HERODOTUS

IV

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INTRODUCTION

The following is a brief analysis of the contents of Books VIII and IX, based on the summary in Stein's edition:

BOOK VIII

Ch. 1–5. The Greek fleet at Artemisium; question of supreme command; bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans.

Ch. 6–14. Despatch of a Persian squadron to sail round Euboea, and its destruction by a storm. Effect of the storm on the rest of the Persian fleet; first encounter between the two fleets.

Ch. 15–17. Second battle off Artemisium.

Ch. 18–23. Retreat of the Greeks; Themistocles' attempt to tamper with the Ionians; Persian occupation of Euboea.

Ch. 24–33. Visit of Persian sailors to the field of Thermopylae. Olympic festival (26). Feuds of Thessalians and Phocians; Persian advance through Phocis (27–33).

Ch. 34–39. Persian march through Boeotia, and unsuccessful attempt upon Delphi.

Ch. 40–48. Abandonment of Attica by the Athenians; the Greek fleet at Salamis.

Ch. 49–55. Greek council of war; Persian invasion of Attica and occupation of Athens.
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Ch. 56–64. Greek design to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Decision to remain at Salamis, by Themistocles' advice.

Ch. 65. Dicaeus' vision near Eleusis.

Ch. 66–69. Persian fleet at Phalerum; advice given by Artemisia in a council of war.

Ch. 70–73. Greek fortification of the Isthmus. Digression on the various Peloponnesian nationalities.

Ch. 74–82. Unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to remain at Salamis. Themistocles' design to compel them; his message to Xerxes, and Persian movement to encircle the Greeks. Announcement of this by Aristides.

Ch. 83–96. Battle of Salamis.

Ch. 97–99. Xerxes' intention to retreat; news at Susa of the capture of Athens and the battle of Salamis.

Ch. 100–102. Advice given to Xerxes by Mardonius and Artemisia.

Ch. 103–106. Story of the revenge of Hermotimus.

Ch. 107–110. Flight of Persian fleet, and Greek pursuit as far as Andros; Themistocles' message to Xerxes.

Ch. 111, 112. Siege of Andros, and demands made by Themistocles on various islands.

Ch. 113. Mardonius' selection of his army.

Ch. 114–120. Incidents in Xerxes' retreat.

Ch. 121–125. Greek division of spoil and assignment of honours; Themistocles' reception at Sparta.

Ch. 126–129. Artabazus' capture of Olynthus and siege of Potidaea, during the winter.

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Ch. 133–135. Mardonius’ consultation of Greek oracles.

Ch. 136–139. Mission to Athens of Alexander of Macedonia; origin of his dynasty.

Ch. 140–144. Speeches at Athens of Alexander and the Spartan envoys; Athenian answer to both.

BOOK IX

Ch. 1–5. Mardonius in Attica; his fresh proposals to the Athenians.

Ch. 6–11. Hesitation of the Spartans to send troops; appeals made by the Athenians; eventual despatch of a force.

Ch. 12–15. Argive warning to Mardonius; his march to Megara and withdrawal thence to Boeotia.

Ch. 16–18. Story of a banquet at Thebes, and Mardonius’ test of a Phocian contingent.

Ch. 19–25. The Greeks at Erythrae; repulse of Persian cavalry attack, and death of its leader; Greek change of position.

Ch. 26–27. Rival claim of Tegeans and Athenians for the post of honour.

Ch. 28–32. Battle array of Greek and Persian armies.

Ch. 33–37. Stories of the diviners in the two armies.

Ch. 38–43. Persian attack on a Greek convoy; Mardonius’ council of war and determination to fight.

Ch. 44–51. Alexander’s warning to the Athenians; attempted change of Greek and Persian formation; Mardonius’ challenge to the Spartans, and retreat of Greeks to a new position.
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Ch. 52–57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amompharetus' refusal to change his ground.
Ch. 58–65. Battle of Plataea; initial success of Spartans and Tegeans.
Ch. 66–69. Flight of Artabazus; Athenian success against the Boeotians; disaster to part of the Greek army.
Ch. 70–75. Assault and capture of the Persian fortified camp. Distinctions of various Greek fighters.
Ch. 76–79. Pausanias' reception of the Coan female suppliant; the Mantineans and Eleans after the battle; Lampon's proposal to Pausanias and his reply.
Ch. 80–85. Greek division of the spoil and burial of the dead.
Ch. 86–89. Siege of Thebes and punishment of Theban leaders; retreat of Artabazus.
Ch. 90–95. Envoys from Samos with the Greek fleet. Story of the diviner Euenius.
Ch. 96–105. Movements preliminary to the battle of Mycale, and Greek victory there.
Ch. 106, 107. Greek deliberation at Samos; quarrel between Persian leaders.
Ch. 108–113. Story of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, and the fate of his brother Masistes.
Ch. 114–121. Capture of Sestus by the Greeks; sacrilege of Artayctes, and his execution.
Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

In the eighth and ninth books the central subjects are the battles of Salamis and Plataea respectively. Herodotus describes the preliminaries of Salamis,
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and both the operations prior to Plataea and the actual battle, with much detail; and his narrative has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sometimes it is difficult to reconcile his story with the facts of geography. Sometimes, it is alleged, he is contradicted by the only other real authority for the sea fight at Salamis, Aeschylus. More often, he is said to sin against the laws of probability. He makes generals and armies do things which are surprising; and this is alleged to detract from his credit; for a historian, who allows generals and armies to disregard known rules of war, is plainly suspect, and at best the dupe of camp gossip, if not animated by partiality or even malice.

As to the battle of Salamis, a mere translator has no desire to add greatly to the literature of controversy. But it is worth while to review Herodotus' account. On the day before the battle, the Persian fleet, apparently, lay along the coast of Attica, its eastern wing being near Munychia; the Greeks being at Salamis, opposite to and rather less than a mile distant from Xerxes' ships. During the night, Persian ships were detached to close the two entrances of the straits between the mainland and Salamis. At dawn of the following day, the Greeks rowed out and made a frontal attack on the Persians facing them.

This account is questioned by the learned, mainly on two grounds; firstly, because (it is alleged) the Persians, if they originally lay along the Attie coast, could not have closed the two entrances of the straits without the knowledge of the Greeks; secondly, because Herodotus' narrative differs from that given by Aeschylus, in the Persae, a play
produced only eight years after the battle. As to the first objection, the Persian manoeuvre was executed in darkness, and by small vessels, not modern battleships: it is surely not incredible that the Greeks should have been unaware of its full execution. As to the second ground of criticism,—that Herodotus and Aeschylus do not agree, and that Aeschylus must be held the better authority,—it still remains to be shown in what the alleged discrepancy consists. It is a fact which appears to escape the observation of the learned that Aeschylus is writing a poetic drama, and not a despatch. His manner of telling the story certainly differs from that of Herodotus; but the facts which he relates appear to be the same: and in all humility I cannot but suggest that if commentators would re-read their Herodotus and their Aeschylus in parallel columns, without (if this be not too much to ask) an a priori desire to catch Herodotus tripping, some of them, at least, would eventually be able to reconcile the historian with the tragedian. For Aeschylus nowhere contradicts what is apparently the view of Herodotus,—that the Persians, or their main body, lay along the Attic coast opposite Salamis when the Greeks sailed out to attack them. Messrs. How and Wells (quos honoris causa nominò) say that this was probably not so, because, according to Aeschylus, "some time" elapsed before the Persians could see the Greek advance, and the strait is only one thousand five hundred yards wide. But as a matter of fact, Aeschylus does not say that some time elapsed. His expression is θῶς δὲ πάντες ἦνων ἐκφανές ἰδεῖν—"quickly they were all plain to view."
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Herodotus' narrative of the manoeuvres of Mardonius' and Pausanias' armies near Plataea is, like most descriptions of battles, not always very clear. It is full of detail; but as some of the localities mentioned cannot be quite certainly identified, the details are not always easy to understand; and it must be confessed that there are gaps in the story. For instance, we must presume (though meritorious efforts are made to explain the statement away) that Herodotus means what he says when he asserts in Ch. 15 that Mardonius' army occupied the ground "from Erythrae past Hysiae"; the Persians, therefore, were then on the right bank of the Asopus; yet soon afterwards they are, according to the historian's equally plain statement, on the left bank. Hence there are real obscurities; and the narrative is not without picturesque and perhaps rather surprising incidents; which some commentators (being rather like M. About's gendarme, persons whose business it is to see that nothing unusual happens in the locality) promptly dismiss as "camp gossip." Altogether, what with obscurity and camp gossip, scholars have given themselves a fairly free hand to reconstruct the operations before Plataea as they must have happened—unless indeed "someone had blundered," an hypothesis which, apparently, ought only to be accepted in the very last resort, and hardly then if its acceptance implies Herodotus' veracity. Reconstruction of history is an amusing game, and has its uses, especially in places of education, where it is played with distinguished success; yet one may still doubt whether rejection of what after all is our only real authority brings the public any nearer to
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knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, alio unde, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. Pace the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the
record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worship,—was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans—disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare—it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.
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This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

If the charge of an excessively pro-Athenian bias is to be sustained, it must be shown that Herodotus is prone to deny credit to the great rival of Athens. But there is no evidence of that. Sparta receives full measure from Herodotus. No Spartan could conceivably have been dissatisfied with the chapters on Thermopylae. Plataea is represented as a Spartan victory; it was the Spartans and Tegeans who in Herodotus' story were the real heroes of the day; the glory of winning "the greatest victory ever won" is definitely given to the Spartan commander-in-chief. On the other hand Themistocles, the typical Athenian, is treated with a severity which even appears to be rather gratuitous. It is true that Herodotus does not take pains to praise two other Greek states which at various times were at feud with Athens. He tells us that the Thebans "medized," a fact which has not, I believe, been denied, even by Plutarch; it is difficult to see what else he could have said. True, he reports a damaging story about the Corinthians and their failure to take part in the action of Salamis; but he adds, in his candid way, that nobody believes the story outside Attica.

The hypothesis of Herodotus' "obvious pro-
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Athenian bias" is one which is bound to appeal to readers who are laudably afraid of being led away by hero-worship; but it has one fault—it lacks evidence.

With the crowning victory of Mycale, where for the first time a Persian army was defeated by a Greek within the boundaries of the Persian empire, the history of the war comes to an end. But the chapters which conclude Book IX are no anticlimax; they are congruous with the whole, part and parcel of the narrative, and as striking an example of Herodotus' supreme art as any passage in his history. What was it after all (a reader might be supposed to ask) that nerved most of the Greeks to resist Darius' and Xerxes' powerful armaments? The answer is plain; it was fear of the caprice and cruelty of Oriental despots, and desire to protect Greek temples from sacrilege. These concluding chapters illustrate and justify the Greek temper. The methods of Persian absolutism are vividly portrayed in the gruesome story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death; and the crucified body of Artayctes, the defiler of temples, hangs by the Hellespontian shore, overlooking the scene of Xerxes' proudest achievement and display, as a warning to all sacrilegious invaders; so perish all who lay impious hands on the religion of Hellas! . . . The story is now complete. The play is played; and in the last chapter of the book, Cyrus the great protagonist of the drama is called before the curtain to speak its epilogue.

[Besides the authorities enumerated at the beginning of Vol. I of this translation, the following
sources are recommended to the students of the campaigns of Salamis and Plataea:

HERODOTUS
BOOK VIII
1. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οίδε, Ἄθηναιοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἐκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπτὰ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταίας ἀπειροὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔωτες συνεπλήρουν τοίς Ἄθηναιοι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι. Ἄθηναιοι σφὶ παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινηται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἐπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρεῖς δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήων δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντάριους δύο. Δοκροὶ δὲ σφὶ οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντάριους ἐγοντες ἐπτά.

2. Ἡσαν μὲν οὔτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἰρηταὶ δὲ μοι καὶ ὅς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατον τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντάριων, δεικοσίαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τῶν δὲ στρατηγοῦ τῶν τὸ μέγιστὸν κράτος ἐγοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτηταὶ Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεως.
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BOOK VIII

1. The Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Cears two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2. These were they who came to Artemisium for battle; and I have now shown how they severally furnished the whole sum. The number of ships that mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy one, besides the fifty-oared barks. But the admiral who had the chief command was of the Spartans’ providing, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides;
οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Δάκων ἱγμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοις ἔσεσθαι ἱγμονεύοις, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρατεύμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σκελῆν πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοις χρεόν εἰς ἐπιτράπετεν. ἀντιβάλλων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰκὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περείναι τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ γνώντες, εἴ στασίασον περὶ τῆς ἱγμονίας, ὡς ἀπολέσατι ἡ Ἐλλάδα, ὃρθα νοεῦντες στάσις γὰρ ἐμφυλὸς πολέμου ὁμοφρονεῖτος τοσοῦτο κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι δὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλὰ εἰκόν, μέχρι ὅσον κάρτα ἐδέσθοτο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέθεταν ὅσα γὰρ δὴ ὡςαμένοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς Εἰκέαν ἡδὸν τῶν ἀγώνω ἐποιεῖτο, πρὸ βασιλείων ὑβριν προσχορμοῖο ἀπείλουσι τὴν ἱγμονίαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἔγενετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὕτωι οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατηγίς ἀπαντᾷ πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δοξα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρῳδησάντες δρήσιμον ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσω ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. γνώντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοῖες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέσθο Ἐυρυβιάδεω προσμείνατι χρόνον ὁλόγον, ἐστὶ ἃν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκδέονται. ὡς δὲ οὕτω ἐπειδὼν, μεταβάντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγίων πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα

1 After the capture of Byzantium in 476 B.C.
for the allies said, that if the Laconian were not their leader they would rather make an end of the fleet that was preparing than be led by the Athenians.

3. For in the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance there, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. But when the allies withstood this, the Athenians waived their claim, deeming the safety of Hellas of prime moment, and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership Hellas must perish; wherein they judged rightly; for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others, as was shown; for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. But all that befel later.¹

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae, and armaments everywhere, and contrary to all expectation the foreigner was shown to be in far other case than they had supposed; wherefore they lost heart and began to take counsel for flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, seeing them to be thus planning, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves should have brought away their children and households. But when they could not prevail with him, they essayed another way, and gave Themistocles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of
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tαλάντοις, ἐπ᾿ ὧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίας ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίαν.

6. Ὅ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐπισχεῖν ὅδε ποιεῖς: Ἕλευσιάδη τοῦτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ᾿ ἐωστοῦ δῆθεν δίδους. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὕτως ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὁκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἕσπαιρε μόνον, φάμενος ἀποπλευσθεῖσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖν, πρὸς δὴ τούτων εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολέεισι, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐγὼ μέξῳ δώρα δῶσω ἡ βασιλεία ἀν τοῖς ὁ Μῆδων πέμψεις ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταύτα τε ἀμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τῆς Ἀδείμαντος τάλαντα ἄργυρίου τρία. οὕτως δὲ πάντες διώρισε ἀναπέπειμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Εὔβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδησε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔγων, ἀλλ᾿ ἡπιστεῖν οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὔτω δὴ κατέμειναν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐναυμάχθαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὁδε. ἔπειτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην προίγη γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἐτὶ καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχείῳ νέας Ἐλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, προθυμοὶ ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἰ κως ἐλοιποὶ αὐτῶς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίθης προσπλέειν οὐ κῶ σφι ἐδοκεῖ τῶνδε εἰνὲκα, μὴ κως ἰδόντες οἱ "Ἐλλήνες προσπλέοντας εἰς φυγὴν ἀρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνα καταλαμβάνειν καὶ ἐμελλόν δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἑδεὶ δὲ μηδὲ
thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5. This was the way whereby Themistocles made the Greeks to stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though it were of his own that he gave it. Eurybiades being thus won over, none of the rest was of a resisting temper save only Adimantus, son of Oeytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemision; to him said Themistocles, adding an oath thereto: "Nay, you of all men will not desert us; for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies"; and with that saying he sent withal three talents of silver to Adimantus' ship. So these two were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got their desire, and Themistocles himself was the gainer; he kept the rest of the money, none knowing, but they that had received a part of it supposing that it had been sent for that intent by the Athenians.

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemision, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the
πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνῳ λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁν τάδε ἐμπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιπέμπουν ἐξοθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὁφθείσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὐβοιαν κατὰ τε Καφνέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐριποῦ, ἣν δὲ περιλάβοιεν οὐ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράζαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὁπλίων φέρουσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστημομένους ἢ ἐναντίς. ταύτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπείπερμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὖν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ταύτης της ἡμέρης τοίς Ἐλλησι ἐπιδιήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημα σφι ἐμμέλε φανησέσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλέουσών ὡς ἕκοντων. ταύτα μὲν δὴ περιἐπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁφέτησι ἐποιεύτω ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ό οὕτωι ἀριθμοῖ ἐποιεύτω τῶν νεῶν, ἢν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλῆς Σκιωνᾶς δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς Πέρσηι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ περεβάλειτο- οὕτος ο Σκυλλῆς ἐν νῷ μὲν εἰχε ἁρα καὶ πρό- τερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἀλλ’ οὗ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτερ μὲν δὴ τρόποι τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐτὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, οὐκ ἔχον εἰπείν ἄτρεκείως, θωμάζῳ δὲ ἐὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς τε ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐς Ἁφέτεων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἡ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὁγδώκοιτα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.
BOOK VIII. 6-8

Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer of them must be saved alive.

7. Wherefore this was the plan that they devised. Separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Scithus (that so the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea) and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus, so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Thus planning, they sent the appointed ships on their way, purposing for themselves to make no attack upon the Greeks that day, nor before the signal should be seen whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about numbering the rest at Aphetae.

8. Now at the time of their numbering the ships, there was in the fleet one Scyliias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the ship-wreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much withal for himself; this Scyliias had ere now, it would seem, purposed to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did thereafter at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say; but if the story be true it is marvellous indeed; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetae and never rose above it till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs.

1 The φρέατος carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.
διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἰκελα περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρὸς τοῦτον, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθεία περὶ μέντοι τοῦτον γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλούρ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμην τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν τε ναυγήν ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοιαν.

9. Τούτῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἴ "Ἐλληνες λόγον σφίσει αὐτούς ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεγέντων ἑνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντας τε καὶ αὐλοσθέντας, μετέπειτα νῦκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντῶν τῆς περιπλεούσης τῶν νεῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὑφινὴ γνωμείνη τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιώται οἱ Ἔρρειω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νησὶ ὀλίγησαν, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὀρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑσύπτων πλῆθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἀμεσοῦ πλεοῦσας, καταφρούσαντες τάτα ἐκκλούντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώων ἦσαν εὐνοο τοῖς Ὁληστι τοφής Ἐλληνικοῦ τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποιεύτο μεγάλην ὀρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἑπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονεστήσει οὕτω ἀσθενεά σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πράγματα. ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἡδομένους ἢν τὸ γεγονόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεύτο ὅκως
There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemision in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much speaking, but the opinion prevailed that they should abide and encamp where they were for that day, and thereafter when it should be past midnight put to sea and meet the ships that were sailing round. But presently, none attacking them, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the foreigner, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.¹

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea, thinking to win an easy victory; which expectation was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships so few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now as many Ionians as were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war, and were sore distressed to see the Greeks surrounded, supposing that not one of them would return home; so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. But those who were glad of the business vied each with each that he might be the first to take an

¹ For the διέσπασε see Bk. VI. ch. 12.
αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλῶν παρὰ βασιλέως δῶρα λαμψται: Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖς δὲ Ἐλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντὶπρωτοὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημῆναιτο ἔργον εἰχοντο ἐν ὅλῳ περ ἀποτλαμβάνετε καὶ κάτα στόμα. ἑνδαίτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμίνιον βασιλέως ἀδελφεῖον Φιλάσσα τῶν Ἀρέσιτος, λόγιμον ἑοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἐλλήνων νέα τῶν πολέμων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Δυκομήδης Λισχραῖον, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήριον ἔλαβε οὕτως. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλλήνης ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμιδιόν ἀπέπλευσα, οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλοὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῶν Ἐλλήνων ἑοντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χάρων ἐν Σαλαμίνι.

12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρονή ἐγεγόνει, ἢ μὲν τῆς ὀρθῆς μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὑδωρ τοῦ ἀπλητῶν διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἔταρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιώται το ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταύτα ἐς φόβον κατιστᾶτο, ἐπίξοντες πάγχοι ἀπολέονται ἐς οἴα κακὰ ήκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι σφέας ἐκ τῆς ναυγήσις καὶ τοῦ
Attie ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, albeit they were hemmed in within a narrow space and fought front to front. There they took thirty of the foreigners' ships and the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis withal, even Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valour. They fought that seafight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the foreigners to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos deserted to the Greeks, alone of all the Greeks that were with the king; and for that the Athenians gave him lands in Salamis.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion; and the dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships’ prows and fouled the blades of the oars. The ships’ companies that were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and looked in their present evil case for utter destruction; for before they were
χειμώνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιου, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχία καρτερή, ἵνα δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁμβρός τε λάβρος καὶ ἰσχύρα ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ.

13. Καὶ τούτως μὲν τοιαῦτῃ ἡ νῦξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖς de ταχθείς αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἑοῦσα νῦξ πολλῶν ἦν ἐτὶ ἀγριωτέρη, τοσοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν πελάγει ἑρωμένοις ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἀχαρή. ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖς χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἑοῦσα κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὖν εἰδώτες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπτυσσαν πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐποιεῖτο τε πάν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἀν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μὴν πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

14. Οὗτος μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας διεφθείροντο. οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετρῷ βαρβαροὶ, ὡς σφι ἀσμένουσι ἡμέρη ἐπελαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἰχον τὰς νεὰς καὶ σφὶ ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσοσθαι ἡσυχίην ἅγειν εἰ τῷ παρεύοντι. τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησὶ ἐπεβοήθεσαν νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφῆς ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελία ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἰσῆσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξατε δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὃρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νεῦσι Κιλίσσης ταῦτας δὲ διαφθείρατες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον.

15. Τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινοῦ τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὔτω σφι ὂλγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἑρέα δειμαίνοντες,
recovered after the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next must abide a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings.

13. Thus did the night deal with them; but to those that were appointed to sail round Euboea that same night was much crueler yet, inasmuch as it caught them on the open sea; and an evil end they had. For the storm and the rain coming on them in their course off the Hollows of Euboea, they were driven by the wind they knew not whither, and were cast upon the rocks. All this was the work of heaven's providence, that so the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.

14. So these perished at the Hollows of Euboea. But the foreigners at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the nonce; and fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were heartened by the ships' coming and the news brought withal that the foreigners sailing round Euboea had all perished in the late storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and putting to sea fell upon certain Cilician ships; which having destroyed, when darkness came on, they returned back to Artemisium.

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the
οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐτὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μάχης ἁρξαί, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσου ἡμέρης ἀνήγγυν τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ όστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταῦτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλης. ἦν δὲ πάς ὁ ἀγών τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἑωρίτου, ὅσπερ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δεονίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρακελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στρατεύμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ἐρέχθεων ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτέμισι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνουείδες ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτοὺς.

16. Ἔνθευτεν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐπανέπλεον τε καὶ συνέμισσαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλησίῳ ἀλλήλοις εγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ἐρέχθεων στρατός ὑπὸ μεγάδεος τε καὶ πλῆθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐσωτερικοῦ ἐπιτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτυτοσεον περὶ ἄλληλας’ όμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκεν δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἔποιευντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλγεῶν ἐς φυγὴν τραπεσθαί. πολλαὶ μὲν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεῖς δεισθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπὶ πλεύσεις νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγονιζόμενοι διεστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

17. 'Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Διήγησις μὲν τῶν Ἐρέχθεων στρατιωτῶν ἡρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέχαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πένθε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν 'Αθηναίοι καὶ
BOOK VIII. 15-17

Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

16. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. For Xerxes' fleet wrought itself harm by its numbers and multitude; the ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast, nor yielded, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that there perished, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; thus they battled, till they drew off and parted each from other.

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best; besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best;
Αθηναίων Κλεινής ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεως, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκήσαν παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράς τε διηκοσίοις καὶ οἰκήσῃ νη.

18. Ὡς δὲ διεστήσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὀρμον ἥπειροντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὁς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγῶν ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναίοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεις τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρῆσμον δὴ ἐβουλευσάμενοι ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόω δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁς εἰ ἀπορραγεὶ ἀπὸ τὸν βαρβάρον τὸ τε Ἰωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρίκον, οὐτὶ τε εἰσήκαν ἐν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοεῶν πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταῦτην, συλλέξας τῶν στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε σφί ως δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐπίξοι τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγόμυν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιήτεα σφί εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβατῶν τῶν Εὐβοικῶν καταθένων ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι κρέσσον γἀρ εἶναι τὴν στρατηγὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεε τε προειπεῖ τοῖς ἐωτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομίδης δὲ πέρι τὴν ὀρχήν αὐτῷ μελῆσειν, ὅστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἥρεσε σφί ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοῖοι, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος κρήσων ὃς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὐτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεζέματο ὃς παρε-
and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

18. So they part ed and each right gladly made haste to his own anchorage. When the Greeks had drawn off and come out of the battle, they were left masters of the dead and the wrecks; but they had had rough handling, and chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered hurt; and now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas.¹

19. Themistocles bethought him that if the Ionian and Carian nations were rent away from the foreigners, the Greeks might be strong enough to get the upper hand of the rest. Now it was the wont of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Wherefore gathering the admirals together he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king’s allies. So much he revealed for the nonce; but in the present turn of affairs this (he said) they must do: let everyone slay as many as he would from the Euboean flocks; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover he counselled them each to bid his men to light a fire; as for the time of their going thence, he would take such thought for that as should bring them seathless to Hellas. All this they agreed to do; and forthwith they lit fires and then laid hands on the flocks.

20. For the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, deeming it void of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had

¹ This means, I suppose, to the seas nearer their homes.
HERODOTUS

σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοίς τα πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὁδὲ ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμὸς.

φράζει, βαρβαρόφωνος ὁταν ξυγὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλη
βύζλινον, Εὐβοῖας ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἴγας.

τούτοις όδὲν τοῖσι ἐπεσεί χρησαμένοις ἐν τοίσι τότε παρευσίν τε καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοῖς παρῆν σφι συμφορὴ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπροσήνον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ Ἔκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἰχὲ πλοῖον κατηρεῖ έτοιμόν, εἰ παλησειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃς έσωσι’ δι’, αὐτῶς ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσίκλεος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ λεωνίδη έτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ έσωσί αγγέλλει τρικοντέρων, ἢν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζὸν, οὕτως ὁν ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικομενὸς σφι σημαίνει τὰ γεγονότα περὶ λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθωντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεύτω τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζωντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐναχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὦστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ νέας τας ἁριστα πλευσσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα υδάτα, εντάμων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἰωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ υστεραιη ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίου ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ ἐν γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνες, οὐ ποίετε δίκαια
they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

"Whenso a strange-tongued man on the waves casts yoke of papyrus,
Then let bleating goats from coasts Euboean be banished."

To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they could not but heed their dire calamity.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them the watcher from Trachis. For there was a watcher at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready therefor), if the fleet should be at grips, to declare it to the men at Thermopylae; and in like manner, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army; which when the Greeks learnt, they no longer delayed their departure, but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first, and last of all the Athenians.

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly
Η Ρωμαϊκή επιφάνεια

ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τήν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθαι εἴ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τούτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐτί καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρών δέσσετε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶον τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης μέξονος κατέξευσθε ἡ ὁστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελο-κακεῖτε μεμνημένοι ὃτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὃτι ἀρχίζειν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἄπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονεν. Ἡ Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τά ταύτα ἔγραφε, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα νοέων, ὡς ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνᾶς ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐσωτήρ, ἣ ἐπείτε ἀνενεχθῇ καὶ διαβλήθῃ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς καὶ τῶν ναυμαχείων αὑτοὺς ἀπόσχισιν.

23. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν τά ταύτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα πλοῖσι ἦλθε ἀνήρ Ἰστιαίεως ἀγγέλλων τῶν δρησθῶν τῶν Ἀρτεμισίων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὐ δὲ ἀπίστης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἰχόν ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοφρομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἄμα ἤλθε σκινδαμένῳ πάσα ἡ στρατιή ἐπέπλευ ἀλήθει πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχοντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τῷ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθάλασσις χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἑνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐωτοὶ, Ξέρξης ἐτοί-
to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning." To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23. Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the foreigners a man of Histiaea in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in ward, and sent swift ships to spy out the matter; and when the crews of these brought word of the truth, on learning that, the whole armada at the first spreading of sunlight sailed all together to Artemisium, where having waited till midday, they next sailed to Histiaea, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans' city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopian region, which is the land of Histiaea.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

¹ The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaea.
μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσιο τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔως τὸν ἰσαν νεκροῖ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃ (ἵσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενοι τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὁρυξάμενος ἑθαγέ, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμηψάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ Βουλόμενῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐκθόντα θείασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀντίποις τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἠλπίσαι τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλλέσθαι." 25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγελμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἔγινεν πλοῖων σπανιῶτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἦθελον θείασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηνέων διέξιοντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἡπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπίας, ὁρώντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρῆξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐως τὸν καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἢν τῶν μὲν χιλίοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροί κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκεῖαν ἄλεες συγκεκομμένεις ἐς τὸ ἐκεί σῴριον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταῦτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρῃ πρὸς θέν ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἅμφι Ξέρξην ἐς ὄδον ὀρμέατο. 26. Ἡκον δὲ σφὶ αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ’ Ἀρκα¬

dίης ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἀγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὅπου

tὴν βασιλέος ἐπινθανόντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν
to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

25. After this proclamation, there was nought so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who would see the sight. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead; and all of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though there were the helots also for them to see. Yet for all that they that crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead; for indeed the thing was laughable; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in seeing the sight; on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaea, and Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what
'Ελλήνων τι ποιέοιεν, εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἢν ὁ εἰρωτών αὑτοὺς ταύτα. οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὦλυμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωροῦσιν ἄγωνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικοῦ. ὃ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὃ τι τὸ ἀεθλοῦν εἰη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἄγωνιζονται; οἱ δὲ εἰπον τῆς ἑλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶταις γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνον δειλὴν ὅφει πρὸς βασιλέως. πυθανόμενος γάρ τὸ ἀεθλοῦν ἐδών στέφανον ἄλλ' οὐ χρῆματα, οὔτε ἄνεσχετο σιγών εἰπε τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαὶ Μαρδώνε, κοῖος ἐπ’ ἄνδρας ἣναγες μακρίσυμένως ἥμεας, οὐ ὅπλαν ἠρμάτων τῶν ἄγωνα ποιεύσταται ἄλλα περὶ ἄρετης." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταύτα εἴρητο.

27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνου, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν θερμοπύλῃ τρόμῳ ἐγεγόνει, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσιν κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, άτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰιὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστραπὶ αὐτῷ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοὶς ἐτέσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλείας στατηλαζήσας, ἐσσώθθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιεβάζον τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνηθὸν οἱ Φωκέας ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίνην τὸν Ἡλείον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης αὐτὸς σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόντε. γυνώσας ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτῶν τε τούτως καὶ τὰ ὀπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προεῖπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἀν μῆ

1 On the hypothesis, usually received till lately, that the games took place at the first full moon after the summer
the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Arcadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them

solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therm; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.
λευκανθήζοντα ἵδωνται, τούτων κτείνειν. τούτους ὁν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἱδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἀλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατικὴ οὕτω ὡστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατήσας ἵκρον καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν ταῖς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐσ "Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς: ἦ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεώτες ἐμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ ἐτεροὶ τοιούτοι ἐν "Ἄβας ἰνακέαταί.

28. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκεύοντας ἐσωτήρως ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππων αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναυτο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἦ ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύχων ἀμφόρεας κενεύος ἐς αὐτὴν κατέβηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τὸ ἀλλῷ χώρῳ ἐκδόκειτο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οὐ δὲ ὁς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφόρεας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφλάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφί ἀμφοτέρων ἐχοντες ἢγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευν τάδε. "Ὡς Φωκέες, ἢδη τι μάλλων γρωσιμαχεῖτε μὴ εἶναι ὁμοίοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε σε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ὡς ὁρὸν ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἤδον, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐθερόμεθα; νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὡστε ἐτ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστερήθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοῦ το πάν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω αὐτ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
slay whomsoever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

28. Thus had the beleaguered Phocians dealt with the Thessalian foot; and when the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars therein, covering which with earth, till all was like the rest of the ground, they awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on thinking to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars; whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians; and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were ever formerly preferred before you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side; and now we are of such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands, ay, and yourselves enslaved withal. Nevertheless, though all rests with us, we bear you no ill-will for the past; pay us fifty talents of silver for what you
HERODOTUS

ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὕμων ὑποδεκόμεθα τά ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν.

