HERODOTUS
IV
BOOKS VIII-IX

Translated by
A. D. GODLEY
HERODOTUS the great Greek historian was born about 484 B.C., at Halicarnassus in Caria, Asia Minor, when it was subject to the Persians. He travelled widely in most of Asia Minor, Egypt (as far as Assuan), North Africa, Syria, the country north of the Black Sea, and many parts of the Aegean Sea and the mainland of Greece. He lived, it seems, for some time in Athens, and in 443 went with other colonists to the new city Thurii (in South Italy) where he died about 430 B.C. He was 'the prose correlative of the bard, a narrator of the deeds of real men, and a describer of foreign places' (Murray). His famous history of warfare between the Greeks and the Persians has an epic dignity which enhances his delightful style. It includes the rise of the Persian power and an account of the Persian empire; the description of Egypt fills one book; because Darius attacked Scythia, the geography and customs of that land are also given; even in the later books on the attacks of the Persians against Greece there are digressions. All is most entertaining and produces a grand unity. After personal inquiry and study of hearsay and other evidence, Herodotus gives us a not uncritical estimate of the best that he could find.
HEUODOTUS

IV

120
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK VIII</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK IX</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPS—SALAMIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BATTLEFIELD OF PLATAEA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

vii
INTRODUCTION

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.

INTRODUCTION

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.
INTRODUCTION

Ch. 52–57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amphiphatetus' 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,
INTRODUCTION

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 Attic 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
INTRODUCTION

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 nomino) 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 θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν—"quickly they were all plain to view."
INTRODUCTION

Herodotus' narrative of the manœuvres 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
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, *aliunde*, 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
INTRODUCTION

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.
INTRODUCTION

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-
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 anti-climax; 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 Artaýctes, 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:

Prof. Goodwin, *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology,* 1906, pp. 75 ff.]
HERODOTUS

BOOK VIII
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Θ

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἴδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἐκατον καὶ εἶκοσι καὶ ἐπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιές ἀπειροὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο. Μεγαρέες δὲ εἶκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπιλήσων εἶκοσι, Ἀθηναῖων σφὶ παρελόντων τὰς νέας, Λιγυνῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυσκαίδεκα, Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἐπτά, Τροιζήμιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρως δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφὶ οἱ ὁποιντιοὶ ἐπέβοιθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἐπτά.

2. Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐν Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δὲ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκαστοί τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεων.
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 Ceans 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, ἂν μὴ ὁ Δάκων ἡγεμόνευς, Ἀθηναίοις ἐφεσθαί ἡγεομένοις, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἐσεσθαί στράτευμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπτεν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοις χρεόν εἰη ἐπιτραπεῖν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰκονι' Ἀθηναίοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ γυνότες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἐλλάς, ὅρθα νοεῖσθαι στάσισ γὰρ ἐμφύλισσον πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσσῦτω κάκιων ἐστὶ ὅσφ' πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι δὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἰκονι', μέχρι ὅσον κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεεαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τῶν ἄγωνα ἐποιεῖσθαι, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεως ὑβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερὸν ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὕτως οἱ καὶ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἐλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἴδον νέας τε πολλὰς κατακχέεισας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἀπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ως αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεοι, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. γυνότες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοεῖς ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέσου Ἐυρυμιάδω ἐπομεῖναι χρόνον ὅλιγον, ἐστ’ ἄν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέονται. ὡς δ’ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθὸ 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 Artemision 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
ταλάντωσι, ἐπ’ ὦ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Ἐυβοίας ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίαν.

5. Ὅ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐπισχεῖν ὥδε ποιεῖ: Ἐυρυβιάδη τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ’ ἑωτοῦ δήθεν διδοὺς. ὥς δὲ οἱ οὕτως ἀνεπέπειστο, 'Αδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὡκύτων ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἕσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιον καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖν, πρὸς δὴ τούτον εἴπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἐγώ μέξω δόρα δόσω ἡ βα-
σιλεὺς ἃν τοῖς Μῆδοις πέμψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτα τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδείμαντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὕτως τε δὴ πάντες δῷροις ἀναπεπεισμέ-
νοι ᾤςαν καὶ τοῖς Ἐυβοῖοι ἐκεχύριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδησε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ἠπιστετὸ διὸ μεταλαβόντες τοὺτον τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν λόγω τούτω τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν τε ἐν τῇ Ἐυβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρώην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἐτὶ καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἐλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τοῦτε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ᾤςαν ἐπίχειρεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντὶς προσ-
πλέειν οὐ κὼ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶι δεῦ ἐνεκα, μὴ καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Ἐλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐμελλὼν δήθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἐδεὶ δὴ 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 Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; 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 Artemisium, 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
τῷ ἑκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲν τάδε ἐμηχανώντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἐξωθεὶν Σκιώθου, ὡς ἀν μὴ ὄφθεισαν ὕπο τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὐβοιαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστῶν ἐς τῶν Εὐριτοῦ, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οὐ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράζαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὁπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι ἑξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἤμερης τούτη Ἐλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὔτε πρὸτερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλέοντων ὡς ἴκοντων. ταῦτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αφέτησι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ὧν οὕτωι ἀριθμῶν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἢν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλῆς Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος, διὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς Πέρσῃς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο. οὕτως ὁ Σκυλλῆς ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἰχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολῆσεις ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ἀλλ᾿ οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐτι ἄπικετο ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἄτρεκέως, θωμάξω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δύς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ προτέρον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἄπικετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἁρτεμίσιον, στάδιοις μᾶλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὤδώκοντα διὰ τῇς θαλάσσης

8
Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer\(^1\) 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 Sciathus (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 Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much withal for himself; this Scyllias 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 πυρπόρος 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 εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρος τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα περὶ μὲντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοῦς μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτῖκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυνηγίαν ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθεῖσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοιαν.

9. Τούτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ "Ἑλληνες λόγον σφίσει αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νῦκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντῶν τῇ τοῦ περιπλεύσησι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τούτο, ὡς οὖν δεῖς σφὶ ἑπέπλεε, δείλην ὑψίν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὄρῳντες δὲ σφέας οἱ τε ἅλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ἑρέσω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέωντας νῆσι ὀλίγησι, πάγχῳ σφὶ μανήν ἐπενείκαντες ἄνηγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τάς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπτέως αἰρῆσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλληνων ὀρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωντῶν πλῆθεί τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἁμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον, ὡςοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὔνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ἀέκοντες τε ἑστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεύτο μεγάλην ὀρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὖνθεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει ὡτω ἀσθενέα σφὶ ἐφαίνετο εἴναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλληνων πρήγματα. ὡςοιοι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοις ἢν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀμίλλαν 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 Artemisium 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 διεκπλοῦν see Bk. VI. ch. 12.
αὐτὸς ἔκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικήν ἔλων παρά βασιλέως δώρα λάμψεται: Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοίσι δὲ Ἕλληνι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοίσι βαρβάροις γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνιας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημαίναντος ἔργου εἰκόνοι ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ., ἀπολαμβάνοντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἄδελφοιν Φιλάνων τοῖς Χέρσιοις, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἕλληνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Δυκεμήδης Λεσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστίτιον ἔλαβε οὕτος. τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐπετεκλέως ἁγωνιζομένους νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες εἶπτο τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἁγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μούνιος τῶν σὺν βασιλεί Ἕλληνων ἐόντων αὐτομολεῖ οὖσα τοὺς "Ελλήνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χάρων ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἑν μὲν τῆς ὀρίσι μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὑδρα τὸ ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληρᾶν ἤροτε τοῦ Πηλίου οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναβήγα ἐξεφέροντο εἰς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περί τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς παρούς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιώται οἱ ταύτῃ ἄκουοντες ταύτα ἐς φόβον κατιστώτως, ἐλπίζοντες πάγυχω ἀπολέσσθαι ἐς οἰα κακὰ ἦκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἦ καὶ ἄναπνεύσαι σφέας ἐκ τε τῆς ναυγήν καὶ τοῦ
Attic 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 Πηλίουν, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερῆ, ἕκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὁμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς τάλασσαν ὅρμημένα βρονταί τε σκληραί.

13. Καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἡ νῦξ ἐγένετο, τοσί δὲ ταχθείσι αὐτῶν περὶ πλέειν Ἕπεβοιαν ἡ αὐτὴ περ ἔοισα νῦξ πολλὸν ἦν ἠτὶ ἀγριωτέρη, τοσοῦτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοις ἐπέτιππε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφὶ ἐγένετο ἅγαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖς χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὅδωρ ἐπεγένετο ἐούσι κατὰ τὰ Κοίλα τῆς Ἕπεβοίης, φερόμενοι τὸ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἐποιεῖτο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἀν ἐξισωθεῖ ὁ Ἕλληνοικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

14. Οὕτω μὲν νων περὶ τὰ Κοίλα τῆς Ἕπεβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφέτησι βάρβαροι, ὡς σφὶ ἀσέμνους ἦμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ὄτρέμας τε εἰχον τὰς νέας καὶ σφὶ ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσουσι ἰσοχήν ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεώτι. τοσὶ δὲ Ἐλληνι ἐπεβοθθεόν νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τῇ Ἕπεβοίαν πάντες εἶησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος· φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀρὴν, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νησὶ Κιλίσσης· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς εὔφρονῃ ἐγίμετο, ἀπέπλεον ὅπισώ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἁρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτη δὲ ἦμέρη δεινῶν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφὶ ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἐρέξεω 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 crueller 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
ούκ ἀνέμειναν ἐτὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνήγου τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὡστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπόλης. ἢν δὲ πάς ὁ ἄγων τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἐὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δεσπότην τὴν ἔσβολην φυλάσσειν. οἳ μὲν δὴ παρακελεύσαντο ὦκως μὴ παρήγουσι εἰς τὴν Ἕλλαδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἳ δ’ ὦκως τὸ Ἕλληνικὸν στρατεύμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσους. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἳ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεου, οἳ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτέμισίῳ. οἳ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοείδες ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτοὺς.

16. Ἐνθεύτεν οἳ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλεον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἄλληλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλῆθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐωτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενένω τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περὶ-πιπτοσέων περὶ ἄλληλας· ὦμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῖντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγήν τραπέσθαι. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἕλληνων νέες διεφθηρεύτο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ’ ἐτὶ πλεύσανε νέες τε τῶν βαρ-βάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὐτῶ δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρίς ἐκάτεροι.

17. Ἔν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Δυνάμειοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτῶν ἦριστευαν, οἳ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖς ἄνδράςι εἶλον Ἕλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἕλληνων κατὰ ταύτην τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἦριστευαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἅπα
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 ο 'Αλκιβιάδεως, δις δαπάνην οίκησαν παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοις καὶ οἰκηή νη.

18. Ὡς δὲ διεστησαν, ἁς μενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐσ ὁμον ἡπτείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνεσ ὁς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὑπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυγίων ἐπεκράτευον, τρηχέως δὲ περιε- φθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἁμάθεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἐσο ἐς τήν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νῦν δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ τε Ἰωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷο τε εἰσαν ἀν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Ἑβοεῶν πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐλεγε σφι ὡς δοκέοι ἐχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἐλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Ἑβοεῖκών καταθύειν ὡς τας θέλοις κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατηγὴν ἐχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους παραίνεε τε προειπεῖν τοῖς ἐωτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ἄρην αὐτῶ ἀντίθεσιν, ὡστε ἄσινεά ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἱρεσὲ σφι πολέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Ἑβοεῖες, παραχρησάμενοι τῶν Βάκιδος χρησιμῶν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς 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 parted 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 scathless 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.
σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετεία τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσει αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὡδὲ ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμὸς.

φράξει, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ξυγὸν εἰς ἀλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον, Εὐβοῖης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἴγας.

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσε χρησαμένοις ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησσόν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνοις κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἰχε πλοῖον κατήρες ἐτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλησι ἐσοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Δυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδη ἐτοιμὸς τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐσοῦσι ἀγχέλλειν τρικοντάρχης, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεότερον τὸν πεζὸν. οὕτος δὲν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενος σφὶ ἐσῆμαίνε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἶ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθηντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἁναβολᾶς ἐποιεύτῳ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὑστατοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξόμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὑδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα, τὰ Ἰώνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ υστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἠλεγε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰώνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε 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
επὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἦμεὼν γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἦμῶν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶνον τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖας μέξονος κατέξευχε ἢ ὡστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, ἔθελο-κακέστε μεμνημένοι ότι ἀπ' ἦμεὼν γεγονάτε καὶ ὦτι ἀρχήθην ἢ ἐχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἦμῖν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγραφεῖ, δοκείειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοεῖν, ἢν ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἔσωτον, ἢ ἐπείτε ἀνενεχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπὸστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχίων αὐτῶν ἀπόσχη.

23. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖῳ ἢλθε ἄνὴρ Ἰστιαίεσ ἀγγέλλων τῶν δρισμοῦ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀρτεµισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἵ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέοις δὲ ταχεῖας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψευδών· ἀπαγγελλάτων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἀμα ἢλιον σκιδαριμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεµίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χῶρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἥμερης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαίωτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χωρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, 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 Carions 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 Histiaeae 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 Histiaeae, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans’ city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopian\(^1\) region, which is the land of Histiaeae.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

\(^1\) The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaeae.
μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι (ἤσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὄρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἦν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐσ τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενον παντὸς τοῦ στρα- τοπέδου ἔληγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασι- λεὺς Ἐρέξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θείσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίχτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἥλπισαν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι."

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοῖων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θείσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἔθησιν διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἡπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιάζας, ὀρῶν- τες καὶ τοὺς ἐίλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἔλανθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ἐρέξης ταύτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοιοὶ ἦν τῶν μὲν χιλιοὶ ἐξαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκάτα ἁλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τῶν ἄρχων, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσον ἢς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐρέξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμέατο.

26. Ἡκὼν δὲ σφὶ αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκα- δίης ὁλίγοι τινὲς, βίον τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλομένοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἕς ὤψιν τὴν βασιλέως ἐπυνθάνοντο 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 Histiaeia, 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 Histiaeia, 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 ποιεόμεν εἶς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταύτα. οὐ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὄλυμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρεόμεν ἄγωνα γυμνικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν. ὃ δὲ ἐπέερετο ὁ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἰη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἄγωνιζονταί, οὐ δ’ εἴπων τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἠνθαῦτα εἴτες γυνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τυγράνης ὁ Ἀρτα-
βάνον δειλίην ὡφλε πρὸς βασιλέας. πυθανό-
μενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐδοπ στέφανον ἀλλ’ οὐ κρήματα, οὔτε ἥμεχετο σιγῶν εἴπη τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαὶ Μαρδόνιο, κοίνους ἐπ’ ἄνδρας ἧγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οὐ οὐ περὶ κρημάτων τὸν ἄγωνα ποιεύνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰρητό.

27. 'Εν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Ἐρμοπύλησι τρόμα ἐγεγόνει, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἀτε σφι ἔχουντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιὴ αὐτοῖ 

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 Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.
λευκανθίζοντα ἱδώνται, τούτων κτείνειν. τούτοις ὑπ' αἱ τὲ φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἱδούσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαὶ ἄλλῳ τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῆς ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω ὡστε τετρακισχίλιων κρατῆσαι ἑλέρων καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέες ἢ "Αβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς· ἢ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οὶ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίτοδα συνεστεώτες ἐμπροσθεὶ τοῦ νησοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ ἐτεροὶ τοιούτωι ἐν Ἀβησὶ ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκεύοντας ἔωστον· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήγαντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἢ ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὅρυξαντες ἄμφορεάς κενεούς ἢ αὐτήν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὀμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἀναρτασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἢ τοὺς ἄμφορεάς. ὑνθαύτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρσαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἐγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε. "Ω Φωκέες, ἢδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχεῖτε μὴ εἶναι ὀμοίοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τούσι Ἑλλησί, ὅσον χρόνον ἔκεινα ἡμῖν ἤνδανε, πλέον αἱ κατ' ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὡστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστερήσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μυσικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἢντ' αὐτῶν πεντίκοντα 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
άργυρίου, καὶ ύμίν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."

30. Ταῦτα σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταῦτη ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμὴδίζουν, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλ- λόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τῷ Θεσσαλῶν·
εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἦξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δο- κείω, ἐμὴδίζον ἀν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελ- λομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δῶσειν ἐφασαν χρήματα, παρέχει τε σφίζει Θεσσαλοῖς ὡμοίως μηδίζειν,
εἰ ἄλλως βουλοῖςτο ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσεσθαι έκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐσπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνειχθήσαν οὐτοὶ οἱ λόγοι, οὔτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοίς Φωκέεσι
ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινής ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς
gὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν στεινὸς ταῦτη κατα-
teίνει, ὡς τρίῃκοντα σταδίων μᾶλιστα κη εὔρος,
κεῖμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος
χώρης, ἢ περ ἢν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυτπίς· ἢ δὲ χώρη
αὕτη ἐστὶ μιτρόπολις Δωρεῶν τῶν ἐν Πελο-
πουνήσῳ. ταῦτῃ ἄν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο
ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμὴδίζον τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ
ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖς.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέ-
βαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἱρέουσι.
οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ
ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσα ἐξεσθαι ὀμιλοῦ
τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν
κείμενη ἐπ' ἐωτῆς. Τιθορέα οὕνωμα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν
δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οὐ δὲ πλεῦνες
αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀξόλας Δοκρούς 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, thereof 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 Dorians 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 Κρισάιου πεδίου οἰκισμένην. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ τήν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα. Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὔτω ἦγον τὸν στρατὸν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἐκείρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφισίον ποταμὸν ἐδηνόν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαναν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ 'Ερωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ 'Αμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἑλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ 'Αβας, ἐνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖς τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτῶθι. καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες εὐπρησαν. καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖς ὅρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς ἐιέθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμείβομενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦδι διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατῶτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἰμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθηνᾶς ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν 'Ορχομενίαν. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμηδίζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀνδρεῖς Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένου ἐσῳζοῦν, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἐσῳζοῦν δὲ τῇ, δήλου βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν Ξέρξη ὅτι τὰ Μῆδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

35. Οὖν μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὀρμεάτο
the Ozolian Locrians, 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 Cephisus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicacea, Neon, Pediea, 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
ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξίῃ τῶν Παρνησίων ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὕτω εἰπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐστιναμώρεον καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰσιλέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταῦτη ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶν δὲ εὐκα, ὅκως συλησαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέω Ξέρξη ἀποδέξασαν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ ἤπιστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἤν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἁμεινὸν ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίοις ἑλπιε, πολλοὶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροῖσον τοῦ Ἄλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενος ταῦτα ἦς πᾶσαν ἀρραβὼν ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες ἐμαυτέυοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσσωσι εἰς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἐὰν κινεῖν, φας αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐωτοῦ προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφροντίζουν. τέκνα μὲν γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαϊν διεπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησίων τὰς κορφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἀντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίσσαν τὴν Δοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὅν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλῆν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἔπιοντες καὶ ἀπώροιν τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὖν ἔτω ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νησι ὡπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξευθεινεγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὃσιον ἦν ἀπτεσθαὶ ἀνδρῶπων οὐδεν. 34
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

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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).
ὅ μὲν δὴ ἣμεὶς Δελφῶν τούσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ téρας. οἳ δὲ βαρβαροὶ ἐπειδῆ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ὁθηναίης, ἐπιγίγνεται σφὶ téρεα ἔτι μέξωνα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου téρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἔστι, ὅπλα ἄρημα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἔπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἑπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἥσαν ἐπιώντες οἱ βαρβαροὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ὁθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὄρυκαί κεραυνοί αὐτοῖς ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορρηγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλοὶ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνοὺς σφέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοὴ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἑγίνετο.

38. Συμμεγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τούσι βαρβαροὶς ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθώντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπὸ κτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεύντες ἠθύ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἐλεγοῦν δὲ οἱ ἀπονυστήσαντες οὕτω τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὄρων θεία· δύο γὰρ ἅπλίτας μέξωνα ἡ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους φύσιν ἔχουτας ἐπεσθαί σφὶ κτείνουσας καὶ διώκοντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοῖ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἴρως, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Λυτόνου, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκον μὲν παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὅδον κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Λυτόνου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ταμπείη κορυφῆ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς 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 Autous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell from Parnassus were yet to be

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).
HERODOTUS

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ποναιής Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱρὸν ἀπαλλαγῇ γίνεται.

40. Ὅ δὲ Ἑλληνοὶ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιον Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τᾶς νέας. τὸν δὲ εἶνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς αὐτοὶ παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῦς ἑσταί. ἔπε γὰρ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγματι βουλὴν ἐμέλλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐφευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποιησίαν πανδημεῖ, ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ὑποκατημένους τοὺς βαρβαροὺς, τῶν μὲν εὐρον οὐδὲν ἐὰν, οὗ δὲ ἔπυθόνυτο τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ αὐτῶν τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περεῖβαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπε-έναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωτών. μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οὗ δὲ ἐς Λυκωνιᾶν, οὗ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἐσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσαν τῷ χρηστηρῷ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρε-τέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτε ἐνεκα οὐκ ἦκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναίοι δόμιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἄκροπολίως ἐφιαλτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέοντοι προτιθέντες· τὰ δὲ ἐπιμήνια μελητόεσσα ἑστὶ. αὕτη δὴ ἦ
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. Thereat 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
μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναίσιμον-
μένῃ τότε ἦν ἡ ἅψαυστος. σημενάσης δὲ ταῦτα
τῆς ἱρείας, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυ-
μότερον ἐξέλυτον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ
ἀπολειτιπύνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ σφι πάντα
ὑπεξέχειτο, ἐπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗ ἀπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου ές Σαλαμίνα
κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνερρε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθα-
νόμενος ό τῶν Ἐλλήνων ναυτικός στρατός ἐκ
Τροιζήνων· ές γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζήνων λιμένα
προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι, συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ
πολλῷ πλεύνες νέας ἢ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον
καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλεύσων. ναύαρχοι μὲν νῦν
ἐπὶν ὁμός ὡς περ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης
ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω ἀνήρ Σπαρτητής, οὐ μέντοι γένεος
τοῦ βασιλέων ἐώς νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε
καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναίοι.
43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οὓδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοπο-
νήσου Λακεδαίμονι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόµενοι,
Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόµενοι καὶ
ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρεί-
χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνωι δὲ
πέντε, Ἐρμονεῶες δὲ τρεῖς, ἔννεπες οὕτω πλὴν
Ἐρμονεῶον Δωρικῶν τε καὶ Μακεδών ἔθνος, ἐξ
Ἐρίσεού τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυσίδος ὑστατα
όμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμονεῖς εἰσὶ Δρύσπες, ὑπὸ
Ἡρακλέως τοῖς ταῖς Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδο
καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάτες.
44. Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν Πελοπονησίων ἐστρατεύ-
οντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐξω ἱππείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν
πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόµενοι νέας ὁγδώ-
κοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμίνι γὰρ οὐ
caked 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 Eurycleides, 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 Peloponnese, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not
συνεναμάχησαν Πλαταίες Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τοι-όντες τι πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταίες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίνῃ τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἑτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὐτοὶ μὲν ως τούτους σώζοντες ἐλεί-φθησαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὄνομαξόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέας ἐκλήθησαν Κεκρόπιδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἅρχην Ἀθηναίοι κατωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοις ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰωνες.

45. Μεγαρείς δὲ τὸντὸ πλήρωμα παρεῖχοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιο, Ἀμπρακιώτας δὲ ἐπὶ νέας ἑχόντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἑώντες οὕτω Δωρικοῦ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγίνηται τριήκοντα παρεί-χοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλα πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἄλλα τῆς μὲν τὴν ἐωτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῆς ἀριστα πλεούσης ἐν Σαλαμίνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγίνηται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγίνητας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετρίες τὰς ἐπὶ ὑπὸ οὕτω δὲ Ἰωνες εἰσὶ. μετὰ δὲ Κῆμοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐδών Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναῖον. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀπο-πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὕπο 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 Dorians 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 ὦ ἀλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἄπικατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριπαρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἰωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρεῖς δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίων, Κύθνιοι δὲ μιᾶν καὶ πεντηκόντερου, ἐόντες συναμφότεροι οὕτωι Δρύσπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μῆλιοι ἐστρατεύωντο, οὕτωι γὰρ ὅν ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ύδωρ.

47. Οὕτωι μὲν ἂπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένωι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο. Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακίωτησι καὶ Λευκαδίσι, οἱ ἐξ ἔσχατῶν χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιήται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἔβοιθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσῃ μὴ νῆ, τῆς ἤρχε ἀνήρ τοῖς πυθιονίκῃς Φάυλλος. Κροτωνιήται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιόι.

48. Οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκόντερους. Μῆλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἰωνες ἐόντες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων μιᾶν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκόντερων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

49. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὔρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὥσκου δοκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντον 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 Phaïlus, 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 aforesaid 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
μαχάθην ποιεσσθαι τῶν αὐτὸλ χωρεὼν ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσιν, ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἡδῆ, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθεε, οἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων οἵ πλείσται συνεζεύγπτουν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς εἰ νυκήθεωσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολυρκήσονται ἐν νῆσῳ, ἵνα σφὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὐδεμίᾳ ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωντῶν ἐξοίσουται.

50. Τάυτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἔληλυθε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τῶν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέσθαι, ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατός ἀμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσασθαι Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλεοντότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσάυτος, ἥκε τε ἐς τᾶς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκείνα ἐδημοῦ. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειάν τε καὶ Πλαταιαν πυθόμενος Ἡβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμὴδιζοῦ.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ἡλησσόντου, ἐνθεν πορεύοσθαι ἡρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μήνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐπέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίων. καὶ αἴρεσθαι ἥρμην τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τους ὄλγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἴρου καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπων, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησι τε καὶ ξύλοις ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἕς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρήκεναι τὸ μαντήμον τὸ Ἡ Πυθίη σφὶ ἐξρησε, τὸ ἐξύλινον τεῖχος άνάλωτον
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 Peloponnese, 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 Peloponnese) 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
εσεσθαι: αυτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήμαν καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ίξόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναίων καλέουσι Ἀρήσιον πάγον, ἐπολιορκεῖσθαι τρόπον τοιοῦτον ὡς στυππεῖν περὶ τοὺς οὐστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ετόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἔνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὡμοὶ ἱμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίας ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἀλλα τε ἀντεμχανόντω καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὡστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησε ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἑλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἐξόδος τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐδεί γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρότειον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικήν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσησι. ἐμπροσθε ὁν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὀπίσθε δὲ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτε ἂν ἠπιστε ἡ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίνει ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκρους θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περὶ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐ μὲν ἐρρίππεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατώ καὶ διεθείροντο, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

1 In vii. 142.
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

² 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. μέγαρον here = ἱπών.
ετράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταῦτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἔπει δὲ σφι πάντες κατέ-
στρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχῆν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθηναίας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἑπτάτα Ἀρταβάην ἄγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρη ἡμέρη συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τὸν φυγάδας, ἔως τοῖς δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ἡ ὦν ὄψιν τῶν ἰδῶν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλεστο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμισιν ὁ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οὐ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἕστι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολὶ ταῦτῃ Ἐρέχθεος τοῦ γηγε-
νέους λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἑλαίῃ τε καὶ
θάλασσα ἐν, τὰ λόγοι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσει-
δέων ἐς καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίζαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης
μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταῦταν δὲ τὴν ἑλαίην ἀμα τῷ
ἀλλῷ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος
Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευόμενοι
ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὄρων βλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ
στελέχειος ὅσον τε πηχυαίον ἀναδεδραμικότα.
οὕτοι μὲν νῦν ταῦτα ἐφράσαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖν Ἔλληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξήγ-
γέλθη ὡς ἐσχέ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν,
ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκουτο ὡς ἐνοί τῶν στρα-
τηγῶν οὔδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἐμενοῦ τὸ προκείμενον
πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐσ ταῖς νέας ἐσεπιπτὼν καὶ ἱστία
ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθεουσόμενοι τοῖς τε ὑπολειπο-

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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. 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.
μένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νῦξ τε ἐγινετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς χέας.

57. Ἔνθαυτὰ δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπεικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέαν εἴρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τι σφι εἰς βεβούλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη διδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε "Ὅτ' ἀρα, ἢν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὐδεμίης ἐτὶ πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις κατὰ γὰρ πῶλις ἐκαστοὶ τρέφονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὡστε μὴ ὁ διᾶσκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατινὴν ἀπολέσατ' τε ἡ Ἑλλᾶς ἄβουλήσι. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἃθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέα τὰ βεβούλευμένα, ἢν κως δύνῃ ἀναγριῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὡστε αὐτοῦ μένειν."

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Ἐνθαυτῷ ἔκεισε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα αμειψάμενος ἦς ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπεικόμενος δὲ ἐμφανίζοντον οἱ κοινὸς τι πρῆγμα συμμίζει· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐστὶ τὴν νέαν ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἰ τι θέλει. Ἔνθαυτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆ οἱ παριζόμενοι οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνα τα πάντα τὰ ἱκουσε Μνησίφιλον, ἑωτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προσταθεῖς, ἐς ὁ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζον ἐκ τε τῆς νεώς ἐκβήναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνεδρίου.

59. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἴ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθείναν τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλοὺς ἢν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἳ 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 Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὀκύτων εἰπε· "Ὡ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τούτῳ ἀγώσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ἰαπίζονται." ὃ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται."

60. Τότε μὲν ἦπιώς πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιώδην ἐλεγε ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρώτερον λεγέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος διαδρόμοις παρεντῶν γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν; ὃ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε. "Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἂν ἔμοι πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖς λόγοις ἀναξευέξεις πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. αὐτίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἦκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἑλάσσονας· τούτῳ δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμίνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχῆσωμεν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔσται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἠξεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ ἐυρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νησί ολίγησε πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέως πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείσων. αὕτως δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγύνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκεκεται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἐνεστὶ, 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
ομοίως αυτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελο-
ποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἰ
περ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
ἡν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγώ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν
tῆς νυνί, οὔτε ύμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται
οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασι τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισι τε
κερδανέομεν περιεύθυνοι καὶ Λιγύνη καὶ Σαλαμῖν,
ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἔστι τῶν ἔχθρῶν κατύπερθε
ergέσθαι. οὐκότα μὲν νυν βουλευμένουσι ἀνθρώ-
ποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἥθελει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οὐκότα
βουλευμένουσι οὐκ ἥθελει οὐδὲ ἡθεῖ τῶν προσχωρεὼν
πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηγίας γυνῶμας.’’

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτίς οἱ
Κορίνθιοι Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγάν τε
κελεύων τῷ μη ἔστι πατρίς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ
ἐών ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπίλι ἀνδρὶ πόλιν γὰρ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γυνῶμας
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἡλώ-
κεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ
Θεμιστοκλέας κείνου τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους
πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐωυτοῖς τε ἐδήλου
λόγῳ ὡς εὖ καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέξων ἦ περ
ἐκείνοις, ἦντ’ ἀν διηκόσαι νέες σφι ἐφοί
πεπληρωμέναι οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς
ἐπίοντας ἀποκρούσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαυμε ἐς
Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “Σὺ
εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς·
ei δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ
ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νεες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ
πείθεο. ei de ταῦτα μή ποιήσης, ἥμεις 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 κομιεύμεθα ἔς Σιριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἣν περ ἡμετέρῃ τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιῶν ἔτος, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὅπ’ ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθήναι: ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶν ἡμῶν μουνωθέντες μεμνημεθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

63. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεσμοτοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκείν δὲ μοι, ἃρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφαιρολίπωσί, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγγη τὰς νέας ἀπολυπότων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγένοτο ἄξιομαχοι οἱ λοιποὶ. ταῦτην δὲ αἰρέται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναμαχεῖν.

64. Οὐτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἐπεσι ἀκροβολισμένοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδη ἐδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχίσοντες. ἡμέρῃ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμα τῷ ἤλω ἀνίόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἐδοξε δὲ σφι εὐξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἑπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Λιακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δὲ σφι ἐδοξε, καὶ ἐποίειν ταῦτα· εὐξαμένοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος Λιαντά τε καὶ Τελαμώνα ἐπεκαλέσοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Λιακῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λιακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Λιγυναν.

65. Ἡ Ἑφὸ δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μηδοὺς λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε ἐκείρητο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ἐρέσεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων· τυχεῖν τότε ἐδώ ἀμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Ὁρισίῳ πεδίῳ, ἱδεῖν δὲ

1 The images of Aeacus and his sons; cp. v. 80.
2 N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis 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 Theocydes, 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 Thriasian ² 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.
κοινορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ’ Ἕλευσίνως ὡς ἀνδρῶν μᾶλιστά κή τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κοινορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἵακχον. εἶναι δ’ ἀδαιμον τῶν ἵρων τῶν ἐν Ἕλευσίνῳ γυνομένων τὸν Δημάρχητον, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἶνα τούτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεῖν “Δημάρχητε, οὐκ ἐστὶ ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἐσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατηγῇ τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου έουσής τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείου τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ’ Ἕλευσίνως ἰδὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Αθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἢ μὲν γε κατασκήνῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνοῦσα αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐσταί, ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖν, τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατον κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναίοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρη, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μυεῖται καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακχύζουσι.” πρὸς ταύτα εἶπεῖν Δημάρχητον “Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν λόγων τούτων εἴπης: ἢν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἄνενειξθή τὰ ἔπεα ταύτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὕτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι οὐτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἰς. ἀλλ’ ἔχ’ ἰσχυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατηγῆς τῆς ἐθεοῖσι μελήσει.” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταύτα παραιτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρρυθμεῖν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῦς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἐρέχεω 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 Dicaeus 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 καταπτόμενοι.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑρέξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θεσάμενοι τὸ τρώμα τὸ Δακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἡστιαῖν, ἐπισχύσαντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι’ Εὐρίπο, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκείν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἥπειρον καὶ τῇσι νησίλ ἀπικόμενοι, ἣ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκουτο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας: ἀντιθέσαν γὰρ τοῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένους καὶ τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλη καὶ τῇσι ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσαν τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκ ἐπομένους βασιλέας Μηλείας καὶ Δωρίας καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῷ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τινίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τα ὁμόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσοῦτῳ πλέον ἐθνεὶ αἱ εἴπετο.

67. Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὖτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεσαν τὸν πόλεμον κῇ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποί ὡς ἀπίκουτο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτῶς Ἑρέξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμίξαι τε καὶ πνεύσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προιέτεο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν σφετέρων τύγρανοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἔδωτο
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 Histiaeae, 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 Thespians 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.
 HERODOTUS

ός σφι βασιλείς ἐκάστῳ τιμήν ἐδεδώκες, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἔπι δὲ ὁλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξής ἱζοντο, πέμψας Ἑρέξης Μαρδώνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιώδει εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδώνιου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶντῷ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέοςθαι, Ἅρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. "Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδώνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇ κατέ ναυμαχίησθι τῇ πρὸς Εὐβοίη οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐσώσαν γνώμην μὲ δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυχάνω φρονεούσα ἀριστά ἐστὶ πρήγματα τὰ σὰ. καὶ τοῦ τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τὶ δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίησθι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ ἐνεκα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δὲ τοῖς ἱσταται οὔεις; οὐ δὲ τοῖς ἀντέστησαν, ἀπῆλθεν ὡς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τὴ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεθα τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἴν μὲν μὴ ἐπειδὴ οὐ κατέναντίστη ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς γῆς μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐντεῦθεως τοῦ δέσποτα χωρίσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ ὁ λοι το πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἄλλα σφέας διασκέδας, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἐκαστοι φεύξονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῶτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐνώ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς
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 beseemed 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
οἰκός, ἂν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀπερεμίεις τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἠκοντας, οὐδὲ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπείχης ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνῳ μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακοθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλειν, ὡς τοῖς μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοῖ. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσι, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κῑλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὦφελος ἐστὶ οὕδεν.

69. Ταύτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὁσοὶ μὲν ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμισι, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακὸν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλεός, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ναυμαχήν ποιέσσας: οἱ δὲ ἀγεόμενοι τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἄτε ἐν πρώτοις τετειμμένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἑτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσις ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνεῖχθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἡσθῇ τῇ γυνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμισι, καὶ νομίζων ἐτὶ πρῶτον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλὰ μᾶλλον αἴνεε. ὡμοὶ δὲ τοῖς πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Σὺβοῖῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεῆσασθαι ναυμαχεύσας.

70. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνήγουν τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἰσχυρίν. τότε μὲν μνίν οὐκ ἑξέχρησε σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχῆν ποιήσασθαι· νῦν γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευᾶσθοντο 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
устерайν. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας εἰχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὔκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμβάνεις πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἔωστῷ ἀφύλακτον τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νῦκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ’ ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπόλῃ τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ήζοντο, καὶ σφί ἐπὶν στρατηγὸν Κλεομμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεώς. ἵκομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὃς σφί ἐδοξε βουλευομένοις, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἀτε δὲ εὐουσεῶν μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἢμετο τὸ ἔργον καὶ γὰρ λίθου καὶ πλίνθου καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πληρες ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνου οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτός οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶοπε ὡδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Δακεδαμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλισίοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονείας. οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κυνδυνευοῦση. τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

1 A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even
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 hasted 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 ἐμελείς οὐδέν. Ὅλυμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ᾦδη.

73. Οἰκεῖει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐθνεὶ ἐπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθωνα ἐόντα κατὰ χώρην ἱδρυταί υἱὸν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἰκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι. ἐν δὲ ἐθνος τὸ Ἀχαι-κόν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχύρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωτῶν, οἰκείει δὲ τὴν ἁλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑθνεὶ τῶν ἐπτα τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωρίες τε καὶ Λιτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύσπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωρίεων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Λιτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλίς μοῦν, Δρυσπῶν δὲ Ἑρμών τε καὶ Ἀςίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλη τῇ Δακωνίκῃ, Λήμνιών δὲ Παρορεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἰωνες, ἐκδεδωρεῖνται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἄρχομενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐθνεὼν αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμὴδίζον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἀπε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τὴν νησί μοῦν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψε-σθαι· οὐ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι ὁμοῖς ταῦτα πυρβαλαμακομενοι ἀρρώδεοι, οὐκ οὔτω περὶ σφίσα αὐτοῖσι δει-μαίνοντες ως περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνήρ ἄνδρι παραστὰς συγὴ θόνον ἐποιεῖτο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἅβου-λήν· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐκ τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγκύνετο 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 Paroreatae. 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. *Cp. vii. 205.*
οὐ μὲν ὡς ἔσ τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεόν εἶναι ἀποπλέειν καὶ πeri ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μήδε πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ῥθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αιγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέας αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαύτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ἤς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γυνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπτε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μηδὼν ἄνδρα πλοῖῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὗνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκήτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παιδων, τὸν δὴ ύστερον τούτων τῶν πρήγματων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκυντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιῆται, καὶ χρήμασι ὀλβίου. ὃς τότε πλοῖῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε τὸ ποὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀρβάρων τάδε. “Επεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ῥθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλεῶς καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἑλλήνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἕργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢ μὴ περίδητε διαδράντας αὐτοὺς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ὀμοφρονεύσου ὀὔτε ἀντιστήσουσαν ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἐωυτοῦς τε σφέας ὅψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονεόντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ.”

76. “Ο μὲν ταύτα σφὶ σημήνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοσὶ δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμίνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἦπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεξιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδή ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγγον 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 Thespian, 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
Herodotus

εσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι προς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέων τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆς νῆσι. τώνδε δὲ εἶνεκα ἀνήγγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖς Ἑλληνισὶ μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἔξη, ἀλλὰ ἀπολαμβάνετε ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι δοῦν τῖσιν τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισι ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μᾶλλον ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἄνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἐσεσθαι ἐκείτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίειν δὲ σιγῆ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὔδεν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέντο.

77. Χρησμοῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἄληθες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργεῖος λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλὰ ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρον ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν νῆσιο γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλήθην Κυνόσουραν ἐλπίδι μανομένη, λιταράς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, δία δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὑβριος υἱόν, δεινὸν μαμιώντα, δοκεούντ’ ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

1 ρήματα 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 fenced,
Artemis\(^2\) 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 γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμιξέται, αὔματι δ' Αρης πόντων φοινίξει. τοτ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἤμαρ εὐρύσσα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίας χρησμῶν πέρι οὕτω αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὕτε παρ' ἀλλων ἐνδεκόμαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμώνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὁθισμὸς λόγων πολλῶν· ἦδεσαν δὲ οὕκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκκυλοῦντο τῆς νησὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὀσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὄρων αὐτῶν τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεοσ κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνήρ Ἀθηναίος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγώ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτῶν τὸν τρόπον, ἀριστον ἀνδρὰ γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθηναίαι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὕτως ὤνηρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέστε Θεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἐωτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λῆθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέστε, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι προαιρήσθη ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἵ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθε οἱ θεμιστοκλέες, ἐλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τῷ ἀλλῷ καιρῷ καὶ δή καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐντε перί τοῦ ὁκότερος ἤμεων πλέω ἄγαθα τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δὲ τοι ὅτι ἵσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτευν 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
ποννησίονει. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὡς τὸν ἥπερ θέλωσι Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἶοι τε ἐσονται ἐκπλώσαι περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλων ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τούσιδε.

80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὐ ἠγγειλας τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἤκεις. ἦσθι γὰρ ἐς ἐμέ τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μηδών ἐδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἠθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ "Ελληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι, οὐ δὲ ἐπεῖ περ ἡκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἄγγειλον. ἤν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξῳ πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύσων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὃς ἤχει. ἐπεῖδι δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθονται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρῆσονται, εἰ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος εἰς Αἰγίνης τε ἤκειν καὶ μόνως ἐκπλώσας λαθὼν τοὺς ἐσπρεμέοντας περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ξέρξων. παραρτέσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀληξησούνους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγώντο λόγων ἀμφισβασίας οἱ γὰρ πλεύνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείδουντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεότυον δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἄνδρῶν Τηνώς αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἦ περ δὴ 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 τρίποδα ἐν τοῖς τῶν βάρβαρον κατελύσαν. σὺν δὲ ὅν ταύτη τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτο-
μολησάσθη ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημύνῃ ἔξεπλησυντο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Ἑλληνὶς ἐς τὰς ὁγδὼκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

83. Τοῖς δὲ Ἑλληνὶς ὡς πιστὰ δή τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τήνιων ρῆματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἦσα τε διέφαινε καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευεν εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖς ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι κατατίθενεν· παρανέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ρήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσβάινοι, καὶ ἢκε ἢ ἄπ’ Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἢ κατὰ τῶν Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦρτα ἀνήγγειλαν τὰς νέας ἀπάσας ὁ Ἑλληνὶς, ἀναγομένοις δὲ σφὶ αὐτίκα ἔπεκέστῳ οἱ βάρ-
βαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀλλοι Ἑλληνὶς ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούντο καὶ ὄκελλου τὰς νέας, Ἄμεινής δὲ Παλληνεύς ἀνήγγειλα Ὀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλ-
λει· συμπλακείσθης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ σὺ νυμμένων ἀπαλλαγήναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἀλλοι Ἄμεινὴ βοη-
θέοντες συνέμισσαν. Ὀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγίνηται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Ἀἰγίναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἀρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τύδε, ὡς φάσσα σφὶ γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεύσαν 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 Artemisium, 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 ὡστε καὶ ἀπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατόπεδου, ὅνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, "Ω δαμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἐτὶ πρύμνην ἀνακρούσθε;"

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὕτω γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνος τε καὶ ἐστέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἰωνεῖς: οὕτω δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἱώ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά. ἐθελοκάκειον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς ὅλιγοι, οἳ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νῦν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριγράφων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἐλληνίδας ἑλόντων, χρῆσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφότερων. τούδε δὲ εἶνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μοῦνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσῶν, Φυλάκος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδώρηθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

86. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τούτων οὕτω εἶχε τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁλαμών ἐκεραίζετο, ἀλ' μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἰ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἀτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἐτὶ οὗτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιούτῳ σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷον περ ἀπέβη. καὶ τοῖς ἵσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτῃ τὴν ἡμέρῃ μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωτῶν ἦ πρὸς Εὐβοία, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἔδοκε τε ἐκαστὸς ἑωτῶν θείσασθαι 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 Piraeus. 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 Euboea; 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.)
87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἐκαστοῖ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ 'Ἀρτεμισίναν τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὄν εὑροκήμησε μᾶλλον ἐτί παρὰ βασιλέι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἦς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέως πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καυρῷ ἡ νῆσος ἡ 'Ἀρτεμισίνη ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεῶς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἦ σαν ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἢ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὖσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικης ποιησάγης. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε οὐ τῇ φιλῇ ἄνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τὶ νέκιον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνει ἐτί περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νήσος. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὔνυχη χρησαμένη διπλὰ ἐωτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργά-σατο. ὥς τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεῶς τριήμαρχος ὡς εἰδὲ μν ἐμβάλλουσαν νη ἄνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίνη ἡ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἁμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἑράπετο.

88. Τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικη γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ συνέβη ὡστε κακῶν ἐργασαμένη ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα εὑροκήμησε παρὰ Ξέρξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θεύμειον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων "Δέσποτα, ὥρας Ἀρτεμισίνη ὡς εὐ ἀγωνιζεται 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 befel 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 ἐπειρέοθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἦστι Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαβέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νέος ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ δια-φθαρέσαν ἦπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἰρηται, αὐτῇ συνήσεικε εἰς εὐτυχίαν γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυμνικῆς νέος μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεὶν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἔν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαδνῆς ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἑών ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὅνομαστοι Περσέων καὶ Μίδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὁλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἀτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῦτοι αἱ νέες διεθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρὸν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὀπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇ σι νυσὶ παρέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεύντα, τῇ σφετέρῃς νυσὶ φευγοῦσης περιέπιπτον.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινων Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νεές διεθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνας, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νεές, ὡς προδότων. συνήσεικε δὲν οὕτω ὡστε Ἰωνοὺς τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθὸν. ἐτὶ τούτων ταῦτα λεγόμενων ἐνέβαλε νη Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκίᾳ
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
νησ.

Τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἴγιναι ἡπὶ κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νέα. ἀτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηκῖκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσθης νεὸς βάλ-λοντες ἀπῆραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησαν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτὴν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἰωνας ἔρρυσατο, ὅσ γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ἐρέξης ἔργον μεγά ἐργασα-μένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οία υπερλυ-πεόμενος τε καὶ πάντας αἰτωμένος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὁκὼς γὰρ τίνα ἴδοι Ἐρέξης τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὕπο τῷ ὀρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλεῖται Λιγάλεως, ἀνεπυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φῖλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεών τούτου τοῦ Φοινικῆος πάθεος. οὐ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγήν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Λιγυνῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ ὑθρόβῳ ἐκε-ράζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγοῦσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Λιγυνῆται τὰς ἐκπλεοῦσας· ὁκὼς δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπτιπτον ἐς τοὺς Λιγυνῆτας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρουν νέες ἡ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκοσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Λιγυνῆτεω νη ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἡ περ εἰλὲ τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Λιγυναίην,
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
Polycritus cries to Themistocles, “See how friendly we are to the Persians!” Polycritus and his father had been
BOOK VIII. 92-94

ship that watched off Sciathus, 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.¹ 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 pursued 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 drachmae 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)
τὰ ἵστια ἁειράμενον οἶχεσθαί φεύγοντα, ἱδόντας
dὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν
ὡς αὐτῶς οἶχεσθαί. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γινεσθαί
tῆς Σαλαμινῆς κατὰ ἰδὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος,
περιπέπτειν σφι κέλητα θείη πομπῆ, τὸν οὔτε
πέμψαντα φανήναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
στρατιάς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαί τοῖς Κορινθίοις.
τηθε δὲ συμβαλλόνται εἶναι θείον τὸ πρῆγμα.
ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ
κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἄδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀπο-
στρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαι καταπροδοὺς
tοὺς "Ελλήνας· οὗ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ
Whilst reading the naturally formatted text, I observe that the document is an excerpt from a work by Herodotus, a historian of the ancient Greek period. The text contains classical Greek prose, discussing events or situations involving Greek military actions, likely in the context of historical or mythical narratives. The language and style are consistent with the classical Greek style typical of Herodotus’ historical works, rich in detail and description, often examining the causes and effects of past events. The content appears to be a dialogue or account of events, involving the actions and decisions of various characters or figures. The language is poetic and historical, likely involving military strategies, alliances, and the outcomes of conflicts or battles. The text has a formal tone, suitable for academic or literary purposes, and adheres to the principles of ancient Greek literature. The document is a valuable resource for understanding historical narratives and the cultural context of the time.
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 Sciras, 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 ἁγών, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτη κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὁς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ Ἔλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὡς ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἐτὶ ἐώτα, ἐτοιμὸι ἦσαν ἐς ἅλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇ σι περιεούσῃ νηυὰλ ἐτὶ χρὴσεσθαί βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεμός ξέφυρος ἐφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέρα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὡστε ἀποπλησθήναι τὸν χρήσιον τὸν τε ἅλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένοι Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυηγία τὰ ταύτη ἔξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοὶ ἐτεσί πρότερον τοῦτων ἐν χρήσιμῳ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρι χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθη πάντας τοὺς Ἔλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναίκες ἐρετμοῦσι φρύξουσι

tοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελύσαντος βασιλέως ἐσεσθαί.

97. Εἴρηξε δὲ ὡς ἐμαθέ το ἔρ. ἱνὸς παύθος, δεῖσις μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖς Ἔλληνι ἃ αὐτὸι νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἔλληνσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνεις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύοντος ἀπολέσθαι, ὀρθοὺς μὲν ἐβούλευεν. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μητί τοῖς Ἔλληνι μητί τοῖς ἐωτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χώρα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τοῦ Φουνικῆιος συνέδεε, ἦν ἄντι τε σχεδὸν ἔωσι καὶ τεῖχεος, ἀρτέετο τε ἔς πῦλομον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἅλλην ποιησόμενοι.

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.
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' race¹ in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, angareion.²

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).

¹ ἄγγαρος is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἄστάνως (How and Wells). ἄγγαρος passed into Greek usage; cp. Aesch. Ag. 282.

VOL. IV. E
ξαντο πάντες, βοὴ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἔχρεώντο ἀπλέτω, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αὐτῇ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὗτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίειν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ἑρέξη δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνου γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ἑρέξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὤρῳ μὲν Ἑρέξην συμφορήν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτευών δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐωτοῦν ὅσ δῶσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσοι οὐ θανατικοῦσαν 

τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπὸ τῶν βίων ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντας τὸν κατεργάσασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδα ἡ αὐτῶν καλῶς τελευτήσας τὸν βίου ἐπὶ τῆς γνώμης κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λογισάμενος δὲ ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τὸν. "Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέσαι μήτε συμφορήν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεύ τοῦ τοῦ γεγονότος εἰνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγών ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἔστι ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ὑπηρων, σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ήδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσασθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθήναι οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἱπείρου τῆς ἔστι οὐ τῆς ἡμῶν ἡμιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκεῖ, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐπισχέν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μὴ δε δυσθύμεις οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ "Ελλησι οὐδεμία ἐκδύσεις μὴ οὔ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν τίνες τε καὶ πρῶτοι εἶναι σοὺς δοῦλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίες εἶ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτῶν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶν δουλήν. σὺ 98
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, βασιλεὺς, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελαστοὺς γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνην οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃ τοι τι δεδηληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ἔρεες ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοὶ. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Λιγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κῆλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἦδη ὅν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἵτινες εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεο: εἰ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἦθεα τὰ σεωτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρῆ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.”

101. Ταῦτα ἄκουσας Ἐρέξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἡσθῇ, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε Βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τοῦτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα Περσέων τοὺς ἐπικλήτους, ἐδοξεῖ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίνην ἐς συμβουλὴν μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρὸτερον ἐβαίνετο μοῦνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητὲα ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίνη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ἐρέξης τάδε. “Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὁς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεῖς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιον πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοις σφι γένοιτ' ἄν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὅν ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέων, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δὲ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἦθεα τὰ ἐμι. σὺ δὲν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβου-
BOOK VIII. 100-101

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 Cypriots 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:
λευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐώσα ποιεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβουλευσον ἐκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ
βουλευσάμενος.”

102. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἢ δὲ λέγει
τάδε. “Βασιλεὺ, χαλεπῶν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβου-
λευμένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἀρίστα εὐπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι
tοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκεῖ μοι αὐτὸν μὲν
σε ἀπελαύνειν ὑπὸσω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἴ ἐθέλει
τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ κατα-
λιπέιν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλει. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἦν
καταστρέψηται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ
tὰ νοεῶν λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὡς δέσποτα γίνεται·
οἱ γὰρ οἱ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο. τούτῳ δὲ ἦν
τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδόνιον γυώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία
συμφορή μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιεύστος καὶ
ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἰκὸν τὸν σον. ἦν
γὰρ σὺ τε περιῆς καὶ οίκος ὁ σῶς, πολλοὺς
πολλάκις ἀγώνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν
οἱ Ἑλληνες. Μαρδόνιον δὲ, ἢν τι πάθη, λόγος
οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδὲ τι νυκώντες οἱ Ἑλληνες
νυκῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δὲ, τῶν
εἶνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσαο, τυρώσας τὰς
Ἀθηναίας ἀπελάς.”

103. Ἡσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλὴν Ἑρέξης·
λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ ἀυτὸς ἐνοεῖε.
οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβουλευον
ἀυτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἀν δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ· οὕτω καταρρω-
δήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταῦτην μὲν
ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ὁφεσσαν
νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδες οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖς παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμό-
tίμου, γενος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ
102
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
οὐ τὰ δεῦτερα τῶν εὐνοῦχων παρὰ βασίλειόν ἐστὶν [οἳ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πηδασοίσι τουτέοις τοιώνδε συμβέβηκεν πρήγμα γίνεσθαι: ἐπεάν τοῖς ἀμφικτυόσι πάσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ ταύτῃς οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἐσεσθαί χαλεπῶν, τότε ἡ ἱερεία αὐτὸθι τῇ Αθηναίης φύει πῶγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφὶ διὸ ἦδη ἐγένετο.

105. 'Εκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσιν ἦδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν. ἀλῶντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πολεόμενον ὠνέεται Παινώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὅς τὴν ζοῦν κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἑργῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων ὀκως γὰρ κτήσατο παιδᾶς εἰδεσὶ ἐπαρμένους, ἐκτάμων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεες ἐς Σάρδις τῇ καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς βαρβάροις τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἰ εὐνοῦχοι πίστις εἰνεκά τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχών. ἀλλοις τε δὴ ὁ Παινώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλοὺς, ἀτε ποιεύμενοι ἐκ τούτων τὴν ζοῦν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτων. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ο Ἐρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασίλεα μετ' ἀλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντως πάντων τῶν εὐνοῦχων ἐτιμίζῃ μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικόν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθῆνας ἐδὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ τι πρήγμα ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Παινώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρώτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὡς ἀυτὸς δ' ἐκείνων ἤχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχυμένοις.
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.
ΗΡΟDOΤΟΣ

ἀντὶ τούτων ὁσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ην κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκή ἐκείνη, ἀστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἀσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὡς δὲ ἀρα πανοικίᾳ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος τάδε. „Ω πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἥδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἐργον ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τὶ σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τὶς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὦτι με ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἰναι; ἐδόκεεσ τε θεοὺς λήσειν οία ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμᾶς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ᾽ ἐμέ τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.“ ὡς δὲ οἱ ταύτα ώνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν πάιδων ἢς ὄψιν ἡμαγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωτοῦ πάιδων τεσσέρων ἑόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμμενων, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίησε ταύτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταύτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παίδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νῦν οὕτω περιήλθε ἡ τε τίσις καὶ Ἐρμότιμος.

107. Ἐρέξεις δὲ ὡς τοὺς παίδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν ἐς Ὅφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τὴς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τὸσί λόγοις τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὁμοία. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρὴν ἢς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγγον ὅπισώ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεος εἴχε ἐκαστος, διαϕυλαξόυσας τὰς σχεδιὰς πορευθῆναι βασιλέι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι

106
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 forefathers 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" ¹ in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

¹ A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.
λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἐδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευγον ἐπὶ πολλῶν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶνεν ἀλλ' ἀκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ὅρωντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἡλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεον τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξησόμενοι· ἔπει δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἑπιδίωκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδροῦ, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδροῦ ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νῆσων τραπομένους καὶ ἑπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἔπι τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Ἐυρωβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὅσ εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ ἀν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ, πειρῆτο ἄν ἤσυχήν μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἤσυχήν οὔτε τι προσχωρεῖν οἶον τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμὼ τὲ οἱ ἡ στρατὴ διαφθερέσται, ἐπιχειρείον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργον ἔχομεν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἐυρώπῃν οἰά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἦτοι ἀλησκομένων γε ἡ πρὸ τούτου ὄμολογευότων τροφῆς τε ἐξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον ἀλὲ τῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων καρπῶν· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχῇ οὐ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην· ἐστέων ὁν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς δὲ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἐνθεύτευν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέσθαι ἦδη 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."
HERODOTUS

άγώνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἰχοντο τῆς γυώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοὶ.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτευον, ὀρμεάτο τε ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοῦσθαι) ἐλεγεί σφι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοὶ παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἀνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νευκηκμένους ἀναμά-χεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακό-τητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ, εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἀνδρὰς φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἡρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἀνδρὰ ἐνα τῆς τε Ἀσίς καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι ἐόντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὅς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδια ἐν ὀργίῳ ἐποιεῖτο, ἐμπιπτές τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὅς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμα-στίγωσε πέδωσ τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεόν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καταμεί-ναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθήμεν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ τῆς οἰκίης τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ στόρου ἀνακώς ἔχετο, παντελῶς ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέω muzzle ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀπο-θήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μην καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχη ἀποστροφήν τὰ περ ὃν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα 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 ἐπείδη γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἑών ἀληθέως σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐβουλός, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὕτωι οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλής ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἐχοντας πλοίοιν, τοῖς ἐπίστευεν σιγῶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοις τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι: τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτίς ἐγένετο: οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουντο πρὸς τῷν Ἀττικῆν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ἐρέτην ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεμψὲ μὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν 'Αθηναίων ἄνηρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἁριστος καὶ σοφῶτατος, φράσοντα τοῖς ὁτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ 'Αθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑποργείειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἐλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἐλλησσόντω γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἱσυχίᾳ πολλὴν κομίζεω." οἱ μὲν ταύτα σημάναντες ἀπέπλευσαν ὁπίσω.

111. Οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μὴ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μῆτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησσοντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελείν ἑθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα σοι ἔδοςαν, ἀλλὰ προϊκομένον Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐωτοὺς ἐχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῶ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τε σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταύτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἂρα αἱ Ἀθηναὶ μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χριστῶν Ἦκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεί Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

112
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
γεωπείνας εσ τα μέγιστα άνήκοντας, και θεούς
duo áξρήστους ουκ έκλείπειν σφέων την νήσου
άλλ’ αιεί φιλοχωρέειν, πεινήν τε και άμηχανίην,
και τούτων των θεών έπηβόλους έσάντας 'Ανδρίους
ου δώσειν χρήματα· ούδέκοτε γάρ της ἑωτοῦν
ἀδυναμίης την 'Αθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Όθον μεν δὴ ταύτα ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ
οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέωντο. Θεμιστο-
κλέης δὲ, οὐ γάρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπτων
ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτει
χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος
τοῖς καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ
μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τῆν στρατηγία
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων
ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων
τε καὶ Παριῶν, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τήν τε "Ανδρον
ως πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα
ὡς εἰη ἐν αἰνὴ μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες
tαῦτα ἐσπέμπτον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ
ἀλλοι ἐδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω
dὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μοῦνος.
καίτοι Καρυστίωι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἶνεκα τοῦ
κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο. Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα
χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα.
Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν νυν ἐξ 'Ανδρου ὁρμόμενος
χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθρη τῶν
ἀλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὑλίγας
ήμερας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βουωτοὺς
tὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν. ἐδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἀμα μὲν
προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἀμα δὲ ἄνωρῃ εἶναι τοῦ
ἔτεος πολεμεών, χειμερίσατε ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν

114
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 Carystians 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 Carystians 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
Θεσσαλίη, καὶ ἐπειτα ἀμα τῷ ἕαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγητο πρῶτος μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν ὅπως τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἐφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἱππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μῆδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίων τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐθέναι ὅλα εἶλεστο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγητο κατ’ ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἰδεαὶ τῆς ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ πεοίσι τὶ χρηστὸν συνήθθευσεν πεποιημένου. ἐν δὲ πλειστον ἐθνος Πέρσας αἵρετο, ἄνδρας στρατευτοφόρους τε καὶ θείοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδους· οὕτω δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἦσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι.

114. Ἔν δὲ τοῦτο τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιος τε τὴν στρατιὰν διέκρινε καὶ Ἐρέξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστῆριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις, Ἐρέξην αἰτείειν δίκας τοῦ Δεον-ίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπονσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτῆται, ὁς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε έσοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν Θεσσαλίη, ἐλθὼν ἐς οὐς τὴν Ἐρέξεως ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς Μῆδων, Λακεδαιμονίοι τε σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαί ὁι ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτεύοντι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα." δὲ γελίσας τε καὶ κατασχῶν πολλὸν χρόνου, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-
winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnesians 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 Sacaes 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.
στεῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τούτον εἶπε "Τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὁδὲ δίκας δῶσει τοιαύτας ὄνας ἐκείνους πρέπει."  

115. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ἑρέξις δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θησσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικυνεῖται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέραις, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπὸν μέρος ὡς ἐίπειν. ὅκου δὲ πορεύομενοι γινοῖατο καὶ κατ’ οὐστίνας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπαζοῦντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὑροιεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν πολύν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναιφυμενήν καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἄγριων, καὶ ἔλευπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ’ ἐποίεσθε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβῶν δὲ λοιμὸς τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερία κατ’ ὅδον ἐφθειερ. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσεόντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσον τῇ πόλις, ὅπα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνει τε καὶ τρέφει, ἐν Θησσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἦνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα ἡλανυ, ἀπὶ δὲ ὄν ἀπέλαβε, ἅλλα δόντες οἱ Παῖόνες τοῖς Ὁρήξι ἀπατεόοντος Ἑρέξιον ἐφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνῶ Θρηκίων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένοις.  

116. Τοῦτα καὶ ὅ τῶν Βίσαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρητοσικῆς Ὁρήξι ἐργὼν ὑπερφυῖς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐφη τῷ Ἑρέξι ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ’ οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὀρος τῆς
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 back 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 Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the
'Ροδόπην, τοισί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οὐ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἡ ἄλλῳς σφί θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσυνεῖς πάντες ἐξ ἕντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὕτω, μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οὐ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἑθήνης πορεύομενοι ἀπείκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπευγόμενοι τὸν ᾿Ελλησπόντου τήσι νησὶ διέβησαν ἐς ᾿Αβυδον. ταῖς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εύρον ἐτὶ ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ χειμώνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ’ ὄδὸν ἔλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὑδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεύοντος πολλοὶ. οὐ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀμα Ξέρξη ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδης.

118. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδὲ λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἔς ᾿Αθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ’ Ἡίνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὄντα ὄντα ὑπερήφανος διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατινὴν Τὴδάρνει ἐπιτράπτει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ᾿Ελλησπόντουν, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπὶ νεός Φοινίκης ἐπιβάς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίνην. πλέοντα δὲ μν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίνην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματιν. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμοῦση τῆς νεός, ὡστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεύοντων συχνῶν Περσέων τὸν σὺν Ξέρξη κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βῶσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἰ τῖς ἐστὶ σφί σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαί “Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ὁδηγία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτων ἀπαλλαγῇ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων.”

120
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 scatheless, 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 Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπεῖν
"Ἀνδρεὶς Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασι-
λέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ ὁκεί ἐιναι ἐμοὶ ἡ
σωτηρία." τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυ-
νέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα
ἐπικουφισθείσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν
'Ασίνην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν
Ξέρξην, ποιήσας τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος
tὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνη τὸν
cυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε,
apοταιὼν τὴν κεφαλῆν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ
Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοίγε πιστῶς οὕτε
ἄλλως οὕτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ
dή ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτης πρὸς
Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίσσι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω
ἀντίξον μὴ οὐκ ἄν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοῖονδε,
tοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι
ἐς κούλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς
πρώτους, τῶν δὲ ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως
οὐκ ἄν ἵσον πλήθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς
tὴν θάλασσαν. ἄλλῳ δὲ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι
εἰρήταν, ὅδ' χρεόμενος ἀμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται
γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὑπόσῳ κομιδῇ ἀπικύμενος ἐς
'Αβδηρα καὶ ξεινίᾳ τε σφι συνθέμενος καὶ
δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέω καὶ τῇρη
χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ λέγουσι 'Αβδηρίται,
λέγοντες ἐμοίγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο
tὴν ξώνην φεύγων ἐξ 'Αθηνέων ὑπόσῳ, ὡς ἐν
ἀδείᾳ ἐὼν. τὰ δὲ 'Αβδηρὰ ἱδρυται 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 ἐὔκωνος (with his ‘loins girded up’) for swift travel.
'Ελλησπόντου μᾶλλον ὦ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡιόνος, οἴθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἶοὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἀνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δημόσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοίσι ἔξελον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθείναι, ἡ περ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σοῦνον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Λιαντὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ διεδάσαντο τὴν λήψιν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγείνετο ἀνδριᾶς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρί ἀκροτήριον νεός, ἐως μέγαθος δυνάμει τιχέων: ἐστήκε δὲ οὕτως τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ "Ελληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τοὺς θεοὺς κοινῆς ἐκ λειάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. οἱ δὲ παρ’ Ἕλληνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐφήσε ἔχειν, παρὰ Λυκυνητέων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήμα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίας. Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χοιρόσεος, οἱ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστάσαν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κραίσου κρητήρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληψίας ἐπλευνοὶ οἱ "Ελληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήμα δῶσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἕλληνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέων τῶ βωμῶ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐωτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς δοκεών ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα

124
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 firstfruits 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
124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνω, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύοντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὡμοὶ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι καὶ μιν Λακεδαίμονιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήμα μὲν ὑπὸν ἔδοσαν

1. Εὐρυβιάδη ἑλαίης στέφανον, σοφίς δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέη καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἑλαίης ἐδωρήσαντό τε μιν ὁχῶ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προεσπέμψαν ἀπίοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὕτωι οἷ περ ἰππεῖς καλόνται, μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Τεγεστικῶν, μοῦνον δὴ τούτου πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲμεν Σπαρτιηταῖ προεσπέμψαν.

125. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἁθῆνας, ἐνθαύτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἔχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέως ἐὼν, ἀλλὰς δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανεῶν ἀνήρων, φθόνω καταμαργέων ἐνείκε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἂπειρων προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἁθῆνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαίμονίων, ἀλλ' οὗ δὲ ἐωτῶν. ὅ δὲ, ἐπιεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύσετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε "Οὔτω ἔχει τοι' οὔτ' ἀν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης

1 Stein supposes that something is omitted before Εὐρυβιάδη, perhaps ἀνδραγαθίας.

126
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.
ετυμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἀν σὺ, ὁνθρώπε, ἐδών 'Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνήρ ἐν Πέρσῃ λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἔων, ἕκ δὲ τῶν Πλαται-κῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, δὲ ὅπισώ πορεύομενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλή-νην ἔγινετο, ἀτε Μαρδόνῳ τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ θεσσαλίν τε καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ οὕδεν κω κατε-πεύγοντος ήκεὶν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδι-καίον ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστείωσι Ποτιδαιώτης μὴ οὐκ ἐξανάρξεισασθαι σφέας. οὐ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῶται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκηκε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖς Πέρσησι οὐχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τῇ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοῦς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἰχὸν δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαίοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξανάστατες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων, ἔπει δὲ σφέας ἐλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγών ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναῖῳ ἐπιτροπεῦει καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδεῖς ἐσχοῦν.

128. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτι-δαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόζεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὡς τοῖς ιδίοις ἄρχην, ἐγνωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὅν λέγεται), τέλος
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 Potidæa, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidæa had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidæa; 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 Tornæ and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidæa; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenes the general of the Scio-naeans, 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
μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως βυβλίων γράψειε ἡ Τιμόξεινος ἔθελον παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζων πέμψαι ἡ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περειπλέξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίων ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἔπαιστος δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδίδοις τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκειμένον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἄνδρος Ποτίδαιτε ὁ τὸν ὄμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὁμίλοις, ὥσα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἵ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὅς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἐφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναιῶν συμμαχίᾳ. τούτι δὲ στρατηγοῦσι ἐπιλεξαμένουσι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αὐτίον τῆς προδοσίας ἐδοξε μὴ καταπλήξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίᾳ τῆς Σκιωναῖων πόλιοι εἶνεκα, μὴ νομίζοιατο εἶναι Σκιωναίοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνει· Ἀρτάβαζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἵδοντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὦς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήσαν, ἐτὶ δὲ τρεῖς υπόλοιποι ἤσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἐσοὶ ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὡς οὐδαμά κω, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη, οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὖκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-
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 ἔπισταμένους οἱ Ποτίδαιται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αὐτίων δὲ λέγουσι Ποτίδαιται τῆς τε ῥήχης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, οτι τοὺς Ποσειδέωνος ἐσ τον νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἰσέβησαν οὔτοι τῶν Περσέων οί περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτίων δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὗ λέγειν ἐμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγεγομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάκ-βαζος ὡς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὔτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὔτω ἐπρηξαν.

130. Ὁ δὲ ναυτίκος ὁ Ἐρέξιος περιγεγομένος ὡς προσεμίζε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνοις καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθυμεσσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμερίζε ἐν Κύμη. έαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρωΐος συνελέγετο ὡς Σάμον. αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμερίσαν αὐτοῦ. Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μιδών οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευον. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφί ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαῖος καὶ Ἀρταύντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεως· συνήρχε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀδελφίδεος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω προσελομένον Ἰθαμίτης. ἀτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήσαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατημενοι ἑφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇ σι Ἰάσι τρηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφὶ τὴν ἑωτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίνοις ἀλλ' ἀσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν 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 here-in, 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 fare 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 Artaõntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artaõntes 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
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 Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, 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 Lace-daemonians 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 L. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus" (How and Wells).

2 Otherwise unknown.
μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξ ἑώντες ὑπεξε- 
σχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ 
δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Ἀἰγίναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι 
καταπλώσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν· οἱ προ skypeγαγοί αὐτοὺς 
μόνες μέχρι Δῆλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πάν δει- 
νὸν ἦν τοὺς Ἕλληνις οὔτε τῶν χῶρων εὔσι ἐμ- 
πείρος, στρατιὰς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, 
τὴν δὲ Σάμου ἐπιστέατο δόξη καὶ Ἡρακλέας 
ςτῆλας ἵσον ἀπέχει. συνεπιπτε δὲ τοιούτο ὡς τε 
τοῦς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐςπέρης ἀνωτέρω 
Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, 
τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηιζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν 
ἡδο κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύ- 
λασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δήλου, 
Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑσσαλίνην ἐχείμαζε. ἐν- 
θεύτων δὲ ὄρμωμενος ἐπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια 
ἄνδρα Ἑὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντει- 
λάμενος πανταχῇ μὲν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά 
τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὁ τι μὲν βουλόμενος 
ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, 
οὐκ ἐχὼ φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγεται· δοκέω δὲ 
ἐγὼν περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ 
ἀλλῶν περὶ πέμψαν.

134. Οὕτως ο Μῦς ἐς τε Δεβάδειαν φαίνεται 
ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῶ πείγας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων 
ἄνδρα καταβήναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς "Ἄβας 
τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ 
δὴ καὶ ἐς Θῆβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τούτῳ μὲν τῷ 
Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἐστί δὲ κατὰ περ

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

136
having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreat ing 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. 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 Europus 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, 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

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2 See How and Wells ad loc. for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiaras and "Ptoan" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.
ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ ἤροισι αὐτὸθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοῦτο δὲ ξείνου τινὰ καὶ οὗ Ὑβαίων χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Ὑβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτὸθι διὰ τόδε ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἔλεσθαι τοῦτον, ἐωυτῷ ἢ ἄτε μάντι χράσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένου· οὗ δὲ σύμμαχον μιν ἐἵλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖκ ἔξεστι Ὑβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακομμήθηναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Ὑβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἀρα τὸν Ἐὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστραφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτώον, ἔστι δὲ Ὑβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπάϊδος λίμνης πρὸς ὅρει ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραφῆς πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαί δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἀνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἐμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντι βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χράν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Ὑβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἐλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὡ τι χρήσωνται τῷ παρέοντι πρήγματι τὸν δὲ Ἐὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτῆν, φάναι δὲ Καρίᾳ μιν γλώσσῃ χράν, συγγραφαμένου δὲ οἰχεσθαί ἀπιόντα εἰς Θεσσαλίην.

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡ τῇ δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε ἀγγελον 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 astonished 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 Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, op. vii. 197.
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 Alabanda¹ 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 Perdicas, 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 Argos² to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdicas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebæa. There they served for wages as

¹ The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.
εθήτευν ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐ μὲν ὑποτευχῆς νέμων, οὐ δὲ βοῦς, οὐ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλεὸς αὐτῆς τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσεν· ἤσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενεῖς χρήματι, οὐ μόνον ὁ δήμος· ὃκως δὲ ὑπτής, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητος Περδίκκεως διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἐωτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντο τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐσωτησ τὸν ἄκοισαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτικά ὡς εἰ ἐτέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγορεύει σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἐωτοῦ. οὐ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἐφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἔξεγει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἄκοισας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὦ ἡλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος “Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι,” δέξας τὸν ἡλιον. οὐ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὣς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα. οὐ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε “Δεκώμεθα ὁ βασιλεὺς τά διδοῖς,” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἐδαφὸς τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἡλιον, περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλιον, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκεῖνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆσαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ σημαινεῖ τις τῶν παρέδρων οἶνον τῇ χρήμα ποιήσει ὁ παῖς καὶ ως σὺν νῷ κεῖνων ὁ νεώτατος λύβοι τά διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἄκοισας καὶ ἡμινθεὶς πέμπτει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἵππεας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταυτῇ, 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

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.
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 Argaeus, 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.

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.
λωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογεῖν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἔγω ἐνέπρησα. τοῦτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαῖως ἔχει μοι ποιέων ταῦτα, ἂν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεύει ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἴοι τε ἐστε ἀντέχεων τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴς Ξέρξεως στρατηγισίς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν ὡστε καὶ ἡ ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθαι καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς εἶ περ εὗ φρούετε, ἀλλὰ παρέσται πολλαπλησι. μὴ δὲν βούλεσθε παρισοῦμενοι βασιλεύει στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θείει δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλείς ταύτῃ ὁμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαίχμην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἔγω δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας εὔσης ἐξ ἐμείν οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμαθώντε, προσχρησίω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ἐνορῷ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ ὀδοιπότε ἐπὶ συμμονοίσι τῶν πάντα χρόνων πολεμεέων Ξέρξη· εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τούτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἠλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωποῦ ἡ βασιλείας ἑστὶ καὶ χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης. ἢν δὲν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ’ οἴσι ὁμολογεῖν ἐθέλουσί, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα ὀικημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰέτε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαιρετὸν μεταίχμιον τε τὴν 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: πολλοῦ γὰρ ύμίν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μούνουσι ύμῖν Ἐλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιείς θέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.

141. 'Αλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἦκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθηνάς ἐς ὀμολογήτην ἄξοντα τὸ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἁμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Δωριέυσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μηδών τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοι, κάρτα τε ἐδεισαν μὴ ὀμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναίοι, αὐτίκα τε σφι ἔδοξε πέρπειν ἄγγελους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὡστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἐμελλὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι Ἦκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὀμολογίᾳ, πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατά τάχος ἄγγελους. ἐπίτηδες δὲν ἐποίειν, ἐνδεικνύοντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἑωτὸν γυνήν.

142. Ὁς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι ὡς Ἁμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεισομένους ὑμέων μὴτε νεῶτερον ποιεῖν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα μὴτε λόγους ἐνδεκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρουν οὔτε γε ἄλλοις Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοίσι, ύμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν οἴνεκα. ἠγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ύμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων θυσιασμένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς υμετέρης ἀρχήθεν ὁ ἄγων ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα· ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης.
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
τούσι "Ἐλλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οὕτως αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοῦς ἐλευ-
θερώσαντες ἄνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοις μὲντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε δίξων
ηδῆ καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἡδῆ πολλῶν.
ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικᾶς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς
πόλεμον ἀχρήστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπι-
θρέψεϊν, ἐστὶ ἄν ὁ πόλεμος ὃδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ
ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λείπας
tὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα
ποιητέα ἐστὶ· τύραννος γὰρ ἔως τυράννω συγ-
κατεργάζεται ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἰ περ ἐν
τυγχάνετε φρονεόντες, ἐπισταμένοις ὡς βαρβά-
ροις ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστῶν οὔτε ἀληθῶς οὐδέν." ταῦτα
ἐλέξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπε-
κρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό ὃ ἐπιστάμεθα
ὅτι πολλαπλῆσθαι ἐστὶ τῷ Μῆδῳ δύναμις ἡ περ
ἡμῖν, ὡστε οὔδεν δεέι τοῦτο ὃ ὅνεδίξειν. ἀλλὰ
ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλυχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω
ὁκὼς ἄν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὡμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρ-
βάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθεων οὔτε ἡμέας
πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς
Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι, ἐστὶ ἄν ὁ ἤλιος τὴν αὐτήν ὅδον
ὑγίᾳ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μὴκοτε ὡμολογήσειν
ἡμέας Ἐρέξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῦσὶ τε συμμάχουσι πίσυνοι
μιν ἐπέζημεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἦρωσι, τῶν
ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν ὅτιν ἔχον ἐνέπρησε τοὺς τε
οἶκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σὺ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ
λόγους ἔχον τουσύδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεσθε Ἀθηναίοις,
μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ύπουργεῖειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδεων
150
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 wherefor 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 οὗ γὰρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἀχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φιλον.”

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Το μὲν δείσαι Δακεδαιμοίους μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίαν ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἰκατέ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τῷ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὖναμόθι τοσοῦτος οὐτέ χῷρη κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἔθελομεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδοῦλωσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἑστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, μηδ’ ἦν ἔθελομεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖς ἡμέας ἀναγκαῖοι ἔχει τιμωρεῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὀμολογεῖς τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένω, αὕτως δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν ὃμαιρόν τε καὶ ὀμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα τε κοινά καὶ θυσίαι ἢθεά τε ὀμό- τροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εἰ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθε τα ὡτῶ, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐστ’ ἂν καὶ εἰς περὶ Ἀθηναίον, μηδαμὰ ὀμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ἐέρξη. ἡμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προοίμῃ τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἔφυσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφόρη- μένων ὡτῶ ὅστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἔθελεν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ύμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λυπαρῆσομεν ὡτῷ ὅκως ἂν ἐχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ύμέας. νῦν δὲ, ὡς ὡτῶ ἑχοντων, στρατηγὴν ός τάχιστα ἐκπέμπτε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκας χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος.
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 become 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
ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πῦθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσωμεν τῶν ἐκείνων ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὅπι παρεῖναι ἐκείνων ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προβοηθήσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην. “οὐ 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 Boeotia.” At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.
BOOK IX
I

1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὃς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν σπουδὴ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας. ὦκυν δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἥγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγγον τοῖς Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροετεμήσε τε Ὑώρηξ ὁ Δηρισάιος Ἑρέξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅσα οὐκ εἶναι συμβείνειν ἐν στρατοπεδεύσεσθαι ἐκεῖνον, οὔδε ἐσόν εἶναι ἐκαστερώ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰξώμενον ποιεῖν ὅκως ἀμαχητῆ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν "Ἑλληνικής ὀμοφρονέοντας, οἳ περὶ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγνώσκουν, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπασι ἀνθρώποισιν "εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἦμεῖς παραίνεομεν," ἐφασαν λέγοντες, "ἐξεις ἀπὸν ἕκτα τὰ ἐκεῖνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλις, πέμπον δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις: ἐνθεύτεν 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 Boeotia, 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.
HERODOTUS

touς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ὑμιῶς μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεια."  

3. Οὗ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευν, ο δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινοὶ ἔνεστακτο ἱμερος τὰς 'Αθηνας δεύτερα ἐλεῖν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοὶς διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεὶς δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι 'Αθηνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐσ τῆν 'Αττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς 'Αθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμίνι τοὺς πλεῖστους ἐπινυθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇ θυσί, αἵρεσι τε ἐρήμου τὸ ἀστυ. ἦ δὲ βασιλέως αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ύστερην τῆν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατήθην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἠσεὶ δὲ ἐν 'Αθηναὶσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμίνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα 'Ελλησ- πόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοισι διε- πόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστειλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας ὑπόμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου εὐσίσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ εὐσίσης ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἐλέγε ἐς παρά Μαρδονίον. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Δυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἀμείνων εἶναι δε- χαμένως τῶν λόγων, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, εἶπενείκα ἐς τὸν δήμον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἶτε δὴ δεδεγμένης χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἶτε καὶ ταύτα οἱ ἑαυτάνε: Ἀθηναίοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινοὶ ποιησάμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περι-
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
HERODOTUS

στάντες Δυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θωρυβοῦ ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι περὶ τὸν Δυκίδην, πυθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναίκι καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Δυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναίκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅπε. ἐως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατοῦ ἦσεν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἔπει δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Δακεδαιμονᾶς τε ἐπεμπτον ἀγγέλους ἀμα μὲν μεμψομένους τούτῳ Δακεδαιμονίου ὡς περιεύδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἡντίσασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἀμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὀσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δῶσειν, πρὸεῖπται τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμνυσσί 'Ἀθηναίους, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τὸν τούτον τὸν ἀντόν καὶ σφι ἦν Ἰακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἀμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσμμῷ ἐτείχεων, καὶ ἦδη ἐπάλξεις ἐλάμβανε. ὥς δὲ ὕπικοντο ἐς τὴν Δακεδαιμονὰ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τῇ Μεγάρῳ ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιῶν, 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. ὡς ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τούτῳ μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοί, τοὺτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ᾽ ὑστε ἐκ τοῦ ὅμοιοι ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἄν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἐλλήνων αἴδευσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ κατανεύσαμεν ἀλλὰ ἀπευπάμεθα, καὶ περ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ Ἐλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοι τε ὧτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὀμολογεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν. οὐ μὲν οὖν ὀμολογήσωμεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἡμέων οὖτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίνην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμετέρου φρόνημα σαφέως, ὃτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἐλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστὶ, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὖδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιεῖσθε, συνθὲ- μενοὶ τε ἡμῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν προδεδώκατε, περιεῖδετε τε προεσβα- λόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τῶν βάρβαρον. ἐς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσιν οὐ γάρ ἐποίη- σατε ἐπιτηδεῶς. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιᾷ ἀμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἄν τὸν βάρ- βαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρ- τουμεν τῆς Βοιωτίας, τῆς γέν ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχεσασθαῖ τῷ Θριάσιον πεδίον." 8. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ταῦτα, ἀνε- βάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ύστεραῖν 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
Ήστεραίη ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίειον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πόλλην πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἤν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αὐτίον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξανδροῦ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίων, τότε δὲ ὄρην ἐποίησαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγέρσθη ὀτι ὁ Ἰσθμὸς σφι ἐτείχεστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἐτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν ὅτε δὲ Ἀλεξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐκ ἀπετείχεστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωθηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιτητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοῖος δε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνήρ Τεγεής, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμονί μέγιστον ξείνου, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἀρα σφι τάδε. "Οὐτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἐφοροῦ Ἀθηναίων ἡμίν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλημένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλας κλισίδας ἀναπεπτεάται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι."

10. "Ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπηγεμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἐτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχίλιοις Σπαρτιτητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστὸν τάξαντες
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 cp. viii. 135.
τῶν εἰλώτων, Παυσανίας τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιταξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἁγεμονία Πλευστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτον ἐπιτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεομβρότος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίας μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιήν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατινὴν τὴν τῷ τείχῳ δείμασαν μετὰ ταύτα οὗ πολλοὺν χρόνου τινὰ βιώσα ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατινὴν ὁ Κλεομβρότος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε. θυμομένω ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἦλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ σύραντο. προσαρέσται δὲ ἐσωτῆρ Παυσανίας Ἕυρυνακτὰ τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὲ σὺν Παυσανίᾳ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἐξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἑκαστος ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἐλεγον τάδε. "Τμεῖς μὲν, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες Τακινθία τε ἅγετε καὶ παίξετε, καταπροδότες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἄθηναιοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ύμέων χίτει τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὔτω ὅκως ἄν δύνωται καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλεῖος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἧν ἅν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγήσωνται. ύμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν μαθήσεσθε ὅκοιον ἀν τι ύμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη." ταύτα λεγόντων τῶν ἄγγελων, ὁ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὀρκου καὶ δὴ δοκείναι εἶναι ἐν Ὅρεσθεῖώ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

1 His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.

168
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

\(^1\) Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.
Heraclius. Heraclius led an army of barbarians, of whom some escape, and others were enslaved. Of these, the inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.

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 country-men.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
δὲ τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασιμὴ ἡ χώρη ἢν ἢ Ἀττικῆ, εἰ τε νικῶτο συμβαλῶν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὡστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἵσχευν. ἐβουλεύετο δὲ ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θῆβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλιᾷ καὶ χώρη ἱππασίμῳ.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἢδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἠλθεί ἀγγελία πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Δακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ καὶ τούτων πρῶτων ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ὑπόσ τος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἤλιον δύνοντος ἡ Περσική αὐτὴ στρατιὰν ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίως ἠλθεί ἀγγελία ὡς ἀλέες εἶναν οἱ "Ελληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὔτω δὴ ὁπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τούς προσχώρουσ τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέως, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ὑπὸ Τανάγρη δὲ νῦκτα ἑαυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραῖῃ ἐς Σκόλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίῳ ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ περ ὑπερ μιδιζόντων ἐκεῖρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτω κατὰ ἕχθος αὐτῶν ἄλλῃ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίας μεγάλης ἔχομενος ἐρυμά τε τῷ στρατῶ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὀκοῖον τι ἔθελοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέοντο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῖ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἑρυθρέων.
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 Cithaerion.
παρὰ Ἑρωδότος, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταϊδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τὸ γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κη μέτωπον ἐκαστον. 16. Ἐγόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τούτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγίνους ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν τε Μαρδόνιου καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἴποντο: ἢν δὲ τὸ δείπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃς, τάδε δὲ ἦδη τὰ ἐπίλουτα ἦκονον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενίῳ. ἤφη δὲ ὁ Θερσάνδρος κληθήναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον τοῦτο, κληθήναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἀνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαίον ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὅποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἰς Ὀρχομενίον. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ἔτει νῦν ὁμοτρά- πεζος τὲ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνα τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλυπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προείδως αὐτὸς περὶ σεωτοῦ βουλεύσθαι ἔχῃ τὰ συμφέροντα. ὅρας τούτους τοὺς δαιμονίους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατόν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύμενον. τούτων πάντων ὡς ἐκεῖ ὁλόγον τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὁλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἁμα τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετείναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάςας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν "Οὐκὼν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν

174
Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataeae, 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, Attakinus son of Phrynon, 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 Attakinus 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 τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐν αὐῃ ἔδυσε Περσέων;”
τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπεν ἂ Ἐξείνη, ὦ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπως· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πεῖθεσθαι οὐδεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συγγροὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπομεθα ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἔχθιστη δὲ ὁδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπωσι αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονεύοντα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν.” ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίῳ Θερσάνδρου ἦκουν, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὥς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγω ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἡ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῆς τὴν μάχην.
17. Μαρδόνιον δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιώτῃ στρατοπεδευ-μένον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρεῖχοντο ἀπαντεῖ στρατιῆν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἁθῆνας, ὡσοι περ ἐμηδίξου Ἕλληνων τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέας οὗ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμηδίξου γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὕτω) οὐκ ἐκόντες ἀλλ' ὕπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλήν εἰπα τὴν ἀπίξεν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὑστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἤγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἄνηρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὕτω ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἤπειρα ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἐωτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἤξεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἤπειρος ἡ ἀπάσα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξήλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἕλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἑότοις φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεὶ σφέας, διεξήλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τῶν τοῦτο τούτο. ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. “Ὡ Φωκέας, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὕτοι οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ μέλλουσι προ- ὀπτὶς θανάτῳ δῶσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσ- σαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἀνδρα πάντα τινὰ
176
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 Boeotia; 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, straightway 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


18. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνει· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετέινοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ ἀπήκε. καὶ οῖ ἄντιοι ἑστηκαν πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ ἐπήλαυνον ὁπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ’ ἀτρεκέως ἐπειν οὔτε εἰ ἤλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠραν πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δεῖσαντες μή καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὔτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὁπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὔτ’ εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἦθελησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὁπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐλεγε τάδε. “Θαρσέτε ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἑόντες ἀγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικῆσετε οὔτ’ ὕπο ὡμὲν εὔποτε βασιλεὰ.” τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἤλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδέυντο. πυθθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῦι τὰ ἁμείν ἐάνδανε, οἳ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐξίοντας Σπαρτήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαιεῖν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργεσάντων
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.”

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 ἴρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἑλευσίνα. ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἴρά, ὡς σφὶ ἐκαλλιέρρει, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, συμμυγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκουν τῆς Βοωτίης ἐς Ἕρμηρας, ἔμαθον τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἑπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τούτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος.

20. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐς τὸ πέδιον, πέμπτει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἱππον, τῆς ἱππάρχει Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσης, τὸν Ἑλληνας Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἱππον ἔχων Νησαίον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργαζόντο καὶ γυναίκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίαν δὲ Μεγαρέας ἐτυχὼν ταχέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτη ἐγίνετο τῇ ἱππῷ. προσβάλλοντος δὲ τῆς ἱπποῦ οἱ Μεγαρέας πιεζόμενοι ἐπέμπουν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ οἱ κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέας λέγοντες ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοὶ εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἱππον δεκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἐστιν ἄρχην ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὸ δὲ λιπαρὴν τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. ὑν ὑ δὲ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφὶ ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, 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
HERODOTUS

πειράμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τινες ἔθελοιεν ἄλλοι ἔθελονταί ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τούτων καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεύσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριήκοσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ολυμπιόδωρος ὁ Δάμπωνος.

22. Οὕτωι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξότων καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρᾶς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελέμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνῳ τέλος τούνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβάλλοντος τῆς ἱπποῦ κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἱπποὺ βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἱσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασιστίου· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἱπποῦ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἄρχας οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτωι ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἰχε χρύσεον λεπιδώτων, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθώνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκει. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίειν οὐδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παῖε μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ οὔτε ἁποθνησκόντα, ἀναχωρήσιος τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἐμαθοῦ τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὡς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἢν τὸ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἠλαυνοῦ τοὺς ἱπποὺ πάντες, ὡς ἀν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἄλλα πάντας, τὴν 182
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 Erythrae 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,
αλλην στρατηγὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ὦ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπασ ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὥσα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἔως μὲν ἦν μοῦνοι ᾔσαν οἱ τρικόσιοι, ἐσούντω τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀπελειποῦν· ἀν δὲ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, αὐτῶ ὁ ὦν οὐκέτι οἱ ἦπτοται ὑπέμενον οὕτω σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνῳ ἄλλοις προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἦπτεων. ἀποστήσαντες ὁν ὦν τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὁ τι χρεῶν εἰ ἐποίεειν· ἐδόκεε δὲ σφι ἀναρχίας ἐουσίας ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρσίων.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἦπτου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πέθωσο ἐποιήσαντο Μασίστιον πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατηγὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστος, σφεας τε αὐτῶσ κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἦπτους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῆ τε χρεωμενοι ἀπλέτω ἄπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατεἰστε ἦχῳ ως αὐνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρσίων λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε Πέρσης καὶ βασιλέω.

25. Οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ὦς τὴν ἦπτον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξαμενοι ὦσαντο, ἑθάρσησαν τε πολλῆ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ὦς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ὄν θέσις ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἰνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὲ εἰνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίειν· ἐκλειποῦν τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεσσόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἐδοξε σφι ἐπικαταβήμαι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαινετο πολλῶ ἐως ἐπιτιθέότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἑρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τούτων δὴ τῶν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ 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,
HERODOTUS

εὖσαν ἐδοξέ σφυ χρεῶν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὀπλα ἤσαν δὶ τῆς ὑπωρείς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος παρὰ 'Τσιάς ἐσ τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἑθνεά πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ 'Ανδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὀχθῶν τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. 'Ενθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὁδισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ 'Αθηναίων· ἐδικαίων γὰρ αὐτοί ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἐτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαία παραφέροντες ἔργα. τούτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεηταί ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς εἰς κοτε ἀξιομεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσα ἦδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, εἰς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπειρώντο μετὰ τοῦ Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατίοντες ἐσ Πελοπόννησον τότε εὐρόμεθα τούτο διὰ πρήγμα τούνδε. ἔπελ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐοντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐσ τῶν Ἰσθμῶν ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖς κατιοῦσι, τότε ὅν λόγος Ἡλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεῶν εἰ ἄρτι τῶν μὲν στρατῶν τῶς στρατῷ μῆ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τῶν ἄν σφέος αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτον οἱ μουνομαχήσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοις. ἐδοξέ τε τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις ταύτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἐταινον ὄρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τουῦ ὑπὲ, ἥν μὲν Ἡλλος νικήσῃ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἥν δὲ νικηθῇ, 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 \(^1\) 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 Peloponnese; 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 \(^2\) 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.
έμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατηγὴν ἐκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ξητήσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε ὅ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡρόπος τοῦ Φηγέως στρατηγὸς τε ἓων καὶ βασιλεὺς ἥμετερος, καὶ ἐμονομάχησε τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ἰᾶλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοπόννησιοι γε τοίσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἐχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρας τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἔξοδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μὲν νῦν ὁ Δακεδαῖοιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἱρέσιν ὀκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἁρχειν παρίμενον τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἄξιονικότερα εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἐχεν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἐχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἥμιν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω δὲν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἐχειν τὸ ἐτέρου κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γὰρ σφί ἐστὶ ἐργα οία περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὕτ' ὅν καίνα οὔτε παλαιά." 27. Οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Επιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τὴνδε μάχης εἴνεκα συλλεγήσαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεί δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προειθήκε παλαιὰ καὶ καίνα λέγειν τα ἐκατέρους ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαῖος ἥμιν ἐχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ὑμέας οἶδεν ἥμιν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτῳ οἴναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο 188
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, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μόνου ὑποδεξάμενου τὴν Ἑὐ-
ρυσθέος ὑβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνους μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον.
τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Ἰῆβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ
ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ
θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίν. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς 'Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερ-
μώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβάλουσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τρῳκοίσι πόνοις οὐδαμῶν
ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἄν χρηστοὶ τότε έόντες
ὡς τοῦ νῦν ἄν εἶνεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε έόντες
φλαύροι νῦν ἄν εἶνεν ἄμείνους. παλαιὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔργων ἀλις ἐστών ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ
ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλὰ τε καὶ εὖ
ἔχοντα εἰ τεοίσι καὶ ἀλλοίσι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθώνι ἔργον ἄξιοι εἰμέν τοῦτο τὸ
γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτῳ, οἴτινες μοῦνοι
Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ
ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ
ἐνίκησαμεν ἔθνεα ἐξε τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἅρ
οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμέν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ
τοῦτοι μοῦνοι τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ
toιώδε τάξιος εἰνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι
eἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκεῖει
ἐπιτηδεύοντον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ'
οὐστινος· πάντη γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα

190
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 Peloponnesse, 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."
εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων." οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικότερον εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὐτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὡδὲ οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντες τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἔλθοντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἰχον Λακεδαιμονίων μῦριον τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους έόντας Σπαρτιῆται ἐφύλασσον ψίλι τῶν εἰλότων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἀνδρὰ ἐκαστὸν ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἶλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆσε εἴνεκα καὶ ἄρετῆς τοῦτον δὲ ὔσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἱσταυτο Ὀρινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὐροντο παρά Παυσανίων ἑστάναι Ποτιδαιντέων τῶν ἐκ Παλνήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τρικόσιον. τοῦτον δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταυτο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἐξακόσιοι, τοῦτον δὲ Σικυόνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτον δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὡκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεπτέων διηκόσιοι, τοῦτον δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τοῦτον δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐστησαν Ὄρμιονες τρικόσιοι. Ὄρμιονες δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταυτο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τοῦτον δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὡκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν, τοῦτον δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες 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
ληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἔταξαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτασ-
σοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέων ἔξακόσιοι. τελευταίοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι
Ἀθηναίοι ἔτασσοντο, κέρασ ἐχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον,
ὀκτακισχίλιοι: ἐστρατήγηε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης
ὁ Λυσιμάχου.
29. Οὕτω, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστον τεταγ-
μένων Σπαρτιήτης, ἦσαν ὀπλῖται, σύμπαντες
ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες
καὶ ἐκαστονάδες ἐπτά. ὀπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες
συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι,
ψελὼν δὲ πλήθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς
τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς
ἐόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς
τις παρήρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
Δακεδαμονίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων ψελών, ὡς εἰς περὶ
ἐκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι
καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.
30. Ψελῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπαντῶν τῶν μαχίμων
ην τὸ πλήθος ἔξε τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες
καὶ ἐκαστονάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ
Ἐλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιᾶς σὺν τε
ὀπλίτηι καὶ ψελώι τοίοι μαχίμωσι ἐνδεκα
μυριάδες ἦσαν, μηδε χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων
ἀνδρῶν καταδεύεσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι
παρεύσαν ἐξεπληροῦσε τοί ἐνδεκα μυριάδες· παρή-
σαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιεών ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ
περιέντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίων καὶ χιλίους·
ὤπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰχόν. οὕτωι μὲν ὑν ταχθέντες
ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.
31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-
Pale in Cephallenia; 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 Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors \(^1\) of the Thespians 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

\(^1\) That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.
κήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τούς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταίῃ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅσσωπον τὸν ταύτην ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο δῶδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Δακεδαιμόνιοις ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλῶν γὰρ περιῆγαν πλῆθεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεύνας ἐκεκοσμεῖτο καὶ ἐπείχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Δακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Ἡθβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαίητας καὶ Ὁρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζήνιους καὶ Δεσπρες τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους, μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐρμιούνας τε καὶ Ἐρετριάς καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκίδεας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτόριος καὶ Δευκάδιος καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αλγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίον τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοῦς τε καὶ Δοκρούς καὶ Μηλίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τους χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ δων ἄπαντες οἳ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἕλληνων ἦδην περί τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεύτευν ὀρμώμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἣγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἐόντας Ἕλληνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-
mournings for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, 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, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Locrians 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. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνεῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανέστατα τε ἢν καὶ λόγου πλείστου. ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνεῶν ἀνδρεῖς ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Ὀρηκῶν καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιῶνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἷ τε Ἐρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οί περ εἰς Ἀιγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἐτὶ ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐως ἀπὸ τῶν νεών ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας, οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἀμα Πέργη ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθῆνας Ἀιγυπτίου. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον δεδήλωται τῶν δὲ Ἐλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οίδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἄριθμόν οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἠριθμήθησαν, ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσατι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγήναι εἰκάζω. οὔτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζὸν ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὸς χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἐθνεὰ καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύνοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἐλλησὶ μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἢν ὁ θυόμενος οὖτος γὰρ δὴ ἐπέτο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἡλείων καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενὸς γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνείλε ἡ Πυθία ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναρήσεσθαι πέντε. δὲ μὲν δὴ

1 The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. π. 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,¹ 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,² 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 Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing καλυτίαδην.
The five events of the Pentathlum 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, 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, 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,

2 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.
οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὅ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἦσαν δώσοντες οἱ ταύτα. ὦ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπο-
ρέγεται ὅρεον αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φᾶς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι μεταδώσι τὸ τριτημόριον
τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ ποιῆσειν τὰ βούλησαν. οὐ δὲ Ἀργείοι ἀπειληθέντες ἦς στεινὸν καταίνεοσυ καὶ
tαύτα.

35. Ὄς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆταί, ἐδέουτο γὰρ δεινὸς
tοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεον οἷ. συγχωρη-
sάντων δὲ καὶ ταύτα τῶν Ἀργείητέων, οὕτω δὴ
pέντε σφι μαντευόμενοι ἁγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους
Τισαμενός ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Ἀργείητης,
συγκαταιρεῖ. μοῦνι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐγένοντο οὕτω Σπαρτιῆτησι πολυήται. οὐ δὲ
πέντε ἁγῶνες οἴδε εὐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος
οὕτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιήσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς
Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ
ὁ ἐν Διπαίεσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν
Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰδώμη,
ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε
καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος' οὕτος δὲ ὕστατος
κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἁγῶνων.

36. Οὕτος δὴ τότε τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ ὁ Τισαμενός,
ἀγώντων τῶν Ἀργείητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ
Πλαταιίδι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλησὶ καλὰ ἐγίνετο
τὰ ἱρὰ ἄμυνομένους, διαβάσι δὲ τῶν Ἀσωπῶν
καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὐ.

37. Μαρδοῦρῳ δὲ προθυμομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν
οὐκ ἐπιτίθεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἄμυνομένω δὲ καὶ
tότω καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἑλληνικοῦσι ἱροῦσι
ἐχράτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἡλεῖον
202
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 Dipaea; 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 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.
τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρώτερον τούτων Σπαρτήτα βλότες ἐδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὡς ἀυτοῖ. ὥς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὡς τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργων ἐργάσατο μέξον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηρο-δέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο ἀνδριμωτάτον ἔργων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑδεμεν σταθμημάςεμος γὰρ ὅκως ἔξελεύσεται οἰ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν παρσὸν ἑωτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διωρύξας τὸν τοίχου ἀπέδρη ἐς Θεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορεύμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύων ἐς ὑλην καὶ αὐλιξόμενος, οὕτω ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων πανδημεῖ διξημέων τρίτη εὐ-φρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Θεγέη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θῶματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμιτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυ-
ναμένον εὐρεῖν. τὸτε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Δακε-
dαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Θεγέην έούσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Δακεδαιμονίῳσι τούτων τὸν χρόνουν ἴνης δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς θέησ Δακεδαιμονίουσι πολέμοις, οὐ μέντοι ἐς γε τέλος οἱ συνίηεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ε Ἐδακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον. ἔλα ἔραρ μαντενόμενον ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. Ὅ μεντοι θάνατος ὁ 'Ἡγησιστράτου υστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τὸτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθυετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τετῶ ἔχθος τὸ Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ
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. ώς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρευ ὡς τεμάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖς Πέρσης οὔτε τοῖς μετ’ ἐκεῖνων έοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἰςον γὰρ καὶ οὕτοι ἐπ’ ἐωττῶν μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον άνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύσων, Τιμιγενίδης ο Ἐρπυνος ἀνήρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάζαι, λέγων ώς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἑλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ως ἀπολάμβανοι συχνοὺς.

39. Ἡμέραι δὲ σφί ἀντικατημένουσι ἡδὴ ἐγε-γόνεσαν ὁκτὼ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραινέσιν εὐ ἔχοιςαν, ὡς εὐ φρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἤππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρονίδας αὐ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοί μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσιν, Ἀθήναιοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἤπποται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνοντι ὑποζύγια τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἀγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποινῆσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἴποντο τοῖς ξεύγεσιν. ἐλόντες δὲ ταῦτῃ τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζύγιον οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὅς δὲ ἅδην εἰχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἠλαύνον περιβαλόμενοι παρὰ τε Μαρδόνοι καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διήτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἀρξαν· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσσωποῦ ἐπῆσαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινοι δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μὲντοι ἦππος ἡ Μαρδονίῳ αἰεὶ προσέκειτο τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἄτε μηδίξοντες μεγάλως, προδήμως ἔφερον τὸν 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 Herpys, 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 αἰτεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἷ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετᾶς.

41. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὔδὲν ἔτι πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ως δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεργόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταίῃσι, οὐ τε δὴ Ἐλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεργόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιψικτεῖ τῇ ἁθῇ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιος τε ἐς Γοβρύνεο καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, οὐ ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσεῖς ἦν ἀνήρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξη. Βουλευομένων δὲ αἴδε ἥσαν αἱ γυναικὶ, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτάβαζος ὡς χρεὸν εἶ ἀναζεύγαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἵναι ὡς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Ῥηβαῖον, ἐνθὰ σιῶν τε σφι ἐσεννηκίχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις, κατ᾽ ἄσυχίαν τε ἱζομένους διαπρῆσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπὶ σήμι·

πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἅσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρον τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένως μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, Ἐλληνοὺς δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστῶτας ἐν τῇ πόλις, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτων μὲν ὡς αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Ῥηβαῖον γυνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἱσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρῃ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγυμνωσκομένη·

dοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην ἑταῖρας της Ἐλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιοραν συλλεγομένους ἐτὶ πλεῦνας τῶν συλλεγομένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησισ-
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 Pharmaces, 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
42. Τοῦτον δὲ οὕτω δικαιεύντος ἀντέλεγε οὖδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γυνήι. τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὕτος ἐκ βασιλείως, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ έόντων Ἕλληνων τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰρώτα εἰ τι εἰδεῖν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθείρευται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. συγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὕκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἄδει ἴδε οὐ ποιευμένον τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε ‘ἐπει τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὖδεν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔρεω ὡς εὗ ἐπιστάμενος’ ἐστι λόγιον ὡς χρεύν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάζα τὸ ἱὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοίσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τούτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὕτε ὑμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱὸν τοῦτο οὕτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἴνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολούμεθα. ὡστε ὑμέων οὐσι τυγχάνονσι εὕνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσηςι, ἤδεισθε τούδε εἴνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἕλληνων.” ταύτα σφι εἶπας δεύτερα ἐσῆμαίνε παραρτέσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινεά ποιέσθαι ὡς ἀμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμοῦν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος ἔιπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔξειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένου, 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,¹ 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
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 Encheleës. 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'er-taken
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 ἀλλον Ἡ Παυσανίην, μη με καὶ διαφθείρητεσ οὖ γὰρ ἣν ἔλεγον, εἰ μη μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαιον καὶ ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὖκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμ ὀρᾷ τῆν Ἐλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταβύμα γενέσθαι πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δεδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια εἀν χαῖρειν, ἀμήμερη δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβόλην ποιέσθαι καταρρόδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλ- λεχθητε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμα- ξεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἀρὰ υπερβάληται τὴν συμβόλην Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιεσται, λιπαρεῖετε μένοντες- ὅλιγεον γὰρ σφι ἡμερεὼν λείπεται σιτία. ἂν δὲ ύμων ὁ πόλεμος ὁδε κατὰ νόον τελευτῆση, μη- σθήναι τινὰ χρῆ καὶ ἐμεὶ ἐλευθερόσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἕλληνων εἴνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἐργασμαί ὑπὸ προθυμίς, ἑθέλων ὑμῶν δηλωσαι τὴν διά- νοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἴνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ύμῶν ἐξαίφημι οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοις κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν.” ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαιυνε ὁπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐωτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλθοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίη τὰ περ ἣκουσαν Ἀλέξανδρου. ὃ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάξε. “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ύμεας μὲν χρεών ἢττι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βουωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ύμέας τεταγμένους Ἕλληνων, τῶνδε εἴνεκα· 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 Μυδοὺς καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπειροὶ τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἄδαες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὕδεις πεπείρηται Μυδῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐμπειροὶ εἰμὲν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἔστι ἱέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τὸ τάδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον.” πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤμιν πάλαι ἀπ’ ἄρχής, ἐπεῖτε εἰδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδόμεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἴδεες γένονται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὃν αὐτοὶ ἐμπίσθηση, καὶ ἤδομενοι ἤμιν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐτοίμου εἰμὲν ποιέων ταῦτα.”

47. Ὡς δ᾿ ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέρους ταῦτα, ἡδὸς τε διέφανε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἔσαγορεύονσι Μαρδονίῳ. δ᾿ ἐπείτε ἡκουσε, αὐτικα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ως δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γνώμενον ὁ Παυσανίας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ καθαῦνει, ὁπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιητὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίων κέρας· ὡς δὲ οὔτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐώνυμον.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα εἰς τοὺς Σπαρτιητὰς ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ὡς Λακεδαιμονίου, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἀνδρείς ἀριστοὶ ἕπο τῶν τίδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίον ἡ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ’ ἀρ’ ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλης· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμίξει ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν 216
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
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐκλείποντας ύμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τε τήν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἅντια δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ύμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ Βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσης μάχεσθαι, ἀρτιοὶ ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ύμέας εὑρόμεν ἀλλὰ πτώσωσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν δὴ ἔπειδὴ οὐκ ύμεῖς ἠξάτε τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἀρχομεν. τὸ δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ύμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἀριστοὶ, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἵσοι πρὸς ἱσοὺς ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὀν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ύστεροι εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μοῦνος ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα: ὅκότεροι δ' ἀν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτοις τῷ ἀπαντὶ στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν.

49. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴτας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼς χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν υπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω, ὀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσῆμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὦ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαιρθεὶς ψυχρῆς νίκης ἐπήκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆλασαν οἱ ἰππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατινὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντεζοντες τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ώστε ἰπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσται ἀποροῦν τὴν τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ Γαργαφίῃν, ἀπ' ἦς υδρεύετο πάν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, συνεπάρξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὁν κατὰ τὴν κρήνῃν Δακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοιοὶ δὲ ἄλλοισι "Ἔλλησι ὡς μὲν κρήνῃ πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἐκαστοι ἐτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ 218
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,
Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oëroë. 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 horsemen, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning 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 Peloponnese 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 Plataeae. 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 Oëroë, 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 This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataeae. 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 Oëroë, 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

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataeae, see the Introduction to this volume.
HERODOTUS

σινοίατο ὡσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων· μετακινεῖσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεάν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ δευτέρῃ φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἔξορμϊμενους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι παράσσοιει οἱ ἰππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἦ Ἀσωπίς Ὀμήρος περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσειας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιει τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σίτια οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

52. Ταύτα Βουλευσάμενοι κεῖνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ὑπὸν εἶχον πόνον ἀπρουτόν· ὡς δὲ ἦ τε ἡμέρη ἠλληγε καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ἄρης ἐς τὴν συνεκείτο σφί ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνεκείτο ὅκ ἐν νόῳ ἐχοντες, οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἐφευγον ἀσμενοι τὴν ὑπὸν πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνεύονται ἐπί τὸ Ἡραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἔστι τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἰκοσι στάδιους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίας ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὀπλα.

53. Καὶ οὐ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὄρων σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγειλε καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὀπλα ἕναι κατὰ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς προίόντας, νομίζας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἕναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίης, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ο 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 Oëroë 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
HERODOTUS

γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἐφι τοὺς ξείνους
φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρ-
την, ἐθώμαζε τοὺς υἱοὺς τὸ ποιεύμενον ἀτε οὐ παρα-
γενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. οὐ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Ἑὐρυναῖς δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῖντο τὸ μης πεί-
θεσθαι ἐκείνων σφίστι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείουν
ταύτα ἀνανομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πι-
τανήτην, μὴ ὑπὸ ἀπολίπωσι ποιεύντες τὰ συνεδή-
καντο τοῖς ἀλλοις Ἑλλησπ. ἀπόληται ὑπολει-
πθεῖς αὐτὸς τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἰχον τὸ στρατόπεδον
τὸ Δακωνίκον, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντες μιν ὡς οὐ
χρεόν εἰπον ἡ ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

54. Καὶ οὖ μὲν παρηγόρεων Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦ-
νον Δακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον,
Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐποίειν τοιᾶς· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας
αὐτοῦς ἵνα ἑτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Δακεδαι-
μονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλα
λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμ-
πον σφέων ὑπέει ὄψομενον τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ-
χειρέσιν οἱ Σπαρτιηται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ
dιανοεύνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυ-
σανίην τὸ χρεόν εἰπον ποιεῖν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κήρυξ ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαιμο-
νίους, ὁρὰ τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ
ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγιμένους αὐτῶν τὸν πρῶτον, ὡς
γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέουντα τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὁ τοῖς Ἑὐ-
ρυναῖς καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένον-
tας μοῦνος Δακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἐπειθον, ἐς ὁ
of the Pitanate\(^1\) 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 act right.

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 Πανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana v. iii. 55.
ἐς νείκειά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παριστάτο σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇς χερῶι καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίων ταῦτη τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. δὲ μαυνόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτώντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίς ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρηίζε τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαί τε πρὸς ἐωτοὺς καὶ ποιείν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἄν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεῖ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἐωτοὺς ἥως κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίς, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Δακεδαλιών ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνίων τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· ἐποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεήται. Ἀθηναιοὶ δὲ ταχθέντες ἠσαν τὰ ἐμπαλιὰν ἢ Δακεδαλιώνου· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὅχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπορείας τοῦ Κιθαιρόνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἱππον, Ἀθηναιοὶ δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχῇν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περείχετο αὐτοὶ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίη, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς θέν 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
λόχον τά ὄπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῆφος·
to ὄπλον ἔσων τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμευε τὸν
Ἀμομφάρετον λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα
ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιον τε χώρον καλεόμενον, τῇ
καὶ Δήμητρος Ἑλευσινῆς ἴδρυν ἦσται. ἀνέμευε
δὲ τούδε εἰνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπη τὸν χώρον
ἐν τῷ ἑτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος,
ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεῖο ὑπίσω παρ’ ἐκείνους.
καὶ οἶ τε ἄμφι τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνουσί σφι
καὶ ἦ ὑππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα.
οἱ γὰρ ἤπτόται ἐποίευν οἶνον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιεῖν
αἰεί, ἱδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἑτετάχατο
ὁ Ἑλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρῃσι, ἡλαυνὼν τοὺς
ὑπποὺς αἰεί τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἀμα καταλαβόντες
προσεκέατο σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἑλλήνας
ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νῦκτα εἶδε τε τὸν χώρον ἔρημον,
καλέσας τὸν Δηρισαίον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
φεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Ἐρασυδήμον ἔλεγε
"Ὤ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἐτι τι λέξετε τάδε ὀρῶντες
ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Δακε-
δαμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι
τᾶ πολέμια πρῶτος· τοὺς πρότερον τε μετιστα-
μένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἰδέτε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τῆν παροι-
χομένην νῦκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρῶμεν διαδράντας:
διεδεξάν τε, ἔπει σφεῖς ἐδεί πρὸς τοὺς ἀγενεδέως
ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχη διακρίθηναι, ὅτι οὐδένες
ἀρα ἔντες εν οὐδαμοῦσι ἐυνούσι Ἑλληνες ἐναπεδει-
kυνάτο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐνοῦσι Περσῴων ἀπεβοῦσι
πολλὴ ἐκ γε ἐμεύ ἐγίνετο συγγυνώμη, ἐπανενεύσως
τούτους τούσι τι καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ
θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι
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 Moloïs 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 Thrasydeïus, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! 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 marveled much more at Artabazus, that he should be
Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεοῦν εἰή ἀναζεύξατας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Ὑθβαίων ἀστὺ πολιορκησομένους. τὴν ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐμεῖν βασίλευς πεύσεται, καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα ποιεύσι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπτεα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὁ καταλαμψθέντες δῶσουι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.

59. Ταῦτα εἰσα ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἡλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδεδρησκόντων, ἐπείχε τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους. Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὀχθῶν οὐ κατόρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρῶντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἔλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἦιραν τὰ σημεία, καὶ ἐδώκων ὡς ποδῶν ἐκαστὸι εἰχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὔτοι μὲν βοῆ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήίσαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἔλληνας. Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἐπιπος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπίεα λέγει τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγώνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἡ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἔλλαδα, προδοδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἥμεις τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἥμεις οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. νῦν δὲν διδοκαί τὸ ἐνθέυτον τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ἥμεας ὀρμήσῃ ἄρχην ἡ ἐπιπος, χρῆ δὴ ἥμεας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἥμεων τὴν Ἔλλαδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ἡμῖν νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἥμεας γὰρ ἀπασα 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
HERODOTUS

ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην 
μάλιστα τῶν μοιρῶν ἀμυνότες ἑναί. εἰ δ' ἄρα 
αὐτοὺς ὑμεῖς καταλελύβηκε ἀδύνατον τι βοηθέειν, 
ὑμεῖς δ' ἢ μὴν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν 
θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα 
τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐσύσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτωσι, 
ὡςτε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακοῦειν."

61. Ταῦτα οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπίθυοντο, ὅρμεάτο 
βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφι ἥδη 
πείχουσι εἰπιθεναι οἱ ἀντιαχθέντες 'Ἐλλη-
νῶν τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὡστε μηκέτι 
δύνασθαι βοηθήσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας 
ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὲ μονωθέντες Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ 
Τεγεήται, ἐσύσι τὸν ψυλοῖς ἀριθμόν οἱ μὲν 
πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεήται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὕτῳ γὰρ 
οὕδαμα ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφα-
γιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίω καὶ τῇ 
στρατιᾷ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφι ἑγίνετο τὰ 
σφαγια χρηστά, ἐπιίπτου δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ 
χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦσι ἐπρωματίζοντο.: 
φράζαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίσαν τῶν 
τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφεδέως, οὕτω ὡστε πιεζο-
μένων τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν οὐ γινο-
μένων ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ 
Ἡραίον τὸ Πλαταῖσι ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεὸν, 
χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθήναι τῆς 
ἐλπίδος.

62. Ταῦτα δ' ἐτι τούτου ἐπικαλεσμένου προεξ-
αναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεήται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς 
βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις αὐτίκα
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 now 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
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίων ἐγένετο θυμομένοις
τὰ σφάγια χριστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο,
ἐχώρευν καὶ οὖντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι
ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ
tὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἦδη
ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἱσχυρὴ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον
καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὁ ἀπίκουστό ἐς ὁδησμὸν·
tὰ γάρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ
βάρβαροι. λήμματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσονες
ήσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς
ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὁμοίας τοῖς ἐναν-
tίοισι σοφίην, προεξαίσοντες δὲ κατ’ ένα καὶ
dέκα, καὶ πλευραὶ οἱ καὶ ἑλάσσονες συστρεφό-
μενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διε-
φθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ’
ἐππον τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἕως τῶν
λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ
dὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν
νῦν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῄή, οὐ δὲ ἀντεἴχων καὶ
ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πόλλον τῶν Δακεδαιμο-
νίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνον
tεταγμένον ἐὼν ἱσχυρότατον ἐπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ
οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶχαν τοῖς Δακεδαιμο-
νίοις. πλεύσων γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθής
ἐρήμος εὕσω ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίσας ἐόντες
γυμνῆτες ἀγώνα ἐποιεύοντο.

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἣ τε δίκη τοῦ Δεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ
χρηστήριον τοὺς Σπαρτιήτῃς ἐκ Μαρδονίου
ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νῖκην ἀναίρεται καλλιστὴν ἀπα-
σέων τῶν ἡμῶν ὑδμεν Παυσανίως ο Κλεομβρότου
tοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγό-
234
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, there-
after 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, overthrowing
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 Mar-
donius 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 τὰ οὐνόματα ἔρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὁντὸ γὰρ σφὶ τυγχάνουσι έόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Λειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὡς χρόνῳ ὑστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἀνδρας τριηκοσίους συνεβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοις πάσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.  

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράπτοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἔωστὸν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐὔλινον τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαῖδι. θῶμα δὲ μοι ὁκὼς παρὰ τῆς Δήμήτρου τὸ ἀλὸς μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσῶν οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανὼν, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δὲ, εἰ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεώς αὐτῆς σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῳ ἀνάκτορον.  

66. Αὑτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτικὰ τε οὐκ ἴρεσκετο κατ᾽ ἄρχας λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέας, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδέν ἤμεν, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐών ἐποίησε τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τοσὶ πρήγμασι τοσὶ ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιεμένοις. τῶν ἐστρατήγησε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἰχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὄλην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἔωστον), τούτως, ὁκὼς ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὐ ἐξεπιστύμενος τὰ ἐμελλέ ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἢγε κατηρτημένος, παραγγείλακα κατὰ τὸντο ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσει, ὁκὼς ἄν αὐτὸν ὀρῶσι σπουδὴς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας 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 Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataeae, 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 unconsecrated 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 Arta-bazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counsling 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, bidding 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

237
εἰς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατὸν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὄδοι ὁρὰ καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· ὀυτῷ δὴ οὐκέτι τοὺς αὐτῶν κόσμου κατηγέτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαξε ϕεύγων οὔτε εἰς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε εἰς τὸ Θηβαῖον τεῖχος ἀλλ' εἰς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτη ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐμαχάσαντο χρόνων ἑπὶ συχνῶν. οἱ γὰρ μηδὲξιόντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίᾳ οὖν ὀλίγινον μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακεόντες, οὗτοι ὡστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐνθάντα ἐπεσοὺ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἤφευγον ἐς τὰς Θηβαίς, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ο πᾶς ὁμίλος, οὔτε διαμαχασάμενος οὐδεὶς οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἤφευγον.

68. Δῆλοι τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἡ Περσέως, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμίξα καὶ οὖσι πολεμίσουσ εἶφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὀρῶν. οὗτο τε πάντες ἤφευγον πλὴν τῆς ὕππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀγχιστα ἐκόσα ἀπέργουσα τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

69. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικώντες εἰποντο τοὺς Εέρξεω διώκοντες τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς ἄλλοις "Εἴλησοι τοίς τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ "Ἡραίον καὶ ἀπογενομένοις 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 Phocis, 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
nikaen oî meta Pausaníew: oî dé akousantes
tauta, oudeva kosmon tachventes, oî men amphi
Korinthen evtráppunto dia tîs úpwrephs kai toô
kalothen tîn ferousan anw idh toû iroû tîs
Dhimetros, oî dé amphi Megarêas te kai Flegiasion
dia toû peidou tîn leiotâthn toôn odôn. ëpêite
dè aghou toû polémion éginontô oî Megarées kai
Flegiasion, apidôntes sfêas oî toûn Óthbaiwn
ëpòtai èpetigoménous oudeva kosmon ëllanun en' autous
tous ëpnotous, tòn ëppárches 'Asoptódoros
ô Timándrou, èspesontes de katastôresan autôn
ëxakosíous, tous dé loipous katèraçan diókонтes
ês toû Kidaírona.

70. Óntoi men ðè en oudevi lógho àpòlonoto: oî
dè Pèrsai kai ó alllos ómilos, ὡς katefugon ês
to ëxulun teîchos, èfthsan épi toûs púrgous
anabántes prîn ë toûs Lakedaimonion àptiképhai,
anabántes de èfprasanto ës ëdunéato áristâ to
téîchos: proselthônontw de toûs Lakedaimonion
katastîkèe sfî teîchomachîa èrrhominvesthêr. êws
men gar àpîsasan oî 'Athetaiô, oî ðè ëmmunoto kai
pullh plèoun éîchon toûs Lakedaimonion òste ouk
ëpistamènous teîchomachèeswh ðè sfî 'Athetaiô
prosîllhou, òutô dé ískhur ëgineto teîchomachî
kai chrônou épi pullh. télos de àrethi te kai
luparîth èpethshsan 'Athetaiô toû teîchos kai
ërimpon tû ðè èsexevento oî 'Ellhnes. prwtoî dé
ësîllhoun Teghetai ès to teîchos, kai tîn skhîn
tîn Marðonion oûntoi ëssan oî diarpsântes, tà te
allà ês autîs kai tîn fátyn tîn ëppotou ëouisân
xalkênh pásan kai òthês ázîn. tîn men unn
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
φάτνην ταύτην την Μαρδονίου ανέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέξ' Ἀθηναίης Τεγεήται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῶντο, ὅσα περ ἐλαβοῦν, ἐσήνεικαν τῶν Ἐλλησ. οἱ δὲ βαρβάροι οὐδὲν ἐτι στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεως, οὐδὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκής ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζον τε σὰ ἐν ὅλιγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένου τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἅνθρώπων παρῆν τε τοῖς Ἐλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὡστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, κατάδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μὴδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενίκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζῶς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἱππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος. Ἐλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερβαίλοντο ἄρετὴ Δακεδαιμονίων. ἅλλω μὲν οὖδεν ἔχω ἄτοσινημήνασθαί (ἀπαντες γὰρ οὕτω τοὺς καὶ ἐωτούς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρότερον προσηγείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἥμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριήκοσίων σωθεὶς ἐίχε ὑπερεῖκας καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκών καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. καὶ τοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἐγνωσαν

1 These figures must refer to the ὀπλίται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περίοικοι 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 Cp. vii. 231.
οἱ παραγενόμενοι Ἑπαρτιτέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αὐτῆς, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσείδώνιοι δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνῄσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθῶν τοσοῦτῳ τούτον εἶναι ἀμέινῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἄν εὑρισκέιν οὕτω δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστόδημον, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

72. Οὕτω μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιᾷ οὖν ἐμαυστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανεν, ἔλθων άνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὗ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Ἀκεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὡς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγμάζετο Παυσανίας, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οὐ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δὲ ἐξευθειμεχθεὶς ἐδυσθανάτες τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμυνθον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνῄσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔχρισατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδειγμένον ἔργον ἑωτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμεμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμήσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δὴ οὗ Δεκελεήθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ Αθηναίοι λέγοντο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομίδην Τυνδαρίδαι
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 Euty-chides 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\(^1\) 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 γῆν τήν 'Αττικήν σὺν στρατοὶ πλῆθεὶ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ ἐιδότες ἦνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἢ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Θησέως ὑβρὶ καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάση τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφὶ τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγίσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, γὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδὸν Τυνδαρίδησι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖ εἰς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἐτὶ έοῦσα, οὕτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὑστερον πολλοῖσι ἑτεσί τοῦτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοπονησίοισι, σινομένων τήν ἀλλήν 'Αττικήν Δακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τοῦτον τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ξωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκῇ ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἀγκυραν σιδηρένη, τὴν ὅκως πελάσει ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μίν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μῆ δυναίστο γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναυτῶν δέδοκτο τήν ἀγκυραν ἄναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὕτως μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἐτερος τῶν λόγων τοῦ πρῶτον λεχθέντι ἁμφιβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἀγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρένην.

246
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.).
75. Ἕστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἐργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅπως περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Δύνανεν Ἐυρυβάτην τοῦ Ἀργεῖον ἀνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὑστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἀνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἀμα Δεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθάνειν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ὡς δὲ τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἐν Πλαταιᾷ κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφὶ ἐπήλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος: ἦ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαΘε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικώντας τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἐνύσα μαλλακὴ Φαραυδάτεος τοῦ Τεαστίου ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεως, κοσμησάμενη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθήτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης ἔχουσε ἐς τοὺς Ἀκαδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇ διόμητος ἔοιτα, ὄργα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερον τοῦ ὀνύμων ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὅστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονιάτων ἐξεγε τάδε. "Ω Βασίλευ Σπάρτης, ρύσαί με τὴν ἰκέτων αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν ὄνυμα, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς ὦτε δαιμόνων ὦτε θεών ὅπως ἔχουσα. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κώ, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ζηνητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου· βίη δὲ μὲ λαβών ἐν Κώ εἴχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖςδε. "Γύναι, θάρσει καὶ ὡς ἰκέτων καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς
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 Glaucon, 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 Hegedorides, 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 Κρόου, ὅς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖς παρεόις, ὡστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἰγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἦθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξιν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπῄξεργασμένοισιν μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὡστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορῆν ἐποιεῖντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοι τε ἐφασαν εἰναι σφέας ξημωσαί. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τοὺτον ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οὐ δὲ ἄναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωτυφὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατικῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἡλείοι, καὶ ὡσαυτῶς οἱ Ἡλείοι τοῖς Μαντινεύσι συμφορῆν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἡν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἢν Λάμπτων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὅς ἂνοικοτάτων ἐχὼν λόγον ἔτο πρὸς Παυσανίνην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδὴ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασται τοι ὑπερφυεῖς μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ποιῆσον, ὅκως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέξων καὶ τοῖς ὡστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιεὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. 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 Lacedaemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing men; and returning to their own land the Mantineans 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 unrighteous 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
γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Ἑρέξης ἀποταμώντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τὸ σὺ τὴν ὀμοίην ἀποδίδον ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρώτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Ἐλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμώρησει ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Δεωνίδην.

79. Ὅ μὲν δοκεῶν χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δὲ ἀνταμείβετο τοὐσιδε. Ὅ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαι σειν, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξειράς γὰρ μὲ ύψον καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλε παραινέων νεκρὸν λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἣν ταύτα ποιέων, φᾶς ἀμεινοῦν μὲ ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάρους ποιεῖν ἢ περ Ἐλλησίν καὶ ἐκείνοις δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δὲ δὲν τούτου εἶνεκα μῆτε Αἰγινῆτα ἄδοιμι μῆτε τοῖς ταύτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δὲ μοι Σπαρτιητὴν ἄρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιεῖν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Δεωνίδη δὲ, τὸ μὲ κελεύεις τετιμώρησαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμώρησθαι, ψυχής τε τῆς τῶν ἀναρίθμητοις τετίμηται αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. τὸ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιὸνδε μῆτε προσέλθης ἐμοίγε μῆτε συμβουλεύσης, χάριν τε ἵσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθῆς.

80. Ὅ μὲν ταύτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἀπτεσθαὶ τῆς ληῆς, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἄνα τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὐρίσκουν σκηνᾶς κατεσκευασμένας 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

ἐπαργύρους, κρητήρας τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα: σάκκους τε ἐπὶ ἀμαξέων εὐρισκον, ἐν τοῖς λεβητεῖς ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοι τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι: ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευν ψελιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθήτος γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδείς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρύψαν ὅστε Αἰγυπτίησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, οὐ τὸν χρυσὸν ἀτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρά τῶν εἰλώτων ὀψέοντο.

81. Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ, ἀπ’ ἴσος τὸ τρίπος τὸ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου όφιος τοῦ χαλκεὸς ἐπεστῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐλμπίτηθα θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ’ ἴσος δεκάπηκχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν ᾽Ισθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ’ ἴσος ἐπτάπηκχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἑκαστοὶ τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς πάλλακας τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύγια. ὅσα μὲν νῦν ἐξαίρετα τοῖς ἀριστεύσας αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆς ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκεῖ δ’ ἐγγὺς καὶ τούτοις δοθῆναι: Παυσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαίρεθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναικὲς ἢπποι τάλαντα κόμηλοι, ὅς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ ταλαχα 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,₁ 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. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ἑρέξης
φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατα-
σκευήν καταλήπτοι τὴν ἐωτοῦ. Παυσανίην δὲν
ὄρωντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ
ἀργυρῷ καὶ παραπετάσματι ποικίλουσι κατα-
σκευασμένην, κελεύσαι τοὺς τε ἄρτοκόπους καὶ
τοὺς ὑψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταύτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ
dεῖπνου παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὕτωι
ἐποίειν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἱδόντα
κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὔ ἐστρωμέναις
καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρα-
sκευήν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ
προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεύσατε ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἐωτοῦ
διηκόνους παρασκευάζαι Δακωνικὸν δείπνον. ὡς
δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἢν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον,
tὸν Παυσανίῃν γελάσαντα μεταπεμψάσθαι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, συνελθόντων δὲ τού-
tῶν εἴπειν τὸν Παυσανίῃν, δεικνύσα τε ἐκατέρην
tοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν, "Αὐραθεὶς Ἑλληνεσ
τὸνδε εἶνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέασι συνήγαγον, Βουλόμενος
ὑμίν τοῦτο τοῦ Μῆδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροςύνην
dεξαῖ, ὅς τούτῳ δίαιταν ἐχὼν ἀλθὲ ἐς ὑμέασ
οῦτω διζυρῆν ἐχουτα ἀπαιρησόμενος." ταῦτα
μὲν Παυσανίῃν λέγεται εἴπειν πρὸς τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. Ἡστέρῳ μὲντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
Πλαταιῶν εὗρον συχνὸι θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ
ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων χρημάτων. ἐφαίη δὲ
καὶ τόδε ὕστερον τοὐτῶν ἑπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περι-
ψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ
ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἑνα χῶρων· ἑυρέθη κεφαλὴ
οὐκ ἔχουσα ραφῆν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐς ἑνὸς ἐσύσα
256
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
οστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἀνω 1 τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφνέας ἐξ ἕνὸς ὀστέου πάντας τοὺς τε προσθίον καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστῖα ἐφάνη.

84. Ἐπειτε δὲ 2 Μαρδονίου δευτέρη ἱμέρη ὁ νεκρὸς ἡφάνιμτο, ὕπο ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρέκες οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἦδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἴκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δώρα μεγάλα οἴδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἢν αὐτῶν ὁ υπελόμενος τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιον, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρέκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ 'Εφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῆσε τὴν ληήννυ διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωτυτῶν χωρίς ἐκαστοῖς. Δακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τρεξᾶς ἐποιήσαντο θῆκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύνων τε καὶ Καλ-λικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτερῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτητηκαί, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτεῖς. οὐτοὶ μὲν οὐτῶν ἔθαπτον, Τεγεήται δὲ χωρίς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἑωτυτῶν ὀμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρείες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὕπο τῆς ῥυποῦ διαφθαρέντας. τοῦτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαύνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆσε ἐόντες

1 MS. καὶ τὸ ἀνω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.
2 MS. ἑπείτε δὲ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein’s suggested ἑπεί γε δὴ (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.

258
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 δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνο-
μένους τῇ ἀπεστοὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα
χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγενομένων εἴνεκεν ἀνθρώπων,
ἔπει καὶ Αἰγυπτέων ἐστὶ αὐτοθι καλεόμενος τάφος,
τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούον καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ύστερον μετὰ ταῦτα
δειθέντων τῶν Αἰγυπτέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν
Αὐτοδίκου ἀνδρὰ Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα
αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ’ ἀρα ἑθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλα-
ταιᾷ οἱ Ἑλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένουις σφη
ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ᘅῆβας καὶ ἐξαιτεῖεν
αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοις δὲ αὐτῶν
Τιμιγενιδῆ καὶ Ατταγίνω, οἱ ἀρχηγεῖται ἀνὰ
πρώτων ἦσαν ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπαν-
στασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι.
ὡς δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα ἐδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτη ἡμέρῃ
ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπίκομεν ἐπολιόρκεον ᘅῆ-
βαῖους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ
βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ᘅῆβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν τε
γῆν αὐτῶν ἐταμιν καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ
τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύνυτο σωμόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ
ἡμέρῃ ἐλέξετι τοῖς Θηβαῖοις Τιμιγενίδῆς τάδε.
"Ἀνδρεὶς ᘅῆβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δεδοκται τοῖς
Ἑλληνισι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστήραι πολιορκέοντας
ἡ ἐξέλωσι ᘅῆβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖς παραδώτη, νῦν
δὲν ἡμέων εἶνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτία πλέω μὴ ἀναπλῆσῃ,
ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρήζουτες πρόσχημα
ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματα σφὶ δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ
κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν ὡδὲ
μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι
πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην
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 Attacinus, 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 ἐδοξε εὐ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καὶ ρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην οἱ Ἡθβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδίδοναι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

88. Ὡς δὲ ὁμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, παιδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φας τοῦ μηδίσμου παιδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Ἡθβαῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἐδόκεοι ἀντιλογίης τε κυρῆσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοεών τὴν στρατιῆν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἀπασαν ἀπήκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγών ἔσ Κόρυθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇ καὶ Ἡθβησι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρμάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιῶν καὶ δὴ πρόσῳ ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Ἡθσαλοῖ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρῶτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενόμενων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνώς ὅτι εἰ ἔθελε σφι πάσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κυνδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός' ἐπιθήσεθαι γὰρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενοι οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορευεν οὐδὲν πρὸς τε τοὺς Ἡθσαλοῦς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Εἰγὼ μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἡθσαλοί, ὡς ὅρατε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἔλὼν ἐς Ἐρημίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν ἄρτος δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὔτους κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῖ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἔστὶ.
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
HÉRODOTALUS

tουτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῖτες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ύμῖν ἐστὶ χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῖσθi μεταμελήσει. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπτας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδὴ τὴν στρατινὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἰδὼ τῆς Ὑπήκοης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἑπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὀδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπτὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνὸς ὑπὸ Ὑπήκοων κατακοπέντας κατ’ ὀδὸν καὶ λίμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτω· ἐκ Βυζάντιου δὲ διέβη πλοῖοισι. οὕτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενοθέσθη σὲ τὴν Ἀσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταἶσι τὸ τρόμα ἐγένετο, συνεκώρυσε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλη τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δῆλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ νησὶ ἡμισὶ αἷμα Δευτυχίδη τῷ Δακεδαμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθον σφι ἀγγελοί ἀπὸ Σάμου Δάμπων τε Θεσσάλεως καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγεσίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρως, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσῶν καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομῆστρος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννοι οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγεσίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μοῦνον ἰδών ται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνες ἀποστήσανται ἀπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέος τόμεν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, ὡς ἐτέρην ἁγίας τοιαύτην εὑρέθω ἀν αὐτοὺς· θεοὺς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακάλεσαν προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἀνδρας Ἑλληνας ἓκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμίνα τὸν βάρβαρον· εὔπετες τε αὐτοῖσι ἐφὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέεως καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομᾶχως κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοῖ τε, εἰ τι ὑποπτεύομαι 264
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
HERODOTUS

μὴ δόλω αὐτοὺς προάγωι, ἐτοιμοὶ εἰναι ἐν τῇ νησί τῇ ἑκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ εἰναι.

91. ὃς ἐς πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εὑρετος Δευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἶνεκεν θέλων πυθέσαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίαν θεοῦ ποιεῖντο, "Ὄξειν Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ ὀὖνομα;"

ο ἐς εἴπε "Ηγησίστρατος," ὁ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἰ τινα ὑρμητὸ λέγειν ὁ Ἠγησί-

στρατος, εἴπε "Δέκομαι τὸν αἰώνιον τὸν Ἤγησί-

στρατόν, ὁ ξεῖνος Σάμιε. σὺ ἐς ἡμῖν ποίεε ὄκως αὐτὸς τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοι ἑόντες οἶδε, ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους."

