HERODOTUS
IV
BOOKS VIII-IX

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

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES
IV

BOOKS VIII–IX

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INTRODUCTION

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

BOOK VIII

Ch. 1–5. The Greek fleet at Artemisium; question of supreme command; bribery of Themistocles by the Euboeans.
Ch. 6–14. Despatch of a Persian squadron to sail round Euboea, and its destruction by a storm. Effect of the storm on the rest of the Persian fleet; first encounter between the two fleets.
Ch. 15–17. Second battle off Artemisium.
Ch. 18–23. Retreat of the Greeks; Themistocles' attempt to tamper with the Ionians; Persian occupation of Euboea.
Ch. 24–33. Visit of Persian sailors to the field of Thermopylae. Olympic festival (26). Feuds of Thessalians and Phocians; Persian advance through Phocis (27–33).
Ch. 34–39. Persian march through Boeotia, and unsuccessful attempt upon Delphi.
Ch. 40–48. Abandonment of Attica by the Athenians; the Greek fleet at Salamis.
Ch. 49–55. Greek council of war; Persian invasion of Attica and occupation of Athens.
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Ch. 56–64. Greek design to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus of Corinth. Decision to remain at Salamis, by Themistocles’ advice.

Ch. 65. Dicaeus’ vision near Eleusis.

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

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

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

Ch. 83–96. Battle of Salamis.

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 113. Mardonius’ selection of his army.

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

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

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

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Ch. 133–135. Mardonius' consultation of Greek oracles.
Ch. 136–139. Mission to Athens of Alexander of Macedonia; origin of his dynasty.
Ch. 140–144. Speeches at Athens of Alexander and the Spartan envoys; Athenian answer to both.

BOOK IX

Ch. 1–5. Mardonius in Attica; his fresh proposals to the Athenians.
Ch. 6–11. Hesitation of the Spartans to send troops; appeals made by the Athenians; eventual despatch of a force.
Ch. 12–15. Argive warning to Mardonius; his march to Megara and withdrawal thence to Boeotia.
Ch. 16–18. Story of a banquet at Thebes, and Mardonius' test of a Phocian contingent.
Ch. 19–25. The Greeks at Erythrae; repulse of Persian cavalry attack, and death of its leader; Greek change of position.
Ch. 26–27. Rival claim of Tegeans and Athenians for the post of honour.
Ch. 28–32. Battle array of Greek and Persian armies.
Ch. 33–37. Stories of the diviners in the two armies.
Ch. 38–43. Persian attack on a Greek convoy; Mardonius' council of war and determination to fight.
Ch. 44–51. Alexander's warning to the Athenians; attempted change of Greek and Persian formation; Mardonius' challenge to the Spartans, and retreat of Greeks to a new position.
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Ch. 52–57. Flight of the Greek centre; Amompharetus' refusal to change his ground.
Ch. 58–65. Battle of Plataea; initial success of Spartans and Tegeans.
Ch. 66–69. Flight of Artabazus; Athenian success against the Boeotians; disaster to part of the Greek army.
Ch. 70–75. Assault and capture of the Persian fortified camp. Distinctions of various Greek fighters.
Ch. 76–79. Pausanias' reception of the Coan female suppliant; the Mantineans and Eleans after the battle; Lampon's proposal to Pausanias and his reply.
Ch. 80–85. Greek division of the spoil and burial of the dead.
Ch. 86–89. Siege of Thebes and punishment of Theban leaders; retreat of Artabazus.
Ch. 90–95. Envoys from Samos with the Greek fleet. Story of the diviner Euenius.
Ch. 96–105. Movements preliminary to the battle of Mycale, and Greek victory there.
Ch. 106, 107. Greek deliberation at Samos; quarrel between Persian leaders.
Ch. 108–113. Story of Xerxes' adultery and cruelty, and the fate of his brother Masistes.
Ch. 114–121. Capture of Sestus by the Greeks; sacrilege of Artaýctes, and his execution.
Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

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

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

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

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, aliunde, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. 

Pace the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the
record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worships,—was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans—disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare—it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.
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This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK VIII
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Θ

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οὕδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἕκατὸν καὶ ἐῖκοσι καὶ ἐπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιές ἀπειροὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρων τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρὲς δὲ ἐῖκοσι, καὶ Χαλκιδεῖας ἐπλήρουν εἰκοσὶ, Ἀθηναῖῶν σφὶ παρεξοντων τὰς νέας, Λιγυνῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετριές δὲ ἐπτά, Τροιζύμιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κῆιοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφὶ οἱ Ὁποιοντιοὶ ἐπεβο ihtευν πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἐπτά.

2. Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἰρηταὶ δὲ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἑκαστοὶ τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεκθεσέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μία τῶν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεων.
1. The Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

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

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπτεν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοι χρεὼν εἰποτράπευν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιείνασι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γυνότες, εἰ στασίσοντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῖτες: στάσις γὰρ ἐμφύλος πολέμου ὡς ὁμοφρονεόν τοσοῦτο κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσφο πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι δὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινο ἄλλα εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσον κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν: ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὁσάμενοι τῶν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδη τῶν ἁγῶν ἐποιεῖντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεων ὑβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοὺς Ἀκεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ύστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὕτως οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἐλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἰδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατηγῆς ἀπαντά πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν Βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἡ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεος, καταρρωσάντες δρῆσιμον ἔβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσώ τῆν Ἑλλάδα. γυνότες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοῖες ταύτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμείναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἄστ' ἐὰν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείας ὑπεκθέονται. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῳ τριήκοντα

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

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

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

5. Ὅ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπισχεῖν ὄδε ποιεῖ: Ἐὐρυβιάδη τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ’ ἐωτοῦ δῆθεν διδοὺς. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὕτως ἀνεπεπειστο, Ἄδειμαντος γὰρ ὦ Ὦκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἕσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεῦσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὗ παραμενείν, πρὸς δὴ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας τῆς Ὁυ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἔπει τοι ἐγὼ μέξω δόρα δόσο ἡ βασιλεὺς ἀν τοῦ Ὀμήδων πέμψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους.” ταῦτα τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἄδειμαντοῦ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὕτως δὲ πάντες δώροις ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖς Ἑυβοευθί κεκαλύπτο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδησε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ’ ἂπιστεάτο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πόλεμο τοῦτο τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὔτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Ἑυβοίῃ καὶ ἑναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὃδε. ἔπειτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωίνη γνωμένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἐτὶ καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον ναυλοχεῖν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλύγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἰ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίθης προσπλέειν οὐκ ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἴνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες ὁ Ἑλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγήν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντὰς τε εὐφρόνῃ καταλαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐμελλὼν δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ
thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

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

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

7. Πρὸς ταύτα δὲν τάδε ἐμηχανώντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέως ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὄφθεισαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὐβοιαν κατά τε Καρφήα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Ἑὕριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οὐ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ήπισω φέρουσαι ὦδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι εἴξ ἐναντίας. ταύτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν ταῖς ταχθείσαις, αὐτοὶ οὖκ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἠμέρης τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἦ τὸ σύνθημα σφι ἐμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλέοντων ὡς ἥκοντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇσ Ἀφέτησι ἐποιεύντο ἀριθμοῦν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ὧδ οὕτω ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεύντο τῶν νεῶν, ἣν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦτῳ Σκυλλῖς Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος, ὅς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἐσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιβάλλετο· οὕτος ὁ Σκυλλῖς ἐν νῷ μὲν ἐξε ἀρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολῆσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ως τότε. ότεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐτὶ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀπρεκεῖσθω, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθεία. λέγεται γὰρ ὠς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δῦς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἡ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὁγδόκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης
Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer\(^1\) of them must be saved alive.

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

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

\(^1\) The πυρρόποις carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.
HERODOTUS

dieξελθὼν. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἰκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα: περὶ μέντοι τούτου γινόμη ἀποδεδέχθω πλοῦς μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἔσῃμην τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυνήγην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

9. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντι, καὶ αὐλισθένται, μετέπειτα νῦκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντῶν τῇσι περιπλεύσησι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὔδείς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὀψίν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέσπευον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὄρωντες δὲ σφέας οἱ τε ἅλλοι στρατιώται οἱ Ἐρέξεω καί οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νησὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχιν σφι μανήν ἐπενείκαντες ἀνήγου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωτῶν πλῆθεί τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἀμεινὸν πλεοῦσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον, ὡςοὶ μὲν τῶν Ἱώνων ἤσαν εὔνοι τοίσι Ἑλλησι, ἄεκοντες τε ἐςτρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεύντο μεγάλην ὀρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὔδείς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει: οὔτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἴναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοις ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀμυλλαν ἐποιεύντο ὅκως.
There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

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

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

¹ For the διεκπάλως see Bk. VI. ch. 12.
αὐτὸς ἔκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἄττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δόρα λάμψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖς λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖς βαρβάροις γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνιας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημάναντος ἔργου εἴχοντο ἐν ὀλύγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἴρεοντι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργον τοῦ Σαλαμίνων βασιλέος ἄδελφεον Φιλίωνα τοῦ Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ένοτα ἐν τῷ στρατηγόν ἀνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἕλληνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἄνηρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Λισχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήτων ἔλαβε οὕτως. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταυτῇ ἑτεράκεςς ἁγωνιζομένους νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλοὺ παρὰ δόξαν ἁγωνιςάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεὺς Ἕλληνων έόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τούτο τὸ ἐργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμίνι.

12. Ὅς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόρη, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγινέτο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἀπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιώται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἰα κακὰ ἥκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἐκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ
Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

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

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

13. Καὶ τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νῦξ ἐγίνετο, τούτοι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐσώσα νῦξ πολλὸν ἦν ἐτὶ ἀγρωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοις ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖς χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐσώσα κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ οἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποίετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἄν ἔξισωθεί τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχῃ.

