς.

58. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἤξω τῶν Ἑλλησποντοῦ πλέων παρὰ γῇ ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἐμπαλὶν πρήσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἀκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἀπίξιν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸ πρὸς ἤδω τε καὶ ἠλίου ἀνατολᾶς ἐποιέοτο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονῆσου, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἤχου τῶν Ἑλλῆς τάφων τῆς Ἄθαμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορεύμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐνο τὴν Ἀγορή. ἐνθεύτεν τῶν κάμπτων τῶν κόλπων τῶν Μέλαια καλεόμενα καὶ Μέλαια ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατῇ τὸ ῥέθρον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιπλεόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβας, ἐπὶ οὐ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὕτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἤχει, ἢ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην, Ἀϊνὸν τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λέμην παρεβιόν, ἐς δὲ ἄπλετε όι Δορίσκον.

59. Ὅ δὲ Δορίσκος ἦστι τῆς Ἐρημίκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖ 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\(^1\) 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 Ἄρης ἐν τῷ τεῖχος τοῦ εὐθέμεντο βασιλῆι τ.ormοτὸ δὴ Δορίσκως κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων φοινή ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστήκει ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε ἑπὶ Σκύθας ἔστρατευτὸ. ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Ξέρχεω ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξει τι καὶ ἐξαρισθήσαι τῶν στρατῶν, καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκων οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ξέρχεω ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλῶν τῶν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκομίσαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλη τε Σαμοθρηκίᾳ πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώη, τελευτά δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρεων ἄκρη ὁμομαστή. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τῷ παλαιῷ ἦν Κεκόνων. ἐς τούτον τῶν αἰγιαλῶν κατασχόντες τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς στρατινῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίετο.

60. "Ὅσον μὲν νῦν ἔκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀπρεκές· οὗ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφαύτη ἐξομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατον μυρίας. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τούδε τῶν τρόπων συνήγαγον τε ἐς ἕνα χώρον μυρίαδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἰχον περιέγραψαν ἐξωθεὶν κύκλων περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντε τοὺς μυρίους αἰμασίν περιβαλόν κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὄμφαλον ταύτην δὲ παῖσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίσαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι ὅτι πάντας τοὺς τὸ τρόπων ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἕθενα διέτασαν.

61. Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἴδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὅδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον
the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against Scythia. It seemed therefore to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to array and number his host, and he did so. All the fleet, being now arrived at Doriscus, was brought by its captains at Xerxes' command to the beach near Doriscus, where stands the Samothracian town of Sane, and Zone; at the end thereof is Serreum, a headland of some name. This country was in former days possessed by the Cicones. To this beach they brought their ships in, and hauled them up for rest. In the meanwhile Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscus.

60. What the number of each part of it was I cannot with exactness say; for there is no one who tells us that; but the tale of the whole land army was shown to be a million and seven hundred thousand. The numbering was on this wise:—Ten thousand men were collected in one place, and when they were packed together as closely as might be a line was drawn round them; this being drawn, the ten thousand were sent away, and a wall of stones built on the line reaching up to a man's middle; which done, others were brought into the walled space, till in this way all were numbered. When they had been numbered, they were marshalled according to their several nations.

61. Those that served in the army were as I will now show. Firstly, the Persians; for their equip-
τιάρας καλευμένους πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθώνας χειριδωτοῦ ποικίλους,¹ λεπίδος σιδηρείς ὅψιν ἱχθυοεἶδος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα, ὕπο δὲ φαρετρεῶν ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμᾶς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τὸξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὦστως δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παρασφειρεῖτα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἀρχοῦτα παρείχοντο Ὅτανεά τῶν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ξέρξεως γυναικὸς, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὕπο μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοικῶν Ἀρτάιοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεύς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βηλου καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῶ παῖς τῷ οὐνόμα ἔθετο Πέρσην, τούτων δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐσύγχανε γὰρ ἀπαίς ἕως ὁ Κηφέως ἐρσενος γόνον. ἐπὶ τούτω δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐσχον.

62. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἑσταλμένοι ἑστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γαρ αὐτή ἡ σκευή ἑστὶ καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ. οὐ δὲ Μῆδοι ἀρχοῦτα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριων, ἀπεκομένης δὲ Μηδικής τῆς Ἀλκιδίδος ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τοὺς Ἀριων τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὕτω τὸ οὖνομα. αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων δὲ λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατεύομενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ Πέρσαι ἐσκενᾶτο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων μυτρηφόροι ήσαν. Κίσσιοι δὲ

¹ Stein and others place a lacuna after ποικίλους, supposing some words meaning “cuirasses,” e.g. ὑπὸ δὲ θάρκας πεποιμάρους, “and under them cuirasses made” to look like (ὅψιν) to be omitted; κηφῆ 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 Artaii. 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.
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ἡρξε Ἅναφῆς ὁ Ὀτάνεως. Ὅρκανοι δὲ κατὰ περὶ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχομένου Μεγα-
πανος τὸν Βαξιλῆων ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύ-
σαντα.

63. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχον χάλκεα τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα
τρόπου τῶν βαξιλαρ ὅυκ εὐαπτήγγειτον, ἀσπίδας
δὲ καὶ αἰχμαῖς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλησία τῆς
Αἰγυπτίας εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυ-
λωμένα σιδήρων, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὗτοι δὲ
ὑπὸ μὲν Ἕλληνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
βαξιλαρ Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τούτων δὲ
μεταξὺ Χαλδαιῶν. ¹ Ἡρξε δὲ σφέων Ὅτασπης
ὁ Ἀρταχαῖος.

64. Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀγχό-
tata τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ
καλάμων ἐπιγώρα καὶ αἰχμαῖς βραχέας. Σάκας
δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρβασίας
ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμέναις ὀρθῶς εἶχον πεπηναίας
ἀναξιρίδας δὲ ἐνεδείκτεσαν, τόξα δὲ ἐπιγώρα
καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρίς εἶχον.
toútouς δὲ εὐπτός Σκύθας Ἄμυρχιόν Σάκας
ἐκάλεσεν οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς καλάμως
καλέουσι Σάκας. Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἠρξε
Τσάσπης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσπης τῆς Κύρου.

65. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων
πεποίημένα, τόξα δὲ καλάμων εἶχον καὶ ὀστίους
καλαμίνους ἔπὶ δὲ σιδήρων ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν
δὴ ἱσαν οὕτω Ἰνδοὶ, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρα-
tευόμενοι Φαναζάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβάτεω.

¹ Stein brackets this sentence, with probability. μεταξύ in
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turbans and not caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians\(^1\) were armed like the Persians; their leader was Megapanus; who was afterwards the governor of Babylon.

63. The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe. They bore shields and spears and daggers of Egyptian fashion, and wooden clubs withal studded with iron, and they wore linen breastplates. These are called by Greeks Syrians, but the foreigners called them Assyrians. With them were the Chaldeans. Their commander was Otaspes son of Artachaees.

64. The Bactrians in the army wore a headgear most like to the Median, carrying their native bows of reed, and short spears. The Sacae, who are Scythians, had on their heads tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point; they wore breeches, and carried their native bows, and daggers, and axes withal, which they call “sagaris.” These were Amyrgian Scythians, but were called Sacae; for that is the Persian name for all Scythians. The commander of the Bactrians and Sacae was Hystaspes, son of Darius and Cyrus' daughter Atossa.

65. The Indians wore garments of tree-wool,\(^2\) and carried bows of reed and iron-tipped arrows of the same. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres son of Artabates.

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\(^1\) 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. "Αριοι δὲ τόξους μὲν ἐσκευασμένους ἦσαν Μηδικαῖοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμην ὁ Τδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Γανδαρίων καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οίδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμιών Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἀρταίος, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάζου.

67. Κάστιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκιος ἐστρατεύοντο. οὕτωι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάζω, ἠγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριμαρδοῦ τὸν Ἀρτυφίον ἀδελφόν, Ἀραγγαῖ δὲ εἰματα μὲν βεβαμένα ἐνέπηπον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἰχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμάς Μηδικαίς. Σαραγγεῶν δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἰχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἀρχοῦτα παρεῖχοντο Ἀρταύτην τὸν Ἰθαμίτρεω.

68. Οὐτίοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένους ἦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οίδε. Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείος, Παρικανῖος δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Ολοβάζου.

69. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεξώσμενοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἰχον πρὸς δεξιά, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παραλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἰχον ἐκ φολικοῦ σπάθης πεποιημένα, μακρά, τετραπηχέων φνοκ ἔλασσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνως ωστός μικροῖς, ἀντὶ δὲ σιδῆρου ἐπὶ λίθος ὄξυς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφηνίδας γλύφομεν πρὸς δὲ αἰχμάς εἰχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν.
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 Casprians 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 Artaýtentes son of Ithamitres.

68. The Utians and Mycians and Paricanians were equipped like the Pactyes; the Utians and Mycians had for their commander Arsamenes son of Darius, the Paricanians Siromitres son of Oeobazus.

69. The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapt in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palmwood 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.
δέν πεποιημένον τρόπον λόγχης εἰχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά. τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἡμιον ἐξηλείφοντο γήγορ λόντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμιον μίλτω. Ὅραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, την μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείου εἰκὸν χρυσέων σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο.

70. Τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ὅραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθιόπες (διὸ εἰδолов, δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετέαξατο τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, διαλλάσσοντες εἰδὸς μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔτεροις, φωνὴν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μουνον' οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθιόπες ιθύτριχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ εἴκ τῆς Λιβυῆς οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἠχοὺσι παντῶν αἰθρίων. οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίῆς Αἰθιόπες τὰ μὲν πλέον κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἱππῶν εἰχον ἔπλη τῆς κεφαλῆς σὺν ταῖς τοῖς ὁσί ἐκδεδαμένα καὶ τῇ λοφῇ καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἡ λοφὴ κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὅτα τῶν ἱππῶν ὅρθα πεπηγάτα εἰχον προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἄσπιδων ἐποιεῖντο γεράνων δοράς.

71. Λίβυες δὲ σκευῆν μὲν σκυτῆν ἃσιον ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοις δὲ ἐπικαὐτοῖς χρεώμενοι, ἀρχοντα δὲ παρεῖχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν Οαρίζου.

72. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τής κεφαλῆς κράνεα πεπληγμένα ἔχοντες, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε όυ μεγάλας, πρὸς δὲ ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, περὶ δὲ τῶν πόλων πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσην κυρίμην ἀνατείνοντα. Αἰγύπτες δὲ καὶ Ματηνοὶ καὶ Μαριανδύνοι 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\(^1\) (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 Ligyces and Matieni and Mariandyni and

\(^1\) For these see III. 94. The "eastern Ethiopians" were apparently in or near Beluchistan.
αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὕτως ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκας καλέονται. Παφλαγόνων μὲν ὑπὸ Τατινοῦ Λατόσος ὁ Μεγασιδρόου ἢρχε, Μαριανδύνων δὲ καὶ Λεγύνων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης.

73. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὅλγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγοντες, ἐκαλεόντο Βρύγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπηίου ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἀμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ σύνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Αρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἐόντες Φρυγῶν ἀποικοὶ, τοὺτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχυσις Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.

74. Λυδικ δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίωνες ἐκαλεύτο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυνος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, μεταβάλοντες τὸ σύνομα. Μυσοὶ δὲ ἔπι μὲν τήσι κεφαλήσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς, ἀκοντίοις δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοις. οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶ Λυδῶν ἀποικοὶ, ἀπ' Ὀλυμποῦ δὲ ὅρεος καλεόνται Ὀλυμπιηνοί. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος δὲ ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἀμα Δάτι.

75. Ὁρίκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθώνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ἑειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκοντιᾷ τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχείριδια μικρά. οὕτω δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοῖ, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον 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 Ligysets 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.
λέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέουσιἐπὶ Στρυμώνες ἔξαναστήναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἢδέων ὑπὸ Τενκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Ὀρηκῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦρξε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

76. ἄσπίδας ἄσπίδας δὲ ὁμοβοῦνσε ἐίχον σμικρᾶς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργέας ἐκαστὸς εἰχε, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴσι κεφαλῆς κράνεα χάλκεα, πρὸς δὲ τούσι κρανεῖσι ὡτά τε καὶ κέρεα προσθή βοῦς χάλκεα, ἔπησαν δὲ καὶ λόφου ταῖς καὶ κυμάς ράκεσι φοινικέοισι κατειλίγατο. ἐν τούτοις τούσι ἀνδράσι Ἀρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήριον.

77. Καβηλλεας δὲ οἱ Μηνίονες, Δασονίοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κιλεξει εἶχον σκευήν, τὴν ἑγὼ, ἔπειδον κατὰ τὴν Κιλίκον ταξιν διεξόν γενώμαι, τὸτε σημανέω. Μελύαν δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἰχον καὶ εἰματα ἐνεπεπορπεῖατο: εἶχον δὲ αὐτὸν τῶς μετεξέτεροι Λύκια, περὶ δὲ τῆσι κεφαλῆς ἐκ διθερέων πεποιημένας κυνεὰς. τούτων πάντων ἦρξε Βαδρης ὁ Τοσάνεος.

78. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆσι κεφαλῆς κυνεὰς ἐξουσίας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς: λόγχαι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρθνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι κατὰ περὶ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι εστρατεύοντο. τούτους δὲ συνέτατον ἄρχουσιν οἴδε, Μόσχοις μὲν καὶ Τιβαρθνοῖς Ἀρμομαρδός ὁ Δαρκίου τὸν παῖς καὶ Πάρμιος τῆς Σμέρδος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσσύνοικος Ἀρταύκης ὁ Χεράσμιος, δὲ Σεστόν τὴν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐπέτροπεν.

1 Some tribal name is probably omitted before this word; Stein suggests Πισδαι (cp. ΙΙΙ. 90), which might have slipped out because of its similarity to ἄρσισα.
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, Arimardus son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis; for the Macrones and Mossynoei, Artayetes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont.

¹ From a district bordered by Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycia.
HERODOTUS

79. Μάρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἰχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοῖνας μικρὰς αἷμας τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἰχον. Μαρών δὲ καὶ Κόλχοι ἦρξε Φαραυδάτης ὁ Τεάστιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περὶ Κόλχοι ὁπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομύτρων ἦρξε.

80. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ εἶθεν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νῆσον δὲ ἐν τῆς τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχωτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰχον ἐσθήτα τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρξε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, δι' ἐν Μυκάλη στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81. Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἥπειρον στρατευόμενα τε ἐθνεα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸν πεζὸν. τούτων ὡν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρξον μὲν οὔτοι ὡς περὶ εἰρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἕξαριθμήσαντες οὔτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τέ καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ εὐνεὼν ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες.

82. Ἡσαν μὲν δὲ οὔτοι οἳ περὶ εἰρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατηγοῖς δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρῖεως καὶ Τριτανταύχης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατευεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμεροδομένης ὁ Ὄτανεως, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὔτοι ἀδελφῶν παῖδες, Ἐρέξῃ δὲ ἑγίνοντο ἄνεψιοι, 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.2

82. The commanders then were as aforesaid. The generals of these and of the whole land army were Mardonius son of Gobryas, Tritantaechmes son of that Artabanus who counselled that there should be no expedition against Hellas, Smerdomenes son of Otanes (these two latter were sons of Darius' brethren, whereby they were Xerxes' cousins),

2 That is, native leaders, not the regular officers of the army.
ο Δαρείον τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς καὶ Γέργις ὁ Ἀριάξου καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου.

83. Οὗτοι ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρίς τῶν μυρίων τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσῶν τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατηγοῦ ὡς Τδάρνης ὁ Τδάρνεος, ἐκάλεσε δέ ἀδάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῦδε οἱ τις αὐτῶν ἔξελυσε τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡ βανάτω βιηθεὶς ἡ νοῦσῳ, ἀλλος ἀκέρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμά οὔτε πλεῦνες μυρίων οὔτε ἑλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλείστον παρέχοντο διὰ πάντων Περσῶν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀριστοῦ ἦσαν σκευῆς μὲν τοιαύτην εἰχον ἡ περ εἰρήται, χωρίς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνεπρεπον, ἀρμαμάξας τε ἁμα ἠγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακᾶς καὶ θεραπηνήν πολλήν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασμένην σώτα δὲ σφί, χωρίς τῶν ἀλλῶν στρατιωτῶν, κάμηλοι τε καὶ υποζύγια ἦγον.

84. Ἡπεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἑθεναὶ πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρεῖχε τίποτον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμέναι καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰχον ἐνοι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

85. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἄνδροι Σαγάρτωι καλέσμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικῷ καὶ φωνῇ σκευήν δὲ μεταξύ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τής τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτικῆς· οἱ παρεῖχοντο μὲν ἢποι ὀκτακισχελῆν, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι εἰχείν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειρίδιοι, χρέωνται δὲ σειρῆς πεπλεγμένης εἴματων ταῦτης πίσων έρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἄνδρων ἦδε· ἐπεάν συμμίσγωσι τοὺς πολεμίοις, βάλλουσι τὰς σειράς ἐπὶ ἀκρὸς βρόχους
Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, Gergis son of Ariazus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.

83. These were the generals of the whole land army, saving the Ten Thousand; Hydarnes son of Hydarnes was general of these picked ten thousand Persians, who were called Immortals for this reason, that when any one of them fell out of the number by force of death or sickness, another was chosen, and so they were never more or fewer than ten thousand. The Persians showed of all the richest adornment, and were themselves the best in the army. Their equipment was such as I have recorded; over and above this they made a brave show with the abundance of gold that they had; carriages withal they brought, bearing concubines and servants many and well equipped; and their food was brought to them on camels and beasts of burden, apart from the rest of the army.

84. There are horsemen in these nations, yet not all of them furnished cavalry, but only such as I will show: first the Persians, equipped like their foot, save that some of them wore headgear of hammered bronze and iron.

85. There are also certain nomads called Sagartian; they are Persian in speech, and the fashion of their equipment is somewhat between the Persian and the Pactyan; they furnished eight thousand horsemen. It is their custom to carry no armour of bronze or iron, save daggers only, and to use ropes of twisted leather.\(^1\) In these they trust when they go to battle; and this is their manner of fighting: when they are at close quarters with their enemy, they throw their ropes, these having a noose at the end;

\(^1\) *i.e.* lassoes.
εχούσας· δεν δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἢν τε ἱπποὺ ἢν τε ἀνθρώπου, ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἠλκει' οὗ δὲ ἐν ἐρκεσι' ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται.

86. Τούτων μὲν αὐτὴ ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μήδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὁσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ· καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἥλαυνον δὲ κέλητα καὶ ἁρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων ἁρμασὶ ὑπῆραν ἱπποὶ καὶ οὗτοι ἁγριοὶ. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὁσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Δίβνες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἥλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἁρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ αὐτῶς Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴ μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἥλαυνον δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἢππων.

87. Ταῦτα τὰ ἑθεα μοῦνα ἵππες· ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἱππου ἑγένετο ὁκτω μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων· οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἐσχατοὶ ἐπετετάχατο· ἀτε γὰρ τῶν ἱππῶν οὕτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ύστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ὡς μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἰπτικόν.

88. "Ιππαρχοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμάθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφί συν- ἱππαρχος Φαρνουχής κατελέειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὥς γὰρ ὀρμώντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ συνμφορὴν περίπεπες ἀνεβήλησεν· ἥλαυνοι γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἱπποῦ ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὗ προϊδὼν ἐφοβηθη τε καὶ στὰς ὅρθος ἀπεσείσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεα, πεσὼν δὲ αἰμά τε ἡμεε 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 befell 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
ὑπὸν αὐτίκα κατ' ἄρχας ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευεν ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ οἰκεῖαι ἐς τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότην, ἐν τοῖς γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὖτοι παρελύθη τῆς ἕγεμονίας.

89. Τῶν δὲ τριήρεων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, παρεῖχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἴδε, Φοινίκες μὲν σὺν Σύροις τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Παλαιστίνῃ τριήροσι, ὡδὲ ἐσκευασμένοι περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τῶν Ἑλληνίκων, ἐνδεδεικτές δὲ θώρηκας λινέους, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἴτως οὐκ ἐχούσας εἶχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὕτωι δὲ τοὺς Φοινίκες τῷ παλαιῶν οἰκείοιν, ὡς αὐτὸι λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐνθυτέν δὲ ὑπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τῷ παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς δὲ Συρίας τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ τῷ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πάν τις Παλαιστίνῃ καλέσται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρεῖχοντο διηκόσιας. οὕτωι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆς κράνεα χλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἴτως μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατα τε ναύμαχα καὶ τιχώς μεγάλους, τὸ δὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν θωρυκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

90. Οὕτωι μὲν οὖτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρεῖχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡδὲ τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰδίχατο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἅλλοι εἶχον κιθὼνας, τὰ δὲ ἅλλα κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες. τούτων δὲ τασάδε ἐθνεα εἰσὶ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οἱ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Λιθιστίνης, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.
wasting sickness. The horse was straightway dealt with according to Pharnaces' 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 Pharnaces 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 seacoast 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. Κύλικες δὲ ἐκατὸν παρεῖχοντο νέας. οὕτωι δ' αὐτ' περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισμὰ δ' εἰκόνα ἀντ' ἀστίδων ἀμοβοεύς πεποιημένα, καὶ κιδώνας εἰρινέους ἐνδεικτές. δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἔκαστος καὶ εἴφος εἰκόναν, ἀγχότατο τῆς Αἰγυπτίας μαχαίρης πεποιημένα. οὕτωι δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰππαχοιον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κύλικος τοῦ Ἀγήναρος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τρεῖκοντα παρεῖχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοὶ ὀπλοίς ἐσκευασμένοι. οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὕτωι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίας ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἀμα 'Ἀμφιλοχο καὶ Καλχαίτι.

92. Δύκιοι δὲ παρεῖχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα θωρηκοφόροι τε ἐόντες καὶ κηνιμιδοφόροι, εἰκόνα δὲ τόξα κρανείνα καὶ οὐστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγός δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὅμοις αἰωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς πῖλους πτεροῖς περιστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἰκόνα. Δύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Δύκου τοῦ Παιδίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίον ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

93. Δωριέες δὲ οἴ εἰς τῆς Ἀσίης τρεῖκοντα παρεῖχοντο νέας, ἐχόντες τε Ἑλληνικά ὄπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κάρες δὲ ἐξομήκοντα παρεῖχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἀλλα κατὰ περ 'Ελληνες ἔσταλμενοι, εἰκόνα δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὕτωι δὲ οἴνοις πρῶτον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τούτῳ πρῶτοις τῶν λόγων εἰρηται.

94. "Ἰωνεῖς δὲ ἐκατὸν νέας παρεῖχοντο ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ιωνεῖς δὲ ὅσου τεῖν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκοι τὴν νῦν καλεσμένην Ἀχαΐαν, καὶ πρὶν ἡ Δαναὸν τε καὶ Ἐοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς
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 Amphilochochus and Calchas.

92. The Lycians furnished fifty ships; they wore cuirasses and greaves, carrying bows of cornel-wood and unfeathered arrows and javelins; goat-skins hung from their shoulders, and they wore on their heads caps set about with feathers; daggers they had too, and scimitars. The Lycians were of Cretan descent, and were once called Termilae; they took the name they bear from Lycus, an Athenian, son of Pandion.

93. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; their armour was Greek; they were of Peloponnesian descent. The Carians furnished seventy ships; they had scimitars and daggers, but for the rest Greek equipment. Of them I have spoken in the beginning of my history, telling by what name they were formerly called.

94. The Ionians furnished a hundred ships; their equipment was like the Greek. These Ionians, as long as they were in the Peloponnesian dwelling in what is now called Achaia, before Danaus and

1 Agenor appears to represent the Phoenician Baal.
2 In I. 171.
Πελασγοὶ ὡς Ἔλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκάλεσεν Ἡμαῖς μὲν Ἐλασγοὶ Ἀγιαλεῖς, ἀλλ' δὲ Ἰωνοὶ τοῦ Ἐσχοῦ Ιωνες.

95. Νησίωται δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα παρέξουσον νέας, ὡς Ἐλληνες, καὶ τούτῳ Πελασγικῷ ἔθνος, ύστερον δὲ Ἰωνικῷ ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυσδεκαπόλεις Ἰωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἄθηναν. Αἰολεῖς δὲ ἐξήκουσαν νέας παρέξουσο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἐλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ἃς Ἔλληνων λόγοι. Ἐλληστοντιοι δὲ πλην Ἀβυδηνῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνῶν γὰρ προσετέκτακτο ἐκ βασιλείᾳ κατὰ χώρην μένουσι φύλακες εἶναι τῶν γεφυρών) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατευόμενοι παρεξούστα πρὸς ἐκατόν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἐλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἰωνοὶ καὶ Δωριέων ἀποίκοι.

96. Ἐπεβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μήδαι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἀρίστα πλεούσως παρεξούστα νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι. τούτοιοι πάσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτος πεζῶν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆραν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες, τῶν εὐγόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ἐξαγοιμαί ἐστιν ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμεμηνμαι. οὕτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαι περὶ πόλεις τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἐπίπουν δὲ όσοι οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ το πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἀρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρεταί μοι.

97. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατηγευον Ἄριαβλογῆς
BOOK VII. 94-97

Xuthus came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, were called Aegialian Pelasgians\(^1\); 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,\(^2\) 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 Saceae 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: ep. I. 146; II. 171.

\(^2\) For the twelve cities, see I. 142.
τε ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνως καὶ Μεγάβαξος ὁ Μεγαβάτεως καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρκέης στρατηγῆς Ἀριαβίγης ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύνως θυγατρός. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατῆγη Ἀχαιμένης Ἐρέξεω ἐων ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἄδελφος, τῆς δὲ ἀλλής στρατηγῆς ἐστρατῆγεν οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκυροι καὶ ἱππαγωγά πλοία μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑφάνη τρισέκλισι.

98. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλέοντων μετά τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οἶδε ἢσαν ὁμομαστῶται, Σιδώνιος Τετράμενης Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτὴν Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κλίξ Σινένεσις Ὀρρομένοιτος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος καὶ Τιμώναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρως, καὶ Καρών Ἰστιαιός τε ὁ Τύμνεω καὶ Πύρης ὁ Ῥοσελώμου, καὶ Δαμασίδυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

99. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμένεται ταξιάρχων ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θώμα ποιεύμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσάμενης γυναικὸς· ἦτε ἃποδανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τῇ παντοτικῇ τιν ὑπάρχοντος νεπρείον ὕπο λήματος τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐστρατευότος, οὐδεμίῳ ἢ εὔος ἢ ἀναγκαίῳ. οὐνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Δυνάμιος, γένος δὲ ἦν Ἀλκαρνησσιοῦ τοῦ προσ πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἤγεπονευε δὲ Ἀλκαρνησσιοῦ τε καὶ Κώσων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδώνων, πέντε νεάς παρεχομένης, καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατηγῆς, μετὰ ἡ τὰς Σιδωνίων, νεὰς εὐδοξότατας παρεῖχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων.
son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Megabazus son of Megabates, and Achaemenes son of Darius, Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, being admiral of the Ionian and Carian fleet; the admiral of the Egyptians was Achaemenes, full brother to Xerxes, and the two others were admirals of the rest. As for the ships of thirty and of fifty oars, and light galleys, and great transports for horses, the sum of them altogether was shown to be three thousand.

98. Of those that were on shipboard, the most famous, after the admirals, were these: Tetramnestus of Sidon, son of Anysus, Matten of Tyre, son of Siromus, Merbalus of Aradus, son of Agbalus, Syennessis of Cilicia, son of Oromedon, Cyberniseus 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 βασιλεία ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολλῶν ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πάν ἐνώ Δωρικῶν, Ἀλκαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζήνων, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίων. ἐς μὲν τοσοῦτο ο ναυτικὸς στράτος ἐιρηται.

100. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἤρθη ἡ ὁδός τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στράτος, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφαιρά διεξελάςας θείσασθαι μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεσ ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελάνων ἔπι ἄμασας παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐπυθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἐως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἐσχάτα ἄπικετο καὶ τῆς ὑπο καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπετοίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισῶν ἐς βάλασαν, ἐνθαῦτα ο Ξέρξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄμασας ἐς νέα Σιδηρωνία Ἑτο ς ὑπὸ σκηνὴ χρυσῆ καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἑπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὑμόλος καὶ τὸν πεζόν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγγέλτες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευν, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γην τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδοῦν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἔντος τῶν πρωρῶν πλέον ἐναέτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101. Ὁς δὲ καὶ ταυτὰς διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξῆθη ἐκ τῆς νεῶς, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρχητον τὸν Δριστοὺς συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρετο τάδε. "Δημάρχητε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἱδο τι ἐστὶ εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλων. σὺ εἰς Ἑλλήν τε, καὶ ὅσ ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοί ἐς λόγους ἀπεκρεμένων, πόλιος οὐτ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης, νῦν ὥμοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλλήνες ὑπομενέσθητι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι. οὐ γάρ, ὡς 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?"

\(^1\) The exiled king of Sparta; see ch. 3.
οὔτε εἰ πάντες "Ελληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἀνδρωποι συλλεχθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἁξιόμαχοι εἰς τῇ ἐπιστάμενα ὑπομείναι, μὴ ἔοντες ἄρθμιοι. Θέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὅκοιόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "Βασιλεῖ, κόπτερα ἄλθειν χρήσιμοι πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἠδονὴ;" ὁ δὲ μὲν ἄλθειν χρήσιμα ἐκέλευεν, φᾶς αὐτῇ οἱ ἀγδεστεροὶ ἐσεθαι ἡ πρῶτερον ἢν.

102. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρχης, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Βασιλεῖ, ἔπειδὴ ἄλθειν διαχρήσισθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ φευγόμενος τις ὑπερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἐλλάδι πενίῃ μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύντροφος ἐστὶ, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐπάκτος ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ τε σοφίας κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμον ἰσχυροῦ τῇ διαχρησσειν ἡ Ἐλλάς τὴν τε πενίῃν ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνεῖο μὲν των πάντως "Ελληνας τοὺς περὶ ἐκεῖνους τοὺς Δωρηκοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους, ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τοὺς τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Δακεδαιμονίων μοῦνων, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτε σοῦ δεξιοῦται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἐλλάδι, αὐτῶς δὲ ὁς ἀντιάσσοντά τοι ἢς μάχην καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι "Ελλῆνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀρίθμου δὲ πέρι, μὴ πῦθη ὅσοι τινὲς ἔοντες ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἴοι τε εἰσὶν ἢν τε γὰρ τύχωσι εἴξεπτρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὕτωι μαχῆσται τοι, ἢν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ήν τε καὶ πλεῦνες."

103. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης γελάσας ἔφη "Δημάρχη, οἶον ἐφθέγξασε ἐπος, ἀνδρὸς χελίους στρατιῆς τοσῇς μαχῆσθαι. ἀγε εἰπὲ μοι σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς 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
σὺ δὲν ἐθελήσεις αὐτικά μᾶλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καὶ τοιοῦτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὑμῖν πᾶν ἔστι τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διασειλέσθη, σὲ γε τὸν κείμενον βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμων τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείμενον ἐκατοστὸς δέκα ἄνδρῶν τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐκῆς ἀντάξιος ἔστι, σὲ δὲ γε δίξημαι εἰκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον, καὶ οὕτω μὲν ὑρθοῖτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σέο λεγόμενος εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοιοῦτοι, ὅσοι σὺ τε καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἐλλήνων ἐς λόγους αὐχέετε τοιοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὶ τῷ οἶκοτι κως ἂν δυναῖτο χίλιοι ἦ καὶ μύριοι ἦ καὶ πεντακισισίηροι, ἐόντες γε ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ υπ' ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσῷδε ἀντιστήναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλείνες περὶ ἕνα ἐκατοστὸν γινόμεθα ἡ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμετέρον γενοίματ' ἄν, δειμαίνοντες τοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ οὐκ ἄναγκαζομενοί μάστυνες ἔστι πλείνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἄνειμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐλεύθερον οὐκ ἂν ποιεῖον τοῦτων οὐδέτερα. δοκεώ δὲ ἐγὼ γα καὶ ἀνισοθέντας πληθεῖ σαλέπος ἂν Ἐλλήνως Πέρσηι μονοισι μάχεσθαι. ἄλλα παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν μονοισι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σύ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὐ πολλῶν ἄλλα σπάνιον εἰσι γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐκελήσουσι Ἐλλήνων ἄνδρας τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχεσθαι τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος πολλὰ φλυηρεῖσι.
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.
ἀρχήθειν ἵπποιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἔρεων σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἤνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτήτηρι. καὶ τοι ὦν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε εὐτροφός ἐκεῖνος, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπιστευεῖ, οὐ με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελάμβανοι πατρώια ἀπολίον τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποίηκασι, πατήρ δὲ σος ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἐδώκει. οὐκὼν οἰκὸς ἐστὶ ἀνδρὰ τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίαν φανομένην διωθέοντα, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπόσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυνοῦσι, εἰκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ' ἀν μονομαχόμεθι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἰθ' ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐπιστρυχνόν ἁγῶν, μαχοίμην ἄν πάντων ἑστατά ἐν τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ Ἔλληνων ἐκαστος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ μὲν ἕνα μαχόμενον οὐδαμῶν εἰσὶ καιρόνες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀριστοὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσί: ἐπεστὶ γάρ σφε δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῷ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σε. ποιεύσας γὰρ τὰ ἀν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγη ἀνόγει δὲ τῶν τὸν ἀιὲ, οὐκ ἐὼν φευγεὶς οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐπικρατεῖν ἢ ἀπόκλινονται σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φλυτήρεων, τάλλα σιγῶν θέλω τὸ λοιπὸν νῦν τε ἀναγκασθῆς ἔλεγα. ἕνοικο τέ μεντοι κατὰ νόσων τοι, βασιλεῦ."

105. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἀμείβατο, Ἑρέβης δὲ ἐς γῆλωτα τε ἔτρεφε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμιάν, ἀλλ' ἦπιος αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτω δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ἑρέβης, καὶ ὑπάρχον ἐν τῷ 408.
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, nor, 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 τούτω καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστεω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξῆλθαν τῶν στρατῶν διὰ τῆς Θρήκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

106. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τούτῳ Μασκάμην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ἔρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάνων ὅσους αὐτός κατέστησε ἡ Δαρείος ὑπάρχουσι, πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέργης ἐκ Θρήκης τοῦ Εὔρεσι τοῖς Μασκάμησι ἐκχώμενοι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἐτὶ προτέρου ταύτης τῆς ἑλάσιος ὑπάρχου ἐν τῇ Θρήκη καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πανταχῆ. οὕτω δὲν πάντες οἱ τε ἐκ Θρήκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὑστερον ταύτης τῆς στρατηλασίας ἐξαιρέθησαν, τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην ὑστάματο καὶ ἐναυάσθησαν ἐξελίξαν τολμῶν πειρησμένων, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ὅτα δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλείου τούτος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃ.

107. Τὸν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ἔρξης ἐνώμισε εἰναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον τὸν ἐξ Ἡμίνων, τούτον δὲ αἰνεῖν ὅπως ἐπαινεῖ, καὶ τοὺς περιεύοντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Περσηποῦ παῖδας ἐστὶμα μάλιστα, ἐπεῖ καὶ ἀξιόν αἰτοὺς μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης· ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκήσετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κύμων τοῦ Μελιτέω, παρεῖν αὐτῷ ὑψώσπευδαν ἐξελείσαν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, ὅπως ἡ ἠθῆσε, μὴ δειλὴ, δόξαις περιεύει βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρετε ἐς τὸ ἐσχάτων. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲν ἔτι φοβῆσί ἐνῆ ἐν τῷ τείχῃ, συνήθης πιρήνη μεγάλην ἐστάξατε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακᾶς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἐπειτα.
with Demaratus, and having appointed Mascames son of Megadostes his viceroy of that same Doriscus, deposing him whom Darius had set there, Xerxes marched his army through Thrace towards Hellas.

106. This Mascames, whom he left, so bore himself that to him alone Xerxes ever sent gifts, as being the most valiant of all the viceroys that he or Darius set up; every year he would send them; and so too did Artoxerxes his son to Mascames' descendants. For before this march, viceroys had been appointed everywhere in Thrace and on the Hellespont. All these in that country, except the viceroy of Doriscus, were after this expedition dispossessed by the Greeks; but Mascames of Doriscus could never be dispossessed by any, though many essayed it. For this cause it is that the gifts are sent by whoever is at any time king of Persia.

107. Of those who were dispossessed by the Greeks there was none whom king Xerxes deemed a valiant man except only Boges, from whom they took Eion. But this Boges he never ceased praising, and gave very great honour to his sons who were left alive in Persia; and indeed Boges proved himself worthy of all praise. Being besieged by the Athenians under Cimon son of Miltiades, he might have departed under treaty from Eion and so returned to Asia; yet he would not, lest the king should think that he had saved his life out of cowardice, but he resisted to the last. Then, when there was no food left within his walls, he piled up a great pyre and slew and cast into the fire his children and wife and concubines and servants;
εσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπαντᾷ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα ἐωστὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὕτος δικαίως αἰνέται ἑτί καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων.

108. Ἐξέβης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμπόδων συνετραπέσθαι ἡμάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γὰρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸτεραῖοι μου δεδήλωσα, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα καὶ ἤν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεφαμένου καὶ υπεροχον Μαρδονίου. παραμείβετο δὲ πορεύομενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχατή πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλις τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μεσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Ἱασίων πόλις Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τὸν μέσον Δίσος ποταμός διαρρέει, ὅτι τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ υδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ἐξέβηο στρατῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπέλειπε. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέστο Γαλλαίκη, νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἐστὶ μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων.

109. Διαβας δὲ τοῦ Δίσου ποταμοῦ τὸ βέθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταύτας τε ὑπὸ παρέξημε καὶ κατὰ ταύτας λίμνας ὀνομαστὰς τάσδε, Μαρώνειας μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐν τὴν ποταμοῖ δύο ἐσυνεϊσὶ τὸ υδωρ, Τραῦνος τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὖν οὐσίων ὀνομαστήν παραμείβατο Ἐξέβης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστου ἐρέντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετά
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,\(^1\) whereof that one which is built 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 Gallaïc, 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.
110. Ταύτας μεν δὴ τάς πόλιας τάς παραδαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλληνίδας ἔξε εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξῆτε ἔθνεα δὲ ᾿Θρήκων δι’ ὅν τῆς χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεστο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκονες Βίστονες Σαπαίοι Δερσαίοι ᾿Ηδωνοί Σάτραι. τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ βαλάσσαν κατοικήμανοι ἐν τῇσι νησὶ εἰπόντο: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τῇσι μεσόγαιαν οἰκεοντες καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων, οἱ ἀλλοὶ πάντες πεζῷ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἰπόντο.

111. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑπῆκοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδιμεν, ἀλλὰ διατελεῖσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἑώντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι ῾Θρήκων ὀικεοῦσι τε γὰρ ορεα ὑψηλά, ἵδισι τε παντοίσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρέφα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἅκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήμα πεῖ, ἐκτημένου· τὸ δὲ μαντήμα τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων, Βησσοί δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέωσα κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφῶσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλότερον.

112. Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἐξέξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμεῖβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, τῶν ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ σύνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ Περγαμοῦ. 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, Bistonides, 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 ἐποιεῖτο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαλον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐφ' μέγα τε καὶ ύψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσει τε καὶ ἀργυρεὰ ἐνὶ μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πίερες τε καὶ Ὄδομαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113. Ὄπεροικεύοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαλον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παιόνας Δόβηρας τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξίων ὢν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐσὶ ὁ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡδώνα, τῆς ἐτὶ ζωὸς ἐφ' ἑρχε Βόγης τοῦ περ ὑλίγον πρότερον τοῦτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην. ἡ δὲ γῆ αὐτή ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαλον ὄρος καλέται Φιλλής, κατατείνουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἄγγιτην ἐκδοντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τεῖνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα· ἐς τὸν οἷ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέουντο σφάζοντες ἦππους λευκοὺς.

114. Φαρμακεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἐν Ἔννεα ὠδοῖς τῆς Ἡδώνων ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρότετε ἐζευγμένον. Ἐννέα δὲ ὠδοὺς πυνθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλέσθαι, τοσοῦτος ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζῶοντας κατώρυσσον. Περσικῶν δὲ τὸ ζώοντας κατορύσσεων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμιστριν τὴν Ἑρέξεω γυναῖκα πυνθανομαί γηράσασσαν δις ἐπὶ Περσέων παῖδας ἐντον ἐπιφανεῖς ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἐωντῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.

115. Ὁς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμένων ἐστὶ
marched under their very walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaean range, wherein the Pierians and Odomanti and the Satrae in especial have mines of gold and silver.

113. Marching past the Paconians, Doberes, and Paeoplae, who dwell beyond and northward of the Pangaean mountains,¹ he went ever westwards, till he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eion, the governor whereof was that Boges, then still alive, of whom I have lately made mention. All this region about the Pangaean range is called Phyllis; it stretches westwards to the river Angites, which issues into the Strymon, and southwards to the Strymon itself; by that water the Magi slew white horses, offering thus sacrifice for good omens.

114. Having used these enchantments and many other besides on the river, they passed over it at the Edonian town of Nine Ways,² by the bridges which they found thrown across it. There, learning that Nine Ways was the name of the place, they buried alive that number of boys and maidens, children of the people of the country. To bury alive is a Persian custom; I have heard that when Xerxes' wife Amestris attained to old age she buried fourteen sons of notable Persians, as a thank-offering on her own behalf to the fabled god of the nether world.

115. Journeying from the Strymon, the army passed by Argilus, a Greek town standing on a

¹ In 112 Xerxes was marching along the coast; here he is far inland. Doubtless the explanation lies in the division of his army into three parallel columns (121).
² About three miles above Eion on the Strymon.

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αιγυπτιας ἐν τῷ οἰκημένῳ Ἀργαλοῦ πόλιν Ἐλλάδα παρεξῆι ια ἡ κατοικοθετε ἑαυτῆς καλέται Βισαλτής. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κόλπου τῶν ἐπὶ Ποσειδίην ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχων ἦν διὰ Συλεός πεδίου καλαμένου, Στάγευρον πόλιν Ἐλλάδα παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀκανθόν, ἀμα ἀνόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἔθνεων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαλον ὄρος οἰκεόντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχουν οἰκημένους εἰ νυσὶ στρατευόμενοι, τοὺς δ᾿ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζοὶ ἐπομένους. τῇ δὲ ὀδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ἐρέξης τὸν στρατὸν ἠλάσα, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρηκεῖς οὔτε ἐπισπείρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμὲν.

116. Ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθόν ἀπίκετο, ξεινία τε ὁ Ἐρέξης τοῖς Ἀκανθίοις προείπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφέας ἐσθήτῃ Μηδικῇ ἐπαίνει τε, ὁρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προδύμους ἕντας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὀρνύμα ἄκουσιν.

117. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἕντο τοιοῦ Ἐρέξεως συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νοῦν ἀποβαίνειν τῶν ἐπεστῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίη, δόκιμον ἔντα παρὰ Ἐρέξῃ καὶ γένους Ἀχαμενίδην, μεγάθει τε μέγιστον ἐντα Περσῶν (ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλέων ἀπελευθερές ἀπεκτύλους) φωνεῖται τα μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ωστε Ἐρέξῃς συμφορὴν ποιηταμένον μεγάλην ἐξενεκαὶ τα αὐτῶν καλ- λιστα καὶ θάψαι ἐτυμβοχόες δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἦρωι, ἐποιεῖμεντες τὸ σύνομα.

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 Poseideon, 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 befell 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 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

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1 This would make Artachaees eight feet high.
'Αρταχαίεω ἐποίετο συμφόρην. οἱ δὲ υποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ἐρέξην ἐσ πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὖτο δὲ ἄναστατο οἷς ὅμως ἴχνηντο· ὅκου Θασίους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἴπτερῳ πολίων τῶν σφετερών δεξαμένοι τὴν Ἐρέξησ στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνίζοσι· Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὄργεος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνήρ δόκιμος ὅμοιο τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δείπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα.

119. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀλήθεια πόλις οἱ ἐπεστεάτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον, τὸ γὰρ δείπνον τοιοῦτο δι' ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένων τούτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύσωσαν τάχιστα τῶν θηρίων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασαμενοί σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλις οἱ ἀστοὶ ἀλευρά τε καὶ ἀλβίτα ἐποίευσιν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνοις· τούτῳ δὲ κτήμα ἐσιτεύου ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐτρέφον τὲ ὀρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λμαίνους ἐν τε ὀἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούτο ἡ χρύσεα τε καὶ ἀργυρία ποτῆρια τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεύτο καὶ τάλλα διὰ ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοσίτοις μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποίητο, τῇ δὲ ἀλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὁκὼς δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιὰ, σκηνὴ μὲν ἐσκε πετηγυία ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιεύσκετο Ἐρέξης, ἡ δὲ ἀλλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐσκε ὑπαίθριος. ὡς δὲ δείπνου ἐγίνετο ὡρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἐχεσκον πόνον, οὶ δὲ ὁκὼς πλησιέστενς νῦκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραῖς τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες.
Artachaeae. But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to the depth of misery, insomuch that they were driven from house and home; witness the case of the Thasians, who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatrus son of Orgeus, as notable a man as any of his towns-men, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner.

119. A like account was rendered in all the other cities by the controllers. For since the command for it had been given long before, and the matter was esteemed a weighty one, the dinner was somewhat on this wise: As soon as the townsmen had word from the heralds' proclamation, they divided corn among themselves in their cities and all of them for many months ground it to wheaten and barley meal; moreover they fed the finest beasts that money could buy, and kept landfowl and waterfowl in cages and ponds, for the entertaining of the army; and they made gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table. These latter were made for the king himself and those that ate with him; for the rest of the army they provided only what served for food. At the coming of the army, there was a pavilion built for Xerxes' own lodging, and his army abode in the open air. When the hour came for dinner, the hosts would have no light task; as for the army, when they had eaten their fill and passed the night there, on the next day they would rend the pavilion from the ground and take
καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα λαβόντες οὗτο ἀπελαύνε-σκοὺς, λείποντες οὐδὲν ἄλλα φερόμενοι.