92. Ταῦτα τε ἡμι ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτικα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὁρκια ἐποιεύοντο συμμαχίας πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλ-

ληνας. ταῦτα ἐς ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεους·

μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησί-

στρατόν, οὐχιὸν τὸ ὀὖνομα ποιεύμενοι.

93. Οἱ ἐς "Ἑλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταῦτην τῇ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ὑστεραῖῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένουν

σφὶ Δημόφου τοῦ Ἑυήνιου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνίτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Ἑυήνιον κατέλαβε πρίγγεα τούνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἡ ἰλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χώνα ποταμών, δὲ ἐκ Λάκμονος ὀρεος ἑκει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' "Ωρικον λιμένα, τὰς

δὲ νύκτας ἀραιριμένοι ἀνδρὲς οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ

γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὕτως φυλάσσοντι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεύται

266
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,” 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 Lacmon 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.
'Απολλωνιήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινὸς· ἐν δὲ ἀντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήμηνος υἱὸς ἁραίρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακομῆσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἀντρον διεφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκουν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήμεσε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἐφραζέ ὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσεων ἀλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς 'Απολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπυθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατεκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακομῆσαντα, τῆς ὁψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήμηνον ἔξετο-φλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὕτε πρόβατά σφι ἐτικτε οὕτε γῆ ἐφερε ὁμώς καρπὸν. πρόφαντα δὲ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνη καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγένετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρωτών τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αὐτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οὐ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφραζόν ὃτι ἀδίκως τὸν φυλακὸν τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήμηνον τῆς ὁψιος ἐστέρησαν αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαν τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερον τε παύσασθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκεῖνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῴσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐληται καὶ δικαιοί· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δῶσειν Εὐηῆμῳ δόσιν τοιαύτῃ τὴν πολλοῖς μιν μακαρεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστῆρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ 'Απολλωνιήται ἀπορρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἠστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἱ δὲ σφι διεπρῆξαν ὦδε· κατημένου Εὐηῆμον ἐν θόκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἀλλούς ἐποιεύντο, ἔς δι κατέβαινον συλλυπεῦμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα ἄλκην ἀν ἔλοιτο,
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 Ἀπολλωνιήται δίκας ὑποστήναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὅ δὲ οὐκ ἀκήκοως τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἰλετο εἴπας εἰ τις οἱ δοῖ ἄγροι, τῶν ἁστών ὄνομάσας τοὺς ἥπιστατο εἶναι καλ-λιστοὺς δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ, καὶ οὐκησεν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἥδεις καλλιστὴν ἑοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλις τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἑπὶ βολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην, καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες "Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιήται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταύτα δεινὰ ἐποίες, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν πυθόμενος τῶν πάντα λόγων, ὡς ἐξαπατηθεῖς; οὐ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτιμήμενων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἰλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα αὐτίκα ἐμφυτον μαντικὴν εἴχε, ὡστε καὶ ὄνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφωνος ἐδών παῖς τοῦ Εὐήνιον ἀγόντων Κορυνθίων ἐμαυτεύετο τῇ στρατῇ. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφωνος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐήνιοις οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐδών Εὐήνιοι παῖς.

96. Τοίσι δὲ "Ἐλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγουν τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἔτει δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίς πρὸς Καλαμίσουσι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραίων τὸ ταύτη παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίν, οὐ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνήγουν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. Βουλευομένοις γὰρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίν μὴ ποιέσθαι οὐ γὰρ ὃν

270
choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite 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
εδόκεον ὄμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὁκὼς ἐσοὶ ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἑόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεων καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφυλάσσε τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἕν ἕξι μυριάδες, ἐστρατίζεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτων μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφηγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνείρυσαν τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἐρυμὰ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησσφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτινέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινῆς ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπιστόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστῶν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἐρῶ κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ως νικήσοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο.

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἥχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίᾳ τε ἐξοχότο παῖ τοιούτω, εἰτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὑπίσω εἰτε καταπλέωσι ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἐδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἥπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὃν ἐς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὀσῶν ἐδει, ἐπλευν ἐπὶ τῆς
BOOK IX. 96–98

dehemed 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 Goddesses¹ at Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopoïs,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 mainland; 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; Scolopoïs, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

273
Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὕδεις ἐφαίνετο σφί ἔπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ’ ὦρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἐσῳ τοῦ τείχεος, πολλῶν δὲ πεζῶν παρακεκριμένων παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρήψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγορεῖ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ λέγων ἴδᾳ Ἰωνίς ὁμοὶ τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούσαρτε, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως ἀρὸ οὔδεν συνήσοντι Πέρσαι τῶν ἔγω ὑμῖν ἐντελλομαι. ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνημόθαι τινὰ χρή ἑλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνήθματος Ἡβης. καὶ τάδε ἱστώ καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὡντὸς δὲ οὕτως ἔων τυγχάνει νόσος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἦ γάρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμμέλε τοὺς Ἰωνίας πείσειν, ἦ ἐπειτὰ ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ Ἕλληνες προσσοχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζόμενους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ παρατέρεστας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίως τὰ Ἕλληνων φρονεῖν ἀπαιρεόνται τὰ ὀπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὁποῖοι ἄπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇ νηODEV τῶν βαρβάρων, τους ἐλάβον ἀνά τὴν Ἀττικὴν λεκεμμένους οἱ Ἐρέξεω, τοὺς λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθηναὶ τῶν εἶνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψίην εἰχόν, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ἐρέξεων.
BOOK IX. 98-99

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 Artemisium¹; 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 Ἔμυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι
tοῦσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι
δήθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίειν δὲ τούτο
τοῦτο εἶνεκεν, ὦν ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατόπεδου ἔωσι.
tούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν
ἀν τι ποιεῖν δυνάμοις ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι
tοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ
συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι "Εἰλησι, προσήψαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους: ἱοῦσι δὲ σφι
φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν καὶ
κηρυκτίον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενον· ἢ
dὲ φήμη δὴλθε σφὶ ὧδε, ως οἱ "Εἰλησὶς τὴν
Μαρδούνιον στρατιὰν νικῶν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχό-
μενοι. δὴλα δὴ πολλοῖι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ
θέα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς
ημέρης συμπιπτοῦσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῆσι καὶ
tοῦ ἐν Μυκάλη μέλλουσα τρὸματος,
φήμη τοῖσι "Εἰλησὶ τοῖσι ταύτη ἐσαπίκετο, ὡστε
θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὰν πολλῇ μᾶλλον καὶ
ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον,
Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσίνης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας
tὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι
παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ως καὶ πρότερον
μοι εἰρητι, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλη ἐμελλε
ὡς αὐτῶς ἐσεθαί. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ
Παυσανίου Ἐλλήνων ὅρθὸς σφὶ ἡ φήμη συνέ-
βαϊνε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι πρωὶ
ἐτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ
δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαϊνε
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 at 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 οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὑστερον δήλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδὴ σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὕτω περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὗτῳ ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὐτῇ σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσπευδοῦσι ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀεθλὰ προεκείτο.

102. Τοῦτο μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς προσεχέστει τούτοις τεταγμένοις, μέχρι κοι τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὄδος ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἀπέδον χῶρον, τοῦτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπεξῆς τούτοις τεταγμένοις κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὀρεα. ἦν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι περπήμασαν, οὕτως οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἐτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἔως μὲν νυν τοῦτο Πέρσης ὅρθα ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντο τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἰχον τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργον εἰχούντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεύτεν ἡδὴ ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διώσαμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὕτως ϕερόμενοι ἐσέπτοσαν ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμνόμενοι τέλος ἐφευγον ἐς τὸ τείχος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπιστόμενοι συνεσπείπτον ἐς τὸ τείχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀραίρητο, οὐτ' ἐτι πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων οὕτως δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γυνόμενοι 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 Sicyonians 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 τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐσπίπτονσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀπο-θεύγονσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι Ἀρταύντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀπο-θεύγονσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρα-τηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103. Ἐπὶ δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Δακεδαμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλ-λήνων συχνὸ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατεύομενοι ἔοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὀπλὰ, ως εἰδον αὐτικά καὶ ἄρχον γινομένην ἐτεραλκέα τὴν μά-χην, ἔρινον ὅσον ἐνυγναίων προσωφελέως ἐθέλοντες τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. Σαμίων δὲ ἴδοντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰωνικοὶ ἰδίαν ὀὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.

104. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρεέων σωτηρίης εἰνεκά σφι, ὡς ἂν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ αὐτὰ περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἠγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάξθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλησίοι τοῦτον τε εἰνεκεν καὶ ἦνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιούειν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τοῦντιν τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγοῦμενοί σφι ὅδους φεύγουσι, αἰ δὴ ἐφερον ἐς τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.
with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artaĩntes 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,1 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 ἔτεροική 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. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἐλλήνων ἤριστευσαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἐρμόλυκος ὁ Ἐυθοῖον, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὄστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπί Γεραίστῳ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροίζηνοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἤριστευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἔλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀπαν, τὴν λιγίν προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θεσαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὐρον ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέτπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ὡς Σάμον οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὅκη χρεόν εἶν τῆς Ἐλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοῖ ἐγκρατεῖς ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναν τοῖς βαρβάροισι ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο σφι ἐνεῖν ἐωτοὺς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆθαι φρουρεόντας τὸν πάντα χρόνου, καὶ ἑωτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωναὶ ὀδημιὰν ἐπίδια εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν ἄπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταύτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖς ἐν τέλει ἐσοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τῇ χώρῃ Ἰωσὶ ἐνοίκησαι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίν γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοι περὶ τῶν σφετερῶν ἀποικιῶν βουλεύειν ἀντίτεινόν των δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶχαν οἱ 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 Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus 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 dispeople 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 οὖτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Δεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἐτυχὼν συστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλησποντικοῖς ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὅρκιοις ἐμμενεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆσεθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὅρκιοις ἐπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπ’ Ἐλλησπόντου ἐπλεον.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκῆλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ’ ὄδον Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίων φας αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαύτα στρατηγίσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος ὦκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσηι γυναικὸς κακίων ἀκούσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἥκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ μην ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ἑιναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεως ἀνήρ Ἀλικαρνησσεύς ὁπίσθε ἐστεώς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεων ἀρπάξει μέσον καὶ ἔξαερας παῖει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεως προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἑιναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστη τιθέμενος καὶ Ἐρέξῃ, ἐκσώζον τὸν ὁδελφοῦ τὸν ἑκείνου· καὶ διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Ἑιναγόρης Κιλικίας πάσης ἱρᾷ δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ’ ὄδον πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ’ ἀπικυνεῖσθαι ἐς Σάρδις.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῆς Σάρδις ἐτύγχανε ἐδών 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 arms, 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 Artaynthes 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 Artaynthes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artaynthes 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
λεύς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεῖτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Σάρδισι ἔδων ἁρὰ ἡρα τῆς Μασίστεως γυναικὸς, έούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δὲ οἱ προσπέμποντο οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερετο προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἀδελφέων Μασίστην τῶν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα: εὐ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἑρέξης ἐργὸμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τῶν γάμων τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐως τοῦ Δαρείων, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἦν ταύτα ποιήσῃ. ἀμμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπῆλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπει δὲ ἐκεῖ τῇ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐως τοῦ Δαρείω τῆς γυναίκα, οὗτο δὴ τῆς Μασίστεως μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαντο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἡρα τι καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἁρταύντη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοῦδε. ἐξυφήνασα Ἀμηστρις ἢ Ἑρέξης γυνὴ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοὶ Ἑρέξη. δὴ δὴ ἡσθεῖς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἐρχείται παρὰ τῆν Ἀρταύντην ἡσθεῖς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτήν αὐτῆσαι ὅ τι βουλεῖται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τευξάσθαι αὐτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἐδει πανοικίᾳ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταύτα εἶπε Ἑρέξη “Δό- σεως μοι τὸ ἀν σε αὐτῆσω;” δὲ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αὐτῆσαι ὑπισχύετο καὶ ομοσε. ἦ δὲ ὡς ομοσε ἀδεῶς αὐτεῖ τὸ φάρος. Ἑρέξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ΄ ἄλλο
BOOK IX. 108-109

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 οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστρών, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζοῦσα τὰ γυνόμενα οὔτω ἐπευρεθῆ πρήσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἐμελλε οὕδεις ἄρξειν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἑκάνῃ. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῷρον. ἀλλ᾽ οὗ γὰρ ἐπειθε, δίδοι τὸ φάρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρῆς έσοδα τῷ δῷρῳ ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἀγάλλητο.

110. Καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρίς πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἐγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτήν καὶ ταύτα ἑκατόν πρήσεων, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὀλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἀνδρα τὸν ἐωτήρης Ξέρξεως βασιλῆι τοὺς δείπνους προτιθέμενον· τότο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρασκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐναιατοῦ ἡμέρη τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς. οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περιστεῖ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλεον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρίς χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεως δοθήναι οἱ τῇ Μασίστεῳ γυναίκα. ὃ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιεότα τότο μὲν ἀδελφεῖς γυναίκα παραδόναι, τότο δὲ ἀναιτήτο έσοδαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνήκε γὰρ τοῦ εὔνεκεν ἐδέστο.

111. Τέλος μὲντοι ἑκαίνης τε λιπαρεύσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἄτυχήσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατὸν ἐστὶ βασιλῆι τοῦ δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδόνος ποιεῖ δωδε τῇ μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, δὲ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφοῦ λέγει τάδε· "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε πᾶς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεῖς, πρὸς δὲ ἔτι τοῦτοις καὶ εἰς 288
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· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικείεις μὴ συνοικεῖε, ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοικείε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖς ἐμοὶ, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.” ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “Ὤ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες τε νενιάιεi εἰς καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναίκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ένουσα· ταύτῃ με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμα; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλα μὲν ποιεύμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μὲντοι τοῦτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦτο δέομενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρί ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῖς οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμὲ τε ἐὰ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικείειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοις ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεῖς λέγει τάδε. “Οὔτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὐτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τήν ἐμήν γῆμαί, οὐτε ἐκείνη πλεῖνα χρόνου συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ὥσ ταῦτα ἥκουσε, εἶπας τοσοῦτο ἐχώρει ἐξω “Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ μὲ ἀπώλεσας.”

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρίς μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ Μασίστεω, τοὺς τε μαξοὺς ἀποσταμοῦσα κυσί προέβαλε καὶ ρίνα καὶ ὁτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλώσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἰκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. Ὅ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν καὶ ἄκηκος τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τί ὁι κακοῦ εἶναι, ἐσπῆπτει δρόμῳ ἔς 290
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. ἵδων δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναίκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖς παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοῖς έωντον ύσιοίς καὶ δὴ κοι τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ὡς ἀποστῆσων νομοῦ τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τὰ περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔμωι δοκεῖν, εἰ περ ἐφθη ἀναβάς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς ἅκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐστεργόν μιν καὶ ἤν ὑπάρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνων πρήσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιῶν ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιῶν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἑρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαίτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἷς δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἑλληνες ἑπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρώτου μὲν περὶ Δεκτὸν ὀρμεοὺ, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμβάνετες, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβύδον καὶ τᾶς γεφύρας ἐυρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἐτὶ ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων ὀνὸ ἡκιστὰ εἶνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου ἀπίκοντο. τοῖς μὲν τε ἰν τοῦ Ἀμφί Δευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοις ἐδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῇ Χερσονήσῳ. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου Σηστόν ἐπολιόρκεοι.

115. Ἕς δὲ τὴν Σηστοῦ ταύτην, ὡς ἐώντος ἵσχυροτάτου τέχεως τῶν ταύτης, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἴκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, ἐκ τῶν ἅλλων τῶν περιοικίων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἅνὴρ Πέρσης, ὡς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὀπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικῶς. εἴχον
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 Lectum 1 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 Peloponnnesians 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 Oeobazus, 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 Αἰολέες, συνήσαν δὲ Πέρσαι
tε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὁμίλος.

116. Ἐπιτράπηκε δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ νομοῦ Ἑρὲξην ὑπαρχός Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἐξητάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφικλοῦ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω

τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐνθα ἦν χρήματα

πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσαι καὶ ἀργυρεῖς καὶ

χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθής καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ

Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέως δόντος. λέγων δὲ
tοιᾶδε Ἑρέξην διεβάλετο. "Δέσποτα, ἐστὶ οἶκος

ἀνδρὸς Ἐλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σήν στρατευ-

σάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανεν τούτῳ μοι δὸς

τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καὶ τὶς μάθη ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ

στρατεύσθαι." ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἐμελλε

ἀναπείσειν Ἑρέξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν

ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνων ἑφρούμε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ
tὴν βασιλέως στρατεύσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε

νοέων τοιᾶδε τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωτὸν
eῖναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεί βασιλεύοντος. ἔπει δὲ

ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ἐς Σηστοῦν

ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο,

αὐτὸς τε ὁκὼς ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιούντα ἐν τῷ

ἀδύτῳ γυναιξί ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέστο

υπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορ-

κήν οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἀφύκτως
dὲ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένους ἐπεισέλεξε, καὶ ἥσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῆς

294
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 Artayctes, 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 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 Artayctes 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 Artayctes' 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

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1 The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, νησὶς ἀποθάνοντος (Hom. Il. ii. 701).


\[\text{HERODOTUS}\]

\[\text{ἐὼντῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τείχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπώγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἐφασαν πρὶν ἦ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἄθηναῖων κοινὸν σφέας μεταπέμψηται: οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρέοντα.}\]

118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἤσαν, οὕτω ὡστε τοὺς τόνους ἔφοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐτι εἴχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νῦκτα οἰχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημώτατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πῦργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖς Ἄθηναιοι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἔδωκον, οὐ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἴχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Ὑρηκὴν Ὑρήκης Ἀφίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστῶρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὑστεροί ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὅληγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Λιγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνων ἐπὶ συχνῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οὐ δὲ ἥρους ἔλαμφθησαν. καὶ συνδῆσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἔλληνες ἤγουν ἐς Σηστῶν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένον αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν παιδα αὐτοῦ.

120. Καὶ τεῳ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτῶν ταρίχους ὀπτῶντες 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 Artayctes 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 Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artayctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,\(^1\) 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 Artayctes 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

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\(^1\) A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).
τοιώνυς οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό· καὶ ἦσπαίρον ὅκως περ ἱχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οὐ μὲν περιχυθέντες θώμαζον, ὅ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὁπτῶντα τοὺς τάριχους ἔφη “Ἐείνε Ἀθηναίε, μηδὲν φοβεῖν τὸ τέρας τούτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαίοντι Πρωτέσιλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθένδε καὶ τάριχος ἔδων δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἄδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. ὡν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἔθελω ἐπιθείναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατόν τάλαντα καταθείναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ’ ἐμευστοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοις περιγενόμενος.” ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαίονσιοι τῷ Πρωτέσιλεως τιμωρεόντες ἐδεόντο μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτόν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ἐρέξης ἐξευζε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ Ἀρταύκτου κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγουτες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσαντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτου τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμιβάρης ἐστὶ ο Πέρσης. ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκείνοι ύπολαβόντες
guarded Artaýctes: 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 Artaýctes 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 Artaýctes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artaýctes 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 Artaýctes who was crucified was grandson to that Artembares¹ who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

¹ There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Κύρος προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἐνει Ζεὺς Πέρσαι Ὑγεμονίν δίδοι, ἄνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κύρε, κατελὼν ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχὼμεν ἰμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οὐκός δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν κόπε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἄνθρωπον τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίνης;" Κύρος δὲ ταύτα ἄκουσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταύτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖς παραῖνει κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὃς οὐκέτι ἄρχοντας ἀλλ' ἄρξομένους: φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἅγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὧστε συγγνώμενες Πέρσαι οὐχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἔσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρον, ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιᾶδα σπείροντες ἀλλοισὶ 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.
INDEX

("Xerxes' march" and "Xerxes' army" refer always to the invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.)

Abae, an oracular shrine in Phocis, i. 46, viii. 27, 33, 134
Abantes, an Euboean tribe, i. 146
Abaris, a legendary Hyperborean, iv. 36
Abdera, a town of Thrace on the Nestus, i. 168, vi. 46, vii. 109, 120, 126; Xerxes' first halt in his flight, viii. 120.
Abrocomas, son of Darius, killed at Thermopylæ, vii. 224
Abronichus, an Athenian, viii. 21.
Abydos, a town on the Hellespont, v. 117; Xerxes' bridge there, vii. 33 foll., 43, 44, 45, 95, 147, 174, viii. 117, 130, ix. 114
Acanthus, in Chalcidice, on the isthmus of Mt. Athos, one of Xerxes' chief halting-places on his march, vi. 44, vii. 115–117, 121, 124
Acarnania, in N.W. Greece, ii. 10, vii. 126
Aceratus, a Delphian prophet, viii. 37
Aces, a river alleged to be E. of the Caspian, iii. 117
Achaean, their expulsion of Ionians from Greece, i. 145; in the Trojan war, ii. 120; at Croton, viii. 47; the only stock which has never left the Peloponnese, viii. 73. Achaean of Phthiotis, vii. 132, 173, 185–197. Achaea in the Peloponnese, vii. 94, viii. 36
Achaemenes, (1) son of Darius; governor of Egypt under Xerxes, vii. 7; one of Xerxes' admirals, vii. 97; his advice to Xerxes to keep the fleet together, vii. 236; his death, iii. 12.
(2) Farthest ancestor of Cyrus, iii. 75, vii. 11
Achaemenid, dynasty in Persia, i. 125, iii. 65
Achaeus, a legendary eponymous hero, ii. 98
Achelous, a river of N.W. Greece, vii. 126; compared with the Nile, ii. 10
Acheron, a river of N.W. Greece, viii. 47; its glen supposed to be a passage to the world of the dead, v. 92
INDEX

Achilleum, a town in Asia Minor near the mouth of the Scamander, v. 94
Achilles, “Race” of, a strip of land on the Pontic coast, iv. 55, 76
Acreaphia, a town near the Copaïc lake in Boeotia, viii. 135
Acragas (Agrigentum), vii. 165, 170
Acrisius, father of Danaë, vi. 53
Aerothoum, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22
Adeimantus, Corinthian admiral at Salamis, vii. 137, viii. 5, 59, 61, 94
Adicran, a Libyan king, iv. 159
Adrastus, (1) son of Gordias, a Phrygian refugee at Croesus’ court, i. 35-45. (2) Son of Talaus, an Argive hero, v. 67 foll.
Adriatic sea, i. 163, iv. 33, v. 9
Adyxmachidae, a Libyan tribe, iv. 168
Aea, in Colchis, i. 2, vii. 193, 197
Aeaces, of Samos, (1) father of Polycrates, ii. 182, iii. 39, 139, vi. 13. (2) Son of Syluson, vi. 13; confirmed as despot of Samos by the Persians, vi. 22, 25
Aeacus and Aeacidae, local heroes worshipped in Aegina, v. 80, v. 89, vi. 35, viii. 64, 83
Aegae, in Argolis, i. 145
Aegeaeae, Aeolian town in Achaea, i. 149
Aegaeaean sea, ii. 97, 113, iv. 85, vii. 36, 55
Aegaleos, the hill in Attica whence Xerxes saw the battle of Salamis, viii. 90
Aege, a town in Pallene, vii. 123
Aegaeus, (1) son of Oeolycus, a Spartan, iv. 149. (2) Son of Pandion of Athens, i. 173
Aegialeans, a “Pelasgian” people, vii. 94; of Sicyon, v. 68
Aegialus, son of Adrastus of Sicyon, v. 68
Aegiochen, a legendary Athenian, son of Ion, v. 66
Aegidae, a Spartan clan, iv. 149
Aegilea, a district of Euboea, vi. 101
Aegina, island in the Saronic gulf, iii. 59, 131, vii. 147, viii. 41, 60; feuds with Athens, v. 84-89, vi. 88-92, vii. 144; Cleomenes in Aegina, vi. 50, 61; Aeginetan hostages, vi. 85; Fleet, viii. 46; Aeginetans in battle of Salamis, viii. 84, 91-93; offerings at Delphi, viii. 122; Aeginetans at Plataea, ix. 28, 78, 85
Aegina, legendary daughter of Asopus, v. 80
Aegira, in Argolis, i. 145

304
INDEX

Aegiroessa, Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Aegium, in Argolis, i. 145
Aeglea, an island in the Aegean, vi. 107
Aegli, a tribe in the Persian empire, near Bactria, iii. 92
Aegospotami, on the Thracian coast near the Hellespont, ix. 119
Aeimnestus, a Spartan, combatant at Plataea, ix. 54
Aenea, a town on the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
Aenesidemus, an officer of Gelos in Sicily, vii. 154, 165
Aenus, a town at the mouth of the Hebrus, iv. 90, vii. 58
Aenyra, a place in Thasos, vi. 47
Aeolians, their conquest by Croesus, i. 6, 26; resistance to Cyrus, i. 141, 152; their settlements in Asia, i. 149-152; in the armies of Harpagus, i. 171; part of a Persian province, iii. 90; in Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 89, 138; reconquest by Persians, v. 122; in Ionian revolt, vi. 8, 28; part of Xerxes' fleet, vii. 95; Sestus an Aeolian town, ix. 115; Thessaly originally Aeolian, vii. 176; (often mentioned with Ionians, to denote Greek colonists in Asia.)
Aeolidae, a town in Phocis, viii. 35
Aeolus, father of Athamas, vii. 197
Aëropus, (1) a descendant of Temenos, viii. 137. (2) Son of Philippus, king of Macedonia, viii. 139
Acsanius, a man of Thera, iv. 150
Aesches, a leading Eretrian, vi. 100
Aeschraeus, an Athenian, viii. 11
Aeschrionians, a Samian clan, iii. 26
Aeschylus, the Athenian poet, reference to one of his plays, ii. 156
Aesopus, the chronicler, ii. 134
Aetolians, vi. 127, viii. 73 (Elis the only Aetolian part of the Peloponneso).
Agaeus, of Elis, vi. 127
Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, i. 67, iv. 103, vii. 159
Agariste, (1) daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 126, 130 foll. (2) Daughter of Hippocrates of Athens, vi. 131
Agasicles, of Halicarnassus, i. 144
Agathyrsi, a tribe on the Scythian borders, iv. 49, 100, 102, 119, 125; their customs, iv. 104
Agathyrsus, son of Heracles, iv. 10
Agbalus, an Aradian, vii. 98
Agbatana, (1) Persian capital in Media, i. 110, 153, iii. 64, 92; plan of, i. 98. (2) In Syria, Cambyses' death there, iii. 64
Agenor, father of Cadmus, iv. 147, vii. 91

305
INDEX

Agetus, a Spartan, vi. 61
Agis, king of Sparta, vi. 65
Aglaaurus, daughter of Cecrops, her shrine at Athens, viii. 53
Aglomachus, his tower at Cyrene, iv. 164
Agora, a town in the Chersonese of Thrace, vii. 58
Agrianes, (1) a Paeonian tribe, v. 16. (2) A tributary of the Hebrus, iv. 90
Agron, king of Sardis, i. 7
Agyllaei, an Etruscan tribe, i. 167
Alabanda, a town in Caria, vii. 195; another alleged to be in Phrygia, viii. 136.
Alalia, a town in Corsica inhabited by the Phocaeans, i. 165
Alarodii, a tribe in the Persian empire, E. of Armenia, iii. 94, vii. 79
Alazir, king of Barca, iv. 164
Alazones, a tribe in or adjacent to Scythia, iv. 17, 52
Alcaeus, (1) son of Heracles, i. 7. (2) The lyric poet, his poem on a battle between Athenians and Mytilenaeans, v. 95
Alcamenes, a Spartan king, son of Teleclus, vii. 204
Alcmenor, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 82
Alcetes, king of Macedonia, son of Aëropus, viii. 139
Alcibiades, an Athenian, father of Clinias, viii. 17
Alcides, a Spartan, vi. 61
Alcimachus, an Eretrian, vi. 101
Alcmeon, mother of Heracles, ii. 43, 145
Alcmeon, an Athenian, i. 59; enriched by Croesus, vii. 125. His son and descendants, enemies of Pisistratus, i. 61, 64, v. 62; under a curse for killing Cylon, v. 70; suspected of collusion with Persians after Marathon, vi. 115, 121–124; Megacles, the successful suitor for the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 125, 131
Alcon, a Molossian suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter, vi. 127
Alea, local name of Athene at Tegea, i. 66, ix. 70
Aleian plain in Cilicia, the rendezvous for Datis’ army, vi. 95
Aleeudae, the ruling family in Thessaly, vii. 6, 130, 172, ix. 58
Alexander, (1) son of Priam (Paris), i. 3; in Egypt, ii. 113–120. (2) King of Macedonia, son of Amyntas; his treatment of Persian envoys, v. 19–21; claim to be a Greek, v. 22; advice to Greeks, vii. 173; his ancestors, viii. 137–139; an inter-
mediary between Persia and Athens, viii. 140–144; information given by him to the Greeks before Plataea, ix. 44–46

Alilat, an Arabian deity identified with Aphrodite, iii. 8

Alopecae, a deme of Attica, v. 63

Alpeni or Alpenus, a village behind the Greek position at Thermopylae, vii. 176, 216, 229

Alpheus, a Spartan, distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227

Alpis, a tributary of the Danube, flowing apparently from the eastern Alps, iv. 49

Alus, in Achaia, vii. 173; tradition and ceremonial there, vii. 197

Alyattes, king of Lydia, father of Croesus, his war with Miletus, i. 16–25; protection of Scythians against Media, i. 73; his tomb, i. 93

Amasis, (1) king of Egypt, visited by Solon, i. 30; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; place in Egyptian chronology, ii. 43, 145; his Greek guard, ii. 154; his revolt against Apries, ii. 162, 169; his death, iii. 10; Cambyses’ treatment of his body, iii. 16; friendship of Amasis and Polycrates, iii. 39–43. (2) A Maraphian, commander of Persian army against Barca, iv. 167, 201, 203

Amathus, a town in Cyprus, its refusal to revolt against Persia, v. 104

Amazons, their intermarriage with Scythians, iv. 110–117; story of Athenian victory over them, ix. 27

Amestris, wife of Xerxes, vii. 61, 114; her revenge on a rival, ix. 109–112.

Amiantus of Trapezus, an Arcadian suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter, vi. 127

Amilcas, king of Carthage, defeated by Gelon, vii. 165–167

Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, distinguished at Salamis, viii. 84–93

Aminocles of Magnesia, enriched by Persian shipwreck at Sepias, vii. 190

Ammon (or Amoun), an oracular deity in Libya, identified with Zeus, i. 46, ii. 32, 55

Ammonians, a colony from Egypt and Ethiopia, ii. 42; on the route from Egypt to N.W. Africa, iv. 181; Cambyses’ expedition against them, iii. 25, 26

Amompharetus, Spartan commander of the “Pitanate battalion,” his refusal to quit his post at Plataea, ix. 53–57

Amorges, a Persian general, v. 121
INDEX

Ampe, a town on the Persian gulf, near the mouth of the Tigris, vi. 20
Ampelus, a promontory in Chalcidice, vii. 122
Amphiaraus, a legendary Greek hero, iii. 91; his oracular shrine, i. 46, 49, 52, 92, viii. 134
Amphicrates, king of Samos, iii. 59
Amphilochus, a legendary hero, son of Amphiaraus, iii. 91, vii. 91
Amphilytus, an Acarnanian diviner, i. 62
Amphimnestus of Epidamnus, a suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter, vi. 127
Amphissa, a town in Locris, a refuge for some Delphians when threatened by Xerxes, viii. 32, 36
Amphion, a Corinthian of the Bacchiad clan, grandfather of the despot Cypselus, v. 92
Amphitryon, alleged father of Heracles, ii. 43, 146, v. 59, vi. 53
Ampraciots, in N.W. Greece, part of the Greek fleet, viii. 45; in Pausanias’ army, ix. 28
Amyrgii, a tribe of the Sacae, vii. 64
Amyris, a man of Siris, vi. 127
Amyrtaeus, one of the later kings of Egypt, ii. 140, iii. 15
Amytheon, father of the seer Melampus, ii. 49
Anacharsis, a Scythian phil-Hellene, iv. 46, 76
Anacreon of Teos, the poet, iii. 121
Anactorians, a people of N.W. Greece, ix. 28
Anagyrus, a deme of Attica, viii. 93
Anaphe, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 62
Anaphylstus, a deme of Attica, iv. 99
Anaaua, a town in Phrygia, vii. 30
Anaxandrides, (1) a Spartan, son of Theopompus, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131. (2) King of Sparta, son of Leon; contemporary with Croesus, i. 67; father of Cleomenes, Dorieus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus, v. 39, vii. 158, 204, viii. 71

308
INDEX

Anaxandrus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
Anaxilaus, (1) a Spartan, son of Archidemus, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Rhegium, son of Creticus, vi. 23; an ally of the Carthaginians in Sicily, vii. 165
Anchimolius, a Spartan general, v. 03
Andreas of Sicyon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 126
Androbulus, a Delphian, vii. 141
Androcrates, a local hero worshipped at Plataea, ix. 25
Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus and wife of Perseus, vn. 61, 150
Androphagi, a people adjacent to Scythia, iv. 18, 100, 102, 119, 125; their customs, iv. 106
Andros, in the Aegean, iv. 33, v. 31, viii. 108; besieged by Themistocles, viii. 111; Andrians in the Persian fleet, viii. 66
Aneristus, (1) a Spartan, father of Sperthias, vn. 137. (2) Grandson of (1), Herodotus' theory that his death was caused by the wrath of Talthybius, vii. 137
Angites, a tributary of the Strymon, vii. 113
Angrus, a river in Illyria, iv. 49
Annon, a Carthaginian, father of Amilcas, vn. 165.
Anopaea, the mountain pass which turned the Greek position at Thermopylae, vn. 216
Antagoras, a man of Cos, ix. 76
Antandrus, a town in the Troad, v. 26, vii. 42
Anthele, a village near the pass of Thermopylae, vii. 176
Anthemus, a town in Macedonia, v. 94
Anthylla, a town in the Delta, ii. 97
Antichares, a man of Eleon, v. 43
Anticyra, a town in Malis, on the Spercheus, vn. 198, 213
Antidorus, a Lemnian deserter to the Greeks from the Persian fleet, viii. 11
Antiochus, an Elean, ix. 33
Antipatrus, a Thasian, chosen by his countrymen to provide for Xerxes' reception, vii. 118
Antiphemus, of Lindus, founder of Gela in Sicily, vii. 153
Anysis, (1) (and Anysian province of Egypt), inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 137, 166. (2) A blind king of Egypt, his expulsion by Ethiopians, ii. 137, 140
Aparaytae (possibly the modern Afridi), a tribe in the eastern part of the Persian empire, iii. 91
Apaturia, an Athenian festival celebrated in the month Pyanepsion, i. 147
Aphetae, in Magnesia, on the Pagasaean gulf, station of Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 193, 196; storm and shipwreck there, viii. 12
Aphidnae, a deme of Attica, ix. 73
Aphrodisias, an island off the coast of Libya, iv. 169
Aphrodite, worshipped in Cyprus and Cythera, i. 105; in Cyrene, ii. 181; in Egypt (Hathor), ii. 41, 112; other local cults under various names, i. 105, 131, 199, iii. 8, iv. 59, 67
Aphtite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior clans, ii. 166
Apia, a Scythian goddess, iv. 59
Apidanus, a river of Thessaly, vii. 129, 196
Apis, (1) the sacred calf of Egypt, ii. 38, 153; Cambyses’ sacrilegious treatment of Apis, iii. 27–29. (2) An Egyptian town, ii. 18
Apollo, i. 87, vii. 26; cult at Delos and Delphi, i. 50, 91, iv. 163, 155, vi. 80, 118; other local cults, i. 52, 69, 92, 144, ii. 83, 144, 155 (Horus), ii. 159, 178, iii. 52, iv. 59, 158, v. 59–61, viii. 33, 134
Apollonia, (1) a town on the Euxine sea, iv. 90, 93. (2) A town on the Ionic gulf, ix. 90
Apollophanes, a man of Abydos, vi. 26
Apries, a king of Egypt, deposed by Amasis, ii. 161–163; his death, ii. 169; marriage of his daughter to Cambyses, iii. 1; his expedition against Cyrene, iv. 159
Apsinthii, a tribe near the Chersonese (promontory of Gallipoli), vi. 34, 36, ix. 119
Arabia, its customs, i. 131, 198, iii. 8; invasion of Egypt by Arabians and Assyrians, ii. 141; geography, ii. 8, 11, 15, 19, iii. 7; home of the phoenix and flying serpents, ii. 73, 75; natural history, iii. 107–113; part of Persian empire, iii. 91, 97
Arabian gulf (Red Sea), ii. 11, 102, 158, iv. 39, 42. Arabians in Xerxes’ forces, vii. 69, 86, 184
Aradians, of the island Aradus, off the Phoenician coast, vii. 98
Araros, an alleged tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
Araxes, a river flowing from the west into the Caspian (but apparently confused by Herodotus with other rivers), i. 202, 205, iii. 36, iv. 11, 40; crossed by Cyrus when invading the Massagetae, i. 209–211
Arcadia, its relations with Sparta, i. 66; a Pelasgian people, i.
INDEX

146; preservation of the cult of Demeter, ii. 171; Cleomenes in Arcadia, vi. 74; Arcadian settlements in Cyprus, vii. 90; Arcadians at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Arcadian deserters to Xerxes, viii. 26; Arcadians in the Greek army on the Isthmus, viii. 72 (other unimportant ref.)

Arcesilaus, name of three kings of Cyrene. (1) Son of Battus, iv. 159. (2) Son of another Battus, iv. 160. (3) Son of a third Battus, his treatment of political enemies, iv. 162–164; his death, iv. 164

Archandrus, son-in-law of Danaus, an Egyptian town called after him, ii. 98

Archelai, a Sicyonian tribe so named by Cleisthenes of Sicyon, v. 68

Archelaus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204

Archestratides, a Samian, ix. 90

Archias, (1) a Spartan, his exploit in the Lacedaemonian attack on Polycrates of Samos, iii. 55. (2) Grandson of the above, honour paid him by the Samians, iii. 55.

Archidemus, (1) a Spartan, one of Leutychides’ ancestors, son of Anaxandrides, viii. 131. (2) A king of Sparta, son of Zeuxidemus, vi. 71

Archidice, a courtesan of Naucratis, ii. 135

Archilochus of Paros, inventor of the iambic metre, i. 12

Ardericca, (1) a village in Assyria, i. 185. (2) A place near Susa, vi. 119.

Ardys, king of Lydia, son of Gyges, i. 15

Arei, a tribe of the Persian empire, their tribute, iii. 93

Areopagus at Athens, viii. 52

Ares, vii. 140, viii. 77; local cults, in Egypt, ii. 36, 59, 83; in Scythia, iv. 59–62; in Thrace, v. 7, vii. 76

Argades, son of Ion, his name given to one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, v. 66

Argaeus, a king of Macedonia, son of Perdiccas, viii. 139

Arganthionius, king of Tartessus (at the mouth of the Guadalquivir), his friendship with the Phocaeans, i. 163, 165

Arge and Opis, two maidens fabled to have come from the Hyperboreans to Delos, iv. 35

Argea, wife of Aristodemus, king of Sparta, vi. 52

Argilus, a town west of the Strymon, vii. 115

Argimpasa, a Scythian goddess identified with Aphrodite, iv. 59, 67

Argiopium, a place near Plataea, ix. 57

311
INDEX

Argippaei, a primitive people adjacent to Scythia, said to be bald, iv. 23

Argo, voyage of the ship to Libya, iv. 179; to Colchis, vii. 192

Argos and Argives, Io carried off from Argos, i. 1, 5; war between Sparta and Argos, i. 82; Argive musicians, iii. 131; Cadmeans expelled from Boeotia by Argives, v. 57, 61; war with Sicyon, v. 67; Argive tribes, v. 68; alliance with Aegina against Athens, v. 86–89; war against Sparta, vi. 75–84; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 92; Argive neutrality in the Persian war, vii. 148–152; good offices to Mardonius, ix. 12; madness of Argive women, ix. 34

Argus, a local hero, his temple violated by Cleomenes, vi. 75–82

Ariabignes, a Persian general, son of Darius, vii. 97; killed at Salamis, viii. 89

Ariantas, a king of Scythia, iv. 81

Ariapithes, a king of Scythia, iv. 78

Ariaramnes, (1) a Persian, vii. 90. (2) Son of Teîspes, an ancestor of Xerxes, vii. 11.