30. Ταῦτα σφί ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκεῖς μονοὶ τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμίδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλ- λόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοί τὰ Ἐλλήνων ἦδεν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δο- κεῖν, ἐμίδιζον ἄν οἱ Φωκεῖς. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελ- λομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε ὄσειν ἠφανι τρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσα Θεσσαλοίς ὁμοίως μηδεῖν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλομαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὕτως οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολομένοι τοιοῦτο Φωκεῖσι ἐγένοντο ἑγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὀδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχείας ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεῖν στεινὸς ταύτη κατα- τείνει, ὡς τρῆκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὔρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἣν ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ Δρυοπίς· ἢ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωρίδων τῶν ἐν Πελο- ποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὅπι τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσώμεν ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμίδιζον τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔδοκε Θεσσαλοίς.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέ- βαλον, αὐτοὶς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέει δέξασθαι ὃμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέων πόλεων κειμένη ἐπὶ ἑωτής. Τιθερέα σύνομα αὕτη ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτὸι ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὁξίλας Δοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς
did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians, and they alone of all that region, would not take the Persians' part, and that for no other reason (if I argue aright) than their hatred of the Thessalians; had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then methinks the Phocians would have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; that they could do like the Thessalians and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31. This answer being returned to them, thereat the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the foreigner on his way. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; for there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian; this region is the motherland of the Dori an of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the foreigners did no harm at their invasion; for the people took the Persian part, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it, but the most of them made their way out of the country to
'Αμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κριστιάνου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσιν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα. Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ἤγον τὸν στρατὸν ὅκοσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἐκείρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνείπτες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱπά.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισοῦν ποταμὸν ἐδίοιον πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκασαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἐρωχον καὶ Θεδρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδίες καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἑλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραπτωμόν καὶ Ἀβας, ἐνθα ὁ ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυρόις τε καὶ ἀναθήματι πολλοί και τοῖς καὶ νῦν ἐτε χρηστήριον αὐτῶθι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἰλού τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀρεσί, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισογόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραπτωμόνας δὲ παραμείβομενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἡ διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιή αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμα αὐτῷ Ἑρέξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ Ἀθηναὶ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτίας, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀνδρές Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἐσώζον, ὕπο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐσώζον δὲ τῇδε, δήλον βουλομένοι ποιεῖν Ἑρέξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέσσιν.

35. Οὕτως μὲν ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτη ἐτράποντο, ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἠγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὀρμέατο
the Ozolian Loerians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaean plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

33. Marching this way down the river Cephissus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaca, Neon, Pedica, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings; and there was then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt; and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains, and did certain women to death by the multitude of their violators.

34. Passing Parapotamii the foreigners came to Panopea; and there their army parted asunder into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole people of Boeotia took the Persian part, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding being, that Xerxes might understand the Boeotians to be on the Persian side.

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the
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ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὡσά δὲ καὶ οὕτωι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεσν καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Λιολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἀλλής στρατεύσης τῶν ἐπικυρεύοντος τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς βασιλεῖ Ξέρξη ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ’ ἦπιστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὡσά λόγον ἑκατοντάς Ἐξία Ξέρξης, ὡς εὖ ἐπιθάνον, ἀμείνων ἡ τὰ ἐν τούτω οἰκίοις ἐλλειπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσιον τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυθανομένοι ταύτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδών ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες ἐμαυτευόντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρήματων, εἶτε σφεά κατὰ γῆς κατορμύωσι εἶτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἀλλήν χώρην. ὃ δὲ θεος σφεάς ὡς ἐκ κινεών, φάσ αὐτὸς ικανός εἶναι τῶν ἐωτόυ προκατήθεα. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσαντες σφεῶν αὐτῶν περὶ ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νῦν καὶ γυναικας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιίνην διέπεσαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρόκιον ἀντρον ἀνημείκαντο, οὗ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν τὴν Δοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὅν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἄνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἤσαν οἱ Βάρβαροι ἐπιστεύντες καὶ ἀπόρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὖνομα ἡν Ἀκήρατος, ὅρα πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἐσώθευν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξεννενυγμένα ἱρά, τὼν οὐκ ὃσιον ἦν ἀπτεσθαι ἄνθρωπον ὑδειν.
temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own. On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaia; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave, and some escaped to Amphissa in Locris; in brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37. Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So

1 In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).
δὲ μὲν δὴ ἦτε Δελφῶν τούτοι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ ἐπειδή ἐγένοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπηγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτε μέξονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἄρθα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηῶ· τὰ δὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπηγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἂξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπίστοις οἱ βαρβαροὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραινοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐστι αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συνχνοὺς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοῦ τε καὶ ἄλαλαγμος ἐγένετο.

38. Συμμεγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τούτω αὐτοῖς ἐνεπεπτόκει. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπεκτείναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἵδοι Βοιωτῶν ἐφευρόν. ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὔτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἅλλα ὅρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέξονας ἥ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διόκοντας.

39. Τούτως δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοῖ λέγομεν εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἤρωας, Φύλακον τε καὶ Αὐτόνου, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φύλακον μὲν ψάρ' αὐτὴ τὴν ὁδὸν κατυπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτόνου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ταμπείη κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθου ἔτε καὶ ἔς ἡμέας ἦσαν σῶι,
he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.

38. All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell from Parnassus were yet to be

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1 "Among the olives in the glen below" the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea "are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above" (How and Wells).
ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίς Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι, τούτων μὲν νῦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῆ πό τοῦ ἱρῶν ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

40. Ὡ δὲ Ἕλληνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεσπότου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶν δὲ εἰνέκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναίοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παίδας τε καὶ γυναικας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῦς ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτι κατῆκουσιν πρὴγματευον βουλὴν ἐμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐφευμενοὶ γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεῖν ἐν τῇ Βουτιᾷ ὑποκατημένους τῶν βαρβαρών, τῶν μὲν εὐρὸν οὐδὲν ἔοι, οὐ δὲ ἐπινιδίωντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τείχεόντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιεόμενος περιείναι καὶ ταυτὴν ἐχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταύτα πυθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωτόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίειν κηρυγμα ἐποίησαν, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκετὰς. ἔθναυτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζημα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Λιγυναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἐσπευσάν ἐς ταῦτα ὕπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τοὺς βουλόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτης ἑικεκ ήκείστα. λέγουσιν Ἀθηναίοι δὴν μέγαν φυλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εὔδοιασθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσι τι ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἑπιμήνια ἐπιτηδεύσουσι προτιθέντες. τὰ δ' ἑπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἔστι, αὐτὴ δὴ ἡ
seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

40. The Greek fleet, after it had left Artemisium came by the Athenians' entreaty to land at Salamis; the reason why the Athenians entreated them to put in there being, that they themselves might convey their children and women safe out of Attica, and moreover take counsel as to what they should do. For inasmuch as the present turn of affairs had disappointed their judgment they were now to hold a council; they had thought to find the whole Peloponnesian force awaiting the foreigners' attack in Boeotia, but now of that they found no whit, but learnt contrariwise that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, and letting all else go, as deeming the defence of the Peloponnese to be of greatest moment. Learning this, they therefore entreated the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Threath most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this: it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it; this
μελιτόσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμομένη τότε ὑπὸ ἀγαυστός. σημανάσθης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελούπνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ σφὶ πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλευν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἅπτ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ναυτικὸς στρατός ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροίζηνων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέξθησαν τε ἐς πολλὰ πλεύνεις νέες ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυαμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλεύσουν. ναύαρχος μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ὧντος ὡς περ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεως ἀνήρ Σπαρτητῆς, οὐ μέντοι γένεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἑών νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἀριστα πλεύσας παρεῖχοντο Ἀθηναίοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἴδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροίζηνοι δὲ πέντε, Ἐρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἔωτες οὕτω πλὴν Ἐρμιονέων Δωρικῶν τε καὶ Μακεδονίων ἑβρων, ἐξ Ἐφεσοῦ τε καὶ Πυνδοῦ καὶ τῆς Δρυσίδος ἐστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμιονέως εἰσὶ Δρύσπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλεῶν ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεσμένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.

44. Οὕτως μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννήσιοι ἐστρατεύοντο, οί δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἱπειροῦ, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἀλλοὺς παρεχόμενοι νέας ὁγδώκοντα καὶ ἕκατον, μοῦνον ἐν Σαλαμίνι γὰρ οὐ
cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

42. When the Greeks from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of their fleet also heard of it and gathered in from Troezen, the port of which, Pogon, had been named for their place of mustering; and the ships that mustered there were more by far than had fought at Artemisium, and came from more cities. Their admiral-in-chief was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Eurycletes, a Spartan, yet not of the royal blood; but it was the Athenians who furnished by far the most and the sea-worthiest ships.

43. The Peloponnesians that were with the fleet were, firstly, the Lacedaemonians, with sixteen ships, and the Corinthians with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the people of Hermione three; all these, except the people of Hermione, were of Dorian and Macedonian stock, and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The people of Hermione are Dryopians, driven by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnesse, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not
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συνενανμάχησαν Πλαταίες 'Αθηναίοισι διὰ τοι-όνδε τι πρήγμα: ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αρτεμισίου, ὡς ἠγίσθο ὑμᾶς Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταίες ἀποβάλλει ἐς τὴν περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ πρὸς ἐκκομίδῃ ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκεῖων. οὗτοι μὲν τυφώσαντο σώζοντες ἐλέη-φθήσαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν 'Ελλάδα καλεομένην ἠσαν Πελασγοί, ὁνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέως ἀκλήθησαν Κέκροπιδαί, ἐκδεχαμένου δὲ 'Ερεχθέως τὴν ἁρχὴν 'Αθηναίοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνοὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑσώθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἀκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦτο 'Ἰωνεὶς.

45. Μεγαρές δὲ τόπῳ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπὶ οὔτε Ἀρτεμισίω, Ἀμπρακιώτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νέα τέχνα ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἐθνοὶ ἐοντες οὗτοι Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινήται τριήκοντα παρέи-χοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφί καὶ ἄλλοι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἄλλα τῆς μὲν τὴν ἐωτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῆς ἀρίστα πλεούσης ἐν Σαλαμίνι ἐναμάχησαν. Αἰγινήται δὲ ἐστὶ Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ 'Επιδαύρου τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρῶτον οὖνομα ἤν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπὶ Αρτεμισίω εἰκοσὶ παρεχόμενοι καὶ 'Ερετριέες τὰς ἐπτά: οὗτοι δὲ Ἰωνεὶς εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήμοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἐθνος ἔος Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Αθηνεῶν. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέςσερας, ἀπο-πεμφέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιν.
fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

45. The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ampraciots brought seven ships to the fleet, and the Leucadians (who are of Dorian stock from Corinth) brought three.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans furnished thirty. They had other ships, too, manned; but they used them to guard their own coasts, and fought at Salamis with the thirty that were most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Doriens from Epidaurus; their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with the twenty, and the Eretrians with the seven which had fought at Artemisium; they are Ionians; and next the Ceans, furnishing the same ships as before; they are of Ionian stock, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships; they had been sent by their townsmen to the Persians, like the rest of the

1 That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.
τέων κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογίσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμων καὶ τότε τρυπαρχεύοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἰωνὲς ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Συνεργεῖς δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίων, Κύθνοι δὲ μιᾶς καὶ πεντηκόντερα, ἐόντες συναφῶτεροὶ οὕτωι Δρύοπες. καὶ Ἑράφες τε καὶ Σίφνοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὕτωι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτῶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὅθερ.

47. Οὕτωι μὲν ἀπαντεῖ ἡτῶς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμορεύοντες Ἀμφαικιώτης καὶ Δευκαδίοισι, οὐ ἔχε σχάτεοι χωρέου ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνίται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἔβοηθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἅλλοις φάσμα τοῖς πυθικής Φαύλλος. Κροτωνίται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

48. Οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι τριήρεις παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνοι καὶ Ἑράφες πεντηκόντερους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνοι δὲ καὶ Ἑράφες Ἰωνὲς ἐόντες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων μιᾶς ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πάς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκόντων, τρυφόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὅκτω.

49. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενῶν πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προδένοντο Εὐρυμπύδων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τῶν βουλόμενων, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεύοντο εἶναι ναυ.
islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

47. All these aforesaid came to the war from countries nearer than Thesprotia and the river Acheron; for Thesprotia marches with the Ampraciots and Leucadians, who came from the lands farthest distant. Of those that dwell farther off than these, the men of Croton alone came to aid Hellas in its peril, and they with one ship, whereof the captain was Phaëtius, a victor in the Pythian games. These Crotoniats are of Achaean blood.

48. All these furnished triremes for the fleet save the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared barks, the Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) two, and the Siphnians and Seriphians (who are Ionians of Athenian lineage) one each. The whole number of the ships, besides the fifty-oared barks, was three hundred and seventy-eight.

49. When the leaders from the cities aforenamed met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks
μαχήν ποιέσσαι τῶν αὐτοῦ χωρέων ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσι· ἡ γὰρ Ἄττικὴ ἀπείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξεπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώςαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τῶν λόγων τόνδε, ὥσ εἰ νικηθέωση τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμίνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νίσσῳ, ἢν σφί τιμωρίη οὐδεμία ἐπιφανῆσται, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

50. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίος ἀγγέλλων ἤκειν τῶν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. οἱ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατός ἀμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιῶν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλεοπτότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλάταιαν ὠσαύτως, ἢκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνὰς καὶ πάντα ἔκειν ἐδήμου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὁτι οὐκ ἐμπǐδεῖν.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἐλληστῶν, ἐνθεὶ πορεύεσθαι ἥξιντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἔνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μήνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ξέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ αἵρεσις ἔρημον τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, τεμὼς τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζόμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησι τε καὶ ξύλισι ημῶνοτο τοὺς ἑπίοντες, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείς βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήμαν τὸ Ἡ Πυθή σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ἐξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον
were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnesian, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

50. While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnesian) and Plataea likewise, and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be
62. Ὅλος ἂν δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήμα τινός, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

63. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἱξόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροτολίας ὁχθοῦν, τὸν Ἀθηναίοι καλέουσι 'Αρήμων πάγον, ἐπολιορκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε: ὅκιως στυπτέοι περὶ τοὺς ὅιστοις περιβάλλετε ἄψειαν, ἐποξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὡς ἡμύροντο, καῖπερ ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι καὶ τὸν φράγματος προδοδοκότος. οὐκέ λογοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατίδεων προσφερόντων περὶ ὀμολογίας ἐπεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμφανώτω καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὅλοι τρόχους ἀπίησαν, ὡστε Σέρβην ἐπὶ χρόνου συνήκου ἀπορίησε ἐνέγεισθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἔλειν.

64. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφανὴ δὴ τις ἔσοδος τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶδε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρότειον πάσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἦπειρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσας, ἐμπροσθε ἄν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροτολίας, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὕτω τις ἐφύλασσε οὕτω ἄν ἠλπίσε μὴ κοτὲ τἰς κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίνει ἀνθρώπων, ταύτη ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς 'Αγλαύρου, καὶ οἱ περὶ ἀποκρήμιμον ἑόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥσ δὲ ἐδοὺ αὐτόν ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροτολίαν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑώτους κατὰ τοῦ τείχους κατω καὶ διεθέρατο, οἱ δὲ χρὸνος κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

1 In viii. 142.
BOOK VIII. 51-53

impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.¹

52. The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff.² When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves

¹ Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. µέγανεν here = ἱπάν.
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έτραπτοντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἴκετας ἐφόνευον ἐπεὶ δὲ σφὶ πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχὼν δὲ παντέλεος τὰς Ἀθηναῖς Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ὑπὸ Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἵππεα Ἀρταξάιον ἄγγελον τινὰ τινὰς σφὶ εὐπρηξῆν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψεως τοῦ κηρυκὸς δευτέρη ἡμέρη συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τὸν φυγάδα, ἐσωτὴρ δὲ εἰσόμενος, εἰκόνα τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσα τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἶτε δὴ ὃν ὄψιν τινὰ ἵδον ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλεσε ταύτα, εἶτε καὶ ἐνθύμησεν οἱ ἐγένετο εὐπρήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντελεμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἰσελκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολὶ ταύτη Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ γηγενεός λεομένου εἶναι νήσος, ἐν τῷ ἑλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἕνε, τὰ λόγοι πάρα Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδεώνα τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρισαντας περί τῆς χώρης μαρτύρα θέσθαι. ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑλαίην ἀμα τῷ ἀλλῷ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθήσεται ὑπὸ τῶν παράθυρων; δευτέρη δὲ ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύεν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευόμενοι ὡς ἄνεβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ἱρὸν ἑρατίν έκ τοῦ στελέχεως ὁς σον τῇ πηγείαιν ἀναδιδραμήκητα.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι "Ελληνες, ὃς σφὶ ἔζησιν ἱέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περί τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσότοις ἐρυμένοι αὐτίκοιτο ὡς ἐνιοί τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθήσεται ὡς ἐνιοί τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθήσεται ὡς ἐνεργοῦτο μὲν τού τε ἔσχεσιν νεότου καὶ ἰστίς ἀνείρου ὡς ἀποθεσομένοι τοῖς τε ὑπολειπο-
to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

54. Being now wholly master of Athens, Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the next day after the messenger was sent he called together the Athenian exiles who followed in his train, and bade them go up to the acropolis and offer sacrifice after their manner, whether it was some vision seen of him in sleep that led him to give this charge, or that he repented of his burning of the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden.

55. I will now show wherefore I make mention of this: on that acropolis there is a shrine of Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is called), wherein is an olive tree, and a salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say) were set there by Poseidon and Athene as tokens of their contention for the land.¹ Now it was so, that the olive tree was burnt with the temple by the foreigners; but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the temple, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the trunk; which thing they reported.

56. When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were

¹ Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.
κένωσε αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμακήθειν. νῦν οὖ θέγινε καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσεβαίνον εἰς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἐνδιαφερόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν τὴν νέαν εἰρήνην Μινησίφιλος Ἀδηναίος ὁ τι σφί εἰς βεσσαλογήμενον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς δεδομένον ἀνάγαιν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμακήθειν, εἶπε "Οὐτ' ἀρα, ἦν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὔδεμισθενεῖτε πατρίδας ναυμαχήσεις; κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἐκαστικοὶ τρέφονται, καὶ οὐτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχεις δυνάμει εἰς τὰς ἀνδρῶποις ἄλλοι ὡς οὐ διασκέδασθηται τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσται τῇ Ἕλληνι ἄβουλῆσθαι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, οἴδ' καὶ πειρώ διαχέει τὰ βεσσαλογήμενα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὡςτε αὐτὸν μένειν.

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέει ὤφεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὔδεν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἱκέτης τῆς νέας Εὐρυβιάδος. ἀποκομίσασθαί δέ ἐστι ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινὸς τῷ πρίγμα συμμείζαν τὁ δ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν νέαν ἐκέλευε ἐσθαίνα τέλειον, εἴ τι θέλει. Ἐνδιαφερόμενος οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενος οἱ καταλέγεις ἀκολούθησα τὰ πάντα τὰ ἡκουσε Μινησίφιλος, ἐστιν τῶν ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἀλλά πολλὰ προσπίθεις, ἐς ὁ ἀνέγινος χρήζων ἐκ τῆς νέας ἐκβῆται συνελέξει τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον.

59. Ὁς δὲ ἀρα συνελέξθησαν, πρὶν ἦ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθέτην τοὺς λόγους τῶν εἶνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τούτῳ λόγου τῷ κάρτα δεόμενος.
left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

57. Themistocles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, "Then," said Mnesiphilus, "if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left wherefor to fight; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad; and Hellas will perish by unwisdom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here."

58. This advice pleased Themistocles well; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades' ship, and said that he would confer with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistocles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son
λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορινθιός στρατηγὸς Ἀδελμαντὸς ὁ Ὄκυτος εἶπε "ὁ Θεμιστόκλες, ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι οἱ προεξανταμένοι ῥαπίζονται." ὃ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος εἶπ ὁ ὘ αὐτοῖς ἕνα "Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται."

60. Τότε μὲν ἦπιως πρὸς τὸν Κορινθιον ἀμείματο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἐτε οοὔτε τῶν πρότερον λέγεστων, ὡς ἐπεάν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος διαδρήσονται παρεῖντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐφερέ οἱ κόσμοι οοὔτε κατηγορεῖν. ὃ δὲ ἄλλον λόγον εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε. "Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων πολέσται, μηδὲ πεθόμενος τούτων τοίσι λόγοις ἀναζεύχῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἅκουσας, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἰσθμὸν συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχίησις, ἐς τὸ ἢκιστα ἡμῶν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἁρμικοῦν εὐάσσων; τούτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἰγίναν, ἡν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχῆσωμεν. ἀμα δὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἔφεται καὶ ὁ πεῖςος στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτῶς ἀξεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύουσι τε ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς χρηστὰ εὐρίσκεσι. πρὸτα μὲν ἐν στεινοὶ συμβάλλοντες νησὶ ὀλίγρα πρὸς πολλάς, ἡν τὰ σικότα ἐκ του πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλοὺ κρατησμένῳ τὸ γαρ ἐν στεινοὶ ναυμαχίην πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστί, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὕτη δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπέκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναίκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα."
of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the
όμοιος αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελο-
ποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἰ
περ εὐ φρονεῖς, ἀξεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
ἡ δὲ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἔγω ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικῆσωμεν
τῆι νυσί, οὔτε ύμίν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται
οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβῆσονται ἐκαστὲρῳ τῆς
Ἀποκακῆς, ἢπίασι τε οὐδεὶς κόσμῳ, Μεγάροις τε
κερδανέσωμεν περιεύσω καὶ Αἰγίνη καὶ Σαλαμῖν,
ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἑχθρῶν κατύπερθε
γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυνν δουλευμένοις ἀνθρώ-
ποιητὶ ὡς τὸ ἐπὶπαν ἔθελεν γίνεσθαι. μὴ δὲ οἰκότα
δουλευμένοις οὐκ ἔθελεν οὔδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχαρεῖν
πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηίας γυναῖκας."  

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτὸς ὁ
Κορινθιός Ἀδείμαντος ἐπέφερε, συγάν τε
κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρὶς καὶ Ἐυρυβιαίδην οὐκ
ἐὼν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρῖ· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γυναῖκας
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προεφερε ὅτι ἡλιο-
κεσάν τε καὶ κατεῖχοντο αἱ Ἀθηναί. τότε δὴ ὁ
Θεμιστοκλέης κεῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους
πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἐλεγε, ἐφυτοσία τε ἐδήλου
λόγον ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέξου ἤ περ
ἐκεῖνοις, ἐστ' ἄν διηκόσιαι νέες σφί ἐως
πεπληρωμέναι οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ελλήνων αὐτοὺς
ἐπίσταπτας ἀποκρούσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαλε ἐς
Εὐρυβιαίδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστράμμενα. "Σὺ
εἰ μενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἐσεις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς,
εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸ πάν γὰρ
ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
πείθο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἴμεῖς μὲν ὡς
56
Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

61. Thus said Themistocles; but Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, saying that a landless man should hold his peace, and that Eurybiades must not suffer one that had no city to vote; let Themistocles (said he) have a city at his back ere he took part in council,—taunting him thus because Athens was taken and held by the enemy. Thereupon Themistocles spoke long and bitterly against Adimantus and the Corinthians, giving them plainly to understand that the Athenians had a city and country greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for there were no Greeks that could beat them off.

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then
HERODOTUS

έχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομμεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἢ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἑτί, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ἦπ', ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶν ἑντὸς μονοθέντες μεμνησθῆνε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

63. Ταύτα δὲ Θεομοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Ἐυρυβιάδης· δοκεῖν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδής μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεν ἀπολίπωσι, ἢν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγη τὰς νέας ἀπολυτρών γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἔγινον ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποὶ. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτῷ μένοντας διαναμαχεῖν.

64. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἐπέσει ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Ἐυρυβιάδη ἐδοξεῖ, αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύαζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἁμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνώντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ. ἐδοξεῖ δὲ σφε εὐξάσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Λιακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δὲ σφε ἐδοξεῖ, καὶ ἐποίειν ταύτα· εὐξαμενοί γὰρ πάσι τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτὸθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Ἀλατά ἐς καὶ Τελαμόνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Λιακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λιακίδας νέα ἀπεστέλλον ἐς Λίγεινα.

65. Ὁ Ἐφὶ δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκίδες, ἀνήρ Ἀθηναίος φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μηδοσι οἰκίμας γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐνεκα έρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τούτῳ ἐνὸ τότε ἄμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Ὀρασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ

1 The images of Aeacus and his sons; cp. v. 80.
2 N.W. of Athens, from which Kleusa is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day
without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

63. These words of Themistocles moved Eurybiades to change his purpose; which to my thinking he did chiefly because he feared lest the Athenians should leave him if he took his ships to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians should leave the fleet the rest would be no match for the enemy. He chose then the plan aforesaid, namely, to abide and fight on the seas where they were.

64. Thus after this wordy skirmish the Greeks at Salamis prepared, since Eurybiades so willed, to fight their battle where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea; and they resolved to pray to the gods, and to call the sons of Aeacus to be their helpers. As they resolved, so they did; they prayed to all the gods, and called Aias and Telamon to come to them from Salamis, where the Greeks were; and they sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and the rest that were of his House.¹

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theoclydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian² plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.
κοινορτών χωρέουσα ἀπ’ Ἑλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κοινορτὸν ὅτεν κοτῆ εἶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἄκουσειν, καὶ οἱ φαινοῦσα τὴν φωνήν εἶναι τῶν μυστικῶν ἱακών. εἶναι δ’ ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ γυνομένων τὸν Δημάρχην, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἰς τούτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν "Δημάρχη, ὦν ἐστι οἰκὼς ὑμένα σένοις ἐσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατηγῷ τάδε γὰρ ἀριθμηλα, ἐρήμου εὔσεβης τῆς Δικηκῆς, ὅτι θεῶν τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ’ Ἑλευσίνος ἱὸν εἰς τιμωρίνη Ἁθηναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὡς καὶ μένε γε κατασκήνῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδύνοις αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐσται, ἢν δὲ ἔπι τὰς νέας τράπηται ταῖς ἐν Σαλαμίνι, τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν κινδύνευσαι βασιλεῖσσα ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὅρτην ταῦτην ἄγουσι Ἁθηναίοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτει τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μνεῖται καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἄκουσες ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακώζουσι." πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν Δημάρχην "Σὺν γε ταῦτα καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπης· ἢ γὰρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνεγείρθη τὰ ἔπει ταῦτα, ἀποβαλείς τὴν κεφαλῆν, καὶ σε ὑστε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὐτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὔδε εἰς. ἂλλ’ ἐχ’ ἤσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατηγῆς τῆςς διεθε χεὶς μελήσῃ." τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρανέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρρυθένι μέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ τῶν Ἐλληνῶν. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικόν τὸ Ἑρέσεω ἀπο-
from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be; and Dicæus said, "Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king's host; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven's sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid, and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated; and the cry which you hear is the 'Iacchus' which is uttered at this feast." Demaratus replied thereto, "Keep silence, and speak to none other thus; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace; and for this host, the gods shall look to it." Such was Demaratus' counsel; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes' ships must perish.—This was

1 Demeter and Persephone.
λέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταύτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑρέξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχύνος θεσάμενοι τὸ τρόμα τὸ Δακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχύοντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπλευν διʼ Ἐυριποῦ, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἐμὸν δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἔλασσονες ἐστίνες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας, κατὰ τε ἱππεῖρον καὶ τῆς νυνὶ ἀπικομένοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σηπιάδα ἀπίκουντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀντιδησὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Θερμοπύλης καὶ τῆς ἐπʼ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίᾳ τούσδε τοὺς τότε σύκῳ ἐπομένους βασιλεὺς, Μηλίαν καὶ Δωρίαν καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτῶν παντρατείᾳ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπίεων καὶ Πλαταιῶν, καὶ μᾶλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς μησιῶτας πάντας, πλὴν τὸν πέντε πόλεων τῶν ἐπεμνήθησεν πρὸτερον τὰ οὖν οὕτως. ὧσοι γὰρ ὅτι προεβαίνε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσοῦτο πλέον ἐδείχθαν ἐντετοίβασαν τὰ πλῆθος ὑπόσχοντο.
the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocydes; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

66. They that were appointed to serve in Xerxes' fleet, when they had viewed the hurt done to the Laconians and crossed over from Trachis to Histiaea, after three days' waiting sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they arrived at Phalerum. To my thinking, the forces both of land and sea were no fewer in number when they brake into Athens than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae; for against those that were lost in the storm, and at Thermopylae, and in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set these, who at that time were not yet in the king's following—namely, the Melians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the whole force of Boeotia (save only the Thespian and Plataeans), yea, and the men of Carystus and Andros and Tenos and the rest of the islands, save the five states of which I have before made mention.¹ For the farther the Persian pressed on into Hellas the more were the peoples that followed in his train.

67. So when all these were come to Athens, except the Parians (who had been left behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war should incline)—the rest, I say, being come to Phalerum, Xerxes then came himself down to the fleet, that he might consort with the shipmen and hear their opinions. When he was come, and sat enthroned, there appeared before him at his summons the despots of their cities and the leaders of companies from the ships, and they sat according to the

¹ In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.
ὁς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμήν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἦσαν, τέμνοντα, Πέρεξ τὴς Μαρδόνιοι εἰρώτα ἀποπειρόμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίῃν ποιεότοι.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περίῳδοι εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδώνιου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν γνώμην ἐξεφέροτο κελεύοντες ναυμαχήν ποιεόσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. "Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστῃ γενομένην εἰ τόσοι ναυμαχήσετε τόσοι πρὸς Εὐβοῖαν οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένην. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ εὑσαν γνώμην με δύκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυχάνω φρονέοντα ἀριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μὴ ναυμαχήν ποιέω. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τι δὲ πάντως δεῖ εἰ σα ναυμαχήσει ἀνακινδύνευσιν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθηναίας, τῶν περ ἐνεκτα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δὲ τοι ἵσταται οὐδείς. οὐ δὲ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπῆλλαξαν οὔτω ὡς κείνους ἐπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκεῖ ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τούτῳ φράσω. ἤν μὲν μὴ ἐπειδήνν ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχεις πρὸς γη μένων η καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἶοι τὲ πολλὰς χρόνων εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾶς κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἐκαστοι φεύγονται. οὔτε γὰρ στίς πάρα σφι εἰν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθώνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοῖς 64
honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: "Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseeemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies' doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you
οίκος, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκουτας, οὔδε σφι μελῆσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπείχθης ναυμαχήσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στράτος κακοθείς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃ. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλειν, ὅς τοίς μὲν χρηστοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοί δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοίς δὲ κακοίς χρηστοῖ. σοι δὲ ἔοιτι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοί δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κῆλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὀφελος ἔστι οὐδέν.

69. Ταῦτα λέγοντος πρὸς Μαραθῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εἶνοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίᾳ, συμφόρησαν ἐποιεύτω τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακῶν τὰ πείσουμεν πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνα ναυμαχηθείν ποιεσθαι; οὔ δὲ ἀγεόμενοι τε καὶ φθονεόντες αὐτῇ, ἀτε ἐν πρώτοις τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἕτεροντο τῇ ἀνακρίσῃ ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ άνηγείχθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες ΄Ερένθι, κάρτα τὰς ἡπτῆς τῇ γυνῆς τῇ Ἀρτεμισίᾳ, καὶ νομίζον ἐπὶ πρότερον σπουδαῖν εἶναι τούτω πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἰνε. ὥμως δὲ τοῖς πλεοσι πεῖθεσθαι ἐκελεύε, τάδε κατάδοξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοῖας σφέας ἔθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτῶ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκέυαστο θείασθαι ναυμαχεῖνας.

70. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὴγγέλλων ἀναπλέειν, ἀνήγου τάς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ παρεκρήθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίαν. τότε μὲν νων οὐκ ἔξεχρησε σφί ἡ ἡμέρα ναυμαχῆς ποιήσασθαι νυῆς γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οὐ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν
lead your army into the Peloponnese, is it likely that those of them who have come from thence will abide unmoved; they will have no mind to fight sea-battles for Athens. But if you make haste to fight at once on sea, I fear lest your fleet take some hurt and thereby harm your army likewise. Moreover, O king, call this to mind—good men's slaves are wont to be evil and bad men's slaves good; and you, who are the best of all men, have evil slaves, that pass for your allies, men of Egypt and Cyprus and Cilicia and Pamphylia, in whom is no usefulness."

69. When Artemisia spoke thus to Mardonius, all that were her friends were sorry for her words, thinking that the king would do her some hurt for counselling him against a sea-fight; but they that had ill-will and jealousy against her for the honour in which she was held above all the allies were glad at her answer, thinking it would be her undoing. But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes he was greatly pleased by the opinion of Artemisia; he had ever deemed her a woman of worth and now held her in much higher esteem. Nevertheless he bade the counsel of the more part to be followed; for he thought that off Euboea his men had been slack fighters by reason of his absence, and now he purposed to watch the battle himself.

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the
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υστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἔλληνας εἰχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδήν, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοπόννησου ἀρρώδεοι δὲ ὤτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μελλοντες, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμβάνοντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέστει τὴν έωσ τῶν ἀφιλακτῶν τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεξὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νῦκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δύσκα πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ’ ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βαρβάροι. ὡς γάρ ἔπτυσθο τάχιστα Πελοπόννησοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλης τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔστατο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ ἱσταργιός Κλέομμετος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφοῖς. ἐξομενοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὂδὸν, μετὰ τὸ ποῦ σφι ἐδοξε βουλευμενοῖ, ὀικοδόμεων διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τείχος, ἄτε δὲ ἐνσέων μυριάδων πολλῶν καὶ παιντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνειν τὸ ἔργον ὡς γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμων πλῆρες ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνων οὐδὲνα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζομένου, οὔτε πιέσαν οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεῖ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἔλληνων, Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίων πάντας καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐπιδαύρων καὶ Φλώσιων καὶ Τροιζήνων καὶ Ἐρμονεΐων οὕτως καὶ ἔπεραρρέδουστε τῇ Ἐλλάδι κινούνεσθαι τοίσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

1 A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even
BOOK VIII. 70–72

Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnese; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnese.

71. Nathless the Greeks had used every device possible to prevent the foreigners from breaking in upon them by land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas' men at Thermopylae were dead, they hastened together from their cities and encamped on the Isthmus, their general being the brother of Leonidas, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides. Being there encamped they broke up the Scironian road, and thereafter built a wall across the Isthmus, having resolved in council so to do. As there were many tens of thousands there and all men wrought, the work was brought to accomplishment; for they carried stones to it and bricks and logs and crates full of sand, and they that mustered there never rested from their work by night or by day.

72. Those Greeks that mustered all their people at the Isthmus were the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Troezenians, and men of Hermione. These were they who mustered there, and were moved by great fear for Hellas in her peril; but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared dangerous for some six miles, and very easily made impassable.
Πελοποννησίοις ἐμελε σύδδεν. Ὁλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἦδη.

73. Οἰκείει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἑθνεα ἑπτὰ, τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ χώρην ἱδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἰκεών, Ἄρκαδες τε καὶ Κυνωρίουι. ἐν δὲ ἑθνος τὸ Ἁχαικὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μὲντοι τῆς ἑωτῶν, οἰκείει δὲ τὴν ἀλλότριην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπηλίδα ἔστι, Δωρίες τε καὶ Αἴτωλοι καὶ Δρυστες καὶ Δήμυνιοι. Δωρίεων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἴτωλον δὲ Ἡλις μούνη, Δρυστων δὲ Ἑρμίων τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἦ πρὸς Καρδάμυλη τῇ Λακονικῇ, Δημύνων δὲ Παρορεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνωρίιοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἰναι Ἰωνικὲς, ἐκδινορίευνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχώμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόουν, ἐόντες Ὁρνηται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι, τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑθνεων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο, εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιξον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνείστασαν, ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἢδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῆς υἱοῦ τοῦ Πελοποννήσῳ τοῦ ἑλπίσοντες ἐλλάμψεσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι ὁμοῖα ταύτα πυθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεσιν, οὐκ οὔτω περὶ ὁφίης αὐτοῖς δειμαίωντος ὡς περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς συνή λόγον ἔποιετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Ἐυρυβιάδεω ἄβουλήν τέλος ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,
nothing; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past. 1

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese; two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians, are native to the soil and are now settled where they have ever been; and one nation, the Achaean, has never departed from the Peloponnese, but has left its own country and dwells in another. The four that remain of the seven have come from elsewhere, namely, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians; the Dorians have many notable cities, the Aetolians Elis alone; the Dryopians have Hermione and that Asine which is near Cardamyle of Laconia; and the Lemnians, all the Paroretae. The Cynurians are held to be Ionians, and the only Ionians native to the soil, but their Argive masters and time have made Dorians of them; they are the people of Orneae and the country round. Now of these seven nations all the cities, save those aforesaid, sat apart from the war; and if I may speak freely, by so doing they took the part of the enemy.

74. So the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope withal, seeing that now all they had was at stake, and they had no hope of winning renown with their ships; but they that were at Salamis, although they heard of the work, were affrighted, and their dread was less for themselves than for the Peloponnese. For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades' unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying

1 That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. Op. vii. 205.
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οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεόν εἰς ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτον μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Ἀιγινηταὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἑυθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ός ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοπονησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἠδὸν ἀνδρὰ πλοῖον ἐντελάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὖν μεν ἦν Σικίννους, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους παιδῶν τὸν δὴ ὦστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπίες πολείτας, καὶ χρῆματι ἄλβιον. ὅς τοῦτο πλοῖῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. "Επεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναῖον λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλεῖς καὶ βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον τὰ ύμετέρα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῆγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἑλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωθῆναι, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κἀλλιστὸν ύμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢ μὴ περίδητε διαδράντας αὐτοὺς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστησάσθων ύμῖν, πρὸς ἐωτοὺς τε σφέας ὦσθε ναυμάχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ ύμετέρα φρονεύσασθαι καὶ τοὺς μὴ." 76. ὁ μὲν ταύτα σφὶ σιμῆνα ἐκποῦον ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τούτῳ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἤσίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἤπειρον, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἀπεβιβάζας τούτῳ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγγιον μὲν τὸ ἀπ'
that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face
danger for that country, rather than abide and fight
for a land won from them by the spear; but the
Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading
that they should remain and defend themselves
where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when the Peloponnesians
were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly,
and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged
with a message that he must deliver. This man's
name was Sicinnus, and he was of Themistocles'
household and attendant on his children; at a later
day, when the Thespians were receiving men to be
their citizens, Themistocles made him a Thesian,
and a wealthy man withal. He now came in a boat
and spoke thus to the foreigners' admirals: "I am
sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the
knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend
to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than
the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that
the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight,
and that now is the hour for you to achieve an
incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to
escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor
will they withstand you any more, and you will see
them battling against each other, your friends against
your foes."

76. With that declaration he departed away. The
Persians put faith in the message; and first they
landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea,
which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then,
at midnight, they advanced their western wing
Εσπερής κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἄμφι τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατείχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχῆς πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆς νησί. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἦν δὴ τοῖς "Ελλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξή, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνῃ δοῦειν τίσι τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισι ἀγωνισμάτων. ἔς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσῶν τῶν εἰνεκέων, ὡς ἐπεαν γίνεται ναυμαχία, εὐθαύτα μάλιστα ἐξοιομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγών (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς μελλούσης ἔσσεθαί ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἦν τοὺς μὲν πεπιοκέως τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρως. ἐπολευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοιαίτωι οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὖν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέσαυτο.

77. Χρησμῶσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἄλλαθες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργεῶς λέγοντας πειράσθαι καταβάλλειν, ὡς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαφοῦς ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν νησὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλήνην Κυνόσουραν ἐπιδίς μαυρόμενή, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθηνᾶς, δία δὴ μισί σβέσει κρατερὸν κόρων, ὑβρίστω υἱών, δεινὸν μαυμώντα, δοκεῖντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

1 πρήγματα is suggested, and would certainly be more natural.

1 For a brief notice of controversy respecting the operations off Salamis, see the Introduction to this volume. The locality of Ceos and Cynosura is conjectural.
towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia. The purpose of their putting out to sea was, that the Greeks might have no liberty even to flee, but should be hemmed in at Salamis and punished for their fighting off Artemisium. And the purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this, that as it was here in especial that in the sea fight men and wrecks would be washed ashore (for the island lay in the very path of the battle that was to be), they might thus save their friends and slay their foes. All this they did in silence, lest their enemies should know of it. So they made these preparations in the night, taking no rest.

77. But, for oracles, I have no way of gainsaying their truth; for they speak clearly, and I would not essay to overthrow them, when I look into such matter as this:

"When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts
they have fencèd,
Artemis golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed Cynosura,
All in the madness of hope, having ravished the glory of Athens,
Then shall desire full fed, by pride o'erweening engendered,
Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the nations' destruction,
Utterly perish and fall; for the justice of heaven shall quench it;

2 There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.
χαλκὸς γάρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἷματι δ' Ἀρης πόντου φοινίξει. τὸτ' ἐδεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ εὐρύσπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότινα Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὦτῳ ἕναργεῖς λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίς χρησμῶν πέρι ὦτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω ὦτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὁδισμὸς λόγων πολλῶν; ὑδεασαν δὲ ὦκου ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νυμφὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὅρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔξει δέχθη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Αναμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νεόμικαι, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἀριστον ἄνδρα γενόσθαι ἐν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὗτος ὁμήρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔστα μὲν ἐωτῖν οὔ φιλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεντῶν κακῶν λήθην ἐκαίνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμιξῆς προακηκόεσθα δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. ὡς δὲ ἐξηλθὲ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέας, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἑμέας στασίαζεν χρεών ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάζεται. λέγω δὲ τοῖς ὧτι ἵσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὅληα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελο-
BOOK VIII. 77-79

Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and the terrible bidding of Ares
Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-seeing, and hallowed
Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon Hellas."

Looking at such matter and seeing how clear is the utterance of Bacis, I neither venture myself to gainsay him as touching oracles nor suffer such gainsaying by others.

78. But among the admirals at Salamis there was a hot bout of argument; and they knew not as yet that the foreigners had drawn their ships round them, but supposed the enemy to be still where they had seen him stationed in the daylight.

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing
πονησίαςί. ἔγω γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὑπὸ τὸν οὖδ' ἣν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ οὗτως Ἐὐρυβιάδης οἰοί τε ἐσονται ἐκπλῶσαι περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλω. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταύτα σήμηνον." ὦ δ' ἀμείβετο τούτων.

80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύει καὶ εὖ ἠγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεύμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἦσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἔμεο τὰ ποιεῖμενα ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἔδει γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκούν ἔθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ "Ελληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστῆσασθαι. οὐ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἄγγειλον. ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγαμ, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πεῖσω, ὅσ οὐ ποιεῦντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεῖν δὲ σήμηνης, ἢν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἢν δὲ αὐτοὶς μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι διαδρήσονται, εἰ περὶ περιεχόμεθα πανταχοθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἐνθαύτα ἐλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Ἀλβίης τε ἥκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθῶν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πάν το στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνίκον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑρρέων παραρτέσθαι τε συνεβούλευν ὡς ἀλεξισομένους. καὶ ὦ μὲν ταῦτα εἴτες μεστετήκε, τῶν δὲ αὐτίς ἐγύνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίην ὃι γὰρ πλείνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείδουν τὰ ἑσαγαγέλθετα.

82. Ἀπειστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἥκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἢρχε ἄνηρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἢ περὶ ὅῃ ἐφερε τὴν ἀληθείαν πᾶσαν.
away from hence; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

80. "Your exhortation is right useful," Themistocles answered, "and your news is good; for you have come with your own eyes for witnesses of that which I desired might happen. Know that what the Medes do is of my contriving; for when the Greeks would not of their own accord prepare for battle, it was needful to force them to it willy-nilly. But now since you have come with this good news, give your message to them yourself. If I tell it, they will think it is of my own devising, and they will never take my word for it that the foreigners are doing as you say; nay, go before them yourself and tell them how it stands. When you have told them, if they believe you, that is best; but if they will not believe you, it will be the same thing to us; for if we are hemmed in on every side, as you say, they will no longer be able to take to flight."

81. Aristides then came forward and told them; he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes' ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true.

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought
διὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐς τὸν τρίτον ἐν τοίς τῶν βιάζων κατελούσι. σὺν δὲ ἄν ταύτη τῇ νυν τῇ αὐτο- μολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισιον τῇ Λημνῇ ἐξεπλήρωσε τὸ ναυτικὸν τοίς Ἐλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀχυρώκοιτα καὶ τρικοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεὼν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἄριστόν.

83. Τούτῳ δὲ Ἐλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢν τῶν Τήνιων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἦσσα τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ συλλογοι τῶν ἑπιβατῶν ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὐ ἐξοντα μὲν ἐκ πάνω τοῦ Θεοστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἐπεα ἢν πάντα κρέσσω τοίς ἡσσοι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσις ἐγγίνεται παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευς ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινοι, καὶ ἴκες ἡ ἀπ' Αλεξάνδρης τρίτης, ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγγειον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας Ἐλλησι, ἀναγομένοις δὲ σφι αὐτικά ἐπεκέκατο οἱ βιά- βαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἐλλησι ἐπὶ πρώτων ἀνεκρούντο καὶ ὁκελλοῦν τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινής δὲ Παλληνεύς ἄνηρ Ἀθηναῖος ἔξανακθείς υἱὸς ἐμβάλ- λει συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεός καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλαγήσαι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινή βοη- θεότων συνέμισθον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς νεαμαχής γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αλεξίνηται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αλέξιναν, ταῦτην εἶναι τὴν ἀρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἑφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακε- 80.
them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemision, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

83. The Greeks, believing at last the tale of the Tenians, made ready for battle. It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistocles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus.¹

84. With that the Greeks stood out to sea in full force, and as they stood out the foreigners straightway fell upon them. The rest of the Greeks began to back water and beach their ships; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, pushed out to the front and charged a ship; which being entangled with his, and the two not able to be parted, the others did now come to Aminias' aid and joined battle. This is the Athenian story of the beginning of the fight; but the Aeginetans say that the ship which began it was that one which had been sent away to Aegina for the Sons of Aeacus. This story also is told,—that they saw the vision of a woman, who

¹ cp. 64.
λεύσασθαι δόστε καὶ ἀπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὁνειδίσασαν πρῶτον τάδε, ""Ω δαμιόνιοι, μέχρι κόσον ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούσθη;"

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Δακεδαυμοίους Ἰωνές, οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἑώ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά. ἐθελοκάκεον μὲντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θειοστοκλέας ἐντολὰς ὡλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεύνες οὐ. ἐχω μὲν νῦν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξατο τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφότερων. τούτῳ δὲ εἰνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μοῦνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φυλάκος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέως ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἔδωρης πολλῆ. οἱ δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὄροσάγην καλέονται περσιστὶ.

86. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τούτων οὔτω εἰχε' τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι ἐκεραίζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἰ δὲ ὑπ' Ἀγίνητεων. ἀτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναιμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένοι έτι οὔτε σὺν νῷ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἐμελλὲ τοιοῦτο σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἶν περ ἀπέβη. καὶ οἱ τις γα καὶ ἄγενονο ταύτῃ τῆς ἥμερῃς μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωτῦν ἥ πρὸς Εὐβοίη, πᾶς τὶς προβουμέομενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ἐκέρην, ἐδόκεε τῇ ἐκαστός ἐωτῦν θεάσασθαι βασιλέα.
cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

85. The Phoenicians (for they had the western wing, towards Eleusis) were arrayed opposite to the Athenians, and to the Lacedaemonians the Ionians, on the eastern wing, nearest to Piræus. Yet but few of them fought slackly, as Themistocles had bidden them, and the more part did not so. Many names I could record of ships' captains that took Greek ships; but I will speak of none save Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, Samians both; and I make mention of these alone, because Theomestor was for this feat of arms made by the Persians despot of Samos, and Phylacus was recorded among the king's benefactors and given much land. These benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, orosangae.1

86. Thus it was with these two; but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans. For since the Greeks fought orderly and in array, but the foreigners were by now disordered and did nought of set purpose, it was but reason that they should come to such an end as befel them. Yet on that day they were and approved themselves by far better men than off Eubœa; all were zealous, and feared Xerxes, each man thinking that the king's eye was on him.

1 Perhaps from old Persian var, to guard, and Kshayata, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from Khur sangha (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)
HERODOTUS

87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ως ἔκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγούντο: κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἔγενετο, ἀπ’ ὅν εὐδοκίμησε μάλλον ἐτι παρὰ βασιλεῖς, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐσθρυβοὺ πολλῶν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλεία πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νῆσις ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεῶς Ἁττικῆς καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ᾗς ἀλλαὶ νέας φίλαι, ἦ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἑτύχανε ἐνοῦσα, ἐδοξέει τάδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσθη διακομένῃ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἁττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε ἡ φιλία ἄνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλείας Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τῷ νέεικος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνει ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλησσοῦ ἐοῦτοι, ὦ μὲντοι ἔχου γε εἰπεῖν ὅπε ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἑποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρη ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νῆσις. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχία χρησαμείη διπλά ἑωτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσετο, ὦ τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἁττικῆς νεῶς τριήραρχος ὡς εἰδέ μιν ἐμβάλλοντας νηὶ ἄνδρων βαρβάρων, νομίζας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἁρτεμισίης ἡ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολείων ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμίνει, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

88. Τούτῳ μὲν τοιούτῳ αὐτὴ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ συνέβη ὅστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησα παρὰ Ἐρῆπη, λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεώντων "Δέσποτα, ὥρας Ἀρτεμισίην ὥς εὖ ἀγονιζεῖται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-
87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befell Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king's side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia's ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia's ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, "Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and
μίων κατέδυσε;" καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέοντα εἰ ἀληθέως ἔστι Αρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ δια-
φθαρείσαν ἥπιοτεάτο εἶναι πολεμήν. τά τε γὰρ ἅλλα, ὡς εἰρήται, αὐτὴ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίαν
γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυδώκης νεὸς
μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενόσθαι. Ξέρξην
dὲ εἰπεὶν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα "Όι μὲν ἀνδρὲς ἔγγονασὶ μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἀνδρείς," ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.
89. Εὖν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τοῦτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ
στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβύγην ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξηω εὖν
ἄδελφεος, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλληι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι
Περσῶν καὶ Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων,
ὅλης δὲ τινές καὶ Ἐλλήνων· ἀτε γὰρ νέειν
ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῦτοι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ
ἐν χειρῶν νόμω ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα
dιένευον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ
θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρθησαν νέειν ὅπει ἐπιστάμενοι.
ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγήν ἔτράπωνο, ἐνθαῦτα
αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο: οἱ γὰρ ὁπισθε τεταγ-
μένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇ συν νυσθαί παριέναι πειρώ-
μενοί ὡς ἀποδέξαμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοῖ ἔργον βασιλεί,
τῇ σφέτερῃ νυσθαί φευγούσης περιέπετον.
90. Εἰγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θρόύβῳ τούτῳ.
tῶν τινὲς Φωικῶν, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο,
ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διεβαλλέν τοὺς Ἰωνας,
ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδότων,
συνήνεικε ἵνα οὕτω ὁστε Ἰωναὶ τε τοὺς στρα-
tηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φωικῶν τε τοὺς δια-
βαλλόντας λαβείν τοιόνδε μεσθόν. ἐτε τούτων
tαῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε ὡς Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκῇ
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how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

89. In that hard fighting Xerxes' brother the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, was slain, and withal many other Persians and Medes and allies of renown, and some Greeks, but few; for since they could swim, they who lost their ships, yet were not slain in hand-to-hand fight, swam across to Salamis; but the greater part of the foreigners were drowned in the sea, not being able to swim. When the foremost ships were turned to flight, it was then that the most of them were destroyed; for the men of the rearmost ranks, pressing forward in their ships that they too might display their valour to the king, ran foul of their friends' ships that were in flight.

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while
νηὸς. ἦ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδότεο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Ἀιγυπτικὴ νηὸς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νέα. ἄτε δὲ ἔόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρῆκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βαλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησαν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτὴν. ταύτα γενόμενα τοῦς Ἰωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὅσ γὰρ εἰδε σφέας Ξέρζης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασμένου, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοινίκας οία ὑπερλυπεόμενος τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιῶμενος, καὶ σφεών ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἁμείνονας διαβάλλοσι. ὁκις γὰρ τινα ἵδοι Ξέρζης τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἐργον τε ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὅρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλέσται Λαγάλεως, ἀνεπυθάνετο τοῦ ποἰήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφαν πατρόθεν τὸν τριήμαρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἔδω Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικίτου πάθεος. οὐ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοινίκας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεοντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Ἀιγυνὴται ὑποστάντες εἰς τὸ πορθμοῦ ἐργα ἀπεδέχαντο λόγου ἀξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι εἰς τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζουν τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγόυσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Ἀιγυνὴται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας ὁκις δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Ἀιγυνήτας.

92. 'Ενθαῦτα συνεκύρουσι νέες ἡ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρήτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀιγυνήτεω νη ἐμβαλούσα Σιδώνη, ἡ περ εἰλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγυπτικήν,
the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

91. The foreigners being routed and striving to win out to Phalerum, the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the passage and then achieved notable deeds; for the Athenians amid the disorder made havoc of all ships that would resist or fly, and so did the Aeginetans with those that were sailing out of the strait; and all that escaped from the Athenians fell in their course among the Aeginetans.

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan
Επ' ὑς ἔπλεε Πυθένης ὁ Ἠσιχενόον, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρέτής εἶνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νη ἐκπαγλεόμενοι τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἀμα τοις Πέρσησι ἤλω ἡ νῆς ἡ Σιδωνίης, ὡσε Πυθένην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἰγίναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημέριον ἱδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βοῶς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητῶν τὸν μηδεμίην ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν νυν νη ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἔς Θεμιστοκλέα· οὶ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φευγόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἐλλήνων ἀριστα Αἰγίνηται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ Αἰγίνητης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμενίς Πάλληνες, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισία ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέον Ἀρτεμισία, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἡ εἰλὲ μιν ἡ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλω. τοῖς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριπλάρχοις παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄθλουν ἐκεῖτο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὡς ἂν μιν ξωὴν ἔλη γεινών γὰρ τὶ ἐποιεῖτο γυναίκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εὐρήται, διέφυγε ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, ἐν τῷ Φάληρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναίοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνεμίσον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,

1 Polycritus cries to Themistocles, "See how friendly we are to the Persians!" Polycritus and his father had been
ship that watched off Scithus, wherein was Pytheas
son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed
with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship
and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship
was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she
was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back
to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship,
he knew it by seeing the admiral’s ship’s ensign,
and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt
and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with
the Persians. Such taunts did Polycritus hurl at
Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy
ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet
undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge
with the land army.

93. In that sea-fight the nations that won most
renown were the Aeginetans, and next to them the
Athenians; among men the most renowned were
Polycritus of Aegina and two Athenians, Eumenes
of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, he who pur-
sued after Artemisia. Had he known that she was
in that ship, he had never been stayed ere he took
hers or lost his own; such was the bidding given to
the Athenian captain, and there was a prize withal
of ten thousand drachmæ for whoever should take
her alive; for there was great wrath that a woman
should come to attack Athens. She, then, escaped
as I have already said; and the rest also whose ships
were undestroyed were at Phalerum.

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the
Athenians say that at the very moment when the
ships joined battle he was struck with terror and
taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged
with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73).
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

tὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας
de τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγιὰδα φεύγουσαν
ὡσαντῶς οἰχεσθαί. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας ἔνεσθαι
τῆς Σαλαμινῆς κατὰ ἱδὼν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος,
pεριπίπτειν σφὶ κέλητα θείη πομπῆ, τὸν οὔτε
πέμψαντα φαίνειν οὐδένα, οὔτε τὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοις.
tῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἰναι θείου τὸ πρόγμα.
ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀπο-
στρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγήν ὁμησαι καταπροδοὺς
tοὺς Ἑλλήνας: οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ
ἡρῴωτο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἔχθρων." ταύτα
λεγόντων ἀπιστείειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὸς
tάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἰοὶ τε εἰεν ἄγομενοι ὅμηροι
ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικώτες φαίνονται οἱ Ἑλ-
λήνες. οὔτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτῶν
tε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν ἐς
τὸ στρατόπεδον, τοῦτοις μὲν τοιαῦτῃ φάτις ἔχει
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορινθίοι
ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς
ναυμαχίης νομίζοντες γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφὶ
cαὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδῆς δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχον ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,
tοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς
ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὕτωσιν εἰ ὁ θερόβρο τοῦτοι τῷ
περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίει: παραλαβὴν
πολλῶν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ
τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινῆς χώρης, γενός ἐόντες.
panic, and hoisting his sails fled away; and when the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they were off and away likewise. But when (so the story goes) they came in their flight near that part of Salamis where is the temple of Athene Seiras, there by heaven's providence a boat met them which none was known to have sent, nor had the Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught of the doings of the fleet; and this is how they infer heaven's hand in the matter: when the boat came nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adimantus, you have turned back with your ships in flight, and betrayed the Greeks; but even now they are winning the day as fully as they ever prayed that they might vanquish their enemies." Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not believe they said further that they were ready to be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus and the rest did turn their ships about and came to the fleet when all was now over and done. Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians; but the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were among the foremost in the battle; and all Hellas bears them witness likewise.

95. But Aristides son of Lysimachus, that Athenian of whose great merit I have lately made mention, did in this rout at Salamis as I will show: taking many of the Athenian men-at-arms who stood arrayed on the shores of Salamis, he carried them across to

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\(^1\) The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.
'Αθηναίοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἀγων, οὗ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδῃ ταὐτῇ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ "Ελληνες τῶν ναυγῶν οὕτω ταῦτῃ ἔτυγχαν ἐτὶ ἔοντα, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεύσῃσι νησίσι ἐτὶ χρῆσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυγῶν πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ξέφυρος ἐφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδας ὅστε ἀποπληθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταῦτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδε καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυῆμα τὰ ταῦτα ἔξενεχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοὶ ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐξελήθη εἰς πάντας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῦσι φρύξουσι
tούτο δὲ ἐμελλὲ ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

97. Ἐξέρχεται δὲ ἡς ἐμαθεῖ τὸ γεγονός πάθος, δεῖος μὴ τὶς τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἢ αὐτοῖ νοῆσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον λύουσι τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνεις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, ὀρησμὸν ἐβούλευεν. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μὴτε τοῖς Ἐλλησι μὴτε τοῖς ἐωτοῖ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χώμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαῦλους τε Φοινικήους συνέδεε, ἢν ἀντὶ τε σχεδεῖς ἔσου καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετο τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

1 A narrow headland 2½ miles south of Phalerum; just where ships would be driven from the battle by a west wind.
the island Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet.

96. The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, thinking that the king would yet again use his ships that were left. But many of the wrecks were caught by a west wind and carried to the strand in Attica called Colias; so that not only was the rest of the prophecy fulfilled which had been uttered by Bacis and Musaeus concerning that sea-fight, but also that which had been prophesied many years ago by an Athenian oracle-monger named Lysistratus, about the wrecks that were here cast ashore (the import of which prophecy no Greek had noted):

"Also the Colian dames shall roast their barley with oar-blades."

But this was to happen after the king's departure.

97. When Xerxes was aware of the calamity that had befallen him, he feared lest the Greeks (by Ionian counsel or their own devising) might sail to the Hellespont to break his bridges, and he might be cut off in Europe and in peril of his life; and so he planned flight. But that neither the Greeks nor his own men might discover his intent, he essayed to build a mole across to Salamis, and made fast a line of Phoenician barges to be a floating bridge and a wall; and he made preparation for war, as though he would fight at sea again. The rest who saw him

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2 Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.
όρωντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρῆσαντα εὖ ἦπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νῦν παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν. Μαρδόνιον δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα ἐμπειρὸν ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίγης.

98. Ταῦτα τε ἡμι Ἑρέχης ἐποίεε καὶ ἐπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἄγγελου τὴν παρευσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἄγγελων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὦ τι θάρσον παραγίνεται δυνῆν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖς Πέρσης ἐξεύρηται τούτῳ. λέγοντες γὰρ ὡς σέων ἣν ἥμερέων ἢ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστάσε κατὰ ἡμερησίαν ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὕτε νιφέτος, οὐκ ὅμοιος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νυὲς ἔργη μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ ὀρμον τὴν ταχιστὴν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδίδοι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ τὸ ἐνθεύτευν ἔδη καὶ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεσφερεῖται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἑλληνὶ ἡ λαμπάδηφορή τὴν τῶν Ἡφαίστων ἐπιστέλεουσι. τούτῳ τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρίων.

99. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελία ἀπηκομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθηναῖς Ἑρέχης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρίστην πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιῆματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤσαν ἐν θυσίῃ τε καὶ εὐπαθείᾳ. ἡ δὲ δεύτερῃ σφι ἀγγελία ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὡστε τοὺς κιθώνας κατερρή-

1 Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals. They were of various kinds. One was "a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each
so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes' purposes.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skilful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey; and these are stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, angareion.

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent

line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team " (How and Wells).

* ἀγαρείον is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἀνάρεσις (How and Wells). ἀγαρείον passed into Greek usage; cp. Aesch. Ag. 282.
Χαίτι πάντες, βοή τε καὶ οίμωγη ἐχρέωντο ἄπλέτω, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίειν ὡς περὶ αὐτὸ Ξέρξη δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνων γενομένων, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφέας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁ ῥόνιος μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ἱσχυρᾶς ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτοῦ δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐνυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγρώσας ἑαυτόν χρήστησιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσοις εἰς ἀνακινοῦσαν ἵκα τὴν κατεργάσουσα τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἀιωρηθέντα: πλέον μέντοι ἐφερεν οἱ ἡ γνώμῃ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λογισάμενοι οὖν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μὴτε λυπέοι μὴτε συμφορὴν μηδεδίαν μεγάλην ποιεύτω τούδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἰνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἄγαν τὸ πάν λέον ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἐπιπών. σοὶ δὲ οὐτέ τις τοῦτων τῶν τὸ πάν σφίσε ήδη δοκεότων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται αὐτωθῆναι οὐτί ἐκ τῆς ἱπέρου τῆς δὲ οἱ τῆς ἡμῶν ἡμιών ἡμῶν, ἐδοσαν δικα. εἰ μὲν τιν δοκεῖ, αὐτῖκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐπὶ σεῖσαι, παρέχει ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μὴδὲ δυσθώμεις ὡς γὰρ ἔστι Ἑλλῆς οὐδεμία ἐκδούσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἰσείν σους δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίεει εἰ δ' ἁρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατινήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. σὺ
their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal: "Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another
Πέρσας, βασιλεύ, μη ποιήσης καταγελάστους γενέσθαι ἔλλησθιν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαι τοῖς τῶν προγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐρεείς ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κύλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσῆκε τὸ πάθος. ἦν δὲν ἔπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, ἐμοὶ πείθομι εἰ τοι δεδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἦθεα τὰ σειώτου ἀπέλαινε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοι χρῆ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.

101. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὁς ἐκ κακῶν ἔχαρη τε καὶ ἤσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνων τε βουλευσάμενος ἠφῇ ὑποκρινεσθαι ὡκότερον ποιήσει τοὺς. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἂμα Περσέων τοῖς ἐπικλήτοις, ἐδοξεὶ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτέμισιν ἐς συμβουλήν μεταπεμφάσθαι, ὅτι πρῶτον ἐφαίνετο μοῦνη νοεοῦσα τὰ ποιητεά ἤν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτέμισι, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφορους, ἐλέξει Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεῦει μὲ Μαρδόνως μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὅτι μοι Περσαὶ τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ βουλομένων σφι γένοιτ' ἃν ἀπόδεξίς. ἐμὲ ὅτι η ταῦτα κελεῦει ποιεῖν, ἡ αὐτοῦ ἕθελε τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδολωμένην, αὐτοῦ δὲ με κελεῦει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἔς ἦθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ δὲν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας εὐ συνεβοῦ-
plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians; nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his evil case might be, and said to Mardonius that he would answer him when he had first taken counsel which of the two plans he would follow; and as he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he was fain to bid Artemisia too to the council, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian councillors and guards, and said to her: "It is Mardonius' counsel that I should abide here and attack the Peloponnese; for the Persians, he says, and the land army are nowise to blame for our disaster, and of that they would willingly give proof. Wherefore it is his counsel that I should do this; else he offers to choose out three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march away homeward with the rest of the host. Now therefore I ask of you: 

101
λευσας της γενομένης ουκ ἐνσα ποιέωθαι, νῦν τε συμβουλευσον ὅκοτερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὐβουλευσάμενος.