120. Ἡ Ἑυθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἄνδρος Ἀβδηρίτεως ἔπος ευ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, δὲ συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτης πανθημεί, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναίκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ζεσθαὶ ἰκέτας τῶν θεῶν παρατεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφὶ ἀπαμόνεων τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμῖσεα, τῶν τε παροικο-μένων ἔχειν σφὶ μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἐρέμης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέσθαι παρέχειν γὰρ ἄν Ἀβδηρίτης, εἰ καὶ ἀριστῶν προείρητο ὁμοία τῷ δείπνῳ παρα-σκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ἐρέμης ἐπιόντα ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων δια-τριβήναι.

121. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίῳ τὸ ἐπιτασσό-μενον ἐπετελέσαν, Ἐρέμης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τούσι στρατηγοῖς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἕωντον πορεύεσθαι τάς νέας, Θέρμης δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαῖῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἦς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπιυδάνετο συντρο-μότατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὅσε ἔπεταμένοι ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιεῖτο τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ἐρέμης δασάμενος πάντα τῶν πεζῶν στρατοῦ, μίαν αὐτῶν ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵναι ὁμοίῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδώνιος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἐτέρα δὲ τεταγμένη ὕπε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίας τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργης: ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρῶν, μετ' ἦς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ἐρέμης, ἢ μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν,
all things movable, and so march away, leaving nothing but carrying all with them.

120. It was then that there was a very apt saying uttered by one Megacreon of Abdera: he counselled his townsmen to go all together, men and women, to their temples, and there in all humility entreat the gods to defend them in the future from half of every threatened ill; and let them (so he counselled) thank the gods heartily for past favour, in that it was Xerxes' custom to take a meal only once a day; else, had they been commanded to furnish a breakfast of like fashion as the dinner, the people of Abdera would have had no choice but either to flee before Xerxes' coming, or to perish most miserably if they awaited him.

121. So the townsmen, hard put to it as they were, yet did as they were commanded. Quitting Acanthus, Xerxes sent his ships on their course away from him, giving orders to his generals that the fleet should await him at Therma, the town on the Thermaic gulf which gives the gulf its name; for this, he learnt, was his shortest way. For the order of the army's march, from Doriscus to Acanthus, had been such as I will show: dividing all his land army into three portions, Xerxes appointed one of them to march beside his fleet along the sea-coast, with Mardonius and Masistes for its generals; another third of the army marched as appointed further inland, under Tritantaechmes and Gergis; the third portion, with which went Xerxes himself,
στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεα τε καὶ Μεγάβυζου.

122. Ὅ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυγα τὴν ἐν τῷ "Αθω γενομένην, διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ "Ασσα τε πόλις καὶ Πέλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκημαί, ἐνθεύτευς, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον τῶν πολίων στρατιῶν παρέλαβε, ἐπλεε ἀπίεμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαίον κόλπον, κάμπτον δὲ Ἀμπελοῦ τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσιδε πόλις, ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιῶν παρελαμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληγῆν Σερμύλην Μηκυ-βέρναν Ὀλυνθοῦ.

123. Ὅ μὲν νυν χώρη αὕτη Σιδωνίη καλέσται, ὃ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω συντάμων ἀπ’ Ἀμπελοῦ ἄκρης ἐπὶ Καναστραίην ἄκρην, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεύτευς νέας τε καὶ στρατιῶν παρελαμβανε ἐκ Ποταδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτειος καὶ Νέης πόλις καὶ Λυγῆς καὶ Θεράμβω καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένθης καὶ Σάνης αὕτη γὰρ εἰσὶ ἀι τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην προτερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλεσμένη νεμόμεναι, παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐπλεε ἐς τὸ πρεισριμένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεγέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὠμουρετσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῆς οὖνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Δίσαξι Κωμβρεία Αἰσα Γίγαννος Κάμψα Σμῖλα Δίνεια· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων χώρη Κροσσαίη ἐτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέσται. ἀπὸ δὲ Δίνεις, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡδή ἐς αὐτῶν τε τῶν Θερμαίον κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆ τῆν Μυγδονίην, πλέων

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marched between the two, and its generals were Smerdomees 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, Therambos, Scione, Mendi, 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, Lisae, 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 τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Ἀξιὼν ποταμόν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδόνινη τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ ὀμασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλεις Ἰγναί τε καὶ Πέλλα.

124. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιῶν ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μετὰ τὸ πολιας τούτων περιμένων βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεξός στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ακάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὀδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ Κρηστονικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χείδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστοναιῶν ἀρχάμενος ἤρει διὰ Μυγδόνιης χώρης καὶ ἔξειπ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.

125. Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθηκαντο τῇ σειστοφόροις καμήλοισι. καταφωτέστεν τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείπουσι τὰ σφέτερα ήθεα ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενός ἀπτοτο ὤντε ὑποξυγίου ὤντε ἀνθρώπου, οἳ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεράζον μούνας. θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἰτίον, ὅ τε κοτῆ ἰον τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκαίον ἀπεχώμενον τοὺς λέοντας τῇς καμήλοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτη πρότερον ὁπώπεσαν θηρίου μήτ' ἐπεπειρέσθε αὐτοῦ.

126. Εἴςι δὲ κατὰ ταύτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βὸς ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κέρα τα ὑπεμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἐλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὐρός δὲ τοῦτο λέουσι ἐστὶ τὸ δὴ Ἐβδηρὸν ἰῶν ποταμός Νέστος καὶ ὁ δὲ Ἀκαρνανίς ἰῶν Ἀχελῶς ὤντε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἑν τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθε πάσης τῆς ἐμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ὁδι τῆς ἀν λέοντα, 426
till its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns of Sindo and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; this is the boundary, between the Mygdonian and the Bottiaeae 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 Crestoanae country to the river Cheidorus, which, rising in the Crestoanae 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 Acheleous that flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west
οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελώου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίφῳ ἕπειρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

127. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο τὸ Ἑρέξης, ἱδρυσε αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύομενος τὴν παρὰ βαλάσσαν χώρην τοσήμεδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίας μέχρι Λυδίεως τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, ὦν οὐρίζοντι γῆς τὴν Βοττιαίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονία, ἐς τῶντο ὑδρὸν τὸ ὅρος συμμέσχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστοναιῶν ἐρῶν Χείδωρος μοῖρος νῦν ἀντίχρησε τῇ στρατὶ πυνόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλυσε.

128. Ἑρέξης δὲ ὀρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὀρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικὰ, τὸν τε Ὁλυμποῦ καὶ τὴν Ὅσσαν, μεγάθει τῇ υπερμήκειᾳ ἐντα, διὰ μέσον τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶν στεινῶν πυρβανόμενος εἶναι δὲ οὕτω ὑπὲρ ὁ Πηνεῖος, ἄκοον τε ταύτη εἶναι ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλοῦσας θεσσαλικῶν ἐκβολήν του Πηνείου, ὅτι τὴν ἀνω ὁδὸν ἐμπλήκτων τῶν κατύπερπθε οἰκημένων ἀπὸ Περραίσνθες παρὰ Γόννων πόλιν ταύτη γὰρ ἀρσάλεστατον ἐπανθάνετο εἶναι. ὥς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐπολέε ταῦτα ὑσβας ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβαςε αἰεί ὅκους το Ἐθέλου τοιοῦτο

1 Not the whole of Macedonia, but the region originally ruled by the Temenid dynasty, between the rivers Hallemon and Axius and the foothills of Bermius. Edessa was the chief town.
of the Acheleous 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 Bottiaeans and the Macedonian territory. In this place the foreigners lay encamped; of the rivers aforesaid, the Cheidorus which flows from the Crestoniean 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 Gonnis; 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

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 Gonnis. Instead, it crossed the mountains; probably both by a route which runs across the southern slope of Olympus to Gonnis, and also by the Petra pass, farther inland, between Olympus and Bermius. But Herodotus is mistaken in making the alone reach Gonnis; the Tempe route would have done the same.
ποιήσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήνων καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ανάγραφας, καταλιπτῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθεύσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολήν τοῦ Πηνείου, ἐν θώματι μεγάλοι εὐνέχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγομένας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἴρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ παρατρέφαντα ἐτέρη ἐς θάλασσαν ἔξαγαγεν.

129. Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὡστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι ὄρεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡδὺ ἔχοντα τὸ τε Πηλιών ὄρος καὶ Ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκλημέει συμμίσχοντα τὰς ὑπωρέας ἀλληλοιοι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Βορέω ἀνέμου Ὄλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔσπερην Πάνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἀνέμου νότον ἡ Ὄθρως· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὄρεων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐσώτερα κοίλη. ὡστε δὲν ποταμὸν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μᾶλλοντα τῶν, Πηνείου καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἐνπέος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νῦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τούτῳ συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὀρεών τῶν περικλημένων τὴν Θεσσαλίην ὀνομαζόμενοι δὲ ἐνὸς αὐλώνοις καὶ τούτοις στεινοῖς ἐκρουν ἔχουσιν ἐς βάλασσαν, προσυμμίσχοντες τὸ υδωρ πάντες ἐς τῶν ἐπεάν δὲ συμμιχθέως τάχιστα, εἰνθεύτεν ἡ δὴ ὁ Πηνείος τῷ οὖνόματι κατακρατέων ἀνοιχτοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποίει. τὸ δὲ παλαίων λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντως κἂν τοῦ αὐλώνοις καὶ διεκρούσι τούτοις, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποταμοῖς τούτοις, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ποταμοῖς τούτοις τῆν Βοιμηῖδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὀνομάζεσθαι κατά περὶ νῦν ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἢςον ἡ νῦν, ἰέοντας δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν

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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 lake¹ withal, albeit not yet named, had the same volume of water as now, and thereby turned all Thessaly into

¹ In eastern Thessaly, west of Pelion. Naturally, with the whole country inundated, the lake would have no independent existence.
Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα διὸ οὗ βέει ὁ Πηνειώς, οἷκοτα λέγοντες· διότι γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν καὶ τὰ διεστεώτα ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἐστὶ γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἡ διαστάσεις τῶν ὅρεων.

130. Οἱ δὲ κατηγόροι, εἰρομένοι Ξέρξην εἴ ἔστι ἄλλη ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειώ τῷ κατηγόρῳ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀπεκεῖσθαν εἰπὼν "Βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ ὃ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατηγόρῳ, ἄλλῳ ἱδε αὐτῷ" ὀρεσί γὰρ περιεστεφάνως πάσα Θεσσαλίης." Ξέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἴπειν πρὸς ταῦτα "Σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰς Θεσσαλοὶ. ταῦτα ἀρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γρωσιμαχότας καὶ τάλλα καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαρέτοις τε καὶ ταχυώλωτον. τοῦ γὰρ ποταμοῦ πρῶτα ἀν ἂν μοῦνον ἐπεῖναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάζαντα καὶ παρατρέφαντα δι' ὅν τῶν ἰδὼν ἰδέθροι, ὡστε Θεσσαλῖν πᾶσαν ἐξω τῶν ὅρεων ὑποθρυχεῖ σφεδίασαι." ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλευοὺς παῖδας, ὅτι πρῶτον Ἑλληνῶν ἐόντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐνωτοὺς βασιλεῖ, ὄκενων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντὸς σφεῶς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίην. εἰπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεσσαλόν ἄπετλε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

131. Ο μὲν δὴ πείρην διήτριβε ἡμέρας

1 The correspondence in formation of the two sides of the pass (salients on one side answering to recesses on the other) gives the impression that they were once united and have been violently separated.
a sea. Now the Thessalians say that Poseidon made this passage whereby the Peneus flows; and this is reasonable; for whosoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth, and that rifts made by earthquakes are that god's handiwork, will judge from sight of that passage that it is of Poseidon's making; for it is an earthquake, as it seems to me, that has riven the mountains asunder.¹

130. Xerxes enquiring of his guides if there were any other outlet for the Peneus into the sea, they answered him out of their full knowledge: "The river, O king, has no other way into the sea, but this alone; for there is a ring of mountains round the whole of Thessaly." Whereupon, it is said, quoth Xerxes: "They are wise men, these Thessalians; this then in especial was the cause of their precaution long before ² when they changed to a better mind, that they saw their country to be so easily and speedily conquerable; for nought more would have been needful than to let the river out over their land by barring the channel with a dam and turning it from its present bed, that so the whole of Thessaly save only the mountains might be under water." This he said with especial regard to the sons of Alcmaeus, these Thessalians being the first Greeks who surrendered themselves to the king; Xerxes supposed that when they offered him friendship they spoke for the whole of their nation. Having so said, and ended his viewing, he sailed back to Therma.

131. Xerxes delayed for many days in the parts of

¹ As a matter of fact the Thessalians had determined on their policy very recently indeed; but Xerxes apparently supposes that they had resolved to join him from the first.
συχνάς: τὸ γὰρ ὃς τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἐκείρε
tὴς στρατηγῆς τριτημορίς, ἴνα ταύτη διεξῆ ἅπασα ἡ στρατηγὴ ἐς Περραιβοῦς. οἱ γὰρ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπι γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

132. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὖς, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐνιήνες Περραιβὸς Λοκρὸι Μάγνητες Μηλιές Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται καὶ Ἡθβαίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοί πλὴρ Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων, ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ "Ἕλληνες ἐταμον ὅρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι" τὸ δὲ ὅρκιον ὅδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς."Ἕλληνες ἔοντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὐ τῶν προγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεύσα τῷ ἐν Δελ-

φοίι βεβ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὅρκιον ὅδε εἶχε τοῖσι "Ἑλλησι.

133. "Ες δὲ Ἀθηναὶ καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ἐρέσης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τώνδε εἴνεκα πρὸτερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τούτο, οὐ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἴνεκα οὐκ ἐπεμψε Ἐρέσης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συν-

ήνιεκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαί τι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδημίωθη. ἄλλα τούτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἴτην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

134. Τοῖσι δὲ ὅν Δακεδαιμονίοις μὴνις κατ-

έσκηψε Ταλθβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος. ἐν

1 Not all the inhabitants of Thessaly, here, but the tribe
BOOK VII. 131-134

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 betel 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 Into which criminals condemned to death were thrown.
² Possibly the burning of the temple at Sardis (V. 102).
γὰρ Σπάρτη ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρών, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίων καλεόμενοι, τοίοι αἱ κηρυκύαι αἱ Σπάρτῆς πᾶσαι γέρας δεδομέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοίοι Σπαρτιητῆς καλλιεργοῦνθαι, θυμόμενοι όμως ἐνώπιον συγνόν ἣν σφι, ἀκρομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῆς χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλήθες τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κηρύγμα τοιοῦτο ποιεομένων, εἰ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερβής τε ὁ Άνθρωπος καὶ Βούλιος ὁ Νικόλεως, ἀνδρεῖς Σπαρτιητῆς φύσι τε γεγονότες εὐ καὶ χρήματι αὐνήκουτες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐθελοῦνται ὑπὲρδυσαν τοινήν τῶν Ξέρξη τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιητῆς τούτων ὡς ἀποθανεμένως ἔς Μῆδος ἀπέπεμψει.

135. Ἀδυνατες τε η τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξία καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἐπεισ. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπεκεῖνοι πάρα 'Τοάρνεαν ο δὲ 'Τοάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρας, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραβαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὡς σφαές ξείνια προθέμενον ἰστία, ξεινίζων δὲ έκεῖνο τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Λακεδαιμονίωι, τί δὲ φεύγετε βασιλεῖς φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὅρατε γὰρ ὡς ἐπιστᾶται βασιλεὺς ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τα ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐι δοῖρε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖς, δεδοξόσθε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνδρεῖς εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ, ἐκαστὸς ἀν ὑμεῶν ἀρχοи γῆς "Ελλάδος δόντος βασιλέως." πρὸς ταύτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Τοάρνεας, οὐκ ἐξ ἵππων γίνεται ἡ συμβουλὴ ἡ ἐς ἠμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τεπειρημένος
BOOK VII. 134-135

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; oftentimes 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
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συμβουλεύεις, τού δὲ ἀπειρος εώς τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστεια, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὔκω ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ' ἐστι γυναῖκι οὔτ' ἐι μή, εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειράσαι, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύοις ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἄλλα καὶ πελέκεσιν."

136. Ταῦτα μὲν Ῥώμηνά ἀμείψαντο. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ Βασιλεύς ἐσ ὅφειν ἠλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύοντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων προσκυνεῖν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἐφασαν ἰθέαμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπι κεφαλῆς ποιήσειν ταῦτα οὕτως. οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἀνθρώπων προσκυνεῖν οὔτε καὶ ταῦτα ἦκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεκατάστα τούτω, δεύτερα σφι λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιώδε ἐχόμενα "Ω βασιλεὺς Μῆδοι, ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων ποιήσαι ἐκεῖνοι τίσοντας," λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα Ἑρέβης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοίως ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι: κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέα τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα ἀποκτείναντας κῆρυκας, αὐτός δὲ τὰ ἐκείνοις ἐπιπλήσει ταῦτα ὑπομνῄσκω, οὔτε ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αὐτῆς.

137. Οὔτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιτέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντικα, καὶ περ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτῃ Σπερβέοι τε καὶ Βοῦλιος. χρόνω δὲ μετέτειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγονσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖς θείοτατοι φαινεται γενέσθαι. ὅτε μεν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις οὔτε ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον 438
of them rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance; you know well how to be a slave, but you have never tasted of freedom, to know whether it be sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes."

136. This was their answer to Hydarnes. Thence being come to Susa and into the king’s presence, when the guards commanded and would have compelled them to fall down and do obeisance to the king, they said they would never do that, no not if they were thrust down headlong; for it was not their custom (said they) to do obeisance to mortal men, nor was that the purpose of their coming. Having beaten that off, they next said, "The Lacedaemonians have sent us, O king of the Medes, in requital for the slaying of your heralds at Sparta, to make atonement for their death," and more to that effect; wherupon Xerxes of his magnanimity said that he would not imitate the Lacedaemonians; "for you," said he, "made havoc of all human law by slaying heralds; but I will not do that which I blame in you, nor by putting you in turn to death set the Lacedaemonians free from this guilt."

137. Thus by this deed of the Spartans the wrath of Talthybius was appeased for the nonce, though Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta. But long after that it awoke to life again in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedaemonians say. That seems to me to be a sure sign of heaven’s handiwork. It was but just that the wrath of Talthybius descended on ambassadors, nor was
οὔτω ἔφερε τὸ δὲ συμπεσέως ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαον τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίεω, ὡς εἴλη Ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὅλκάδι καταπλώσας πληρεί ἀνδρῶν, δῆλον ὅπως ὁτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος, οἳ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαίμονιον ἀγγελοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἁσίνην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρήκης καὶ Νυμφοδόρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἤλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἕλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθαναν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας οὐ Ἀδευμάντου Κορίκθεος ἀνήρ. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν πολλοὶ έτεσι υστεροῦ ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου, ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον λόγον.

138. Ἡ δὲ στρατηγικὴ ἡ βασιλέως οὕνων μὲν εἰχε ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας ἐβαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἕλλαδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἴχον δάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἁγαμὶ πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρους οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δειματί μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἀτε οὗτο νεᾶς ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδι ἀριθμῶν ἀξιομάχων δέκαεθαι τῶν ἐπιόντα, οὗτε βουλομένου τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολεμοῦ, μηδείζοντων δὲ προθύμως.

139. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαῖα ἐξέρχομαι γρώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ τῇ γέ 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 Adimantus, a Corinthian. This happened many years after the king's expedition; I return now to the course of my history.

138. The professed intent of the king's march was to attack Athens, but in truth all Hellas was his aim. This the Greeks had long since learnt, but not all of them regarded the matter alike. Those of them that had paid tribute of earth and water to the Persian were of good courage, thinking that the foreigner would do them no harm; but they who had refused tribute were sore afraid, since there were not in Hellas ships enough to do battle with their invader, and the greater part of them had no stomach for grappling with the war, but were making haste to side with the Persian.

139. Here I am constrained perforce to declare an opinion which will be displeasing to most; but I will not refrain from uttering what seems to me to be

ably between 461 and 450, when Athens and Argos were allied against Sparta. ² In 430; op. Thucyd. II. 67.
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ἐπισχῆσον. εἰ Ἄθηναιοι καταρρωδήσαντες τῶν ἐπισκόπων κινδυνοῦν ἐξελεύνων τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλεπτόντες ἁλλὰ μεῖναις ἐδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Εἴρηξ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπειρῶντο ἀντοίχευσι βασιλεῖ. εἰ τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἤμελοι τὸ Σέρεξ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγινετοι εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κινδύνες ἦσαν ἐλπισμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσσοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προσδέθεντες ἃν διακαταμόνυν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκοῦντο ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖα, κατὰ πολὺς ἀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ του βαρβάρου, ἐμονωθήσαν, μονωθέντες δὲ ἀν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἄπεβανον γενναίως. ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθο, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρῶτες ἄν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας μηδίζοντας ὀμολογή ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Εἴρηξ. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἔπει ἀμφότερα ἡ Ἐλλὰς ἐγινετο ὑπὸ Πέρσης. τὴν γὰρ ὥθησιν τὴν τῶν τειχών τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσσοῦ ἐληλαμένων οיך δύναμι τιθέσαι ήτος ἂν ἦν, βασιλέως ἐπικρατεύοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. οὐν δὲ Ἄθηναίοις ἂν τῆς λέγων σωτηρίας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὃς ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθὲς. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ ὠκότερα τῶν προχρόνων ἐποίησε τοῦ, ταῦτα μέγερες ἔμελλον οὐκ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδας περιέχει ἔλευθερην, τούτο τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπόν, ὅσον μη ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὕτως ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλεῖα μετὰ τῆς νεότως ἀνταπάνεμοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστηρία φοβηρὰ ἐποίησε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δείμα βαλόντα ἐπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τῆς Ἐλλάδας, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεντες ἄνεσχοντο τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.

140. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἄθηναιοι ἐς Δελφῶν
true. Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered themselves to Xerxes, none would have essayed to withstand the king by sea. If, then, no man had withstood him by sea, I will show what would have happened by land: though the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their armour,¹ yet the Lacedaemonians would have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter, but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), till at last they would have stood alone; and so standing they would have fought a great fight and nobly perished. Such would have been their fate; or it may be that, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes; and thus either way Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians. For I cannot perceive what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. But as it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviours of Hellas is to hit the truth. For which part soever they took, that way the balance was like to incline; and by choosing that Hellas should remain free they and none others roused all the rest of the Greeks who had not gone over to the Persians, and did under heaven beat the king off. Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles that came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and were bold to abide the invader of their country.

140. For the Athenians had sent messages to

¹ Cp. I. 181, where the wall of Babylon is called a ἄρρητος.
θεοπρόποις χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ σφί ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἤκοντο, χρῆ ἡ Πυθή, τῇ οὖν οὖν ἢν Ἄριστονικῆ, τάδε.