Ariazus, a Persian, vii. 82

Aridolis, despot of Alabanda in Caria, vii. 195

Arii, a Median people, vii. 62

Arimaspi, a fabled northern people, said to be one-eyed, iii. 116, iv. 13, 14, 27

Arimnestus, a Plataean, ix. 72

Ariomardus, (1) a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Artabanes, vii. 67. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Darius, vii. 78

Arion, a minstrel of Methymna, story of his rescue from death by a dolphin, i. 23, 24

Arhiphron, an Athenian, Pericles’ grandfather, vi. 131, vii. 33, viii. 131

Arisba, a town of Lesbos, i. 151


Aristeas, (1) a Corinthian, son of Adeimantus, vii. 137. (2) A Proconnesian poet, son of Caystrobius, his travels in the north, disappearance and subsequent reappearance after 340 years, iv. 13–16

Aristides, an Athenian, ostracised by the people, his conference
INDEX

with Themistocles before Salamis, viii. 79-82; his part in the battle, viii. 95; at Plataea, ix. 28
Aristocrates, an Aeginetan, vi. 73
Aristocyprus, king of the Solii, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Persia, v. 113
Aristodemus, (1) sole survivor of the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae, vii. 229-231; his death at Plataea, ix. 71. (2) A king of Sparta, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
Aristodicus of Cyme, i. 168
Aristogiton, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, v. 55, vi. 109 123
Aristolaïdas, an Athenian, i. 59
Aristomachus, a king of Sparta, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
Ariston, (1) king of Sparta temp. Croesus, i. 67, v. 75, vi. 51, 61-69. (2) Despot of Byzantium, iv. 138
Aristonice, Pythian priestess temp. Xerxes' invasion, vii. 140
Aristonymus of Sicyon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 126
Aristophantus, a Delphian, vi. 66
Aristophilides, king of Taras (Tarentum), iii. 136
Arizanti, one of the six Median tribes, i. 101
Armenia, source of the Halys, i. 72; of the Euphrates, i. 180, 199; adjacent to Cilicia, v. 49, 52; part of the Persian empire, iii. 93; Armenians in Xerxes' army, vii. 73
Arpoxaïs, one of the sons of Targitâus the legendary founder of the Scythian people, iv. 5
Arsamenes, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 68
Arsames, (1) a Persian, father of Hystaspes, first mentioned, i. 209. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, son of Darius, vii. 69
Artabanus, Xerxes' uncle, son of Hystaspes, dissuades Darius from the Scythian expedition, iv. 83; a conversation with Darius, iv. 143; advice to Xerxes against his expedition to Greece, vii. 10-12; his vision and change of mind, vii. 15-18; his dialogue with Xerxes at Abydos, vii. 46-52. Elsewhere as a patronymic.
Artabates, a Persian, vii. 65
Artabazus, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, vii. 66; his siege of towns in Chalcidice, viii. 126-129; disagreement with Mardonius before Plataea, ix. 41, 58; flight with his army from Plataea, ix. 66; return to Asia, ix. 89
INDEX

Artace, a town near Cyzicus, iv. 14, vi. 33
Artachaees, the Persian engineer of Xerxes' canal through Athos, vii. 22; his death, vii. 117. Elsewhere a patronymic.
Artaei, an old name for the Persians, vii. 61
Artaeus, two Persians of the name, vii. 22 and vii. 66
Artanes, (1) a brother of Darius, vii. 224. (2) A Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
Artaphrenes, (1) Darius' brother, the Persian governor of Sardis, v. 25; his alliance with Aristagoras, and its rupture, v. 30–33; negotiation with Athenians, v. 73, 96; at Sardis when taken by Athenians and Ionians, v. 100; his operations in Ionia, v. 123; charge against Histiaeus, vi. 1; punishment of conspirators at Sardis, vi. 4; execution of Histiaeus, vi. 30; taxation of Ionia, vi. 42. (2) Son of the above, colleague of Datis in the invasion of Attica, vi. 94, 119, vii. 8, 10, 74
Artayctes, a Persian general under Xerxes, and governor of Sestus, captured and crucified by the Greeks for his violation of a temple, vii. 33, 78, ix. 116–120
Artaynte, daughter of Xerxes' brother Masistes, Xerxes' intrigue with her, ix. 108–112
Artayntes, (1) a Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Artachaees, vii. 130; his escape after Mycale, ix. 102, 107. (2) A Persian general in Xerxes' army, son of Iathamitres, vii. 67
Artembares, (1) a Mede, his complaint to Astyages of Cyrus' treatment of Artembares' son, i. 114–116. (2) A Persian, ancestor of Artayctes, his proposal to Cyrus, ix. 122
Artemis, her worship in the Greek world, i. 26, iii. 48, iv. 35, 87, vi. 138, vii. 176, viii. 77; in Thrace and Scythia, iv. 33, v. 7; in Egypt (as Bubastis), ii. 59, 83, 137, 155, 156
Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, with Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99; her advice to Xerxes before Salamis, viii. 68; conduct in the battle, viii. 87; advice to Xerxes after Salamis, viii. 101–103
Artemisium, in northern Euboea, described, vii. 176; station of the Greek fleet, vii. 182, 192, 194, viii. 4–6; battles with Xerxes' fleet, viii. 8–23; abandoned by the Greeks, viii. 40
Artescus, a river in Thrace, crossed by Darius on his way to Scythia, iv. 92
Artobazanes, eldest son of Darius, his candidature for the throne of Persia, vii. 2
Artochmes, a Persian officer under Xerxes, vii. 73
Artontes, (1) a Persian, iii 128. (2) A Persian, son of Mardonius, ix. 84
INDEX

Artoxerxes, king of Persia, son of Xerxes, vii. 106; his friendly relations with Argos, vii. 151
Artozostre, daughter of Darius and wife of Mardonius, vi. 43
Artybius, a Persian general in Cyprus, v. 108–112
Artyphius, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Artabanus, vii. 66
Artystone, Cyrus’ daughter, wife of Darius, iii. 88
Aryandes, Persian satrap of Egypt under Darius, his silver coinage, iv. 166; his forces sent to reinstate Pheret ime in Barca, iv. 167, 200
Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia, married to Astyages the Mede, i. 74
Asbystae, a tribe of Libya, iv. 170
Ascalon, a town in Syria, i. 105
Asia: beginning of troubles between Asia and Greece, i. 4. Croesus’ conquest of Asiatic Greeks, i. 6; division of Upper and Lower Asia by the Halys, i. 72; Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, i. 95; Asia ruled by Medes, i. 102; by Scythians, i. 103–106, iv. 4, vii. 20; by Persians, i. 130; Ionians of Asia, i. 142; Median conquest of Lower, Persian of Upper Asia, i. 177; wealth of Assyria a third of entire wealth of Asia, i. 192; division of Asia and Libya, ii. 16, 17; Darius’ Asiatic empire, iii. 88–94; extremities of Asia (e.g. Arabia), iii. 115; prosperity of Asia under Darius, iv. 1; mistake of those who think Europe no bigger than Asia, iv. 36; geography of the world, iv. 37–42; name of Asia, iv. 45; Asia and Libya compared, iv. 198; Aristagoras’ map of Asia, v. 49; the “royal road” in Asia, v. 52; Asia “shaken for three years” by Darius’ preparations against Greece, vii. 1; every nation of Asia in Xerxes’ armament, vii. 21, 157; numbers of Asiatic contingents, vii. 184; Persian belief that all Asia is theirs, ix. 116 (many other unimportant reff.)
Asia, wife of Prometheus, iv. 45
Asias, (1) son of Cotys, a legendary Lydian, iv. 45. (2) A clan at Sardis, iv. 45
Asine, a town in Laconia, viii. 73
Asmach, name of a people in Ethiopia, ii. 30
Asonides, captain of an Aeginetan ship captured by Xerxes’ fleet near Scithus, vii. 181
Asopii, inhabitants of the Asopus valley, ix. 15
Asopodorus, a Theban cavalry leader under Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 69
INDEX

Asopus, (1) a river in Trachis near Thermopylae, vii. 199, 216, 217. (2) A river in Boeotia, made the boundary between Theban and Plataean territory, vi. 108; frequently referred to in connection with the Plataean campaign of Mardonius, who encamped on its bank, ix. 15–59

Aspathines, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70, 78

Assa, a town in the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122

Assesus, a town with a local cult of Athene, in the lands of Miletus, i. 19, 22

Assyria: Assyrian rule of Upper Asia, i. 95; resistance to Medes, i. 102; Median conquest of all Assyria but Babylonia, i. 106; Cyrus' invasion, i. 178, 188; Herodotus' proposed Assyrian history, i. 183; some account of Assyria, i. 192–194; Sanacharibus' invasion of Egypt with Arabsians and Assyrians, π. 141; Assyrian script, iv. 87; Perseus an Assyrian, vi. 54; Assyrians in Xerxes' army, vii. 63

Astacus, a legendary Theban, v. 67

Aster, a Spartan, v. 63

Astrabacus, a Spartan hero or demigod, vi. 69

Astyages, a Median king, son of Cyaxares and son-in-law of Croesus, i. 73–75; his treatment of Cyrus as a child and as a youth, and his dealings with Harpagus, i. 107–125; deposed by Cyrus, i. 127–130

Asychis, king of Egypt, builder of a brick pyramid, π. 136

Atarantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184

Atarbechis, a town in Egypt with a temple of "Aphrodite," π. 41

Atarneus, a district of Mysia, i. 160, vi. 28, 29, viii. 106; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 42

Athamas, a legendary Greek hero, vii. 58; ritual of human sacrifice connected with his family, vii. 197

Athenades, of Trachis, vii. 213

Athenagoras, of Samos, ix. 90

Athene (and Pallas), Libyan tradition of, iv. 180; cult at Athens, i. 60, v. 77, 82, vii. 141, viii. 37, 39, 55; elsewhere, i. 19, 22, 62, 66, 92, 160, 175, π. 28, 59, 83, 169, 175, 182, iii. 59, iv. 180, 188, v. 45, 95, vii. 43, viii. 94, 104, ix. 70

Athens and Athenians, passim in Bks. v–ix; Solon's legislation at Athens, i. 29; Athenians the leading Ionian people, i. 56, 146; Pisistratus' usurpation of power, i. 59–64; Ionian appeal to Athens, v. 55, 97; murder of Hipparchus, v. 56; expulsion of Hippias with help from Sparta, v. 62 foll.; legis-
INDEX

lation of Cleisthenes, v. 66 foll.; his expulsion attempted by Cleomenes of Sparta, v. 72, 73; Dorian invasion of Attica, v. 74–76; wars of Athens against Boeotia and Aegina, v. 77–89; decision of Peloponnesian congress not to restore Hippias, v. 93; Athens an open enemy of Persia, v. 96; Athenians support Ionian revolt, v. 97; Miltiades (the elder) at Athens, vi. 35; hostages for Aeginetan good faith sent to Athens, vi. 73; Athenian refusal to restore them (story of Glaucus), vi. 85 foll.; war between Athens and Aegina, vi. 87–93; Persian invasion of Attica and battle of Marathon, vi. 102–117; alleged treachery of the Alcmeonidae disproved, vi. 121–124; reception of Darius’ envoys at Athens, vn. 133; Athens the saviour of Greece, vn. 139; oracles given to Athenians at Delphi, vn. 140–142; additions to Athenian fleet on Themistocles’ advice, vn. 143, 144; Athenian envoy at Syracuse, vn. 161; Athenian ships at Artemisium, vn. 1, 10, 14, 17, 18; Athenian migration to Salamis, vn. 40, 41; origin of the name “Athenian,” vn. 44; siege and capture of Athens, vnii. 52, 53, 54; Athenians before the battle of Salamis, vnii. 57 foll.; in the battle itself, vnii. 83–96; their pursuit of Xerxes’ fleet, 108 foll.; Athenian refusal to make terms with Persia, vnii. 140–144; occupation of Athens by Mardonius, ix. 3; renewed refusal to make terms, ix. 4, 5; Athenian demands at Sparta for help, ix. 7–11; Mardonius’ departure from Attica, ix. 13; Athenian exploits in the campaign of Plataea, ix. 21, 22; their claim of the place of honour in the army, ix. 26–28; movements of Athenians before the battle of Plataea, ix. 44–47, 54, 55, 56; their part in the battle, ix. 60, 61, 70, 73; Athenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102; their policy for Ionia, ix. 106; siege and capture of Sestus by Athenians, ix. 114–118. (See also Pisistratus, Cleisthenes, Miltiades, Themistocles)

Athos, promontory in Chalcedice, Persian shipwreck there, vi. 44, 95, vn. 189; Xerxes’ canal across it, vn. 22, 37, 122

Athribite, province in Egypt, ii. 166

Athrys, a river in Thrace, iv. 49

Atlantes, a people in Libya, iv. 184

Atlantic sea, “outside the Pillars of Heracles,” united with the Greek sea and the Persian gulf, i. 203

Atlas, (1) the mountain in Libya, iv. 184. (2) A river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, iv. 49

Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, wife first of Cambyses, then of the
INDEX

Magian, then of Darius, iii. 68, 88; her desire that Darius should invade Greece, iii. 133–134; her influence with Darius, vii. 2
Atramyttium, a town on Xerxes’ route through W. Asia Minor, vii. 42
Atridae, Agamemnon and Menelaus, vii. 20
Attaginus, a leading Theban friendly to Mardonius, ix. 15; Greek demand for his surrender, ix. 86; his escape, ix. 88
Attica: Attic language, vi. 138; Attic weights and measures, i. 192; Attic dance movements, vi. 129. (See Athens.)
Atys, (1) son of Croesus, accidentally killed by Adrastus, i. 34–45; father of Pythius, vii. 27. (2) Earliest mentioned king of Lydia, son of Manes, i. 7, vii. 74; a dearth in his reign, i. 94
Auchatae, one of the earliest Scythian tribes, iv. 6
Augila, a date-growing place in Libya, on the caravan route from Egypt to the west, iv. 172, 182–184
Auras, a river flowing from the Balkan range into the Danube, iv. 49
Auschisae, a Libyan people on the sea coast, near Barca, iv. 171
Ausees, a Libyan people on the sea coast, iv. 180, 191
Autesion, a Theban, descended from Polynices, iv. 147, vi. 52
Autodicus, a Plataean, ix. 85
Autonous, a hero worshipped at Delphi, his alleged aid against the Persians, viii. 39
Auxesia, a goddess of fertility worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, v. 82–83
Axius (Vardar), a river in Macedonia, vii. 123
Azanes, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 66
Aziris, a place in Libya, a Greek settlement there, iv. 157, 169
Azotus, a town in Syria, ii. 157

Babylon, the capital of Assyria; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; description of the city, i. 178–183; Nitocris and navigation of the Euphrates, i. 184–186; her tomb, i. 187; Cyrus’ siege and capture of Babylon, i. 188–191; details of Babylonian life, i. 93, 192–200, ii. 109, iii. 89, 95, iv. 198; tribute paid to Persia, iii. 92; siege and capture by Darius, iii. 150–160
Bacchiadae, a powerful clan at Corinth, v. 92
Bacchic mysteries, ii. 81
Bacis, reputed author or compiler of oracles, viii. 20, 77, 96, ix. 43
INDEX

Bactra, in the eastern part of the Persian empire, still to be subdued by Cyrus, i. 153; tribute paid to Persia, iii. 92; conquered peoples exiled thither, iv. 204, vi. 9; Bactrians in Xerxes’ army, vii. 64, 66, 86; with Mardonius, viii. 113; Masistes’ plan for a Bactrian revolt, ix. 113

Badres, (1) a Persian commander in the expedition against Cyrene, iv. 167, 203. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Hystanes, vii. 77

Bagaeus, a Persian, employed by Darius against Oroetes, iii. 128; father of Mardontes, viii. 80, viii. 130

Barca, a town of northern Libya, a colony from Cyrene, iv. 160; its tribute to Persia, iii. 91; submission to Cambyses, iii. 13; troubles with Cyrene, iv. 164, 167; captured and enslaved by Persians, 200-205

Basilicôides, an Ionian, father of Herodotus the historian’s namesake, viii. 132

Bassaces, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Artabanus, vii. 75

Battusiadac, descendants of Battus, iv. 202

Battus; three of this name, all kings of Cyrene (see Arcesilaus). (1) A man of Thera, son of Polymnestus, and first colonist of Cyrene, iv. 150-159. (2) Grandson of the above, called “the fortunate”; his defeat of an Egyptian army, iv. 159. (3) Grandson of the last; curtailment of his royal power at Cyrene, iv. 161. (“Battus” said to be a Libyan word meaning “king,” iv. 155.)

Belbinitae, an inhabitant of the islet of Belbina off Attica, used by Themistocles as an instance of an insignificant place, viii. 125

Belian gates of Babylon, opened to admit Darius’ besieging army, iii. 155, 158

Belus, a legendary descendant of Heracles, i. 7, and perhaps, vii. 61, apparently = the Asiatic god Bel, who has affinities with Heracles; the Babylonian form of “Bel” (Baal); identified with Zeus, i. 181 (the temple of Zeus Belus).

Bermius, a mountain range in Macedonia, viii. 138

Bessi, a priestly clan among the Satrae of Thrace, vii. 111

Bias, (1) brother of the seer Melampus, ix. 34. (2) Bias of Priene, one of the “Seven Sages,” his advice to Croesus, i. 27; to the Ionians, i. 170

Bisaltæa, a Thracian tribe, viii. 116; their country Bisaltia, vii. 115

319
INDEX

Bisaltes, a man of Abydos, vi. 26
Bisanthe, a town on the Hellespont, vii. 137
Bistones, a Thracian tribe, vii. 109, 110
Bithynians, in Xerxes' army, originally Thracians, vii. 75; cp. i. 28
Biton, of Argos, brother of Cleobis, story of their filial devotion, i, 31
Boebean lake, in Thessaly, vii. 129
Boeotia: Phoenician immigration, ii. 49, v. 57; war with Athens, v. 74–81; alliance with Aegina, v. 89; "sacred road" through Boeotia, vi. 34; strife of Athens and Boeotia, vi. 108; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Boeotians at Thermopylae, vii. 202, 233; nearly all Boeotia on Persian side, viii. 34, 66; Mardonius established in Boeotia, ix. 15, 17, 19; Boeotians in his army, ix. 31, 46; their courage, ix. 67
Boges, Persian governor of Eion, his desperate defence of the place, vii. 107
Bolbitine mouth of the Nile artificial, ii. 17
Boreas, the personified north wind, invoked by the Athenians before the Persian shipwreck, vii. 189
Borysthenes, (1) a Scythian river, the Dnieper, iv. 5, 13, 24, 47, 53–56, 81, 101. (2) A Greek port at the river's mouth, iv. 17, 53, 74, 78; said to be a colony from Miletus, iv. 78
Bosporus, (1) Thracian, bridged by Darius, iv. 83–89, 118, vii. 10. (2) Cimmerian (entrance to the Palus Maeotis), iv. 12, 28, 100
Bottiaea, a district on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 185, viii. 127
Branchidae, an oracular shrine near Miletus, i. 46, ii. 159; Croesus' offerings there, i. 92, v. 36; answer of the oracle about the surrender of a suppliant, i. 157–159
Brauron, in Attica, Athenian women carried off thence by Pelasgians, iv. 145, vi. 138
Brentesium (mod. Brindisi), iv. 99
Briantic country, on the Thracian sea-board, vii. 108
Briges, old name of the Phrygians, vii. 73
Brongus, a tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
Brygi, Thracian tribesmen, their attack on Mardonius' first expedition, vi. 45; part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185
Bubares, a Persian, son of Megabazus, married to the sister of Alexander of Macedonia, v. 21, viii. 136; one of the engineers of the Athos canal, vii. 22
INDEX

Bubastis, (1) an Egyptian goddess identified with Artemis, π. 59, 83, 137, 156. (2) An Egyptian town, π. 59, 67, 137, 154, 158, 166. (Bubastite province, π. 166)

Bucolic mouth of the Nile artificial, π. 17

Budii, a Median tribe, i. 101

Budini, a people adjacent to Scythia, iv. 21, 102, 105, 119, 122, 136; their town of wood, and their Greek customs, iv. 108

Bulis, a Spartan, his offer to expiate the Spartan killing of Persian envoys by surrendering himself to Xerxes, vii. 134-137

Bura, a town in Argolis, i. 145

Busae, a Median tribe, i. 101

Busiris, a town in the Delta with a temple of Isis, π. 59, 61; Busirite province, π. 165

Butacides, a man of Croton, v. 47

Buto, a town in the Delta, with a cult of Apollo and Artemis, and an oracular shrine of Leto (Uat), π. 59, 63, 67, 75, 83, 111, 133, 152, iii. 64; description of the temple, π. 155

Bybassia, a peninsula in Caria, i. 174

Byzantium, iv. 87, vi. 33; beauty of its site, iv. 144; taken by Otanes, v. 26; annexed by Ionian rebels, v. 103; occupied by Histiaeus, vi. 5, 26; Artabazus there in return to Asia, ix. 89

Cabales, a small tribe in northern Libya, near Barca, iv. 171

Cabalees, a people on the Lycian border, their tribute to Persia, π. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77

Cabiri, minor deities worshipped in many places, in Samothrace and Memphis, π. 51, π. 37

Cadmeans, alleged Phoenician immigrants into Greece with Cadmus, i. 56, 146, v. 57; a Cadmean script, v. 59; once settled at Thebes, ix. 27; a "Cadmean victory" one where victors are no better off than vanquished, i. 166

Cadmus, (1) a Tyrian, son of Agenor, in Boeotia, π. 49; chronology, π. 145 (cp. Cadmeans). (2) A Coan, son of Scythes; an emissary from Gelon of Sicily, vii. 163

Cadmy, a town in Syria (Gaza), iii. 5; taken by Necos, π. 159

Caicus, a river between Lydia and Mysia, vi. 28, vii. 42

Caeneus, a Corinthian, father of Ecthon, v. 92

Calamisa (or Calama), in Samos, ix. 96

Calasiries, one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, π. 164; some account of them, π. 166, 168; in Mardonius' army at Plataea, ix. 32

VOL. IV. (HERODOTUS) 321
INDEX

Callantiae, an Indian people, iii. 97; perhaps the same as the Callatiae, q.v.

Callatebus, a town in Lydia on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 31

Callatiae, Indian cannibals, iii. 38

Calchas, the legendary seer, vii. 51

Calchedon (or Chalcedon), on the Hellespont, iv. 85; its site compared with that of Byzantium, iv. 144; taken by Otanes, v. 26; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 33

Calliades, archon at Athens in 480 B.C., viii. 51

Callias, (1) an Elean seer, acting with Croton in its war with Sybaris, v. 44. (2) An Athenian, son of Hipponicus; an envoy to Xerxes' son Artoxerxes in 448 B.C., vii. 151. (3) Grandfather of the above, a noted Athenian champion of freedom and enemy of Pisistratus, vi. 121

Calliricrates, a Spartan killed (but not in actual fighting) at Plataca, ix. 72

Callimachus of Aphidnae, the Athenian polemarch, with the army at Marathon, his vote for battle, vi. 109, 110; his death, vi. 114

Callipheon, a man of Croton, iii. 125

Callipidæ, "Greek Scythians" near the town of Borysthenes, iv. 17

Callipolitæ, settlers in Sicily from the adjacent town of Naxos, vii. 154

Calliste, old name of the island of Thera, iv. 147

Calydnians, islanders in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99

Calynda, on the frontier of Lycia, i. 172; Calyndians in Xerxes' fleet, viii. 87

Camarina, in Sicily, vii. 154; its citizens transferred to Syracuse by Gelon, vii. 156

Cambyses, (1) a Persian, son of Teispes, son-in-law of Astyages and father of Cyrus, i. 107; elsewhere mostly a patronymic of Cyrus. (2) King of Persia, son of Cyrus, his accession, i. 208, ii. 1; conquest of Egypt, i. 1–4, 9–16; expeditions to Ethiopia and Libya, 19–26; his sacrilegious and criminal acts while in Egypt, especially the murder of his brother, iii. 27–38; Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, and Cambyses' death, iii. 61–66; Greeks in Egypt during Cambyses' occupation, iii. 139; Cambyses' punishment of an unjust judge, v. 25 (other unimportant reff.)

Camicus, a town in Sicily, scene of Minos' death, vii. 169

Camirus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, i. 144

322
INDEX

Campsa, a town adjacent to the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
Canastraean promontory at the extremity of Pallene, vii. 123
Candaules, (1) called Myrsilus by the Greeks, despot of Sardis, i. 7; murdered by his wife and Gyges, i. 10-13. (2) A Carian, vii. 98
Canobus, a town in Egypt, giving its name to the adjacent mouth of the Nile, ii. 15, 17, 97, 113, 179
Capheus, a promontory in Euboea, viii. 7
Cappadocia, its situation, i. 72, v. 49, 52; attacked and conquered by Cyrus, i. 71, 73, 76; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 26; Cappadocians in his army, vii. 72
Carchedon (Carthage); Carchedonian and Italian attack on Phocaeans in Corsica, i. 166; Cambyses' proposed conquest of Carchedon, iii. 17-19; Carchedonian story of the island Cyrauis, iv. 195; expulsion of a Greek colony in Libya by Carchedonians, v. 42; successes of Gelon against them in Sicily, vii. 158, 165-167
Carcinitis, at the mouth of the Hypacyris, on the eastern frontier of "old" Scythia, iv. 55, 99
Cardamyle, a town in Laconia, viii. 73
Cardia, a town in the Thracian Chersonese (peninsula of Gallipoli), vi. 33, 36, ix. 115; on Xerxes' line of march, vii. 58
Carene, a town in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42
Carenus, a Spartan, vii. 173
Carians, islanders originally, the chief people in the Minoan empire, i. 171; their inventions of armour, ib.; attacked by the Persians, ib.; subdued, i. 174; Carian settlers in Egypt, ii. 61, 152, 154; Apries' Carian guard, ii. 163, iii. 11; Carian tribute to Persia, iii. 90; a Carian warrior in the Cyprian revolt, v. 111; Carian revolt against Darius, v. 117-121; subdued, vi. 25; Carians in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 93, 97, viii. 22; Carian language not understood by Greeks, viii. 135; so-called "Ionian" dress really Carian, v. 88
Carnea, a Lacedaemonian festival in honour of Apollo, held in early August, vii. 206, viii. 72
Carpathus, an island S.W. of the Peloponnese, iii. 45
Carpis, a western tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
Carystus, on the south coast of Euboea, iv. 33; subdued by Persians, vi. 99; in Xerxes' army, viii. 66; attacked by Greeks, viii. 112, 121; war between Athens and Carystus, ix. 105
Casambus, one of the Aeginetan hostages handed over to Athens by Cleomenes, vi. 73
INDEX

Casian mountain, low sandhills on the eastern frontier of Egypt, ii. 6, iii. 5
Casmena, a town in Sicily, viii. 155
Caspatyrus, a town probably on the Indus, iii. 102, iv. 44
Caspian Sea, its size, i. 203; northern boundary of the Persian empire, iv. 40; Caspian tribute paid to Persia, iii. 92; Caspii in Xerxes' army, vii. 67, 86
Cassandane, mother of Cambyses, ii. 1, iii. 2
Cassiterides (tin-producing) islands, perhaps Britain, their existence questioned by Herodotus, iii. 115
Castalian spring at Delphi, viii. 39
Casthanea, a town in Magnesia, vii. 183, 188
Catadupa, the first or Assuan cataract of the Nile, source of the river, according to Herodotus, ii. 17
Catarrhaetes, a tributary of the Maeander, rising at Celaenae, vii. 26
Catiari, one of the oldest Scythian tribes, iv. 6
Caucasa, on the S.E. coast of Chios, v. 33
Caucasus range, i. 104, 203, iii. 97, iv. 12
Caucones, an Arcadian people, one of the most ancient of Greek races, i. 147, iv. 148
Caunus, near Caria and Lydia, origin of its people, i. 172; attacked and subdued by the Medes, i. 171, 176; participation in Ionian revolt against Darius, v. 103
Caystrius, a river near Sardis, v. 100
Caystrobius, a Proconnesian, father of Aristeas, iv. 13
Ceans, natives of Ceos in the Aegean, iv. 35; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46
Cecrops, king of Athens, vii. 141, viii. 53; Athenians called Cecropidae, viii. 44
Celaenae, a town in Phrygia at the junction of the Marsyas and Maeander, on Xerxes' route, vii. 26
Celeas, a Spartan companion of Dorieus' voyage to Italy, v. 46
Celti, the farthest west (but one) of all European nations, beyond the Pillars of Heracles, ii. 33; source of the Danube in their country, iv. 49
Ceos, apparently a place in Salamis (but not identified), viii. 76; clearly not the island in the Aegean.
Cephalennia, an island west of Greece, its contingent at Plataea, ix. 28
Cephenes, an old name for the Persians, vii. 61
INDEX

Cepheus, son of Belus (q.v.) and father of Andromeda, wife of Perseus, vii. 61, 150
Cephisus, a river in Phocis, vii. 178, viii. 33
Ceramicus, a gulf in Caria, i. 174
Cercasorus, a town in Egypt, where the Nile first divides to form the Delta, ii. 15, 17, 97
Cercopes, legendary dwarfs whose name is preserved by the “seats of the Cercopes,” rocks on the mountain side near Thermopylae, vii. 216
Cercyra (Corcyra), subject to Corinth under Periander, iii. 48, 52, 53; hesitating policy of Corecyra when invited to join the Greeks against Xerxes, vii. 168
Chaldaeans, a priestly caste at Babylon, i. 181, 182
Chalcis, in Euboea, at war with Athens, v. 74, 77, 91; station of the Greek fleet, vii. 182, 189; Chalcidians in the fleet, viii. 1, 46; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31
Chalcidians of Thrace, in Xerxes’ army, vii. 185; their capture of Olynthus, viii. 127
Chalestra, a town on Xerxes’ route in Macedonia, vii. 123
Charaxus, a Mytilenaean, brother of Sappho, ii. 135
Charilaus, (1) brother of Polycrates’ viceroy of Samos, Macandrius, his attack on the Persians in Samos, iii. 145, 146. (2) A king of Sparta, viii. 131
Charites, the Graces, worshipped in Greece but not in Egypt, ii. 50; a hill in Libya called “the Graces’ hill,” iv. 175
Charmiphanus, brother of Aristagoras of Miletus, v. 99
Chemmis, (1) a town of Upper Egypt, with a temple of Perseus, ii. 91. (2) An island alleged to float, in the Delta, ii. 156. Province of Chemmis, ii. 165, inhabited by one of the warrior clans.
Cheops, king of Egypt, the first pyramid-builder (at the modern Gizeh), ii. 124–127
Chephren, Cheops’ successor, also a pyramid-builder, ii. 127
Chersmis, a Persian, father of Artayctes, vii. 78
Chersis, a king of Cyprus, father of Onesilus, v. 104, 113
Chersonese (= peninsula), used (1) (oftenest) of the modern peninsula of Gallipoli; ruled by Miltiades the elder, iv. 137; overrun by Persians, vi. 33; under Miltiades, the elder and the younger, vi. 33–40, 103, 104; part of the Athenian empire,
INDEX

vi. 140; Xerxes’ bridge there, vii. 33; his route through the Chersonese, vii. 58; Greek forces there after Mycale, ix. 114–120. (2) The Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), iv. 99

Chileus, a Tegean, his warning to the Spartans, ix. 9

Chilon, (1) a Spartan, temp. Pisistratus, i. 59; his saying about Cythera, vii. 235. (2) A Spartan, son of Demarmenus and father-in-law of Demaratus, vi. 65

Chios, its alliance with Miletus, i. 18; Ionian, i. 142, ii. 178; its surrender of a suppliant, i. 160; a Chian altar at Delphi, ii. 135; Paonian refugees in Chios, v. 98; Chians and Histiaeus, vi. 2, 5; their valour in the Ionian revolt, vi. 15, 16; conquered by the Persians, vi. 31; plot against the despot of Chios, viii. 132; Chians admitted to the Greek confederacy after Mycale, ix. 106 (a few other unimportant reff.)

Choaspes, a river flowing past Susa, i. 188, v. 49, 52

Choereae, a place on the coast of Euboea near Eretria, vi. 101

Choereatae, the name given by Cleisthenes to a Sicyonian tribe, v. 68

Choerus, a man of Rhegium, vii. 170

Chon (if the reading is admitted), a river in N.W. Greece, ix. 93

Chorasmii, a tribe N.E. of the Parthians, on the Oxus, iii. 93, 117; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 66

Chromius, an Argive, one of three survivors of a battle between Argos and Lacedaemon, i. 82

Cicones, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes’ route, vii. 59, 108, 110

Cilicia, traversed by the Halys, i. 72; opposite Egypt, ii. 34; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; on the “royal road,” v. 52; Persian crossing from Cilicia to Cyprus, v. 108; sailing thence of Datis’ expedition, vi. 95; Cilicians in Xerxes’ army, vii. 77, 91, 98, viii. 14; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68; by Mardonius, viii. 100; governed by Xenagoras, ix. 107

Cilix, son of Agenor, eponymous hero of Cilicia, vii. 91

Cilla, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149

Cimmerians, their invasion of Ionia, i. 6, 15; originally in Scythia, driven thence by the Scythians into Asia, iv. 11–13, vii. 20; their memory preserved by place-names, iv. 12

Cimon, (1) son of Stesagoras and father of Miltiades the younger, vi. 34, 38; a victor at Olympia, vi. 103; killed by the Pisistratids, ib. (2) Son of Miltiades, vi. 136; his capture of Eion, vii. 107

Cindya, a town in Caria, v. 118
INDEX

Cinclus, a Thessalian prince, ally of the Pisistratids against Sparta, v. 63
Cinyrs, a river in Libya, iv. 175; attempt to make a Greek settlement there, v. 42; fertility of the Cinyps valley, iv. 198
Cissians, at the head of the Persian Gulf, tributaries of Persia, iii. 91; Cissian gates of Babylon, iii. 155, 158; the country on Aristagoras' map of Asia, v. 49; on the "royal road," v. 52; Cissian fighters at Thermopylae, vii. 210
Cithaeron, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia, vii. 141; northern foothills of Cithaeron and passes over the range held by the Greeks against Mardonius, ix. 19, 25, 38, 51, 56, 69
Cius, (1) a town in Mysia, v. 122. (2) (Or Scius?), a tributary of the Ister, iv. 49
Clazomenae, in Lydia, an Ionian town, i. 142, ii. 178; its resistance to Alyattes, i. 16; Clazomenian treasury at Delphi, i. 51; taking of the town by Persians, v. 123
Cleades, a Platean, ix. 85
Cleandrus, (1) despot of Gela in Sicily, vii. 154. (2) An Arcadian seer and fomenter of civil strife in Argolis, vi. 83
Cleinias, an Athenian, son of Alcibiades, his distinction at Artemisium, viii. 17
Cleisthenes, (1) despot of Sicyon, son of Aristonymus, his reforms at Sicyon, v. 67, 69; competition for his daughter's hand, vi. 126-31. (2) An Athenian, grandson of the above, vi. 131; his reforms at Athens, v. 66, 69; his expulsion from Athens and return, v. 72, 73
Cleobis, an Argive, story of his filial devotion, i. 31
Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, an ancestor of the Spartan kings, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131
Cleombrotus, youngest son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, v. 32, vii. 205; in command of a Peloponnesian force at the Isthmus, viii. 71, ix. 10; father of Pausanias, ix. 78 et al.
Cleomenes, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides; his refusal to accept a bribe, iii. 148 (from Maenandrius of Samos), v. 48-51 (from Aristagoras); his madness, v. 42, vi. 75; invasions of Attica, v. 64, 70; oracles carried off by him from Athens, v. 90; quarrel with Aegina, vi. 50; feud with Demaratus, vi. 61-66; invasion of Argos, vi. 76-82, vii. 148; advice to the Plateaeans, vi. 108; his death, vi. 75
Cleonae, a town on Athos, vii. 22
Clytiadai, an Elean priestly clan, ix. 33 (but see note ad loc.).
INDEX

Cnidus, in Caria, on the Triopian promontory, i. 174; a Dorian town, i. 144, ii. 178; attempted restoration by Cnidians of a Tarentine exile, iii. 138
Cnoethus, an Aeginetan, vi. 88
Cnosus, in Crete, the capital city of Minos' empire, iii. 122
Cobon, a Delphian, his corruption of the oracle in Cleomenes' interest, vi. 60
Codrus, an ancient king of Athens, ancestor of the Caucones (q.v.), i. 147; of Pisistratus, v. 65; Dorian invasion of Attica during his rule, v. 76; father of the founder of Miletus, ix. 97
Coenyra, a place in Thasos, vi. 47
Coes, of Mytilene; his advice to Darius to leave Ionians guarding the bridge of the Ister, iv. 97; made despot of Mytilene, v. 11; his death, v. 38
Colaeus, a Samian shipmaster, iv. 152
Colaxais, the youngest of the three brothers who founded the Scythian race, iv. 5, 7
Colchis, on the Euxine, its situation, i. 104, iv. 37, 40; Egyptian origin of Colchians, ii. 104; tribute to Persia, iii. 97; in Xerxes' army, vii. 79
Colias, adjective of an Attic promontory where wrecks were driven ashore after Salamis, viii. 96
Colophon, an Ionian town in Lydia, i. 142; taken by Gyges, i. 14; Apaturia not celebrated at Colophon, i. 147; civil strife there, i. 150
Colossae, a town in Phrygia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 30
Combrea, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123
Compsantus, a river in Thrace, vii. 109
Coniaean, of Conium in Phrygia, v. 63 (but "Gonnaean" should probably be read).
Contadesdus, a river in Thrace, iv. 90
Copais lake in Boeotia, viii. 135
Coresus, near Ephesus, on the coast, v. 100
Corinth, its treasury at Delphi, i. 14, iv. 162; despotism of Periander and his cruelty, i. 23, v. 92; his troubles with his son, and with Coreyra, iii. 48–54; Corinthian estimation of artificers, ii. 167; story of Cypselus, v. 92; Corinthian reluctance to invade Attica, v. 75; friendship with Athens, vi. 89; adjustment by Corinth of a quarrel between Athens and Thebes, vi. 108; Corinthians at Thermopylae, vii. 202; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 21, 43; in the army at the Isthmus, viii. 72; dispute between Themistocles and Adeimantus,
INDEX

viii. 61; Corinthians' alleged desertion of the Greeks at Salamis, viii. 94; Corinthians at Plataea, ix. 28, 31, 69; at Mycale, ix. 102, 105

Corobius, a Cretan merchant, employed by Greeks to guide them to Libya, iv. 151-153

Coronea, a town in Boeotia, v. 79

Corycian cave on Parnassus, a refuge for the Delphians, viii. 36

Corydallus, a man of Anticyra, vii. 214

Corys, a river in Arabia, iii. 9

Cos, an island off Caria, colonized by Dorians, i. 144; abdication of its despot Cadmus, vii. 164; Coans in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 99

Cotys, a river in Arabia, in. 9

Cotys, a man of Anticyra, vn. 214

Cranai, old name for Athenians, viii. 44

Cranaspes, a Persian, iii. 126

Crannon, in Thessaly, vi. 128

Crathis, (1) a river in Achaean, i. 145. (2) A river by Sybaris, v. 45

Cremlni (cliffs), name of a port in Scythia, on the “Maeetian lake,” iv. 20, 110


The reading Creston in i. 57 is doubtful; Croton is suggested (not the town in Magna Graecia, but Cortona in Umbria).

Crete, Cretan origin of Lycurgus' Spartan laws, i. 65; beginning of Minos' rule, i. 173; Samian settlers in Crete, iii. 59; connexion of Crete with the settlement of Cyrene, iv. 151, 154, 161; Cretan reason for not joining the Greeks against Xerxes, vii. 169-171; Lyceans originally Cretan, vii. 92

Cretines, (1) a man of Magnesia in Greece, vii. 190. (2) A man of Rhegium, vii. 165

Crinippus, a man of Himera, vii. 165

Crisaean plain, in Locris, viii. 32

Crialla, a town on Xerxes' route in Cappadocia, vii. 26

Critobulus, (1) a man of Cyrene, ii. 181. (2) A man of Torone, made governor of Olynthus by the Persians, viii. 127

Crius, a leading Aeginetan, sent to Athens as hostage for Aeginetan good faith, vi. 50, 73; his meeting with Themistocles at Salamis, viii. 92

Crobyzi, a Thracian tribe, iv. 49

"Crocodiles' town," near Lake Moeris in Egypt; labyrinth there, ii. 148

Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, extent of his rule, i. 6, 26-28; Solons' visit to him, i. 28-33; story of his son Atys,
INDEX

1. 34–45; gifts to Delphi and preparations for war with Persia, 1. 46–56, viii. 35; negotiations with Athens and Sparta, 1. 65, 69; story of the campaign, and Cyrus’ capture of Sardis, 1. 76–84; Croesus’ escape from death, and his treatment by Cyrus, 1. 85–92; advice to Cyrus as to government of Lydia, 1. 155, 156; as to the Massagetae, 1. 207; Croesus at Cambyses’ court, iii. 14, 36; friendship with the elder Miltiades, vi. 37; gift of gold to Alcmeon, vi. 125 (other unimportant ref.)

Crophi, one of two hills (Mophi the other) alleged to be near the source of the Nile, ii. 28

Crossaean country, in Macedonia, vii. 123

Croton, in Magna Graecia; reputation of its physicians, iii. 131; story of Demoedes at the Persian court and his return to Croton, iii. 131–138; war between Croton and Sybaris, v. 44; capture of Sybaris by Crotoniats, vi. 21; help sent by Croton (but by no other western colony) to Greeks against Xerxes, viii. 47

Cuphagoras, an Athenian, vi. 117

Curium, in Cyprus, its desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, v. 113

Cyanean (Dark) islands, in the Euxine near the Bosporus, iv. 85, 89

Cyaxares, king of Media, 1. 16; Scythian offences against him, 1. 73; his victories over Scythians and Assyrians and capture of Ninus, 1. 103, 106

Cybebe, a Phrygian goddess, her temple at Sardis burnt, v. 102

Cyberniscus, a Lycian officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 98

Cyclades islands, none of them part of Darius’ empire before the second Ionian revolt, v. 30; Aristagoras’ promise to win them for him, v. 31

Cydippe, daughter of Terillus of Himera, vii. 165

Cydonia, a town in Crete founded by Samians, iii. 44, 59

Cydrara, a town on the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia, vii. 30

Cyllyrii, a slave class at Syracuse, vii. 155

Cylon, an Athenian murdered by the Alcmeonidae for aiming at despotic power, v. 71

Cyme, in Mysia, an Aeolian town, 1. 149; its consultation of an oracle as to surrender of a refugee, 1. 57; Cyme taken by the Persians, v. 123; station of Xerxes’ fleet after Salamis, viii. 130

Cynegirus, an Athenian killed at Marathon, brother of Aeschylus, vi. 114

330
INDEX

Cynesii, the most westerly people of Europe, π. 33 (called Cynetes, iv. 49)
Cyneus, an Eretrian, vi. 101
Cyniscus, alternative name for Zeuxidemus, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, vi. 71
Cyno, Cyrus’ Median foster-mother, i. 110, 122
Cynosarges, a place in Attica with a shrine of Heracles, v. 63, vi. 116
Cynosura, a promontory of Salamis, viii. 76
Cynosurii, a Peloponnesian people alleged to be aboriginal, viii. 73
Cyprus; worship of Aphrodite, i. 105, 199; “Linus” song there, π. 79; Cyprus subdued by Amasis, π. 182; under Persians, πι. 19, 91; Cyprian revolt and its suppression, v. 104–115, vi. 6; Cyprians in Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 90, 98; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68, by Mardonius, viii. 100. “Cyprian poems,” π. 117
Cypselus, (1) despot of Corinth, son of Eëtion, i. 14, 20; his career, v. 92 (elsewhere a patronymic of Periander). (2) An Athenian, father of the elder Miltiades, vi. 35
Cyrauis, an island off Libya in the Mediterranean (perhaps the modern Cercina), iv. 195
Cyrene; “lotus” grown there, π. 96; Cyrenaecans’ visit to the oracle of Ammon, π. 32; Egyptian attack on Cyrene, π. 161, iv. 159; alliance with Amasis, π. 181; tribute to Persia, πι. 90; early history of Cyrene and its kings, iv. 159–165; fertility of Cyrenaean country, iv. 199
Cyrmianae, a Thracian tribe, iv. 93
Cyrus, (1) a legendary hero, son of Heracles, i. 167. (2) The modern Corsica; colonized by Phocaeans, i. 165, 167; attack on Gelon of Sicily, vii. 165. (3) A place near Carystus in Euboea, ix. 105
Cyrus, (1) king of Persia; his campaign against Lydia, capture of Sardis, and clemency to Croesus, i. 75–92; story of Cyrus, his attempted murder by Astyages, adventures of his childhood and youth, and return to Astyages, i. 107–122; revolt of Persians under Cyrus against Medes, i. 123–130; Cyrus king of all Asia, i. 130; beginning of Ionian revolt against him, i. 141; conquest of Assyria and capture of Babylon, i. 188–191; Cyrus’ campaign against the Massagetae and death in battle, i. 201–214; comparison of Cyrus with his son Cambyses, iii. 34; Croesus charged by Cyrus to advise Cambyses, iii. 36; different treatment of Babylon by Cyrus and Darius, iii. 159; Cyrus’ advice to the Persians not to
INDEX

live in a fertile country, ix. 122 (many other reff., mostly where the name is used as a patronymic). (2) Paternal grandfather of the above, i. 111
Cytissorus, a Colchian, custom respecting his descendants at Alus in Achaca, vii. 197

Dadicae, a people in the N.E. of the Persian empire; their tribute, iii. 91; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 66
Daedalus, sought by Minos, vii. 170
Daï, a nomad Persian tribe, i. 125
Damasithymus, (1) king of the Calyndians, in Xerxes’ fleet at Salamis, viii. 87. (2) A Carian officer in Xerxes’ fleet, son of Candaules, vii. 98
Damasus of Siris, a suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter, vi. 127
Damia, a deity worshipped in Aegina and Epidaurus, v. 82, 83
Danaë, mother of Perseus, daughter of Acrisius, ii. 91, vi. 53, vii. 61, 150
Danaus, his legendary migration to Greece from Chemmis in Egypt, ii. 91, vii. 94; his daughters, ii. 171, 182
Daphnae, near Pelusium, on the Egyptian frontier, ii. 30, 107
Daphnis, despot of Abydos, iv. 138
Dardaneans, an Assyrian people, apparently, i. 189
Dardanus, a town on the Hellespont, v. 117, vii. 43
Darius, (1) king of Persia, son of Hystaspes; suspected by Cyrus, i. 209; story of his part in the conspiracy against the Magians, and his accession to the throne, iii. 73-87; canal made by him in Egypt, ii. 158, iv. 39; inquiry into varieties of custom, iii. 38; tribute paid by his empire, iii. 89-97; called “the huxter,” iii. 89; severity of his rule, iii. 118, 119; punishment of Oroetes, iii. 127, 128; Democedes at Darius’ court, iii. 129-132; plans against Greece, iii. 134, 135; conquest of Samos, iii. 139-149; reduction of Babylon, iii. 150-160; Scythian expedition planned, iv. 1; Darius’ passage of the Bosporus, march to the Ister, and invasion of Scythia, iv. 83-98; Scythian campaign and return to Asia, iv. 118-143; Cyrenaean expedition, iv. 200-204; transportation of Paeonians to Asia, v. 12-15; Histiaeus summoned by Darius to Susa, v. 24; Darius’ anger against Athens for the burning of Sardis, and his dispatch of Histiaeus to Ionia, v. 105-107; reception of Scythes, vi. 24; estimation of Histiaeus, vi. 30; demand of earth and water from Greek states, vi. 48, 49; Demaratus at Darius’ court, vi. 70; reasons for
INDEX

attack on Greece, vi. 94; meaning of the name Darius, vi. 98; Darius’ clemency to the Eretrians, vi. 119; his preparations for a Greek campaign, vii. 1; appointment of a successor, vii. 2, 3; his death, vii. 4; Darius’ treatment of an unjust judge, vii. 194. Gold coins called “Daric,” vii. 28; (other reff. of little importance). (2) Xerxes’ son, ix. 108

Daritae, a tribe in the Persian empire, iii. 92

Dascyleum, in Mysia, on the Propontis, the seat of a Persian governor, iii. 120, 126, vi. 33

Dasylyus, a Lydian, father of Gyges, i. 8

Datis, a Mede, in command with Artaphrenes of the expedition of 490 against Athens, vi. 94, 97, 118; his sons in Xerxes’ army, vii. 88

Datum, in Paeonia, battle there between Athenians and Edonians, ix. 75

Daulians, in Phocis, viii. 35

Daurises, a general employed by Darius against the insurgent Ionians, v. 116–118, 121

Decelea, a deme of Attica, ix. 15; its privileges at Sparta, ix. 73

Decelus, eponymous hero of Decelea, ix. 73

Deioces, first king of Media, his rise to power, building of a palace at Agbatana, and conquest of Persia, i. 96–99, 101–103

Deiphonus, a seer, from Apollonia in N.W. Greece, ix. 92, 95

Delium, in Boeotia, vi. 118

Delos, its purification by Pisistratus, i. 64; lake in Delos, ii. 170; visit of the Hyperborean virgins, iv. 33–35; sanctity of Delos respected by Persians, vi. 97, 118; station of Greek fleet before Mycale, viii. 133, ix. 90, 96


Delta of Egypt, ii. 13, 15–18, 41, 59, 97, 179

Demaratus, king of Sparta, his feud with Cleomenes, v. 75, vi. 51; story of his birth and loss of his kingship, vi. 61–66; his flight to Persia, vi. 67–70; support of Xerxes’ accession, vii. 3; warnings to Xerxes as to Greek resistance, vii. 101–104, 209; advice to Xerxes on his strategy, viii. 234–237; information to Greeks of Xerxes’ planned campaign, vii. 239
INDEX

Demarmenus, a Spartan, v. 41, vi. 65
Demeter, worshipped at Eleusis in Attica, vi. 75, viii. 65; other places of her cult, ii. 171, iv. 53, v. 61, vi. 91, 134, vii. 200, ix. 57, 63, 65, 69, 101; identified with the Egyptian Isis, ii. 122, 156
Democtes, of Croton, a physician, brought to Darius from Samos, iii. 125, 131; his reputation, iii. 132; devices for return to Croton, iii. 134–137
Democrates, of Naxos; his transference of Naxian ships from Persian to Greek fleet, viii. 46
Demonax, of Mantinea, his settlement of troubles at Cyrene, iv. 161
Demonous, of Paphos, vii. 195
Demophilus, commanding Thespian force at Thermopylae, vii. 222
Dersaei, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes' route, vii. 110
Derusiaei, a tribe in Persia, i. 125
Deucalion, legendary king of the Hellenes in Phthiotis, i. 56
Diactorides, (1) a man of Crannon, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127. (2) A Spartan, father-in-law of Leutychides, vi. 71
Diadromes, a Thespian, vii. 222
Dicaea, a Greek town on Xerxes' route in Thrace, vii. 109
Dicaeus, an Athenian; his vision in Attica before Salamis, viii. 65
Dictyna, a Cretan goddess, iii. 59 (if the text is genuine).
Didyma, a Milesian temple, apparently identical with Branchidae, vi. 19
Diencees, a Spartan, his saying about Persian arrows at Thermopylae, vii. 226
Dindymene, a name for the goddess Cybele; her sacred hill in Lydia, i. 80
Dinomenes, father of Gelon of Sicily, vii. 145
Diomedes, a Greek hero of the Trojan war, ii. 116
Dionysius, a Phocaean, his attempt to train the Ionian fleet, vi. 11, 12, 17
Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, said to have buried Mardonius' body, ix. 84
Dionysus, iii. 111; his cult in Greece, ii. 49, 52, 145; in particular localities and under various names, i. 150, ii. 29, iii. 8, 97, iv. 79, 87, 108, v. 7, 67, vii. 111; identified with the Egyptian Osiris, ii. 42, 47, 123, 144, 156

334
INDEX

Dioscuri, their worship unknown in Egypt, ii. 43, 50; entertained by Euphorion, an Arcadian, vi. 127
Dipaea, in Arcadia, scene of a battle about 470 B.C. between Spartans and Arcadians, ix. 35
Dium, a town on Athos, vii. 22
Doberes, a Paeonian tribe, v. 16 (if the reading be right), vii. 113
Dodona, an oracle in N.W. Greece, consulted, i. 46, ii. 52, ix. 93; story suggesting a connexion between Egypt and Dodona, ii. 53-57; Hyperborean offerings at Dodona, iv. 33
Dolonei, a Thracian tribe, vi. 34, 40
Dolopes, a Thessalian people, in Xerxes' army, vii. 132, 185
Dorians, i. 57; Dorians of Epidaurus, i. 146; Dorian alphabet, i. 139; four Dorian invasions of Attica, v. 76; their women's dress, v. 87; names of tribes, v. 68; Dorian leaders of Egyptian origin, vi. 53; Dorians in Peloponnesse, viii. 73; Doris in N. Greece, ix. 31, 66; Asiatic Dorians, i. 6, 144, 178, vii. 93, 99
Doriscus, on the Thracian coast, v. 98; an important halting place on Xerxes' route, vii. 25, 59, 108, 121; its defence by its Persian governor, vii. 106
Dorus, son of Hellen, eponymous ancestor of Dorians, i. 56
Doryssus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
Dotus, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 72
Dropici, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Drymus, a town in Phocis, viii. 33
Dryopes, an ancient race in N. Greece, i. 146, viii. 43, 46; their settlements in the Peloponnesse, viii. 73
Dryoscophalae, name of a pass in the Cithaeron range, ix. 39
Dymanatae, a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, v. 68
Dyme, a town in Achaea, i. 145
Dyras, a stream west of Thermopylae, vii. 198
Dysorum, a mountain range on the N.E. frontier of Macedonia, v. 17

Echecrates, a Corinthian, father of Eetion, v. 92
Echemus, king of Tegea, his victory over Hyllus, ix. 26
Echestratus, a king of Sparta, vii. 204
Echidorus, a river in Thrace, vii. 124, 127
Echinades islands, off the mouth of the Achelous, ii. 10
Edoni, a Thracian tribe, on the Strymon, v. 124, vii. 110, 114, ix. 75