102. "Ὁ μὲν ταύτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἢ δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῖ, χαλεπῶν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευμένω τυχεὶν τὰ ἁριστα εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μὲντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτοῦ μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὅπισω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδεκεῖται ταύτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν καταστρέφηται τὰ φησι θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοεῖν λέγει, σὺν τὸ ἔργον ὡς δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοι δοῦλοι κατεργάσατο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἑναίτια τῆς Μαρδόνιον γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορή μεγάλη ἐσται σέο τε περιεύοντος καὶ ἑκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ ὁικῶν τῶν σῶν ἦν γὰρ σὺ τε περὶς καὶ οἴκος ὡς σὺς, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγώνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ "Ελληνες. Μαρδόνιον δὲ, ἢν τι πάθη, λόγος οὖν δεῖς γίνεται, οὐδὲ τὰ νικώτερα οἱ "Ελληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὺν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἰνέκα τῶν στόλων ἐποιήσαο, πυρῶσας τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀπελάς."

103. "Ἡσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύχχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνοεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβουλευον αὐτῶ μένειν, ἔμενε ἀν δοκείειν ἐμοὶ· οὐτῶ καταρροϊκε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίνην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστῆλε ἀγούσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἢ ἑφεσον νόθοι γὰρ τινες παῖδες οἱ συνεσποντο. 104. Συνεπεμπτε δὲ τοίσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἐμμοῖτιμου, γένος μὲν ἔοντα Πεδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ
as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

102. Being thus asked for advice she replied: "It is difficult, O king, to answer your asking for advice by saying that which is best; but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march away back, and that Mardonius, if he wills and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdue all that he offers to subdue, and prosper in the purpose wherewith he speaks, the achievement, Sire, is yours; for it will be your servants that have wrought it. But if again the issue be contrary to Mardonius' opinion, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours be safe; for while you and they of your house are safe, many a time and oft will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if aught ill befall him, it is no matter for that; nor will any victory of the Greeks be a victory in truth, when they have but slain your servant; but as for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition."

103. Artemisia's counsel pleased Xerxes; for it happened that she spoke his own purpose; in truth I think that he would not have remained, though all men and women had counselled him so to do; so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to carry his sons to Ephesus; for he had some bastard sons with him.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the
ού τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων· πρὸ ἀμφικτυοῦν τοῖς τούτοις συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἀμφικτυόν πάσι τοῖς ἀμφί ταύτῃ σικέοσι τῆς πόλεως κῆρυκα ἐσεθαί καλετόν, τότε ἡ ἱερεία αὐτῶθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πόγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφί διὸ ἦδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἡν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἦδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμείς ἴδομεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πολέμου ἐπέκειτα Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὡς τὴν ξόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσίωτάτων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ κτήσατο παῖδας εἰδείς ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμων ἄργιον ἐπώλεε εἰς Ἐφέσους χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς βαρβάροις τιμώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνούχοι πίστιοι εἰςκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχών. ἀλλοὺς τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέστη πολλοὺς, ἀτέ ποιεῖνες ἐκ τούτου τὴν ξόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ ἔστω τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχει ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπεκκύνεται ἐκ τῶν Σάρδιων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἀλλον διώρων, χρόνου δὲ προιόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτειμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρβη.

106. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναῖς ἐν Ἑρμότιμος ἔστι δὴ τὸν Ἰχθυία καταβάς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμουται Ἀταρνευός δὲ καλέσται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπειγοῦς δὲ ἐλεγεν πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγον ὡσα αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑποπρεπεῖμενοι
most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105. Hermotimus, who came from this place Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man within my knowledge. Being taken captive by enemies and exposed for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man that had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices; he would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for a great price; for the foreigners value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated in the way of trade was Hermotimus, who was not in all things unfortunate; for he was brought from Sardis among other gifts to the king, and as time went on he stood higher in Xerxes' favour than any other eunuch.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and there preparing to lead his Persian armament against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business that he had in hand down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus, and there he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him; "it is to you," he said, "that I owe all this prosperity of

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1 The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from i. 175, where they occur more appropriately.
HERODOTUS

ἀντὶ τούτων οὐδὲ μὴν ἀγαθὰ ποιῆσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέρ ἢκέινη, ὡστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἀσμενὸν τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίᾳ μὴν περιέλαβε, ἔληγε ὁ Ἐρμότμος τάδε. "Ὤ παντὸς ἀνδρών ἡδη μᾶλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τῶν βίου κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἂν αὐτός ἂ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σε ή τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἄντ' ἀνδρός ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἰναι; εἴθ'κεῖσι τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῷ τότε' οὔ σε ποιήσαντα ἁπόσια, νῦνω δι'καιὰ χρεώμενοι, ὑπηγαγόν ἐς χειρᾶς ταῖς ἐμᾶς, ὡστε σε μὴ μέμφασθαι την ἀπ' ἐμέο τοῖς ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὑνείδισε, ἀκθέντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς ὑφ' ἡμαγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωτοῦ παιδῶν τεσσέρων ἑώτων τὰ αἴδοια ἀποτάμειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίει ταῦτα' αὐτὸ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περίῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ Ἐρμότμος.

107. Ἐξέρχησ' δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτέμισι κατέαγεν ἦς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατηγής διαλέγειν τοὺς βουληταί, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον φῶνα, ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἠμέρην ἐς ταυτότο ἐγώντο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέως ταῖς νέαις οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγρον ὡς τοῦ Ἐλλήσποντον ὡς τάξεως εἴγε ἐκαστῶς, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθήραι βασιλεῦ. ἐτεί δὲ ἄγχοι ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες ὅι βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γάρ ἄκραι
mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my fore-fathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle" in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here just

1 A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.
λεπταὶ τῆς ἥπερναν ταύτης, ἔδοξήν τε νέας εἰναι καὶ ἐφευγόν ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων δὲ μαθόντες ὁτι οὐ νέες εἰεν ἄλλ' ἀκραί, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὀρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἠλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἰναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδοκεον τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντο τε ὡς ἀλεξο- σόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέδωκον τάς νέας οἰχωκνίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν, τὸν μὲν ναυτικόν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδουν διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρὸν ἀπε- κόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδέικνυσε διὰ νήσων τραπεμένως καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τάς νέας πλέειν ἱδέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕλληνσποτον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. Εὔρυ- βιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὅσι λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἀν μέγι- στον πάντων σφεί κακῶν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεῖν ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ, πειρόντο ἂν ἤσυχην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἀγωνί μὲν οἱ ἤσυχὲς οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶνον τε ἐσται τῶν προχωμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φα- νήσεται, λὺμμα τὲ οἱ ἡ στρατηὶ διαφερέται, ἐπιχειρεῖτο δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔργον ἐχομενον πάντα τὰ κατά τὴν Ἐυρώπην οἷα τε ἐσται προσχωρήσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ κατὰ ἐθνα, ἦτοι ἀλίσκομενον γε ἢ πρὸ τοῦτο όμολογοῦντων τροφῆν τε ἐξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν τῶν Ἕλληνων καρ- πῶν. ἀλλὰ δοκεῖει γὰρ νικηθοῦτα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενεῖεν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἐστεον ᾧν εἰναι φεύγειν, ἐς ο ἐλθον φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἐνσυμφο- τὸ ἐνθεύτει δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκεῖνου ποιεσθαι ἦδον τῶν 108
out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοὶ.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε δὲ οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκπεφυγότων περιημέκτευον, ὁρμέατο τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενων, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοῦσατο) ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἢδη πολλοῖς παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκίνδυνο τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νεικισκόμενους ἀναμά- χεσθαί τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακό- τητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ, εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνδρῶν ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διωκμέν άνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄρως, οἱ ἐφθονίσαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βασιλεύσαι ἐόντα ἀνάσιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον ὃς τά τε ἱερά καὶ τά ἱδα ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεστο, ἐμπιπτάτι τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τά ἀγάλματα· δς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμα- στέγωσε πέδας τε κατήκη. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἔς το παρεῦν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμε- ναντις ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν ὀικετῶν, καὶ τις οἰκίη τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρον ἀνακός ἐχέτω, παντελῶς ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἀμα ὅδ' ἔρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Ἰωνίας· ταύτα ἔλεγε ἄπο- θήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἣν ἄρα τί μην καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφῆν τα περ ὄν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταύτα λέγων διέβαλλε,
With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them: "This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Wherefore I say to you,—as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a cloud of enemies, let us not pursue after men that flee. For it is not we that have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious; one that dealt alike with temples and homes, and burnt and overthrew the images of the gods,—yea, that scourged the sea and threw fetters thereinto. But as it is well with us for the nonce, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to
'Αθηναίοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον δεδομένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἠφάνη ἐὼν ἅλθεός σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐθυνός, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντες πείθεσθαι. ὥσ δὲ οὕτωι οἱ ἁγιασμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσμοτοκλέας ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἐχοντας πλοίου, τούτω ἐπίστευε σιγῶν ἐς πάσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένους τὰ αὐτῶς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι· τὼν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτίς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβας παρὰ Ἐρέμην ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεμψε μὲ Θεσμοτοκλέας ὁ Νεοκλέας, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντα τοι ὅτι Θεσμοτοκλέας ὁ Ὁδησιος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑποργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὰς νεὰς βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἱσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημηνάντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπισθω.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μὴ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐτὶ προσωτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μῆτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον λύοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρόν περικατέατο ἐξελείν ἐθέλουν· πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριῶν ὑπηρετῶν αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεσμοτοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προισχόμενον Θεσμοτοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦκοιν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ ἐσωτήρος ἐχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθὼ τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, οὕτω τε σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίνατο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθηναι μεγαλαί τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκοιν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι
deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but
112. Ὅστιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ οὐ δώτες τὰ χρῆματα ἐπολιορκέσθω. Ἐθεμοστοκλῆς δὲ, οὗ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἰτεῖ τὰ χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς βασιλεᾶ ἔχρησατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε „Ἀνδρον ὡς πολιορκέωτο διότι ἐμήδεσε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εὐθὺς ἐν αἰνῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἐπεμπὸν χρῆματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐδόσαν νησιωτέως, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μοῦνος. καὶ τοῦ Καρυστίους γε οὐδὲν τούτον εἶνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διεφύγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νῦν ἐξ „Ἀνδρον ὁμομένους χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δὲ Ἀμφὶ Ἑρέμην ἐπισχούντες ὅλιγας ἠμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὀδὸν. ἐδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἀμα μὲν προπέμψῃ βασιλεᾶ, ἀμα δὲ ἀνωρί ἐναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμεέων, χειμερίσαι τε ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν
blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

112. So for thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Caryshtians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part, and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed; which so affrighted them that they sent money; and I suppose that there were other islanders too that gave, and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless the Caryshtians got thereby no respite from misfortune; but the Parians propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the armament. So Themistocles issued out from Andros and took monies from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to
HERODOTUS

Θεσσαλίη, καὶ ἐπείτα ἀμα τῷ ἐαρι πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἔξελέγετο πρῶτος μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (ὁ ποτὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέως), μετὰ δὲ τῶν άλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἱππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζόν καὶ τὴν άλλην ἱππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα διὰ εἰλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν άλλων συμμάχων ἔξελέγετο κατ’ ὀλίγους, τοῖς εἰδεῖ τε ὑπήρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ ποιοῖς τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἐδόος Πέρσας αἱρέετο, ἀνδράς στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελισοφό- ρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους: οὔτωι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ρώμη δὲ ἡσσόνες. ὡστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυρίας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσαι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, εἰς τὸ Μαρδόνιος τε τὴν στρατινὴν διεκρίνε καὶ Ἑρέξης ἢν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Δακεδαμινίων, Ἑρέξην αἰτεῖν δίκας τοῦ Λεων- ἱδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπτους δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταγίστην Σπαρτῆται, ὁς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἑοῦσαν ἐτί πάσαν τὴν στρα- τινὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίη, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ἑρέξεω ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὤ βασιλεῖ Μῆδων, Δακεδαμινίοι τὲ σε καὶ Ἡρακλείδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτῆς αἰτεοῦσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα." ὃ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλῶν χρόνων, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-
winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,¹ and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)² were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114. Now while Mardonius was making choice of his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas, and take what answer he should give them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed; who finding the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence and thus spoke: "The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes! that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you slew while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed; and after a long while he

¹ Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55.  
² cp. vi. 83.
στεὼς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνύν ἐσ τούτον εἶπε “Τογάρ
σφι Μαρδόνιος δὴ δίκας δώσει τοιάτας οίας
ἐκείνοις πρέπει.”

115. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσ-
σετο, Ἐξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κατα-
λιπὼν αὐτὸς ἔπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν
Ἕλλησποντον, καὶ ἀπεκνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς
dιαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας,
ἀπάγων τῆς στρατηγῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν.
ὀκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὐστίνας
ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσι-
tέντον, εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδὲνα εὑροίεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν
ποιήν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυμοῖν καὶ τοὺς
dενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα
καταδρέποντες κατόθεσιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων
καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν ταῦτα σ' ἐποίεσθον ὑπὸ
λμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμὸς τὸν στρατὸν καὶ
dυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἐφθείρε. τοὺς
dὲ καὶ νοσεόμενα κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσον
τησι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελε-
dαίνειν τε καὶ τρέψειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τε τινάς καὶ
eν Σιρὴ τῆς Παιονίας καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἐνθα
cαὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἁρμα καταλιπῶν τὸ τὸ ἃδος, ὅτε ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιῶν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ
dόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖς Ὁρήξι ἀπαιτεόντος
Ἐξέρξη ἐβασάν νεμομένας ἀρπασθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀνω Ὁρήκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος
οἰκίμενων.

116. “Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλέως γῆς
tης Ἑρατονικῆς Ὁρήξι ἐργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργά-
sατο, ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐφή τοῦ Ἐξέρξη ἕκον εἰναι
δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οὐχεῖτο ἀνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν
pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

115. So the herald took that utterance and departed; but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and himself journeying with all speed to the Hellespont came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may so say) of his host. Whithersoever and to whatsoever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce; and if they found none, they would take for their eating the grass of the field, and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing; so starved they were for hunger. Moreover a pestilence and a dysentery broke out among them on their way, whereby they died. Some that were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities whither he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia; in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it hack they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Cretan country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the
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'Ροδόπην, τοίσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφὶ θυμὸς ἐγένετο θείασασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἄμα τῇ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχόρησαν ἁσινεῖς πάντες δὲ ἑοντες, ἐξωρυξέ αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίνα ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τούτων τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ός ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου τῇσι νυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς "Ἄβυδον" τὰς γάρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὐρὸν ἐτὶ ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ χειμώνος διαλελμένας. ἔνθαυτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτίᾳ τε πλέω ἢ κατ᾽ ὀδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδὲνα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὑδάτα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέδωκαν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοῦ. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄμα Ἐρέξη ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

118. "Εστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ός ἐπειδὴ Ἐρέξης ἀπελαύνων ἐς 'Ἄθηναν ἀπίκετο ἐπ᾽ 'Ηνών τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεύτην οὐκέτι οὐδοπορίσα διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατινὴν Ἐδαρνεὶ εἰπτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ νεός Φοινίκης ἐπιβάς ἐκομιζετο ἐς τὴν 'Ἀσίνην. πλέοντα δὲ μιν ἀνεμόν Στρυμομίχην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίν. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμουσίς τῆς νεός, ὡστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεέοντων συχνῶν Περσῶν τῶν συν Ερέξης κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βῶσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἰ τις ἐστὶ σφὶ σωτηρία, καὶ τὸν εἰπαι "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἐστὶ σῳδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆ τῆς γέννηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."
mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scathless, their father tore out their eyes.

117. This was their reward. But the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships; for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march was stayed, and more food was given them than on their way; and by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that yet remained died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it
καὶ Ἑρέξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ὁ Ἀνδρέας Πέρσαι, τῶν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέως κηδόμενος: ἐν υμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἰναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρία." τὸν μὲν ταύτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνώντας ἐκπήδειν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθείσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωβῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τῶν Ἑρέξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόντι· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε δασιλέος τὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῆς στεφάνῳ τῶν κυβερνητῶν, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ἑρέξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοιγε πιστῶς οὔτε ἄλλος οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρεθῇ ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτου πρὸς Ἑρέξην, ἐν μυρίσι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἄν ποιῆσαι βασιλεία τοιόντε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρωματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἐώς Ἀσίης καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτος, τῶν δὲ ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φωσίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἄν ἵσον πλῆθος τοῖς Πέρσης ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν. ἀλλ’ δὲ μὲν, ὡς καὶ προτερόν μοι εἰρηταί, ὅδ’ χρεώμενος ἀμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸδε μαρτύριον φαίνεται γὰρ Ἑρέξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῆ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ξεινίην τε σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοῦς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέω καὶ τιήρη χρυσοπάστω. καὶ ώς αὐτὸ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἐμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζωήν φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείᾳ ἑώς. τὰ δὲ ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ
is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, “Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you”; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king’s life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes’ return; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians’ fate, nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes as aforesaid, I think that there is not one in ten thousand but would say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship’s hold, and would have taken of the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. Nay, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120. And herein too lies a clear proof of it: it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return he entered into bonds of friendship with its people, and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara; and as the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle,1 as being here in safety. Now Abdera

1 cp. perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tunic till he reaches Ionia; or the reference may be to a man’s being ἐπεξεραυς (with his ‘loins girded up’) for swift travel.
'Ελλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡμόνος, θεθεὶ δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ἐπείτε ὦν ὁ οἷος τὲ ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ὀλυμπον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δημόσαιτες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοὺς θεοῦς ἐξελὼν ἀκροβίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήμερας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἂς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναδείκνυτο, ἢ περ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὸ ἤν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σοῦνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Λιαντί αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ διεδάσαυτο τὴν λημνα καὶ τὰ ἀκροβίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρὶς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἐων μεγαθός δυνώδεκα πηχέων ἐστικε δὲ οὕτως τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδών Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεοι.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροβίνια οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπιερῶτον τὸν θεὸν κοινὴ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροβίνια. ὅ δὲ παρ᾽ Ἐλληνῶν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ οὕ, ἄλλα ἀπαίτει αὐτοὺς τὰ ἁριστήμια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχίας. Αἰγυπτίας δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἱ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστάση τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κρόισου κρητήρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λημνῆς ἐπιεσε οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἐσθμὸν ἁριστήμια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἐλληνικῷ ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τούτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμουν τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρώτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν ἔως τὸ ἐτίθετο τῆς ψήφου, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς δοκεῶν ἁριστός γενέσθαι, δεύτερα
lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros they betook themselves to Carystus, and having laid it waste they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the firstfruits of it to Delphi; whereof was made a man’s image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122. Having sent the firstfruits to Delphi the Greeks inquired in common of the god, if the first-fruits that he had received were of full measure and if he was content therewith; whereat he said that this was so as touching what he received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans; of these he demanded the victor’s prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learnt that, they dedicated three golden stars that are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus’ bowl.

123. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second


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dé òi πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. αὖ μὲν δὴ ἔμοι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ δευτερέοισι υπερβαίλλετο πολλὸν.

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἕως τῆς ἐωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὡμοὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφότατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἔτιμηθή πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μὲν Δακεδαίμονι καλὸς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλος δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήμα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν1. Ἔνυρυξάθη ἑλαῖς στέφανον, σοφίς δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἑλαίς· ἐδωρήσαντο τε μὲν ὧρῳ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστέουσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριμήκοιοι Σπαρτητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἳ περ ἱππεῖς καλέονται, μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Τεγεστικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τούτων πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἑδομεν Σπαρτητεῖται προέπεμψαν.

125. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἑχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἀλλὰς δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπίξων προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Δακεδαίμονις, ἀλλ' οὐ δὲ ἐωυτῶν. ὦ δὲ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἰπὲ "Οὕτω ἔχει τοι' οὐτ' ἀν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης

1 Stein supposes that something is omitted before Ἐυφεμιάδη, perhaps ἀνδραγαθία.
place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to adjudge the prize, and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter doubtful; nevertheless, Themistocles was cried up, and all Hellas glorified him for the wisest man by far of the Greeks. But because he had not received from them that fought at Salamis the honour due to his pre-eminence, immediately afterwards he betook himself to Lacedaemon, that he might receive honour there; and the Lacedaemonians made him welcome and paid him high honour. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence, and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness; and they gave him the finest chariot in Sparta; and with many words of praise, they sent him on his homeward way with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom I have heard to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles’ enemies but a man in no-wise notable, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honours he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens’ sake and not for his own. This he would continually be saying; till Themistocles replied, “This is the truth of the matter—had I been of Belbina¹ I had not been thus honoured

¹ An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.
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ἐτιμήθην οὖτω πρὸς Σπαρτιτέων, οὕτως ἂν σὺ, ὁ ἅγιος, ἑώς Ἀθηναίοις." ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνήρ ἐν Πέρσῃς λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιων καὶ μάλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἐχὼν ξς μυρίάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγατο, προεπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἀτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσαλίνης καὶ Μακεδονίνης καὶ οὐδὲν κω κατεπείγοντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεώς Ποτίδαιηται μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτίδαιηται, ὃς βασιλεὺς παρεξελήλακε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῦς Πέρσης οἰχώκεε φευγὼν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπεστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δῶς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Εὐθαύτα ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπτεύεσα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ὁλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ταῦτην ἐπολιόρκεε εἴχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαίοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάτες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδό Κριτεβοῦλῳ Τορωναῖῳ ἐπιτρεπτεύει καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ολυπθοῦ Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτίδαιᾳ ἐνετειμένως προσεῖχε προσέκοιτο δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόζεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὁπιτινὰ μὲν τρόπον ἀρχὴν, ἐγαγε οὐκ ἔχει εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὁν λέγεται), τέλος 128
by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so by the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes being now in Asia, when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea; and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also, the town being held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats, and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scioneans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I
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μέντοι τοιάδέ εγίνετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράφεις ἡ Τιμοδέινος ἑθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἡ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμοδέινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλιζάντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκεῖμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ Τιμοδέινος προδίδονς τὴν Ποτιδαίαν τοξεύσας γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκεῖμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαίησε τῶν ὁμοίων, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὁμιλοῦσα, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οὐ αὐτίκα τὸ τοξεῦμα λαβόντες ὡς ἐμαθοῦ εἰς τὸ βυβλίον, ἐφεροῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιλεξαμένοις τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίας ἐδοξεὶ μή καταπλῆξαι Τιμοδέινον προδοσίη τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἰνεκά, μὴ νομιζοίτο εἰναὶ Σκιωναίοι εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. "Ο μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνει· Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ἐπειδῆ πολυρκέοντες ἐγεγονέαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτίς τῆς βαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. Ἰδοῦντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγαν γενόμενον παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Παλληνην, ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διεοικησάντες, ἐτὶ δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἤσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἐσοῦ ἐν τῇ Παλληνῇ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμύρις τῆς βαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὡς οὐσιαστι καὶ, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένης. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπισκέψαμεν διεφθεί-

1 Probably points on each side of the notch (where the arrow lies on the string) to give the fingers better grip.
will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter for sending to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it round the shaft of an arrow at the notches and put feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place whereon they had agreed. But Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidæa was discovered; for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidæa; and a throng gathering quickly round the man when he was struck (which is a thing that ever happens in war), they straightway took the arrow and found the letter and carried it to their generals, the rest of their allies of Pallene being also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not smite Timoxenus to the earth with a charge of treason, lest so the people of Scione should ever after be called traitors.

129. Thus was Timoxenus' treachery brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidæa for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea, lasting for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh they made to pass over it into Pallene. But when they had made their way over two fifths of it and three yet remained to cross ere they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before; and some of them that knew not how

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).
ροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτίδαιηται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἰτιον δὲ λέγονσι Ποτίδαιηται τῆς τε ρηχύνς καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτε τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος εἰς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὕτωι τῶν Περσέων οἱ περ καὶ διεθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. αἰτιον δὲ τούτο λέγοντες εὐ δεεν ἐμοι ἐδοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὐτοί μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες Βασίλεα ὑπὸ ἐπρηξαν.

130. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς οἱ Ξέρξεως περιγενομένους ὡς προσέμειξε τῇ ᾿Ασίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρμησε ἐς ᾿Αβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμη, ἐάρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρῶιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον ἰδὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ. Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μῆδων οἱ πλευνείς ἐπεβάτων· στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφὶ ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ ᾿Αρτάβαζος ὁ ᾿Αρταχαίεως. συνήρχε δὲ τοῦτοι καὶ ἀδελφίδες αὐτοῦ ᾿Αρτάβαζων προσελομένον ᾿Ιθαμάτης. ἀτε δὲ μεγάλοις πληγέντες, οὐ προῆγαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγακε συνεδρία. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τους ᾿Ελλήνας ἐλεύσεθαι ἐς τὴν ᾿Ιωνίην ἀλλ’ ἀποχρῆσειν σφὶ τὴν ἑωτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύοντες ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίνος ἀλλ’ ἀσμενοί ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν ύπο τὴν ἡλιόλουσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν.
to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay herein, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king’s escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes’ fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artaýntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artaýntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that
τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ἔόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ τι δυναίστο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους πολέειν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ ὁτακούστεον δοκῇ πεσέται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131. Τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνας τὸ τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἥγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσαλίᾳ ἔως. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκ Ἀζίμω ψυνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Άγιναν, νεεὶς ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἐκατὸν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναυαρχὸς ἦν Δευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεως τοῦ Ἡνησίλεω τοῦ Ἡπποκράτιδεω τοῦ Δευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξινδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπούμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐυόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πυτάνιος τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἡλλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἔως τῆς ἑτέρης σικῆς τῶν βασιλεῶν. οὔτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Δευτυχίδεα πρῶτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἔστρατηγῇ Ἑλιόππους ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

132. Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Άγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νεεῖς, ἀπίκοντο Ἰωνῶν ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδο τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οἳ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὅλως πρὸτερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληίδης ἦν ὁ στασιώτας σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττη τῶν Χιοῦ τυράννων, ἔόντες ἄρχὴν ἐπτὰ· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἔξενεκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν

1 The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 204). The second was the line of Euryphon. In the present list "the first king among the
on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies, and to listen the while for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina; and their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing his lineage from son to father through Hagesilas, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydeuces, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second royal house. All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Laconians to free Ionia; of whom one was Herodotus the son of Basileides. These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of I. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus (How and Wells).

2 Otherwise unknown.
μετεχόντων, οὔτω δὴ οἰ λοιποὶ ἔξ ἐόντες ύπεξε-
σχών ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ
dή καὶ τότε ἐς τήν Αἰγιμαν, τῶν Ἐλλήνων δέομενοι
καταπλώσαι ἐς τήν Ἰωνίην οἱ προῆγαγον αὐτούς
μόνης μέχρι Δῆλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πάν 
ed
νὸν ἦν τούτι Ἑλλησοὶ οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐσοδιμεῖπερ
στρατηγεῖς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδάκεε εἶναι,
tήν ἐς Σάμου ἐπιστέατο δόξη καὶ Ἡρακλέας
ςτῆλας ἴσον ἀπέγειον. συνεπέπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὡςτε
τους μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω
Σάμου μὴ τολμῶν καταπλώσαι καταρρωθήκοτα,
tους δὲ Ἑλληνας, χρησίζοντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν
ηὐ κατωτέρῳ Δῆλου" οὔτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύ-
λασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλου,
Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐν
θεύτεν δὲ ὁμοώμων ἐπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστηρία
ἀνδρα Ἐυρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντε-
λάμενος πανταχῆ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθείν, τῶν οἰά
τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τε μὲν βουλόμενος
ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλειον,
ούκ ἐχὼ φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγεται· δοκεῖ δ' ἐγὼ
γε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ
ἀλλων περὶ πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος οὖν Μῦς ἐς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται
ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
ἀνδρα καταβίναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἀβας
τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστηρίῳ καὶ
ὅτι καὶ ἐς Θῆβας πρῶτα ως ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ
Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἔχρησατο· οὕτω δὲ κατά περ

1 "As far off as the Straits of Gibraltar"—a figure of
distance.

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having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks brought them as far as Delos, and that not readily; for they feared all that lay beyond, having no knowledge of those parts, and thinking that armed men were everywhere; and they supposed that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles.¹ So it fell out that the foreigners were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos; thus fear kept the middle space between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having here his headquarters he sent thence a man of Euporus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles whereof he could make trial. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for none tells of it; but I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius,² and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis; to Thebes too he first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the

¹ See How and Wells ad loc. for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity; also on Amphiarous and “Ptoan” Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.
ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ ἤροις αὐτὸθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι τούτῳ δὲ ξείνου τινὰ καὶ σὺ Ὄηβαιὼν χρήμασι πείσας κατεκολύμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Ὄηβαιὼν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλευται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐως τῷ ἥ ἢ ἀτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἀτε συμμάχω, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους ὁ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι Ὄηβαιὼν οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐγκατακαμηθήναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῷμα μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Ὅηβαιὼν ἐλθεῖν ἀρὰ τοῦ Ἐὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενων πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτοῖου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέσται μὲν Πτῶν, ἐστὶ δὲ Ὅηβαιὼν, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαίδου λίμνης πρὸς ὅρει ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραφίας πόλιος. ἐς τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλέσαν τοῦτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαὶ δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστοῦν αἰρετοὺς ἀνδρᾶς τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπιεῖν ἐμελλέ, καὶ πρόκατε τῶν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρων γλώσσῃ χράν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Ὅηβαιῶν ἐν θῷματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκουόντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρῆσον—

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ τῇ λέγοντα ἡν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε ἅγγελον ἐς
way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus. No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally; and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum,¹ and belongs to the Thebans; it lies by a hill, above the lake Copaïs, very near to the town Acraephia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple, three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans that followed him stood astonied to hear a strange language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written all down he went away back to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles; and presently he sent a messenger to Athens,

¹ Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodororus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, cp. vii. 197.
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'Αθήνας 'Αλέξανδρον τὸν 'Αμύντηω ἀνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἀμα μὲν ὦτι οἱ προσκήδες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν 'Αλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφῆν Γυγαίνη, 'Αμύντηω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης αὐτὴ Πέρσης ἔσχη, ἐκ τῆς οἰ έγεγόνει Αμύντης ο ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ, ἔχουν τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὲ ἐκ βασιλείου τῆς Φρυγίας ἐδόθη 'Αλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι. ἀμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρὸξεινὸς τῇ εἰς καὶ εὐεργήτης ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος ἐπεμπε. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω ἔδοκε μάλιστα προσκτήσεθαι, λεών τε πολλοῦ ἄρα ἀκούνων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐστί. τούτων δὲ προσγεγομένων κατηλπίζε εὐπτέες τῇς θαλάσσης κρατήσεις, τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἢν, πεζῇ τε ἔδοκε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἐκεῖθε τῶν Ἕλληνων. τάχα δ' ἄν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναίον ποιεῖσθαι. τούτῳ δὴ πειθόμενος ἐπεμπε.