ὁ μέλεις, τί κάθησθε; λαπόν φεῦγε ἐσχατὰ γαῖς
dόματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδός ἀκρα κάρηνα,
oύτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἐμπεδοῦν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
oύτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτε ὁι χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἀξίλα πέλει κατὰ γάρ μιν
ἐρέτει

πῦρ τε καὶ ἀείς Ἀρης, Συριττενεῖς ἄρμα διωκόν.
pολλὰ δὲ κάλλ᾽ ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σὸν
οἴον,
pολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νησίς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δόσει,
oἴ ποι νῦν ἱδρώτι βεοὺμενοι ἐστηκασί,
δείματε παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρό-
φοισι

ἀιμα μέλαν κέχυτα, προϊδὼν κακότητος
ἀνάγκας.

ἀλλ' ἰτον ἐξ ἀδύτου, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίνδυνα
tυμόν.

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεο-
πρόποι συμφορῇ τῷ μεγίστῳ ἑχρέωντο. προβάλ-
λουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ
κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν
ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευε σφι
ἰκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτίς ἐλθόντας χράσθαι
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. πειθομένουις δὲ ταῦτα

1 Lit. spread courage over your evils. But most com-
mentators 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 λέγονσι "Ὡναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἀμεινόν τι περί τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθείς τάς ἱκέτηριας τάσσε τάς τοι ἣκομεν φέροντες, ἢ οὐ τοι ἀπίμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἁδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῆς μενέμεν ἔστ' ἄν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν," ταύτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλᾶς Δ' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι λισσομένη πολλοῖς λόγοις καὶ μήτη δι' πυκνῆς, σοι δὲ τὸν αὐτὸς ἐπος ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας, τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλισκομένων διὰ Κέκροπος ὅπρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμόν τε Κεθαιρώνος θαδείον, τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ἔνυλινον διδοῖ εὐρύστερα Ζεῦς μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σε τέκνα τ' ὄνήσει.

μηδὲ σὺ γ' ἐπιποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεξον οὔντα πολλῶν ἀπ' ἥπειρον στρατῶν ήσυχος, ἀλλ' ἐποχωρεῖν νότων ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι ποτε καντίος ἔσση, ὦ θεία Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ του σκιδυμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιόσης.

142. Ταύτα σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἡν καὶ ἐδόκεε 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 seed-time or harvest.

142. This being in truth and appearance a more merciful answer than the first, they wrote it down
σοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπῆγγελλον ἐς τὸν δήμον, γρώμαι καὶ ἀλλαὶ πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τῷ μαντήσιν καὶ αἴδε συνεστηκμαί μᾶλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκεῖειν σφίσι τὸν θεόν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περίεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ῥηχῷ ἐπέφρακτο. οὐ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ἔνων τείχος εἶναι, οὐ δ' αὐτὸν ἐλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὡς δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ἔνων τείχος ἐσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθῆς.

ὁ θείς Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ ποὺ σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταύτα τὰ ἔπειρα συνεχέοντο αἱ γρώμαι τῶν φαμέων τὰς νέας τὸ ἔνων τείχος εἶναι, οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγους ταύτη ταύτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὸ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἑσοώθηναι ναυμαχίην παράσκευασμένους.

143. Ἡ νῦν δὲ τῶν τις Αθηναίων ἄνηρ ἐς πρῶτος νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὐνόμα μὲν ὃν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεκτάριος ἐκαλέετο. οὕτος ὄνηρ οὐκ ἔφη πάν ὅρθος τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγον τοιάδε: εἰ ἐς Αθηναίους εἴχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἀν οὕτω μιν δοκεῖειν ἡπίως χρησίμην, ἀλλὰ ὦδε "ὁ σχετλὶς Σαλαμίς" ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὁ θείς Σαλαμίς," εἰ πέρ γε ἐμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ 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
συλλαμβάνοντι κατά το ὄρθον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς 'Αθηναίους· παρασκευάζεσθαι δόν αὐτοῦς ὡς ναυμαχή-
σοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτον ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέως ἀποφαίνομένου
'Αθηναίοι ταύτα σφίσι ἐγνώσαν αἰρετώτερα εἰναι
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἱ οὕτως ἐως ναυ-
μαχὴν ἀρτέσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ
χειρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἄλλα ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν
Ἀττικήν ἀλλὴν τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

144. Ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέει γνώμη ἐμπροσθε
tαύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε, ὅτε 'Αθηναίοις γενο-
μένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν
μετάλλων σφί προσήλθαν τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου,
ἐμελλόν λάξεσθαι ὅρχηδον ἐκαστὸς δέκα ὀραχίας·
tότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε 'Αθηναίους τῆς
dιαιρέσεως ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν
χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τῶν πόλεων,
tὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὕτως γάρ ὁ πόλεμος
συντας ἐσώσε ὑπὸ τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας
θαλασσίους γενέσθαι 'Αθηναίους. αὖ δὲ ἐς τὸ
μὲν ἔποιησαν οὐκ ἐχρῆσθαι, ἐς δὲν ὅπα ὅπως
τὴν Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖς
'Αθηναίοις προποιηθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε
ἔδεε προσναυπηγέσθαι. ἐδοξέ τε σφὶ μετὰ τὸ
χριστήριον βουλευομένους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν
βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῆς ὁνοματικὸν παν-
δημεί, τὸ θεὸ πειθομένους, ἀμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖς
βουλευομένοις.

1 Silver, lead, and perhaps copper mines in Attica, from
which the state drew an annual revenue. Apparently when
this exceeded the usual amount the general public received
a largess. Even if the population numbered 30,000 (op. V.
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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 Laurium¹ 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. Τά μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγεγόνει· συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τῶντον πρὶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἐλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείων προνεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφῖσι λόγοι καὶ πίστις, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένους αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἐχθρὰς καὶ τοὺς καὶ ἄλλους έοντας πολέμους ἤσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκριμένοι, ὁ δὲ ὅπων μέγιστος Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Δινυνήτης, μετὰ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Ἑρέξην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύοντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλείων προχρημάτων, ἐς "Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαίχυμα συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Διονύμενος ἐς τὸ Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες καὶ καὶ τῷ προτύπῳ πρήσσοντες πάντες, ὡς δεινὸν ἐπιτόντων ὀμοίως πᾶσιν Ἑλλησθήναι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδ' ἕλθον Ἐλληνικῶν τῶν ὅ πολλῶν μέξω.

146. Οὐ δὲ ταῦτα σφί ἐδοξεῖ, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἐχθρὰς πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀπικομένοι τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμάθοντες τὴν βασιλεία στρατικήν, ὡς ἐπάσι έγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πέζου στρατοῦ ἀπήγορον ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατεκέρκτο βάνατος, Ἑρέξης δὲ ὅσι ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς γνώμης πέμπει τῶν τινὰς δορυφόροις, ἐντελάμενος, ἢν καταλάβως τοὺς κατασκόπους έχοντας, άγειν παρordinator; ἔωντον. ὡς δὲ ἔτι
145. These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks that had the better purpose for Hellas now assembling themselves together and there taking counsel and plighting faith, they resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and their wars against each other, from whatever cause arising; and among others that were afoot the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king’s doings, and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corcyra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete; for they hoped that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas.

146. Being so resolved, and having composed their quarrels, they first sent three men as spies into Asia. These came to Sardis, and took note of the king’s army; but they were discovered, and after examination by the generals of the land army they were led away for execution. So they were condemned to die; but when Xerxes heard of it he blamed the judgment of his generals, and sent some of his guards, charging them if they found the spies alive to bring them before him. They were

1 From ἔχεράνυμι; Reiske’s conjecture for MS. ἔχεχον-μένω, which Stein prints, admitting the difficulty of interpreting it.
περιέοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἤγον ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέας, τὸ ἐνθείτεν πυθόμενος ἐπὶ οἷς ἦλθον, ἐκελεύει σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν καὶ τὴν ἐπον, ἐπεάν δὲ ταῦτα θησάμενοι ἔσωσ πλῆρες, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς τὴν ἀν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χωρῆν ἀσινέας.

147. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἔνε- γέλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὐτὶ ἀν τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα προεπόθοντο οἱ "Ελληνες ἐόντα λόγον μέξω, οὐτὶ ἀν τε τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἔσιναντο, ἀνδρὰς τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα δοκεέων ἐφη ἀκοῦσαντας τοὺς "Ελλήνας τὰ ἐωτοῦ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γενομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἴδιν ἐλευθερίας, καὶ οὐτῷ οὔδε δεησεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. οἰκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἥ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἐδώ γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύῳ ὁ Ξέρξης εἰδε πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκτπώνοντα τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, ἐς τὸ Ἁγίων καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπύθωντο πολέμα εἶναι τὰ πλοία, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὅκοτε παραγγελεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἰρέτο αὐτοὺς ῥηχί πλέοιεν ὦ δὲ εἰπαν "Ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὦ δέσποτα, οὕτων ἄγοντες." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἐφη "Οὐκὼν καὶ ἧμεῖς ἐκεὶ πλέομεν ἐνθα περ οὕτω, τοῦτι τε ἄλλοις ἔξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τὸ δήτα ἀδικέουσι οὕτωτι ἤμαι σιτία παρα- κομίζοντες;"

148. Οἱ μὲν νῦν κατάσκοποι οὕτω θεσάμενοι τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.
found still living and brought into the king's presence; then Xerxes, having enquired of them the purpose of their coming, bade his guards lead them about and show them all his army, horse and foot; and when the spies should have seen all to their hearts' content, send them away unharmed whithersoever they would go.

147. The reason alleged for his command was this: had the spies been put to death, the Greeks would not so soon have learnt the unspeakable greatness of his power, and the Persians would have done their enemy no great harm by putting three men to death; "but if they return to Hellas," said he, "methinks when the Greeks hear of my power they will before the expedition surrender this peculiar freedom that they have, and so we need not be at pains to march against them." This was like that other saying of Xerxes', when he was at Abydos and saw ships laden with corn sailing out of the Pontus through the Hellespont, voyaging to Aegina and the Peloponnese. They that sat by him, perceiving that they were enemy ships, were for taking them, and looked to the king for him to give the word. But Xerxes asked them whither the ships were sailing; "to your enemies, Sire," said they, "carrying corn." Whereeto 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
οἱ δὲ συνωμόταὶ Ἕλληνων ἐπὶ τὸ Πέρση μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγονσι τὰ κατ᾽ ἐώτους γενέσθαι ὅδε. πυθόμενοι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθόντες ὡς σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τῶν θεῶν ἐπειρησμοῦνος ὡς σφί μέλλει ἄριστον ποιέσθαι γενέσθαι: νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἔξακισχέλους ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόριδεω τῶν ὑπὸ εἶνεκα πέμπτειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἐχθῆρε περικτίόνεσσι, φιλὶ θανάτοις θεοῖσιν, εἰσά γίνοντας ἐκὼν πεφυλαγμένος ἴσον καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξον κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρῶτον μετὰ δὲ ως ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὡς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἑτοιμοὶ εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιέσθαι ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην στεισάμενοι Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡγεμόνεοι κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονινὴν ἐωτῶν ἀλλ’ ὀμοὺς σφίσι ὑποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνεοιν.

149. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγονσι τὴν βουλήν ὑποκρίνα-

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1 In the battle of Tiryns, 494; cp. VI. 77.
2 That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population; σῶμα being the remainder.
Greeks who had sworn alliance against the Persian next after sending the spies sent messengers to Argos. Now this is what the Argives say of their own part in the matter:—They were informed from the first that the foreigner was stirring up war against Hellas; knowing this, when they learnt that the Greeks would essay to gain their aid against the Persian, they sent (they say) messengers to Delphi, there to enquire of the god how it were best for themselves that they should act; for six thousand of them had been lately 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 god's immortal beloved,
Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in his armour,
Guarding thy head 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, καὶ περ ἀπαγορεύοντος σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συμμαχίην σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπουδὰς γενέσθαι τριγκοπτοε- τίδας καὶ περὶ τὸ χρηστηρίου φοβεόμενοι, ἵνα δὲ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρεθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοίσι ἐτέσι· μὴ δὲ σπουδῶν ἐσοφέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἀλλὸ πταῖμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔως Λακεδαίμονιον ὑπήκοοι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς ἀμείβῃσθαι τοῖσιδε· περὶ μὲν σπουδῶν ἀνοίσεων ἐς τοὺς πλεύσας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς ἐντε- τάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὲ λέγειν, σφίσει μὲν εἰναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοις δὲ ἐνα- οὐκ ὁματὸν εἰναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης σουδετοὺς παύσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψη- φον τῶν Ἀργείων εἰναι κωλύειν οὖν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ ὁ Ἀργείοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτητῶν τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλὰ ἔλεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπότων ἀρχηγότων ἀρχεσθαι τῷ ὑπείξει Λακεδαίμονιοις, προειπέν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοις πρὸ δύνατος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιεξέσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.

150. Αὐτὸ μὲν Ἀργείοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι· ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ἐρέξης ἐπεμψε κηρικά ὡς Ἀργος πρῶτον ἡ περ ὁμήσαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτων λέγεται εἴπειν "Ἀνδρέας Ἀργείοι, βασιλεὺς Ἐρέξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει. ἥμεις νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἰναι ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγονόμεν παῖδα Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κήφεος θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἀν
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 Danae for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus
HERODOTUS

ὁν εἴημεν ύμετέροι ἀπόγονοι. οὔτε ὡν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἀλλοιοι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῶν ἀντιξόους γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι. ἦν γὰρ ἔμοι γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμοὺς μέξονας ύμέων ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργείους λέγεται πρήγμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὗδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μετατίθειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς "Ἑλλήνας, οὕτω δὴ ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδόσουσι τῆς ἄρχης Λακεδαιμονίων μετατίθειν, ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἀγωσί.

151. Συμπέσειν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσι τινες Ἑλληνοὺς πολλοῖς ἐστείλα τὸπερὶ γενόμενον τούτων. τυχεῖν ἐν Σοῦσι καὶ τοῖς Μεσονιοῖς ἐστίν περὶ πρήγματος εἰνεκα ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων Καλλίνιν τε τὸν Ἰππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτον ἀναβάντας, Ἀργείους δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τοῦτον ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγέλους εἰρωτάν Ἀρτοξέρεα τὸν Ξέρξεω εἰ σφὶ ἔτι ἐμμένει ἐθέλοντι τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξην φιλίαν συνεκράσαντο, ἢ νομίζοισαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι πολέμων βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρτοξέρεα μᾶλτα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδὲν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεῶς φιλιοτέρην.

152. Εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος καὶ Ἀργείους ἀγγέλους ἀναβάντας ἐς Σοῦσα ἐπειρῶσιν Ἀρτοξέρεα περὶ φιλίας, οὐκ ἐχὼ ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἀλλὰ τὴν τὴν περ

1 Ορ. 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 Memnonian,\(^1\) about some other business,\(^2\) the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artaxerxes "if the friendship which they had compounded with Xerxes still held good, as they desired; or did he consider them as his enemies?" Whereunto Artaxerxes answered, "Ay indeed it holds good, and I deem no city a better friend to me than Argos."

152. Now, if it be true that Xerxes sent a herald with the aforesaid message to Argos, and that the Argive envoys came up to Susa and questioned Artaxerxes about their friendship, I cannot with exactness say; nor do I now declare that I hold

\(^1\) In 448, apparently. See How and Wells \textit{ad loc.} for a full discussion of the matter.
αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσιν ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήμα ταῦτα ἐκείνα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενεῖκαις ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς πλησίοις, ἐγκύψαντες ἃν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἐκαστοὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφεροῦσα ὁπίσω τὰ ἐσενεκαίατο. οὐτω δὲ οὐδ' Ἀργεῖοις αἰσχύστα πεποίηται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάτασι ὀφεῖλω, καὶ μοι τούτο τὸ ἐπος ἔχετω ἐς πάντα λόγου. ἔπει καὶ ταύτα λέγεται, ὡς ἀρα Ἀργεῖοι ἤσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφί πρὸς τὸν Δακεδαμονίους κακῶς ἡ ἀιχμή ἐστίκεε, πάν δὴ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεούσης ἀνύψης.

153. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἰρηται ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἀργεῖλοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίσσοντες Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Δακεδαμονίων Σύναγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνοι τούτοι πρόγονοι, οἰκήτωρ ὃ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἢν ἐκ νήσου Τῆλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τρισιπφω κειμένης: ὡς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινόων τε τῶν ἐκ Ρόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου σκυκ ἐλείφθη. ἀνὰ χρόνου δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθόνιων θεῶν διετέλεοι ἔοντες, Τηλίδειος ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησι
dένου τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο. ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γέλωφων στασὶ ἐσσωθέντες τούτοις ἢν ὁ Τηλίδης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλῃ, ἔχων οὐδεμιὰν ἄνδρῶν δύναμιν

1 The general idea,—rather obscurely expressed,—seems to be that some who judge the Argives harshly have really just as many κακά and αἰσχρά (which Herodotus appears to confuse) of their own.
ought for truth but what the Argives themselves say. But this I know full well,—if all men should carry their own private troubles to market for barter with their neighbours, not one but when he had looked into the troubles of other men would be right glad to carry home again what he had brought. Thus judging, you shall see that others did yet more fouly than the Argives. For myself, though it be my business to set down that which is told me, to believe it is none at all of my business; let that saying hold good for the whole of my history; for indeed there is another tale current, whereby it would seem that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Hellas, because after the breaking of their battle by the Lacedaemonians there was nothing that they would rather not have than their present distresses.

153. Thus ends the story of the Argives. As for Sicily, envoys were sent thither by the allies to hold converse with Geron, Syagrus from Lacedaemon being among them. This Geron'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.
ἀλλὰ ἵνα τούτων τῶν θεῶν ὃθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τούτῳ δὲ ὄν πίσυνος ἔως κατήγαγε, ἐπὶ οἴ ὑ αὐτὸν ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θώμα μοι ὄν καὶ τούτῳ γέγονε προς τὰ πυρθανομαί, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον τὰ τοιαύτα γάρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἄπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥόμης ἀνδρείας, ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίας τῶν οἰκητῶν τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυκρίνης τε καὶ μαλακότερος ἄνήρ.

154. Οὕτως μὲν νῦν ἐκτήσατο τούτῳ τῷ γέρασι Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεως τελευτήσαντος τῶν βιῶν, ὃς ἐτυραίνεσσα μὲν Γέλης ἐπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρός Γελοῦ, εὐθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίνην Ἰπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐὼν ἀδελφός. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐὼν Τηλίνω τοῦ ἱροφάντου ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετὰ ἄλλων καὶ Λινησιδῆμοι τοῦ Παταίκου. . . ὅσ ἰδον δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτειος, μετὰ δὲ οὔ πολλῶν χρόνων διὰ ἀρετῶν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἱππού εἶναι ἵππαρχος πολιορκεύοντος γὰρ Ἰπποκράτεως Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίων καὶ Ζαγκλαίως τε καὶ Δεσπότους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων υπήκοος, ἀνήρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτωι τοῖς πολέμουσι ἕως ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἰπόν πολλῶν τούτων πλὴν Συρηκσίους οὔδεμια διέφυγε δουλοσύνη πρὸς Ἰπποκράτεως. Συρηκσίους δὲ Κορίνθους καὶ Κερκυραίους ἐρρύσαντο μάχη ἔσοβθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἔλωρῳ, ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὕτω εἰπόν τοῖς καταλλάξαντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἰπποκράτει Καμάριναι.
only the holy instruments of the goddesses' worship. Whence he got these, and whether or no they were of his own discovering, I cannot say; however that be, it was in their strength that he restored the exiles, on the condition that his posterity should be ministering priests of the goddesses. Now the story that is told me makes me marvel that Telines should have achieved such a feat; for I have ever supposed that such feats are not for every man's performing but only such as have a stout heart and a manly strength; but Telines is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to have been contrariwise of a soft and womanish habit.

154. So he won this right; and at the decease\(^1\) of Cleandrus son of Pantares,—who was for seven years despot of Gela, and was slain by a man of that city named Sabyllus,—the sovereignty passed to Cleandrus' brother Hippocrates. While Hippocrates was despot, Gelon, a descendant of the ministering priest Telines, was one of Hippocrates' guard, as were Aenesidemus son of Pataecus and many others; and in no long time he was appointed for his worth to be captain of all the horse; for Hippocrates besieging Callipolis and Naxos and Zancle and Leontini, nay, Syracuse too and many of the foreigners' towns, Gelon in those wars shone pre-eminent. None of the cities aforesaid escaped being enslaved by Hippocrates save only Syracuse; the Syracusans were defeated in battle on the river Elorus, but were rescued by the Corinthians and Corecyraeans, who made a peace for them on the

\(^1\) In 498.

\(^1\) Something is omitted after this word; Stein suggests ullus.
Συρηκοσίων παραδούναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀργαῖον.

155. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἱσα ἐτεα τῷ ἄδελφῳ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν ὡς ἑυκλείη τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τούτι Ἰπποκράτεος παῖσι Εὐκλείη τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτέων κατηκόων ἐτε ἐδέχετο τῷ ἐργῷ, ὡς ἑπεκράτησε μάχη τῶν Γελώνων, ἤρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστρεπῆς τοὺς Ἰπποκράτεας παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ εὐρήμα τούτος γαμόροις καλεσμένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσούται ύπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δουλῶν, καλεσμένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτοις ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας ὁ γὰρ δήμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδίδοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐσωτέρων.

156. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατεῶν λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιεῖτο, ἐπιτρέπας αὐτὴν Ἴερων ἄδελφων ἐσωτερικοῦ, δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα ἐὰς Συρηκούσαι· αἱ δὲ παρατικὰ ἀνὰ τῇ ἐδραμον καὶ ἐθλασθον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Καμάριναιος ἀπάντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγῶν πολιτήτας ἐποίησε, Καμάρινης δὲ τὸ ἀστυ κατέσκαψε, τοῦτῳ δὲ Γελώνῳ ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστων τούτου τούτοις Καμάριναιος ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅς πολιορκεόμενοι ἐς ὀμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκώντας ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τούτο, ἀγαγῶν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιτήτας ἐποίησε· τοῖς δὲ δήμου τῶν Μεγαρέων οὐκ ἔστο

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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 (Cylyrians, 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 townsmen of Gela; and when the Megarians¹ in Sicily surrendered to him on terms after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who had made war on him and looked to be put to death therefor, and brought them to Syracuse to be citizens there; but as for the commonalty of Megara,

¹ At Hybla, N. of Syracuse, on the E. coast of Sicily.
μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὔτε προσδεκόμενον κακῶν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγανήν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπὶ ἐξαγωγὴ ἐκ Σικελίας. τῶντο δὲ τούτο καὶ Εὔβοεας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐποίησε διακρίνας, ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δὴμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀγαριτήτατον.