14. Οὕτως μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας διεφθέροντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἁφέτησι βάρβαροι, ὡς σφι ἁσμένουις ἠμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἄρεμας τε εἰχὸν τὰς νέας καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρήσσοσι ἵσυχην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεώτι. τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησὶ ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπεκόμεναι καὶ ἀμα ἦγελη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τῆς Εὐβοιαν πάντες εἶχαν διεφθαρμένοι υπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμώνος. φυλακτοί δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὄρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον ἤνυς Κιλίσσης· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεεν ὁπίσω ἔτι τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

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

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

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

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the
οὺς ἀνέμειναν ἐτὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἥμερης ἀνήγου τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὡστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἥμερας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπόλης. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἄγων τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἐυρίπου, ὡσπερ τοῖς ἄμφι Δεωνίδης τὴν ἐσβόλην φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρακελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ὅκως τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείρατες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξίμευοι οἱ Ἐρέξεως ἐπέπλεον, οἱ "Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας ἔχουν πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνοείδες ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιειν αὐτοὺς.

16. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ "Ἑλληνες ἐπανέπλεον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγίνοντο. οἱ γὰρ Ἐρέξεως στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομε νέοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτυσσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμος μὲντοι ἀντεἶχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῖντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλυγέων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνῶν νέες διεφθεῖροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεύσεις νέες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὔτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρίς ἐκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Διόγυπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ἐρέξεως στρατιωτῶν ἰρίστευσαν, οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἐργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἥμερην ἰρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ...
Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the sea-men's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

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

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

18. Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὁμον ἤπειγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιε- φθέντες, καὶ οὖν ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόω δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ τε Ἰωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τοῦ Καρικόν, οἰοὶ τε οἴησαν ἄν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταῦτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε σφί ως δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἄριστους. ταῦτα μὲν γνῶν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνω, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασε τάδε ποιήσαν σφί εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἑθέλοι κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατινὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεε τε προειπεῖν τοῖς ἐωτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδὰς δὲ πέρι τὴν ἄρην αὐτῶ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἄσινεα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἦρεσέ σφι ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαινίζομεν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοῖες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βακχίδος χρησίμον ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὐτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρε-
and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

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

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

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

¹ This means, I suppose, to the seas nearer their homes.
σομένου σφί πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόγματα. Βύκιδι γὰρ ὁδὲ ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζει, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ἤγγον εἰς ἀλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον, Ἐὐβοῖης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἰγας.

tούτοις οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐπεσι χρησαμενοις ἐν τοῖς τότε παρεούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμουσι κακοίσι παρὴν σφὶ συμφορῇ χρὰσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησσον, παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τὸ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἰχὲ πλοῖον κατῆρες ἑτοιμόν, εἰ παλῆσει ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπούλησι ἑσύσι: ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Δυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἑτοιμὸς τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἑσύσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρω, ἢν τὶ καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζὸν. οὕτος δὲν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπίκομενὸς σφὶ ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἳ δὲ γὰρ ἐπύθουσα ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεύτω τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἐκαστοί ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρώτοι, ὠστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύτω περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὑδάτα, ἐντάμυναν ἐν τοῖς λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἰωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἐλεγε. "'Ανδρες Ἰωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια
they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruc-
tion; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

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

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

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

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of
drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day
when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly
HERODOTUS
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to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning.” To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

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

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

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1 The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaea.
μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέμπε ὡς τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὥσιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωντοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι (حضارν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ύπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὄρυξάμενος ἐθάψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῇ ἑπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ἀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διεβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατόπεδου ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ἐρέχθης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τήν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θείσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοικτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἰλπίζαν τὴν βασιλέας ὁμαλίν ὑπερβαλέσθαι.”

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγχειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιότερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἦθελον θείσασθαι. διαπεραιώθεντες δὲ ἐθεύνυτο διεξιώντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὀρώντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ’ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ἐρέχθης ταῦτα πρῆξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωντοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοίον ἦν τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαινόντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἀλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τῶν ἅρμαχ ὑφάριον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταῦτῃ μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἔτραποντο, τὴ δ’ ὑστεραίη οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεεν ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐρέχθην ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμέατο.

26. Ἡκοῦ δὲ σφι αὐτομολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ’ Ἀρκα-δίας ὄλγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλομένοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτος ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέας ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν
to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: “Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king’s power.”

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

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king’s presence, the Persians inquired of them what
'Ελλήνων τί ποιέοιεν· εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οὐ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὅλυμπια ἀγούσι καὶ θεωρείεν ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἰππικόν. ὅ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὁ τι ὁ ἀεθλοῦν εἰη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὄτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οὐ δὲ εἴπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἴπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίνῳ ὡφλε πρὸς βασιλεός. πυθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἀεθλοῦν εὖν στέφανον ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἴνεσχετο σιγῶν εἴπε τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαὶ Μαρδόνιε, κοίνως ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἴγαγες μαχησμένους ἴμεας, οὐ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγώνα ποιεῖται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἄρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

27. 'Εν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπούλησι τρόμα ἐγεγόνει, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοί πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἀτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ύστατον τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιή αὐτοῖ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοί καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοὶ έτεσι πρὸτερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλεός στρατηλασίας, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέβησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκεῖς ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλήν τὸν Ἑλείον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλής οὕτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖς τοιόῦτο. γυνὼς ἀνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθῆκατο τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, προεῖπας αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἀν μὴ
the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Arcadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