137. Τοῦ δὲ 'Αλεξάνδρου τούτου ἐξδομος γενετωρ Περδίκκης ἔστι ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοῦτῳ. ἦς Ἀργεος ἐφυγον ἐς Ἰλυριοῦς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλυριών ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν ἀπίκουτο ἐς Λεβαίνην πόλιν. εὐθαύτα δὲ

1 Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Caria (cp. vii. 195); Stein prefers to read Alabastra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.
Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander’s sister and Amyntas’ daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother’s father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebæa. There they served for wages as

2 The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadæ, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.
εθήτευν ἐπὶ μισθὼ παρὰ τῷ βασιλείᾳ, ὦ μὲν ἐπίπους νέμων, ὦ δὲ βοῦς, ὦ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῆς τὰ σιτία σφὶ ἐπέσει ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενεῖς χρήμας, οὐ μόνον ὁ δήμος ὁκὼς δὲ ὄπτωρ, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδός τοῦ θητοῦ Περδίκκεως διπλήσιος ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἑωτοῦ. ἤπει δὲ αἰεὶ τῶν τούτων ἐγένετο, εἰπὸ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ἑωτῆς: τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσήλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἰ ὑέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγόρευε σφὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωτοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὐτῶ ἑξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ὡς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν κατακόρην ἐσ τοῦ οἰκοῦ ἐσέχων ὁ ἡλιος, εἰπὲ θεοβλαβῆς ἅγιόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὡς βίων ἄξιον τὸν ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἡλιον. ὡς μὲν ὁ Γανάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν ἐκ πρωτογενεῖς, ὡς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα: ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἔχων μάγαριαν, εἰπὸς τάδε "Δεκάμεθα ὁ βασιλεύς τὰ δίδοις," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἰκοῦ τὸν ἡλιον, περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τὸν ἡλιον, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

138. Ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀνήσαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλείᾳ σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷον τῷ χρήμα ποιήσει εἶ παῖς καὶ ὁς σὺν νῷ κεῖνῳ ὁ νεώτατος λάβει τὰ διδόμενα. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας καὶ ἐξυπνείς πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιπέδα ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν
thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

138. So they departed; but one of them that sat by declared to the king what this was that the boy had done, and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered; which when the king heard, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. But there is in that land a river, whereto the descendants from

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1 The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.
ἀνδρῶν ἀπ’ Ἀργεοὺς ἀπόγονοι σωτῆρι’ οὗτος, ἐπείτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὗτος ἐρρύη ὡστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οίκους τα γενεσθαι διαβήναι. οὐ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίας οἰκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μέδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖς φυτεῖ τοιματαράδος, ἐν ἐκαστοῦ ἡχον ἐξήκοντα φυλλα, ὡμὴ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοις καὶ ὁ Σιλπνος τοῖς κήποις ἦλθο, ὥς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδονον. ὑπὸ τὸ τῶν κήπων ὅρος κέεται Βέρμιοι οὕνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμομενοι, ὥς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν.

139. Ἀπ’ τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλεξάνδρος ὅδε ἔγενετο. Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φιλιππος, Φιλιπποῦ δὲ Ἀργαίος, του δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

140. Εὐγενὸς μὲν δὴ ὅδε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω: ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναὶς ἀποπεμφθεῖς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἠλεγε τάδε. Ἐν Αὐροί, Μαρτονίους τάδε ἱστεί. ἐμοὶ ἀγαλλία ἦκε παρὰ βασιλεὺς λέγουσα οὕτω. Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἦς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετίμημι. νῦν το ὅδε Μαρδονίων ποιέε. τούτῳ μὲν τῇ γῇ σφί ἀπόδος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλῃ πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοῖ, ἤμεν ἄν ἐβέλωσι, ἔοντες αὐτόνομοι ἰρὰ τε πάντα σφι, ἢ δὴ βουν—

1 This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (modern Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.
Argos of these men offer sacrifice, as their deliverer; this river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias, wherein roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance; in which garden, by the Macedonian story, Silenus was taken captive; above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. Thence they issued forth when they had won that country, and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes; Alcetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus; Philippus' father was Argaenus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship.

140. Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas; who, when he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, spoke on this wise. "This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you:—There is a message come to me from the king, saying, 'I forgive the Athenians all the offences which they have committed against me; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this:—Give them back their territory, and let them choose more for themselves besides, wheresoever they will, and dwell under their own laws; and rebuild all their temples

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2 This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a "nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation; if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the Odyssey.
λαυταὶ γε ἐμοὶ ὡμολογεῖν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἰτίων γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαλλεσθεὶ πόλεμον βασιλεῖ άειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἶοι τε ἐστε ἄντεχεν τῶν πάντα χρόνων. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεως στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν παρ᾿ ἐμοὶ ἐσόσαι δύναμιν ὡστε καὶ ἢμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσῃτε, τοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴ περ εὗ φρονεῖτε. ἀλλὰ παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ δὲν βουλεσθε παρισούμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θεεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ υμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλεός ταύτη ὀρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἢμῖν ὁμαίχυμην συνθέμενοι ἀνεν τε δόλον καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑνετείλατο μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς υμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς υμέας ἔσονης εἴ ἐμείν σιδερέω λέξώ, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηλίζω δὲ υμῶν πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ἐνορῶ γὰρ υμῖν οὐκ οἶοισι τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξη. εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν υμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἰς υμέας ἢλθουν ἕχων λόγους τοῦθεν καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ἡ βασιλείας ἔστι καὶ χεὶρ υπερμήκης. ἢν δὲν μὴ αὐτικα ὡμολογήσῃτε, μεγάλα προτεινώτων ἐπ᾿ οἶοι ὡμολογεῖειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω υπὲρ υμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἕξειρετον μεταίχμιον τε τήν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ
that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;
πείθεσθε: πολλού γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀξιὰ ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μοῦνοι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπεῖς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθηναίας ἐς ὀμολογίαν ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφαιρὰς χρεον ἐστὶ ἀμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Δωριεύοι ἐκτίθεντες ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καρτα τε ἐδείγαν μὴ ὀμολογήσως τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τε σφὶ ἐδοξῇ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους, καὶ δὴ συνεπιτε ὅστε ὁμοί σφαιρὰς γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανεμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διατρίβοντες, εὐ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἐμελλον Λακεδαιμονίον πεῦσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἀγγελον ἐπὶ ὀμολογία, πυθόμενοι τε πέμπειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες δὲν ἐποίειν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἑσύτων γνώμην.

142. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγελοι ἴσω λέγων δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεωτερον ποιεῖν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδεικνύς παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου, οὕτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὕτε κόσμου φέρων οὕτε γε ἄλλοι 'Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοίζη, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκεστα πολλῶν εἴνεκα. ἤγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πολεμόν ὑμέως οὐδεν ὑμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχήθεν ὁ ἄγων ἔγενετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πάσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα: ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι σουλοσύνης.
for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141. Thus spoke Alexander. But the Lacedaemonians had heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the foreigner; and remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid lest the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover it so fell out for both, that they made their entry at one and the same time; for the Athenians delayed, and tarried for them, being well assured that the Lacedaemonians were like to hear that the messenger was come from the Persians for an agreement; and they had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed; therefore it was of set purpose that they did it, that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought
τοίσι "Ελλησι Ἀθηναίοις οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχέτον, οἷτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἄνθρώπων. πιέζεσθεν οὐ μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἑστερήθητε διέζων ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἡδὲ πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τὰ ἔστι πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετεών ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ πόλεμον ὁδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ο Μακεδών ἀναγνώσθη, λέγεις τὸν Μαρκοβίου λόγον. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστιν τύραννος γὰρ ἐως τυράννῳ συγκατηργάζεται ὑμῖν δὲ ὅτι ποιητέα, εἶ περ ἐν τυγχάνετε φρονεστε, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάρους ἐστιν οὐτε πιστῶν οὔτε ἄλλης οὐδεν. ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτα γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλασιών ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῖν, ὅστε οὐδὲν δέει τούτῳ ἡνεκίκεσι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλυχόμενοι ἀμυνόμεθα οὗτο ὠκος ἀν καὶ διυόμεθα. ὁμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μὴτε αὐ ἡμέας πειρό ἀναπέθειν οὗτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρκοβίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι, ἐστὶν ἀν ο ἢλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἢ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεσθαι, μὴ κατέ ὁμολόγησειν ἡμέας Ἐρέτην ἀλλὰ θεοῦ τε συμμάχοισι πισυνοὶ μιν ἐπέξειμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἦρωσι, τῶν ἐκείνων οὐδεμιάν ὅτιν ἔχον ἐνέπροσε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἄγαλματα. σὺ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούτῳ μὴ ἐπιφαίνει Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκεῶν χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν

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upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefore the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." Thus spoke the envoys.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians thus replied: "We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours; there is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as touching agreements with the foreigner, do not you essay to persuade us thereto, nor will we consent; and now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course whereby he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes; but we will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has set at nought and burnt their houses and their adornments. To you we say, come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service counsel us to do wickedly;
παραίνετε οὖ γὰρ σὲ βουλύμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξειυνον τε καὶ φίλον.

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναμε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. "Τὸ μὲν δὲίσαι Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ ὀμολογήσομεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἦν ἀτὰρ αἰσχρὸς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδήσαι, ὅτι οὐτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμόθεν τοσοῦτος οὐτε χώρη κάλλει καὶ ἀρετὴ μέγα ὑπέρφερονσα, τὰ ἠμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλουμεν ἄν μηδέσταντες καταδουλώσατι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακολύουντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἡν ἐθέλουμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκέχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρείν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἦ περ ὀμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένω, αὕτης δὲ τὸ Ελληνικὸν ἐόν δυμαίμων τε καὶ ὀμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθελαι τε ὀμότροπα, τῶν προδῶτας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὔ ἔχοι. ἐπιστασθὲ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον ἐνυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ ἂν καὶ εἰς περί Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὀμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ἐρέμη. ὑμέων μὲντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἐούσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμῶν οἰκοθερμῶν οὕτω ὡς ἐπιθρέψαι εἵθελεν ἡμῶν τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μὲντοι λαπαρήσουμεν οὕτω δοκοὶ ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ἡμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὕτω ἔχοντων, στρατηγὸς ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπτε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκάς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βαρβάρος.
for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner
εσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίαν ὅτι ουδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκείνων ἡμέων προσεδέστω. πρὶν ὅν παρεῖναι ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν 'Αττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστὶ προ- βοηθήσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οἴ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.
will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Bocotia." At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.
BOOK IX
1. Μαρδώνιος δὲ, διὸς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἤγε τὴν στρατηγὴν σπουδὴ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖς δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἰγνομένους οὐτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπράγμενα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Πόρσην, καὶ συμπροεπερρῆ τε Θώρης ὁ Λησιαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φαινοῦν παρῆκε Μαρδώνιος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδώνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χώρος ἐπιτηδεύοντος ἑνστρατοπεδεύσαται ἐκεῖνον, οὐδὲ ἔως οὐκ ἕπαι ἐκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἵζομεν ποιεῖν ὡς ἀμαχῆτε τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν "Ἑλληνας ὀμοφρονεόντας, ἵνα περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἰναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπασὶ ἀνθρώπων; " εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἤμεῖς παραινέομεν," ἔφασαν λέγοντες, "ἐξεῖς ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνων ἱσχυρὰ βουλεύματα. πέμπτε χρήματα εἰς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἀνδρας ἐν τῇ τοι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ
BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thorax of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2. But when the army in its march was come into Bocotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they pleaded) go further, but rather halt there and so act as to subdue all Hellas without fighting. For as long as the Greeks who before had been of the same way of thinking remained in accord, it would be a hard matter even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; "but if you do as we advise," said the Thebans as they spoke, "you will without trouble be master of all their counsels of battle. Send money to the men that have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against

1 In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.
τούς μή τά σα φρονέντας ῥημίως μετά τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψαι.

3. Οἳ μὲν ταύτα συνεβούλευον, ὅ δὲ οὖς ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινοὶ ἐνέστακτο ἱμερὸς τάς Ἀθηναὶς δεύτερα ἔλειν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοῖς διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεὺς δηλώσειν ἐντεῦ ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθηναίας· ὡς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε Σαλαμίνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπινευότεν εἶναι ἐν τέ τις νυνί, αἱρέει τε ἔρημον τοῦ ἀστυ. ἢ δὲ βασιλέως αἱρεσίς ἐν τῇ ὑπέρη τῆς Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηγὴν δεκάμυς ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθηναίς ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδονίος, πέμπει ἐν Σαλαμίνα Μουρυχίδην ἀνδρὰ Ἑλλησ-

πόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι διε-

πόρδευεν. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προσέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐλείς ἐξ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριὰτον ἔστη ἡ Αττικῆς χώρῃς καὶ ἔστη ὑπ’ ἐντεῦ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐσ Σαλαμίνα, ὅ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλῆν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ Βουλευτῶν Ἀνδρίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἀμείων εἶναι δε-

ξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφί Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τῶν δήμων. δὲ μὲν δὴ ταύτη τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἰτε ἡ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἰτε καὶ ταύτα οἱ ἐάν δει γνω

'Αθηναίοι δὲ αὐτῖκα δεινοὶ ποιησάμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἐξωθέν ὡς ἐπίθυντο, περι-

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itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it; rather he was imbued with a wondrous desire to take Athens once more; this was partly of mere perversity, and partly because he thought to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. Yet on his coming to Attica he found the Athenians no more there than before, but, as he learnt, the most of them were on shipboard at Salamis; and he took the city, but no men therein. There were ten months between the king's taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis one Murychides, a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this the second time because, albeit he knew already the Athenians' unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abate their stiff-neckedness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis, who came before the council and told them Mardonius' message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, gave it for his opinion that it seemed to him best to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him; but the Athenians in the council were very wroth, and so too when they heard of it were they that were outside; and they made a ring
στάντες Δυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἁσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θυρίσου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμήνα περὶ τὸν Δυκίδην, πυθμάνται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναίκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναῖκι καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Δυκίδεω σκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναίκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἔσ δὲ τὴν Σαλαμήνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὃσε. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἦσει τιμωρησοῦτα σφι, οὐ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἑπεὶ δὲ οὐ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαῖς ἐποίεον, ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ψεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμήνα, ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν τε ἐπεμποῦν ἀγγέλους ἁμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιείδου ἐμβαλόντα τόν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν ἄλλο ὅπρος σφῶν ἡντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἀμα δὲ υπομνηματιστας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δῶσεις, προειπά τοι ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνόυσι Ἀθηναίοις, ὃς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρίσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμονίοι ὄρταξόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἤν τῇ Τακίνθια, περὶ πλείστον δὲ γεγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἁμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἦδη ἐπάλξεις ἑλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἁμα ἁγόμενοι εἶκ τε Μεγάρων ἄγγελους καὶ εἶκ Πλαταίεων, ἔλεγον 162
round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Murychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had passed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, so long they abode in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians were ever longer and slower in action, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they did then convey all their goods out of harm’s way and themselves crossed over to Salamis; and they sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who should upbraid the Lacedaemonians for suffering the foreigner to invade Attica and not meeting him in Boeotia with the Athenians to aid; and should bid the Lacedaemonians withal remember what promises the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some succour for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7. For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus,¹ and their chiefest care was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall that they were building on the Isthmus was by now even getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys were arrived at Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara

¹ A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.
τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. "Επεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μούσιος τούτῳ μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδόθη, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἔθελει ἐπὶ ἱσχὺ τε καὶ ὁμοίη ποιήσασθαι ἀνεν τε δὸλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἔθελε δὲ καὶ ἀλήθην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἀν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνων αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δειμὼν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ κατανέσαμεν ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καὶ περ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδομένοι, ἐπιστάμενοι τῇ σὲ σαίδει, ἡμεῖς ἀκύβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωσιν τὸτε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ μάλλον ἡ περ πολεμεῖν ὅποι μὲν οὐδὲ ὀμολογήσωμεν ἐκόντες εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκύβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωσιν τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεῖτε ἐξεράθητε τὸ ἡμετέρον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὔδαμα προδοσώμεν τῇ Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τείχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιεύσθε, συνθέμενοι τῇ ἡμῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσθησαί ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν προδοδώκατε, περιεῖδετε τὸ προσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τῶν Βάρβαρων. ἐς μὲν παρὰ τὸ παρέον Ἀθηναίοι υἱὶν μημοῦσιν ὅποι νὰ ἐποιησάτε ἐπιτηδεύςω. ὧν δὲ ὔτι τάχος στρατεύμα αἱ ἡμῖν ἐκείλευσαν υἱὶς ἐκείμερος, ὥς ῥᾶ τὸν Βάρβαρον δεκάμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίας, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεύσατον ὅτι μαχέσασθαι τῷ Θρᾴσιου πεδίον." 8. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἠκούσαν οἱ ἐφόροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραῖν ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ
and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said: "The Athenians have sent us with this message: The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you; for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again
HERODOTUS

...
till the day after; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

9. But the manner of their answering at last and sending the Spartan army was this: On the day before that hearing which should have been the last, Chileüs, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learnt from the ephors all that the Athenians had said; and having heard it he said, as the tale goes, to the ephors, "Sirs, this is how the matter stands: if the Athenians be our enemies and the foreigner's allies, then though you drive a strong wall across the Isthmus the Persian has an effectual door opened for passage into the Peloponnese. Nay, hearken to them, ere the Athenians take some new resolve that will bring calamity to Hellas."

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart; saying no word to the envoys who were come from the cities, they bade march before dawn of day five thousand Spartans, with seven helots appointed to attend each of them;

1 ep. viii. 135.
τῶν εἰλώτων, Παυσανίᾳ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξατες ἐξάγειν, ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἠγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐτὶ παις, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπιτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεγίος. Κλεομβρότος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεως μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περίμην, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατηγὴν τὴν τὸ τείχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταύτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινά βιούς ἀπέθανεν, ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατηγὴν ὁ Κλεομβρότος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε: θυμόμενοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἦλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαφεύτει δὲ ἐσωτήρ Παυσανίας Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωρίεως, ἀνδρὰ οἰκίας ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οὗ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίᾳ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης: οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἠμέρη ἐγεγόνει, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους, ἐν νῷ ὅτι ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ ἐκαστος ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἐλεγον τάδε. "Τμείς μὲν, ὁ Λακεδαιμονίοι αὐτοῦ τῇ δε μένοντες 'Τακίνθια τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδότες τοὺς συμμάχους. 'Αθηναίοις δὲ ὁι ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ύμῶν χήτει τε συμμάχους καταλῦσον τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι συμμαχοὶ μᾶλις γινόμεθα, συστρατευομέθα ἐπὶ ἃν ἄν ἑκεῖνοι εξηγώνται. ύμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτει μαθήσεσθε ὁκοίον ἂν τι ύμῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκβαίνῃ." ταύτα λεγόντων τῶν ἄγγελων, οἱ ἑφόροι ἔπαν ἐπὶ ὄρκον καὶ δὴ δοκεῖν εἶναι ἐν 'Ορεσθείᾳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

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1 His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorianus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.
and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family, 1 Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place; and when they were come, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthia and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted; the Athenians, for the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, seeing that plainly we shall be the king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter shall be for you." Thus spoke the envoys; and the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum, 2 marching

2 Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.
τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πάν τὸ ἔον, ὅστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διάκοντας. σιν δὲ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαίμονιῶν λογίας πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλίται τῶν τοῖτο ἐποίεσον.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὲ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἡπείροντο. Ἀργείοι δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπίθυμον τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίου ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἥμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἀριστόν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοῖ Μαρδόνιοι ὑποδεξάμενοι σχημάτως τῶν Σπαρτητῶν μὴ ἔζειναι δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖας ἔλεγε τιμῆ. "Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν μὲ Ἀργείου φράσοντα τοι ὧτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονων ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὖν δυνατοί αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργείοι μὴ οὖν ἔζειναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τυγχάνει εὐθευνόμενος."

13. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐτὶ πρόθυμος ἦν μένῃ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἠκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ἦν πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώγενε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίου, ὡκοίοι τι ποιήσουσί, καὶ ὅστε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐςίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθε, πυθόμενοι πάντα λόγου, πρὶν ἡ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίου ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμίων ἑσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθηναίας, καὶ εἰ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἢν τῶν τειχῶν ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρων, πάντα καταβάλων καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυν

1 Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.
against the "strangers," as they called the foreigners. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to what the tale might mean, and thereby learnt the whole truth; whereat they marvelled, and took the road with all speed after the army; and with them went likewise five thousand chosen men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.1

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. But the Argives had already promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartan from going out to war; and as soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances that they could find; who, when he came to Athens, spoke on this wise to Mardonius: "I am sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot stay them from so doing; wherefore, may fortune grant you good counsel."

13. So spoke the herald, and departed back again; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians' plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias' army ere it entered the Isthmus; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason of his
δε τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἰππασίμη ἢ χώρη ἢν ἢ Ἀττικῆ, εἰ τε νικότο συμβαλὼν, ἀπάλλαξις ὁυκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, οὔτε ὅλγον σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἑσχεν. ἐβουλεύετο δὲν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θῆβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλει τε φιλῆ καὶ χώρη ἰππασίμῳ.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἣδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ ἐόντε αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελία πρόδρομον ἅλλην στρατηγὴν ἤκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίων: πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ κως τοῦτοι πρῶτον ἔλου, ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατηγὴν ἢγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα: ἢ δὲ ἰππὸς προελθώσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταῦτην δὴ ἐκαστάτῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὐτὴ στρατηγὴ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελία ὃς ἅλεες εἴησαν οἱ "Ελληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὔτω δὴ ὅποισι ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης: οἱ γὰρ ὑμνοτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσσωπῶν, οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤγεόντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν: ἐν Τανάγρᾳ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισμένος, καὶ πραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραῖ ἐς Σκόλον ἐν γῇ τῆς Θῆβαι ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδεξίων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἄλλῳ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίῳς μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἐρυμά τῇ στρατῷ ποιήσαντι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντε οἱ μὴ ἐκβαινὴν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποίετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων.
BOOK IX. 13-15

marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage. Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that over and above the rest an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians was arrived at Megara; at which hearing he took counsel how he might first make an end of these; and he turned about and led his army against Megara, his horse going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the most westerly place in Europe to which this Persian armament attained.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; for the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country that dwelt near, and these guided him to Sphendalae and thence to Tanagra, where he camped for the night; and on the next day he turned thence to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they took the Persian part; not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a strong place for his army, and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he desired. His army covered the ground from Erythrae past

1 He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.
παρα Ῥςιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μὲντοι τὸ γε τείχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μᾶλιστά κη μέτωπον ἐκαστὸν.

16. Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαρ-βάρων, Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φοῦνων ἄνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτῶν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Πέρσεων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ αὐτοὶ εἶποντο ὡς ἔπει δὲ τὸ δείπνον ποιεῖμενον ἐν Θῆβαις. τάδε δὲ ἤλθε τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἦκουν Θερσάνδρου ἄνδρος μὲν Ὁρχομενίον, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὁρχομενῳ, ἐφὶ δὲ ὁ Θερσάνδρος κληθήναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον τοῦτο, κληθήναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρους κλώνα, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκαστῇ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἴεντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὑποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἶν Ὁρχομενίος. τὸν δὲ εἴπειν "Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτραπεζὸς τε μοι καὶ ὁμόσπουδος ἐγένεσθαι, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλείπεσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδώς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἐχῆς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὀρᾶς τούτους τοὺς δαιμομένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύομεν· τοῦτον πάντων ὡσει ὁλόγον τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὁλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἀμα τοῦ Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετείναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων, αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν "Οὐκὼν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν
Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataea, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynion, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius
καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνον ἐν αὐτὴν ἔοισι Περσέων; "

τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπειν "Εἴνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐδέλει πεἰθεσθαι οὐδὲις, ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συγγραφεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπὸμεθα ἀναγκαῖα ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθρίσθη δὲ οὖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονεότα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν." ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίῳ Θερσάνδρου ἤκουσον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἡ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταῖσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδόνιον δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντοι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἀπαντεῖς στρατεύματι καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθηναίας, ὅσοι περ ἐμάδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ σικιμένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκεῖς οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμάδιζον γὰρ ὅ σφόδρᾳ καὶ οὕτω) οὐκ ἐκώνες ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαίας. ἤμερρος δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπίξεως τῆς ἐς Θήβας ὑστεροῦ ἤλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι, ἤγε δὲ αὐτῶς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνήρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμωτας, ἔτει δὲ ἀπίστατο καὶ οὕτως ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ᾽ ἐωτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἤσσας. ἔτει δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρὼν ἡπος ἡ ἀπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μεν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐκός φήμη ἠς κατακοντεῖ σφέας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι᾽ αὐτῶν Φωκεῶν τῶντό τοῦτο. ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνεις λέγοιν τοιαῦτα. "Ω Φωκεῖς, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὕτως ὁι ἀνθρώποι μέλλουσι προ- ὁπτο βανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσ- σαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω νῦν ἀνδρὰ πάντα τινὰ
and those honourable Persians that are with him?"
"Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills
to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds
none to believe it. What I have said is known to
many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds
of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human
sorrows to have much knowledge and no power."
This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orchomenus;
who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway
told it to others before the fight of Plataeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in
Bœotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the
Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined
with him in his attack upon Athens, except only
the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that
they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of
necessity. But when a few days were past after the
Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand
Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydes, the most
notable of their countrymen. These also being
arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and
bade the Phocians take their station on the plain
by themselves. When they had so done, straight-
way appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry;
and presently it was bruited about through all the
Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise
among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius
would shoot them to death. Then their general
Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he
said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands
stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise,
maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for

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όμεον χρεον ἐστὶ γενεσθαι ἀγαθὸν· κρέσσου γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτήσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρήσαι αἰσχύστῳ μόρῳ. ἄλλα μαθέω τις αὐτῶν ὦτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' "Ελλησὶ ἀνδράσει φόνον ἔρρασαν."

18. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνει· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαυτο, ἐπῆλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέουτες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ Βέλεια ὡς ἀπησοντες, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἐστησαν πάντῃ συστρέφαντες ἐσωτεν καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἐπῆλαυνον ὅπισω. οὐκ ἔχοι δ' ἄτρεκὼς εἰπειν οὔτε εἰ ἤλθον μὲν ἀπολεοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεδεδεντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄροι πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν τραπομένους, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλαυνον ὅπισω· ὡς γὰρ σφι ἐνστείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὔτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθήναι ἦθελησε εἰ τι ἀλήης μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὅπισω ἀπῆλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κῆρυκα ἐλεγε τάδε. "Θαρσέετε ὦ Φωκέες· ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὃς ἔγω ἐπυκενάσημην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· ἐνεργεσίσῃ γὰρ οὐ μικήσετε οὔτ' ὥν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὃς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεῦντο. πυθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖς τὰ ἁμεῖν ἐάνδαιε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρώντες ἐξοντας Σπαρτιάτης, οὐκ ἐδικαίων λείπεσαν τῆς ἔξοδον Δακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργούντων
every one of you to play the man; for it is better to
end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to
suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach
them that they whose slaying they have devised are
men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them.
18. But when the horsemen had encircled the
Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay
them, and drew their bows to shoot, and 'tis
like that some did even shoot. The Phocians
fronted them every way, drawing in together and
closing their ranks to the best of their power;
whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back
and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they
came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians,
but, when they saw the men preparing to defend
themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer
some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was
Mardonius' command),—or if Mardonius desired to
test the Phocians' mettle. But when the horsemen
had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this
message: "Men of Phocis, be of good courage; for
you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and
not as it was reported to me. And now push this
war zealously forward; for you will outdo neither
myself nor the king in the rendering of service." 1
Thus far went the Phocian business.
19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were
come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When
the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better
cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth
to war, they deemed it was not for them to be
behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore
they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of

1 That is, serve us and we will serve you.
τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐσ "Ελευσίνα: ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθάυτα ἱρά, ὡς σφὶ ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρῶσῳ ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀμα αὐτοὶ, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, συμμεγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθρᾶς, ἐμαθὼν τε ἔτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσώπῳ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τούτῳ ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος.

20. Μαρβόνιος δὲ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ "Ελληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπτει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἄπω, τῆς ἱππάρχου Μαστίσιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσης, τῶν Ἐλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἱππον ἐχου Νησαίον χρυσογάλλων καὶ ἄλλους κεκοσμημένους καλῶς. ἐνθάυτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίαν δὲ Μεγαρέες ἐτυχὼν ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἢ τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγνώτου τῇ ἱππῷ. προσβαλλούσης ὡς τῆς ἱπποῦ οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἐπέμπουν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε, "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι ἡμεῖς, ἀνδρείς σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοὶ εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἱππον διέκοσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἐστημεν ἀρχήν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὸ δε ἱππαρίᾳ τε καὶ ἄρετὴ ἀντέχωμεν καὶ πετώμενοι. ὅν τε εἰ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς στάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δὲ σφὶ ταύτα ἀπήγγελε, Παυσανίς δὲ ἀπε-
sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis; and
when they had offered sacrifice there also and the
omens were favourable, they held on their march
further, having now the Athenians with them, who
had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them
at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to
Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners
were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of
that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy
on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20. The Greeks not coming down into the plain,
Mardonius sent against them all his horse, whose
commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call
Macistius), a man much honoured among the
Persians; he rode a Nesaean horse that had a golden
bit and was at all points gaily adorned. Thereupon
the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged
them by squadrons, doing them much hurt thereby
and calling them women.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were
posted in that part of the field which was openest
to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest
approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the
charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals
of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke:
"From the men of Megara to their allies: We cannot
alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have
till now held our ground with patience and valour,
though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were
first appointed; and now be well assured that we
will leave our post, except you send others to take
our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and
22. Οὕτωι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρευτών Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρᾶς
tαχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελήμενοι, μαχομένων
δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιὸν δὲ εγένετο τής
μάχης, προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἱπποῦ κατὰ τέλεα,
ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἱπποὺς βάλλει
tοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἱσταταὶ τε
όρθος καὶ ἀποσείσται τὸν Μασιστίουν πεσόντε
δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τῶν τε
δὴ ἱπποῦ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον
κτείνοσαί, κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκε

23. Ἱδοῦτε δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα
προσελάυσοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν
Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22. These were they who took it upon themselves, and were posted at Erythrai in advance of the whole Greek army; and they took with them the archers also. For a long time they fought; and the end of the battle was as I shall show. The horsemen charged by squadrons; and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was smitten in the side by an arrow, and rearing up in its pain it threw Masistius; who when he fell was straightway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was slain fighting, though at first they could not kill him; for the fashion of his armour was such, that he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales that was within it; and it was all in vain that they smote at the cuirass, till someone saw what they did and stabbed him in the eye, so that he fell dead. But as chance would have it the rest of the horsemen knew nought of this; for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die; and they wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. But as soon as they halted they saw what they lacked, since there was none to order them; and when they perceived what had chanced, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,
HERODOTUS

άλλην στρατινήν ἐπεβῶσαντο. ἐν δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἀπανέβοηθε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὄξεα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἐως μὲν νῦν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τρη-κόσιοι, ἔσσοντο τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἄπε-λειπον, ὡς δὲ σφί το πλήθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἰππόται ὑπέμενον οὐδὲ σφί ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἰππέων. ἀποστῆσαντες δὲν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλευότοι τὸ τε χρεὸν εἰς ποιέειν, ἐδόκεε δὲ σφί ἀναρχίης εὐσής ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδώνιον.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἰπποῦ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πάσα τε ἡ στρατινὴ καὶ Μαρδώνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοῖς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἰπποὺς καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια οἰμωγῆ τὸ χρεό-μενοι ἀπλέτοι. ἀπασάν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατέχε ἥχω ὡς άνδρὸς ἀπολομένοι μετά τὸν Μαρδώνιον λογιμωτάτον παρὰ τε Πέρσης καὶ Βασιλεία.