157. Τοιοῦτον μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνει μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δʼ ὡς οἱ ἀγγέλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέκατα ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἐλεγον τάδε. "Εσπεμψαν ἡμέας Δακεδαϊμοίοι καὶ οἱ τοῦτον σύμμαχον παραλαμβανόμενους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα πάντως καὶ πυρθάνεαν, ὦ τις Πέρσης ἀνήρ μέλλει, ξεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ ἑπάγων πάντα τὸν ἦλθον στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηλάτησειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, προσχήμα μὲν ποιεύμενος ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόφῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἕως ἐσωτερικὸ τοὐτὸ ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμοις τὸ γὰρ ἡκεῖς μεγάλως καὶ μοῖρα τοῖς Ἑλλάδος όυκ ἐλαχιστή μέτα ἄρχοντι γε Σικελίας, βοήθεε τε τοῖς ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρωσεν. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χείρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἄξιομαχοι γινόμεθα τοῦτο ἐπιούσι· ἢν δὲ ὅλος καὶ ὅλος καταποδίδοσι οἱ δὲ μὴ τέλωσι τιμωρεῖς, τὸ δὲ ἤγιον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡ ἔλεγον, τούτο δὲ ἢδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέσῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλᾶς. μὴ γὰρ ἐπιτίθης, ἢν ἡμέας καταστρέψῃ ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἦξεν παρὰ σὲ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦτο φυλαξίν βοηθεῖν γὰρ ἡμῖν σεωτῷ τιμωρεῖς. τῷ δὲ εὐ διοικήσει.
who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be carried out of Sicily. In like fashion he dealt with the Euboeans\(^1\) of Sicily, making the same difference; the cause of his so doing to the people of both places was, that he held the commonalty to be an exceeding thankless crew to live withal.

157. By these means Gelon had grown to greatness as a despot; and now, when the Greek envoys were come to Syracuse, they had audience of him and spoke as follows. "The Lacedaemonians and their allies," said they, "have sent us to win your aid against the foreigner; for it cannot be, we think, that you have no knowledge of the Persian invader of Hellas, how he purposes to bridge the Hellespont and lead all the hosts of the east from Asia against us, making an open show of marching against Athens, but in very deed with intent to subdue all Hellas to his will. Now you are rich in power, and being lord of Sicily you rule thereby what is not the least part of Hellas; wherefore, we pray you, send help to them that would free Hellas, and aid them in so doing. For the uniting of all of Greek stock is the mustering of a mighty host, able to meet our invaders in the field; but if some of us play false, and others will not come to our aid, and the sound part of Hellas be but small, then it is to be feared that all Greek lands alike will be undone. Think not that if the Persian defeat us in battle and subdue us, he will leave you unassailed; but look well to yourself ere that day come. Aid us, and you champion your

\(^{1}\text{A colony from Chalcis, at Leontini.}\)
θέντι πρήγματι τελευτή ὡς τὸ ἐπίπταν χρηστῇ ἐθέλει ἐπνηώσθαι.”

158. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλοὺς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε. “Αὐτοὶ οὖν ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκπρότερον δεηθέντος βαρβαρίκου στρατοῦ συνεπάγασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδόνιον νείκος συνήπτω, ἐπισκήπτοντός τε τὸν Δωρίδος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόριδεω πρὸς Ἔγεσταίων φῶνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτεινοῦντος τῇ ἐμπόριᾳ συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ' ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ἄφελια τε καὶ ἐπαυρήσεις γεγονασί, οὐτε ἐμὲ εἰνεκα ἥλθετε ἑβοβηθοῦντες ὡτε τὸν Δωρίδος φῶνον ἐκπρήξομενοι, τὸ τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἀπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροις νέμεται. ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείνου κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἑπειδὴ περιεληλυθεὶς πόλεμος καὶ ἀπίκται ἐς υμέας, οὔτω δὴ Γέλωνος ῶμῆς τις γέγονε. ἀτέμνῃ δὲ πρὸς υμέων κυρήσας οὐκ ὀμοιώσομαι υμῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐτοιμὸς εἰμὶ βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενοι διηκοσίας ται τριήρεις καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλῖτας καὶ διαχιλίων ἱππον καὶ δισχίλιοις τοξότας καὶ διαχιλίων σφενδονῆτας καὶ διαχιλίων ἵπποις φιλοῦς, οίτων τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἐλλήνων στρατηγῇ, ἔστ' ἀν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπὶ οὐ στρατηγὸς τε καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐσομαι πρὸς τὸν βαρβαροῦ. ἐπ' ἀλλοι δὲ λόγῳ οὔτ' ἄν αὐτὸς ἐλθομε οὔτ' ἄν ἅλλους πέμψαμι.”

1 The Carthaginians were as influential in the west of the island as Gelo 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, and prayed you to stand my comrades against a foreign army, and when I was instant that you should avenge the slaying of Dorieus, 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; and I undertake that I will furnish provision for the whole Greek army till we have made an end of the war. But I thus promise on this one condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the foreigner. On no other condition will I come myself or send others."

1 Cp. V. 42-46.
2 Probably active infantry troops, able to keep up with the cavalry.
159. Ταύτα ἀκούσας ούτε ἤνεσχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε. "Ἡ κε μέγε' οἰμώξειε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπαραίρησθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρηκσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς, ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῖς παραδώσομεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν βούλει βοηθεῖν τῷ Ἑλλάδι, ἵσθι ἄρξόμενος ὑπὸ Δακεδαμίων' εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ δικαιοὶ ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοηθεῖς."

160. Πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπείδη ὡρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύαγρος, τὸν τελευταίον σφε τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον. "Ὤ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιήτα, ὃνείδα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπωρ φίλει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμὸν σοὶ μέντοι ἀποδέξαμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὦ με πείσεις ἀσχήμωνα ἐν τῇ ἁμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. ὅκον δὲ ύμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἴκος καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατηγὸς τε ἐντα πολλαπλησίας ἡγεμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλόν πλείνων. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ύμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάινθης κατίσταται, ἢμεῖς τε ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἱραγιοῦ λόγον· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεξοῦ ύμεῖς ἤγεοιςθε, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐπω. εἰ δὲ ύμῖν ἣδονη τοῦ κατὰ βάλασαν ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεξοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω. καὶ ἡ τούτους ύμέας χρεόν ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἡ ἀπίεναι συμμαχων τοιοῦτο ἐρήμους."

161. Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταύτα προετείνετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἁθηναῖων ἅγγελος τῶν Δακεδαμίων ἁμείβετο μὲν τούσιδε. "Ὤ βασιλεῦ Συρηκσίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεσμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅκως μὲν στρατηγὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις,
159. When Syagrus heard that, he could not contain himself; "Verily," he cried, "loud would lament Agamemnon son of Pelops, an he heard that the Spartans had been bereft of their command by Gelon and his Syracusans! Nay, put that thought from you, that we will deliver up the command to you. If it is your will to aid Hellas, know that you must obey the Lacedaemonians; but if (as I think) you are too proud to obey, then send no aid."

160. Thereupon Gelon, seeing how unfriendly were Syagrus' words, thus and for the last time declared his mind to them: "My Spartan friend, the hard words that a man hears are apt to arouse his anger; but for all the arrogant tenor of your speech you shall not move me to make an unseemly answer. When you set such store by the command, it is but reasonable that I should set yet more, being the leader of an army many times greater than yours and more ships by far. But seeing that you answer me thus stiffly, we will abate somewhat of our first condition. It might be, that you should command the army, and I the fleet; or if it be your pleasure to lead by sea, then I am willing that the army should be mine. With that you must needs be content, unless you would depart hence without such allies as we are."

161. Such was Gelon's offer; and the Athenian envoy answered him ere the Lacedaemonian could speak. "King of the Syracusans," said he, "Hellas sends us to you to ask not for a leader but for an army; and you say no word of sending an army save and except you can be the leader of Hellas; it
ώς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίθεαι, ὅσον μὲν
νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἕλληνων στρατοῦ ἐδέεσθαί, ἐξήκεε ἡμῖν· τούτοι ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἰσομήκον ἄγειν,
ἐπισταμένοις ὡς καὶ Λάκων ἰκανός τοι ἐμελλὲ
ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολογεύμενος
ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαυνόμενος δύεις τῆς ναυτι-
κῆς ἀρχῆς, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ' ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπὶ
τοι ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἤμετέρη γὰρ
ἐστι αὐτὴ γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Λακεδαιμο-
νίων. τούτοις μὲν ἄν ὡς ἔγερσαί βουλομένοις
οὐκ ἀντιτείμοιμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παρῆσομεν οὐδὲν
ναυαρχείων· μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὁδῷ πάραλον Ἕλλη-
νων στρατὸν πλείστον ἐημεῖν ἐκτητέμοιν, εἰ
Συρικοίσιοι ἐόντες ' Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς
ἡγεμονίας, ἀρχαίοτατον μὲν ἐνδοι παρεχόμενοι,
μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντος οὐ μετανάσται ' Ἕλληνων' τῶν
καὶ "Ομηρος ὁ ἐποποίος ἀνδρα ἄριστον ἔρησε ἐς
Ἰλιον ἀπικέσθαι ταξια τε καὶ δικασθῆσαι στρα-
τον. οὕτω οὐκ ὁνείδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστι λέγειν
ταῦτα."

162. Ἀμαξίβετο Γέλων τούσαα. "Ἐξεῖν Ἀθηναίες,
ὑμεῖς οἰκατε τοὺς μὲν ἀρχοντας ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ
ἀρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν. ἔπει τοίνυν οὐδὲν ὑπελέντε
ἔχειν το πάν ἔθελετε, οὐκ αν φθάνοντι την ταχί-
στην ὁπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι τῇ
'Ελλάδας ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῆς ἔξαρα-
ρηται." οὕτως δὲ ὁ νόσος τοῦ ῥηματος τὸ ἔθελε
λέγειν δῆλο γὰρ ὡς οὖν τὸ ἐνιαυτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ
δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἕλληνων στρατιῶν τῆς
ἐωτοῦ στρατιῶν· στερισκομένην ἄν την 'Ελλάδα

1 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 of 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.

2 Menestheus: \textit{Iliad} ii. 552.
τής ἐωτοῦ συμμαχῆς ἐκαζε ὡς εἰ τὸ ἑαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαραίημένον εἰς.

163. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλεον. Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταύτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοὺς Ἐλλησι μὴ ὅν δύνωται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετον ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν εἰς Πελο-
πόνησον ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἔως Σικελίας τύμπανος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ
de ἀλλης εἰχέτο. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἐλλησποντοὺς,
pέμπει πεντηκοντέροις τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεων ἀνδρὰ Κόου ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ
cαι φιλίας λόγους, καραδοκήστω τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέται, καὶ ἵνα μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾶ, τὰ τέ
χρήματα αὐτῶ διδοῦναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἣν δὲ ὦ Ἐλληνες, ὅπισω ἀπαγεῖν.

164. Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὕτως πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κόου εὑρ

βεβηκότα, ἐκῶν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινὸν ἐπίωντος ὁδέων ἅλλα ὑπὸ δικαίους αἰσθήματος ἐς μέσον Κόου εἰς καταθέσις τῆς ἄρχην ὄχθεος ἐς Σικελίην, ἐνθα

παρὰ Σαμῶν ἐσχῆ τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τῆς Ἑλλήνων μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὁμόνοια. τούτων δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτω τρόπῳ ἀπικόμενον διαὶ δικαίους, τῆς οἱ ἀυτῶν ἀλληὺς συνήθες ἠφίσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλούσι δικαίους τοὺς εὖ ἐωτοῦ ἐργασμένοις

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

163. After such trafficking 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 Seythes,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 Žancle 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 Žancle; op. the following chapter, and VI. 28.
καὶ τότε οὐκ ἑλάχιστον τούτων ἐλάπτον. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπτο, παρεῦ κατασχέσθαι οὐκ ἦθελησε, ἀλλ’ ἐπει οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ Εὔριξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

165. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίη οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ μέλλων ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἀν τοῖς Ἕλληνσι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θῆρων τοῦ Λινησοῦ καὶ Ἀκραγαντίων μουνάρχου ἐξελάσθεις εἰς Ἰμέρης Τηρίλλος ὁ Κρινίτσιος τύραννος ἐν Ιμέρης ἐπηγε ὑπο αὐτῶν τῶν χρόνον τούτον Φοινίκων καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβηρων καὶ Διγύων καὶ Ἐλεύσικων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρηνίων τριήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν 'Αμιλκαν τοῦ 'Αρθωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίαν τε τὴν ἐωτοῦ τὸ Τηρίλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξιλέω τοῦ Κρῆτης προβιμάθη, ὃς Ρηγίου ἐν τῷ τύραννος τα ἐωτοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὀμήρους Ἀμιλκα ἐπήγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρεῖν τὸν πενθερῷ. Τηρίλλον γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξιλέως, τῇ οὔνομα ἡν Κυδίππη, οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶον τε γενόμενον βοηθείας τὸν Γέλωνα τούτος Ἕλλης ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

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

1 The Carthaginians invaded Sicily with a force drawn from Africa and the western Mediterranean. The Ligyes are Ligurians, the Cynrians Corsicans; the Eliayci an Iberian
not the least of the many just acts of Cadmus' life; he had in his power great sums entrusted to him by Gelon, and might have kept them; yet he would not so do, but when the Greeks had prevailed in the sea-fight and Xerxes had betaken himself homeward, Cadmus for his part returned back to Sicily with all that money.

165. But there is another story told by the dwellers in Sicily: that even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority Gelon 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 Gelon three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyeci, Sardinians, and Cynrians, led by Amileas 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 Amileas, 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 Gelon sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks.

166. They add this tale too,—that Gelon and Theron won a victory over Amileas 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.
Θήρωνα νικάν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τοὺς Ἐλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἑόντα πρὸς πατρὸς, μητρὸθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντα τε καὶ ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδόνιον, ὡς ἡ συμβολὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυθάνομαι, οὔτε γὰρ ξοντα οὔτε ἀποθανῶτα φανήσαι οὖθαμοῦ γῆς: τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διέξεσαν Ἴλεωνα.

167. Ἐστι δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Καρχηδόνιων διὸ φῶνος λεγόμενος, οἰκότε χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοίς Ἐλληνι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ ἐμάχοντο Ξ ἡ πληροίς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δεῖλης ὁφής (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεσθαι ἐλκύονται τὴν κύριοτον), ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένῳ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύνον καὶ ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρής μεγάλης σωμάτα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδιῶν δὲ τροπῆν τῶν ἐνωτοὺ χιμωμένην, ὡς ἄνυμεν ἐπιστεύοντο τοῖς ἴσοις, ὅσε ἐκεῖτο ὡς τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τὴν κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιοῦτο ὡς Φοῖνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἐτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃ τῆς πόλει τῶν ἀποκινῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνιον.

168. Τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίας τοσάυτα. Κερκυραιοὶ δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινόμενοι τοίς ἀγγέλοις τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἱ περ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπίκουτο, λέγουσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον.

1 Stein brackets ως K. καὶ Σ.; the Καρχ. are of course the same as the Φοῖνικες.
in Sicily on the selfsame day whereon the Greeks vanquished the Persians 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 Geron 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 Corecyraeans, 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 Geron; and the Corecyraeans 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.
οἱ δὲ παραντικά μὲν ὑπίσχυτον πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμμενεῖν, φράζοντες ὅσι οὐ σφι περισσότερο ἕστι ἡ Ἐλλάς ἀπολλυμένη ἣν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖσι γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρωτῇ τῶν ἁμερέων ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἰπὲ ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον. ὑπεκορναντο μὲν οὖτω εὐπρόσωπα ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί βοηθείειν ἄλλα νοεότες ἐπληρῶσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόνιοι δὲ ἀναχέντες προσεμίξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλου καὶ Ταύναρον γῆς τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἀνεκώκενον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὕτοι τὸν πόλεμον τῇ πεσέται, ἀελπτέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἐλληνας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἁρξεσθεν πάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος. ἔποιειν ὑν ἐπίτηδες, ὅν πάλιν ἐκεῖ τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τοιαῦτα. "Ω βασιλεὺς, ἡμεῖς παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἑλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἑλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἀν ἄλλα πλείστας μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοῦ ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀποθύμοιν ποιῆσαι. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἥλπιξον πλέον τι τῶν ἅλλων οἴσεσθαι τα περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἐλληνας σφι σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήστατο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἐλληνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἐφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας, ὅπο δὲ ἐτησίεως ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέπην οὐκ οἶοι τε γενέσθαι οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

169. Οὕτωι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἐλληνας. Κρῆτες δὲ, ἐπείτε σφέας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχθέντες Ἐλλήνων, ἐποίησαν 482
the nonce promised to send help and protection, declaring that they could not suffer Hellas to perish; —for if she should fall, of a surety the very next day would see them also enslaved,—but they must render aid to the best of their power. Thus they gave a specious answer; but when the time came for sending help, their minds were changed; they manned sixty ships, and did with much ado put out to sea and make the coast of the Peloponnese; but there they anchored off Pylos and Taenarus in the Lacedaemonian territory, waiting like the others to see which way the war should incline; they had no hope that the Greeks would prevail, but thought that the Persian would win a great victory and be lord of all Hellas. What they did, therefore, was done of set purpose, that they might be able to say to the Persian, “O king, we whose power is as great as any, and who could have furnished as many ships as any state save Athens,—we, when the Greeks essayed to gain our aid in this war, would not resist you nor do aught displeasing to you.” This plea they hoped would win them some advantage more than ordinary; and so, methinks, it would have been. But they were ready with an excuse which they could make to the Greeks, and in the end they made it; when the Greeks blamed them for sending no help, they said that they had manned sixty triremes, but by stress of the etesian winds they could not round Malea; thus it was (they said) that they could not arrive at Salamis: it was no craven spirit that made them late for the sea-fight.

169. With such a plea they put the Greeks off. But the Cretans, when the Greeks appointed to deal with them strove to gain their aid, did as I will
τοίνυν δε πέμψαντε κοινῇ θεοπρόπους ὡς Δελφοῦς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἰ ἂνεινον τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἐλλάδι. ἦ δὲ Πυθήν ὑπεκρίνατο "Ω νήπιοι, επημέρφησθε δόσα υμῶν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπέμψε μηνίων δακρυματα, ὧτι ὦ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ βάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοις τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθείσαν ὑπ’ ἀνδρός βαρβάρου γυναῖκα." ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπενεικάθεντα ἦκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας.

170. Δέγεται γὰρ Μίνως κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐν Σικανίαν τὴν ὑπ’ Σικέλιν οἰκεμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαὶῳ βανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφι ἐποτρύνατος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνίτεων τε καὶ Πραισίων ἀπικομένοις στόλοι μεγάλοι ἐν Σικανίᾳ πολιορκεῖοι ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε πόλειν Καμικῶν, τὴν κατ’ ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνεμοντος τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένονς οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἰχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγῆς γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκμαλέων ἐς τὴν γῆν συναρχέθητων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμιὰν γὰρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φῶνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ἰρίνη πόλιν κτίσαντας κατα- μειναί τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰηπυγας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι υπειρώτας ἢπειρώτας. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰρίνης πόλοις τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνον ὡστερον πολλῷ ἑξανιστάντες προσέπτασαν μεγάλως, ὡστε φῶνος Ἕλληνικός μέγιστος οὔτος δὴ ἐγένετο

1 That is, the Greeks would not help the Crestans to avenge
show. They sent messengers to Delphi, enquiring if it should be for their advantage to succour the Greeks. The priestess answered them, "Foolish folk, ye are not then content with the weeping that Minos sent upon your people for the help given to Menelaus, angered because that those others would not aid to avenge his death at Camicus, yet ye did aid them to avenge the stealing of that woman from Sparta by a foreigner." This being brought to the ears of the Cretans, they would have nought to do with succouring the Greeks.

170. For Minos (it is said), having gone to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search for Daedalus, there perished by a violent death; and presently all the Cretans save the men of Polichne and Praesus were bidden by a god to go with a great host to Sicania, where for five years they beleaguered the town of Camicus, where in my day the men of Acragas dwelt; but since they could not take it nor abide there for the famine that afflicted them, they left it and departed away. But when they were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore; and their ships being wrecked, and no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and abode in it, changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland. From Hyria they made settlements in those other towns, which a very long time afterwards the Tarentines essayed to destroy, but suffered great disaster thereby; so that none has ever heard of so great a slaughter of the death of Minos; yet afterwards the Cretans helped the Greeks to avenge the carrying off of Helen.
πάντων τῶν ἡμεϊς ἴδομεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικυδοῦ τοῦ Χοϊροῦ ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμῶροι Ταραντίνοισι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός. ὃ δὲ Μικυδος οἰκέτης ἔως Ἀναξίλεω ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου καταλείποντο, οὕτως ὃς περ ἐκπεσῶν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τῆν Ἄρκαδίδον οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε εἰς Ὀλυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας.

171. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνων τε καὶ Ταραντίνων τοῦ λόγου μοι παρειθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθείσαν, ὡς λέγομεν: Πραισίοις, ἐσοκίζεσθαι ἄλλοις τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλληνας, τρίτη δὲ γενέσθαι μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωικά, ἐν τούτῳ οὖ φλαυροτάτους φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωρούσι Μενέλεως. ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ σφί ἀπονοστήσας ἐκ Τροίς λιμῶν τε καὶ λοιμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς προβάτοις, ἐστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἥ μὲν δὴ Πυθή ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἐσχε βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησ.

172. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τοῦ πρῶτον ἐμιθύοντο, ὡς διέδεξιν, διὸ οὐ σφι ἤδη αὐτὰ τῶ Ἀλευνᾶτε ἐμπρόσθητο. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβάινειν τῶν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἤσαν ἀληθεύοντες πρὸβουλοί τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμάντων προνεουσῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἀγγέλοι 486
Greeks as was made of the Tarentines and Rhegians; three thousand townsmen of these latter were slain, who had been constrained by Micythus son of Choerus to come and help the Tarentines, and of the Tarentine slain no count was kept. Micythus 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 befell 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 misliked the devices of the Alcmaeonidae. 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,
ἐλεγεν ""Ἀνδρεὶς Ἕλληνες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἑσβολήν τὴν Ὀλυμπικήν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἡ Ἐλλάς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἦμεις μὲν νῦν ἐτοιμοὶ εἰμέν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὰν πολλὴν, ὅσι, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπιστασθε ἦμεας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ ὦν γὰρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἀλλῆς Ἐλλάδος μούνως πρὸ ὑμῶν δεὶ ἀπολέσθαι. ὑμεῖς δὲ οὖ βουλόμενοι ἰαναγκαίοι ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν ὁλοὶ τε ἐστε προσφέρειν ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἄνυνας ἰαναγκή κρέσσων ἐφυ. ἦμεις δὲ πειρησμεθα αὐτοῖ τινα σωτηρίαν μηχανώμενον."

173. Ταῦτα ἐλεγεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ὡς Θεσσαλίη πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζῶν στρατὸν φυλάξοντα τὴν ἑσβολήν. ὅσι δὲ συνελέξθη ὁ στρατός, ἔπλεε δὲ Ἑυρίπου ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαϊῆς ἐς Ἀλον, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλύσεων, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἑσβολήν ἦ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ ποταμὸν Πηνείων, μεταξὺ δὲ Ὀλύμπου τὸ ὅρεος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἕλληνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλῖται συλλεγόντες, καὶ σφὶ προσῆ ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἰππος ἐστρατήγη ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Ἐυαίνετος ὁ Καρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραίρημένος, γένεως μέντοι ἐών οὐ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος. ἐμείπαν δὲ ὅλγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμιντεω ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνος συνεβουλευον σφὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὴ δὲ μένοιτα ἐν τῇ ἑσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ 488
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"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 Euænetus son of Carenus, chosen among the polemarchs, yet not of the royal house; and of the Athenians, Themistocles son of Neocles. They remained but a few days there; for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, counselling them to depart and not abide there to be trodden under foot of the invading

1 As opposed to the hill country further inland.
to the strato of their pitched, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλῆθος τῇ τῆς στρατηγῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὡς δὲ οὕτωι σφι ταύτα συνεβουλέον, χρηστά γὰρ ἐδόκεεν συμβουλεύειν καὶ σφί εὑνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐως ὁ Μακεδῶν, ἐπιθύμων. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδὴ ἦν τὸ πεῖθον, ὡς ἐπιθύμων καὶ ἅλλην εὐσαφεῖν ἐσβολὴ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνὶ Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραίβων κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν, τῇ περὶ δὴ καὶ ἐσβάλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ Ἑρέτεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν.

174. Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατικὴ, βασιλεός τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ ἑόντος ἦδη ἐν Ἀθηνῶν. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὔτ' ἐτί εὐδοιαστῶς, ὡστε ἐν τοῖς πρίγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ άνδρες ἑόντες χρησιμοτάτοι.

175. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στῆσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἷοις χώροισι. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγέλετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλης ἐσβολὴν φυλάξειν. στεινωτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εὐσαφεῖ στῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ ἀμα ἀγχότερη τῆς ἑοτῶν τῆς ἢ ἄρατον, ὑπὸ τὴν ἠλωσαι οἱ ἅλλοις Ἕλληνοις ἐν Θερμοπύλης, οὐδὲ ἄδειαν εὐσαφεῖ πρότερον ἡ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπιθύμων Τρηχείων. ταύτῃ ὄν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παρέναι ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα τὸν Ἐρμαρον, τὸν

1 MS. ἀγχότερῃ τῇ, in consequence of which Stein marks a lacuna, for words (e. g. καὶ μάθῃ) corresponding to τῇ, after ἑοτῶν. But τῇ may easily be a mistake, arising out of τῇ.
host; whereby the message signified the multitude of the army, and the ships. Thus admonished by the messengers (as they thought that the advice was good and that the Macedonian meant well by them), the Greeks followed their counsel. But to my thinking what persuaded them was fear, since they were informed that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnus; which indeed was the way whereby Xerxes' army descended on Thessaly. So the Greeks went down to their ships and made their way back to the Isthmus.

174. This was their expedition to Thessaly, while the king was planning to cross into Europe from Asia and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, being bereft of their allies, did thereupon take the Persian part whole-heartedly and with no further doubt, so that in their acts they approved themselves men most useful to the king.

175. Being come to the Isthmus, the Greeks consulted together how and where they should stand to fight, having regard to what was said by Alexander. The counsel that prevailed was, that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae; for they saw that it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and moreover nearer home; and for the path which brought about the fall of those Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, they knew not even that there was one till they came to Thermopylae and learnt of it from the men of Trachis. This pass then they were resolved to guard, and so stay the foreigners' passage into Hellas, while their fleet should sail to
δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ἔπλεε Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄγχοι τὲ ἄλληλοι
ἐστὶ ὡστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἐκατέρους ἑόντα, οὗ τὲ χώροι οὕτω ἔχονοι.

176. Τούτῳ μὲν τὸ 'Ἀρτεμίσιον' ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Ὀρηκίου ἐξ εὔρεός συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν
ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταζύνυχον τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Ἑβοῦης
ηδὶ τὸ 'Ἀρτεμίσιον' δέκεται αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν δὲ 'Ἀρτεμίδος ίρόν. ἦ δὲ αὐ διὰ Τρηχίνου ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν
Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στεινοτάτῃ ἡμιπλεθρών. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τούτο γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινοτατὸν τῆς
χώρης τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλὰ ἐμπροσθὲ τῇ Θερμοπυλέως καὶ ὀπίσθε, κατὰ τὴν Ἀλπηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἐόντας
ἐόντα ἀμαξίτος μοῦνη, καὶ ἐμπροσθὲ κατὰ Φολικον
ποταμοῦ ἄγχου Ἀντήνης πόλιος ἄλλη ἀμαξίτος
μοῦνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἑσπέρης
ὅρος ἅβατον τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνων
εἰς τὴν Οἰην' τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὧν τῆς ὀδοὺ θάλασσα
ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεται. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ
tαύτῃ θερμά λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρων καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἱδρυται 'Ἡρακλέως ἐπ' αὐ-
tοῖσι. ἐδείξῃ δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταῦτα τὰς
ἐσβολάς, καὶ τὸ γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν.
ἐδείκου Ποκεῖες τὸ τείχος δείχαντες, ἐπεὶ
Θεσσαλοὶ ἠλθοῦν ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκίσουσι τῇ
τῆς Αἰσιλίδα τῆς περὶ νῦν ἑκτέαται. ἀτε δὴ πειρώ-
μένου τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας,
tούτο προεφύλαξαντο οἱ Φωκεῖες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ

1 Hellas in the narrower sense, not including Thessaly.
2 Herodotus' points of the compass are wrong throughout
Artemision 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 Artemision 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 Artemision, which is a beach on the coast of Euboea, with a temple of Artemis thereon. The pass through Trachis into Hellas \(^1\) 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 \(^2\) 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 \(^3\) 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. 

\(^1\) It is to be noted that in 480 the pass of Thermopylae was no longer in Phocian territory.
θερμών τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαρα-
δρωθεὶς ὁ χῶρος, πάν μηχανώμενοι ὁκεώς μὴ σφί
εσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τό μὲν
νῦν τείχος τὸ ἄργαιον ἐκ παλαιῷ τε ἐξεδήμητο καὶ
τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὕπο χρόνου ἐκείτο τοῖς δὲ
αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασε ἐδοξῆς ταύτη ἀπαμώνειν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος τῶν βάρβαρον. καὶ μή δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ
tῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὐνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἔπιστει-
σθαι ἐλογίζοιτο οἱ Ἑλλήνες.

177. Οἱ μὲν νῦν χῶροι οὕτωι τοῖς Ἑλληνεῖς
ἐναι ἐφαίοντο ἐπιτίθεοι· πάντα γὰρ προσκεφά-
λαμενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὁτι οὕτε πλήθει ἔδωσον
χρύσας οἱ βάρβαροι οὕτε ἑπτα, ταύτη σφὶ ἐδοξῆ
δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίσταν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὡς δὲ
ἐπόθυντο τὸν Πέρσην ἔντονα ἐν Πιερίᾳ, διαλυθέντες
ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσχυροῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς
Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἀλλοὶ δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ'
'Aρτεμίσιον.

178. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεον
dιαταγθέντες, Δελφοὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ ύπὲρ ἑωτῶν καὶ τῆς
Ελλάδος καταρρωθηκότες, καὶ σφὶ ἐχρήσθη ἀνέ-
μοις εὐχεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι
tῆς Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ
μαντήμα πρῶτα μὲν Ἑλληνών τοῖς βουλομένουις
ἐναι ἐλευθέροις εὐχήγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖ-
σι, καὶ σφὶ δεινῶς καταρρῳδεύοντο τὸν βάρβαρον
ἐβαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀδάνατον κατέθεντο. μετὰ
dὲ ταύτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις βωμόν τε
ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυιίῃ, τῇ περ τῆς Κιφισοῦ βυγατρῶς
Θυιίς τὸ τέμενος ἐστὶ, ἐπ' ἦς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὕτος
tην ἐπωνυμήν ἔχει, καὶ θυσίας 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. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἑλάσχονται, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ἐρέξεω στρατὸς ὁμομένως ἐκ Θέρμης πόλεως παρέβαιλε νυσὶ τῇ ἅριστῳ πλεοῦσῃ δέκα ἓκο Σκιάθου, ἐνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσονται νέες τρεῖς 'Ελληνίδες, Τροίζηνι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιά καὶ Αττική, προιώντες δὲ οὕτω τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγήν ὀρμησαν.

180. Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροίζηνι, τῆς ἧρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτικα αἰρέοντι ἐπιστομοῦν οἱ βαρβαροὶ, καὶ ἐπείτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τῶν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγανάγωσι ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης τῆς νεοὺς ἐσφαζαν, διαδείχθην ποιεύμενοι τῶν εἴλου τῶν 'Ελληνων πρῶτων καὶ καλλιστον. τὸ δὲ σφαγασθέντι τούτῳ οὖν ημῖν Λέων τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιτο.

181. 'Η δὲ Αἰγυπτιά, τῆς ἐτριηράχχη Ασσωνίδης, καὶ τινά σφι θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην' ὅσ ἐπείδη ἢ νῆς ἐπίσκετο ἐς τούτο ἀντείχε μαχόμενος ἢς ἐκκεραυγμένη ἀπάς, ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οἷς ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἢν ἐμπυνος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ πέρ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιησάς μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησα τοι, σμύρησε τε ἢμιμεν τὰ ἐλκεα καὶ συνδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμώσε κατελίσσουσε καὶ μιν, ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπικοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκταγλεύμενοι πάση τῇ στρατιῇ περιείστην εἰς τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοὺς τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νη ταύτῃ περιείπον ὡς ἀνδράποδα.
179. So the Delphians offer to the winds sacrifice of propitiation to this day by the oracle’s bidding. But Xerxes’ fleet set forth from the city of Therma, and the ten swiftest of the ships laid their course straight for Sciaithus, where there lay an advance guard of three Greek ships, a Troezenian and an Aeginetan and an Attic. These, when they sighted the foreigners’ ships, took to flight.

180. The ship of Troezen, whereof Prexinos was captain, was pursued and straightway taken by the foreigners, who thereupon brought the goodliest of its fighting men and cut his throat on the ship’s prow, so making a common sacrifice of the first and goodliest of their Greek captives. The name of him that was thus offered up was Leon; and mayhap it was his name that he had to thank for it.

181. But the Aeginetan trireme, whereof Asonides was captain, did even give them some trouble. There was a fighting man aboard, Pytheas son of Isehenous, who that day bore himself very gallantly; for his ship being taken, he would not give over fighting till he was all hacked about with wounds; and when he fell, yet was not slain but had life in him, the Persian soldiers on the ships were at great pains to save him alive for his valour, tending his wounds with ointments and wrapping him in bandages of linen cloth; and when they returned back to their own station, they showed him to the whole host, 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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good augury’; Stein derives it rather from δανέσθαι, supposing the meaning to be “a sacrifice where the portions of the victim are handed round among the sacrificers.”

3 Commonly used for mummy-wrappings in Egypt; cp. II. 80.
182. Αἰ μὲν δὴ δῦο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν ἢ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἑτηριπάρχει Φόρμος ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολάς τοῦ Πηνείου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἄνδρῶν οὐκ ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νέα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποδοροῦντες κατὰ Θεσσαλῆν πορεύομενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.
183. Ταῦτα οἱ "Ελληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεὐόμενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρῳδήσαντες ἀπό τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμόζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τῶν Εὐριποῦ, λειπόντες δὲ ἡμεροκόπους περὶ τὰ υψηλά τῆς Ἐύβοιας. τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπῆλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐνόν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίας, καλομένου δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλῃ λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κοιμάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὸν ἐγειροῦσα καθαρῶν, ἐπέπλεον πάρσι τῆς γῆς, ἐνδέκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέας ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι τατηγήσατο ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάρμων Σκύριοις. πανημέρον δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύσουν τῆς Μαγνησίας χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπτίαδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπτίαδος ἀκτῆς.
184. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τηνικαύτα ἐτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐοισεὼν ἐπτα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ χιλίων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐόντα ὅμιλον 498
182. So two of the ships were thus made captive; the third trireme, whereof Phormus an Athenian was captain, ran ashore in her flight at the mouth of the Peneus, and the foreigners got the hull of her, but not the crew; for the Athenians, as soon as they had run their craft aground, leapt out of her and made their way through Thessaly to Athens.

183. The Greeks that had their station at Artemisium were informed of these matters by beacons from Sciatthus; 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 Sciatthus 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 Casthanaeae and the Sepiad headland.

184. Until the whole host reached this place and Thermopylae it suffered no hurt; and calculation proves to me that its numbers were still such as I will now show. The ships from Asia being twelve hundred and seven, the whole multitude of all the nations, which was in them from the first, was two
τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζο-μένοις εἰν ἐκάστη νηλ. ἔπεβατεν δὲ ἐπὶ του-τέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων. Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες. οὗτος ἄλλος ὁμίλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἔξακισχίλιοι καὶ πρὸς διηκοσίοι τε καὶ δέκα. προσθῆσον δ' ἐτὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας, ὅ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐλασσον, ἀν' ὅγιόκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνίσχυε, συνελέγχθη δὲ ταῦτα τά πλοία, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια. ἦδη ὁν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶν τιν αὐτοῖς τέσσερας μυριά- δες καὶ εἴκοσι. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐόν πεντηκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες δὲ ἐπεισὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐπτά καὶ πρὸς ἐκατοντάδες ἡς καὶ δέκας. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἐθαμβίκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγένοντο, τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅκτω μυριάδες. προσθῆσον δ' ἐτὶ τούτῳ τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἔλαυνοντας Ἀραβίους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλῆθος ποιήσας δισμύριοι ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τὸ τέ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλῆθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διη-κόσια τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς χιλιάδες ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐκατοντάδες ἡς καὶ δέκας. τούτῳ μὲν τὸ ἡς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίης στρατευμα ἐξαναχθὲν εἰρήται, ἀνευ τῆς τῆς θεραπήσις τῆς ἐπομείνας καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλευον τούτῳς.

185. Τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον στρατεύμα ἐτὶ προσολογίστεα τούτῳ παντὶ τῶν ἐξηριθμημένων δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. νέας μὲν 500
hundred and forty-one thousand and four hundred men, two hundred being reckoned for each ship. 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, 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.


186. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τοῦτον ἔόντος ἄριθμον τοσοῦτον, τὴν θεραπηθὴν τὴν ἐπομένην τοῦτοι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στηναγωγοῖς ἀκάτοις ἔόντας καὶ μᾶλα ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖς ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατείᾳ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἄνδραν ὑπὸ δοκέων εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἅλλα πλεύνας, καὶ δὴ σφεῖς ποιῶν ἤσον ἐκείνοις εἶναι καὶ οὔτε πλέυνας οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδὲν ἐξισομέμενοι δὲ οὕτω τῷ μαχίμῳ ἑκπληροῦσι τὰς ἱσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοις. οὕτω πεντακοσίας τοῦ μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὅκτω καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδες δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἄνδρῶν ἤγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν.

187. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεων στρατεύματος ἄριθμός, γνωσινὲς δὲ σιτοποιοῖς καὶ πάλλακεν καὶ εὐνοῦχοι οὐδὲις ἀν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἄριθμόν οὐδ' αὐτόν ὑποξυνῆσιν 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, Bottiae, 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
κτηρέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδέ ἀν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδὲν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδούνα τὰ μέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι δὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχησε θῶμα μοι μυρίασι τοσαύτης. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἐκατόσ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἐνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκατόσ καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίων τε ἀλλος μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα θυραντεῖ δὲ καὶ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ υποζυγίοις καὶ κυσί ὑπὸ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ένοεσσών τουστεῶν μυριάδων, κάλλεως τε εἰνεκά καὶ μεγάθεως οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιονικότερος ἦν αὐτῶν Ξέρξεως ἐχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

188. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατός ἐπέτει ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπλευ καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῶν μεταξὺ Κάσθαναῖς τε πολισὶ ἔωντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἰ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὀρμεων πρὸς ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνης ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ἀτε γάρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἔωντός ὡς μεγάλου, προκροσσαὶ ὀρμεόντος ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νεάς. ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν εὐφρονίην ὡτοῦ, ἀμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ ἢ ἀθρήσες τε καὶ νηνείμης τῆς θαλάσσης ἔπεσε σφί χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἀνέμοις ἀπηλιώτης, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλησποντίνης καλέωσι, ὁι περὶ ταύτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἐμαθον τὸν ἀνέμον καὶ τοιοῦτο ἐνεχε ὀρμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐφθησαν τοῦ χειμώνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περίσσαν καὶ αἰ

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 goodness 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 Casthanea 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 1/2. 5,280,000 divided by 48 produces 110,000; 3220 divided by 48 leaves a dividend, after the first stage of division, of 340, and this for some unexplained reason Herodotus has added to the quotient. The medimnus is the chief Attic unit for dry measure; said to be the equivalent of six gallons.
νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρράξας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰππον τοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πελώ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτήν τὴν Ἀπιάδα, περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελιβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρήμα ἀφόρητον.

189. Δέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἔθνους σφί ἂλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν, Ὀμηθηνίην τὴν Ἐρεχθέας. κατὰ δὴ τὸ εἴδος τούτῳ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς φάτις ὅρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλογέντες τῆς Εὔβοιῆς ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς ἐμαθὼν αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐθύνοντο τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὀμηθηνίην τιμωρήσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθείραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον περί Ἀθηνῶν, εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁρμεῖσθαι Βορέης ἐπέτεσε, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπειν· οἱ δὲ ἄθι Ἀθηναίοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσανται τὸν Βορέην πρῶτον καὶ τὸτε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἰρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἱδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλίσσων.

190. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οὐ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἀνδρὰς τε ἀναριθμητός χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθουον. ὡστε Ἀμενοκλέη τῷ Κρητίνῳ ἄνδρι Μάγνητι γησχέοντε περὶ Σηπίαδα μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγία αὐτῆς ἑγένετο χρηστή· ὅσ' πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεα ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνων ἐκβρασόμενα αὐτῆς λεπτοτέρα, τησσαυροῦσ τε τῶν Περσέων.
and the ships; but the ships that were caught at sea were driven some on the rocks of Pelion called Ovens, and some on the beach; others were wrecked on the Sepiad headland itself, and others cast up at the town of Meliboea, or at Casthanæa. 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 Attie 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 Cre'tines, 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,
εὕρε, ἀλλά τε ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τάλλα οὐκ εὑρίσκων εὐφήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἀχαίρης συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.

191. Σιταγυγών δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἔπην ἄριθμός. ὡστε δεισάντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ σφι κεκακωμένοις ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκως ύψηλον ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γάρ ἦ ἑχείμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ εἰτομά τε ποιεύεται καὶ καταείδοντες γόγγας οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτῃ καὶ τῇ Νηρηίδῃ θύουτες, ἐπανασαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἢ ἄλλως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτῃ ἔθυνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τῶν λόγον. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τοῦτον ἀρπασθείπ ὑπὸ Πηλεός, εἰς τῇ ἀπασά ἡ ἀκτή ἡ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων.

192. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπανω· τοῦτοι δὲ Ἠλλησθεί οἱ ημεροκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' Ἡρί χειμών ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενομένα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπόθουντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτήρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπουδᾶς προχέαντες τὴν ταξιστὴν ὁπίσω ἥπειρον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον, ἔπισαντες ὀλύνας τινᾶς σφὶ ἀντεξόνοις ἔσεσθαι νέας.

193. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἔλθοντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον ἐναυλὸχεον, Ποσειδέωνι σωτήρος ἐποιώμενον ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄνεμο καὶ τὸ κύμα ἐστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἥπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἀκρήν 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
Μαγνησίας ίδεαν ἐπλευν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα, ἐστὶ δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίας, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἰερακλέα καταλείπθηναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσους τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ’ ὑδραρ πεμφθέντα, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ κώμα ἐπλευν ἐς Αἴαν τὴν Κολχίδα ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἐμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφῆσειν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ χῶρῳ οὐνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται, ἐν τούτῳ ὁν ὀμοὺν οἱ Ξέρξεως ἐποιεύτω.

194. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νεών τούτων ἐτυχόντες τοὺς ἐστατάς πολλὸν ἐξαναχθεῖσα καὶ κως κατείδουν τὰς ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων νέας. ἔδοξαν τὸν δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βαρβάροι καὶ πλέοντες ἐσείπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν ἐστρατιγμοῦ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδόκκης ὁ Θαμασίου τὸν δὴ πρῶτον τούτων βασιλέως Δαρείου ἐπ’ αἰτή τοιῆδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε ἑόντα τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδόκκης ἐπὶ χρῆμασι ἄδικον δίκην ἔδικασε. ἀνακρεμασθέντος δὲ αὐτὸν λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρείος εὑρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἰκον τῶν βασιληῶν εὑρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρείος, καὶ γρόνως ὧς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἡ σοφότερα ἐργασμένος εἴη, ἐλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρείον οὐτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περιήγη, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας καταπλώσας ἐμελλε ὁ τοῦ δεύτερου διαφυγὼν ἔσεθαι· ὁς γὰρ σφεάς εἶδον προσπλέοντας τοὺς Ἐλληνες, μαθῶντες αὐτῶν τὴν γνωμενὴν ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπετέως σφεάς εἶλον.

195. Ἐν τούτῳ μὲν Ἀρίδωλος πλέων ἦλθος τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ δὲ ὁ
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mainland, and turning the headland of Magnesia ran straight into the gulf that stretches toward Pegasae. 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. ¹ 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 Artemision. 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 ἀφθαῖνε, to send off or launch) gave rise to the legend.
Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὦ γε μὲν δυνάμεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων 
τὰς ένδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σημπάδα, 
μη δὲ περιγενομένη καταπλέων ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον 
ήλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ 
ἐβουλοῦντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεως στρατηγῆς, 
ἀποτέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἱσθμοῦ. 

196. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων 
στρατός, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεὼν τῶν ἐπὶ 
Σανδωκεία στρατηγεῖν, ἀπίκουτο ἐς Ἀφέτας. 
Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας 
καὶ Αχαίας ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριτάιος ἐς 
Μηλιάς, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ μὲν ἀμίλλαν ποιησάμενος 
ἵππων τῶν ἐκωτύλῳ ἀποπεριῴμενος καὶ τῆς 
Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη ἐιή τῶν 
ἐν Ἑλληνῶν ἐνθα ὡς Ἑλληνίδες ἦπτοι ἕλειποντο 
πολλῶν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποταμῶν 
Ὀνόχωνος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀπεχρήσετο τῇ στρατηγῇ 
ὁ ῥέσθρον πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ 
ποταμῶν ἑρεύων οὐδὲ ὡς ὡς μέγιστος οὕτων ἦστι Ἡπι- 
δανός, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἄντεσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. 

197. Ἔσε Ἀλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀπικομένων 
Ξέρξη οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὀδοῦ βουλομένοι το 
πάν ἐξηγέοντο ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λόγον, τὰ 
περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Δαφνίου Διὸς, ὡς Ἀθάμας ἡ 
Αἰόλου ἐμπαινήσατο Φρίξῳ μόροι σὺν Ἰνοὶ 
βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεουργίας Ἀχαίοι 
προτιθείση τοῖς ἐκείνῳ ἀπογόνοις ἀέθλους 
τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἄν ἡ τοῦ γένεος τοῦτο πρεσβύτατος, 
τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργεῖσθαι τοῦ λητί του αὐτοῦ 
φυλακάς ἐχοντι. λητί τοῦ δὲ καλέσατο τῷ προ- 
τανήμον ὁ Ἀχαῖοι. ἤν δὲ ἐσέλθη, οὐκ ἔστι ὁκεως
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 Onochnus was the only one that could not give water enough for his army's drinking. But in Achaea, even the greatest river there, the Apidanus, gave out, all but a sorry remnant.