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

solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.
λευκανθίζοντα ἰδοῦνται, τούτων κτείνειν. τούτους ὡν αὐτοὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρώται ἱδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῆς ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω ὠστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατήσαι νόμῳ καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισίας ἐσ "Ἀβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δέλφούς" ἢ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίτοδα συνεστεώτες ἐμπροσθε τοῦ νηῶν τοῦ ἐν Δέλφοις, καὶ ἑτεροὶ τοιοῦτοι ἐν "Ἀβας ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταύτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἐσωτερικῶς ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήγαντο ἀνιχνεύτως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἢ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰς μορφὰς τινί τάφρον μεγάλην ὁρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοῦς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορῆσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱπποὶ τὰ σκέλεα διεθήρασαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφὶ ἀμφότερων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευν τάδε. "Ὡς Φωκέες, ἢδη τί μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέστε μὴ εἶναι ὀμοιοὶ ἡμῖν. πρόσθες τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησί, ὁσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἠνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτὲ ὑμῶν ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τόσοτο δυνάμεθα ὡστε ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστερήσει καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ τῶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω αὐτῷ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
slay whomsoever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Aabe and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Aabe.

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

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

ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."

30. Ἐκ ταύτα σφί ἐπαγγέλλων οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμὴδίζουν, καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομενοι εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν: εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἥξιον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμὴδίζουν αὖ οἱ Φωκέες. ταύτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δῶσειν ἐφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖς ὀμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλόιτο: ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὔτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοίσι Φωκεύσι ἐγένοντο ἤγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὅδου. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχυνίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεῶν στεινός ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὕρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἡ περ ἂν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυστής· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὐτῇ ἥστα μιτρόπολις Δωρεών τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτῃ ἄν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμὴδίζον τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖς.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἱρέουσιν, οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖ δέξασθαι ὦμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπὶ ἐσωτήρ: Τιθορέα οὖναμα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὲ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οὐ δὲ πλεύνεις αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὄξολας Δοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς
did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land.”

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

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

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

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τὸν Κηφίσου ποταμὸν ἐδιόνυσαν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἐκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ίερώχων καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Άμφικαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ελάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποτάμους καὶ 'Αβας, ἐνθὰ ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖς τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κατεσκευασμένον· ἣν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ χρηστίριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινὰς διώκουσες εἴλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀρέσι, καὶ γυναίκας τινὰς εἰέφθειραν μισγόμενον ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραποτάμους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἀπίκοντο ὡς Παυσείας. ἐνθέευτεν δὲ ἶδῃ διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ὡς Βουιτούς, ὡς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν. Βουωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμιδίκε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἐσωζοῦν, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἐσωζοῦν δὲ τῇδε, δὴλον βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν Ξέρξη ὅτι τὰ Μιῆδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

35. Οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτη ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἐχόντες ὀρμεάτο
the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaean plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

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

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

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the
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πι το ἵρον το ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν Παρνησίων ἀπέργουντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἑστιναμώρεσον καὶ γὰρ τῶν Παιονιῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Λισιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταυτῇ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶν δεδειν, ὅκως συλλήσαντες τὸ ἵρον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς βασιλέως Ξέρξης ἀποδέξαεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δὲ ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ ὅσα λόγου ἢν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἑγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἴκῳ ἐλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλνάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαι ἄρρωσίν αὐτικατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες ἐμαυτεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἵρων χρημάτων, εἰτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἰτε ἐκκομίσωσι εἰς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφέας ὅκκ ἐκ κινεῖν, φᾶς αὐτὸς ἴκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωτοῦ προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέας αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναίκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαϊήν διεπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησίων τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἀντρον ἀνηείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς "Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Δοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὄν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξελισσουν τὴν πόλιν, πλην ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχοι ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιάντες καὶ ἀπώροι τὸ ἵρον, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὕνομα ἢν Ἀκήρατος, ὅρα πρὸ τοῦ νηηον ὅπλα προκείμενα ἐσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενενευγμένα ἵρα, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ὢν ἀπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.
temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own. On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaia; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave,¹ and some escaped to Amphissa in Locris; in brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

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

¹ In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is “some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high” (How and Wells).
ὁ μὲν δὴ ἡ ἴση Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεόουσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπηγίνεται σφι τέρας ἐτι μέξονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεσι. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἄριστα αὐτόματα φανήναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηῦ, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἀξία θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐτει γὰρ ἡ ἴσην ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοῦ αὐτούς ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσα δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον σφυροὺς σφέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

38. Συμμυγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροις ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθοῦντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέως, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπεκτείναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεύοντες ἱθὲ Βοωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὔτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὄρων θεία. δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέξονας ἢ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους φύσιν ἔχουσα ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοῖ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἵρως, Φύλακον τε καὶ Αὐτόνου, τῶν τὰ τερένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν, Φυλάκοι μὲν παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὄδον κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλαις τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ταμπείῃ κορυφῆς, οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἢτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἤσαν σῶν,
he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.