25. Οἱ μὲν νῦν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τὸ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασιστίουν οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ὡς τὴν ἰπποῦ ἐδεξαντο πρὸσβάλλουσαν καὶ ἰδά-μενοι ὅσαντο, ἐδάροσαν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἀμαξὰν ἐσθέντες τῶν νεκρῶν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον. ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἡν θέης ἁξιος μεγάθεος εἰνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἰνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευς ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεσσαμένοι Μασιστίουν. μετὰ δὲ ἐδοξῇ σφί ἐπικαταβῆναι εἰς Πλαταιαῖς ο γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐως ἐπιτηδεύτερος σφί ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τα τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐνοῦτέρος. ἐς τούτου δὴ τῶν χῶρων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίνῃ τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τοῦτο 184
they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

24. When the cavalry returned to the camp, Mardonius and all the army made very great mourning for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loud and long; for the sound of it was heard over all Boeotia, inasmuch as a man was dead who was next to Mardonius most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,
26. Ἑνδαυτὰ ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ωθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐδικαίων γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἐτερον κέρας, καὶ κατὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέρουσι ἐργα, τούτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ἅμεις αἰεὶ κοτε αξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξεως έκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὡσι ήδη ἔξωθεν κοίνω ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοι καὶ τὸ παλαιόν καὶ τὸ νέον, εἵ ἐκεῖνον τοῦ χρόνου ἐπειτε Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπειρόντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος βάσανος κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον τότε εὑρόμεθα τούτο διά πρήμα τοιοῦδε. ἕπει μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ιώνων τῶν τότε ἑντὼν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοσθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰξόμεθα ἀντίο τοισι κατιόντες, τότε ὁν λόγος Ὄλλοι ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὼν εἰ π τῶν μὲν στρατῶν τὸ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεῖν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννήσίου στρατοπέδου τῶν ἀν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνοσι εἰναι ἀριστῶν, τούτων οἱ μονομαχήσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἐδοξῇ τε τοίοι Πελοποννησίοι ταύτα εἰναι ποιητεὶ καὶ ἑταμον ὀρκίον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιοῦτο, ἦν μὲν Ὄλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίου ἡγεμόνα, κατίεται Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἦν δὲ νικηθῆ, τὰ
they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26. There, in the ordering of their battle, arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians; for each of them claimed that they should hold the second wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First said the Tegeans: "Of all the allies we have ever had the right to hold this post, in all campaigns ancient and late of the united Peloponnesian armies, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death essayed to return into the Peloponnes; that right we then gained, for the achievement which we will relate. When we mustered at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and encamped over against the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus proclaimed his counsel that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose for their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians resolving that this should be so, they swore a compact that if Hyllus should vanquish the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself vanquished, then

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1 That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.

2 Son of Heracles.
Ηρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν έκατὸν τε ἐτέων μὴ ξητῆσαι κατόδου ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε ὅτι ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἑθελοντῆς ἔχειμος ὁ Ἡρόπο πο τοῦ Φηγεος στρατηγὸς τε ἐων καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμονομάχησε τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε ὁ Τλλον. ἐκ τούτων τοῦ ἐργον εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοπόννησιοι της τούς τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὡμῶν μὲν υἱὸν Δακεδαίμονιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδότε τίρειν ὕκοτέρον βούλευθε κέρεος ἁρχεῖν παρίσεμεν τοῦ δὲ ἐκείρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτων τοῦ ὀπηγημένου ἐργον ἄξιομικοτεροι εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταῦτη τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἑπετίται, ἄγωνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω δὲν δίκαιον διώκειν ημέας ἔχειν τὸ ἐκείρου κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷα περ ἡμῶν κατεργασμένα, οὕτ᾽ ὅν καὶ παλαιά ὦντε παλαιά.

27. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Επιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τὴν μάχης εἰνεκα συλλεγὴμαι πρὸς τον Βαρβαρον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ λόγων ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεητὴς προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καὶνά λέγει τὰ ἐκατέρωσι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστὰ, ἀναγκαῖος ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώων ἐστι ἐσύστη ἁρκασίας αἰεὶ πρώτοις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτείναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τούτο

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contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnese till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eëropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our place is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we.

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-
μὲν τούτους, πρῶτον ἔξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἐλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοιατο φεύγοντες δουλοσώμην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Ἕλληνων ὑβρίν κατείλαμεν, σὺν ἐκείνους μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τὸτε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τούτο δὲ Ἀργείοις τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Ὑβάνας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰώνα καὶ ἀτάφοις κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἤμετέρης ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εν ἔχον καὶ ἐς 'Αμαζώνιδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἑσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς τόνοις οὐδαμῶν ἑλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμελήσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἀν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὠντοί νῦν ἀν εἶχεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαύροι νῦν ἀν ἔχειν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μὲν νῦν ἔργων ἀλὶς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μὴν ἀλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδειγμένοι, διὸς περ ἐστὶ πολλὰ τε καὶ εἴ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσί καὶ ἀλλοισὶ Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶν ἔργου αἷοι εἰμὲν τὸτοῦ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτω, οἴτινες μοῦνοι Ἐλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνκήσαμεν ἐθναν εἰς τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἀρ' οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτῃ τῆς τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτων μοῦνον τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷκε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζει πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὡς κἂν ὁ Δακεδαϊμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκεῖ τυπερθέσθαι κἀκεῖ ἡμέρας εἶναι ἐστῶσι καὶ κατ' οὔστιναμ πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πείρησόμεθα.
clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from our feat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that one feat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

1 Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.

2 When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."
εἰναι χρηστοί. ἔξηγέσθη δὲ ὡς πεισμένων." οἳ μὲν ταύτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ὑπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἄξιονικότερον εἰναι ἤξειν τὸ κέρας ἤ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὐτῶ δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ὑπερβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐτάσσοντο ὡδὲ οἱ ἐπιφοιτώτες τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων, τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἰχον Λακεδαιμονίων μνήμης τοῦτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας Σπαρτιητάς ἐφύλασσον ψιλοί τῶν εἰλότων πεντακίσχιλιοι καὶ τριςμύριοι, περὶ ἄυδρα ἐκαστον ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἰλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιηταί τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἰνεκά καὶ ἀρετῆς τούτων δ’ ἦσαν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἢσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὐροντο παρὰ Παυσανίου ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιώτων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκσίους. τοῦτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἢσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἐξακόσιοι, τοῦτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτων δὲ εἰχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τοῦτως Τροιχηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιχηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Δεσπρεθέων διηκόσιοι, τοῦτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετράκοσιοι, τοῦτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως ἐστησαν Ἐρμιονεῖς τριηκσίοι. Ἐρμιονεῖων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἢσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τοῦτων δὲ Χαλκιδέως τετράκοσιοι, τοῦτων δὲ Ἀμπρακητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτως Δευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν, τοῦτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-
men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from
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ληνίς διηκόσιοι. μετά δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτασσον Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιεῖς ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταίοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτασσοντο, κέρας ἤχουτε το εὑόνυμον, ὁκτακισχίλιον ἐστρατηγεύε ὁ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

29. Οὕτως, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστοῦ τεταγμένων Σπαρτητήσι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες ἑώτεροι ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβαρών ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλήθος ὑπὸ τόδε, τῆς μὲν Ἀθηναϊκῆς τάξεως πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἑώτεροι ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστοῦ ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶσι τοῖς παρήκτησι ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἐλληνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἐκαστοῦ ἑῶν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλήθος ἐξ εἰς τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιάς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοὶς τοῖς μαχίμοις ἐνδέκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὄκτακοσίων ἄνδρῶν καταδέουσαί· σὺν δὲ Θεσπιών τοῖς παρευόμενοι ἔξεπιληροῦντο αἰ ἐνδέκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεύοντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὅκτακοσίως καὶ χιλίους· ὁπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὕτως εἶχον. οὕτωι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-
Pale in Cephalenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians, on the left wing, eight thousand men; their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, save the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the foreigner; as regarding the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war; the light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataeae, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespian who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors of the Thespian were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus.

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

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1 That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.
κήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τούς Ἔλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλατατίσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ασσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ἱέρων. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσου ὄπε οὐχ Μαρδονίου, κατὰ μὲν Δακεδαϊμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ γὰρ περίθαν πλῆθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τὰξι πλεύνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπέέχον τοὺς Τεγεάτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὔτω: ὦ τι μὲν ἡν αὐτῶν δυνάτωταν πάν ἀπολέξας ἐστήσας αὐτῶν Δακεδαϊμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενεστέρον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. ταύτα δὲ ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσών δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὕτως δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιότας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυονίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὕτως δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαύρους τε καὶ Τροιζήνους καὶ Δεπρειτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδοὺς· οὕτως δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐρμομενέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρείας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκίδεας. Ἰνδών δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οὐ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αϊγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Αθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιών καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ Μηλεάς τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χίλιους· οὐ γὰρ ὅν ἀπαντεῖ οἱ Φωκέες ἐμῆδεν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων ἄξον περὶ τῶν Παρνησσίων κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὰν καὶ τοὺς μετὰ αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἐλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-
mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataceae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Orchomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paeans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Loerians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,
δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32. Ταύτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὄνομα μασταὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανεστάτα τε ἦν καὶ λόγον πλείστου ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηκίων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιῶνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ τε Ἐρμοτύβιες καὶ οἳ Καλασίρες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἳ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐδών ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν ἀπεβίβασατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας: οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄμα Ἐξέρχη ἀπεκόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγυπτίοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδηλωτέ, τῶν δὲ Ἐλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμὸν οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμηθήσαν ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσατο, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγόμεναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἳ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἔπος χωρὶς ἑτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα πάντες οἳ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἑθνεὰ καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἄμφοτεροι. Ἑλληνικός μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιοχοῦ ἦν ὁ θυόμενος: οὕτως γὰρ δὴ εἴπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις: τῶν ἐόντα Ἡλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενὸς γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ γόνων ἀνέιλε ἡ Πυθία ἀγώνας τοῦς μεγίστους ἀνατρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

1 The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. 11, 164.
2 The lamidae were a priestly family, the members of
he arrayed against the Athenians Macedonians also and the dwellers about Thessaly.

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries, who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan, and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

——which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadæ were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the lamidæ; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Κλωτιάδης.
διάμετρον τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσέχει γνωσιστικόι ὡς ἀναφερθήκεν γυμνικοῦς ἀγώνας, ἀσκεόν ἐν πεντάθλου παρὰ έν πᾶλαισμα ἐδραμε νικάν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱεροπόμπω τῷ Ἰανδρίῳ ἐθνῷ ὀς ἤρων. Ἀκρειλικήνοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἦν γυμνικοῦς ἀλλ' ἐσάμενοι ἀγώνας φέρων τῷ Τισαμενοῦ χελίταυ, μυσθὸ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τεσαμενοῦ ποιεσθαι ἧμα Ἡρακλεἰδέων τοῦσι βασιλεύσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων, ὦ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεμένους Ἐπορτιήτας φίλου αὐτών προσβεθαί, μαθών τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνουσι σφί ὅς ἦν μία πολητήν σφέτερον ποίησονται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταύτα, ἐπὶ ἀλλο μυσθὸ δ' ὦ. Ἐπορτιήται δὲ πρώτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐπικείμενα καὶ μετέσχα τῆς χρησμοσύνης τοῦ παραπός, τέλος δὲ δείμας μεγάλου ἐπικραυματευτοῦ τοῦ Περσικοῦ τοῦτον στρατεύματος καταίμην μετιόντες. ὦ δὲ γραφός τετραμένως σφέας σφί ὦτω ἐτι ἔφη ἀρκεσθαι τούτωσι μοῦνοσι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἐτι τὸν ἀδελφοῦ ἐσωτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Ἐπορτιήτην ἐπὶ τούτοι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τούτοι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

34. Ταύτα δὲ λέγων ὤτως ἐμισόετο Μελάποδα, ὥς εἰκάσαι βασιληῆν τε καὶ πολητῆς αἰτεομένοι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάποδας τῶν ἐν Ἄργει γυναικῶν μανείσεων, ὡς μὲν οἱ Ἄργειοι ἐμεσθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παύσας τὰς σφέτερας γυναικὰς τῆς ναύσου, μεσθὸν προσείνατο τῆς βασιληῆς τὸ ἦμυσι, ὡς ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἄργειῶν ἄλλοι ἀπίόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεύνες τῶν γυναικῶν,

1 The five events of the Pentathlon were running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.
standing that oracle, he betook himself to bodily exercises, thinking so to win in such-like sports; and having trained himself for the Five Contests, \(^1\) he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Lacedaemonians perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spake of the lists not of sport but of war; and they essayed to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars, jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. But when he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, with this knowledge he set his price higher, and made it known to them that for no reward would he do their will save for the gift of full citizenship and all a citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and ceased wholly from their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host overhung them they consented and granted his demand. But when he saw their purpose changed, he said that not even so and with that only would he be content; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship and for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives would fain hire him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness, \(^2\) Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages; which the Argives could not suffer, and so departed; but when the madness spread among their women,

\(^1\) According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.
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οὗτο δή ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελίμπους προετεύνατο ἡμαν δωσοντες οἱ ταῦτα. ὦ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορεύεται ὁρέων αὐτοῦ τετραμμένους, φάς, ἢ μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι μεταδόσῃ τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ ποιήσει τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργείοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν κατανεύσοι καὶ ταῦτα.

35. "Ως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτητήται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνυκώρεον οἱ, συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενοι ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενοῦ ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτητής, συγκαταρρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρωπῶν ἐγένοντο οὕτωι Σπαρτητήσι πολιήται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγώνες οἴδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιήσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέη πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμη, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὕτος δὴ τότε τοῦτο: "Ελλησι οἱ Τισαμενῶς, ἀγόνων τῶν Σπαρτητέων, ἐμαντέυετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν "Ελλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἴρα ἀμυνομένους, διαβάσι τοῦ Ἀρκάδας καὶ μάχης ἀργοῦν οὐ.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προδυμομένῳ μάχης ἀρχεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτῆδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἴρα, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος "Ελλησιοῦς ἰρόισι ἐχράτο, μάντων ἔχων Ἡηρσίστατον ἀνδρὰ Ἡλεῖον.
thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

35. Thus the Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted all his demand. When they had granted him this also, then did Tisamenus of Elis, now become a Spartan, ply his divination for them and aid them to win five very great victories. None on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataeae; next that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaeae; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.¹

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks in the lands of Plataeae. Now the sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they should but defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37. But Mardonius' sacrifices also boded nought to his liking if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself; for he too used the Greek manner of sacrifice; Hegesistratus

¹ The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 487 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaeae.
τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἔόντα λογιμωτάτον, τὸν ὁ δὲ πρῶτον τούτων Σπαρτῆται λαβόντες ἐδήσαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεποιθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἁνάσασα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἔχομενος, ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάτατο μέζον λόγον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἐδέστο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτω, ἐσενεχθέντος καὶ σιδηριῶν ἐκράτησε, αὐτικα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο ἀνθριμῶτατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἤμεις ἑδμεν' σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐωτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορίζας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύων ἐς θλην καὶ αὐλιξόμενος, ὅτως ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων πανβοηθεὶς ἀξιμένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τολμής, ὅροις τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κακείνου οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὖτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐδύσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τούτων τῶν Χρόνων ἴσης δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστῆκε ἐκ τῆς ιθές Λακεδαιμονίοις πολέμοις. οὐ μέντοι ἐς γε τέλος οἱ συνήμεικε τὸ ἔχος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκρυμένον ἡλικό γὰρ μαντεύωμεν ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. Ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγεσιστράτου ὑστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀσωπὸν Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθώμενοι οὐκ ὄλιγον ἔθνετο τε καὶ προεθυμεῖτο κατά τε τὸ ἔχος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ 204
of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and doomed to die by the Spartans for the much harm that he had done them. Being in this evil case, inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and like to be very grievously maltreated ere his death, he did a deed well nigh past believing: being made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon that was brought in some wise into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such hardihood as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he burrowed through the wall out of the way of the guards that kept ward over him, and so escaped to Tegea; all night he journeyed and all day he hid and lay close in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him; and they were greatly amazed, seeing the half of his foot cut off and lying there, but not being able to find the man himself. Thus did he then escape from the Lacedaemonians and take refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon; and after he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity that he bore them brought him no good at the last; for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus, and slew him.

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,
κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δέ οὖκ ἐκαλλιέρει ὡστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖς Πέρσηι οὔτε τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ὑπάσει Ἐλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι ἐπ᾽ ἐωτῶν μάστων Ἰππομαχὸν Δενκάδιον ἀνδρα), ἔπρεποντον δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πτευνών, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἐρπυς ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπηρεοῦσι οἱ Ἐλλήνες οἰεὶ οὔπω πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψατο συχνώς.

39. Ἡ μέραι δὲ σφι ἀντικατημένοις ἴδῃ ἐγεγόνεσαν οἶκτω, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνως συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ. ὡς γὰρ τῷ παράνυσιν εὐέχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐσ ἐκβολᾶς τὰς Κιθαιρωνιδὰς αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τάς Βοιωτῶν μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ Δρυός κεφαλάς. ἐπεφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἵπποται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκουσι. ἐσβάλλουσα γὰρ ἡτὶ τῶν πεδίων λαμβάνουσι ὑποξύγια τε πεντακόσια, συν᾽ ἀγοντα ἅπο Πελοποννήσου ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἴποτο τοῖς ξεύγεσι. ἔλοντες δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἄγρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφεῖδεσ ἐφόνευον, οὐ χειρόμενοι οὔτε ὑποξύγιον οὐδένος οὔτε ἀνθρώπον. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἡλαύνον περιβαλόμενοι παρὰ τε Μαρδονίῳ καὶ ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔργον ἔτερας δύο ἡμέρας διετρήσαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχῃς ἀρξαί μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσσωποῦ ἔπησαν οἱ Βάρβαροι πειρόμενοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, διεβαίνον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἦ μέντοι ἵππος ἦ Μαρδονίῳ αἰεὶ προσέκειτο τε καὶ ἐλύπε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἀτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προβάμως ἐφερον τῶν πόλε-
and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpyss, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39. The armies had now lain over against each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good; and when night had fallen he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron that leads towards Plataeae, which pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oaks' Heads. This despatch of the horsemen was no fruitless one; for they caught five hundred beasts of burden issuing into the low country, bringing provision from the Peloponnese for the army, and men that came with the waggons; having taken which quarry the Persians slew without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they set what remained in their midst and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle; for though the foreigners came to the Asopus to make trial of the Greeks' purpose, neither army crossed it. Howbeit Mardonius' horse was ever besetting and troubling the Greeks; for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and
μον καὶ αἱεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41. Μέχρι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεύν ἐγένετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγέγονε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένουσι ἐν Πλαταιᾷ, οἶ τε ὁ Ἑλληνες πολλῷ πλεύνες ἐγέγονεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περισσεύει τῇ ἐδρῇ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἡλθόν Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρέω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ἀλήγοις Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. Βουλευομένων δὲ αἴδε ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι, ἢ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεοὺ εἰς ἀνα-ζεύζατας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τοῦ στρατὸν ἴέναι ἐς τοῦ τείχος τὸ Θηβαῖον, ἐνθα σιτόν τε σφί ἐσενηνεῖδθαι πολλῶν καὶ χόρτον τοῖς ὑποζυγίοισι, καὶ ἤσυχῆν τις ἵομένως διαπρήσεσθαι ποιεῖν τὰ τάδε· ἐγείρει ἡμᾶς χρυσὸν πολλῶν μὲν ἐπίση-μον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀσημον, πολλῶν δὲ ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων δειδομένως μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μᾶ-λιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇ πόλις, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἔλευθερίαν· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τοῦτον μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδοτος πλεύν τε καὶ τοῦτον, Μαρδόνιον δὲ ἰσχυρότερῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονετῇ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγκινωσκόμενη· δοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσουtra τὴν σφετέρην στρατιῆν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν τα-χίστην μηδὲ περιοράν συλλεγομένους ἐτί πλεύνας τῶν συλλεγομένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησίσ-
were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor
τράτου ἔαν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεύντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτη ἡ γνώμη τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἰχε τῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενοι οὖν τοὺς ταξιάρχος τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἔως τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἰ τι εἰδεῖν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθείρεται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σημαίνετο δὲ τῶν ἑπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὗ οἴκουν τοὺς χρησμοὺς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείᾳ δὲ οὐ ποιεμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε "ἐπεὶ τοῖς ὑμεῖς ἢ ἑστε οὐδέν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ ἔρεω ὡς εὗ ἐπιστάμενος· ἐστι λόγιον ὡς χρεών ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάζαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοῖς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενοι οὕτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τούτο οὕτε ἐπιχειρήσωμεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἰνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὡστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνονσι εἴνοι ἐόντες Πέρσης, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἰνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἐλλήνων." ταύτα σφὶ εἰπάς δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτεύοι σὺ πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἀμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τούτου δὲ ἔγγυο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, τοῦ Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔγγυο, ἐς Ἐλληριωνὶς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελεῶν στρατὸν οἴδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

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1 Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like "superos votis fatigare" in Latin.
seek to wring good from them, but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42. None withstood this argument, so that his opinion prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was generalissimo of the army by the king's commission. He sent therefore for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks that were with him, and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. They that were summoned said nought, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but deeming it perilous to speak; then said Mardonius himself: "Since, therefore, you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you out of the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and there all perish after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. We, therefore, knowing this same oracle, will neither approach that temple nor essay to plunder it; and in so far as destruction hangs on that, none awaits us. Wherefore as many of you as wish the Persians well may rejoice for that, as knowing that we shall overcome the Greeks." Having thus spoken he gave command to have all prepared and set in fair order for the battle that should be joined at the next day's dawn.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the
οὐκ ἐστὶ Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδος ἐστὶ ταύτῃ τῆς μάχης ἦστι πεποιημένα.

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδωντι καὶ Ασσωτῷ λεχητοῖρ Ἐλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαροφωνον ἵνα τῇ πολλοὶ πεσόνται ὑπὲρ λάχεσιν τε μὸρον τε τοξοφόρων Μῆδων, ὅταν αἰσιμὸν ἠμαρ ἔπελθη, ταύτα μὲν καὶ παραπλησία τούτοις ἀλλὰ Μουσαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ο δ' Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ μετάξει Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλισαντος.

44. Μετὰ δ' τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίσχειν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νυξ τε ἐγκεντο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥσ τε πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήφθατο καὶ ἡσυχία ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνά τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὑπνῷ, τηνικαίτα προσελάσας ἑπτὼν πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς 'Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεως, στρατηγὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίξετο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς εἰς λόγους ἔθεσιν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκου ἐπὶ ῥουὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Μῆδων, δι' ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγιμνοὶ ἑποὺ, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζον ἔθελεν φησὶ εἰς λόγους ἔθεσιν.

45. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἦκοισαν, αὐτίκα ἐπίστυ ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην μὴν τὰ ἑπει τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύ-

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1 Referring to a legendary expedition of these northwestern tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.
2 A little to the N.W. of Thebes.
army of the Encheleēs. But there is a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle:

By Thermodon's stream and the grassgrown banks of Asopus
Muster of Greeks for fight, and the ring of a foreigner's war-cry,
Many a Median archer by death untimely o'ertaken
There in the battle shall fall when the day of his doom is upon him;

this prophecy, and others like to it that were made by Musaeus, I know to have been spoken of the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and Glisas.  

44. After this questioning concerning oracles, and Mardonius' exhortation, night came on and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far spent and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men wrapt in deepest slumber, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and sought to have speech of their generals. The greater part of the sentries abiding where they were, the rest ran to their generals, and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he would have speech of the generals and called them by their names.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts; and when they were come Alexander said to them: "Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that
μενος προς μηδένα λέγειν ύμεας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μη με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μη μεγάλως ἐκπόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τωρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθερής δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλομε ὅραν τὴν Ἐλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὅτι Μαρδώνιῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ φάγα σὺ δύναται καταβύμμα γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν φάγα εἰν χαίρειν, ἀμὴν ἡμερὴ δὲ διαφωσκοῦσῃ συμβολὴν ποιεσθαι· καταρρώθηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνε συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἁρὰ ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδώνιος καὶ μὴ ποιεῖται, λιπαρέτε μένοντες ὀλυγέων γὰρ σφὶ ἡμερέων λειτεταί σιτία. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος οἶδε κατὰ νόσον τελευτῆση, μην αὐθηναί τινὰ χρῆ καὶ ἐμεῖς ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὁς Ἕλληνος εἶνεκα ύμοι ἐργον παράβολον ἐργασμοί ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ύμίν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοια τὴν Μαρδώνιου, ἦν μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ύμῖν ἔξαιρος οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένους κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπῆλαυνε ὅπισώ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἠλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίην τὰ περ ἢκουσαν Ἀλέξανδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωθῆςας τοῦς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Εἲπεi τοίνυν ἐσ ὡς ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ύμεας μὲν χρεὼν ἐστὶ τούς Ἀθηναίους στήνατι κατὰ τούς Πέρσας, ύμεας δὲ κατὰ τούς Βασιλεύους τε καὶ τούς κατ' ύμεας τεταγμένους Ἕλληνων, τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα· ύμεῖς
you must reveal to none but Pausanias, lest you even be my undoing; in truth I would not tell it to you were it not by reason of my great care for all Hellas; for I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get from the sacrifices omens to his liking; else had you fought long ere this. But now it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and join battle at the first glimmer of dawn; for he is in dread, as I surmise, lest you should muster to a greater host. Therefore I bid you make ready; and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not join battle, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provision left. But if this war end as you would wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who of my zeal have done so desperate a deed as this for the cause of Hellas, in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent, that so the foreigners may not fall upon you suddenly ere you yet expect them. I that speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own place therein.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you
ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶι μαχεσάμενοι, ἧμεῖς δὲ ἄτειροι τε εἰμέν καὶ ἀδαές τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπιέρηται Μήδων ἧμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐμπειροὶ εἰμέν, ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἱέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τὸ δέ το κέρας, ἤμεας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐφόρημον." πρὸς δὲ ταύτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦμιν πάλαι ἀπ’ ἄργης, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νῷ ἐγένετο εἰπέων ταύτα τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε, ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέωμεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἱδέες γενονται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεῖ δ’ ὅν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἐδομένοις ἦμιν οἱ λόγοι γεγονασὶ καὶ ἐτοιμοὶ εἰμέν ποιεῖν τάτα." 47. "Ὡς δ’ ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέρους ταύτα, ὡσ τε διέφανε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. γνώντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδόνιος. δ’ ἐπείτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπείρατο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους. ὅσ δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὁπίσω ἔγε τοὺς Σπαρτητάς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας. ὅσ δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐφόρημου. 48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτητὰς ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνθρωποι υπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀνδρῶν, ἐκπαγειρέων ὅσ οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντες τε ἡ ἀπόλυτο τοῖς ἐναντίον ἡ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ’ ἀρ’ ἤν οὐδέν ἀληθῆς: πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμείξαι ἴμεας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγονται καὶ στάσιν
have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left.” “We, too,” the Athenians answered, “even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say.”

47. Both being satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians marked that and made it known to Mardonius; who, when he heard, forthwith essayed to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians along to front the Lacedaemonians. But when Pausanias perceived what was this that was being done, he saw that his act was known, and led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius did in like manner on the left of his army.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: “Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your
ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τε τὴν πρόμετας ποιειμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταύτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε χεὶς ὑμέας κηρύκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μοῦνοι Πέρσης μάχεσθαι, ἀρτιοί ἐστεὶ ποιείν ταύτα οὐδὲν τοιὸῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὐρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσοντας μᾶλλον. μὴν ὡν ἐπείδη οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρεστε τούτῳ τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς ἀρχομεν. τί δὴ ὡς πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπειτε δεδοξοσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑμεῖς ἵσοι πρὸς ἰσούς ἁριθμοὺς ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ’ ὁμ μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὑστεροί: εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκεῖαι ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς μοῦνοι ἀποχραί, ἠμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσάμεθα: ὁκότεροι δ’ ἀν ὑμεῖων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῶ ἀπαντὶ στρατοπέδῳ νικῶν.

49. "Ὁ μὲν ταύτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχοῦν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔσχημαν Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὃ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεῖς ψυχρῆς νίκη ἐπήκε τὴν ἱππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πάσαν τὴν στρατιὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοπτεῖς τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὡστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίνην, ἃ π’ ὑδρεύετο πάν τὸ στράτευμα το Ἑλληνικὸν, συνετάραζαν καὶ συνεχόσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὡς κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνους τεταγμένους μοῦνοι, τοίοι δὲ ἀλλοίοι "Ἑλλησί ἢ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω εὐκίνητο, ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὃ
station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men’s work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,
ΔΕ 'ΑΣΩΠΟΣ ΑΓΓΛΟ'; ΕΡΥΚΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΣΩΠΟΥ ΟΥΤΩ ΔΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΡΗΝΗΝ ΕΦΟΙΤΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΣΦΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΞΗΝ ΨΩΡ ΦΟΡΕΟΣΒΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΞΕΜΑΤΩΝ.

50. ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΓΝΙΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΟΙ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ, ΑΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΎΔΑΤΟΣ ΣΤΕΡΗΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΑΡΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΗΣ, ΣΥΝΕΛΕΓΗΣΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ, ΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΝΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΔΕΞΙΟΝ ΚΕΡΑΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΑΛΛΩΝ ΣΦΕΑΣ ΕΛΥΠΕΣΙΟΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΣΙΤΙΑ ΕΙΧΟΝ ΕΤΙ, ΟΙ ΤΕ ΣΦΕΩΝ ΟΠΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟΠΕΜΒΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΝ ΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΠΕΚΕΚΛΗΜΑΤΟ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΙΠΠΟΥ, ΟΥ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΠΙΚΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ.

51. ΒΟΥΛΕΥΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΙΣ ΕΘΩΣΙ, ΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΒΑΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΗΝ ΟΙ ΠΕΡΟΙ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΜΕΝΟΙ, ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΎΨΟΝ ΙΔΕΙ. ΔΕ ΕΣΤΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ 'ΑΣΩΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΗΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΑΡΓΑΦΗΣ, ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΕΥΟΝΤΟ ΤΟΤΕ, ΔΕΚΑ ΣΤΑΘΙΟΥΣ ΑΠΕΧΟΥΣΑ, ΠΡΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΣ. ΎΨΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΤΩ ΑΝ ΕΙΔΕ ΕΝ ΥΠΕΙΡΩ ΣΧΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ Ο ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ ΑΝΩΘΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΘΑΙΡΩΝΟΣ ΡΕΕΙ ΚΑΤΩ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟΝ, ΔΙΕΧΩΝ ΑΠΙ ΆΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΤΑ ΡΕΕΘΡΑ ΌΣΟΝ ΠΕΡ ΤΡΙΑ ΣΤΑΘΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΤΑ ΣΥΜΜΙΣΙΓΕΙ ΕΣ ΤΩΝΤΟ, ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΔΕ ΟΙ 'ΘΕΡΟΥ ΘΥΜΑΤΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΣΩΠΟΥ ΟΙ ΕΠΙΧΩΡΙΟΙ, ΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΗ ΤΟΝ ΧΩΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΗΝΗΝ, ΊΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΎΔΑΤΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΧΡΑΙΩΝ ΑΦΘΟΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΙΠΠΕΙΣ ΣΦΕΑΣ ΜΗ

1 Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oeroé. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps
whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever
go to the spring, because they were barred from the
Asopus, not being able to draw water from that
river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

50. In this turn of affairs, seeing that their army
was cut off from water and disordered by the horse-
men, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves
to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concern-
ing this and other matters; for there were other
causes that troubled them more than what I have
told; they had no food left, and their followers
whom they had sent into the Peloponnesse to bring
provision thence had been cut off by the horsemen,
and could not make their way to the army.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the
Persians delayed through that day to give battle,
they would go to the Island.¹ This is ten furlongs
distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring,
whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town
of Plataceae. It is like to an island on dry land, by
reason that the river in its course down from Cithaeron
into the plain is parted into two channels, and there
is about three furlongs' space between till presently
the two channels unite again; and the name of that
river is Ócroê, who (say the people of the country)
was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then
they planned to remove, that they might have water
in plenty for their use, and not be harmed by the

¹ For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of
Plataceae, see the Introduction to this volume.
συνάπτο ὁσπερ καταθεί ἐντεινον μετακινεσθαι τε ἐδάκες τοῖς ἐπεαί τῆς νυκτὸς ἡ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἀν μὴ ἱδοῖο τοὶ Πέρσαι ἐβορμομένοι καὶ σφεας ἐπάμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τόν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν ἢ Ἀσσωπίς Ὀμήρον περισχίζεται ἑρουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτῆς ταύτην ἐδάκες τοὺς ἡμίσιας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ἀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σύτια οἰκομένους ἢσαν ὅρα ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρώνι ἀπολελαμβένοι.

52. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἱππου εἰρήν πονον ἀτρυτον ὡς δὲ ἢ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐλήγε καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς επέπαινεστο, νυκτὸς δὲ γινομένης καὶ εὔος τῆς ὀρῆς ἐς τῆς συνέκειτο σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νῷ ἐχοντες, οὗ δὲ ὡς εἰκινήθησαν ἐφευγοῖν ἁσμενοὶ τὴν ἱππου πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγουντες δὲ ἀπικνεύονται ἐπὶ τὸ "Ἡραῖον" τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταίας, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίς ἀπέχουν ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

53. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ "Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίς δὲ ὄρων σφεας ἀπαλλαγομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρῆγγελλε καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἴεναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προίοντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἴεναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίς, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεως λοχη-
horsemen, as now when they were face to face; and they resolved to make their removal in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and disorder their array. Further, they resolved that when they were come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Óeroë as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to fetch away their followers who were gone to get the provision; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

52. Having formed this design, all that day they suffered unending hardship from the cavalry that continually beset them; but when the day ended and the horsemen ceased from troubling, then at that hour of the night whereat it was agreed that they should depart the most of them arose and took their departure, not with intent to go to the place whereon they had agreed; instead of that, once they were afoot they got quit to their great content of the horsemen, and escaped to the town of Plataeae, and came in their flight to the temple of Here which is without that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring; thither they came, and piled their arms before the temple.

53. So they encamped about the temple of Here. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader
γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους
φεῦξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἕκων εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρ-
την, ἐθώμαξε τε ὄρεων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἀτε οὐ παρα-
γενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε
καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεύντο τὸ μῆ πει-
θεσθαι ἐκείνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κεῖνον
ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπέω τὸν λόχον τὸν Πι-
tανήτην, μὴ ἣν ἀπολῖπωσι ποιεύντες τὰ συνεδή-
καντο τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἔλληνις, ἀπόληται ὑπολει-
φθείς αὐτὸς τὲ Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.
ταῦτα λογίζομενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον
tὸ Λακωνικὸν, καὶ ἐπειρώντο πείθοντες μιν ὡς οὐ
χρεών εἶ ἄρτα ποιεῖν.

54. Καὶ οὐ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦ-
νον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεστέων λελειμμένον,
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδει εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας
αὐτῶς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεύοντων καὶ ἄλλα
λεγόντων ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμ-
πον σφέων ἑπτὰ ὑψόμενον τε ἐπὶ πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ-
χειρέοις οἱ Σπαρτεῖται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ
dιανοεῦντα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυ-
σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶποιεῖν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ο ἰῆρς' ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-
νίους, ὅρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ
ﺀς νείκεα ἀπνιμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς
γὰρ δὴ παρηγορεύοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε
Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μὲνον-
tας μοῦνος Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἐπειθοῦν, εἰς ὃ

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of the Pitanate battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they disliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitanate battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aight.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well knowing that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army removed from its place, they sent a horseman of their own who should see if the Spartans were essaying to march or if they were wholly without any purpose of departure, and should ask Pausanias withal what the Athenians must do.

55. When the messenger was come to the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be imperilled by abiding there alone, they could in no

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1 Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a περάδρις λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana v. iii. 55.
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ἐς νεῖκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατο σφί ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφωτέρησε τής χερσώ καὶ τιθέει πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίων ταύτης τῆς ψήφω ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφί μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ἔξιν, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὃ δὲ μαίνομεν καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκείνου, πρὸς τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίς ἐκέλευε τὰ παρέόντα σφί πρήγματα, ἐχρήζε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσας τῇ πρὸς ἑωτούς καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τὰ περὶ ἄν καὶ σφέεις.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωτοὺς ἡ ἡμικατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενοι ὁ Παυσανίς, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημάνοις ἀπήγα διὰ τῶν κολωνίων τοὺς λοιπῶς πάντας· ἔποντο δὲ καὶ Θεγέηται. 'Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤσαν τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἡ Δακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὁχθῶν ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείς τοῦ Κιθαρώνοις φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἱππίαν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ κἀτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πέδιον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἄρχην γε σύνδαι δοκεῶν Παυσανίθεν τοιμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιεχεὶν αὐτοῦ μένουσας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίθεν, καταδόξας αὐτοῦς ἵδερ τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν
wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

56. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias having all this time held his army halted, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following; for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; and indeed such was the event. The Athenians set themselves in array and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who clung close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron, to escape from the Persian horse, but the Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its
λόγον τὰ ὄπλα ἴῃ βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στέφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λόγον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόσσεντα ἰδρυμένου Ἀργοπόιον τε χώρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινής ἴρον ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τούδε ἐνεκα, ἢν ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ ἑτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος τε καὶ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν μένωσι, βοηθεῖον ὅπισώ παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἱππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἶον καὶ ἑώθεσαν ποιέων αἰεί, ἴδοντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἑτετάχατο οἱ Ἐλληνες τῇς προτέρησι ἡμέρῃς, ἡλαυνον τοὺς ἱππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἄμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατο σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἔπυθετο τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἀποικομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἴδε τε τὸν χώρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ἀρισταύον Θάρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασινήου ἔλεγε ὃ παιδεῖς Ἀλεύσω, ἐτί τι λέξεστε τάδε ὀρώντες ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἔλεγετε Δακεδαμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτοι; τοὺς πρότερον τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξις εἴδετε, νῦν τιν υπὸ τὴν παροικομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρῶμεν διαδράτας διεδέξαν τε, ἐπεί ἄφεας ἐδει πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερέως ἀριστοὺς ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθήναι, δὴν οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν σύναμοισι εὐος τὴν Ἐλλης ἐναπεδεικνυότα. καὶ ὅμων μὲν εὐος Περσεὼν ἀπείροις πολλῇ ἐκ γε ἐμέν ἐγίνετο συγγνωμή, ἐπαινεοῦντων τούτως τούτως τι καὶ συνηδεατί Αρταβάζου δὲ θώμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδήσαι 228
arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Molois and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeus, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleeus! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be
Δακεδαμίωνιος καταρρωθήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεόν εἰς ἀναζεύζαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔναι ἐς τὸ Ὀμβαλὼν ἀστὺ πολυρρησσόμενον· τὴν ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐτέρωθε ἐσται λόγους. νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι σύκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστι, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰςὶ ἐς ὁ καταλαμβάνετες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τὸν δὲ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας παντὸς δίκας.

59. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἥγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τῶν Ἀσσωτῶν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρομίων, ἐπεἰχὲ τε ἐπὶ Δακεδαμίωνιος τε καὶ Τεγείτας μούνους. Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ τραπεμένοις ἐς τὸ πεδίων ὑπὸ τῶν ὦν κατάρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρῶντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρίκων τελέων ἀρχούσες αὐτίκα πάντες ἦρεαν τὰ σημάθα, καὶ ἐδίωκαν ὡς ποδῶν ἐκαστοὶ εἰχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοὴ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήμεναν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας· Παυσανίης δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἢ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑπεῖα λέγει τάδε. "Ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ἀγώνοι μεγίστου προκεκλημένου ἐλευθέρων εἶναι ἡ δεδουλωμένη τῆς Ἐλλάδα, προδοδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Δακεδαμίωνιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νῦκτα διαδράντων. νῦν δὲ δεδοκται τὸ ἐνδεύτε τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἀριστά περιστελλέαν Ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ἡμέας ὀρμήσῃ ἄρχῃ ἢ ἵππος, κρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέαν τῆς Ἐλλάδα ὅπως προδιδόντας Τεγείτας βοηθέειν ἡμῖν νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἀπάσα κεχώ.
so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

59. With that, he led the Persians at speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone that was his goal; for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the foreign battalions straightway raised their standards and pursued likewise, each at the top of his speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole
ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστε ύμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμπελόντες ἱέναι. εἰ δ' ἀρα ἄυτος ύμεῖς καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατον τι βοηθεῖν, ύμεῖς δ' ἦμιν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάρων θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ύμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόμδε πόλεμον ἐνοῦσι πολλών προθυμοτάτουσι, ὡστε καὶ ταύτα ἔσακονειν."  

61. Ταύτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὀρμέατο βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφὶ ἦδη στείχοσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ αὐτίταχθείτες 'Ελλη- νοιν τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὡστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύττε. οὕτω δὴ μονοιθὲντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεηταί, ἐνοῦν τὴν ψυλλίσθαι ἀριθμὸν οὗ μὲν πεντακισμίριοι Τεγεηταί δὲ προσχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχύσθοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἔσφα- γιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίω καὶ τῇ στρατῇ τῇ παρεύσῃ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφὶ ἑγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιτιθέντω δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοί καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐτρωματίζοντο· φραζάντες γὰρ τὰ γέραρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπέσαν τῶν τοξυμάτων πολλὰ ἀφελές, οὕτω ὡστε πιεζο- μένων τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν οὐ γενο- μένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίνη πρὸς τὸ Ἡραίον τὸ Πλαταιῶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμὸς σφέας ψευσθήτη τῆς ἐλπίδος.  

62. Ταύτα δ' ἐτι τούτου ἐπικαλεσμένου προεξ- αναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεηταί ἐχώρεον ἐν τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτίκα
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brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could not send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Here at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of
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μετὰ τὴν εὐχήν τὴν Παυσανίεως ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρισταί· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτέ ἐγένετο, ἔχωρευν καὶ οὕτωι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίλα ἡ τὸξα μετέπειτε. ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκηε, ἦδη ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλοὺ, ἐς ὁ ἀπίκουν τοὺς ὠδισμὸν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐμματὶ μὲν νῦν καὶ ὅροι ὄν ἢσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἔντεκα καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὄρμοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις σοφῶν, προεξαίσιστες δὲ κατ' ἐνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλείνεις τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφομενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ες τοὺς Σπαρτητὰς καὶ διε-φθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτῶς ἐως Μαρδόνιος, ἄπ' ἔππον τε μαχόμενος λευκὸν ἔχων τε περὶ ἐως τῶν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταῦτη δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐψέπαρα. ὃςον μὲν νῦν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περίην, οἶ δὲ ἀντείχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνου τεταγμένου ἔως ισχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἷς ἐτράπαντο καὶ εἴσαι τοὺς Δακεδαιμο-

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἦ τε δίκη τοῦ Δεσυδίδου κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖς Σπαρτητῆσι ἐκ Μαρδόνιου ἐπετελέσθη, καὶ οἶκην ἀναίρεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἠμὲν Παυσανίς ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ 'Αναξάνδρεως· τῶν δὲ κατοπερθὲ οἱ προγό-
the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. And first they fought for the fence of shields; and when that was down, thereafter the battle waxed fierce and long about the temple of Demeter itself, till they grappled and thrust; for the foreigners laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither the less valorous nor the weaker; but they had no armour, and moreover they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft; they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowsing many Lacedaemonians; but when Mardonius was slain and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, fallen likewise, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what chiefly wrought them harm was that they wore no armour over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed.

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the
νων τα ουνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Δεσωνίδην· ὁυτοι γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἑόντες. ἀποθνῄσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Αειμυῆστον ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, δς χρόνως ύστερον μετὰ τα Μηδικα ἕχουν ἀνδρας τριθκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλῆρῳ πολέμου ἑόντος Μεσσηνίοις πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριθκοσίοι.

65. Ἔν δὲ Πλαταῖησί οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαίμονιων, ἔφευρον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἔλυμνον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι. θώμα δὲ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δημητρος τὸ ἀλλος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανὼν, περὶ τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβηλῳ ἐπεσον. δοκεώ δὲ, εἰ τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν πρηγμάτων δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεσι οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσας τῶν ἱρόν το ἐν Ἔλευσίνιν ἀνάκτορο. 66. Αὕτη μὲν νῦν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεως αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἰρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειτουμένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τοτε πολλα ἀπαγορευών οὐδὲν ἤμεν, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐὼν ἐποίησε τε αὐτός τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοις. τῶν ἐστρατήγησε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἰχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ολίγην ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυρίαδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλὲ ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγειλας κατὰ τὸντὸ ἴεραις πάντας τῇ ἐν αὐτὸς ἐξηγεῖται, ὅκως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅρωσι σπουδῆς ἕχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγειλας ὡς 236
rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyelerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataea, the Persians being routed by the Lacedaemonians fled in disorder to their own camp and within the wooden walls that they had made in the lands of Thebes. And herein is a marvellous thing, that though the battle was hard by the grove of Demeter there was no sign that any Persian had been slain in the precinct, or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in un consecrated ground; and I judge—if it be not a sin to judge of the ways of heaven—that the goddess herself denied them entry, for that they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, biding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence
67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτη έτραποντο τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ελληνῶν τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως εθελοκα-κεόντων Βοιωτοῖ, Αθηναῖοι εἰμαχήσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συγνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἰχόν προθυμίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὡστε τριήκοσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Αθηναίων. ὥς δὲ έτραποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἐφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς δύμιλος, οὕτε διαμαχησά-μενος οὖν οὐδεὶ οὗτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφευγον.

68. Δηλοὶ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρθητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἡ καὶ συμμέβαιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὄρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἐφευγόν πλὴν τῆς ἱπποῦ τῆς τῆς ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας' αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφελεῖ τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀγχίστα ἐνδέχατο ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ελληνῶν.

69. Οἴ μὲν δὴ νικώντες ἐγένοτο τοὺς Ἑρέφεως διώκοντες τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς ἄλλοις Ελλησὶ τοῖς τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἡραίον καὶ ἀπο-γενομένους τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ
of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phociis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks that were on the king's side fought of set purpose ill; but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans that took the Persian part showed no small zeal in the battle, and had no will to fight slackly, insomuch that three hundred of their first and best were there slain by the Athenians. But at last the Boeotians too yielded; and they fled to Thebes, not by the way that the Persians had fled and all the multitude of the allies, a multitude that had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms.

68. This flight of theirs ere they had even closed, because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that all the fortune of the foreigners hung. Thus they all fled, save only the cavalry, Boeotian and other; which did in so far advantage the fleeing men as it kept ever between them and their enemies, and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a
νικῶν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίων· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, ὡδένα κόσμον ταχθέως, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τῆς φέρουσαν ἀνω ἱθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δημήτρου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φελειάδιος διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς λειτατηρίας τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγένοντο οἱ Μεγαρέας καὶ Φελειάδιος, ἀπεδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵπποι ἐπειγομένους ωδένα κόσμον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ αυτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἵππων, τῶν ἵππων ἑρωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἐξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατηράζαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα.

70. Οὕτως μὲν ὁ ὑδένα λόγῳ ἀπολογοῦτο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ βύζιον τείχος, ἐφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάτες πρὶν ἡ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπίκεσθαι, ἀναβάτες δὲ ἐφράζαντο ὡς ἠδυνάτω ἄριστα τὸ τείχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατειστήκεσαν σφὶ τείχομαχία ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἐνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ 'Ἀθηναίοι, οἱ δὲ ἧμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἰχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὅστε σὺκ εἰπεσταμένων τείχομαχεῖν· ὡς δὲ σφὶ 'Ἀθηναίοι προσήλθουσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἱσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τείχομαχία καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῆ τε καὶ λιπαρῆ ἐπέβησαν 'Ἀθηναίοι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὲ ἐσεχέντοι οἱ 'Ελληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσήλθον Τεγεηταὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῆς Μαρδούλου οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ διαρτάσαντες, τὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐσύσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἄξιην. τὴν μὲν νυν
battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levelest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated
φέρει ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νῆον τῆς Ἀλέξης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεστία, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῶν ὃσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖς Ἑλλησί. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὔδὲν ἔτι στῆφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὔδὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκής ἐμέμνητο, ἀλκταῦτος τοῦ ἐν ὄλγοι χώρῳ περιβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλη-μέναι ἀνθρώπων παρῆν τε τοῖς Ἑλλησί φοινεύειν οὔτω ὡστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἑρταμάζου πέφυγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μὴ δὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περι- γενέσθαι. Δακεδαιμόνιον δὲ τῶν ἐκ Ἀπάτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ σωμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνεῖκον, Τεγεστέων δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἑρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζῶν μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ὕππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνήρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδονίος. Ἑλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεστέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ἵππες ἄλλοι ἐκεῖ ἀποστῆ- μενασθαι (ἀπαντες γὰρ οὕτω τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐωντοὺς ἑνίκους), ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρότερον προσ- ηνέχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἀριστος ἐγένετο μακρὸ Αριστόδημος κατὰ γρώμας τὰς ἱμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θηρμοπυλῶν μοῦνος τῶν τριή- κοπῶν σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκόλων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτεύτης. καὶ τοι γενο- μένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἀριστος, ἐγνώσαν

1 These figures must refer to the ἐπίσταται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περιοχοῦς and the rest of the light-
this manger of Mardonius in the temple of Athene Alea; all else that they took they brought into the common stock, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the foreigners, they drew no more to a head once the wall was down, but they were crazed with panic fear, as men hunted down in a narrow space where many myriads were herded together; and such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand, that remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarce three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all; of the Tegeans, seventeen; and of the Athenians, fifty-two.¹

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae;² and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself

armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

¹ Cp. vii. 231.

²
οι παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτητέων 'Αριστόδημον μὲν
βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν έκ τῆς παρεούσης
οί αἰτήσεις, λυσσάοντα τε καὶ ἐκλέποντα τὴν τάξιν
ἐργα ἀποδέξασθαι μηγάλα, Ποσείδώνιον δὲ οὐ
βουλόμενον ἀποθνῄσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθῶν-
τοσοῦτο τοῦτον εἶναι ἄμεινο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
καὶ φθόνοι ἂν εἴποιεν οὔτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα
πάντες, πλὴν 'Αριστόδημον, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν
tαύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· 'Αριστόδημος δὲ
βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην
οὐκ ἔτιμηθη.

72. Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταίᾳ ὀνομαστότατοι
ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης
ἀπέβανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνήρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
tῶν τότε 'Ελλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ελλήνων δὲ,
ἐπείδη ἐσφαγμάζετο Παυσανίδης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ
tαξί ἐπιμαχαίρως τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ
οὐ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δὲ ἐξενεχυμένοις ἐνυπανάτει
tε καὶ ἐλεγε πρὸς 'Αρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταίεα
οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἀποθνῄσκει,
ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἕρχετο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστι
οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένου ἑργον ἑωτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμεν-
μένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. 'Αθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκίμησαι Σωφάνης
ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δὴμου Δέκελεῆδεν, Δέκελέων δὲ
tῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἑργῶν χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν
πάντα χρόνον, ως αὐτοὶ 'Αθηναίοι λέγουσι. ὡς
γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ 'Ελένης κομιδὴν Ἀνδαρίδαι.
most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

72. These won the most renown of all that fought at Plataeae. Callicrates is not among them; for he died away from the battle, he that, when he came to the army, was the goodliest Lacedaemonian, aye, or Greek, in the Hellas of that day. He, when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow where he sat in his place; and while his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was no grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, for all his eager desire so to do.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen back and

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1 According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.
ἐσέβαλον ἐς γην τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς ὁμούς, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ή Ἐλένη, τότε λέγοντο τοὺς Δεκελέας, οὗ δὲ αὐτῶν Δέκελον ἀχθομενον τε τῇ Θησέως ὑβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάση τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἠγηγῆσαμενον σφι τὸ πάν πρῆγμα κατηγῆσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, γὰς δὴ Τιτάκος ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδίδοι· Τυνδαρίδης, τοῦτο δὲ Δεκελέυσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελείες ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἐπὶ ἑούσα, οὔτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐτεσι τοῦτον γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις, σιωμένοιν τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Δακεδαίμονίων, Δεκελέθης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Ἐσφάνης καὶ ἀμιστεύσας τοῦ Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ξωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκας ἐφόρηε χαλκῇ ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρόν τὴν ὅκος πελάσαε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῦτο πολεμίοις βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσαι μὴ δυναίτο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναυτῶν δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὔτω διώκειν. οὔτος μὲν οὔτω λέγεται, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρῶτον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεοῦσίς καὶ οὐδαμά ἀτρεμιζοῦσις ἐφόρηε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρένην.
broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country’s oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.¹

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.

¹ But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

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75. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρον Σωφάνεια λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἰγίναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἀνδρα πεντάεθεον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεια χρόνῳ ὑστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἀνδρα γενόμενον ἄγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἀμα Λεώγρετο τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἰδώνῳν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ἡμὲς δὲ ταῦτα Ἐλλησὶ ἐν Πλαταῖσι κατέστρωντο οἵ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτοῦλος ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἐμαθεὶ ἀπολολότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικόντας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ἐσώσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσων, κοσμηματέον χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτή καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθήτε τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβάσα εἰς τῆς ἄρμαμάζης ἑχοῦσε ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐτὶ ἐν τῇ φονῆσι ἑοντας, ὅρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρῶτον τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξεισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὦςτε πολλάκις ἀκούσα, ἔγρω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονιμάτων ἐλεγε τάδε. ᾿Ο βασιλεὺς ᾿Επάρτης, ῥῦσαι με τὴν ἱκέτην αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὄνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὕτε δαιμόνων οὕτε θεῶν ὄτιν ἑχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένους μὲν Κῷ, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἰητορόδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρος βιὴ δὲ μὲ λαβῶν ἐν Κῷ εἰχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖς διδ. ᾿Ο γῦναι, θάρσει καὶ ὡς ἱκέτης καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθεὰ λέγουσα καὶ εἰς
BOOK IX. 75-76

75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glauccon, he was slain at Datus 1 by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had laid low the foreigners at Plataeae, there came to them a woman, deserting from the enemy, who was the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, son of Teaspis. She, learning that the Persians were destroyed and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest raiment that she had, and so lighting from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet at the slaughtering; and seeing Pausanias ordering all that business, whose name and country she knew from her often hearing of it, she knew that it was he, and thus besought him, clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta! from captive slavery; for you have done me good service till this hour, by making an end of yonder men, that regard not aught that is divine in heaven or earth. Coan am I by birth, daughter to Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian laid violent hands on me and held me prisoner." "Be of good cheer, lady," Pausanias answered, "for that you are my suppliant, and for your tale withal, if

1 In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.
θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κώφου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐών τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τῶν χώρων οἰκημένων." ταύτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἑφόρων τούτων παρευσὶ, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπεπεμψε ἐς Ἀλημαν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἥθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξειν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ἀπίκοιτο Μαντινέας ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμένοις μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἤκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορήν ἐποιεύτο μεγάλην, ἀξιοῖ τε ἐφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἑδόκωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ σύκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οὗ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ τούτων ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατεύσεως ἐδώξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἡλείων, καὶ ὁσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῦτο Μαντινέδοις συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδώξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείων τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἔν δὲ Πλαταιήσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀλημένων ἢν Λάμπτων Πυθέω, Λαγηνητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα δὲ ἀνασωμάτων ἔχουν λόγον ἱπτεῖ πρὸς Παυσανίκην, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ σπουδὴ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὤ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασται τοι τῆς ὑπερφυεῖς μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεοὶ παρέδωκε μυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθεῖ διέστω τῷ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἠμείς ἰδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτως ποιήσω, ὅκως λόγος τε σὲ ἐχεῖ ἐπὶ μέξων καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Δεωνίδεω
you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he
is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those
lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in
charge to those of the ephors who were present, and
thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself
desired to go.

77. Immediately after the coming of this woman,
came the men of Mantinea, when all was over; who,
learning that they were come too late for the battle,
were greatly distressed, and said that they deserved
to punish themselves therefor. Hearing that the
Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have
pursued after them as far as Thessaly; but the Lace-
daemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing
men; and returning to their own land the Man-
tineans banished the leaders of their army from the
country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis,
who also went away sorrowful in like manner as the
Mantineans, and after their departure banished
their leaders likewise. Such were the doings of the
Mantineans and Eleans.

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the
Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading
man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most un-
righteous counsel, and having made haste to come
said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a
deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's
favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won
greater renown than any Greek known to men. But
now you must finish what remains to do, that your
fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner
may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his
mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas
γάρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπόλησι Μαρδώνιος τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμώντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν τῷ σῷ τῇ ὁμοίῃ ἀποδίδοντες ἔπαινον ἐξεις πρώτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτῖς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Μαρδώνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίζας τετιμωρήσεις ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην."  

79. "Ο μὲν δοκεόν χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δὲ ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Ὠ ξεῖνε Αιγυπτία, τὸ μὲν εἰνοεῖν τε καὶ προοράν ἀγαμαί σεν, γνώριμης μεντοι ἡμαρτηκας χρησης ἔξειρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατεβαλες παρανέφον νεκρὸ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἢν ταῦτα ποιέων, φᾶς ἀμεινὸν μὲ ἀκούσεθαι τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροις ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἑλληνι καὶ ἐκείνοις δὲ ἐπιφθονέωμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅν τοῦτο εἶνεκα μήτε Αἰγυπτία ἀδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρά' δὲ μοι Σπαρτιητης ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δὲ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρήσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρήσας, ψυχής τε τῆς τῶν ἀναριθμητοὶς τετίμηται αὐτός ὑμαῖν τε καὶ οἱ άλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπόλης τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μὲντοι ἐτε ἔχουν λόγον τοιῶν δὲ μήτε προσέλθη προσέλθης ἐμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε θείοι ἐων ἀπαθής."  

80. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίς δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμην μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς ληίης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οὐ δὲ ἀνὰ τοῦ στρατόπεδου σκιδνάμενοι εὐρίσκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασάμενας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργυρῷ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ
was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

79. So said Lampon, thinking to please. But Pausanias answered him thus: "Sir Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought; but you have missed the mark of right judgment; for first you exalt me on high and my fatherland and my deeds withal, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you counsel me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I so do; but that were an act more proper for foreigners than for Greeks, and one that we deem matter of blame even in foreigners. Nay, for myself, I would fain in this business find no favour either with the people of Aegina or whoso else is pleased by such acts; it is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deed and righteous speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I hold that he has had full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning, that you come not again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel; and be thankful now that you go unpunished."

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls
HERODOTUS

ἐπαργύρωσ, κρητηράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπὶ ἀμαξέων έυρισκον, ἐν τούτι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνέουτες χρύσεωι τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθήτος ὑπὸ ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. ἔνθατα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτουτε ἐπώλευον πρὸς τοὺς Λιγυνήτας οἱ εἰλώτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὡσα αὐτῶν αὐτῶν σιδαρινὲς αὐτῷ θαλασσαὶ· ὡστε Λιγυνήτησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθυτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ ἐόντα χαλκὸν δήθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὑπὲροντο.

81. Συμφορησάντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ, ἄπ’ ἣς ὁ τρίπτους ὁ χρυσός ἀνετῆθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήμου δυσμός τὸν χαλκέουν ἐπεστῶς ἅγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἄπ’ ἣς δεκάπηκς χαλκέουν Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἄπ’ ἣς ἐπτάπηκς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταύτα ἑξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑκατον τῶν ἄξιων ἁγίων, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσών καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὡσα μὲν νυν ἐξαιρετὰ τούσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιᾷ ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκεῖ δὲ ἑγὼν καὶ τούτους δοβῆμαι. Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναικεῖς ἐπτοῦ τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τάλλα χρήματα.

1 The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists.
and cups and other drinking-vessels; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent; nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says; but I think that they also received gifts; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note ad loc.
82. Δέχεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ἐρίξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίων τὴν κατα-
σκευὴν καταλύσαι τὴν ἐωτοῦ. Παυσανίων ὁν ὀρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίων κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ 
ἀργυρῷ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατε-
σκευασμένην, κελεύσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ 
toὺς ὄφοποιους κατὰ ταύτα καθὼς Μαρδονίω 
δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὐτοῖ 
ἐποίειν ταύτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίων ἱδόντα 
κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὐ ἐστρωμένας 
καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρα-
sκευήν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα 
τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθά κελεύσαι εἵπε γέλωτι τοὺς ἐωτοῦ 
διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν 
δείπνου. ὡς 
δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποικιλίας ὤν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, 
tὸν Παυσανίων γελάσαντα μεταπεμψάθαι τῶν 
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων 
ἐίπειν τὸν Παυσανίων, δεικνύμα τοῖς ἐκατέρθ 
tοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, "Ἀνδρέας Ἑλληνες, 
τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος 
ὑμῖν τοῦ Μηδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην 
δέξαι, δὲ τούτῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔχων ἔλθε ἐσ ἡμέας 
οὕτω δικυρὴν ἐχοντας ἀπαίρησόμενος," ταῦτα 
μὲν Παυσανίων λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. 'Τστέρωμείτοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταύτα καὶ τῶν 
Πλαταιέων εὑρόν συχνὸθήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ 
ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ 
καὶ τὸδε ὁστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν 
περι-

ψελεύνον τάς σάρκας; συνεφόρουν γάρ τά 
οστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἐνα χώρον. εὐρήθη κεφαλή 
οὐκ ἠχουσα ραφῆν οὐδεμίαν ἄλλη ἐς ἐνός εὐθείας
BOOK IX. 82-83

82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh: there was found a skull whereof the bone was all
όστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἀνω¹ τῆς γνάθου ἐκοῦσα ὁδόντας μοιροφύεις ἐξ ἔνω όστέου πάντας τοὺς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

84. Ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδόνιον δευτέρη ἡμέρη ὁ νεκρὸς ἤφαντο, ὑπὸ ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τιμᾶς ἢ ἢ καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἦκονσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δώρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδόνιον παιδὸς διὰ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μὲντοι ἢν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενος τε καὶ θάψας τοὺς νεκρῶν τοὺς Μαρδόνιον, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διουσσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ο μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἑτάφῃ.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇ τὴν ἁλίνην διεῖλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωτῶν χωρίς ἐκαστοί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριζάς ἐπούσαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἄμομφαρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλακράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τὸ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτηταῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτές. οὕτωι μὲν οὐτώ ἔθαπτον, 
Τεγεθαι δὲ χωρίς πάντας ἄλεας, καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἑωτῶν ὄμοι, καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὕπο τῆς ἱπποῦ διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαινοῦνται ἐν Πλαταιῇ εἴοντες

¹ MS. καὶ τὸ ἄνω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.
² MS. ἐπείτε δὲ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἐπεί γὰρ δὴ (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.
one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was made away with on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with exactness say; but I have heard of very many of all countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes; but which of them it was that stole away and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for a certainty, albeit some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens," among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

1 Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.
τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμοιμαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοί τὴς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα χώσαι κεινά τῶν ἐπιγονομενῶν εἴνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτοῖς καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἔγω ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ύστερον μετὰ ταύτα δεσπέζων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χώσαι Κλεάδῃ τῶν Ἀυτοδίκου ἀνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρὸξειν ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

86. Ἡδ' ἀρα ἐθαφαῖν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισι σφι ἐδοκεῖ εὐταίρεις ἐπὶ τᾶς Ἐθῆς καὶ ἐξαιτεῦν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοις δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδης καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἱ ἀρχηγεῖται ἀνὰ πρῶτος ἔσαν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδίδωσι, μὴ ἀπανωτάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρότερον ἐξέλοσι. ὡς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιορκεύοις Ἐθῆσι, κέλευοντες ἐκδίδοναι τοὺς ἀνδράς οὐ βουλομένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἐθῆσι ἐκδίδοναι, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἐταμιν καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τείχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύνοιτο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἠλέξε τοῖς Ἐθῆσι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε, "Ἀνδρεσ Ἐθῆσι οἱ ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δεδοκταί τοῖς Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστημεῖα πολιορκεύοντας ἢ ἐξέλος Ἐθῆς ἡ ἡμέας αὐτοῖς παραδώτε, νῦν ὅν ἡμέων εἰνεκα γῇ ἡ Βοιωτία πλέω μή ἀναπλησθῇ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτεύονται, χρηματὰ σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδέσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι πολιορκεύοσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίνην 260
their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataeae, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian part, but specially of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men; and that, if these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from before the city till they should have taken it. Being thus resolved, they came with this intent on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men; and the Thebans refusing this surrender, they laid their lands waste and assaulted the walls.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying, when nineteen days were past, Timagenidas thus spoke to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part); but if they be besieging the town for no other cause save to have us, then we will give
παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καὶ ρον, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίνην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλουτε ἐκδίδοναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

88. Ὁς δὲ χρήματαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀττανηύνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήκει ἕκ τοῦ ἀστεός, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίνης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδίσμοι παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μετατιθοῦσαν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον αὐτιλογίας τε κυρήσεωι καὶ δὴ χρήματι ἐπεποίθεσαν διῳδέσθαι· δὲ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοεῖν τὴν στρατηγὴν τῆς τοῦ συμμάχου ἀπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀναγωγὸν ἐς Κόρινθον διέσβειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῆς καὶ Θηβαῖς γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιῶν καὶ δὴ πρὸς ἐγκέντο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξεῖνα ἐκάλεσαν καὶ ἀνειρῶτων περὶ τῆς στρατηγῆς τῆς ἀλλῆς, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆς γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ Αρτάβαζος γροῦς ὅτι εἰ ἔθελεν σφί πάσαν την ἀληθείαν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθύμησεν γὰρ οἱ πάντα τῶν οὐστὸ πυρπλανομένον τὰ γεγονότα· ταῦτα ἑκλογιζόμενοι οὕτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορεῦε οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγεν τάδη. "Εγὼ μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὥς ὀρατέ, ἐπείγομαι τε κατὰ τάχους ἐλών ἐς Ὠρήκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεῖσ κατὰ την πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετά τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἀυτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατός αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῖ διὰ ἑλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστὶ."
ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88. On these terms they made an agreement; but Attaginus escaped out of the town; his sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were nowise accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on their trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery; but Pausanias had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army, and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. Such were the doings at Plataeae and Thebes.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching
τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε·
οὐ γὰρ ἤμιν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμε-
λῆσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἴπασι ἀπῆλανε σπουδῇ τὴν
στρατὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἠθύ
τῆς Ἐρημίκης, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν
μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέται ἐς
Βυζάντιου, καταλιπῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔως τοῦ
συγγόνυ ὑπὸ Ἐρημίκων κατακοπέντας καὶ ὁδοῦ
καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ ἐκ Βυζάντιου
δὲ διέβη πλοίωσε· οὗτος μὲν οὗτο ἀπενόστησε
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ
τὸ τρόμω εἴγενο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν
Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ
κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ νησί ἦν ἡμᾶς ἁμα
Δευτυ-
χίδη τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἤλθον σφι
ἀγγελοὶ ἀπὸ Σάμου Δάμφων τοῖς Ὀρασυκλέοις καὶ
Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγεσίστρατος
Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρη
τῶν τε Περσῶν καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομῆστορος
τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τῶν κατέστησαν Σάμου
τυράννων οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφεῶν ἐπὶ
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐλέγει Ἡγεσίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ
παντοῖα, ὡς ἢν μοῦν ἢνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνες
ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι
οὐκ ὑπομενόναι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἢρα ὑπομενῶσι, οὐκ
ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὐρεῖαν ἃν αὐτοὺς· θεοὺς τε
κοινοῦς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι
ἀνδρας Ἐλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπασώμαι τῶν
βάρβαρων· εὐπέτει τε αὐτοῦ ἐφφε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι·
tὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἄξι-
ομάχοις κείνους εἰναι. αὐτοῖς τε, εἰ τι ὑποπενθοῦσι
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close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it." So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

90. Now on the selfsame day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataeae, it so fell out that they suffered a like fate at Mycale in Ionia. For the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian being then in quarters at Delos, there came to them certain messengers from Samos, to wit, Lampon son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras; these the Samians had sent, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the despot Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made despot of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," said he, "they will revolt from the Persians; and the foreigners will not stand; but if perchance they do stand, you will have such a prey as never again"; and he prayed them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the foreigner away. That, said he, would be an easy matter for them; "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you
μὴ δόλω αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἐτοιμοὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇς ἁμήν τῆς ἑκείνων ἀγώνευοι ὁμηροὶ εἶναι.

