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HERODOTUS

III
HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

BOOKS V—VII

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

Ch. 1–16. Megabazus' conquests in Europe.
Ch. 23–27. Histiaeus of Miletus at the Persian court; Otanes' conquests in N.W. Asia Minor and the neighbourhood.
Ch. 28–38. Troubles at Miletus and Naxos; Aristagoras' temporary alliance with Artaphrenes, and its breach; Aristagoras instigated by Histiaeus to revolt.
Ch. 39–48. Story of Anaxandrides king of Sparta and his sons Cleomenes and Dorieus. Dorieus' death in Sicily; Cleomenes king of Sparta.
Ch. 49–51. Aristagoras' unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Spartan alliance; his map of Asia.
Ch. 52–54. Description of the "Royal Road" from Ephesus to Susa.
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Ch. 55–96. Aristagoras' visit to Athens; a long digression on Athenian history.
[Ch. 55–61. The death of Hipparchus; origin of the Gephyraei by whom he was killed.
Ch. 62–65. Expulsion of the Pisistratidae, by Lacedaemonian help.
Ch. 66–69. Reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens, on the model of those effected by an elder Cleisthenes at Sicyon.
Ch. 70–73. Counter-revolution organised by Isagoras with Lacedaemonian help; its failure; Athenian embassy to Persia, without result.
Ch. 74–78. Joint attack on Athens by Lacedaemonians, Boeotians, and Chalcidians; its repulse.
Ch. 79–89. Alliance of Thebes and Aegina against Athens; former feud between Athens and Aegina, arising out of relations between Athens and Epidaurus.
Ch. 90, 91. Debate among the Spartans and their allies, as to restoring Hippias at Athens.
Ch. 92. Protest of the Corinthians against this; story of the Cypselid dynasty at Corinth.
Ch. 93–96. Hippias' retirement to Sigeum; story of how Sigeum had originally been occupied by the Athenians; Hippias' appeal to Persia for protection, leading to a final breach between Persia and Athens.]
Ch. 97, 98. Aristagoras' success in obtaining Athenian help. Escape of the Paeonians from Asia, at his instigation.
Ch. 99–102. Sardis attacked and burnt by Athenians and Ionians; their subsequent retreat.
Ch. 103, 104. Spread of the revolt in Caria and Cyprus.
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Ch. 105–107. Histiaeus’ mission from Susa to Ionia, on pretence of dealing with the revolt.
   Ch. 108–115. War in Cyprus; battles by sea and land; Cyprus reduced by the Persians.
   Ch. 116–123. Persian victories in western Asia Minor.
   Ch. 124–126. Flight and death of Aristagoras.

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


Ch. 37–43. Route of the army from Sardis to
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Abydos; Pythius' request, and its punishment; the order of march.
Ch. 44–56. Review of the fleet and army at Abydos. Xerxes' conversation with Artabanus. Passage of the Hellespont.
Ch. 57–60. From the Hellespont to Doriscus; the numbering of the army.
Ch. 61–99. Catalogue and description of the national contingents composing Xerxes' army and fleet.
Ch. 100–107. Xerxes' review of his forces at Doriscus; his conversation with Demaratus; notice of some of the governors left by Xerxes in charge of Thracian towns.
Ch. 108–121. Route of the army and fleet from Doriscus to Acanthus. How the army was fed.
Ch. 122–126. From Acanthus to Therma.
Ch. 127–131. Xerxes' excursion to Tempe in Thessaly.
Ch. 132–137. Reception in Greece of proposals sent by Xerxes to Greek states. Vengeance alleged to be taken by Talthybius on the Lacedaemonians for their killing of ambassadors; story of Sperthias and Bulis.
Ch. 138–144. Athens' services in the cause of Greek freedom. Oracles given to the Athenians; decision to increase their fleet, on the advice of Themistocles.
Ch. 145–147. General reconciliation among Greeks; their despatch of spies to Sardis; Xerxes' generosity in dealing with these.
Ch. 148–152. Dubious attitude of Argos and Herodotus' reflections thereon.
Ch. 153–167. Greek mission to Sicily. History of xii
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the rise of Gelon. His negotiations with the Greek envoys. Despatch of Cadmus. Victory of Gelon and Theron over the Carthaginians in Sicily.

Ch. 168. Dubious attitude of Corecyra.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 213–218. Flank movement of a Persian force over the hills, guided by Epialtes.
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Ch. 219–225. Withdrawal of part of the Greek force by Leonidas' order. Final battle; annihilation of the Lacedaemonians and Thespians.

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

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

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

Among the highly miscellaneous data for internal Greek history of which Books V and VI are composed, those portions are especially interesting which give an account of governmental changes in the Hellenic world. Here we have the first beginnings of constitutional history. The period to which Herodotus' narrative generally refers was a time of transition. Those old vague kingships which existed in the Homeric age had passed away; the powers of ruling βασιλέας had passed mostly into the hands of some sort of oligarchy, whether based on wealth or birth. The relations between these and the unprivileged weaker population produced the economic disorders of the seventh century; and different states solved their problems in different ways. Sometimes the fall of an unpopular oligarchy or group of privileged families was brought about by the establishment of "despotism," some member of the hitherto powerful caste making himself master of the situation by a coup d'état, with or without the support of the unprivileged; thus the rule of the Battiaae at Corinth gave place to the "tyranny"
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of the Cypselid dynasty. But despotism was for the most part—at least in Greece Proper—only an interlude. Judged by its works, it became more unpopular than the oligarchical rule which it had displaced; the general estimate of it was that an irresponsible ruler was probably a criminal, and that unchecked power meant the gratification of the worst passions of humanity. It is true that as despotism decayed in Greece Proper, it took a fresh leave of life in the west, where it was justified by its practical utility. The benevolent despotism of Gelo in Sicily was praised as much as the malevolent despotism of Periander at Corinth was condemned; in neither case was there any theoretical objection to an unconstitutional usurper—the system was not judged on any à priori grounds, but simply on the record of the particular τυράννος. Periander was a mere oppressor, Gelo was an Augustus of Syracuse, whose magnificence impressed even the sternest champions of “freedom,” and whose services to the Hellenic world against the Semites of Africa, and the wild tribes of the west, were of proved efficacy.

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

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

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

So much of fiction there is, obviously; but the trustworthiness of the narrative, apart from these additamenta, has not been seriously assailed. Very many details in this part of Herodotus’ history lend themselves to speculation and controversy. He may exaggerate to the Persian numbers; it is natural that he should. He may lend too ready an ear to legend. But modern research has not detracted from his general credibility. It is not too much to
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say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable. The story of Marathon is very briefly told, and it has been left for moderns to fill in what was lacking or explain what brevity makes obscure; but the full and detailed description of Thermopylae is verifiable to-day. Of course one cannot argue with certainty from such instances to the credibility of everything. But they are at least encouraging; and make any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of a priori probability.
HERODOTUS

BOOK V
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Ε

1. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλείψαντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἦρχε, πρῶτος μὲν Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἰναι Δαρείου κατεστρέψαντο, περιεβαίνεντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παιόνων τρηχεῖς. οἱ γὰρ ὁπὸ Στρυμόνος Παιόνες χρήσαντο τοῦ θεοῦ στασίνθεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίων, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμεθα ἐπικαλέσωμαι σφέας ὁι Περινθίοι ὀνομασία βωσάντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωμαι, μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐποίειον οἱ Παιόνες ταύτα. ἀντικατιζόμενων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα μονομαχὴ τριφασικὴ ἐκ προκλήσεως σφί ἐγένετο· καὶ ἂν ἄνδρα ἄνδρι καὶ ἢππον ἢππῳ συνέβαλον καὶ κύνα κυνί. νυκώντοι δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παιόνες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ εἰπᾶν κοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς· "Νῦν ἂν εἰή ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεσμένος ἡμῖν, νῦν ἡμέτερον ἐργον." οὕτω τοῖς Περινθίοις παιωνίσασι ἐπιχειρεῦοι οἱ Παιόνες, καὶ πολλὸν τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπον σφέων ὀλίγους.
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BOOK V

1. Those Persians whom Darius had left in Europe, under the command of Megabazus, finding the Perinthians unwilling to be Darius' subjects, subdued them before any others of the people of the Hellespont. These Perinthians had already been roughly handled by the Paeonians. For the Paeonians from the Strymon had been bidden by an oracle of their god to march against Perinthus, and if the Perinthians being encamped over against them should call to them, crying out their name, then to attack them, but, if there were no such call, then not to attack. Thus the Paeonians did; and the Perinthians being encamped in front of their city, the armies challenged each other to a threefold duel, wherein man was matched against man, horse against horse, and dog against dog. The Perinthians won the victory in two of the combats and raised the cry of "Paean" in their joy. The Paeonians reasoned that this was that whereof the oracle spoke; they said to each other, as I suppose, "This is surely the fulfilment of the prophecy; now here is work for us"; and with that, the Perinthians having cried "Paean," the Paeonians set upon them and won a great victory, leaving few of their enemies alive.
2. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παιῶνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὡδε ἐγένετο· τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περσικῶν οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πληθεί. ὡς δὲ ἐχειρώθη ἡ Περσίδος, ἤλαυνε Μεγάβαζος τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ὀρηκῆς, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεί. ταύτα γὰρ οἱ ἐνετέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Ὀρηκῆς καταστρέφον ἑαυτὰ.

3. Ὀρηκίων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστον ἐστὶ μετὰ γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ’ ἐνὸς ἄρχοντο ἡ φρονέοι κατὰ τούτο, ἀμαχὸν τ’ ἄν εἰχ’ καὶ πολλ’ κράτιστον πάντων ἔδειρεν κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τούτῳ ἀποροῦν σφι καὶ ἁμήχανοι μὴ κοτε ἐγγένηται, εἰσὶ δὴ κατὰ τούτῳ ἀσθενείς. οὐνόματα δ’ ἔχουσι πολλὰ κατὰ χώρας ἑκαστοί, νόμοισι δὲ οὕτω παραπλησίοισι πάντες χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν καὶ τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων οἰκεούτων.

4. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ ἄθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἰρήται μοι· Τραυσὸι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ὀρήκις ἐπίτελεύσι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν γινόμενον σφι καὶ ἀπογινόμενον ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· τὸν μὲν γενόμενον περιζόμενον οἱ προσήκοντες ὁλοφύρονται, ὡσα μὲν δὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἀναπλήσαι κακὰ, ἀνηγεόμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπόματα πάντα πάθεα· τὸν δ’ ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντες τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι γῆς κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεῖσι ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ.

5. Οἱ δὲ κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. ἔχει γυναῖκας ἑκαστὸς πολλὰ· ἐπεισὶ ὡν τις
BOOK V. 2–5

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

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

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

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

\footnote{IV. 94.}
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αὐτῶν ἀποθάνη, κρίσις γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαὶ ἱσχυραὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἢτις αὐτέων ἐφιλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρός· ἢ δὲ ἀν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐγκωμιασθεὶσα ὑπὸ τε ἄνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν σφάξεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκημοτάτου ἑωυτῆς, σφαχθεὶσα δὲ συνθάπτεται τῷ ἄνδρι. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι συμφορὴν μεγάλην ποιεῖν
tau· ὀνειδὸς γὰρ σφὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

6. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηκίων ἔστι δὲ νόμος·
pωλεῖσθαι τὰ τέκνα ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγή, τὰς δὲ παρθένους
οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ’ ἐὼσι τοῖς αὐταὶ βούλονται
ἄνδραίς μίσηςθαι· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυ-
λάσσουσι καὶ ὀνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν
gυνέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχαι
εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δὲ ἀστίκτον ἀγεννές· ἀργὸν
ἐῖναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμώτατον· τὸ
ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληστύσας κάλλιστον.

7. Οὕτως μὲν σφέων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι
eἰσί, θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούνον τούσδε, Ἀρεα καὶ
Δίνυσον καὶ Ἀρτεμίν. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν,
pάρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτέων, σέβονται Ἕρμην
μᾶλιστα θεῶν, καὶ ὀμνύοννε μοῦνον τοῦτον, καὶ
λέγουσιν γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἕρμεώ ἑωυτοῦς.

8. Ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ ἀδε·
tρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας πρωτὶ πρωτοῦ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ παν-
tοία σφάξαντες ἱρῆνα εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες
πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες κὴ
ἄλλως γῆ κρύψαντες, χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἁγώνα
tιθείσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀεθλὰ τίθεται.
at his death there is great rivalry among his wives, and eager contention on their friends’ part, to prove which wife was best loved by her husband; and she to whom the honour is adjudged is praised by men and women, and then slain over the tomb by her nearest of kin, and after the slaying she is buried with the husband. The rest of the wives take this sorely to heart, deeming themselves deeply dishonoured.

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

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

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

1 Herodotus as usual identifies foreign with Greek deities: v. How and Wells ad loc.
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κατὰ λόγου μονομαχίας. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρήκεων εἰσὶ αἰδέ.

9. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέω τῆς χώρης ἔτι ταῦτης οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐτίνες εἰσὶ ἀνθρω-

ποι οἰκέοντες αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἡδη τοῦ Ἰστρου ἔρημος χώρη φαίνεται ἐόυσα καὶ ἀπειρο.

μοῦνος δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώπους τοὺς οὐνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας,

ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρωμένους Μηδίκης τοὺς δὲ Ἰπποὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε

dακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ

σιμοὺς καὶ ἀδυνάτους ἀνδρας φέρειν, ξενυμένους

dὲ ύπ' ἄρματα εἶναι ἄντιτάτους ἀρματηλατέειν

dὲ πρὸς τάκτα τοὺς ἐπιχώρους. κατῆκεν δὲ τού-

των τοὺς οὕρους ἀγχοῦ Ἑνετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρία.

εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγοντι. ὅκως

dὲ συτοι Μήδων ἀποίκου γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ

ἐχω ἐπιφράσασθαι, γένειτο δὲ ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ

μακρῷ χρόνῳ. σιγύννας δὲ ἄν καλέσουι Δήνυμεν

οἱ ἄνω υπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκέοντες τοὺς κατῆλους,

Κύπροι δὲ τὰ δόρατα.

10. Ὡς δὲ Θρήκεως λέγοντι, μέλισσαι κατέχοντι

tὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου, καὶ ὑπὸ τουτεὼν οὐκ εἶναι

dιελθεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα λέ-

γοντες δοκέοντι λέγειν οὐκ οἰκότα τὰ γὰρ ξώα

tαῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσρηγα. ἀλλὰ μοῦ τὰ ὑπὸ

tὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκεῖ εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχεα.

tαῦτα μὲν νῦν τῆς χώρης ταύτης πέρι λέγεται: τὰ

παραθελάσσια δ' ὁν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος Περσέων

cατῆκοι ἐποίειε.

11. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὃς διαβᾶς τάχιστα τῶν Ἑλ-

λήστουν ἀπικετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐμνήσθη τῆς ἔξ
of single combat. Such are the Thracian funeral rites.

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

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

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

¹ Strabo says much the same of the Sigynni, according to him a Caucasian tribe.
² Cp. IV. 143.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

'Ιστιαίον τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς παρανέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώσω, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ σφέας ἐς Σάρδις ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς αἴρεσιν. οὐ μὲν δὴ Ἰστιαίος, ἀτε τυραννεύον τῆς Μιλήτου, τυραννίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσεχρήζε, αἰτεῖ δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδωρων, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὐτος μεν δὴ ταύτην αἴρεται, ὃ δὲ Κώσης, οἷς τε οὐ τύραννοι δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτεῖ Μυτιλήνης τυραννεύσαι.

12. Τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρωσι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἰ'λοντο ἐτράποντο, Δαρείου δὲ συνήπεικε πρήγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάξῳ Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπάστος ποίησαι ὡς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ἦν Πίγρης καὶ Μαντύης ἄνδρες Παίονες, οἱ ἐπείτε Δαρείος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παίονος τυραννεύειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι ἄδελφες μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα. φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρείου προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε: σκευάσαντες τὴν ἄδελφην ὡς εἴχον ἀρίστα, ἐπὶ ὕδωρ ἐπέμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἤχουσαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππου ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσαν λίνων. ὡς δὲ παρεξήμενε ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπιμελεῖς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λύδια τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐδαμῶν. ἐπιμελεῖς δὲ ὃς οἱ ἐγένεσθαι, τῶν δορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ ἵππῳ ἡ γυνή. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὁπίσθε εἰπόντο· ἢ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἢς τὸν ἵππον, ἀρσάσα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὑδατος ἐμπλησμένη τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον παρεξῆμε, φέρουσα
done him by Histiaeus of Miletus and the counsel of Coes the Mytilenean; and he sent for them to come to Sardis and offered them the choice of what they would. Then Histiaeus, seeing that he was despot of Miletus, desired no further sovereignty than that, but asked for Myrcinus in the Edonian land, that he might there build a city. This was Histiaeus' choice; but Coes, inasmuch as he was no despot but a plain citizen, asked that he might be made despot of Mytilene.

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

1 A district rich in timber and precious metals; cp. 23.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

tο ύδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἑπέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ
βραχίωνος τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρα-
κτον.

13. Ὡμάξων δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τά τε ἦκουσε ἐκ τῶν
κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὧρα, ἀγείν αὐτῆς ἐκέ-
λευε ἐσωτῷ ἐς ὑψίν. ὡς δὲ ἀχθη, παρῆσαν καὶ
οἱ ἀδελφεὶς αὐτῆς οὗ κη πρόσω σκοπὴν ἐξουστε
τοῦτων. εἰρωτῶντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὑποδαπῆ ἐιή,
ἐφασαν οἱ νευνσκοὶ εἶναι Παῖονες καὶ εἰκεῖνη
εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφείς. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ
Παίονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ
tί κεῖνοι ἐθέλουσε ἐλθοιειν ἐς Σάρδης. οὗ δὲ οἱ
ἐφράζον ὡς ἐλθοιειν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι ἰδόντες σφέας
αὐτῶν, εἰὴ δὴ Ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ
πεπολισμεῖν, ὁ δὲ Στρυμόνων οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ἑλλη-
σπόντου, εἶσαν δὲ Τενερῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀπο-
κοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκάστα ἐλεγον, δὲ δὲ εἰρῶτα
εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες εἴησαν οὕτω
ἐργάτιδες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφασαν προθύμως
οὗτο ἐχεῖν αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὅν τοῦτο εἶνεκα καὶ
ἐποιεύτο.

14. Ἑνθαύτα Δαρείος γράφει γράμματα Μεγα-
βάζῳ, τὸν ἐλπίς εἰς τῇ Ὀρηκὴ στρατηγόν, ἐντελ-
λόμενος ἐξαναστήσαις εἰς ἡδέων Παῖονας καὶ παρ.’
ἐωντὸν ἄγαγειν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἰππεύς ἔθεε
φέρων τὴν ἀγγελίνην ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήσποντον, πε-
ραιουθεὶς δὲ διδοὶ τὸ βυθλίον τῶ Μεγαβάζῳ. δὲ
ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς
Ὀρηκῆς ἐστρατευότο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιονίην.

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

13. Marvelling at what he heard from his watchers and what he saw for himself, Darius bade the woman be brought before him. When she was brought, her brothers, who watched all this from a place near by, came too; and Darius asking of what nation she were, the young man told him that they were Paeonians, and she their sister. "But who," he answered, "are the Paeonians, and where dwell they, and with what intent are you come to Sardis?" They showed him, that they were come to be his men; that the towns of Paeonia were on the Strymon, a river not far from the Hellespont; and that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy. So they told him all this; and the king asked them if all the women of their country were as notable workers. To this too they very readily answered (for it was for this very purpose that they had come), that it was indeed so.

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

15. When the Paeonians learnt that the Persians were coming against them, they gathered themselves
θαλάσσης, δοκέοντες ταύτη ἐπιχειρήσειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παίονες ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ τῶν Μεγαβάζου στρατοῦ ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συμαλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τὴν ἁγῶ ὀδὸν τράπονται, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἔσπεττουσὶ ἐς τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶν ἔνασας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οὐδὲ κεκυμῆτο ἐπιτεσόντες εὐπτέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παίονες ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλιας, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ᾽ ἑσυχίας ἐκαστῶς ἐτράποντο καὶ παρεδόσαν σφέας αὐτῶς τοῖς Πέρσαις. οὖτω δὴ Παίονων Σιρισταῖοις τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης ἐξ ἱθέων ἔξοικες ἐστάντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

16. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὅρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγρίανας καὶ Ὀδομάντων ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα οὐκ ἔχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου· ἐπειρήσθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὁδε. ἦκριν ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξενγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἐστήκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἐσοδὼν ἐκ τῆς ἤπειρου στεινῆν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφυρήν. τούς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεὼτας τοῖς ἱκρίναι τὸ μὲν κοῦ ἁρχαῖον ἐστησαν κοινὰ πάντες οἱ πολίται, μετὰ δὲ νόμῳ χρεὼμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιό̇δε· κομίζοντες ἐξ ὄρεως τῷ ὀξύμα ἐστὶ Ὀρβῆλας, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησον ἀγεται δὲ ἐκαστος συχνᾶς

1 Stein brackets καὶ Δοβ. καὶ Ἀγρ. καὶ Ὀδ.; and certainly it is not reasonable to speak of Paonians living near the Doberes and Agrianes, who are themselves Paonians.

14
BOOK V. 15-16

together and marched away to the sea, thinking that the Persians would essay to attack them by that way. So the Paeonians were ready to stay the onset of Megabazus' army; but the Persians, learning that the Paeonians had gathered their forces and were guarding the sea-coast way into their country, got them guides and marched instead by the highland road, whereby they took the Paeonians unawares and won entrance into their cities, which were left without men; and finding these empty at their onfall they easily gained them. The Paeonians, learning that their towns were taken, straightway broke and went each his own way and yielded themselves up to the Persians. Thus of the Paeonians the Siriopaeones and Paeoplae and all that dwell as far as the Prasiad lake were taken away from their homes and carried into Asia.

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

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

γυναικας. οικέοναι δε τοιούτων τρόπων, κρατέων ἐκαστὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν τῇ διαίτηται καὶ θύρῃς καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην. τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέονσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, µὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαινοντες. τοίσι δὲ ὑπονοι καὶ τοίσι ὑποζυγίωσι παρέχουσι χορτὸν ἵχθων. τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτο ὅστε, ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλῆν, κατεῖ σχοῖνῳ σπυρίδα κεινῆν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλὸν τινα χρόνου ἐπίσχων ἀνασπᾶ πλῆρει ἵχθων. τῶν δὲ ἵχθων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνας.

17. Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἠγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπτει ἄγγελους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν δοκιμῶ- τατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὕτωι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δα- ρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὑπερθέντον τούτων τάλαντων ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρῃς ἐκάστης ἐφότα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίη.

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

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

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

1 i.e. the country as extended by Alexander I. east of the Axios to the Strymon.
2 Apparently not far from the lower Strymon.


HERODOTUS

"Εἰς Ἕλληνας, ἡμῖν νόμος ἔστι τοῖς Πέρσαις, ἐπεὶ ἄστι προτειόμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακάς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναικὰς ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. οὐ γαρ, ἐπεὶ περὶ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξασθαι μεγάλως ἔξεις ἔτεις, διδόθη δὲ βασιλείᾳ Δαρείῳ γὰρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπει τὸ νόμῳ τῷ ἴμμετέρῳ." εἰπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύνθης "Ο Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν ἔστι τῷ οὐκ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν ἐπείτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἕοντες δεσπόται προσχρησθεὶς τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα." εἶπας τοσαύτα ὁ Ἀμύνθης μετεπέμπτε τὰς γυναίκας; αὐτὸ οὖν ἐπείτε καλεόμεναι ἤλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίας ἤξοντο τοῖς Πέρσαις. ἔνθατα οἱ Πέρσαι ἱδόμενοι γυναῖκες εὐμόρφους ἐλέγον πρὸς Ἀμύνθην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθαι μὴ ἔλθειν ἡμῶν γυναίκας ἡ ἐλθοῦσας καὶ μὴ παραπότισθαι ἀντίας ἤξονται ἄληθῶς σφίσι ὀφθαλμῶν. ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύνθης ἐκεῖθεν παρίζειν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτικὰ οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν τε ἀπτοτοῦ ὁλα πλεονεχον σινωμενοι, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ φιλεειν ἐπειράτο.

19. Ἀμύνθης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ῥόειν ἀτρέμας εἶχε, καίπερ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερθειμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύνθεω παρεώ τε καὶ ῥόεων ταῦτα, ἀτε νέοι τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθῆς, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἷος τε ἦν, ὡστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἴπε πρὸς Ἀμύνθην τάδε. "Ω Πάτερ, σὺ μὲν εἰκε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπίων τα ἀναπαύει, μηδὲ λιπαρῇ τῇ πόσῳ ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ δέ πάντα τὰ ἐπιτίθεαι παρέξω τοῦτι ξείνοισι." πρὸς ταῦτα συνεις Ἀμύνθης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήσσειν 18
our host, it is our Persian custom after the giving of any great banquet to bring in also the concubines and wedded wives to sit by the men. Do you then (since you have received us heartily and are nobly entertaining us, and are giving Darius our king earth and water) follow our custom.” To this Amyntas replied: “No such custom, Persians, have we ourselves; with us, men and women sit apart; but seeing that you are our masters and would have this too, it shall be as you desire.” With that, Amyntas sent for the women; they came at call, and sat down over against the Persians. Then the Persians, seeing comely women before them, spoke to Amyntas and said that there was no sense in what he had done; it were better (they said) that the women had never come at all than that they should come and not sit beside the men, but sit opposite them to torment their eyes. Amyntas then, as needs must, bade the women sit beside them; which when they did, at once the Persians, flushed as they were with excess of wine, laid hands on the women’s breasts, and one or another would essay to kiss them.

19. This Amyntas saw, but held his peace for all his anger, because he greatly feared the Persians. But Amyntas’ son Alexander, in his youth and ignorance of ill deeds, could by no means bear it longer, but said to Amyntas in great wrath: “My father, do you do as befits your age; leave us and take your rest, and continue not at the drinking; but I will stay here and give our guests all that is needful.” At this Amyntas saw that Alexander had some wild
μέλλοι ο Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει "Ὄε, ἰχθύανθος, σχεδόν γάρ σεν ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἔθελες ἐκπέμψας ποιείν τι νεώτερον ἐγώ ὡς σεν χρησίμως μηδέν νεοχμῶσαι κατ' ἀνδράς τούτους, ἵνα μὴ εξεργάσῃ ἠμέας, ἀλλὰ ἀνέχεις ὅρεων τα ποιεύμενα. ἅμφι δὲ ἀπόδῳ τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαι τοῖς.

20. Ἡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρησίας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ο Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας "Γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὡ κείνοι, ἔστι ύμιν πολλὴ εὑπετέη, καὶ εἰ πάσης βούλεσθε μισγέσθαι καὶ ὀκόσησι ὧν αὐτέων. τούτων μὲν πέρι αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέτευν ὑν δὲ, σχεδόν γάρ ἢδη τῆς κοίτης ὧρη προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἐχοντας ὑμέας ὁρῶ μέθης, γυναικας ταύτας, εἰ ύμιν φίλων ἐστὶ, ἀπετε λουσασθαι, λουσαμένας δὲ ὁπίσω προσδέκεσθε." εἶτας ταύτα, συνέπανοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναικας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικήν, αὐτῶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἵσους τῆς γυναικείας ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρας λειογενείους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθήτι σκευάς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοῦς ἦγε ἐσώ, παράγων δὲ τοῦτος ἔλεγε τοῖς Πέρσης τάδε. "Ὄε Πέρσαι, οἴκατε πανδαισίη τελεῖ ἱστιῆσθαι τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἴχομεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὅλα τε ἦν ἐξευρόνται παρέχειν, πάντα ύμιν πάρεστι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε το πάντων μέγιστον, τάς τε ἐσώτους μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφέας ἐπιδαψιλευόμεθα ύμιν, ὡς παντελέως μάθητε τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν περ ἔστε ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγέλητε ὡς ἂν ἤρθη Ἐλλην Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος εὐ ύμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ." ταύτα εἶτας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παρίζει Πέρση ἄνδρα ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα ὡς γυναίκα τῷ λόγῳ οὐ δὲ, 20
deed in mind, and, “My son,” he said, “you are angered, and if I guess your meaning aright you would send me away that you may do some violent deed; for my part, then, I entreat you—act not rashly by these men, lest you undo us, but bear patiently the sight of what they do. But if you would have me depart, to that I consent.”

20. Amyntas with this request having gone his ways, Alexander said to the Persians, “Sirs, you have full freedom to deal with these women, and may have intercourse with all or any of them. As to that, you will yourselves declare your pleasure; but now, as the hour of your rest draws nigh and I see that you are all well and truly drunk, suffer these women, so please you, to depart and wash; and when they have washed, look for them to come to you again.” Having so said, the Persians consenting thereto, he sent the women, when they had gone out, away to their apartment; Alexander then took as many smooth-chinned men as there were women and attired them in the women’s dress and gave them daggers; these he brought in, and so doing he said to the Persians: “Methinks, men of Persia, you have feasted to your hearts’ content; all that we had and all besides that we could find to give you has been set before you; and now we make you a free gift of our best and choicest possession, our own mothers and sisters. Learn thereby that we accord you the full meed of honour that you deserve, and tell your king who sent you how his Greek viceroy of Macedonia has received you hospitably to board and bed.” With that, Alexander made his Macedonians to sit each next to a Persian, as though they were women; and when the Persians began to
ἐπείτε σφέων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς.

21. Καὶ οὕτω τῷ μόρφῳ διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτῶν ἐπέτευ γὰρ δὴ σφί καὶ όχήματα καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευὴ πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἁμα πάσι ἐκείνοις ἡφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον ξήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγίνετο, καὶ σφεῖς Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφία, χρήματα τε δοὺς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἀδελφὴν τῇ υόνομα ἢν Γυναικὶ δοὺς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διηθμένων τους ἀπολομένους τῷ στρατηγῷ.

22. Ὁ μὲν νῦν τῶν Περσέων τοῦτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμβάνεις ἑσυγηθῇ. Ἐλληνας δὲ εἶναι τοῦτοις τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνων ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγωσι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἔλληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὄλυμπῃ διέποντες ἁγὸνα Ἐλληνοδίκαι οὕτω ἐγνωσαν εἰναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἀθηλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπʼ αὐτῷ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθεοσμενοὶ Ἐλλήνων ἐξεῖργον μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἁγωνιστέων εἰναι τὸν ἁγὸνα ἄλλα Ἐλλήνων Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἰ Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἰναι Ἐλλην καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρῶτῳ.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οὕτω κῇ ἐγένετο. Μεγαβαζὸς δὲ ἀγων τοὺς Παλονας ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντον εὐθεῖτεν διαπεραιωθείς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἡδὴ Ἰστιαιοῦ τοῦ
lay hands on them, they were despatched by the Macedonians.

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

22. Thus was the death of these Persians suppressed and hidden in silence. Now that these descendants of Perdiccas are Greeks, as they themselves say, I myself chance to know and will prove it in the later part of my history; and further, the Hellenodicae\(^1\) who have the ordering of the contest at Olympia determined that it is so. For when Alexander chose to contend and entered the lists for that purpose, the Greeks who were to run against him were for barring him from the race, saying that the contest should be for Greeks and not for foreigners; but Alexander proving himself to be an Argive, he was judged to be a Greek; so he contended in the furlong race and ran a dead heat for the first place.

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

\(^1\) Elean citizens, usually ten, who presided at the Olympic games.
HERODOTUS

Μιλησίου την παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἐτυχὲ μισθὸν ὄρασι φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδίας, ἔοντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μύρκινως, μαθὼν ὁ Μεγάβαζος τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιάιον, ὡς ἔλθη τάχιστα ἐσ τὰς Σάρδις ἄγων τοὺς Παύλονας, ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. "Ὤ βασιλευ, κοιοῦ τι χρήμα ἐποίησας, ἀνδρὶ Ἐλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δοὺς ἐγκύσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρήκῃ, ίνα ἰδῇ τε ναιπηγήσιμος ἐστὶ ἀφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπές καὶ μέταλλα ἄργυρα, ὅμως τε πολλὸς μὲν Ἐλλην περιοικεῖ εἰ πολλός δὲ βάρβαρος, οἵ προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ποιήσουσι τούτῳ τὸ ἀν κεῖνο σχετίζεται καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. σύ νυν τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα παύσουν ταῦτα ποιεύντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ συνεχῇ τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπῶ μεταπεμψάμενος παύσουν. ἔπειαν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃ, ποιεῖν ὅκως μηκέτι κεῖνος ἐσ "Ελληνας ἀπίζεται."

24. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως ἐπείθε Δαρείον ὡς εἰ προορῶν τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐς τὴν Μύρκινως ὁ Δαρείος ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς Ἰστιάιε, βασιλεύς Δαρείος τάδε λέγει. ἐγὼ φροντὶζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐμοὶ πρήγματ τι εἶναι οὐδένα σεῦ ἄνδρα εὔνε- στερον τούτῳ δὲ οὐ λόγοισι ἀλλ' ἐργοῖ οἶδα μαθών. νῦν δὲ, ἐπινοῶ γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα κατεγράσασθαι, ἀπίκεο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι." τούτοις τοῖς ἐπεί τις πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιάιος, καὶ ἰμα μέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλεός σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις· ἀπικομένω δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρείῳ τάδε. "Ὡς Ἰστιάιε, ἐγὼ σε μετεπεμψάμην τῶν δὲ εἴνεκεν. ἐπείτε τάχι-
BOOK V. 23–24

this time fortifying the place which he had asked of Darius as his reward for guarding the bridge (this was a place called Myrcinus by the river Strymon), Megabazus had learnt what Histiaeus was about, and no sooner had he come to Sardis with the Paeonians than he said to Darius: "Sire, what is this that you have done? You have given a clever and cunning Greek a city to build in Thrace, where are forests in plenty for ship-building, and much wood for oars, and mines of silver, and much people both Greek and foreign dwelling around, who when they have a champion to lead them will do all his behests by day or by night. Do you then stay this man from these his doings, lest you have a war on hand with your own subjects; but to this end bring him to you by gentle means; and when you have him safe, see to it that he never return to Hellas."

24. Darius was readily persuaded by this, for he thought that Megabazus foresaw the future aright; and presently he sent this message to Myrcinus: "These to Histiaeus from Darius the king:—My thoughts can show me no man who is a truer friend to me and mine; not words but deeds have proved this to me. Now therefore let nothing hinder you from coming to me, that I may disclose to you certain great purposes which I have in mind." Trusting these words, and proud, moreover, that he should be the king's counsellor, Histiaeus came to Sardis; and when he had come Darius said to him, "Histiaeus, I will tell you wherefore I sent for you.

25
HERODOTUS

στα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ σὺ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν καὶ ἀλλοχρήμα οὐτώ ἐν βραχεὶ ἐπεζήτησα ὡς σὲ ἰδεῖν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπίκε-σθαι, ἐγνωκὼς ὦτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμωτατον ἄνηρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὐνοος, τά τοι ἐγώ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδῶς ἐχὼ μαρτυρεῖν ὡς πρήγματα τὰ ἔμαι. μὴν ὅν, εὖ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγώ προτείνομαι. Μίλητον μὲν ἐκαὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηκίκη πόλιν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπόμενος ἐς Σοῦσα ἔχῃ τά περ ἀν ἐγὼ ἐχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐκαὶ κύμβουλος." 

25. Ταῦτα Δαρείου ἔπισα, καὶ καταστήσας Ἀρταφρένεα ἀδελφόν ἐωτοῦ ὑμοπάτρου ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίου, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα ἀμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαίον, Ὄτανεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἄνδρῶν τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην Βασίλειος Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλιών δικαστέων, ὃτι ἐπὶ χρήματι δίκην ἀδίκου εὐδίκασε, σφάξας ἀπεθανεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, σπαδίσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα ἰμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τῶν θρόνον ἐς τῶν Ἰζων ἐδίκαζε: ἐνταυπός δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπεδέξα δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνου, τὸν ἀποκτεῖνας ἀπεθανεῖ, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνου, ἐντειλάμενος οἱ μεμνησθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων θρόνῳ δικάζει.

26. Οὐτοὶ δὲν ὃ Ὁτανής ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μηγα-βάξῳ τῆς στρατηγίας, Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλκηδονίους, εἶλε δὲ Ἀὐτανδρον τὴν ἐν τῇ Τρώαδι γῆ, εἶλε δὲ Λαμπτώνιον, λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Δεσδίων νέας εἶλε Δῆμον τε καὶ Ἰμβρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἐτὶ τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγίων οἴκεσμενας.
BOOK V. 24–26

As soon as I returned from Scythia and you were gone from my sight, there was nothing whereof I had so immediate a desire as the seeing and speaking with you; for I knew that the most precious of all possessions is a wise and loyal friend; and I can witness of my own knowledge that you have dealt both wisely and loyally with me. Now therefore, seeing that you have done well in coming hither, I make you this proposal:—leave Miletus and your newly founded Thracian city, and follow me to Susa, to have there all that is mine and to share my table and my counsels.”

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

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

1 Cp. III. 31.
HERODOTUS

27. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Δήμιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὐ καὶ ἀμνοῦμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν, τοῦτο δὲ περιεύθητι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχοὺ ἐπιστάσει Δυκάρητοι τῷ Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφῶν. οὕτος οἱ Δυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Δήμων τελευτᾷ. αὐτὴ δὲ τούτων ἦδε πάντας ἤνδρατοδίκετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατής ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σινᾶσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὀπίσω ἀποκομζόμενον.

28. Οὕτος δὲ τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας. μετὰ δὲ οὗ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου 'Ιωσί γίνεσθαι κακά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίᾳ τῶν νήσων προέφερε, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μιλήτος αὐτῇ τε ἐσωθῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς 'Ιωνίας ἡ πρόσχημα, κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, μέχρι οὗ μν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Εὐλήνων εἴλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι.

29. Κατῆλλαξαν δὲ σφέας ὀδε Πάριοι. ὡς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἀνδρεὶς οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτον, ὄρων γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθοριμένους, ἐφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώρην ποιεῖντες δὲ ταύτα καὶ διεξίοντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὡς τινὰ ἑδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυηί τῇ χώρῃ ἄγρον εὐ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγράφοντο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ἄγρου. διεξελάσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὡς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἀλῆν ποιῆσάμενοι ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον.
BOOK V. 27-29

27. The Lemnians fought well and defended themselves, till at last they were brought to evil plight, and the Persians set a governor over those that were left of them, Lycareus the brother of Maenandrus who had been king of Samos. This Lycareus came to his end while ruling in Lemnos; this was because he strove to enslave and subdue all the people, accusing some of shunning service against the Scythians, and others of plundering Darius' army on its way back from Scythia.

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

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

30. Πάριοι μὲν γὰρ Μιλησίους οὗτοι κατήρτισαν. τὸτε δὲ ἐκ τοιτέων τῶν πολίων ὁδὲ ἦρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, φυγόντες δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μιλητοῦ. τῆς δὲ Μιλητοῦ ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἔων Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεως, γαμ-βρός τε ἔων καὶ ἀνεψιος Ἰστιαίος τοῦ Δυσαγόρεως, τοῦ ὁ Δαρείος ἐν Σοῦσοι σι κατείχε· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλητοῦ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν ἐν Σοῦσοισι, ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον Ξείνοι πρὶν ἔντεις τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μιλητοῦ ἐδέωντο τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεως, εἰ κως αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοποὶ δύναμίν τινα καὶ κατ-έθδοιεν ἐς τὴν ἐωτῆν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δι’ αὐτοῦ κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀρξεῖ τῆς Νάξου, σκήψιν δὲ ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐξεινή τὴν Ἰστιαίον, τόιδε σφὶ λόγῳ προσέφερε. "Ἀυτὸς μὲν ύμῖν ὡς φέργγυνοι εἰμὶ δύναμι παρασχεῖν τοσαύτην ὡς ἔκανεν ἀκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἑχοντων Ναξίων· πυθάνομαι γὰρ ὀκτακυκλικήν ἀστιὰν Ναξίους εἶναι καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ πολλὰ· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος. ἐπινοεῖ δὲ τῇ δε. Ἀρταφρένης μοι τυχαίνει ἐώς φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτα-φρένης ύμῖν Ὀστάσπεος μὲν ἐστὶ παῖς, Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄδελφος, τῶν δ’ ἐπιθαλασσῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατεύη τε πολλὴν καὶ πολλὰς νέας. τούτων ὡς δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσει τῶν ἀν χρηίζομεν." ταύτα ἀκοῦ-
BOOK V. 29-30

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

30. Thus the Parians made peace in Miletus. But now these cities began to bring trouble upon Ionia, and thus it befel:—Certain men of substance, being banished from Naxos by the commonalty, betook themselves to Miletus. Now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristagoras son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of that Histiaeus son of Lysagoras whom Darius kept with him at Susa; for Histiaeus was despot of Miletus, and was at Susa when the Naxians came; and they had been guests and friends of Histiaeus. The Naxians then on their coming to Miletus asked of Aristagoras if haply he could give them some power and so they might return to their own country. Considering that if by his means they were restored to their city he would be ruler of Naxos, and making a pretext of their friendship with Histiaeus, he made them this proposal: "For myself, it lies not in my rights to give you such a power as will restore you, against the will of the Naxians who hold your city; for I am assured that the Naxians have eight thousand men that bear shields, and many ships of war; but I will use all diligence to contrive the matter. And this is my plan. Artaphrenes is my friend; now know, that Artaphrenes is Hystaspes' son and brother to Darius the king; he is governor of all the sea-coast peoples of Asia and has a great army and many ships; this man then will, I think, do whatever we
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σαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη πρήσειν τῇ δύνατι ἀριστα, καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δόρα ἐκέλευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατῇ ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέσω ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πάντα ποιῆσειν τοὺς Νάξιους τὰ ἄν αὐτοί κελεύσοι, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς νησιώτας. τῶν γὰρ νῆσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἢν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

31. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφρένεα ὡς Νάξος εἰῆ νῆσος μεγάθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλὰς δὲ καλὴ τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίς, χρήματα δὲ ἐνι πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα. "σὺ δὲν ἔπι ταύτην τὴν χώρην στρατηλάτες, κατάγουν ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς. καὶ τοὺς ταύτα ποιῆσαι τούτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἕτοιμα παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατῇ ταύτα μὲν γὰρ δικαιο ἡμέας τοὺς ἁγοντας παρέχεις ἐστὶ; τούτο δὲ νῆσους βασιλεῖ προσετίσεαι αὐτήν τε Νάξον καὶ τᾶς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρημένας, Πάρον καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἀλλὰς τὰς Κυκλάδας καλεμένας. ἐνεδύω γὰρ οἱ ὁμομενοὶ εὐπέτεως ἐπιθήσει Εὐβοίη νῆσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρον καὶ κάρτα εὐπέτει αἱρεθήναι. ἀποχρώσθη ὡς ἐκατὸν νέες ταύτας πᾶσας χειρώσασθαι." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τούτῳ. "Σὺ ἐς οἰκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητῆς γίνει προηγμάτων ἁγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὐ παραίνεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἁριθμοῦ ἀντί δὲ ἐκατὸν νεῶν διηκοσίας τοὶ ἐτοιμο ἔσονται ἁμα τῷ ἔαρι. ὅ ὅτα τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινω γίνονται.”

32. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἠκουσε,
BOOK V. 30-32
desire.” Hearing this, the Naxians left the matter for Aristagoras to deal with as best he could, bidding him promise gifts and the costs of the army, for which they would themselves be chargeable; for they had great hope that when they should appear off Naxos the Naxians would obey all their commands, and that the rest of the islanders would do likewise. For as yet none of these Cyclades islands was subject to Darius.

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

32. When Aristagoras heard that, he went away to
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περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἀπήλε ἡς Μίλητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτα-
φρένης, ὡς οἱ πέμφαντι ἠς Σοῦσα καὶ ὑπερθέντε
τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος καὶ
ἀυτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκο-
σίας τριήρεας, πολλῶν δὲ κάρτα ὁμιλον Περσέων
τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, στρατηγὸν δὲ
τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῶν
Ἀχαιμενιδῶν, ἐωντοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἄνεψιον,
tοῦ Παυσανίδος ὁ Κλεομβρότου Δακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ
δὴ ἀληθής γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τοιῶν
حاملόσατο θυγατέρα, ἐρωτα σχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
tύραννος γενέσθαι, ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην
στρατηγὸν Ἀρταφρένης ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν
παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα.

33. Παραλαβῶν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης τὸν τε Ἀρι-
σταγόρεα ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατήν
καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους ἐπλεε πρόφασιν ἔπ’ Ἑλλη-
σπόντου, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας
ἤς Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεύετε βορέα ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν
Νάξου διαβάλοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐδει τοῦτο τῷ
στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρήγμα τοιόῦδε συν-
ηνείκη ἡ γενέσθαι. περιούσιος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ
tῶν νεῶν φυλακάς, ἐπὶ νεῶς Μυνιδῆς ἔτυχε οὐδὲις
φυλάσσων· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενος ἐκδείσει
τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἀρχοντα ταύτης
ἡς νεός, τῷ οὐνομα ἢν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ
θαλαμίης διελόντας τῆς νεός κατὰ τοῦτο, ἔξω μὲν
κεφαλὴν ποιεύντας ἔσω δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δεθέντος δὲ
τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ
ὅτι τὸν ξεῖνον οἱ τὸν Μυνιδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας
λυμαίνωτο. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν παρατέτετο τὸν Πέρσην,
BOOK V. 32–33

Miletus in great joy. Artaphrenes sent a messenger to Susa with the news of what Aristagoras said; and Darius himself too consenting to the plan, he equipped two hundred triremes and a very great company of Persians and their allies besides, and appointed for their general Megabates, a Persian of the Achaemenid family, cousin to himself and to Darius; this was he whose daughter (if indeed the tale be true) Pausanias the Lacedaemonian, son of Cleombrötus, at a later day betrothed to himself, being ambitious of the sovereignty of Hellas. Having appointed Megabates general, Artaphrenes sent his army away to Aristagoras.

33. Then Megabates¹ brought Aristagoras from Miletus, and the Ionian army, and the Naxians, and pretended to make sail to the Hellespont; but when he came to Chios he put in with his ships at Caucasa,² that he might cross with a north wind to Naxos. But, since it was not written that the Naxians were to be destroyed by this armament, this befel which I here relate. For when Megabates went his rounds among the ships' watches, it chanced that on a ship of Myndus there was no watch kept; whereat Megabates, being very angry, bade his guards find the captain of this ship (whose name was Scylax) and thrust him partly through an oar-hole of the ship and bind him there, in such fashion that his head was outside the ship and his body inside. So Scylax was bound; and one brought word to Aristagoras, that his Myndian friend was bound and despitefully entreated by Megabates. Aristagoras went then and pleaded with the Persian for Scylax, but ob-

¹ Megabates' expedition was in 499.
² Evidently a harbour on the S.W. coast of Chios.
τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐδέετο, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε. πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη, ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖς πρήγμασι τί ἔστι; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἀν ἐγὼ κελεύω; τί πολλὰ πρήγματε?” ταῦτα εἶπε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης. ὃ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτοισι, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔπεμψε ἐς Νάξου πλοῖο ἄνδρας φράσοντας τοῖς Ναξίοισι πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα.

34. Οἱ γὰρ ὁν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τῶν στόλων τούτων ὑμήσθεσθαι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπύθησατο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσηνείκαντο τὰ έκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσ τὸ τείχος, παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολυρκησόμενοι καὶ σιτα καὶ ποτά, καὶ τὸ τείχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὔτοι μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου. οἳ δ’ ἐπείδη διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξου, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφέροντο καὶ ἐπολύρκευν μῆνας τέσσερα. ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἠλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι, ταῦτα κατεδαπάνητο σφι, καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσανασίμωτο πολλά, τοῦ πλεῦσος τε ἐδέετο ἡ πολυρκίη, ἐνθαῦτα τείχεα τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων αἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον κακῶς πρήγματε. 

35. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἰχε τὴν ὑποσχέσιν τῷ Ἀρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι. ἀμα δὲ ἐπιεζε μὴ ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατῆς ἀπατεομένη, ἀρρώδεις τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτῃ διαβεβλημένος, ἔδοκε τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαιρεθῆσεται. ἀρρωδεών δὲ τούτων ἑκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ
tained nothing that he requested; whereupon he came and released the man himself. When Megabates learnt this, he was very angry, and was violent against Aristogoras. But Aristogoras said, "But you—what have you to do with these matters? Did not Artaphrenes send you to obey me and to sail whithersoever I bid you? Why are you so meddlesome?" So said Aristogoras; Megabates, enraged by this, sent men at nightfall in a boat to Naxos, to tell the Naxians of the trouble in store for them.

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

35. Aristogoras had no way of fulfilling his promise to Artaphrenes; he was hard pressed by demands for the costs of the armament, and he feared what might come of the ill-success of the army and Megabates' displeasure against him; it was like, he thought, that his lordship of Miletus would be taken away from him. With all these fears in his mind, he began to plan revolt; for it chanced
καὶ τὸν ἑστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπίχθαι ἐκ Σούσων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρην ἀπὸ βασιλέος. ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαίος βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆναι ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἰχὲ ἀσφάλεως σημῆναι ὡστε φυλασσομενῶν τῶν ὅδων, ὃ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔστικε καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας, ὥσ δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίκηται ἐς Μίλητον, κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ἐξυρήσατα μὲν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν. τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσῆμαινε, ὥσ καὶ πρότερον μοῦ εἰρήται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαίος ἐποίεε συμφορὴν τοιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσουσι: ἀποστάσιος ὁν γινομένης πολλὰς εἰχὲ ἑλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, μὴ δὲ νεωτέρον τι ποιεύσῃς τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ᾦξειν ἐτὶ ἐλογίζετο.

36. Ἰστιαίος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοεύμενος ἀπέπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον, Ἀρισταγόρη δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο δὲν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτῶν, ἐκφύνας τὴν τε ἑωτοῦ γυώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπηγμένα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες γυώμην κατὰ τῶυτο ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ἀπίστασθαι. Ἐκαταιοὶ δὲ ὁ λογοποιῶς πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχα πόλεμον βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσέων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τὰ τε ἐθνα πάντα τῶν ἢρχε Δαρείου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευσεν ποιεύειν ὅκως ναυκρατεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται. ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων ἐνορᾶν.
that at that very time there came from Susa Histiaeus' messenger, the man with the marked head, signifying that Aristogoras should revolt from the king. For Histiaeus desired to signify to Aristogoras that he should revolt; and having no other safe way of so doing (for the roads were guarded) he shaved and pricked marks on the head of his trustiest slave, and waited till the hair grew again; as soon as it was grown, he sent the man to Miletus with no other message save that when he came to Miletus he must bid Aristogoras shave his hair and examine his head. The writing pricked thereon signified revolt, as I have already said. This Histiaeus did, because he sorely disliked his enforced sojourn at Susa; now he had a good hope that if there were a revolt he would be sent away to the sea-coast; but if Miletus remained at peace, he reckoned that he would return thither no more.

36. With this intent, then, Histiaeus sent his messenger, and it chanced that all these things came upon Aristogoras at one and the same time. He took counsel therefore with those of his faction, and declared his own opinion and what had come to him from Histiaeus. All the rest spoke their minds to the same effect, favouring revolt, save only Hecataeus the historian; he advised them that they would be best guided not to make war on the king of Persia, recounting to them the tale of the nations subject to Darius, and all his power. But when they would not be persuaded by him, he counselled them that their next best plan was to make themselves masters of the seas. This, said he in his
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ἐσόμενον τούτοι· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Μιλησίων ἐουόσαν ἀσθενεά· εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα καταρεθεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδησι, τὰ Κροίσος ὁ Δυνός ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἰχὲ ἐκπίδας ἐπικρατήσειν τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ οὐτως αὐτοῦς τε ἐξειν τοῖς χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολέμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἤρ ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν λόγων. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἕνα τε αὐτῶν πλῶσαντα ἐς Μυσάκαν ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθὼν, ἐδὲ ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγοὺς.

37. Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ’ αὐτὸ τούτῳ καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλίατον Ἰβανώλλην Μυλασσάντα καὶ Ἰστιαίον Τύμνεως Τερμερέα καὶ Κώνιον Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτηνήν ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδεω Κυμαίον καὶ ἄλλους συχυνόν, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεῶς ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πάν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρώτα μὲν λόγω μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἴσονομίαν ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλησίοι συναπισταῖτο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίᾳ τῶν τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυραννῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσάσων ἐπὶ Νάξου, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποτεέσθαι τῆς πόλις ἐξεδίδου, ἄλλον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδίδους, ὅθεν εἰς ἕκαστος.

38. Κώνιον μὲν ὑπὸ Μυτηναίοι ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρέλαβαν, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, Κυμαίοι δὲ τῶν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν· δὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ
BOOK V. 36–38

speech, he could see no way of accomplishing save one: Miletus, he knew, was a city of no great wealth; but if they took away from the temple at Branchidae the treasure which Croesus the Lydian had dedicated there, he had good hope that they would gain the mastery of the sea, and so they would have the use of that treasure and their enemies could not plunder it. The treasure was very great, as I have shown in the first book of my history. This counsel was not approved; nevertheless, they resolved that they would revolt, and that one of themselves should sail to Myos, to the army which had left Naxos and was there, and essay to seize the generals who were aboard the ships.

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

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

1 Cp. I. 46.
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πλεῦνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράννων μὲν νῦν κατάπαυσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας, Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλησίως ὡς τούς τυράννους κατέπαυσε, στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πολίων κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσει, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Δακεδαίμονα τριήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίας τινὸς οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

39. Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Δεόντος οὐκέτι περιεών ἐβασίλευεν ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε, Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεως ἔχει τὴν βασιληύν, οὐ κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίαν σχὼν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδη γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναίκα ἀδελφής ἔως τοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ ἐναύσης ταύτης οἱ καταθμάς, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο. τούτω δὲ τοιοῦτον ἔοντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν "Εἰ τοι σὺ σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ οὐ περιοπτέον, γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἔξιτηλος. σὺ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπείτε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἐξεο, ἀλλήν δὲ γῆμον καὶ ποιήσων ταύτα Σπαρτήτητι ἀδήσεις." ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο φὰς τούτων οὐδέτερα ποιήσεωι, ἐκέννους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παρανέωντας, τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἔοισαν ἀναμάρτητον ἐως τοῦ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἀλλήν ἐσαγαγέσθαι οὐδὲ σφι πείσεσθαι.

40. Πρὸς ταύτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες ὑπελευσάμενοι προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδη τάδε. "Ἔπει τοῖς τοῦ περιεχομένων σὲ ὅρμῳ τῆς ἔχεις γυναῖκός, σὺ δὲ ταύτα ποιεῖ, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τοῦτοι, ἵνα μὴ τί ἀλλοίον περὶ σεῦ Σπαρτήται βουλεύσωνται· γυναῖκός μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἔξεσιος, σὺ δὲ ταύτη τε πάντα
Thus an end was made of despots in the cities. Aristagoras of Miletus, having made an end of the despots, bade all to set up governors in each city; and next he went on an embassy in a trireme to Lacedaemon; for it was needful that he should find some strong ally.¹

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

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

¹ Aristagoras went to Lacedaemon in 499.
ὁσα νῦν παρέχεις πάρεχε καὶ ἀλλὴν πρὸς ταύτη ἔσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνοποιοῦν." ταῦτα κη λεγόντων συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης, μετὰ δὲ γυναικᾶς ἔχων δύο δίξας ἱστίας οἶκε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Ἐπαρτητικά.

41. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τοῦτον. καὶ αὐτὴ τε ἐπεδρον βασιλέα Σπαρτητῆσι ἀπέφαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἔούσα τότε κως ἐκύψε, συντυχὴ ταύτη χρησαμένη. ἔχουσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεί λόγῳ οἱ τὴς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκήμοι πυθόμενοι ὄχλοι, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιεύτων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνωντος, ὑπ’ ἀπιστίς οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουσαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν. ἢ δὲ ὤς ἔτεκε Δωρεά ἰδέως ἵσχει Δεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰδέως ἵσχει Κλεόμβροτον. οὐ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγοντι Κλεόμβροτον καὶ Δεωνίδην γενέσθαι. ἢ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ, ἔούσα θυγάτηρ Πρωητάδεω τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἐτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής τε, ὁ δὲ Δωρεύς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος, εὑ τε ἐπίστατο κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχῆσων τὴν βασιληῆν. ὡστε ὅταν οὔτω φρονεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Δακεδαμιόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένεα, ὁ Δωρεύς δεινὸν τε ποιεύμην καὶ οὐκ ἄξιων ὕπο Κλεομένεος βασιλεύσθαι, αἰτήσας λεών

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all that you give her now, and marry another woman besides who can give you children." So they spoke, and Anaxandrides consented; and presently he had two wives and kept two households, a thing in nowise customary at Sparta.

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

42. Now Cleomenes, as the story goes, was not in his right senses, but crazy; but Dorieus was first among all of like age with himself; and he fully believed that he would be made king for his manly worth. Being thus minded, when at Anaxandrides' death the Lacedaemonians followed their custom and made Cleomenes king by right of age, Dorieus was very angry and would not brook to be subject to Cleomenes; and he asked the Spartans for a com-
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• Σπαρτιήτας ἦγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι
χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἡντίνα γῆν κτισοῦν ἦν,
οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομίζομένων οίᾳ δὲ
βαρέως φέρου, ἀπέει ἐς τὴν Διβύην τὰ πλοία·
καθηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραιοί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ
ἐς Διβύην οἰκίσε κύρων κάλλιστον τῶν Διβύων
παρὰ Κίνυπτα ποταμῶν. ἐξελασθεὶς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν
tρίτῳ ἐτεὶ ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Διβύων καὶ Καρχη-
dονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.

43. Ἕνθαύτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνος
συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Δατῶν χρησμῶν Ἡρακλείᾳ
τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ κτίσειν, φας τὴν Ἑρυκος χώρην
πᾶσαν εἶναι Ἡρακλεῖδέων αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτη-
σαμένον. δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοῖσι οἴχετο
χρησάμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἱρέει ἐπ’ ἢν στέλ-
λεται χώρην· ἦ δὲ Πυθή οἱ χρὰ αἱρήσειν.
παραλαβόν ἐς Δωρίεως τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς
Διβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

44. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τούτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβα-
ρίται, σφέας τε αὐτοῦς καὶ Τῆλῳ τὸν ἐωτῶν
βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι,
toὺς δὲ Κροτωνιῆς περιδέεας γενομένους δεθῇ-
ναι Δωρίεως σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεθέν-
tες· συνστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωρίεα
καὶ συνελέιν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Συβα-
ρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωρίεα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’
αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆς δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνῃν
προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου
εἰ μὴ Καλλίῳ τῶν Ἱαμδέων μάντων Ἡλεῖον
μοῦνον, καὶ τούτον τρόπῳ τουφεδὲ παρὰ Τῆλὸς
τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννων ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι

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

43. There Antichares, a man of Eleon,¹ counselled
him to plant a colony at Heraclea in Sicily, according
to the word of one of Laimus' oracles; for Heracles ²
himself (said Antichares) had won all the region of
Eryx, and it belonged to his descendants. When
Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to
enquire of the oracle if he should win the place
whither he was preparing to go; and the priestess
telling him that so it should be, he took with him the
company that he had led to Libya, and went to Italy.

44. Now at this time,³ as the Sybarites say, they
and their king Telys were making ready to march
against Croton, and the men of Croton, being greatly
affrighted, entreated Dorieus to come to their aid;
their request was granted; Dorieus marched with
them to Sybaris and helped them to take it. Such
is the story which the Sybarites tell of Dorieus and
his companions; but the Crotoniats say that they
were aided by no stranger in their war with Sybaris
save only by Callias, an Elean diviner of the Iamid
clan; of whom the story was that he had fled to
Croton from Telys, the despot of Sybaris, because

¹ The reference appears to be to a cult of the Phoenician
Melkart (identified with Heracles) on Mt. Eryx.
² About 510.
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παρὰ σφέας, ἔπειτε οὐ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεις χρηστὰ θυμώνῳ ἐπὶ Κρότώνα.

45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὕτωι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἐκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύοντο τάδε, Συβαρίται μὲν τέμενὸς τε καὶ νηὸν ἐόντα παρὰ τὸν ἤρων Κράθιν, τὸν ἱδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωρία λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωρίεως τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρῃ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπτησε μηδὲν, ἐπ᾽ ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, ἐλεῖ ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκήνη χώρην καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ διεφθάρῃ. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Κροτωνιήται ἀποδεικνύοις Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἔξαιρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτὶ ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωρίει δὲ καὶ τοῖς Δωρίεοις ἀπογόνοις οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνετελάβετο ἔν τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωρίεως, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλῆσια ἡ Καλλίη. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτυρία ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὅκοτέροις τις πεῖθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοις προσχωρεῖν.

46. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωρίει καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιτητέων, Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἔπειτε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγέσταϊων· μοῦνος δὲ Εὐρυλέως τῶν συγκτίστεων περιεγένετο τοῦτο τοῦ πάθεως. συνάδων δὲ οὕτως τῆς στρατιᾶς τούς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελενουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελεύθερον Σελενουσίους τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὡς τοῦτον κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννὶδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελενοῦντος 48
when he was sacrificing for victory over Croton he could get no favourable omens.

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

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

47. Συνεστεὸν δὲ Δωρίει καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω Κροτωνιήτης ἀνήρ, δὲ ἄρμοσάμενος Τῆλυν τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἐφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος, ψευσθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἰχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην, ἐκ ταύτῃς δὲ ὀρμώμενος συνεστεὸν οἰκήθη τε τρηρεὶ καὶ οἰκήθη ἄνδρῶν δαπάνη, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ’ ἑωτὸν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑωτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίου τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἥρωιν ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἰλάσκονται.

48. Δωρίεως μὲν υἱὸν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἠνείκετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεως καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευσε ἀνὰ Δακεδαῖμόνους· οὐ γὰρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ’ ἀπέθανε ἀπαίσι, θυγατέρα μοῦνην ὀμπὼν, τῇ οὐνομα ἄν Γοργώ.

49. Ἀπικνεῖται δὲ ἄν ᾧ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τῦραννος ἐς τὴν Σπάρτῃν Κλεομένεως ἐχοντος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ δὴ ἐς λόγους ἦε, ὡς Δακεδαίμονιοι λέγουσι, ἐχὼν χάλκεος πίνακα ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περίοδος ἐνετέτμητο καὶ θάλασσα τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες. ἀπικνεόμενοι δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε. "Κλεομένες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσῃς τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξιος· τὰ γὰρ κατήκομον ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· Ἰῶνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων ὀνείδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦμιν, ἤτι
BOOK V. 46–49

was monarch there, but for a little while only; for the people of the place rose against him and slew him at the altar of Zeus of the Market-place, whither he had fled for refuge.

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

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

49. I return to my story. It was in the reign of Cleomenes that Aristagoras the despot of Miletus came to Sparta; and when he had audience of the king (so the Lacedaemonians say) he brought with him a bronze tablet on which the map of all the earth was engraved, and all the sea and all the rivers. Having been admitted to converse with Cleomenes, Aristagoras spoke thus to him: "Wonder not, Cleomenes, that I have been so zealous to come hither; for such is our present state: that the sons of the Ionians should be slaves and not free men is a shame and grief to ourselves in especial, and of all
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dè τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσον προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος, νῦν ὁ πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων ρύσασθε Ἰωνᾶς ἐκ δουλοσύνης ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπτεώς δὲ ὑμῖν ταύτα ολά τε χωρεῖν ἔστι· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀλκίμοι εἰσί, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι, ἢ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἔστι τούτη, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχουντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβάσιας ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλῆς. οὕτω εὐπτεές χειρώθηναι εἰσί· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθά τούσι τὴν ἥπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοις ὡς οὐδὲ τούτῳ συν-ἀπασί ἄλλους, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἄρξαμένους, ἀργυροὺς καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἕσθης ποικίλη καὶ υποξύγια τε καὶ ἄνδραποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἄν ἔχοντε. κατοικηται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἕγῳ φράσω, Ἰώνων μὲν τῶν οὐδὲ ἰδοί, οὐκέσοντες τε χώρην ἀγαθήν καὶ πολυαργυρύτατοι ἔόντες.”

dεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταύτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον, τὴν ἔφερετο ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐντετμημένην. “Ἀδῷν δὲ” ἔφη λέγων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης “οὐδὲ ἐχονται Φρύγες οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡν, πολυπροβατῶτατοι τε ἐόντες πάντων τῶν ἔγω οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπῶτατοι. Φρυγῶν δὲ ἐχονται Καππαδόκαι, τῶν ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. τοῦτοι δὲ πρόσον Κιλίκες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε, ἐν τῇ ἡδὲ Κύπρος νήσως κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα Βασιλεί τῶν ἐπέτειοι φόρον ἐπιτελεύσι. Κιλίκων δὲ τῶν ἐχονται Ἀρμενίου οἶδε, καὶ οὕτοι ἐόντες πολυπρό-βατοι, Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματηνοὶ χώρην τήνδε ἐχον-τες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἦδε Κισσίη, ἐν τῇ δὴ παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσσην κεῖμενα ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦσα ταύτα, ἐνθα βασιλεύς τε μέγας διαίταν 52
BOOK V. 49

others to you, inasmuch as you are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, we beseech you by the gods of Hellas, save your Ionian kinsmen from slavery. This is a thing that you may easily achieve; for the strangers are no valiant men, and your valour in war is preëminent. And for their fashion of fighting, they carry bows and short spears; and they go to battle with breeches on their legs and turbans on their heads; so they are easy to overcome. Further, the dwellers in that continent have more good things than all other men together, gold first, and silver too and bronze and coloured raiment and beasts of burden and slaves; all this you can have at your heart’s desire. And the lands wherein they dwell lie next to each other, as I shall show you:—here are the Ionians, and here the Lydians, who inhabit a good land and have great store of silver” (showing as he spoke the map of the earth which he had brought engraved on the tablet), “and next to the Lydians” (said Aristagoras in his speech) “you see the Phrygians, to the east, men that of all known to me are the richest in flocks and in the earth’s produce. Close by them are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; and their neighbours are the Cilicians, whose land reaches to the sea yonder, wherein you see the island of Cyprus lying; the yearly tribute which they pay to the king is five hundred talents. Next to the Cilicians, here are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians the Matieni, whose country I show you; and you see the Cissian land adjoining theirs; therein, on the Choaspes (yonder it is), lies that Susa where lives the great king, and there are the storehouses of
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ποιέται, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐνθαῦτα εἰσί· ἠλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν θαρσεότες ἦδη τῷ Διῷ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἂρα οὐ πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν χρεῶν ἐστὶ ὑμεῖς μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τῇ Μεσσηνίους ἐντός ἱσοπαλέας καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους, τοῖς οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενοι ἐστὶ οὔδεν οὔτε ἁργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινὰ ἑνάγει προθυμία μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν· παρέχων δὲ τῆς Ἁσίης πάσης ἀρχεῖον εὐπετέως, ἀλλο τι αἱρήσεσθε; Ἅρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε. “Ὡς ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαι τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ὑποκρινέσθαι.”

50. Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσούτῳ ἠλασαν ἐπείτε δὲ ἡ κυρίη ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τῆς ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, εἰρέτο ο Κλεομένης τὸν Ἅρισταγόρην ὁδοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὄδος εἰς παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ Ἅρισταγόρης τάλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἔκεινον εὐ ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλη· χρεῶν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐνοῦ, θουλομένου γε Ἐπαρτήτας ἐξαιγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἁσίην, λέγει δ’ ὅν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἀνοδον. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρτάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἅρισταγόρης ὄρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὅδου, εἰπε· “Ὡς ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Ἐπάρτης προ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον ἐνεπέα λέγεις Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τριῶν μηνῶν ὅδον ἀγαγεῖν.”

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

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

51. Having thus spoken Cleomenes went to his house; but Aristagoras took a suppliant’s garb and followed him thither, and entering in he used a
ἐπακούσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποστέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἢ θυγάτηρ, τῇ ούνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τούτῳ δὲ οἱ καὶ μοῦνον τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὅκτω ἦ ἐννέα ἡμείᾳ. Κλεομένης δὲ λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται μὴ ἔπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἶνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχυόμενος, ἦν οἱ ἐπιτελέσθη τῶν ἐδέθο. ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος προέβαινε τοῖς χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ἐς οὐ πεντήκοντα τε τάλαντα ὑπεδέκετο καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἡυδάξατο "Πάτερ, διαφθερεύει σε ὁ ξείνως, ἦν μὴ ἀποστάς ἵς." ὁ τε δὴ Κλεομένης ἃσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίον τῇ παραίνεσι ήμε ἐς ἔτερον οἴκημα, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἐτὶ σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

52. Ἐχει γὰρ ἄμφι τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτη ὡδὲ· σταθμὸι τε πανταχῇ εἰσὶ βασιλῆιοι καὶ καταλύσιες κόλαςται, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ὁ ὁδὸς ἄπασα καὶ ἀσφαλείς. διὰ μὲν γε Δυδίς καὶ Φρυγίς σταθμοὶ τείνοντες εἰκοσι εἰσὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἑνενήκοντα καὶ ἡμοῦ. ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίς ὁ "Ἀλν τοπαμός, ἐπ᾽ ὃ πύλαι τε ἐπεισί, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ οὕτω διεκτεράν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ. διαβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίνη καὶ ταύτη πορευομένῳ μέχρι ούρων τῶν Κιλικίων σταθμοὶ δυὸν δέντες εἰνὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τούτων οὐροῖς διξᾶς τε πῦλας διεξελᾶσι καὶ διξὰ φυλα
BOOK V. 51-52

suppliant's right to beseech Cleomenes to hear him, but first send the child away; for Cleomenes' daughter, whose name was Gorgo, was standing by him; she was his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes bade him say what he would and not let the child's presence hinder him. Then Aristogoras began to promise Cleomenes from ten talents upwards, if he would grant his request. Cleomenes refusing, Aristogoras offered him ever more and yet more, till when he promised fifty talents the child cried out, "Father, the stranger will corrupt you, unless you leave him and go away." Cleomenes was pleased with the child's counsel and went into another room; and Aristogoras departed clean out of Sparta, and could find no occasion for telling further of the journey inland to the king's place.

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

1 "The royal road from Sardis to Susa is far older than the Persian empire," say Messrs. How and Wells. Evidence points to the existence of a Hittite capital in Cappadocia, to connect which with Sardis on the one hand and Assyria on the other was the purpose of the road.
κτήρια παραμείποιει. ταύτα δέ διεξελάσαντι καὶ
diὰ τῆς Κιλικίας ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ τρεῖς εἰσὶ
σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἣμισυν.
οὖρος δὲ Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ ποταμὸς
νυσιπέρητος, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐφράτης. ἐν δὲ τῇ
Ἀρμενίᾳ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντε-
καίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἔξι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἡμισυν, καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐκ δὲ ταύτῃς
tῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐσβάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματηνίνην γῆν
σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ τέσσερες καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι
dὲ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ποταμὸι δὲ
νυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ἰέουσι, τοὺς
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεύσαι ἐστὶ, πρῶτος μὲν
Τίγρης, μετὰ δὲ δευτέρος τε καὶ τρίτος ὦντος
ὁμομαζόμενος, οὐκ ἔντος ἔως ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ῥέων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῶν κατα-
λεχθεὶς ἐξ Ἀρμενίου βέει, ὁ δὲ ύστερον ἐκ Ματη-
νίων. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἔχει
Γύνδης, τὸν Κύρος διέλαβε κοτὲ ἐς διώρυχας
ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν
Κισσίνην χώρην μεταβαίνοντι ἕνδεκα σταθμοῖς,
παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἡμισυν
ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἐώντα καὶ τοῦτον
νυσιπέρητον ἐπὶ ὧν Σοῦσα πόλις τεπόλισται.

53. Ὁταν οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ ἐσὶ ἑνδεκα καὶ
ἑκατέρων. καταγωγαῖ μὲν τῶν σταθμῶν τοσαῦτα
ἐσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνοντι. εἰ δὲ
ὁρθῶς μετέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλεῖα τοῖς παρα-
σάγγαις καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα
στάδια, ὃσπερ οὕτως γε δύναται ταύτα, ἐκ Σαρ-
δίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία τὰ Μεμόνια
καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια,
BOOK V. 52-53

ride past these, and you will have a journey through Cilicia of three stages and fifteen and a half parasangs. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a navigable river whereof the name is Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen resting-stages, and fifty-six parasangs and a half, and there is a fortress there. From Armenia the road enters the Matienian land, wherein are thirty-four stages, and an hundred and thirty-seven parasangs. Through this land flow four navigable rivers, that must needs be passed by ferries, first the Tigris, then a second and a third of the same name, yet not the same stream nor flowing from the same source; for the first-mentioned of them flows from the Armenians and the second from the Matieni; and the fourth river is called Gyndes, that Gyndes which Cyrus parted once into three hundred and sixty channels.¹ When this country is passed, the road is in the Cissian land, where are eleven stages and forty-two and a half parasangs, as far as yet another navigable river, the Choaspes, whereon stands the city of Susa.

53. Thus the whole tale of stages is an hundred and eleven. So many resting-stages then there are in the going up from Sardis to Susa. If I have rightly numbered the parasangs of the royal road, and the parasang is of thirty furlongs' length (which assuredly it is), then between Sardis and the king's abode called Memnonian² there are thirteen thousand and five hundred furlongs, the number of

¹ Cp. I. 189.
² Memnon was the legendary king of the "eastern Ethiopians," or Assyrians. When tradition began to place the Homeric Ethiopians in Libya, Memnon, the Ethiopian king, came to be associated with Thebes in Egypt.
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παρασαγγέων ἑώτων πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων. 
πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἕκατον στάδια ἐπ’ ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ 
διεξοῦσι ἀναίσιμοῦται ἡμέραὶ ἀπαρτὶ ἑνενή-
κοντα.

54. Οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρη εἶπεν 
τῷ Κλεομένει μὲν Δακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν 
μηνῶν τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὡρθῶς εἴρητο. 
ei δὲ τῷ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἔνω 
cαι τούτῳ σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς 
Σάρδις ὀδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτῃ. καὶ δὴ 
λέγω 
στάδιον εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ ἥδασσης τῆς 
Ἐλληνικῆς μέχρι Σοῦσων (τούτῳ γὰρ Μεμνόνειον 
ἀστὶ καλέσται) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων 
cαι 
mυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς 
Σάρδις εἰς 
tesse 
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55. Ἀπελαυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς 
Σπάρτης ἦμε εἰς τὰς Ἀθηναὶς γενομένας τυράννων 
ὡς ἐλευθέρας. ἔπει" Ἰππάρχου τὸν Πεισιστράτου, 
Ἰππίου δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἄδελφων, ἱδοῦντα ὡ 
τον ἐνυπνιόν τῷ ἐωτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην κτείνοντι 
Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἄρμοδιος, γένος τὰ 
ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραίοι, μετὰ ταύτα ἐτυραγνοῦντο 
Ἀθηναίοι ἐπ’ ἔτα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἱσσον ἄλλα καὶ 
μᾶλλον ἦ πρὸ τοῦ.

56. Ἡ μὲν νῦν ὡ 
τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίον ἥ 
ἡ 
δὲ 
ἐν 
τῇ 
προτέρῃ 

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τ管理条例。
parasangs being four hundred and fifty; and if each
day's journey be an hundred and fifty furlongs, then
the sum of days spent is ninety, neither more nor
less.

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

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

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

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

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taúta dé, òs òméria égéneto táxista, fanevó̂s òmìν ὑπερτιθέμενον ὄνειροπόλοις. μετὰ δὲ ἀπειπά-
μενος τὴν ὄψιν ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν, ἐν τῇ δὴ
teleutā.

57. Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονεῖς οἱ
Ἰππάρχου, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸι λέγουσι, ἐγεγονεσαν ἐξ
Ἐρετρίς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπυθανόμενος
eυρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοινικεῖς τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικο-
mένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν ὑπὶ Βοιωτίην καλεο-
mένην, οἴκεον δὲ τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες
tὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοίραν. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ Καδμείων
πρότερον ἔξαναστάντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι
οὕτωι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἔξαναστάντες ἐτρά-
puncto ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ
ῥητοὶ ἔδεξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν εἶναι πολιτέας,
pολλῶν τεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξιαπηγήτων ἐπιτάξαντες
ἐργεσθαι.

58. Οἱ δὲ Φοινικεῖς οὕτωι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπ-
ικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ
οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια
ἐς τοὺς "Ελλήνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα
πρὶν "Ελλησι ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῦτοι
καὶ ἀπαντεῖς χρεώνται Φοινικεῖς· μετὰ δὲ χρόνου
προβαίνοντος ἄμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν
ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περισσεοῦ δὲ σφέας τὰ
πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον "Ελλήνων
"Ἰωνεῖς, οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινι-
kων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμήσαντες σφέων ὀλύγα
ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὅσπερ καὶ τὸ

1 Hipparchus was killed in 513.
2 Gephyra (= bridge or dam) was another name for
BOOK V. 56-58

As soon as it was day, he imparted this (as was seen) to the interpreters of dreams; and presently putting the vision from his mind, he led the procession in which he met his death.¹

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

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

¹ Tanagra; perhaps Herodotus' theory of an oriental origin is based on the fact that there was a place called Gephyrae in Syria.
² This happened sixty years after the fall of Troy, according to Thucydides.

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HERODOTUS

dίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήμα κεκλήθαι. καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἰωνεῖς, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἑχρέωντο διφθέρησι αὐγέσι τε καὶ οἰέσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ᾿ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφονσι.

59. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμῆς γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θῆβησι τῆς Βοιωτίων, ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὅμως ἐόντα τοὺς Ἰωνικοῦσι. ο μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει·

"Ἀμφιτρύων μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν ἐνάρων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοὰν. ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἰς ἄν κατὰ Λαίου τῶν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδόρον τοῦ Κάδμου.

60. "Ἐτέρος δὲ τρίτους ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τῶν λέγει.

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων μὲ ἐκηβόλω Ἀπόλλωνι νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἀγάλμα. Σκαῖος δὲ ἐν εἰς ὁ Ἰπποκόσωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτος γε ἐστὶ ο ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἀλλὸς τῶν ὁνομα ἔχων τῶ Ἰπποκόσωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπου τῶν Λαίου.

61. Τρίτος δὲ τρίτους λέγει καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ’ αὐτὸς ἐνυκοτοὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μοναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλές ἀγάλμα.

1 ἀνέθηκεν ἔων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοὰν (the MS. reading) is neither good Greek nor consistent with the legend of Amphitryon’s vengeance on his enemies, the Teleboae of Acarnania. I suggest ἔναρων, which makes good sense; or Meineke’s ἔλων would do.

64
Phoenicians had brought them into Hellas) the name of Phoenician. Thus also the Ionians have from ancient times called papyrus-sheets skins, because formerly for lack of papyrus they used the skins of sheep and goats; and even to this day there are many foreigners who write on such skins.

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

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

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

60. A second tripod says, in hexameter verse:

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

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

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

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

I am the tripod that erst Laodamas, sovereign ruler,

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

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

ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Δαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους μοναρχέοντος ἐξαινιστέαται Καδμείων ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων καὶ τράπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγχελέας. οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες ύστερουν ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθήνας. καὶ σφὶ ἵρα ἐστὶ ἐν Ἀθηναισι ἰδρυμένα, τὸν οὔδεν μέτα τούσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλὰ τε κεχωρισμένα τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαίων Δήμητρος ἵρον τε καὶ ὄργια.

62. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίων καὶ οἳ Γεφυραῖοι ὑδεῖν ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἳ Ἰππάρχου φονεῖς, ὕπηγήτατε μοι. δεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοι ἐτε ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἡμὰς λέξων λόγον, ὡς τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναίοι. Ἰππίεως τυραννεύοντος καὶ ἐμπικραίνομένου Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον, Ἀλκμεωνίδαι γένος ἐόντες Ἀθηναίοι καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιοστρατίδαις, ἐπείτε σφὶ ἀμα τοῦτο ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοις κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει κάτόδους, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Δεισύδρων τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιοιής τεχίσαντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἳ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι πάν ἐπὶ τοῦτο Πεισιοστρατίδησι μηχανώμενοι παρ᾽ Ἀμφικτύονων τῶν νήσων μεσθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῶν νῦν ἐόντα τότε δὲ σῖκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαν. οὐ δὲ χρημάτων εὑ ἡκοῦντες καὶ ἑόντες ἀνδρεῖς δόκιμοι ἄνεκαθεν ἐτε, τὸν τε νὴν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκεκιμένου σφὶ πωρίνου λίθου ποιεῖν τῶν νηῶν, Παρίου τὰ ἐμπροσθε αὐτοῦ ἔξεποιήσαν.