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

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus’ by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonous’ near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell\(^1\) from Parnassus were yet to be

\(^1\) “Among the olives in the glen below” the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea “are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above” (How and Wells).
HERODOTUS

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηναίως κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν νων τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτή ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγῇ γίνεται.

40. 'Ο δὲ Ἐλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δειθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναίοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκες ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλήν ἐμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐγενσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποινησίους πανδημεί ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βαρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὐρον οὐδέν ἐόν, οἳ δὲ ἐπυυθάνουτο τὸν Ἰσθμόν αὐτοὺς τεῖχεντας, ὡς τὴν Πελο-
πόνησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιεσμένους περιείναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπηέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἔωστών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὶ εἰν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναῖων τῇ τίς δύναται σῶζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἔνθατα οἱ 
μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίξην ἄπεστελαν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Ἀὔγιναν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσαν τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρε-
tέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τούδε εἶνεκα οὔκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναίοι δὴ μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος 
ἐνδιατάσσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ 
δὴ ὡς ἐόντε ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· 

tὰ δ᾽ ἐπιμήνια μελιτόσσα ἐστὶ. αὐτὴ δὴ ἡ
seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

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

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

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἐς Σαλαμίνα
κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθα-
νόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ
Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροίζηνων λιμένα
προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέξθησαν τε δὴ
πολλῷ πλέουσι νέοι ἔπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμαύχεον
καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλέυσι, ναύαρχος μὲν νυν
ἔπην ὀυτὸς ὃς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης
ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεως ἀνὴρ Σπαρτητῆς, οὐ μέντοι γένεος
τοῦ βασιλείου ἐώς νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε
καὶ ἀρίστα πλεούσας παρεῖχοντο Ἀθηναίοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἴδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοπο-
νήσου Δακεδαμόνιοι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι,
Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλῆρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ
ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρεί-
χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροίζηνιοι δὲ
πέντε, Ἐρμυνεές δὲ τρεῖς, ἑχοὺσι οὗτοι πλὴ-
Ἐμμονέων Δωρικῶν τε καὶ Μακεδῶν ἔθνος, ἐξ
Ἐρμεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυσπίδος ἱστατα
ὄρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμυνέες εἰσὶ Δρύσπες, ὑπὸ
Ἡρακλέος τοι καὶ Μηλεων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος
καλομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.

44. Οὕτωι μὲν νυν Πελοποιννήσιοι ἐστρατεύ-
οντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐξω ἥπειρου, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν
πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὁγδώ-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμίνι γὰρ οὐ
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cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

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

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

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnesse, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not
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συνεναιμάχησαν Πλαταιές Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τοι-
όνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκῖδα,
οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίνῃ τῆς
Βοιωτίας χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομίδην ἑτράποντο τῶν
οἰκετέων, οὗτοι μὲν υἱὸς τούτους σώζοντες ἐλεί-
φθήσαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἔπι μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων
τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί,
ἀνομαζόμενοι Κραναῖοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέως
ἐκλήθησαν Κέκροπιδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέως
tὴν ἄρχην Ἀθηναίοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνὸς δὲ
tοῦ Σουθοῦ στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοις
ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἰωνεῖς.

45. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τῶντο πλήρωμα παρεῖχοντο
καὶ ἔπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακίωται δὲ ἔπτα νέας
ἐχόντες ἐπεβούλθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνους
ἔόντες οὕτω Αἰωνώκον ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρεῖ-
χοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφί καὶ ἄλλα πεπληρωμένα
νέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τὴν ἐωτῶν ἐφύλασσον,
τριήκοντα δὲ τῆς ἀριστα πλεούσης ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
ἐναιμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ
'Επιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρὸτερον οὐνομα ἦν
Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας Χαλκιδὲς τὰς ἐπ'
Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρεχθέες τὰς
ἔπτα· οὕτω δὲ Ἰωνεῖς εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κύςὶ τὰς
αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνους ἔδων Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ
Ἀθηναίων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρεῖχοντο τέσσερες, ἀπο-
πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-
fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

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

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

1 That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.
τέων κατά περὶ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἔλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρός τῶν ἀστῶν δοκί-
μου καὶ τότε τριημαρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἰωνές ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρεῖς δὲ τὰς αὐτῶς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περὶ Ἕρτεμισίων,
Κύθνιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντες, ἔοντες συναμ-
φότεροι οὕτωι Δρύσες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ
Σιφνιοὶ καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὕτωι γὰρ οὐκ
ἐδοσαι μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ
ύδωρ.

47. Οὕτωι μὲν ἄπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσ-
πρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο·
Θεσπρωτὸι γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτησι
καὶ Λευκάδιοις, οἱ ἐς ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρα-
τεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κρο-
τωνίται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἐλλάδι
κυδωνευούσῃ μὴ νη, τῆς ἄρχε ἄνη τοῖς πυ-
θιούκης Φάννλλος· Κροτωνίται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ
Ἀχαιῶ.