91. Ἡδ' δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ Σάμιος, εἰρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἷτε κληρόνος εἶνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἶτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίαν θεοῦ ποιεῖντος, ἐκεῖνο Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὖνομα; "ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἡγησίστρατος," ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἶ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, ὁ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποιεῖς ὅκους αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσασαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοι ἐόντες οὐδὲ, ἡ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους."

92. Ταῦτα τέ ἁμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἐργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῖντο συμμαχίας πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οὐ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλείων τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰκών τὸ οὖνομα ποιεύμενος.

93. Οἳ δὲ Ἔλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δημήτρου τοῦ Ἐυνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνίτης, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτων τοῦ πατέρα Ἐυνίου κατέλαβε πρήγμα τοιόντες, ἐστί ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίη ταύτη ἱλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἤσκεται παρὰ Χώνα ποταμοῦ, δὲ ἐκ Δάκμου ὅρεως ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὠρικὸν λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νυκτας ἀραιημένου ἄνδρας οἱ πλοῦτος τε καὶ γένεις δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὕτω τις φυλάσσουσι ἐναυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεύτατι

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have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

91. This Samian stranger being so earnest in entreaty, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or that heaven happily prompted him thereto), "Sir Samian, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"1 said he. Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Sir Samian; now do you see to it that ere you sail hence you and these that are with you pledge yourselves that the Samians will be our zealous allies."

92. Thus he spoke, and then and there added the deed thereto; for straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus take ship with the Greeks, for the good omen of his name.

93. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and won favourable augury; their diviner was Deiphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man’s father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the daytime is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Laemon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the haven of Oricum; by night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year; for the people of

1 Hegesistratus = Army-leader.
'Ἀπολλωνιήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τιμῶς· ἐν δὲ ἀντρῷ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑκάσ. ἐνθα δὴ τότε ο Ἐβρόνιος σύντος ἀραιρημένος ἐφυλάσσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακομμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθοῦντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἀντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα. δὲ δὲ ὡς ἐπήσε, εἰχε συγῃ καὶ ἑφράζη σύνει, ἐν νῦν ἠχον ἀντικατα-στησεῖν ἄλλα πρόμενον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήται ταῦτα ἑγούμενα, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπυθοῦντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακομμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθήναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Ἐβρόνιον ἐξετυφλώσαν, αὐτικὰ μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατα σφι ἐτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἐφερε ὁμοίως καρπών. πρόβατα δὲ σφὶ ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγκεκείτο, ἐπείτε θειρίων τῶν προφήτας τὸ αἰτίον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οὐ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐφραζὸν ὅτι ἄδικως τὸν φυλακὸν τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐβρόνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστερησαν αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερον τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρεύστες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἡ δίκαι ὁδῷ τῶν ἐποίησαν ταῦτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοῦ ἔληται καὶ δικαιοῦ· τούτων δὲ τελεσμένων αὐτοῖ δώσειν Εὐβρόνιο ὃσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοῦς μιν μακαρεῖν ἀνθρώπον ἐχοῦτα·

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτα σφὶ ἐχρήσθη, οὐ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιήται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προθέσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρήξαι. οὐ δὲ σφὶ διεσπαραῖ σώ̃μα κατημένον Εὐβρόνιον ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἀλλοις ἐποιεῦντο, εἴ δὲ κατεβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες ἑρῶτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιπο,
Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, “for we ourselves” (said they) “sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy.”

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would
εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνίται δίκας ὑποστήναι δῶσειν τῶν ἔποιήσαν. ὦ δὲ οὐκ ἄκηκος τὸ θεοπρόπτου εἴλετο εἰπας εἰ τις οἷς δοῦν ἀγροῦς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῦσι ἑξίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία, καὶ οἰκήσων πρὸς τοῦτοις τὴν ἔδεε καλλίστην ἐούσαν τῶν ἐν πόλις τοῦτον δὲ ἐφή ἔπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήντος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἷς ταύτην ἀποχρὰν γενομένην. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε, οἷς δὲ παρεδροί εἶπαν ὑπολαβοντες "Εὐήνει, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνίται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπτια τὰ γενόμενα." ὃ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταύτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνεβείνεν πυθόμενος τῶν πάντα λόγων, ὡς ἐξαπατηθεῖς. οἷς δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσι οἱ τὰ εἴλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα αὐτίκα ἐμφυτον μαυτικὴν εἶχε, ὡστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτων δὴ ὁ Δηήφωνος ἔως παῖς τοῦ Εὐήνου ἀγώντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύστο τῇ στρατηγῇ. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἱκουσά, ὡς ὁ Δηήφωνος ἐπιβατεύοι τοῦ Εὐήνου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἔως Εὐήνου παῖς.

96. Τοίοι δὲ "Ελληστὶ ὡς ἐκαλλιερήση, ἀνήγου τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῖς πρὸς Καλαμῖσοις, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισμένοι κατὰ τὸ "Ἡραιοὺ τὸ ταύτη παρεσκενάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίνην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνήγου καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρὸν τὰς νέας τὰς ἀλλὰς, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. Βουλευομένους γὰρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίνην μὴ ποιέσθαι" οὐ γὰρ ὁν
choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to refute him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said: "Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them." At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

95. Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and practised divination for the army. But I have heard it said ere now, that Deiphonus was no son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name, and wrought for wages up and down Hellas.

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Here that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea; for they
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έδοκεον ὄρμοις εῖναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπέπλευον, ὅκως ἔσωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐώτα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὡς κελεύσαντος ξέρχεσκαταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσεν τοῦ πλῆθος μεν ἵνα εἴς μυρίδες ἐστρατηγεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτον μὲν ὅσον τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνείρυσαν τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἐρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγγειλον. ἀπεκολυμενοὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνεών ἱρῶν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαῖσανα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινής ἱρῶν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλεός ἱδρύσατο Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἔπεισόμενος ἐπὶ Μελήτου κτιστῶν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνεύρυσαν καὶ περιβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δευδρα ἐκκοψάντες ἤμερα, καὶ σκολοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἐπιδειγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνεσ ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἤθεοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίᾳ τε εἰχοντο δὲ τι ποιέοισι, εἶτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὅπως εἶτε καταπλέσσι ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἐδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέtera ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἥπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὃν ἐς χαμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἐπλεουν ἐπὶ τῆς.
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deemed themselves overmatched; and the reason of
their making for the mainland was, that they might
lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which
had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest
of his host to hold Ionia; there were sixty thousand
men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest
man in Persia, was their general. It was the design
of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that
army, and there to beach their ships and build a
fence round them which should be a protection for
the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when
they came past the temple of the Goddesses\(^1\) at
Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopois,\(^2\) where is a
temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built
by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with
Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus),
there they beached their ships and fenced them
round with stones and trunks of orchard trees
that they cut down; and they drove in stakes round
the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making
ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

98. When the Greeks learnt that the foreigners
were off and away to the mainland, they were ill-
pleased to think that their enemy had escaped
them, and doubted whether to return back or make
sail for the Hellespont. At the last they resolved
that they would do neither, but sail to the main-
land; and equipping themselves therefore with
gangways and all else needful for a sea-fight, they

\(^1\) Demeter and Persephone.

\(^2\) The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the
hill called Mycale; Scolopois, a place on its east bank (How
and Wells).
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Μυκάλης. ἔπει δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἑγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὖδεὶς ἐφαίνετο σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ’ ὅρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὰν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηᾷ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμασι τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγορεῖ τοίς Ἰωσὶ λέγων "Ἀνδρέας Ἰωνε, οἱ ὑμεῖς τυγχάνουσι σπάκοντες, μᾶθετε τὰ λέγων πάντως γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγώ ὑμῖν ἐντελλόμαι. ἔπεισαν συμμίσγομεν, μεμυηθαί τινὰ χρῆ ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθῆματος Ἡβης καὶ τάδε ἰστὼ καὶ ο μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὥντος δὲ οὗτος ἐών τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίων ἦ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμελλε τοὺς Ἰωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἐπειτα ἀνενεχθέντα ἐσ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖς Ἔλλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ τάδε ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποιεῖν οἱ Ἔλληνες προσφέροντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἴδον τοὺς Ἐλλήνας παρασκευαζόμενους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ παρακεκριμένας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σάμιους τὰ Ἐλλήνων φρονεῖν ἀπαίρεοντα τὰ ὁπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὁἱ Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇ νηὔι νυνὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνά τῆν Ἀττικῆν λειεμμένους οἱ Ἐρέξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδίασαντες ἐς Ἀθῆνας τῶν εἶνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλάς τῶν Ἐρέξεω.
held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry 'Hebe': and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium\(^1\); either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides', the Greeks next brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they put themselves in array. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armour, suspecting that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed when the foreigners' ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provision for the way; for which cause in especial they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies.

\(^1\) Cp. viii. 22.
πολεμίων λυσάμενοι, τούτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης ἑφέροντες προστάσασθαι τοῦτο Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὅσ ἐπισταμένοισι δὴθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίειν δὲ τούτῳ τούτῳ ἑισευκῇ ἤνα ἔκτος τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἑσοὶ, τούτους μὲν Ἰώνιν, τοῖς καὶ κατεδόκεοι νεχρῶν ἂν τι ποιέειν δυνάμως ἐπιλαβομένοις, τρὸποις τοιούτοις προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίς.

100. 'Ὡς δὲ ἀρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖς Ἑλλησπορεισι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἵουσι δὲ σφίνι φήμη τε ἐσπέρατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πάνι καὶ κηρυκήμων ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώμης κείμενον ἢ δὲ φήμη διήλθε σφίνι ὁδε, ὡς οἱ Ἑλληνες τὴν Μαρδανίαν στρατιῶν ἐκόμεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς μαχόμενοι. δὴ δὴ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίωσιν ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν προγόματος, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἐσεθθαί τρόματος, φήμη τοῖς Ἑλλησπορεισι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὡστε ἑπιθυμῇ τε τὴν στρατιῶν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδύνευεν.

101. Καὶ τὸδε ἐτερον συνἐπεσε γενόμενον. Δήμητρος τεμένεα 'Ἐλευσινής παρὰ ἀμφότερας τὰς συμβολὰς εἰναι καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιᾷ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ Δήμητριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρὸτερον μοι ἐὑρήτη, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἐμελλεν Ὀσαύτως ἐσεθθαί. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίου Ἑλλήνων ὀρθὸς σφίνι τῇ φήμῃ συνέβαινε ἐδοξοῦσα τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇ πρῶτο ἐτὶ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ ὁδεῖλην ὧτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνεβαίνει 276
Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100. The Greeks, having made all preparation, advanced their line against the foreigners. As they went, a rumour sped all about the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line; and the rumour that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Boeotia. Now there are many clear proofs of the divine ordering of things; seeing that at this time, the Persians' disaster at Plataeae falling on the same day as that other which was to befall them at Mycale, the rumour came to the Greeks at that place, whereby their army was greatly heartened and the readier to face danger.

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same
γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὗ πολλῷ σφι ύπερευνῇ δῆλα ἀναμαινθάνουσι εὐγίνετο. ἢν δὲ ἄρρωδὴς σφι, πριν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὕτω περὶ σφεὼν αὐτῶν οὔτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίως πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληρὸν αὐτὴ σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεύτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐσπευδοῦν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος ἀεθλὰ προέκειτο.

102. Τοῖς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς προσεγέσθα τούτοις τεταγμένοις, μέχρι κοι τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὀδὸς εὐγίνετο κατ᾿ αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ἄπεδου χώρου, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπεξῆς τούτοις τεταγμένοις κατὰ τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν οἷς δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήσαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἐτὶ καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἦς μὲν νυν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὁρθὰ ἢν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντὶ τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλασσὼν εἰχον τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατὸς, ὅκως ἐωτὰν γένηται τὸ ἐργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἐργον εἰχοντο προθυμότερον, εὐθεῖαν ἢδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα. διώσαμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπτεσαν ἀλέες ἐσ τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνου συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἐφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Κορινθιαὶ καὶ Σικυόνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπτοτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίητο, οὗτ' ἐτὶ πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράπωντο οἱ βαρβαροὶ πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμεάτο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-
month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, through a ravine and among hills; and while the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. While the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight was changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at the last fled within their wall; and the Athenians and Corinthians and Sieyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed hard after and rushed in together likewise. But when the walled place was won, the foreigners made no further defence, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered themselves into bands of a few men and fought
χοντο τοίς αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ελλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγοντες, δυὸ δὲ τελευτῶσι: Ἀρταύντης μὲν καὶ Ἡματτής τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγεύοντες ἀποφεύγοντες, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τεγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτᾶσι.

103. Ἐτεὶ δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπίκοντο Δακεδαμίαν καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως: τῶν τε Σαμῖων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὡς ἔιδον αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχάς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἐρῶν ὡς ἐνυπνότο προσωφελεῖν ἐθέλοντες τοῖς Ἐλλησι. Σαμῖων δὲ ἰδῶνες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς ἀρξαντας οὐτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἐπέδεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.

104. Μιλήσιοι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν τὰς διώδους τηρεῖν σωτηρίας εἰνεκά σφι, ὡς ἦν ἄρα σφεάς καταλαμβάνῃ οἶα περ κατέλαβε, ἐχόντες ἡγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἑκάθησαν μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῦτο τε ἐνεκεν καὶ ἴνα μὴ παρεύσουτε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ νεοχύμῳ ποιέουν, οἱ δὲ πᾶν τουραντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεων, ἀλλὰ τε κατηγοροῦντες σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγοντες, αἱ δὴ ἐφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγινόντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὐτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἀπέστη.
with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artañtes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up, and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army, and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance, did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks; and when the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also thereupon deserted the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if haply aught should befall the Persian army such as did befall it, they might have guides to bring them safe to the heights of Mycale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed, for the aforesaid reason, and that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. But they did wholly contrariwise to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last themselves became their worst enemies and slew them. Thus did Ionia for the second time revolt from the Persians.

1 Ἑτεραλής here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side or other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one as opposed to the other.
105. Ἡμεῖς τώ ἁγία Ἐλληνων ἡρώτουσαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἐρμολύκος ὁ Ἐυθοῖνος, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασχῆνας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμολύκον κατέλαβε ὑστερον τούτων, πολέμων ἐόντως Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Καρυστίοις, ἐν Κύροι τῆς Καρυστίας χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι εἰπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἡρώτευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἐλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγωντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας εἰκοπρησκαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἄπαν, τὴν λῃσὶ προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγυλάον, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινας χρημάτων εὐρονεμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀπεσώκενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἐλλῆνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὅκη χρεὼν εἰς τῆς Ἐλλάδος κατοικίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγκρατείας ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίαν ἀπείναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀδύνατον ἡμῶν ἑφαίνετο σφι εἰρεῖ ἐσωτερικογονὸς τῆς Ἰωνίας προκατήχησαι φρουρείόν τοῦ πάντα χρόνων, καὶ ἐωτικῶν ἡ προκατηρίμων Ἰωνίων ὑπεδέμαν ἐλπίδα εἰχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν, πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖς ἐν τελεί ἐσεγεῖ ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδεσάντων ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἐλληνων τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦμεν τὴν χώρην Ἰωσε ἐνοικήσαι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίαν γενέσθαι ἀναστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοις περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποκιεσόν βουλεύειν ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἰς αἱ Πελοποννησίοι. 282
105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancratium,¹ Hermolyceus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolyceus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrnus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the foreigners, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty on to the beach, and found certain stores of wealth; then they burnt the ships and the whole of the wall, which having burnt they sailed away. When they were arrived at Samos, they debated in council whether they should dispeoplen Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it were best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the foreigners; for it seemed to them impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies for ever; yet if they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would suffer the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians that were in authority were for removing the people from the marts of those Greek nations that had sided with the Persians, and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians misliked the whole design of dispeopling Ionia, or suffering the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies; and as they resisted hotly, the Peloponnesians

¹ The “pancratium” was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.
καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίλος τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Δεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησίωτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοίσι "Ελλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καὶ καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοις ἐμμενείν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἐπέλευν τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες: ἐτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπ’ Ἕλλησπόντου ἐπέλευν.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ’ ὀδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείος παρατυχόν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύνην ἔλεγε πολλὰ τε καὶ κακά, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ἰσαρικὸς κακίων φας αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαύτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέα οἰκειο κακόσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τούτῳ Πέρσης ἰσαρικὸς κακίων ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἔστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἠκούσε, δεινὰ ποιεῖμένος σπάται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτείναι θέλων. καὶ μν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεως ἄνὴρ Ἀλκαρνησσεύς ὁ πισθεῖς ἐότεως αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύνης ἀρπάξει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παῖει ἐς τὴν γην καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεως προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης τῶν ἒργασίων χάριτα αὐτοῦ τῷ Μασίστῃ τιθέμενοι καὶ Ἑρέβη, ἐκσώζου τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίας πάσης ἤρξε δόντος βασιλέας. τῶν δὲ κατ’ ὀδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ἀπικύνοντας ἐς Σάρδις.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σάρδις ἐτύγχανε ἑών βασι-
yielded. Thus it came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their armaments, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies; who being thus sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107. The few foreigners who escaped were driven to the heights of Mycale, and made their way thence to Sardis. While they were journeying on the road, Masistes son of Darius, who had chanced to be present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artaïntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too bad for the hurt he had wrought to the king’s house. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults so angered Artaïntes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artaïntes himself, saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground; meanwhile Masistes’ guards came between them. By so doing Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king’s brother; for which deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king’s gift. They went then on their way without any outcome of the matter, and came to Sardis.

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at
λευς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπαθείας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγῶν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Σάρδεις ἔως ἁρὰ ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεως γυναίκος, ἐσώσῃς καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαύτα. ὡς δὲ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίον προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἄδελφειν Μασίστην τῶν ἐν τῷ τούτο εἴχε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα· ἐν γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένην ἐνδείκνυται διὸ Ἕρεξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρῆσεις τῶν γάμου τῶν παιδί τῷ ἐσωτερικῷ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρᾳ τῆς γυναίκος ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἵνα ταύτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σούσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὸ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐσωτερικὸν Δαρείῳ ἡ γυναίκα, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Μασίστεως μὲν γυναίκος ἐπέπαινο, δὲ διαμεισάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναίκος Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταῦντη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο. ἐξουσίασα Ἀμηστρίς ἡ Ἕρεξης γυνὴ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλων καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ἕρεξη. δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἐρχεῖται πάρα τῇ Ἀρταῦντη ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκελεύεται αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπουργημένων πάντα γὰρ τεῦξεσθαι αἰτήσασιν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἑδει παινοικὶ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταύτα εἶπε Ἕρεξη "Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἀν σε αἰτήσω;" δὲ δὲ πᾶσι μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπαχνέτευ καὶ ὁμοσε. ἦ δὲ ὅσον ὁμοσε ἀδεως αἰτεῖ τὸ φάρος. Ἕρεξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγένετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο
Sardis: ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaýnte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaýnte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save
μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστρίνιος, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαξοῦσῃ τὰ γνώμενα οὕτω ἐπευρέθη πρήσσων ἄλλα πόλεις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἐμελλὲς οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἄλλη ἢ ἑκείνη. Περισσον δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῷρων, ἄλλο γὰρ ἐπειθείς, διδοῖ τὸ φάρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἑουσα τῷ δόρῳ ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἀγάλλητο.

110. Καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρίς πυθάνεται μιν ἐχουσαιμαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταῦτῃ οὐκ εἰχε ἐγκοτου, ἢ δὲ ἔλπιζονσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτιᾶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσειν, τῇ Μασίστεῳ γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὀλθοῦσαι. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἀνόρα τῶν ἑωτῆς Ξέρξεων βασιλῆιον δεῖπνου προτιθέμενον, τούτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐναιστοῦ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑγένετο βασιλεὺς. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περισσότερον τοὺς κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλλήνων γλῶςσαν τῆλειν, τότε καὶ τὴν κεφάλιν σμάται μούνν οὐδὲν καὶ Πέρσας δωρεῖται ταυτὴν δὴ τὴν ἡμέρῃν φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρίς χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθήναι σφι τὴν Μασίστεῳ γυναικα. ὁ δὲ δείων τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποίησεν τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφοῦ γυναίκα παραδόναι τοῦτο, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίαν ἑούσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου συνήκε γὰρ τοῦ εἰσεκεν ἐδέτο.

111. Τέλος μὲντοι ἐκείνης τε λεπαρεύοντος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὡς ἄτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατὸν ἐστὶ βασιλῆιον δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺ ποιεῖ ὡδὲ τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βουλεῖται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἕμος ἀδελφος, πρὸς δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰς
that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle; but when she learnt the truth her anger was not with the girl; she supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife that she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect"; on that day (and none other) the king anoints his head, and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then desired of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes held it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was guiltless of the deed supposed; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἡ γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικίεσις μὴ συνοίκεσε, ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντὶ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν εἵμην. ταύτῃ συνοίκεσῃ τὴν δὲ νῦν ἐχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖς ἔμοι, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα." ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. "Ὡς δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παίδες τε νενήμαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μιαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωστοῦ ἡγάγει γυναῖκα, αὐτῇ τέ μοι κατὰ νόσον τυχάναι κάρτα εὕσα: ταύτῃ με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σήν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῖμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιησον μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιούτου δέομενος ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῖς οὐδέν ἡσσων, ἐμέ τε ἐὰν γυναικέ τῇ ἐμὴ συνοικίεσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοις ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ βυθώδεις λέγει τάδε. "Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοῖνθαθ γυνατέρα τὴν εἵμην γήμαι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνη πλεύνα χρόνου συνοικίσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκασθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταύτα ἦκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἐξω "Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κἂν μὲ ἀπώλεσας.

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφῷ διελέγετο, ἢ Ἀμιστρις μεταπεμφάμενῃ τοὺς δοῦρφορους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ Μασίστη πτοίς τε μαξών ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ρίνα καὶ ὀντα καὶ χείλεα καὶ ἥλωσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς ὀικὸν μὲν ἀποτέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν καὶ ἀκηκοῶς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακῶν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς
you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112. But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and used Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the
τὰ οἰκία. ἕδων δὲ διεθθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοίσι παῖσι ἐπορεύετο εἰς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοίσι ένωτοι νιόσι καὶ δὴ κοι τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ὡς ἀποστήσαν νομόν τοῦ Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέων τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεέναι, εἰ περ ἐφθη ἀναβάς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας καὶ γὰρ ἐστεργόν μν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχὸς τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Σέρξης πυθόμενος ταύτα ἐκεῖνον πηγάζοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτῶν στρατιήν ἐν τῇ ὄδῷ κατέκειναι αὐτῶν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στρατιήν τὴν ἐκεῖνον. κατὰ μὲν τοῦ ἐρωτα τοῦ Σέρξεως καὶ τῶν Μασίστεων θάνατον τοσαύτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες "Ελλήνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησσόντος πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτῶν ὀρμέων, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμβάνετες, ἐνθεῦτες δὲ ἀπίκουσον εἰς Ἀβυδὸν καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὑρὸν διαλευμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρίσειν ἐτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων δʹ ἦκεστα ένεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησσόντος ἀπίκουσον. τοσὶ μὲν νῦν ἀμφὶ Δευτυχίδος Πελπονησίωσι ἐδοξή ἀποπλείεις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, "Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Σαμβίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτῶν ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβυδοῦ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου Σηστόν ἐπολιορκεῖον.

115. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστῶν ταύτην, ὡς εἶνοι ἵσχυροτάτου τείχεως τῶν ταύτης, συνηθιζον, ὡς ἦκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς "Ελλήνες ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησσόντον, ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίγις πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἄνην Πέρσης, ὡς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὁπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικός. εἰχον 292
havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes’ love and Masistes’ death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum¹ under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighbouring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region; among them there was come from Cardia a Persian named Oebazus, and he had carried thither the tackle of the bridges. Sestus was held

¹ At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.
δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Διόλεες, συνήσαι δὲ Πέρσαι
tε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συνήσω ὅμελος.

116. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ἐρέχθεων ὕπαρχος Ἀρταύκης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὅς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐξηπαίτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεων τοῦ Ἰθίκλου χρῆματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενοι. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεων τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἔθα ἦν χρῆματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσει καὶ ἀργυρέαι καὶ χαλκός καὶ ἐσθής καὶ ἀλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκης ἐσύλησε βασιλέως δόμτος. λέγων δὲ τοιῶδε Ἐρέχθην διεβάλετο. "Δέσποτα, ἔστε οἶκος ἀνδρῶς Ἐλλήνως ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευςάμενον δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανεν τούτου μοι δοὺς τὸν οἶκου, ἵνα καὶ τὸς μάθη ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σήμη στρατευεσθαί." ταῦτα λέγων εὐπτέως ἐμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ἐρέχθην δοῦναι ἀνδρῶς οἶκου, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφροῦει. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασίλειος στρατευεσθαί Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νόεων τοιῶδε τὴν Ἁσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωστῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐστείρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἄνυτῳ γυναιξὶ εμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοῦ Ἐλλήνας, ἀφύκτως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐπέτεσσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένους σφί φθινότωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἦσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς
by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artáyetes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus, a son of Iphicles. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings; all of which Artáyetes carried off, by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory." It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artáyetes' meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

117. But the siege continuing into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence

1 The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, ἐνὶ ἀνθρῶπων (Hom. Il. ii. 701).
118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐς πάν ἡδή κακοῦ ἀπιγιμένοι ἦσαν, οὔτω ὡστε τοὺς τόνους ἐξοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέουτο. ἔπειτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐτι εἰχον, οὔτω δὴ ὑπὸ νῦκτα οἰχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὡς προσδοκοῦσαν καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρήμωταν τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεύνες ἑδίσκουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Ἰρηνίκην Ἰρηνίκης Ἀφινθιοι λαβόντες ἔδυσαν Πλειστώρφι ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφάνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην υστεροὶ ὄρμηθεντες φεύγειν, καὶ ἦς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγων ἐώτες ὑπὲρ Ἀγίσσον ποταμῶν, ἀλεξομενοὶ χρόνων ἐπὶ συχνῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ξύνες ἐλαμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ "Ελληνες ήγον ἐς Σηστοῦν, μετ" αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν παίδα αὐτοῦ.

120. Καὶ τε ἕως τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὅπτωντι τέρας γενέσθαι
from home and their ill success at taking the fortress, and entreated their generals to lead them away again; but the generals refused to do that, till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. Thereat the men endured their plight patiently.

118. But they that were within the walls were by now brought to the last extremity, insomuch that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food; but at the last even these failed them, and Artaycletes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where their enemies were scarcest, and fled away at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonesus signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates; and the greater part of the Athenians going in pursuit, the rest stayed to hold the town.

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Pistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artaycletes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat’s Rivers, where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestus, and Artaycletes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

120. It is told by the people of the Chersonesus that a marvellous thing befell one of them that

1 A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).
τοιόνδε οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο τε καὶ ἡσπαίρυν ὁκώς περ ἱχθύνες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιγυθέντες ἐπωμαξών, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἴδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτώντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη "Ἐἴειν Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τούτο; οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἑλαυσίνι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεῶς καὶ τάριχος ἔων δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ἄνοιμα μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντι μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατόν τάλαντα καταθηκαί τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δὲ ἐμεωσώμαι καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενέμενοι." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεως τιμωρεόμενοι ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆσαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόσος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόμενες δὲ αὐτόν ἐσ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐσ τὴν Ξέρβης ἐξεύξε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολώνιον τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλευσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν τὸν δὲ παιδὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατελεύσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ ὃς καὶ τὰ ὀπλὰ τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τούτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρῆμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσης ἔξινείσαμενος λόγου τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες
guarded Artayctes: he was frying dried fishes, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they were fishes newly caught. The rest gathered round, amazed at the sight; but when Artayctes saw the strange thing, he called him that was frying the fishes and said to him: "Sir Athenian, be not afraid of this portent; it is not to you that it is sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus would signify that though he be dead and dry he has power given him by heaven to take vengeance on me that wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, to wit, payment of a hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple; and I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us." But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise; for the people of Elaeus entreated that Artayctes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artayctes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him aloft; and as for his son, they stoned him to death before his father's eyes.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the tackle of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and the rest of the stuff withal. And in that year nothing further was done.

122. This Artayctes who was crucified was grandson to that Artembares who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

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1 There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.
Κύρως προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. "Εστεί Ζεύς Πέρσης ἤγεμονίην διδοί, ἄνδρων δὲ σοι Κύρως κατελών Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὅλην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέων, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῆμαν ἁμείνω. εἰς δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσε ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οίκος δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαύτα ποιεῖν κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἡ ὀτέ γε ἄνθρωπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίας;" Κύρος δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιείν ταύτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖς παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζοσθαι ὡς οὐκείτι ἄρξοντας ἄλλη ἀρξομένους φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνονται. οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἴναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὡστε συγγνῶντες Πέρσαι οἰχοῦτο ἀποστάντες, ἔσσωθέντες τῇ γεώμη πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἰλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἡ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.
before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.
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("Xerxes' march" and "Xerxes' army" refer always to the invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.)

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