197. When Xerxes was come to Alus in Achaea, his guides, desiring to inform him of all they knew, told him the story that is related in that country concerning the worship of Laphystian Zeus; how Athamas son of Aeolus plotted Phrixus' death with Ino, and further, how the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding compel Phrixus' posterity to certain tasks: namely, they bid the eldest of that family forbear to enter their town hall (which the Achaeans call the People's House), and themselves keep watch there;

1 The Apidanus and Enipeus unite; the whole stream, a tributary of the Peneus, is sometimes called Apidanus and sometimes Enipeus.  
2 From αὐτός or ἄντως.
HERODOTUS

εξεισι πρὶν ἡ θύσεσθαι μέλλητι ὡς τ' ἐτε πρὸς τοῦτοις πολλοὶ ἤδη τοῦτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείσαντες οὐχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἀλλήν χώρην, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ὁπίσω κατελθόντες ἦν ἀλίσκονται ἐστελλόντο ἐς τὸ πρυταινῆς· ὡς θύνοι τε ἐξηγέοντο στεμμασί πᾶς πυκασθεῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντει οἱ Κυτισσόρου τοῦ Φρίξου παῖδος ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρης ποιεμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντος τοῦ Αἰόλου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύνεσιν ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος ἦς Ἁγίας τῆς Κολχίδος ἔρρυσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐπιγενεμένοις ἐξ ἑωτοῦ μὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ἐρᾶθη δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἅλος ἐγινετό, αὐτὸς τε ἐργετὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατηγῷ πάσῃ παρῆγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπόγονων τῆν ὁικην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ πέμνον ἐσέβετο.

198. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιᾷ ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦς ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπου θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτῖς τε καὶ ῥήχην ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τούτον ἔστι χῶρος πεδίνος, τῇ μὲν εὔφυς τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στείνος· περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον ορεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικλημένα πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Ἰρηνίναι πέτραι καλέομεναι. πρώτη μὲν πολις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ὅντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαίης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἧν Ἀπερχέος ποταμὸς ρέων ἐς Ἐνυῖνον ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου

1 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 Achaean by an oracle's bidding made Athamas son of Aeolus a scapegoat for their country and were about to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from Aea in Colchis and delivered him, but thereby brought the god's wrath on his own posterity. Hearing all this, Xerxes when he came to the temple grove forbore to enter it himself and bade all his army do likewise, holding the house and the precinct of Athamas' descendants alike in reverence.¹

198. These were Xerxes' doings in Thessaly and Achaea; whence he came into Malis along a gulf of the sea, in which the tide ebbs and flows daily.² There is low-lying ground about this gulf, sometimes wide and sometimes very narrow; and about it stand mountains high and inaccessible, enclosing the whole of Malis, called the Rocks of Trachis. Now the first town by the gulf on the way from Achaea is Anticyra, near to which the river Spercheus flows from the country of the Enieni and issues into the sea. About

In time human sacrifice is avoided by the substitution of a ram; but even then the first-born child must leave the country.³ Tidal movement is rare in the Mediterranean. But there is a strong ebb and flood in the Euripus, which is not far from the Malian gulf.
διὰ εἴκοσὶ κον σταθῶν ἄλλος ποταμὸς τῷ οἴνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθεώντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιο-
μένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανήναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἰκοσὶ σταθῶν ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ δὲς καλέσαι Μέλας.

199. Τρηχὶς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πεντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτη δὲ καὶ εὐ-
ρύτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἄ τρηχὶς πεπόλισται,
διευθυλιά τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστὶ. τοῦ δὲ ὄρεος τὸ περικλησεῖ την γῆν τὴν
Τρηχινήν ἐστὶ διαφάξει πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχί-
νος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγης Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ρέει
πάρα τὴν ὑπώρειν τοῦ ὄρους.

200. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας
πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων
τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδίδοι. κατὰ δὲ
τοῦ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινύτατον ἐστὶ ἀμαζητὸς
γὰρ μοῦνῃ δέομεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ
πεντεκάιδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ
τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν
καὶ τῇ ἐστὶ τῇ οἴνομα Ἀνδρῆλη κεῖται, παρ' ἦν
δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι,
καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτῆς εὑρὸς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τὸ
ἱ̂ ρόν. Αμφικτυονίδος ἠδρεῖτο καὶ ἔδραι εἰς Αμφι-
κτύοις καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύωνος ἱρὸν.

201. Βασίλειος μὲν δὴ Ἐρέβης ἐστρατοπεδεῦτο
τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινῇ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἐλληνες
ev τῇ διόδῳ, καλέσαι δὲ τὸ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν

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.1 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 Amphictyons2 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:3 the place where

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1 Lit. dwellers around; neighbouring tribes forming a league, and sending representatives (Pylagori) to a conference held twice a year.
2 In the space between the eastern and western narrow.
τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πυλαί. ἔστρατοπε- 
δεύοντο μὲν νῦν ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρί- 
οις, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὃ μὲν τῶν πρὸς Βορέην ἀνεμον 
ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχύνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νοτον καὶ μεσαμβρίης φεροῦν τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης 
τῆς ἥπειρος.

202. Ἡσαῦ δὲ οἴδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες 
τῶν Πέρσην ἐν τούτω τῷ χωρῷ, Σπαρτιητέων τε 
τρικόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων 
χίλιοι, ἡμίσεις ἐκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς 
Ἀρκαδίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκάτων, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς 
Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ 
δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειούντος 
δικόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναῖων οὐδόκουντα. οὗτοι μὲν 
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν 
Θεσπιέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Δοκρο 
τε οἱ Ὕποντιοι παντρατηγεὶ καὶ Φοκέων χίλιοι ἀ 
αὐτὸ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέ 
γοντες διὰ ἀγγέλου ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι 
tῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσ 
δόκιμοι πάσαν εἰεν ἡμέρην, ἡ βάλασσα τε σφι 
εἰ ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ 
Ἀγινητέων καὶ τῶν ὑ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν 
tαχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἰ ἐδεῖν οὐδέν οὐ γὰρ θεόν 
eῖν τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπον, 
eῖνα δὲ θυμίων οὔ δένα οὐδὲ ἐσεθαι τῷ κακῶν ἐξ 
ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμείχῃ, τούτοι δὲ μεγίστοις 
aὐτῶν μέγιστα. οφείλειν ὁν καὶ τὸν 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 Mycenaeans. These were they who had come from Peloponneseus: from Boeotia, seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

203. Besides these the whole power of the Opuntian Locrians and a thousand Phocians had been summoned, and came. The Greeks had of their own motion summoned these to their aid, telling them by their messengers that they themselves had come for an advance guard of the rest, that the coming of the remnant of the allies was to be looked for every day, and that the sea was strictly watched by them, being guarded by the Athenians and Aeginetans and all that were enrolled in the fleet; there was nought (they said) for them to fear; for the invader of Hellas was no god, but a mortal man, and there was no mortal, nor ever would be, to whom at birth some admixture of misfortune was not allotted; the greater the man, the greater the misfortune; most surely then he that marched against them, being but mortal,

1 West, properly speaking; "southward" below should be "eastward."

2 That is, Greece.
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ός εόντα θυτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἀν. οἱ δὲ ταύτα πυρβανόμενοι ἐβοήθεσαν ἐς τὴν Τρηκίνα.

204. Τούτους ἦσαν μέν μου καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θωμαξόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Δεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκράτειος τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκράτειος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Δεωβωτέω τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἡμίοιο τοῦ Ἐυρυσθένεος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίον τοῦ Ὁλλο τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἤς ἀπροσδοκήτου.

205. Διclaimed γὰρ οἱ ἐόντων προσβυτέρας ἀδελφεῖς, Κλεομένεος τε καὶ Δωρίεος, ἀπελθατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς. ἀποθανόντως δὲ Κλεομένεος ἀπαιδὸς ἔρσενος γόνων, Δωρίεος τε σύκετα ἐόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτησαντος καὶ τούτου εν Σικέλῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἔν Δεωνίδη ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλική, καὶ διὰ τοῦ προτερος ἐγερόνεε Κλεομβρότον τοῦ γοῦν ἤν νέωτας Ἀναξανδρίδως παῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος ἥγατερα. ὡς τότε ἦτε ἐς θερμοπύλας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀνδρὰς τε τοὺς κατεστεώτας τρικόσιοι καὶ τοὺς ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες παραλαβὴν ἔς ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαῖων τοὺς ἐς τῶν ἅρμων λογισάμενος εἰποῦ, τῶν ἐγερτησῆς Δειοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου, τοῦδε ἐς εἰνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Δεωνίδῃς μούνους Ἐλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδε-

1 The regular number of the royal body-guard, the so-called ἵππαι. No other translation of this sentence than what
BOOK VII. 203-205

would be disappointed of his hope. Hearing that, the Locrions 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 Thermopylæ, 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 Thermopylæ. There seems to be no explanation of the matter, except Dr. Macan's theory that Herodotus made a mistake. Of course if ἐξαλείψαντες could mean "selecting from," the difficulty might be removed; but I do not think it can.
206. Τούτοις μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδην πρῶτον ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρτῆται, ἵνα τούτοις ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σὺμμαχοὶ στρατεύσωνται μὴ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδέσις, ἵνα αὐτοὺς πυθῶνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γὰρ σφὶ ἦν ἐμποδίων, ἐμελλόν ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λαπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖειν πανδημεῖ. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν σὺμμαχῶν ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαύτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τῶν Ὀλυμπίας τούτων τοίοι πρῆγμασε συμπεσοῦσα· σοφίκων δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὗτο διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃς πόλεμον ἐπεμποῦν τοὺς προ- 

dρόμους.

207. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οὗτως διενένωντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃς "Ελληνες· ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ο Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τούτοις μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Πελοποννησίοι εἰδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι· ἐς Πελο-

πόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἤχειν ἐν φυλακῇ Δεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Δοκρῶν περισσερχοῦτον τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐγκλίζετο πέμπειν 

τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφὶ ἐπι-

βοηθεῖειν, ὡς ἐώτων αὐτῶν ὅλιγον στρατὸν τὸν Ἔνδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208. Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἐπεμπὲ 

Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἴππεα ἱδέσθαι ὀκόσοι 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, 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 Peloponnesse and guarding the isthmus; but the Phocians and Locrrians 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 τε ποιεόμεν. ἀκηκόεσε δὲ ἐπὶ ἐων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ὡς ἀλησμένη εἶχ ταύτῃ στρατεύδε ὁλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἤγερμόνας ὡς εἰσαν Ἀκεδαμίωνοι τε καὶ Δεσποίδης ἕων γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἰππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτο τε καὶ κατώρα πάν μὲν ὡς το το στρατόπεδον τοὺς γὰρ ἔσο τεταγμένους τοῦ τειχεῖος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἰχον ἐν φυλακῇ, ὡς οἷα το θη να και ὑπετοῦ ἐν τούς ἔσο τεταγμένοι τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὡρα γυμναζόμενους τῶν ἄνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κεντιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ ἰππεύμενος ἐθωμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀπρεσίας ἀπήλανε ὡς κατὰ ἡσυχίαν οὕτε γὰρ τοὺς ἐδίωκε ἀλογάς το ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς ἀπελθῶν τοῖς ἐλευ χέ Πρέβη τὰ περ ὑπῶπτε πάντα.

209. Ἀκουόν δὲ Πρέβης οὐκ εἰχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἔον, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἔφαινοντο ποιέων, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρχον τοῦ Ἀριστονος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπικομενὸν δὲ μνείρωτα Πρέβης ἔκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Ἀκεδαιμίωνοι. δὲ εἰπε "Ἡκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερον μεν, εὐτέ ὁμιῶμεν ἐπὶ τήν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκουσας δὲ γέλωτὰ μὲ ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὀρων ἐκβιβομένα πρήγματα ταύτα ἐμοι γὰρ τήν ἀληθείαν ἀσκεῖν ἀντία σεῦ βασιλεῦ ἄγον μέγιστος ἔστι. ἀκουον δὲ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπείκαται μακροἐμεν ὡς περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γὰρ σφὶ ἔχων
what they had in hand; for while he was yet in Thessaly, he had heard that some small army was there gathered, and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, Leonidas a descendant of Heracles among them. The horseman rode up to the camp and viewed and overlooked it, yet not the whole; for it was not possible to see those that were posted within the wall which they had restored and now guarded; but he took note of those that were without, whose arms were piled outside the wall, and it chanced that at that time the Lacedaemonians were posted there. There he saw some of the men at exercise, and others combing their hair. Marvelling at the sight, and taking exact note of their numbers, he rode back unmolested, none pursuing nor at all regarding him; so he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

209. When Xerxes heard that, he could not understand the truth, namely, that the Lacedaemonians were preparing to slay to the best of their power or be slain; what they did appeared to him laughable; wherefore he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp, and when he came questioned him of all these matters, that he might understand what it was that the Lacedaemonians were about. "I have told you already," said Demaratus, "of these men, when we were setting out for Hellas; but when you heard, you mocked me, albeit I told you of this which I saw plainly would be the outcome; for it is my greatest endeavour, O king, to speak truth in your presence. Now hear me once more: these men are come to fight with us for the passage, and for that they are preparing; for it is their custom to
οὗτῳ ἐστὶν ἔπεαι μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῷ ἴψῳ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεόνται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ
tούτως γε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένου ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατα-
στρέφεια, ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ
σὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπομενεῖ φείδως ἀνταειρόμενον, τὸν
γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆς τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν
τῶν ἐν "Ἐλληνι προσφέρεια καὶ ἀνδρὰς ἀρίστους."
κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξη ἀπίστα ἐφαίνετο τα τεγόμενα
eίναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπιειρότα ὄντων τρόπου τοσοῦ-
τοι ἐόντες τῇ ἐωτοῦ στρατή μαχησονται. ὃ δὲ
eἰπε "Ὅ βασιλεὺς, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ἡς ἀνδρὶ γεύσθῃ,
ἡ μὴ ταύτα τοι ταύτη ἐκβῆ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγῳ."

210. Ταύτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τῶν Ξέρξην.
tέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ
σφαῖς ἀποδρήσεσθαι. πέμπτη δὲ, ως οὐκ ἀπαλ-
λάσατο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναίδεις ὁτι καὶ
ἀβουλία διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς
Μῆδοις τε καὶ Κισσίοις θυμωθεῖς, ἔπειτα τοῖς
σφαῖς ξωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἐωτοῦ.
ὡς δὲ ἐσέπεσαν φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας οἱ
Μῆδοι, ἐπειτὸν πολλοὶ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπεσήμαναν, καὶ
οὐκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καὶ περὶ μεγάλως προσπαθιῶντες.
ὅλον δὲ ἐποίεις παντὶ τερι καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ
βασιλείᾳ, ὃτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποι εἰσιν, ὅλοι δὲ
ἀνδρεῖς, ἐγκεῖτο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ διὶ ἡμέρας."

211. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηξεῖς περιεύποτον,
ἐνθάυτα οὐτοὶ μὲν ὕπεξήμαναν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδε-
ξάμενοι ἐπήμαναν, τοὺς ἀδανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεῖς,
tῶν ἡρχε "Τδάρνης, ως δὴ οὗτοι ἔς εὐπετέως κατ-
erγασόμενοι, ως δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνεμόσιον τοῦτο
"Ἐλληνας, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατηγῆς τῆς
Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἀτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε
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dress their hair whencsoever 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
χώρα μαχαμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέρουσι χροώ
μενοι ἡ περ οἱ "Ελληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι. Δακεδαμόνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως
λόγου, ἀλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμέ
νουσι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ δικαὶ ἔντρεψειαν
tα νῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐφευργοδοὺ δήθεν, οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι
ὁρώντες φεύγουσα βοή τε καὶ πατάγω ἐπήσαν,
οἱ δ' ἀν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι
ἐναι τούσι βαρβάρους, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέ
βαλλον πληθεὶ ἀναριθμήτος τῶν Περσῶν ἐπι
πτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν ἐνθαῦτα
ὁλόγου. ἦπει δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάτο παραλαβεῖν οἱ
Πέρσαι τὴν ἐσόδον πειρώμενοι καὶ κατά τέλεα
καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὑπίσω.

212. Ἐν ταύτης τῆς προσόδοις τῆς μάχης
λέγεται βασιλέα θηέμενον τρίς ἀναδραμέων ἐκ
τοῦ θρόνου δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ. τότε μὲν
οὖτω ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίρ οἱ Βάρβαροι
οὐδὲν ἀμείνου αέθλεον. ἀτε γὰρ ὀλύγων έστων,
ἐλπίσαντες σφέας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ
οίους τε ἐσθαθί ἐτί χείρας ἀνταπειράθαι συνέ
βαλλον. οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ
ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐκαστοὶ
ἐμάχοντο, πλην Φωκέων οὔτοι δὲ εἰς τὸ ὄρος
ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ώς δὲ οὐδέν
εὐρισκον ἀλλοιοτερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἡ τῇ προτεραίῃ
ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον.

213. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως ὁ τι χρήσηται
τῷ παρεώτι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάληθεν ὁ Εὐρυδήμου
ἀνήρ Μηλεύς ἦλθε οἱ ἐς λόγον, ως μέγα τι παρὰ
βασιλέως δοκεών οὐσεταὶ ἐφρασε τῇ τὴν ἀτραπόν
as they were in a narrow space and with shorter spears than the Greeks, where they could make no use of their numbers. But the Lacedaemonians fought memorably. They were skilled warriors against unskilled; and it was among their many feats of arms, that they would turn their backs and feign flight; seeing which, the foreigners would pursue after them with shouting and noise; but when the Lacedaemonians were like to be overtaken they turned upon the foreigners, and so rallying overthrew Persians innumerable; wherein some few of the Spartans themselves were slain. So when the Persians, attacking by companies and in every other fashion, could yet gain no inch of the approach, they drew off out of the fight.

212. During these onsets the king (it is said) thrice sprang up in fear for his army from the throne where he sat to view them. Such was then the fortune of the fight, and on the next day the foreigners had no better luck at the game. They joined battle, supposing that their enemies, being so few, were now disabled by wounds and could no longer withstand them. But the Greeks stood arrayed by battalions and nations, and each of these fought in its turn, save the Phocians, who were posted on the mountains to guard the path. 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, Epiactes son of Eurydemus, a Malian, came to speak with him, thinking so to receive a great reward from Xerxes, and told him of

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1 For which see below, ch. 215, 216.
τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρεος φέροντας ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ
dieθέσας τοὺς ταύτη υπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων.
ὕστερον δὲ δέισας Λακεδαιμονίων ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσ-
σαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν
'Αμφικτύων ὡς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων
ἀργύριων ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε
γὰρ ἐς 'Αντικύρην, ἀπέδαιν ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς
Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὕτως ἀπέκτεινε μὲν
'Ἐπιάλτεα δὲ ἀλλίην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τούτῳ
ὅτι σὺνε θάνοις σημανέω, ἐτιμῆθη μὲντοι ὑπὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων οὔδεν ἥσσον.

214. 'Επιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τοῦτο ἀπέ-
θανε, ἐστι δὲ ἔτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὁνήτης
tε ὁ Φαναγάρων ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδάλλος
'Αντικυρεύς εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπαντες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους
τοὺς λόγους καὶ περιγεγράμενοι τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο
Πέρασει, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιη πιστῶς, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
τῶν χρή σταθμώσαται, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν
Πυλαγόρων ἐπέκηρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὁνήτη τε καὶ
Κορυδάλλῳ ἀργύριοι ἄλλα ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτη τῷ
Τρηχινῷ, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀπρεκέστατον πυθόμενον
tοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτη ταύτη τὴν αἰτίην
οὐδαμεν. εἴδειν μὲν γὰρ ἄν καὶ ἔσω μὴ Μηλίενς
ταύτη τὴν ἀτραπόν Ὁνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ
ὠμιληκῶς εἶν. ἄλλα Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστι ο περι-
γραψάμενος τὸ ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπόν, τούτῳ
αἰτίων γράφω.

215. Ἐρέξῃς δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ
'Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρῆς γε-
νόμενος ἐπεμπε "Τόλμανα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγε
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 Trachimian 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.
'Τδάρνης ορμεάτο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπεδίου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταῦτῃ ἐξεδρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχωρεῖν Μηλεῖας, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοὺς κατηγόσαντο ἔπει Φωκέας, τότε δὲ οἱ Φωκέες φράσαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκ τε τόσον δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐνύσα συνεῖ δὲν φρεστὴ Μηλεύσαι.

216. Ἕξει δὲ ὅδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὐτὴ ἀρχεῖ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διαφάνειας κέντρος, οὐνομα δὲ τῷ ὅρει τοῦτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τῶν κεῖται, Ἀνάπαια, τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνάπαια αὐτὴ κατὰ πάχιν τοῦ ὅρεος, λήγει δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀλκηνοῦ πόλις, πρὸς ὑπὸ ἐνυσάν τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸ τῶν Μηλεῶν, καὶ κατὰ Μελαιμύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινοτάτον ἐστὶ.

217. Κατὰ ταῦτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ ὄντων ἔχοντων οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορέοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες ὅρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τριχυκινῶν, ἡς τῇ δὴ διέφαινε καὶ οἱ ἔγενοντο ἐπ᾽ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὅρεος, κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὅρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρηταὶ, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλίται, ὑμένων τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φουρρούντες τὴν ἀτραπάν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρητῶν τὴν δὲ δία τοῦ ὅρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Δεσπότη 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\(^1\) had been discovered by the Malians of the country, who guided the Thessalians thereby into Phocis, at the time when the Phocians sheltered themselves from attack by fencing the pass with a wall; thus early had the Malians shown that the pass could avail nothing.\(^2\)

216. Now the path runs thuswise. It begins at the river Asopus which flows through the ravine; the mountain there and the path have the same name, Anopaea; this Anopaea crosses the ridge of the mountain and ends at the town of Alpenus, the Locrian town nearest to Malis, where is the rock called Blackbuttock and the seats of the Cercopes; and this is its narrowest part.\(^3\)

217. Of such nature is the path; by this, when they had crossed the Asopus, the Persians marched all night, the Oetean mountains being on their right hand and the Trachinian on their left. At dawn of day they came to the summit of the pass. Now in this part of the mountain-way a thousand Phocians were posted, as I have already shown, to defend their own country and guard the path; for the lower pass was held by those of whom I have spoken, but the path over the mountains by the Phocians, according to the promise that they had of their own motion given to Leonidas.

\(^1\) This is Stein's interpretation; others make ἀὖδειν χαράς refer to the ἀπειδός, meaning there "pernicious."

\(^2\) The Cercopes, mischievous dwarfs, had been warned against a "μελήματιναν" 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. "Εμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκεῖς ὡδε ἀναβησκότας ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὅρος πάν ἐων ὄρυχν ὑπίπτλεον. ἦν μὲν ὁ δὴ νηρεμίη, ψόφοι δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὡς οίκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῦτο ποσὶ, ἀνὰ τε ἐδραμον οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὡς δὲ έδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυμαμένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο ἐλπομενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφι φανήσεται ἀντίξου ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ, ἐνθαῦτα Τδάρμης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔσοι Δακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰρετο Ἐπιαλῆτην ὑποδαπὸς εἷς ὁ στρατὸς, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀπρεκέως διέτασε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς ἐς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖς τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, οἳ χοῦντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὅρεος τοῦ κόρυμβου, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὅρμηθησαν ἠρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκενώδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιαλῆτην καὶ Τδάρμης Πέρσαι τοὺς Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεύντο, οἳ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὅρος κατὰ τάχος.