63. Ὡς δὲν δὴ οἳ Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι, οὔτοι οἳ
BOOK V. 61-63

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

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

63. These men then, as the Athenians say, sat
HERODOTUS

άνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖς κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὡς ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἰτε ἴδιω στόλῳ εἰτε δημοσίω χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς σφι αἰεὶ τῶντο πρόφαντον ἐγίνετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνεῶν ὅμως καὶ ἕξινίους σφι ἐόντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῖντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄνδρων· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι· ὃ μὲν δὴ προσσάκῳ ἐν Φάληρον τὴν στρατινήν ἀπέβησε, οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυθυθοῦνες ταῦτα ἐπεκαλέουσι ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικουρίην· ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφι συμμαχία πρὸς αὐτούς. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφι δεσμοῦντο ἀπεπεμψαν κουῆ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι χιλίῳ τε ἕππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέθερον Κινέντιν ἄνδρα Κοιναίῳ· τοὺς ἐπείτε ἔσχουν συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐμηχανώντο τοιάδε· κείραντες τὸν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τούτον τὸν χώρον ἔτη καὶ τὸ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἕππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀγχιμόλιου· τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἢς τὰς νέας κατείρξαν. ὃ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτω ἀπῆλλαξε, καὶ Ἀγχιμόλιον εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆς, ἄγχοι τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.

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

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

¹. The sites of Alopecae and Cynosarges are doubtful; recent research places them (but with no certainty) south of the Ilissus towards Phalerum. See How and Wells ad loc.
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λαντες ἄλλα κατ' ἥπειρον· τοῖσι ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην ή τῶν Θησαυλῶν ἱππός πρώτη προσέμεξε καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὴν ἐτράπετο, καὶ σφεων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἀνδρῶν· οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Θησαυλῆς. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἀμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοις εἶναι ἐλευθέρους ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργοῦσις ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεῖ.

65. Καὶ οὖν δέν τι πάντως ἃν ἔσχελον Πεισιστράτιδας οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι· οὐτε γὰρ ἔπεδρην ἐπενόεσον ποιήσασθαι, οἱ τε Πεισιστράτιδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὐ παρέσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσατές τε ἀν ἡμέρας ὠλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. νῦν δὲ συντυχία τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτὴ σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτεθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρης οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστράτιδεων ἠλώσαν. τούτο δὲ ἃς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετέρακτο, παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθὸ τοῖσι τέκνοις, ἐπ' οἷοι ἐβούλουσοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρης ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετὰ δὲ ἔξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ, ἀρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἔπ' ἔτεα ἔξες τα τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοι τε καὶ Νηλείδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἰμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθου, οἱ πρότερον ἐπίλυσις ἐόντες ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίων βασιλείας. ἐπὶ τούτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὖν ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἰπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσαι τὸν Πεισιστράτον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.
BOOK V. 64–65

this army they sent no longer by sea but by land. When they broke into Attica the Thessalian horse was the first to meet them, and was presently routed and more than forty men were slain; those that were left alive made off for Thessaly by the nearest way they could. Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians that desired freedom came before the city, drove the despots' family within the Pelasgic wall \(^1\) and there beleaguered them.

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

\(^1\) An ancient fortification on the N.W. slope of the Acropolis.  
\(^2\) From 545 to 509.
Οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναίοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν· ὡσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἡ ἐπαθον ἄξιόχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἡ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστήμην ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρα στὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρησάι σφέων βοηθείν, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

66. Ἀθηναὶ, ἐοῦσαί καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τὸτε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσα τυράννων ἐγένοντο μέξονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευν, Κλεισθένης τε Ἀλκμεώνίδης, ὡς περ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθῆν ἀναπείσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης Τισώνδρου οἰκίς μὲν ἐών δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύσουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Διὸ Καρίῳ. οὕτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμως, ἐσσούμενοι δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν δήμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλλους ἐόντας Ἀθηναίοις δεκαφύλλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνός παίδων Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεως καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἔξενρω δὲ ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπίχωρων, πάρεξ Αἰαντος τοῦτον δὲ ἀτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἐόντα, προσέθετο.

67. Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκείειν ἐμοὶ, ἐμμείετο ὁ Κλεισθένης ὁτὸς τὸν ἐωτοῦ μητροπάτορα Κλεισθένεα τῶν Σικυωνίων τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείων πολεμῆσας τοῦτο μὲν ῥαψίδους ἐπαυσε ἐν Σικυωνί ἀγονίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέον εἴμεκα, ὁτι Ἀργείοι τε καὶ Ἀργεῖα τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμέσαι· τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρώων γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἄγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου

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¹ For a comprehension of the reform briefly recorded by Herodotus, readers are referred to Grote, ch. xxxi.
BOOK V. 65-67

Thus the Athenians got quit of their despots; and all the noteworthy things that they did or endured, after they were freed and before Ionia revolted from Darius and Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens to ask help of its people—these first I will now declare.

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

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

2 Cleisthenes ruled at Sicyon from 600 to 570.
HERODOTUS

tου Ταλαιο, τούτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης ἐόντα Ἀργείων ἐκβάλειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. ἔλθων δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐχρηστηριάζετο εἰ ἐκβάλοι τῶν Ἀδρηστῶν ἦ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φάσα Ἀδρηστοῦ μὲν εἶναι Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, κείνον δὲ λευστῆρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτό γε οὐ παρεδίδον, ἀπελθὼν ὁπίσω ἐφρούτιζε μηχανήν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάξεται. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσατο εἶδόκεε, πέμψας ἔς Θηβαῖς τὰς Βοιωτίας ἐφ᾽ θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελανιπποῦ τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν. ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης τὸν Μελανιπποῦ τέμενος οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανήῳ καὶ μιν ἴδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀγχυ-ροτάτῳ. ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελανιπποῦ ὁ Κλεισθένης (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγάγεσθαι) ὡς ἔχθιστον ἐόντα Ἀδρήστω, δεῖ τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνεε καὶ τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτᾶς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελανίππῳ. οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμῶν τὸν Ἀδρήστον ἡ γὰρ χώρη ἦν αὐτὴ Πολύθου, ὁ δὲ Ἀδρήστος ἦν Πολύθου θυγατρι-δεὸς, ἀπαίς δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοὶ Ἀδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τὰ τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἀδρήστον καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικῶς χοροῖς ἐγέραρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδρήστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροῦς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην Μελανίππῳ.

68. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἀδρηστόν οἱ ἐπεποίητο, φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωρίδεων, ὡς δὴ μὴ αἰ αὐταί ἔωσι τοῖς Σικυωνίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις, μετέβαλε.
BOOK V. 67–68

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

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

ἐσ ἄλλα οὐνόματα. ἐνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυωνίων. ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅσ τε καὶ ὅνοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατίθεις αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταία ἐπέθηκε, πλὴν τῆς ἐωτοῦ φυλῆς. ταύτη δὲ τὸ οὐνόμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ἄρχης ἔθετο. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαιοι ἐκαλέσαντο, ἔτεροι δὲ Ἄται, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὀνεᾶταί, ἦτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοις τούτοις οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλῶν ἔχρεωντο οἱ Σικυωνίωι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένεως ἄρχοντο καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεώτος ἐτί ἐπ᾽ ἐτεα ἔξηκοντα. μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγων σφίσι δόντες μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ἡλλάδας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας, τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῦ προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδριστοῦ παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέως τὴν ἐπωμυμην ποιεύμενοι κεκλήθατο Αἰγιαλέας.

69. Ταύτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποίηκες. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης ἐδώ τοῦ Σικυώνιον τοῦτον θυγατρίδεος καὶ τὸ οὐνόμα ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἔχων, δοκεῖειν ἑμοὶ καὶ οὕτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔσοι φυλαί καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμμήσατο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἁθηναίων δῆμον πρὸ τοῦ ἄρθρου ἀπωσμένου τότε πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐωτοῦ μοῖραν προσθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεύνας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων. δέκα τε δὴ ψυλάρχους ἄντι τεσσερων ἐπαιήσε, δέκαχα 1 δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένειμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς. ἤν τε τῶν δήμων προσθέμενος πολλοὶ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων.

70. Ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶτα τάδε. ἐπικαλέσται Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεδαιμόνων γενόμενον ἐωτοῦ ξεῖνοι ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίης. τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα

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

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

70. Then Isagoras, being on the losing side in his turn, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratids; nay, it was laid to
καὶ ὅμοιον ἀρχαῖον παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπτων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγάς ἐπιλέγον ταῦτα δὲ πέμπτων ἐλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν ἐξοχον αὐτὴν τοῦ φόνον τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετείχε οὔτ᾽ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

71. Οἱ δ’ ἐναγάς Ἀθηναίων ὀδὸς ὑμομάθησαν. ἵνα Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννὶ ἐκόμησε, προσποιημένος δὲ ἐταιρίησε τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβέων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρίθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατήσαι ἱκέτης ἵκετο πρὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα. τούτους ἀνιστάσει μὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράτων, οἳ περ ἐνεμοῦ τὸτε τὰς Ἀθηνας, ὑπεγγύσον πλὴν θανάτον· φονεύσαι δὲ αὐτῶς αὐτὴ ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίας ἐγένετο.

72. Κλεομένης δὲ ως πέμπτων ἐξέβαλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ τοὺς ἐναγάς, Κλεισθένες μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἡσοῦν παρῆν ἐς τὰς 'Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλη χειρί, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγνηλατεί ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηνάων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλήν καταλύειν ἐπειράτο, τριηκοστίοις δὲ τούσ Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντισταθείησις δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὗ

1 "The naucraries were local districts whose presidents were responsible for levying money and contingents for the army and ships for the fleet" (How and Wells). But the statement that they "ruled Athens" appears to be inaccurate.
Cleomenes' charge that he resorted to Isagoras' wife. Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them; and this he said in his message by Isagoras' instruction; for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held guilty of that bloody deed, but Isagoras and his friends had no part therein.

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

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

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

βουλομένης πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιώται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἄκροπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολύνοσαν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἔξεχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὅσοι αὐτῶν Δακεδαμίνουι. ἐπετελέστερο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη. ὥσ γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐστὶ τὴν ἄκροπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχῆσειν, ἦν ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων ἡ δὲ ἱρείη ἐξαναστάσα ἔκ τοῦ θρόνου, πρὶν ἡ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψατο, εἶπε "Ὡς ξείνε Δακεδαμίνωι, πάλαις χώρες μηδὲ ἐσθίῃ ἐς τὸ ἱρών οὐ γὰρ θεμιτῶν Δωριέωι παρίεναι ἐνθιάτα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡς γίναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαῖος." ο μὲν δὴ τῇ κληρδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησεν τε καὶ τότε πάλας ἐξεπεπτὼ μετὰ τῶν Δακεδαμίνων. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναίοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἔπι θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος ἕχωμι ἀν ἡγίστα καταλέξαι.

73. Οὗτοι μὲν νῦν δεδεμένοι ἑτελεύτησαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἐπτακώσια ἐπίστα τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμψάμενοι πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις, συμμαχίην βουλομένους ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἡπιστέατο γὰρ σφίζει Δακεδαμίνους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμώσθαι. ἀπικομένοι δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἡστάσπεως Σαρδίων ὑπαρχός ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἀνθρώποι καὶ κοῦ

1 MS. σφίζει πρὸς Δακεδαμίνους; Stein brackets πρὸς, which is better omitted.

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BOOK V. 72-73

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

73. So these were bound and put to death. After that, the Athenians sent to bring back Cleisthenes and the seven hundred households banished by Cleomenes; then they despatched envoys to Sardis, desiring to make an alliance with the Persians; for they knew that they had provoked the Lacedaemonians and Cleomenes to war. When the envoys came to Sardis and spoke as they had been bidden, Artaphrenes son of Hystaspes, viceroy of Sardis, asked them, “What men are you, and where
γῆς οἰκημένου δεότατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι, πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε· εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλείΔαρείῳ ᾿Αθηναίοι γὴν τε καὶ ύδωρ, δὲ συμμαχίην σφὶ συνετίθετο, εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε· οἱ δὲ ἀγγελοὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἡφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἐωτύτων αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

74. Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιμβρίσθαι ἐπεσὶ καὶ ἐργοίς ύπ᾿ ᾿Αθηναίων συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατοῦ, οὐ φρύξων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίςασθαί τε ἐθέλων τὸν δήμον τὸν ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ ᾿Ισαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστῆσαι· συνεξῆλθε γὰρ οἱ οὕτοι ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς ᾿Ελευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οινόην αἰρέουσι καὶ ᾿Τσιὰς δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἐσώνυμο ἐπίστομεν χώρους τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς. ᾿Αθηναίοι δὲ, καὶ περ ἀμφιβολὴ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ύστερον ἐμέλλων μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐσύνει ἐν ᾿Ελευσίνῃ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὁπλα.

75. Μελλόντων δὲ συνώψεις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῦς δύντες λόγον ὡς οὐ ποιέοις δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρχητος ὁ ᾿Αρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὕτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτητέων καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ Κλεομένει. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς διχοστασίης ἐτέθη
BOOK V. 73-75
dwell you, who desire alliance with the Persians?" Being informed by the envoys, he gave them an answer whereof the substance was, that if the Athenians gave king Darius earth and water, then he would make alliance with them; but if not, his command was that they should begone. The envoys consulted together and consented to give what was asked, in their desire to make the alliance. So they returned to their own country, and were there greatly blamed for what they had done.

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

75. But when the armies were to join battle, the Corinthians first agreed among themselves that they were doing unjustly, and so changed about and departed; and presently Demaratus son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, did likewise, albeit he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. From this disunion a law was
νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ μὴ ἔξειναι ἐπεσθαί ἀμφότερος τοῦς βασιλέας ἐξιούσιας στρατηγῆς· τέως γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ἐπονοῦν· παραλυμένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἑτέρου καταλείπεσθαι καὶ τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τῶν ἑτεροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι ἐπικλητοὶ σφί εἶποντο.

76. Τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ 'Ελευσίνῃ ὁρῶντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογεόντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἴχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι, τέταρτον δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄπικομενοι Δωριές, δίς τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δῖς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ 'Αθηναίων, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκησαν· οὗτος ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ Κόρδου βασιλεύοντος 'Αθηναίων ὁρθῶς ἀν καλέουτο· δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἄπικοντο, τέταρτον δὲ τότε ὅτε ἐς 'Ελευσίνα Κλεομένην ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὗτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριές ἐσέβαλον ἐς 'Αθῆνας.

77. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἄκλεος, ἐνθαῦτα Ἁθηναῖοι τίνισθαί βούλομενοι πρῶτα στρατηγῆν ποιεῦνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖς Χαλκιδεύσι βοηθεύουσι ἐπὶ τῶν Εὐρυπον. Ἁθηναῖοι δὲ ἴδοντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐδοξεῖ πρότερον τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἡ τοῖς Χαλκιδεύσι ἐπιχειρεῖν. συμβάλλουσί τε δὴ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς οἱ Ἁθηναῖοι καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκράτησαν, κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες ἐπτακοσίοις αὐτῶν ἐξώγρησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἁθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν συμβάλλουσί καὶ τοῖς 84
made at Sparta that when an army was despatched both kings should not be suffered to go with it (for till then they had both gone together); thus one of the kings being released from service, one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home; for before that time, both of these also were entreated to aid and went with the army.

76. So now at Eleusis, when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthians had left their post, they too went off and away. This was the fourth time that Dorians had come into Attica. Twice had they come as invaders in war, and twice to the help of the Athenian commonalty; the first time was when they planted a settlement at Megara ¹ (this expedition may rightly be said to have been in the reign of Codrus), the second and third when they set out from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus, and the fourth was now, when Cleomenes broke in as far as Eleusis with his following of Peloponnesians; thus this was the fourth Dorian invasion of Athens.

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

¹ There is a clear tradition that this happened soon after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese.
Χαλκιδεύσι, υικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτος τετρακισχίλιοι κληρούχοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι. οἳ δὲ ἰπποβοταὶ ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχές τῶν Χαλκιδέων. ὡςοὺς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἑξώγρησαν, ἀμα τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ἐξωγρημένοις εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐς πέδας δήσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἐλυσαν σφέας δίμνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαι ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἱ περ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἔμε ἦσαν περιευόταν, κρεμᾶμεναν ἐκ τειχών περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου. καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεου τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσίοντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι· ἐπιγέγραται δὲ οἱ τάδε.

εἴθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες παιδεῖς Ἀθηναίων ἔργασιν ἐν πολέμου,
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυνόταν συδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὑβριν·
tῶν ἰπποὺς δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἐθέσαν.

78. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν νυν ἡνεχνοῦντο. δηλοὶ δὲ οὖ κατ' ἐν μούνῳ ἀλλὰ πανταχῦ ἡ ἱσηγορία ὡς ἐστὶ χρῆμα σπουδαῖον, εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τυραννεύμενοι μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικότων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμέινους, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρῶτον ἐγένοντο. δηλοὶ ὡς ταύτα ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεου ὡς δεσπότῃ ἐργαζόμενοι, ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτῶς ἔκαστο ἔως τῷ προεθυμέτο κατεργάζεσθαι.

1 Settlers among whom the confiscated land, divided into equal lots, was distributed.

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BOOK V. 77–78

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

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

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

² Probably in the open space in front of the old Propylon; there would not have been room for this monument in the new Propylaea, finished in 432 B.C.
79. Οὕτωι μέν γι' αυτὸ ταύτα ἔπρησον. Ὁσβαίοι δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐς θεόν ἐπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους. ἥ δὲ Πυθῆν ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὕτων οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς πολύφημον δὲ ἐξενεκαντας ἐκέλευε τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι. ἀπεθάνοτων ἄν τῶν θεσπρῶν, ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἄλλην ποιησάμενον· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἄγχιστα δέεσθαι, εἶπαν οἱ Ὁσβαίοι ἀκόσαντες τούτων "Οὐκὼν ἄγχιστα ἦμεν οἰκέουσι Ταναγραίοι τε καὶ Κορωναίοι καὶ Θεσπριέσ; καὶ οὕτως ἐς ἄμα ἧμιν αἰεὶ μαχόμεθα προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον τί δέε τούτων γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὗ τούτο ἡ το χρηστήριον."

80. Τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων εἶπε δή κοτε μαθὼν τις "Ἐγὼ μοι δοκεώ συνιέναι τὸ θέλει λέγειν ἧμιν τὸ μαντήλιον. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἰγίνα· τουτέσο καὶ ἄδελφων ἑυσεέων, δοκεῖ καὶ ἦμιν Ἀιγινητέων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆροι γενέσθαι." καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης ἀμείνων γιώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέουντο Ἀιγινητέων ἐπικαλεόμεθα κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὡς ἐντῶν ἄγχιστων οὐ δε σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίνη τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν ἔφασαν.

81. Πειρησαμένων δὲ τῶν Ὁσβαίων κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίνην τῶν Αἰακιδέων καὶ τρηχέως περιεβέθεντον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὕτης οἱ Ὁσβαίοι πέμψαντες τοὺς μὲν Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδοσαν, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέουντο. Ἀιγινητὴ δὲ διειδαμονή τε μεγάλη ἐπαρθένες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θεσπριεῖς.
79. Thus then the Athenians did. But presently the Thebans sent to the god, desiring vengeance on Athens. The Pythian priestess said that from the Thebans themselves there was no vengeance for them; they must lay the matter before the "many-voiced" and entreat their nearest. So when the enquirers returned an assembly was called and the oracle laid before it; and when the Thebans learnt the message "that they must entreat their nearest," they said when they heard it: "If this be so, our nearest neighbours are the men of Tanagra and Coronea and Thespiae; yet these are ever our comrades in battle and zealously wage our wars; what need to entreat them? Nay, mayhap the oracle means not this."

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

81. The Thebans took the field on the strength of their alliance with that House, and were roughly handled by the Athenians; and they sent again, giving back Aeacus and his sons, and asking for the men instead. But the Aeginetans were uplifted by great prosperity, and had in mind an ancient feud with Athens; wherefore now at the entreaty of the
δεθέντων πόλεμον ἀκὴρυκτον Ἀθηναίοις ἔπε- φεον. ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπιτλώ- σαντες μακρήσι υποσί ἔστθη ἡ Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἀλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῖντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίοις ἐσιγνέοντο.

82. Ἡ δὲ εἴρηθη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Ἀιγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τούτου. Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὡς ἡ καρπόν οὐδένα ἀνεδίδον. περὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορῆς ὁ Επιδαυρίωι ἔχρεωντο ἐν Δελφοῖς· ὡς δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμής τε καὶ Ἀξισίης ἀγάλματα ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ σφί ἱδρυσαμένοις ἀμείνων συνοισεσθαι. ἑπειρώτευσαν δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὰ ἀγάλματα ἡ λίθου· ὡς δὲ Πυθίη οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔδω, ἀλλὰ ἔγαγον ἡμέρης ἐλαίης· ἔδεισαν δὲν οἱ Ἐπιδαυρίωι Ἀθηναίοι ἐλαίην σφὶ δοῦναι ταμει- σθαι, ἱρωτάται δὴ κεῖνα νομίζοντες εἶναι. λέγε- ται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἔλαίαι ἦσαν ἀλλοθεί γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἔκεισθαν ἡ ἐν Ἀθήνῃς. οὐ δὲ ὑπ̄ τούτῳ ὁ ὁδός ἔφασαν ἐπὶ οἳ ἀπάξουσι ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῆς Ἀθηναίης τῇ πολλάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἑρεχθεί. καταλυσαντες δὲ ὑπ̄ τούτους οἱ Ἐπι- δαυρίωι τῶν τε ἐδέσαν ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιών τοιτῶν ποιησάμενοι ἱδρύσαντο· καὶ ἡ τῇ σφὶ ἔφερε καρπὸν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπ- ετέλεον τὰ συνέβηντο.

83. Τούτον δ’ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀιγινη- ταί Ἐπιδαυρίων ἦκουν τὰ τὲ ἄλλα καὶ δίκας δια- βαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπιδαυρον ἐδίδοσαν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον
BOOK V. 81–83

Thebans, without sending of herald they made war on the Athenians; while these were busied with the Boeotians, they descended on Attica in ships of war, and ravaged Phaleron and many other seaboard townships. By so doing they dealt the Athenians a very shrewd blow.

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

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

¹ The name Damia is probably connected with δᾶ (γῆ), Earth; Auxesia clearly with αὐξάνω. They were goddesses of increase and fertility.
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

παρ’ ἀλλήλων οἱ Ἁγινήται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νέας
tε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι ἀπε-
ἔστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. ἂτε δὲ ἐόντες
dιάφοροι ἐδηλέουντο αὐτούς, ὡστε θαλασσοκρά-
tορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς
tε Δαμής καὶ τῆς Ἀξιοσίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτῶν,
καὶ σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης
χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἰν. μὲν ἔστι οὖνομα,
στάδια δὲ μάλιστα κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἰκοσι
ἀπέχει. ἤδυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ
θυσίας τε σφέα καὶ χοροῦσι γυναικηδοίοις κερτο-
μίοις ἰλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκα-
tέρη τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἄνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ
ἡγόμενοι οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν υἱόντα, τὰς δὲ ἐπι-
χώριας γυναίκας. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρί-
οις αἱ αὐταὶ ἱρονυγίαι· εἰςὶ δὲ σφὶ καὶ ἀρρητοὶ
ἱρονυγίαι.

81. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ
Ἑπιδαυρίων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ συνέβηντο οὐκ
ἐπετέλεσαν. πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐμήνιον
tοῦσι Ἐπιδαυρίοις· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ
ἀδικέοιεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα
ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελείειν τὰ συνέβηντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἐστερήσαθαί αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Ἁγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι
ἐκέλευν. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἑσ Ἀγιναν
πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα· οἱ δὲ Ἁγινή-
tαι ἐφασαν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι υἱὸν
πρῆμα.

82. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν νῦν λέγουσι· μετὰ τὴν ἅπα-
tητην ἀποσταλήματε τρίτερει μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν τοῦτος
οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι
getting, and giving one another, satisfaction at law. But from this time they began to build ships, and stubbornly revolted from the Epidaurians; in which state of enmity, being masters of the sea, they wrought them much hurt, and stole withal their images of Damia and Auxesia, and took these away and set them up in the middle of their own country at a place called Oea, about twenty furlongs distant from their city. Having set them up in this place they sought their favour with sacrifices and choruses of mocking women, ten men being appointed providers of a chorus for each of the deities; and the choruses aimed their railery not at any men but at the women of the country. The Epidaurians too had the same rites; and they have certain secret rites as well.

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

85. After their demand the Athenians (this is their story) despatched one trireme with certain of their citizens; who, coming as they were sent in the
Η Αθηναίοι μέν ούτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, Αιγινήται δὲ οὐ μὴν ἄπικεσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μιᾶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅλην πλεύνας μηδὲν, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐσύσαι νέες, ἀπαμώνεσθαι δὲν εὔπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλής υπησί ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἰξαί καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημήναι ἄτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἤσσους συγγινωσκόμενοι εἰναι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κατὰ τοῦτο εἴξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν νυν, ἐπείτε σφι οὔδεις ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τράπεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπᾶσαι ἐκ τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ οὔτως δὴ περιβαλλόμενους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὐ ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφότερα τῶντο ποιῆσαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ δὲ τεφρκτες μὴ γούνατα γὰρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦτον χρόνον διατελέειν οὔτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν σφέας δὲ Αιγινήται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
name of the whole people to Aegina, essayed to tear the images, as being made of Attic wood, from their bases, that they might carry them away; but when they could not get possession of them in this manner, they fastened the images about with cords and made to drag them away, till while they dragged they were overtaken by a thunderstorm, and an earthquake withal; whereby the trireme's crew that dragged the images were distraught, and in this affliction slew each other for enemies, till at last but one of all was left, who returned back by himself to Phalerum.

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

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ός μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἑτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέσθαι. τοὺς τε δὴ Αθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐσ τὴν Ἀιγιναίην, καὶ ἤκειν βοηθέοντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθείν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νήσον καὶ οὗ προσεκοσαί τοῖς Αθηναῖοι εἰπίπεσειν ὑποτιμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῦσι.

87. Λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Ἀιγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἕνα μοῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι. πλὴν Ἀργείοι μὲν λέγουσιν αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἔνα τούτων περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτων τὸν ἔνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τούτῳ. κομισθεὶς ἄρα ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἀπῆγγελε τὸ πάθος πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναίκας τῶν ἐπ' Ἀιγινᾶν στρατευσαμένων ἄνδρῶν, δεινὸν τι ποιησαμένας κείνον μοῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆμαι, πέριξ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν τούτων λαβοῦσας καὶ κεντεύσας τῆς περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων εἰρωτῶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων ὅκων εἴη ὁ ἐωστής ἀνήρ.

88. Καὶ τούτων μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐτὶ τοῦ πάθεος δεινότερον τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐργον. ἀλλ' μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτε τις ζημιῶσος τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν δὲ ἑσθήτα μετέβαλον αὐτέων ἐς τὴν 'Ιάδα. ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τοῦ αἰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἑσθήτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίᾳ παραπλησιωτάτην μετέβαλον ὅν ἐς τὸν λίθον κιθάρα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησε μὴ χρέωνται. ἔστι δὲ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ χρεωμένους οὐκ 96
were about to make war upon them, and therefore they assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island privily, and then falling upon the Athenians unawares and cutting them off from their ships; and it was at this moment that the thunderstorm came upon them, and the earthquake withal.

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

88. Thus was this man done to death; and this deed of their women seemed to the Athenians to be yet more dreadful than their misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women; but they changed their dress to the Ionian fashion; for till then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, very like to the Corinthian; it was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, that so they might have no brooch-pins to use. But if the truth be told, this dress is not in its origin
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'Ιάς αὐτὴ ἡ ἔσθης τὸ παλαιὸν ἄλλα Κάειρα, ἐπεὶ ἢ γε Ἐλληνικὴ ἔσθης πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαί τῶν γυναι-κῶν ἡ αὐτὴ ἤν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέομεν. τοὺς δὲ Ἀργείων καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτὶ τὸδε ποιήσαι 1 νόμον εἶναι παρὰ σφίς έκατέρωσι τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποίεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρον, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῶν θεῶν τούτων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναὶ-κας, Ἀττίκον δὲ μήτε τὶ ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐτι-χωρίων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸθε εἶναι πίσειν.

89. Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων αἱ γυναῖ-κες ἐκ τὸν καὶ ἀρχαιά, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἕχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ἐξ Ἀθηναίων γενομένης ἀρχὴ κατὰ τὰ εἰρήθαι ἐγένετο. τότε δὲ Ἡβαίων ἐπι-καλεομένων, προθῦμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγυπτίαι εὔβοι-θεοὺς τοῖς Βιωτοῖς. Αἰγυπτίαι τε δὴ ἐδήοντον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὀρμημένοι ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίων στρατεύεσθαι ἦθελε μαντήματο εἰς Δελφῶν, ἐπισχύσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων ἀδικίων τρίκοντα ἕτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τρικο-στῷ Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀποδεχόμενας ἁρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων πολέμου, καὶ σφὶ χωρίσεων τὰ βουλομένην ἢ ἄν αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφέας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν, τέλος μὲντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἦπενειχθέντα ἦκοσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῷ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν τοῦτο

1 These words are not intelligible. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ἐτὶ τὰδε ἔδοξε, ποιῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

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Ionian, but Carian; for in Hellas itself all the women's dress in ancient times was the same as that which we now call Dorian. As for the Argives and Aeginetans, this was the reason of their even making a law for each of their nations that their brooch-pins should be made half as long again as the measure then customary, and that brooch-pins in especial should be dedicated by their women in the temple of those goddesses; and that neither aught else Attic should be brought to the temple, nor earthenware, but that it be the law to drink there from vessels of the country.

89. So then the women of Argolis and Aegina ever since that day wore brooch-pins longer than before, by reason of the feud with the Athenians, and so they did even to my time; and the enmity of the Athenians against the Aeginetans began as I have told. And now at the Thebans' call the Aeginetans came readily to the aid of the Boeotians, remembering the business of the images. The Aeginetans laying waste the seaboard of Attica, the Athenians were setting out to march against them; but there came to them an oracle from Delphi bidding them to hold their hands for thirty years after the wrong-doing of the Aeginetans, and in the thirty-first to mark out a precinct for Aeacus and begin the war with Aegina; thus should their purpose prosper; but if they sent an army against their enemies forthwith, they should indeed subdue them at the last, but in the meanwhile many should be their sufferings and many too their doings. When the Athenians heard this reported to them, they marked out for Aeacus that precinct which is
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τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἰδρυται, στρικτοὶ δὲ ἐهة ὡς ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες δικαὶ λέγουν εἰπ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν πεπουθότας ὑπ᾽ Ἀιγυπτέων ἀνάρσια.

90. Ἐς τιμωρήμα τε παρασκευαζόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἔκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγερόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας συμφορήν ἐποιεύντω διπλῆν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξέινους σφίσι ἐόντας ἐξεληλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἔκεινον, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων. ἐτὶ τε πρὸς τούτοις ἐννυχθαν σφέας οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἐξεθαλαμήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἤσαν ἄδαεσ, τὸτε δὲ Κλεομένειος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθην. ἐκτήσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμοὺς, τοὺς ἐκτητοὺς μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἐλιπὼν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε.

91. Τότε δὲ ὁ ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὃραν αὐξομένους καὶ συναμῦ ἐτοίμους ἐόντας πείθεσθαι σφίσι, νῦν λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν ἐδο τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἀττικῶν ἱσορροποῦν ἄν τὸ ἐσώρου ἡγίζοντα, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυμωνίδος ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πειθαρχεύοντο ἐτοίμου μαθόντες δὲ τοῦτων ἐκαστα μετεπεμποντο Ἱππίην τῶν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείον τοῦ ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐς ὁ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισιστρα-

1 Cp. ch. 63.
2 The Pisistratid family appear to have had a special knowledge of current oracles: cp. ch. 93, and VII. 6.
now set in their market-place; but they could not stomach the message that they must hold their hand for thirty years, after the foul blow dealt them by the Aeginetans.

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

91. And now the Lacedaemonians, when they regained the oracles and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in nowise ready to obey them, and bethought them that were the Attic race free it would be a match for their own, but were it held down under despotism it would be weak and ready to serve a master,—perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus’ son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratids’ place of refuge; and

¹ Pythian priestess: The Pythian Oracle was located in Delphi.
² Oracles: Prophecies from sacred sources that were believed to have divine revelation.
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tiđai. ἐπείτε δὲ ὁφι Ἰππίης καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγελοῦς ἔλεγον σφί. Σπαρτητῆται τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς σύμμαχοι, συνηγαγόμενοι αὐτοῖσι ἥμιν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς: ἐπαρθένες γὰρ κιβδήλωσι μαντηλοῦσι ἀνδρας ξεῖνους ἑόντας ἥμιν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεικνύεις ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθηνας, τοῦτος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἐπείτα ποτήσαντες ταῦτα δὴμο ἄχριστο φαραδόκαμεν τὴν πόλιν: ὅς ἐπείτε δι᾽ ἡμέας ἐλευθεροθεὶς ἀνέκυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν περιβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσις αὐξάνεται, ὡστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἄμαρτων. ἐπείτε ὅ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθα σφέας ἀμα ὑμῖν ἀπικομένοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτον ἐνεκεν τὸνδέ τε Ἰππίην ματεπεμψάμεθα καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, ἵνα κοινῷ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ στόλῳ ἑσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀποδόωμεν τὰ καὶ ὑπειλόμεθα.

92. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι ἰσχύς ἦγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωκλῆς ἔλεξε τάδε. "Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἐνερθε ἐσται τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ύπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐξουσί καὶ ἱχθὺες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁσκρατίας καταλύσατε τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις κατάγειν παρασκευάζεσθε, τοῦ ὁμετε ἀδικώτερον ἐςτὶ οὐδὲν κατ' ἄνθρωπος οὐτε μιαφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τούτο γε δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν ὡστε τυραν-
BOOK V. 91-92

Hippias coming at their call, the Spartans sent for envoys from the rest of their allies, and thus bespoke them: "Sirs, our allies, we do acknowledge that we have done wrongly; for, befooled by lying divinations, we drove from their native land men that were our close friends and promised to make Athens subject to us, and presently having so done we delivered that city over to a thankless commonalty; which had no sooner lifted up its head in the freedom which we gave it, than it insolently cast out us and our king, and now has bred a spirit of pride and waxes in power; insomuch that their neighbours of Boeotia and Chalcis have especial cause to know it, and others too are like to know their error anon. But since we erred in doing that which we did, we will now essay with your aid to be avenged of them; for it is on this account and no other that we have sent for this Hippias whom you see and have brought you from your cities, that uniting our counsels and our power we may bring him to Athens and restore that which we took away."

92. Thus spoke the Lacedaemonians, but their words were ill received by the greater part of their allies. The rest then keeping silence, Socles, a Corinthian, said: "Verily the heaven shall be beneath the earth and the earth aloft above the heaven, and men shall dwell in the sea and fishes where men did dwell before, now that you, Lacedaemonians! are destroying the rule of equals and making ready to bring back despotism into the cities—despotism, a thing as unrighteous and bloodthirsty as aught on this earth. For if indeed this seems to you to be a good thing, that the cities be ruled by despots, do
νεύεσθαι τὰς πόλις, αὐτοὶ πρώτοι τύραννον κατα-
στησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς οὕτω καὶ τοῖς
ἀλλοισι δίξησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ αὐτοὶ τυράν-
νων ἀπειροὶ ἐόντες, καὶ φυλάσσοντες τοῦτο δεινό-
tata ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχράσθε ἐς
tοὺς συμμάχους. εἰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐμπειροὶ ἐστε κατά
περ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας
συμβαλέσθαι ἦ περ νῦν.

Κορινθίων γὰρ ἦν πόλις καταστάσεις τοιήδει·
ἡν ὀλυγαρχία, καὶ οὕτωι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι
έμεισσαν τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ
ἀλλήλου. Ἀμφίοι δὲ ἐόντες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν
γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλήν οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα.
ταύτην Βακχιάδεων γὰρ οὔδεὶς ἦθελε γῆμαι, ἵσχει
'Ητίων ὁ Ἐκεκράτεος, δῆμον μὲν ἐὼν ἐκ Πέτρης,
ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης. ἐκ
δὲ οἱ ταύτῃς τῆς γυναικὸς οὔδ' ἐξ ἀλλής παιδε
ἐγίνοντο. ἑστάλη ὦν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου.
ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτοῦ θέως ἡ Πυθία προσαγορεύει
τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦτο ἐπεσεί.

'Ητίων, οὕτως σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα.
Λάβδα κύριε, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
ἀνδράσι μονοάρχοις, δικαίωσε δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταύτα χρησθέντα τῷ 'Ητίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται καὶ
τοῖς Βακχιάδησι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρώτον γενό-
μενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον
τε ἐς τϊώτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ 'Ητίωνος καὶ λέγουν ὁδε.

1 Because (according to the Etymologicum Magnum) the
"outward distortion of the feet" resembled the letter Λ.
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you yourselves first set up a despot among yourselves and then seek to set up such for the rest; but now, having never made trial of despots, and taking most careful heed that none shall arise at Sparta, you deal wrongfully with your allies. But had you such experience of that thing as we have, you would be sager advisers concerning it than you are now.

"For the Corinthian State was ordered in such manner as I will show. The Few ruled; these few, called Bacchiadae, held sway in the city, marrying and giving in marriage among themselves. Now Amphion, one of these men, had a lame daughter, whose name was Labda.¹ Seeing that none of the Bacchiadae would marry her, she was wedded to Eetion son of Echecrates, of the township of Petra, a Lapith by lineage, of the posterity of Caeneus. No sons being born to him by this wife or any other, he set out to Delphi to enquire concerning issue; and straightway as he entered the Pythian priestess spoke these verses to him:

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

This oracle given to Eetion was in some wise made known to the Bacchiadae, by whom the former oracle sent to Corinth was not understood, albeit its meaning was the same as the meaning of the oracle of Eetion; it was this:
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αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
cαρτερὸν ὀμηστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα
λύσει.
tαῦτα νυν εὖ φράξεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ
καλῆν
Πειρήμην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον.

tοὐτὸ μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδησι πρῶτον γενό-
μενον ἥν ἀτέκμαρτον τότε δὲ τὸ Ἡνίων γενόμε-
μενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον συνήκαν
ἐὼν συνώδου τῷ Ἡνίων. συνέντευε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
ἐξον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡνίων
γίνεσθαι γόνον διαφθείραι. ὡς δὲ ἐτεκὲ ἡ γυνὴ
tάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν
dήμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο ὁ Ἡνίων ἀποκτενώντας
tὸ παιδίον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὖτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην
καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν Ἡετίωνος
αἰτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα εἰδυλλα ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν
eἶνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικοιάτο, καὶ δοκέουσα σφέας
φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἶνεκα αἰτεῖν, φέρουσα
ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἑνὶ. τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἢβεθοῦλεντο
κατ' ὁδὸν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον
προσῳδίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα,
tὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἄνδρῶν θείη τύχη προσεγέλασε
τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸν φρασθέντα τούτο οἰκτὸς τις
ἰσχεὶ ἀποκτείναι, κατοικτεῖρας δὲ παραδίδοι τῷ
dευτέρῳ, δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ. οὖν δὲ διεξῆλθε διὰ
πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενων, οὐδενὸς βουλο-
mένου διεργάσασθαι. ἀποδόσες ὅν ὄπισω τῇ
tεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἔστεωτες

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Lo, where the eagle's mate conceives in the rocks,
and a lion
Mighty and fierce shall be born; full many a knee
shall he loosen.
Wherefore I bid you beware, ye Corinthian folk,
that inhabit
Nigh Pirene fair and the heights o'erhanging of
Corinth.

This oracle, formerly given to the Bacchiadæ, was
past their interpretation; but now, when they
learnt of that one which was given to Eetion,
straightway they understood that the former
accorded with the oracle of Eetion; and under-
standing this prophecy too they sat still, pur-
posing to destroy whatever should be born to
Eetion. Then, as soon as his wife was delivered,
they sent ten men of their clan to the township
where Eetion dwelt, to kill the child. These men
came to Petra and passing into Eetion's courtyard
asked for the child; and Labda, knowing nothing of
the purpose of their coming, and thinking that they
asked out of friendliness to the child's father,
brought it and gave it into the hands of one of
them. Now they had planned on their way (as
the story goes) that the first of them who received
the child should dash it to the ground. So then
when Labda brought and gave the child, by heaven's
providence it smiled at the man who took it, and he
saw that, and compassion forbade him to kill it, and
in that compassion he delivered it to a second, and
he again to a third; and thus it passed from hand to
hand to each of the ten, for none would make an end
of it. So they gave the child back to its mother and
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἀπτοῦτο κατατιμώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος, οὔτε οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα, ἐσὶ δὲ σφι χρόνου ἐγγινομένου ἔδοξε αὐτὸς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. (δ) ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθως κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν. ἡ Δάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἦκουσε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτὴν τῆς θύρης: δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφὶ μεταδόξη καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ὡς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαύνετο εἶναι, ὡς κυψέλην, ἐπισταμένῃ ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέφειτο ἡ ἴπτησιν ἀπεκνεώσεται πάντα ἐρευνήσας κέλλοιον· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ἔλθουσι δὲ καὶ διξημέονοι αὐτοῦσι ὡς οὐκ ἐφαύνετο, ἑδοκεῖ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπέμψαντας ὡς πάντα ποιῆσι τὰ ἐκεῖνοι ἐνετείλαντο. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ἡ Ἡετίων ὑπὲρ μὲτὰ ταῦτα ο παῖς ηὐξάνετο, καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντες τοὺτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐποιομένης Κύψελος οὖν ομομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθεῖτι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπιεχείρησε τε καὶ ἐσχε Κόρινθον. ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ὅδε ἦν.

ὅλθιος οὖτος ἀνήρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Ἡ Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῦ Κορίνθου αὐτὸς καὶ παιδεῖς, παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παιδεῖς.

τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τούτο ἦν, τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνήρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἔδιωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων 108
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went out, and stood before the door reproaching and upbraiding one another, but chiefly him who had first received it, for that he had not done according to their agreement; till as time passed they had a mind to go in again and all have a hand in the killing. But it was written that Eetion's offspring should be the source of ills for Corinth. For Labda heard all this where she stood close to the very door; and she feared lest they should change their minds and again take the child, and kill it; wherefore she bore it away and hid it where she thought it would be hardest to find, in a chest; for she knew that if they returned and set about searching they would seek in every place; which they did. They came and sought, but not finding they resolved to go their ways and say to those that sent them that they had done all their bidding. So they went away and said this. But Eetion's son presently grew, and for his escape from that danger he was called Cypselus, after the chest. When he had come to man's estate, and was seeking a divination, there was given him at Delphi an oracle of double meaning, trusting wherein he grasped at Corinth and won it. This was the oracle:

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

Such was the oracle. But Cypselus, having gained despotic power, bore himself in this wise: many Corinthians he banished, many he robbed of their
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ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλείστους τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀρξαντός δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τρυίκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαντος τῶν βίων εὖ, διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ’ ἄρχας μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ πατρός, ἐπείτε δὲ ὄμιλησε δι’ ἀγγέλων Ῥασύβουλος τῷ Μιλήτου τυράννῳ, πολλῷ ἐτὶ ἐγένετο Κυψέλου μιαφονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Ῥασύβουλον κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἄν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πραγμάτων κἀκεῖστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύειν. Ῥασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἑλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περίανδρον ἔβηγε ἔξω τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, ἐσβάς δὲ ἐς ἀρουραν ἐσταρμένην ἅμα τε διεξήμε τὸ λῆμνον ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἀπίξων, καὶ ἐκολοῦσε ἀιεὶ δῶς τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχών ὑπερέχοντα, κολούων δὲ ἔρριπτε, ἐς τοῦ λῆμνος τὸ κάλλιστον τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέθειε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἐπος οὐδὲν ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποτήκην ὁ Περίανδρος. ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Ῥασύβουλοι ὑποθέσαντα, θωμάξειν τε αὐτοῦ παρ’ οἶνον μίν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμψειε, ὡς παραπληγά τε καὶ τῶν ἐωτοῦ σινάμωρον, ἀπηγεόμενος τά περ πρὸς Ῥασύβουλον ὑπότεινε. Περίανδρος δὲ συνεις τὸ ποιηθὲν καὶ νῷ ἴσχων ὡς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Ῥασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπειρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φοινεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἕξεφαινε ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτών. ὃσα γὰρ Κύψελος ἀπέλληλε κτείνον τε καὶ διώκον, Περίανδρος σφέα

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goods, and by far the most of their lives. He
reigned for thirty years ¹ and made a good ending
of his life; and his son Periander succeeded to his
despotic power. Now Periander at the first was of
milder mood than his father; but after he had held
converse by his messengers with Thrasybulus the
despot of Miletus, he became much more blood-
thirsty than Cypselus. For he sent a herald to
Thrasybulus and enquired how he should most
safely so order all matters as best to govern his
city. Thrasybulus led the man who had come
from Periander outside the town, and entered into
a sown field; where, while he walked through
the corn and plied the herald with still-repeated
questions anent his coming from Corinth, he would
ever cut off the tallest that he saw of the stalks, and
cast away what he cut off, till by so doing he had
destroyed the best and richest of the crop; then,
having passed through the place and spoken no
word of counsel, he sent the herald away. When
the herald returned to Corinth, Periander was
desirous to hear what counsel he brought; but the
man said that Thrasybulus had given him none,
‘and that is a strange man,’ quoth he, ‘to whom you
sent me; for he is a madman and a destroyer of
his own possessions,’ telling Periander what he had
seen Thrasybulus do. But Periander understood
what had been done, and perceived that Thrasybulus
had counselled him to slay those of his townsmen
who stood highest; and with that he began to deal
very evilly with his citizens. For whatever act of
slaughter or banishment Cypselus had left undone,
that did Periander bring to accomplishment; and in

¹ 655 to 625.
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ἀπετέλεσεν, μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναίκας διὰ τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυναίκα Μέλισσαν. πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἦσαν Θεσπρωτοὺς ἑπτὰ Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυο-
μαντήριον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινίκης οὗτε σημανέειν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανεῖσα οὗτε κατ-
ερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἡ παρακαταθήκη ἡ ρυγοῦ
τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνὴ· τῶν γὰρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε
ιματίων ὀφθέλοις εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων
μαρτύριοι δὲ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθεά ταῦτα λέγει, ὥστε
ἐπὶ φυχρὸν τὸν ἵππον Περιανδρὸς τοὺς ἁρτους
ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὅπειρο ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ
Περιανδρῷ, πιστὸν γὰρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον ἃς
νεκρῷ ἔουσα Μελίσση ἐμῆγη, ἱθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν
ἀγγελήνην κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον ἐξέσαι
πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναίκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἐς
ὄρτην ἡσαν κοσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι, δὲ
ὕποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀπέδυσε σφέας πάσας
ὀμοίως, τὰς τὲ ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιόλους,
συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα Μελίσση ἐπευχόμενος
κατέκαιε. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον
πέμψαντι ἐφάσα ἐς τὸ εἰδώλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν
κατέθηκε χώρῳ τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην.

Τοιοῦτο μενύμωνετι ἡ τυραννίς, ὁ Δακεδαμώνιος,
καὶ τοιοῦτων ἔργων. ἤμεας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους
τότε αὐτίκα θώμα μέγα εἰχε ὅτε ἤμεας εἴδομεν
μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίνη, νῦν τε ἤ ἡ καὶ μεξώνῳς
θωμάξομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα, ἐπιμαρτυρομέθα τέ
ἐπικαλεόμενοι υμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίδους μὴ
κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλις. οὐκὼν
παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον

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

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

93. Σωκλέης μὲν ἀπὸ Κορινθίου πρεσβεύων ἐξέχε τάδε, Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς ἐκείνου, ἡ μὲν Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσεων Πεισιστρατίδας, δόταν σφι ἤκωσι ἢμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτου οἰον ὑμῶν χρησμῶν ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἰχον ἐν ἰσυχίᾳ σφέας αὐτοὺς, ἐπείτε δὲ Σωκλέος ἦκουσαν εἰπάντος ἐλευθέρως, ἀπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥῆξας αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην, Λακεδαμινοῦσι τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἐλλάδα.

94. Οὔτω μὲν τούτω ἐπαύσθη. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἀπελαυνομένῳ ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθεμοῦντα, ἐδίδοσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὅπως ἦσ Σίγειον, τὸ εἶλε Πεισιστρατος αἰχμῆ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τῶν ἐωτοῦ νόθων Ἡγησιστρατον, γεγονότα εξ Ἀργείης γυναικοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἁμαχητεὶ εἴχε τὰ παρέλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου. ἐπολέμησον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀχελληνίου τόλιος ὀρμώμενοι καὶ Σιγείοι ἐπὶ χρόνων συχνῶν Μυτιληναιοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτεόντες τὴν χώρην, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὕτω συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποδεικνύσετε τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Ἀἰολεύησι μετεδὺ τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἢ οὗ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοισι, ὃς ἦ Εὐλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεως ταύς Ἐλένης ἀρπαγάς.
to bring Hippias back, then be it known to you that
the Corinthians for their part consent not thereto."

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

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

\(^1\) Herodotus, whose sixth-century chronology is often
inaccurate, appears to be wrong in assigning this war to
the period of Pisistratus; its date cannot be later than 600.
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95. Πολεμεόντων δὲ σφέων παντοίᾳ καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν τῇσι μάχησι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικώντων Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὅπλα ἵσχουσι Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταύτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλεὶ ποιήσας ἑπιτεθεὶς ἡσ Μυτιλήνην, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἐωτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατηλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου τοῦτῳ γὰρ διαίτητη ἑπετράποντο κατηλλαξε δὲ ὅδε, νέμεσθαι ἐκατέρους τὴν ἔχουσι.

96. Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίοις. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆσι Λακεδαιμονίως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνει, διάβαλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάφρένεα καὶ ποιέων ἀπαντᾶ ὅκως αἱ Ἀθήναι γενοὶ ἐντὸς ἑωτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείων. Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἐπερήσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι πυθόμενοι ταύτα πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδις ἄγγελους, οὐκ ἐῶντες τοὺς Πέρσας πεῖδεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖς φυγαί. οὐ δὲ Ἀρτάφρενης ἐκέλευε σφέας, εἰ βουλοῖατο σὸν εἶναι, καταδέκεσθαι ὅπισώ Ἰππίης. οὕκων δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους οἱ Ἀθηναίοι οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοις δὲ σφὶ ἐδέδοκεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῦτο Πέρσησι πολεμεύειν εἶναι.

97. Νομίζουσι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ διαβεβλημένοις εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καἰρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἔξελεσθεις ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο εἰς Ἀθήνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδυνάμενε μέγιστον. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον ὁ Ἀριστα-
BOOK V. 95–97

95. Among the many chances that befell in the fights of this war, this is noteworthy, that in a battle when the Athenians were gaining the victory Alcaeus the poet took to flight and escaped, but his armour was taken by the Athenians and hung up in the temple of Athene at Sigeum. Alcaeus made of this and sent to Mytilene a poem, wherein he relates his own misfortune to his friend Melanippus. But as for the Mytileneans and Athenians, peace was made between them by Periander son of Cypselus, to whose arbitration they committed the matter; and the terms of peace were that each party should keep what it had.

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

97. They being thus minded, and the Persians hearing an evil report of them, at this moment Aristagoras the Milesian, driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, came to Athens; for that city was more powerful than any of the rest. Coming before the people, Aristagoras spoke
γόρης ταύτα ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἱσπάρτῃ περὶ τῶν ἄγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὕτε ἁσπίδα οὕτε δόρυ νομίζονσι εὔπτετες τε χειρωθήναι εἴησαν. ταύτα τε δὴ ἔλεγε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν 'Αθηναίων εἰσὶ ἀποικοί, καὶ οἰκός σφέας εἰ ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο ὅλα κάρτα δεόμενος, ἔσ ἄνεπεισι σφέας. πολλοίς γὰρ οίκε εἰναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἑνα, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Δακε- δαιμόνιον μοῦνον οὐκ ὁλός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας 'Αθηναίων ἔτοίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες ἐγηρήσαντο εἰκοσὶ νέας ἀποστείλας βοήθους Ἰωσί, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἰναι Μελάνθιον ἄνδρα τῶν ἁστών ἔοντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμων· αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἐλληνὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις.

98. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου, ἔξευρον βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἰωσί μὲν οὐδεμία ἐμελλε ὡφελίᾳ ἑσσεθαί, οὐδ' ὃν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἶνεκα ἐποίεη ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα Δαρείων λυπήσεως, ἐπιμεθε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παῖονας τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ αἱχμαλώτους γενομένους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οὐκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χώρων τε καὶ κώμην ἐπ' ἑωτῶν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Παῖονας, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Παῖονες, ἐπεμψε μὲ Ἀρισταγόρης οἱ Μιλήτου τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑποθησόμενον ὑμῖν, ἢν περ βοῦλησθε πείθεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν· μέχρι μεν
to the same effect as at Sparta, of the good things of Asia, and how the Persians in war were wont to carry neither shield nor spear and could easily be overcome. This he said, and added thereto, that the Milesians were settlers from Athens, and it was but right to save them, being a very wealthy people; and there was nothing that he did not promise in the earnestness of his entreaty, till at last he overpersuaded them. Truly it would seem that it is easier to deceive many than one; for he could not deceive Cleomenes of Lacedaemon, one single man, but thirty thousand Athenians he could. The Athenians, then, were over-persuaded, and voted the sending of twenty ships in aid of the Ionians, appointing for their admiral Melanthius, a citizen of Athens in all ways of good repute. These ships were the beginning of troubles for Greeks and foreigners.

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

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

θαλάσσης αὐτοῖς ύμίν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἦδη μελήσει=" ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσατε οἱ Παῖνες κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παίδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεδίδησικον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ Παῖνες ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐνθεύτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν. ἔντονον δὲ ἡδή ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθεε Περσῶν ἵππος πολλὴ διώκονσα τοὺς Παίνας. ὡς δὲ οὖ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίον τοῦτι Παίσιοι ὁκως ἀν ὑπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν. οἱ δὲ Παῖνες τοὺς λόγους οὑκ ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χίου σφέας ἐς Δέσβουν ἡγαγον, Δέσβου δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον ἐκόμισαν, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παιονίαν.

99. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο ἐκοσι υπνοί, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετρείων πέντε τρήρειας, οἵτινες τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἔστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενα σφι ἀποδιδόντες, οἱ γὰρ ἡ Μιλησίου πρότερον τοῦ Ἐρετρείουσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνιθείκαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεύσι ἀντία Ἐρετρείων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμῳ ἐβοηθεῖον οὕτω οὐν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, ἐποίετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ’ ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἔωστοι τε ἀδελφοῖς Χαροπίνου καὶ τῶν ἀστων ἄλλον Ἐρμόφαντον.

100. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ᾽Ιωνες ἐς Ἔφεσον πλοία μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Ἐρμόφαντον τῆς
BOOK V. 98-100

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

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

100. The Ionians, having with this armament come to Ephesus, left their ships at Coresus\(^1\) in the

\(^1\) A hill (or a part of the town of Ephesus built thereon) south of the Caýster.
HERODOTUS

'Εφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ, πολεοῦμενοι 'Εφεσίους ἡγεμόνας τὴς ὄδου. πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καύστριον, ἐνθεύτεν ἑπείτε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμώλον ἀπίκοντο, αἱρέουσι Σάρδις οὐδενὸς σφι ἀντιωθέντος, αἱρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκρόπολιος τάλλα πάντα. τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύσατο αὐτὸς Ἀρταφρένης ἐχὼν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὁλίγην.

101. Τὸ δὲ μή λεγιατήσαι ἐλόντας σφέας τὴν πόλιν ἐσχὲ τὸδε. ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Σάρδις οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πλευνεῖς καλάμναι, ὃσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλινθυναὶ ἦσαν, καλάμου εἰχὼν τὰς ὄροφάς. τούτων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ἦς ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίας ἐπ᾽ οἰκίαν ἱον τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ ἁστυ πάν. καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀστεος οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Περσέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλι, ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν ὡστε τὰ περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔξηλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεος, συνέρρεων ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πακτωλοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς σφι ψήγμα χειροῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλον διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει καὶ ἐπείτα ἐς τὸν "Ερμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τούτοιν δὴ τοῦ Πακτωλοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροιζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἡγακάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες ὅρεντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμῶν τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῷ προσφερομένους, ἐξανεχώρησαν δείσαντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Τμώλον καλεόμενον, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102. Καὶ Σάρδις μὲν ἐνεπρήσησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἱρῶν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήθης· τὸ
BOOK V. 100-102

Ephesian territory, and themselves marched inland with a great host, taking Ephesians to guide them on their way. Journeying beside the river Caicus, and crossing thence over Tmolus, they came to Sardis and took it, none withstanding them; all of it they took, save only the citadel, which was held by Artaphrenes himself with a great power.

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

102. So Sardis was burnt,¹ and therein the temple of Cybebe,² the goddess of that country; which

¹ In 498.
² Or Cybele, the great goddess of the Phrygians and Lydians.
HERODOTUS

σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὕστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν ἄν
τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησίω ἰρά. τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἔντος
Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ νομοῦς ἔχοντες, προπυθεμόμενοι
ταῦτα, συνηλίζωντο καὶ ἐβοήθεον τοῖς Λυδοῖς.
καὶ κὼς ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι οὐκέτι ἐόντας τοὺς Ἰωνας
εὐρίσκουσι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον αἱρέουσι
Ἰ uprois ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ
ἀνανεῖς, συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὰν ἐσσωθήσαν.
καὶ πολλοὶς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύουσι ἄλλους τε
ὄνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἐναλκίδην στρατηγέοντα
Ἐρετρίεων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἀγῶνας ἀναραίρη-
κότα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδεω τοῦ Κητίου πολλὰ
αἰνεθέντα: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγαν τὴν μάχην,
ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

103. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγούμενοι. μετὰ δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιτσάντες τοὺς
Ἰωνας, ἑπικαλεομένου σφέας πολλὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων
Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσειν σφί. Ἰωνες
δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, οὕτω
γάρ σφὶ ὑπῆρχε πεποιημένα ἐς Δαρείου, οὐδὲν δὴ
ησυχὸν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο.
πλώσαντες δὲ ἔσ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον Βυδάντιον
tε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλιας πᾶσας τὰς ταύτη ὕπτ
ἐωυτοῦσι ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκπλώσαντες τε ἐξ τοῦ
Ἐλλήσποντον Καρίης τὴν πολλήν προσεκτή-
σαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον
πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὡς ἐνέπρη-
σαν τὰς Σάρδις, τότε σφὶ καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο.

104. Κύπριοι δὲ ἔδεσθονταί σφὶ πάντες προσ-
egένοντο πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίων ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ

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

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

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

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1 Lit. "within"; that is, from the Greek point of view, and so west of the Halys.
HERODOTUS

οὗτοι ὀδὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἦν Ὁνήσιλος Γόργον μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς. οὗτος ὄνηρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορεῖτο ἀπόστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέας, τότε δὲ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνίας ἐπόθετο ἀπεστάναι, πάγχυ ἐπικείμενος ἐνήγης ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαῦτα μνὶ φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἀστυ τὸ Σαλαμίνων ὁ Ὁνήσιλος ἁμα τοῖς ἑωυτοῦ στασιώτητι ἀπεκλήσε τῶν πυλεῶν. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγε ἐς Μήδους, Ὁνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σαλαμίνος καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε, Ἀμαθωσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πειθοῦν ἐπολιόρκηε προσκατήμενος.

105. Ὁνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκηε Ἀμαθωσίον. βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἔξαγγέλη Σάρδίας ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρήθει οὐκ ὁ τῷ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἰωνίων, τόν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενόθηκε τῆς συλλογῆς ὅστε ταῦτα συνυφαυθήναι τὸν Μελήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπόθετο ταῦτα, Ἰωνίων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὗ εἰδότα ὡς οὕτως γε οὐ καταπροβότων ἀποστάτες, εἰρέσθαι οἶτινες εἰς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα δὲ ὠστὸν ἀνὸς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καὶ μὲν ἴ τὸν ἥρα βύθεντοι εἰπεῖν "Ὤ Ζεῦ, ἐγγενέσθαι τοι Ἀθηναίοις τίσασθαι," εἶπαν δὲ ταῦτα προστάζαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ ἐς τρὶς ἑκάστοτε εἰπεῖν "Δέσποτα, τίς νῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων."

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

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

106. Having given this charge, he called before

\(^1\) Of Salamis in Cyprus.
HERODOTUS

ὁφιν Ἴστιαίου τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος κατεῖχε χρόνων ἦδη πολλῶν, "Πυνθάνομαι Ἴστιαίε ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν, τῷ σὺ Μιλητῶν ἐπέτρεψας, νεώτερα ἐς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα. ἀνδράς γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἥπειρου ἐπαγαγών, καὶ Ἰωνας σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς δώσωντας ἔμοι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν, τούτους ἀναγώνως ἀμα ἐκείνουσι ἐπε-σθαί, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστῆρησε. ἕνων ὁν κάσι τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται ἔχειν καλῶς; κώς δὲ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τούτων τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἔξ ὑστέρης σεωτοῦν ἐν αἰτίῃ σχῆς. εitespace πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴστιαίος "Βασιλευ, κοῖν ἐφθέγξαο ἔτος, ἐμὲ βουλεύσαι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ σοὶ τῇ μέγα ἡ σμικρῶν ἐμὲλλε λυπηρῶν ἀνασχῆσεις; τί δ' ἄν ἐπιδιξῆμενοι ποιέομην ταῦτα, τεῦ δ' ἐνδεχὴς ἔως; τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὃσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σὲ βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεύμαι. ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον οἰον σὺ ἐφήκας πρῆσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπί-τροπος, ὅσθι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἐωτοῦ βαλόμενον πεποιη-κέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐγὼ γε ὁδὲ ἐνδεκομαί τὸν λόγον, ὁκὼς τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρῆσσονει περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖσθα καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐν ἁκήκοας ὁ βασιλεύ, μάθε ὁπον πρῆγμα ἐργάσκει ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάπαστον ποιήσας. Ἰωνας γὰρ οἰκασὶ ἐμεῖ ἔξ ὁθαλμῶν σφι γενομένον ποιήσαι τῶν πάλαι ἴμερον εἴχον. ἐμέο δ' ἄν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνή σουδεμία πόλεις ὑπεκίνησε. ὕνων ὁν ὃς τάχος ἀπεῖσε με πορευ-θήναι ἐς Ἰωνήν, ἵνα τοι κεῖνα τὲ πάντα καταρ-128
him Histiaeus the Milesian, whom Darius had now kept for a long while with him, and said: "I learn, Histiaeus! that your vicegerent, to whom you gave Miletus in charge, has done me strange wrong: he has brought men from the mainland overseas, and persuaded to follow them certain Ionians,—who shall yet pay me the penalty of their deeds,—and has robbed me of Sardis. Now, therefore, I ask you, how think you that this is well done? And how came such things to be done without counsel from you? Look well to it, that you have not cause to blame yourself hereafter." To this Histiaeus made answer: "Sire, what is this word that you utter—that I and none other should devise a plan whence aught great or small was like to arise for your hurt? And what then have I to desire, and what do I lack, that I should do that? All that you have is mine, and I am deemed worthy to hear all your counsels. Nay, if indeed my vicegerent has any such thing in hand as this whereof you speak, be well assured that he has acted of his own motion. For myself, I cannot even so much as believe the report that the Milesians and my vicegerent are doing you strange wrong. But if it appears that they are so dealing, and it is the truth, O king, that you have heard, then I bid you perceive what it was that you wrought when you brought me from the sea into exile. For it would seem that the Ionians have taken occasion by my being removed out of their sight to do that whereon their hearts had long been set; but had I been in Ionia no city would have stirred. Now therefore send me away on my journey to Ionia with all speed, that I may bring that country to its former peace, and deliver into
tίσω ἐς τῶν καὶ τῶν Μιλήτου ἐπίτροποι τούτων τῶν ταύτα μηχανήσαμεν ἐγχειρίθησαν παραδῷ. ταύτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὺν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπι-όμνυμι τοὺς βασιλείους μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύ-σασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθώνα καταβήσησαι ἐσ Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἄν τοι Σαρδῷ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην δασμοφό-ρον ποιήσας.

107. Ἰστιαῖας μὲν λέγων ταύτα διέβαλλε, Δαρείος δὲ ἐπείθητο καὶ μιν ἁπίει, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετο οἱ ἐπίτελεα ποιήσῃ, παρα-γίνεσθαι οἱ ὅπως ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

108. Ἐν δὲ ἡ ἀγγελία τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνήμι καὶ Δαρείος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαῖος ἐκ λόγους ἴλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε. πολιορ-κέουτι τῷ Σαλαμήνῳ Ὀνήσιλῳ Ἀρμαθασίου ἐξαγγέλλεται νησὶ στρατηγὶν πολλὴν ἄγουτα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ προσδόκειμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κῆρυκας διέσεμπτε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλεύμενος σφέας, Ἰωνὶς δὲ οὗκ ἐς μακρήν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκουν πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἰωνὶς τε δὴ παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νησὶ δια-βάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλίκὶς ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ. τῇς δὲ νησὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλεον τὴν ἀκρὴν αἱ καλεῦνται Κληῖδες τῆς Κύπρου.

109. Τούτῳ δὲ τοιούτῳ γνωμένου ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου, συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰωνῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, "Ανδρέας Ἰωνίς, αἴρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι ὑκοτέρωσι βούλεσθε.
your hands that vicegerent of Miletus who has devised all this. Then, when I have done this according to your desire, I swear by the gods of your kingship\(^1\) that I will not doff the tunic which I wear when I go down to Ionia, ere I make Sardo,\(^2\) the greatest of the isles of the sea, tributary to you.”

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

108. Now while the message concerning Sardis went up to the king, and Darius, having done as I said with his bow, held converse with Histiaeus, and Histiaeus being suffered to go by Darius made his way to the sea, in all this time matters fell out as I shall show. While Onesilus of Salamis was besieging the Amathusians, news was brought him that Artybius, a Persian, was thought to be coming to Cyprus with a great Persian host; learning which, Onesilus sent heralds about to Ionia to summon the people, and the Ionians after no long deliberation came with a great armament. So the Ionians were in Cyprus when the Persians, crossing from Cilicia, marched to Salamis by land, while the Phoenicians in their ships sailed round the headland which is called the Keys of Cyprus.\(^3\)

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

\(^1\) Cp. III. 65. In the inscription at Persepolis Darius invokes Ormazd and the “gods of his race.”

\(^2\) Sardinia.

\(^3\) “The promontory (Cap St. André) at the end of the long tongue of land now ‘the Carpass’” (How and Wells).
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προσφέρεσθαι, ἡ Πέρσης ἡ Φοίνιξ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τεξῆθη βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσεών διαπειράσθαι, ἄρη ἂν εἰ τὴ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι τεξῆθη, ἡμέας δὲ ἐστὶ τὰς νεᾶς ἐσθαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξι ἀνταγωνισμένους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μᾶλλον βούλεσθε διαπειράσθαι, ποιεῖν χρεόν ἐστὶ ὑμέας, ὡκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλησθε, ὡκώς τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἔσται ἡ τε Ἰωνίη καὶ ἡ Κύπρος ἐλευθέρη." εἶπαν Ἰωνες πρὸς ταῦτα "'Ημέας δὲ ἀπέτεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν Κυπρίοις τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ πεξῇ Πέρσησι προσφερόμεθα. ἡμείς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶ θὰ χρηστοὶ· ὑμέας δὲ χρεόν ἐστὶ ἀναμνησθέντας αὐτα ἐπάσχετε δούλευστε πρὸς τῶν Μήδων, γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀνάγνωσι.

110. Ἰωνες μὲν τούτοις ἀμείβοντο· μετὰ δὲ ἠκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμνίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τούς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμνίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων ἀπολέγαντες τὸ ἀριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσησι· Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἔθελοντῇ ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος.

111. Ἡλαυνε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτυβίος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλήτην ἱσταθεῖν ὅρθον. πυθόμενος δὲν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἢν γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστὶς γένος μὲν Κἀρ τὰ δὲ πολέμα κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἰπὲ πρὸς τούτον "Πυθόμενοι μὲν τὸν Ἀρτυβίον ἵππον ἰστάμενον ὅρθον καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζονται πρὸς τὸν ἀν προσενεχθῇ. σὺ ὧν βουλευσάμενος εἰπὲ αὐτίκα 132.
you will encounter, the Persians or the Phoenicians. For if you will set your army in array on land and try conclusions with the Persians, then it is time for you to get you out of your ships and array yourselves on land, and for us to embark in your ships to contend with the Phoenicians; but if you desire rather to try conclusions with the Phoenicians, you must so act, whichever you choose, that as far as in you lies Ionia and Cyprus shall be free." To this the Ionians answered, "Nay, we were sent by the common voice of Ionia to guard the seas, not to deliver our ships to men of Cyprus and encounter the Persians on land. We will essay then to bear ourselves bravely in the task whereunto we were set; and it is for you to prove yourselves valiant men, remembering what you suffered when you were slaves to the Medians."

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

111. Now the horse whereon Artybius rode was trained to fight with men-at-arms by rearing up. Hearing this, Onesilus said to his esquire (who was Carian born, of great renown in war, and a valiant man ever), "I learn that Artybius' horse rears up and kicks and bites to death whomsoever he encounters. Bethink you then and tell me straightway
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οὐκότερον δοῦλεα θυάξας πλῆξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα οὐκ ὁ ὦ σῶν
αὐτοῦ ὦ Βασιλεῖ, ἔτοιμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ποιεῖν
καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἵππον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως
tὸ ἄν τι ἐπίτασσης· ὡς μεντοὶ ἔμοι ἔμοι δοκεῖι εἶναι
tοῖς σοὶ πρῆγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω.

Βασιλεῖα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεῶν εἶναι φημὶ
Βασιλείῳ τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεσθαι. ἦν τε
γὰρ κατέληγος ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν, μέγα τοῦ γίνεται,
καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ
ἀξιοχέου καὶ ἀποθάνειν ἡμίσεα συμφορή· ἡμέας
de τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέρωσί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέ-
ρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς
μὴ δὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦ ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν
ἄνδρὸς ἐτί γε μηδενὸς στήσεσθαι ἐναντίον.”

112. Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταντίκα συνείμησε τὰ
στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νησί. νησὶ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἰωνί
ακροὶ γενόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ὑπερεξάλωντο
toὺς Φοίνικας, καὶ τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν
πεζῇ δε, ὡς συνίηθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα
ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀμφότερος
τάδε ἐγίνετο· ὡς προσφέρετο πρὸς τὸν 'Ονησίλου
ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱππού κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνή-
σιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ παῖεί
προσφερόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν 'Αρτύβιον ἐπιβαλλόντος
de τοῦ ἱπποῦ τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου
ἀσπίδα, ἐνθάδει ὁ Κάρε δρεπάνῳ πλῆξας ἀπ-
αρίστες τοῦ ἱπποῦ τοὺς πόδας.

113. Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περ-
σέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἱππῷ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. μαχο-
μένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Στηνήνωρ τύραννος ἔσσω
Κοιρίου προδιδόθη ἔχων δύναμιν ἄνδρῶν περὶ
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which you will watch and smite, Artybius himself or his horse.” To this his henchman answered, “O King, ready am I to do either or both, and whatever your bidding be, that to do; yet I will tell you what I judge to accord best with your state. To my mind, it is right that king and general should by king and general be encountered. For if you lay low a man that is a general, you have achieved a great feat; and failing that, if he lay you low (as I pray he may not), it is but half the misfortune to be slain by a noble foe; and for us that are servants it is meet that we fight with servants like ourselves, yea, and with that horse; fear not his tricks; for I promise you that never again shall he do battle with any man.”

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

113. Thus and there fell Artybius the Persian general, with his horse. While the rest yet fought, Stesenor despot of Curium (which is said to be an
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114. Ὅνησίλων μὲν νῦν Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ὅτι σφέας ἑπαλιόρκησε, ἀποταμῶντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα καὶ μὲν ἀνεκρέμασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἦδη ἔνυσις κοίλης, ἐσμὸς μελισσών ἐσόδις ἐς αὐτὴν κηρίων μὲν ἐνέπλησε. τούτω δὲ γενομένῳ τοιούτω, ἔχρεωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ἐμαντεῦθη σφὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόυτας θάψας, Ὅνησίλω δὲ θύειν ὡς ἦρωι ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος, καὶ σφὶ ποιεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἄμεινον συνοίσσεθαι.

115. Ἀμαθοῦσιοι μὲν νῦν ἐποίειν ταῦτα καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἔμειν Ἰωνεσ δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχήσαντες ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὅνησίλω δι- εθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλις τῶν Κυπρίων πολιορ- κευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταῦτην δὲ Γόργω τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλέως Σαλαμίνος παραδόντας, αὐτίκα μαθόντες οἱ Ἰωνεσ ταῦτα ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν. τῶν δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ πολίων ἀντέσχευσαν ήπὶ πλείστον πολιορκευμένη Σόλοι, τὴν πέριξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος πέμπτῳ μηνὶ ἐλλοῦν οἱ Πέρσαι.
Argive settlement) played the traitor, with his great company of men; and at the treachery of the Curians the war-chariots of the Salaminians did likewise. Thus it was brought about, that the Persians gained the upper hand over the Cyprians. So the army was routed, and many were there slain; among whom was Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had wrought the Cyprian revolt, and the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus son of Philocyprus— that Philocyprus whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, extolled in a poem above all other despots.

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

115. This the Amathusians did, and have done to this day. But when the Ionians of the sea-fight off Cyprus learnt that Onesilus' cause was lost, and that all the cities of Cyprus were beleaguered save only Salamis, which the Salaminians had delivered up to their former king Gorgus, straightway at this news they made sail away to Ionia. Of the Cyprian cities that which longest stood a siege was Soli; the Persians took it in the fifth month by digging a mine under its walls.
116. Κύπριοι μὲν δὲ ἐναυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης κατεδεδουλώντο. Δαυρίσις δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα καὶ Ἱμαίης τε καὶ Ὀτάνης ἀλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοὶ, ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἑπιδιώκοντες τοὺς ἐς Σάρδις στρατευσάμενοι Ἰωνῶν καὶ ἑσαράξαντες σφέας ἐς τὰς νέας, τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτησαν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον.

117. Δαυρίσις μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ πόλις εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἶλε δὲ Ἄβυδον τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν, ταῦτας μὲν ἐπὶ ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστης αἱρεῖ, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντι οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἴλθε ἀγγελίᾳ τοὺς Κάρας τῶντο Ἰωσὶ φρονεῖσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσῶν. ἀποστρέψας δὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ἠλαύνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην.

118. Καὶ κως ταῦτα τοῖς Καραῖ ἑξαγγέλθη πρῶτον ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσιν ἀπικέσθαι πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κάρες συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Δευκάς τε στήλας καλοιμένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσάνην, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδριάδος χώρης ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἑκδιδοῖ. συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἀλλαὶ τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξαδάρου τοῦ Μαυσολίου άνδρος Κινδυέος, δς τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως Συνενέσιος εἰχε θυγατέρα τοῦτο τοῦ άνδρος ἡ γνώμη ἐφεξῆς διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κάρας καὶ κατὰ νότου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὗτο συμβάλλειν, ἱνα μὴ ἔχοντες ὑπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κάρες αὐτοῖ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γινοιτὶ ἐτὶ ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. οὕτη

1 In 497.
BOOK V. 116-118

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

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

118. It chanced that news of this was brought to the Carians before Daurises coming; and when the Carians heard, they mustered at the place called the White Pillars, by the river Marsyas ² which flows from the region of Idria and issues into the Maeander. There they mustered, and many plans were laid before them, the best of which, in my judgment, was that of Pixodarus of Cindya, son of Mausolus (he had to wife the daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia); the purport of Pixodarus' opinion was, that the Carians should cross the Maeander and fight with the river at their back, that so being unable to flee and compelled to stand their ground they might prove themselves even braver than nature made them. Yet not this, but another

¹ Modern Tshina; not to be confused with the better known Marsyas in Phrygia, also a tributary of the Maeander.
μέν νυν οὐκ ἔνικα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πέρσησι κατὰ νότου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἡ σφίσι, δηλαδὴ ἡν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέσω τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119. Μετὰ δὲ παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων, ἔνθατα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύῃ ποταμῷ συνέβαλον τε τοῖς Πέρσησι οἱ Κάρες καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἱσχυρῶς καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν, τέλος δὲ ἐσσωθήσαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἐπέσεον ἄνδρες ἐς δισκυλίους, Καράδων δὲ ἐς μυρίους. ἔνθευτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Δάβραυνθα ἐς Δίας στρατίου ἰρόν, μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλος σπαταλιστῶν. μοῦνοι δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδωμεν Κάρες εἰσὶ οἱ Δῖες στρατίων θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες δὲ ὃν ὄντοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὡς παραδόντες σφέας αὐτοῦς Πέρσησι ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν Ἀσίην ἁμαρτον πρήξουσι.

120. Βουλευομένουσι δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα παραγίνονται βοηθείας Μιλήσιοι τε καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετῆκαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῷς πολεμέειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. καὶ ἔτιοσι τε τοῖς Πέρσησι συμβάλλουσι καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ πρότερον ἐσσωθήσαν πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν μάλιστα Μιλήσιοι ἐπλήγησαν.

121. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο τὸ τρόμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμαχέσαντο οἱ Κάρες, πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύονται ὁρμέαται οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ὀδόν, ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ
opinion prevailed, to wit, that the Persians and not the Cilicians should have the Maeander at their back, the intent being that if the Persians were worsted in the battle and put to flight they should not escape but be hurled into the river.

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

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

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

1 Site of the cult of a war-god, whose emblem was the λάβρυς or battle-axe.
αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης· σὺν δὲ σφὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἑρακλείδης Ἰβανῶλλιος ἀνὴρ Μυλασσεύς.

122. Οὕτως μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν Ἦμαίνης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἕως τῶν ἐπιδιομένων ἡμών, ἐξελὼν, ὡς ἐπιθύμεσον τῶν Ἐλλήσποντος ἐκλελυθείη Ἰωνίας καὶ στρατεύσερας ἐπὶ Καρίας, καταλείπον τὴν Ἐλλησπόντος ἡγεία τῶν στρατῶν, καὶ εἶπε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα νέμονται, εἰπε δὲ Γέρμηθας τοὺς ὑπολείπετας τῶν ἄρχαίων Τευκρῶν αὐτός τε Ἦμαίνης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνεὶα νοῦσῳ τελευτᾶ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι.

123. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε Ἄρταφρένης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχός καὶ Ὁτάνθης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίας μὲν νυν Κλαξομενᾶς αἴρεουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

124. Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἦν γὰρ ὡς διέδεξε Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, διὸ ταράξας τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐγκεκρασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμόν ἐβούλευε ὁ ὅρεων ταῦτα πρὸς δὲ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρείων ὑπερβαλέσθαι πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὅπως συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβούλευτο, λέγων ὡς ἄμεινον σφίσι εἰή κρησφύγητον τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἦν ἀρα ἐξαθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου, εἰτε δὴ ὃν ἦν Ἀρδοὺ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἀγω ἐς ἀνοικίαν, εἰτε ἐς
their generals, Daurises and AmORGes and Sisimaces; and with these fell also Myrsus, son of Gyges. The captain of this ambuscade was Heraclides of Mylesas, son of Ibanollis.

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

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

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

125. Ἐκαταίον μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὔδετέρην στέλλειν ἐφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νῆσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἁυχίνην ἁγείν, ἢν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπείτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενον κατελευσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου.

126. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταιὸς συνεβούλευε, αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρη ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἤν ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μιλήτου ἐπιτράπει Πυθαγόρη ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τῶν βουλόμενον ἐπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρήκην, καὶ ἐσχε τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ ἡν ἐστάλη ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρήκεων αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατήμενος καὶ ἃντομένων τῶν Θρήκεων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξεῖναι.
in Edonia, which Histiaeus had received as a gift from Darius and fortified. Thus questioned Aristagoras.

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

126. Such was the counsel of Hecataeus, but Aristagoras himself deemed it best to take his departure for Myrcinus. So he entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of repute, and himself sailed to Thrace with any that would follow him, and took possession of the place whither he had set out; and issuing from thence he was put to the sword by the Thracians, he and his army, while he beleaguered a town, even though the Thracians were ready to depart from it under treaty.
BOOK VI
1. Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίην ἀποστήσας οὔτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαίος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδις· ἀπηγ-μένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν Σοῦσων εἰρετο Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος κατὰ κοίνον τι δοκεόι Ἰωνᾶς ἀπεστάναι. δὲ οὔτε εἰδέναι ἐφή ἑθώμαζε τῇ γεγονός, ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρήγμά-των ἐπιστάμενος. δὲ Ἀρταφρένης ὀρέων αὐτοῦ τεχνάξοντα εἰπε, εἰδὼς τῇ ἀτρεκείᾳ τῆς ἀπο-στάσιος, ὡς ὁ ὅτι Ἰστιαίε ἔχει κατὰ τάυτα τὰ πρήγματα· τούτῳ τῷ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης.

2. Ἀρταφρένης μὲν τάυτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἰπε. Ἰστιαίος δὲ δείσας ὡς συνιέντα Ἀρτα-φρένεα ὑπὸ τὴν πρῶτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νῦκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείου ἔξηπτηκός ὁς Σαρδώ νήσου τὴν μεγίστην ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργά-σασθαι ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς Δαρείου πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐκ Χίου ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήγματα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. μα-θόντες μὲντοι οἱ Χίοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέμοις εἶναι βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτὸν.
BOOK VI

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

2. Thus said Artaphrenes regarding the revolt; and Histiaeus, affrighted by Artaphrenes' understanding of the matter, fled at the next nightfall to the sea; for he had deceived Darius, promising to subdue Sardo, the greatest of the islands, with secret intent to make himself leader of the Ionians in their war against Darius. Crossing over to Chios, he was taken and bound by the Chians, they judging him to be sent by Darius to do them some mischief; howbeit when they learnt the whole story of his enmity to the king they set him free.
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3. 'Ενθαύτα δὴ εἰρωτώμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος κατ' ὦ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῳ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἰπ’ Ἰωνᾶς ἔξεργασμένος, τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῦ σφὶ αἰτήν οὐ μάλα ἔξεβαινε, δὲ ἔλεγε σφὶ ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ κατοικί- σαι, Ἰωνᾶς δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοίνικῃ, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα ἐπιστείλειε. οὔδέν τι πάντως ταύτα βασιλέως βουλευσάμενου ἐδειμάτο τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἐρμίππου ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνίτεω τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἔσυπε Περσέων ἐπέμπτε βυβλία, ὡς προλεκ- σχημευμένων αὐτὸ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἐρμίππος πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία Ἀρταφρένει. δὲ μαθών, πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἐρμίππου τὰ μὲν παρά τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσι περ ἐφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαία τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαῖῳ ἐωτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαύτα τοῦ πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφρένης.

5. Περὶ Σάρδισ μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή. Ἰστιαίον δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίοι κατήγων ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίοι δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλησίουι, ἀσέμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρως, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, οἷα ἔλευθερίας γευσάμενοι καὶ δὴ νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐούσης βίη ἐπεφάρτο κατῴων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκεται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. δὲ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπώστος τῆς ἔωτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπ-
BOOK VI. 3-5

3. Then Histiaeus was asked by the Ionians, why he had so zealously charged Aristagoras to revolt from the king and done the Ionians so great harm; the true reason he did by no means reveal to them, but told them instead that king Darius had planned to remove the Phoenicians and settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenice; for this reason, he said, he had sent the charge. No such plan had the king made; but Histiaeus would affright the Ionians.

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

5. So troubles arose in Sardis. Histiaeus being disappointed of this hope, the Chians brought him back to Miletus, at his own entreaty. But the Milesians were glad enough to be rid of Aristagoras himself, and had no wish to receive another despot into their country, now that they had tasted of freedom; and when Histiaeus essayed by night to force his way into Miletus, he was wounded by a Milesian in the thigh. So, being thrust out from
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ικνέται ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεύτευν δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπείθε τοὺς Χίους ὡστε ἐωτῷ δούναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην καὶ ἔπεισε Λέσβιους δοῦναι οἱ νέας. οὐ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὁκτὼ τριήρεις ἔπλεον ἀμα Ἰστιαῖφ ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλεοῦσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον, πλὴν ἢ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαῖφ ἐφασαν ἐτοιμοὶ εἶναι πείθεσθαι.

6. Ἰστιαῖφ μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναίοι ἐποίειν ταῦτα. ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεξὸς ἢν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ ἐν ποιήσαντες στρατόπεδον ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τὰλλα πολίσματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος παιησάμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν ἦσαν προδυμότατοι, συνε-στρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωτὲ κατεστραμ-μένου καὶ Κίλικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστρατεύοντο, Ἰωνεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπεμπον προβοῦλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιώνιον. ἀπικομένοις δὲ τούτοις ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον καὶ βουλευομένοις ἐδοξε πεξὸν μὲν στρατὸν μηδένα συλλέγειν ἀντίξουν Πέρσης, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχα ῥύεσθαι αὐτῶς Μιλησίους, τὸ δὲ ναυτι-κὸν πληρὸν ὑπολιπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν, πληρώσαντας δὲ συλλέγεσθαι τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐς Λάδην προναυμαχήσοντας τῆς Μίλητον. ἡ δὲ Λάδη ἑστὶ νῆσος μικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλησίων κείμενη.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πεπληρωμένησι τῆσι νησὶ παρῆσαν οἱ Ἰωνεῖς, σὺν δὲ σφὶ καὶ Αἰολέων οὐσὶ τὴν Δέσβον νέμονται. ἔτασσοντο δὲ ἄδε. τὸ μὲν 152
BOOK VI. 5-8

his own city, he went back to Chios; and there, when he could not persuade the Chians to give him ships, he crossed over to Mytilene and strove to persuade the Lesbians to give him ships. They manned eight triremes, and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium; there they encamped, and seized all the ships that were sailing out of the Euxine, save when the crews consented to serve Histiaeus.

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

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

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

1 Cp. I. 148.
ΗΡΟ∆ΟΤΟΣ

πρὸς τὴν ἧδω εἵχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλῆσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὑδάκτυον· εἵχοντο δὲ τοῦτων Πριηνεός δυσδέκαν υψικαὶ καὶ Μυησιῶν τρισὶ υψικαὶ, Μυησιῶν δὲ Τήριοι εἵχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα υψικαὶ, Ἡρώων δὲ εἵχοντο Χίοι ἐκατόν υψικαὶ πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι Εὔρυθραιοί τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαές, Ἐρυθραιοὶ μὲν οκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι, Φωκαές δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαέων δὲ εἵχοντο Λέσβων]νυσι ἐβδομίκουτα· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας Σάμων ἔξηκοντα υψικαὶ. πάντων δὲ τοῦτων ὁ σύμπας ἀρίθμος ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι τριήρες.

9. Αὐταί μὲν Ἰόνων ἦσαν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἐξακόσια. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐταί ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλῆσιν καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἄπας παρῆν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσεῶν στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένονται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν Μιλήτου οἷοι τε ἐωσὶ ἔξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἔοντες ναυκράτορες, πρὸς τε Δαρείου κυνδυνεύσωσι κακὸν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰόνων τοὺς τυράννους, οἳ ὑπ’ Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἄρχεων ἐφευγον ἐς Μήδους, ἐτύγχανον δὲ τὸτε συστρατεύομενοι ἕπι τὴν Μιλήτου, τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεύοντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγον σφι τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνε, νῦν τις ὑμέων εἰ ποιῆσας φανῆτω τῶν βασιλέων οἶκον τοὺς γὰρ ἐωντοῦ ἐκατός ὑμέων πολιτάς πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχοῦ. προϊσχόμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε ἀχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδὲ σφι οὔτε

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battle:—The Milesians themselves had the eastern wing, bringing eighty ships; next to them were the men of Priene with twelve ships, and they of Myus with three; next to the men of Myus were the men of Teos with seventeen ships; next to these the Chians with a hundred; near these in the line were the Erythraeans, bringing eight ships, and the Phocaeans with three, and next to these the Lesbians with seventy; last of all in the line were the Samians, holding the western wing with sixty ships. All these together attained to the number of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

9. These were the Ionian ships; the ships of the foreigners were six hundred. Now these, too, being come to the Milesian shore, and all their land power being there, the Persian generals, when they learnt the number of the Ionian ships, began to fear lest they should be too weak to overcome the Greeks, and thereby, if they had not the mastery of the sea, should fail of taking Miletus and peradventure be evilly entreated by Darius. Having this in mind, they assembled the despots of the Ionians, who had been deposed from their governments by Aristagoras of Miletus and had fled to the Medes, and were now as it chanced with the army that was led against Miletus; they assembled, I say, as many of these as were with them, and thus they addressed them: “Men of Ionia, let each one of you now show that he has done good service to the king’s house; let every one of you essay severally to separate his own countrymen from the rest of the allied power. Set this before them, and promise withal, that they shall suffer no hurt for their rebellion, and that neither
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tà irla ous te tâ tîdia èmpetprήstetai, oude òniioteren èuxousi oudeâ ònôrteron èychon. eì de taûta meûn ou poiîousou, ou dè pàntwos diâ màchhès èleûsontau, tâde ëedh sphi légyete ètpereâdounte, tâ per sphiès kataêxi, òs èssowhèntes tî màchh èxanpraïo-
dieûntai, kai òs sphièn touîs pайдas èktomîaîs poiîsoumen, tâs dè parbhêousa ànasmàstous èx 
Bàktra, kai òs tîn òhrhèn àlloisoi paraô-
soumen."  

10. Oû meûn dè èleugou tâde. tôw dè 'Iâwn ouî tûraunoi diêpemîon nuktoû èkastos ès touîs èwoutou èxagugelîmenos. ou dè 'Iwes, ès touîs kai àp-
íkonto aûtau aî àngelîaî, àngwmosùnyte diexhreîw-
to kai ou prosoïnto tîn òppodôsînî èwoutoîsi dè èkastoi èdôkeon moûnoiîs tâûta pouîs Pérsas èxagugelîsebhaî. 

11. Taûta meûn nwn ìdèoûs àpikomènou ès tîn Mîlhtoû tôw Pereônèw ègîneto: metà dè tîw 
'Iâwn ouî syllexhèntou ès tîn Dàdhn ègînontò 
àgoraî, kai òh kou sphi kai àlloî òggroînto, 
èn dè òh kai o 'Fwkaeûs strátetghôs Dîouvùios 
leugou tâde. "Èppì ëyrou ãâp èkamîhès èxetai òmîn 
tà prîghmatâ, àndres 'Iwes, òh èînai èleuthéroîsì 
h dôuloîsi, kai touîtoûsi òs dîrphêtiînî nîn òoû 
ûmeîs meûn boûlîse talaîtpoîias ènêkesthai, 
to parakhîma meûn pînon òmîn èxstai, oloî te dè 
ësesèthe ùperebâlîmenoi tûs ènántiûs èînai èleu-
thèrou: eî dè malakîh te kai àtaçîh diaxhîsesthe, 
oudeûn òmînov ëchô èlpîda mh ou dôswen òmèas 
dîkhîn bâsilîeî tîs àpôstasîos. àllî èmòi te 
pîdèsethe kai òmòi òmèas àutoûs èpîtrèpsiâte kai 
òmîn ègô, òheîw tâ ïsa neûntwû, ùpôdêkomaî òh 
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their temples shall be burnt nor their houses, nor shall they in any regard be more violently used than aforetime. But if they will not be so guided, and nothing will serve them but fighting, then utter a threat that shall put constraint upon them, and tell them that if they are worsted in battle they shall be enslaved; we will make eunuchs of their boys, and carry their maidens captive to Bactra, and deliver their land to others."

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

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

12. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἴωνες ἐπιτράπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὅ δὲ ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας, ὅκως τοῖς ἐρέτησε χρήσαιτο διέκπελεν ποιεύμενος τῇς νησίτι ἀλληλέων καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσει, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἐξέσκε ἐπὶ ἄγκυρέων, παρείχε τὰ τοῖς ἰωνίοις τὸν ἰερός ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇς ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμερέως ἐπὶ ἐπείθον τὸ κελεύμενον τῇς ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰωνίοις πόλου τοιούτων τετρυμένοι τὰς ταλαγώρισι τὰς τῇς ἁλίφῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἐωντοὺς τάδε. “Τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναιμπόμπλημεν; οὕτως παραφρονήσατε καὶ ἐκπλῶσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου ἀνδρὶ Φωκαίῳ ἀλαζόνι, παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς, ἐπιτρέψατες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐχομεν; ὅ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας λυμαίνεται λύμης ἀνηκέστοισι, καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νοῦσους πεπτόκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τῶν τούτο πολὺ πείσθαι εἰσὶ, πρὸ τῶν τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῶν ἐς κρέσσον καὶ ὅ τι ὧν ἄλλα παθεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δολήνων ὑπομείναν ἢτις ἐσται, μᾶλλον ἴ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ.” ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείσθαι οὐδεὶς ἠθελε, ἀλλ᾽ οὐαί στρατηγικῆς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέουσι καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ᾽ ἀναπειράσθαι.

13. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐκ τῶν ἴωνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ᾽
shall not meet us in battle, or if they so do they shall be utterly vanquished."

12. When the Ionians heard this, they put themselves in Dionysius' hands. He then ever put out to sea with ships in column, and having used the rowers to pierce each other's line of ships,⁠¹ and armed the fighting men on board, he would for the rest of the day keep the fleet at anchor; all day he made the Ionians work. For seven days they obeyed him and did his bidding; but on the next day, untried as they were in such labour and worn out by hard work and the sun's heat, the Ionians began to say each to other, "Against what god have we sinned that we fulfil this hard measure? We have gone clean daft and launched out into folly, committing ourselves into the hands of this Phocaean braggart, who brings but three ships; and having got us he afflicts us with afflictions incurable, whereby many of us have fallen sick already and many are like so to do; better than these ills it were for us to endure any and every lot, and abide this coming slavery whatsoever it be, rather than be oppressed by that which is now upon us. Marry, let us obey him no longer!" Thus they said; and from that day no man would obey: they built them booths on the island (as though they had been an army) wherein they lived sheltered from the sun, and never would embark in their ships nor exercise themselves therein.

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

⁠¹ This manœuvre consisted in forcing a way through the enemy's line and attacking the broadside or stern of his ships.
Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης κελεύοντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενος σφέων ἐκλαπεὶν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίαν· οἱ Σάμιοι δὲ ὅρωντες ἐσύσων ἀμα μὲν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἀμα δὲ κατεφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἄδυνατα τὰ βασιλείας πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, ει δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς εἴ καὶ τὸ παρεῦν ναυτικὸν ὑπερβαλοῖατο τὸν Δαρείου, ἀλλο σφὶ παρέσται πενταπλήσιον. προφάσιος δὲν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἔπειτε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἰώνας οὐ βουλομένους εἶναι χρηστούς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιεύντο περιποίησα τὰ τε ἱρά τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἱδία. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἥν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, τύραννος δὲ ἔων Σάμων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρου ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἄρχην κατὰ περ οἱ ἀλλο τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.

14. Τότε ὁὐ ἔπηκ ἐπέπλεσον οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἰωνεῖς ἀντανήγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγύνοντο καὶ συνέμεισαν ἀλληλοιοί, τὸ ἐνθεύετον ὅπε ἐχὼ ἀτρεκέως συγγράφει οίτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγύνοντο ἀνδρεῖς κακοὶ ἡ ἄγαθοι ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκεα ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποπλῶσα ἐκ τῆς τάξιος ἐς τὴν Σάμου, πλὴν ἐνδεκά νεὼν τοῦτων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενοι καὶ ἑνανυμάχοις ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοὺς καὶ σφὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρόγυμμα ἐν στήλη ἀναγράφηναι πατρόθεν ὡς ἀνδράσι ἄγαθοίς γενομένοις, καὶ ἔστι
that message which Aeaces son of Syloson had already sent them at the Persians' bidding, entreat-
ing them to desert the Ionian alliance; now there-fore, when they saw much disorder on the Ionian side, they consented to the message; moreover, it seemed to them to be a thing impossible to overcome the king's power, and they were well assured that if they overcame Darius' present fleet they would have another fivefold greater on their hands. Therefore as soon as they saw that the Ionians would not be serviceable, they laid hold on that for a pretext, thinking themselves in luck's way so to save their temples and their own houses. This Aeaces, to whose message the Samians consented, was son of Syloson the son of Aeaces, and had been despot of Samos, till he was deposed from his government by Aristagoras of Miletus, even as the other Ionian despots.

14. Now therefore, when the Phoenician fleet came sailing against them, the Ionians for their part put out to sea with their ships in column. When they drew near together and met in battle, which of the Ionians did thereafter quit themselves ill or well in that sea-fight my history cannot with exactness record; for they all blame each other. But this is said, that the Samians, according to their compact with Aeaces, did then make all sail for Samos, leaving their post, all save eleven ships, the captains whereof stood their ground and fought, disobeying their admirals; and by reason of this deed the Samian people granted them for their valour that their names and their fathers' should be engraved on a pillar, which pillar now stands in their
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αὐτὴ ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Δέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας τῶν ἔποιεν τοῖς Σαμῖοισι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἔποιεν τὰ αὐτὰ τάντα.

15. Τῶν δὲ παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυµαχίᾳ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χῖοι ὡς ἀποδεικνύμενοι τε ἔργα λαµπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρεῖχοντο μὲν γάρ, ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκάστης αὐτῶν ἀνδρὰς τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπιβατεύοντας. ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συµµάχων προδοντας οὐκ ἐδικαίειν γίνεσθαι τοῖς κακοίσι αὐτῶν ὁµοιοῖ, ἀλλὰ μετ’ ὀλίγων συµµάχων μεµονωμένοι διεκπέλοντες ἐναυµάχεον, ἐς τὸν πολεµίων ἐλόντες νέας συχνας ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετερέων τὰς πλεύνας.

16. Χῖοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇ τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγοναι ἐς τὴν ἐσωτερικὴν ὅσοις δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νεαὶ ὑπὸ τρωμάτων, οὕτως δὲ ὡς ἐδιώκοντο καταφυγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτὸ ταύτη ἐποκείλαντες κατέληκαν, οἱ δὲ πεζη ἐκοµίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἑπείρου. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν κοµµόμενοι οἱ Χῖοι, νυκτὸς τε γάρ ἀπίκατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξιν αὐτῶθι θεσµοφορίων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφεσιοὶ, ὠπε ἀποκηκοότες ὡς εἰχε περὶ τῶν Χίων ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς τὴν χώρην ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυν σφέας καταδέξαντες εἶναι κλώτας καὶ ἑναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναίκας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεί καὶ ἐκείνοιν τοὺς Χῖους.

17. Οὕτως μὲν τοῖς τοιαύτης περιεπιπτον τύχῃσι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαῖος ἐπείτε ἔμαθε 162
market-place. But the Lesbians, seeing their neighbours fly, did even as the Samians; and so, too, the greater part of the Ionians did likewise.

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

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

17. They, then, met with such fate as I have said. As for Dionysius the Phocaean, when he saw that
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tōn Ἰῶνων tā πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα, νέας ἐλαύντες τῶν πολεμιῶν ἀπέπλεε ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὐδίδως ὡς ἀνδραποδεῖται σὺν τῇ ἀλλῇ Ἰωνίᾳ δὲ δὲ ἰδέως ὡς εἶχε ἐπλεε ἐς Φοινίκην, γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ ἐπλεε ἐς Σικελίαν, ὀμομένους δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ληστής κατεστήκηκε Ἕλληνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν.

18. Ὡς δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰωνας, τὴν Μιλησίαν πολιορκεύοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα καὶ παντοῦς μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ’ ἀκρης ἐκτῷ ἐτεί ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταχόρεως καὶ ἠδραποδίσατο τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε συμπεσείν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μιλησίαν γενομένῳ.

19. Χρεωμένωνι γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τῆς σφετέρης ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ὡς αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀργείων φέρουν, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς τῶν Ἀργείων ἔχον, ἐπεδῖν κατὰ τοῦτο γένομαι τοῦ λόγου, τὸτε μηνοςθήσομαι: τὰ δὲ τούτι Μιλησίουσι ὅπως περευσώ ἔχρησε, ἔχει ὅδε.

καὶ τότε δὴ, Μιλησίη κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων, πολλοῖςθιν δειπνῶν τε καὶ ἀγυλαδ ὅρα γενήθη, σαλ δ’ ἀλοχοὶ πολλοῖς πόδας νύψουσι κομήταις, νησοῦ δ’ Ἦμετέρου Διδύμων ἄλλοιςι μελήσει.

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

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the Ionian cause was lost, he sailed away with three enemy ships that he had taken; but not to Phocaea, now that he knew well that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia; he sailed then and there with a straight course to Phoenice instead, and having sunk there certain galleons and taken much substance he made sail to Sicily, making which his station he set up for a pirate, robbing Carchedonians and Tyrrenhians, but no Greeks.

18. When the Persians had vanquished the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, till in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras they took the city high and low and enslaved it.¹ Thus did this calamity accord with the oracle concerning Miletus.

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

In that day, Miletus, thou planner of works that are evil,
Thou for a banquet shalt serve and a guerdon rich of the spoiler;
Many the long-locked gallants whose feet shall be washed by thy women;
Woe for my Didyman² shrine! no more shall its ministers tend it.

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tότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὁκότε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἄνδρα-πόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, ἵρον δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις καὶ ὁ νησὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρυστήριον συληθέντα ἐνεπίμ- πρατο. τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολ- λάκις μνήμην ἔτερωθι τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην.

20. Ἐνθεύτεν οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἁγιοτὸ ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφέας Δαρείος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἔτι τῇ Ἐρυ-θρῇ καλεσμένῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐν Ἠμυτή πόλι, παρ’ ἦν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξει. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπερά- κρια ἔδοσαν Καρόλ Πηδασεύστι ἐκτῆσαί.

21. Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίους πρὸς Περ- σέων οὐκ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν ὁμοίαν Συβαρίται, οἱ Δαόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβαρίως γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιτέων Μιλη- σιοῦ πάντες ἡβιδοῦ ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προσεκήκαντο. πόλεις γὰρ αὐταὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθη- σαν οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναίοι. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ δὴλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσι τῇ τε ἄλλη πολλαξῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυα τε ἐπέσε τὸ βέθρουν, καὶ ἐξημιωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆα κακὰ χιλεῖσι δραχμῆσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηδέναι χράσαν τούτῳ τὸ δράματι.

22. Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἡρήμωτο. Σα-
BOOK VI. 19-22

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

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

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

22. Miletus then was left empty of its people.
μίων δὲ τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μὴδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθέν οὐδαμῶς ἦρεσκε, ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευομένοις, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπικέ-σθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεα, ἐς ἀποκινή ἐκπλείειν μηδὲ μένοντας Μὴδοῦσι τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαίωι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τούτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀγγέλους ἐπεκα- λέοντο τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐς Καλήν ἀκτήν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαν Ἰώνων. ἢ δὲ Καλῆ αὐτῇ ἀκτῇ καλεομένῃ ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρση- νίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης. τούτων δὲ ἐπικα- λεομένων οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν, σὺν δὲ σφι Μιλησίωι οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες· ἐν φὶ τοιώδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι.

23. Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἑς Σικελίην ἐγένετο ἐν Δοκροῖς τοῖσι Ἐπίζεφυρίοις, καὶ Ζαγκλαίοι αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἡν Σκύθης, περικατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελών ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ρηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλεως, τότε ἑων διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμίξας τοῖσι Σάμιοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρεὼν εἰη Καλήν μὲν ἀκτῇ, ἐπ’ ἥν ἐπλευσε, ἐὰν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐσύσαν ἐρημοῦ ἀνδρῶν. πειθο-μένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαίοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐωτών, ἐβοήθεον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἰπποκράτα τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὕτος σύμμαχος. ἐπείτε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Ἰππο- κράτης σὺν τῇ στρατῇ ἴκε βοηθέων, Σκύθην μὲν

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

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

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

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

τῶν μούναρχων τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ὡς ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἰπποκράτης πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἄδελ-
φεόν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα ἐς Ἰνυκα πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε, τους δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους κοινολογησάμενοι
τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ ὁρκοῦν δοὺς καὶ δεξάμενος
προέδωκε. μισθοῖς δὲ ὁ ἦν εἰρημένος ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ
ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεὶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἰπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τους μὲν
δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτῶς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
λόγῳ ἔχει δήσας, τους δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τρι-
ηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖς Σαμίοις κατασφάξαι· οὐ
μέντοι ὁ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα.

24. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ
τῆς Ἰνυκοῦ ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐς Ἰμέρην, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα
Δαρείον· καὶ μιὰ ἔστωσε Δαρείος πάντων ἀνδρῶν
δικαιότατον εἶναι, ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος παρ’
ἔως τὸν ἀνέβησαν. καὶ γὰρ παρατησάμενοι βα-
σιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικε-
λίης ὑπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἢ δ’ ἡμὰρ μέγα ὁλίγος
ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσης. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλ-
λαχθέντες Μῆδων ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην
Ζάγκληθι περιεβεβλέατο.

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

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

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

26. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγίνετο. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ τῷ Ἔλλησων ἐντεὶ Βυβάντιοι καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι τὰς Ἰόνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλεούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξαγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ τὴν ᾿Μίλητον γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσσων ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπι-
τράπει Βισάλτῃ ᾿Απολλοφάνεος παιδὶ ᾿Αβυδηνῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Δεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἐπλέε, καὶ Χίων
φρουρὴ ὡς προσιμένη μὴν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοις
καλεομένιοι τῆς Χίης χώρης. τούτων τε δὴ
ἐφόνευσε συχνούς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Χίων, ὀλι
κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων
tοὺς Δεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων
ὁρμώμενος.

27. Φιλεῖε δὲ κως προσημαίνειν, εὐτ' ἄν μέλλῃ
μεγάλα κακᾶ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἕθεν ἐσεβέας καὶ γὰρ
Χίοις πρὸ τούτων σημῆνα μεγάλα ἐγένετο· τούτῳ
μὲν σφί πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χρονὸν νεμιέων
ἐκάτον δύο μοῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν, τοὺς δὲ
ὡς τε καὶ ἐνενήκουτα αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν
ἀπήνεικε· τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τοῦ αὐτῶν τούτων
χρόνου, ὁλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμ-
ματα διδασκομένουι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὡστε ἀπ'
ἐκάτον καὶ εἰκοσὶ παῖδων εἰς μοῦνος ἀπέφυγε.
ταῦτα μὲν σφί σημῆνα ὁ θεὸς προεδεξῇ, μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνι τὴν πόλιν
ἐβαλε, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίη ἐπεγένετο ᾿Ιστιαῖος
Δεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων δὲ τῶν Χίων, κατα-
στροφὴν εὐπτετῶς αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο.

28. Ἐνεδεύτεν δὲ ὁ ᾿Ιστιαῖος ἔστρατεύετο ἐπὶ
Θάσον ἄγων ᾿Ιόνων καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοὺς. περι-
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BOOK VI. 25–28

themselves of their own accord and others being subdued perforce.

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

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

28. Thence Histiaeus brought a great force of Ionians and Aeolians against Thasos. But while he
κατημένως δὲ οἱ Θάσοι ἦλθε ἀγγέλη ὡς οἱ Φοι-νικες ἀναπλέουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δέσβων ἦπείγετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν. ἐκ Δέσβου δὲ λιμανα- νοῦσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς πέρην διαβαίνει, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ὡς ἀμήσως τὸν σῖτον τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καίκου πεδίου τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις ἑτύχανε ἐνω “Αρταγός ἀνήρ Πέρσης στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλύγης· ὃς οἱ ἀποβάντων συμβαλῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ ζωγρή ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέθειε".

29. Ἐξωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἱστιαῖος ὁδε. ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἐλληνες τοῖς Πέρσῃς ἐν τῇ Μαλήη τῆς Ἀταρνείτιδος χώρης, οἱ μὲν συνεταύσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἢ δὲ ἵππος ύστερον ὄρμηθει σ᾽ ἐπιπλήττει τοῖς Ἐλλησί. τό τε δὴ ἔργον τῆς ἱπποῦ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐπιζωζοι οὐκ ἀπολέσσατι ὑπὸ βασιλέως διὰ τὴν παρεύπαν ἀμαρτάδα φιλοψυχίης τοῦ ἅγιον τινὰ ἀναιρεῖται· ὡς φεύγων τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἄνδρος Πέρσων καὶ ὡς καταιρεόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐμέλλε συγκεντρῆσεθαι. Περσίδα γλώσ-σαν μετεῖς καταμηνύει ἐωτῶν ὡς εἰς Ἱστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

30. Εἰ μὲν νυν, ὡς Ἐξωγρήθη, ἄχθη ἀγόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, δὲ οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπαθε κακῶν οὐδὲν δοκέειν ἔμοι, ἀπῆκε τ’ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτίνην νῦν δὲ μιν αὐτῶν τοῦτων εἴλεκα καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγῶν αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλέει γένηται, Ἀρταφρένης τε ὁ Σαρδῖων ὑπαρχος καὶ ὁ λαβὼν
beleaguered Thasos there came to him a message that the Phoenicians were putting out to sea from Miletus to attack the rest of Ionia; learning which he left Thasos unsacked, and made haste instead with all his army to Lesbos. Thence, for his men were anhungered, he crossed over with intent to reap from Atarneus the corn of that place and the Mysian corn of the Caicus plain. Now it chanced that in that region was Harpagus, a Persian, having no small force under him; who, when Histiaeus landed, met him in battle and took Histiaeus himself alive and slew the greater part of his army.

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

30. Now had he been taken prisoner and brought on his way to king Darius, no harm had been done him (to my thinking) and the king had forgiven his guilt; but as it was, Histiaeus being brought to Sardis, there both by reason of what he had done, and for fear that he might escape and again win power at the court, Artaphrenes, viceroy of Sardis,
HERODOTUS

Ἀρσαγός, ὃς ἀπίκετο ἁγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀνεστάφασαν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταρίχευσαντες ἀνήνεικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρείος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταύτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μὴν οὐ ζῶντα ἀνήγαγον ἕως ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου λούσαντας τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὐ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι ὡς ἄνδρος μεγάλως ἑωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσηςι εὐεργέτεοι.

31. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστιαίου οὖτω ἐσχε. ὡς δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὃς ἀνέπλωσε, αἱρεῖ εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ ἡπείρῳ κεμένας, Χίον καὶ Δέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινὰ τῶν νῆσων, ὡς ἐκάστην αἱρέοντες οἱ βάρ-βαροι ἐσαγηνύουν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους. σαγηνύοντο δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνὴρ ἄνδρος ἁγόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νυτὶν διήκουσι, καὶ ἐπείτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες τοὺς ἄνθρωπους. αἱροῦν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς Ἰάδας κατὰ ταύτα, πλὴν οὖν ἐσαγηνύουν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους· οὐ γὰρ οἷα τ’ ἦν.

32. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐφεύ-σαντο τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπιπείλησαν τοῖς Ἰωνίσι στρατοπεδουμένοισι ἐναυτία σφίσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδας τε τοὺς ἑνεδε-στάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμεν καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνόρχιαις εὐνούχους καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλ- λιστευόσας ἀναστάστους παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτα τε δὴ ἐποίευν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτοῦ τοίς ἱροῖσι. οὖτω τε τὸ τρίτον Ἰωνίσι 176
and Harpagus who had taken Histiaeus, impaled his body on the spot, and sent his head embalmed to king Darius at Susa. When Darius learnt of this he blamed those who had so done, because they had not brought Histiaeus before him alive; for the head, he gave command that it should be washed and buried with full observance, as the head of one that had done great good to Darius himself and to Persia.

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

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

. 33. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίας ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά ἐσπλέουσι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτοῦ πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσιν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπειροῦν. εἰς δὲ αἱ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἰδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, Χερσονησοῦς τε, ἐν τῇ πόλεις συχνὰ ἔνεισι, καὶ Περίνθους καὶ τὰ τεῖχα τὰ ἐπὶ Ἐφέσις καὶ Σηλυμβρίης τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν καὶ οἱ πέριθε Καλχηδόνιοι οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν ἑπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοῖνικας, ἀλλ' οἴχοντο ἀπολλούντες τὴν σφετέρην ἐσω ἐς τὸν Εὔβοιαν πόλιν, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίης οἰκήσαν. οἱ δὲ Φοῖνικες κατακαύσαντες ταῦτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόπην καὶ Ἀρτάκην, πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἐπλέουν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου ἐξαιρήσοντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πολιῶν, ὃς πρῶτον προσσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κύζικου οὐδὲ ἐπλῶσαν ἄρχὴν αὐτοῦ γὰρ Κυζίκηνοι ἐτὶ πρῶτον τοῦ Φοῖνικων ἐσπλόου ἐγεγονόσαν ὑπὸ βασιλέα, Οἰβάρει τῷ Μεγαβαζῷ ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ.

34. Τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου πλὴν Καρδίας πόλεος τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοῖνικες. ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτῶν μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησιμενός τὴν ἄρχην ταύτην πρῶτον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. εἶχον Δόλογκοι Θρήκες τὴν Χερσονήσου ταύτην. οὕτωι δὲν οἱ Δόλογκοι πιεσθείτες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀφινθίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας 178
been enslaved, first by the Lydians and then once and now yet again by the Persians.

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

34. As for the Chersonese, the Phoenicians subdued all the towns in it, save only Cardia. These had been ruled till then by Miltiades son of Cimon who was the son of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had been formerly won by Miltiades son of Cypselus in such manner as I will now show. The Dolonci, who were Thracians, possessed this Chersonese; they then, being hard pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their princes to Delphi to ask
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περὶ του πολέμου χρησομένους. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἄνειλε οἰκιστήν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τούτων ὅς ἄν σφέας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια καλέση. ἴόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογκοι τὴν ἱρήν ὀδὸν διὰ Φωκέων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ήσαν· καὶ σφέας ὡς οὔδες ἐκάλεσε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπὶ Ἀθηνέων.

35. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Αθήνηι την κατὰ εἰχὲ μὲν τὸ πᾶν κράτος Πεισιστράτος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε γε καὶ Μιλτιάδης ο Ἔοικελου ἐὼν οἰκίσης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγύνης γεγονός, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναίος, Φίλαιου τοῦ Αἰάντος παιδὸς γενομένου πρῶτον τῆς οἰκίσης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου. οὕτως ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατῆμενος ἐν τοῖς προθροίσι τοῖς ἐωτοῦ, ὅρεων τοὺς Δολόγκους παρῴντας ἐσθήτα ἐχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίη καὶ αἵμας προσεβώσατο καὶ σφὶ προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγῆν καὶ ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξενισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξέφαυον πὰν τὸ μαντήματι, ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέσσοντο αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ μνὶ πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραντικά ἐπεισε ο λόγος ὁνία ἀχθομενον τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ Βουλόμενον ἐκπο- δῶν εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ποιοῖ τὰ περ αὐτοῦ οἰ Δολόγκοι προσεδέοντο.

36. Κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ο Ἐοικελου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναραιρηκός πρότερον τοῦτων τεθρίππη, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου ἐπλεε ἀμα τοῖς Δολόγκοις, καὶ ἔσχε

1 "The Sacred Way seems to have led E. by Daulis, 180"
an oracle concerning the war; and the priestess in her reply bade them bring him in to found their state who should first offer them hospitality when they departed from the temple. Then the Dolonci followed the Sacred Way and journeyed through Phocis and Boeotia; and when none invited them in they turned aside towards Athens.

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

36. The priestess too bidding him consent, thereupon Miltiades son of Cypselus, that Miltiades who had ere now won a race of four-horse chariots at Olympia, took with him all Athenians who desired to share his enterprise, and sailing with the Dolonci Panopeus, and Chaeronea, then S.E. by Coronea, Haliartus, and Thebes, then S. over Cithæron to Eleusis, whence it was continued to Athens by the best-known ὑδατ. i.e. "(How and Wells.)"
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τὴν χώρην καὶ μν ὦν ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. δὲ πρώτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἱσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίνης πόλις ἐς Πακτύνη, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοις σφέαις οἱ Ἀσινθίοι δηλε- ἐσθαί ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώρην. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἐξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος ἐσω πᾶσα ἐστὶ στάδιων εἰκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος.

37. Ἀποτείχισας δὲ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονή- σου ὁ Μιλιτιάδης καὶ τοὺς Ἀσινθίοις τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἡφάσανος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρῶτοι εἶπολέ- μησε Δαμψακηνοὶ, καὶ μν ὦν οἱ Δαμψακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰρέουσι ξωγρίη. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλιτιάδης Κροῖσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονός, πυθόμενος ὁν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπτων προηγόρευε τοῖς Δαμψακηνοῖς μετεναι Μιλιτιάδεα. εἰ δὲ μὴ σφέας πίτυς τρόπου ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. πλανω- μένων δὲ τῶν Δαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τὸ πρός τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ. εἰς τὸ σφὶ ἀπείλησε ὁ Κροῖσος, πίτυς τρόπου ἐκτρίψειν, μόνης κατὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τὸ ἐδώ, ὅτι πίτυς μοῦνη πάντων διενεργῶν ἐκκοπείσα βλαστῶν μιθεῖ ἀνά- παυλήθροις ἐξαπόλλυται. δεῖσαντες ὁν οἱ Δαμ- ψακηνοὶ Κροῖσον λύσαντες μετῆκαι Μιλιτιάδεα.

38. Οὕτως μὲν δη διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει, μετὰ δὲ τελευτα ἄπασι, τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδόν τις Στησαγόρη τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφοὶ παι- δὶ ὡμομητρίον. καὶ οἱ τελευτάσαντες Χερσονήσι- ται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ, καὶ ἀγώνα ἰπτικῶν τε καὶ γυμνικῶν ἐπιστᾶσι, ἐν τῷ Δαμψακηνῶν

1 Across the isthmus of the peninsula of Gallipoli, near Bulair; a distance of about four and a half miles.
gained possession of their country; and they who had brought him in made him their despot. First he built a wall across the isthmus of the Chersonese from the town Cardia to Pactye,¹ that so the Apsinthians might not be able to harm them by invading the country. The breadth of the isthmus is six-and-thirty furlongs; and the length of the Chersonese on the hither side of that isthmus is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

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

38. So Miltiades was saved by Croesus; but afterwards he died childless, leaving his government and his possessions to Stesagoras, the son of his full brother Cimon; and since his death the men of the Chersonese have ever offered him such sacrifice as is a founder’s right, ordaining days for horse-races and feats of strength, wherein no man of Lampsacus

¹ Note: The number is likely a reference to a specific measurement or distance relevant to the isthmus of the Chersonese at the time.
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οὔδενὶ ἐγγίνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἔντος πρὸς Δαμψακηνοὺς καὶ Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἀπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρωτανήῳ πρὸς ἀνδρός αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

39. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στησαγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθάυτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στησα-γόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεῦν, καταλαμ-ψόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλ-λονσι τριήρει οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποίενυ εὐ ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τοῦ θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ σημανεῖν ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου εἶχε κατ’ οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Στησαγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμέων. οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυθανόμενοι ταύτα συνελέχθη-σαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολίων οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν, κοινῷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλ-λυπηθησόμενοι ἐδέθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἑσχε τὴν Χερσονήσου, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Ῥήκων βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Ἡγησιπύλην.

40. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεοστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθεε εἰς τὴν Χερσονήσου, κατελάμβανε δὲ μιὶν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν καταλαβόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα. τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει πρὸ τοῦτων Σκύθας ἐκφευγεί. Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ νομάδες ἐρε-θισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τού-τους ἐπιώντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἐφευγε

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is suffered to contend. But in the war against the Lampsacenes Stesagoras too met his end and died childless; he was smitten on the head with an axe in the town-hall by one that feigned to be a deserter but in truth was an enemy and a man of violence.

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

40. But not long after this Miltiades, son of Cimon, had come to the Chersonese, he was overtaken by a visitation heavier than the former. For he had been driven from the country three years ere this 1 by the Scythians, their nomad tribes, provoked by Darius, having gathered themselves together and ridden as far as the Chersonese aforesaid. Not abiding their onset, Miltiades fled from the Chersonese,

1 In 493. τρίτω μὲν γάρ, κ.τ.λ. explains how it was that Miltiades had been till now absent from the Chersonese.
Χερσόνησον, ἐς δ’ ὅ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ ἐκείνων Δόλογκοι κατήγαγον ὅπισώ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγονέε τῶν τότε μὲν κατεχόντων.

41. Τότε δὲ πυθανόμενοι εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεις πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρέοντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. καὶ ωσπερ ὀρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου παραμείβετο τε τὴν Χερσόνησον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περπιπτοῦσι τῇς νησίς οὕτως μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇς τέσσερις τῶν νεών καταφεύγει ἐς Ἰμβρον, τῇς δὲ τὸππτήν τῶν νεών κατεῖλον διάκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῇς δὲ νεώς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Ὄρηκος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἄλλης. καὶ τούτων ἀμα τῇ ἡλίου οὓς Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθα-μενοι ὡς εἶ Ἡ Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκεόντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήκε-σθαι, ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖς Ἰωσὶ πείθεσθαι κελεύουν τοῖς Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀπο-πλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωτών. Δαρείως δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχος τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κα- κὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον, ἀγαθὰ δὲ συγχά. καὶ γὰρ οἴκον καὶ κτήσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμεῖται. Μιλ- τιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβρον ἀπικύνεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας.

42. Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τούτο ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἰωσί, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖς Ἰωσὶ ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτους. Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπάρχος 186
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till the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back again. All this had happened three years before the matters that now engaged him.

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

42. In this year¹ no further deed of enmity was done by the Persians against the Ionians; but at this same time certain things happened which greatly benefited them. Artaphrenes viceroy of

¹ 493.
HERODOTUS

μεταπεμψάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολίων συμβηκα
σφίσι αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς ἤνάγκασε ποιέσθαι,
ινα δοσίδικοι εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιν τε καὶ ἀγοιν. ταύτα τε ἤνάγκασε ποιέειν, καὶ τὰς χώρας
μετρήσας σφέων κατὰ παρασάγγας, τοὺς καλέουσι
οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τρίκοντα στάδια, κατὰ δὴ τούτους
μετρήσας φόρους ἑταξε ἕκαστοις, οἱ κατὰ χώραν
diατελέουσι ἐχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεί ἐτὶ
καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφρένεος· ἐτάχ-
θησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ ταύτα καὶ πρότερον ἔχουν.
καὶ σφὶ ταύτα μὲν εἰρηναία ἦν.

43. "Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων
στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέως, Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γοβρύεω
κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν
κάρτα πεζῶν ἀμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ νικατικὸν,
ἡλικίην τε νέοι ἐων καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὸς βασι-
λέως Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρτοξωστρήνη ἅγων δὲ τὸν
στρατὸν τούτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ
Κηλικίῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἄμα
τῆς ἀλλησι νησί, στρατηγὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι
ἡγεμόνας ἥγων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντον. ὡς δὲ
παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐς
tὴν Ἰωνίην, ἕνθαυτα μέχριστον ὥμα ἐρέω τοῖς μὴ
ἀποδεκμένοις Ἐλλήνων Περσέων τοῖς ἐπτὰ
'Οτάνεα γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ὡς χρεόν ἑι ἡμο-
kρατέσθαι Περσας· τοὺς γὰρ τυράννους τῶν
Ἰωνῶν καταπυκας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημοκρα-
tίας κατίστα ἐς τὰς πόλιας. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσας
ἡπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντον. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθη
μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς
στρατὸς πολλὸς, διαβάντες τῆς νησι τοῦ Ἐλλή-
BOOK VI. 42-43

Sardis summoned to him ambassadors from the cities and compelled the Ionians to make agreements among themselves, that they might submit to redress at law and not harry and plunder each other. This he compelled them to do; and he measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty furlongs, and appointed that each people should according to this measurement pay a tribute which has remained fixed ever since that time to this day, even as it was ordained by Artaphrenes; the sum appointed was about the same as that which they had rendered heretofore. This then tended to their peace.

43. But at the beginning of spring,¹ the other generals being now deposed by the king from their offices, Mardonius son of Gobryas, a man young in years and lately wedded to Darius' daughter Artozostre, came down to the coast at the head of a very great army and fleet; with which when Mardonius was come to Cilicia, he himself embarked on shipboard and sailed with the rest of his ships, while the land army was led by other captains to the Hellespont. When Mardonius arrived at Ionia in his voyage by the coast of Asia, he did a thing which I here set down for the wonder of those Greeks who will not believe Otanes to have declared his opinion among the Seven that democracy was best for Persia:² Mardonius deposed all the Ionian despots and set up democracies in their cities. This done, he made all speed for the Hellespont; and a great multitude of ships and a great army being there assembled, the Persians crossed the Hellespont on shipboard and

¹ 492. ² III. 80.
σποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὔρωπης, ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Αθήνας.

44. Αὕτη, μὲν ὁ σφὶ πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες σῶσας ἀν πλείστας δύνανται καταστρέφεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τοῦτο μὲν δὲ τῇ τῆς θασίους οὔδε χειρας ἀνταειραμένους κατεστρέφαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεξῳ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτήσαντο· τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἐθνεα πάντα σφὶ ἢν ἧδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. ἐκ μὲν δὲ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην ὑπὸ τὴν ἥπειρον ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ακάνθου, ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὅρμωμενοι τὸν Ἁθων περιβαλλον. ἐπιπεσῶν δὲ σφὶ περιπλέουσι βορείᾳ ἀνέμων μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος κάρτα τριχέως περέστε, πληθεὶ πολλάς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἀθων. λέγεται γὰρ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δυὸ μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὅστε γὰρ θηρωδεστάτης ἐσύσης τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἅθων, οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενου, οὐ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι· οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν νέων οὐκ ἐπιστέατο καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οὐ δὲ ῥίγετο.

45. Ο μὲν δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς οὐτω ἐπηρρῆσε, Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεξῳ στρατοπεδουμένῳ ἐν Μακεδόνῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήκεις ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι· οὐ μὲνοι οὔδε αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέση ἐκ τῶν χωρεών τούτων Μαρδόνιος πρὶν ἡ σφεας ὑποχείριος ἐποίησατο. τούτωι μέντοι καταστρεφάμενοι ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατινὴν ὁπίσω, ἀτε τῷ πεξῳ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς
BOOK VI. 43-45

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

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

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

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

46. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦτον ὁ Δαρείος πρώτα μὲν Θάσιον διαβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτῶν όσο ἀπόστασιν μηχανήτο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφέας τῷ τείχῳ περιαρείειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οὐπό Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολυρρηθέντας καὶ προσόδον ἐοισέων μεγαλέων, ἔχρεωντο τοῦτον χρήματι νέας τὰ ναυπηγευόμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἱσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσοδος σφι ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῆς ἥτειρον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετάλλων ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἑκ Σκαπτησύλης τῶν χρυσών μετάλλων τὸ ἐπίπαν ὁγύικοντα τάλαντα προσῆκε, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τοῦτον, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὅστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θάσιοι εὐσίκτεροι κατὰ τῶν μετάλλων ἐτέος ἐκαστοῦ διηκόσια τάλαντα, ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσῆλθε, τριηκόσια.

47. Εἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μετάλλα ταῦτα, καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεύρον οἱ μετὰ Θάσον κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταῦτην, ἦτις νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θάσου τοῦτον τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ ὅνυμα ἔσχε. τὸ δὲ μετάλλα τὰ Φοίνικικα ταῦτα ἐστὶ τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρήκης, ὁρὸς μέγα ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει. τούτο μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλείᾳ κελεύσαντε καὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ σφέτερον κατεῖλον καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκώμισαν ἐς Ἀβδηρα.

48. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν
BOOK VI. 45-48

dealt a heavy blow to his army and Athos a blow yet heavier to his fleet. This expedition then after an inglorious adventure returned back to Asia.

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

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

48. After this, Darius essayed to learn whether

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1 491.  
2 On the Thracian coast, opposite Thasos.
HERODOTUS

Ἐλλήνων ὁ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμεέειν ἐστὶ ἡ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτοῦ. διεπεμπτε ὁν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτίειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὦδωρ. τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσπεμπτε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διεπεμπτε ὡς τὰς ἐστὶν τῶν δασμοφόρους πόλις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἑπαγωγὰ πλοία ποιέσθαι.

49. Οὕτω ουκ ἔστει ἀνέξοντο ταύτα, καὶ τοῖς ήκονς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξε πολλοί μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἐδόσαν τὰ προϊσχέτο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιώται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοῖοιτο αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιώται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὦδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγύπτηι. τοιήσασι δὲ σφι ταύτα ἰδέως Ἀθηναίοι ἐπεκέκατο, δοκεώντες τε ἐπὶ σφίς ἐπέχοντες τοὺς Αἰγύπτους δεδωκέναι ὡς ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται, καὶ ἀσμενοὶ προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτεύοντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγυπτείων τὰ πεποίηκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

50. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίαν Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας Βασίλευς ἐὼν Σπαρτητέων διέβη ἐς Αἰγύπτι, θυσιάζοντος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγυπτείων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτοις. ὡς δὲ ἐπειρᾶτο συλλαμβάνει, ἄλλοι τε δὴ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ ἀντίξοι τῶν Αἰγυπτείων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κριός ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα, δη συκὺ ἐφτὶ αὐτῷ ὄνεδνα ἄξειν χαίρουτα Αἰγυπτείων· ἀνευ γὰρ μὲν Σπαρτητείων τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιέειν ταύτα, ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμας· ἀμα γὰρ ἀν μὲν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνει. ἔλεγε δὲ ταύτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαιτοῦ. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς 194
the Greeks purposed to wage war against him or to surrender themselves. Therefore he sent heralds this way and that about Hellas as they were severally appointed, bidding them demand a gift of earth and water for the king. These he despatched to Hellas, and others he sent severally to his own tributary cities of the sea-coast, commanding that ships of war and transports for horses be built.

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

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

Διγώνης εἴρετο τὸν Κριόν ὁ τι οἱ εἴῃ τὸ σύνομα· δὲ οἱ τὸ ἔδω ἐφρασε. ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη "Ἡδη νῦν καταχαλκοῦ ὁ κριὲ τὰ κέρεα, ὡς συνοισόμενος μεγάλῳ κακῷ."

51. Ἔν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρχη τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος διεβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένα, ἐὼν βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτιτέων, οἰκίσθη δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστήρης, κατὰ ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεεστήρης· ἢ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι· κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖν δὲ καὶ τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρυσθένεος.

52. Δακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὀμολογεύοντες οὕδεν ποιητὴ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ "Τλλου βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγείν σφαές ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτείναται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστόδημου παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκείν τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν ὑπομομα εἰναὶ Ἀργείαν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς λέγουσι, εἰναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὴ τεκείν δίδυμα, ἐπιδόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστόδημον τὰ τέκνα νοῦσῳ τελευτάν. Δακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἐόντας βουλεύσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσαται. οὐκὼν δὴ σφαες ἔχειν ὀκότερον ἐλωνται ὅστε καὶ ὁμοίοι καὶ ἱσών ἐόντων· οὔ δυναμένους δὲ γνώναι, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρῶταν τῆς τεκούσαν. τὴν δὲ οὕδε αὐτῆς φάναι διαγινώσκειν. εἰδούν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταύτα, βουλομένην δὲ εἲ καὶ ὕμφοτεροι γενοίατο βασιλεῖς. τοὺς δὲν δὴ

1 Κριόν = ram.
2 “The most probable origin of this anomaly” (the dual

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BOOK VI. 50–52

asked Crius what was his name; and when Crius told
him what it was, "Now is the time to put bronze on
your horns, Sir Ram," ¹ said Cleomenes, "for great
calamity will confront you."

51. All this time Demaratus son of Ariston abode
at Sparta and spread evil reports of Cleomenes.
This Demaratus was also king of Sparta, but of the
less worthy family of the two; not indeed in any
other regard less worthy (for they have a common
ancestor), but the house of Eurysthenes has in some
sort the greater honour by right of primogeniture.²

52. For by the Lacedaemonian story, wherewith
no poet agrees, it was Aristodemus (the son of
Aristomachus, who was the son of Cleodaeus, who
was the son of Hyllus), and not his sons, who led
them to that land which they now possess. After
no long time Aristodemus' wife, whose name was
Argeia, bore him offspring; she, they say, was
daughter of Autesion, who was the son of Tisamenus,
who was the son of Thersander, who was the son of
Polynices; she bore him twins; Aristodemus lived
to see the children, and presently died of a sickness.
The Lacedaemonians of that day planned to follow
their custom and make the eldest of the children
king. But the children being in all respects alike,
they knew not which to choose; and when they
could not judge between them, or perchance even
before they had essayed, they asked the mother.
But she said that she knew no better than the
Lacedaemonians which was the elder; this she said,
though she knew right well, because she desired that
by some means both might be made kings. Being

kingship) "is the fusion of two distinct communities whose
chiefs shared the throne." How and Wells, p. 82.
Δακεδαιμονίους ἀπορεῖν, ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοῦς ἐπειρησομένους ὅ τι χρῆσωνται τῷ τρῆγματι. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδία ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμῶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον. τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτα σφὶ ἀνελεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἤσον ὅκως ἔξευρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ἦποθέσθαι ἀνδρὰ Μεσσήνων τῷ οὐνόμα εἶναι Πανίτην. ἦποθέσθαι δὲ τούτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίους, φυλάξαι τὴν γειναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παιδῶν πρότερον λοιπεὶ καὶ σιτίζειν καὶ ἢν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεύσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξευρον ὅσον τι καὶ δίζηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρέων, ἢν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνην ἐναλλάξ ποιεύσα, δὴ λά σφὶ ἔσθησαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε, ἐπ’ ἄλλην τὲ τραπέσθαι σφέας ὅδον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς ᾿Σπαρτητὰς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν ᾿Αριστοδήμου παιδῶν λαβεῖν κατὰ ταῦτα τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σῖτοσι καὶ λουτρόσι, οὐκ εἰδοῦν τῶν εἶνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμῶμενον πρὸς τὴς γειναμένης ὡς ἐν τῷ πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ οἱ οὕνωμα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθένεα, τῷ δὲ Προκλέᾳ. τούτους ἀνδρῳθέντας αὐτοὺς τέ ἀδελφοὺς ἔντας λέγοντι διαφόρος εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆσις ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡςαύτως διατελέειν.

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

53. Such is the story told by the Lacedaemonians, but by no other Greeks. But I in what I write follow the Greek report, and hold that the Greeks are right in recording these kings of the Dorians as far back as to Perseus son of Danaë,—wherein they make
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ἀπεόντος, καταλεγομένους ὀρθῶς ὑπ’ Ἐλλήνων καὶ ἀποδεικνυμένους ὡς εἰσὶ "Ἐλλήνες" ἦδη γὰρ τηνικάτα ἔσε Ἐλληνας οὕτωι ἐτέλευον. ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέως τοῦδε εἶνεκα, ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἐτὶ ἔλαβον, δι’ οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμίᾳ Περσείοι σοὐδεμία πατρὸς θυτοῦ, ὡσπερ Ἡρακλεὶ Ἀμφιτρύων. ἦδη δὲν ὅρθῳ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ μέχρι Περσέως ὀρθῶς εἰρηταὶ μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγοντι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν φαινοίατο ἀν εόντες οἱ τῶν Δωρίων ἑγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἑθαγενεῖς.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι γεγενελόγηται ὡς δὲ ο παρὰ Περσέων λόγος λέγεται, αὐτὸς ο Περσεὺς ἐων Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο "Ελλην, ἄλλ’ οὖν οἱ Περσεῖοι πρόγονοι τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας ὁμολογέοντας κατ’ οἰκηότητα Περσεί οὐδέν, τοῦτοι δὲ εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι.

55. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω. ὦ τι δὲ εόντες Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὦ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωρίων βασιλείας, ἀλλοις γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρήται, ἐάσομεν αὐτὰ τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὕτω κατελάβοντο, τούτων μνήμην ποιήσομαι.

56. Γέρεα τε ἡ τάδε τοῦτοι βασιλεύσων Σπαρτῆται δεδώκασι, ἱρωσύνας δύο, Διός τε Δακεδαῖμονος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ ἥν ἄν βούλωται χάρην, τούτων δὲ μὴδένα εἶναι Σπαρτητέων διακωλυτίν, εἴ δὲ μὴ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγεί

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

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

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

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

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

* Here, as often, the cult of an “Olympian” deity is identified with an earlier local worship; cp. Zeus Amphiarraus, Zeus Agamemnon.
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ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἱέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὕστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι ἐκατῶν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς. προ-
βάτοις δὲ χράσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐξοοίησι ὁμόσοις ἄν ὁ ἄν ἔθελον, τῶν δὲ θυμεῖσθαι πάντων τὰ δέρματα τε καὶ τὰ νῦτα λαμβάνειν σφέάς.

57. Ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηνικὰ κατὰ τάδε σφὶ δέδοται. ἢν θυσία τις δημοτελῆς ποιεῖται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵσειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἀρχεσθαι διπλῆς νέμοντας ἐκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖς ἀλλοις δαιτυμόνεσι. καὶ σπουδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυράντων τὰ δέρματα. νεομνήσιας δὲ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ισταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς δίδοσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήνων τέλεον ἐκατέρῳ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ μέσιμον ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου τετάρτην Δακωνικῆν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄγασι πάσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους. καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι τούτων προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀν ἔθελον τῶν ἀστῶν, καὶ Πυθίων αἱρεσθαι δύο ἐκάτερον. οἱ δὲ Πύθοι εἰσὶ θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφοὺς, συντεθεῖται μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημο-

1 The content of a "Laconian τετάρτη" is uncertain; for the date, see How and Wells ad loc.

2 Usually, the πρόξενος is a citizen who out of friendship for a particular state undertakes the protection of its nationals in his city; e. g. Miltiades at Athens is the πρόξενος

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therein, on peril of being laid under the curse. When the armies go forth the kings shall be first in the advance and last in the retreat. A hundred chosen men shall guard them in their campaigns. They shall use for sacrifice at the setting out of their expeditions as many sheep and goats as they will, and shall take the hides and the chines of all sacrificed beasts.

57. Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are according as I shall now show. At all public sacrifices the kings shall be first to sit down to the banquet, and shall be first served, each of them receiving a portion double of what is given to the rest of the company; theirs shall be the first libations, and theirs the hides of the sacrificed beasts. At each new moon and each seventh day of the first part of the month, there shall be given to each of them from the public store a full-grown victim for Apollo’s temple, and a bushel of barley-meal and a Laconian quart\(^1\) of wine, and chief seats set apart for them at the games. Moreover, to these it shall belong to appoint what citizens soever they will to be protectors of foreigners;\(^2\) and they shall choose the Pythians, each of them two. (The Pythians are messengers sent to enquire at Delphi, who eat with the kings at the public charge.)

And if the kings come not to the public dinner there shall be sent to their houses two choenixes of barley-meal and half a pint of wine, but when they come they shall receive a double share of everything; and the same honour shall be theirs when they are bidden by private citizens to dinner. All oracles that are given of Sparta. But here he is apparently an official appointed to watch over the interests of all foreign residents.
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συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. δικάζειν δὲ μοῦνος τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μοῦνα, πατρούχου τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἰκνεῖται ξέχειν, ἢν μὴ περὶ πατηρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσατ, καὶ ὅδιων δημοσιών πέρι· καὶ ἢν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέσθαι ἑθέλη, βασιλέων ἑναντίων ποιέσθαι. καὶ παρίξει βουλεύουσι τοῖς γέρουσι ἐξοῦσι δυὸν δέον τριήκοντα· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφί τῶν γερόντων προσήκον- τας ἐξειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωτῦν.

58. Ταῦτα μὲν ἔκειν τοῖς βασιλεύσι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀποδιανύοσι δὲ τάδε. ἱππεῖς περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Δακωνικήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναικεῖς περιοῦσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι. ἐπεάν δὲν τοῦτο γίνεται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη εἴς οἰκίης ἐκάστης ἔλευ-θέρους δύο καταμιαίνεσθαι, ἀνδρὰ τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσαςι δὲ τούτο ἐξεῖναι μεγάλαι ἐπικείμαι. νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς βανάτους ἐστὶ ὁυτὸς καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν γὰρ ἄν βαρβάροις οἱ πλεῖνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωσιν κατὰ τοὺς βανά- τους τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπεάν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, χωρίς Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀριθμὸ τῶν περιοίκων ἀναγκαστοῦς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἵναι. τούτων ὅν καὶ τῶν εἰλικτῶν καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐπεάν συλλεχθέωσι ἐς τῶν πολλάλης χιλιάδες σύμμηκα τῇς γυναιξὶ, κόπτονται

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

58. These rights have the kings received from the Spartan commonwealth for their lifetime; when they die, their rights are as I shall now show. Horsemen proclaim their death in all parts of Laconia, and in the city women go about beating on a caldron. So when this is done, two free persons from each house, a man and a woman, must needs put on the signs of defilement, or incur heavy penalties if they fail so to do. The Lacedaemonians have the same custom at the deaths of their kings as have the foreign people of Asia; for the most of the foreigners use the same custom at their kings' deaths. For when a king of the Lacedaemonians is dead, from all Lacedaemon, besides the Spartans, such and such a number of their subject neighbours must perforce come to the funeral. These then and the helots and the Spartans themselves being assembled in one place to the number of many thousands, together with the women, they zealously smite their foreheads and were given for the two absent kings, and that the vote of the relative who acted as proxy for both was the third." How and Wells, p. 87.
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te tà μέτωπα προθύμωσ καὶ οἰμωγὴ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ, φάμενοι τὸν ἕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων, τούτων δὴ γενέσθαι άριστουν. δι’ ἀν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνη, τούτῳ δὲ εἰδώλων σκευάσαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὑ ἐστρωμένῃ ἐκφέρουσι. ἔπειν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἔσταται σφὶ ὀὐδ’ ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίζει, ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταῦτας τὰς ἴμερας.

59. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἀλλο οὔτοι τόδε τοῖς Πέρσης. ἔπειν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεύς, οὗτος ο ἔστιν ἐλευθερῶς ὅστις τι Σπάρτην ἐν βασιλεύ τῇ δημοσίῳ ὕφειλεν ὅς ἀν Πέρσης ο τις στάμενοι βασιλεύς τοῦ προοφείλομεν φόρον μετει τῇς πόλισι πάσης.

60. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοις Δακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρώιας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητής τα αὐλητέως γίνεται καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνίην ἐπιτιθέμενοι ἀλλοι σφέας παρακλήσουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέσουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὔτω γίνεται. τότε δὲ τῶν Κλεομένεα ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ὁ Ἐλλάδι ἄγαθα προεργαζόμενον ὁ Δημάρχος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινητέων οὔτω κηδόμενος ως φθόνῳ καὶ ἀγν χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπε Αἰγίνης ἐβούλευε τὸν Δημάρχον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλῆς, διὰ πρήγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιεύμενος. Ἀρίστων βασιλεύνοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γῆμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο. καὶ
make long and loud lamentation, calling that king that is lateliest dead, whoever he be, the best of all their kings. Whenever a king is slain in war, they make an image of him and carry it out on a well-bedecked bier, and after burial, for ten days thereafter there is no meeting for market or assize, nor for choosing of magistrates, but these are days of mourning.

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

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

61. Such is the way of these matters. But at the time whereof I speak, while Cleomenes was in Aegina, there working for what should be afterwards the common advantage of Hellas, Demaratus spread ill reports of him, less because he cared for the Aeginetans, than out of jealousy and malice. When Cleomenes returned back from Aegina, he planned to depose Demaratus from his kingship; for what cause he thus assailed him I will now show. Ariston, king of Sparta, had married two wives, but no children were born to him. Believing that he
οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἰτίος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναίκα· ὅδε δὲ γαμέει. ἦν οἱ φίλοι τῶν Σπαρτιτέων ἄνὴρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστών μάλιστα ὁ ’Ἀρίστων. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε έούσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχρίστης γενομένη. έούσαν γὰρ μὲν τὸ εἴδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἄνθρωπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα καὶ δυσειδέα έούσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρὼσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορήν τὸ εἴδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἐκαστὰ μαθοῦσα ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἔλενθις ἱρὸν. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν τῇ Θεράπτῃ καλεομένῃ ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβήτου ἱροῦ. ὅκως δὲ ἑνείκεε ἢ τροφὸς, πρὸς τε τῶν γαλμα ἰστα καὶ ἐλλισέτο τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίης τὸ παιδίον. καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῇ γυναίκα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανεῖσαν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μὲν ὁ τὸ φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει, τὴν δὲ κελεύσαι οἱ δέξαι, τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι· ἀπειρήσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων μηδεὶς ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐσωτήρ κελεύσει ἐπιδέξαι. ὀρὼσαν δὲ τὴν γυναίκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ἰδέσθαι, οὗτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δέξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ κατα- ψώσαν τοῦ παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐίπαι ὡς καλ- λιστεύσει πασέως τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσεῖν τὸ εἴδος. γαμέει δὲ δὴ μὲν ἐς γάμον ὁρὴν ἀπικομένην Ἀγητὸς ὁ ’Αλκείδεω, οὕτως δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος.

62. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα ἐκνιζε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανάται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς τε τῷ

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

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

¹ S.E. of Sparta; the legendary burial-place of Menelaus and Helen. The foundations of a temple are still visible.
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έταίρῳ, τοῦ ἢν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῆς, ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην
dῶσειν τῶν ἔωστοι πάντων ἐν, τὸ ἄν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος
ξηλται, καὶ τὸν ἐταίρον ἐωστῷ ἐκέλευσ ὦσάυτως τὴν
ὁμοῖαν διδόναι· ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναίκι,
ὄρεων ἔοιςαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναῖκα, κατανεῖε
ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ὅρκους ἐπῆλασαν. μετὰ
δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὅ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ
eἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν Ἀρίστωνος ὁ Ἀγητός,
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοῖαν ἅπτεόντως φέρεσθαι παρ’
ἐκεῖνου, ἔθαυτα δὴ τοῦ ἔταίρου τὴν γυναίκα
ἐπειρᾶτο ἀπάγεσθαι. ὃ δὲ πλὴν τοῦτον μοῦν τὰ
ἀλλα ἐφή κατανεῖσαι· ἀναγκαζόμενος μέντοι τῷ
τε ὅρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπει
ἀπάγεσθαι.

63. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐςηγάγετο γυναίκα
ὁ Ἀρίστων, τὴν δευτέρην ἀποπεμψάμενος. ἐν δὲ οἱ
χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι καὶ οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μήνας
ἡ γυνὴ αὐτῆς τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρχητον. καὶ
τὸς οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῳ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν
ἐφόρων ἔξαγγέλλει ὅσοι οἱ παῖς γέγονε. δὲ
eπιστάμενος τε τῶν χρόνων τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναίκα
καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε
ἀπομόσασ “Οὐκ ἂν ἔμοι εἰπ” τούτῳ ἦκουσαν μὲν
οἱ ἐφοροί, πρῆγμα μὲντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ
παραυτίκα. ὃ δὲ παῖς ἦξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι
τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παίδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρχητον
ἐς τὰ μάλσατοι ὧν ἐνόμοις εἶναι. Δημάρχητον δὲ
αὐτῷ οὐνομα ἐξετο διὰ τὸ τοῖς πρὸτερον τοὺς παν-
δημεῖ Σπαρτήτα Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμεόντι
διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ
γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποίησαντο παίδα γένεσθαι.

64. Διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὐνομα Δημάρχητος

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

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

64. For that cause the name Demaratus was
ΗΕΡΟ∆ΟΤΟΣ

ἐτέθη· χρόνον δὲ προϊόντως Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανεν,
Δημάρητος δὲ ἐσχε τὴν βασιλείαν. ἔδεε δὲ, ὡς
ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαύσαι
Δημάρητον τῆς βασιλείας διὰ τὰ . 1 Κλεομένει
λαβὴθη μεγάλως πρότερον τε ο Ἰημάρητος ἀπ-
αγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξ’ Ἑλευσίων, καὶ δὴ καὶ
τὸ τε ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μηδέσαντας διαβάντος
Κλεομένεος.

65. Ὄρμηθεις δὲν ἀποτίνυσθαι ο Κλεομένης
συντίθεται Λευτυχίδη τῷ Μενάρος τοῦ Ἀγίος,
ἐόντι οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῆς Δημαρῆτῳ, ἔπ’ ό τε, ἢ
αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρῆτου, ἔνε-
tαι οἱ ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτίας. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἢ ἐχθρὸς
τῷ Δημαρῆτῳ μάλιστα γεγονός διὰ πρήγμα
τοῦ ὁδείς ἀρμοσμένου Λευτυχίδου Πέρκαλον τὴν
Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρῆνου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος
ἐπιβολεύσας ἀποστερεῖ Λευτυχίδεα τοῦ γάμου,
φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχῶν
γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἢ ἐχθρῇ
ἢ τῶν Δημάρητος ἐγεγόνει, τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς
Κλεομένης προθυμίας ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυται
Δημαρῆτῳ, φάς αὐτὸν ὡκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν
Σπαρτιτέων οὐκ ἐόντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος. μετὰ
δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην ἔδιωκε, ἀνασώξων ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπτος
tο ἐἰτε Ἀρίστων τότε ὅτε οἱ ἔξηγίγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης
μαῖδα γεγονέναι, δὲ συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μήνας
ἀπώμοσε φᾶς οὐκ ἑωτοῦ μιν εἰναι. τοῦτον δὴ
ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁχόματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης ἀπέφαινε
τῶν Δημάρητον ὅτε ἐξ’ Ἀρίστωνος γεγονότα ὃτε
ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύουσα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἑφόρους
μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κεῖνος οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον

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

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

66. Τέλος δὲ ἑόντων περὶ αὐτῶν νεικέων, ἔδοξε Σπαρτήτης ἐπειρέσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰς Ἀρίστωνος εἰς παῖς ὁ Δημάρχης. ἀνοίγον δὲ γενομένου ἐκ προνοίας τῆς Κλεομένεος ἐς τὴν Πυθήν, ἐνθαῦτα προσποιεῖται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἀνδρα ἐν Δελφοῖς δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον, ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρόμαντι ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὐτώ δὴ ἡ Πυθήν ἐπειρωτώντων τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος εἶναι Δημάρχης παῖδα. ὢστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἐφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντι ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιλείας οὕτω ἐγένετο, ἐφυγε δὲ Δημάρχης ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦτον ὁνείδεος. μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρχης ἦρξε αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχῃν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι, θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημαρήτου ὁ Δευτυχίδης γεγονός ἢδε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀντ’ ἑκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα ἑπὶ γέλωτι τε καὶ λάσθῃ ἑιρῶτα τὸν Δημάρχητον ὁκοίν τε εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεὺς. ὁ δὲ ἀλγήσας τὸ ἐπειρωτήματι ἐπιτοι φὰς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἢδη πεπειρησθαὶ, κεῖνον δὲ οὐ, τὴν μὲντοι ἐπειρωτήσων ταύτην ἄρξειν Δακεδαίμωνίσι ἡ μυρίας κακότητος ἡ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταύτα δὲ εἰπασὶ καὶ κατακαλυφάμενος ἤμε 214.
ephors who had then been sitting in council and heard Ariston say that.

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

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

\(^1\) A midsummer festival, celebrated at Sparta by bands of naked boys and men.
68. "Απικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθείς ἐστὶς καὶ τὰς χείρας ὑμῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευς, τοίαδε λέγων. ""Ω μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἰκε- 
τεύω καὶ τοῦ ἐρκείου Δίως τούδε φράσαι μοι τὴν 
ἀληθείαν, τὰς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὅρθον λόγον. Δευτε-
χίδης μὲν γὰρ ἐφι ἐν τοίς νείκεσι λέγων κυνευούσαν 
σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ 
'Αρίστωνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιῶτον λόγον 
λέγουτες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τῶν 
ὁνομασθοῦν, καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκεῖνον εἰναι παῖδα. ἐγὼ σὲ 
ὡν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τῶληθές; οὔτε 
γὰρ, ἐὰν περὶ πεποίηκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μοῦν 
ὴ τι τεποίηκας, μετὰ πολλών δὲ οὐ τὸν λόγον πολλὸς 
ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς 'Αρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιῦν οὐκ 
ἐνήν τεκεῖν γὰρ ἀν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναικας." 

69. "Ο μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα ἔλεγε, ἢ δὲ ἀμείβετο 
τοίσιδε. ""Ο παῖ, ἐπείτε με λυτήσι μετέρχεσαι 
eιπεῖν τὴν ἀληθείαν, πάν ἐστὶ σὲ κατειρήσεσί 
τῶληθές. ὡς με ἡγάγετο 'Αρίστων ἐς ἡμιοῦ, 
νυκτὶ τρίτη ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθε μοι φάσμα 
eιδόμενον 'Αρίστωνι, συνεννηθέσθαι τοὺς στεφά- 
νους τοὺς εἰς ἔκαμε περιπετείθε. καὶ τὸ μὲν 
οἰχώκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα 'Αρίστων, ὡς δὲ 
με εἰδὲ ἐχουσαν στεφάνους, εἰρήτα τής εἰς μοῖν 
ὁ δοῦς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἔκεινον, δὲ γὰρ ὑπέδεκετο. 
ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμμύρῃν φαμένη αὐτὸν ὁ ποιεῖν 
καλῶς ἀπαρνεόμενον ὀλίγῳ γὰρ τοὺς προτέρου 
ἐλθόντα καὶ συνενυθέντα δοῦναι μοι τοὺς στεφά- 
nους. ὄρεων δὲ με κατομυμένην ὁ 'Αρίστων 
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theatre and went to his own house; there he made ready and sacrificed an ox to Zeus; after which sacrifice he called to him his mother.

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

69. Thus he spoke, and thus she answered him: “My son, since you pray and entreat me to tell you the truth, the whole truth shall be told to you. On the third night after Ariston had brought me to his house, there came to me an appearance like to Ariston, and lay with me, and then put on me the garlands which he had. So when that figure was gone, presently Ariston came to me. Seeing the garlands on me, he asked me who had given them; I said they were his gift, but he denied it. Then I said, and swore it, that he did not well to deny it; for, I told him, he had come but a little while ago and lain with me and so given me the garlands. When Ariston saw that I swore to that, he per-
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ἔμαθε ὡς θείου εἰη τὸ πρόγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἑόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρωίου τοῦ παρὰ τῆς ἐφέρησε τῆς αὐλείησι ἰδρυμένου, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστροβάκου, τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἡρωά ἀναίρεσιν εἶναι. οὐτὸ οὐ παῖ ἔχεις πᾶν, ὅσον τι καὶ βούλειις πυθέσθαι ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἡρωσ τοῦτον γέγονας, καὶ τοὶ πατήρ ἔστι Ἀστροβάκου ὁ ἡρως, ἢ Ἄριστων ἐν γὰρ σὲ τῇ νυκτὶ ταῦτη ἀναίρεσιμαι. τῇ δὲ σει μάλιστα κατάπτωται οἱ ἑκθροί, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄριστων, ἢτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγενημένος, πολλῶν ἀκούόντων οὐ φήσεις σὲ ἐωτὸν εἶναι (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ, τοὺς δέκα μήνας, οὐδέκα ἕξηκεν), ἀρδεῖ τῶν τοιοῦτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος. τίκτωσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἔννεμαν καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μήνας ἐκτελέσασαί ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ ὁ παῖ ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον. ἔγει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄριστων οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν χρόνου ὡς ἀνοίη τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιον τῆς σεωτοῦ μὴ δέκεσ; τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδη καὶ τοῦτοι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτωσιν αἱ γυναίκες παῖδας.”

70. Ἔρν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε, δὲ πυθόμενος τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἡλικία, τῷ λόγῳ φᾶς ὡς ἐς Δελφοῦς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστοῦρῳ πορεύεται. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρητον δρησμῷ ἐπιμελεῖσιν ἐδώκουν. καὶ κως ἐφήπτε Ζάκυνθον διαβᾶσι ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἡλιδος ἐπιδιαιβάντες δὲ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τε ἀποτού καὶ τοὺς θεράπωντας αὐτοῦ ἀπαιρέονται. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτῶν
BOOK VI. 69-70

ceived that the hand of heaven was in the matter; and not only were the garlands plainly seen to have come from the hero's shrine they call Astrobacus' shrine, that stands by the door of the courtyard, but the diviners declared that it was that same hero, Astrobacus, that had visited me. Thus, my son, you have all that you desire to know; for either you are the son of that hero, and the hero Astrobacus is your father, or Ariston is; for on that night did I conceive you. But as touching the plea that they most urge against you, namely, that Ariston himself, when your birth was announced to him, said in the hearing of many that you were not his son, the full ten months' time being not completed: that was an idle word that he spoke, as not knowing the truth of such matters; for not all women complete the full ten months' time, but some bear children after nine months, or even after seven; and you, my son, were born after seven months. It was not long ere Ariston himself came to know that this was a foolish word that had escaped him. Give no credence to any other tales concerning your birth; for this is very truth that I have told you; and for Leutychides himself and those that tell such tales, may they be cuckolded by their ass-keepers."

70. Thus his mother spoke. Demaratus, having learnt what he desired, took provision for the way and journeyed to Elis, pretending that he journeyed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle. But the Lacedae-monians suspected that he planned to escape, and pursued after him; Demaratus was by some means beforehand with them and crossed the sea from Elis to Zacynthus; the Lacedaemonians crossed over after him and strove to lay hands on him, carrying

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οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. δὲ ὑπεδέξατο τε αὐτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιας ἔδωκε. οὕτω ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τύχη, ἀλλὰ τε Δακεδαμονίωις συχνὰ ἔργωσί τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφὶ ἀνελόμενος τεθρίππῳ προσέβαλε, μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

71. Δευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεως Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιληύν, καὶ οἱ γίνεται παῖς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτιητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν Σπάρτης· πρὸ Δευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον. Δευτυχίδης δὲ στερήθησε Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖν δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην τὴν έούσαν Μενίου ἀδελφῆν Διακτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρα, έκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν μὲν γίνεται οὔδεν, θυγατέρα δὲ Λαμπιτώ, τὴν Ἀρχίδημος ὁ Ζευξίδημον γαμεῖ τὸν αὐτῷ Δευτυχίδεω.

72. Οὐ μὲν οὖν Δευτυχίδης κατεγέρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσων τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἔξετισε. ἐστρατήγησε δὲ Δακεδαμοὐιος ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, παρεῦ δὲ οἱ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἄργυριον πολλὸν· ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρῳ δὲ ἀλοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐπικατημένος χειρίδι πλέξ ἄργυριον, ἐφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης ὑπὸ δικαστήριου ὑπαχθεῖς, καὶ τὰ οἰκία ὁι κατεσκάφη· ἐφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ.

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) The date is uncertain; about 475 or 470, probably.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

πρήγμα, αυτίκα παραλαβὼν Δευτυχίδεα ἣμε ἐπὶ
tοὺς Αἰγυπτιανοῦς, δεινόν τινά σφι ἐγκοτοῦν διὰ τὸν
προπηλακισμὸν ἔχων. οὔτω δὴ ὄντε οἱ Αἰγυπτιαί, ἀμφοτέροις τῶν βασιλέων ἥκοντων ἐπὶ αὐτούς,
ἐδικαίευν ἐτὶ ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἀνδρὰς δέκα Αἰγυπτεῶν τοὺς πλείστον ἄξιονς καὶ
πλούτῳ καὶ γένει ἥγον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ δῆ καὶ
Κρίον τε τὸν Πολυκρίτον καὶ Κάσαμβου τὸν
Ἄριστοκράτεος, οἳ περ ἔχον μέγιστον κράτος.
ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἄττικήν παρα-
θήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἑχθίστους Αἰγυπτησι
Ἀθηναίους.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κλεομένεα ἐπάιστον γενό-
μενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρχου δείμα ἔλαβε
Σπαρτητέων, καὶ ὑπεζέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθεύ-
τεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα
ἐπηρῆσε πρήγματα, συνιστάς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ
τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφι ἢ
μὲν ἔγεισθαι σφέας αὐτῷ τῇ ἄν εὔχηγεται, καὶ δὴ
cai eis Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμοι ἢ τὸν Ἀρκάδω
τοὺς προεστῶτας ἀγινέων ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς
ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι λέγεται εἶναι ὑπὸ
tῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐστὶ
τοιόντε τῷ ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρας
στάξει ἢ ἄγκος, τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἴμασθης τις περι-
θεῖε κύκλος. ἢ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγῇ αὐτῇ
τυγχάνει ἑοῦσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίης πρὸς
Φενεῦ.

75. Μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένεα Δάκεδαιμόνιοι ταῦ-
tα πρήσοντα, καθήγουν αὐτὸν δείσαντες ἐπὶ τοίσι
αὐτοῖς ἢ τῇ Ἀρκάδῃ τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε.
κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη
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BOOK VI. 73-75

Demaratus being so sped, forthwith took Leutychides with him and went to punish the Aeginetans, against whom he was terribly wroth by reason of their despiteful usage of him. When the Aeginetans saw that both the kings were come after them, they now deemed it best to offer no further resistance; and the kings chose out ten men of Aegina who were most honoured for wealth and lineage, among them Crius son of Polycritus and Casambus son of Aristocrates, the two most powerful men in Aegina; these they carried to Attica and gave them into the keeping of the Athenians, the bitterest foes of the Aeginetans.

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

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

¹ The "water of Styx" is a mountain torrent flowing through a desolate ravine on the N. face of Chelmos.
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νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρῶτερον ὑπομαργότερον ὡς γὰρ τεύχω Ἡσαρίτην Ἀργαῖον, ἐνέχραυσε ἐστὶν ἑρώτησθαι τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ἐνέχραυσε ὡς τὸ πρῶτον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιεόμενα δὲ αὐτῶν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἐδήσαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ: ὡς δὲ δεξιᾶς τῶν φυλάκων μουρωθέντα ἵδιν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτεῖει μάχαιραν, οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπείλεε τά μυν αὐτίς ποιήσει, ἃς δὲ δεισάς τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φυλάκος (ὡς γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοί ὁ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἀρχηγὸν ἔκ τῶν κυμάτων ἔσωσιν λωβόμενον ἐπιτάμων φύρ κατὰ μήκος τὰς σάρκας προεβαίνει ἐκ τῶν κυμάτων ἐς τοὺς μηροὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τὰ ἱσχύα καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς δὲ τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύον ἄπειθεν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγομεν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐν τῇ Πυθίᾳ ἀνέγραψε τὰ περὶ Δημαρίτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναίοι μοῦνοι λέγομεν, διότι ὡς Ἰλευσίνα ἐβαλὼν ἐκεῖρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὡς ἐξ οὗ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀργοῦ Αργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ἔχων ἑνέπρῃς.

76. Κλεομένης γὰρ μαντευμένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐκρήσθη Ἀργος αἰρήσεως ἐπείτε δὲ Σπαρτιάτας ἄγον ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμός Ἐραινίμην, ὡς λέγεται ἐκεῖν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης τὴν γὰρ ἔριν ἔριν ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἅφανε ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφάνεσθαι ἐν Ἀργεί, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἦδη

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

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

76. For when Cleomenes was seeking a divination at Delphi, an oracle was given him that he should take Argos. When he came with Spartans to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Stymphalian 2 lake (for this lake, they say, issues into a cleft out of sight and reappears at Argos, and from that place onwards the stream is called by the charges itself into a cavern at the foot of a cliff; the river which reappears near Argos (the Erasinus) has been generally identified with this stream.
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toûto ὑπ 'Αργείων Ἐρασίνων καλέσθαι: ἀπικόμενος δ' ὃν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐκαλλιερεύεις οὐδαμῶς διαβαίνειν μιν, ἁγασθαί μὲν ἐφὶ τοῦ Ἐρασίνων οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολιτάς, 'Αργείως μὲντοι οὖδ' ὃς χαίρησειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔξαναχρήσας τὴν στρατιὰν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρένην, σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦρον πλοίοισι σφέας ἤγαγε ἐς τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίην.

77. 'Αργείοι δὲ ἐβοήθεον πυνθανόμενοι ταύτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὡς δὲ ἄγχοι μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τιρυνθοῦς, χώρῃ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Ὡσίπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἤσσοντο ἀντίοι τοῦι Δακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθάτα δὴ οἱ 'Αργείοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἱρεθέωσι καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφί ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα εἰχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκοινα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθία τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὅδε.

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἀρσενα νικήσασα ἐξελάση καὶ κύδος ἐν 'Αργείοισιν ἀρηταὶ, πολλὰς 'Αργείων ἀμφίδρυφεας τὸτε θήσει. ὡς ποτὲ τις ἔρεει καὶ ἔπεσομένων ἀνθρώπων "Δεινός ὁφις τριέλικτος ἵππος τῷς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμασθείς."

tαῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα τοῖσι 'Αργείοισι φόβον παρείχε. καὶ δὴ σφὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε

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

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BOOK VI. 76–77

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

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

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

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

¹ This would be fulfilled by a victory of the female Σκύδρη over the male Ἀργος.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

 τῶν κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι, δόξαν δέ σφι ἑποίεσεν τοιόνδε ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κήρυξ προσημαίνοι τι Δακεδαιμονίοισι, ἑποίεν καὶ οἱ "Ἀργεῖοι τῶν τούτο τοῦτο.

78. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιεῖται τοὺς Ἀργείους ὁκοῖον τι ὁ σφέτερος κήρυξ σημήνεις, παραγγέλλει σφὶ, ὅταν σημήνη τὸ κήρυξ ποιεῖσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χωρέεις ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους. ταῦτα καὶ ἔγενετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἄριστον γὰρ ποιεῖμενοι τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεκέατο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ τι πλεύνας ἐς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ καταφυγόντας περιμέμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

79. Ἐνθεύτευκ δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἑποίεε τοιόνδε. ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἀνδρας καὶ πυθανόμενος τούτων, ἠξεκάλεε πέμπτων κήρυκα ὅνομαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ ἀπεργμένους, ἠξεκάλεε δὲ φῶς αὐτῶν ἤχειν τὰ ἀποινὰ. ἀποινα δὲ ἐστὶ Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν. κατὰ πνευκικοντα δὴ ὅν τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς ἐκαστοὺς ἐκκαλεύμενος ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκείνεις. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἠλήθησε τοὺς λοιποῖς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει ἀτε γὰρ πυκνὸν ἐόντος τοῦ ἄλσος, ὡς ὅρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὁ τι ἐπρησσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρων κατείδε τὸ ποιεύμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλέομενοι ἐξῆσαν.

80. Ἐνθαύτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινά τῶν εἰπωτέων περινεύων ὕλη τὸ ἄλσος, τῶν δὲ πειθομένων ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος. καιομένου δὲ
BOOK VI. 77–80

themselves by making the enemies’ herald serve them, and, being so resolved, whenever the Spartan herald cried any command to the Lacedaemonians they, too, did the very thing that he bade.

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

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

80. On that Cleomenes bade all the helots pile wood about the grove; they obeyed, and he burnt the grove. When the fire was now burning, he
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ἡδη ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων τίνος εἰς θεῶν τὸ ἄλσος. ὃ δὲ ἐφη Ἀργοῦ εἶναι. ὃ δὲ ὡς ἦκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα εἶπε ὡς Ἀπολλοῦν χρηστήριε, ἥ μεγάλας με ἡπάτηκας φάμενος Ἀργος αἰρήσεις συμβάλλομαι δέ ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.

81. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατίτην ἀπῆκε ἀπιέναι ἐς Σπάρτην, χίλιους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἦς ἐς τὸ Ἡραίων θύσων βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὃ ἵρευς ἀπηγόρευε, φᾶς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείψω αὐτόθι θύειν. ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης τὸν ἱρέα ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἐξωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπάγοντας μαστιγώσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆκε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην.

82. Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἑφόρους, φάμενοι μιν δοροδοκήσαντα οὐκ ἔλειν τὸ Ἀργοῦ, παρεοῦ εὐπτέεσσος μιν ἔλειν. ὃ δὲ σφι ἔλεε, οὕτε εἰ· ψευδόμενος οὕτε εἰ ἅληθέα λέγων, ἐχω σαφηνέως εἰπάι, ἔλεε δ' ὅν φάμενος, ἐπεῖτε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἀργοῦ ἱρόν ἐλλοῦ, δοκεῖν οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμόν πρὸς δὲν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρῶν τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν γε δὴ ἵροῦσι χρήσηται καὶ μάθῃ εἰτε οἱ ὁ θεός παραδίδοι εἰτε ἐμποδῶν ἐστηκε· καλλιερευμένος δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τῶν ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψει, μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκείην, ὅτι οὐκ αἱρεῖται τὸ Ἀργοῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἱρείειν ἄν κατ' ἀκρῆς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ τῶν στηθέων δὲ λάμ-

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

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

81. Presently Cleomenes sent the more part of his army back to Sparta; he himself took with him a thousand that were his best warriors, and went to the temple of Hera,¹ there to sacrifice. But when he would have sacrificed on the altar the priest forbade him, saying that no stranger might lawfully sacrifice there. Thereupon Cleomenes bade the helots bring the priest away from the altar and scourge him, and he himself offered sacrifice; which done, he returned to Sparta.

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

83. Ἀργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχηρώθη οὕτω ὡστε οἱ δούλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἀρχόντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ἐπίθησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες εἰπετα σφέας οὐτοί ἀνακτώμενοι ὁπίσω ἔσ ἐωυτοὺς τῷ Ἀργος ἐξέβαλον ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δούλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τύρνωνα. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἡ ἀρθμα ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἐπείτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἠλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἐων Φυγαλεύς ἀπʻ Ἀρκαδίας οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθεθεῖ τοῦτι δεσπότης. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἡ ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς δὴ μόνις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

84. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς τοίς δὲ Σπαρτιήται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμόνιοι μὲν ὀυδενὸς μανήν Κλεομένεα, Σκύθης δὲ ῥομλήσαντα μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆν. Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπείτε σφὶ Δαρείον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώρην, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονέναι μιν τίσασθαι, πέμψαται δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην συμμαχίην τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι ὅσ χρεών εἴη αὐτῶς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φῶσιων ποταμὸν πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδίκην ἐσβάλλειν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὁρμομενοὺς ἀναβάειν καὶ ἐπείτα ἐς τῶπο ἀπαντάν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι ἑκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὦμιλεῖν σφὶ μεξόνως, ὦμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἱκνεομένου μαθῶν τὸν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ'
much as it was the god's will should happen. This plea of his seemed to the Spartans to be credible and reasonable, and he far outdistanced the pursuit of his accusers.

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

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

\(^1\) About 468, apparently.
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αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτηταῖς. ἐκ τε τόσου, ὡς αὐτὸι λέγουσι, ἔπειν ξωρότερον βούλωνται πιεῖν, “Ἐπισκύθι- σον” λέγουσι. οὖτω δὴ Σπαρτηταῖς τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτω ἐκτίσαι.

85. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ὡς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινηταῖ, ἐπεμπὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Δεντυχίδεως περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθῆνῃσι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριοι συναγαγόντες ἐγνωσαν περιβρίσθαι Αἰγινηταῖς ὑπὸ Δεντυχίδεω, καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἐκδοτον ἀγεσθαι ἐς Αἰγιναν αὐτὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθῆνῃσι ἐχομενον ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἀγεων τῶν Ἀιγινητέων τῶν Δεντυχίδεως, εἰπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Δεσπρέπεος, ἔων ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνήρ, "Τί βουλεύεσθε ποιεῖν, ἀνδρεῖς Αἰγινηταῖ; τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτητέων ἐκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτέων ἀγεων; εἰ γὰρ ὅρη ἄρωμενοι ἐγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτηταῖ, ὅκως εἰ χύσῃς μὴ τι ύμῖν, ἢν ταῦτα πρήσῃς, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβάλωσί." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινηταῖ ἐσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ὁμολογηθεῖ δὲ ἐχρήςματο τοῦτο, ὑπισπόμενον Δεντυχίδεα ἐς Ἀθῆνας ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινητησι τοὺς ἀνδρας.

86. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Δεντυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίς ἀπαίτει τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσια εἴλκουν οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδόναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἀνευ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδιδόναι· οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλεξέ̄
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this the Spartans hold to have been the cause of his
madness. Ever since, as they themselves say, when
they desire a strong draught they will call for
"a Scythian cup." Such is the Spartan story of
Cleomenes; but to my thinking, it was for what he
did to Demaratus that he was punished thus.

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

86. So when Leutychides came to Athens and
demanded that what had been entrusted be restored,
and the Athenians, being loath to restore it, made
excuses, and said that, having been charged with the
trust by both the kings, they deemed it wrong to
restore it to the one alone without the other,—when
the Athenians refused to restore, Leutychides said to
σφί Δευτυχίδης τάδε. "Ω Αθηναίοι, ποιείτε μέν ὁκότερα βούλεσθε αὐτοῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποιείτε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τοῦτων ὁκοῖοι μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχηγε γενέσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης, βούλομαι ὕμων εἴπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτίται γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεθῆν τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο Γλαύκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα φαμέν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρώτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἀριστὰ δικαιοσύνης περὶ πάντων ὁσι τὴν Δακεδαίμονα τούτων τοῦν χρόνον οἰκεον. συνενείχθηναι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκνεῦμεν τάδε λέγομεν. ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἔλθειν ἐς λόγους προ-ισχύμενον τοιάδε. 'Εἰμί μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἥκω δὲ τῆς σῆς Γλαύκη βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαύσαι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἀλλήν Ἕλλαδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίαν τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμεωτῶ λόγους ἐδίδουν καὶ ὁτί ἐπικίνδυνος ἐστὶν αἰεὶ κατ’ Ἰωνία, ἡ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἁσφαλεῶς ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδάμα τοὺς αὐ-τοὺς ἐστὶ όραν ἵχουτας. ταύτα τε ὁν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευμένῳ ἔδοξέ μοι τὰ ἡμίσεια πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἔξεπι-σταμένῳ Ὡς μοι κείμενα ξεταί παρὰ σοὶ σῶα. σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σώζει λαβῶν· δς δ’ ἄν ἔχων ταύτα ἀπαιτή, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὅ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἥκων ξείνος τοσαύτα ἔδεξε, Γλαύκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παρακα-ταθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ. χρόνον δὲ πολ-λοῦ διελθόντος ἠλθόν ὦς Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες, ἔλθοντες δὲ 236
them: "Men of Athens, do whichever thing you desire; if you restore, you do righteously, if you restore not you do contrariwise; yet hear from me the story of what befel at Sparta in the matter of a trust. It is told by us Spartans that three generations agone there was at Lacedaemon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes. This man (so the story goes) added to his other excellences a reputation for justice above all men who at that time dwelt in Lacedaemon. But in the sitting time this, as it is told, befel him:—There came to Sparta a certain man of Miletus, desiring to hold converse with Glaucus, and making him this proffer: 'I am,' he said, 'of Miletus, and hither am I come, Glaucus! to reap advantage from your justice. For seeing that all about Hellas and Ionia too there was much talk of your justice, I bethought me in myself that Ionia is ever a land of dangers and Peloponnesus securely stablished, and in Ionia nowhere are the same men seen continuing in possession of wealth. Considering and taking counsel concerning these matters, I resolved to turn the half of my substance into silver and give it into your charge, being well assured that it will lie safe for me in your keeping. Do you then receive the sum, and take and keep these tokens; and restore the money to him that comes with the like tokens and demands it back.' Thus spoke the stranger who had come from Miletus, and Glaucus received the trust according to the agreement. When a long time had passed, there came to Sparta the sons of the man who had given the money in trust; they
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ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα ἀπαίτειν τὰ χρήματα· ὃ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε. Ὅυτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα οὐτέ με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ύμεις λέγετε, Βούλομαι τε ἀναμνησθεὶς ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ εἰ ἢ ἄρχῃν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῦτο Ἑλλήνων χρησμοῖς ἐς ύμέας. ταῦτα ὅπις ύμῖν ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων, Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησομενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὅρκῳ τὰ χρήματα λησθηται, Ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τούσιδε τοῦτο ἐπεσι.

Γλαῦκ' Ἑπικυδείδη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω ὅρκῳ νικῆσαι καὶ χρήματα λησθσαθαι. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ θάνατος γε καὶ εὐθρὸν χεύθει ἀνδρα. ἀλλ' ὅρκου παῖς ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἔπι χεῖρες οὐδὲ πόδες κρατινος δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὁ κε πᾶσαι συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεῆ καὶ οἴκον ἀπαντα. ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ύμείνων.

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

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

When Glaucus heard that, he entreated the god to pardon him for what he had said. But the priestess answered, that to tempt the god and to do the deed were of like effect. Glaucus, then, sent for the
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μενος τοὺς Μιλησίους ξείνους ἀροτδίδοι σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκα ὁ λόγος ὡδὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ῥμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται. Πλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἐστὶ οὔδεν οὔτ' ἱστὶ οὐδεμία νομιζομενὴ εἶναι Πλαύκου, ἐκτέτριττα τε πρόριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. οὕτω ἁγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ παρακαταθήκης ἀλλο γε ἡ ἀπαίτεοντων ἀποδίδοναι."

87. Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὡς οἱ οὖν οὕτω ἔσχκουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο· οἱ δὲ Αἴγινηται, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκαιος τῶν ἂθηναίων ὑβρισαν Θηβαῖοις χαριζομενοὶ, ἐποίησαν τοιόντε. μεμφόμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄξιοντες ἀδικέσσθαι, ὡς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς ἂθηναίους παρεσκεύαζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἂθηναίοισι πεντετερίς ἔπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὅν τὴν θεωρίδα νέα εἶλον πλήρεα ἄνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων ἂθηναίων, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔδησαν.

88. ἂθηναίοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Αἴγινητέων οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μη ὡς τὸ πὰν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἴγινητησι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κυνίθοις καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἴγινῃ ἀνήρ δόκιμος, οὕτως μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἴγινητησι προτέρην ἐωτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς ἂθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἐρδευν Αἴγινητας κακῶς, συντίθεται ἂθηναίοι προδοσίῃν Αἴγινης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν ἥκειν δεήσει βοηθέουντας.

89. Μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεδρίκατο ἂθηναίοις ὁ Νικόδρομος τὴν παλαιὰν καλεομένην πόλιν, ἂθηναίοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται

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Milesian strangers and restored them their money; but hear now, Athenians! why I began to tell you this story. There is at this day no descendant of Glaucus, nor any household that bears Glaucus' name; he and his have been utterly uprooted out of Sparta. So good a thing it is not even to design aught concerning a trust, save the restoring of it on demand."

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

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

89. Presently, according to his agreement with the Athenians, Nicodromus took possession of the Old City, as it was called; but the Athenians failed of
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ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον ἔούσαι νέες σφι ἄξιόμαχοι τῆσι Αἰγινητέων συμβαλείν. ἐν δ' ὧν Κορινθίων ἐδέουσε χρῆσαι σφίσαι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεθάρη τὰ πρήγματα. οἱ δὲ Κορινθιοὶ, ἥσαν γὰρ σφι τούτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Ἀθηναῖοι διδοῦσι δεσμένους εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωρεῖν γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὔκ ἔξην δοῦναι. ταύτας τε ἐὰν λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφέτερας, πληρώσαντες ἐβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγιναν καὶ ὑστέρησαν ἡμέρη μη τῆς συγκεκριμένης.

90. Νικόδρομος δὲ, ὃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοίον ἐςβᾶς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων έποντο, τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σοῦνιοι οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ οὔτοι ὀρμώμενοι ἔφερον τε καὶ ἤγον τούς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας.

91. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ὑστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινητέων δὲ οἱ παχέες ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἄμα Νικοδρόμῳ ἐπεκράτησαν, καὶ ἐπείτα σφέας χειρωσάμενοι ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτον δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο, τὸ ἐκβύσσαθαι οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγένοντο ἐπιμηχανώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἢ σφι ὧλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θέου. ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δή τοῦ δήμου χωρήσαντες ἐξῆγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, εἰς δὲ τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἰχετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε μὲν ἀποστάσαι οὐκ οἶοι τε ἀπέλκουντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες 242
arriving at the right time; for it chanced that they had not ships enough to cope with the Aeginetans; wherefore they entreated the Corinthians to lend them ships, and by that delay their business was thwarted. The Corinthians, being at that time their close friends, consented to the Athenians’ entreaty and gave them twenty ships, at a price of five drachmas apiece; for by their law they could not make a free gift of them. Taking these ships and their own, the Athenians manned seventy in all and sailed for Aegina, whither they came a day later than the time agreed.

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

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

\[1\] That is, it was done between 490 and 480.
HERODOTUS

αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἤγον οὕτω, αἱ χεῖρες δὲ ἐκεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπάστροισι.

92. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀἰγυπτῖαι ἐργάσαντο, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νησὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχῇ ἐπεκάλεόντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρότερον, Ἀργείους. καὶ δὴ σφὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθοῦσι, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Ἀἰγυπτῖαι νέες ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεο-
μένους ἐσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώρην καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίους, συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ καὶ σφὶ ὑπ᾽ Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίᾳ χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαται, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυώνιοι μὲν νυν συγγόντες ἀδικήσατο ὅμολο-
γησαν ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες ἄξιοιοι ἕιναι, Ἀἰγυπτῖαι δὲ οὕτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθα-
δέστεροι. διὰ δὴ ὅν σφὶ ταῦτα δεομένοις ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δήμου ὁδεῖς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθέλονταί δὲ ἐς χιλιούς. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ οὐνομα Εὐρυβάτης, ἀνὴρ πεντάέθλον ἐπασκῆςας. τούτων οἱ πλεῖνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὁπίσω, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης μονομαχὴν ἐπασκέων τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελέος ἀποθνησκεί.

93. Ἀἰγυπτῖαι δὲ ἔοισι ἀτάκτοισι τοῖσι Ἀθη-

ναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νησὶ ἐνίκησαν, καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἄνδρας εἴλον.

94. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς

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BOOK VI. 91–94

and so brought him off; and those hands were left clinging fast to the door-handles.

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

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

94. Thus Athens and Aegina grappled together in

1 The 'Pentathlum' consisted of jumping, discus-throwing, spear-throwing, running, and wrestling.
Αἰγυπτίας. ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωτοῦ ἐποίει, ὡστε ἀναμμηνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεπιστρατεύσεως προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἀμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὅδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγῆς, ἀλλούς δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθῆνας, Δατίν τε ἐόντα Μῆδον γένος καὶ Ἀρταφρένεα τὸν Ἀρτάφρενος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωτοῦ ἐνειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπτε ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθῆνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν ἀνάγειν ἑωτῷ ἐσ ὅσιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

95. Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὕτωι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κελικίας ἐς τὸ Ἀλήμην πεδίον, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι πεζῶν στρατόν πολλόν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευμένοις ἐπήλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοις, παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἰππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τὸ προτέρῳ ἐτεί προεῖπε τοῦτο ἑωτοῦ δασμοφόροις Δαρείος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐξαλάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἱππους ἐς ταῦτας καὶ τὸν πεζῶν στρατόν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἐπλευς ἐξακοσίσι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἰχον τὰς νέας ἠτῇ τοῦ τε Ἐλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Ὁρθίκης, ἀλλ’ ἐκ Σάμου ὄρμωμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νῆσων τὸν πλόον ἐποιεύτω, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, δεῖσαντες μᾶλλον τὸν περὶπλοον τοῦ Ἀθῶ, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἐτεί ποιεύμενοι ταύτη τῆν κομίδην μεγάλως.
war. But the Persian was going about his own business; for his servant was ever reminding him to remember the Athenians,¹ and the Pisistratidae were at his elbow maligning the Athenians, and moreover Darius desired to take this pretext for subduing all the men of Hellas that had not given him earth and water. As for Mardonius, who had fared so ill with his armament, him he dismissed from his command, and appointed other generals to lead his armies against Athens and Eretria, Datis a Mede, and his own nephew Artaphernes son of Artaphrenes; and the charge he gave them at their departure was, to enslave Athens and Eretria, and bring the slaves into his presence.

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

¹ Cp. V. 105.
96. 'Επει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμιξαν τῇ Νάξῳ, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπείχον στρατεύσαθαι οἱ Πέρσαι μεμνημένοι τῶν πρῶτον οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ ὅσα οἶχοντο φεύγοντες οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδίσαμεν τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀνήγοντο.

97. Ἐν δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποίειν, οἱ Δήλιοι ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δήλον οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήμνον. τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύσης ὁ Δάτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν Δήλον προσορμίζεισθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηναίῃ αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἦν ἦσαν οἱ Δήλιοι, πέμπτων κήρυκα ἡγόρευε σφι τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς ἱρόι, τι φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε, οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα καταγγόντες κατ᾽ ἐμέ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γε φρονῶ καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπέσταλται, ἐν τῇ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, ταύτην μηδὲν σώεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώρην μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὁ̓ν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο τοῦτι Δηλίους, μετὰ δὲ λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθυμήσε.

98. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἐπλεε ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν πρῶτα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἐνθεύτεν ἕξαναχθέντα Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὑστατα μέχρι ἐμέ νεισθεῖσα. καὶ
and moreover Naxos constrained them, in that they had not yet taken it.

96. When they approached Naxos from the Icarian sea and came to land (for it was Naxos which the Persians purposed first to attack), the Naxians, mindful of what had before happened,\(^1\) fled away to the mountains, not abiding their coming. The Persians enslaved all of them that they caught, and burnt even their temples and their city; which done, they set sail for the other islands.

97. While they so did, the Delians also left Delos and fled away to Tenos. But Datis, when his host was sailing landwards, went before it in his ship and bade his fleet anchor not off Delos, but across the water off Rhenaea; and being informed where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this proclamation: "Holy men, why have you fled away, and so misjudged my intent? For it is my own desire, and the king’s command to me, to do no harm to the land wherein the two gods\(^2\) were born, neither to the land itself nor to those that dwell therein. Now, therefore, I bid you return to your homes and dwell in your island." This proclamation he made to the Delians, and presently laid upon the altar and burnt there three hundred talents' weight of frankincense.

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

\(^{1}\) This probably refers to the Persian treatment of rebels, described in chs. 31 and 32.

\(^{2}\) Apollo and Artemis.
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toúto mév kou térasa vànthetaísei toú an plóntow éssesbhai kákow ébashne o theós. épi gar Daraíou toú 'Tostáspeos kai 'Xéraix toú Daraíou kai 'Arotxerxew toú 'Xéraix, tríwv toutéov épeixhès genéwv, éýéneto pléw kaka' té 'Elláádi hé épi éikosi állassa genéwstas wás pród Daraíou genoménas, tá mév ápó tòv Perseón auth génoména, tá dé áp' autów tóv korupfávn peri téis árkhis polemeónan. oútw óúdein òn anéikes kínthénai Dílou to próv éousan akiýntovn. kai én chrismw òn génarménov peri authís óde.

kínthw kai Dílou akiýntovn peri éousan.
dýnatai dé katala 'Ellaáda glywosan tauta tás oýmata, Daraíos 'Xéraixh, 'Xéraixh épíous, 'Arotxerxw mégas épíous. toútw mév dí toús basileías óde án orðws kata' glywosan tính sofetérna 'Ellaínes káléioive.

99. Ói dé Bárubaroi òs aníeran ék tís Dílou, prosóskhoun proz tás vísous, énuveítan dé stratíthn te parélámvanov kai ómírous tów neswteów paídas élámvanov. òs dé peripléountes tás vísous prosókhouv kai éis Karústovn, ou gar dí sphi òi Karústioi ouste ómírous édidosan ouste éfasan épí polías asztugéitovs stratévesvthei, lýgovntes 'Eretríon te kai 'Áthnas, énthráta toutous épolinókeovn te kai tìn gin sfevov ékeiron, ês ó kai òi Karústioi parésthesán ês tów Perseón tînh gnósí.

100. 'Eretreías dé synbánomenv tòn stratíthn tînh Perseikhn épí sfeás épipléouvsan 'Áthnainov edehthésan sphi býthous genvésba. 'Áthnainov dé 250
heaven, as I suppose, to be an omen of the ills that were coming on the world. For in three generations, that is, in the time of Darius son of Hystaspes and Xerxes son of Darius and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, more ills befell Hellas than in twenty generations before Darius; which ills came in part from the Persians and in part from the wars for preëminence among the chief of the nations themselves. Thus it was no marvel that there should be an earthquake in Delos where none had been ere that. Also there was an oracle concerning Delos, wherein it was written:

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

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

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

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

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1 522–424.
ούκ ἀπείπαντο τὴν ἐπικουρίνην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους τοὺς κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἰπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώρην, τούτους σφὶ διδοῦσι τιμωροῦσι. τῶν δὲ Ἔρετριέων ἦν ἀρα οὔδεν υψίες βουλευμα, οἵ μετεπέμπτοντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεσι δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἔς τὰ ἀκρα τῆς Εὐβοίης, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω σισεθαί προδοσίην ἐσκενάζοντο. μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἐκάτερα ὡς εἰχὲ Ἀἰσχύνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἔως τῶν Ἔρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῖς ἦκουσι Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφὶ πρήγματα, προσεδέτο τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ὡς καὶ προσαπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι ταῦτα Ἀἰσχύνη συμβουλεύοντα πείθονται.

101. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὀρστὸν ἐσωζόντα σφέας αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχων τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς χώρης κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία αὐτίκα ἱπποὺς τε ἐξεβάλλοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς προσοιόμενοι τοὺς ἐξεθλοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἐρετριέεσ ἐπεξελθεῖν μὲν καὶ μαχέσαθαι οὐκ ἐποιεῦντο βουλήν, εἰ δὲς δὲ διαφυλάξαν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφὶ πέρι ἔμελε, ἔπειτε ἐνίκα μὴ ἐκλίπειν τὴν πόλιν. προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἐπιπτοῦν ἐπὶ εἷς ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τῇ δὲ ἐβδομὴ Ἐυφορβῶς τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχος καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνίων ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι προδειόυσι τοῖς Πέρσησι. οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν τούτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἀποτινύ-
aid, but gave the Eretrians for their defenders the four thousand tenant farmers that held the land of the Chalcidian horse-breeders.¹ But it would seem that all was unstable in the designs of the Eretrians; for they sent to the Athenians for aid, but their counsels were divided; the one part of them planned to leave the city and make for the heights of Euboea, the other part plotted treason in hope so to win advantage for themselves from the Persians. Then Aeschines son of Nothon, who was a leading man in Eretria, out of his knowledge of both designs told those Athenians who had come how matters stood, and entreated them, moreover, to depart to their own country, lest they should perish like the rest; and the Athenians in this followed Aeschines' advice.

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

¹ Cp. V. 77.
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μενοὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἵρων, τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤματοποδύκατο κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολάς.

102. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἕρετριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὅλας ἡμέρας ἐπλέον ἐς γῆν τήν Ἀττικήν, κατέργοντες τε πολλὸν καὶ δοκεόντες ταύτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἕρετριέας ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεύτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνυππεύσαι καὶ ἀγκοτάτῳ τῆς Ἕρετρίας, ὡς τοῦτῷ σφι κατηγέσετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου.

103. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπιθύμοντο ταύτα, ἐβοήθεον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἂγων δὲ σφιάσας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μελιτάδης· τοῦ τῶν πατέρα Κίμωνα τῶν Στησαγόρεως κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἢ Αθηναίων Πεισιστράτου τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίππῳ συνεβη, καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενον μν ἄνωτῷ ἐξενείκασθαι τῷ ὀμοµητρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Μελιτάδη. μετὰ δὲ τῇ ὑστέρῃ Ὀλυµπιάδι τῆς αὐτῆς ἢποιοὶ νικῶν παραδιδοὶ Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθήναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρεῖς τούτῳ κατῆλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ ὑπόστους. καὶ μεν ἀνελόμενον τῆς αὐτῆς ἢποιοὶ ἀλλὰν Ὀλυµπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παῖδων, οὐκέτι περεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοι μὴν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήμιον νικτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κόιλης καλεµένης ὄδοι· καταντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ ἢποι τεθάφαται αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς Ὀλυµπιάδα ἄνελόµεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἢποι ἣδη τῶντῳ τούτῳ

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

102. Having subdued Eretria they delayed for a few days, and then sailed to the Attic land, pressing hard forward and thinking that they would do to the Athenians what they had done to the Eretrians; and Marathon¹ being the fittest part of Attica for horsemen to ride over, and nearest to Eretria, thither they were guided by Hippias son of Pisistratus.

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

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

104. Οὕτως δὴ ὃν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφυγὼς διπλόν θάνατον ἐστρατήγηκε Ἀθηναῖων. ἂμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπιδιώκαντες μέχρι Ἰμβροῦ πολλοὺ ἐποιεῖντο λάβειν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἂμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἔως τοῦ δοκέονται τά εἰναι ἐν σωτηρίᾳ ήδη, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν μοι ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ὑπὸ δικαιστηρίων αὐτῶν ἀγαγόντες ἐδώξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναῖων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

105. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἔόντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἀλλος δὲ ἡμεροδρόμην τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὴ, ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἔλεγεν Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἀπήγγειλεν, περὶ τὸ Παρθένον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει· βῶσαντα δὲ τοῦ οὖνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω τῶν Πάνος Ἀθηναίοις κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγέλλαι, δι’ ὅ τι ἔως τοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῦται ἐόντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένοι σφὶ ἣδη χρησίμοιν, τὰ δ’ ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένου, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφὶ εὖ ἢδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι.
the Laconian Evagoras had ever achieved the same. Now Stesagoras, the eldest of Cimon's sons, was at that time being brought up in the Chersonese with Miltiades his uncle; but the younger, named Miltiades after that Miltiades who planted a settlement on the Chersonese, was with Cimon himself at Athens.

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

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

106. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὖν, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἐφή καὶ τὸν Πάνα φανήναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐλεγεῖ "Ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ύμέων δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἄρχαντα-την ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἄνδρῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτρια τε ἡμεραπόδισται καὶ πόλι λογίμω Ἡ Ἑλλάς γέγονε ἀνθενεστήρης." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ὅ τα ἐντεταλμένα ἀπηγγελλε, τοῖς δὲ ξάδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραυτικὰ ποιέων ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένους λύειν τὸν νόμον ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαι μὴ οὐ πληρεσθεύς έόντος τοῦ κύκλου.

107. Ότοι μὲν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις κατηγέτον Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθώνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἱδὼν τούτης· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἕωτον συνεννηθήμει. συνεβάλετο δὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσεων ἐν τῇ ἕωτον γνραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ταῦτα, τότε δὲ κατηγορομένος τούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀνδρόποδα τὰ ἔξω Ἐρετρίας ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγυλείνη, τούτῳ δὲ

1 According to Isocrates the distance traversed was 150 miles.

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

106. But now, at the time when he was sent by the generals and said that Pan had appeared to him, this Phidippides was at Sparta on the day after he left Athens;¹ and he came before the rulers and said, "Lacedaemonians, the Athenians entreat you to send them help, and not suffer a most ancient city of Hellas to be brought into bondage by foreigners; for even now Eretria has been enslaved, and Hellas is the weaker by the loss of a notable city." Thus Phidippides gave the message wherewith he was charged, and the Lacedaemonians resolved to send help to the Athenians; but they could not do this immediately, being loath to break their law; for it was the ninth day of the first part of the month, and they would make no expedition (they said) on the ninth day, when the moon was not full.²

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

² This statement probably applies only to the month Carneius (Attic Metageitnion), when the Carneia was celebrated at Sparta in honour of Apollo, from the 7th to the 15th of the month.
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καταγομένας ἐσ τὸν Μαραθώνα τὰς νέας ὄρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γην τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπήλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βήξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὥς ἐώθεε οί δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἐόντι τῶν ὅδοντων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐσείοντο· τοῦτων ἄν ἐνα τῶν ὅδοντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ ἐποίετο σπουδὴν πολλὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετο οἴ δ ὅδων, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας "Ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐκ ἡμετέρῃ ἐστὶ, οὗδὲ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρήν ποιῆσασθαι· ὅκους δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετῆρ, ὃ ὅδων μετέχει."

108. Ἡ πτήνη μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὅψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τεταγμένοις ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπήλθον βοηθοῦντες Πλαταιές πανδημεί. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιές, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συνχοῦσι ὑδὴ ἀνααρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὅδη. πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιές ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεο-μένει τε τῷ Ἀναξαγόριδεῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς. οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγον σφι τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέομεν, καὶ οὗτος τοιῆς τις γίνοιτ’ ἄν ἐπικουρήν ψυχρῆς φθαίτη γὰρ ἄν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντης ἡ τίνα πυθόμενοι ἡμέων. συμβουλεύμεν δὲ υμῖν δοῦμαι υμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, πλησιοχώροις τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρεῖν εὐθύς οὐ κακοῖς." ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν οὔτω τῶν Πλαταιέων ὡς θεωρόμενοι τοὺς 260
ships to anchor when they had put in at Marathon, and who set the foreigners in array when they were landed. Now while he dealt with these matters he fell a-sneezing and a-coughing more violently than he was wont; he was well stricken in years, and the most of his teeth were loose; whereby the violence of his cough made one of his teeth to fall out. It fell into the sand, and Hippias used all diligence to find it; but the tooth being nowhere to be seen, he said lamentably to them that stood by, "This land is none of ours, nor shall we avail to subdue it; my tooth has all the share of it that was for me."

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

¹ In 519, according to Thucydides (iii. 68); Grote gives a later date.
'Αθηναίοις ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖς. Δικαστικοί μὲν νυν Πλαταιεύσι ταύτα συνεβούλευσαν, οὗ δὲ οὐκ ἦπιστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἢπε ὑποψήφιοι δυώδεκα θεοίες ἵκεται ἵς μενοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Ὁσκαίοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταύτα ἐστρατεύουντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, 'Αθηναίοι δὲ σφί ἐβοήθεων. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οἱ περιείδουν, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων ὑφισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐὰν Ἡσαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλαμένους ἔστε Βοιωτοῖς τελείω. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνῶντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσσωθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ύπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Αθηναίοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεύσι εἰναί οὖρος, τούτοις ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐπείγαντο οὖρον Ησαίους πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἰναι καὶ Τσιάς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιές σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις τρόπφ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἱκον δὲ τὸτε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

109. Τοῦτο δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί έγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐωντων συμβαλλόν (ὀλίγους γὰρ εἰναι στρατηγῇ τῇ Μῆδῶν συμβάλλον) τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεως κελεύοντων. ώς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρα τῶν γυναῖκος, ενθαῦτα, ἣν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψυχομοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυνὸς λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν (τὸ πα-

1 The twelve gods were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Hephaestus, Athene, Ares, Aphrodite, 262
selves by making enemies of the Boeotians. The Lacedaemonians, then, gave them this counsel; the Plataeans obeyed it, and when the Athenians were sacrificing to the twelve gods they came as suppliants and sat them down by the altar, and so put themselves under protection. Hearing of this the Thebans sent an army against the Plataeans, and the Athenians came to the Plataeans' aid; but when they were about to join battle, the Corinthians would not suffer them; as they chanced to be there, they made a reconciliation at the instance of both the parties, and drew a frontier line on the condition that the Thebans should not meddle with such Boeotians as desired not to be reckoned as part and parcel of Boeotia. Having given this judgment the Corinthians took their departure; but when the Athenians were on their way home the Boeotians set upon them and were worsted in the fight. The Athenians then made a frontier beyond that which had been assigned by the Corinthians for the Plataeans, and set the Asopus itself for the Theban border on the side of Plataea and Hysiae.—In the manner aforesaid the Plataeans had put themselves in the protection of the Athenians, and now they came to Marathon to aid them.

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

Hermes, Hestia. The βωλις was a central altar in the agora, from which distances were reckoned.
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λαίον γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι ὁμόψηφον τῶν πολέμαρχων ἑποιεύτο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος. πρὸς τούτων ἔλθων Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστὶ· ἡ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήναις ἡ ἐλευθερία ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἀπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον οἷα οὐδὲ Ἄρμοδίος τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσιν. νῦν γὰρ δὴ εἰς οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοι εἰς κίνδυνον ἥκουσιν μέγιστον, καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖς Μηδοῖσι, δέδοκται ταῖς πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίη, ἦν δὲ περιγένεται αὐτῇ ἡ πόλις, οὐ τε ἐστὶ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολέων γενέσθαι. κἂς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἶα τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ κἂς ἐς σὲ τοῖς τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων. ήμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν εὖ των δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων τῶν δὲ οὗ συμβάλλειν. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβάλλωμεν, ἐλπιομαι τινὰ στάσιν μεγάλην διασείσειν ἐμπεσούσαν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήμαta ὡστε μηδέσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλλωμεν πρὸς τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροις ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἵσα νεμόντων οἷοι τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σεο ᾔρηται. ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμης τῇ ἐμῇ προσθή, ἐστι τοι ταρτίς τε ἐλευθερή καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολήν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία.”

110. Ταῦτα λέγων οἱ Μιλτιάδης προσκέται τῶν Καλλίμαχον προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρ-264
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chosen as polemarch¹ by lot,—for by old Athenian custom the polemarch voted among the generals,—and at this time the polemarch was Callimachus of Aphidnae; so their counsels being divided and the worse opinion like to prevail, Miltiades betook himself to this man. "Callimachus," said he, "it is for you to-day to choose, whether you will enslave Athens, or free her and thereby leave such a memorial for all posterity as was left not even by Harmodius and Aristogiton. For now is Athens in greater peril than ever since she was first a city; and if her people bow their necks to the Medes, their fate is certain, for they will be delivered over to Hippias; but if our city be saved, she may well grow to be the first of Greek cities. How then this can be brought about, and how it comes that the deciding voice in these matters is yours, I will now show you. We ten generals are divided in counsel, some bidding us to fight and some to forbear. Now if we forbear to fight, it is likely that some great schism will rend and shake the courage of our people till they make friends of the Medes; but if we join battle before some at Athens be infected by corruption, then let heaven but deal fairly with us, and we may well win in this fight. It is you that all this concerns; all hangs on you; for if you join yourself to my opinion, you make your country free and your city the first in Hellas; but if you choose the side of them that would persuade us not to fight, you will have wrought the very opposite of the blessings whereof I have spoken."

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

¹ One of the nine archons, all chosen by lot.
χοι τῆς γνώμης ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανηῆς τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδης παρεδίδοσαν. δὲ δὲ δεκόμενος οὕτω κοι συμβολὴν ἐποίεσα, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανηῆς ἐγίνετο.

111. 'Ως δὲ ἐς ἐκείνουν περιήλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὄλε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες τοῖς μὲν δεξιοὶ κέρεσ ἤγετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος. ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε ἔχε οὕτω τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξίων ἦγεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἔξεδεκοῦτο ὡς ἀρίθμεοντο αἱ φυλαὶ ἐχόμεναι ἄλληλεν, τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ εὐόνυμον κέρας Πλαταίες. ἀπὸ ταύτης [γάρ] σφὶ τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῆς πεντετερίσι γιονομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοις λέγων ἤνεσθαι τὰ ἁγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταίεσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένως τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθὼν ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τις τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξουσίμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὁλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενεστατὸν τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.

112. Ἡς δὲ σφὶ διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δρόμῳ ἔνεστο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἑλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὁκτὼ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἔπιονται παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεχόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς

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was resolved to fight. Thereafter the generals whose counsel was for fighting made over to Miltiades the day's right of leading that fell to each severally;¹ he received it, but would not join battle till the day of his own leadership came round.

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

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

¹ Each general seems to have been generalissimo in turn.
² There was a fixed official order; but Plutarch's account of the battle places certain tribes according to a different system. Perhaps the battle-order was determined by lot.
³ e. g. the great Panathenaea, and the festival of Poseidon.

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όλγους καὶ τούτους δρόμων ἐπειγομένους, οὕτε ἦπειροι ὑπαρχοῦσις σφι οὕτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπέτει ἄθροι προσέμειξαν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμείς ἱδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἔχρησαν, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχυτο ἐσθήτα τε Μῆδων ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταὐτήν ἰσθημένους τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα τὸ Μῆδων φόβος ἀκούσαι.

113. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγινετο πολλὸς, καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τούτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ῥήξαντες ἔδιϊκακον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Πλαταιές νικῶντες δὲ τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεῦγειν ἔως, τοῖς δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἁμφότερα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναίοι. φεῦγουσι δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικομισμενοὶ πῦρ τε αἰτεῖον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

114. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόλεμον ἄφθειρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἐθανεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεως τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέγειρος ὁ Εὐφρόνιος ἔνθαυτα ἐπιλαμβανόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νεῶν, τὴν χείρα ἀποκοπεῖ πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖν πολλοὶ καὶ ἐνομαστοί.

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

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Brother of the poet Aeschylus.
116. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ περεπλεον Σοῦνιον Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἔβοθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἐφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἡ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἔξω Ἡρακλείου τοῦ ἐν Μαράθων ἐν ἀλλὸ Ἡρακλεῖῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. οἱ δὲ βαρβάροι ἔστησαν τὴν ιβδίνεις ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου, τούτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τὸν Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχεύσαντες τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

117. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαράθωνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἐξακισχίλους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐκατῶν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτῶθι θώμα γενέσθαι τοίονδε, Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσῃ μαχόμενον τε καὶ ἄνδρα γεώμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὄμματων στερηθήναι οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελεῖν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἑώντα τυφλῶν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τοῦ πάθεσι ήκουσα τοίονδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκεῖν ὁπλήτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν τό δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἔωστον μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐωστοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτείναι. ταύτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.
BOOK VI. 115-117

taking the Eretrian slaves from the island wherein they had left them, sailed round Sunium, hoping to win to the city before the Athenians’ coming. There was an accusation rife at Athens that this plan arose from a device of the Alcmeonidae, who, it was said, made a compact with the Persians and held up a shield for them to see when they were now on shipboard.

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

117. In this fight at Marathon there were slain of the foreigners about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians a hundred and ninety-two. These are the numbers of them that fell on both sides. And it fell out that a marvellous thing happened: a certain Athenian, Epizelus son of Cephisogoras, while he fought doughtily in the mélée lost the sight of his eyes, albeit neither stabbed in any part nor shot, and for the rest of his life continued blind from that day. I heard that he told the tale of this mishap thus: a tall man-at-arms (he said) encountered him, whose beard spread all over his shield; this apparition passed Epizelus by, but slew his neighbour in the line. Such was the tale Epizelus told, as I heard.
118. Δάτις δὲ πορευόμενος ἀμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. καὶ ἤτες μὲν ἦν ἡ ὅψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὥστε ήμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ξήτησιν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν νεῶν, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν νη Ἐθνίσση ἄγαλμα 'Απόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἰς, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἐπλεε τῇ ἐωτοῦ νη ἕπο Δήλου· καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ την καύτα οἱ Δήλοι ὅπισος ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἁγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλειται τοῖσι Δηλίου ἀπαγαγών τὸ ἁγαλμα ἐς Δήλου τῷ Θηβαίῳ· τὸ δ' ἐστι ἐπὶ θαλάσση Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνετελάμενος ἀπέπλεε, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τούτων Δήλου ὅυκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μὲν δ' ἐτέων εἰκοσι Θηβαίοι ἀυτοὶ ἐκ ἰεσποτίου εκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλου.

119. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν 'Ερετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφρένης, ως προσέσχον πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σούσα. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Δαρείος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς 'Ερετριέας, ἐνεῖχε σφι δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίας προτέρων τῶν 'Ερετρίων· ἐπείτε δὲ εἶδε σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑωτοῦ καὶ ἑωτῷ ὑποχειρίους ὑπότας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οἷδέν, ἀλλὰ σφέας τῆς Κισαίης χώρης κατοίκισε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωτοῦ τῷ οὐνόμα ἐστὶ Ἀρδείκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διςθοσίους σταθέους ἀπέχοντι, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἱδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἀλάς καὶ ἱλαίον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπο τοῦδε· ἀντιλέεται μὲν κηλωνηῆς, ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ ἢμοσι ἀσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται. ὑποτύψας δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλεῖ καὶ 272
BOOK VI. II8-II9

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

119. When Datis and Artaphrenes touched Asia in their voyage, they carried the enslaved Eretrians inland to Susa. Before the Eretrians were taken captive king Darius had been terribly wroth with them for doing him unprovoked wrong; but seeing them brought before him and subject to him, he did them no hurt, but gave them a domain of his own called Ardericca in the Cissian land to dwell in; this place is two hundred and ten furlongs distant from Susa, and forty from the well that is of three kinds, whence men bring up asphalt and salt and oil. This is the manner of their doing it:—a windlass is used in the drawing, with half a skin made fast to it in place of a bucket; therewith he that draws dips into
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐπειτα ἐγχέει ἐς δεξαμενήν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τράπεται τριφασίας ὀδούς. καὶ ἥ μὲν ἀσφάλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλες πήγανται παραντίκα· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο βαδινάκην, ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀξμην παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἐρετριάς κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δα- 


120. Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἤκουν ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχουσες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν, οὕτω ώστε τριταὶς ἐκ Σπάρ- 
της ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ύστεροι δὲ ἀπικό- 
μενοι τῆς συμβολῆς ἰμείροντο ὁμως θείσασθαι 
τοὺς Μήδους. ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα 
ἐθείσαντο. μετὰ δὲ αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλάσσουσον ὁπίσω.

121. Θῶμα δὲ μοι καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον Ἀλκμεωνίδας ἃν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσης ἐκ συν- 
θήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένου ὑπὸ βαρβάροις τε 
εἰναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππίης οἴτινες μᾶλλον 
ἡ ὁμοίως Καλλή τῷ Φαινίππου, Ἰππονίκου δὲ 
πατρί, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἐόντες. Καλλῆς 
τε γὰρ μοῦνος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἔτολμα, ὅκως 
Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρή- 
ματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμειν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὁμή- 
εσθαι, καὶ τὰλα τὰ ἐχθιστα ἐς αὐτῶν πάντα 
ἐμηχανάτο.

122. [Καλλίεω δὲ τούτου ἄξιοι πολλαχοῦ μνή- 
μην ἔστι πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν. τούτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ 
προλελεγμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πα-

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

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

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

122.² [This Callias is worthy of all men's remembrance for many reasons: firstly, because he so excellently freed his country, as I have said;

¹ Petroleum.
² This chapter is generally held to be an interpolation; it is only found in one (not the best) class of the MSS., and contains un-Herodotean words and phrases.
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τρίδα· τούτο δὲ τὰ ἐν 'Ολυμπίη ἐποίησε· ἵππῳ
υικήσας, τεθρίππῳ δὲ δεύτερος γενόμενος, Πύθια
δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερώθη ἐς τούς "Ἐλ-
λήνας πάντας δαπάνησα μεγίστης· τούτο δὲ
κατὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρας ἐσύσας τρεῖς οἶδα τις
ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο γάμου ὀραίαι,
ἐδωκέ σφι διώρην μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην ἐκείνης
τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν 'Αθηναίων τὸν
ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἀνδρά ἐσυνί ἐκλέξασθαι, ἐδωκε
τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί.]

123. Καὶ οἱ 'Αλκμεωνίδαι ὁμοίως ἦν οὔδεν ἦσον
τούτου ἦσαν μισοτύραινοι. θῶμα ὅν μοι καὶ οὐ
προσέμει τὴν διαβολὴν τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι
ἀσπίδα, οὔτεν ἐφευγὸν τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς
tυράννους, ἐκ μηχανῆς τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιτον
Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ οὐτώ τὰς
'Αθήνας οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλόν
μᾶλλον ἢ περ 'Αρμόδιος τε καὶ 'Αριστογείτων, ὃς
ἔγω κρίνω. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγρίωσαν τοὺς ὑπολοί-
pou Peisistratidēw Ίππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες,
οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννι-
ουτας. 'Αλκμεωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἠλευθέρωσαν,
eī δὴ οὕτω γε ἀληθεὺς ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀνα-
πείσαντες προσημαίνειν Δακεδαιμονίοιο ἐλευθε-
ροῦν τὰς 'Αθήνας, ὡς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται.

124. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦσος τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι 'Αθη-
ναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδοσαν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν
δὲν ἦσαν σφέων ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἐν γε 'Αθη-
ναίοισι ἄνδρες οὔδ' οἱ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὔτω
οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει ἀναδεχθῆναι ἐκ γε ἄν τούτων
ἀσπίδα ἐτι τοιοῦτο βλέφρ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ
ἀσπίς, καὶ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐστὶ ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ἐγένετο
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secondly, for what he did at Olympia, where he won a horse-race, and was second in a four-horse chariot-race, having already won a Pythian prize, and was the cynosure of all Hellas for the lavishness of his spending; and thirdly, for his way of behaviour in the matter of his three daughters. For when they were of marriageable age, he gave them a most splendid gift and one very pleasant to them, promising that each of them should wed that husband whom she should choose for herself in all Athens.]

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

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

125. Οὶ δὲ Ἅλκμεωνίδαι ᾦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀν-έκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνησι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἅλκ-μέωνος καὶ αὐτὸς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροὶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἅλκμέων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖς Ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖς παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεο-μένοις ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς συμ-πρήκτωρ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως, καὶ μὲν Κροίσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτεώντων ἐώτυτον εὐ ποιεῖν μεταπέμ-πεται ὡς Σάρδις, ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρεῖται χρυσῷ τὸν ἀν δύνηται τὸ ἐώτυτον σώματι ἐξενεκασθαί ἐσάπαξ. ὁ δὲ Ἅλκμέων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἑοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθώνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον βαθὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθώνος, κοθόρνους τε τοὺς εὐρισκε εὐρυτάτως ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἢι ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἰ κατηγέοντο. ἐσπεσοὶ δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κιήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἔχωρεον οἱ κόθορνοι, μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἔξηθε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐλκών μὲν μόνις τοὺς κόθορνοις, παντί δὲ τεῦ ὀἰκὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ τὸ τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξώγκωτο. ἴδοντα δὲ τὸν Κροίσου γέλως ἔσηθε, καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκεῖνα διδοὶ καὶ πρὸς ἐτερα δωρεῖται οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἐκεῖνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπιλύσεις ἡ οἰκία αὐτῆς μεγάλως, καὶ ὁ Ἅλκμέων οὕτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὁλυμ-πιάδα ἀναιρέεται.
thing was done; but who did it I know not, and can say no further.

125. The Alcmeonidae had been men of renown in old time at Athens, and from the days of Alcmeon ¹ and also Megacles their renown increased. For when the Lydians sent from Sardis came from Croesus to the Delphic oracle, Alcmeon son of Megacles wrought with and zealously aided them; so Croesus, hearing from the Lydians who visited the oracle of Alcmeon’s benefits to himself, sent for him to Sardis, and there made him a gift of as much gold as he could carry away at one time on his person. Such being the gift, Alcmeon planned and practised a device: he donned a wide tunic, leaving a deep fold in it, and shod himself with the most spacious buskins that he could find, and so entered the treasury whither he was guided. There, falling upon a heap of gold-dust, first he packed by his legs as much gold as his buskins would contain; then he filled the fold of his tunic all full of gold and strewed the dust among the hair of his head, and took more of it into his mouth; till when he came out of the treasury, hardly dragging the weight of his buskins, he was like anything rather than a human creature, with his mouth crammed full and all his body swollen. When Croesus saw him he fell a-laughing, and gave him all the gold he already had and as much more again. Thus that family grew very rich, and Alcmeon came to keep four-horse chariots, and won therewith at Olympia.

¹ Alcmeon ‘flourished’ about 590; Croesus’ reign was 560–546; it was Megacles son of Alcmeon, and not Alcmeon himself, who was Croesus’ contemporary.
126. Μετὰ δὲ γενέθε δευτέρη ὑστεροῦ Κλεισθένης αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυώνιος τύραννος ἐξῆθε, ὡστε πολλῷ ὄνομαστοτέρῳ γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμων τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω γίνεται θυράτηρ τῇ ὑστεροῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαρίστην, ταῦταν ἡθέλετε, Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρισκομένων τῶν ἀριστῶν, τούτῳ γυναικα προσθεῖναι. Οὐλομπίων δὲν ἔοντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τεθρίππω ὁ Κλεισθένης κήρυγμα ἐποίησε, ὡστες Ἑλλήνων ἔσωτοι ἄξιοι Κλεισθένεος γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἣν εἰς ἐξηκοστὴν ἠμέρην ἦν καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυώνα, ὡς κυρώσων Κλεισθένεος τοῦ γάμου ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἠμέρησι. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἴσαν καὶ πάθρο ἐξωγκωμένου, ἐφοίτευν μνηστήρες τοῖς Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμοι καὶ παλαιστηρίν ποιησάμενος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐίχε.  
127. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλίς ἦλθε Σιμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἰπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, δε ἔπτὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἄνηρ ἀπάκετο (ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἦκμαζε τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων μάλιστα), καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος Ἀμύριος τοῦ σοφοῦ λεγομένου παίς. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίς ἠθένω, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου Ἀμφίμυνηστος Ἐπιστρόφον Ἐπιδύμων. οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύτους τε Ἑλληνος ἵσχυι καὶ φυγώντως ἀνθρώπους ἐς τάς ἐσχατιᾶς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρης, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου ἀδελφῶς Μάλης. ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Δεσκήνης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τα μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίου καὶ ὑβρίσαντος

1 Cleisthenes of Sicyon was contemporary with Alcmeon.
BOOK VI. 126-127

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

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

\(^{2}\) P. introduced the “Aeginetan” system of weights and measures. For the chronological difficulty connected with this mention of him, see the commentators.
μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, δις ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγώνα ἔθηκε· τοῦτον τε δὴ παῖς καὶ Ἀμίαντος Δυκούργον Ἀρκάς ἐκ Τραπεζούντος, καὶ Ἀξῆν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε, ὡς λόγον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λέγεται, τοὺς Διοσκούρους οἰκίσοι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπως, καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνόμαστος Ἀγαίου. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἔλθουν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλέης τε ὁ Ἀλκμέωνος τοῦτον τοῦ παρὰ Κροίσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἰπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου, πλοῦτω καὶ εἰδεὶ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετρίδης ἀνθεύσης τοῦ τοῦ χρόνου Δυσανίς· οὕτως δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐυβοΐς μοῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἠλθεὶ τῶν Σκοπαδέων Διακτορίδης Κραννώνιος, ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων.

128. Τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπτύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου, μετὰ δὲ κατέχων ἐναυτὸν διεπείρατο αὐτῶν τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ παιδεύσις τε καὶ τρόπου, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἦν ἐς συνουσίαν καὶ συνάπτει, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσια τε ἐξαγινεύων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ τὸ γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστίᾳ διεπειράτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατείχε χρόνον αὐτοῖς, τούτων πάντα ἔποιεε καὶ ἀμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. καὶ δὴ κού καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἡρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀπεμένοι, καὶ τούτων μάλλον Ἰπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐκρίνετο καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἀνέκαθε τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἢ προσήκων.
and dealt more high-handedly than any other Greek; for he drove out the Elean stewards of the lists, and ordered the contests at Olympia himself; this man’s son now came; and Amiantus an Arcadian from Trapezus, son of Lycurgus; and an Azenian from the town of Paeus, Laphanes son of that Euphorion who, as the Arcadian tale relates, gave lodging to the Dioscuri, and from that time forward kept open house for all men; and Onomastus from Elis, son of Agaeus. These came from the Peloponnese itself; from Athens, Megacles, son of that Alcmeon who visited Croesus, and beside him Hippocides son of Tisandrus, the richest and goodliest man in Athens. From Eretria, which at that time was prosperous, Lysanias; he was the only man from Euboea; from Thessaly came a Scopad, Diactorides of Crannon; and from the Molossians, Alcon.

128. Such was the roll of the suitors. When they were come on the day appointed, Cleisthenes first enquired the country and lineage of each; then he kept them with him for a year, making trial of their manly worth and temper and upbringing and manner of life; this he did by consorting with them alone and in company, putting the younger of them to contests of strength, but especially watching their demeanour at the common meal; for as long as he kept them with him he did all for them and entertained them with magnificence. Now those of the suitors that best pleased him were they who came from Athens, and of these Hippocides son of Tisandrus was judged the foremost, both for his manly worth and because by his lineage he was akin to the Cysselid family of Corinth.
129. Ὅσ δὲ ἦν κυρίη ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς τε κατακλύσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθένεος τὸν κρίνοι ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἐκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχεε αὐτοῦς τε τοὺς μνηστήρας καὶ Σικυωνίων πάντας. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστήρες ἔριν ἔχον ἀμφὶ τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊόνης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης ἐκέλευσε οἱ τὸν αὐλήτην αὐλήσαι ἐμμελείην, πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ αὐλήτεων ὀρχήσατο. καὶ κως ἐστὶν μὲν ἄρεστος ὀρχέοτο, ὁ Κλεισθένης δὲ ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρήγμα ὑπόπτευε. μετὰ δὲ ἐπισκῶν ὁ Ἰπποκλείδης χρόνων ἐκέλευσε τινὰ τράπεζαν ἐσενεικαὶ, ἐσελθοῦσας δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἔτι αὐτὴς ὀρχήσατο Δακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ Ἀττικὰ, τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφάλην ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τούσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε. Κλεισθένης δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχεομένου, ἀποστυγέων γαμβρῷν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἰπποκλείδης διὰ τὴν τε ὀρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην, κατέχετε ἐστὶν, οὐ βουλόμενοι ἐκραγηναι ἐς αὐτῶν ὡς δὲ εἰδε τούσι σκέλεσι χαρισμώμενα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· ὁ παῖ Ἰσαάνδρου, ἀπορχήσας ἄν τὸν γάμον. ὁ δὲ Ἰπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· Οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδης ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τούτο ὀνομάζεται.

130. Κλεισθένης δὲ συγῆν ποιησάμενος ἐλέξει ἐς μέσον τιδε. ὁ λαὸς παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστήρας, ἔγω καὶ πάντας ύμεας ἐπαίνεω καὶ πάσι ύμῖν, εἰ ὅλον τε εἰς, χαρισομένην ἀν, μητ' ἐν ύμεών ἔξαρτον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οὐ τε ἐστὶ μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλεύουντα 284.
129. When the day appointed came for the marriage feast to be held and Cleisthenes himself to declare whom he chose out of all, Cleisthenes sacrificed a hundred oxen and gave a feast to the suitors themselves and the whole of Sicyon. After dinner the suitors vied with each other in music and social discourse. As they sat late drinking, Hippoclides, now far outdoing the rest, bade the flute-player play him music, and when the flute-player so did, he began to dance; and he pleased himself marvellous well with his dancing; but Cleisthenes saw the whole business with much disfavour. After a while, Hippoclides bade a table be brought; when it came he danced on it Laconian first and then Attic figures; last of all he rested his head on the table and made gestures with his legs in the air. Now Cleisthenes at the first and the second bout of dancing could no more bear to think of Hippoclides as his son-in-law, for his dancing and his shamelessness; yet he had held himself in check, not willing to vent his wrath on Hippoclides; but when he saw him making gestures with his legs, he could no longer keep silence, but cried, "'Tis very well, son of Tisandrus, but you have danced yourself out of your marriage." Whereat quoth the other, "Hippoclides cares nought for that!" which is a byword from that day.

130. Then Cleisthenes bade them all be silent, and spoke to the company at large. "Suitors for my daughter's hand," said he, "I thank you one and all; and were it possible I would grant each of you his wish, neither choosing out one to set him above another nor disparaging the rest. But seeing that I have but one damsel to plan for and so cannot
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πάσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοίσι μὲν ύμεών ἀπελαυ
νομένουσι τοἱδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου
ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἰνεκα τῆς ἐξ
ἐμεῦ γῆμαι καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίης, τῷ δὲ
Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλεῖ ἐγγυὸ παῖδα τὴν ἔμην
Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοίσι Ἀθηναίων." φαμένου
dὲ ἐγγυάσαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος
Κλεισθένει.

131. Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μυστήρων τοσαύτα
ἐγένετο καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμεωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων γίνεται
Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην
Ἀθηναίοις καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ
μυστρετάρη τοῦ Σικυωνίου· οὕτως τε δὴ γίνεται
Μεγακλεῖ καὶ Ἰπποκράτης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος
Μεγακλέης τε ἄλλος καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἀλλή ἀπὸ
tῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὖνομα·
ἡ συνοικήσας τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ
ἔγκυνος έούσα εἰδὲ ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐδόκεε δὲ
λέοντα τεκείν, καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει
Περικλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

132. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρώμα γενόμενον
Μιλτιάδης, καὶ πρώτον εὐθυκιμένω παρὰ Ἀθη-
ναίοις, τότε μᾶλλον αὐξητο. αἰτήσας δὲ νέας
ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιών τε καὶ χρήματα Ἀθη-
ναίοις, οὐ φράσας σφι ἐὰν ἐπὶ ἐκτριζείστει
χώρην, ἀλλὰ φᾶς αὐτοὺς καταπλούτειν ἢν οἱ
ἐπωνταὶ· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δὴ τίνα αὖξειν
ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὔπτετος ἀφθονον οἰσοταί λέγων
τοιαύτα αἰτεῖ τὰς νέας. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τούτους
ἐπαερθέντες παρέδοσαν.

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

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

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

133. Miltiades took his army and sailed for Paros,
Επλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὕπήρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεσι ές Μαραθῶνα ἀμα τοῦ Πέρση. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγων ἦν, ἀτάρ τινα καὶ ἐγκοτόν εἰχε τοῦτο Παρίσιοι διὰ Λυσαγόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Τδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπ’ ἦν ἔπλεε ο Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατηγῇ ἐπολιόρκησε Παρίσιος κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεως, καὶ ἐστεμπῶν κήρυκα αἰτεε ἐκατόν τάλαντα, φάς, ἦν μιν οὐ δόσῃ, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσεις τὴν στρατηγὴ πρὶν ἢ ἔξελῃ σφέας. οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὁκως μὲν τι δύσονοι Μιλτιάδης ἄργυριον οὐδὲ διενοεύντο, οὐ δὲ ὁκως διαφυλάξουσι τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμπαχανόντο, ἀλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἐκάστουτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχους, τοῦτο ἀμα νυκτὶ ἐξηείρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἄρχαιον.

134. Ἕς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι διδε λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης ἀπορέουτι ἐλθείν ἃς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐνύσαν μὲν Παρίν γένος, οὐνομά δὲ οἱ εἰναι Τιμοῦν, εἰναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεών· ταῦταν ἔλθοῦςαν ἃς ὤνιν Μιλτιάδεως συμβουλεύσασι, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἀν αὐτὴ ὑποθήται, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσει, τὸν δὲ διερχόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ὠντα ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοίξας, ὑπερθοροῦντα δὲ ἐναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὁ τι δὴ ποιήσαστα ἐντός, εἴτε κυνηγοῦσι τῇ τῶν ἀκινήτων εἴτε ο τι δὴ κοτε πρήξουντα· πρὸς τῇ θύρῃς τε γενέσθαι καὶ πρόκατε φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης ὁπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἔσθαι, 288
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on the pretext that the Parians had brought this on themselves by first sending triremes with the Persian fleet to Marathon. Such was the pretext whereof he spoke; but he had a grudge against the Parians because Lysagoras son of Tisias, a man of Parian descent, had made ill blood between him and Hydarnes the Persian. Having come to the place to which he sailed, Miltiades with his army drove the Parians within their walls and there besieged them; and sending in a herald he demanded a hundred talents, which (said he) if they would not give him, his army should not return before it had stormed their city. The Parians had no thought at all of giving any money to Miltiades, and had no other purpose but to defend their city, which they did by building their wall at night to double its former height where it was most assailable, and also by other devices.

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

135. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νῦν φλαύρως ἐχων ἀπέπλεε
ὄπισθεν, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων οὔτε
Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἔχ
καὶ εἰκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δημόσια τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι
δὲ πυθόμενοι ὡς ἡ υποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμώ
Μιλτιάδη κατηγήσατο, Βουλόμενοι μὲν ἀντὶ
tούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεσπρός πέμπουσι ἐκ
Δελφοὺς ὡς σφεᾶς ἁσυχία τῆς πολιορκίης ἐσχε:
ἐπεμπόν δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρῆσωνται τὴν
ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξηγησαμένην τούσι
ἐχθροὶς τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρενσι
γόνον ἄρρητα ἢ ἐκφύγασαν Μιλτιάδη. ἦ δὲ
Πυθία οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμών εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν
tούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῷ γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτῶν μὴ
εὔ, φανὴναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

136. Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθία ἔχρησε:
Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστή-
σαντα ἐχον εὖ στόμασα οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ κάλιστα
.toByteArray ο Ἀρίφρονος, δὲ θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν
ὑπὸ τὸν δήμου Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων
ἀπάτης εἰνεκε. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν
οὐκ ἀπελογεῖτο· ἢν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὡστε σηπο-
μένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνη
ὑπεραπελογέσατο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς
ἐν Μαραθώνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένου
καὶ τῆν Λήμνου αἴρεσιν, ὡς ἔλὼν Λήμνου τε καὶ
tισάμενοσ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι.
προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν
ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ξημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν
ἀδικίαν πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις, Μιλτιάδης μὲν
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leaping down from the wall he twisted his thigh, or as some say took a blow on his knee.

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

136. Such was the priestess' reply to the Parians; but when Miltiades returned back from Paros many tongues were let loose against him at Athens; and Xanthippus son of Araphon impeached him before the people, calling for the penalty of death for the deceit which he had practised on the Athenians. Miltiades was present, but could not speak in his own defence, his thigh being mortised; but he was laid before the court on a bed, and his friends spoke for him, ever calling to mind the fight at Marathon and the conquest of Lemnos,—how Miltiades had punished the Pelasgians and taken Lemnos and delivered it to the Athenians. The people took his side in so far as they would not condemn him to death, but they fined him fifty talents for his wrong-doing. Presently Miltiades died of the gangrene
μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾶ, τὰ δὲ πευτήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξέτισε ὃ παῖς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

137. Ἀλκυόν ὅπε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος δὲ ἔσχε. Πελασγοῖς ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἰτε δὲν δὴ δικαίως εἰτε ἄδικως· τούτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι, πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὅτι ᾽Εκαταύοις μὲν ὁ Ἡνησάνδρου ἔφησε εὐ τοῖς λόγοις λέγων ἄδικως· ἐπείτε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖς ὅπο τὸν Ὀμησῶν έσεισαν ἐδοσαν Πελασγοῖς οἰκήσας μισθῶν τοῦ τείχους τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτὲ ἔληλαμένοι, ταῦτην ὅς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εὗ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι κακήν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενός ἀξίην, λαβείν φθόνον τε καὶ ἵμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἑξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσιν, δικαίως ἑξελάσασι· κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Ὀμησῶν, ἐνθέτετον ὄρμωμένους ἄδικες τάδε. φοιτάν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφητέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παιδιὰς ὑπὸ ὄβρει ἐπρὶ τὴν Ἑυνεάκρουνος· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς Ὕλησιν οἰκέταις· ὡς δὲ ἔλθοιες αὐτοῖς, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὄβριος τε καὶ ὀλγαφίης βιάζοντο σφέας. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφίν οὐκ ἀποχράν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἑπιβουλεύονται ἐπιχείρησιν φανῆναι ἐπὶ αὐτοφώρῳ. ἐωτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον ἑκείνων ἀνδρὰς ἀμείνονας, ὡς, παρεῖν ἐσφυτήσει ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς, ἑπεὶ σφέας ἐλα- βον ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐκ ἐθελήσας, ἀλλὰ σφι

1 The Pelasgians were driven into Attica by the Boeotian
and mortification of his thigh, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon.

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

\(^1\) S.E. of Athens, near the Ilissus.
HERODOTUS

προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξεῦναι. τοὺς δὲ οὗτοι δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας ἀλλὰ τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Δήμων. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι.

138. Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Δήμων τότε νεμόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εὖ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτάς, πεντηκοντέρους κτησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρώνι ἁγούσας ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναίκας, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀρπάζαντες τουτέων πολλάς οἴχουτο ἀποπλέοντες, καὶ σφεας ἐς Δήμων ἀγαγόντες παλλακᾶς εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐτῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν Ἀττικῆν καὶ τρόπους τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐδιδασκον τοὺς παιδὰς. οἷς δὲ οὗτος συμμίσθεσθαι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναίκῶν παισὶ θελεῖν, εἰ τὸ τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοήθεεν τε τὰ πάντας καὶ ἐτιμώρευσεν ἀλλήλους: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παιδεῖς ἐδίκαιεν καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπεκράτευαν. μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐωτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν καὶ σφι βουλευομένοι δειούν τὶ ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγνωσκοις σφίσει τε βοηθεῖειν οἱ παιδεῖς πρὸς τῶν κουριδίων γυναίκων τοὺς παιδᾶς καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειράματο, τὶ δὴ ἀνδραθέντες δήθεν ποιήσουσι. ἐνθαῦτα ἐδοξές σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παιδᾶς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικῶν γυναίκων. ποιεύοι δὴ ταῦτα, προσπαλλόντες δὲ σφέων καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων, τὸ ἐργάσαστοι αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἦμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνασαι, νενόμισσαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἔλλαδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Δήμων καλέσθαι.

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but bade them depart out of the country. Thereupon the Pelasgians departed, and took Lemnos in possession, besides other places. This is the Athenian story; the other is told by Hecataeus.

138. These Pelasgians, dwelling at that time in Lemnos and desiring vengeance on the Athenians, and well knowing the time of the Athenian festivals, got them fifty-oared ships and lay in ambush for the Athenian women when they were celebrating a festival for Artemis at Brauron; carrying off many of the women, they sailed away further with them and brought them to Lemnos to be their concubines. Now as these women bore more and more children, they taught their sons the speech of Attica and Athenian manners. These boys would not consort with the sons of the Pelasgian women; if one of themselves were beaten by one of the others, they would all run to his aid and help each other; nay, the Athenian-bred boys even claimed to rule the others, and were much the stronger than they. When the Pelasgians perceived that, they took counsel together; and it troubled them much in their counsels to think what the boys would do when they grew to man's estate, if they were resolved to help each other against the sons of the lawful wives and essayed to rule them forthwith. Thereupon the Pelasgians judged it best to slay the sons of the Attic women; and this they did, and slew the boys' mothers likewise. From this and the former deed which was done by the women, when they slew their own husbands who were Thoas' companions, a "Lemnian crime" has been a proverb in Hellas for any deed of cruelty.
139. Ἀποκτείνασι δὲ τοῖς Πελασγοῖς τοὺς σφετέρους παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας οὕτω γῆ καρπῶν ἐφερε οὕτε γυναῖκες τε καὶ ποίμνια ὅμοιως ἐγκεκτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. πιεξόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ ἦς Δελφοὺς ἔπετυχαν λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοις δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίοι δικάσσουσι. ἦλθον τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλουσας βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανηῷ κλίνῃ στρώσαντες ὡς εἴχον κάλλιστα καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλήν ἀγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώρην σφίσι παραδίδοναι οὕτω ἔχουσαν, οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν ἴππων ἐπεδώρη ἀνέμῳ αὐτὴμεροῦξ ἐξανύσῃ νήσου ἕκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, τότε παραδόσωμεν, ἐπιστάμενοι τούτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἦ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Δήμου.

140. Τότε μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολυλοίσι οὐστέρον τούτων, ὡς ἡ Χερσονήσος ἡ ἐπ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντω ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίοις, Μιλτιάδης ο Κόμωνος ἐπισκευόμενος ἀνέμων κατεστηκότων νηῷ κατανύσῃ εἴξ Ἑλλαιοῦντο τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἔς Δήμου προηγόρευε ἐξίναι ἕκ τῆς νήσου τοῖς Πελασγοῖς, ἀναμμυνόμενοι σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον, τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἡλπίσαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέσθαι. Ἡφαιστιέας μὲν νῦν ἐπείθοντο, Μιλτιάδης δὲ οὐ συγγιιωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσονήσου Ἀττικῆν ἐπολιορκεύσαν, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὕτως παρέστησαν. οὕτω δὴ τὴν Δήμου ἔσχον Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης.

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139. But when the Pelasgians had slain their own sons and the women, their land brought forth no fruit, nor did their wives and their flocks and herds bear offspring as before. Under stress of hunger and childlessness they sent to Delphi to ask for some way of release from their present ills; and the Pythian priestess bidding them pay the Athenians whatsoever penalty the Athenians themselves should adjudge, the Pelasgians went to Athens and offered to pay the penalty for all their wrong-doing. The Athenians set in their town-hall a couch adorned to the best of their power, with a table thereby covered with all manner of good things, and said to the Pelasgians, “Deliver your land to us in a like state”; whereto the Pelasgians answered, “We will deliver it when a ship shall accomplish her voyage with a north wind from your country to ours in one day”; this they said, well assured that the thing was impossible; for Attica is far to the south of Lemnos.

140. This and no more was then said. But a great many years afterward, when the Chersonese by the Hellespont was made subject to Athens, Miltiades son of Cimon did, by virtue of the Etesian \(^1\) winds then constantly blowing, accomplish the voyage from Elaeus on the Chersonese to Lemnos; which done, he issued a proclamation to the Pelasgians bidding them leave their island, reminding them of the oracular word which the Pelasgians thought they would never see fulfilled. The men of Hephaestia, then, obeyed him; but they of Myrina would not agree that the Chersonese was Attic land, and they stood a siege; but in the end they too submitted. Thus did Miltiades and the Athenians take Lemnos in possession.

\(^1\) North-east winds, blowing in July, August, and September.
1. Ἕπει δὲ ἀγγελία ἀπόκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τὸν Ττσάσπεος, καὶ πρῶς μεγάλως κεχαραγμένων τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δευτέρα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπτων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὰν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστους ἢ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἄππους καὶ σίτου καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περι- αγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδούνετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτω δὲ ἐτεί Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβέσεως δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμητο καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς δὲι μὲν ἀπο- δέχαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἡ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς
BOOK VII

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

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

¹ 489–487.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

προτέρης γυναικός, Γοβρύεω θυγατρός, καὶ
βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἔτεροι
τέσσερεσ. τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε
Ἀρτοβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ἐρέξης.
εόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστασίαζον, ὁ
μὲν Ἀρτοβαζάνης κατότι πρεσβύτατος τε ἐιὴ
παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὁτι νομίζομενον εἰὴ πρὸς
πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρεσβύτατων τῆς ἁρχῆς
ἔχειν, Ἐρέξης δὲ ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἰὴ τῆς
Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὁτι Κύρος εἰὴ ὁ κτησάμενος
τοῖσι Πέρσησι τὴν ἔλευθερίν.

3. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένον καὶ γνώμην,
ἐτύγχανο ἀκατὰ τῶντο τούτοις καὶ Δημάρχος
ὁ Ἀριστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐστηρημένος
τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείας καὶ φυγῆς ἐπιβαλὼν
ἐωσφῷ ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. οὗτος ὡς ἦν πυθομένος
τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τῆς διαφορῆς, ἐλθὼν, ὡς
ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει, Ἐρέξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν
πρὸς τοῖσι ἐλεγε ἔπεαι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο
Δαρείῳ ἢ δὲ βασιλεύσαν καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσεῖν
κράτος, Ἀρτοβαζάνης δὲ ἐτε ἰδιωτη ἐόντι Δαρείῳ
οὐκὼν οὔτε οἰκος εἰὴ οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὸ
τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωτοῦ ἐπεῖ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ
ἐϕή ὁ Δημάρχος ὑποτιθέμενος οὗτο νομίζεσθαι,
ὡς οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἐωσι πρὶν ἢ τὰν πατέρα
σφέων βασιλεύσαι, δὲ βασιλεύσαντι ὑσίγονος
ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένον τῆς ἐκδικίας τῆς
βασιλείας γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένον δὲ Ἐρέξεω τῆς
Δημάρχου ὑποθήκη, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρείος ὡς λέγοι
δίκαια βασιλεία μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκεῖ εἰ δέ μοι, καὶ
ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαν ἄν Ἐρέξης.
ἡ γὰρ Ἀτόσσα ἐίχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

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the daughter of Gobryas, and four besides after he became king by Atossa daughter of Cyrus; of the earlier sons Artobazanes was the eldest, and Xerxes of the later; and being sons of different mothers they were rivals, Artobazanes pleading that he was the eldest of all Darius' offspring and that it was everywhere customary that the eldest should rule; Xerxes, that he was son of Cyrus' daughter Atossa and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom.