335
INDEX

Eëropus, a king of Tegea, ix. 26
Eëtion, a Corinthian, father of Cypselus, v. 92
Egesta, a town in Sicily, allied with Phoenicians against Greeks, v. 46, vii. 158
Egis, a Spartan king, vii. 204
Egypt, its extent, ii. 5–19; course of the Nile, ii. 19–34; Egyptian custom and religion, i. 140, 182, 193, 198, ii. 4, 35–98, iv. 168, 180, 186; kings of Egypt, ii. 99–182; eschatology, ii. 123; chronology, ii. 142–146; the pyramids, ii. 124–128; Egyptian origin of Dorian heroes, vi. 53–55; Solon in Egypt, i. 30; Scythian invasion, i. 105; alliance with Croesus, i. 77; Cambyses' invasion, iii. 1–16; his sacrilege, iii. 27, 28; Egypt a Persian province, iii. 91; Athenian campaign in Egypt, iii. 160; Darius' canal from the Nile, iv. 39; circumnavigation of Africa from Egypt, iv. 42, 43; Egypt and Cyrene, iv. 159; revolt of Egypt against Persia, vii. 1, 7; Egyptian bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 34; Egyptian marines in Persian fleet, vii. 89, viii. 68, 100, ix. 32; their exploits at Artemision, viii. 17
E'ion, a town on the Strymon, vii. 25; its defence, and capture by the Greeks, vii. 107, 113; Xerxes said to have embarked there for Asia, viii. 118
Elæus, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 140, viii. 22; profanation of its shrine of Protesilaus, vii. 33, ix. 116, 120
Elatea, a town in Phocis, viii. 33
Elbo, an island in the Delta, the refuge of the deposed king Anysis, ii. 140
Eleon, a town in Boeotia, v. 43
Elephantine, on the Nile opposite Assuan, ii. 9; the southern limit of Egypt, ii. 17; close to the source of the Nile, ii. 28; a Persian frontier guard there, ii. 30; stone-quarries of Elephantine, ii. 175; tribe of "Fish-eaters" there, iii. 19
Eleusis, in Attica, scene of a battle, i. 30; the first objective of Cleomenes' invasion, v. 74, vi. 75; mysteries of Demeter-worship there and the vision of Dicaeus, vii. 65; Greek forces there before Plataea, ix. 19; burning of the temple of Demeter by Persians, ix. 65
Elis; Elean management of Olympic games, ii. 160; no mules in Elis, iv. 30; destruction of neighbouring towns, iv. 148; Elis the only Aetolian part of Peloponnese, viii. 73; Eleans in the Greek force on the Isthmus, viii. 72; too late at Plataea, ix. 77
INDEX

Elisyci, probably Ligurians; Gelon of Sicily attacked by them and others, vii. 165
Ellopian district of Euboea, viii. 23
Elorus, a river in Sicily, Syracusans defeated on it by Corinthians, vii. 154
Enarees, Scythians suffering from the so-called “female disease,” i. 105, iv. 67
Enchelees, an Illyrian tribe, claiming descent from Cadmus, v. 61; their incursion into Greece, ix. 43
Enetis, a people at the head of the Adriatic, i. 196, v. 9
Enienes, a people living at the headwaters of the Spercheus, vii. 132, 185, 198
Enipeus, a river in Thessaly, vii. 129
Fordi, a people living between the Strymon and the Axius, vii. 185
Epaphus, Greek name for the Egyptian Apis, q.v.
Ephesus, in Lydia, of Ionian origin, i. 142; Croesus’ offerings in the temple of Artemis there, i. 92; one of the most remarkable temples known to Herodotus, i. 148; Ephesus besieged by Croesus, i. 126; Ionians defeated there by Persians, v. 102; terminus of “royal road,” v. 54; Xerxes’ sons sent there after Salamis, viii. 103
Epialtes of Malis, his guidance of the Persians over the pass at Thermopylae, vii. 213–218
Epicydes, a Spartan, father of Glaucus, vi. 86
Epidanus, see Apidanus.
Epidaurus, in Argolis; Dorian, i. 146; taken by Periander, iii. 52; quarrel with Athens, v. 82; its colonies, vii. 99; Epidaurians in the Greek forces against Xerxes and Mardonius, viii. 1, 43, 72, ix. 28, 31
Epigoni, a poem attributed by some to Homer, reference therein to Hyperboreans, iv. 32
Epistrophus, a man of Epidamnus, vi. 127
Epium, a town in the western Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
Epizelus, an Athenian combatant at Marathon, vi. 117
Epizephyrian Locrians, Locrian colonists in Sicily, vi. 23
Erasmus, a river in Argolis alleged to be partly subterranean, vi. 76
INDEX

Erechtheus, a legendary Attic hero; sacrifice offered to him by Epidaurians in return for Attic olive trees, v. 82; father of Orithyia, vii. 189; name of Athenians first used in his time, viii. 44; his shrine on the Acropolis, viii. 55

Eretria, in Euboea, Pisistratus in exile there, i. 61; native place of Gephyraei, v. 57; objective of Mardonius’ campaign under Darius, vi. 43; of Datis, vi. 94, 98; subdued by Persians, vi. 100–102; Eretrian captives in Persia, vi. 119; contingent in Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31

Eridanus, a river in Europe, its existence doubted by Herodotus, m. 115

Erineus, a place in Doris, viii. 43

Erinyes, avenging deities (of Laius and Oedipus), iv. 149

Erochus, a town in Phocis, burnt by the Persians, viii. 33

Erxandrus, a Mytilenaean, iv. 97, v. 37

Erythea, an island alleged to be outside the Pillars of Heracles, iv. 8

Erythrae, (1) a town in Boeotia, near Plataea, ix. 15, 19, 22. (2) An Ionian town in Asia Minor, i. 18, 142, vi. 8

Erythrebolos, “Red Earth,” a town in Egypt, π. 111

Erythrethalassa, the Persian Gulf and the nearer part of the Indian Ocean; Phoenicians coming from it, i. 1, vii. 89; mouth of the Euphrates and the Tigris in the Red Sea, i. 180, 189; united with the Mediterranean, i. 203; Arabian mountains in the direction of the Red Sea, π. 8; our “Red Sea” (‘Αράβιος κόλπος) an offshoot from it, π. 11; identical with the “Southern Sea,” π. 158; captives settled by Persians in islands of the Red Sea, iii. 93, vii. 80; Persia extends to its shores, iv. 37; Phoenician circumnavigation of Africa starting from the Red Sea, iv. 42; Ampe on the Red Sea, vi. 20

Eryx, in western Sicily, v. 43, 45

Eryxo, wife of the second Arcesilas of Cyrene, iv. 160

Etearchus, (1) king of the Ammonians; visit of Cyrenaeans to him, π. 32. (2) King of Oaxus in Crete, iv. 154

Eteocles, son of Oedipus, v. 61

Ethiopians, of Meroë, π. 29; Ethiopian kings of Egypt, π. 100, 137–140; circumcision in Ethiopia, π. 104; Cambyses’ mission to the “long-lived” Ethiopians, iii. 17–26, 97; Ethiopia in relation to Egypt, π. 11, 28, 30, 110, 139, 146, 161; “Troglodyte” Ethiopians, iv. 153; “Ethiopians” of Asia, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 70; Ethiopians in Cyprus, vii. 90
INDEX

Evaenetus, commander of a Lacedaemonian force in Thessaly before Thermopylae, vii. 173
Evagoras, a Spartan, winner of three chariot-races at Olympia, vi. 103
Evalcides, an Eretrian leader killed in the second Ionian revolt, v. 102
Euboea, desirable object for Persian attack, v. 31; Chalcidians in Euboea defeated by Athenians, v. 77; Persians under Datis there, vi. 100; Athenian ships off Euboea, vii. 189; naval operations in Euboic waters, viii. 4–20; Euboic coinage, iii. 89, 95; Euboeans in Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, vii. 156
Euclides, son of Hippocrates, despot of Gela, vii. 155
Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, iv. 162 v. 104
Evenius, a man of Apollonia, ix. 92
Euhesperides, a Libyan town near Barca, iv. 171, 204; fertility of its land, iv. 198
Eumenes, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Salamis, viii. 93
Eunomus, a king of Sparta, viii. 131
Eupalinus, a Megarian, builder of the Samian aqueduct, iii. 60
Euphemides, the family designation of the first Battus of Cyrene, iv. 150. (Al. Euthymides.)
Euphorbus, an Eretrian, his betrayal of Eretria to Datis, vi. 101
Euphorion, (1) an Athenian, father of Aeschylus and Cynegirus, π. 156, vi. 114. (2) An Azanian, vi. 127
Euphrates, its source in Armenia, i. 180; course altered by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, i. 185; made fordable by Cyrus, i. 191; passage of the river on the "royal road," v. 52
Euripus, channel between Boeotia and Euboea, part played by it in naval operations before Salamis, vii. 173, 182, viii. 7, 15, 66
Europe, tripartite division of the world, Europe, Asia, Libya, π. 16, iv. 36; speculations on the sun's passage over Europe, π. 26; Europe bisected by the Ister, π. 33, iv. 49; general ignorance of the farthest regions of Europe, iii. 115, iv. 45; absurdity of supposing the three continents equal in size, iv. 36; Cynetes on the western limit of Europe, iv. 49; Europe and Asia both more fertile than Libya, iv. 198; desirability of Europe to Persians, vii. 5; Xerxes' aim of subduing all Europe, vii. 50; region of Europe infested by lions, vii. 126; European part of Xerxes' army, vii. 185; Megara the western
INDEX

limit of Persian advance in Europe, ix. 14 (many other unimportant ref.).
Europa, daughter of Agenor of Tyre; carried off by Cretans, i. 2; her sons Minos and Sarpedon, i. 173; alleged origin of the name of the continent, iv. 45; search made for her by Cadmus, iv. 147.
Europus, a town perhaps in Caria, viii. 133.
Euryanax, a Spartan, joint commander with Pausanias at Plataea, ix. 10, 53, 55.
Eurybates, an Argive commander killed in battle with the Athenians, vi. 92, ix. 75.
Eurybiades, Spartan admiral of the fleet at Artemisium and Salamis, viii. 2, 42, 49; part played by him in the councils of war before Salamis, vii. 57–64; decision not to pursue Xerxes, viii. 108; prize for chief merit awarded him by Greeks, viii. 124.
Euryclides, a Spartan, father of Eurybiades, viii. 2.
Eurycrates, a king of Sparta, vii. 204.
Eurycratides, a king of Sparta, vii. 204.
Eurydame, second wife of Leutychides, king of Sparta, vi. 71.
Eurydemus, a Malian, vii. 213.
Euryleon, a Spartan colonist in Sicily, v. 46.
Eurypon, a king of Sparta, viii. 131.
Eurypylus, an Aleucid, of Larissa in Thessaly, ix. 53.
Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, founder of the senior of the two royal families, iv. 147, v. 39, vi. 51, vii. 204.
Eurystheus, legendary king of Mycenae, ix. 26.
Eurytus, a Spartan, his determination to fight at Thermopylae, vii. 229.
Euthoenus, an Athenian, ix. 105.
Eutychides, an Athenian, ix. 73.
Exampaeus, a stream and district in Scythia between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, iv. 52, 81.
INDEX

Gadira, a town "outside the Pillars of Heracles," identified with Cadiz, iv. 8
Gaeson, a stream near Mycale in Asia Minor, ix. 97
Galepsus, a town on the promontory of Sithonia, in Chalcidice, vii. 122
Gallaic country (or Briantic), in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 108
Gandarii, an Indian tribe in the Persian Empire, their tribute, iii. 91; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
Garamantes, a Libyan tribe on the route from Egypt to the Atlas, iv. 174, 183
Gargaphian spring, on the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 25, 49, 51
Gauanes, one of three brothers, ancestors of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, their adventures, viii. 137
Ge (Earth), worshipped in Scythia as Apia, iv. 59
Gebeleizis, a Thracian deity, otherwise called Zalmoxis, iv. 94
Gela, in Sicily, a Rhodian colony, vii. 153; Hippocrates its despot, vi. 23, vii. 154; usurpation of Gelon, vii. 155
Geleon, eponymous hero of one of the four ancient Athenian tribes, v. 66
Gelon, despot of Syracuse, his rise to power, vii. 154-156; reply to Greek request for help against Persia, vii. 145, 157-163; victory over Carthaginians and nations of the western Mediterranean (said to be contemporary with the battle of Salamis), vii. 165, 166
Geloni, neighbours of the Scythians, said to be of Greek origin, iv. 108; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 102, 119, 136
Gelonus, (1) son of Heracles, by Scythian legend, iv. 10. (2) The chief town of the Budini (neighbours of the Geloni), built of wood, iv. 108
Gephyraeis, the clan to which Hipparchus' murderers belonged, their alleged Phoenician origin, v. 55, 57, 61
Geraestus, a town at the southern extremity of Euboea, viii. 7, ix. 105
Gergis, a Persian general in Xerxes' army, vii. 82
Gergithes, a people of Mysia, near the Hellespont, descendants of the Teuri, v. 122, vii. 43
Germanii, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Gerrhus, a river and country in Scythia, iv. 19, 47, 53, 56; burial of Scythian kings among the Gerrhi, iv. 71
Geryones, his oxen driven off by Heracles, iv. 8
INDEX

Getae, a Thracian tribe said to believe in immortality, iv. 93, 118, v. 3
Gigonus, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123
Giligamae, a Libyan tribe inland of Cyrene, iv. 169
Gillus, a Tarentine refugee in Persia, iii. 138
Gindanes, a Libyan tribe, iv. 176
Glacon, an Athenian, ix. 75
Glaucus, (1) son of Hippolochus, ancestor of a Lycian dynasty, i. 47. (2) Son of Epicydes, a Spartan; story of his attempted fraud told by Leutychides at Athens, vi. 86. (3) A Chian worker in metals, i. 25
Glisas, a town in Boeotia near Tanagra, ix. 43
Gnurus, a Scythian, father of Anacharsis, iv. 76
Gobryas, (1) son of Darius, an officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 72. (2) One of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70-79; his advice to Darius in Scythia, iv. 132, 134; father of Mardonius, vi. 43; his daughter married to Darius, vii. 2 (elsewhere as a patronymic).
Goetosyrus, a Scythian deity identified with Apollo, iv. 59
Gonnus, a town in Thessaly, vii. 128, 173
Gordias, (1) father of Midas, viii. 138. (2) King of Phrygia, son of Midas; father of Adrastus, i. 35, 45
Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, v. 48; her advice to Cleomenes, v. 51; her interpretation of a message, vii. 239
Gorgon's head, brought from Libya by Perseus, ii. 91
Gorgus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, v. 104, 115, viii. 11; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98
Grinnus, king of Thera, his consultation of the Delphic oracle about a colony in Libya, iv. 150
Grynea, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Gygaea, daughter of Amyntas of Macedonia, married to Bubares, a Persian, v. 21, viii. 136
Gygaean lake, in Lydia, i. 93
Gyges, (1) king of Lydia; his accession after murdering Candaules, i. 8-13; his gifts to Delphi, i. 14. (2) A Lydian, iii. 122, v. 121
Gyndes, a river in Assyria diverted by Cyrus from its course, i. 189, 202
Gyzantes, a tribe in the western part of Libya, iv. 194

Haemus, a mountain range in Thrace (the Balkans), rivers flowing from it into the Danube, iv. 49

342
INDEX

Haliacmon, a Macedonian river (mod. Vistritza), vii. 127
Halia, a town in Argolis, vii. 137
Halicarnassus, in Caria, Herodotus’ birthplace, i. 144, 175, pi. 178, vii. 99
Halys, a river in Asia Minor, the eastern boundary of Croesus’ empire, i. 6, 28, 72, 103, 120; crossed by Croesus, i. 75; its passage a part of the “royal road,” v. 52; crossed by Xerxes, vii. 26
Harmamithres, a Median officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Datis, vii. 88
Harmatides, a Thespian, vii. 227
Harmocydes, commander of Phocians in Mardonius’ army at Plataea, ix. 17
Harmodius, an Athenian, one of the murderers of Hipparchus, v. 55, vi. 109, 123
Harpagus, (1) a Mede, in Cyrus’ expedition against Croesus, i. 80; charged by Astyages to make away with Cyrus, i. 108–113; Astyages’ punishment of Harpagus, i. 117–120; Harpagus’ services in placing Cyrus on the throne, i. 123, 127, 129; in subduing the Ionians, i. 164–177. (2) A Persian officer under Darius, vi. 28, 30
Hebe, the name used as a watchword or battle-cry, ix. 98
Hebrus, a river in Thrace, iv. 90; Doriscus on it, vii. 59
Hecataeus of Miletus, the historian, his chronology, pi. 143; his advice to Ionian rebels, v. 36, 125; his story of Athenian dealings with Pelasgians, vi. 137
Hector, son of Priam, probability of his surrendering Helen had she been in Troy, pi. 120
Hegesandrus, of Miletus, father of Hecataeus, v. 125
Hegesicles, a king of Sparta, colleague of Leon, i. 65
Hegesilaus, (1) king of Sparta, son of Doryssus, vii. 204. (2) A Spartan, ancestor of Leutychides, king of Sparta, viii. 131; son of Hippocrates.
Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus of Thrace, wife of Miltiades the younger, vi. 39
Hegesistratus, (1) an Elean seer in Mardonius’ army; story of his escape from death, ix. 37. (2) An emissary from Samos to the Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90. (3) Despot of Sigeum, bastard son of Pisistratus, v. 94
Hegetorides, of Cos; his daughter rescued after being carried off by Persians, ix. 76
Hegias, an Elean, brother of the seer Tisamenus, ix. 33

343
Helen, her abduction from Sparta, i. 3; account of her voyage to Egypt, ii. 112–120; brought to Attica by Theseus, ix. 73; her temple at Therapne in Laconia, vi. 61

Helice, an Achaean town on the Gulf of Corinth, i. 145

Heliconius, the title of Poseidon at his temple in the Panionium near Mycale, i. 148

Heliopolis, in Egypt, sources of Egyptian history there, ii. 3; distances of various places from Heliopolis, ii. 7–9; ceremonial there, ii. 59, 63

Hellas and Hellenes, passim in all Books. The following are among the principal ref. to what is distinctively Greek: language, i. 110, ii. 30, 56, 59, 112, 137, 154, iii. 26, iv. 52, 110, 155, 192, vi. 98, viii. 135; dress, iv. 78, v. 88; horses, vii. 196; armour, ii. 41, iv. 180, vii. 91, 93; religious gatherings, ii. 58

Helle, daughter of Athamas, her tomb in the Thracian Chersonese, vii. 58

Hellen, an eponymous Greek hero, father of Dorus, i. 56

Hellespont, its length and breadth, iv. 85; despots of places by it with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 137; Darius' passage of it in his return, v. 11; Hellespontian towns subdued by Ionian rebels, v. 103; reconquered by Darius, v. 107, vi. 33; Hellespont scourged by Xerxes for the destruction of his bridge, vii. 35; bridged again, vii. 36; Xerxes' passage, vii. 55; Hellespontians in his fleet, vii. 95; Persian governors of towns there, vii. 106; Greek decision not to sail to the Hellespont after Salamis, viii. 108; bridges there found broken, ix. 114 (many other unimportant ref.)

Hephaestiae, a town in Lemnos, vi. 140

Hephaestopolis, a Samian, ii. 134

Hephaestus, his cult in Greece (the torch-race), viii. 98; temple of "Hephaestus" (Ptah) at Memphis, ii. 3, 99, 101 and elsewhere in Bk. ii.

Helots, the serf class in Laconia, vii. 58, 75, 80, vii. 229, viii. 25, ix. 80, 85; a part of the Spartan army, ix. 10, 28

Heraclea, proposed foundation of in Sicily, v. 43

Heracles, in Greek legend son of Amphitryon and father of Hyllus, ii. 43–45, 145, v. 43, vi. 53, vii. 193, 204, viii. 43; Greek cult, vii. 176, v. 63, vi. 108, 116; cults of deities identified with Heracles in Egypt and elsewhere, i. 7, ii. 42, 44, 83, 113, 144, iv. 8, 10, 59, 82; Herodotus' conclusion as to a "double Heracles," ii. 44; Pillars of Heracles (Straits of...
INDEX

Gibraltar) farthest western waters known to Herodotus, ii. 33, iv. 8, 42, 152, 181, 185, 196, viii. 132
Heraclidæ, ancestors of Spartan kings, v. 43, vii. 208, viii. 114, ix. 26, 33. Heraclid dynasty in Lydia, i. 7, 13, 91
Heraclides, (1) a man of Cyme, i. 158, v. 37. (2) A man of Mylasa, a Carian leader, v. 121
Heræum, a town near Perinthus, iv. 90
Here, her temple at Samos, i. 70, ii. 182, iii. 123, iv. 88, 152, ix. 96; at Argos, i. 31, vi. 81, at Corinth, v. 92, at Naucratis, ii. 178, at Plataea, ix. 52, 61, 69
Hermes, his cult in Greece, ii. 51, 145; identified with the Egyptian Thoth, at Bubastis, ii. 138; with a Thracian deity, v. 7
Hermion or Hermione, in S.E. Argolis, iii. 59; of Dryopian origin, viii. 43, 73; its contingent at Plataea, ix. 28, 31
Hermippus of Atarneus, an emissary from Histiaeus, vi. 4
Hermolykus, an Athenian, distinguished in the battle of Mycale, ix. 105
Hermophantus, a Milesian leader in the Ionian revolt, v. 99
Hermopolis, in Upper Egypt, place of burial for ibises, ii. 67
Hermotimus of Pedasa, story of his sufferings and revenge, viii. 104–106
Hermotybies, one of the Egyptian warrior-tribes, ii. 164, 168, ix. 32
Hermus, a river in Lydia, passing near Sardis, i. 55, 80, v. 101
Herodotus, (1) of Halicarnassus, the historian, i. 1. (2) An Ionian envoy, son of Basileides, viii. 132
Herophantus, one of the Hellespontian despots in Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 138
Herpy, a man of Thebes in Boeotia, ix. 38
Hesiod, his date, ii. 53; his reference to Hyperboreans, iv. 32.
Hieron, brother of Gelon of Sicily, vii. 156
Hieronymus, of Andros, an Olympian prize-winner, ix. 33
Himera, a town in Sicily, vi. 24; its despot expelled, vii. 165
Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, his assassination, v. 55, vi. 123; his banishment of Onomacritus, vii. 6
Hippias, son of Pisistratus, his advice to his father, i. 61; expelled from Athens, v. 65; a refugee in Persia, v. 96; with Datis' army in Attica, vi. 107
Hippocleides, an Athenian suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter; his rejection, vi. 129
Hippocles, despot of Lampsacus, with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 138

345
INDEX

Hippocoon, a follower of Cadmus, v. 60
Hippocrates, (1) an Athenian, father of Pisistratus, i. 59, v. 65. (2) An Athenian, son of Megacles, vi. 131. (3) Despot of Gela, son of Pantares, vii. 154; his capture of Zancle, vi. 23. (4) A man of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
Hippocratides, a Spartan, ancestor of Leutychides, viii. 131
Hippolaus' promontory, in Scythia, between the Hypanis and the Borysthenes, iv. 53
Hippolochus, ancestor of a Lycian line of Ionian kings, i. 147
Hippomachus, a Leucadian diviner with Mardonius' army at Plataea, ix. 38
Hipponicus, (1) son of Pisistratus' enemy Callias, an Athenian, vi. 121. (2) Father of Callias, Athenian envoy to Persia about 450 B.C., vii. 151
Histia, goddess of the hearth, ii. 50; her name Tabiti in Scythia, iv. 59, 127
Histiaeia, in northern Euboea, vii. 175, viii. 23, 66; Histiaean country in Thessaly, formerly a Dorian possession, i. 56
Histiaeus, (1) despot of Miletus; his protection of Darius' bridge over the Ister, iv. 137-139; enforced attendance on Darius, v. 23-25; instigation of Ionian revolt, v. 35; return to Ionia, v. 106-108; escape from the Persians, vi. 1-6; further adventures and death, vi. 26-31. (2) A man of Termesa, a Carian despot deposed by the Ionians, v. 37; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98. (3) A Samian, viii. 85
Homer, his theory of the ocean disbelieved, ii. 23; his probable date, ii. 53; quoted as to Paris and Helen, ii. 116, 117; as to Libya, iv. 29; his alleged poem, "the Epigoni," iv. 32; his celebration of Argives, v. 67; of Athens, vii. 161
Hoples, eponymous hero of an old Athenian tribe, son of Ion, v. 66
Hyacinthia, a summer festival at Sparta in honour of Apollo and Hyacinthus, ix. 7, 11
Hyampea, one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 39
Hyampolis, a town in Phocis, viii. 33; Thessalian disaster there, viii. 28
Hyatae, one of the tribes at Sicyon, so named by Cleisthenes, v. 68
Hybta, a town in Sicily, vii. 155
Hydarnes, (1) one of the seven Persian conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70; vii. 66, 83. (2) Son of the above, vi. 133;

346
INDEX

commander of Xerxes’ “Ten Thousand,” vii. 83; governor of the seaboard of W. Asia Minor, vii. 135; his command at Thermopylae, vii. 211, 215, 218; with Xerxes in his flight after Salamis, viii. 113, 118

Hydreia, an island S.E. of Argolis, iii. 59

Hyela, an Italian town (Velia) colonised by Phocaeans, i. 167

Hylaea (Woodland), a district of Scythia, east of the Borysthenes, iv. 9, 18, 54, 76

Hyllees, a Sicyonian tribe so named after Cleisthenes’ death, v. 68

Hyllus, (1) son of Heracles, ancestor of the Spartan royal families, vi. 52, vii. 204, viii. 131; his death, ix. 26. (2) A tributary of the river Hermus in Lydia, i. 80

Hymaesus, a Persian commander in the second Ionian revolt, v. 116, 122

Hymessus (Hymettus), a hill outside Athens, vi. 137

Hypachaei, an old name for Cilicians, vii. 91

Hypacyris, a Scythian river, apparently east of the Borysthenes, iv. 47, 55

Hypanis, a Scythian river (Boug), iv. 18, 47, 52, 81

Hyperanthes, a son of Darius, killed at Thermopylae, vii. 224

Hyperboreans, a people alleged to have come to Delos from the Hyperboreans, iv. 32–36

Hypereche, one of two maidens alleged to have come to Delos, iv. 33

Hyrcanians, a people in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, iii. 117; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 62

Hyrgis (or Syrgis), a Scythian river (probably the Donetz), iv. 57

Hyria, a town in S. Italy (Oria), alleged to be founded by Cretans, vii. 170

Hyroeades, a Mardian, his discovery of a way into Sardis, i. 84

Hysiae, a village on the slopes of Cithaeron, in Attica; taken by Boeotians, v. 74; vi. 108; part played by it on the battle-field of Plataea, ix. 15, 25

Hysseldomus, a Carian, vii. 98

Hystanes, a Persian, vii. 77

Hystaspes, (1) father of Darius; his pledge to Cyrus of Darius’ fidelity, i. 209, 210; governor of the province of Persia, iii. 70. (Elsewhere a patronymic.) (2) A son of Darius, vii. 64

Hytennees, a Pisidian tribe; their tribute to the Persian empire, iii. 90

347
INDEX

Iadmon, a Samian, his slaves Rhodopis and Aesopus, ii. 134
Iamidae, a family of diviners in Elis, v. 44, ix. 33
Iapygia, in the heel of Italy, iii. 138, iv. 99, vii. 170
Iardanus, a Lydian, i. 7
Iason, his voyage in the Argo, iv. 179, vii. 193
Iatragoras, an agent of the Ionians in revolt against Darius, v. 37
Ibanollis, a man of Mylasa, v. 37, 121
Iberians, their traffic with Phocaea, i. 163; attack on Gelon of Sicily, vii. 165
Icarian sea, vi. 95
Ichnae, a town in Macedonia, near the coast, vii. 123
Ichthyophagi, a tribe inhabiting Elephantine, Cambyses' interpreters in his mission to the Ethiopians, iii. 19–23
Ida, a mountain in the Troad, i. 151; Xerxes' route past it, vii. 42
Idanthrysus, a Scythian king, iv. 76; in command of Scythians against Darius, iv. 120; his defiance of Darius, iv. 127
Idriad district in Caria, v. 118
Ielysus, a Dorian town in Rhodes, i. 144
Ienysus, a town in Syria, near the Egyptian frontier, iii. 5.
Iliad, story of Paris and Helen in it, ii. 116
Ilissus, a river in Attica; temple of Boreas built near it, vii. 189
Ilium, the Trojan war there, i. 5, ii. 10, 117–120, vii. 20, 161; Troad subdued by Persians, v. 122; traversed by Xerxes, vii. 42
Illyria, customs of the Eneti there, i. 196; river Angrus there, iv. 49; flight to Illyria of the Temenid brothers, viii. 137; Illyrian invasion of Greece, ix. 43
Imbros, in the N.E. Aegean, v. 26, vi. 41, 104
Inachus, father of Io, i. 1.
Inaros of Libya, his revolt against Persia in 460 B.C., iii. 12, 15, vii. 7
Indians, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; their customs, iii. 97–102, 104; conquest by Darius, iv. 44; most numerous people in the world, v. 3; in Xerxes' army, vii. 65, 86; with Mardonius, viii. 113, ix. 31. Indian dogs, i. 192, vii. 187
Indus, the river, Darius' exploration of it, iv. 44
Ino, wife of Athamas, vii. 197
Intaphrenes, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians iii. 70, 78; his presumption and punishment, iii. 118
INDEX

Inyx (or Inycus), a town in Sicily, probably near Aeragas, vi. 123
Io, daughter of Inachus, her abduction, i. 1, 5; depicted in the form of a cow, ii. 41
Iolcus, a town offered by the Thessalians to the exiled Hippias, v. 94
Ion, eponymous ancestral hero of the Ionians, v. 66, vii. 94, viii. 44
Ionians, subdued by Croesus, i. 6; Dorian and Ionian races, i. 56; threatened by Cyrus, i. 141, 142; their settlements in Asia, i. 143–153, ii. 178; conquest by Cyrus, i. 159–171; Ionian beliefs about Egypt refuted, ii. 15, 16; Sesostris’ inscriptions in Ionia, ii. 106; Ionian pirates in Egypt, ii. 152; Amasis’ Ionian guards, ii. 163; tribute paid by Ionians to Persia, iii. 90; Ionians with Darius’ Scythian expedition, iv. 89; left to guard the Ister bridge, iv. 97, 128, 133, 136–142; Ionian revolt against Darius, v. 28–38; Ionian and Phoenician writing, v. 58, 59; Ionian tribes in Attica, v. 69; Ionian dress, v. 87; course of Ionian revolt, and burning of Sardis, v. 97–103, 108–115; reduction of Ionian towns, v. 116–123; continuance of revolt and its final suppression, vi. 1–32 passim; Persian organisation of Ionia, vi. 42; Ionia “exposed to many risks” (in story of Glaucus), vi. 86; Ionians in Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 94; Themistocles’ appeal to them, viii. 22; Athenians called Ionians, viii. 44; Ionians in Peloponnese, viii. 73; Ionian ships with Xerxes at Salamis, viii. 85, 90; appeals from Ionia to the Greeks for help, viii. 132, ix. 90; Ionian desertion of Persians at Mycale, ix. 98, 103; revolt against Persia, ix. 104, 106; (other unimportant reff.)
Ionian sea, vii. 20, ix. 92
Iphiclus, father of Protesilaus, ix. 116
Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon; human sacrifice offered to her in Scythia, iv. 103
Ipni (Ovens), name of rocks at the foot of Pelion, the scene of a Persian shipwreck, vii. 188
Irasa, in Libya, the site of the founding of Cyrene, iv. 158
Irens, Spartan young men between 20 and 30 years of age, ix. 85
Is (Hit), a place eight days distant from Babylon, on a river of the same name, producing bitumen, i. 179
Isagoras, an Athenian, rival of Cleisthenes the reformer, and supported by Sparta, v. 66, 70–74

349
INDEX

Ischenoius, an Aeginetan, vii. 181
Isis, an Egyptian deity, identified by Herodotus with Demeter, q.v.; represented with a cow's head, ii. 41, iv. 186; her temple at Busiris, ii. 59
Ismaris, lake in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 109
Ismenian, epithet of Apollo at Thebes, i. 52, 92, v. 59, viii. 134
Issedones, a people living north of the Caspian, probably, i. 201, iv. 13, 16, 32; their customs, iv. 26
Isthmus of Corinth, Greek council of war there, vii. 172; decision to guard it, viii. 40; to withdraw the fleet thither from Salamis, viii. 56; decision reversed, viii. 63; fortification of the isthmus, viii. 71; Peloponnesian policy of holding it, ix. 7-10; Greek advance from the isthmus, ix. 19; dedication of spoils of war there, viii. 121, ix. 81
Istria, a Milesian colony at the mouth of the Ister, ii. 33
Istrus (Ister, Danube), compared to the Nile, ii. 26, 33; its course and tributaries, iv. 47-50; bridged by Darius, iv. 89; Ister ten days' journey from the Borysthenes, iv. 101; Darius' recrossing of the river, iv. 141; unknown country N. of the Ister, v. 9 (some other unimportant reff.)
Italia, river Crathis there, i. 145; Democedes in Italy, iii. 136-138; Metapontium, iv. 15; adventures of Dorieus in Italy, v. 43, 44; Athenian threat to migrate to Siris in Italy, viii. 62
Itanus, a town in Crete, iv. 151
Ithome, a hill and town in Messenia, ix. 35 (but the reading is doubtful).
Iyrae, a Scythian hunting tribe, iv. 22

Labda, mother of Cypselus, despot of Corinth, v. 92
Labdacus of Thebes, father of Laïus, v. 59
Labraunda, in Caria; temple of a war-god there, v. 119
Labynetus, (1) ruler of Babylon, i. 74. (2) His son, also ruler of Babylon, temp. Cyrus, i. 77, 188
Lacedaemon (and Sparta); Lycurgus' legislation, i. 65, 66; Croesus' friendship with Lacedaemon, i. 69; Lacedaemon war with Argos, i. 82; with Tegea, i. 67, 68; attack on Samos, iii. 44-47, 54-56; Theras' colonising expedition from Lacedaemon, iv. 147-149; state of Sparta under Cleomenes, v. 39-43; Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica to expel the Pisistratids, v. 63-65, 70-76; feud between Spartan kings, and
INDEX

origin of dual kingship, vi. 51, 52, 61-71; rights and duties of the kings, vi. 56-60; war with Argos, vi. 76-82; Spartan force too late for Marathon, vi. 120; claim to command against the Persians, vii. 159; Lacedaemonians under Leonidas at Thermopylae, vii. 204-232; Lacedaemonian envoys at Athens to maintain Athenian alliance, viii. 142-144; dilatory policy of Lacedaemonians after Salamis, ix. 7-11; their advance into Boeotia, ix. 19; Spartan tactics before Plataea, and conduct in the battle, ix. 46-70; at Mycale, ix. 102-104 (many other incidental ref.; see also Cleomenes, Eurybiades, Demaratus, Leonidas, Pausanias.)

Lacmon, a mountain in N.W. Greece, above Apollonia, ix. 93
Lacrases, a Spartan envoy to Cyrus, i. 152
Lade, an island off Miletus, headquarters of the Ionian fleet in the revolt against Darius, vi. 7, 11
Ladice of Cyrene, wife of Amasis of Egypt, ii. 181
Laius, son of Labdacus, and father of Oedipus, v. 59; his oracles, v. 43
Lampito, daughter of Leutychides, king of Sparta, vi. 71
Lampon, (1) a Samian envoy to the Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90. (2) An Athenian, ix. 21. (3) An Aeginetan, his advice to Pausanias to impale the corpse of Mardonius, ix. 78
Lamponium, a Lesbian colony in Mysia, v. 26
Lampsacus, in the Troad, on the Hellespont, v. 117; its hostility to Miltiades, vi. 37
Laodamas, (1) son of Eteocles of Thebes, v. 61. (2) An Aeginetan, iv. 152. (3) Despot of Phocaea, with Darius' Scythian expedition, iv. 138
Laodice, one of the Hyperborean visitants at Delos, iv. 33
Lapithae, a pre-Hellenic race; a Lapith at Corinth, v. 92
Laphanes, an Azanian, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
Lasonii, a people on the borders of Lycia; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 77
Lasus of Hermione, his detection of a forgery, vii. 6
Laurium, in Attica, Athenian revenue from its silver mines, vii. 144
Laüs, a town on the W. coast of southern Italy, vi. 21
Leagrus, an Athenian general in Thrace, 465 B.C., ix. 75
Learchus, brother and murderer of the second Arcesilaus of Cyrene, iv. 160
Lebadea, in northern Greece, its oracular shrine of Trophonius, viii. 134

351
INDEX

Lebaea, a town in Macedonia, viii. 137
Lebedos, an Ionian town in Lydia, i. 142
Lectus, a promontory in the Troad, ix. 114
Leleges, old name of the Carians, i. 171
Lebennos, off the Troad, colonised by the Minyae, iv. 145; its
Pelasgian inhabitants, v. 26, vi. 138; their crime and penalty,
vi. 138–140; Lemnians in Peloponnese, viii. 73
Leobotes, a king of Sparta, Lycurgus’ ward, i. 65, vii. 204
Leocrates, an Argive, one of the suitors for Cleisthenes’ daughter,
vi. 127
Leon (1) of Troezen, captain of the first Greek ship captured
by Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 180. (2) A king of Sparta, i. 65, v. 39,
vi. 204
Leonidas, king of Sparta, son of Anaxandrides, v. 41; his com-
mand and death at Thermopylae, vii. 204–238; atonement
for his death demanded by Sparta, viii. 114; Pausanias’
refusal to avenge Leonidas on Mardonius’ dead body, ix. 79
Leontiades, commander of the Thebans at Thermopylae, vii.
205, 233
Leontini, a town in Sicily, vii. 154
Leoprepes, (1) a Spartan, vi. 85. (2) A Cean, father of Simonides,
vi. 228
Lepreum, a town in Elis, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148; its
contingent at Plataea, ix. 28
Lerisae, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Leros, off the Carian coast, proposal that the Ionian rebels
against Darius should take refuge there, v. 125
Lesbos, Aeolian towns there, i. 151; islands in the Araxes
alleged to be as big as Lesbos, i. 202; Lesbians defeated by
Polycrates of Samos, iii. 39; their fleet in the Ionic revolt,
vi. 8; Lesbos reconquered by Persians, vi. 31; received into
Greek alliance after Mycale, ix. 106
Leto, identified with the Egyptian Uat; her oracular shrine at
Buto, ii. 59, 152, 155
Leucadians, in N.W. Greece; in the Greek fleet, viii. 45, 47;
in Pausanias’ army at Plataea, ix. 28
Leucae stelae (White Columns), a place on the river Marsyas
in Caria, v. 118
Leuce Acte (White Strand), in Thrace, a centre for Xerxes’
commissariat, vii. 25
Leucon, a place in Libya, defeat of the second Arcesilaus by
Libyans there, iv. 160

352
INDEX

Leucon teichos (White Fort) at Memphis, held by a Persian garrison, iii. 91

Leutychides, (1) a Spartan, great-great-grandfather of Leutychides, king of Sparta, viii. 131. (2) King of Sparta; enemy and successor of Demaratus, vi. 65, 67; his family, vi. 71; his death (469 B.C.), vi. 72; his appeal to Athens to surrender Aeginetan hostages (story of Glauceus), vi. 86; his command of the Greek force before and at Mycale, ix. 90, 92, 98; return to Greece, ix. 114

Libya, part of it submerged by the Nile flood, ii. 18; extent of Libya, ii. 32; story of a crossing of the Libyan desert, ib.; Poseidon a Libyan deity, ii. 50; Libya and Dodona, ii. 54–56; Libyans a healthy people, ii. 77; Libyan tribute to Persia, iii. 91; heat of Libya, iv. 29; Darius’ proposed conquest of Libya, iv. 145, 167; list of Libyan tribes and description of their manners and customs, iv. 168–199; circumnavigation of Libya, iv. 42–43; early history of Cyrene, iv. 150–164; Doricus in Libya, v. 42; Ethiopians of Libya woolly haired, vii. 70; Libyans in Xerxes’ army, vii. 71, 86; with the Carthaginians in the attack on Gelon, vii. 165

Lichas, a Spartan, his discovery at Tegea, i. 67

Lide, a hill in Caria, defended against the Persians, i. 174

Ligyes, (1) an Asiatic contingent in Xerxes’ army, apparently from near the Halys, vii. 72. (2) Ligurians, v. 9; their part in the invasion of Sicily, vii. 165

Limencium, a place near Miletus, defeat there of Milesians by Sardyattes, i. 18

Lindus, in Rhodes, temple of Athene there, ii. 182; Lindian founders of Gela in Sicily, vii. 153

Linus, a youth lamented in Greek song, identified by Herodotus with the Egyptian Maneros, ii. 79 (see note ad loc.)

Lipaxus, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Lipoxais, one of the three mythical ancestors of the Scythian nation, iv. 5.

Lipsydrium, probably on Mt. Parnes in Attica; fortified by the Alcmeonidae, v. 62

Lisae, a town in Chalcidice, vii. 123

Lisus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes’ route, vii. 108

Locrians, in Italy (Epizephyrii), vi. 23; opposite to Euboea (Opuntians), vii. 132; in the Persian armies, vii. 66, ix. 31; with the Greeks at Thermopylæ, vii. 203, 207; Locrian ships

VOL. IV. (HERODOTUS)
INDEX

in the Greek fleet, viii. 1; Ozolian Locrians, flight of the Delphians thither, viii. 32
Lotophagi, in the Cyrenaean part of northern Libya, on the sea coast, iv. 177, 183
Loxias, title of the Delphic Apollo, i. 91, iv. 163
Lycaretus, a Samian, brother of Maeandrius, iii. 143; made governor of Lemnos by the Persians, v. 27
Lycians, their kings of Ionia, i. 147; Lycians originally Cretans, i. 173; their resistance to the Medes, i. 176; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 92
Lycidas, an Athenian, put to death for advising negotiations with Persians, ix. 5
Lycomedes, an Athenian, distinguished in a sea-fight off Artemisium, viii. 11
Lycopas, a Spartan, distinguished in an attack on Samos, iii. 55
Lycophas, son of Periander of Corinth; his quarrel with his father, iii. 50–53
Lycurgus, (1) the Spartan legislator, i. 65, 66. (2) An Athenian, leader of the "men of the plain," son of Aristolaïdas, i. 59. (3) An Arcadian, vi. 127
Lycus, (1) an Athenian, son of Pandion; Lycia called after him, i. 173, vii. 92. (2) A Scythian, iv. 76. (3) A river in Scythia, flowing into the Maeëtian lake, iv. 123. (4) A river in Phrygia, flowing by Colossae, vii. 30
Lydians, passim i. 6–56, 69–92 (but without any important mention of the name; see Sardis and Croesus); notable sights in Lydia, and its customs, i. 93, 94; Ionians in Lydia, i. 142; Croesus' advice as to Cyrus' government of Lydia, i. 154–156; Lydian tribute to Persia, iii. 90; Lydian theory of the name Asia, iv. 45; wealth of Lydia, v. 49; Alcmeon's good offices to Lydians, vi. 125; Xerxes' passage through Lydia, vii. 30–32; Lydians in his army, vii. 74
Lydias, a river between Bottiaea and Macedonia, vii. 127
Lydus, son of Atys, origin of the name Lydia, i. 7, 171, vii. 74
Lygdamus, (1) a Halicarnassian, father of Artemisia, vii. 99. (2) A Naxian, a friend and helper of Pisistratus, i. 61, 64
Lynceus, alleged to have come with his uncle Danaüs from Chemmis in Egypt, ii. 91
Lysagoras, (1) a Milesian, father of Histiaeus, v. 30. (2) A Parian, son of Tisias; enemy of the younger Miltiades, vi. 133
Lysanias of Eretria, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
Lysicles, an Athenian, viii. 21
INDEX

Lysimachus, an Athenian, father of Aristides, viii. 79
Lysistratus, an Athenian oracle-monger, viii. 96

Macae, a tribe on the Libyan coast, iv. 175, v. 42
Macedonians, a name for Dorians in their early settlements near Mt. Pindus, i. 56, viii. 43
Macedonia, access to it from the east, v. 17; fate of Persian envoys there, v. 18–20; subdued by Mardonius, vi. 44; passes from Macedonia into Thessaly, vii. 128, 173; Macedonians in Xerxes’ army, vii. 185, at Plataea, ix. 31; story of the beginnings of the Temenid dynasty, viii. 137–139; Macedonians governing Boeotia for Persians, viii. 34 (see also Alexander)

Machlyes, a tribe on the Libyan coast, Iv. 178, 180
Macistius, see Masistius.
Macistus, a town in the west of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, Iv. 148
Macrones, a tribe S.E. of the Euxine, ii. 104; their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 78
Mactorium, a town near Gela in Sicily, vii. 153
Madyes, a Scythian king; his invasion of Media and conquest of Asia, i. 104
Madytus, a town in the Thracian Chersonese, near Xerxes’ bridge, vii. 33, ix. 120
Maeander, a river between Lydia and Caria; its windings, ii. 29; source at Celaenae, vii. 26; crossed by Xerxes, vii. 30
Maeandrius, secretary to Polycrates of Samos, iii. 124; Polycrates’ deputy, iii. 142; his death, iii. 143
Maeëtæae, a tribe north of the Macëtian lake, iv. 123; the Tanaïs called Maeëtian, iv. 45
Maeëtian lake (Palus Maeotis, Sea of Azov), its distance from the Phasis, i. 104; mouth of the Tanaïs there, iv. 57, 100; nearly as large as the Euxine, iv. 86, 110, 116, 120, 123
Magdolus (Migdol of O.T.), on the Egyptian and Syrian frontier; alleged scene of a battle (really fought not here but at Megiddo) between Egyptians and Syrians, ii. 159
Magi, a Median tribe of magicians and interpreters of dreams, i. 101; their services in this respect, i. 107, 120, 128, 132, 140, vii. 19, 37, 43, 113, 191; the Magian usurpation of royalty and its end, iii. 61, 63–69, 71, 74–80
Magnesia, (1) a district in Thessaly, Xerxes’ fleet there, vii. 183, 193; Magnesians in Xerxes’ army, vii. 132, 185. (2) A
INDEX

town in Asia near the Macander, taken by Medes, i. 161; Polycrates put to death there by Oroetes, iii. 125; Magnesian tribute to Persia, iii. 90
Malea, the southernmost promontory of Peloponnese; all western Greece as far as Malea once ruled by Argos, i. 82; Jason’s voyage near it, iv. 179; Corecyraeans’ pretext that they could not pass Malea, vii. 168
Malene, near Atarneus in Mysia, scene of a battle in the Ionian revolt, vi. 29
Males, an Actolian suitor for Cleisthenes’ daughter, vi. 127
Mandane, daughter of Astyages and mother of Cyrus, i. 107, 111
Mandrocles, a Samian, constructor of Darius’ bridge over the Bosporus, iv. 87, 88
Maneros, son of Min, the first king of Egypt; lament for his early death identified with the Greek Linus-song, ii. 79
Manes, an early Lydian king, i. 94, iv. 45
Mantinea, in Arcadia; an arbitrator sent thence to settle the affairs of Cyrene, iv. 161; Mantineans at Thermopylae, vii. 202; their late arrival at Plataea, ix. 77
Mantyces, a Paconian, his and his brother’s proposal to the Persians to annex Paeonia, v. 12
Maraphii, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Marathon, on the N.E. coast of Attica; Pisistratus’ landing there after exile, i. 62; Persian landing under Datis, vi. 102; preliminaries to the battle, and the battle itself, vi. 107–117 (a few more unimportant refi.)
Mardi, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Mardonius, son of Gobryas, his expedition to Greece and shipwreck off Athos, vi. 43–45; his warlike counsel to Xerxes, vii. 5, 9; one of the six generals in command of Xerxes’ army, vii. 82, 121; in Xerxes’ confidence, viii. 97; proposal for operations in Greece after Salamis, viii. 100–102; Xerxes’ promise that Mardonius should give the Greeks satisfaction for the death of Leonidas, viii. 114; Mardonius in Thessaly, viii. 131; his consultation of oracles, viii. 135; proposal through Alexander for an Athenian alliance, viii. 140; his second capture of Athens, ix. 3; retreat into Boeotia and position there, ix. 14, 15; operations near Plataea, ix. 17–25, 38–40; dispute between Mardonius and Artabazus, ix. 41, 42; taunting message to Spartans, ix. 48; his cavalry attack on the Greeks, ix. 49; final engagement, and death of Mardonius, ix. 61–63; his burial, ix. 84

356
INDEX

Mardontes, a Persian, one of Xerxes’ officers, viii. 80; in command of Persian fleet after Salamis, viii. 130; his death at Mycale, ix. 102

Marca, a frontier post in western Egypt, ii. 18, 30

Mares, a tribe apparently on the S.E. coast of the Euxine; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 79

Mariandyni, a tribe in Paphlagonia; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 72

Maris, a northern tributary of the Danube, according to Herodotus (but this is wrong, if Maris is modern Marosch), iv. 49

Maron, a Spartan distinguished at Thermopylae, vii. 227

Maronca, a Greek town in Thrace, on Xerxes’ route, vii. 109

Marsyas, (1) the “Silenus” according to legend worsted in a musical competition and flayed by Apollo, vii. 26. (2) A river in Caria, v. 118. (The better known Marsyas in Phrygia is called Catarrhactes by Herodotus, vii. 26.)