48. Οἱ μὲν νών ἄλλοι τριήρεις παρεχόμενοι
ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σιφνιοὶ καὶ Σερίφιοι
πεντηκοντέρους. Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἑοντες ἀπὸ
Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σιφνιοὶ δὲ καὶ
Σερίφιοι Ἰωνές ἑοντες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἑκάτεροι.
ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν
πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ
ὁκτά·

49. Ὁς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνήλθον οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβούλευοντο,
προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γρώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τῶν
βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκεῖοι ἐπιτηθεύστατον εἶναι ναυ-
islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

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

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

49. When the leaders from the cities aforenamed met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks
μαχῆς ποιέσθαι τῶν αὐτὸν χωρέων ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσιν ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπείτο ἡδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξήπτυγον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς εἰ νικηθῶσι τῇ ναυμαχῇ, ἐν Σαλαμῖν μὲν ἑόντες πολυρρυπάνται ἐν νῆσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίᾳ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανῆσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωτύτων ἐξοίσονται.

50. Ταύτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαιν αὐτὴν πυρπολέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἀμα Ἐξρῆξ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἥκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἁθῆνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδημοῦ. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειών τε καὶ Πλάταιων πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδίζον.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ἰλλισπῶντος, ἐνθευ πορεύεσθαι ἦρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μήνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροις μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ αἴροντι ἔρημον τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλύγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱρᾶν καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησι τε καὶ ξύλωσι ήμύνοντο τοὺς ἑπιόντας, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἑσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκεόντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήων τὸ Ἡ Πυθία σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ἔξυλον τείχος ἀνάλωτον

46
were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnese, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

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

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

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἵξομενοι ἐπὶ τῶν καταντίων τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὁχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναίοι καλέουσι Ἀρήμων πάγουν, ἐπολιορκεῖν τρόπον τοιώδει ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὄιστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἔτοξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα, ἐνθάδε Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὡμοὶ ἡμύνουτο, καὶπερ ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ ἀπυγμένου καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότων· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίας ἐνεδέκωτο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμιχαύνωτο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ἐρέξην ἔπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίησε ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἑλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἑφάνη δὴ τις ἐξόδος τοῦ βαρβάρωσι ἐδείχα γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρότιον πάσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσησι. ἔμπροσθε δὲν πρὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὡπεσθε δὲ τῶν πυλεῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τι ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἄν ἠπίσε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταύτα ἀναβαίνε ἀνθρώπων, ταύτη ἄνεβησην τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος ἰωνατρός Ἀγαλάφου, καὶτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ως δὲ εἴδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτῶς κατὰ τοῦ τείχους κατω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

1 In vii. 142.
impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.¹

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

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

² Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. \(\mu\varepsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\) here = \(\iota\rho\omicron\nu\).
Ηρόδωτος

54. Σχόν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθηναίας Ἑρέξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελον ἵπτεα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφί εὑπρηξίν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρη ἡμέρη συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἰτε δὴ ὃν ὄψιν τινὰ ἱδὼν ἐκεῖνον ἑνετέλεσα ταῦτα, εἰτε καὶ ἑνθύμων οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἴυκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι ταύτη Ἐρεχθεός τοῦ γηγενός λεγομένου εἶναι νησί, ἐν τῷ ἐλαΐᾳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἕνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἔρησαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρω θέσθαι. ταὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἐλαίην ἀμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρᾶ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. δευτέρη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θυέων ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὄρους βλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηλικαίοι μαθεδραμηκότα. οὕτωι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐφραζαν.
to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

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

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

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

¹ Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.
μένοισι αὐτῶν ἑκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νῦξ τε ἐγκύνετο καὶ οὐ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἔσβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἔνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπεικόμενον ἐτὶ τὴν νέα εἰρετο ὁ Μησίφιλος ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τι σφί εἰη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε ὁ Ὀὐτ' ἀρα, ἣν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὐδεμίης ἐτὶ πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις, κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἐκαστοὶ τρέφονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὡστε μὴ ὡς διασκεδασθήναι τὴν στρατηγὴν ἀπολέσατα τῇ Ἔλλας ἀβουλίησι. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἤθι καὶ πειρὸ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἥν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσας οὕτε αὐτοῦ μένειν.

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἦρεσε ἡ υποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἢς ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐφη ἔθελεν οἱ κοινῷ τι πρῆγμα συμμιζῆν· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἔκελευν ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἰ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενος οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἥκουσε Μησίφιλος, ἐσωτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθῆναι, ὡς ὁ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἐκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβήναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

59. Ὀς δὲ ἀρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθείναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἰνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἢν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁδύοις λόγοις ὁι κάρτα δεόμενος.
left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

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

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

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son
λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὁκύτου ἔπει "Ὤ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖς ἄγοσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ἑπιζούνται." ὦ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "Οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται."

60. Τότε μὲν ἣπιώς πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὔρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἐτὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸτέρων λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμοι οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὦ δὲ ἅλλον λόγου εἰχέτο, λέγον τάδε. "Εὐν σοι νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἂν ἔμοι πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενοι τοῦτων τοῖς λόγοις ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐστὶ τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἐχουσὶ βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τούτῳ δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχίσωμεν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἐψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὖτω σφέας αὐτὸς άξιών ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καυδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγον ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς χρηστὰ εὑρίσκεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νησὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχείν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί, ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἑκείνων. αὕτης δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγύνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκεεθαι τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστὶ, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·

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of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the
όμως αύτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελο-
πονυήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἰ
περ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
ήν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγώ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν
τῆς νησὶ, οὔτε ύμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται
οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβῆσονται ἐκαστῶρ τῆς
'Αττικῆς, ἀπίασι τε οὖνει κόσμῳ, Μεγάροις τε
κερδανεόμεν περιεύονται καὶ Λιγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι,
ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν κατύπερθε
gενέσθαι. οὐκότα μὲν νυν βουλευμόνεοισι ἀνθρώ-
ποις ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἔθελε γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οὐκότα
βουλευμόνεοισι οὐκ ἔθελε οὖνδε ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν
πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηνίας γνώμας.”