3. Darius delaying his judgment in this matter, it chanced that at this time Demaratus son of Ariston had come up to Susa, banished of his own will from Lacedaemon after he had lost the kingship of Sparta. Learning of the contention between the sons of Darius, this man, as the story goes, came and counselled Xerxes to add to what he said another plea, to wit, that he had been born when Darius was already king and ruler of Persia, but Artobazanes when Darius was yet a subject; therefore (Xerxes should say) it was neither reasonable nor just that any rather than he should have the royal prerogative; for at Sparta too (said Demaratus in his counselling) it was ever customary, that if there be sons born before their father became king, and another son born later when the father was king, to the later-born should fall the succession to the kingship. Xerxes then following Demaratus' advice, Darius judged his plea to be just and declared him king. But to my thinking Xerxes would have been made king even without this advice; for Atossa was all-powerful.
4. Ἀποδέξασι δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσης Ἑρέξεα Δαρείος ὅρματο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὕστερῷ ὑπεράσκεναζόμενον συνήψεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον. βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἐξ τε καὶ τρεῖκοντα ἀνίκητα, ἀποδαμένω, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τῶν ἰππευστώς Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσανται.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιλικὴ ἀνέστρωσε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ἑρέξην. ὁ τεκὼν Ἑρέξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀφθαλμὸς ὁμοῖος ἦν κατ’ ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἐποίεστο στρατιῆς ἁγεσίαν. παρεῖν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσῶν Μαρκόνων ὁ Γοβδών, ὃς ἦν Ἑρέξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Ἀθηναίος ὃς ἰδελφεῖς παῖς, τοιοῦτον λόγον εἶχε, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Αθηναίους ὑπεράσκεναζόμενον πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δέχεσθε ἐκείνη τῶν ἐποίημαν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ἡμῖν ἀνάθεμα τὰ περ ἐν χερσὶν ἐχεις. ἦμερότας δὲ Αἰγύπτων τὴν ἐξισβρίσασαν στρατηγάλατε ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἢν λόγος τὸ σε ἐχεῖ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀμέσως, καὶ τὸν ὕστερον φυλάσσονται ἐπὶ γῆς τῶν ὁμοίων στρατεύεσθαι." οὕτως μὲν οἱ οἱ λόγος ὁ τιμωρών τούδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρεισήκην τοικέουσα τοῦτο, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλῆς εἰς χωρίς, καὶ δεύτερα παντοτικά φέρει τὰ ἠμέρα, ἱμερῆς τε ἄκρη, βασιλεῖ τε μοῦνοθε ὑπηρτῶν ἢ ἥτις ἐκτιθέμηκαν.

6. Ταύτα ἐλευθεροὶ νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἔως καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχός εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὡς τε
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4. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσης Ἐξέβας Δαρείος ὀρμάτῳ στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλά γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ύστερῳ ἑτεί παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξε τε καὶ τρίηκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανέν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστείωτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ἐξέβας. ὁ τοῖνυν Ἐξέβας ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἐλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐποίετο στρατηγὸς ἀγέρσων. παρεὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσικὸν Μαρτίνον ὃς Γοβρύεω, διὶ ἐς Ἐξέβα μὲν ἄνεψιος Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφῆς παῖς, τοιοῦτον λόγου εἰχετο, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκὸς ἐστὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τὰ περ᾽ ἐν χερσὶ ἐχείς· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτοῦ τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ἵνα λόγος τε σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς, καὶ τὶς ύστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι." οὕτως μὲν οἱ τοῦ λόγου παρενθῆκαν ποιεῖσκετο τῆνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς εἰὶ χώρῃ, καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἁκρη, βασιλέα τε μοῦνῳ τυντῶν ἄξιον ἐκτῆσθαι.

6. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἦν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὑπαρχός εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὅστε 3ο4
4. Having declared Xerxes king, Darius was intent on his expedition. But in the year after this, and the revolt of Egypt, death came upon him in the midst of his preparation, after a reign of six and thirty years\(^1\) in all; nor was it granted to him to punish either the revolted Egyptians, or the Athenians.

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

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

\(^1\) 521–485.
\(^2\) Some take the Greek to mean “this argument was his helper”; but the statement seems rather pointless.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ποιέειν ταῦτα ξέρξην συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμμαχα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι ξέρξην. τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευ- αδέων ἀπηγμένου ἄγγελοι ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα πᾶσαν προθυμίαν παρεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὕτω ἦσαν Θεσσαλίας βασιλέες. τοῦτο δὲ Πεισίστρατίδεων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγον ἔχομενι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλέον προσωρεύοντο οἱ ἔχοντες Ὄνομάκριτον ἄνδρα ᾿Αθηναίων, χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαιόν, ἀναβεβήκασαν, τὴν ἐχθρὴν προκαταλυσάμενοι. ἔξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισίστρατον ὁ Ὄνομάκριτος ἐξ ᾿Αθηναίων, ἐπ’ αὐτοφόρῳ ἄλοις ὑπὸ Δάσου τοῦ ᾿Ερμονέως ἐμπολέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαιόν χρησμὸν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἔξηλάσε μὲν ὁ Ἰππάρχος, προ- τερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅκως ἄπικοιτο ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέας, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισίστρατίδεων περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδὲν, ὅ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε τὸν τε ᾿Ελλήσποντον ὃς ξευχήνην χρεὼν ἐκ ὑπ’ ἄνδρος Πέρσων, τῶν τε ἐλασίων ἐξηγείμενος. οὕτως τε δὴ χρησμοφόδων προσεφέρετο καὶ οἱ τε Πεισίστρα- τίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

7. Ὡς δὲ ἄνεγνώσθη Ἑρξήν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει μετὰ τὸν

1 The word sometimes means “a diviner”; here, prob.
BOOK VII. 6–7

that the king was moved to do as he said; for there were other things too that allied themselves to aid in winning Xerxes' consent. Firstly, there came messengers out of Thessaly from the Aleuadae (who were princes of Thessaly) with all earnestness inviting the king into Hellas; and secondly, those of the house of Pisistratus who had come up to Susa did likewise, using the same pleas as the Aleuadae, and offering Xerxes besides even more than they. With these came Onomacritus, an Athenian oracle-monger,\(^1\) one that had set in order the oracles of Musaeus; with him they had come, being now reconciled to him after their quarrel: for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus' son Hipparchus, having been caught by Lasus\(^2\) of Hermion in the act of interpolating in the writings of Musaeus an oracle showing that the islands off Lemnos should disappear into the sea. For this cause Hipparchus banished him, though before that they had been close friends. Now he came to Susa with Pisistratus' kin; and whosoever he came into the king's presence they would use high language concerning him and he would recite from his oracles; all that portended disaster to the Persian he left unspoken, but chose out and recited such prophecies as were most favourable, telling of the Hellespont, how it must be bridged by a man of Persia, and how the host should march. So Xerxes was beset by Onomacritus with his oracles, and by the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae with their counsels.

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

\(^{1}\) A poet and musician, Pindar's teacher.

\(^{2}\) A poet and musician, Pindar's teacher.
HERODOTUS

θάνατον τῶν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατηγῆς ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεώτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρέψαμεν καὶ Αἰγύπτιον πᾶσαν πολλὰν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἢ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ὣς, ἐπιτράπει Ἀχαιμένει ἄδελφοι μὲν ἔως τοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένει μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύουσαν Αἰγύπτιον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Δίβυς.

8. Ἐρεξῆς δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτιον ἄλωσιν ὡς ἔμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἢξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναῖς, σύλλογον ἐπίκλητον Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποίεστο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πᾶσι εὐπτη τὰ θέλει. ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ἐρεξῆς τάδε. "Ἀνδρέας Πέρσαι, οὐτ αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τὸν ὡς ἦμιν τιθείς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρῆσομαι. ὥς γὰρ ἔγω πυνθάνομαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὔδαμα κω ἡττμίσαμεν, ἐπείτε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν παρὰ Μήδων, Κύροι κατελόντος Ἀστυάγεα: ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἂνει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦμιν πολλὰ ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἁμείνον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ήμος Δαρείος κατεργάσατο καὶ προσεκτήσατο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὑ ὡς ὁῦ τις λέγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τούτον, ἐφρόνησον ὁκοσ μὴ λέψομαι τῶν πρῶτοροι γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇ δε ἐλάσσω προσκεκτῆσαμι δύναμιν Πέρσην φρουτίζων δὲ εὐρίσκω ἀμα μὲν κύδος τε ἦμιν προσγινόμενοι χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἕκτημεθα ὡς ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ φλαυροτέρην παμφορωτέρην ὑπερη, ἀμα δὲ τιμωρήσας τε καὶ τίσιν γινομένην. διὸ ὑμέασ νῦν ἔγω συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν 308
the rebels, in the year after Darius' death. These he subdued, and laid Egypt under a much harder slavery than in the time of Darius; and he committed the governance of it to Achaemenes, his own brother, Darius' son. This Achaemenes, being then viceroy of Egypt, was at a later day\(^1\) slain by a Libyan, Inaros son of Psammetichus.

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

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

ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν μέλλω ξεύξας τῶν Ἑλλήσποντων ἔλαν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα, ἵνα ᾿Αθηναίους τιμωρήσωμαι ὅσα δὴ πεποίηκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν. ὥρατε μὲν νυν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν Δαρείου ἰδύωντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τετελεύτηκε καὶ οὐκ ἔξεγένετο αὐτῷ τιμωρήσασθαι· ἡ γὰρ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἀλλών Περσῶν οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἡ ἔλω τε καὶ πυρόσω τὰς ᾿Αθηνας, οἱ γε ἐμὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπήρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδις ἔθλοντες, ἀμα ᾿Αρισταγόρη τῷ Μιλησίῳ δοῦλω δὲ ἡμετέρῳ ἀπικομενοί, ἐνέπησαν τὰ τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἤμεας οἰα ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὦτε Δαῖτίς τε καὶ ᾿Αρταφρένης ἐστρατήγεου, τὰ ἐπίστασθε κου πάντες. τούτων μὲν τοῖνυν εἶνεκα ἀνάρτημαι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοσάδε ἀνευρίσκω λογιζομένους· εἰ τοὺτοις τε καὶ τοὺς τούτους πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οὗ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγοῦ νέμονται χώρην, γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὀμομετάσαν. οὗ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἦλιος ὀμουρον ἐσῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφέας πάσας ἐγὼ ἀμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης. πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὡδὲ ἐχειν, ὡσε τινὰ πολίν ἄνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε ἔθνος ὀὐδὲν ἄνθρωπον ὑπολείπεσθαι, τὸ ἡμῖν οἷον τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαρατημένων. οὔτω οὗ τε ἡμῖν αἰτίοι ἔξουσι δοῦλιον ξυνοῦν οὗ τε ἀναίτιοι. ύμεῖς ὃ ἀν μοι τάδε ποιεῦντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὶ ὑμῖν σημῆνο τὸν 319
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impart to you my purpose. It is my intent to bridge the Hellespont and lead my army through Europe to Hellas, that I may punish the Athenians for what they have done to the Persians and to my father. You saw that Darius my father was minded to make an expedition against these men. But he is dead, and it was not granted him to punish them; and I, on his and all the Persians’ behalf, will never rest till I have taken and burnt Athens, for the unprovoked wrong that its people did to my father and me; first they came to Sardis with our slave Aristagoras the Milesian, and burnt the groves and the temples; and next, how they dealt with us when we landed on their shores and Datis and Artaphrenes were our generals, all of you, I think, know. For these causes then I am resolved to send an army against them; and thus much advantage, as my reckoning shows me, we shall gain thereby: if we subdue those men, and their neighbours who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the borders of Persian territory and of the firmament of heaven to be the same; for no land that the sun beholds will lie on our borders, but I will make all to be one country, when I have passed over the whole of Europe. For, as I learn, there will then be left neither inhabited city, nor nation of men, that is able to meet us in battle, if those of whom I speak are once taken out of our way. Thus they that have done us wrong and they that have done us none will alike bear the yoke of slavery. As for you, this is how you shall best please me; when I declare the
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χρόνον ἐσ τῶν ἥκειω δεῖ προθύμωσ πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι. δὲ ἄν δὲ ἔχων ἕκη παρεκκενασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δῶσοι δὲ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρου. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἑστὶ οὕτω. ἢν δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσου, γυνῆν κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι." ταῦτα εἶπας ἔπαινετο.

9. Μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἐλευθεροτάτα, ὁμοίως ἐς τῶν γενομένων Περσών ἀριστοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, ὅσα τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ λέγων ἐπίκειτο ἀριστοῦ καὶ ἀληθεστάτα, καὶ Ἰωνάς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν ἐόντας ἀναξίους. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἄν εἴη πρῆγμα, ἐν Σάκκας μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰθίοπας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἀλλὰ τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτάσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεφόμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, "Ελλήνας δὲ υπάρξαυτας ἀδικήσις οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δεῖσαντες; κοίνη πλῆθεος συστροφὴν; κοίνη δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εὑσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφόμενοι, τούτους οὐ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένῳ Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰσθένες καὶ Δωρίες καλέονται. ἐπειρήσθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἢδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεῖς, καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίας ἐλάσαι ντα καὶ ὅλην ἀπολεῖποντι ἐς αὐτὸς Ἀθηνᾶς

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1 To an oriental all Greeks alike were "Ionians," Persian Yaunâ; cp. the "Javan" of the Bible. In Aristoph. Acharn. 314.
time for your coming, every one of you must appear, and with a good will; and whosoever comes with his army best equipped shall receive from me such gifts as are reckoned most precious among us. All this, then, must so be done; but that none may think that I take counsel of myself alone, I lay the matter before you all, and bid him who will to declare his opinion.” So spoke Xerxes, and ceased.

9. After him spoke Mardonius, and said:—“Sire, you surpass not only all Persians that have been but also all that shall be; for besides that you have dealt excellently and truly with all other matters, you will not suffer the Ionians \(^1\) that dwell in Europe to make a mock of us, which thing they have no right to do. For it were strange indeed, that we, who have subdued and made slaves of Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations, for no wrong done to the Persians but of mere desire to add to our power,—that we, I say, shall not take vengeance on the Greeks for unprovoked wrong-doing. What have we to fear from them? Have they mighty hosts or abundance of wealth to affright us? Their manner of fighting we know, and their wealth we know, that it is but little; and we have conquered and hold their sons, even those who dwell in our land and are called Ionians and Aeolians and Dorians. I myself have tried conclusions with these men, when by your father’s command I marched against them; and I marched as far as Macedonia and wellnigh to Athens itself,

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104 the Persian ambassador addresses a Greek as _χαυνόπρωκτ’_ Ἰαονᾶδ.
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ἀπικέσθαι οὖδεὶς ἦντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἐώθασι "Ελληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἄβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι ὑπὸ τε ἀγγωμοσύνης καὶ σκαῖτητος. ἔπειν γὰρ ἀλλήλωισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τούτο κατιόντες μάχονται, ὡστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσοσυμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἄρχῃν· ἐξώλεσι γὰρ δὴ γίνονται· τὸν χρῆν ἔόντας ὁμογλώσσους κηρυξὲν τε διαχρεώμενους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἡ μάχην· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροι εἰσὶ δυσχειρωτότατοι καὶ ταύτῃ πειρὰν. τρόπῳ τοῖνοι ὦ χρηστῷ "Ελληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέν ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίας γῆς, οὐκ ἤλθον ἐς τούτον λόγον ὡστε μάχεσθαι. σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τίς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τούτο τράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἕλληνων πρήγματα· εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἔγωγε ψευδεῖν γνώμη καὶ ἑκεῖνοι ἐπαρδέσσετε ἀβουλία ἐλθοιειν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιει ἃν ὡς εἰμέν ἀνθρώπων ἀριστοὶ τὰ πολέμια. ἐστώ δὲ ὁι μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὖν ἄλλη ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι."

10. Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλείψας τὴν Ἐρέξεως γνώμην ἐπέπαυσε· σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμῶντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντὶ ἑαυτῆς τῇ προκείμενῃ, Ἀρτάβανος οὗ Ἰστάσπεος, πάτρως εἰνὶ Ἐρέξῃ, τὸ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐως ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ω βασιλεὺς, μὴ
yet none came out to meet me in battle. Yet wars the Greeks do wage, and, as I learn, most senselessly they do it, in their wrongheadedness and folly. When they have declared war against each other, they come down to the fairest and most level ground that they can find and there they fight, so that the victors come not off without great harm; and of the vanquished I say not so much as a word, for they are utterly destroyed. Yet speaking as they do the same language, they should end their disputes by the means of heralds and messengers, and by any way rather than fighting; or if needs must that they war against each other, they should discover each where his strongest defence lies, and there make his essay. The Greek custom, then, is no good one; and when I marched as far as the land of Macedonia, it came not into their thoughts to fight. But against you, O king! who shall make war? For you will have at your back the multitudes of Asia, and all your ships; for myself, I think there is not so much boldness in Hellas as that; but if time should show me wrong in my judgment, and those men were fool-hardy enough to do battle with us, they would be taught that we are the greatest warriors on earth. But whatsoever betide, let us be ever venturesome; for nought comes of itself, and all men's gains are the fruit of adventure.”

10. Thus smoothly Mardonius spoke of Xerxes' opinion, and made an end. The rest of the Persians held their peace, not daring to utter any counsel contrary to that which had been given; then spoke Artabanus the son of Hystaspes, who was the king's uncle, and emboldened thereby. “O king,” he said,
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λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντίεων ἀλλήλησι οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δὲι τῇ εἰρημένῃ χράσθαι, λεχθεισέων δὲ ἔστι, ὡσπερ τὸν χρυσῶν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἔτι ἐωυτοῦ ὅποι διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεάν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἅλλω χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνων. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρί τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφῷ δὲ ἐμῷ Δαρεῖῳ ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὕδαμόθι γῆς ἀστυ νέμοντας. ὦ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι ἔμοι τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο, στρατεύσαμεν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. σὺ δὲ οὐ βασιλεὺς μέλλεις ἐπὶ ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλοὺ ἀμείνων ἡ Σκύθας, οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε ἀριστοὶ καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστὶ δεινών, ἐμὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φραζεῖν. ζεύγας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλάν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὔρωπης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε σὲ ήτοι κατὰ γην ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἑσσωθῆναι, ἡ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἀλκιμοί, πάρομεν δὲ καὶ σταθμόσασθαι, εἰ στρατηγὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δατί καὶ Ἀρταφρένει ἔλθοισαν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην μοῦνοι Ἀθηναίοι διέφθειραν. οὐκών ἀμφότερη σφι ἐχώρησε. ἀλλ' ἂν τὴν νυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι καὶ νικήσαντες ναυμαχίαν πλέωσὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἐπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τούτο δὲ βασιλεὺς γίνεται δεινῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ σοφίᾳ οἰκήτη αὐτὸς ταύτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ’ οἷον κατ᾽ ἡμέας ὀλίγον ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατήρ

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"if opinions opposite the one to the other be not uttered, it is not possible that choice should find the better, but that one which has been spoken must be followed; but if they be spoken, the better can be found; even as the purity of gold cannot of itself be discerned, but when gold by rubbing¹ is compared with gold, we then discern the better. Now I forbade Darius, your father and my brother, to lead his army against the Scythians, who have no cities anywhere to dwell in. But he, in his hope to subdue the nomad Scythians, would not be guided by me; he led his army, and returned from that expedition with the loss of many gallant men of his host. You, O king! are purpossing to lead your armies against men far better than the Scythians—men who are said to be most doughty warriors by sea and land; and it is right that I should shew to you what danger lies therein. You will bridge the Hellespont (so you say) and march your army through Europe to Hellas. Now I will suppose that matters have so fallen out that you are worsted either by land or by sea, or even both; for the men are said to be valiant, and well may we guess that it is so, seeing that so great a host, that followed Datis and Artaphernes to Attica, was destroyed by the Athenians alone. Be it, then, granted that they win not success both by sea and by land; but if they attack with their ships and prevail in a sea-fight, and then sail to the Hellespont and thereafter break your bridge, that, O king, is the hour of peril. It is from no wisdom of my own that I thus conjecture; it is because I know what disaster was that which wellnigh once overtook us, when

¹ i.e. rubbing against the touchstone, which would be stained by pure gold.
σὸς ξεύξας Βόσπορον τῶν Θρηκίων, γεφυρώσας
dὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε
παντοίοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λύσαι
tὸν πόρον, τοῦτι ἐπετέραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν
γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ
Μιλήτου τύραννος εἶ ἐπεσπευτὸ τῶν ἄλλων τυράν-
νων τῇ γυμνῇ μηδὲ ἡναντιώθη, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ
Περσέων πρήγματα. καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἄκουσαι
dεινόν, ἐπ’ ἄνδρι γε ἐν πάντα τὰ βασιλεῖς
πρήγματα γεγενήσθαι. σὺ ὁνὶ βούλευε ἐσ
κύνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι μηδεμῆς
ἀνάγκης ἔοις ὁ, ἄλλα ἔμοι πεῖδεν. νῦν μὲν τὸν
σύλλογον τὸν διάλυσον αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅταν τοι
δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωτοῦ προαγόρευε
tὰ τοῖ δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. τὸ γὰρ εῦ βούλευ-
εσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω ἐὰν εἰ γὰρ καὶ
ἐναντιωθήναι τί θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲ
ἡσον εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὅπο τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα:
ὁ δὲ βούλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπί-
σποιτο, εὐρήμα εὐρήκε, ἡσον δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ κακῶς
βεβούλευται. ὅρας τὰ ὑπερέχουνα ξῖα χὸς κε-
ραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐὰν φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ
οὐδὲν μὲν κυῖεν ὅρας δὲ ός ἔσσοι κηρῦτα τὰ
μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δενδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει
tὰ βέλεα φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχουνα πάντα
κολοῦειν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ
ὁλὸν διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιώνδε ἐπεὰν σφὶ ὁ
θεὸς φθονήσας φόβου ἐμβάλῃ ἡ βροτήν, δι’ ὃν
ἐφθάρησαν ἄναξίως ἑωτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονεῖν
μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἡ ἑωτὸν. ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νῦν
πᾶν πρήγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι
your father, making a highway over the Thracian Bosporus, and bridging the river Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. At that time the Scythians used every means of entreating the Ionians, who had been charged to guard the bridges of the Ister, to break the way of passage; and then, if Histiaeus the despot of Miletus had consented to the opinion of the other despots and not withstood it, the power of Persia had perished. Yet it were a thing of dread even in the telling, that one, and he but a man, should hold in his hand all the king's fortunes. Do you then make no plan to run into any such danger, when there is no need therefor, but be ruled by me: for the nonce, dismiss this assembly; and presently, whenever you so please, having first considered the matter by yourself, declare what seems to you best. A well-laid plan is ever to my mind most profitable; for even though it be thwarted later, yet none the less has the plan been good, and it is but chance that has baffled the design; but he that has made a sorry plan has gotten, if fortune favour him, but a chance prize, and none the less has his plan been evil. You see how the god smites with his thunderbolt creatures of greatness more than common, nor suffers them to display their pride, but such as are little move him not to anger; and you see how it is ever on the tallest buildings and trees that his bolts fall; for it is heaven's way to bring low all things of surpassing bigness. Thus a numerous host is destroyed by one that is lesser, the god of his jealousy sending panic fear or thunderbolt among them, whereby they do unworthily perish; for the god suffers pride in none but himself. Now haste is ever the parent of failure,

1 Cp. IV. 136 ff.
μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· εν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἐνεστὶ ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ παραντικα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἂν. σοι μὲν δὴ τὰ ταῦτα ὥβασιλευ συμβουλεύσει· σύ δὲ, ὥ παί Γοβρύνω Μαρδόνιος, παύσας λέγον λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἐλλήνων ούκ ἐόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν.

Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαείρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εὑνεκα δοκείςς μοι πᾶσαν προθύμην ἐκτείνειν. μὴ γὰν οὕτω γένηται. διαβολὴ γὰρ ἔστι δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσὶ οἱ ἀδικεόντες, εἰς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. ο μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλουν ἀδικεῖς όποι παρέοντι κατηγορέων, ὃ δὲ ἀδικεύει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἡ ἄτρεκέως ἐκμάθη ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεων τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοἰς ἀδικεῖται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομοθείς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακός εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθείς τοῖς Περσέως μενέτω, ἡμέων δὲ ἄμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηγάτησε αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενος τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατινὶ ὀκόσης τινὰ βουλεία. καὶ ἦν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλεία τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ πάλις, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐγώ· ἢ δὲ τῇ ἐγώ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, σὺ δὲ σφι καὶ σὺ, ἢν ἀπονοστῆσης. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἑθελῆσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀκούσας τινὰ φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὑπολειπομένων Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασάμενον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὅρυάδων διαφορεύομενον ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σὲ γε ἐν τῇ Δακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρῶτον κατ'
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whereof grievous hurts are apt to come; but in waiting there is good, which in due time shall appear, though in the present it seem not so. This, O king, is my counsel to you. But to you I say, Mardonius son of Gobryas! cease from foolish speaking about the Greeks, for they deserve not to be maligned. It is by speaking calumniously of the Greeks that you would hearten the king to send this expedition; and that, methinks, is the end to which you press with all eagerness. Nay, let it not be so. Calumny is a very gross business; there are two in it that do and one that suffers wrong. He that utters the calumny wrongs another, accusing an absent man, and the other does a wrong likewise in that he is overpersuaded before he has learnt the whole truth; and he that is absent and hears not what is said of him suffers wrong in the matter, being maligned by the one and condemned by the other. Nay, if an army must by all means be sent against these Greeks, hear me now: Let the king himself abide in the Persian land, and let us two stake our children's lives upon it; then do you lead out the army, choosing what men you will and taking as great an armament as you desire; and if it fare with the king's fortunes as you say it will, let my sons be slain, and myself too with them; but if the issue be as I foretell, let your sons be so treated, and you likewise, if you return. But if you will not submit yourself to this, and will at all hazards lead your army overseas to Hellas, then I think that they who are left behind in this place will hear that Mardonius has wrought great harm to Persia, and is torn asunder by dogs and birds in the land of Athens or of Lacedaemon, if not peradventure ere that on

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όδόν, γνώντα ἐπ' οἴους ἀνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα."  

11. Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε, Ἐρέξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῦτο. Ἄρταβανε, πατρὸς ἐἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεὸς· τοῦτο σε ρύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καὶ τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν προστίθημι ἐόντι κακῷ καὶ ἄθύμῳ, μητε συστρατεύεσθαι ἐμού γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἁμα τῆς γυναῖξιν ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀνευ σεό ὁσα περ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. μὴ γὰρ εἶπα ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Τιτάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρ- σάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνου τοῦ Τείσπος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τείσπος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονός, μὴ τιμωρθησάμενος Αθηναίους, εἰ ἐπιστά- μενος ὅτι εἰ ἤμεις ἤσυχηνς ἄξιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκεινοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρή σταθμόσαι τοίς ὑπαργέ- νοις εἴ ἔκεινοι, οὔ Σάρδης τε ἐντρήσας καὶ ἠλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκῶν ἔξαναχωρεέων οὐδέτεροις δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν ἡ παθεῖν πρόκειται ἄγων, ἢν ἡ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἐλλησι ἡ ἔκεινα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσηι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδέν τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐστὶ. καλὸν δὲν προπ- ποθῶτας ἡμέας τιμωρεῖν ἢ ἡ γίνεται, ἢν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πέλομαι τούτῳ μάθω, ἐλάσσας ἐπ' ἀνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρῦξ, ἐὼν πατέρων

1 The first seven names represent two parallel lines of descent from Teispes son of Achaemenes (except that the first "Teispes" is a fiction), which Herodotus has apparently fused into one direct line. Xerxes could claim descent from both, in virtue of his mother Atossa, Cyrus' daughter; hence

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the way thither; and that thus you have learnt what manner of men are they whom you would persuade the king to attack."

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

¹ Perhaps the confusion. For a complete discussion see How and Wells, Appendix IV. It may be remembered that Herodotus probably deals with Egyptian chronology in the same way, making a sequence out of lists of kings some of whom were contemporaries.
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tōn ἐμῶν δούλων, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφαμένου καλέονται."

12. Ταῦτα μὲν ἔπι τοσσύτῳ ἐλέγετο. μετὰ δὲ εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ἐρέξην ἐκνίξε Ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γυνώμη νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς πάγχυ εὐρισκέ ὡς ὁ πρῆγμα εἰναι στρατευεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. δεδομένων δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν τοῦτων κατύπνωσε, καὶ δὴ κοῦ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἰδὲ ὦν τοῦτο, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων ἔδοκε το Ἐρεξῆς άνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάνται μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδεία εἰπτείν "Μετὰ δὴ βουλεύει, ὦ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μή ἁγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείσας ἄλξειν Πέρσας στρατὸν; οὔτε δὴ μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενος τῷ πάρᾳ ἀλλ' ὁσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἔβουλεύσασαι ποιέεις, ταύτην ἰθι τῶν ὀδῶν." 13. Τοὺς μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἔδοκε το Ἐρέξης ἀποπτάσθαι, ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσθης ὑνείρον μὲν τοῦτο λόγου οὐδένα ἐποιείτο, δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἐλεξέ τοῦ τάδε. "Ἀνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχύστροφα βουλεύομαι: φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμέωτον πρώτα οὕκω ἀνήκω, καὶ οὶ παρηγορεύμενοι ἐκεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μεν ἀπέχονται. ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γυνώμης παραντίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, οὐστε ἀεικέστερα ἀποπλήται ἐπεα ἐς ἀνδρὰ πρεβύτερον ἡ χρέων νῦν μέντοι συγγνωσίς χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνων γυνώμη. ὃς δὲ μεταβουλευόμενον μοι μὴ στρατευεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἕσυχοι ἔστε." 14. Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες
slave of my forefathers, did so utterly subdue that
to this day they and their country are called by the
name of their conqueror."

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

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

14. When the Persians heard that, they rejoiced,
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προσεκύνειν. νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὕτης τῶντι ὁνειρον τῷ Ἐρέχθη κατυπνωμένω ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν "Ὡς παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσης τα ἀπειτάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίαν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιησάμενος λόγῳ ὡς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας; εὖ νυν τὸδε ἵσθι; ἣν περ μὴ αὕτη στρατηλατεῖς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχίσσει; ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεσθαι ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὐτὸ καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι;"

15. Ἐρέχθης μὲν περιοδεύς γενόμενος τῇ ὅψι ἀνά τε ἐδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ πέμπει ἀγγέλουν ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανων καλέοντα· ἀπικουμένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ἐρέχθης τάδε. "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτικὰ μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἰνεκα συμβουλίας· μετὰ μέντοι ὦ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἐγνω δὲ ταύτα μοι ποιητέα ἔνωτα τὰ σὺ υπεθήκας. οὐκων δυνατὸς τοι εἰμὶ ταύτα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μεταγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτεύον ὁνειρον φαντάζεται μοι οὐδαμῶς συνεπαινέων ποιεῖν με ταύτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπελήσαν οἴχεται. εἰ δὲν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιτείμπουν καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι στρατηλασίαν ἐπὶ Ἐλλάδα, ἐπιτυπήσεται καὶ σοι τῶν τοῦτο ὁνειρον, ὁμοίως καὶ ἔμοι ἐντελλόμενον. εὐρίσκω δὲ ἄδ' ἄν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευῆν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο Ἰζοιον ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν ρόμον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας."

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

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

16. Thus said Xerxes; Artabanus would not obey the first command, thinking it was not for him to sit on the royal throne; at last he was compelled, and did as he was bidden, saying first: "O king,
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ἐκεῖνο ὧ βασιλεὺ παρ’ ἔμοι κέκριται, φρονείν τε εὗ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ σε καὶ ἀμφότερα περιήκοντα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὀμελήσας σφάλλονσι, κατά περὶ τὴν πάντων χρησιμοτάτην ἀνθρώποιοι θάλασσαν πνεύματα φασί ἀνέμων ἐμπέπτοντα οὐ περιορὰν φύσι τῇ ἔως τῆς χράσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἐδακε λύτη ὅσον γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσης, τῆς μὲν ὑβριν αὐξανοῦσης, τῆς δὲ καταπαυσοῦσης καὶ λεγοῦσης ὡς κακῶν εἰ ἐδίδασθι σκεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίξθησαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος, τοιούτων προκειμενέων γνωμῶν ὧτι τὴν σφαλερωτήρη σεσυνθῷ τε καὶ Πέρσηςι ἀναιρέο. νῦν ὃν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραφι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείω, φης τοι μετέντευ τὸν ἐπ’ Ἑλλήνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτῶν ὑνειρον θεου τίνος πομπῆς, οὐκ ἔωστα σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ταύτα ἔστι, ὡ παῖ, θεία. ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἡς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαῦτα ἐστὶ οἶα σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἔως πεπλανήσθαι αὐτῶς μάλιστα ἐώθασι αἱ ὄψεις τῶν ὑνειράτων, τά τοι ἦμέρης φρονεῖς. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἦμέρας ταῦτα τὴν στρατηλασίαν καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἰχομεν μετὰ χείρας. εἰ δὲ ἀρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἶον ἑγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τὶ τοῦ θείου μετέχον, σὺ πάντων συλλαβὼν εἰρήκασι φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔμοι ὡς καὶ σοὶ διακέλευμεν. φανῆαι δὲ οὐδὲν μάλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθήτα ἤ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἔμην, οὐδὲ τὶ μάλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυμένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔμη, εἰ πέρ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο γε εὐθείας

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I judge it of equal worth whether a man be wise, or be willing to obey good counsel; to both of these you have attained, but evil communications are your bane; even as the sea, who is of all creatures the most serviceable to men, is hindered (they say) from following his natural bent by the blasts of winds that fall upon him. But for myself—it was not the hard words I had from you that stung me so much as this, that when two opinions were laid before the Persians, the one tending to the increase of pride, and the other to its abatement, showing how evil a thing it is to teach the heart continual desire of more than it has, of these two opinions you preferred that one which was most fraught with danger to yourself and the Persians. Now, therefore, since you are turned to the better opinion, you say that while you would renounce your expedition against the Greeks you are haunted by a dream sent by some god, which forbids you to leave off from the expedition. But you err again, my son; this is none of heaven's working. The roving dreams that visit men are of such nature as you shall learn of me, that am many years older than you. Those visions that rove about us in dreams are for the most part the thoughts of the day; and in these latter days we have been very earnestly busied about this expedition. But if nevertheless this be not such as I determine, and have in it somewhat of heaven's will, then you have spoken the conclusion of the matter; let it appear to me even as it has to you, and utter its command; but if it has ever a mind to appear, I must needs see it none the more by virtue of wearing your dress instead of mine, and sleeping in your bed rather than my own. Whatever be this that appears to
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ἀνήκει τούτο, δὴ τῇ κοτε ἐστὶ, τὸ ἔπιφαυμόμενον τοῦ ὑπ' ὑπνω, ὡστε δώξει ἡμὲ ὅρων σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθήτῳ τεκμαίρομενον. εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆς, οὐτὲ ἢν τὴν ἐμὴν ἐσθήτα ἔχω οὔτε ἢν τὴν σήν, οὐδὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τούτῳ ἦδη μαθητεύν ἔσται. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσει γε συνέχεως, φαίνειν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θείον εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τοῦ οὗτω δεδοκιμάζει γίνεσθαι καὶ οὐκ οἶδα τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἢδη δεὶ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνώσας, φέρε, τούτων εξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων φαινήτω καὶ ἔμοι. μέχρι δὲ τούτου τῇ παρευσά γνώμῃ χρήσομαι."

17. Τοσαῦτα εἶπας 'Αρτάβανος, ἐλπίζων Ξέρξην ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευμόμενον. ἐνδὸς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξην ἐσθήτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήμον θρόνων ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοίτων ἐποίεστο, ἦλθε οἱ κατυπνωμένοι τῶν τὸν ὅνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξην ἐφοίτα, ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ 'Αρτάβανον εἶπε: "Ἄρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἰς ὁ ἀποστεύδων Ξέρξην στρατευσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρατίκα νῦν καταπροίξει ἀποτράπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ τὰ δεὶ ἀνηκουστέννα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται."  

18. Ταῦτα τε ἐδόκηε 'Αρτάβανος τὸ ὅνειρον ἀπειλέειν καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίσσει ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς. καὶ δὲ ἀμβώσας μέγα ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξη, ὡς τὴν ὅψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερα οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Εγὼ μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, οί ανθρώπος ἢδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἴσσων, οὐκ ἔων σὲ τὰ πάντα τῇ

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you in your sleep, assuredly it has not come to such folly as to infer from your dress that I am you, when it sees me. We are now to learn if it will take no account of me and not deign to appear and haunt me, whether I wear your robes or my own; for if indeed it will continually be coming, I myself would say that it is of heaven's sending. But if you are resolved that so this must be done, and there is no averting it, but it has come to this pass, that I must lie down to sleep in your bed, so let it be; this duty I will fulfil, and let the vision appear also to me. But till then I will keep my present opinion."

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

18. With this threat (so it seemed to Artabanus) the vision made as though it would burn his eyes with hot irons, and he leapt up with a loud cry; then sitting by Xerxes he told him all the tale of what he had seen in his dream, and next he said: "O king, having seen, as much as a man may, how the greater has often been brought low by the less, I was loath that you should always give the rein to your youthful
Ηρόδωτος

Ηλικία είκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἶ θὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρον στόλον ὡς ἐπρηξθείη, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Λιθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεως, συστατεύμονεος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας. ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα γυνώμην εἶχον ἀτρεμίζοντα σε μακριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἄνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαίμονι τις γίνεται ὁμή, καὶ Ἡλληνας, ὡς οἶκε, καταλαμβάνει τις φθορὰ θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γυνώμην μετατίθεμαι, σὺ δὲ σήμην μὲν Πέρσηι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χράσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖς ἐκ σεο πρῶτοις προερήμονοις ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν, ποίεε δὲ οὕτω ὅκως τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος τῶν σῶν ἐνδεχεσθε μηδέν. τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἑπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ἑπερετίθετο τάτα Πέρσηι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, δὴ πρότερον ἀποστεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τὸτε ἑπιστεύδων φαινερὸς ἦν.

19. Ὅρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξης στρατηλατέων μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτη ὑψὶς ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ Μάγοι ἔκριναν ἀκόουσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν δουλεύσειν τε οἱ πάντας ἄνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὑψὶς ἦν ἦδε ἐδόκεε ο Ξέρξης ἐστεφανώσθη ἐλαίως βαλλόω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τῶν κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν, μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μάγων. Περσέων τε τῶν συλλεχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνήρ ἐς τὴν ἄρχην τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἀπελάσας εἴχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, θέλων αὐτὸς ἑκαστὸς τὰ προκείμενα δώρα λαβεῖν, καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερομαι ποιεῖται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἑπείρου.

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Book VII. 18-19

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

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

19. After this Xerxes, being now intent on the expedition, saw yet a third vision in his sleep, which the Magians interpreted to have regard to the whole earth and to signify that all men should be his slaves. This was the vision: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive bough, the shoots of which spread over the whole earth, and presently the crown vanished from off his head where it was set. This the Magians interpreted; and of the Persians who had been assembled, every man forthwith rode away to his own governorship and there used all zeal to fulfil the king's behest, each desiring to receive the promised gifts; and thus it was that Xerxes dealt with the mustering of his army, searching out every part of the continent.
HERODOTUS

20. Ἄπο γὰρ Ἀιγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἐτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατηγὸν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιᾷ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐτεί αὐομένῳ ἐστρατηλάττεε χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλῆθεος. στόλῳν γὰρ τῶν ἴμεις ὕμεν αὐλά ὢ ἡ μέγιστος οὕτως ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδένα φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικόν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν χώρην ἐσβάλοντες σχέδου πάντα τὰ ἀνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενοι ἐνέμοντο, τῶν εἰσεχθὲν ύστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέετο, μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀττικέαν ἐς Ἰλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσόν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενον, οὔ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ Βόσπορον τοὺς τε Θρήκας καταστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰώνιον πὸντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἔλασαν.

21. Αὕται αἱ πᾶσαι οὖδεὶ ἐτεραι πρὸς ταύτης προσγενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι μὴς τῆς ὑπὸ πλῆθος ᾗς άξιαί. τὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοιον δὲ πινόμενον μιν ὑδρην οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οὐ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οὐ δὲ ἐς πέζον ἐτετάχατο, τοῦτο δὲ ἰππὸς προσετέκτατο, τοῦτο δὲ ἰππαγωγὰ πλοία ἀμα στρατευομένους, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῦτο δὲ σῖτα τε καὶ νέας.

22. Καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἀθων προετοιμὰ-

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1 484–481.
2 Ἐπὶ I. 103; IV. 1.
3 It seems fairly clear that there was some sort of move-
BOOK VII. 20–22

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

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

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

ment from the one continent to the other; Herodotus makes it from Asia to Europe; but on the evidence it is just as likely to have been the other way. See How and Wells, ad loc.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ζητο ἐκ τριῶν ἔτεων κοι μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὸν Ὀθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἑλλαδοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁμοίων τριήμερον ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι ὁρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποῦ τῆς στρατηγῆς, διάδοχοι δὲ ἐφοίτεαν ὁρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβαρίς δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζων καὶ Ἀρταχάις ὁ Ἀρταῖος ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπέστασαν τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ὀθων ἐστὶ ὅρος μέγα τε καὶ ὅνομαστὸν, ἐστὶ τάλασσαν κατηκοῦν, οἰκημένου ὑπὸ ἄνθρωπων. τῇ δὲ τελεύτας ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον τὸ ὅρος, χερσονησίων σειδές τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσθμός ὡς δυνάμει σταθᾶν πεδίον δὲ τούτο καὶ κολονοί οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ ταλάσσης τῆς ᾿Ακανθίων ἐπὶ τάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτὰ ὁ Ὀθων, Σάννη πόλις ᾿Ελλὰς οἰκηται, αἰ δὲ ἐκτὸς Σάννης, ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ὀθων οἰκημέναι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτικας ἀντὶ ἠπειρωτικῶν ὁμήματο ποιεῖν εἰς δὲ αἴδη, Δῖον Ὀλόφυξος ᾿Ακρόθωφον Θύσσος Κλεωνάι.

23. Πόλεις μὲν αὐταὶ αἰ τὸν Ὀθων νέμονται, ὁρυσσον δὲ ὡδε δασάμενοι τὸν χώρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἐθνεάς, κατὰ Σάννην πόλιν σχοινοτεινεῖς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο βαθέα ἡ διώρυξ, οὐ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεώτες ὁρυσσον, ἔτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἀλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεώσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οὐ δ' αὐ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἐτέρωι, ἐως ἀπίκουτο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτοις οὕτω δὲ ἐξεφόρεον τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖς μὲν νυν ἀλλοισι πλὴν Φοινίκων καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ

1 In spite of the incredulity of antiquity, the canal was
inasmuch as they who first essayed to sail round it had suffered shipwreck. Triremes were anchored off Elaeus in the Chersonese; with these for their headquarters, all sorts and conditions of men in the army were made to dig a canal under the lash, coming by turns to the work; and they that dwelt about Athos dug likewise. Bubares son of Megabazus and Artachaees son of Artaeus, Persians both, were the overseers of the workmen. This Athos is a mountain great and famous, running out into the sea; it is inhabited by men. At the mountain's landward end, it is in the form of a peninsula, and there is an isthmus of about twelve furlongs' width; here is a place of level ground or little hills, from the sea by Acanthus to the sea which is over against Torone. On this isthmus, which is at the end of Athos, there stands a Greek town, Sane; there are others too seaward of Sane and landward of Athos, which it was now the Persians' intent to make into island and not mainland towns; to wit, Dimn, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, Cleonae.

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

no doubt actually made and used. Traces of it are said to exist. See, e.g. How and Wells, ad loc.
HERODOTUS

κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ ἀυτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἐμελλὲ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβῆσθαι. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἑκείνῳ. ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεύσεις διπλῆσιν ἡ ὅσον ἔδεε αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι, προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου συνήγον αἰεί· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα λειμών ἔστι, ἣν σφι ἕγορη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον σῖτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἄλλης εὐρύσεως.

24. Ὅσ μὲν ἔμε συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἰνεκεν αὐτὸ Θέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκεῖνε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι παρεῦρο γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκεῖνε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ εὐρός ὃς δύο τρίθρες πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τοῦτοισι, τοῖσι περ καὶ τὸ ὄργυμα, προσέπτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ξεύξαντας γεφύρωσαν.

25. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὦτῳ ἐποίει, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινα τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοίνιξ εἰς τα καὶ Ἀγινττίοις, καὶ συτία τῇ στρατιᾷ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λυμήνει ἡ στρατιᾷ μηδὲ τὰ ὑπογύγα ἐλανύομένα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδαν ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους καταβάλλειν ἐκεῖνεν ἵνα ἐπιτηθεότατον εἶη, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη ἀργυριώτας ὀλκάσι τε καὶ πορθημένη εἰκότι τῆς Ἀσίης πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ἄν πλείστον ἔς
canal brake and fell, doubling the labour thereby; for inasmuch as they made the span of the same breadth at its highest and its lowest, this could not but happen. But the Phoenicians showed therein the same skill as in all else that they do; having taken in hand the portion that fell to them, they so dug as to make the topmost span of the canal as wide again as the canal was to be, and narrowed it ever as they wrought lower, till at the bottom their work was of the same span as what the rest had wrought. There is a meadow hard by, where they made a place for buying and marketing; and ever and anon much ground grain was brought to them from Asia.

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

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

1 λευκόλινον is apparently not really flax but "Esparto grass," imported from Spain by the Phoenicians.
Δευκὴν ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Ὁρηκῆς ἁγίνεον, οὗ δὲ ἐσ Tυροδίζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οὗ δὲ ἐσ Dορίσκου, οὗ δὲ ἐσ Ἡθόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμών, οὗ δὲ ἐσ Mακεδονίη διατεταγμένων.

26. Ἐν ὧ δὲ οὕτω τὸν προκείμενον πόλον ἐργάζοντα, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἀπασ συλλεγέμενος ἀμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδης, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθέν τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἰρήτῳ συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατʼ ἡπείρον μελλοντα ἀμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ὦς μὲν ὑπʼ ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσας οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τοῦτον πέρι ἑλθόντας οἴδα. ὦς δὲ ἐπείτε διαβάντες τὸν Ἀλυν ποταμὸν ὁμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, διʼ αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Κελανάζ, ἣν πηγαὶ ἀναδιδοῦσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἡ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελανέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον ἐκβιδοῖ· ἐν τῇ καὶ ὃ τοῦ Σιληνοῦ Μαρσιῶν ἀσκός ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγόν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Απόλλωνος ἐκδαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι.

27. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ὑποκατήμενον Πύθεος ὁ Ἀτνος ἀνήρ Δυόδες ἐξείσει τῆς βασιλείας στρατηγῶν πᾶσαν ξενίσιοι μεγίστοις καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξην, χρήματα τε ἐπαγγέλλετο βουλὸμενος ἐς τῶν πόλεων παρεχεῖν. ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα Πυθίου, εἰρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας

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1 This implies a considerable divergence to the south from the "Royal road," for which see V. 52. Xerxes here turns
the corn, they brought that as they were severally charged to the White Headland (as it is called) in Thrace, or Tyrodiza in the Perinthian country, or Doriscus, or Eion on the Strymon, or Macedonia.

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

27. In this town sat awaiting them a Lydian, Pythius, son of Atys; he entertained Xerxes himself and all the king’s army with the best of good cheer, and declared himself willing to provide money for the war. Pythius thus offering money, Xerxes asked the Persians that were about him who this

south to avoid the difficult route through the Hermes valley, probably; op. How and Wells, ad loc.

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

tíς τε ἐών ἀνδρῶν Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα ἐκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα. οἶ δὲ εἶπαν "Ὡβασιλεύ, οὐτοὶ ἡστὶ ὅς τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Δαρείου ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ" δεῖ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδέμεν μετὰ σέ.

28. Ὑμᾶς δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ἐρέξης αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἶρετο Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἴ εἰς χρήματα. οἶ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡβασιλεύ, οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἐμεωτοῦ ὀνύσην, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενος τοῖς ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα σε ἐπιθύμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τῇ Ἑλληνίδᾳ, βουλόμενος τοῦ δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα ἐξεμάνθανον, καὶ εὑρὼν λογιζόμενος ἀργυρίον μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ἐσόρας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίον δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρείων ἐπιθεῦσας ἐπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτους σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι, αὐτῷ δὲ μοι ἀπὸ ἀνδράποδων τε καὶ γεωπτέων ἄρκειν ἐστὶ βιός."

29. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Ἐρέξης δὲ ἰδίας τούτι εἰρημένους εἶπε "Ἐἰών Λυδέ, ἐγὼ ἐπείτε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώρην, οὐδεὶς ἀνδρὶ συνέμεμεν ἐς τὸν ὀστὲς ἠθέλησε ξεῖνια προδεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστάσας αὐτεπαγγέλτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσαι χρήματα, ἐξω σεὑρ. οὐ δὲ καὶ ἠξείνισας μεγάλως στρατῷ τοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεις. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι. ξεῖνον τέ σε ποιεῦμαι ἐμὸν καὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοῖς τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλῆσον παρ' ἐμεωτοὺς δοὺς τὰς ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐπιδεέες ἐωσι αἱ τετρακοσίαις μυριάδες ἐπτὰ χιλιάδας.
BOOK VII. 27-29

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

28. Marvelling at this last saying, Xerxes next himself asked Pythius how much wealth he had. "O king," said Pythius, "I will not conceal the quantity of my substance from you, nor pretend that I do not know it; I know and will tell you the exact truth. As soon as I learnt that you were coming down to the Greek sea, being desirous to give you money for the war, I enquired into the matter, and my reckoning showed me that I had two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four million Daric staters\(^1\) lacking seven thousand. All this I freely give to you; for myself, I have a sufficient livelihood from my slaves and my farms."

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

\(^1\) The Daric stater was equivalent to about 22s. of our money.
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dων, ἀλλὰ ἂν τοι ἀπαρτιλογή ὑπ’ ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη. ἔκτησό τε αὐτὸς τά περ αὐτὸς ε’κτήσαο, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ τοι ταύτα ποιεῦντε οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεῦν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελῆσει.”

30. Ταύτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας ἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω αἰεί. Ἄνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμειβόμενος καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἀλες γίνονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσᾶς πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγῆς· ἐν τῇ Δύκος ποταμῷ ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἑσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἐπείτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοὶ καὶ οὕτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁ στρατὸς ὀρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐροὺς τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν, ἕνθα στήλη καταπεπηγνιά, σταθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὐροὺς.

31. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐσέβαιε ἐς τὴν Δυσίνην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐπὶ Καρίτης φεροῦσας τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὰν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἱέναι παρὰ Καλλατῆβον πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἀνδρεῖς δημιουργοῖς μέλει ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι, ταῦτην ἐννοοῦ Εὔρωξης τῆς ὁδοῦ εὗρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος ἐνεκα δωρησάμενος κόσμῳ χρυσεῖν καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας δευτέρη ἥμερῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ.

32. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδις πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρα-
BOOK VII. 29-32

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

30. Having thus spoken and made his words good Xerxes journeyed ever further. Passing by the Phrygian town called Anaua, and the lake from which salt is gotten, he came to Colossae, a great city in Phrygia; wherein the river Lycus plunges into a cleft in the earth out of sight,¹ till it appears again about five furlongs away and issues like the other river into the Maeander. From Colossae the army held its course for the borders of Phrygia and Lydia, and came to the town Cydrara, where stands a pillar set up by Croesus, with a writing thereon to mark the boundary.

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

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

¹ The Lycus here flows in a narrow gorge, but there is no indication of its ever having flowed underground, except for a few yards.
σκευάζειν. πλὴν οὖτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὖτε ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε ἔπι γῆς αἰτήσιν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ. τόνδε δὲ εἶνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπε ἔπι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. οὗ τρεῖς ἐδοσαν Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πάγχῳ ἐδόκεε τότε δείσαντας δοσεῖν θυσίαν νῦν αὖτῳ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἁκριβεῖος ἔστεμπε.

33. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα παρεσκευάζετο ως ἐλῶν ἐς Ἀβύδον. οὐ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου ἐξευγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτή παχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατηκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον ἐνθα μετα ταύτα, χρόνῳ ὑστερον οὐ πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρουος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίοι Ἀρταύκτην ἀνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον ἱώντα πρὸς σαιδά διεπασσάλευσαν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ ἱσόν ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἄγωνεόμενος γυναῖκας ἀθέμιστα ἐρδεσκε.

34. Ἡς ταύτην ὡν τὴν ἄκτην ἐς Ἀβύδου ὀρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνων Φοίνικες, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην τὴν βυζλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ σταδίοι ἐς Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξεγεμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χείμων μέγας συνεκοψε τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυε.

35. Ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο Ἐρέξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου ἐκέλευε τρικοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστυν πληγᾶς καὶ κατεῖνα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων

1 Between the modern bays of Zemenik (Sestos) and Kilia: some four miles broad.

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places he sent to demand earth, only neither to Athens nor to Lacedaemon. The reason of his sending for earth and water the second time was this—he fully believed that as many as had formerly not given it to Darius' messengers, would now be compelled to give by fear; and he sent because he desired to know this of a surety.

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

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

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

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3 The modern width at the narrowest part is nearly half as much again; perhaps this can be explained by the washing away of the coasts, due to a current which strikes them near Sestos and rebounds on Abydos.
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ζεύγος. Ἦδη δὲ ἥκουσα ώς καὶ στυγέας ἀμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλησπόντουν. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὃν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρα τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. "Ὡς πικρὸν ὑδωρ, δεσπότης τοῦ δίκην ἐπιτιθεὶς τὴνδὲ, ὅτι μν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄδικον παθὼν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἐρέξις διαβήσεται σε, ἢν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἢν τε μή; σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἅρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει ὡς ἐόντι καὶ θολερῷ καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ." τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοις ξημοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῷ ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντουν ἀποταμείων τὰς κεφαλὰς.

36. Καὶ οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεσον, τοῦτις προσέκειτο αὕτῃ ἡ ἄχαρις τιμῆς, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγυναν. ἐξεύγυναν δὲ ὅδε, πεντηκόνταρους καὶ τριήρειςς συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου ἐξήκοντα τε καὶ τριήροιας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέρην τεσσαρεσκάλεκα καὶ τριήροιας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἣν ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὁπλῶν συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἑτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἶνεκεν τῶν ἐσώθεν ἐκπνεύσοντον, τῆς δὲ ἑτέρης πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου ζεφύρου τε καὶ νότου εὐνεκα. διεκπλοῦν δὲ ὑπόφαυσιν κατέλυσον τῶν πεντηκόντων καὶ τριήρεων, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐχῇ ὁ βουλόμενος πλεῖστοις ἐπικαρσίας καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐξο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-

1 Or it may mean, as Stein thinks, that the ships of the upper or N.E. bridge were ἐπικαρσίαι, and those of the lower or S.W. one were κατὰ ῥόον. For a discussion of the various

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BOOK VII. 35–36

fetters be thrown into the sea; nay, I have heard ere now that he sent branders with the rest to brand the Hellespont. This is certain, that he charged them while they scourged to utter words outlandish and presumptuous: "Thou bitter water," they should say, "our master thus punishes thee, because thou didst him wrong albeit he had done thee none. Yea, Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou wilt or no; it is but just that no man offers thee sacrifice, for thou art a turbid and a briny river." Thus he commanded that the sea should be punished, and that they who had been overseers of the bridging of the Hellespont should be beheaded.

36. So this was done by those who were appointed to that thankless honour; and new masters of their craft set about making the bridges. The manner of their doing it was as I will show. That they might lighten the strain of the cables, they laid fifty-oared ships and triremes alongside of each other, three hundred and sixty to bear the bridge that was nearest to the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen to bear the other; all lay obliquely to the line of the Pontus and parallel with the current of the Hellespont.¹ Having so laid the ships alongside they let down very great anchors, both from the end of the ship nearest the Pontus to hold fast against the winds blowing from within that sea, and from the other end, towards the west and the Aegean, to hold against the west and south winds. Moreover they left for passage an opening in the line of fifty-oared ships and triremes, that so he that would might be able to voyage to the Pontus, or out
difficulties and interpretations of the whole passage, see How and Wells' notes, _ad loc._

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σαντες κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισιν ἠνίκωσι τὰ ὀπλα, οὐκετί χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρθην, τέσσερα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονὴ, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἐμβρυθέστερα ἦν τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πήχυς ἐλικε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμοὺς ἄειλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιήσαντες ὅσους τῆς σχεδίης τῷ εὐρεῖ κόσμῳ ἐτίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλῶν τοῦ τόνου, βέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγυνον· ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἦλθη ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ βέντες καὶ τὴν ἦλθη γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν, κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰχνὴ φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἐνθέν καὶ ἐνθέν, ἵνα μὴ φοβερεῖ τὰ ὑποξύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορώντα καὶ οἱ ῥποι.

37. Ὡς δὲ τὰ τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν 'Αθηνῶν, οἱ τε χωτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχοι, οἱ τῆς θῆκῆς εἰνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελῶς πεποιημένη ἀγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμάτῳ ἐλῶν ἐς Ἀθινῶν ὀρμημένων δὲ οἱ οἱ ἠμός ἐκλειπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐδρῆν ἁφανῆς ἦν οὔτε ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρίας τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἤμερης τε νυξ ἐγένετο. ἱδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ἐρέτῃ ἐπιμελέσσει ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰρετὸ τοὺς Μάγους τὸ θέλει προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἐφραζόν ως Ἑλλησπονδικνύει ο θεὸς ἐκλειψεν

1 About 80 lbs.
2 i. e. the line of ships supporting the cables.

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of it. Having so done, they stretched the cables from
the land, twisting them taut with wooden windlasses;
and they did not as before keep the two kinds apart,
but assigned for each bridge two cables of flax and
four of papyrus. All these were of the same thick-
ness and fair appearance, but the flaxen were
heavier in their proportion, a cubit thereof weighing
a talent. 1 When the strait was thus bridged, they
sawed balks of wood to a length equal to the breadth
of the floating supports, 2 and laid them in order on
the taut cables, and having set them alongside they
then made them fast. This done, they heaped
brushwood on to the bridge, and when this was all
laid in order they heaped earth on it and stamped
it down; then they made a fence on either side,
lest the beasts of burden and horses should be
affrighted by the sight of the sea below them.

37. When the bridges and the work at Athos
were ready, and the moles at the canal's entrances,
that were built to prevent the surf from silting up
the entrances of the digged passage, and the canal
itself was reported to be now perfectly made, the
army then wintered, and at the beginning of spring 3
was ready and set forth from Sardis to march to
Abydos. When they had set forth, the sun left his
place in the heaven and was unseen, albeit the sky
was without clouds and very clear, and the day was
turned into night. When Xerxes saw and took
note of that, he was moved to think upon it, and
asked the Magians what the vision might signify.
They declared to him, that the god was showing to
the Greeks the desolation of their cities; for the

3 Probably about the middle of April 480.
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tων πολίων, λέγοντες ἢλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προ-
δέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. ταῦτα πυθόμενος ὁ
Ἐρέξης περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

38. Ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλαυνε τὴν στρατηγὴν, Πύθιος ὁ
Λυδὸς καταρρωθήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὀυρανοῦ ἕσμα
ἐπαερθεὶς τε τοῖς δωρήμασι, ἔλθων παρὰ Ἐρέξην
ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὤ δὲσποτα, χρήσασας ἃν τι σεῦ
βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει
ἐὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ἐρέξης
δὲ πάν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρήσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη,
ἐφι τε ὑπουργήσει καὶ δὴ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν
δέοιτο. δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἦκουσε, ἐλεγε θαρσή-
σας τάδε. "Ὤ δὲσποτα, τυγχάνουσι μοι παῖδες
ἄντες πέντε, καὶ σφέας καταλαμβάνει πάντας
ἀμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. σὺ δὲ,
ὁ βασίλευ, ἔμε ἐς τὸ δὲ ἠλείας ἦκοντα οἰκτείρας
τῶν μοι παῖδων ἐνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς
τῶν πρεσβύτατον, ἢν αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων ή μελεδωνός τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγεν
ἀμα σεωτοῦ, καὶ πρῆξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας
ὅπισώ."  

39. Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ἐρέξης καὶ ἀμείβετο
τοίσιδε. "Ὤ κακὴ ἀνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτολμήσας, ἐμεῦ
στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀγοντος
παῖδας ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ οἰκήους καὶ
φίλους, μην ἄγεσθαι περὶ σέω παιδῶς, ἐὼν ἐμὸς
δούλος, τῶν χρημα παιοκίας αὐτῆς τῇ γυναικὶ συν-
ἐπεσθαι; ἐν νῦν τὸν ἐξεπίστασο, ὦς ἐν τοῖς ἦς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖς ὁ θυμός, δὲ χρηστὰ μὲν
ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλεῖ τὸ σώμα, ὑπεναντία
δὲ τοῦτοι ακούσας ἀνοίδει. ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ
ποιήσας ἑτερα τοιάυτα ἐπηγγέλλει, ἐνεργεσήσι
BOOK VII. 37-39

sun (they said) was the prophet of the Greeks, as the moon was theirs. Xerxes rejoiced exceedingly to hear that, and kept on his march.

38. As he led his army away, Pythius the Lydian, being affrighted by the heavenly vision and encouraged by the gifts that he had received, came to Xerxes and said, "Sire, I have a boon to ask that I desire of you, easy for you to grant and precious for me to receive." Xerxes, supposing that Pythius would demand anything rather than what he did verily ask, answered that he would grant the boon, and bade him declare what he desired. Thereupon Pythius took courage and said: "Sire, I have five sons, and all of them are constrained to march with you against Hellas. I pray you, O king! take pity on me that am so old, and release one of my sons, even the eldest, from service, that he may take care of me and of my possessions; take the four others with you, and may you return back with all your design accomplished."

39. Xerxes was very angry, and thus replied: "Villain, you see me myself marching against Hellas, and taking with me my sons and brothers and kinsfolk and friends; and do you, my slave—who should have followed me with all your household and your very wife—speak to me of your son? Then be well assured of this, that a man's spirit dwells in his ears; when it hears good words it fills the whole body with delight, but when it hears the contrary thereto it swells with anger. At that time when you did me good service and promised more, you
HERODOTUS

Βασιλέα οὐ καυχήσεαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέστερον ἐτράπεν, τὴν μὲν ἄξιν οὐ λάμψεαι, ἔλασσω δὲ τῆς ἄξιος. σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παιδῶν ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ξημιώ-

σεαι." ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτῖκα ἐκέλευε τοῖς προσετάκτῳ ταῦτα πρήσοντες, τῶν Πυθίων παιδῶν ἔξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον δια-

tαμέν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξίᾳ τῆς ὀδοῦ τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά, καὶ ταῦτῃ διεξεῖναι τοὺς στρατοὺς.

40. Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήμε οἱ στρατός. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑπόξυγα, μετὰ δὲ τούτων σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνῶν ἄναμμεν, οὐ διακεκριμένοις, τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέευτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισθον οὕτω βασιλεύειν. προηγεύντο μὲν δὴ ἵπποι τῇ χίλιοι, ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι: μετὰ δὲ αἴχμοφοροί χίλιοι καὶ οὕτω ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες. μετὰ δὲ ἱροῖ Νησαίοις καλεόμενοι ἵπποι δέκα κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νησαίοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούδε· ἑστὶ πεδίων μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὖν μετήθη Νησαίοι τοῖς ὑπ’ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὁπίςδε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἅρμαν Δίδ ιρὸν ὑπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἶλκον λευκοὶ ὁκτὼ, ὁπίςδε δὲ αὐτῶν ἵππων εἴσπεσε πεξῇ ἡνίοχοι ἐχόμενοι τῶν χαλικῶν ὡς ἐφ’ ἔπ’ ἵπποι τοῖς πρὸνοις ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὁπίςδε αὐτὸς Ἐξέρχεται ἐπ’ ἄρματος ἵππων

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will never boast that you outdid your king in the matter of benefits; and now that you have turned aside to the way of shamelessness, you shall receive a lesser requital than you merit. You and four of your sons are saved by your hospitality; but you shall be mulcted in the life of that one whom you most desire to keep.” With that reply, he straightway bade those who were charged to do the like to find the eldest of Pythius' sons and cut him asunder, then having so done to set the one half of his body on the right hand of the road and the other on the left, that the army might pass this way between them.

40. This they did, and the army passed between. First went the baggage train and the beasts of burden, and after them a mixed host of all sorts of nations, not according to their divisions but all mingled together; when more than half had passed there was a space left, and these latter came not near the king. After that, first came a thousand horsemen, chosen out of all Persians; next, a thousand spearmen, picked men like the others, carrying their spears reversed; and after them, ten horses of the breed called Nesaean, equipped with all splendour. The horses are called Nesaean, because there is in Media a wide plain of that name, where the great horses are bred. Behind these ten horses was the place of the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, the charioteer on foot following the horses and holding the reins; for no mortal man may mount into that seat. After these came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaean

¹ That is, of Ormuzd.
HERODOTUS

Νησαίων· παραβεβήκε δέ οἱ ἥνιοχοι τῷ οἴνωμα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω ἀνδρὸς Πέρσων παῖς.
41. Ἐξῆκε δὲ μὲν οὖν ἐκ Σαρδίων Ἐβρής, μετεκβαίνεστε δέ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἴρεοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ζημάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἔππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μῦροι. οὗτος πεζὸς ὦν καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τούσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοίας εἶχον χρυσέας καὶ τέρμων συνεκλήσει τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχύλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοίας εἶχον εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοίας καὶ οἱ ἐς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μὴλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπομένου Ἐβρής τοῖς δὲ μυρίοις ἑπετέτακτο ἔππον Περσέων μυρίη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο στάδιον, καὶ ἐπείτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦν ἀναμίξ.
42. Ἐποίεετο δὲ τὴν ὅδον ἐκ τῆς Λυδιᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν Κάικον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, ἀπὸ δὲ Κάικον ὄρμωμενος, Κάις όρος ἐχὶ ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἢ Καρχηνοῦ πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἢ Θῆβης πεδίου ἐπορεύετο, Ἀδραμύττειν τε πόλιν καὶ Ἀντανδροῦ τὴν Πελαγίδα παραμεμβόμενος. τὴν 'Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν ἢ ἀριστερὴν χείρα ἤπε ἐς τὴν 'Ιλιῳ γῆν, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ υπὸ τῇ 'Ἰδὴ νῦκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ πρηστῆρες ἐπεσπίττουσι καὶ τῖνα αὐτοῦ ταύτη συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.
43. Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν
BOOK VII. 40-43

horses, his charioteer, Patirampheres, son of Otanes a Persian, standing beside him.

41. It was thus that Xerxes rode out of Sardis; but when he was so minded he would alight from the chariot into a carriage. Behind him came a thousand spearmen of the best and noblest blood of Persia, carrying their spears in the customary manner; after them a thousand picked Persian horsemen, and after the horse ten thousand that were footmen, chosen out of the rest of the Persians. One thousand of these latter bore golden pomegranates on their spear-shafts in place of the spike, and surrounded the rest; the nine thousand were enclosed within, and bore silver pomegranates; they that held their spears reversed carried golden pomegranates also, and they that were nearest to Xerxes, apples of gold. After the ten thousand came ten thousand Persian horsemen in array. After these there was a space of two furlongs, and next the rest of the multitude followed without order or division.

42. From Lydia the army took its course to the river Caicus and the land of Mysia, and leaving the Caicus, through Atarneus to the town of Carene, keeping the mountain of Cane 1 on the left. Thence they journeyed over the plain of Thebe, passing the town of Adramyteum and the Pelasgian town Antandrus; and then came into the territory of Ilium, with Ida on their left. Then this first befeled them, that when they had halted for the night at the foot of Ida they were smitten by a storm of thunder and fiery winds, whereby very many there perished.

43. When the army had come to the river Scam-

1 Modern Kara Dagh.

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Σκάμανδρον, δις πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπέειτε ἐκ Σαρ-
δίων ὄρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλυτε τὸ
ῥέθρον οὐδ’ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατηγῇ τε καὶ τοῖς
κτήνεσι πινόμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτον δῆ τὸν ποταμὸν
ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον
ἀνέβη ἵμερον ἔχουν θεϊσάσθαι θεσάμενους δὲ
καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκεῖνων ἔκαστα τῇ Ἄθηναίῃ τῇ
'Iλιάδι ἐθυσε βοῶς χιλίας, χοᾶς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖς
ήρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοις νυκτὸς
φῶς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἀμα ἡμέρῃ
dὲ ἐπορευότο ἐνθευτεύον, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἄπέργων
Ῥοῖτον πόλιν καὶ Ὅφρυνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥ
περ δὴ Ἄβυδῳ ὀμουρος ἐστίν, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιδας
Τευκρούς.

44. Ἐπεῖ δ’ ἐγένετο ἐν Ἄβυδῳ μέσῃ, ἠθέλησε
Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τῶν στρατῶν καὶ προ-
επεοίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολώνου ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ
προεξέθρη λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἄβυδηνοι
ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς
ἀξιον, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔθησεν καὶ τὸν
πεζῶν καὶ τὰς νέας, θειόμενος δὲ ἰμέρη τῶν νεῶν
ἀμιλλαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τε
καὶ ἐνίκων Φοῖνικες Σιδώνιων, ἦσθε τῇ τῇ ἀμίλλῃ
καὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ.

45. Ὡς δὲ ὁρᾶ πάντα μὲν τοῦ Ἐλλήσποντον
ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένου, πάσας δὲ τὰς
ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἄβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπιπλεᾳ ἀν-
θρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἔσωσεν ἐμακάρισε,
μετὰ δὲ τούτο ἐδάκρυσε.

46. Μαθὼν δὲ μὲν Ἄρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, διὸ τὸ
πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμ-

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BOOK VII. 43-46

ander, which was the first river after the beginning of their march from Sardis that fell short of their needs and could not suffice for the army and the cattle,—being arrived at this river, Xerxes ascended to the citadel of Priam, having a desire to view it; and having viewed and enquired of all that was there he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athene of Ilium, and the Magians offered libations to the heroes. After their so doing, the army was seized with a panic fear in the night. When it was day they journeyed on thence, keeping on their left the towns of Rhoetium and Ophryneum and Dardanus, which marches with Abydos,¹ and on their right the Teucran Gergithae.

44. When Xerxes had come to the midst of Abydos, he desired to see the whole of his army; and this he could do, for a lofty seat of white stone had been set up for him on a hill ² there with that intent, built by the people of Abydos at the king’s command. There Xerxes sat, and looked down on the sea-shore, viewing his army and his fleet; and as he viewed them he was fain to see the ships contend in a race. They did so, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won it; and Xerxes was pleased with the race, and with his armament.

45. But when he saw the whole Hellespont hidden by his ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos thronged with men, Xerxes first declared himself happy, and presently he fell a-weeping.

46. Perceiving that, his uncle Artabanus, who in the beginning had spoken his mind freely and coun-

¹ It was about nine miles from Abydos.
² Probably what is called Mal-Tepe, on the promontory of Nagara.
HERODOTUS

βουλεύων Ἡρέξη στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ὁμὴρ φρασθεὶς Ἡρέξην δακρύσαντα εἴρετο τάδε. "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλών ἄλληλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάζασο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον κακαρίσας γὰρ σεωτόν δακρύεις." δὲ ἐίπε "Ἔσθηθε γὰρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτείραι ὃς βραχὺς εἶ̇η ὁ πᾶς ἄνθρωπιος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε έοντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐσ ἐκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται." δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων ""Ετερα τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν ξόνην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὔτω βραχεὶ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὔτω ἄνθρωπος ἦν εὐδαιμῶν πέφυκι οὔτε τούτοις οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὔκ ἀπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ξύειν. αὐτὲ τὴ γὰρ συμφορὰ προσπίπτουσι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσι καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖται τὸν βίον. οὔτω γὰρ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐνόψης τῆς ξύες καταφυγὴ αἱρετώτατη τῷ ἄνθρωπῷ γέγονε, δὲ θεὸς γλυκῶν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα φθονερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται εὖν."

47. Ἡρέξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων ""Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτής μὲν νυν ἄνθρωπης πέρι, ἐνόψης τοιαύτης οὔν περ σὺ διαιρέαται εἶναι, πανσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνώμεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί, φράσσων δὲ μοι τόδε, εἰ τοι ὡς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργής οὔτω ἐφάνη, εἰχὲς ἄν τὴν ἄρχαιν γνώμην, οὐκ ἔως μὲ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥ μετέστης ἄν; φέρε τοῦτο μοι ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ." δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων ""Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ὡς μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ ἐνείρου ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσει, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματος εἰμὶ ὑπόπλεος οὐδ' ἐντὸς 360
BOOK VII. 46-47

salled Xerxes not to march against Hellas—Artabanus, I say, marking how Xerxes wept, questioned him and said, "What a distance is there, O king, between your acts of this present and a little while ago! Then you declared your happiness, and now you weep." "Ay verily," said Xerxes; "for I was moved to compassion, when I considered the shortness of all human life, seeing that of all this multitude of men not one will be alive a hundred years hence." "In our life," Artabanus answered, "we have deeper sorrows to bear than that. For short as our lives are, there is no man here or elsewhere so fortunate, that he shall not be constrained, ay many a time and not once only, to wish himself dead rather than alive. Misfortunes so fall upon us and sicknesses so trouble us, that they make life to seem long for all its shortness. Thus is life so sorry a thing that death has come to be a man's most desirable refuge therefrom; the god is seen to be envious therein, after he has given us but a taste of the sweetness of living."

47. Xerxes answered and said, "Human life, Artabanus, is such as you define it to be. Yet let us speak no more of that, nor remember evils in our present prosperous estate; but tell me this. If you had not seen the vision in your dream so clearly, would you still have held your former opinion, and counselled me not to march against Hellas, or would you have changed from it? Come, tell me that truly." Artabanus answered and said, "O king, may the vision that appeared in my dream bring such an end as we both desire! But for myself, I am even now full of fear, yea distraught, for many other reasons that I
HERODOTUS

ἐμεωντοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅρων τοῦ δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα.

48. Ἐξέρχεσι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε. “Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοίναι ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα; κότερά το ο πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ πλήθος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἐσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκεῖνων, ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτη φαίνεται ἐνδεεστερα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἄν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχιστὴν ἄγερσαι ποιέοιτο.”

49. “Ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ὤ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὡστὶς γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ’ ἄν οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλήθος· ἢν δὲ πλεῖνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοὶ τὰ λέγω πολλῶ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λυμῆν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμοδί, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὡστὶς ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενος σεβοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν φερέγγυος ἐσται διασώσαι τὰς νέας. καίτοι οὐκ ἴνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἄλλα παρὰ πᾶσαι τὴν ἡπειρόν παρ’ ἥν δὴ κομίζει. οὐκὼν δὴ ἔόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωποί τῶν συμφορῶν. καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοῦ τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰρημένου τὸ ἐτέρον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. γῆ δὲ πολεμίη τῇ δὲ τοῦ κατίσταται: εἰ θέλει τοι μὴ δὲν ἀντίξουν καταστήσει, τοσοῦτο τοῖς γίνεται πολεμιώτερη ὅσοι ἄν προβαίνεις ἐκαστέρω, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὑρήξης δὲ οὐκ 362
have, and this in especial—that I see the two greatest things in the world to be most your enemies."

48. "Sir," Xerxes answered, "I marvel at you. What are these two things that you say are most my enemies? Is it that you find some fault with the numbers of my land army, and suppose that the Greek host will be many times greater than ours? Or think you that our navy will fall short of theirs? Or that the fault is in both? For if in this regard our power seems to you to lack aught, it were best to muster another host with all speed."

49. "O king," Artabanus answered and said, "there is no fault that any man of sound judgment could find either with this army or with the number of your ships; and if you gather more, those two things whereof I speak grow yet the more your enemies. These two are the land and the sea. The sea has nowhere any harbour, as I guess, that if a storm arise will be warrantable to receive this navy and save your ships. Yet such harbours there should be, not in one place alone but all along the land along which you sail. Seeing then that there are no harbours able to receive you, learn thereby that men are the subjects and not the rulers of their accidents. Now I have spoken of one of the two, and I will tell you of the other: this is how the land is your enemy: if so be that nothing stands in your way to hinder you, the land is the more your enemy the further you advance, with never true knowledge of what lies beyond;
HERODOTUS

ἐστι ἀνθρώπωσι συνείδεια πληθώρη. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς συνείδεια ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώρην πλεύνα ἐν πλέον χρόνω γινομένην λίμων σέξεθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἶχα ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρραδέου, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐρασίν εἰ."  

50. Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖς ἱδ. "Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκότοις μὲν σὺ γε τούτων ἐκαστα διαίρεσαί· ἀτὰρ μὴτε πάντα φοβέο μὴτε πάν ὅμοιός ἐπιλέγεω. εἰ γὰρ δὴ βουλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπεσφερόμενον πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὅμοιός ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσειας ἂν συναμα ὁυδὲν κρέσσου δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἦμισι τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον ἡ πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ εἰρίξων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλεσθαι οφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὅμοιος καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτουσι λέξεις. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἔστω ἧς ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἐόντα κὼς χρή τὸ βέβαιον; δοκεῖ ὡς μὲν ὁυδαμῶς. τοῖσι τούτων βουλομένουσι πολεῖν ὡς τὸ ἐπὶπαν φιλεῖ θύεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα, τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοι τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνέονσι οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὅρας τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὁ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε. εἰ τοίνυν ἔκεινοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμέ νενόμενοι βασιλέες γνώμης ἔχρωντο ὁμοίης καὶ σὺ, ἡ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμης τοιαύτης ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κατε ἐδεις αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτέουτες ἐς τοῦτο σφέα προηγάγοντο. μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοις κινδύνοις ἐθέλει καταρρείσθαι. ἠμεῖς τοίνυν ὁμοιεύμενοι ἐκεῖνοις ὀρκὴν τε τοῦ ἐτεος καλλίστην περενόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι 364.
and no man is ever full fed with success. Therefore, I say, if none withstand you, the increase of your territory and the time passed in getting it will beget famine. He is the best man, who is timid in counsel because he takes all that may befall him into account, but is in action bold."

50. "Artabanus," Xerxes answered, "you do reasonably in so defining all these matters. But this I say, fear not everything, nor take account of all alike; for if on whatever occasion befall you were minded to take everything alike into account, you would never do anything; better it is to suffer half the dreaded ill by facing all with a stout heart, rather than to fear all chances and so suffer nought. But if you quarrel with whatever is said, yet cannot show where security lies, you must be proved as wrong on your part as he that holds the contrary opinion. In this then both are alike; and how shall one that is but man know where there is security? It is, I think, impossible. It is they, then, who have the will to act that do oftenerest win the prizes, not, truly, they that palter and take account of all chances. You see, to what power Persia has attained. Now, if those kings who came before me had held such opinions as yours, or not holding them themselves had had counsellors like you, you would never have seen our fortunes at their present height; but as it is, those kings encountered dangers, and by so doing advanced them to this height. Great successes are not won save by great risks. We, then, will do as they did; we are using the fairest season of the year to journey in, and we will return home the conquerors
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πάσαν τὴν Ἑυρώπην νοστήσουμεν ὁπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὔδεν παθόντες. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορεύομεθα, τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἂν κοῦ ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ έθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἔχομεν ἐπ᾽ ἀρτότης, δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας.

51. Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἔπειτε ἄρρωδες οὐδὲν ἦς πρῆγμα, σὺ δὲ μεν συμβουλὴν ἐνδεξαί άναγκαιος γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκεῖναί. Κύρος ὁ Καμβώσεω Ἰωνίην πάσαν πλὴν Ἀθηναῖων κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόροιν εἰναι Πέρσης, τούτους δὴν τους ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμὴ μηχανὴ ἀγείνε ἐπὶ τους πατέρας καὶ γὰρ ἀνευ τούτων οἰοὶ τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γὰρ σφέας, ἢν ἔπωνται, δει ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδούλουμεν τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικωταί μὲν νυν γινόμενοι οὐδέν κέρδος μέγα ἢμῖν προσβάλλουσι, δικαιότατοι δὲ γινόμενοι οἰοὶ τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατὴ γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν δὲν βάλει καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εὐ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἁμα ἀρχὴ πᾶν τέλος καταφάινεσθαι."

52. Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ἐξέρχηται "Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφήναυ γνωμέων σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταῦτην δὴ μάλιστα, ός Ἰωνας φοβεία μὴ μεταβάλωσι, τῶν ἔχομεν γνώμα μέγιστον, τῶν σὺ τε μάρτυς γίνει καὶ οὐ συστατευσάμενοι Δαρέιῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατή ἐγένετο διαφθείραι καὶ περιποιήσαι, οὐ
of all Europe, having nowhere suffered famine or
any other harm; for firstly, we carry ample pro-
vision with us on our march, and secondly we shall
have the food of those whose land and nation we
invade; and those against whom we march are no
wandering tribes, but tillers of the soil.”

51. Then said Artabanus: “O king, I see that you
will not suffer us to fear any danger; yet take from
me this counsel: for needs must there be much
speaking when our businesses are so many. Cyrus
son of Cambyses subdued and made tributary to
Persia all Ionians save only the Athenians. It is my
counsel, then, that you do by no means lead these
Ionians against the land of their fathers; even with-
out their aid we are well able to overcome our
enemies; for if they come with our army, they must
behave either very unjustly by enslaving their parent
state or very justly by aiding it to be free. Now, if
they deal very unjustly, they bring us no great
advantage, but by dealing very justly they may well
thereby do great harm to your army. Take there-
fore to heart the truth of even that ancient saying,
‘That the end of every matter appeareth not at its
beginning.’”

52. “Artabanus,” Xerxes answered, “there is no
opinion which you have declared wherein you are so
misled as in this your fear lest the Ionians change
sides; we have the surest warranty for them (and
you and all that marched with Darius against the
Scythians can witness it) in that with these it lay to
destroy or to save the whole Persian army; and they
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dè dikaiosúnyn kai pistótita énëdawkav, áxari
dè ouýén. Párež de toutou, én tý hmetérh kata-
lipóntas tékna kai gynaiýkas kai krímata ouž'
ëpiléghesba chrý neóterón tì poiýseiv. oužw mëdè
touto phobéo, allá thumó échov anagathón sóže oikón
 te tón émou kai tuvánúda tìn émýn' soi gár égov
 mouýfo ék pántwn skýptra tà émà épitrápov."

53. Taúta eípsas kai 'Artaðanou apósteílas
ês Souda deútera metepémptato Ýérëxh Perseóñ
 tout dökímovatous: épeti dé ói parísan, éleugé
 sphi táde. "‘Ò Perseai, tòvno' égov yménov chrýzov
 svnélèxa, ánðras tè geynésba anagatous kai më
 kataisxúnein tò prósbe érgasyména Persehí,
eónta megalà te kai tollóu áziá, allè eis te
 ëkastos kai ói súmbantyes prothymíy ýxovmen-
èmun gár paði touto anagathon steudetai. tówde
 dé eíneka próagorewówántêxhesba touto polémon
 èntetaménwos' ós gár égov pynýánomai, ep' ánðras
 stgraténómēba anagatous, tout hí krittísomenv, ou
 më tis hímion állos stratòs ántisth kote án-
ðròtopwn. vún dé diabáínomin épevžámenvi tòis
 ðeósi oí Perseas lelýghasi."

54. Taútnh mèn tìn hmérh paraskeváxontô
 ès tìn diábasin tì dé ústeraíth anémenv tout
 hliou èthélontes ídêshai aníxhonta, thymiímata
 te pantaía epì touto geynérwv cataxíxontes kai
 múrshísia storgúntes tìn òðoun. òs dé épavè-
telle o hlios, spéndwv ék chrusésis phálh
 Ýérëxh ès tìn bállassan eúketo pròs touto hliou
 mèdemiai oí suntyxhí tòiautnh geynésba, ò
 mn pàússei katastrapéshsaí tìn Evrópìn
 próteron è epí térmasi tòisi èkeínhis gènthai.
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gave proof of justice and faithfulness, and no evil intent. Moreover, seeing that they have left in our country their children and wives and possessions, we need not deem it even possible that they will make any violent change. Therefore be quit of that fear too; keep a stout heart and guard my household and sovereignty; for to you alone I entrust the symbols of my kingship."

53. Having thus spoken, and sent Artabanus away to Susa, Xerxes next sent for the most notable among the Persians; and when they were present, "Persians," he said, "I have assembled you to make this demand, that you bear yourselves bravely and never sully the great and glorious former achievements of the Persians; let us each and all be zealous; for this is the common advantage of all that we seek. For this cause I bid you set your hands to the war with might and main; for as I am assured, we march against valiant men, whom if we overcome, it is certain that no other human host will ever withstand us. Now let us cross over, having first prayed to the gods who hold Persia for their allotted realm."

54. All that day they made preparation for the crossing; and on the next they waited till they should see the sun rise, burning all kinds of incense on the bridges, and strewing the way with myrtle boughs. At sunrise, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden phial into the sea, praying to the sun that no such accident should befall him as to stay him from subduing Europe ere he should reach its farthest borders. After the prayer, he cast the
εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ χούσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικοῦ ξίφους, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταύτα οὐκ ἦχο ἀτρέκεως διακρίναι ούτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθέεις κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησε οἱ τῶν Ἑλλησπόντου μαστιγώσαντί καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἱππόσ ἄπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαίον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπησί. ἤγεοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μῦροι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένους πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτος ὁ σύμμακτος στρατός παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἐπὶ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἰππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κατὰ τράποντες· ἐστερέασαντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἱπποί οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ ἱρόν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε Ἀέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἰππόται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἀμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἦδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὑστατόν διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντως.

56. Ἀέρξης δὲ ἔπει διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθνεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐπτα ἡμέρῃ καὶ ἐν ἐπτα εὐφρόνησε, ἐλυσάσας οὐδένα χρόνου. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ἀέρξης ἦδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, ἀνδρα εἰπέειν Ἑλλησπόντου "ὢ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρση καὶ οὕνωμα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ἀέρξην θέμενος ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἐλλάδα θέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἀγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἀνεν τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα."
phial into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl withal, and a Persian sword, that which they call "acinaces."\textsuperscript{1} As to these, I cannot rightly determine whether he cast them into the sea for offerings to the sun, or repented of his scourging of the Hellespont and gave gifts to the sea as atonement.

55. This done, they crossed over, the foot and horse all by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, and the beasts of burden and the train of service by the bridge towards the Aegean. In the van came the ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands, and after them the mixed host of divers nations. All that day these crossed, and on the next, first the horsemen and they that bore their spears reversed; these also wore garlands. After them came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, then Xerxes himself and the spearmen and the thousand horse, and after them the rest of the host. Meanwhile the ships put out and crossed to the opposite shore. But I have heard ere now, that the king crossed last of all.

56. Having passed over to Europe, Xerxes viewed his army crossing under the lash; seven days and seven nights it was in crossing, with never a rest. There is a tale that, when Xerxes had now crossed the Hellespont, a man of the Hellespont cried, "O Zeus, why hast thou taken the likeness of a Persian man and changed thy name to Xerxes, leading the whole world with thee to remove Hellas from its place? For that thou mightest have done without these means."

\textsuperscript{1} Sometimes translated "scimitar"; but that is, I believe, a curved weapon, whereas the \( \dot{a} \kappa \iota \nu \alpha \kappa \eta \zeta \) appears to have been a short, straight dagger.
57. Ὅσεὶ δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐσ ὁδὸν ὅρμημένοις τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὔδειν λόγῳ ἐποίησατο καὶ περὶ εὐσύμβλητον ἐὼν ἔππος γὰρ ἐτεκε λαγόν. εὐσύμβλητον ὡν τῇ δούτῳ ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐμελλε μὲν ἐλάν στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὅπισω δὲ περὶ ἐωτοῦ τρέχων ἦσεν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἔτερον αὐτῷ τέρας ἔστη ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίωνος γὰρ ἐτεκε ἡμίωνον διὰ ἑρούσαν αἰδοία, τὰ μὲν ἔρενες τὰ δὲ θηλεία· κατapyρῆς δὲ ἦν τὰ τοὐ ἐρεσεν. τῶν ἀμφότερων λόγων οὐδένα ποιησάμενος τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο, σὺν δὲ οἱ οἱ πεζοῖ στρατός.

58. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἐξὼ τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πλέων παρὰ гῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἐμπαλίν πρήσσον τοὺς πεζοὺ. ὅ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐπετηρῆς ἐπλεε, ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἀκρῆς ποιεύμενος τὴν ἀπίξειν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προείρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ᾽ ἡπειρὸν στρατὸς πρὸς ἡώ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς ἐποίετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐς διξὴ μὲν ἐχων τὸν Ἑλλῆς τάφου τῆς Ἀθάλαστος, ἐν ἄριστηρῇ δὲ Καρδίνην πόλιν, διὰ μέσης δὲ πορεύομενος πόλις τῇ οὖν ὁμοίαν τυχάνει ἐν Ἄγορῆ. ἐνθύτωεν δὲ κάρμπτων τὸν κόλπων τὸν Μέλαιαν καλέμενον καὶ Μέλαια ποταμόν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατηγῇ τὸ ἐθεῖρον ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸ διαβάς, ἐπ᾽ οὐ καὶ ὁ κόλπος ὅτος τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ ἔχει, ἥμε πρὸς ἐσπερῆς, Αἰνὸν τε πόλιν Διολίδα καὶ Στευτορίδα λίμνη παρεξίων, ὦ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Δορίσκου.

59. Ὅ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τὴς Ὁρηκῆς αἰγιαλῶς τε καὶ πεδίων μέγα, διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς
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57. When all had passed over and they were ready for the road, a great portent appeared among them, whereof Xerxes took no account, though it was easy of interpretation: a mare gave birth to a hare. The meaning of it was easy to guess, being this: Xerxes was to march his army to Hellas with great pomp and pride, but to come back to the same place fleeing for his life. There was another portent, that was shown to him at Sardis: a mule gave birth to a mule, that had double privy parts, both male and female, the male above the other. But of neither sign did he take any account, and journeyed on, his land army with him.

58. His navy sailed out of the Hellespont and coasted along by the land, contrariwise to the land army; for the ships voyaged westwards, laying their course for the headland of Sarpedon, whither Xerxes had bidden them come and there await him; but the army of the mainland travelled towards the east and the sunrise through the Chersonese, with the tomb of Athamas’ daughter Helle on its right and the town of Cardia on its left, and marching through the midst of a town called Agora. Thence turning the head of the Black Bay (as it is called) and crossing the Black River, which could not hold its own then against the army, but fell short of its needs—crossing this river, which gives its name to the bay, they went westwards, past the Aeolian town of Aenus and the marsh of Stentor, till they came to Doriscus.

59. The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea, and through it flows a great river,

1 North-east, strictly speaking: they marched through the promontory of Gallipoli.
μέγας Ἑβρος· ἐν τῷ τεῖχος τε ἐπέδμητο βασιλῆμον
tοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται, καὶ Περσέων
φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ κατεστῆκε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ
ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἑστρα-
tεῦετο. ἔδοξε ών τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χῶρος εἶναι ἐπιτή-
dεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν,
cαὶ ἐποίεσε ταύτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πᾶσας
ἀπικομένας ὡς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος
Ξέρξεως ἐσ τὸν αὐγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ
ἐκομίσαν, ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκίαν ἐπολίσταται
πόλις καὶ Ζώνης, τελευτᾶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρεων ἄκρη
ἀνομαστῆ. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἥν
Κικώνων, ἐσ τοῦτον τὸν αὐγιαλὸν κατασχόντες
τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχου ἀνελκύσαντες. δὲ ἐν τῷ
Δορίσκῳ τούτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀριθμοῦν
ἐποίεσε.

60. "Οσού μὲν νυν ἔκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος
ἐς ἀριθμῶν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέ-
γεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ
στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα
καὶ ἐκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν
τρόπον συνήγαγον τε ἐς ἑνα χῶρον μυριάδα
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μίλιστα
ἐίχον περιέγραψαν ἐξωθέν κύκλων περιγράψαντες
δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους αἰμασίην περιέβαλον
κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ύψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν
ὀμφαλὸν· ταύτῃ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον
ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτων
τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ
ἐθνεα διέτασσον.

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

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

61. Those that served in the army were as I will now show. Firstly, the Persians; for their equip-
τιάρας καλεσμένους πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθώνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους,1 . . . . λεπίδος σιδηρές ὄψιν ἵχθυοεἰδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῖν ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμάς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὦστοις δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεῦμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρεῖχοντο Ὀτάνεα τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα τῆς Ἱερέων γυναικός, ἐκαλέσαντο δὲ πάλαι ὧπο μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφήνες, ὑπὸ μὲντοι σφέων καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Ἄρταιοι. ἔπει δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Δίως ἀπέκειτο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν Βῆλον καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν συγκείρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς τῷ οὐνόμα ἐθέτο Πέρσην, τούτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἀπαίς ἐώς ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσεος γόνον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχον.

62. Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἔσταλμένου ἐστρατεύσαντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὐτή ἡ σκέυη ἔστι καὶ οὗ Περσική. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρεῖχοντο Τιγράνῃ ἄνδρα Αχαιμενίδην, ἐκαλέσαντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριωτοῦ, ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίωνας τούτους μετέβαλον καὶ οὕτοι τὸ οὐνόμα. αὐτοῖς περὶ σφέων ὡδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. Κίσσωι δὲ στρατεύόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περὶ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων μιτρησφόροι ἦσαν. Κίσσωι δὲ

1 Stein and others place a lacuna after τουκλους, supposing some words meaning “cuirasses,” e.g. ὑπὸ δὲ θάρημας πετοιμάζους, “and under them cuirasses made” to be omitted; κιθών itself in Homer bears the meaning of cuirass, but apparently not in Herodotus.
ment they wore on their heads loose caps called tiaras, and on their bodies sleeved tunics of divers colours, with scales of iron like in appearance to the scales of fish, and breeches on their legs; for shields they had wicker bucklers, their quivers hanging beneath these; they carried short spears, long bows, and arrows of reed, and daggers withal that hung from the girdle by the right thigh. Their commander was Otanes, father of Xerxes’ wife and son of Amestris. These Persians were in old time called by the Greeks Cephenes, but by themselves and their neighbours Artæi. But when Perseus the son of Danaë and Zeus had come to Cepheus the son of Belus, and taken his daughter Andromeda to wife, a son was born to him whom he called Perses, and him he left there; for Cepheus had no male issue; it was from this Perses that the Persians took their name.  

62. The Medes in the army were equipped like the Persians; indeed that fashion of armour is Median, not Persian; their commander was Tigranes, an Achaemenid. These were in old time called by all men Arians, but when the Colchian woman Medea came from Athens among the Arians they changed their name, like the Persians. This is the Medes’ own account of themselves. The Cissians in the army were equipped like the Persians, but they wore

1 Herodotus is always prone to base ethnological conclusions on Greek legends and the similarity of names; so in the next chapter Medea supplies the name of the Medes. — But it is strange that Perseus, being commonly held great-grandfather of Heracles, is here made to marry the grand-daughter of Belus, who in I. 7, is Heracles’ grandson.

2 Modern philology gives the name “Aryan” of course a very much wider extension; which indeed was beginning even in the time of Strabo.
Ηρχεται Ανάφης ο Οτάνεως. Τρκάνιοι δὲ κατὰ περὶ Πέρσας ἐσεσάχατο, ὅγεμόνα παρεκόμενοι Μεγά-πανον τῶν Βαβυλώνοις ὑπέρτερον τοῦτων ἐπιτροπεύ-σαντα.

63. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῆςι κεφάλήσι εἰχον χάλκεα τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπτήγητον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμᾶς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῆςι Ἀιγυπτίας εἰχον, πρὸς δὲ ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυ-λωμένα σιδήρῳ, καὶ λινέους θώρηκας. οὕτωι δὲ ῥόπαλα μὲν Ἑλλήνων καλέονται Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν. τοῦτων δὲ μεταξὺ Χαλδαίων. ¹ Ηρχεται δὲ σφέων Ὀτάσπης ο Ἀρταχαίεως.

64. Βακτριοὶ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆςι κεφαλῆσι ἀγχό-τατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τὸξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμᾶς βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῆςι κεφαλῆσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὅξυ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἰχον πεπηγμαίας, ἀνακυρίδας δὲ ἐνεδέδυκεσαν, τὸξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρις εἰχον.

τούτων δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέοντο Σάκας. Βακτριών δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Τστάσπης ο Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσπης τῆς Κύρου.

65. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ εἰματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ ξύλων πεπουμένα, τὸξα δὲ καλάμινα εἰχον καὶ ὀιστοῦς καλαμίνους ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἤσαν οὕτω Ἰνδοὶ, προσετετάχατο δὲ συστρα-τευόμενοι Φαρναξάθρη τῷ Ἀρταβίτεω.

¹ Stein brackets this sentence, with probability. μεταξύ in 378
turbans and not caps. Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians\footnote{1} were armed like the Persians; their leader was Megapanus; who was afterwards the governor of Babylon.

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

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

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

\footnote{1}{Not mentioned in the list of Darius' subjects in Book III; they lived on the S.E. coast of the Caspian.}
\footnote{2}{Cotton.}

the sense of "among" is not otherwise known, and the statement is inconsistent with the use of $\text{Χαλδαιοί}$ in I. 181.
66. Ἀριντὸς δὲ τόξοις μὲν ἐσκευασμένου ἦσαν Μηδικισί, τὰ δὲ ἀλλα κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ 'Τδάρνεος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Γανδαρίοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τὴν αὐτὴν σκεύην ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε. Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων Ἄρταβαζος ὁ Φαρμάκεος, Σόγδων δὲ Ἀζάνης ὁ Ἄρταιος, Γανδαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἄρτυφιος ὁ Ἄρταβάνου.

67. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδικότες καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκας ἐστρατεύοντο. οὕτως μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενον Ἀριόμαρδον τοῦ Ἄρτυφίου ἄδελφου, Σαράγγαι δὲ εἶματα μὲν βεβαιμένα ἐνέπρετον ἔχοντες, πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνν ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυς δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυς δὲ ἄρχουσα παρεῖχοντο Ἀρταυντὴν τὸν Ἡθαμίτρεω.

68. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνου ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ περ Πάκτυς. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε, Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκον Ἀρσαμήνης ὁ Δαρείου, Παρικάνιων δὲ Σιρομίτης ὁ Οἰοβάζου.

69. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ξειρᾶς ὑπεξισμένοι ἦσαν, τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιά, μακρὰ. Αἰθιώπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάσης πεποιημένα, μακρὰ, τετραπτηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ἐπὶ δὲ καλαμίνους ὀστοὺς μικροὺς· ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἔπην λίθος ὃς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφηνίδας γλύφουσι· πρὸς δὲ αἰχμᾶς εἶχον, ἐπὶ δὲ κέρας ὑδρόκοδος ἔπην 380
66. The Arians were equipped with Median bows, but in all else like the Bactrians; their commander was Sisamnes son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae in the army had the same equipment as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians had for their commander Artabazus son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians Azanes son of Artaeus, the Gandarians and Dadicae Artyphius son of Artabanus.

67. The Caspians in the army wore cloaks, and carried the reed bows of their country and short swords. Such was their equipment; their leader was Ariomardus, brother to Artyphius; the Sarangae made a brave show with dyed garments and boots knee-high, carrying bows and Median spears. Their commander was Pherendates son of Megabazus. The Pactyes wore cloaks and carried the bows of their country and daggers; their commander was Artaýntes son of Ithamitres.

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

69. The Arabians wore mantles girded up, and carried at their right side long bows curving backwards. The Ethiopians were wrapt in skins of leopards and lions, and carried bows made of palm-wood strips, full four cubits long, and short arrows therewith, pointed not with iron but with a sharpened stone, that stone wherewith seals are carved; moreover they had spears pointed with a gazelle's horn

¹ That is, the ends of the bow when unstrung curved upwards, against the natural curve of the whole; which would of course increase its power.
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δὲν πεποιημένου τρόπου λόγχης· εἰχον δὲ καὶ ῥοπαλα τυλωτά. τού δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψω ίοντες ἐς μάχην, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μίλτω. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ύπερ Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἤρχε Ἀρσάμης ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείου εἰκὼ χρυσέν πυρηνάτον ἐποιήσατο.

70. Ῥὸν μὲν δὴ ύπερ Αἰγύπτου Αἰθιόπων καὶ Ἀραβίων ἤρχε Ἀρσάμης, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων Αἰθιόπες (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο) προσετέταχατο τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, διαλλάσσοντες εἰδός μὲν οὕδεν τοῖς ἐτέροις, φωνῆν δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦνον οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθιόπες ιθυρίχες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ τῆς Διβύθης οὐλότοτον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Αἰθιόπες τὰ μὲν πλέω κατὰ περ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἰχον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χύσαι σὺν τε τοῖς ὧδε ἐκδεδαμένα καὶ τῇ λοφή καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν λόφῳ ὡς λοφην κατέχρα, τὰ δὲ ὅτα τῶν ἵππων ὡρᾶ πεπηγότα εἰχον προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἄσπιδων ἐποιεύτο γεράνων ὁρᾶσ.
sharpened to the likeness of a lance, and studded clubs withal. When they went into battle they painted half their bodies with gypsum and the other half with vermillion. The Arabians, and the Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt, had for commander Arsames son of Darius and Artystone daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved best of his wives, and had an image made of her of hammered gold.

70. The Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabians had Arsames for commander, and the Ethiopians of the east (for there were two kinds of them in the army) served with the Indians; they differed nothing in appearance from the others, but only in speech and hair; for the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but they of Libya have of all men the woolliest hair. These Ethiopians of Asia were for the most part armed like the Indians; but they wore on their heads the skins of horses' foreheads, stripped from the head with ears and mane; the mane served them for a crest, and they wore the horses' ears stiff and upright; for shields they had bucklers of cranes' skin.

71. The Libyans came in leathern garments, using javelins of charred wood. Their commander was Massages son of Oarizus.

72. The Paphlagonians in the army had plaited helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and javelins and daggers withal; they wore the shoes of their country, reaching midway to the knee. The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and

1 For these see III. 94. The "eastern Ethiopians" were apparently in or near Beluchistan.
HERODOTUS

αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο. οἱ δὲ Σύριοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδοκῶν καλεοῦνται. Παφλαγόνων μὲν νῦν καὶ Ματιηνῶν Δῶτος ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἤρχε, Μαριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Συρίων Γοβρύῆς οἱ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυςτῶν.

73. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευῆς εἰχον, ὁλίγον παραλλάσσοντες. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλεόντο Βρύγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπηίοι εὑροῦσι σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδοσί, μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἀμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ ὀνόμα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσσεάχατο, εὑντες Φρυγῶν ἀποικοὶ. τοὺτον συμμφοτέρων ἤρχε Ἀρτόχμης Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα.

74. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν εἰχον ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίονες ἐκαλεόντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτων ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, μεταβαλόντες τὸ ὀνόμα. Μυσοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ μικρὰς, ἀκουτίοις δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοις. οὕτω δὲ εἰς Λυδῶν ἀποικοὶ, ἀπ Ὀλυμπίου δὲ ὅρεος καλέονται Ὀλυμπιηνοὶ. Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἤρχε Ἀρταφρένης ὁ Ἀρταφρένεος δὲ ἐς Μαραθῶνα εσέβαλε ἀμα Δάτη.

75. Θρήκειας δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κυθώνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ξειρᾶς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλως, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κυήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν, πρὸς δὲ ἀκούτα τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια μικρὰ. οὕτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοῖ, τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκα-

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BOOK VII. 72-75

Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. Dotus son of Megasidrus was commander of the Paphlagonians and Matieni, Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone of the Mariandyni and Ligyes and Syrians.

73. The Phrygian equipment was most like to the Paphlagonian, with but small difference. By what the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briggs as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia they changed their name also and were called Phrygians. The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. Both these together had for their commander Artochmes, Darius' son-in-law.

74. The Lydian armour was most like to the Greek. The Lydians were formerly called Meiones, till they changed their name and were called after Lydus, son of Atys. The Mysians wore on their heads helmets of native form, carrying small shields and javelins of charred wood. These are settlers from Lydia, who are called Olympieni after the mountain Olympus. The commander of the Lydians and Mysians was that Artaphrenes, son of Artaphrenes, who made the onfall on Marathon with Datis.

75. The Thracians in the army wore fox-skin caps on their heads, and tunics on their bodies; mantles of divers colours were their covering; they had shoes of fawnskin on their feet and legs, carrying withal javelins and little shields and daggers. These took the name of Bithynians after they crossed over to Asia; before that they were called (as they them-

1 This tends to support a reversal of Herodotus' account of racial migration in ch. 20; see the note there.
λέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. ἐξαναστήναι δὲ φαοὶ ἔξ ἡθέων ὕπο Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. Θρηκίκων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου.

76... ἀσπίδαις 1 δὲ ἁμοβούνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκιοργείας ἐκαστὸς εἶχε, ἔπὶ τῇ τίσι κεφαλῆι κρανέα χάλκεα: πρὸς δὲ τοῖς κράνει ὑπὲ τε καὶ κέρα τροσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπήσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι τὰς δὲ κυήμας ράκεσι φοινικέοις κατειλίχατο. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσι Ἀρεος ἐστὶ χρηστήρων.

77. Καβηλεές δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Δασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλξι εἶχον σκεύην, τὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεδίκα τῇ τὴν Κιλκίκα τὰξιν διεζών γένωμαι, τότε σημανέων. Μιλῦια δὲ αἰχμάς τε βραχείας εἶχον καὶ εἴματα ἑνεπεπορτέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Δύκια, περὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῆι ἐκ διθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης ὁ Ἀστάνιος.

78. Ὀσχοὶ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇ κεφαλῆι κυνέας ἐνελίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμᾶς σμικράς· λόγχαι δὲ ἐπήσαν μεγάλαι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι κατὰ πέρι Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτως δὲ συνετέσσε- σον άρχοντες οἴδε, Μόσχοις μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς Ἀρίόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυνος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνας δὲ καὶ Μοσύνοικος Ἀρταύκης ὁ Χεράσμιος, δὲ Σηστὸν τὴν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ ἐπετρόπευε.

1 Some tribal name is probably omitted before this word; Stein suggests Πισίδα (op. III. 90), which might have slipped out because of its similarity to ἀσπίδα.
BOOK VII. 75-78

selves say) Strymonians, as dwelling by the Strymon; they say that they were driven from their homes by Teucrians and Mysians. The commander of the Thracians of Asia was Bassaces son of Artabanus.

76. The [Pisidians] had little shields of raw oxhide; each man carried two wolf-hunter’s spears; they wore helmets of bronze, with the ears and horns of oxen wrought in bronze thereon, and crests withal; their legs were wrapped round with strips of purple stuff. In this country is a place of divination sacred to Ares.

77. The Cabelees,¹ who are Meiones, and are called Lasonii, had the same equipment as the Cilicians; when I come in my recording to the place of the Cilicians, I will then declare what it was. The Milyae had short spears and garments fastened by brooches; some of them carried Lycian bows, and wore caps of skin on their heads. The commander of all these was Badres son of Hystanes.

78. The Moschi wore wooden helmets on their heads, and carried shields and small spears with long points. The Tibareni and Macrones and Mossynoei in the army were equipped like the Moschi. Their commanders who marshalled them were, for the Moschi and Tibareni, Ariomardus son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus’ son Smerdis; for the Macrones and Mossynoei, Artajctes son of Cherasmis, who was governor of Sestus on the Hellespont.

¹ From a district bordered by Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lycia.
79. Μάρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτὰ εἰχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας μικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχωι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇς κεφαλῆσι κράνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὕμβοτινας μικρὰς αἰχμάς τε βραχέας, πρὸς δὲ μαχαίρας εἰχον. Μαρῶν δὲ καὶ Κόλχωι ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεώσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες κατὰ περ Κόλχωι ὑπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο. τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρως ἦρχε.

80. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἑθενα τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἔρυμβρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇς τοὺς ἀναστά- στους καλεσμένους κατοικίζει βασιλέως, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰχὸν ἑσθητά τε καὶ ὅπλα. τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων ἦρχε Μαρδούνης ὁ Βαγαίος, ὃς ἐν Μυκάλη στρατηγεύων δευτέρῳ ἐτεῖ τούτων ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

81. Ταῦτα ἴν τὰ κατ᾽ ἠπειρον στρατευόμενα τε ἑθενα καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τῶν πεζῶν. τούτων ων τοῦ στρατοῦ ἥρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἱ περ ἐιρέαται, καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἔξαριθμόνας οὗτοι ἤσαν καὶ χιλιάρχας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἐκατον- τάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνών ἤσαν ἀλλοι σημάντορες.

82. Ἡσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἱ περ ἐιρέαται ἀρχοντες, ἐστρατήγουν δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδούνος τε ὁ Γοβρυῖεως καὶ Τριταντάχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνος τοῦ γγώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατευούσθαι ἐτὶ Ἐλλάδα καὶ Σμερομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεως, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφοὶ παῖδες, Ἐρέξη δὲ ἐγνύοντο ἄνεψιο, καὶ Μασίστης
79. The Mares wore on their heads the plaited helmets of their country, carrying small shields of hide and javelins. The Colchians had wooden helmets and small shields of raw oxhide and short spears, and swords withal. The commander of the Mares and Colchians was Pharandates son of Teaspis. The Alarodians and Saspires in the army were armed like the Colchians; Masistius son of Siromitres was their commander.

80. The island tribes that came from the Red Sea, and from the islands where the king plants those who are called Exiles, wore dress and armour likest to the Median. The commander of these islanders was Mardontes son of Bagaeus, who in the next year, being then general at Mycale, was there slain in the fight.

81. These are the nations that marched by the mainland and had their places in the land army. Of this host the commanders were those of whom I have spoken, and these were they that marshalled and numbered the host and appointed captains of thousands and ten thousands, the captains of ten thousands appointing the captains of hundreds and of tens. Others too there were, leaders of troops and nations.

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

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

83. Οὕτω ἦσαν στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος πεζοῦ χωρίς τῶν μυρίων τῶν δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσεῶν τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγησε μὲν ὁ Τδάρνης ὁ Τδάρνεος, ἐκαλέστω δὲ ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ δὲ εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἐξῆλπις τὸν ἀριθμὸν ήθανάτω βιηθεὶς ἢ νοῦσῳ, ἀλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο, καὶ ἐγκυνοῦν οὐδαμά οὕτε πλεῦνε μυρίων οὕτε ἐλάσσονε. κόσμον δὲ πλεῖστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάντων Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀριστοὶ ήσαν. σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἰχον ἢ περ ἐιρηται, χωρίς δὲ χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες ἐνέπρεπον, ἀρμα-μάξας τε ἀμα ήγοντο, ἐν δὲ παλλακᾶς καὶ θερα-πηγὴς πολλῆς τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένης σίτα δὲ σφι, χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν, κάμηλοι τε καὶ υποξύγια ἦγον.

84. Ἰππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα. πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἔππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν-πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰχον ἐνοί αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

85. Εἰσὶ δὲ τινὲς νομάδες ἀνθρώποι Σαγνίται καλέομενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικῶν καὶ φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτικῆς· οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἔππον ὀκτακισχιλίην, ὅπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἐχεῖν οὕτε χάλκεα οὕτε σιδήρεα ἔξω ἐγχειρίδιων, χρέωνται δὲ σειρῆς πεπλεγμένης ἐξ ἰμάντων ταύτης πίσυνοι ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεάκι συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολε-μίοιςι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ᾽ ἀκροφ βρόχους.
BOOK VII. 82–85

Masistes son of Darius and Atossa, Gergis son of Ariazus, and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.

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

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

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

\(^1\) *i.e.* lassoes.
HERODOTUS

ἐχούσας· ὅτεν δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἢν τε ἵππου ἢν τε ἄνθρωπον, ἐπ' ἐωυτόν ἔλκει· οἳ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται.

86. Ταύτων μὲν αὐτὴ ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· Μήδοι δὲ τὴν περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευὴν, καὶ Κίσσιοι ὑσαύτως. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἔσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ· καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἦλαυνοι δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάσατο ὑσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὀμοίως. Λίβνες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἦλαυνοι δὲ καὶ οὐτοί πάντες ἄρματα. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς Κάσπιοι καὶ Παρικάνδιοι ἔσεσάχατο ὀμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἦλαυνοι δὲ πάντες καμήλους ταχυτήτα οὐ λειτομένας ἵππων.

87. Ταύτα τὰ ἕθενα μοῦνα ἱππεύειν· ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἱπποῦ ἐγένετο ὅκτω μυριάδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἄρματων. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἐσχάτοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἀτε γὰρ τῶν ἱππῶν οὐτὶ ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους, ὑστεροὶ ἐτετάχατο, Ἰνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν.

88. Ἡ ἱππαρχοί δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος Δάτιος παῖδες. ο ἀδριός σφυ συν- ἱππαρχος θαυμούρχης κατελέευσεν ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων. ὅσ γὰρ ὀρμῶντο ἐκ Σάρδισαν, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν περιέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον· ἐλαύνοντι γάρ οἱ ὕπο τοῦς πόδας τοῦ ἱπποῦ ὑπέδραμε κύων, καὶ ὁ ἱππος οὐ προιδὼν ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στάς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείσατο τὸν θαυμούρχη, πεσὼν δὲ αἰμάτε ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐς ἄλοι περιήλθε ἡ νοσέως. τὸν δὲ 392
and whatever they catch, be it horse or man, the thrower drags it to himself, and the enemy thus entangled in the prisoning coils is slain.

86. This is their manner of fighting; their place in the army was with the Persians. The Median horse were equipped like their foot, and the Cissians likewise. The Indians were armed in like manner as their foot; they rode swift horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses. The Bactrians were equipped as were their foot, and the Caspians in like manner. The Libyans too were armed like the men of their infantry, and all of them too drove chariots. So likewise the Caspians and Paricanians were armed as the men of their infantry. The Arabians had the same equipment as the men of their infantry, and all of them rode on camels no less swift than horses.

87. These nations alone are riders; and the number of the horsemen was shown to be eighty thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. All the rest of the riders were ranked in their several troops, but the Arabians were posted hindmost; for the horses not enduring the sight of camels, their place was in the rear, that so the horses might not be afflicted.

88. The captains of horse were Harmamithres and Tithaeus, sons of Datis; the third who was captain with them, Pharnuches, had been left behind sick at Sardis. For as they set forth from Sardis, an unwelcome mishap befell him; a dog ran under the feet of the horse that he rode, and the horse taken unawares reared up and threw Pharnuches; after his fall he vomited blood and his hurt turned to a
HERODOTUS

89. Τῶν δὲ τριπρέων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἐπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτάς οἴδε, Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύροις τοίσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τρικοσίᾳ, ὅδε ἐσκευασμένοι. περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κυνέας εἰχον ἀγχοτάτῳ πεποιημέναις τρόπον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λυνέος, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἵτι όικ ἐχοῦσαι εἰχον καὶ ἀκόντια. οὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ υπερβάντες τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν Παλαιστίνη καλέσεται. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας. οὐτοὶ δὲ εἰχον περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα χηλευτά, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας, τὰς ἵτις μεγάλας ἐχοῦσαι, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα καὶ τύχους μεγάλους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον.

90. Οὕτως μὲν οὕτω ἐστάλατο, Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα καὶ έκατόν, ἐσκευασμένοι δεδομένοι τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίρησι οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰχον κιθώνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεα εἰσί, οὐ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων, οὗ δὲ Ἀρκαδίας, οὗ δὲ ἄπὸ Κύθνου, οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Λιθιστίας, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι.
wasting sickness. The horse was straightway dealt with according to Pharnuches' command; his servants led it away to the place where it had thrown their master, and cut off its legs at the knee. Thus it was that Pharnuches lost his captaincy.

89. The number of the triremes was shown to be twelve hundred and seven; and these were they that furnished them. First, the Phoenicians; they, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. For their equipment, they had on their heads helmets well-nigh of Greek fashion; they wore linen breastplates, and carried shields without rims, and javelins. These Phoenicians dwelt in old time, as they themselves say, by the Red Sea; passing over from thence, they now inhabit the sea-coast of Syria; that part of Syria and as much of it as reaches to Egypt, is all called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships. These wore plaited helmets, and carried hollow shields with broad rims, and spears for sea-warfare, and great poleaxes. The greater part of them wore cuirasses and carried long swords.

90. Such was their armour: the Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships; for their equipment, their princes wore turbans wrapped round their heads; the people wore tunics, but in all else were like the Greeks. Their tribes are these: some are from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phoenice, and some from Ethiopia, as the Cyprians themselves say.

1 That is, the entire population contains everywhere these component parts; they are not locally separate.
HERODOTUS

91. Κίλικες δὲ ἐκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας. οὕτωι 
δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τής κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, 
λαισῆμα δὲ εἰχὼν ἀντ’ ἀσπίδας ωμοβοής πεποιη-
μένα, καὶ κιβώνας εἰρμηνέους ἐνδεδυκότες. δύο δὲ 
ἀκόντια ἐκατόν καὶ ξίφος εἰχὼν, ἀγχοτάτω τής 
Ἀγνυπτήσι μαχαίρης πεποιημένα. οὕτωι δὲ τὸ 
παλαιὸν Ἀτταϊοι ἐκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ 
Ἀγήφορος ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. 
Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἐλλη-
νικοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐσκευασμένοι, εἰ δὲ Πάμφυλοι 
οὕτωι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκεδασθέντων ἀμα 
Ἀμφίλοχῳ καὶ Κάλχατι. 

92. Δύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα 
θωρηκοφόροι τε ἔντες καὶ κυμιδοφόροι, εἰχὼν δὲ 
τόξα κρανέων καὶ ὀιστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους 
καὶ ἀκόντια, ἐπὶ δὲ αἰγός δέρμα περὶ τοὺς ὄμους 
ἀωρεύμενον, περὶ δὲ τής κεφαλῆς τίλου 
πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους, ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ 
δρέπανα εἰχὼν. Δύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλεόντο ἐκ 
Κρήτης ἑγγονότες, ἐπὶ δὲ Δύκου τοῦ Πανεύνιον 
ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. 

93. Δωρίες δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τριήκοντα 
παρείχοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχουτές τε Ἐλληνικὰ ὀπλα καὶ 
γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κάρες δὲ ἐβδομη-
κοντα παρείχοντα νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ περ 
"Ἐλληνες ἐσταλμένοι, εἰχὼν δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ 
ἐγχειρίδια. οὕτωι δὲ οὕτινος πρῶτον ἐκαλέοντο, 
ἐν τοίς πρώτοις τῶν λόγων εἰρηται. 

94. "Ἰωνεὶ δὲ ἐκατόν νέας παρείχοντο ἐσκευα-
σμένοι ὃς Ἐλληνες. Ιωνεὶ δὲ ὁσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν 
Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεου τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιῶν, 
καὶ πρὶν ἡ Δαναόν τε καὶ Ξοῦθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς
91. The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. These, too, wore on their heads the helmets of their country, carrying bucklers of raw oxhide for shields, and clad in woollen tunics; each had two javelins and a sword fashioned well-nigh like the falchions of Egypt. These Cilicians were in old time called Hypachaei, and took the name they bear from Cilix a Phoenician, son of Agenor.¹ The Pamphylians furnished a hundred ships: they were armed like Greeks. These Pamphylians are descended from the Trojans of the dispersal who followed Amphilochoς and Calchas.

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

93. The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships; their armour was Greek; they were of Peloponnesian descent. The Carians furnished seventy ships; they had scimitars and daggers, but for the rest Greek equipment. Of them I have spoken in the beginning of my history,² telling by what name they were formerly called.

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

¹ Agenor appears to represent the Phoenician Baal.
² In I. 171.
HERODOTUS

Πελοπόννησου, ώς "Ελληνες λέγουσι, έκαλέοντο Πελασγοί Αιγιαλεῖς, επὶ δὲ Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἰωνες.

95. Νησιώται δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα παρεῖχοστο νέας, ὑπλισμένοι ώς "Ελληνες, καὶ τούτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ύστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἰωνες οἱ ἀπ’ Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολεῖς δὲ ἔξικοντα νέας παρεῖχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς "Ελληνες καὶ τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοὶ, ὡς Ἐλληνων λόγος. Ἐλλησπόντιοι δὲ πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖς γὰρ προσετέκτο ἐκ βασίλεως κατὰ χώρην μένουσι φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου στρατεύομενοι παρεῖχοντο μὲν ἐκατῶν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ᾦσαν ὡς "Ελληνες. οὕτωι δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ Δωριῶν ἀποικοί.

96. Ἐπεβαίνειον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι. τούτων δὲ ἀριστα πλεοῦσας παρεῖχοντο νέας Φοίνικες καὶ Φοινικῶν Σιδώνιοι. τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοις αὐτῶν ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοις ἐπιχώριοι ἤγεμόνες, τῶν ἐγώ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖᾳ ἐξέγραμαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι. οὕτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστον ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἤγεμόνες, ἐν τε ἐθνῶν ἐκάστῳ ὅσα περὶ πόλεις τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἤγεμόνες ἦσαν, εὕποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατεύομενοι δουλοὶ ἔπει στρατηγοὶ γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέται μοι.

97. Τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατηγεύον Ἀριαβίγης

398
Xuthus came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, were called Aegialian Pelasgians; they were named Ionians after Ion the son of Xuthus.

95. The islanders furnished seventeen ships; they were armed like Greeks; they also were of Pelasgian stock, which was later called Ionian by the same right as were the Ionians of the twelve cities, who came from Athens. The Aeolians furnished sixty ships; they were equipped like Greeks; in former days they were called Pelasgian, as the Greek story goes. Of the people of the Hellespont, they of Abydos had been charged by the king to abide at home and guard the bridges; the rest that came from Pontus with the army furnished a hundred ships, and were equipped like Greeks. They were settlers from the Ionians and Dorians.

96. There were fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae on all the ships. The best sailing ships were furnished by the Phoenicians, and among them by the Sidonians. These, like those of them that were ranked in the land army, had their native leaders severally, whose names I do not record, as not being needful for the purpose of my history; for these several leaders of nations are not worthy of mention, and every city, too, of each nation had a leader of its own. These came not as generals but as slaves, like the rest of the armament; who the generals of supreme authority were, and who the Persian commanders of each nation, I have already said.

97. Of the navy, the admirals were Ariabignes

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1 Herodotus generally uses the name "Pelasgian" for the oldest known population of Greece; cp. I. 146; II. 171.
2 For the twelve cities, see I. 142.
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te ὁ Δαρεῖον καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρεῖον, τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρατηγῆς Ἀριαβίγης ὁ Δαρεῖον τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γοβρύεως θυγατέρος. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγη Ἀχαιμένης Ἐρέξεω ἔως ἀπτομοτέρων ἀξελεφεός, τῆς δὲ ἀλλῆς στρατηγῆς ἐστρατηγεύον οἱ δύο. τριηκόντεροι δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντεροι καὶ κέρκουροι καὶ ἱππαγωγά πλοία μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἅρθιμον ἐφάνη τρισχίλια.

98. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλέοντων μετά γε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅσοι ἦσαν ὅνωμαστότατοι, Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ Τύριος Ματτῆν Σιρῶμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος Ἀγβάλου, καὶ Κίλιξ Συέννεσις Ὀρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα, καὶ Κύπριοι Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσοι καὶ Τιμόναζο ὁ Τιμαγόρεω, καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαῖος τε ὁ Τύμνεο καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Τισελδώμου, καὶ Δαμασίθυμος ὁ Κανδαύλεω.

99. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὓς παραμέμνημαι ταξιάρχων ὁς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικὸς· ἦτος ἀποθανόντως τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νευόμεν ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρῶς ἐστρατεύοντο ὑπόθεμα μιας ἐνδεχόμενος εὐδοκιμένης. οὕτωσι μὲν δὴ ἢν αὐτῆς Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἢν Δυνάμι, γένος δὲ ἢ Ἀλκαρνησσοῦ τὰ πρῶτα πατρός, τὰ μετρόθεν δὲ Ἀρκησα, ἢγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλκαρνησσεόν τε καὶ Κφων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδύων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένης καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατηγῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδώνιων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων.
BOOK VII. 97–99

son of Darius, Prexaspes son of Aspathines, Megabazus son of Megabates, and Achaemenes son of Darius, Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas' daughter, being admiral of the Ionian and Carian fleet; the admiral of the Egyptians was Achaemenes, full brother to Xerxes, and the two others were admirals of the rest. As for the ships of thirty and of fifty oars, and light galleys, and great transports for horses, the sum of them altogether was shown to be three thousand.

98. Of those that were on shipboard, the most famous, after the admirals, were these: Tetramnestus of Sidon, son of Anysus, Matten of Tyre, son of Siromus, Merbalus of Aradus, son of Agbalus, Syennesis of Cilicia, son of Oromedon, Cyberniscus of Lycia, son of Sicas, Gorgus son of Chersis, and Timonax son of Timagoras, Cyprians both; and of the Carians, Histiaeus son of Tymnes, Pigres son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus son of Candaules.

99. I name none of the rest of the captains, having no need so to do, save only Artemisia, who moves me to marvel greatly that a woman should have gone with the armament against Hellas; for her husband being dead, she herself had his sovereignty and a young son withal, and followed the host under no stress of necessity, but of mere high-hearted valour. Artemisia was her name; she was daughter to Lygdamis, on her father's side of Halicarnassian lineage, and a Cretan on her mother's. She was the leader of the men of Halicarnassus and Cos and Nisyros and Calydnos, furnishing five ships. Her ships were reputed the best in the whole fleet after the ships of Sidon; and of all his allies she
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gνώμας ἀριστας βασιλεί ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πάν ἐν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Ἀρωμένιος, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἰρηται.

100. Ἡρέξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἠριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφαῖρας διεξελάπας θεύσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίες ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταῖ, ἔως ἐξ ἑσχάτων ἐς ἑσχάτα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἱππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἑπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεὶσέρν ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ἡρέξης μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδώνιν ἱζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῆς χρυσῆ καὶ παρέπλεε παρά τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ομοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὡς οἱ τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχουν, τὰς πρώρας ἐς ἱππα τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπιόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἔθειτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα διεξέπλωσε καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεοῦ, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρχου τὸν Ἄριστωνος συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐιρέω τάδε. "Δημάρχουτε, νῦν μοι σὲ ἴδι τι ἔστι εἰρέσθαι τὰ θέλω. σὺ εἰς Ἐλλήνα τε, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγος ἀπιμνεομένων, πόλιος οὔτ ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. νῦν ἔνω μοι τόδε φράσων, εἰ Ἐλληνες ὑπομενεύοις χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταερόμενου. οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω,
gave the king the best counsels. The cities, whereof I said she was the leader, are all of Dorian stock, as I can show, the Halicarnassians being of Troezen, and the rest of Epidaurus. Here ends what I have said of the fleet.

100. When his host had been numbered and marshalled, Xerxes had a desire to ride through and view it. This he presently did; riding in a chariot past the men of each nation, he questioned them, and his scribes wrote all down, till he had gone from end to end of the horse and foot. This done, and the ships being drawn down and launched in the sea, Xerxes alighted from his chariot into a ship of Sidon, sitting wherein under a golden canopy he was carried past the prows of the ships, questioning of them in like manner as of the army and making the answers to be written down. The captains put out as far as four hundred feet from the shore, and there kept the ships anchored in a line, their prows turned landward, and the fighting men on them armed as for war; Xerxes viewed them, passing between the prows and the land.

101. Having passed by all his fleet likewise and disembarked from his ship, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was marching with him against Hellas, and called and questioned him, saying: "Now, Demaratus, it is my pleasure to ask you what I would fain know. You are a Greek, and, as I am told by you and the other Greeks that converse with me, a man of not the least nor the weakest of Greek cities. Now therefore tell me this: will the Greeks offer me battle and abide my coming?"

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1 The exiled king of Sparta; see ch. 3.
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οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες Ἔλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρησι οἰκεύοντες ἀνδρωποί συλλεχθεῖσαν, ὅσικ αξιόμαχοι εἰσὶ ἐμὲ ἐπιώντα ὑπομείναι, μὴ ἐόντες ἀρθμοὶ. Θέλω μὲντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὅκων τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα, ἦ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "Βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθεία χρήσωμαι πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἥδου;" ὁ δὲ μὲν ἀληθεία χρῆσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φᾶς οὖν ὑπὲρος οἱ ἀνδρόστερον ἐσέσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἤν.

102. Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθεία διαχρήσασθαι πάντως κελεύεις ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενον τις ὑστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ ἀλώσεται, τῇ Ἐλλάδι πενή μὲν αἰεί κατε σύντροφος ἐστί, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτος ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίς κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμον ἱσχυρόν· τῇ διαχρησμένῃ ἡ Ἐλλάς τὴν τε πενῆν ἀπαμώνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνεῖος μὲν γὰρ πάντας Ἐλλήνας τοὺς περὶ ἑκεῖνος τους Δωρίκους χῶρους οἰκημένους, ἐρχομαί δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντως τούδε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ περὶ Δακεδαίμονίων μούνω, πρῶτα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὄκως κατε σοῦς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἐλλάδι, αὕτις δὲ ὡς ἀντιώσονται τοῖς μάχην καὶ ἢν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἐλλήνας πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι. ἀριθμόν ὃς περὶ, μὴ πῦθη ὅσοι τινὲς ἐόντες ταῦτα ποιέεσθε οἷοι τε εἰς τῇ ἢν τε γὰρ τύχωσι ἐξεστρατευένοις χίλιοι, οὕτως μαχησόνται τοῖς, ἢν τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων ἢν τε καὶ πλεύνεις."

103. Ταῦτα ἄκουσας Ἐρέξθης γελάσας ἔφη "Δημάρητε, οἶνον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος, ἀνδράς χιλίων στρατιῆς τοσῆς μαχησόμαι. ἂγε εἰπέ μοι σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς γενέσθαι;"
BOOK VII. 101-103

to my thinking, even if all the Greeks and all the men of the western lands were assembled together, they are not of power to abide my attack, if they be not in accord. Nathless I would fain learn your mind and hear what you say of them." To this question Demaratus made answer, "O king, must I speak truly, or so as to please you?" Xerxes bade him speak the truth, and said that he would lose none of the king's favour thereby.

102. Hearing that, "O king," said Demaratus," seeing that you bid me by all means speak the whole truth, and say that which you shall not afterwards prove to be false,—in Hellas poverty is ever native to the soil, but courage comes of their own seeking, the fruit of wisdom and strong law; by use of courage Hellas defends herself from poverty and tyranny. Now I say nought but good of all Greeks that dwell in those Dorian lands; yet it is not of all that I would now speak, but only of the Lacedaemonians; and this I say of them; firstly, that they will never accept conditions from you that import the enslaving of Hellas; and secondly, that they will meet you in battle, yea, even though all the rest of the Greeks be on your side. But, for the number of them, ask me not how many these men are, who are like to do as I say; be it of a thousand men, or of more or of fewer than that, their army will fight with you."

103. Hearing that, Xerxes smiled, and said, "A strange saying, Demaratus! that a thousand men should fight with a host so great as mine! I pray you tell me this: you were (you say) these men's
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σὺ δὲν ἐθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καὶ τοιὸι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἕμων πάν ἐστὶν τοιούτων οίνον σὺ διαρέεις, σὲ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάξεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἐκαστὸς δέκα ἄνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστιν, σὲ δὲ γε δίζημαι εἰκοσὶ εἰναι ἀντάξιον. καὶ οὖτω μὲν ὀρθοῦτ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σὲο λεγόμενος· εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι, σὺς σὺ τε καὶ οὖ παρ' ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι Ἐλλήνων ὡς λόγοις αὐχεῖτε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος ἦ. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἰδὼ παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι κῶς ἂν δυναῖτο χίλιοι ἤ καὶ μύριοι ἤ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἐόντες γε ἑλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχομενοι, στρατῷ τοσῷ διακτνήσην· ἐπεὶ τοὺς πλεῦνες περὶ ἐνα ἐκαστὸν γυνόμεθα ᾧ χίλιοι, ἐόντων ἑκείνων πέντε χιλιάδων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς ἄρχομενοι κατὰ τρόπου τὸν ἡμέτερον γενοίατ' ἂν, δειμαίνοντες τούτον, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐωτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ οἰον ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἑλεύθερον ὑπ’ ἂν πολεοῦν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἐγώγε καὶ ἀνισθηθέντας πληθεὶ χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἐλληνας Πέρσησι μούνοι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν μούνοισι τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις, ἔστι γε μὲν οὔ πολλὸν ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οὐ ἐθελήσουσι Ἐλλήνων ἄνδρας τρισὶ ὁμοί μάχεσθαι· τῶν σὺ ἐών ἀπειρὸς πολλὰ φλυτρᾶτες." 104. Πρὸς ταύτα Δημάρχητος λέγει ἡ Ὁ βασιλεὺ,
king: will you consent at this present to fight with ten men? Yet if the order of your state be such as you define it to be,¹ you, being their king should rightly encounter twice as many according to your laws; for if each of those Greeks is a match for ten men of my army, then it is plain to me that you must be a match for twenty. That were a proof that what you say is true; but if you Greeks who so exalt yourselves are like in stature and all else to yourself and those of your nation who have audience of me, then beware lest the words you have spoken be but idle boasting. Nay, let us look at it by plain reason's light: how should a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, if they be all alike free and not under the rule of one man, withstand so great a host as mine? For grant your Greeks to be five thousand, we should so be more than a thousand to one. For, were they under the rule of one according to our custom, they might from fear of him show a valour greater than natural, and under compulsion of the lash might encounter odds in the field; but neither of these would they do while they were suffered to be free. For myself, I think that even were they equal in numbers it would go hard with the Greeks to fight against the Persians alone. Not so; it is we alone and none others that have this skill whereof you speak, yet even of us not many but a few only; there are some among my Persian spearmen that will gladly fight with three Greeks at once; of this you have no knowledge and do but utter arrant folly."

104. To this Demaratus answered, "O king, I

¹ This no doubt alludes to the double portion given to a Spartan king at feasts; cp, VI, 57.
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ἀρχήθεν ἡπιστάμενον ὅτι ἀληθεία χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ ἐπεί ἡμαγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκουτα Σπαρτὴντις. καίτοι ώς ἔγω τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἑκέινους, αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστευ. οὕτω με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώια ἀπολίν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποίκασι, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον ἐδώκε. οὕτως οἰκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέσσαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἄνδρας ὑπίσχομαι οἴός τε εἰναι μάχεσθαι οὔτε δυνοί, ἐκὼν τε εἰναι οὐδ' ἂν μονομαχέοιμι. εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη εἰη ἡ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἄγων, μαχομήν ἂν πάντων ἡδίστα ἐν τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὐ Ἐλλήνων ἐκαστὸς φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος εἰναι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ μὲν ἔνα μαχόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσί κακίους ἄνδρων, ἀλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἄνδρων ἀπαντῶν. ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἐόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροι εἰσί· ἐπεστὶ γάρ σφι δεσποτῆς νόμος, τῶν ὑποδειμάνουσι πολλῷ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ή οἱ σοὶ σέ. ποιεῦσί γων τὰ ἄν ἐκεῖνος ἀνώγη· ἀνώγει δὲ τῶντὸ αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἄνθρωπῶν ἐκ κακής, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐπικρατεῖς ἡ ἀπόλλυσθαι. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαινομαι ταύτα λέγων φλυρέειν, τάλλα σιγὰν θέλω τὸ λοιπόν νῦν τε ἀναγκασθείς ἐξέβα. γένοιοτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεὺ.”

105. “Ο μέσ δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο, Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐς γέλοιαν τε ἐτρεψε καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὅργην οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἦπιως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτω δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ἐρέξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ 408
BOOK VII. 104-105

knew from the first that the truth would be unwel-
come to you. But since you constrained me to
speak as truly as I could, I have told you how it
stands with the Spartans. Yet you yourself best
know what love I bear them—men that have robbed
me of my honourable office and the prerogative of
my house, and made me a cityless exile; then it was
your father that received me and gave me dwelling
and livelihood. It is not then to be thought that a
right-minded man will reject from him plain good will,
but rather that he will requite it with full affection.
But for myself, I will not promise that I can fight
with ten men, no, nor with two, and of my own will I
would not even fight with one; yet under stress of
necessity, or of some great issue to spur me on, I would
most gladly fight with one of those men who claim
to be each a match for three Greeks. So is it with
the Lacedaemonians; fighting singly they are as
brave as any man living, and together they are the
best warriors on earth. Free they are, yet not
wholly free; for law is their master, whom they fear
much more than your men fear you. This is my
proof—what their law bids them, that they do; and
its bidding is ever the same, that they must never
flee from the battle before whatsoever odds, but
abide at their post and there conquer or die. If
this that I say seems to you but foolishness, then let
me hereafter hold my peace; it is under constraint
that I have now spoken. But may your wish, O
king! be fulfilled."

105. Thus Demaratus answered; Xerxes made a
jest of the matter and showed no anger, but sent
him away with all kindness. Having thus conversed
Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγάδοστεω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα κατα- 
παύσας, ἐξῆλαννε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρήκης 
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

106. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην 
γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ἑρέξης δῶρα πέμπτεσκε ὡς ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσους αὐτὸς κατέστησε 
ἡ Δαρείος ὑπάρχοντες, πέμπτεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· 
ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὁ Ἑρέξω τοῖς Μασκα-
μείσιοι ἐκγόνωσι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἐτὶ πρῶτον ταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπάρχων ἐν τῇ Θρήκη καὶ 
tοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου πανταχῇ. οὕτω δὲν πάντες οἱ 
te ἐκ Θρήκης καὶ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου, πλὴν τοῦ 
en Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων ὑστερον ταύτης τῆς 
στρατηλασίης ἑξαίρεθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ 
Μασκάμην οὐδαμοὶ κω ἐνυπάθησαν ἐξελείω 
πολλῶν πειρησαμένων. διὰ τοῦτο δὴ ὦ τὰ 
δῶρα πέμπτει παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν 
Πέρσῃ.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἑξαίρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων οὐδένα 
βασιλεὺς Ἑρέξης εὑρίσκετε εἴναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἰ 
μὴ Βόγην μούνον τὸν ἔξ Ἡιόνος, τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων 
οὔκ ἔπαινον, καὶ τοὺς περιεόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃ 
παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα, ἐτέι καὶ ἄξιος αὐτοῦ μεγά-
λον ἐγένετο Βόγης· δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκήσετο ὑπὸ 
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κύμων τοῦ Μυλιανήλου, παρέδω 
αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἑξελθεῖν καὶ νοστῆσαι ἐς τὴν 
Ἀσίην, οὔκ ἠθέλησε, μὴ δειλὴ δόξει περεῦναι 
βασιλεία, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτέρεε ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον. ὡς δ' 
oύδεν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ τείχεῖ, συννήσας 
πυρήνα μεγάλην ἐσφάξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα 
καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα

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with Demaratus, and having appointed Mascarnes son of Megadostes his viceroy of that same Doriscus, deposing him whom Darius had set there, Xerxes marched his army through Thrace towards Hellas.

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

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

108. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἂνυμένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἡνάγκαζε ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος, Μεγα-βάζου τε καταστρεφαμένου καὶ ὑστερον Μαρδονίου. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλυσται πρὸς ἐσπέρης πόλεις τῆς οὐνόμα ἐστὶ Μεσσαμβρίη. ἔχεται δὲ ταῦτης Θασίων πόλεων Στρύμη, διὰ δὲ σφέων τοῦ μέσου Λίσσος ποταμός διαρρέει, δὲ τὸτε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὑδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ἐρέξου στρατῷ ἀλλ’ ἐπέλευσε. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὐτῇ πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέστῳ Γαλλαϊκῇ, νῦν δὲ Βριαντικῇ· ἐστὶ μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὐτῇ Κικόνων.

109. Διαβάς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέθρον ἀπεξηρασμένον πόλιας Ἑλληνίδας τάσις δὲ παραμείβετο, Μαρώνειαν Δίκαιαν Ἀβδηρα. ταῦτας τε δὴ παρεξήγη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτας λίμνας ὄνομαστὰς τάσις, Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρύμης κεί-μένην ᾿Ισμαρίδα, κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν Βιστονίδα, ἐς τὴν ποταμοῦ δύο ἐσεἰσθε τὸ ὑδωρ, Τραύνος τε καὶ Κόμψαντος. κατὰ δὲ ᾿Αβδηρα λίμνην μὲν οὐδε-μίαν ἐούσαν ὄνομαστὴν παραμείψατο Ἐρέξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστου ἔσοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ 412
after that, he took all the gold and silver from the city and scattered it from the walls into the Strymon; which done, he cast himself into the fire. Thus it is that he is justly praised by the Persians to this day.

108. From Doriscus Xerxes went on his way towards Hellas, compelling all that he met to go with his army; for, as I have before shown, all the country as far as Thessaly had been enslaved and was tributary to the king, by the conquests of Megabazus and Mardonius after him. On his road from Doriscus he first passed the Samothracian fortresses,¹ whereof that one which is builded farthest westwards is a town called Mesambria. Next to it is a Thasian town, Stryme; between them runs the river Lisus, which now could not furnish water enough for Xerxes' army, but was exhausted. All this region was once called Gallaïc, but it is now called Briantic; yet it too is by rights a land of the Cicones.

109. Having crossed the bed (then dried up) of the river Lisus he passed by the Greek cities of Maronea, Dicaea, and Abdera. Past these he went, and past certain lakes of repute near to them, the Ismarid lake that lies between Maronea and Stryme, and near Dicaea the Bistonian lake, into which the rivers Travus and Compsantus disemboque. Near Abdera Xerxes passed no lake of repute, but crossed the river Nestus where it flows into the sea. From

¹ Erected doubtless by the Samothracians to protect their possessions on the mainland.
HERODOTUS

dε ταύτας τας χώρας ἵνα τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις
παρήνε, τῶν ἐν μιᾷ λίμνῃ έούσα τυχανάει ὡς εἰ
tρήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη τὴν περίοδον,
ιχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρή ταύτην τὰ ὑπο-
ζύγια μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρημε. τῇ δὲ πόλι
ταύτη σύνομα ἐστὶ Πίστυρος.

110. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιας τὰς παραθα-
λασσίας τε καὶ Ἐλληνίδας ἕξ εὐυνύμου χειρὸς
ἀπέργων παρεξῆς ἤθενα δὲ Θρηκῶν δι’ ὧν τῆς
χώρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεστο τοσάδε, Παῖτοι Κίκουνες
Βίστονες Σαπαίοι Δερσαίοι Ἦδωνοι Σάτραι.
τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν κατοικημένοι ἐν
τῇ τησ ἦνσθ’ ἐποίοντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσογαιαν
οἰκείους καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ’ ἔμει, πλὴν Σα-
τρέων, οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες πεζῆ ἀναγκαζόμενοι
ἐποίοντο.

111. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι
ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἤδει, ἀλλὰ διατελεύσα τὸ
μέχρι ἐμεῖς ἄει ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι μοῦνοι Θρηκῶν.
οἰκεύοντι τε γὰρ ὅρεα ὑψηλά, ἤθεσθ’ τε παντοίησθι
καὶ χιόνις συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰς τὰ πολέμα ἀκροῖ.
οὕτως οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαυτήμον εἰσὶ ἐκτημένοι
τὸ δὲ μαυτήμον τούτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρεων τῶν
ὑψηλοτάτων, Βηθσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ
προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἴρου, πρόμαντις δὲ ἦ χρέωσα
κατὰ περ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον.

112. Παραμετράμενος δὲ ὁ Ἐρέχης τὴν ἐρή-
μένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ
Πειρών, τῶν ἐνι Φάγρης ἐστὶ σύνομα καὶ ἐτέρῳ
Πέργαμος. ταύτη μὲν δὴ παρ’ αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα

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these regions he passed by the cities of the mainland, one whereof has near it a lake of about thirty furlongs in circuit, full of fish and very salt; this was drained dry by no more than the watering of the beasts of burden. This town is called Pistyrus.

110. Past these Greek towns of the sea-board Xerxes marched, keeping them on his left; the Thracian tribes through whose lands he journeyed were the Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaei, Dersaei, Edoni, and Satrae. Of these tribes they that dwelt by the sea followed his host on shipboard; they that dwelt inland, whose names I have recorded, were constrained to join with his land army, all of them save the Satrae.

111. But these Satrae, as far as our knowledge goes, have never yet been subject to any man; they alone of all Thracians have ever been and are to this day free; for they dwell on high mountains covered with forests of all kinds and snow; and they are warriors of high excellence. It is they who possess the place of divination sacred to Dionysus; which place is among the highest of their mountains; the Bessi, a clan of the Satrae, are the prophets of the shrine, and it is a priestess that utters the oracle, as at Delphi; nor is aught more of mystery here than there.

112. Passing through the land aforesaid Xerxes next passed the fortresses of the Pierians, one called Phagres and the other Pergamus. By this way he

1 All these are tribes of the Nestus and Strymon valleys or the intervening hill country.

2 Hdt. appears to mean that the method of divination is the "usual" one, as at Delphi; perhaps there were exaggerated accounts of the mysterious rites of the Bessi.
HERODOTUS

τὴν ὀδὸν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐκ δέξιης χειρὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος ἀπέργων, ἐδώ μέγα τε καὶ υψηλόν, ἐν τῷ χρύσει τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνι μέταλλα, τὰ νέμονται Πιερές τε καὶ Ὄδόμαντοι καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113. Ῥηροικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Παίσιον Ομβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξίων ὠτο πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐς ὁ ἀπίκετο ἑτὶ ποταμὸν τὴν Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡδώνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωος ἐδώ ἤρχη Βόγης τοῦ περ ὀλύγῳ πρότερον τοῦτων λόγων ἐποιεύμην. ὡ ἐς γῇ αὐτὴ ἡ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέται Φυλλᾶς, καταείπουσα τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἑτὶ ποταμὸν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα; ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιερέοντο σφάζουσιν ὅπποις λευκοὺς.

114. Φαρμακεύσαστες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν Ἐυνέα ὁδοῖσι τῇ Ἁδωνίων ἐπορέοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρότες ἐξευγμένον. Ἐυνέα δὲ ὁδοῖς πυθανόμενοι τὸν χώρον τούτου καλέσθαι, τοσοὺς ἐς αὐτῷ οἰκίας τε καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώοντας κατώρυυσαν. Περσικῶν δὲ τὸ ζωοντες κατορύσσεω, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριών τὴν Σερίζου γυναῖκα πυθανόμαι γηράσασαν διὸν ἐντὰ Περσεῖον παῖδας ἐοῖτων ἐπιφανείᾳ ἁνδρῶν ὑπέρ ἐωτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεόν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσαν.

115. Ὅς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἠλίων δυσμένων ἐστὶ

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BOOK VII. 112-115

marched under their very walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaean range, wherein the Pierians and Odomanti and the Satrae in especial have mines of gold and silver.

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

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

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

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

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αἰγυαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκήμενῷ Ἀργυλοῦ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξῆς: αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέται Βυσαλτή. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κόλπον τοῦ ἑπὶ Πόσιδνίου ἔξω ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔχου ἢ μὲ διὰ Συλέος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παραμεβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀκανθοῦν, ἀμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἐκατον τῶν ἔθνων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὅρος ὁικεόντων, ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκήμενος ἐκ νησὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῆ ἐπομένους. τὴν δὲ ὡδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασίλειος Ἑρέξης τῶν στρατῶν ἡλασε, οὕτω συγχέουσα Θρήκες οὕτ᾽ ἐπιστείρουσι σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῖν.

116. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθοῦν ἀπίκετο, ξενίσασθαι τῇ Ἑρέξης τοῦ Ἀκανθίοις προείπε καὶ ἐδώρησασθαί σφέας ἐσθήσθαι Μηδικῇ ἐπαινείς τε, ὀρέων καὶ αὐτοὺς προδύμους ἑώτας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῷ ὄργῳ ἁκούσας.

117. Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντως Ἑρέξεως συνήθεικε ὑπὸ νοῦσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίῃ, δοκιμοῦν ἑότα παρὰ Ἑρέξη καὶ γένος Ἀχαμενίδη, μεγαθεῖς τε μέγιστον ἑότα Περσέων (ἀπὸ γὰρ πεντε τηχεὼν βασιλητῶν ἀπέλειπε τέσσερας δακτύλους) φωνεοτά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων, ὡστε Ἑρέξην συμφορὴν ποιησαμένου μεγάλην ἐξενεικά τε αὐτῶν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι ἐντυμβοχοῦσε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθοιο ἐς θεοπροπίον ὡς ἦρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὐνομα.

118. Βασίλειος μὲν δὴ Ἑρέξης ἀπολομένου
stretch of sea-coast further westwards; the territory of which town and that which lies inland of it are called Bisaltia. Thence, keeping on his left hand the gulf off Poseideion, Xerxes traversed the plain of Syleus (as they call it), passing by the Greek town of Stagirus, and came to Acanthus; he took along with him all these tribes, and those that dwelt about the Pangaean range, in like manner as those others whom I have already recorded, the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army. All this road, whereby king Xerxes led his army, the Thracians neither break up nor sow aught on it, but they hold it in great reverence to this day.

116. When Xerxes came to Acanthus, he declared the Acanthians his guests and friends, and gave them a Median dress, praising them for the zeal wherewith he saw them furthering his campaign, and for what he heard of the digging of the canal.

117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, it so befel that Artachaees, overseer of the digging of the canal, died of a sickness. He was high in Xerxes' favour, an Achaemenid by lineage; he was the tallest man in Persia, lacking four finger-breathths of five royal cubits¹ in stature, and his voice was the loudest on earth. Wherefore Xerxes mourned him greatly and gave him a funeral and burial of great pomp, and the whole army poured libations on his tomb. The Acanthians hold Artachaees a hero, and sacrifice to him, calling upon his name; this they do by the bidding of an oracle.

118. King Xerxes, then, mourned for the death of

¹ This would make Artachaees eight feet high.
'Αρταχαίεω ἐποίεστο συμφορήν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέκμενοι Ἐλλήνων τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ δειπνύζουσει Ξέρξην ἐς πᾶν κακὸν ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὡστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἶκων ἐγῖνοντο. ὡκον Ὁργός ἀραιμημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνήρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ὡς τὸ δείπνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἄργυριον τετελεσμένα.

119. Ὁς δὲ παραπλήσιος καὶ ἐν τῇ σι ἄλλης πόλις οἱ ἐπεστεώτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον. τὸ γὰρ δείπνου τοιὸν ἦν ἐγίνετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένοι καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεμένων τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπιθυμοτά τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελλόντων, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλις οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἀλφίτα ἐποίειν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνοῦσί τούτῳ δὲ κτήμα αἰσθεῖν ἐξευρίσκουσί τιμήν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔστεφον τε ὄρνθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἐν τε σικῆμασι καὶ λάκκωσι, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τού στρατοῦ τούτου δὲ χρύσει τε καὶ ἀργύρεια ποτηριά τε καὶ κρητήρας ἐποιεῦντο καὶ τάλλα ὁσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοσίτωσι μετ' ἑκείνου ἐπέποιητο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μοῦνα τασσόμενα. ὁκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιὰ, σκήνη μὲν ἔσκε πετηγυία ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθὸν ποιεόσκετο Ἐρέξης, ὡς δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ ἦσκε ὑπαίρδροι. ὡς δὲ δείπνου ἐγίνετο ὀρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἐχεσκομπόνων, οἱ δὲ ὁκὼς πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίη τῆς τε σκηνῆν ἀναστάσαντες.
Artachaees. But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to the depth of misery, insomuch that they were driven from house and home; witness the case of the Thasians, who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatrus son of Orgeus, as notable a man as any of his townsmen, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner.

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

120. Ὁ Ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεως ἔπος εὐ εἰρημέον ἐγένετο, ὅς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι παιδημεῖ, αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἰρά ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπόν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἐρέξης οὐ διὸ ἐκάστης ἤμερης ἑνόμισε σὺτον αἱρέσθαι παρέχειν γὰρ ἄν Ἀβδηρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοία τῷ δεῦτῳ παρασκευαζέω, ἡ μή ὑπομένειν Ἐρέξην ἐπιόντα ἡ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι.

121. Οὐ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεσον. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ υπομένειν εἰς Θέρμην, ἀπήκε ἀπ' ἑωτοῦ πορένεσθαι τὰς νέας, καὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἂς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει ταύτη γὰρ ἐπινυάντεο συνομώτατον εἶναι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὅδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τῆς ὁδὸν ἐποιεῖτο τρεῖς μούρας ὁ Ἐρέξης δασάμενος πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, μιὰν αὐτῶν ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵναι ὁμοὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ταύτῃς μὲν δὴ, ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Μασίστης, ἔτερη δὲ τεταγμένη ὑμεῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τῆς μεσογαίας, τῆς ἐστρατήγεος Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν μοιρῶν, μετ' ἂς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς Ἐρέξης, ἢ μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν,
BOOK VII. 119-121

all things movable, and so march away, leaving nothing but carrying all with them.

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

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

122. Ὁ μέν νυν ναυτικός στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω καὶ διέξεπτωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῶ γενομένην, διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλις καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγας καὶ Σάρτη οὐκηνται, ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν πολίων στρατιὰς παρέλαβε, ἐπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαίων κόλπον, κάμπτον δὲ Ἀμπελοῦ τὴν Τορωναίην ἀκρὴν παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας γε τάσσες πόλεις, ἐκ τῶν νεάς τε καὶ στρατιὰς παρελάμβανε, Τορώνην Γαληπθ’ Σερμύλην Μηκύ-βερναν Ὄλυνθον.

123. Ἡ μέν νυν χώρη αὐτῇ Σιθωνίᾳ καλεῖται, ὡς ναυτικοὶ στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεως συντάμων ἂπ’ Ἀμπελοῦ ἀκρῆς ἐπὶ Καναστραίν ἀκρῆν, τὸ δὴ πάρης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὰς παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης καὶ Ἀφύτιος καὶ Νέης πόλιος καὶ Αἰγῆς καὶ Θερμαίων καὶ Σκιώνης καὶ Μένδης καὶ Σάνης. αὐτὰς γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ Φλέγρην καλομένην νεομέναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν χώρην ἐπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβανών στρατιὰς καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμορεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ, τῇ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ τάδε, Δίπαξος Κόμβρεια Αἴσα Γύγωνος Κάμψα Σμίλα Αἰνεία; ἢ δὲ τούτων χώρῃ Κροσσαίη ἐτι καὶ ἐσ τόδε καλέται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείῆς, εἰς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τάς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἢδη ἐς αὐτῶν τε τῶν Θερμαίων κόλπον ἐγίνετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τῇ Μυγδονίῃ, πλέον 424
BOOK VII. 121-123

marched between the two, and its generals were Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

122. Now when the fleet had left Xerxes and sailed through the canal made in Athos (which canal reached to the gulf wherein stand the towns of Assa, Pilorus, Singus, and Sarte), thence taking on board troops from these cities also, it stood out to sea for the Thermaic gulf, and rounding Ampelus, the headland of Torone, it passed the Greek towns of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, from all which it received ships and men.

123. This country is called Sithonia. The fleet held a straight course from the headland of Ampelus to the Canastraean headland, where Pallene runs farthest out to sea, and received ships and men from the towns of what is now Pallene but was formerly called Phlegra, to wit, Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aegæ, Therambos, Scione, Mendi, and Sane. Sailing along this coast they made for the place appointed, taking troops from the towns adjacent to Pallene and near neighbours of the Thermaic gulf, whereof the names are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lisæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, Aenea; whose territory is called Crossæa to this day. From Aënea, the last-named in my list of the towns, the course of the fleet lay thenceforward to the Thermaic gulf itself and the Mygdonian territory,
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dè ἀπίκετο ἦς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σύνδον τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιον ποταμὸν, ὁς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χώριον πόλεις Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα.

124. Ὁ μὲν δή ναυτικὸς στρατὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιον ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιας τούτων περιμένων βασιλέα ἐστρατοπεδεύτω, Ἐρῆξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὕδου, βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι· ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονίκης καὶ Κρηστονικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χείδωρον, ὡς ἐκ Κρηστονικῶν ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρης καὶ ἐξεῖ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ’ Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ.

125. Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτη λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇ σιτοφόροις καμήλοισι. καταφοιτέων γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἠθέα ἄλλου μὲν οὔδενὸς ἀπτομτο οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οὐ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραίζων μοῦνας. θωμαῖος δὲ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅ τι κοτὲ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάξων ἀπεχόμενος τῶν λέοντας τῇ καμήλιοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τὸ μήτε πρότερον ὠπώπεσαν θηρίον μὴτε ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ.

126. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βωες ἄγριοι, τῶν τὰ κερεὰ ὑπερμεγάθεα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐς Ἕλληνας φοιτέουντα. οὐρὸς δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστὶ ὅ τε δι’ Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὼς Νέστος καὶ ὁ δι’ Ἀκαρνανίας ῥέων Ἀχελῶς οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν τοῦ Νέστον οὐδαμῶθι πάσης τῆς ἐμπροσθε Εὐρώπης ἱδοι τις ἀν λέοντα, 426
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till its voyage ended at Therma, the place appointed, and the towns of Sindus and Chalestra, where it came to the river Axius; this is the boundary, between the Mygdonian and the Bottiaeian territory, wherein stand the towns of Ichnae and Pella on the narrow strip of sea-coast.

124. So the fleet lay there off the river Axius and the city of Therma and the towns between them, awaiting the king. But Xerxes and his land army marched from Acanthus by the straightest inland course, making for Therma. Their way lay through the Paeonian and the Crestonaean country to the river Cheidorus, which, rising in the Crestonaean land, flows through the Mygdonian country and issues by the marshes of the Axius.

125. As Xerxes thus marched, lions attacked the camels that carried his provision; nightly they would come down out of their lairs and made havoc of the camels alone, seizing nothing else, man or beast of burden; and I marvel what was the reason that constrained the lions to touch nought else but attack the camels, creatures whereof till then they had no sight or knowledge.

126. There are many lions in these parts, and wild oxen, whose horns are those very long ones which are brought into Hellas. The boundary of the lions' country is the river Nestus that flows through Abdera and the river Achelous that flows through Acarnania. Neither to the east of the Nestus anywhere in the nearer part of Europe, nor to the west
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οὔτε πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ 'Αχελώου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

127. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἐρέχθης, ἱδρυσε αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατινήν. ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύομενος τὴν παρὰ Θάλασσαν χώρην τοσήνδε, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδίεω το ποταμὸν καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοτταίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τῶντο βέθρον τὸ ύδωρ συμμίσγοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τούτοις χωρίοις οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἑκὼν Χείδωρος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατινῇ πνώμενος ἀλλ' ἐπέλειπτε.

128. Ἐρέχθης δὲ ὅρεων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης ὅρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικὰ, τὸν τε Ὀλυμπὸν καὶ τὴν Ὑσσαῦ, μεγάθει τε ὑπερμήκεα ἑόντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶν στεινοῦ πυθανόμενος εἶναι δὲ οὐ ῥέει ὁ Πηνεῖος, ἀκούὼν τε ταῦτη εἶναι ὅδον εἰς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσιν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θείασθαι τὴν ἐκβολήν τοῦ Πηνείου, ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὅδον ἔμελλε ἐλαῖν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων ἐστε Περραίβους παρὰ Γόννου πόλιν ταῦτα γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι. ὁς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἔποιες ταῦτα· ἔσβας ἐς Σιδώνιην νέα, ἐς τὴν περ ἐσέβανε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἔθελοι τοιοῦτο

1 Not the whole of Macedonia, but the region originally ruled by the Temenid dynasty, between the rivers Haliacmon and Axius and the foothills of Bermius. Edessa was the chief town.

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of the Achelous in the rest of the mainland, is any lion to be seen; but they are found in the country between those rivers.

127. Being come to Therma Xerxes quartered his army there. Its encampment by the sea covered all the space from Therma and the Mygdonian country to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which unite their waters in one stream and so make the border between the Bottiaeans and the Macedonian territory. In this place the foreigners lay encamped; of the rivers aforesaid, the Cheidorus which flows from the Crestonaeans country was the only one which could not suffice for the army's drinking but was thereby exhausted.

128. When Xerxes saw from Therma the exceeding great height of the Thessalian mountains Olympus and Ossa, and learnt that the Peneus flows in a narrow pass through them, which was the way that led into Thessaly, he was taken with a desire to view the mouth of the Peneus, because he was minded to march by the upper road through the highland people of Macedonia to the country of the Perrhaebi and the town of Gonnu; for it was told him that this was the safest way. As he desired, so he did; embarking in a ship of Sidon, wherein he ever embarked when he had some such business in

2 Xerxes' army might have entered Thessaly by marching along the coast between Olympus and the sea, and up the Peneus valley (the pass of Tempe) to Gonnu. Instead, it crossed the mountains; probably both by a route which runs across the southern slope of Olympus to Gonnu, and also by the Petra pass, further inland, between Olympus and Bermius. But Herodotus is mistaken in making the ἄρω δύσι alone reach Gonnu; the Tempe route would have done the same.
HERODOTUS

ποιήσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημῆνον καὶ τοῦ χάλλοις ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐθείσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνείου, ἐν θῶμαι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶρετο εἰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐστὶ παρατρέψαντα ἑτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν.