219. Τοῖς δὲ ἐν Θερμοπολίς εὑσι Ἑλληνῶν πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάυτις Μεγαστής ἐσιδῶν ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι ἀμα ἦτο σφι βάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον. οὕτωι μὲν ἐπὶ νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι κατάδραμοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἴδη διαφαινοῦσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἳ "Ἑλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι" οἳ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν τὴν ταξιν ἐκλιπέων, οἳ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες οἳ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδα-
218. Now the mountain-side where the Persians ascended was all covered by oak woods, and the Phocians knew nothing of their coming till they were warned of it, in the still weather, by the much noise of the enemy's tread on the leaves that lay strewn underfoot; whereupon they sprang up and began to arm, and in a moment the foreigners were upon them. These were amazed at the sight of men putting on armour; for they had supposed that no one would withstand them, and now they fell in with an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians, and asked Epialtes of what country they were; being informed of the truth he arrayed the Persians for battle; and the Phocians, assailed by showers of arrows, and supposing that it was they whom the Persians had meant from the first to attack, fled away up to the top of the mountain and prepared there to perish. Such was their thought; but the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes paid no regard to the Phocians, but descended from the mountain with all speed.

219. The Greeks at Thermopylae were warned first by Megistias the seer; who, having examined the offerings, advised them of the death that awaited them in the morning; and presently came deserters, while it was yet night, with news of the circuit made by the Persians; which was lastly brought also by the watchers running down from the heights when day was now dawning. Thereupon the Greeks held a council, and their opinions were divided, some advising that they should not leave their post, and some being contrariwise minded; and presently they parted asunder, these taking their departure and
σθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἐκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμα Λεωνίδη μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπολωντας κηδόμενος: αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Ἱπποτητέων τοῖς παρεόις οὐκ ἔχειν εὑπρεπέως ἐκλεπεῖν την τάξην ἵπ την ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν, ταύτη καὶ μᾶλλον την γνώμην πλείστος εἰμί, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἑώτας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἔθελοντας συνδιακιν- δυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπίεναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν μένοντε δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἔξηλείφετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθῆς τοῖς Ἱπποτητήσι χρεωμένους περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἡ Δα- κεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἡ τὴν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἐπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρὰ λέγοντα ὅδε.

ὑμῖν δ’, ὁ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχώροι, ἡ μέγα ἀστυ ἐρευνῶτες ὑπ’ ἄνδράσι Περσέιδησι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους δὲ γενέθλις πενθήσει βασιλῆς φθίμενον Δακεδαίμονος οὐρος. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ταύρων σχῆσετε μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων ἀντιβίην. Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος: οὐδὲ ἐ φημὶ σχῆσεσθαι, πρὶν τὸν 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.
ταύτά τε ὑπειλεγόμενον Δεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταβέσθαι μούνων. Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τους συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἡ γνώμη διενεχθεῖτας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τούς οἰχομένους.

221. Μαρτύριον δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἔλαχιστον τούτων πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς μάντιν ὃς εἴπετο τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστίνη τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμπτοδος, τούτων εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰρῶν τὰ μέλλοντα σφι ἐκβαίνει, φανερὸς ἔστι Δεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἣν μὴ συναπόληται σφι. δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλυτε, τὸν δὲ πάϊδα συστρατευόμενον, εὖστα οἱ μουνογεέα, ἀπέπεμψε.

222. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἰχοντό τε ἀπίοντες καὶ ἐπέιθοντο Δεωνίδην. Θεσπιόνες δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαίοι μὲν ἀέκουτες ἔμενον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι κατείχε γὰρ σφέας Δεωνίδης ἐν ὅμηρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος. Θεσπιόνες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Δεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστράτηγε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεως.

223. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦλιον ἀνατείλαντος σπουδᾶς ἐποίησατο, ἐπισχοὺς χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κοι μᾶλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιεύτο καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐς Ἑπιάλτεων οὕτω ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὅρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλῶν ἡ περὶ τούς περιόδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις, οἱ τε ὑπὲρ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην προσήσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ
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 Laecheidaemonians; 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.\(^2\) So the foreigners that were with Xerxes attacked; but the Greeks with Leonidas, knowing

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1 Stein reads μενων, with most MSS.; but μενων has some authority, and expresses the sense much better.
2 So that the Persians who came by the Anopaean path, leaving the top of the pass at dawn (op. 217), could reach the low ground by the early forenoon.
θανάτω ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἣν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἦ καὶ ἄρχας ἐπεξήγησαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οὐ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἥμερας ὕπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινότερα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγουντες ἐξω τῶν στεινῶν ἐπιπτοὺ πλῆθεὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἤγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας ἐρωπηθέν πάντα ἀνδρὰ, αἰτεῖ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐστίν ἐπιπτοὺ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖνες κατεπατέοντο ξυολ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἀτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίσθη ἐσεσθαι θάματον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυτι καὶ ῥόμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικάυτα ἦδη ἑτύχανε κατεγιότα, οὐ δὲ τοῖσι ἠφεσε διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Δεονίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῇ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἐτεροὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστὶ Σπάρτηντέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἄξιων γενόμενων ἐπυθόμην τὰ ὑπόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τρικησίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἅλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀθροκόμης τε καὶ Ἐπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεως θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνθης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφός, Τατάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεως παῖς· ὅσ καὶ ἐκδοιοῦν τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείω τὸν οἶκον πάντα τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνης οἱ ἐούσης 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. Εξέβεβο τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεῖς ἐνθαῦτα πάστουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Δακεδαίμονίων ὁθισμός ἐγίνετο πολλος, ἐς τὸ τούτο τε ἁρετῇ οἱ Ἑλληνες ύπεζειρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις, τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἑπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο, ὡς δὲ τούτος ἦκει ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐνθεύτεν ἦδη ἐπεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος, ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινόν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεγώρεον ὁπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τείχος ἐλθόντες ζωοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν κολωνίων πάντες ἄλεες οἱ ἄλλοι πλῆν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνιὸς ἑστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκαν νῦν ὁ λεῖνος λέων ἐστήκε ἐπὶ Δεονίδη. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῶν χώρων ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρης, τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐτύχοχανον ἐτὶ περευόναι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στομασί κατέχονσαν οἱ βαρβαροὶ βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐναντίως ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχους συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περευλόντες πάντοθεν περιστάδον.  

226. Δακεδαίμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἀριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτητῆς Διηνέκης τῶν τὸδε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἡ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖς Μήδοις, πυθόμενον πρός τευ τῶν Τρηχινών ὡς ἐπεάν οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἀπέλεισι τὰ ταξεύματα, τὸν ἦλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθος τῶν ὀιστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτους εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀλογῇ ποιεῖμενον τὸ Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνως ξεῖνος ἁγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτοῦντας τὸν Μήδων τὸν ἦλιον ὑπὸ σκῆ ἐσοῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἠλίῳ.
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 mewlay 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 overwhemed 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. Ταύτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιούτοιτρόπα ἑσπερὶ δειπνέεια τῶν Δακεδαυίμων οἱ πέσακαί μνημόσυνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῖσθαι λέγονται Δακεδαυίμωνοι δύο ἄδελφοι, Ἀλφεύς τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεις μάλιστα τῷ οἴνομα ἤν Διήθραμβος 'Αρματίδεω. 

228. Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἐπεσον, καὶ τοῖοι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ή ὑπὸ Λεωνίδου ἀποτεμφθέντας οἰχεσθαί, ἐπιγεγραπταὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε τριήκοσίας ἐμάχοντο ἐκ Πελοποννᾶσον χιλιάδες τέτορες.

tαύτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς πάσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖς δὲ Ἐπαρτιήτησι ἴδιον.

ὁ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Δακεδαυίμων στὶ τῇ δε κέμεθα τοῖς κείνους ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Δακεδαυίμωνοι μὲν δὴ τούτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε.

μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγιστία, ὧν ποτε Μῆδῳ Σπερχεῖον ποταμόν κτείναν ἀμειψάμενοι, μάντιοι, δὴ τὸτε κήρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδώς οὐκ ἔτη Σπάρτης ἱγμόνα προλαπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἐξω ἴ ὑ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, 'Αμφικτύόνες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίω Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξείνην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

229. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριήκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεών αὐτοῖς

1 As a matter of fact Simonides composed all three
227. This and other sayings of a like temper are recorded of Dieneces, whereby he is remembered. The next after him to earn the palm of valour were, it is said, two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

228. All these, and they that died before any had departed at Leonidas' bidding, were buried where they fell, and there is an inscription over them, which is this:

Four thousand warriors, flower of Pelops' land,
Did here against three hundred myriads stand.

This is the inscription common to all; the Spartans have one for themselves:

Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their words we lie.

That is for the Lacedaemonians, and this for the seer:

Here fought and fell Megistias, hero brave,
Slain by the Medes, who crossed Spercheius' wave;
Well knew the seer his doom, but scorned to fly,
And rather chose with Sparta's king to die.

The inscriptions and the pillars were set there in their honour by the Amphictyons, except the epitaph of the diviner Megistias; that inscription was made for him for friendship's sake by Simonides son of Leoprepes.¹

229. There is a story told concerning two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus. Leonidas inscriptions; but the epitaph of Megistias was the only one which he made at his own cost.
άμφοτέρους κοινὸν λόγον χρησαμένους ἢ ἀποσωθήναι ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Δεωνίδου καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ὁλυμπούσί οἰκθαλμώντες ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἀμα τοῖς ἀλλοίς, παρεών σφὶ τούτων τα ἐτερα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλησαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενεικθέντας Εὔρυντον μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περιοδον, ἀπήσαντα τα τὰ ὁπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἔσωτον κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὁμιλὸν διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ λυποψυγέοντα λειφθήναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἡ μοῦν Ἀριστοδήμου ἀλγήσαντα, ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοὶ σφενῶν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομίδην γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφὶ Σπαρτείτας μὴν οὐδεμιαν προσθέσθαι νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθυίσκειν, ἀν- αγκαίως σφὶ ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστο- δήμῳ.

230. Οἱ μὲν νυν αὐτῶ σωθῆναι λέγονσι Ἀριστοδήμου ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ προφάσιν τοιµύδε, οἰ δὲ ἀγγελον περικείεντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔξεον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα εἰ τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀπο- 

θανεῖν.

231. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος εἶχε οὐειδός τε καὶ ἀτιμήν πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο; οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔνανε 546
had suffered them both to leave the camp, and they were lying at Alpeni, very sick of ophthalmia; they might have both made common cause and returned in safety to Sparta, or if they had no desire to return have died with the rest; but though they might have done one thing or the other, they could not agree, and each followed his own plan. Eurytus, when he learnt of the Persians' circuit, called for his armour and put it on, and bade his helot lead him into the battle; the helot led him thither and then himself fled; and Eurytus rushed into the press and was slain. But Aristodemus' heart failed him, and he stayed behind. Now if Aristodemus alone had been sick, and so returned to Sparta, or if they had betaken themselves home together, then to my thinking the Spartans would have shown no anger against them; but as it was, when one of the two was slain, and the other had the selfsame pretext to rely upon, yet would not die, they could not but be very wroth with Aristodemus.

230. Some, then, say that it was thus and with such an excuse that Aristodemus came safe back to Sparta; according to others he had been sent on a message from the camp, and might have come back in time for the battle's beginning, yet would not, but lingered on the way and so saved his life; whereas his fellow-messenger returned for the battle and was there slain.

231. When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon, he was disgraced and dishonoured; this was the manner of his dishonour, that no Spartan would give

1 Stein reads ἀλογήσατα, of which I can make no good sense. There is MS. authority for both.
Σπαρτητέων οὔτε δυσλέγετο, οὐνείδος δὲ εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος.

232. ἈΛΛ ὦ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταῖσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν αὐτήν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἁγγελόν ἐς Θεσ- σαλίην τῶν τρικοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῶν οὖν μας εἶναι Παυτίτην νοστήσαντα δὲ τούτων ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἦττω, ἀπάγγασθαι.

233. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεωντάδης ἐστρατήγης, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὡς ἀναγκαΐης ἔχομενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν στρατεύσας, ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Πέρσων γεμόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, ὡς τὸν δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἐλλήνων ἐπενημοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κολονῶν, ἀπο- σχισθέντες τούτων χείρας τε προετιόυν καὶ ἦσαν ἄσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθεστατὸν τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδέξουσι καὶ γην τε καὶ ὅδωρ ἐν πρώτοις ἐδώσαν βασιλείαν, ὡς δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἔχομενοι ἐς Θερμοπούλας ἀπικοινοῦσε καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶν τοῦ τρόμοτος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείαν. ὡστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγένοντο εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τοὺς τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· ὃς μέντοι τὰ γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἔλθοντες, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσώπα, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν κελούσαντος Ερέξεως ἐστίξαν στίγματα βασιλεία, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντώ- ἱδων, τοῦ τῶν παιδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνω μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιές στρατηγησάντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἀστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

234. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπούλας Ἐλλήνες
him fire, nor speak with him; and they called him for disgrace, Aristodemus the coward.

232. But he repaired all that was laid to his charge in the fight at Plataeae. It is said too that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, was saved alive, carrying a message into Thessaly; he also returned to Sparta, but being there dishonoured hanged himself.

233. As for the Thebans, whose general was Leontiades, they were for a while with the Greeks and constrained by necessity to fight against the king's army; but as soon as they saw the Persians gaining the upper hand, then, when the Greeks with Leonidas were pressing towards the hillock, the Thebans separated from them and drew nigh to the foreigners, holding out their hands and crying that they were the Persians' men and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king; it was under constraint (they said) that they had come to Thermopylae, and they were guiltless of the harm done to the king; which was the truest word ever spoken; so that by this plea they saved their lives, the Thessalians being there to bear witness to what they said. Howbeit they were not wholly fortunate; for when the foreigners caught them coming, they even slew some of them as they drew near; the most of them were branded by Xerxes' command with the king's marks, from their general Leontiades downwards. This is he whose son Eurymachus long afterwards put himself at the head of four hundred Thebans and seized the citadel of Plataeae, but was slain by the Plataeans.

234. Thus did the Greeks at Thermopylae contend.

1 In 431; op. Thucyd. II. 2 ff.
οὕτω ἴγωνίσαντο. Ἐρέξεις δὲ καλέσας Δημάρχητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθέντε. "Δημάρχητε, ἀνήρ εἰς ἀγάθος. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ: ὁσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἀπαντᾷ ἀπέβη ὦτῳ. νῦν δὲ μοι εἶπέ, κόσοι τινὲς εἰς ὁ λοιποὶ Δακεδαίμονιοι, καὶ τοῦτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια εἶτε καὶ ἀπαντεῖς." ὁ δὲ εἶπε Ἡ"Ω βασιλεὺς, πλήθος μὲν πολλὸν πάντων τῶν Δακεδαίμονιοι καὶ πόλεις πολλαί τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἦστι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισ-
χιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ ὤτοι πάντες εἰς ὁμοίου τοιοῦ ἐνθάδε μαχησαμένους οὕτως μὲν ἄλλοι Δακεδαίμονιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοίου, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ." εἶπε πρὸς ταύτα Ἐρέξεις "Δημάρχητε, τέῳ ὑποντότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπι-
κρατήσομεν; ἦθεν ἔζησος σὺ γὰρ ἐχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος." 235. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο Ἡ"Ω βασιλεὺς, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμβουλεύεις μοι προθύμως, δίκαιον με σοι ἐστὶ φράσειν τὸ ἀριστον ἐὰν τὴν ναυτικής στρατηγίς
νέας τριήκοσιας ἀποστείλεις ἐπὶ τὴν Δακαιναν χώραν. ἦστι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ νήσου ἐπικειμενὴ τῇ ὀνομα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἀνήρ πάρ' ἡμῖν σοφῶτατοι γενόμενοι κέρδος μέζου ἀν ἔφη εἶναι Ἐσπαρτήττητε κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἡ υπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιούτῳ ἔσεσθαι οἷον τοῦ ἐγὼ ἐξηγεῖμαι, οὐτὶ τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδῶς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβε-
όμενοι ἀνδρῶν στόλου, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου ὁμιλώμενοι φοβεώντων τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους. παρ
οίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἑόντος οἰκητῷ, οὐδὲν
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
Δεωνὶ έσονταὶ τοῦ μη τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλησκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθόνσει ταῦτη. καταδολουθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀσθενεὶς ἦδη τὸ Δακωνίκον μοῦνον λείπεται. ἢν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιέστω, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἐσεσθαι, ἐστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἱσθμὸς στεινος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἔπι σοί μάχαις ἱσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομενέων προσδέκες ἐσεσθαὶ τοι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποίησαντι ἀμαχητὸ τέ ἵσθμος οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσιν." 236. Δέγει μετὰ τούτου Ἀχαϊμένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιέειν ταῦτα, "Ω Βασιλεῦ, ὅρῳ σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενου λόγους δς φθονεῖς τοι eu πρῆσοντι ἣ καὶ προδίδοι πρῆγμα τὰ σά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸποιηθὲν τοιοῦτοις χρεωμενοι Ἑλληνες χαίρομαι τοῦ τε εὔτυχειν φθονέοι καὶ τὸ κρέασον στυγέεει. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς παρεούσης τύχρη, τῶν νεκρῶν νεανιγήκασι τετρακόσιαν, ἄλλας ἐκ τὸν στρατοπέδου τρικοσίας ἀποπεύξεις περιπλέεων Πελοπόννησου, ἀξίωμαχοι τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι ἄλης δὲ ἐως ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν ὡς ἄξιόμαχοι τοι ἐσονται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρχεῖε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορεύομενος εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὕτω σὺ ἐσεὶ ἐκεῖνοις χρῆσίμοις οὐτε ἐκεῖνοι σοι. τὰ σεωτοὶ δὲ τιθέμενον εὐ γνώμῃν ἑχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλεγέσθαι πρῆγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τῶν πόλεων τὰ τε ποιήσουσι ὅσοι τε πλήθος εἰσί. ἵκανοι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἑωτῶν περί 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 ὁσαύτως. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἱστι ἀντία Πέρσης ὡς μάχην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρεόν τρόμα ἀκένταν."  

237. Ἀμείβεται Ἐρήμης τοῖς ιδ. "Ἀχαϊμένες, εὖ τε μοι δοκείς λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἀριστὰ ἑλπηταί εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμη μὲντοι ἐσσύνται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνο γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως σὺ δι' εὐνοεῖ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ πρήγμασί, τοιαὶ τε λεγομένως πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμομενος καὶ τῷ ἐοντι, ὅτι πολεῖτος μὲν πολείτη εὑράσκωντε σμύρνει καὶ ἐτι δυσμένης τῇ σεγῇ, οὐδ' ἂν συμβουλουμένου τοῦ ἀστού πολεῖτος ἀνήρ τὰ ἀριστὰ αὐτοῖ σοκύντη εἶναι ἐποθέουτο, εἰ μὴ πρῶτοι ἀρετὴς ἀνήκουν σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἔνοισ δὲ ἔπειρ εὑράσκωντε ἐστί εὐνεύστατον πάντων, συμβουλουμένου τοῦ ἂν συμβουλεύσει τὰ ἀριστα, σύντω ὁς κακολογήσεις τῆς ἐς Δημάρρητον, ἐοντος ἐμοι ἔπειρο πέρι, ἔχεσθαι τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω."  

238. Ταῦτα εἰπας Ἐρήμης διεξῆσθε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Δεωνίδω, ἀκηκοῦσι ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Δακεδαιμόνων, ἐκείλεσθε ἁποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρώσας. δὴ λά μοι πολλοίσι μὲν καὶ ἀλλοισι τεκμήριοισι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ ὁκ νηκτι ανέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἐρήμης πάντων δὴ μᾶλιτα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ξύντε Δεωνίδι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ὡς τῶν νεκρῶν ταῦτα παρενώμητο, εὔ τε τιμῶν μᾶλιτα νομίζουσι τῶν ἑγὼ οἴδα ἀνδρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, οὐ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίειν τοίοι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.  

239. Ἀνείμι δὲ ἐκείσθε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ
for themselves, and we likewise for ourselves. As for the Lacedaemonians, if they meet the Persians in the field, they will in nowise repair their late hurts."

237. "Achaemenes," Xerxes answered, "methinks you say well, and I will do as you counsel. But Demaratus, albeit your advice is better than his, says what he supposes to be most serviceable to me: for assuredly I will never believe that he is no friend to my cause; I judge that he is so by all that he has already said, and by what is the truth, namely, that if one citizen prosper another citizen is jealous of him and shows his enmity by silence, and no one (except he have attained to the height of excellence; and such are seldom seen) if his own townsman asks for counsel will give him what he deems the best advice. But if one stranger prosper, another stranger is beyond all men his well-wisher, and will if he be asked impart to him the best counsel he has. Wherefore I bid you all refrain from maligning Demaratus, seeing that he is a stranger and my friend."

238. Having thus spoken, Xerxes passed over the place where the dead lay; and hearing that Leonidas had been king and general of the Lacedaemonians, he bade cut off his head and impale it. It is plain to me by this especial proof among many others, that while Leonidas lived king Xerxes was more incensed against him than against all others; else had he never dealt so outrageously with his dead body; for the Persians are of all men known to me the most wont to honour valiant warriors. So they who were thus charged did as I have said.

239. I return now to that place in my history.
πρότερον ἐξέλισσε. ἐπύθουσο Ἀκεδαμίονος ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἦς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέσπευσαν, ἐνθα δὴ σφι ἔχρισθη τὰ ὀλύνω πρότερον εἶπον ἐπύθουσο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασιέω. Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οίκος ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὕτω ἦν εὐνοος Ἀκεδαμίονοισι, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἴτε εὐνοία ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἐπείτε γὰρ Ἐρέχθι ἐδοξεὶ στρατηλατεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοις ὁ Δημάρητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Ἀκεδαμίονοισι ἐξαγγειλαί. ἀλλὰς μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἰχε σημαίνανεν εἰπικυνοῦν γὰρ ἢ μὴ λαμφθείς, ὃ δὲ μηχανῶσα τοιάδει δελτῖον διπτυχον λαβών τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκυψε, καὶ ἐπείτα ἐν τῷ ἔχι ς τοῦ δελτίον ἔφρασε τὴν βασιλείας γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἢν ἐφερόμενον κεῖνον τὸ δελτίον μηδέν πρῆγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὀδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀκε- δαμίονα, ὅπειρον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Ἀκεδαμίονοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὅς ἐγὼ πυθόμενος, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Δεσωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῷ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθεῖσι αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν καὶ κελεύονσα, καὶ εὐρήσεων σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἔχι ς. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὐρον καὶ ἐπέλεξαντο, ἐπείτα δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις Ἔλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

1 220, where Herodotus mentioned the bare fact of the
where it lately left off. The Lacedaemonians were
the first to be informed that the king was equipping
himself to attack Hellas; with this knowledge it was
that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they
received the answer whereof I spoke a little while
ago; and the way of their being so informed was
strange. Demaratus son of Ariston, being an exile
among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being
also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and
I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was
done out of goodwill or spiteful 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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