Mascames, Persian governor of Doriscus in Thrace; his defence of the town, vii. 105

Masistes, son of Darius, one of the six generals of Xerxes’ army, vii. 82, 121; his quarrel with Artayntes, ix. 107; victim of Xerxes’ adultery and cruelty, ix. 110-113.

Masistius, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 79; in command of cavalry at Plataea, ix. 20; his death, and mourning for him, ix. 22, 24

Maspii, a Persian tribe, i. 125

Massages, a Persian tribe in Xerxes’ army, vii. 71

Massagetae, a people apparently N. of the Caspian; Cyrus’ campaign against them, i. 201, 204-208, 211-214; their customs, i. 215, 216; Scythians driven from their country by Massagetae, iv. 11

Massalia (Massilia, Marseilles), v. 9

Matieni, a people of doubtful locality; on the right of the Halys, i. 72; source of the Araxes, i. 202; of the Gyndes, i. 189; of the modern “Greater Zab,” v. 52; west of Armenia, v. 49; tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 72

Matten, a Tyrian officer in Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 98

Mausolus, a man of Cindye in Caria, v. 118

Mecisteus, brother of Adrastus according to legend, and slain by Melanippus, v. 67

Mecyberna, a town on the Sithonian promontory of Chalcidice, vii. 122

Medea, her abduction by Iason, i. 2; Media called after her, vii. 62

357
INDEX

Medians (as distinct from Persians), their war with Lydia, i. 16; the Halys their frontier, i. 72; Cyaxares' feud with Scythians, i. 73; Medians' revolt from Assyria, and growth of their power, i. 95-102; conquered by Scythians, i. 104, iv. 1; their liberation, i. 106, iv. 4; subjection of Media to Persia by Cyrus, i. 123-130; Median system of government, i. 134; their dress, i. 135, iii. 84, v. 9; Babylonians alarmed by Median power, i. 185; Median tribute to Persia, in. 92; horses, iii. 106, vii. 40; Media on the northern frontier of Persia, iv. 37; Medians in Xerxes' army, vii. 62; at Thermopylae, vii. 210; in Mardonius' army, viii. 113, ix. 31, 40

Megabates, a Persian general, Darius' cousin, v. 32, 35

Megabazus, (1) a Persian general, left by Darius in Thrace on his Scythian expedition, iv. 143; Darius' estimation of him, ib.; his operations in Thrace, v. 1, 10, 12, 14, 17, 23. (2) One of Xerxes' admirals, son of Megabates, vii. 97

Megabyzus, (1) a Persian, one of the seven conspirators against the Magians, iii. 70; advocate of oligarchy for Persia, iii. 81. (2) A Persian, father of Zopyrus, iii. 153. (3) Son of Zopyrus; one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121; in command subsequently in Egypt, iii. 160

Megacles, (1) an Athenian, father of Alcmeon, vi. 125. (2) Son of Alcmeon; leader of the "Men of the Coast," i. 59; father-in-law of Pisistratus, i. 61; married to the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 127, 130. (3) Grandson of Megacles (2), and grandfather of Pericles, vi. 131

Megacreon, of Abdera, his saying about the feeding of Xerxes' army, vii. 120

Megadostes, a Persian, vii. 105

Megapanus, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, afterwards governor of Babylon, vii. 62

Megara, a Dorian settlement, on the borders of Attica, v. 76; Megarians in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 45; in Pausanias' army, ix. 21, 28, 31; their disaster, ix. 69, 85. Megarians of Sicily, their treatment by Gelon, vii. 156

Megasidrus, a Persian, vii. 72

Megistias, an Acarnanian diviner, with Leonidas at Thermopylae, vii. 219, 221; his epitaph, vii. 228

Meionians, old name of Lydians, i. 7; in Xerxes' army, vii. 74

Melampus, a legendary hero and teacher; his introduction of the cult of Dionysus into Greece, ii. 49; ancestor of Megistias, vii. 221; his demand of privileges at Argos, ix. 34
INDEX

Melampygus, name of a rock on the mountain side above Thermopylae, vii. 216
Melanchlaeni (Black-Cloaks), a tribe N. of Scythia, iv. 20, 100; their customs, iv. 107; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125
Melanippus, (1) a legendary Theban hero; his cult introduced at Sicyon, v. 67. (2) A Mytilenaean, a friend of the poet Alcaeus, v. 95
Melanthius, an Athenian commander sent to assist the Ionian rebels against Darius, v. 97
Melanthus, father of Codrus, i. 147, v. 65
Melas (black), epithet of (1) a river in Thrace, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 58. (2) A bay into which the above flows, vi. 41, vii. 58. (3) A river in Malis near Thermopylae, vii. 198
Meles, king of Sardis, i. 84
Meliboea, near the coast of Magnesia; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near it, vii. 188
Melians (of Melis, or Malis), their submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; mountains of Melis, vii. 198; Thermopylae in Melis, vii. 201; discovery of the Anopaea path, vii. 215; Melians in Persian armies, viii. 66, ix. 31; Melian gulf a stage on the way from the Hyperboreans to Delos, iv. 33
Melians of Melos, colonists from Lacedaemon, in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48
Melissa, wife of Periander of Corinth, iii. 50, v. 92
Membliarus, a Phoenician, founder of a settlement in the island of Calliste or Thera, iv. 147
Memnon, legendary king of Ethiopia; a rock figure in Ionia wrongly taken to represent him, ii. 106; Susa called "Memnonian," v. 53, vii. 151
Memphis, in Egypt, its temple of "Hephaestus," ii. 3, 112, 153; pyramids there, ii. 8; hills above it, ii. 12, 158; Nile flood below Memphis, ii. 97, 99; works of Min there, ii. 99; precinct of Proteus, ii. 112; quarries of Memphis, ii. 175; water supply from Memphis, iii. 6; Memphis taken by Cambyses, iii. 13; his return thither from Ethiopia, iii. 25; his sacrilege there, iii. 37; Persian garrison there, iii. 91; Darius and Syloson at Memphis, iii. 139
Menares, a Spartan, father of Leutychides, vi. 65, 71, viii. 131
Mende, a town on the promontory of Pallene in Chalcidice, vii. 123
Mendes, an Egyptian deity; identified with Pan, ii. 42, 46;

359
INDEX

Mendesian province, ii. 42, 46; inhabited by one of the Egyptian warrior tribes, ii. 166; Mendesian mouth of the Nile, ii. 17

Menelaus, (1) brother of Agamemnon; his visit to Egypt, ii. 118, 119; Cretans reminded of their assistance of Menelaus before Troy, vii. 169, 171. (2) A harbour near Cyrene, iv. 169

Menius, a Spartan, brother-in-law of Leutychides, vi. 71

Merbalus, an officer in Xerxes’ fleet, from the island of Aradus, vii. 98

Mermnadae, the reigning dynasty in Lydia from Gyges to Croesus, i. 7, 14

Meroë, on the Nile, the capital of Ethiopia, ii. 29 (probably Napata)

Mesambria, a town on the Thracian coast of the Aegean, iv. 93, vi. 33, vii. 108

Messapii, a people near Tarentum, said to be of Cretan origin, vii. 170

Messene, in Sicily (Messina), otherwise called Zancle; a Coan settlement there, vii. 164

Messenia, its alliance with Samos, iii. 47; wars with Sparta, v. 49, ix. 35, 64

Metapontium, near Croton in Italy, its story of the reincarnation of Aristeas, iv. 15

Metiochus, son of the younger Miltiades, his capture by Persians, vi. 41

Metrodorus, one of the Hellespontian despots with Darius’ Scythian expedition, iv. 138

Micythus, governor of Rhegium, his defeat by Messapians and his offerings at Olympia, vii. 170

Midas, king of Phrygia, son of Gordias, his offerings at Delphi, i. 14; his gardens in Macedonia, viii. 138

Miletus, in Caria, attacked by Gyges, i. 14; war with Alyattes, i. 17–22; an Ionian town, i. 142; agreement with Cyrus, i. 169; port of Borysthenes a Milesian settlement, iv. 78; wealth and dissensions of Miletus, v. 28, 29; Aristagoras its governor, v. 30; Milesians defeated by Persians in Ionic revolt, v. 120; threatened attack of Miletus by Persians, vi. 5–7; siege, capture, and depopulation of the town, vi. 18–22; Phrynichus’ drama on the subject, vi. 22; Persian fleet off Miletus, vi. 31; story of the Milesian and Glaucus, vi. 86; Miletus’ foundation by Neleus, ix. 97; Milesians’ desertion

360
INDEX

of the Persians at Mycale, ix. 104 (other less important ref.; see also Aristagoras and Histiaeus).

Milon of Croton, the wrestler, Demoedes’ alleged betrothal to his daughter, iii. 137

Miltiades, (1) an Athenian, son of Cypselus, his rule in the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 34–38, 103 (temp. Croesus). (2) Nephew of the above, son of Cimon; also ruler of the Chersonese, vi. 34; his advice to the Ionians to cut off Darius’ retreat from Scythia, iv. 137; his escape from the Scythians, vi. 40; from the Phoenicians, vi. 41; one of the ten generals at Marathon, vi. 103, 104; his decision to fight, vi. 109, 110; his attack on Paros, vi. 132; conquest of Lemnos, vi. 140; his impeachment and death, vi. 136

Milyae, old inhabitants of Lycia, i. 173; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 77

Min, the first human king of Egypt, ii. 4; his embankment of the Nile near Memphis, ii. 99

Minoa, in Sicily, a colony from Selinus, v. 46

Minos, king of Crete, expulsion of his brother Sarpedon, i. 173; his Carian auxiliaries, i. 141; his death in Sicily, vii. 169

Minyae, a people from Orchomenus, their Asiatic settlements, i. 146; adventures of Minyan descendants of the Argonauts in Lacedaemon and the western Peloponnese, iv. 145–148; the first Battus of Cyrene a Minyan, iv. 150

Mitra, a Persian deity identified with Aphrodite, i. 131

Mitradates, Cyrus’ foster-father, i. 110

Mitrobates, a Persian governor at Dascyleum, killed by Oroetes, iii. 126

Mnesarchus, a Samian, iv. 95

Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, his advice to Themistocles before Salamis, viii. 57

Moeris, king of Egypt, 900 years before Herodotus, ii. 13; his work at Memphis and elsewhere, ii. 101; lake of Moeris (in the Fayyum) and labyrinth adjacent described, ii. 69, 148, 149; revenue of Persia from it, iii. 91

Moloïs, a stream on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 57

Molossians, a people of Epirus, their alleged settlements in Asia, i. 146

Molpagoras, a Milesian, father of Aristagoras, v. 30

Momemphis, in Egypt, battle there between Apries and Amasis, ii. 163, 169
INDEX

Mophi, one of two hills alleged to be near the source of the Nile (see Crophi), ii. 23
Moschi, a tribe at the E. end of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78
Mossynoei, a tribe between Armenia and the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78
Munychia, on the Attic coast E. of the Piraeus, the eastern extremity of Xerxes' line before Salamis, viii. 76
Murychides, a Hellespontian envoy from Mardonius to the Athenians, ix. 4
Musaeus, his oracles, vii. 6, viii. 96, ix. 43
Mycale, an Ionian promontory opposite Samos; Panionium there, i. 148; flight of Chians thither after Lade, vi. 16; defeat of Persians by Greeks at Mycale, ix. 90, 96–101
Mycenaeans, at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Heraclidae and Mycenaeans, ix. 27; Mycenaeans in Pausanias' army, ix. 31
Mycerinus, king of Egypt, son of Cheops, his virtues and misfortunes, and his way of prolonging his life, ii. 129–133; his buildings, and economic state of Egypt in his time, ii. 136
Myci, a tribe probably in the south of Persia, their tribute, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 98
Myconus, an island in the Aegean, near Delos, vi. 118
Myecphorite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 106
Mygdonia, a district on the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123, 127
Mylasa, a town in Caria; temple of Zeus there, i. 171
Mylitta, an Assyrian deity identified with Aphrodite, i. 131, 199
Myreinus, a town of the Edonians in Thrace, given to Histiaeus, v. 11, 23; Aristagoras' retreat thither, v. 126
Myriandric gulf, the bay of Issus in Asia Minor, iv. 38
Myrina, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, i. 149. (2) A town in Lemnos, taken by Miltiades, vi. 140
Myrmex (the Ant), name of a reef between Magnesia and Sciathus, vii. 183
Myron, grandfather of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, vi. 126
Myrsilus, Greek name for Candaules, despot of Sardis, i. 7
Myrsus, (1) father of Candaules, i. 7. (2) A Lydian emissary of Oroetes, iii. 122; his death in battle in Caria, v. 121
Mys, a man of Europus sent by Mardonius to consult oracles, viii. 133–135
Mysia, plagued by a wild boar, i. 36; Mysians "brothers" of the Carians, i. 171; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; legendary
INDEX

Mysian and Teucrian invasion of Europe, vii. 20; Mysians in Xerxes' army, vii. 74; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 32
Mytilene, in Lesbos; a Lydian refugee there, i. 160; an Aeolian town, ii. 178; Mytilenaes killed by Egyptians, in war with Cambyses, iii. 13; execution by Mytilenaes of their despot Coës, v. 11, 38; Mytilene and Athens reconciled by Periander, v. 95; Histiaeus at Mytilene, vi. 5
Myus, an Ionian town in Caria, i. 142; Ionian despots arrested at Myus, v. 36; its contingent in the Ionian fleet, vii. 8

Naparis, a northern tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
Nasamones, a Libyan people near Cyrene, ii. 32; story of their passage of the Libyan desert, ib.; their customs, iv. 172, 182, 190
Nathos, an Egyptian province in the Delta, partly inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165
Naucratis, in the west of the Delta, near the sea, ii. 97; its courtesans, ii. 135; its importance as a port, and Greek settlement there, ii. 178-180
Nauplia, a town on the sea-coast of Argolis, vii. 76
Naustrophus, a Megarian, iii. 60
Naxos, in the Aegean, subdued by Pisistratus, i. 64; its wealth and civil dissensions, and proposed annexation by the Persians, v. 28-33; devastated by Datis, vi. 96; desertion of Naxian ships to the Greek fleet, viii. 46. Naxians of Sicily, annexed by Hippocrates of Gela, vii. 154
Nea; a "new town," (1) in Upper Egypt, ii. 91. (2) In Pallene, vii. 123
Necos, (1) father of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, killed by Sabacos, ii. 152. (2) Son of Psammetichus; his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, ii. 158; despatch of Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 42
Nelidae, descendants of Neleus of Pylus; the Pisistratids so described, v. 65
Neocles, an Athenian, father of Themistocles, vii. 143
Neon, a town below one of the peaks of Parnassus, viii. 32
Neon teichos (New Fort), an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Nereids, worship of them unknown in Egypt, ii. 50; deities of the Sepias promontory, propitiated by the Magi to abate a storm, vii. 191
Nesaean plain in Media, vii. 40; horses bred there, iii. 106, ridden in Xerxes' army and at Plataea, vii. 40, ix. 20

363
INDEX

Nestor, of Pylus, the Homeric hero, ancestor of Pisistratus, v. 65

Nestus, a river in Thrace flowing past Abdera, crossed by Xerxes, vii. 109; no lions in Europe E. of it, vii. 126

Neuri, northern neighbours of the Scythians, iv. 17, 100; said to turn into wolves, iv. 105; their part in the war with Darius, iv. 119, 125

Nicandra, youngest of the priestesses of Dodona, II. 55

Nicandrus, a king of Sparta, viii. 131

Nicodromus of Aegina, his attempted betrayal of Aegina to Athens, vi. 88, 90

Nicolaus, (1) a Spartan, vii. 134. (2) Son of Bulis and grandson of the above, a victim of the vengeance of Talthybius on the Spartans, vii. 137

Nile; lower Egypt perhaps the deposit of the Nile, II. 10; height of inundation, II. 11; Delta and Nile mouths, II. 17; theories of the Nile flood, II. 19–27; known course of the river, II. 28–30; its upper waters, and comparison of Nile and Danube, II. 31–34; Nile flood and fish, II. 93; flood below Memphis, II. 97; Min’s embankment, II. 99; Nile connected with the lake of Moeris, II. 149; Neos’ canal from Nile to Red Sea, II. 158, III. 42; Nile mouths all closed to trade except one, formerly, II. 179; Nile one of the boundaries of the world, rv. 45; Nile and Danube compared in respect of volume of water, rv. 50; source of the Nile unknown, rv. 53. A priesthood of the Nile, II. 90

Nileus, son of Codrus, his foundation of Miletus, IX. 97

Ninus, (1) son of Belus and king of Assyria, I. 7, II. 150. (2) Nineveh; taken by the Medes, I. 106, 185; capital of Assyria, superseded by Babylon, I. 178; on the Tigris, I. 193; robbery of Sardanapalus’ treasures there, II. 150

Nipsaei, a Thracian tribe of Salmydessus, their submission to Darius, iv. 93

Nisaea, the port of Megara, taken by the Athenians, I. 59

Nisyros, an island S. of Cos, its ships under Artemisia’s command, vii. 99

Niteteris, daughter of Apries; one of Cambyses’ wives, III. 1

Nitocris, (1) an Egyptian queen; her revenge for her brother’s death, II. 100. (2) Queen of Babylon; her treatment of the Euphrates, I. 185

Noës, a Thracian tributary of the Danube, iv. 49

Nonacris, a town in Arcadia, near the “water of Styx,” vi. 74

364
INDEX

Nothon, an Eretrian, vi. 100
Notium, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Nudium, a town in the W. of the Peloponnese, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
Nymphodorus, of Abdera, his betrayal of Spartan envoys to the Athenians, vii. 137
Nysa, in Ethiopia, called "the sacred," its cult of Dionysus, ii. 146, iii. 97

Oarizus, a Persian, vii. 71
Oaros, a river in Scythia running into the Palus Maeotis, iv. 123
Oasis, a town eight days west of the Egyptian Thebes (apparently the modern "Great oasis" of Khargeh), inhabited by Samians; reached by Cambyses' force sent against the Ammonians, iii. 26
Oaxus, a town in Crete, ruled by Etearchus, iv. 154
Oceanus, the circle of sea (or river) supposed to surround the whole world; this theory questioned by Herodotus, ii. 21, 23, iv. 8, 36
Octamasades, a king of Scythia; his murder of his brother Scyles, iv. 80
Ocytus, a Corinthian, father of Adimantus, viii. 5
Odomanti, a Thracian or Paeonian tribe inhabiting the range of Pangaeum, v. 16 (if the reading be right), vii. 112
Odrysae, a Thracian tribe on Darius' route to the Danube, iv. 92
Odyssey, quoted by Herodotus, ii. 116, iv. 29
Oea, a place in Aegina; figures of Damia and Auxesia carried thither, v. 83
Oebares, (1) Darius' groom; his trick to ensure Darius' election as king, iii. 85-88. (2) Persian governor at Dascyleum, son of Megabazus, vi. 33
Oedipus, son of Laius of Thebes, his "avenging deities," iv. 149; v. 60
Oeneos, a northern division of Attica, taken by the Bocotians, v. 74
Oenone, ancient name of Aegina, viii. 46
Oenotria, the toe of Italy, i. 167
Oenussae, islands between Chios and Asia Minor; the Phocacans' proposal to buy them from Chios, i. 165
Ocobazus, (1) a Persian, Darius' cruel treatment of him, iv. 84.
INDEX

(2) A Persian, father of Siromitres, vii. 68. (3) A Persian fugitive from the Greeks in Thrace, his death there, ix. 115, 119
Oeolycus, son of Theras of Sparta; origin of his name, iv. 149
Oëroë, a tributary of the Asopus, on or near the battlefield of Plataea, ix. 51
Oeta, the mountain range S. of Thermopylae, vii. 176, 217
Oetosyrus, a variant of Goetosyrus, q.v.
Olbiopolitae, Greek name for the people of the Borysthenite port (Olbia) on the Euxine, iv. 18
Olen, a Lycian hymn-writer, iv. 35
Olenus, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, i. 145
Oliatus of Mylasa, his seizure by the Ionians, v. 37
Olophyxus, a town on the promontory of Athos, vii. 22
Olorus, a Thracian king, father-in-law of the younger Miltiades, vi. 39
Olympia, offerings there, vii. 170, ix. 81; sacrifice to obtain oracles, viii. 134
Olympic games, i. 59; before battle of Thermopylae, vii. 206; of Salamis, viii. 72; victories won by Philippus, v. 47; Cylon, v. 71; Miltiades the elder, vi. 36; Demaratus, vi. 70; Cimon, vi. 103; Callias, vi. 122; Alcmeon, vi. 125; Cleisthenes, vi. 126; Hieronymus, ix. 33; crown of olive given as the prize, viii. 26; management of games by Eleans, ii. 160, vi. 127; competition limited to Greeks, v. 22
Olympiodorus, an Athenian leader at Plataea, ix. 21
Olympus, Mount, (1) in Thessaly, i. 56; northern boundary of Thessaly, vii. 129; pass between Olympus and Ossa, vii. 173. (2) In Mysia; haunted by a wild boar, i. 36, 43; Mysians called Olympians, vii. 74
Olynthus, in Chalcidice, vii. 122; besieged and taken by Artabazus, viii. 127
Ombrici, the people of central and northern Italy; Lydian settlement there, i. 94; source of a river Alpis in the country above the Ombrici, iv. 49
Oneatae, name given to a Sicyonian tribe by Cleisthenes, v. 68
Onesilus, a leader in the Cyprian revolt against Darius, v. 104, 108; his duel, and death in battle, v. 110–115
Onetes of Carystus, Herodotus' denial that he was the Persians' guide over the Anopaea pass at Thermopylae, vii. 214
Onochonus, a river in Thessaly alleged to have been drunk dry by Xerxes' army, vii. 129, 196

366
INDEX

Onomacritus, an Athenian purveyor or forger of oracles, at Xerxes' court, vii. 7
Onomastus of Elis, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
Onuphite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166
Ophryneum, a town in the Troad, vii. 43
Opis, (1) a town on the Tigris (at the highest point of navigation), i. 189. (2) One of the Hyperborean pilgrims to Delos, iv. 35
Opoea, wife of Ariapithes and afterwards Scyles of Scythia, iv. 78
Opuntians, see Locrians.
Orbelus, a mountain in Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the lake-dwellers, v. 16
Orchomenus, (1) in Arcadia; its contingent at Thermopylae, vii. 202; at Plataea, ix. 28. (2) In Boeotia; Minyans there, i. 146; territory overrun by Persians, viii. 34
Ordessus, a Scythian tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
Orestes, son of Agamemnon, discovery of his tomb at Tegea, i. 67
Orestheum, apparently on the route from Sparta to Megalopolis, ix. 11
Orgeus, a Thasian, vii. 118
Oricus, son of Ariapithes, king of Scythia, iv. 78
Oricus, the port of Apollonia in N.W. Greece, ix. 93
Orithyia, legendary daughter of Erechtheus and wife of Boreas, vii. 189
Ormeatae, inhabitants of Orneae in Argolis, of inferior status like the Spartan Perioeci, viii. 73
Oroetes, Persian governor of Sardis, his treacherous murder of Polycrates, iii. 120–125; his downfall and death, iii. 126–129
Oromedon, a Cilician, vii. 98
Oropus, on the Attic coast opposite Euboea, vi. 101
Orotalt, an Arabian deity identified with Dionysus, iii. 8
Orphic rites, their similarity to Egyptian, ii. 81
Orsiphanthus, a Spartan, vii. 227
Orus, an Egyptian deity, identified with Apollo, q.v.
Osiris, identified with Dionysus, q.v.
Ossa, a mountain in Thessaly, i. 56; separated from Olympus by the Peneus, vii. 128, 173
Otanes, (1) a Persian, father of Xerxes' wife Amestris, vii. 40, 61, 82. (2) A Persian, made a judge in place of his father Sisamnes by Cambyses, v. 25; his command against the
INDEX

Ionian rebels, v. 116, 123. (3) A Persian, son of Pharnaspes, originator of the conspiracy against the Magians, iii. 68–72; his advocacy of democracy for Persia, iii. 80; surrender of his claim to be king, iii. 83; Darius’ father-in-law, iii. 88; in command in Samos, iii. 144–147
Otaspes, a Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 63
Othyades, the one survivor of 300 Lacedaemonians in a battle with 300 Argives, i. 82
Othrys, the range forming the S. boundary of Thessaly, vii. 129
Ozolae, see Locrians.

Pactolus, a river flowing through Sardis, v. 101
Pactya, a town at the head of the Thracian Chersonese, vi. 36
Pactyes, a leader of a Lydian revolt against Cyrus, i. 154; his surrender to the Persians, i. 161
Pactyes, a people in the E. of the Persian empire, near India; Scylax’ voyage thence down the Indus, iv. 44; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 67; another “Pactyice” near Armenia, its tribute to Persia, iii. 93
Padaei, an Indian tribe, said to be cannibals, iii. 99
Paeanian dome of Attica, i. 60
Paeania, (1) a country west of Thrace, iv. 49; its war with Perinthus, v. 1; conquest and removal of Paeonians by Persians, v. 12–17, 23; their return, v. 98; on Xerxes’ route, vii. 113, 124; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 185, ix. 32; their theft of Xerxes’ chariot, viii. 115; Paeonian sacrifices, iv. 33. (2) A place in Attica at the foot of Mt. Parnes, v. 62
Pacoplae, a Paeonian tribe, v. 15; on Xerxes’ route, vii. 113
Paesus, a Hellespontian town taken by the Persians in the Ionic revolt, v. 117
Pacti, a Thracian tribe on Xerxes’ route, vii. 110
Paeum (or Paeus), a town in N.W. Arcadia, vi. 127
Pagasae, at the head of the Pagasaean gulf in Magnesia, a station of Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 193
Palees, a people of Cephallenia; in Pausanias’ army, ix. 28
Palestine, in Syria, i. 105; circumcision practised there, ii. 104; pillars set up there by Sesostris, ii. 106; Syrians of Palestine in Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 89
Pallas, see Athene; Libyan and “Palladian” worship, iv. 189
Pallene, one of the promontories of Chalcidice, vii. 123; its people attacked by Artabazus, vii. 126–129
Pamisus, a river in Thessaly, vii. 129
INDEX

Pammon of Scyros, his guidance of the Persian fleet to Magnesia, vii. 183
Pamphyli, name assumed by a Dorian tribe at Sicyon, v. 68
Pamphylia, in Asia Minor, subdued by Croesus, i. 28; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; contingent in Xerxes’ army, vii. 91; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 68
Pan, one of the “youngest” Greek gods, ii. 145; his cult at Athens, vi. 105; identified with the Egyptian Mendes, ii. 42, 46, 145
Panaetius of Tenos, his news of the Persian encirclement of Salamis, viii. 82
Panathenaea, a festival celebrated every fourth year at Athens; murder of Hipparchus at it, v. 56
Pandion, a legendary Athenian, father of Lycus the hero of the Lycians, i. 173
Pangaeum, a mountain range in Thrace, v. 16, vii. 112
Panionia, the festival of the Ionian stock, i. 148
Panionium, an Ionian place of meeting for council or ceremonial, near Mycale, i. 148, 170, vi. 7
Panionius of Chios, his crime and punishment, viii. 105, 106
Panites, a Messenian, his advice to the Spartans about the royal succession, vi. 52
Panopeus, on the borders of Phocis and Bœotia, Xerxes’ army there, viii. 34
Panormus, a harbour near Miletus, i. 157
Pantagnotus, brother of, and put to death by Polycrates of Samos, iii. 39
Pantaleon, half brother of Croesus, put to death by him for conspiracy, i. 92
Pantares, a man of Gela, vii. 154
Panthialaei, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Panticapes, a river in Scythia east of the Borysthenes, iv. 18, 47, 54
Pantimathi, a tribe in the Persian empire, S. of the Caspian, their tribute, iii. 92
Pantites, said to have been sent as a messenger to Sparta from Thermopylae, vii. 232
Papaeus, a Scythian deity identified with Zeus, iv. 59
Paphlagonians, west of the Halys in N. Asia Minor, i. 6, 72; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 72
Paphos, Paphian ships in Xerxes’ fleet, vii. 195
Papremis, a town in Egypt, its cult of Ares, ii. 59; ceremonial
there, n. 63; "river-horses" sacred in the province, n. 71; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, n. 71; a battle there between Persians and Egyptians, iii. 12
Paraebates, a Spartan with Dorieus in Sicily, v. 46
Paralatae, a race of Scythian kings, iv. 6
Parapotamii, a town in Phocis burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
Paretaceni, a Median tribe, i. 101
Parianii, a people in the S.E. of the Persian empire, tribute to Persia, iii. 92, 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 68, 86
Parium, a town on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont, v. 117
Parmys, daughter of Smerdis and wife of Darius, iii. 88, vii. 78
Parnassus, the mountain above Delphi, a refuge for the Delphians, viii. 27, 32, ix. 31; repulse of Persians there, viii. 57
Paroreatae, a people of the west of the Peloponnese, iv. 148; of Lemnian origin, viii. 73
Paros, one of the Cyclades, Parian settlement of the troubles of Miletus, v. 28, 29; Miltiades' repulse from Paros, vi. 133–135; neutrality of Parians in the Persian war, viii. 67; their bribe to Themistocles, viii. 112; Parian marble, v. 62
Parthenium, a mountain in Arcadia, vision of Pan seen there by Phidippides, vi. 105
Parthenius, a river in the west of Paphlagonia, Syrians in its neighbourhood, ii. 104
Parthians, S.E. of the Caspian, their tribute to Persia, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
Pasargadae, a Persian tribe, i. 125
Pasicles, probably an Athenian, ix. 97
Pataeci, Phoenician images of dwarfs, iii. 37
Pataeaeus, a man of Aegagae, vii. 154
Patara, in Lycia, a custom of the temple there, i. 182
Patarbemis, an Egyptian, his message from Apries to Amasis, and cruel treatment by Apries, ii. 162
Patiramphes, Xerxes' charioteer, son of Otanes, vii. 40
Patizeithes, brother of the pretended Smerdis, his plot to make his brother king, iii. 61
Patrae, a town on the seacoast of Achaea, i. 145
Patumus, an "Arabian" town, a little way west of the modern Isma'ilia, canal from the Nile near it, ii. 158
Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus and grandson of Anaxandrides king of Sparta, ix. 10; mentioned repeatedly as leader of the Greeks against Mardonius, ix. 10–82; (personal allusions) his proposal to the Athenians for a rearrangement of the battle
INDEX

line, ix. 46; special appeal to Athenians, ix. 60; instance of his generosity and courtesy, ix. 76, 79; bronze caldron dedicated by him on the Bosporus, iv. 81; his pride and ambition after the Persian war, v. 32, viii. 3
Pausicææ, a tribe S. of the Caspian; their tribute to Persia, iii. 92
Pausiris, an Egyptian, permitted by the Persians to succeed to the governorship of his rebel father Amyrtaeus, iii. 15
Pedasus (or Pedasa), a place in Caria, v. 121, vi. 20; singular story of a priestess there, i. 175, viii. 104
Pedæis, a Phocian town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
Pelargian, a name applied by Herodotus to the oldest known inhabitants and remains in Greece, contrasted with "Hellenic," i. 56; Pelasgian language probably non-Greek, i. 57; Pelasgian forts, ib.; Arcadia Pelasgian, i. 146; deities, ii. 50–52; Hellas formerly called Pelasgia, ii. 56; expulsion of Minyææ by Pelasgians, iv. 145; Lemnos and Imbros Pelasgian, v. 26; expulsion of Pelasgi from Attica, vi. 137–139; cp. v. 64 and viii. 44
Peléeææ, Thetis carried off by him from Magnesia, vii. 191
Pelion, the Argo built there, iv. 179; Pelion and Ossa in the E. of Thessaly, vii. 129; wreck of Xerxes' fleet near Pelion, viii. 8, 12
Pellene, a town in Macedonia, vii. 123
Pelloneææ, an Achaean town, near Sicyon, i. 145
Peloponnesseææ, a migration of Doriææ to Sparta thither, i. 56, ii. 171; most of the Peloponnesseææ subject to Sparta temp. Croesus, i. 68; Peloponnesian tale of Anacharsis, iv. 77; Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, v. 74; Peloponnesian scale of ransom, vi. 79; security of property there, vi. 86; contingents at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Peloponnesians anxious to guard the Isthmus, viii. 40, 49, 71, ix. 8; contingents at Salamis, viii. 43; Artemisia's advice to Xerxes about the Peloponnesseææ, viii. 68; various nations of Peloponnesseææ, viii. 73; prophecy of expulsion of Doriææ, viii. 141; Peloponnesian armies in antiquity, ix. 26; Athenian jealousy of Peloponnesians, ix. 106; Peloponnesian return from Mycale, ix. 114 (other reff. of less importance)
Pelops, called by Xerxes a Phrygian settler in Greece, vii. 8, 11; Pelopides a title of Agamemnon, vii. 159
Pelusium, at the E. mouth of the Nile, near the Arabian frontier of Egypt, ii. 15, 141; Pelusian mouth, ii. 17; Greek settle-
ments there, ii. 154; Psammenitus' encampment there in Cambyses' invasion, iii. 10
Penelope, Pan said to be her son, ii. 145, 146
Penéus, a river in Thessaly, limit of the legendary Mysian and Teucrian invasion from Asia, vii. 20; its mouth viewed by Xerxes, vii. 128; pass into Thessaly along its banks, vii. 173
Penthylus, his command of Paphian ships in Xerxes' fleet, captured by the Greeks, vii. 195
Percalus, daughter of Chilon of Sparta, betrothed to Leuctchides but carried off by Demaratus, vi. 65
Pericote, a town on the Hellespont taken by the Persians in the Ionic revolt against Darius, v. 117
Pereicus, v. 22; his escape from Lebæa and establishment of the Temenid dynasty in Macedonia, viii. 137–139
Pergamum, the ancient citadel of Troy, Xerxes' visit to it; vii. 43
Pergamus, a Thracian fort, Xerxes' route past it, vii. 112
Periilla, a Delphian priestess, deprived of her office for fraud, vi. 66
Periander, despot of Corinth, son of Cypselus, his warning to Thrasybulus, i. 20; reception of the minstrel Arion, i. 23, 24; his quarrel with his son, and revenge upon the Corectaeans, iii. 48–53; his tyranny and cruelty, v. 92; his reconcilement of Athens and Mytilene, v. 95
Pericles of Athens, his Alcmeonid parentage, vi. 131
Perilaus, a Sicyonian leader killed at Mycale, ix. 103
Perinthus, an European town on the Propontis, iv. 90; its war with the Paeonians and conquest by the Persians, v. 1, 2; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 33
Perioeci, Laconians inferior in status to the Spartans, their attendance at royal funerals, vi. 58; their contingent in the Spartan army, ix. 11
Periphereis (= carriers), officials at Delos, their connection with the story of communication between Delos and the Hyperboreans, iv. 33
Perrhaebi, a Thessalian tribe, Xerxes' passage through their country from Macedonia, vii. 128, 131, 173; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185
Perses, son of Perseus, the eponymous hero of the Persians, vii. 61, 150
Perseus, son of Danaë, vii. 61, 150; his supposed Egyptian
INDEX

origin and temple at Chemmis, ii. 91; Persian belief that he was an Assyrian, vi. 53, 54; "Perseus' watchtower" alleged to be in the west of the Delta, ii. 15

Persians: their stories of Greek wrong-doing, i. 1-5; conquest of Lydia, i. 75-85; liberation from the Medes, i. 123-130; Persian tribes, i. 125; customs, i. 131-140, vi. 58, 59, ix. 110; hostilities against Ionians, i. 154-177; capture of Babylon, i. 188-191; campaign against Massagetae, i. 201-214; against Egypt, ii. 1; Persians under Cambyses and Darius, see abstract of Book iii, specific reff.; Persian judges, iii. 31; freedom of Persia from taxation, iii. 97; its geographical situation, iv. 37; Persian campaign in Scythia, iv. 1, 83-142; Persians in Libya, iv. 200-205. General history of Persian doings in remaining Books, see abstracts in Introductions to Vols. III and IV. Specific reff. in later books: origin of Persians, vi. 53, 54, vii. 61, 150; Persian council, vii. 8; armour, vii. 61; Persian and Spartan customs compared, vi. 58, 59; Cyrus' counsel to the Persians, ix. 122

Persidae, Achaemenid kings of Persia so called, i. 125

Petra, a deme or district of Corinth, v. 92

Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, her discovery about the pseudo-Smerdis, iii. 68, 69

Phaenippus, an Athenian, father of Callias, vi. 121

Phagres, a Pierian fort in Thrace, Xerxes' route past it, vii. 112

Phalerum, a port of Attica, v. 116; scene of a battle between the Pisistratids and the Spartans, v. 63; destroyed by Aegineans, v. 81; Xerxes' fleet there, viii. 66, ix. 32; flight of Persian ships thither, viii. 91

Phanagoras, a man of Carystus, vii. 214

Phanes, a Halicarnassian, his desertion from Amasis to Cambyses and its punishment, iii. 4, 11

Pharae, a town in Achaea, i. 145

Pharandates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 79; story of his Greek concubine, ix. 76

Pharbaithite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166

Pharnaces, a Persian, father of Artabazus, vii. 66 et al.

Pharnaspes, a Persian, father of Otanes, and of Cyrus' wife Cassandane, ii. 1, iii. 2, 68

Pharnazathres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 65

Pharnuches, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, his accident at Sardis, vii. 88

373
INDEX

Phaselis, a Dorian town of Asia Minor, its part in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178
Phasis, a river in Colchis at the E. end of the Euxine, iv. 37; the Argonauts there, i. 2; distance from the Palus Maeotis, i. 104; Sesostris' army there, ii. 103; boundary of Europe and Asia, iv. 45
Phaëllus of Croton, a victor in the Pythian games, captain of the one ship from Sicily or Italy in the Greek fleet, viii. 47
Phegeus, an ancestor of kings of Tegea, ix. 26
Pheneüs, a town in Arcadia near the "water of Styx," vi. 74
Pherendates, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 67
Pheretime, wife of Arcesilaus, her banishment from Cyrene and appeal to Cyprus, iv. 162; to Persia, iv. 165, 167; her revenge and death, iv. 202, 205
Pheros, king of Egypt, son of Sesostris, his blindness and its cure, ii. 111
Phidippides, an Athenian messenger to Sparta, his vision of Pan, vi. 105
Phidon, despot of Argos, father of Leocedes, vi. 127
Phigalea, a town in Arcadia; a seer from it, vi. 83
Philaeus, son of Aias, an Athenian, ancestor of Miltiades, vi. 35
Philagrus of Eretria, his betrayal of that place to the Persians, vi. 101
Philaon, a Cyprian in Xerxes' fleet, his capture by the Greeks, viii. 11
Philes, a Samian, iii. 60
Philippus, (1) king of Macedonia, son of Argaeus, viii. 139. (2) A man of Croton, son of Butacides, his victory at Olympia, physical beauty, and death with Dorieus in Sicily, v. 47
Philistus, his foundation of a temple of Demeter near Mycale, ix. 97
Philitation, a shepherd alleged by the Egyptians to have built the Pyramids, ii. 128
Philocyon, a Spartan distinguished in the battle of Plataea, ix. 71, 85
Philocyprus, a Cyprian of Soli, a friend of Solon, v. 113
Phla, an island in the Tritonis lake in Libya, iv. 178
Phlegra, ancient name of Pallene, vii. 123
Phlius, a town in Argolis, its contingent at Thermopylae, vii. 202; at Plataea, ix. 28, 31; losses in the latter battle, ix. 69, 85
Phocaea, an Ionian seaport in Lydia, i. 142; Phocaean enter-
prise in the western Mediterranean, i. 163; town captured by Persians, i. 164; flight of Phocaeans to Corsica, and their adventures there, i. 165, 166; Phocaeans at Naucratis, ii. 178; in the Ionian fleet against Darius, vi. 8
Phocians, their fortification of Thermopylae, vii. 176; contingent with Leonidas, vii. 203; Phocian guard on the path Anopaea, vii. 217, 218; Phocian feud with Thessaly, viii. 27-30; Phocis overrun by Persians, viii. 31-33; courage of a Phocian contingent in Mardonius' army, ix. 17; Artabazus' flight to Phocis, viii. 66 (other ref. not important)
Phoebus, see Apollo.
Phoenicians, their abduction of Io, i. 1, 5; Phoenician cult of Aphrodite in Cythera, i. 105; Phoenicians still independent temp. Croesus, i. 143; their temple of Heracles in Thasos, ii. 44; abduction of priestesses from Egypt, ii. 54; circumcision, ii. 104; settlement at Memphis, ii. 112; reliance of Persia on Phoenician ships, iii. 19; their images, iii. 37; tribute to Persia, iii. 91; trade between Arabia and Greece, iii. 107, 111; circumnavigation of Africa, iv. 42; Phoenician writing in Greece, v. 57, 58, cp. ii. 49; ships in Cyprian revolt, v. 108, 112; in Ionian revolt, vi. 6, 14, 25, 28; attack on Hellespontian towns, vi. 33; pursuit of Miltiades, vi. 41; Phoenician mines in Thasos, vi. 47; work at the Athos canal, vii. 23; Phoenician bridge over the Hellespont, vii. 34; excellence of their ships, vii. 44, 96; their original home on the Persian gulf, vii. 89; Phoenicians' blame of Ionians at Salamis, viii. 90; disparaged by Artemisia, viii. 100. Phoenicians of Libya, ii. 32, iv. 197; defeat of Greek colonists in Sicily, v. 46; attack on Gelon there, vii. 165, 167 (other less important ref.)
Phoenix, a stream near Thermopylae, vii. 176, 200
Phormus, an Athenian trierarch, his escape from the Persians, vii. 182
Phraortes, (1) a Median, father of Deioces, i. 96. (2) King of Media, son of Deioces, i. 73; his defeat and death at the hands of the Assyrians, i. 102
Phratagune, one of Darius' wives, vii. 224
Phrixian, name of Cyme in Mysia, i. 149
Phrixae, a town in the west of the Peloponnesse, founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
Phrixus, son of Athamas, the legend of his fate at Alus, vii. 197
INDEX

Phronime, daughter of Etearchus of Crete, the plot against her life, and her escape, iv. 154, 155
Phrygia, antiquity of the Phrygians proved by Psammetichus, π. 2; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; "Royal road" through Phrygia, v. 52; exiled Paeonians settled there, v. 98; Xerxes' route through Phrygia, vii. 26, 30; Phrygians in Xerxes' army, vii. 73; their European origin, i. 6; in Mardonius' army, ix. 32
Phrynon, a Theban, ix. 16
Phryrichus, the Athenian tragedian, his play "Capture of Miletus" suppressed, vi. 21
Phthiotis, in northern Greece, earliest home of the Dorians, i. 50; its submission to Xerxes, vii. 132
Phthis, a legendary personage, son of Achaeus, π. 98
Phya, an Athenian woman caused by Pisistratus to impersonate Athene, i. 60
Phylacus, (1) a Delphian hero, his supposed aid against the Persians, viii. 39. (2) A Samian trierarch on the Persian side at Salamis, viii. 85
Phyllis, a district of Thrace, on the Strymon, vii. 113
Pieres, a Thracian tribe, mines in their country, vii. 112; in Xerxes' army, vii. 185
Pieria, a district of Macedonia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 131, 177; pitch from thence, iv. 195
Pigres, (1) brother of Mantyes, q.v., v. 12. (2) A Carian officer in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 98
Pilorus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122
Pindar, the poet, quoted ("Custom is the lord of all"), iii. 38
Pindus, (1) a Thessalian town, an early home of the Dorians, i. 56, viii. 93. (2) A mountain range on the W. frontier of Thessaly, vii. 129
Piraeus, one of the ports of Athens, at the eastern end of Xerxes' line at the battle of Salamis, viii. 85
Pirene, a spring at Corinth, v. 92
Pirus, a river in Achaea, i. 145
Pisa, a town in Elis, its distance from Athens, π. 7
Pisistratus, (1) the son of Nestor of Pylus, v. 65. (2) Despot of Athens; his seizure of power, i. 59; expulsion and return, i. 60; second retirement and return, and use of his power, i. 61-64, vi. 35. (Elsewhere as a patronymic.) For the Pisistratidae, see Hippias and Hipparchus, also v. 63-65;
their expulsion from Athens, at Xerxes' court, vii. 6; their attempt to induce Athens to surrender, viii. 52

Pistyrus, a town in Thrace, on Xerxes' route, vii. 109

Pitana, (1) an Aeolian town in Mysia, i. 149. (2) A Spartan township, iii. 55; a "Pitanate battalion" in the Lacedaemonian army at Plataea, ix. 53 (see Amompharetus)

Pithagoras, despot of Selinus, deposed, v. 46

Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the Seven Sages, his advice to Croesus, i. 27

Pixodarus of Cindya, his advice to the Carians on choice of a battlefield, v. 118

Placia, a town of Pelasgian origin on the Hellespont, i. 57

Plataeae (or Plataea), burnt by the Persians, viii. 50; passim in ix. in connection with military operations there (16–88). Plataeans, their first alliance with Athens, vi. 108; at Marathon, vi. 111, 113; refusal to "medize," vii. 132, viii. 66; (later) Theban attack on their town, vii. 233; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1; but not at Salamis, viii. 44; their envoys to Sparta, ix. 7; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31

Platea, an island (modern Bomba) off Libya, occupied by the earliest colonists of Cyrene, iv. 151–153, 156, 169

Pleistarchus, king of Sparta, Pausanias' ward and son of Leonidas, ix. 10

Pleistorus, a god of the Thracian Apsinthians, sacrifice of a Persian to him, ix. 119

Plinthinete bay, on the coast of Egypt, near (the later) Alexandria, ii. 6

Plynus, a Libyan harbour (modern Gulf of Sollum), near the west of Egypt, iv. 168

Poeciles, a Phoenician, ancestor of the inhabitants of Thera, iv. 147

Pogon, the port of Troezen, rendezvous for Greek ships before Salamis, viii. 42

Poliades, a Spartan, father of Amompharetus, ix. 53

Polichne, in Chios, a stronghold of Histiaeus, vi. 26

Polichnitae, a people of Crete, vii. 170

Polyas of Anticyra, a messenger between the Greeks at Artemisium and Leonidas, viii. 21