129. Ἡν δὲ Θεσσαλίην λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι λίμνην, ὡστε γε συγκεκλημένην πάντοθεν υπερμῆκες ὄρει. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὕδω ἑχοντα τὸ τε Πήλιον ὅρος καὶ Ἡ Ὀσσα ἀποκληθείσα συμμύσχοντας ὑπὸ ὑπορέας ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου Ὀλυμπὸς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίης τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς' τὸ μέσον δὲ τοῦτων τῶν λεχθέντων ὄρεων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ ἐόυσα κοῖλη. ὡστε δὲν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶν Πηνείου καὶ Ἁπιδανοῦ καὶ Ὀνοχώνου καὶ Ἔνιπτεος καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν ὥρεων τῶν περικλημένων τῶν τῆς Θεσσαλίην ὅνομαζόμενοι δὲ ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τοῦτον στενῶν ἕκρουον ἐχουσίας ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσχοντες τὸ ὑδωρ πάντες ἐς τῶν τόπων ἐπεάν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεύτων ἤδη ὁ Πηνείος τῷ ὅνυμαι κατακρατέων ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖ. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐνῶτος καὶ τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρόνου τοῦτον, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοῦτοὺς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοῦτοις, τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε ὁνομάζεσθαι κατὰ περ νῦν ῥεον τε οὐδὲν ἢσσον ἢ νῦν, ἰστός δὲ ποιεῖν τὴν Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν πέλαγος. αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν 430
hand, he hoisted his signal for the rest also to put out to sea, leaving his land army where it was. Great wonder took him when he came and viewed the mouth of the Peneus; and calling his guides he asked them if it were possible to turn the river from its course and lead it into the sea by another way.

129. Thessaly, as tradition has it, was in old times a lake, being enclosed all round by exceeding high mountains; for on its eastern side it is fenced in by the joining of the lower parts of the mountains Pelion and Ossa, to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, towards the south and the southerly wind by Othrys; in the midst of which mountains aforesaid lies the vale of Thessaly. Seeing therefore that many rivers pour into this vale, whereof the five most notable are Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, Pamilus: these five, while they flow towards their meeting from the mountains that surround Thessaly, have their several names, till their waters all unite together and so issue into the sea by one and that a narrow passage; but as soon as they are united, the name of the Peneus thereafter prevails and makes the rest to be nameless. In ancient days, it is said, there was not yet this channel and outfall, but those rivers and the Boebean lake 1 withal, albeit not yet named, had the same volume of water as now, and thereby turned all Thessaly into

1 In eastern Thessaly, west of Pelion. Naturally, with the whole country inundated, the lake would have no independent existence.
HERODOTUS

Θεσσαλοί φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα δὴ ὁ ὅρει οἱ Πηνεῖοι, οἰκότα λέγοντες· ὡστὶς γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σεῖειν καὶ τὰ διεστεώτα ὡπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, κἂν ἐκεῖνο ἰδὼν φαίη Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἐστὶ γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι, ἡ διάστασις τῶν ὁρῶν.

130. Οἳ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένου Ἐέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἀλλή ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνεῖῳ, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἀτρεκέως εἶπον "Βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἀλλή ἐξήλυσις ἐς θάλασσαν κατ᾽-κουσα, ἀλλ᾽ ἱδε αὐτή; ὅρεσι γὰρ περιστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη." Ἐέρξην δὲ λέγεται εἰπτεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα "Σοφοὶ ἄνδρες εἰς Ἰθασσαλοὶ. ταῦτ᾽ ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γυνωσιμαχόντες καὶ τάλλα καὶ ὁτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετον τε καὶ ταχυώλωτον. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρήγμα ἄν ἴνα μοῦνον ἐπείναι σφέων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χώματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάζοντα καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι᾽ ὅν νῦν βέρει βέρεθρον, ὡστε Θεσσαλίην πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν ὀρέων ὑποβρυχέα γενέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἐλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἁλεύεοι παίδας, ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἐλλη-νῶν εὕντες Θεσσαλοὶ ἔδοσαν ἐωτοὺς βασιλεῖς, δοκεόν ὁ Ἐέρξης ἀπὸ παντὸς σφεὰς τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλίῃν. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ θεσσάμενος ὑπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

131. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας

1 The correspondence in formation of the two sides of the pass (salients on one side answering to recesses on the other) gives the impression that they were once united and have been violently separated.
BOOK VII. 129–131

a sea. Now the Thessalians say that Poseidon made this passage whereby the Peneus flows; and this is reasonable; for whosoever believes that Poseidon is the shaker of the earth, and that rifts made by earthquakes are that god’s handiwork, will judge from sight of that passage that it is of Poseidon’s making; for it is an earthquake, as it seems to me, that has riven the mountains asunder.¹

130. Xerxes enquiring of his guides if there were any other outlet for the Peneus into the sea, they answered him out of their full knowledge: “The river, O king, has no other way into the sea, but this alone; for there is a ring of mountains round the whole of Thessaly.” Whereupon, it is said, quoth Xerxes: “They are wise men, these Thessalians; this then in especial was the cause of their precaution long before² when they changed to a better mind, that they saw their country to be so easily and speedily conquerable; for nought more would have been needful than to let the river out over their land by barring the channel with a dam and turning it from its present bed, that so the whole of Thessaly save only the mountains might be under water.” This he said with especial regard to the sons of Aleues, these Thessalians being the first Greeks who surrendered themselves to the king; Xerxes supposed that when they offered him friendship they spoke for the whole of their nation. Having so said, and ended his viewing, he sailed back to Therma.

131. Xerxes delayed for many days in the parts of

² As a matter of fact the Thessalians had determined on their policy very recently indeed; but Xerxes apparently supposes that they had resolved to join him from the first.
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συχνάς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἕκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτήμορίς, ἵνα ταύτη διεξήγη ἀπάσα ἡ στρατιή ἐς Περραιβοὺς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κηρυκεῖν οἱ ἀποσπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν ἀπίκατο οἱ μὲν κεῖνοι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

132. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὖδέ, Θεσσαλοὶ Δόλοπες Ἐμνῆνες Περραιβὸλ Δοκροὶ Μάγνητες Μηλιές Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται καὶ Θηβαιοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὃδε εἶχε, ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἔλληνες ἐόντες μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί εὐ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτως δεκαεύοι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὃδε εἶχε τοῖς Ἔλλησι.

133. Ἔσ δὲ Ἀθηναὶ καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν κῆρυκας τόνδε εἶνεκα· πρῶτον Δαρείον πέμψαντος ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δ’ ἐς φρέαρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα οὐκ ἐπέμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας· ὁ τὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικα ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἴπαι τι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδημῶθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν δοκέω γενέσθαι.

134. Τοῖς δὲ ἄν Δακεδαιμονίοις μὴν κατ- ἐσκηφήσατο Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κῆρυκος. ἐν

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

Pieria; for a third part of his army was clearing a road over the Macedonian mountains, that all the army might pass by that way to the Perrhaebian country; and now returned the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth, some empty-handed, some bearing earth and water.

132. Among those who paid that tribute were the Thessalians,1 Dolopes, Enienes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnesians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthia, Thebans, and all the Boeotians except the men of Thespiae and Plataea. Against all of these the Greeks who declared war with the foreigner entered into a sworn agreement, which was this: that if they should be victorious they would dedicate to the god of Delphi the possessions of all Greeks who had of free will surrendered themselves to the Persians. Such was the agreement sworn by the Greeks.

133. But to Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no heralds to demand earth, and this was the reason: when Darius had before sent men with this same purpose, the demanders were cast at the one city into the Pit2 and at the other into a well, and bidden to carry thence earth and water to the king. For this cause Xerxes sent no demand. What calamity befel the Athenians for thus dealing with the heralds I cannot say, save that their land and their city was laid waste; but I think that there was another reason for this, and not the aforesaid.3

134. Be that as it may, the Lacedaemonians were visited by the wrath of Talthybius, Agamemnon's of that name which had settled in the Peneus valley and given its name to the surrounding peoples.

1 Into which criminals condemned to death were thrown.
2 Possibly the burning of the temple at Sardis (V. 102).
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γὰρ Σπάρτη ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρών, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβιῶδες καλεόμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκηνίᾳ αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι καλλιεργησάνθεν ἄρχομένοι σὺν ἐδώοματο τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνων συχνὰν ἦν σφι. ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Δακεδαιμονίων, ἀλίῃς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης καὶ κηρυγμα τοιοῦτο ποιευμένων, εἰ τις Βούλαντο Δακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθυήσεις, Σπερθίς τε ἦ ὁ Ἀνθρίστου καὶ Βούλιας ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιήται ψύζοι τε γεγονότες εὗ καὶ χρήματι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τα πρώτα, ἐθελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινήν τίσαι Ξέρξη τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων. οὕτω Σπαρτιήται τούτους ὡς ἀποθανεμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

135. Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν θωματος ἀξίη καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἑπεα. πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπικυνέονται παρὰ Ἐδάρνεα: ὁ δὲ Ἐδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἄνδρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ὡς σφαῖς σκύβεται προθέμενος ἰστία, σκίων δὲ εἰρετο τάδε. "Αὐτροι Δακεδαιμονίοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλείς φίλου γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἑπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἄνδρας ἄγαθονς τιμᾶν, ὡς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέπτοντες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δούτε ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλείς, διδόξως γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας εἰναι ἀγαθοὶ, ἔκαστος ἀν ὑμέων ἁρχὸς γῆς Ἑλλάδος δῶντος βασιλέως." πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἐδάρνης, οὐκ ἐξ ἵσου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλὴ ἡ ἐς ἑμέας τείνουσα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρημένος...
BOOK VII. 134-135

herald; for at Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius, and descendants of Talthybius called Talthybiadae, who have by right the conduct of all embassies from Sparta. Now after that deed the Spartans could not win good omens from sacrifice, and for a long time it was so. The Lacedaemonians were grieved and dismayed; oftentimes they called assemblies, and made a proclamation inviting some Lacedaemonian to give his life for Sparta; then two Spartans of noble birth and great wealth, Sperthias son of Aneristus and Bulis son of Nicolaus, undertook of their own free will that they would make atonement to Xerxes for Darius' heralds who had been done to death at Sparta. Thereupon the Spartans sent these men to Media for execution.

135. Worthy of all admiration was these men's deed of daring, and so also were their sayings which I here record. As they journeyed to Susa, they came to Hydarnes, a Persian, who was general of the sea-coast of Asia; he entertained and feasted them as guests, and as they sat at his board, "Lacedaemonians," he questioned them, "why do you shun the king's friendship? You can judge from what you see of me and my condition how well the king can honour men of worth. So might it be with you; would you but put yourselves in the king's hands, being as you are of proven worth in his eyes, every one of you might by his commission be a ruler of Hellas." To this the Spartans answered: "Your counsels to us, Hydarnes, are ill assorted; one half
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συμβουλεύεις, τού δὲ ἀπειρος ἐώς τὸ μὲν γὰρ
doῦλος εἶναι ἔξετίστει, ἑλευθερίης δὲ οὐκ
ἐπειρήθης, οὔτ' εἰ ἔστι γυνὴ οὔτ' εἰ μή. εἰ γὰρ
αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δορασὶ συμβουλεύοις
ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσιν.

136. Ταῦτα μὲν 'Οδάρνεα ἀμείψαντο. ἑνθεύμεν
δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σῶσα καὶ βασιλεῖς ὡς ὡς
ἡλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελευόντων καὶ
ἀνάγκην σφὶ προσφερόντων προσκυνεέν ταπειλέα
προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ ἔφασαν ὧθελομενοὶ ὡπ' αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ποιῆσειν ταῦτα οὐδαμά· οὔτε γὰρ
σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἀνθρώπων προσκυνεέν οὔτε
κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο,
dεύτερα σφὶ λέγουσι τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιούτῳ
ἐχόμενα "Ὡς βασιλεῖ Μήδων, ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων
κηρύκων ποιήσειν ἐκείνων τίσουσας," λέγουσι δὲ
αὐτοῖς ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνῃ σφὶ
ἐφή ὅμους ἐσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις· κείνους μὲν
γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμμα
ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖνοις
ἐπιτλῆσεται ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν, οὗτος ἀνταποκτείνας
ἐκείνους ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας.

137. Οὕτως ἢ Ταλθυβίον μήν της ταῦτα
ποιησάντων Σπαρτιτέων ἐπαύσατο τὸ παρα-
τικά, καὶ περ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην
Σπερθείω τε καὶ Βούλιος. χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα
πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ
'Αθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγονσι Λακεδαιμονίοι.
tούτῳ μοι ἐν τοίς θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι.
ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηνε ἐς ἄγγελους ἢ Ταλθυβίο
μήν τούτῳ οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἡ ἐξήλθη, τὸ δίκαιον
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of them rests on knowledge, but the other on ignorance; you know well how to be a slave, but you have never tasted of freedom, to know whether it be sweet or not. Were you to taste of it, not with spears you would counsel us to fight for it, no, but with axes.”

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

137. Thus by this deed of the Spartans the wrath of Talthybius was appeased for the nonce, though Sperthias and Bulis returned to Sparta. But long after that it awoke to life again in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as the Lacedaemonians say. That seems to me to be a sure sign of heaven’s handiwork. It was but just that the wrath of Talthybius descended on ambassadors, nor was
Οὔτω ἔφη, τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐσ τοὺς παιδὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐσ Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος καὶ ἐσ Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθίεω, δε εἶλε Ἀλεάς τοὺς ἐκ Τιρυνθοῦ οἰκάδι καταπλωσάς πληρεῖ ἀνδρῶν, δὴλον ὡς μοι ὅτι θείον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος· οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμόνων ἀγγελοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρήκων βασιλέως καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἠλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστεάς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου Κορίνθιος ἄνήρ. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν πολλοῖσι ἐτεσί ὑστεροῦν ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου, ἐπάνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

138. Ἦ δὲ στρατηλάσθη ἡ βασιλείας οὖν μα τοίχως ἐπὶ Ἀθῆνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα. πυθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οὔ Ἐλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄνεισαν γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰχὸν θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἀχαρί πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἀτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσάων ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἄριθμον ἄξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τῶν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδείς τόντον δὲ προθύμως.

139. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαῖη ἐξέργασαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὡμοὶ δὲ τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεσται εἰναὶ ἀληθὲς οὐκ

1 Halia was a port in Argolis. The event took place prob-
abated till it was satisfied; but the venting of it on the sons of those men who went up to the king to appease it, namely, on Nicolas son of Bulis and Aneristus son of Sperthias (that Aneristus who landed a merchant ship's crew at the Tirynthian settlement of Halia and took it),¹ makes it plain to me that this was heaven's doing by reason of Talthybius' anger. For these two had been sent by the Lacedaemonians as ambassadors to Asia; betrayed by the Thracian king Sitalces son of Tereus and Nymphodorus son of Pytheas of Abdera, they were made captive at Bisanthe on the Hellespont, and carried away to Attica, where the Athenians put them to death,² and with them Aristeas son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. This happened many years after the king's expedition; I return now to the course of my history.

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

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

ably between 461 and 450, when Athens and Argos were allied against Sparta. ² In 430; cp. Thucyd. II. 67.
Ετσι χήσων. Εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωθήσαντες τὸν ἑπτόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλισσαν τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξην, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὔδαμοι ἀν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλέως. Εἰ τοῖς δὲ τοῖς τειχέων κινώνες ἔσαν ἐλπιδομένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἡσιμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἀν Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔκοντων ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαῖας, κατὰ πόλεις ἀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Βαρβάρου, ἐμονώθησαν, μουσώθηντες δὲ ἀν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γεναιώς. Ἡ ταύτα ἀν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ὅροντες ἀν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας μηδέξοντας ὁμολογίαν ἐκχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἢ Ἐλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσης. τὴν γὰρ ὀφελήν τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἡσιμοῦ Ἐλη- λαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἢτις ἢν ἦν, βασιλέως ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θάλασσης. υἱὸν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τὰς ἰέγων σωτηρίας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ ὀκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιταχύνετο, ταύτα ῥέσειν ἐμέλλει ἐλύμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τούτο τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν πάν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδὲ σφέας χρηστήρια φοβέρα ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλοῦντα ἐπείσε ἐκλπεῖν τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχυντο τὸν ἑπτοῦντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.

140. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφὼν 442
true. Had the Athenians been panic-struck by the threatened peril and left their own country, or had they not indeed left it but remained and surrendered to Xerxes, none would have essayed to withstand the king by sea. If, then, no man had withstood him by sea, I will show what would have happened by land: though the Peloponnesians had built not one but many walls across the Isthmus for their armour, yet the Lacedaemonians would have been deserted by their allies (these having no choice or free will in the matter, but seeing their cities taken one by one by the foreign fleet), till at last they would have stood alone; and so standing they would have fought a great fight and nobly perished. Such would have been their fate; or it may be that, when they saw the rest of Hellas siding with the enemy, they would have made terms with Xerxes; and thus either way Hellas would have been subdued by the Persians. For I cannot perceive what advantage could accrue from the walls built across the isthmus, while the king was master of the seas. But as it is, to say that the Athenians were the saviours of Hellas is to hit the truth. For which part soever they took, that way the balance was like to incline; and by choosing that Hellas should remain free they and none others roused all the rest of the Greeks who had not gone over to the Persians, and did under heaven beat the king off. Nor were they moved to desert Hellas by the threatening oracles that came from Delphi and sorely dismayed them, but they stood firm and were bold to abide the invader of their country.

140. For the Athenians had sent messages to

¹ Cp. I. 181, where the wall of Babylon is called a θάρυστος.
HERODOTUS

θεοπρόποις χρηστηριάζοντας ἔσαν ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ
σφὶ ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς
τὸ μέγαρον ἐσπελθοῦντες ἱζοντο, χρὰ ἢ Πυθή, τῇ
οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονική, τάδε.

ὦ μέλει, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φευγὼ ἐσχάτα
γαίς
δῶματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.
οὔτε γὰρ ἦ κεφαλὴ μένει ἐμπεδὸν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι οὔτ' ὧν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄξηλα πέλει κατὰ γάρ μιν
ἐρείπει
πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἀρίστης, Συριηγενές ἁρμα διώκων.
pολλὰ δὲ καλλι' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα κοῦ τὸ σῶν
οίον,
πολλοὺς δ' ἄθανάτων υπὸς μαλερὸ πυρὶ δώσει,
οἳ ποιν ἱδρῶτι ἰεροῦμενοι ἔστήκασι,
δεῖματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἄκροτατοος ὀρό-
φοισι
ἀμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὼν κακότητος
ἀνάγκας.
ἀλλ' ἐτον ἐξ ἄδυτοι, κακοὶς δ' ἐπικίνδυναι
θυμόν.

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεο-
πρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐχρέωντο. προβάλ-
λοσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ
κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν
ἀνήρ δόκιμος ὦμοια τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευε σφι
ἰκετηρίην λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὗτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. πειθομένοις δὲ ταύτα

1 Lit. spread courage over your evils. But most commentators translate "steep your souls in woe."

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BOOK VII. 140–141

Delphi and asked that an oracle be given them; and when they had performed all due rites at the temple and sat them down in the inner hall, the priestess, whose name was Aristonice, gave them this answer:

Wretches, why tarry ye thus? Nay, flee from your houses and city,
Flee to the ends of the earth from the circle embattled of Athens!
Body and head are alike, nor one is stable nor other,
Hands and feet wax faint, and whatso lieth between them
Wasteth in darkness and gloom; for flame destroyeth the city,
Flame and the War-god fierce, swift driver of Syrian horses.
Many a fortress too, not thine alone, shall he shatter;
Many a shrine of the gods he'll give to the flame for devouring;
Sweating for fear they stand, and quaking for dread of the foeman,
Running with gore are their roofs, foreseeing the stress of their sorrow;
Wherefore I bid you begone! Have courage to lighten your evil.¹

141. When the Athenian messengers heard that, they were very greatly dismayed, and gave themselves up for lost by reason of the evil foretold. Then Timon son of Androbulus, as notable a man as any Delphian, counselled them to take boughs of supplication, and to go once again and in that guise enquire of the
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tοις Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ λέγουσι "Ωναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἂμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσεις τάς τοι ἦκομεν δέρουτε, ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἢ τοῦ ἁδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇ δὲ μενέομεν ἐστὶν καὶ καὶ τελευτήσωμεν," ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρῆ δεύτερα τάδε.

οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δι' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξελάσσασθαι λισσομένη πολλοῖς λόγοις καὶ μήτι δι πυκνῇ. σοι δὲ τόδ' αὐτίς ἐποι ἐρέω ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας. τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλισκομένων ὡσα Κέκροπος οὖρος ἐντὸς ἔχει κενθμῶν τε Κιθαϊρῶνος ξαθέοιο, τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖς ἔκυλων διδοὶ εὐρύστα Ζεὺς μοῦνον ἀπὸρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

μηδὲ σὺ γ' ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἴόντα πολλόν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἱσχυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν νὸτον ἐπιστρέψας̆ ἐτί τοί ποτε κάντιος ἔσση. ὁ θεῖα Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖσι δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ ποι σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιώσῃς.

142. Ταῦτα σφὶ ἦπιωτέρα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἤν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσ-446
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oracle. Thus the Athenians did: "Lord," they said, "regard in thy mercy these suppliant boughs which we bring to thee, and give us some better answer concerning our country; else we will not depart out of thy temple, but abide here till we die." Thereupon the priestess gave them this second oracle:

Vainly doth Pallas strive to appease great Zeus of Olympus;
Words of entreaty are vain, and cunning counsels of wisdom.
Nathless a rede I will give thee again, of strength adamantine.
All shall be taken and lost that the sacred border of Cecrops
Holds in keeping to-day, and the dales divine of Cithaeron;
Yet shall a wood-built wall by Zeus all-seeing be granted
Unto the Triton-born, a stronghold for thee and thy children.
Bide not still in thy place for the host that cometh from landward,
Cometh with horsemen and foot; but rather withdraw at his coming,
Turning thy back to the foe; thou yet shalt meet him in battle.
Salamis, isle divine! 'tis writ that children of women
Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-time or harvest.

142. This being in truth and appearance a more merciful answer than the first, they wrote it down
σουτο ἐς τας 'Αθήνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δήμον, γνώμαι καὶ ἀλλαὶ πολλαὶ γίνονται διζημένων τὸ μαντήμαν καὶ αἴδε συνεστηκυνία μάλιστα. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκεέν σφίζε τὸν θεόν τὴν ἀκρόπολι πάλαι τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἰηχὼ ἑπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τούτῳ τὸ ἔξυλον τεῖχος εἶναι, οἱ δ' ἂν ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαινεῖν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς δὲν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ἔξυλον τεῖχος ἐσφάλλε τὰ δῦο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης.

ὁ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἢ που σκιδαμαινένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταύτα τὰ ἔπεια συνεχέοντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν φαμέων τὰς νέας τὸ ἔξυλον τεῖχος εἶναι οἱ γὰρ χρησιμολόγοι ταύτη ταύτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφεας ἐσσωθήναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασάμενός.

143. Ἡν δὲ τῶν τις 'Αθηναίων ἀνήρ ἐς πρώτως νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἐν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παίς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἔκαλετο. οὗτος ὁνή ωκ ἐφῄ πὰν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησιμολογούς συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς 'Αθηναίους εἰχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένου ἑόντως, οὐκ ἄν οὔτω μὲν δοκέειν ἦπίως χρησθήναι, ἀλλὰ ὥστε "ὁ σχετική Σαλαμίς" ἀντὶ τοῦ "ὁ θείη Σαλαμίς," εἰ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφὶ αὐτῆ τελευτησείν ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τός πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον.
and departed back to Athens. So when the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much enquiry concerning its meaning, and there were two contrary opinions in especial among the many that were uttered. Some of the elder men said that the god’s answer signified that the acropolis should be saved; for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, and by their interpretation it was this fence that was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god signified their ships, and they were for doing nought else but equip these. They then that held their ships to be the wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the priestess’ answer:

Salamis, isle divine! ’tis writ that children of women
Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-time or harvest.

These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the wooden wall; for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean, that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown.

143. Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He said, that the readers of oracles had not rightly interpreted the whole; and this was his plea: had the verse been verily spoken of the Athenians, the oracle had used a word less mild of import, and had called Salamis rather “cruel” than “divine,” if indeed the dwellers in that place were in it and for it to perish; nay (said he), rightly understood, the god’s oracle
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συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐσ’ Ἀθηναίους παρασκευάξεσθαι ἢν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχή-ςοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτον ἕοντος τοῦ ἐξελίσσον τείχειος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαίωμένου Ἀθηναίου ταῦτα σφίζε ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἱ οὐκ ἔσω ναυμαχήν ἄρτεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπατι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ χειρὰς ἀνταίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

144. Ἐτέρη τε Θεμιστοκλέει γνώμη ἐμπρόσθεν ταύτης ἔσεν καὶ ἱπτευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοις γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων σφί προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Δαυρέου, ἐμελλόν λάξεσθαι ὁρχησῶν ἐκαστῷ δέκα δραχμάς τότε Θεμιστοκλέεις ἀνέγυρωσε Ἀθηναίους τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσία ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίας λέγων, οὕτως γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συντακτικὸς ἐσώσε ἐς τὸ τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάζασθαι ναυασίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἳ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένετον. αὐταί τε ἔγρα καί νέας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προποιηθέσαι ὑπήρχουν, ἔτερας τε ἐδει προσναυπηγέσθαι. ἐδοξεῖ τε σφί μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριος βουλευμένους ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν βάρβαρων δέκεσθαι τῆς νυσὶ παν- δημεί, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἀμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖς βουλευμένοις.

1 Silver, lead, and perhaps copper mines in Attica, from which the state drew an annual revenue. Apparently when this exceeded the usual amount the general public received a largess. Even if the population numbered 30,000 (cp. V. 450
was spoken not of the Athenians but of their enemies; and his counsel was that they should believe their ships to be the wooden wall, and so make ready to fight by sea. Themistocles thus declaring, the Athenians judged him to be a better counsellor than the readers of oracles, who would have had them prepare for no sea fight, and in brief offer no resistance at all, but leave Attica and settle in some other country.

144. Themistocles had ere this given another counsel that seasonably prevailed. The revenues from the mines at Laurium had brought great wealth into the Athenians' treasury, and when they were to receive each man ten drachmæ for his share, then Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to make no such division, but out of the money to build two hundred ships for the war, that is, for the war with Aegina; it was that war whereof the outbreak then saved Hellas, by compelling the Athenians to become seamen. The ships were not used for the purpose wherefor they were built, but it was thus that they came to serve Hellas in her need. These ships, then, had been made and were already there for the Athenians' service, and now they must build yet others besides; and in their debate after the giving of the oracle they resolved, that they would put their trust in heaven and meet the foreign invader of Hellas with the whole power of their fleet, ships and men, and with all other Greeks that were so minded.

97) ten drachmæ per head would be only 50 talents; far too small a sum for the building of 200 ships; Herodotus cannot mean more than that the Laurium money was a contribution towards a ship-building fund.
145. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγεγόνεε. συνλεγομένων δὲ ἐσ τῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα Ἐλληνῶν τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἐδόκεε βουλευομένους αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τῶν ξέχρας καὶ τοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους έοντας πολέμους ἢσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἀλλοὺς ἐγκεκριγμένοι, ὅ δὲ ὡν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι. μετὰ δὲ πυθανόμενοι Ἐξέρχην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλευσαντος κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλεός πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἀργος τε ἀγγέλους ὃμαχίῳ ἱσυνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δειομένεος ἐς τὸ Κέρκυραν κελεύσοντας βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ κως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἐλληνικόν καὶ εἴ συγκυψαντες τῶν τροφήσιι πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιοῦντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἐλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τῶν ὁ πολλῶν μέξῳ.

146. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ξέχρας πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς. οἴ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τε ἐς Σάρδισ καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλείας στρατιῆν, ὡς ἐπάιστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες υπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὡς ἀπολέομενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατεκέριτο θάνατος, Ἐξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθείς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς γνώμης πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἢν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ξύντας, ἀγείν παρ’ ἐσωτῷν. ὡς δὲ ἔτι
145. These oracles, then, had been given to the Athenians. All the Greeks that had the better purpose for Hellas now assembling themselves together and there taking counsel and plighting faith, they resolved in debate to make an end of all their feuds and their wars against each other, from whatever cause arising; and among others that were afoot the greatest was the war between the Athenians and the Aeginetans. Presently, learning that Xerxes was at Sardis with his army, they planned to send men into Asia to spy out the king's doings, and to despatch messengers, some to Argos, who should make the Argives their brothers in arms against the Persian, some to Gelon son of Dinomenes in Sicily, some to Corycra, praying aid for Hellas, and some to Crete; for they hoped that since the danger threatened all Greeks alike, all of Greek blood might unite and work jointly for one common end. Now the power of Gelon was said to be very great, surpassing by far any power in Hellas.

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

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1 From ἐγκεφάννυμι; Reiske's conjecture for MS. ἐγκεκριμένοι which Stein prints, admitting the difficulty of interpreting it.

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περιεόντας αὐτούς κατέλαβον καὶ ἤγγο εἰς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέας, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷς ἦλθον, ἐκέλευε σφέας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν καὶ τὴν ἵππον, ἐπεῖν δὲ ταῦτα θεηύμενοι ἔσωσι πλῆρες, ἀποπέμπειν ἕς τὴν ἀν αὐτοῖ ἐθέλωσι χώρην ἀσινέας.

147. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλεσε, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ἑωτοὶ πρήγματα προεπίθετο οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐόντα λόγον μέξω, οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσῖναντο, ἀνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες νοστηράντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα δοκείειν ἐφ' ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἐλλήνες τὰ ἑωτοὺ πρήγματα πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἱδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὔτω οὔδε δεήσεων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἐχειν. οἴκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἡ γυώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ. ἔων γὰρ ἐν Ἀβυδῷ ὁ Ξέρξης εἰδὲ πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλώνω τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, ἔς τε Αἰγιναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομίζομενα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπιθυντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἄτομοι ἠσαν αἰρεῖσιν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὡς ὑψίποτο παραγγελέει. ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἰρετο αὐτοὺς ὅκη πλέοιν: οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὡς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὃς δὲσπότα, σῶτον ἄγοντες. δὲ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἐφ' ὡς Οὐκῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεὶ πλέομεν ἐνθα περ οὔτοι τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ σίτῳ; τί δήτα ὑδικέουσι οὔτοι ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;

148. Οἱ μὲν νυν κατάσκοποι οὔτω θεηύμενοι τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, 454
found still living and brought into the king's presence; then Xerxes, having enquired of them the purpose of their coming, bade his guards lead them about and show them all his army, horse and foot; and when the spies should have seen all to their hearts' content, send them away unharmed whithersoever they would go.

147. The reason alleged for his command was this: had the spies been put to death, the Greeks would not so soon have learnt the unspeakable greatness of his power, and the Persians would have done their enemy no great harm by putting three men to death; "but if they return to Hellas," said he, "methinks when the Greeks hear of my power they will before the expedition surrender this peculiar freedom that they have, and so we need not be at pains to march against them." This was like that other saying of Xerxes', when he was at Abydos and saw ships laden with corn sailing out of the Pontus through the Hellespont, voyaging to Aegina and the Peloponnese. They that sat by him, perceiving that they were enemy ships, were for taking them, and looked to the king for him to give the word. But Xerxes asked them whither the ships were sailing; "to your enemies, Sire," said they, "carrying corn." Whereunto Xerxes answered, "And are not we too sailing to the same places as they, with corn among all our other provisions? What wrong are they doing us in carrying food thither?"

148. So the spies were sent back after they had thus seen all, and returned to Europe. They of the
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οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἀργοὺς ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ’ ἐωντοὺς γενέσθαι ὅδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγερόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθόντες ὡς σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τῶν Πέρσην, πέμψαν τίθεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὡς σφι μέλλει ἀριστον ποιέσθαι γενέσθαι νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων ἑθνάναι ἐξαμισχίλιους ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρδεω. τῶν δὴ εἶνεκα πέμπτειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίνην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἐγρή ρε περικτίωνισι, φίλε ἀθανάτοισι θεόισιν, εἰσὶ τὸν προβόλαιον ἐχων πεφυλαγμένος ἃς καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφυλαξο- καρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

tαῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίνην χρήσαι πρότερον μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐλθεὶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τῷ Ἀργοῖς, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐπτεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἔτοι- μοι εἰς Ἀργεῖοι ποιεσθαι ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἤγεο- μενοι κατὰ τὸ ἡμισὺ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας. καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἤγεομονίν ἑωτῶν ἁλλ’ ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἡμισὺ ἤγεομένοις.

149. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλήν ὑποκρίνα-
BOOK VII. 148–149

Greeks who had sworn alliance against the Persian next after sending the spies sent messengers to Argos. Now this is what the Argives say of their own part in the matter:—They were informed from the first that the foreigner was stirring up war against Hellas; knowing this, when they learnt that the Greeks would essay to gain their aid against the Persian, they sent (they say) messengers to Delphi, there to enquire of the god how it were best for themselves that they should act; for six thousand of them had been lately 1 slain by a Lacedaemonian army and Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides its general; for this cause, they said, the messengers were sent. The priestess gave this answer to their questioning:

Hated of dwellers around, by the god’s immortal 
belovéd, 
Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in 
his armour, 
Guarding thy head 2 from the blow; and the head 
shall shelter the body.

This answer had already been uttered by the priestess; and presently the messengers came to Argos, and there appeared in the council chamber and spoke as they were charged. Then the Argives (this is their story) answered to what was said, that they would do as was asked of them if they might first make a thirty years’ peace with Lacedaemon, and the command of half the allied power were theirs; they would be content with half, albeit if they had their rights they should have commanded the whole.

149. This, they say, was the answer of their
σθαί, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας συμμαχίης σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδάς γενέσθαι τριήκοντος τίδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεόμενοι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτοις τοίς ἔτεσιν μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐνοςέων ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἢν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλῳ πταϊσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωςι Δακεδαμονίων ὑπήκοοι. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοίσιδε. περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεύνας, περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφίσι μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοις δὲ ἐναὶ οὐκών δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παύσασθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργείων εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργείοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτητέων τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ’ ἔλεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπεῖξαι Δακεδαμονίοις, προεπειτῶν τε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πρὸ δύως ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέψεσθαι ὡς πολεμίους.

150. Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργείοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσιν ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ἐξέρξης ἐπέμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος πρῶτερον ἤ περ ῥωμῆς στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτων λέγεται εἰπεῖν "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἀργείοι, βασιλεῖς Ἐξέρξης τάδε ἰμὲν λέγει. ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι ἀπ’ ὦν ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέους θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης. οὕτω ἀν

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council, although the oracle forbade them to make the alliance with the Greeks; and though they feared the oracle, yet they were instant that a thirty years' treaty might be made, that so their children might have time in those years to grow to be men; were there no such treaty,—so, by their account they reasoned,—then, if after the evil that had befallen them the Persian should deal them yet another wound, it was to be feared that they would be at the Lacedaemonians' mercy. Then those of the envoys that were Spartans replied to what was said by the council, "That the matter of a treaty would be brought before their general assembly; but as touching the command, they themselves had been commissioned to answer, and to say, that the Spartans had two kings, and the Argives but one; now it was impossible to deprive either Spartan of his command; but there was nought to hinder the Argive from having the same right of voting as their two had." At that,—say the Argives,—they deemed that the Spartans' covetousness was past all bearing, and that it was better to be ruled by the foreigners than give way to the Lacedaemonians; and they bade the envoys depart from the land of Argos before sunset, else they would be entreated as enemies.

150. Such is the Argives' account of this matter; but there is another story told in Hellas: That before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes), "Men of Argos, this is the message to you of king Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danaë for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus..."
αὐτοὶ Ὠργεῖοι λέγουσιν ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο ὅτι εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήμα ταὐτὰ κακὰ ἐσὺς μέσον συννενεκαίμεν ἀλλὰ ἁλεθῶν ἔργω ἔργα καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἔκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεοῖότο ὅπισώ τὰ ἐσενεκαίστα. οὔτω δὲ οὖν Ὠργεῖοι ἀσχίστα πεποίηται. ἔγω δὲ ὦφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασι ὦφείλω, καὶ μοι τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος ἔχετω ἐσὶ πάντα λόγου ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτα λέγεται, ὡς ἂρα Ὠργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑπικαλε- σάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαμούνιους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, τὰν δὲ βουλόμενοι σφίσι εἶναι πρὸ τῆς παρεχούσης λύπης.

153. Τὰ μὲν περὶ Ὠργεῖων εἰρηται ἐσὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀικελίνην ἄλλοι τε ἀπίκατο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων συμμίξοντες Γέλωνι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Δακεδαμούνων Σύμαγροι. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκήτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἢν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριστῖφῳ κειμένης. δὲ κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Δακίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμου οὐκ ἔλειψθα. ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθόνιων θεῶν διετέλεον ἔοντες, Τηλίνως ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησα- μένου τρόπῳ τοίῳ. ἐς Μακτωρίου πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελάφων στάσι ἔσσωθέντες τούτους ὄν ὁ Τηλίνης κατή- γαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἄνδρῶν δύναμιν

1 The general idea,—rather obscurely expressed,—seems to be that some who judge the Argives harshly have really just as many κακὰ and αἰσχρὰ (which Herodotus appears to confuse) of their own.

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

153. Thus ends the story of the Argives. As for Sicily, envoys were sent thither by the allies to hold converse with Gelon, Syagrus from Lacedaemon being among them. This Gelon’s ancestor, he who made a settlement at Gela, was of the island of Telos that lies off Triopium; he, when the founding of Gela by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes was afoot, would not be left behind. His posterity became in time ministering priests of the goddesses of the nether world ² and continued so to be; this office had been won as I shall show by Telines, one of their forefathers. Certain Geloans, worsted in party strife, having been banished to the town of Mactorium, inland of Gela, Telines brought them back to Gela, with no force of men to aid him but

² Demeter and Persephone.
HERODOTUS

άλλα ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· οἶθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο, τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τοῦτοι δὲ ἂν πίσυνος ἐων κατῆμαγε, ἐπ' ὁ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θῶμα μοι ὅτι καὶ τούτῳ γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι θηλίνῃ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαύτα γὰρ ἐργὰ ὑπὸ πρὸς τοῦ ἀπαντος ἀνδρὸς νυνίμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἁγαθῆς καὶ ρώμης ἀνδρητῆς· οὐ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητῶν τὰ ὑπεντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυρίως τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἅνηρ.

154. Οὖτος μὲν νυν ἐκτήσατο τούτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρεος τελευτάσσατος τῶν βίων, ὃς ἑτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἐπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελιῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίην Ἰπποκράτης Κλεάνδρου ἐων ἀδελφοῖς. ἔχοντος δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων ἐδών θηλίνω τοῦ ἱροφάντεο ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίκου ἕως ὅ που δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέξθη πάσης τῆς ἱππον εἶναι ἢππαρχος· πολιορκώντως γὰρ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίων τε καὶ Λευτίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοίς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμωσι ἑῳν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἰπον πολίων τούτων πλὴν Συρηκσοσεὼν οὐδεμία διέφυγε δούλοσύνη πρὸς Ἰπποκράτεος· Συρηκσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Κερκυραιοὶ ἑρρύσαντο μάχη ἔσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ, ἑρρύσαντο δὲ οὕτω ἐπὶ τοίς καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ὁ τε Ἰπποκράτει Καμάρινων 464
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only the holy instruments of the goddesses' worship. Whence he got these, and whether or no they were of his own discovering, I cannot say; however that be, it was in their strength that he restored the exiles, on the condition that his posterity should be ministering priests of the goddesses. Now the story that is told me makes me marvel that Telines should have achieved such a feat; for I have ever supposed that such feats are not for every man's performing but only such as have a stout heart and a manly strength; but Telines is reported by the dwellers in Sicily to have been contrariwise of a soft and womanish habit.

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

1 In 498.

1 Something is omitted after this word; Stein suggests viéros.

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Συρηκοσίους παραδούναι. Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν
Καμάρως τὸ ἄρχαῖον.

155. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἵσα
ἔτεα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν
πρὸς πόλιν Ἰβληστρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικε-
λούς, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖς
Ἰπποκράτεοι πασί Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ,
οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιτεῶν κατηκόμων ἔτι εἶναι,
τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε μάχη τῶν Γελώνων, ἦρχε
αὐτῶς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἰπποκράτεος παῖδας.
μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ εὐρήμα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεο-
μένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ
дельμον καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ
Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ
Κασμενῆς πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ
ταύτας: ὁ γὰρ δήμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπίντων
Γέλωνι παραδίδοι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐωτύν.

156. Ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας,
Γέλης μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγων ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο,
ἐπιτρέψας αὐτήν Ἰέρων ἀδελφῷ ἐωτυτοῦ, δὲ ὁ δὲ
τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυσε, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ πάντα αἱ
Συρήκουσαι αἱ δὲ παρανύκτικα ἀνὰ τ’ ἔδραμον καὶ
ἐβλάστον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναῖος ἀπαντᾷ
ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἄγαγὼν πολιτής ἔποιήσε, 
Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἁστυ κατέσκαψε, τούτῳ δὲ
Γελώνων ὑπερμισέας τῶν ἁστών τῶν τοῖς
Καμαριναῖοι ἐποίησε. Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν
Σικελίῃ, ὃς πολιορκεόμενοι ἔς ὀμολογήσαν προσε-
χώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε
πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκώντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ
τούτο, ἄγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολιτής ἔποιήσε·
τὸν δὲ δήμον τῶν Μεγαρέων οὔκ ἐόντα
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condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to Hippocrates Camarina, which was formerly theirs.

155. When Hippocrates, too, after reigning the same number of years as his brother Cleandrus, came to his end near the town of Hybla, whither he had marched against the Sicels, then Gelon made a pretence of serving the cause of Hippocrates' sons Euclides and Cleandrus, whose rule the citizens would no longer bear; but in very deed, when he had defeated the men of Gela, he deposed the sons of Hippocrates and held sway himself. After this stroke of good fortune, the Syracusan landowners (as they were called) being driven into banishment by the commonalty and their own slaves (Cylyrians, as they were called), Gelon brought them back from the town of Casmena to Syracuse, and took possession of that city also; for the Syracusan commonalty delivered themselves and it to Gelon at his coming.

156. Having taken Syracuse for his own, he made less account of his rule over Gela, which he gave in charge to his brother Hiero; over Syracuse he reigned, and all his care was for Syracuse. Straightway that city grew and waxed great; for not only did Gelon bring all the people of Camarina to Syracuse and give them its citizenship, razing the town of Camarina, but he did likewise to more than half of the townsfolk of Gela; and when the Megarians ¹ in Sicily surrendered to him on terms after a siege, he took the wealthier of them, who had made war on him and looked to be put to death therefor, and brought them to Syracuse to be citizens there; but as for the commonalty of Megara,

¹ At Hybla, N. of Syracuse, on the E. coast of Sicily.
HERODOTUS

μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκό-μενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρικούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ’ ἐξαγωγὴ ἕκ Σικελίας. τῶντό δὲ τούτο καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐποίησε διακρίνας, ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα τούτος ἀμφοτέρους νομίσας δὴμον εἶναι συνοί-κημα ἀχαριτώτατον.

157. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγενότης μέγας ὁ Γέλων· τότε δ’ ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοί τῶν Ἑλλή-νων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Συρικούσας, ἑλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἐλέγον τάδε. "Ἐπεμψαν ἣμεᾶς Δακε-δαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι παραλαμψο-μένους σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπίστατα ἔπλη τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάνως καὶ πυθόνει, οὐτὶ Πέρσης ἀνήρ μέλλει, ξεῦξας τὸν Ἑλλησποντοῦν καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡρων στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηκήσειν ἔπι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προ-σχημα μὲν πολεύμενος ὡς ἔπ. Ἀθήνας ἐλαίνει, ἐν νόρῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ’ ἐωστῷ ποιήσασθαι. συ δὲ δυνάμος τε γὰρ ἢκεις μεγά-λως καὶ μοιρὰ τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἑλασθή- μέτα ἄρχοντι γε Σικελίας, βοήθεε τε τοῖς ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ συνελευθέρων. ἀλής μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς χείρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἄξιόμαχοι γινόμεθα τοῦτο ἐπιοῦσι· ἦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἢμέων καταπροδίδοσι οἱ δὲ μῆ θέλωσιν τιμωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαίνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦ δόλαν, τούτο δὲ ἦδη δεινῶν γίνεται μὴ πέση πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς. μὴ γὰρ ἐλπίσης, ἢν ἢμέας καταστρέ-ψηται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἢξει παρὰ σὲ γε, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτον φύλαξαν· βοηθόων γὰρ ἢμῖν σεωτῶν τιμωρείς. τὸ δὲ εὐ βουλευ-
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who had had no hand in the making of that war and expected that no harm would be done them, these too he brought to Syracuse and sold them for slaves to be carried out of Sicily. In like fashion he dealt with the Euboeans of Sicily, making the same difference; the cause of his so doing to the people of both places was, that he held the commonalty to be an exceeding thankless crew to live withal.

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

1 A colony from Chalcis, at Leontini.
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θέντι πρήγματι τελευτή ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστή ἔθελε ἐπιγίνεσθαί.

158. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιάδε. "Αὔνερες Εἰληνεῖς, λόγον ἔχουσι πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ὑμεῖς σὺμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον παρακαλέσαμε ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐμεῖς πρὸτερον δεηθέντος βαρβαροῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάγασθαι, ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος συνήπτο, ἐπισκήπτουτός τε τὸν Δωρεάν τοῦ Ἀναξαγόριδεω πρὸς Ἔγγεσταίων φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτεύνουσας τε τὰ ἐμπορία συνελευθεροῦν ἀπ’ δὴ ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὤφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρήσεις γεγόνασι, οὕτε ἐμεῖς εἰνεκα ἠλθετο βοηθήσασθαι οὕτο τὸν Δωρίεος ἐκπρήξομενοι, τὸ τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἀπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάρους νέμειται. ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἦμιν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείνου κατέστη. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπίκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω δὴ Γέλωνος μυστηριῶς γέγονε. ἀτιμίας δὲ πρὸς ὑμῶν κυρήσασι οὐκ ὀμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ βοηθεῖν παρεχόμενοι διηκοσίας τε τριήμερας καὶ δυσμυρίους ὀπλίτας καὶ δισχίλιην ἱππον καὶ δισχίλιους τοξότας καὶ δισχίλιους σφενδονίτας καὶ δισχίλιους ἱπποδρόμους ψιλόης. σίτον τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἐλλήνων στρατηγῇ, ἐστ’ ἄν διαπολεμήσωμεν, ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν. ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τούτῳ τάδε ὑπίσχομαι, ἐπ’ ὁ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἥγετον τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐσομαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐπὶ ἀλλ’ δὲ λόγῳ οὕτ’ ἀν αὐτὸς ἔλθωμεν οὕτ’ ἀν ἀλλοὺς πέμψωμεν."
own cause; a well-laid plan commonly leads to a happy issue."

158. Thus they spoke; whereto Gelon answered, speaking very vehemently, "Men of Hellas, it is with a self-seeking plea that you have made bold to come hither and invite me to be your ally against the foreigners; yet what of yourselves? When I was at feud with the Carchedonians,¹ and prayed you to stand my comrades against a foreign army, and when I was instant that you should avenge the slaying of Dorieus ² son of Anaxandrides by the men of Egesta, and when I promised to free those trading ports whence great advantage and profit have accrued to you,—then neither for my sake would you come to aid nor to avenge the slaying of Dorieus; and for all that you did, all these lands lie beneath the foreigners' feet. Let that be; for all ended well, and our state was bettered. But now that the war has come round to you in your turn, 'tis the time for remembering Gelo! Yet albeit you so slighted me, I will not take example by you; I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand horse, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed men to run with horsemen; ³ and I undertake that I will furnish provision for the whole Greek army till we have made an end of the war. But I thus promise on this one condition, that I shall be general and leader of the Greeks against the foreigner. On no other condition will I come myself or send others."

¹ Cp. V. 42-46.
² Probably active infantry troops, able to keep up with the cavalry.
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159. Ταύτα ἀκούσας οὖτε ἤνέχετο ὁ Σύαγρος εἰπέ τε τάδε. "Ἡ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειε ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἄγαμέμνων πυθόμενος Σπαρτῆτας τὴν ἤγεμονίην ἀπαραίρησθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθής, ὅκως τὴν ἤγεμονίνα τοι παραδώσαμεν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν βοῦλει βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἵσθι ἄρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰ δ’ ἀρα μὴ δικαιοὶς ἀρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ βοήθεε."  

160. Πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπε-στραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύαγρου, τὸν τελευταίον σφι τόνδε ἔξεφαίνει λόγον. "Ὡς ἔδειν Σπαρτῆται, ὁνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπων φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμὸν σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ οὔτε εἰς ἄγαμον ἐν τῇ ἁμοιβῇ ἱενεσθαι. ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ περείχεσθε τῆς ἱεραμονίης, οἶκος καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περείχεσθαι, στρατηγὸς τε ἐντά πολλα-πλησίας ἱεραμόνα καὶ νεῶν πολλῶν πλεύσων. ἀλλ’ ἐπείτε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατι-σταται, ἤμεις τί υπείξωμεν τοῦ ἀρχαίον λογοῦ· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεξοῦ ὑμεῖς ἠγείσθησατ, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἔγω. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονή τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἤγε-μονεύειν, τοῦ πεξοῦ ἔγω θέλω. καὶ ἡ τούτοις υμέας χρεὸν ἔστι ἀρέσκεσθαι ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμά-χων τοὶ δῦνε ἐρήμους."  

161. Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προετεινετο, φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμεί-βετό μὲν τοῖς ῥητορ. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς Συρηκοσίων, οὐκ ἤγεμόνος δεομένη ἢ Ἑλλάς ἀπέπεμψε ἡμέας πρὸς σὲ, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῆς. σὺ δὲ ὅκως μὲν στρατηγὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἤγεμόνος τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις.
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159. When Syagrus heard that, he could not contain himself; "Verily," he cried, "loud would lament Agamemnon son of Pelops, an he heard that the Spartans had been bereft of their command by Gelon and his Syracusans! Nay, put that thought from you, that we will deliver up the command to you. If it is your will to aid Hellas, know that you must obey the Lacedaemonians; but if (as I think) you are too proud to obey, then send no aid."

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

161. Such was Gelon's offer; and the Athenian envoy answered him ere the Lacedaemonian could speak. "King of the Syracusans," said he, "Hellas sends us to you to ask not for a leader but for an army; and you say no word of sending an army save and except you can be the leader of Hellas; it
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...
BOOK VII. 161-162

is for the command that all your desire is. Now as long as you sought the leadership of the whole armament, we Athenians were content to hold our peace, knowing that the Laconian was well able to answer for both of us; but since, failing to win the whole, you would fain command the fleet, we would have you know how the matter stands. Even though the Laconian should suffer you to command it, not so will we; for the command of the fleet is ours, the Lacedaemonians desire it not for themselves. If they desire to lead it, we withstand them not; but none other will we suffer to be admiral. For it were vain that we should possess the greatest multitude of sea-faring men in Hellas, if, being Athenians, we yield up our command to Syracusans,—we who can show of all the longest lineage, and who alone among Greeks have never changed our dwelling;¹ and whose he was of whom the poet Homer says, that of all who came to Ilion he was the best man in ordering and marshalling armies.² Thus we are not to be reproached for this that we say.”

162. “My Athenian friend,” Gelon answered, “it would seem that you have many that lead, but none that will follow. Since, then, you will waive no claim but must have the whole, ’tis high time that you depart home with all speed and tell your Hellas that her year has lost its spring.” Of which saying this is the signification, that Gelon’s army was the most notable part of the Greek army, even as the spring is of the year; so he compared Hellas

into their present localities from elsewhere; but the Athenians had no such tradition; their writers often dwell on the fact with pride.

¹ Menestheus: Iliad ii. 552.
163. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁγγελοὶ τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλευον. Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησι μὴ οὐ δύνωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέτων ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ἐδών Σικελίης τύραννος, ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἰχετο. ἔπειτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἐλλησποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντάρχοι τρισὶ Κάδμου τὸν Σκύθεων ἀνδρα Κρόνου ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καραδόκησον τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέται, καὶ ἂν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀρχεῖ ὁ Γέλων, ἤν δὲ οἱ Ἐλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

164. ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὐτὸς πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τυραννίδα Κρόνων εἰ βεβηκών, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι καὶ δεινοῦ ἐπίοντος οὐδενὸς ἄλλα ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσων Κρόνου καταβείς τὴν ἁρχὴν οἴχετο ἐς Σικελίην, ἔνθα παρὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν σάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλόμενος τὸ οὖνομα. τούτων δὴ ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιούτω τρόπῳ ἀπεκόμενον διὰ δικαιοσύνην, τὴν οὐ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε ἐοῦσαν, ἕπεμπε· ὅς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις δικαίοις τοῖς εὖ ἐωντοῦ ἐργασμένοις

1 Stein reads ἀπὸ, with the MSS.; the Oxford text prints ἡ. There is no real warrant for ἀπὸ in the sense of "on account of."
BOOK VII. 162–164

deprived of alliance with him to a year bereft of its spring.¹

163. After such trafficking with Gelon the Greek envoys sailed away. But Gelon feared therefore that the Greeks would not avail to overcome the foreigner, yet deemed it a thing hard and intolerable that he, the despot of Sicily, should go to the Peloponnese to be at the beck and call of Lacedaemonians; wherefore of this plan he thought no more, but followed another instead. As soon as he was informed that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus son of Scythes,² a man of Cos, to Delphi with three ships of fifty oars, carrying with them money and messages of friendship; Cadmus was to watch the event of the battle, and if the foreigner should be victorious then to give him the money, and earth and water withal on behalf of Gelon's dominions; but if the Greeks, then to carry all back again.

164. This Cadmus had ere now inherited from his father the despotism of Cos; and albeit it was strong and well established, yet of his own will and under no constraint of danger, but of mere justice, he gave over the government to the whole body of Coans and betook himself to Sicily, where he was given by the Samians that city of Zancle which changed its name to Messene, and he planted a colony there. Thus had Cadmus come, and it was he now whom Gelon sent, by reason of the justice that he knew to be ever in him; and this that I will relate was

¹ According to Aristotle (Rhet. i. 7 and iii. 10) Pericles used the same simile in a funeral oration, referring to the State's loss of its young men.
² Probably the expelled ruler of Zancle; cp. the following chapter, and VI. 23.
καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἔλιπετο. κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεῦν κατασχέσαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεί οἱ "Ελληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ Ξέρξης οἰχώκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

165. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίη οἰκημέων, ός ὁμως καὶ μέλλων ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων οἱ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἀν τοῖς "Ελλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Ὑήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου Ἀκραγαντίων μονυάρχου ἔξελασθείς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τηρίλλος ὁ Κρινύππον τύραννος ἐδὼ Ἰμέρης ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς χρόνους τούτους Φοινίκων καὶ Διβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Διγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων καὶ Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων τριήκοντα μυρίας καὶ στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν. Ἀμίλκαν τὸν τὸν "Αννωνος, Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα, κατὰ ξεινίαν τῇ τὴν ἔως τοῦ Τηρίλλος ἀναγνώσας καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ἰγνίου ἐὼν τύραννοι τὰ ἔως τοῦ τέκνα δοὺς ὀμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγε ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην τιμωρεῖν τῷ πενθερῷ Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλεως, τῇ οὕνωμα ἦν Κυδίππη. οὕτω δὴ ὦκ οἷον τε γενόμενον βοηθεῖν τῶν Γέλωνα τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἀποτέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα.

166. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τάδε λέγονσι, ός συνεβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἐν τῇ τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ

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

165. But there is another story told by the dwellers in Sicily: that even though he was to be under Lacedaemonian authority Gelon would still have aided the Greeks, had it not been for Terillus son of Crinippus, the despot of Himera; who, being expelled from Himera by Theron son of Aenesidemus, sovereign ruler of Acragas, did at this very time bring against Gelon three hundred thousand Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyes, Elisyci, Sardinians, and Cynnians, led by Amilcas son of Annon, the king of the Carchedonians; whom Terillus won to this purpose partly by private friendship, but chiefly by the zealous aid of Anaxilaus son of Cretines, despot of Rhegium; he gave his own children as hostages to Amilcas, and brought him into Sicily to the help of his father-in-law; for Anaxilaus had to wife Terillus' daughter Cydippine. Thus it was (they say) that Gelon sent the money to Delphi, because he could not aid the Greeks.

166. They add this tale too,—that Gelon and Theron won a victory over Amilcas the Carchedonian people living on the coast between the Pyrenees and the Rhone. According to a statement quoted from the historian Ephorus, this Carthaginian expedition was part of a concerted plan, whereby the Greek world was to be attacked by the Carthaginians in the west and the Persians in the east simultaneously.
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Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ ἐν Σαλαμίνι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τὸν Πέρσην. τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἐόντα πρὸς πατρός, μητρόθεν δὲ Συρηκόσιον, βασιλεύσαντα τε κατ’ ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολὴ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ὡς ἐσούτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυθὰνομαι ὡστε γὰρ ξώντα ὡστε ἀποθανόντα φανὴναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς τὸ πάν γὰρ ἔπεξελθεῖν διξῆμενον Γέλωνα.

167. Ἡστὶ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁδὲ λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοίοι Ἔλλην ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἴδιων ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας (ἐπὶ τοσότῳ γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν), δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἑκάλλιερέστερο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ολὰ καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπῆς τῶν ἐωτυοῦ γυνομένην, ὡς ἐτυχε ἐπισπένδων τούτῳ ἱροῖς, ὡς ἐωτυὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὐτώ δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκα τρόπῳ εἰτε τοιοῦτῳ ὡς Φοῖνικεσ λέγουσι, εἰτε ἑτέρῳ ὡς Καρχηδόνιος καὶ Συρηκόσιοι,1 τούτῳ μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τούτῳ δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃς τῇ πόλις τῶν ἀποκιδῶν, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.

168. Τὰ μὲν ἄπο Σικελίᾳ τοσαῦτα. Κερκυ-ραιοὶ δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοί οἱ περ ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκοντο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον.

1 Stein brackets ὡς Κ. καὶ Σ.; the Καρχ. are of course the same as the Φοῖνικεσ.

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in Sicily on the selfsame day whereon the Greeks vanquished the Persians at Salamis. This Amilcas was, on his father's side, a Carchedonian, and a Syracusean on his mother's, and had been made king of Carchedon for his manly worth. When the armies met and he was worsted in the battle, it is said that he vanished out of sight; for Gelon sought for him in every place, yet nowhere on earth could he be found, dead or alive.

167. The story told by the Carchedonians themselves has a show of truth. They say, that the foreigners fought with the Greeks in Sicily from dawn till late evening (so long, it is said, the mellay was drawn out), during all which time Amilcas stayed in his camp offering sacrifice and striving to win favourable omens by burning whole bodies on a great pyre; and when he saw his army routed, he cast himself into the fire where he was pouring libations on the sacrifice; whereby he was consumed and no more seen. Whether it were thus that he vanished, as the Phoenicians say, or in some other way, as say the Carchedonians and Syracuseans, sacrifice is offered to him, and monuments have been set up in all the colonists' cities, the greatest of all which is in Carchedon itself.

168. Thus much of the Sicilian part. As for the Corcyraeans, their answer to the envoys and their acts were as I will show; for the men who had gone to Sicily sought their aid too, using the same plea as they had used with Gelon; and the Corcyraeans for

The story may be true; or it may have arisen out of the name Hamilcar (= Abd Melqart, servant of Melqart); for self-immolation by fire is closely associated with Melqart worship.
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οὐ δὲ παραντικὰ μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν τε καὶ ἀμυνόειν, φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιστερὴ ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλᾶς ἀπολλυμένη· ἢν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφεῖσι γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ δουλεύσουσι τῇ πρωτῇ τῶν ἤμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέου εἰή τὸ δυνάτωτατον. ὑπεκριναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ νοέοντες ἐπλήρωσον νέας ἐξήκουτα, μόγισ δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ περὶ Πύλου καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς Δακεδαιμονίας ἀνεκόχευον τὰς νέας, καραδοκέοντες καὶ οὕτοι τῶν πόλεμοι τῇ πεσέται, ἀελπέοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἔποιενν όν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τοιάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἥμεις, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλῆνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἄν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετά γε Ἀθηναίοις, οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδὲ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι." τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἠπίπτων πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τά περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνὰς σφὶ σκῆψις ἐπεποίητο, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσατο. αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοηθεῖον, ἐφασαν πληρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκουσα τριήρειας, ὕπο δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλεῖν Μαλέην οὐκ οἶοι τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίας.

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

169. With such a plea they put the Greeks off. But the Cretans, when the Greeks appointed to deal with them strove to gain their aid, did as I will
τοιόνδε πέμψαντες κοινή θεοπρότους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων εἶς σφὶ ἀμεινὸν τιμωρέουσι γίνεται τῇ Ἔλλαδί. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο "Ὡ νήπιοι, ἡμιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὦμιν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε μηνίων δακρυματα, ὅτι οὐ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὦμείς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθείσαν ὑπ' ἄνδρος βαρβάρου γυναίκα. ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῇς τιμωρίς.

170. Δένεται γὰρ Μίνως κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίαν τὴν νῦν Σικελίαν καλεμένην ἀποθανεῖν βιαῖῳ θανάτῳ. ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφὶ ἐποτρύναντο, πάντας πλὴν Πολικυτέων τε καὶ Πραοίων ἀπικόμενοι στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίαν πολιορκεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἔτεα πέντε πόλεις Καμίκοις, τὴν κατ᾽ ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντίνοι ἐνέμουντο· τέλος δὲ οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεώτας, ἀπολυτόντας οὐχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰησυχίαν γενέσθαι πλέοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν συναραξθεῖτων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γὰρ σφὶ ἐτὶ κομίδην ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ἰρίνη πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖνα τε καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰησυχίας Μεσσαπίους, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι νησίωτας ἡπειρώτας. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰρίνης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι, τὰς δὲ Ταραντίνοις χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξαιστάντες προσέπτασαν μεγάλως, ὡστε φόνος Ἔλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὕτως δὴ ἐγένετο

1 That is, the Greeks would not help the Cretans to avenge
BOOK VII. 169-170

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

170. For Minos (it is said), having gone to Sicania, which is now called Sicily, in search for Daedalus, there perished by a violent death; and presently all the Cretans save the men of Polichne and Praesus were bidden by a god to go with a great host to Sicania, where for five years they beleaguered the town of Camicus, where in my day the men of Acragas dwelt; but since they could not take it nor abide there for the famine that afflicted them, they left it and departed away. But when they were at sea off Iapygia, a great storm caught and drove them ashore; and their ships being wrecked, and no way left of returning to Crete, they founded there the town of Hyria, and abode in it, changing from Cretans to Messapians of Iapygia, and from islanders to dwellers on the mainland. From Hyria they made settlements in those other towns, which a very long time afterwards the Tarentines essayed to destroy, but suffered great disaster thereby; so that none has ever heard of so great a slaughter of the death of Minos; yet afterwards the Cretans helped the Greeks to avenge the carrying off of Helen.

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πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἵδεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ Ὁργίων, οὗ ὕπο Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροῦν Ταραντίνοισι ἀπέθαναν τρισχίλιοι οὕτω· αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μικύθος οἰκέτης ἢν Ἀναξίλεως ἐπίτροπος Ὁργίου καταλείπετο, οὕτως δὲ περ ἐκπέσον ἔκ Ὁργίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας ἀνέθηκε ἐν Ὄλυμπη τοῦ πολλοῦς ἀνδριάντας.

171. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ὁργίους τε καὶ Ταραντίους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε—ἐς δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐρημωθεὶσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραίσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα "Ἕλληνας, τρίτη δὲ γενεὴ μετὰ Μίνων τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωίκα, ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτοις φαινεσθαι έόντας Κρήτας τιμωροῦς Μενέλεφ. ἀπὸ τοῦτων δὲ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμῶν τε καὶ λοιμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσῃ Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν δὴ Πυθίη ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρεῖν τοῖσι "Ἑλλησπι.

172. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίας τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν, ὅτι οὐ σφι ἤρθαν τὰ ὅ τι Ἀλευνᾶδι ἐμηχανόντο. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσην ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμποντο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἄγγελους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀραιημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολέων τῶν τὰ ἀμείων φρονεούσειν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἄγγελοι 486
BOOK VII. 170–172

Greeks as was made of the Tarentines and Rhetians; three thousand townsmen of these latter were slain, who had been constrained by Micythus son of Choerus to come and help the Tarentines, and of the Tarentine slain no count was kept. Micythus was a servant of Anaxilaus, and had been left in charge of Rhetium; it was he who was banished from Rhetium and settled in Tegea of Arcadia, and who set up those many statues at Olympia.

171. But this business of the Rhetians and Tarentines is a matter apart from my history. Crete being thus left desolate (so the Praesians say), it was peopled by Greeks in especial among other men; and in the third generation after Minos befell the Trojan business, wherein the Cretans bore themselves as bravely as any in the cause of Menelaus. After this when they returned from Troy they and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and pestilence, till Crete was once more left desolate; then came a third people of Cretans, and it is they who, with those that were left, now dwell there. It was this that the priestess bade them remember, and so stayed them from aiding the Greeks as they would have done.

172. The Thessalians had at first taken the Persian part not willingly but of necessity, as their acts showed, because they disliked the devices of the Athenians. For as soon as they heard that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where were assembled in council for the Greek cause men chosen from the cities that had the best will towards Hellas. To these the Thessalian messengers came, and said,
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έλεγον "Ανδρες Ἕλληνες, δεί φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἔσβολὴν τὴν Ὄλυμπικὴν, ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασσα Ἐλλάς ἐν σκέτῃ τοῦ πολέμου. ἦμείς μὲν νυν ἔτοιμοι εἰμὲν συμφυλάσσειν, πέμπτειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἦμεας στρατιῆς πολλῆς, ὥσ, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἦμεας ὀμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ οὗ γάρ τι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος μούνους πρὸ ὑμῶν δεὶ ἀπολέσθαι. Βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀναγκαῖν ἢμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἷοι τε ἐστὶ προσφερεῖν οὐδαμὰ γάρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἐφι. ἦμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τίνα σωτηρίην μηχανώμενοι."

173. Ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς Θεσσαλίην πέμπτειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν φυλάσσεται τὴν ἔσβολὴν. ὡς δὲ συνελέξθη ὁ στράτος, ἔπλεε δὲ Εὐρίπου ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἦλετης ἅρ, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ὡς Θεσσαλίην, τας νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπτῶν, καὶ ἀπίκετο τὰ Τέμπεα τῆς ἔσβολής ἢ περ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας τῆς κάτω ἡ βασιλεία ἦ σύνε, ἦ χρήσαντο καὶ τῆς Ὀσσῆς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστράτοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἕλληνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίσας συλλεγέντες, καὶ σφι προσῆν ἡ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππος. ἐστρατήγησε δὲ Δακεδαμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ο Ἀρήνου ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιμενός, ὑγείας μὲντο έων οὐ τοῦ βασιλείου, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεκλέος ἐμειναν δὲ ὁλίγας ἠμέρας ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικόμενοι γάρ ἀγγελοὶ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρος Μακεδόνως συνεβούλευον σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μηδὲ μένοντας εν τῇ ἔσβολῃ καταπατηθῆναι ὕπο 488.
BOOK VII. 172-173

"Men of Hellas, the pass of Olympus must be guarded, that Thessaly and all Hellas may be sheltered from the war. Now we are ready to guard it with you; but you too must send a great force; if you will not send it, be assured that we shall make terms with the Persian; for it is not right that we should be left to stand alone for an outpost of Hellas and so perish for your sakes. If you will not send help, there is no constraint that you can put upon us; for no necessity can prevail over lack of ability. As for us, we will essay for ourselves to find some way of deliverance." Thus spoke the men of Thessaly.

173. Thereupon the Greeks resolved that they would send a land army to Thessaly by sea to guard the pass. When the army had mustered, they passed through the Euripus, and came to Alus in Achaea, where they disembarked and took the road for Thessaly, leaving their ships where they were; and they came to the pass of Tempe, which runs from the lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Peneus, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. There the Greeks encamped, to the number of about ten thousand men-at-arms altogether, and the Thessalian horse was there withal; the general of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus son of Carenus, chosen among the polemarchs, yet not of the royal house; and of the Athenians, Themistocles son of Neocles. They remained but a few days there; for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, counselling them to depart and not abide there to be trodden under foot of the invading

1 As opposed to the hill country further inland.
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tού στρατού τού ἐπιόντος, σημαίνοντες τὸ πλήθος τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας. ὡς δὲ οὗτοι σφι
tαῦτα συνεβούλευον, χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβου
λεύειν καὶ σφι εὖνοος ἐφαίνετο ἐὼν ὁ Μακεδών,
ἐπείθοτο. δοκεέων δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδίη ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὡς
ἐπύθωντο καὶ ἀλλην ἐνύσαν ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλόυς
catat tēn anw Makedonini diši Perraiβwv kata
Gōnνv πόλιν, τῇ περ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιῆ ἡ
Ξέρξεω. καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἔλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας
ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἱσθμὸν.

174. Αὐτὴ ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην στρατιῆ, βασιλέως τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ ἐόντος ἦδη ἐν Ἁβύδῳ. Θεσσα-
λοι δὲ ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχου οὔτω δὴ ἐμήδεσαν
προθύμως οὐδ’ ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς, ὡστε ἐν τοῖς
πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ άνδρες ἐόντες
χρησιμῶτατοι.

175. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ἐπείτε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν
Ισθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχέντα ἐξ
Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
ἐν οἷον χώροις. ἢ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγίνετο
τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλησι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι, στεινο-
tέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐνόσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ
άμα ἁγχοτέρη 1 τῆς ἐωτῶν τῆν δὲ ἀτραπόν,
δι’ ἦν ἠλωσαν οἱ ἄλοντες Ἔλληνων ἐν Θερμο-
pύλησι, οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν ἐνύσαν πρότερον ἢ περ
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλαις ἐπύθωντο Τρηχίνων.
ταῦτην ὅν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβο-
λὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν

1 MS. ἁγχοτέρη τε, in consequence of which Stein marks
a lacuna, for words (e. g. καὶ μοῦνη) corresponding to τε, after
ἐωτῶν. But τε may easily be a mistake, arising out of τῆς.

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host; whereby the message signified the multitude of the army, and the ships. Thus admonished by the messengers (as they thought that the advice was good and that the Macedonian meant well by them), the Greeks followed their counsel. But to my thinking what persuaded them was fear, since they were informed that there was another pass leading into Thessaly by the hill country of Macedonia through the country of the Perrhaebi, near the town of Gonnum; which indeed was the way whereby Xerxes' army descended on Thessaly. So the Greeks went down to their ships and made their way back to the Isthmus.

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

175. Being come to the Isthmus, the Greeks consulted together how and where they should stand to fight, having regard to what was said by Alexander. The counsel that prevailed was, that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae; for they saw that it was narrower than the pass into Thessaly and moreover nearer home; and for the path which brought about the fall of those Greeks who fell at Thermopylae, they knew not even that there was one till they came to Thermopylae and learnt of it from the men of Trachis. This pass then they were resolved to guard, and so stay the foreigners' passage into Hellas, while their fleet should sail to
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de ναυτικοὶ στρατοὶ πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαίωτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον.
ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἐκατέρως ἐόντα,
οὐ τε χῶροι οὕτω ἔχουσι.
176. Τούτο μὲν τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἕκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ ὘ρηκίου ἔξειρεὸς συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν ἐόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νῆσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Ἐὔβοιας ἦδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δεκατεῖ αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρών. ἡ δὲ αὐ διὰ Τρῆχυνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῇ στεινοτάτῃ ἡμιπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τούτο γε ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρης τῆς ἄλλης, ἄλλα ἐμπροσθε τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπίσθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὀπίσθε ἐόντας ἐστὶν ἄμαξιτος μοῦνη, καὶ ἐμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμῶν ἄγχος Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἄλλη ἄμαξιτος μοῦνη. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὦρος ἄβατον τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατείνων ἐς τὴν Ὀιτην. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἥω τῆς ὀδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεα. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρος καλέωσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ βωμὸς ἱδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ἐδέμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τὸ γε παλαιὸν πῦλιν ἐπῆσαν. ἐδειμὰν δὲ Φωκές τὸ τείχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἴλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκῆσοντες γῆν τῆς Αἰολίδα τὴν περὶ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἀτε δὴ πειρω-μένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφέας, τούτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκές, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ

1 Hellas in the narrower sense, not including Thessaly.
2 Herodotus’ points of the compass are wrong throughout

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BOOK VII. 175-176

Artemisium in the territory of Histiaeia. These places are near together, so that each force could be informed of the other's doings; and their nature is as I will now show.

176. As touching Artemisium first: the wide Thracian sea draws in till the passage between the island of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia is but narrow; and this strait leads next to Artemisium, which is a beach on the coast of Euboea, with a temple of Artemis thereon. The pass through Trachis into Hellas¹ is at its narrowest fifty feet wide. Yet it is not here but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, namely, in front of Thermopylae and behind it; at Alpeni, which lies behind, it is but the breadth of a cart-way, and the same at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele. To the west² of Thermopylae rises a high mountain inaccessible and precipitous, a spur of Oeta; to the east of the road there is nought but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called by the people of the country The Pots, and an altar of Heracles stands thereby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate therein; it was built by the Phocians³ for fear of the Thessalians, when these came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land which they now possess; inasmuch as the Thessalians were essaying to subdue them, the Phocians made this their protection, and in their

in his description of Thermopylae; the road runs east and west, not north and south as he supposes; so "west" here should be "south" and "east" "north." "In front" and "behind" are equivalent to "west" and "east" respectively.

¹ It is to be noted that in 480 the pass of Thermopylae was no longer in Phocian territory.
HERODOTUS

θερμοὺν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἀν χαρα-
δροθείσην χώρος, πάν μηχανώμενοι ὅκως μὴ σφι
ἐσβάλουν οἵ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τὸ μὲν
νῦν τεῖχος τὸ ἄρχαιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ
tὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἦδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἐκείτο τοῖς δὲ
αὐτὶς ὀρθώσας ἐδὸξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κόμη δὲ ἔστι ἁγχοτάτω
τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὐνομαὶ ἕκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπιστιεῖ-
σθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

177. Οἱ μὲν νῦν χώροι οὕτωι τοῖς Ἐλληνις
εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδειοι. πάντα γὰρ προσκεψά-
μενοι καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι ὦτε πλήθει ἔξονοι
χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὕτε ὑπω, ταύτης σφι ἐδοξα
δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίστατα ἐπί τὴν Ἐλλάδα. ὡς δὲ
ἐπίθυμον τὸν Πέρσην ἐόντα ἐν Πιερίᾳ, διαλυθέντες
ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς
Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἀλλοὶ δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ'
Ἀρτέμίσιον.

178. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθεον
dιατακθέντες. Δελφοῖ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
ἐχορητηρίαζοντο τῷ θεῷ ύπὲρ ἔως ἔως καὶ τῆς
Ἐλλάδος καταρρῳδηκότες, καὶ σφι ἐχρησθή ἀνέ-
μοιοι εὔχεσθαι μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἐσεσθαι
τῇ Ἐλλάδι συμμάχους. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ
μαντήιον πρῶτα μὲν Ἕλληνων τοίς βουλομένοις
ἐναι ἐλευθέρους ἐξηγεύειν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοί-
σι, καὶ σφι δεινῶς καταρρῳδέουσιν τοὺς βάρβαρον
ἐξαιγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. μετά
δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖς ἀνέμωσι βωμὸν τε
ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περε τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς
Θυίῃς τὸ τέμενος ἐστί, ἐπὶ ἦς καὶ ὁ χώρος οὕτως
tὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει, καὶ θυσίησι σφέας μετήσασιν.
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search for every means to keep the Thessalians from invading their country they then turned the stream from the hot springs into the pass, that it might be a watercourse. The ancient wall had been built long ago and time had by now laid the most of it in ruins; it was now built up again, that the foreigners’ way into Hellas might thus be barred. Very near the road is a village, called Alpeni, whence the Greeks reckoned that they would get provender.

177. These places, then, were thought by the Greeks to suit their purpose; for after due survey they reckoned that the foreigners could not make use of their multitude, nor of their horsemen; and therefore they resolved, that here they would encounter the invader of Hellas. Then, hearing that the Persian was in Pieria, they broke up from the Isthmus and set out with their army to Thermopylae and their fleet to Artemisium.

178. So with all speed the Greeks went their several ways to meet the enemy. In the meantime, the Delphians, being sore afraid for themselves and for Hellas, enquired of the god, and the oracle was given them, That they should pray to the winds; for these would be potent allies of Hellas. Having received the oracle, the Delphians first sent word of it to such Greeks as desired to be free, for which message in their mortal fear of the foreigner these were for ever grateful; and next, they made an altar to the winds at Thyia, where is now the precinct of Thyia the daughter of Cephisus; and they offered sacrifices to them.
HERODOTUS

179. Δελφοί μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ υἱὸν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἰλάσκονται. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ἑρέξεω στρατὸς ὀρμόμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νυνὶ τῇς ἀριστα πλεούσης δέκα ἰθὲν Σκιάθου, ἔτι, ἢσσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδας, Τροιζηνίτη τε καὶ Αἰγιναίη καὶ Ἀττική. προϊόντες δὲ οὕτω τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν.

180. Τὴν μὲν δὴ Τροιζηνίν, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα άρεσκόμενοι ἐπιστόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτής τῶν καλλιστεύοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῆς νέος ἐσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιεύμενοι τῶν εἶλαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον. τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὐνομα ἦν Δέων· τάχα δὲ ἀν τι καὶ τούτῳ οὐνόματος ἐπαύριοιο.

181. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναίη, τῆς ἐτριηράρχεσ Ἀσσωνίδης, καὶ τινά σφι θάρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἐγχενῶν ἐπιβατέωντος, ἀνδρὸς ἀριστού γενομένον ταύτης τὴν ἡμέρην· δε ἐπιείχε ἡ νήσος ἠλίσκετο ἐς τοῦτο ἀντείχε μαχόμενος ἐς τὸ κατε-κρεουργήθη ἀπαλ. ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἐμπνεος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ περ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεών, δὲ ἀρετήν τὴν ἐκείνην περιποίησαὶ μνὶ περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαν, συμφυρθεῖν τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἐλκεα καὶ σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶνι κατελίσσοντες· καὶ μν., ὡς ὄπισω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἑωτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκτησαν ἐκπαγελόμενοι πάση τῇ στρατή περίποταν εὐ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νη ταύτῃ περιείπον ὡς ἀνδράποδα.

1 διαδέξιον has been otherwise translated, as meaning "of
BOOK VII. 179-181

179. So the Delphians offer to the winds sacrifice of propitiation to this day by the oracle's bidding. But Xerxes' fleet set forth from the city of Therma, and the ten swiftest of the ships laid their course straight for Scithus, where there lay an advance guard of three Greek ships, a Troezenian and an Aeginetan and an Attic. These, when they sighted the foreigners' ships, took to flight.

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

181. But the Aeginetan trireme, whereof Asonides was captain, did even give them some trouble. There was a fighting man aboard, Pytheas son of Ischenous, who that day bore himself very gallantly; for his ship being taken, he would not give over fighting till he was all hacked about with wounds; and when he fell, yet was not slain but had life in him, the Persian soldiers on the ships were at great pains to save him alive for his valour, tending his wounds with ointments and wrapping him in bandages of linen cloth; and when they returned back to their own station, they showed him to the whole host, and made much of him and kindly entreated him. But the rest that they took in that ship they used as slaves.

good augury”; Stein derives it rather from διαδέχεσθαι, supposing the meaning to be “a sacrifice where the portions of the victim are handed round among the sacrificers.”

2 Commonly used for mummy-wrappings in Egypt; cp. II. 86.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

182. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἔχειρώθησαν· ἢ δὲ τρίτη, τῆς ἐτριπχρακείας Φόρμος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἔξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφους ἔκρατησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὖ· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλα τὴν νέα οἱ Αθηναῖοι, ἀποθοροῦντες κατὰ Θεσσαλίην πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας.

183. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἔλληνες οἱ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύομενοι πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρφηνασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετορμίζουσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τῶν Ἐύριτων, λείποντες δὲ ἠμεσωσκόπους περὶ τὰ ὑψηλά τῆς Εὔβοιας, τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπῆλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἔνων Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίας, καλεόμενοι δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐστειλὴ στήλῃ λίθον ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὅρμηθέντες αὐτὸι ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφὶ τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγεγόνει καθαρόν, ἐπέπλευον πάσης τῇσι νησί, ἐνδεκα Ἦμερας περέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφὶ κατηγήσατο ἐν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Ἐκύριος. πανημερόν δὲ πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίας χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιον ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τοῦτο τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθής τε κακῶν ἢν ὁ στρατός, καὶ πλῆθος ἢν τηροῖται ἐτὶ, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρύσκω, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, ἐνυσέων ἐπτᾶ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλιεῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρχαιον ἐκάστων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐόντα ὁμίλοιν 498
BOOK VII. 182-184

182. So two of the ships were thus made captive; the third trireme, whereof Phormus an Athenian was captain, ran ashore in her flight at the mouth of the Peneus, and the foreigners got the hull of her, but not the crew; for the Athenians, as soon as they had run their craft aground, leapt out of her and made their way through Thessaly to Athens.

183. The Greeks that had their station at Artemisium were informed of these matters by beacons from Sciathus; whereupon, being affrighted, they changed their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, purposing to guard the Euripus, and leaving watchmen on the heights of Euboea. Three of the ten foreign ships ran foul of the reef called the Ant, between Sciathus and Magnesia. The foreigners then brought a pillar of stone and set it on the reef; and presently, when their course was plain before them, the whole fleet set forth and sailed from Therma, eleven days after the king had marched thence. Pammon of Seyros it was who showed them where the reef lay, in the strait itself. Voyaging all day, the foreign fleet made Sepias in Magnesia and the beach between the town of Casthanaeae and the Sepiad headland.

184. Until the whole host reached this place and Thermopylae it suffered no hurt; and calculation proves to me that its numbers were still such as I will now show. The ships from Asia being twelve hundred and seven, the whole multitude of all the nations, which was in them from the first, was two
HEdOCTUS

tésseras kai eikosi muiriádas kai próς χιλιάδα te kai tetrapokosious, óws vàná dihekiosious ándras logiζo-
ménoi enékásti yhi. èpebátteun dé épi tou-
téw tón neów, χωρίς èkástw tón èpichwríwv èpibatéwv, Perseón te kai Mýdówn kai Sákéon
tríkouta ándres. óutos ãllos òmulos gínetai
trísmýrwi kai èxakìschiloi kai próς dihekósioi
kai déka. prósèhs o détòu kai tǒp
proteró àrìthmò toûs ék tów penteùkoutrwv,
poiësas, ó tà pléon òn avtóv ò ìkiasv, ån è
òndókouta ándras ènìkai. suxheióchò de tânta
tà plóia, òs kai próteron èirèth, trisýchila. è
òn avtous èn èv èn avtóv tésseras muiriá-
des kai eikosv. touto mèn dé tó èk tis 'Asýis
nautikón òn, súmpav éva penteùkouta muiriádes kai
mía, χiliádes dé ëpeisi ëpi tânta èptà kai
prós èkatoutádes èx kai dekas. tout dé pezóv
èbdomíkouta kai èkatov muiriádes ègënovto, tów
dè èppéow óktrwv muiriádes. prósèhs o dét
 toutóu tâs kakhùlous toûs èlaiównantas 'Arabíous
kai tout tâ ármata Líbvas, plëthos poiësas
dísmuríous ándras. kai dé tó te èk tów neów
kai tout pezóv plèthos sunstémenon gînetai dihe-
kòsiai te muiriádes kai trikouta kai mia, kai
prós χiliádes èptà kai èkatoutádes èx kai dekas.
touto mèn dé èx autís tis 'Asíis strátewma
èxanachèn èirèthai, ánèn te tís òhara và
èpomënia kai tów sítagwówn plówv kai òsoi
ènëpleos toutouvs.

185. Tout dé dé tís Eýrwptis vàgymenov
strátewma ëtit prósèhsitéa toutó pauti tóv
èxhriðmèmenv. dòkhsiv dé déi lègeiws. vèas mèn
500
hundred and forty-one thousand and four hundred men, two hundred being reckoned for each ship.\footnote{200 was the usual complement for a Greek trireme—170 rowers, 30 fighters.} On board of all these ships were thirty fighting men of the Persians and Medes and Sacae, over and above the company which each had of native fighters; the sum of this added multitude is thirty-six thousand, two hundred and ten. But to this and to the first number I add the crews of the ships of fifty oars, reckoning each at eighty men, be they more or fewer. Now seeing that, as has already been said,\footnote{In 97. But Herodotus’ total of 3000 there is only partly composed of fifty-oared ships.} there were collected three thousand of these craft, the number of men in them must be on that showing two hundred and forty thousand. These then were the ships’ companies from Asia, and the total sum of them was five hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. The footmen were shown to be seven hundred thousand and one hundred in number, and the horsemen eighty thousand; to whom I add the Arabian camel-riders and Libyan charioteers, reckoning them at twenty thousand men. Thus if the forces of sea and land be added together their total sum will be two millions, three hundred and seventeen thousand, six hundred and ten. Thus far I have spoken of the armament that came from Asia itself, without the service-train that followed it and the corn-bearing craft and the companies thereof.

\footnote{185. But I must still take into account, besides all the host that I have numbered, the armament brought from Europe, speaking to the best of my belief.}
ΗΕΡΟ∆ΟΤΟΣ

υνν οί ἀπὸ Θηρίκης "Ελληνες καὶ οί ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμενέων τῇ Θηρίκῃ παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν· ἐκ μὲν υπὸ τοῦτον τῶν νεῶν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι γίνονται. τεξοῦ δὲ τῶν Θηρίκης παρείχοντο καὶ Παιόνες καὶ Ἑσορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαιοὶ καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικῶν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐμύηνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θηρίκης τὴν παραλίαν νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐδούνεοι τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι. αὖται ὁι αἱ μυριάδες ἐκείνησι προστεθείσαι τῇ ἡκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἕξικοντα καὶ τέσσερες, ἐπεισὶ δὲ ταύτης εἰκατοντάδες ἐκκαίδεκα καὶ δεκάς.

186. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τοῦτον ἐόντος ἀριθμὸν τοσοῦτον, τὴν θεραπῆν τῆν ἐπομένην τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σιταγγοῦσι ἀκάτοις ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖς ἀμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατηγῷ, τούτως τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας ἀλλὰ πλέουσας. καὶ δὴ σφαῖρας ποιῶν ἰσούς ἐκείνοις εἶναι καὶ υἱὸτε πλέουσας ὑπὲ ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν. εἴσουμεν οὖν τοῦτο τὸ μαχίμῳ ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἰσας μυριάδας ἐκείνοις. οὐτὸ πεντακοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὅκτω καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ εἰκατοντάδες δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἦγαγε Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυλέων.

187. Οὗτος οὖν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ἐξέξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός, γυναικῶν δὲ σιταποιῶν καὶ παλλακέων καὶ εὐνούχων οὐδὲις ἐν ἑτοι ἄτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἀλλων 502
BOOK VII. 185-187

For ships, then, the Greeks of Thrace and the islands off Thrace furnished one hundred and twenty; the companies of these ships must then be twenty-four thousand men; and of the land army supplied by all the nations—Thracians, Paeonians, Eordi, Bottiaeis, Chalcidians, Brygi, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhaebi, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achaean, dwellers on the seaboard of Thrace—of all these I suppose the number to have been three hundred thousand. These numbers being added to the numbers from Asia, the full tale of fighting men is seen to be two millions, six hundred and forty-one thousand, six hundred and ten.

186. Such was the sum of the fighting part of the whole; as for the service-train that followed them, and the crews of the light corn-bearing vessels and all the other craft besides that came by sea with the armament, these I suppose to have been no fewer but more than the fighting men. But put the case that they were as many, neither more nor fewer: then if they were equal to the fighting part they make up as many tens of thousands as the others; and thus the number of those whom Xerxes son of Darius led as far as the Sepiad headland and Thermopylae was five millions, two hundred and eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty.

187. That is the number of Xerxes' whole armament: but none can say what was the exact sum of cooking women, and concubines, and eunuchs; nor
HERODOTUS

κτηνεῶν τῶν ἀχθοφόρων καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων, οὐδ’ ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλῆθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰποὶ ἄριθμὸν. ὡστε οὐδέν μοι θώμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ἱερατά τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι δὲν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε θώμα μοι μυρίασι τοσαύτης. εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἐκαστὸς τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ξύδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ’ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη καὶ πρὸς τρικοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα γυναιξί δὲ καὶ εὑνουχοίς καὶ υποζυγίοις καὶ κυσὶ οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἐνσέων τοσούτων μυριάδων, κάλλεος τε εἰνεκά καὶ μεγάθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἄξιον κότερος ἢν αὐτὸν Ἑρέρχετο ἐχειν τούτο τὸ κράτος.

188. Ὅς δὲ ἄνατικός στρατὸς ἐπείτε ὄρμηθεν ἐπλεε καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σητιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὄρμεων πρὸς γῆ, ἄλλαι δ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκρουσαι ὄρμεοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὔτω, ἀμα δὲ ὅρθω ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηαμέης τῆς ταλάσσης ξεσάς ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὲ Ἐλλησποντήν καλέονσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖς οὔτω εἰχὲ ὅρμουν, οἱ δ’ ἐξθησαν τὸν χειμώνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ

1 The figure is wrong. Reckoning 48 choenixes to the
of the beasts of draught and burden, and the Indian dogs that were with the host, could any one tell the number, so many they were. Wherefore it is to me no marvel that some of the streams of water ran dry; rather I marvel how there were provisions sufficient for so many tens of thousands; for calculation shows me, that if each man received one choenix of wheat a day and no more, there would be every day a full tale of eleven hundred thousand and three hundred and forty bushels;¹ and in this I take no account of what was for the women and eunuchs and beasts of draught and dogs. Of all those tens of thousands of men, for goodliness and stature there was not one worthier than Xerxes himself to hold that command.

188. The fleet having put to sea and come to the strand of Magnesia which is between the town of Casthanaea and the Sepiad headland, the first comers of the ships lay close to the land, and others outside them at anchor; for the strand being of no great length, they lay eight ships deep, their prows pointing seaward. So it was with them for that night; but at dawn, after clear and calm weather, the sea began to boil, and there brake upon them a great storm and a strong east wind, that wind which the people of that country call the Hellespontian. As many of them as noted the wind’s rising, or so lay that this could be done, hauled their ships ashore ere the storm came, and thereby saved themselves

medimnus, Herodotus has of course divided 5,283,220 by 48. The right quotient is 110,067\(\frac{1}{5}\). 5,280,000 divided by 48 produces 110,000; 3220 divided by 48 leaves a dividend, after the first stage of division, of 340, and this for some unexplained reason Herodotus has added to the quotient. The medimnus is the chief Attic unit for dry measure; said to be the equivalent of six gallons.
νέες αὐτῶν ὄσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρρίας ἐλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰππους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἰ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπεστον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβους πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμώνος χρήμα ἀφαρητον.

189. Δέχεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέθην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἔθοντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμμβρὸν ἐπίκουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέθης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλήνων λόγον ἐχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν, Ὀρειβυίην τὴν Ἐρεχθέσ. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κήδος τούτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φαίτω ὀρμήται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφίσι τὸν Βορέθην γαμμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέωντες τῆς Ἑυβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι ὡς ἐμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα ὡς καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθυντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν τε Βορέθην καὶ τὴν Ὀρειβυίην τιμωρήσαι σφίσι καὶ διαφθείρα τῶν βαρβάρων τότε νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν βαρβάρους ὄρμεόνοι Βορέθης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ’ ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι σφίσι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέθην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἰρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέθω ἱδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμῶν Ἰλισσῶν.

190. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθείρηκαν τετρακοσίων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἀνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους χρημάτων τε πλήθους ἀφθονον. ὡστε Ἀμεινοκλεῖ τῷ Κρητίνῳ ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γνωχεύειν περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίᾳ αὐτῇ ἐγένεσθε χρηστῇ· ὅπ τολλὰ μὲν χρύσα ποτήρια υπέρφο χρύων ἐκβρασομένα ἀνείλετο πολλὰ δὲ ἄργυρα, θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν.
BOOK VII. 188–190

and the ships; but the ships that were caught at sea were driven some on the rocks of Pelion called Ovens, and some on the beach; others were wrecked on the Sepiad headland itself, and others cast up at the town of Meliboea, or at Casthanaea. In truth the storm was past all bearing.

189. There is a tale that the Athenians at an oracle’s bidding prayed to Boreas to aid them, another divination having been sent them that they should call for help to their son-in-law; the Greek story makes Boreas the husband of an Attic wife, Orithyia daughter of Erechtheus; by reason of which kinship the Athenians, if the tale current is to be believed, inferred that Boreas was their son-in-law, and when at their station of Chalcis they perceived that the storm was rising, then (or mayhap before that) they offered sacrifice and called on Boreas and Orithyia to aid them and destroy the foreigners’ ships, even as before on the coast of Athos. Now if this was the cause that the wind Boreas assailed the foreigners, I cannot tell; however it be, the Athenians say that Boreas came to their aid before and that the present effect was of his achieving; and when they went home they built a temple of Boreas by the river Ilissus.

190. In that stress there perished by the least reckoning not fewer than four hundred ships, and men innumerable and a great plenty of substance; insomuch, that Aminocles son of Cretines, a Magne- sian who held land about Sepias, was greatly benefited by that shipwreck; for he presently gathered many drinking-cups of gold and silver that were cast ashore, and he found Persian treasures,
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eúde, ἀλλὰ τε ἀφάτα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ’ δὲ μὲν τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο; ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος.

191. Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶ ἅριθμός. ὡστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ σφι κεκακωμένοις ἐπιθέωνταί οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἔρκος ύψηλὺν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγῶν περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχεῖμαζε τρεῖς. τέλος δὲ ἐντομὰ τε ποιεώντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόνοι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἄνεμῳ, πρὸς τε τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇ Νηρησίς θύειτε, ἐπανασαν τετάρτη ἡμέρη, ἡ ἄλλως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθουν πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον. ὅσον ἐκ τοῦ χῶρου τούτου ἀρτασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέους, εἰς τε ἀπάσα ἡ ἀκτή ἡ Σηπίας ἐκεῖνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων.

192. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτη ἡμέρη ἐπέπαυτο. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησοί οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Ἐυβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρη ἡμέρη ἀπ’ ἡς ὁ χειμών ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἔσημαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὥσ ἐπτύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνοι σωτήρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπουδᾶς προχέαντες τὴν ταχύτητα ὁπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐπίσαντες ὅλιγας τινὰς σφὶ ἀντιξόους ἐσεσθαί νέας.

193. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐνυτέρου ἐθάντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτήρος ἐπανυμῆν ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροί, ὡς ἐπαύσατο τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κῦμα ἐστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νέας ἐπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἀκρὴν τῆς 508
and won unspeakable wealth besides. Yet though luck greatly enriched him he was not in all things fortunate, for even he was afflicted by a grievous mischance in the slaying of his son.

191. The corn-bearing ships of merchandise and other craft destroyed were past all counting; wherefore the admirals of the fleet, fearing lest the Thessalians should set upon them in their evil plight, built a high fence of the wreckage for their protection. For the storm lasted for three days; and at last the Magians, by using victims and wizards' spells on the wind, and by sacrificing also to Thetis and the Nereids, did make it to cease on the fourth day, or mayhap it was not of their doing but of itself that it abated. To Thetis they sacrificed after hearing from the Ionians the story how that it was from this country that she had been carried off by Peleus, and all the Sepiad headland belonged to her and the other daughters of Nereus.

192. So on the fourth day the storm ceased; and the watchers ran down from the heights of Euboea on the second day after its beginning and told the Greeks all the story of the shipwreck; who, hearing this, offered prayer and libation to Poseidon their deliverer, and made all speed back to Artemisium, supposing that they would find but few ships to withstand them.

193. So they came back once more and lay off Artemisium; and ever since then to this day they have called Poseidon by the title of Deliverer. The foreigners, when the wind ceased and the waves no more ran high, put to sea and coasted along the

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1 ἄλλα τε [χρόσεα] Stein.
Μαγνησίας ίδεαν ἐπλευν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἐστὶ δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίας, ένθα λέγεται τὸν Ἰρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσουν τοις καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων έκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ᾽ ύδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐττ᾽ ἐπὶ τό κώδας ἐπλευν ἐς Άιαν τῆς Κολχίδας. ἐνθεύτευν γὰρ ἐμελλόν ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφῆσεν. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ ὀνυμα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ὄρμον οἱ Ἐρέξεω ἐποιεῦντο.

194. Πεντακάδεκα δὲ τῶν νεῶν τοιτέων ἐτυχόν τε ὑσταται πολλοὶ ἐξαναχθείσαι καὶ κως κατείδων τὰς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέας. ἐδοξάν τε δὴ τάς σφετέρας εἶναι τοις βαρβαροῖς καὶ πλέοντες ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγησεν ὁ Ἀττά Κύμης τῆς Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχός Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίον τὸν δὴ προτερον τούτων βασιλεύς Δαρείος ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τοιῇ δε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε εόντα τῶν βασιληίων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι άδικους δίκην ἐδίκασε. ἀνακρεμασθέντος δὲν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρείος εὑρέ οἱ πλέο άγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐς οἰκὸν τῶν βασιλῆων· εὑρὼν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Δαρείος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτῶς ἡ σοφότερα ἐργασμένος εἰ, ἐλυσε. Βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρείον οὕτω διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι περίην, τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας καταπλώσας ἐμέλλε ὡς τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἐσεθαῖ· ὡς γὰρ σφέας εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ "Ελληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γνωμένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες εὐπτεύως σφέας εἶλον.

195. Ἐν τοιτέων μὴ Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίᾳ, ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ ἦν 510
BOOK VII. 193-195

mainland, and turning the headland of Magnesia ran straight into the gulf that stretches toward Pagasae. There is a place on this gulf in Magnesia, where, it is said, Heracles was sent for water and so left behind by Jason and his comrades of the Argo, when they were sailing to Aea in Colchis for the fleece; for their purpose was to draw water thence and so launch out to sea; and thence that place has been called Aphetae. Here Xerxes' men made their anchorage.

194. Fifteen of those ships had put to sea a long time after all the rest, and it chanced that they sighted the Greek ships off Artemisium. Supposing these to be their own fleet, the foreigners held on their course into the midst of their enemies. Their captain was the viceroy from Cyme in Aeolia, Sandoces son of Thamasius; he had once before this, being then one of the king's judges, been taken and crucified by Darius because he had given unjust judgment for a bribe. But Sandoces having been hung on the cross, Darius found on a reckoning that his good services to the royal house were more than his offences; whereat the king perceived that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, and so set Sandoces free. Thus he escaped with his life from being put to death by Darius; but now that he was borne into the midst of the Greeks he was not to escape a second time; for when the Greeks saw the Persians bearing down on them they perceived their mistake, and put to sea and easily took them captive.

195. They took in one of these ships Aridolis, the despot of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the

1 More probably, the name (from ἀφήμι, to send off or launch) gave rise to the legend.
Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, δς ἤγε μὲν δυώδεκα νέας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέων τὰς ἐνδεκα τῷ χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μιᾷ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλέων ἐπὶ "Αρτεμίσιον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐβούλοντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρέξεως στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων ἱσθμὸν.

196. 'Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατός, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἴπον Σανδὼκεα στρατηγεύειν, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀφέτας. Ἑρέξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς περευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαίας ἑσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριτάιος ἐς Μηλεάς, εἴν Θεσσαλίη μὲν ἀμιλλᾶν ποιησάμενοι ὄππων τῶν τε ἐωτοῦ ἀποπειρόμενοι καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίης ὄπποι, πυθόμενοι ὡς ἄριστη εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἑλλην." ἐνθα δὴ ἡ Ἑλληνίδεσ ὄπποι ἐλείποντο πολλοὶ. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὄνοχωνος μοῦνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατῇ τὸ ῥέονθρον πυνόμενος τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ ποταμῶν ῥεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστι Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

197. 'Ες Ἀλον δὲ τῆς Ἀχαίας ἀπικομένων Ἑρέξη οἱ κατηγομένοις τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λόγοι, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Δαφνίττου Δίως, ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αίδλων ἐμχανιήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον σὺν Ἰνω βουλεύσας, μετέπειτα δὲ ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαίοι προτιθέσι τοὺς ἐκεῖνον ἀπογόνους ἀέθλους τοιούθεν. δς ἀν ἦ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τοὺτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἐργεὶσαι τοῦ λητοῦ αὐτῶν φυλακᾶς ἔχουσιν. λητὸν δὲ καλέοντι τὸ προντάνοιον οἱ Ἀχαίοι. ἢν ὅ ἐσέλθῃ, οὐκ ἐστι νόκως.
BOOK VII. 195-197

Paphian captain Penthylus son of Demonous; of twelve ships that he had brought from Paphos he had lost eleven in the storm off the Sepiad headland, and was in the one that remained when he was taken as he bore down on Artemisium. Having questioned these men and learnt what they desired to know of Xerxes' armament, the Greeks sent them away to the isthmus of Corinth in bonds.

196. So the foreign fleet, all but the fifteen ships whereof, as I have said, Sandoces was captain, came to Aphetae. Xerxes and his land army journeyed through Thessaly and Achaea, and it was three days since he had entered Malis. In Thessaly he made a race for his own horses, wherein he also tried the mettle of the Thessalian horse, having heard that it was the best in Hellas; and the Greek horses were far outpaced. Of the Thessalian rivers, the Onochonus was the only one that could not give water enough for his army's drinking. But in Achaea, even the greatest river there, the Apidanus, gave out, all but a sorry remnant.

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

1 The Apidanus and Enopeus unite; the whole stream, a tributary of the Peneus, is sometimes called Apidanus and sometimes Enipeus.

2 From λεως or λῆος.

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Εξεισὶ πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ· ὡς τ’ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις πολλοὶ ἦδη τούτων τῶν μελλόντων θύσεσθαι δείχνοντες οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἀλλήν χώρην, χρόνου δὲ προίόντος ὅπισώ κατελθόντες ἤν ἀλήσκωντα εὑστηλλόντο ἐς τὸ πρωτανήμου· ὡς θύεται τε ἐξηγέοντο στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυνισσώρων τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρης ποιευμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἴολου καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν ἀπικόμενοι οὕτως ὁ Κυνίσσωρος ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο, ποιήσας δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ἐπηγενομένοις ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ἐρέξεις δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἄλογον ἐγίνετο, αὐτός τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατῇ πάσῃ παρῆγγειλε, τῶν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τῆς οἰκίης ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

198. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίᾳ ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἤτε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπου ταλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμφωτῖς τε καὶ ῥηχία ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τούτον ἐστὶ χώρος πεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὔροις τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινὸς: περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον ὅσα ὢνηλὰ καὶ ἀβατα περικληθεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχύναι πέτραι καλεύμεναι. πρῶτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἱοντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαιίς Ἀντικύρη, παρ’ ἦν Σπερχεῖδος πολτάμος ῥέων ἐξ Ἕνημων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδοτοῖ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου

1 The legend, in its main features, originates in the cult of “Zeus Laphystius,” a tribal god who, like the Jehovah of the O.T. and the Moloch and Melqart of the Phoenicians, has a right to all first-born, especially of the priestly house.
BOOK VII. 197–198

if he enter, he may not come out, save only to be sacrificed; and further also, how many of those that were to be sacrificed had fled away in fear to another country, but if they returned back at a later day and were taken, they had been brought into the town hall; and the guides showed Xerxes how the man is sacrificed, with fillets covering him all over and a procession to lead him forth. It is the descendants of Phrixus' son Cytissorus who are thus dealt with, because when the Achaeans by an oracle's bidding made Athamas son of Aeolus a scapegoat for their country and were about to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from Aea in Colchis and delivered him, but thereby brought the god's wrath on his own posterity. Hearing all this, Xerxes when he came to the temple grove forbore to enter it himself and bade all his army do likewise, holding the house and the precinct of Athamas' descendants alike in reverence.¹

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

In time human sacrifice is avoided by the substitution of a ram; but even then the first-born child must leave the country. ³ Tidal movement is rare in the Mediterranean. But there is a strong ebb and flood in the Euripus, which is not far from the Malian gulf.
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dia eikosi kou stadiwv allos potamov to ounoma keita Duras, ton bothento tω Ἦρακλει καιο-
menv χρονος esti anafravnai. upo de toutou di' allos eikosi stadiwv allos potamos esti de kalwetai Melas.

199. Trehis de polis apde tou Melanov toutou potamov pentete stadia apexei. tauto de kai eur-
rutaton esti paois tis xorhis tauntis ek touv orεων es thalassan, kat' a Trehis pepolostai-
disxila te gar kai dieumira plēbra tou pedion esti. tou de oreos to periklini tēn geh tēn
Trehwv esti diasfaax pros mesambrēn Trehvis-
nos, dia de tis diasfagos 'Aswpos potamos rei
parà tēn upwrein tou oreos.

200. 'Esti de allos Phoinix potamos ou megas
pros mesambrēn tou 'Aswpo, de ek touv orεω
trouton rhein es tou 'Aswpon ekidioi. kathed de
tou Phoinika potamou stevoton esti. amaxitos
gar mouin hedhetai. apde de tou Phoinikos potamou
penteikideka stadia esti es Thermopulas. en de
tou metaex Phoinikos potamou kai Thermopolion
kymη te esti tē ouwna 'Aνthēla keita, par' hyn
dη pararrein o 'Aswpos es thalassan ekidioi,
kal chwores perı autēn evrou, en tō Dēmtrōs te
irōn 'Amphiκtvounidos idrunai kai ἐδραι εἰσὶ 'Amphi-
ktūsoi kai autō tou 'Amphiktvounos irōn.

201. Basileus men de Erexis estratopedeveneto
tēs Mēlidos en tē Trehwv, oī de de "Ellhnes
en tē diōdō. kalwetai de o chwros oiotos upo men

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

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twelve furlongs from that river is another named Dyras, which is said to have risen from the ground to aid Heracles against the fire that consumed him; and twenty furlongs again from that there is another river, called the Black river.

199. The town of Trachis is five furlongs distant from this Black river. Here is the greatest width in all this region between the sea and the hills whereon Trachis stands; for the plain is two million and two hundred thousand feet in extent. In the mountains that hem in the Trachinian land there is a ravine to the south of Trachis, wherethrough flows the river Asopus past the lower slopes of the mountains.

200. There is another river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, a little stream, that flows from those mountains into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is but the space of a single built cart-way. Thermopylae is fifteen furlongs distant from the river Phoenix. Between the river and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space about it wherein stands a temple of Amphictyonid Demeter, and seats withal for the Amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

201. King Xerxes, then, lay encamped in that part of Malis which belongs to Trachis, and the Greeks in the midst of the pass: the place where

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2 Lit. dwellers around: neighbouring tribes forming a league, and sending representatives (Pylagori) to a conference held twice a year.
3 In the space between the eastern and western narrow ἔσοδοι.
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tῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπε- 
δέυοντο μὲν νυν ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρί- 
οισι, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον 
ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνου, οὐ δὲ τῶν πρὸς 
νότον καὶ μεσαμβρήνιον φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης 
τῆς ἥπερ τεινον.

202. Ἡσαν δὲ οἴδε Ἑλλήνων οὶ ὑπομένοντες 
τῶν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, Σπαρτιτέων τε 
τριηκόσιοι ὅπλαται καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων 
χίλιοι, ἡμίσεις ἐκατέρων, ἢς Ὁρχομενοῦ τε τῆς 
Ἀρκαδίας εἰκοσι χίλιοι καὶ ἐκάτον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς 
Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι: τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων, ἀπὸ 
δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλειοῦντος 
διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὑγιώτεροι. οὗτοι μὲν 
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν 
Θεσπιέων τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐτίκλητι ἐγένοντο Δοκροῖ 
τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατίτη καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. 
αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφέας οἱ Ἑλλήνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέ- 
γοντες δὲ ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι 
tῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσ- 
δόκιμοι πᾶσαι εἰς ἡμέρην, ἡ δαλασάτε σφι 
εἰς ἐν φυλακῇ ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεμένη καὶ 
Ἀγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν 
tαχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἰς δεινῶν ὑδέαν· οὐ γὰρ θεον 
eῖναι τόν ἐπιώτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωπων, 
eῖναι δὲ θυτῶν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἐσεσθαι τῷ κακῶν ἐξ 
ἄρχης γινομένω οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι 
αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὁφείλειν ὦν καὶ τῶν ἑπελαύνοντα,
they were is called by most of the Greeks Thermopylae, but by the people of the country and their neighbours Pylae. In these places, then, they lay encamped, Xerxes being master of all that was north of Trachis, and the Greeks of all that lay southward towards this part of the mainland.

202. The Greeks that awaited the Persian in that place were these:—Of the Spartans, three hundred men-at-arms; a thousand Tegeans and Mantineans, half from each place; from Orchomenus in Arcadia a hundred and twenty, and a thousand from the rest of Arcadia; besides these Arcadians, four hundred from Corinth, two hundred from Philus, and eighty Mycenaean. These were they who had come from Peloponnesus: from Boeotia, seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.

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

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

2 That is, Greece.

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ός εόντα θυητόν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσείν αὖ. οὐ δὲ
tαῦτα πυθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς-τὴν Τρηκίνα.

204. Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νῦν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ
kατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστων, ὁ δὲ θαμαζόμενος μάλιστα
cαι παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἤγεομένος Δακε-
dαιμόνιος ἦν Δεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Δέωντος
tοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυκρά-
tεως τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένου τοῦ Τηλέκλου
tοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ηγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ
Δεωβώτου τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου τοῦ Ἡγίαστος τοῦ Εὐρυ-
σένου τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ
Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Τίλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτσάμενος
τὴν βασιληήν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου.

205. Διέζων γάρ οἱ εόντων πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελ-
φεώς, Κλεομένεος τε καὶ Δωρίεος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς
φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιλῆς. ἀποθανόντως δὲ
Κλεομένεος ἀπαιδής ἔρσενος γόνου, Δωρίεος τε
οὐκέτι εόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτησάντος καὶ τούτων ἐν
Σικελίᾳ, οὕτω δὴ ἐσ Δεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλῆς,
καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνει Κλεομβρότου (οὗτος
γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδεω παῖς) καὶ δὴ καὶ
ἐίχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὅσ τότε ἦσε ὁ Θερμο-
pύλας ἐπίλεξάμενος ἀνήγορα τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας
τρικοσίους καὶ τοῖς ἐντύγχανον παῖδες εόντες
παραλαβῶν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τῶν
ἄριθμον λογισάμενον εἴπον, τῶν ἑστρατηγεῖ Λεον-
tιάδης ο Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦ δὲ ἐνεκά τούτοις
σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Δεωνίδης μοῦνος Ἐλλήνων
παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδί-

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

would be disappointed of his hope. Hearing that, the Locrians and Phocians marched to aid the Greeks at Trachis.

204. All these had their generals, each city its own; but he that was most regarded and was leader of the whole army was Leonidas of Lacedaemon, whose descent was from Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxandrus, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcmenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Hegesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, Hyllus, Heracles; who was king at Sparta, yet had not looked to be such.

205. For since he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had renounced all thought of the kingship. But when Cleomenes died without male issue, and Dorieus was dead too (having met his end in Sicily), so it came about that the succession fell to Leonidas, because he was older than Anaxandrides' youngest son Cleombrotus, and moreover had Cleomenes' daughter to wife. He now came to Thermopylae, with a picked force of the customary three hundred, and those that had sons; and he brought with him too those Thebans whom I counted among the number, whose general was Leontiades son of Eurymachus. Leonidas was at pains to bring these Thebans more than any other Greeks, because they were constantly charged with favouring

I have given is possible; but if "those that had sons" are added to the 300, this is inconsistent with the received tradition that there were only 300 Spartans at Thermopylae. There seems to be no explanation of the matter, except Dr. Macan's theory that Herodotus made a mistake. Of course if ἐπιλέξαμενος could mean "selecting from," the difficulty might be removed; but I do not think it can.

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Ζεινά παρεκάλες ὡν ἦς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεός τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίνην. οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

206. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεονίδην πρῶτοι ἀπέπεμψαν Ἀσπαρτήται, ἵνα τούτους ὅρωντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύονται μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτῶν πυθανόντων ὑπερβαλλομένως. μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἢν ἔμποδῶν, ἐμέλλων ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λυπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαύτα ποίησειν· ἣν γὰρ κατὰ τῶν Ὁλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖς πρόγραμμας συμπεσοῦσα· οὖκων δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλησι πόλεμον ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

207. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωτο ποίησειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι Ἑλλήνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἔγεντο τῆς ἑσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωθέοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖς μὲν χιλοί Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε ἐλθοῦσι εἰς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμοῦ ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Δεονίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Δοκρῶν περισσερχοῦτων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἔψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὡς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὅλιγων στρατῶν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

208. Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Πέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεα ἰδέσθαι ὅκόσοι εἰσὶ
the Persian part; therefore it was that he summoned them to the war, because he desired to know whether they would send their men with him or plainly refuse the Greek alliance. They sent the men; but they had other ends in view.

206. These, the men with Leonidas, were sent before the rest by the Spartans, that by the sight of them the rest of the allies might be moved to arm, and not like others take the Persian part, as might well be if they learnt that the Spartans were delaying; and they purposed that later when they should have kept the feast of the Carnea,¹ which was their present hindrance, they would leave a garrison at Sparta and march out with the whole of their force and with all speed. The rest of the allies had planned to do the same likewise; for an Olympic festival fell due at the same time as these doings; wherefore they sent their advance guard, not supposing that the war at Thermopylae would so speedily come to an issue.

207. Such had been their intent; but the Greeks at Thermopylae, when the Persian drew near to the entrance of the pass, began to lose heart and debate whether to quit their post or no. The rest of the Peloponnesians were for returning to the Peloponnese and guarding the isthmus; but the Phocians and Locrians were greatly incensed by this counsel, and Leonidas gave his vote for remaining where they were and sending messages to the cities to demand aid, seeing that he and his were too few to beat off the Median host.

208. While they thus debated, Xerxes sent a mounted watcher to see how many they were and

¹ The national festival in honour of Apollo, held in September.
καὶ ὁ τι ποιέων. ἀκηκόει δὲ ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ὡς ἀλισμένη εἴη ταύτη στρατιὰ ὅλη γη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἶχαν Δακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Δευνίδης ἔων γένος Ἦρακλείδης. ὡς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἰππεὺς πρὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔθηεῖτο τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἷα τῇ ἦν κατιδέσθαι. δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῦσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὸ ὅπλα ἔκειτο. ἐτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἔσω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὃρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπῆλαυν ὄπισθεν κατ᾽ ἡσυχίαν οὔτε γὰρ τὰς ἐδώικες ἀλογίας τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς ἀπελθῶν τε ἐλεύρε πρὸς Ἐξέξην τὰ περ ὀπώπεε πάντα.

209. Ἀκουύνων δὲ Ἐξέξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς ἀπολεομένου τε καὶ ἀπολέουτες κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ᾽ αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέων, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρχητον τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ὑπὸ τὸ στρατόπεδῳ ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν εἰρώτα Ἐξέξης ἐκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Δακεδαιμόνιων. δὲ εἶπε "Ἡκουσας μὲν καὶ πρότερον μεν, εὗτε ὅρμῳ μεν ἔπι τὴν Ἐλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ἀκουύςας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὁρῶν ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταὐτα. ἐμοί γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀσκείειν ἀντὶ σει βασιλέως ἀγῶν μέγιστος ἐστὶ. ἀκουύςαν δὲ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀνδρεῖς οὐτοὶ ἀπίκαται μαχησόμενοι ἦμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόθου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γὰρ σφί ἔχων

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what they had in hand; for while he was yet in Thessaly, he had heard that some small army was here gathered, and that its leaders were Lacedaemonians, Leonidas a descendant of Heracles among them. The horseman rode up to the camp and viewed and overlooked it, yet not the whole; for it was not possible to see those that were posted within the wall which they had restored and now guarded; but he took note of those that were without, whose arms were piled outside the wall, and it chanced that at that time the Lacedaemonians were posted there. There he saw some of the men at exercise, and others combing their hair. Marvelling at the sight, and taking exact note of their numbers, he rode back unmolested, none pursuing nor at all regarding him; so he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

209. When Xerxes heard that, he could not understand the truth, namely, that the Lacedaemonians were preparing to slay to the best of their power or be slain; what they did appeared to him laughable; wherefore he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in his camp, and when he came questioned him of all these matters, that he might understand what it was that the Lacedaemonians were about. "I have told you already," said Demaratus, "of these men, when we were setting out for Hellas; but when you heard, you mocked me, albeit I told you of this which I saw plainly would be the outcome; for it is my greatest endeavour, O king, to speak truth in your presence. Now hear me once more: these men are come to fight with us for the passage, and for that they are preparing; for it is their custom to
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ούτω ἄστι· ἐπεὶ τὸ μέλλωσιν κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεόμενται. ἔπιστασο δὲ, εἰ τοῦτος γε καὶ τὸ ύπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατα-πρέσεω, ἐστὶ ούδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἄνθρωπον τὸ σὲ βασιλεύναι ύπομενεῖ χεῖρας ἀνταειρομένουν νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλητὴν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν" Εὐλησι προσφέρει καὶ ἄνδρας ἄριστους."

κάρτα τε δὴ Ξέρξη ἀπίστα ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὑμινα τρόπον τοσοῦ-τοι ἐόντες τῇ ἐωτοῖς στρατηγῷ μαχησόμεται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡς βασιλεύει, ἔμοι χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἄνδρε ἀρσεύτη, ἂν μὴ ταῦτα τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβιάζῃ τῇ ἐγώ λέγω.

210. Ταῦτα λέγειν οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξην, τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξήγοι ἥμερας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφέας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὖν ἀπαλ- λάσσοντο ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδεῖν τε καὶ ἀβουλίᾳ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοῦς Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμώθεις, ἐντειλάμενος σφέας ἐγιρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἐωτοῦν. ὡς δὲ ἐσέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς "Εὑληνα λύνοι Μῆδοι, ἐπιττο πολλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπεσῆσαιν, καὶ οὖκ ἀπηλαύνοντο, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταιόντες. δῆλον δὲ ἐποίεσαν παντί τετο καὶ οὖκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέω, ὅτι πολλοί μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶναν, ὅλιγοι δὲ ἀνδρεῖς. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δὴ ἡμέρη.

211. 'Επείτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχών περιείποντο, ἐνθαύτα οὕτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσασαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδε-ξάμενοι ἐπήμασαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἤρχε Ὄδαρνης, ὡς δὴ οὕτοι ὑποτεθεὶς κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὕτοι συνεμίσθηι τοίσι "Εὖλης, οὔτε πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατηγῆς τῆς Μηδικής ἄλλα τὰ αὐτά, ἀτε ἐν στενοπόρῳ τε 526
dressed their hair whensoever they are about to put their lives in jeopardy. Moreover I tell you, that if you overcome these and what remains behind at Sparta, there is no other nation among men, O king! that will abide and withstand you; now are you face to face with the noblest royalty and city and the most valiant men in Hellas.” Xerxes deemed what was said to be wholly incredible, and further enquired of him how they would fight against his army, being so few. “O king,” Demaratus answered, “use me as a liar, if the event of this be not what I tell you.”

210. Yet for all that Xerxes would not believe him. For the space of four days the king waited, ever expecting that the Greeks would take to flight; but on the fifth, seeing them not withdrawing and deeming that their remaining there was but shamelessness and folly, he was angered, and sent the Medes and Cissians against them, bidding them take the Greeks alive and bring them into his presence. The Medes bore down upon the Greeks and charged them; many fell, but others attacked in turn; and though they suffered grievous defeat yet they were not driven off. But they made it plain to all and chiefly to the king himself that for all their number of human creatures there were few men among them. This battle lasted all the day.

211. The Medes being so roughly handled, they were then withdrawn from the fight, and the Persians whom the king called Immortals attacked in their turn, led by Hydarnes. It was thought that they at least would make short and easy work of the Greeks; but when they joined battle, they fared neither better nor worse than the Median soldiery, fighting
χώρο μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροις χρεώμενοι ἢ περ ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει \χρήσασθαι. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οἷς ἐπισταμένοι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῦν, ἀλλής φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὄρωντες φεύγοντας βοῶσα τὲ καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐνθαυτά ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάτο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοῖς προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὅπισώ.

212. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσόδοιᾳ τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμέων ἐκ τοῦ βρόνου δεῖσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ. τὸτε μὲν οὗτῳ ἠγουνίσαντο, τῇ δ᾽ ὑπεραίη οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἀμεινοὺ ἀθλεόν. ἀτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐούτων, ἐπιστάντες σφέας κατατρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οἷς ἔοις τε ἔσσεσθαι ἐτὶ χείρας ἀνταείρασθαι συνεβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ έθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἤσαν, καὶ εὐκεῖρτο ἐκαστοὶ ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων οὕτως δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄροι ἐτύχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν. ως δὲ οὐδὲν εὐρίσκον ἄλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἡ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον.

213. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως ὁ τι χρήσηται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Ἐυρυδήμου ἄνὴρ Μηλεύς ἤλθε οἱ ἐς λόγους· ὅς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκεῖν οἴσσεται ἐφρασεὶ τῇ τῆν ἀτραπόν
as they were in a narrow space and with shorter spears than the Greeks, where they could make no use of their numbers. But the Lacedaemonians fought memorably. They were skilled warriors against unskilled; and it was among their many feats of arms, that they would turn their backs and feign flight; seeing which, the foreigners would pursue after them with shouting and noise; but when the Lacedaemonians were like to be overtaken they turned upon the foreigners, and so rallying overthrew Persians innumerable; wherein some few of the Spartans themselves were slain. So when the Persians, attacking by companies and in every other fashion, could yet gain no inch of the approach, they drew off out of the fight.

212. During these onsets the king (it is said) thrice sprang up in fear for his army from the throne where he sat to view them. Such was then the fortune of the fight, and on the next day the foreigners had no better luck at the game. They joined battle, supposing that their enemies, being so few, were now disabled by wounds and could no longer withstand them. But the Greeks stood arrayed by battalions and nations, and each of these fought in its turn, save the Phocians, who were posted on the mountains to guard the path.\footnote{For which see below, ch. 215, 216.} So when the Persians found the Greeks in no way different from what the day before had shown them to be, they drew off from the fight.

213. The king being at a loss how to deal with the present difficulty, Epialtes son of Eurydemus, a Malian, came to speak with him, thinking so to receive a great reward from Xerxes, and told him of
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tὴν διὰ τοῦ ὦρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ
dιέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτην ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων.
ὕστερον δὲ δεῖσας Δακεδαμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Ἰθα-
sαλίνη, καὶ οἱ φυγοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων τῶν
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε
γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς
Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν
Ἑπίαλτεα διὰ ἀλλὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν ἕγω ἐν τοῖς
ὅπισθε λόγοις σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ
Δακεδαμονίων οὐδὲν ἦσσον.

214. Ἐπίαλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέ-
θανε, ἓστι δὲ ἑτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὁ
ὑήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεως ἀνήρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλός
Ἀντικυρεῦς εἰσὶ οἱ ἐπιπαντεῖς πρὸς βασιλέα τούτων
tοὺς λόγους καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ ὅρος τοῖς
Ῥέσσηι, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
tῶδε χρῆ σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκηρυξαν οὖκ ἐπὶ Ὁ
ὑήτης τε καὶ
Κορυδαλλῷ ἀργύριον ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἐπίαλτη τῷ
Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κοῦ τὸ ἀπεκέκοστατο πυθόμενοι·
tοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα Ἐπίαλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην
οἰδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἄν καὶ έως μὴ Μηλείως
tαύτην τὴν ἀτραπον Ὁ
ὑήτης, εἰ τῷ χώρῃ πολλὰ
ἀμιληκῶς εἶν. ἀλλὰ Ἐπίαλτης γὰρ ἔστι ὁ περι-
ηγησάμενος τὸ ὅρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπον, τοῦτον
ἀιτίον γράφω.

215. Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ
Ἐπίαλτης κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρῆς γε-
nόμενος ἐπεμπε Ὁ
Σάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε

1 Cp. 200 (note).
2 The expression proves Herodotus’ intention of con-

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the path leading over the mountain to Thermopylae; whereby he was the undoing of the Greeks who had been left there. This Epieltes afterwards fled into Thessaly, for fear of the Lacedaemonians; and he being so banished a price was put on his head by the Pylagori when the Amphictyons sat together in their council at Thermopylae; and a long time after that, having returned to Anticyra, he was slain by Athenades, a man of Trachis. It was for another cause (which I will tell in the latter part of my history) that this Athenades slew Epieltes, but he was none the less honoured for it by the Lacedaemonians.

214. Such was the end of Epieltes at a later day. There is another story current, that it was Onetes son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra, who spoke to the king to this effect and guided the Persians round the mountain; but I wholly disbelieve it. For firstly, we must draw conclusion from what the Pylagori did; they set a price on the head of the Trachinian Epieltes, not of Onetes and Corydallus; and it must be supposed that they used all means to learn the truth; and secondly, we know that Epieltes was for this cause banished. I do not deny that Onetes might know the path, even though not a Malian, if he had many times been in that country; but the man who guided them by that path round the mountain was Epieltes, and on him I here fix the guilt.

215. Xerxes was satisfied with what Epieltes promised to accomplish; much rejoicing thereat, he sent Hydarnes forthwith and Hydarnes’ following; and continuing his history beyond 479, the year with which Book IX ends.
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Τδύρνησ: ὀρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἄφας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἄτραπον ταύτην ἔξευρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖς κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τὸτε οὗτοι Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέκτο ἐσύσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεύσι.

216. Ἐχει δὲ ὁδὲ ἡ ἄτραπος αὐτὴ ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσωτοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγγος ρέουτος, οὕνομα δὲ τῷ ὁρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἄτραπῷ τῶν καταφθαρὲν ἀνάπαυσεν τοῦ ὁρεός, λήγει δὲ κατά τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐνύθαν τῶν Δοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελαμπύγου τε καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκόπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατον ἔστι.

217. Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἄτραπον καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ὁσσωτοῦ διαβάντες, ἑπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχουσεν ὀρεα τὰ Οἰταῖων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὰ Τρηχυνίων. ἦσαν τε δὴ διέφανε καὶ οἱ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὁρεοῦ. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὁρεοῦ ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρήται, Φωκέαν χίλιοι ὔπληται, ῥυμευόμενος τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φρουρώντες τὴν ἄτραπον. ἦ μὲν γὰρ κατὸ ἐσβολῆ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρήται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὁρεοῦ ἄτραπον ἐθελονταί Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Δεσφύδη ἐφύλασσον.

1 Plutarch in his life of Cato (13) describes the difficulty which troops under Cato's command encountered in trying to follow it.
they set forth from the camp about the hour when lamps are lit. Now this path\(^1\) had been discovered by the Malians of the country, who guided the Thessalians thereby into Phocis, at the time when the Phocians sheltered themselves from attack by fencing the pass with a wall; thus early had the Malians shown that the pass could avail nothing.\(^2\)

216. Now the path runs thuswise. It begins at the river Asopus which flows through the ravine; the mountain there and the path have the same name, Anopaea; this Anopaea crosses the ridge of the mountain and ends at the town of Alpenus, the Locrian town nearest to Malis, where is the rock called Blackbuttock and the seats of the Cercopes; and this is the narrowest part.\(^3\)

217. Of such nature is the path; by this, when they had crossed the Asopus, the Persians marched all night, the Oetean mountains being on their right hand and the Trachinian on their left. At dawn of day they came to the summit of the pass. Now in this part of the mountain-way a thousand Phocians were posted, as I have already shown, to defend their own country and guard the path; for the lower pass was held by those of whom I have spoken, but the path over the mountains by the Phocians, according to the promise that they had of their own motion given to Leonidas.

\(^2\) This is Stein's interpretation; others make οὐδὲν χρηστὸ refer to the ἀπανθός, meaning there "pernicious."

\(^3\) The Cercopes, mischievous dwarfs, had been warned against a "μελάμυτος" enemy. Heracles, to rid the country of them, carried off two on his back, hanging head downwards, in which position they had every opportunity of observing his title to the above epithet; until their jests on the subject moved him to release them.
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218. Ἔμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκεὲς ὡς ἀναβεβηκότας ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὅρος πᾶν ἐδώ τρυφέλον ἐπὶ πλευρὰς. ἤμεν δὲ ὑγμαίρῃ, ἐφοῦ δὲ γυμνόμενον πολλοῦ, ὡς οἰκίας ἢν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τούτοι ποσὶ, ἀνὰ τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκεὲς καὶ ἐνέδυσον τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν. ὥς δὲ εἴδον ἄνδρας ἐνυμεόνους ὅπλα, ἐν θάματι ἐγένοντο. ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδένα σφι φανήσεσθαι ἄντίξον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ. ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης καταρρωθῆσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔσωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰρέτο Ἑπιάλτην ὀποδατὸς εἰπὸ ὁ στρατός, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως διέτασε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοις τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, οἴχομεν φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρος τῶν κόρυμβων, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὀρμήθησαν ἄρχην, καὶ παρεσκευάσατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἑπιάλτην καὶ Ἰδάρνης Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεύντο, οὐ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ ὅρος κατὰ τὰχος.

219. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλης ἐσύμποι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστῆς ἑσιδῶν ἂς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἑσεσθαι ἄμα ἥν σφι θάνατον, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον. οὕτωι μὲν ἐπὶ νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτω δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἤδη διαφανοῦσας ἠμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύσατο οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ σφεὼν ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γυναῖκαι οὐ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔσων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλυπείν, οὐ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακρίθηντες οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδα-
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218. Now the mountain-side where the Persians ascended was all covered by oak woods, and the Phocians knew nothing of their coming till they were warned of it, in the still weather, by the much noise of the enemy's tread on the leaves that lay strewn underfoot; whereupon they sprang up and began to arm, and in a moment the foreigners were upon them. These were amazed at the sight of men putting on armour; for they had supposed that no one would withstand them, and now they fell in with an army. Hydarnes feared that the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians, and asked Epialtes of what country they were; being informed of the truth he arrayed the Persians for battle; and the Phocians, assailed by showers of arrows, and supposing that it was they whom the Persians had meant from the first to attack, fled away up to the top of the mountain and prepared there to perish. Such was their thought; but the Persians with Epialtes and Hydarnes paid no regard to the Phocians, but descended from the mountain with all speed.

219. The Greeks at Thermopylae were warned first by Megistias the seer; who, having examined the offerings, advised them of the death that awaited them in the morning; and presently came deserters, while it was yet night, with news of the circuit made by the Persians; which was lastly brought also by the watchers running down from the heights when day was now dawning. Thereupon the Greeks held a council, and their opinions were divided, some advising that they should not leave their post, and some being contrariwise minded; and presently they parted asunder, these taking their departure and

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σθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἐκαστοί ἔτράποντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμα Δεωνίδη μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο.

220. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Δεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Ἡσσαριτέων τοῖς παρεοῦσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὔπρεπῶς ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξουσε ἀρχήν. ταῦτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν γυνῶμην πλεῖστος εἰμί. Δεωνίδην, ἐπείτε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἐόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἑθέλοντας συνδικακιν- δυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφέας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν· μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ Ἡ Ἡσσαρίτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ υπὸ τῆς Πυθίας τοῖς Ἡσσαριτιτησι χρεωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἐγείρομένου, ἡ Δα- κεδαίμωνα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι υπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡ τὴν βασιλεία σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτρουσι χρὰ λέγοντα δώδε.

ὑμῖν δ’, ὡς Ἡ Ἡσσαρίτης οἰκήτορος εὐρυχόροιο, ἡ μέγα ἄστυ ἔρικυδες υπ’ ἀνδράσι Περσείδησι πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλη

πενθήσει βασιλῆ φθίμενων Δακεδαίμωνος οὐροσ. οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρον σχῆσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων ἀντιβίν. Ζηρὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδὲ ἐ φημὶ σχῆσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν ἐτερον διὰ πάντα δάσηται.

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dispersing each to their own cities, and those resolving
to remain where they were with Leonidas.

220. It is said indeed that Leonidas himself sent
them away, desiring in his care for them to save
their lives, but deeming it unseemly for himself and
the Spartans to desert that post which they had first
come to defend. But to this opinion I the rather
incline, that when Leonidas perceived the allies to
be faint of heart and not willing to run all risks with
him he bade them go their ways, departure being
for himself not honourable; if he remained, he would
leave a name of great renown, and the prosperity of
Sparta would not be blotted out. For when the
Spartans enquired of the oracle concerning this war
at its very first beginning, the Pythian priestess had
prophesied to them that either Lacedaemon should
be destroyed of the foreigners, or that its king should
perish: which answer was given in these hexameter
verses:

Fated it is for you, ye dwellers in wide-wayed
Sparta,
Either your city must fall, that now is mighty and
famous,
Wasted by Persian men, or the border of fair
Lacedaemon
Mourn for a king that is dead, from Heracles' line
descended.
Yea, for the foe thou hast nor bulls nor lions can
conquer;
Mighty he cometh as Zeus, and shall not be stayed
in his coming;
One of the two will he take, and rend his quarry
asunder.
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tαυτά τέ δή ἐπιλεγόμενον Δεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσαι μοῦνων 1 Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποτέμψαι τούς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἄκοσμώς οἴχεσθαι τοὺς οἴχομένους.

221. Μαρτύριον δὲ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μάντιν δς εἴπετο τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ. Μεγιστίνην τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τά ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτου εἴπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλλοντα σφι ἐκβάινειν, φανερὸς ἦστι Δεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι. ὃ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέλυπε, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἕόντα οἱ μονογενέα, ἀπέτεμψε.

222. Οἱ μὲν γὰς σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἰχοντό τε ἀπίόντες καὶ ἐπείθοντο Δεωνίδη, Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Ἡθβαῖοι κατέμεναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίοις. τούτων δὲ Ἡθβαῖοι μὲν ἄκοντες ἐμενοῦ καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι κατεῖχε γὰρ σφεᾶς Δεωνίδης ἐν ὑμέρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος. Θεσπιέες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολύοντες Δεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξασθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγησε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεως.

223. Ἡρέξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦλθοι ἀνατεῖλαντος στοινδᾶς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισοχῶν χρόνων ἐς ἁγορῆς κοι μάλιστα πληθώρῃ πρόσοδον ἐποίεσε. καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτης οὕτω ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρεος ἡ κατὰβασις συντομωτέρη τε ἐστὶ καὶ βραχύτερος οἱ χῶρος πολλὸν ἢ περὶ περίοδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡρέξην προσῆμαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδην „Ελληνες, ός τὴν ἐπὶ 538.
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Of this (it is my belief) Leonidas bethought himself, and desired that the Spartans alone should have the glory; wherefore he chose rather to send the allies away than that the departure of those who went should be the unseemly outcome of divided counsels.

221. In which matter I hold it for one of my strongest proofs, that Megistias the Acarnanian (reputed a descendant of Melampus), who advised the Greeks from the offerings of what should befall them, was past all doubt bidden by Leonidas to depart, lest he should perish with the rest. Yet though thus bidden Megistias himself would not go; he had an only son in the army, and him he sent away instead.

222. So those of the allies who were bidden to go went their ways in obedience to Leonidas, and the Thespians and Thebans alone stayed by the Lacondomians; the Thebans indeed against their will and desire, and kept there by Leonidas as hostages; but the Thespians remained with great goodwill. They refused to depart and leave Leonidas and his comrades, but remained there and died with him. Their general was Demophilus son of Diadromes.

223. Xerxes, having at sunrise offered libations, waited till about the hour of marketing and then made his assault, having been so advised by Epialtes; for the descent from the mountain is more direct and the way is much shorter than the circuit and the ascent. So the foreigners that were with Xerxes attacked; but the Greeks with Leonidas, knowing

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1 Stein reads μοῦνος, with most MSS.; but μοῦνος has some authority, and expresses the sense much better.

2 So that the Persians who came by the Anopaca path, leaving the top of the pass at dawn (cp. 217), could reach the low ground by the early forenoon.
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θανάτω ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἂνὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήγησαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οὕτως δὲ ἄνα τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξίόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμισθοῦντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν ἔπιττον πλῆθεὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστυγας ἔρραπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ ἐσεπίπτων αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεύνες κατεπατέοντο Ἵσωλ ὑπ’ ἀλλῆλων ἢν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. άτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφίξαι ἔσεθαί βάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιούσων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυτο ρῶμης ὅσον εἰχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τημικαῦτα ἢδη ἐτύγχασε κατεγόρα, οἵ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Δεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἄνηρ γενόμενος ἀριστος καὶ ἔτεροι μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὄνομαστοι Ἐπαρτητέων, τῶν ἐνώ ως ἄνδρῶν ἄξιών γενομένων ἐπιθόμην τα σύνοματα, ἐπιθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτοντοι ἐνθάντα τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὄνομαστοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείον δύο παῖδες Ἀθροκόμης τε καὶ Ἐπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεωθεν θυγατρός Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείων. ὃ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἢν ἀδελφός, Τστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείω τὸν οἴκον πάντα τὸν ἐνώτου ἐπέδωκε, ὥς μοῦνης ὁ ἐσοῦσης ταύτης τέκνου.

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BOOK VII. 223–224

that they went to their death, advanced now much farther than before into the wider part of the strait. For ere now it was the wall of defence that they had guarded, and all the former days they had withdrawn themselves into the narrow way and fought there; but now they met their enemies outside the narrows, and many of the foreigners were there slain; for their captains came behind the companies with scourges and drove all the men forward with lashes. Many of them were thrust into the sea and there drowned, and more by far were trodden down bodily by each other, none regarding who it was that perished; for inasmuch as the Greeks knew that they must die by the hands of those who came round the mountain, they put forth the very utmost of their strength against the foreigners, in their recklessness and frenzy.

224. By this time the spears of the most of them were broken, and they were slaying the Persians with their swords. There in that travail fell Leonidas, fighting most gallantly, and with him other famous Spartans, whose names I have learnt for their great worth and desert, as I have learnt besides the names of all the three hundred.¹ There too fell, among other famous Persians, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, two sons of Darius by Phratagune daughter of Artanes. This Artanes was brother to king Darius, and son of Hystaspes who was the son of Arsames; and when he gave his daughter in marriage to Darius he dowerd her with the whole wealth of his house, she being his only child.

¹ Leonidas' body was brought to Sparta and there buried in 440; a column was erected on his grave bearing the names of the three hundred, which Herodotus probably saw.
HERODOTUS

225. Ἐξέρχετο τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεῖοι ἔνθαῦτα πίπτοντοι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Δεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Δακεδαίμονίων ὥθησασ ἐγώντο πολλὸς, ἐς δὲ τούτων τε ἀρετὴ οἱ "Ελληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέφαντο τους ἑναντίους τετράκις. τούτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἕπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ "Ελληνες, ἐνθεύτευν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἐς τὸ γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὅπισώ, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τείχος ἐλθόντες ἔστοι τοῖς κολωνίων πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαῖων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἐστίκε ἐπὶ Δεωνίδη. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησε, τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεύσατο, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οὐ μὲν ἔξ ἑναντίς ἐπιστόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχους συγχώσαντες, οὗ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περιστάδον.

226. Δακεδαίμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἑσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων ὡμοί λέγεται ἄνηρ ἀριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιάτης Δηνέκης· τὸν τὸ δὲ φασὶ εἶπεν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἡ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖς Μήδοις, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχίνων ὡς ἐπειδὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίεσω τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἢλιον υπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ὠστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι τοσοῦτο πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι. τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἶπεν ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιεύμενον τὸ Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἢλιον ὑπὸ σκεῖ ἐσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ.

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BOOK VII. 225-226

225. So two brothers of Xerxes fell there in the battle; and there was a great struggle between the Persians and Lacedaemonians over Leonidas' body, till the Greeks of their valour dragged it away and four times put their enemies to flight. Nor was there an end of this mêlêtill the men with Epialtes came up. When the Greeks were aware of their coming, from that moment the face of the battle was changed; for they withdrew themselves back to the narrow part of the way, and passing within the wall they took post, all save the Thebans, upon the hillock that is in the mouth of the pass, where now stands the stone lion in honour of Leonidas. In that place they defended themselves with their swords, as many as yet had such, ay and with fists and teeth; till the foreigners overwhelmed them with missile weapons, some attacking them in front and throwing down the wall of defence, and others standing around them in a ring.

226. Thus did the men of Lacedaemon and Thespiae bear themselves. Yet the bravest of them all (it is said) was Dieneces, a Spartan, of whom a certain saying is reported: before they joined battle with the Medes, it was told Dieneces by a certain Trachinian that the enemies were so many, that when they shot with their bows the sun was hidden by the multitude of arrows; whereby being no whit dismayed, but making light of the multitude of the Medes, "Our friend from Trachis," quoth he, "brings us right good news, for if the Medes hide the sun we shall fight them in the shade and not in the sunshine."
HERODOTUS

227. Ταύτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιούτοτροπα ἔπεα 
φασὶ Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνη-
μόσυνα: μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται 
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἄδελφεοι, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μά-
ρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμει 
μάλιστα τῷ οἴνομα ἢν Δινόρμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

228. Θαφθείσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ 
ἐπεσον, καὶ τούτι πρότερον τελευτήσας ἢ υπὸ 
Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραται 
γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε.

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇ δε τριήκοσιαις ἐμάχοντο 
ἐκ Πελοποννᾶσον χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταύτα μὲν δὴ τοίσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραται, τοῖσι δὲ 
Σπαρτιήτησι ἱδίῃ. =:

ὅ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλει Δακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇ 
κεῖμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Δακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε.

μυήμα τόδε κλεινῶι Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μήδοι 
Σπερχείων ποταμὸν κτείναν ἀμειψάμενοι,

μάντιος, δὲ τότε κήρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδώς 
οὐκ ἐτλή Σπάρτης ἠγεμόνα προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἐξ' ἣ τὸ 
μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύνων εἰσὶ σφέας ὁι 
ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίω 
Σιμώνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπειος ἔστι κατὰ ξευτῆν ὁ 
ἐπιγράφας.

229. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριήκοσιῶν λέγεται 
Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεδ' αὐτοῖς

1 As a matter of fact Simonides composed all three

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BOOK VII. 227–229

227. This and other sayings of a like temper are recorded of Dieneuces, whereby he is remembered. The next after him to earn the palm of valour were, it is said, two Lacedaemonian brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus. The Thespian who gained most renown was one whose name was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

228. All these, and they that died before any had departed at Leonidas' bidding, were buried where they fell, and there is an inscription over them, which is this:

Four thousand warriors, flower of Pelops' land,
Did here against three hundred myriads stand.

This is the inscription common to all; the Spartans have one for themselves:

Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their words we lie.

That is for the Lacedaemonians, and this for the seer:

Here fought and fell Megistias, hero brave,
Slain by the Medes, who crossed Spercheius' wave;
Well knew the seer his doom, but scorned to fly,
And rather chose with Sparta's king to die.

The inscriptions and the pillars were set there in their honour by the Amphictyons, except the epitaph of the diviner Megistias; that inscription was made for him for friendship's sake by Simonides son of Leoprepes.¹

229. There is a story told concerning two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus. Leonidas inscriptions; but the epitaph of Megistias was the only one which he made at his own cost.

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ἀμφοτέροις κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοις ἢ ἀπο-
σωθήναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι γε
هةν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Δεσνίδεω καὶ
κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπησίν ὁθαλμοῦντες ἐς τὸ
ἐσχάτον, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ ἔβουλοντο νοστῆσαι, ἀπο-
θανεῖν ἀμα τοῖς ἀλλοίοις, παρεῦν σφι τούτων
τὰ ἕτερα ποτέειν οὐκ ἔθελησαι ὁμοφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ
γνώμῃ διενεικθέντας Εὐρυτοῦν μὲν, πυθόμενον τῶν
Περσῶν τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα
καὶ ἐνδύντα ἄγειν ἑωτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἰλώτα
ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους, ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν
μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν δὲ ἐσπεσόντα
ἐς τὸν ὁμόλογον διαφθαρῆται, Ἀριστόδημον δὲ
λυποψυχεύοντα λειψθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἢ μοῦν
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλληγορεῖν ἀπονοστήσας ἐς Σπάρ-
την ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφεων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν
γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιτῆς
μὴν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσας νυνί δὲ τοῦ μὲν
ἀυτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου
προφάσιος οὐκ ἔθελησαντος δὲ ἀποθνησκεῖν, ἀν-
αγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστο-
δήμῳ.

230. Οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγοντι Ἀριστό-
δημον ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιῆδε, οἱ δὲ
ἀγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεύον αὐτῷ
καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γνωμόμενον οὐκ ἔθελησαι,
ἀλλὰ ὑπομευνάτα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ
συνάγγειλον αὐτοῦ ἀποκόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀπο-
θανεῖν.

231. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀρι-
στόδημος εἶχε ἄνειδος τε καὶ ἀτιμίαν πάσχων
δὲ τοιάδε ἦτίμωτο· οὕτε οἱ πῦρ οὔδεις ἔνανε
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BOOK VII. 229–231

had suffered them both to leave the camp, and they were lying at Alpeni, very sick of ophthalmia; they might have both made common cause and returned in safety to Sparta, or if they had no desire to return have died with the rest; but though they might have done one thing or the other, they could not agree, and each followed his own plan. Eurytus, when he learnt of the Persians’ circuit, called for his armour and put it on, and bade his helot lead him into the battle; the helot led him thither and then himself fled; and Eurytus rushed into the press and was slain. But Aristodemus’ heart failed him, and he stayed behind. Now if Aristodemus alone had been sick, and so returned to Sparta, or if they had betaken themselves home together, then to my thinking the Spartans would have shown no anger against them; but as it was, when one of the two was slain, and the other had the selfsame pretext to rely upon, yet would not die, they could not but be very wroth with Aristodemus.

230. Some, then, say that it was thus and with such an excuse that Aristodemus came safe back to Sparta; according to others he had been sent on a message from the camp, and might have come back in time for the battle’s beginning, yet would not, but lingered on the way and so saved his life; whereas his fellow-messenger returned for the battle and was there slain.

231. When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon, he was disgraced and dishonoured; this was the manner of his dishonour, that no Spartan would give

1 Stein reads ἄλογοςαντα, of which I can make no good sense. There is MS. authority for both.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Σπαρτιητέων ούτε διελέγετο. ονειδισ δέ εἰχε ο τρέσας 'Αριστόδημος καλεόμενος.

232. 'Αλλ' δέ μεν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ μαχῇ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν αἰτίαν λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἁγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τρικοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Παντίτθην νοστήσαντα δὲ τούτων ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπαγέσαντα.

233. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαιοὶ, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγησε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν στρατηγῆς ὡς δὲ εἰδὼν κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσῶν γινόμενα τὰ πρώγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἑπειγομένων ἐπὶ τῶν κολώνων, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χειράς τε προέτεινοι καὶ ἤσαιν ἀσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθείτατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίσοιν καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοις ἔδοσαν βασιλείς, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίηται καὶ ἀναιτίοι εἶν τοῦ τρόματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείς. ἂστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγέρνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τὰ γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεύνας αὐτῶν κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεων ἐστίζον στίγματα βασιλῆα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιές στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

234. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας "Ελλήνες
BOOK VII. 231–234

him fire, nor speak with him; and they called him for disgrace, Aristodemus the coward.

232. But he repaired all that was laid to his charge in the fight at Plataeae. It is said too that another of the three hundred, whose name was Pantites, was saved alive, carrying a message into Thessaly; he also returned to Sparta, but being there dishonoured hanged himself.

233. As for the Thebans, whose general was Leontiades, they were for a while with the Greeks and constrained by necessity to fight against the king's army; but as soon as they saw the Persians gaining the upper hand, then, when the Greeks with Leonidas were pressing towards the hillock, the Thebans separated from them and drew nigh to the foreigners, holding out their hands and crying that they were the Persians' men and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king; it was under constraint (they said) that they had come to Thermopylae, and they were guiltless of the harm done to the king; which was the truest word ever spoken; so that by this plea they saved their lives, the Thessalians being there to bear witness to what they said. Howbeit they were not wholly fortunate; for when the foreigners caught them coming, they even slew some of them as they drew near; the most of them were branded by Xerxes' command with the king's marks, from their general Leontiades downwards. This is he whose son Eurymachus long afterwards¹ put himself at the head of four hundred Thebans and seized the citadel of Plataeae, but was slain by the Plataeans.

234. Thus did the Greeks at Thermopylae contend.

¹ In 431; op. Thucyd. II. 2 ff.
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οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δηµάρχητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένε. "Δηµάρχητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθόν. τεκµαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἄληθείᾳ ὅσα γὰρ εἰπας, ἀπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δὲ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσοι τινὲς εἰς οἱ λοιποὶ Δακεδαιμονιοί, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιούτοι τὰ πολέμια εἴτε καὶ ἀπαντες." ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πολλῶν πάντων τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ· τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκµαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαιμονὶ Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα, καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰς οἱ ὁµοίοι τοίς ἐνθάδε μαχεσαµένοι· οἱ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Δακεδαιµονιοὶ τοῦτοι µὲν οὐκ ὁµοίοι, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης "Δηµάρχητε, τέφρο τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιῶν ἐπικράτησοµεν; ἢθι ἔξηγεσ· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν Βουλευµάτων οία βασιλεὺς γενόµενος."

235. "Ὁ δ’ ἀµείβετο "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, εἰ µὲν δὴ συµβουλεύειν µοι προθύµως, δίκαιον µε σοὶ ἐστὶ φράζειν τὸ ἀριστον· εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατικῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαναν χώρην. ἔστι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὴ νῆσος ἑπικειµένη τῇ οὖνοµα ἐστὶ Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων ἄνηρ παρ’ ἡµῶν σοφῶτατος γενόµενος κέρδος µέξον ἃν ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τὶ προσδοκών ἂπ’ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἑσεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸν ἐγώ ἐξηγήσωµαι, οὔτε τὸν σὸν στόλον προειδώς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁµοίως φοβεροµένοι ἀνδρῶν στόλον. ἔκ ταύτης τῆς νῆσος ὀρµώµενοι φοβεύοντο τοὺς Δακεδαιµονίους. παροίκοι δὲ πολέµου σφι ἐόντως οἰκηίον, οὔδ’ ἄν 550
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Xerxes then sent for Demaratus and questioned him, saying first, "Demaratus, you are a right good man. I hold that proved by the plain truth; for the event has been none other than what you foretold. Now, tell me this: how many are the Lacedaemonians that are left, and how many of them are warriors like these? or is it so with them all?" "O king," said Demaratus, "the Lacedaemonians altogether are many in number, and their cities are many. But what you would know, I will tell you: there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, a city of about eight thousand men, all of them equal to those who have here fought; the rest of the Lacedaemonians are not equal to these; yet they are valiant men."

"And how, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, "shall we with least ado master those men? Come, make that plain to me; for you have been their king, and know the plan and order of their counsels."

235. "O king," Demaratus replied, "if you do in sincerity ask my counsel, it is but right that I should point out to you the best way. It is this: that you should send three hundred ships of your fleet to the Laconian land. There is an island lying off their coasts called Cythera, whereof it was said by Chilon, a man of much wisdom among us, that for the Spartans' advantage Cythera were better beneath the sea than above it; for he ever looked that some such business should spring from thence as I now set before you; not that he had any foreknowledge of your armament, but he dreaded all men's armaments alike. Let them then make that island their station and issue thence to strike fear into the Lacedaemonians; if these have a war of their own on their borders, you will have no cause to fear lest they send
δεινοὶ ἔσωνται τοι μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλησκομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθείωσι τάυτη. καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἁσθενεὶς ἢδη τὸ Δακωνικὸν μοῦνον λέειπται. ἦν δὲ τάυτα μὴ ποιέης, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἑσεσθαί. ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἵσθμός στεινός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοι μάχαις ἵσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομενέων προσδέκεσθαι ἑσεσθαί τοι. ἔκεινο δὲ ποιῆσαντι ἀμαχήτι δ ἐκ ἱσθμὸς οὕτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρῆσουσι.”

236. Λέγει μετὰ τούτων Ἀχαιμένης, ἀδελφοῦς τε ἐὼν Ξέρξεω καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγός, παρατυχὼν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ δεῖσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ Ξέρξης ποιεῖν ταῦτα, “Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ὅρω σε ἄνδρος ἑνδεκόμενων λόγους δς θονείς τοι εὑ ἐπηκολείη ἡ καὶ προδιδοὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποις τοιοῦτοις χρεώμενοι Ἐλληνες χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέος καὶ τὸ κρέας σου στυγέος. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς παρευσης τύχησι, τῶν νέων νειανηγήκασι πετρακόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρηκοσίας ἀποτείμητης περιπλέειν Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοι τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἄλλης δὲ ἐὼν ὁ ναυτικὸς στράτος δυσμεταχειρίστως τε αὐτοῖς γίνεται, καὶ ἄρχῃν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι τοι ἔσωνται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσεαι ἐκεῖνοις χρήσιμος οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι σοι. τὰ σεωτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενον εὐ γνώμην ἔχω τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων μὴ ἐπιλέγησθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τῶν πόλεμων τὰ τε ποιῆσοντο ὁ σοὶ τε πλήθος εἰσι. ἵκανοι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γε αὐτοὶ ἐωτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί, 552
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men to save the rest of Hellas from being overrun by your armies: and the enslavement of the rest of Hellas must weaken Laconia, if it be thus left to stand alone. But if you will not do this, then look for that whereof I tell you: a narrow isthmus leads to the Peloponnese; all the Peloponnesians will be there banded together against you, and you may expect battles more stubborn than those that you have fought already. But if you do as I have said, then you may have that isthmus and all their cities without striking a blow.”

236. Next spoke Achaemenes, Xerxes’ brother and admiral of the fleet; it chanced that he was present at their converse, and he feared lest Xerxes be overpersuaded to follow Demaratus’ counsel. “O king,” said he, “I see that you are hearkening to a man who is jealous of your good fortune or perchance is even a traitor to your cause. These are the ways that are dear to the hearts of all Greeks: they are jealous of success and they hate power. Nay, if after the late calamity which has wrecked four hundred of your ships you send away three hundred more from your fleet to sail round the Peloponnese, your enemies will be enough to do battle with you; but while your fleet is united, it is thereby invincible, and your enemies will not so much as be enough to fight; moreover, all your navy will be a help to your army and your army to your navy, both moving together; but if you separate some from yourself, you will be of no use to them, nor they to you. My counsel is rather that you lay your own plans well, and take no account of the business of your adversaries, what battlefields they will choose, and what they will do, and how many they be. They are well able to think
Ημεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Δακεδαιμονίωι δὲ ἦν ἰσως ἀντία Πέρσηι ἐσε ἁχήνην, οὐδὲν τὸ παρέον τρώμα ἀκεύνται.

237. Αμείβεται Ἐρέχθης τοίσιδε. "Ἀχαϊμενε, εὗ τε μοι δοκέεις λέγειν καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρχης δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἀριστα ἔλπεται εἴναι ἑμοί, γνώμη μέντοι ἐσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ κεῖνο γε ἐνδέξομαι ὅκως οὐκ εὐνοεῖ τοῦτο ἐμοίσι πρήγμασι, τοίσι τε λεγομένους πρῶτον ἐκ τούτων σταθμώ-μενος καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολιήτης μὲν πολιήτης εὗ πρῆστοντι φθονεῖ καὶ ἐστὶ δυσμενῆς τῇ σιγῆ, οὐδὲ ἂν σὺ μοι βουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ πολιήτης ἀνήρ τὰ ἀριστά οἱ δοκεόντα εἰναι ὑποθέσωτο, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἅρτης ἀνήκοι σπάνιοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ξεῖνοι δὲ ξεῖνῳ εὗ πρῆστοντι ἐστὶ εὐμενέστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεῦσωτε τὰ ἀριστά. οὔτω δὲν κακολογήσης τῆς ἐς Δημάρχητον, ἐόντος ἐμοί ξεῖνου πέρι, ἐγεσθαί τινὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω.

238. Ταῦτα εἴπασι Ἐρέχθης διεξῆε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ Δεσφίδεω, ἀκηκοὼς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Δακεδαιμονίων, ἔκελευσε ἀποταμώντας τὴν κεφάλην ἀνασταρῶσαι. δηλαὶ μοι πολλοὶς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ δὲ οὔκ ἡκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἐρέχθης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἄνδρῶν ἐθυμόθη ζῶντι Δεσφίδη. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταύτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ ὄλα ἄνθρωπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οὐ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐποίειν, τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιείν. 239. Ἀνείμι δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου τῇ μοι τὸ

1 [περι] κακολογήσης Stein.
for themselves, and we likewise for ourselves. As for the Lacedaemonians, if they meet the Persians in the field, they will in nowise repair their late hurts."

237. "Achaemenes," Xerxes answered, "methinks you say well, and I will do as you counsel. But Demaratus, albeit your advice is better than his, says what he supposes to be most serviceable to me: for assuredly I will never believe that he is no friend to my cause; I judge that he is so by all that he has already said, and by what is the truth, namely, that if one citizen prosper another citizen is jealous of him and shows his enmity by silence, and no one (except he have attained to the height of excellence; and such are seldom seen) if his own townsman asks for counsel will give him what he deems the best advice. But if one stranger prosper, another stranger is beyond all men his well-wisher, and will if he be asked impart to him the best counsel he has. Wherefore I bid you all refrain from maligning Demaratus, seeing that he is a stranger and my friend."

238. Having thus spoken, Xerxes passed over the place where the dead lay; and hearing that Leonidas had been king and general of the Lacedaemonians, he bade cut off his head and impale it. It is plain to me by this especial proof among many others, that while Leonidas lived king Xerxes was more incensed against him than against all others; else had he never dealt so outrageously with his dead body; for the Persians are of all men known to me the most wont to honour valiant warriors. So they who were thus charged did as I have said.

239. I return now to that place in my history
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πρότερον ἔξελιπτε. ἐπύθοντο Δακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτοι, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ὡς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν, ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ἔχρησθη τὰ ὅλην πρότερον εἶτον ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ. Δημάρχητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστατωνος φυγῶν ἔς Μῆδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἰκὸς ἔμοι συμμάχομαι, οὐκ ἢν εὐνοος Δακεδαιμονίοις, πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν εἰτε εὐνοοὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἰτε καὶ καταχαίρων. ἔπειτε γὰρ Ἑρέξη ἐδοξεῖ στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔως ἐν Σούσσοις ὁ Δημάρχητος καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἠθέλησε Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐξαγγέλλαι. ἀλλὰς μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἰχεῖ σημῆναι ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἡν μὴ λαμφθείη· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· δελτίον διπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκινησε, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλεὸς γνώμην, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁπίσω ἐπέτηξε τῶν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρήγμα παρέχοι πρὸς τῶν ὀδοφυλάκων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Δακεδαιμονίαν, οὶν εἴχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφὶ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ Γοργῶ ὑπέθετο ἐπιφρασθείσα αὐτή, τὸν κηρὸν καίν κελεύονσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ. πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἐπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοίους Ἑλλησὶ ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

1 220, where Herodotus mentioned the bare fact of the
where it lately left off. The Lacedaemonians were the first to be informed that the king was equipping himself to attack Hellas; with this knowledge it was that they sent to the oracle at Delphi, where they received the answer whereof I spoke a little while ago; and the way of their being so informed was strange. Demaratus son of Ariston, being an exile among the Medes, was, as I suppose (reason being also my ally), no friend to the Lacedaemonians, and I leave it to be imagined whether what he did was done out of goodwill or despiteful triumph. Xerxes being resolved to march against Hellas, Demaratus, who was then at Susa and had knowledge of this, desired to send word of it to the Lacedaemonians. But he feared to be detected, and had no other way of acquainting them than this trick:—taking a double tablet, he scraped away the wax from it, and then wrote the king’s intent on the wood; which done, he melted the wax back again over the writing, so that the bearer of the tablet thus left blank might not be troubled by the way-wardens. When the tablet came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians could not guess its meaning, till at last (as I have been told) Gorgo, Cleomenes’ daughter and Leonidas’ wife, discovered the trick of herself and advised them to scrape the wax away, when they would find writing on the wood. So doing, they found and read the message, and presently sent it to the rest of the Greeks. This is the story, as it is told.

Spartans getting early intelligence of Xerxes’ plans against Greece. Now he completes the story.
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