Polybus, an ancient king of Sicyon, v. 67

Polycrates, despot of Samos, son of Aeaces, his friendship with Amasis, ii. 182, iii. 39, 40; his successes and alarming good luck, iii. 39–43; his war with Lacedaemon, iii. 44–46, 54–56;
induced to leave Samos, and murdered by Oroetes, iii. 120–125
Polycritus, (1) an Aeginetan, vi. 50. (2) Grandson of the above, his taunt to Themistocles at Salamis, viii. 92
Polydamna, wife of Thon of Egypt, her gifts to Helen mentioned in the Odyssey, ii. 116
Polydectes, a king of Sparta, viii. 131
Polydorus, (1) son of Cadmus, v. 59. (2) A king of Sparta, vii. 204
Polymnestus of Thera, father of the first Battus, iv. 150, 155
Polynices, son of Oedipus of Thebes, iv. 147, vi. 52, ix. 27
Pontus, see Euxine.
Porata (or Pyretus), a tributary of the Danube, probably the Pruth, iv. 48
Poseidon, unknown to the Egyptians, ii. 43, 50; the channel of the Peneus his work, vii. 129; his cult at Mycale, i. 148; in Greece, vii. 192, viii. 55, 123, 129, ix. 81; in Libya, iv. 180, 188; in Scythia (as Thagimasadas), iv. 59
Poseidonia (Paestum, in Italy), information given by a man of that place to exiled Phocaeans, i. 167
Poseidonius, a Spartan distinguished at Plataea, ix. 71
Posideium, (1) a town on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, iii. 91. (2) A town in Thrace, vii. 115
Potidaea, a town in Pallene, vii. 123; besieged by Artabazus but not taken, viii. 128, 129; Potidaeans in Pausanias’ army, ix. 28, 31
Praesii, a Cretan people, vii. 170
Prasiad lake, in Paeonia, description of lake-dwellings there, v. 16
Prexaspes, (1) a Persian, Cambyses’ agent, employed by him to murder Smerdis, iii. 30, 34, 62–65; his confession and suicide, iii. 74, 75. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes’ army, son of Aspathines, vii. 97
Prexilaus, a man of Halicarnassus, ix. 107
Prexinus, captain of a Troezenian ship captured by the Persians, vii. 180
Priam of Troy, i. 3; probability of his giving up Helen, ii. 120; his citadel, vii. 43
Priene, an Ionian town in Caria, i. 142; taken by Lydians, i. 15; by Persians, i. 161; its ships in the Ionian fleet, vi. 8
Prinetades, a Spartan, Cleomenes’ father-in-law, v. 41
Procles, (1) one of the twin brothers whence the dual kingship
INDEX

at Sparta began, iv. 147, vi. 52, viii. 131. (2) Despot of Epidaurus, father-in-law of Periander of Corinth, iii. 50-52
Proconnesus, a town on the Propontis, iv. 14; burnt by Phoenicians, vi. 33
Promenea, a priestess at Dodona, Herodotus' informant about the connection between Dodona and Egypt, ii. 55
Prometheus, the legendary fire-stealer, the continent of Asia called after his wife, iv. 45
Pronaea, title of Athene at Delphi, i. 92, viii. 39
Propontis, its measurements, iv. 85; Persian operations near it, v. 122
Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, ii. 41; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 105
Protesilaus, the first Greek to fall in the Trojan war; his temple at Elaeus desecrated by Artayctes, vii. 33, ix. 116, 120
Proteus of Memphis, king of Egypt, ii. 112; his reception of Paris and Helen, ii. 115
Protothyes, a king of Scythia, i. 103
Prytanis, a Spartan king, viii. 131
Psammenitus, king of Egypt, son of Amasis, his defeat by Cambyses, iii. 10, 11; his behaviour in Cambyses' presence, iii. 14; his life spared, iii. 15
Psammetichus, king of Egypt, son of Necos, his prevention of a Scythian invasion, i. 105; his inquiry into the antiquity of nations, ii. 2; into the depth of the Nile source, ii. 28; his frontier guards, ii. 30; banishment and restoration, ii. 151, 152; buildings at Memphis, and concessions to Greeks there, ii. 153, 154
Psammis, king of Egypt, son of Necos, his opinion of the Olympic games, ii. 160
Psylli, a Libyan tribe, their destruction by a sand-storm, iv. 173
Psyttalea, an islet between Salamis and Attica, Persians posted there to intercept the Greeks in the battle of Salamis, viii. 76; their fate, viii. 95
Ptéria, in Cappadocia (probably modern Boghaz Keui), taken by Croesus, i. 76
Ptoüm, a temple of Apollo (hence Apollo Ptoüs), near Thebes in Boeotia, oracle there consulted by Mardonius, viii. 135
Pylæ, synonym for Thermopylae, vii. 201
Pylaee, place of meeting (vii. 213) of the Pylagori (id.), representatives of the "Amphictyonic" league
INDEX

of twelve states in N.E. Greece; their action in regard to Epialtes, vii. 213
Pylus (1) in Messenia, vii. 168. (2) In Elis, ix. 34. Pylians, descendants of Nestor of Pylus, Pisistratus of that family, v. 65; Caucones called Pylians, i. 147
Pyrene, according to Herodotus a town of the Celts in western Europe, source of the Danube said to be there, ii. 33
Pyretus, see Porata.
Pyrgus, a town in western Greece founded by the Minyae, iv. 148
Pythagoras, (1) the philosopher, son of Mnesarchus, Pythagorean and Orphic belief, ii. 81; Zalmoxis his slave, iv. 95. (2) A Milesian, put in charge of Miletus by Aristogoras, v. 126
Pytheas, (1) an Aeginetan, son of Ischonoüs, his bravery, and attention paid him by the Persians, vii. 181; his return to Aegina, viii. 92. (2) An Aeginetan (apparently not the same as 1), father of Lampon, ix. 78
Pythermus, a Phocaean, spokesman at Sparta for Ionian and Aeolian envoys, i. 152
Pythes, a man of Abdera, vii. 137
Pythian priestess, see Delphi.
Pythians, Spartan officials for communication with Delphi, their privileges, vi. 57
Pythius, a Lydian, his offer of his wealth to Xerxes, vii. 27–29; his request to Xerxes and its consequence, vii. 38, 39
Pytho, a synonym for Delphi, i. 54
Pythogones, brother of the despot of Zancle, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, vi. 23
Rhapsinitus, king of Egypt, story of the theft of his treasure, ii. 121
Rhegium, in southern Italy, i. 166, vi. 23; its disaster in battle, vii. 170
Rhenaea, an island near Delos, vi. 97
Rhodes, i. 174; its part in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Rhodian colonists in Sicily, vii. 153
Rhodope, a mountain range in Thrace, source of a tributary of the Danube, iv. 49; flight thither of a Bisaltian king, viii. 116
Rhodopis, a Thracian courtesan in Egypt, her offerings at Delphi, ii. 134, 135
Rhoeocus, a Samian, builder of the Heraeum at Samos, iii. 60
380
INDEX

Rhoeteum, a town in the Troad, vii. 43
Rhypes, a town in Achaea, i. 145

Sabacos, king of Ethiopia, his rule of Egypt, ii. 137, 139, 152
Sabyllus, a man of Gela, his killing of Cleandrus, vii. 154
Sacae, a tribe in the N.E. of the Persian empire, vii. 9; Cyrus' designs against them, i. 153; tribute to Persia, iii. 93; at Marathon, vi. 113; in Xerxes' army, vii. 84; as marines in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 184; with Mardonius at Plataea, ix. 31; their cavalry there, ix. 71; Masistes' design for a rebellion of the Sacae, ix. 113
Sadyattes, king of Lydia, his war with Miletus, i. 18
Sagartii, a Persian tribe, i. 125; tribute to the empire, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 85
Saïs, a town in the Delta, the temple scribe there, ii. 28, cp ii. 130; worship of "Athene," ii. 59, 62; Aprics' palace there, ii. 163; Saïte province, ii. 152; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 165; Amasis' addition to the temple, ii. 175; Cambyses' treatment of Amasis' body at Saïs, iii. 16; Saïtic mouth of the Nile, ii. 17
Salamis, (1) island off Attica, Cyprian colonists from thence, vii. 90; Delphian oracle respecting it, vii. 141; Greek fleet there, viii. 40–97 (many ref. in these chapters to Salamis, in respect of debates there, and the battle itself); return of Greeks to Salamis after cruising in the Aegean, vii. 121; Athenians still at Salamis, ix. 4–6; their return to Attica, ix. 19. (2) A town in Cyprus, flight of Pheretim thither, iv. 162; Salamis in the Cyprian revolt, v. 104, 108; battle near it, v. 110; desertion of Salaminians to the Persians, v. 113; restoration of the king of Salamis, v. 115
Sale, a Samothracian fort near Doriscus, vii. 59
Salmoxis (or Zalmoxis), a teacher of belief in immortality, deified by the Getae, iv. 94; his possible connection with Pythagoras, iv. 95, 96
Salmydassus, in Thrace, on the Euxine, its submission to Darius, iv. 93
Samius, a Spartan, son of Archias, so called in commemoration of his father's honours won in Samos, iii. 55
Samos, island and town, Samians' alleged theft from Spartans, i. 70; an Ionian settlement, i. 142; temple of Here there, ii. 148, 182, iii. 60; Samian share in the settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Polycrates' despotism in Samos, iii. 39, 40; 381
INDEX

Lacedaemonian attack on Samos, III. 44-46, 54-59; Samian aqueduct, III. 60; fate of Polycrates, III. 120-123; conquest of Samos by Persians, III. 142-149; Salmoxis at Samos, IV. 95; flight of Arcesilas thither, IV. 162; Samian bravery against the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, v. 112; desertion to the Persians of all except eleven of the sixty Samian ships in the Ionian revolt, vi. 8, 14; Samian colonists in Sicily, vi. 22-25; distinction at Salamis of Samians in the Persian fleet, viii. 85; vague Greek ideas about the distance of Samos, viii. 132; Samian envoys to Greeks before Mycale, ix. 90-92; disloyalty of Samians to Persia, ix. 99-103; reception into the Greek confederacy, ix. 106 (other reff. less important)

Samothrace, an island south of Thrace, vi. 47; its Pelasgian inhabitants, II. 51; exploit of a Samothracian ship at Salamis, viii. 90; Samothracian forts on the mainland, vii. 59, 108

Sanacharibus, king of Assyria, his invasion of Egypt and the destruction of his army, II. 141

Sandanis, a Lydian, his advice to Croesus not to make war on Persia, i. 71

Sandoces, a Persian, his punishment and release by Darius, and subsequent capture by the Greeks, vii. 194

Sane, a town on the isthmus of the peninsula of Athos, vii. 22, 123

Sapaei, a Thracian tribe, on Xerxes' route, vii. 110

Sappho, the poetess, her satire on her brother Charaxus, II. 135

Sarangae, a people of northern Persia, their tribute, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 67

Sardanapallus, king of Ninus, the theft of his treasures, II. 150

Sardis, Croesus' capital of Lydia, its kings, i. 7; its capture by Cimmerians, i. 15; Lacedaemonian envoys there, i. 69; Sardis besieged by Cyrus, i. 80; taken, i. 84; Cyrus at Sardis, i. 141; town attacked by Lydian rebels, i. 154; road from Sardis to Smyrna, ii. 106; Cadytis nearly as large as Sardis, iii. 5; Oroetes at Sardis, iii. 126-128; Asiad tribe there, iv. 45; Darius there, v. 11; seat of Persian governor, v. 31, 73, 96, vi. 1; distance from Sardis to Susa, v. 53; Sardis attacked and burnt by Ionians and Athenians, v. 99-102; Histiaeus there, vi. 1; disaffection of Persians at Sardis, vi. 4; Alcmeon there, vi. 125; Xerxes and his army at Sardis, vii. 32, 37; portent seen there, vii. 57; Pharnaces' misfortune there, vii. 88; Xerxes' return thither, viii. 117, ix. 3; Persians' flight to Sardis after Mycale, ix. 107; Xerxes' amours there, ix. 108 (other reff. not important)
INDEX

Sardo (Sardinia), designs of the Ionians to migrate thither, i. 170, v. 124; Histiaeus’ promise to conquer it for Xerxes, v. 106; Sardinians among the invaders of Sicily, against Gelon, vii. 165

Sarpedon, Minos’ brother, his banishment by Minos and his rule in Lycia, i. 173

Sarpedonia, a headland in Thrace, vii. 58

Sarte, a town on the Singitic gulf W. of Athos, vii. 122

Sasppheres, a people between Colchis and Media, i. 104, 110, iv. 37, 40; their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 79

Sataspes, a Persian, his attempt to circumnavigate Africa, iv. 43

Satrae, a Thracian tribe, their mines and places of divination, vii. 110–112

Sattagydae, a people in the Persian empire, perhaps in Afghanistan, their tribute, in. 91

Saulius, a Scythian king, Anacharsis killed by him, iv. 76

Sauromatae, a people immediately E. of the Palus Maeotis, iv. 21, 57; their conflict and reconciliation with the Amazons, iv. 110–117; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 122, 128, 136

Scaeus, a Theban, his dedication of a tripod, v. 60

Scamander, a river in the Troad, v. 65; on Xerxes’ route, vii. 43

Scamandronymus, a Mytilenaean, ii. 135

Scapte Hyle, in Thrace opposite Thasos, gold-mines there, vi. 46

Sciathus, an island off Magnesia, naval operations there, vii. 176, 179, 182, viii. 7

Scidrus, a town on the W. coast of Italy, a place of refuge for the exiled Sybarites, vi. 21

Scione, a town on the promontory of Pallene, vii. 123; in the local confederacy, viii. 128

Sciras, a title of Athene in Salamis, her temple there, viii. 94

Scironid road, along the isthmus of Corinth, destroyed by the Greeks, vii. 71

Sciton, servant of the physician Demoedes, iii. 130

Scolopois, a place near Mycale, ix. 97

Scolotii, ancient name of Scythians, iv. 6

Sculus, near Thebes in Boeotia, ix. 15

Scopaeus, a Thessalian family, vi. 127

Scopasis, a leader in the Scythian army against Darius, iv. 120, 128

Scylace, a town on the Hellespont, its Pelasgian origin, i. 57
INDEX

Scylax, (1) a man of Caryanda, his navigation of the Indus and the eastern seas, iv. 44. (2) A man of Myndus, his maltreatment by Megabates, v. 33

Scyles, a king of Scythia, his adoption of Greek customs and his consequent fate, iv. 78–80

Scyllias of Scione, his exploits as a diver, viii. 8

Scyros, an island in the Aegaean E. of Euboea, vii, 183

Scythes, (1) son of Heracles and reputed ancestor of all Scythian kings, iv. 10. (2) Despot of Zante, his imprisonment by Hippocrates, vi. 23, 24, vii. 163

Scythians, their expulsion of Cimmerians, i. 15; quarrel with Cyaxares, i. 73; invasion of Media and conquest of “Asia,” i. 103–106; Scythians subdued by Sesostris, ii. 103, 110; contempt of peaceful occupations in Scythia, ii. 167; alliance against Persia proposed to Sparta by Scythians, vi. 84; Scythians called Sacae by Persians, vii. 64. Book iv. 1–142 (relating almost wholly to Scythia and adjacent regions): iv. 1–4, Scythians’ invasion of Media and troubles after their return; 5–10, early Scythian legends; 11–12, their expulsion of Cimmerians; 16–31, 46, 47, general description of Scythia and inhabitants (nomad, farming, and “royal” Scythian), and regions adjacent; 48–58, rivers of Scythia; 59–75, manners and customs; 76–80, Scythian dislike of foreign manners; 81, size of population; 99–109, geography of Scythia and description of adjacent tribes; 118–142, Scythian warfare against Darius.

Sebennyte province of Egypt, in the Delta, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166; Sebennytic or central mouth of the Nile, ii. 17, 155

Selinus, a town in Sicily, its occupation by one of Dorieus’ followers, v. 46

Selymbria, a Greek town near the Hellespont, vi. 33

Semele, daughter of Cadmus and mother of Dionysus, ii. 145

Semiramis, queen of Babylon, her embankment of the Euphrates, i. 184; gate of Babylon called after her, iii. 155

Sepea, near Tiryns in Argolis, scene of a battle between Lacedaemonians and Argives, vi. 77

Sepias promontory, in Magnesia, Xerxes’ fleet there, vii. 183; wreck of many of his ships, vii. 188–190

Serbonian marsh, on the eastern frontier of Egypt, ii. 6, iii. 5

Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, Seriphians in the Greek fleet, viii. 49, 48
INDEX

Sermyle, a town on the Sithonian promontory in Chalcidice, vii. 122

Serrkeum, a promontory in Thrace near Doriscus, vii. 59

Sesostris, king of Egypt, his conquests, ii. 102–104; his monuments, ii. 106; his life attempted by his brother, ii. 107; canals made by him, ii. 137

Sestus, in the Thracian Chersonese, on the Hellespont, Darius' crossing there, iv. 143; Xerxes' bridge near it, vii. 33; siege and capture of Sestus by the Greeks, ix. 114–116, 119

Sethos, king of Egypt, his deliverance from Sanacharibus' army, ii. 141

Sicania, old name of Sicily, vii. 170

Sicas, a Lycian, vii. 98

Sicily, Arion's design to visit it, i. 24; Dorieus in Sicily, v. 43–48; retirement thither of Dionysius of Phocaea, vi. 17; Samian exiles there, vi. 22–24; growth of Gelon's power, vii. 153–156; Carthaginian attack on Sicily defeated by Gelon, vii. 165–168

Sicinnus, Themistocles' servant, his mission to the Persians before the battle of Salamis, viii. 75; to Xerxes after Salamis, viii. 110

Sicyon, W. of Corinth, i. 145; Cleisthenes' despotism there, v. 67, 68; quarrel between Sicyon and Argos, vi. 92; Sicyonians in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, viii. 72; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28; their losses at Mycale, ix. 103

Sidon, Paris and Helen there, ii. 116; Sidon attacked by Apries, ii. 161; Democedes' voyage from Sidon, iii. 136; speed of Sidonian ships, vii. 44; in Xerxes' fleet, vii. 96, 99; Xerxes' Sidonian ship, vii. 100, 128; place of honour of Sidonian king in Xerxes' council, viii. 67

Sigeum, a town in the Troad, iv. 38; taken by Pisistratus, v. 94; retreat of the Pisistratidae thither, v. 65, 91, 94

Sigynnnae, a people north of the Danube, v. 9; other meanings of the word, abb.

Silenus, a wood-deity, his alleged capture in the "garden of Midas" in Macedonia, viii. 138; Marsyas called Silenus, vii. 26

Simonides of Ceos, the poet, his praise of Evalcides, v. 102; his epitaphs for those fallen at Thermopylae, vii. 223

Sindi, a people to the east of the Cimmerian Bosporus, iv. 28; at the broadest part of the Euxine, iv. 86

VOL. IV. (HERODOTUS.)
INDEX

Sindus, a town on the Thermaic gulf, on Xerxes' route, vii. 123
Singus, a town on the Singitic gulf west of Athos, vii. 122
Sinope, Greek town in Paphlagonia, on the S. coast of the Euxine, i. 76; distance from the Cilician coast, ii. 34; on the site of a Cimmerian settlement, iv. 12
Siphnus, one of the Cyclades, its prosperity, iii. 57; Samian raid upon it, ib.; Siphnian ships in the Greek fleet, viii. 46, 48
Siriopaeones, a Paeonian tribe, carried off to Asia by the Persians, v. 15
Siris, (1) a town in Paeonia, disabled Persians left there by Xerxes, viii. 115. (2) A town in Italy, between Sybaris and Tarentum, threat of Athenians to emigrate thither, viii. 62
Siromitres, a Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 68, 79
Siromus, (1) a man of Salamin in Cyprus, v. 104. (2) A Tyrian, vii. 98
Sisamnnes, (1) a Persian judge flayed by Cambyses for injustice, v. 25. (2) A Persian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 66
Sisimacces, a Persian general in the Ionic revolt, his death in battle, v. 121
Sitalces, king of Thrace, his bargain with the Scythians, iv. 80; his betrayal of Spartan envoys, vii. 137
Sithonia, the central peninsula of Chalcidice, vii. 122
Sioph, in Egypt, the native town of Amasis, ii. 172
Smerdis, (1) son of Cyrus, Cambyses' dream about him, iii. 30; his murder, ib.; his daughter married to Darius, iii. 88. (All other mentions in Book iii refer to Smerdis' murder and his impersonation by his namesake.) (2) A Magian, his impersonation of Cyrus' son Smerdis and usurpation, iii. 61; popularity of his government of Persia, iii. 67; discovery of the truth, iii. 69; his death at the hands of the seven conspirators, iii. 78, 79
Smerdomenes, a Persian, son of Otanes, one of the generals of Xerxes' army, vii. 82, 121
Smila, a town on the Thermaic gulf, vii. 123
Smindyrides of Sybaris, a suitor for Cleisthenes' daughter, vi. 127
Smyrna, in Lydia, attacked by Gyges, i. 14; taken by Alyattes, i. 16; its transference from Aeolians to Ionians, i. 149, 150; road from Sardis to Smyrna, ii. 106
Socles, a Corinthian envoy, his story of Corinthian despotism, v. 92

386
INDEX

Sogdi, a people in the Persian empire, E. of the Oxus, their tribute, III. 93; in Xerxes’ army, vii. 66
Soli, a town in Cyprus, its part in the Cyprian revolt, v. 110; siege and capture by the Persians, v. 115
Solois, a promontory at the western extremity of Libya (perhaps Cape Spartel), ii. 32, iv. 43
Solon, his Athenian legislation, i. 29, ii. 177; his visit to Croesus, i. 29-33; his praise of a Cyprian ruler, v. 113
Solymi, inhabitants of what was later Lycia, i. 173
Sophanes, an Athenian, his exploits in Aegina, vi. 92, ix. 75; at Plataea, ix. 74
Sosimenes, a man of Tenos, viii. 82
Sostratus, an Aeginetan, his commercial success, iv. 152
Spaco, Cyrus’ Median foster-mother, i. 110
Spargapises, son of Tomyris queen of the Massagetae, his capture by Cyrus and his suicide, i. 211-213
Spargapithes, (1) king of the Agathyrsi, his murder of a Scythian king, iv. 78. (2) A king of Scythia, iv. 76
Sparta, see Lacedaemon
Spercheus, a river in Malis, near Thermopylae, vii. 198, 228
Sperthias, one of the two Spartans who volunteered to surrender themselves to Xerxes as atonement for the killing of Persian heralds, vii. 134
Sphendalae, a deme in northern Attica, on Mardonius’ route into Boeotia, ix. 15
Stagirus, a Greek town in Chalcidice, on Xerxes’ route, vii. 115
Stentorid lake, in Thrace, on Xerxes’ route, vii. 58
Stenyclerus, in Messenia, scene of a battle between Spartans and Messenians, ix. 64
Stesagoras, (1) grandfather of Miltiades the younger, vi. 34, 103. (2) Grandson of (1), vi. 103; his murder, vi. 38
Stesenor, despot of Curium in Cyprus, his desertion to the Persians in the Cyprian revolt, v. 113
Stesilaus, an Athenian general killed at Marathon, vi. 114
Stratopeda (Camps), places on the Nile allotted by Psammetichus to Ionians and Carians, ii. 154
Strattis, despot of Chios, with Darius’ Scythian expedition, iv. 138; Ionian plot against him, viii. 132
Struchates, a Median tribe, i. 101
Stryme, a Thasian town in Thrace, vii. 108
Strymon, a river in Paeonia, Pisistratus’ revenues thence, i. 64; Paeonians from the Strymon, v. 98; Xerxes’ bridge over it,
INDEX

vii. 24; Bithynians of Asia originally Strymonians, vii. 75; Persian defence of Eion on the Strymon, vii. 107; sacrifice offered to the river by the Magi, vii. 113; Strymonian or north wind, Xerxes' danger from it, viii. 118 (a few other unimportant reff.)

Stymphalian lake, alleged subterranean channel from it to Argos, vi. 76

Styreneans, from Styra in S.W. Euboea, vi. 107; in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 46; in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31

Styx, the water of, a mountain stream in Arcadia, supposed to communicate with the world of the dead; oath there administered by Cleomenes, vi. 74

Sunium, the southern promontory of Attica, iv. 99; Athenian festival there, vi. 87; settlement of banished Aeginetans on Sunium, vi. 90; rounding of Sunium by Datis after Marathon, vi. 115; Greek trophy set up there, viii. 121

Susa, the capital of the Persian kings, on the Choaspecs, i. 188, v. 49; Smerdis murdered there, iii. 30; revolt against the Magi there, iii. 70 seqq.; Histiaeus at Susa, v. 30; end of the Royal road, v. 52; called the Memnonian, v. 54, vii. 151; Milesian captives brought thither, vi. 20; Demaratus and the Pisistratidae at Susa, vii. 3, 6; Spartans there, vii. 136; reception there of Xerxes' despatches from Greece, viii. 99; Xerxes' amours at Susa, ix. 108 (other unimportant reff. to Susa as the royal residence)

Syagrus, Spartan envoy to Sicily, vii. 153; his reply to Gelon, vii. 159

Sybaris, in southern Italy, attacked by Dorieus, v. 44; its capture by the Crotoniats, vi. 21; its former prosperity, vi. 127

Syene (Assuan), alleged to be near the source of the Nile, opposite Elephantine, ii. 28

Syenne, (1) king of Cilicia, his reconciliation of Medians and Lydians, i. 74; his daughter, v. 118. (2) A Cilician officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 98

Sylean plain in Thrace, near Stagirus, on Xerxes' route, vii. 115

Syloson, banished by his brother Polycrates from Samos, iii. 39; his gift to Darius and its reward, iii. 139-141; his restoration to the government of Samos, iii. 144-149. (Elsewhere a patronymic.)

Syme, an island near Rhodes, i. 174

388
INDEX

Syracuse, its despot's comparable for splendour to Polycrates, iii. 125; its seizure by Gelon, and growth under his rule, vii. 154–156; Greek envoys there, vii. 157; Amilcas of Carthage partly a Syracusan, vii. 166

Syris, see Hyrgis

Syria, its geography, ii. 12, 116; many rivers there, ii. 20; Syrian desert, iii. 6; see also Palestine; Syrians' defeat by Egyptians, ii. 159; their tribute to Persia, iii. 91; Syrians of Cappadocia, i. 6; Cappadocians called Syrians by Greeks, i. 72, v. 49; invaded by Croesus, i. 76; their tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 72

Syrtis, the bay of the Libyan coast W. of Cyrene, alleged canal between it and Lake of Moeris, ii. 150; silphium produced near it, iv. 169; inhabitants of its coast, ii. 32, iv. 173

Tabalus, made governor of Sardis by Cyrus, i. 153; rising of Lydians against him, i. 154

Tabiti, a Scythian deity identified with the Greek Hestia, iv. 59

Tachompso, an alleged island in the Nile between Elephantine and Meroë, ii. 29

Taenarum, southern promontory of Laconia, Arion's arrival there on a dolphin, i. 24; Corcyraean ships' delay there, vii. 168

Talaüüs, an Argive, father of Adrastus, v. 67

Talthybius, the Greek herald in the Iliad, his supposed vengeance of the death of heralds, vii. 134, 137

Tamynae, a town in Euboea, its occupation by Datis, vi. 101

Tanagra, a town in Boeotia, its lands occupied by Cadmus, followers, v. 57; Mardonius there, ix. 15; scene of a battle (later) between the Spartans and the Athenians and Argives, ix. 35; near the river Thermodon, ix. 43

Tanaüs, a Scythian river (the Don), between Scythians and Sauromatae, iv. 21; its source and mouth, iv. 57, 100; crossed by Amazons and Sauromatae, iv. 116

Tanite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166

Taras (Tarentum), Arion's departure thence, i. 24; Tarentines' services to Democtes, iii. 136; their refusal to admit a banished man, iii. 138, iv. 99; Tarentines' losses in a battle with their neighbours, vii. 170

Targitaus, by legend the earliest Scythian, son of Zeus and Borysthenes, iv. 5; a thousand years before Darius' invasion, iv. 7

VOL. IV. (HERODOTUS.)
INDEX

Taricheae (salting-places), near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, Paris’ landing there, ii. 113
Tartessus, at the mouth of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), friendship of Phocaeans with its king, i. 163; Samians’ voyage thither, iv. 152; Tartessian weasels, iv. 192
Tauchira, a town in Libya near Barca, iv. 171
Tauri, a Scythian people, in the Tauric Chersonese W. of the Palus Maeotis, their country described, iv. 99-101; their part in the campaign against Darius, iv. 102-119
Taxacis, a leader in the Scythian armies against Darius, iv. 120
Taygetus, the mountain range E. of Laconia, its occupation by the Minyae, iv. 145, 146
Teaurus, a Thracian river, its water praised by Darius, iv. 89-90
Teaspis, a Persian, iv. 43, vii. 79, ix. 76
Tegea, a town in Arcadia, varying event of its wars with Sparta, i. 66-68; Leutychides’ death there, vi. 72; Phidippides’ vision near Tegea, vi. 105; Tegeans at Thermopylae, vii. 202; Tegeans’ claim to the post of honour in Pausanias’ army, ix. 26-28; (later) victory of Spartans over Tegea and Argos, ix. 35; Tegean valour at Plataea, ix. 56, 60, 61, 62, 70
Telispe, two of this name in the list of Xerxes’ forefathers, vii. 11 (see How and Wells, Appendix iv. 3)
Telamon, one of the legendary heroes of Salamis, his aid invoked by the Greeks, viii. 64
Teleboae, an Acarnanian people, Amphitryon’s defeat of them, v. 59
Telecles, a Samian, iii. 41
Teleclus, a Spartan king, vii. 204
Telemachus, son of Nestor, Menelaus’ narrative to him, ii. 116
Telesarchus of Samos, his opposition to Macandrius, iii. 143
Telines, his priesthood at Gela in Sicily, vii. 153
Tellidae, a family or clan of diviners in Elis, one of them with Mardonius, ix. 37
Tellias of Elis (perhaps of the above family), his device for a Phocian night attack on Thessalians, viii. 27
Tellus, an Athenian, Solon’s judgment of his happiness, i. 30
Telmessians, probably in Lycia, their prophetic answers, i. 78, 84
Telos, an island near Rhodes, home of Telines, vii. 153
Telys, despot of Sybaris, v. 44
Temenus, ancestor of the Temenid family of Macedonian kings, viii. 137

390
INDEX

Temnus, an Aeolian town in Asia Minor, i. 149
Tempe, the valley of the Penēus in Thessaly, between Olympus and Óssa, vii. 173
Tenedos, an island off the Troad, an Aeolian town there, i. 151;
Tenedos taken by Persians in the Ionian revolt, vi. 31
Tenos, one of the Cyclades, a stage on the Hyperboreans' route to Delos, iv. 33; flight of Delians thither, vi. 97; desertion of a Tenian ship to the Greeks at Salamis, viii. 82
Teos, an Ionian town in Lydia, i. 142; flight of Teians to Thrace, i. 168; Teos proposed as a meeting-place for Ionians, i. 170; its share in the Greek settlement at Naucratis, ii. 178; Teian ships in the Ionian fleet, vi. 8
Teres, father of Sitalces, king of Thrace, iv. 80, vii. 137
Terillus, despot of Himera, his confederacy against Gelon, vii. 165
Termiera, on the coast near Halicarnassus, its despot captured by the Ionian rebels, v. 37
Tamilea, an alternative name for the Lycians, i. 173
Tethronium, a Phocian town, burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
Tetramnestus, a Sidonian officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 98
Teucrians (Trojans), their denial of the possession of Helen, ii. 118; Paconians, v. 13, and Gergithes, v. 122, descended from them; Teucrian invasion of Europe before the Trojan war, vii. 20, 75
Teuthrania, at the mouth of the Caicus in Mysia, silting up of a river bed there, ii. 10
Thagimasadas (or Thamimasadas), a Scythian deity identified with Poseidon, iv. 59
Thales of Miletus, his prediction of an eclipse, i. 74; his diversion of the course of the Halys, i. 75; his advice as to a meeting-place for Ionians, i. 170
Thamanaei, a people probably in N.E. Persia, iii. 117; their tribute, iii. 93
Thamasius, a Persian, father of Sandoces, vii. 194
Thannyares, a Libyan, restored by the Persians to the government which his father Inaros had lost by rebellion, iii. 15
Thasos, (1) off Thrace, Phoenician temple of Heracles there, ii. 44; on Mardonius' route to Euboea, vi. 44; Thasians' revenues from mines, vi. 46; their expenditure on feeding Xerxes' army, vii. 118. (2) A Phoenician, said to have given the island its name, vi. 47
Theasides, a Spartan, his warning to the Aeginetans, vi. 85

391
INDEX

Thebe, (1) legendary daughter of Asopus and sister of Aegina, v. 80. (2) A plain in Mysia, on Xerxes' route, vii. 42
Thebes, (1) in Upper Egypt (modern Luxor), a custom of the temple there, i. 182; Herodotus' inquiries at Thebes, ii. 3; distance from Heliopolis, ii. 9; Thebes once called Egypt, ii. 15; rules of abstinence there, ii. 42; alleged connection between the temple at Thebes and Dodona, ii. 54-56; crocodiles held sacred there, ii. 69; sacred snakes, ii. 74; Hecataeus' investigations at Thebes, ii. 143; single instance of rain at Thebes, iii. 10; Cambyses there, in. 25; distance from Thebes of the temple of Ammon, iv. 143; Thebaic province, Syene and Chemmis in it, ii. 28, 91; inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166. (2) In Boeotia, temple of Apollo there, i. 52; Croesus' gifts there, i. 92; Theban assistance to Pisistratus, i. 61; Phoenician inscriptions at Thebes, v. 59; Theban feud with Athens, v. 79, 81-89, vi. 108; Theban recovery of an image of Apollo, vi. 118; submission to Xerxes, vii. 132; Thebans unwillingly at Thermopylae, vii. 205; Thebans and oracles of Amphiparaus, viii. 134; Theban advice to Mardonius, ix. 2; Mardonius in Theban territory, ix. 15; story of Polynices' attack on Thebes, ix. 27; proposed retreat of Persians to Thebes, ix. 58; Theban valour on Persian side, ix. 67; surrender of Thebes to Greek army, ix. 86-88
Themis, a deity in Greece but not in Egypt, i. 50
Themiscyra, on the S. coast of the Euxine, breadth of the sea measured thence, iv. 86
Themison, a Theraean trader, his bargain with Etearchus of Crete, iv. 154
Themistocles, his interpretation of the Delphic oracle given to Athens, vii. 143; his creation of the Athenian navy, vii. 144; in command of a force in Thessaly, vii. 173; bribery of Greeks to stay at Artemisium, viii. 4; his efforts to detach Ionians from Xerxes, viii. 19, 22; advice to Greeks to stay at Salamis, viii. 56-63; secret message to Persians, viii. 75; interview with Aristides, viii. 79, 80; exhortation before Salamis, viii. 83; meeting with Polycritus of Aegina, viii. 92; his policy after Salamis, secret message to Xerxes, and extortion of money from islanders, viii. 108-112; honours paid him by Greeks after Salamis, viii. 123-125
Theoclydes, an Athenian, viii. 65
Theodorus, a Samian artist, his work at Delphi, i. 51; for Polycrates, iii. 41

392
INDEX

Theomestor of Samos, his services to the Persians at Salamis, viii. 85; despot of Samos, ix. 90
Theophania, a festival at Delphi, i. 51
Theopompus, a Spartan king, viii. 131
Thera, one of the Cyclades, once called Calliste, iv. 147; its original settlement, ib.; reason of its sending a colony to Libya, iv. 151; story of Battus of Thera, iv. 155; Theraeans with Dorieus in Libya, v. 42
Therambos, a town in Pallene, vii. 123
Therapne, near Sparta, a temple of Helen there, vi. 61
Theras, a Cadmean of Sparta, his colonisation of Thera, iv. 147, 148
Thermopylae, description of the pass, vii. 176, 198–200; story of the battle, vii. 210–225; visit of Persian forces to the field of Thermopylae, ix. 24, 25 (other mentions in viii. and ix. refer to the battle)
Theron, despot of Acragas, his expulsion of Terillus from Himera, vii. 165; victory with Gelon over Carthaginian confederacy, vii. 166
Thersandrus, (1) son of Polynices, ancestor of Theras, iv. 147, vi. 52. (2) A man of Orchomenus, his presence at a Persian banquet at Thebes, ix. 16
Theseus, his abduction of Helen into Attica, ix. 73
Thesmophoria, a Greek festival in honour of Demeter, in Attica in the autumn, ii. 171; its celebration by Ephesian women, vi. 16
Thespia, a town in Boeotia, burnt by the Persians, viii. 50; Thespians allies of Thebans, v. 79; their refusal to submit to Xerxes, vii. 132; their steadfastness at Thermopylae, vii. 202, 222, 226; Sicinnus made a Thespian, viii. 75; Thespians in Pausanias’ army, ix. 30
Thesprotians, in N.W. Greece, neighbours of the Ampraciots, viii. 47; their practice of necromancy, v. 92; Thessalians from Thesprotia, vii. 176
Thessaly, Pelasgians formerly there, i. 57; Darius’ European tribute from nations east of it, iii. 96, vii. 108; Thessalian allies of Pisistratus, v. 63; Lacedaemonian invasion of Thessaly, vi. 72; Aleuadae of Thessaly at Xerxes’ court, vii. 6; description of Thessaly, vii. 129; its submission to Xerxes,
INDEX

vii. 132; Greek force there, vii. 172, 173; danger to Phocis from Thessalians, vii. 191, 215; Xerxes' march through it, vii. 196; Thessalian cavalry inferior to Asiatic, ib.; defeats of Thessalians by Phocians, and Thessalian revenge, viii. 27–32; Mardonius in Thessaly, viii. 113, 133; Thessalians in his army, ix. 31; Artabazus in Thessaly, ix. 89 (other less important reff.)

Thessalus, a Spartan companion of Dorieus, v. 46

Theste, a spring in Libya, defeat there of Egyptians by Cyrenaeans, iv. 159

Thetis, Magian sacrifice to her to abate a storm, vii. 191

Thmuite province of Egypt, inhabited by one of the warrior tribes, ii. 166

Thoas, king of Lemnos, killed by women, vi. 138

Thon, of Egypt, referred to in the Odyssey, ii. 116

Thonis, warder of the Nile mouth, his reception of Paris, ii. 113

Thorax, an Aleuad of Larissa, his support of Mardonius, ix. 1; Mardonius' address to him, ix. 58

Thoricus, a deme of Attica, near Sunium, iv. 99

Thornax, a mountain in Laconia, Apollo's temple there, i. 69

Thrace, Phocaean migration thither, i. 168; conquest by Sesostris, ii. 163; Thracian contempt of peaceful occupations, ii. 167; Thracian rivers, iv. 49; use of hemp there, iv. 74; Darius in Thrace, iv. 89–93; population and customs of Thrace, v. 3–8; Histiaeus there, v. 23; Aristagoras killed by Thracians, v. 126; their attack on Mardonius, vi. 45; Thrace conquered by Mysians and Teucrians, vii. 20; Persian supremacy, vii. 106; Xerxes' route through Thrace, vii. 110; reverence of Thracians for road of Xerxes' army, vii. 115; Thracians in his army, vii. 185; Thracian theft of Xerxes' chariot, viii. 115; Artabazus' retreat harassed by Thracians, ix. 89; human sacrifice there, ix. 119

Thracians of Asia (Bithynians), their conquest by Croesus, i. 28; tribute to Persia, iii. 90; in Xerxes' army, vii. 75; their former migration from Thrace into Asia, ib.

Thrasybulus, despot of Miletus, his deception of Alyattes, i. 20–23; advice to Periander of Corinth, v. 92

Thrasycharis, a Samian ix. 90

Thrasydeius, an Aleuad of Larissa, Mardonius' address to him, ix. 58

Thrasyxalus, an Athenian, vi. 114

Thriasian plain, near Eleusis in Attica, Dicaeus' vision there,
INDEX

viii. 65; recommended as a battle-field by the Athenians, ix. 7
Thyia, legendary daughter of Cephisus, altar of the winds erected in her precinct (also called Thyia) at Delphi, vii. 178
Thyni, named with Bithyni as "Thracians" in Asia, i. 28
Thyreae, a town taken from the Argives by the Lacedaemonians, i. 82; Cleomenes and his army there, vi. 76
Thyssagetae, a people N.E. of Scythia, living by hunting, iv. 22, 123
Thyssus, a town in the peninsula of Athos, vii. 22
Tiarantus, a northern tributary of the Danube, iv. 48
Tibareni, a people on the S. coast of the Euxine, their tribute to Persia, iii. 94; in Xerxes' army, vii. 78
Tibasis, a southern tributary of the Danube, iv. 49
Tigranes, son of Artabanus, an officer in Xerxes' army, vii. 62; his dictum about the Olympian games, viii. 26 (unless "Tritantaechmes" be the right reading); his personal beauty, ix. 96; his death at Mycale, ix. 102
Tigris, the river, i. 189; junction with the Euphrates by a canal, i. 193; Ninus on it, ii. 150; v. 52; Ampe on it, vi. 20
Timagenides, a Theban, his advice to Mardonius, ix. 38; his surrender and execution, ix. 86
Timagoras, a Cyprian, vii. 98
Timandrus, a Theban, ix. 69
Timaretu, a priestess at Dodona, ii. 55
Timasitheus, a Delphian ally of Isagoras at Athens, his reputation as a fighter, v. 72
Timesius of Clazomenae, his settlement at Abdera, i. 168
Timo, a priestess at Paros, her attempted betrayal of a temple to Miltiades, and subsequent acquittal, vi. 134, 135
Timodemus of Aphidnae, his attack on Themistocles, viii. 125
Timon, a Delphian, his advice to the Athenians about an oracle, vii. 141
Timoxenus of Scione, his attempted betrayal of Potidaeans, viii. 128
Tiryns, in Argolis, a battle near it between Argos and Sparta, vi. 77; occupied by the Argives' slaves, vi. 83; Tirynthians in Pausanias' army, ix. 28, 31
Tisamenus, (1) an Elean diviner in the service of the Spartans, his five victories, ix. 33–35. (2) A Theban, grandson of Polynices, iv. 147, vi. 52

395
INDEX

Tisandrus, (1) an Athenian, father of Isagoras, v. 63. (2) An Athenian, father of Hippoclides, vi. 127
Tisias, a Parian, vi. 133
Titatus, a legendary Athenian, his betrayal of Aphidnae, ix. 73
Tithaeus, a cavalry officer in Xerxes’ army, vii. 88
Tithorea, a peak of Parnassus, retreat of Delphians thither, viii. 32
Titormus, an Aetolian, his strength and solitary habits, vi. 127
Tmolus, a gold-producing mountain in Lydia, near Sardis, i. 84, 93, v. 100
Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, her proposal to the invading Persians, i. 205, 206; her victory over Cyrus and revenge for her son, i. 212–214
Torone, a town in Chalcidice, on the Sithonian peninsula, vii. 22, 122
Trachis, the coastal region closed to the E. by Thermopylae, several unimportant ref. to it, vii. 175–226; its town of the same name, vii. 199; Xerxes’ passage from Trachis into Doris, viii. 31
Trapezus (later Trebizond), a town on the S.E. coast of the Euxine, vi. 127
Traspies, a Scythian tribe, iv. 6
Trausi, a Thracian tribe, v. 3
Travus, a river in Thrace flowing into the Bistonian lake, vii. 109
Triballic plain (in modern Serbia), iv. 49
Triopian promontory, S.W. point of Asia Minor, i. 174, iv. 37; temple of Apollo there, i. 144
Tritaea, a town in Achaea, i. 145
Tritantaechmes, (1) a Persian, son of Artabazus, his governorship of Assyria, i. 192. (2) A Persian, one of the generals of Xerxes’ army, vii. 82, 121
Triteae, a Phocian town burnt by the Persians, viii. 33
Triton, (1) a deity of the sea, his guidance of Jason, iv. 179; his cult in Libya, iv. 188. (2) An alleged river in Libya, flowing into the “Tritonid lake,” iv. 178; the lake itself, ib., and iv. 186 (neither river nor lake is identified)
Trooezen, in Argolis, entrusted with the island of Hydrea, iii. 59; mother-city of Halicarnassus, vii. 99; its contingent in the Greek fleet, viii. 1, 43; in the force at the Isthmus, viii. 72; in Pausanias’ army, ix. 28, 31; Troezenians in the battle of Mycale, ix. 102, 105
INDEX

Trogloodytae (cave-dwellers), an Ethiopian tribe, their habits, iv. 183

Trophonius, a Boeotian god or hero, his oracular shrine consulted by Croesus, i. 46, by Mardonius, viii. 134

Troy and the Troad, v. 26, 122, vii. 43; Trojan war, ii. 120, 145, vii. 20, 171, ix. 27; settlements of dispersed Trojans, iv. 191, v. 13, vii. 91

Tydeus, father of Diomedes, his slaying by Melanippus, v. 67

Tymnes, (1) vice-gerent of Ariapithes king of Scythia, his story of Anacharsis, iv. 76. (2) A Carian, father of Histiaeus of Termera, v. 37

Tyndareus, father of Helen, ii. 112

Tyndaridae (Castor and Polydeuces), their voyage in the Argo, iv. 145; their images with Lacedaemonian armies, v. 75; their recovery of Helen from Attica, ix. 73

Typhon (or Typhos), identified with the Egyptian Set, his search for Horus, ii. 156; Horus' victory, and banishment of Typhon to the Serbonian lake, ii. 144, iii. 5

Tyras, a Scythian river (Dniester), iv. 47; Cimmerian graves by it, iv. 11; its source, iv. 51; mark of Heracles' foot on its bank, iv. 82

Tyre, abduction of Europa thence, i. 2; temple of Heracles there, ii. 44; Tyrian settlement at Memphis, ii. 112; war between Egypt and Tyre, ii. 161; Tyrian king with Xerxes, viii. 67

Tyrodiza, a town near Perinthus, Xerxes’ commissariat there, vii. 25

Tyrseni (Tyrrenians, Etruscans), in central Italy, their Pelasgian neighbours, i. 57; their Lydian origin, i. 94; Tyrrenian sea discovered by Phocaeans, i. 163; Tyrrenian attack on Phocaeans, i. 166; Tyrrenia a synonym for Italy, vi. 22

Tyrsenus, leader of the Lydian settlement in Italy, i. 94

Utii, a tribe on the Persian gulf, their tribute to Persia, iii. 93; in Xerxes' army, vii. 68

Xanthes, a Samian, his bringing of Rhodopis to Egypt, ii. 135

Xanthippus, an Athenian, father of Pericles, vi. 131; his impeachment of Miltiades, vi. 136; Athenian general after Salamis, vii. 33, viii. 131; in command on the Hellespont, ix. 114, 120

397
INDEX

Xanthus, a town in Lycia, resistance of the Xanthians to the Persians, and their defeat, i. 176
Xenagoras, of Halicarnassus, made governor of Cilicia for saving the life of Masistes, ix. 107
Xerxes: for mentions of him as leader of the Persian forces in the invasion of Greece, see the tables of contents in Introductions to Vols. III and IV of this translation. Principal references to Xerxes personally: his execution of a Babylonian priest, i. 183; of Sataspes, iv. 43; succession to the throne, vii. 2, 3; his council, and colloquies with Artabanus, vii. 8–18; treatment of Pythius, vii. 27, 28, 38, 39; scourging of the Hellespont, vii. 35; further colloquy with Artabanus, vii. 46–52; with Demaratus, vii. 101–104, 209, 234–237; Xerxes' visit to the Peneus, vii. 128–130; generosity to two Spartans, vii. 136; his personal beauty, vii. 187; vengeance on the dead Leonidas, vii. 238; advice given to Xerxes by Artemisia, viii. 68, 69; Xerxes a spectator of the battle of Salamis, viii. 88, 90; his council of war after the battle, viii. 100–102; his fear of the Greeks, viii. 203; story of his danger of shipwreck in his return, viii. 118, 119; his passion for his brother's wife and her daughter, and its consequences, ix. 108–113
Xuthus, a legendary hero, father of Ion, vii. 94, viii. 44

Zacynthus, west of Greece, description of a pool there, iv. 195; Demaratus' escape there, vi. 70; intended expulsion of Zacynthians by Samians, iii. 59; death of Hegesistratus in Zacynthus, ix. 37
Zalmoxis, see Salmoxis.
Zancle (later Messene, modern Messina), its seizure by Samians, vi. 23, vii. 164; attack by Hippocrates of Gela, vii. 154
Zaueces, a tribe in western Libya, iv. 193
Zeus, i. 65, 89, 131, 174, 207, ii. 13, 116, 136, 146, iii. 124, vi. 67, vii. 56, 61, 141, 221, viii. 77, ix. 122; connected with some particular place or function (Zeus Lacedaemon, Zeus Catharsius, etc.), i. 44, 171, ii. 55, 178, iii. 142, iv. 203, v. 46, 66, 119, vi. 56, 68, vii. 141, 197, ix. 7, 81; identified with foreign deities, i. 46, 131, 181–183, ii. 18, 32, 29, 42, 54, 55, 56, 74, 83, 143, iii. 158, iv. 5, 59, 127, 180, 181, vii. 40
Zeuxidemus, son of Leutychides, king of Sparta, his early death, vi. 71
Zopyrus, (1) a Persian, son of Megabyzus, his pretended desertion to the Babylonians, and delivery of Babylon to Darius, iii. 398
INDEX

153–159; Darius' esteem for him, iii. 160; rape of his daughter, iv. 43. (2) Grandson of the above, his migration from Persia to Athens, iii. 160
Zoster (Girdle), a promontory on the coast of Attica, rocks near it taken for ships by the Persians, viii. 107
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