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτὸς ὁ
Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἔπεφέρετο, σιγὰν τε
κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρὶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ
ἐὼν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι άνδρι· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὔτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε ὃτι ἡλι-
κεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ
Θεμιστοκλέης κεῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους
πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἐλεγε, ἐσωτοῦσι τε ἐδήλου
λόγῳ ὡς εὖ καὶ πόλις καὶ γῇ μέξων ἡ περ
ἐκείνοις, ἐστ’ ἀν δηικόσαι νέες σφι ἐωσὶ
πεπληρωμέναι ὀυδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς
ἐπίστατα ἀποκρούσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβασε ἐς
Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μάλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. “Σὺ
εἰ μενεῖς αύτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἄνηρ ἀγαθὸς·
ei ἐδὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ
ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ
πείθεο. εἰ ἐδὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃς, ἥμεῖς μὲν ὡς
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Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

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

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then
The images of Aeacus and his sons; cp. v. 80.
2 N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day
without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said.”

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

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

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theocydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.
κοινορτον χωρέοντα ἀπ’ Ἐλευσῖνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κοινορτὸν οίτεν κοτὲ εἶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκουέιν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἵακχον. εἶναι δ’ ἀδαίμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ γνωμένων τὸν Δημάρχην, εἰρέσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὁ τί τὸ φθεγγόμενον εὖ τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “Δημάρχητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὁκὼς οὐ μέγα τι σύνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιᾷ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ’ Ἐλευσῖνος ἴδιν ἐς τιμωρήν Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. καὶ ᾧ μὲν γε κατασκήνης ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλεία καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ ἔσται, ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖν, τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεύς ἀποβαλέων. τὴν δὲ ὀρθὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναίοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔπεται τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκουέις εἰς ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἵακχάζουσι.” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρχητον “Σύγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν λόγων τοῦτον εἶπης· ἢ γὰρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἄνενεική τὰ ἔπει ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ σε οὕτε ἐγὼ δυνῆσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἰς. ἀλλ’ ἔχ’ ἡσυχός, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆς ἐθεοῦσι μελῆσει.” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραίνεειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρριωθέν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῦς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἑρέξεω ἀπο-
from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be; and Dicaeus said, “Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king’s host; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven’s sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid,1 and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated; and the cry which you hear is the ‘Iacchus’ which is uttered at this feast.” Demaratus replied thereto, “Keep silence, and speak to none other thus; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace; and for this host, the gods shall look to it.” Such was Demaratus’ counsel; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes’ ships must perish.—This was

1 Demeter and Persephone.
λέει θαυμάσια, μέλλον. ταύτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκώδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἔπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίων θεσάμενοι τὸ τρόμα τὸ Δακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν 'Ιστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπλευνὶ δι' Ἐυρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἴμερησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαληρῷ. ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἑόντες ἁριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἴπτερον καὶ τῆς νυμαλ ἀπικόμενοι, ἡ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκουτο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας' ἀντιθήσος γὰρ τοίς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένους καὶ τοίς ἐν Θερμοπύλησι καὶ τῇ ἐπ᾽ Λρεταισίῳ ναυμαχίᾳ τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκ ἑπομένους βασιλέη, Μηλίας καὶ Δωρίεας καὶ Δοκρούς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιή ἐπομένους πλην Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταίεων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησίωτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὡς γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσοῦτῳ πλέω ἐθνεὶ οἱ ἐπτετο.
the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocides; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

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

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

¹ In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.
HERODOTUS

ὡς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμῆν ἐδεδώκεε, πρώτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἕπὶ δὲ ὦλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξής ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ἑρέξης Μαρδώνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιμῶν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἀρξά-μενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδώνιου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶντὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέοσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη, "Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδών, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇς ναυμαχίῃς τῇς πρὸς Εὐβοίης οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τήν δὲ ἐὖσαν γνώμην μὲ δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδεί-κυνος, τὰ τυγχάνον φρονέουσα ἀριστα ἐσ πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδει τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τὶ δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίησι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ ἐύνεκα ὀρμίθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δὲ τοι ἰσταται οὕνες· οὐ δὲ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὔτω ὡς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμον πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεῦ-μενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχεις πρὸς γῆ μὲνον ἦ καὶ προβαίνον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὑπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρίσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ὁι τοι πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἰ Ἑλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾶς, κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἐκαστοὶ φεῦξονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμοιμαι, οὔτε αὐτοῦς

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honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: "Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies' doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you
οίκός, ἥν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔλαυνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀπεμείῃ τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν ἦκοντας, οὐδὲ σφι μελίζει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεῖ τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλῆσαι. πρὸς δὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλειν, ὡς τοῖς μὲν χρήστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γινέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖσι χρήστοι. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οὐ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κύλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὀφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν.

69. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὁσοὶ μὲν ἦσαν εὐνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῖντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ναυμαχήν ποιέσθαι: οὐ δὲ ἀγεόμενοι τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἃτε ἐν πρῶτοις τετιμμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἔπει δὲ ἀνυνείχθησαν αἱ γυναικεῖς Ἦρες, καίτα τῇ ἴσθι τῇ γυνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, καὶ νομίζοις ἕτι πρότερον σπουδαίαν εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἶνε. ὡμὸς δὲ τοῖς πλεοσὶ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοῖᾳ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρέοντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτῶς παρεσκεύαστο θείσασθαι ναυμαχέστασι.

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

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

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the
Ιστήμονες δὲ οὐκ ἔσβαλοι οἱ βάρβαροι. 

68 ὁπως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπνὰντο τάχιστα Πελοπόννησιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπόληςι τετελευτηκέναι, πολεμοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὄζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀνακανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἴδομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὠδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφι ἐδοξε βουλευομένοις, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἀτε δὲ ἐνεσέων μυριάδων πολλῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔργαζομένου, ἦμετο τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἦμα λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ἐξίλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμοι πλήρες ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεῖ οἶδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλισίοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἐρμονεές. οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδεύεντες τῇ Ἐλλάδι κυνδυνεύοσει τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοισι

1 A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even
Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnese; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnese.

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

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

73. Οἰκείει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔδεα ἑπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἑόντα κατὰ χώρην ἱδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Κυνούριον ἐν δὲ ἔδεα τὸ Ἀχαι-κὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωτῶν, οἰκείει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπῆλυδα ἑστὶ, Δωριέες τε καὶ Λιτώλοι καὶ Δρύσπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέαν μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Λιτώλῶν δὲ Ἠλιός μοῦνη, Δρυσπῶν δὲ Ἐρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλη τῇ Δακωνικῇ, Λημνιών δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἑόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἰωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευσι δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἰργεῖων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἑόντες ὁρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑβνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

74. Οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνεστασαν, ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θέους καὶ τῆς νυμφαί οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπλάμψε-σθαι· οἳ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι ὀμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρόδεουν, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίοι αὐτοῖς δει-μαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνήρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς συγχ λόγον ἐποίετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβου-λίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη· ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγύνετο καὶ πολλά ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,
nothing; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.¹

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

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

¹ That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. Cp. vii. 205.
οὶ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεόν εἴη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μὴδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτον μένοντας μάχεσθαι, 'Αθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Αἴγινηται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γυνώμη ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξερχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μηδῶν ἄνδρα πλοῖῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ ούνομα μὲν ἢν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἢν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους παίδων· τὸν δὴ ύστερον τοῦτον τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιτάς, καὶ χρήμασι ὀξίου. ὅσ τότε πλοῖῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Βαρβάρων τάδε. ὡς ἐπεμψε με στρατηγὸς ὁ 'Αθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλείως καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ύμετέρα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἐλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ύμέας ἐργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν μὴ περιόδιτε διαδράντας αὐτοὺς. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλληλοις ὀμοφρονεύοντι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ύμῖν, πρὸς ἐωτοὺς τε σφέας ὀψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ύμετέρα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ.

76. Ὁ μὲν ταύτα σφι σημῆνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖς δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἢπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαντο· τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδή ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγγον μὲν τὸ ἢπ'
that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

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

76. With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing


77. Χρησιμοιοί δέ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἄληθες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἔναργεως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι κατὰβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρῆγματα ¹ ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρον ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν νησὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἔλπιδοι μαυρομενή, λιπαράς πέρσαντες Αθῆνας, δία δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὑβριος υἱόν, δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεύντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πιέσθαι.

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

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

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

"When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts they have fenced,
Artemis2 golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed Cynosura,
All in the madness of hope, having ravished the glory of Athens,
Then shall desire full fed, by pride o'erweening engendered,
Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the nations' destruction,
Utterly perish and fall; for the justice of heaven shall quench it;

2 There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.
χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκὸς συμμίξεται, αὔματι δ’ Ἀρης πόντον φοινίξει. τότ’ ἔλευθερον Ἐλλάδος ἱμαρ εὐρύσσα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἐναργεῖος λέγοντι Βάκιδε ἀντιλογίας χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτῶς λέγειν τοιμέω οὔτε παρ’ ἄλλων ἐνδεκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὁθισμὸς λόγων πολλῶς· ἦδεσαν δὲ οὕκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλούντο τῆς νησί οἱ βαρβαροί, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ τῆς ἱμέρης ὄρων αὐτῶς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώραν εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔξι Λιγύνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Δυσμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένοις δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθαυμόμενοι αὐτῶ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἀνδρὰ γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃ καὶ δικαιότατον. οὗτος ὀνήρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἔοντα μὲν ἐωντῷ οὐ φίλων ἐχθρῶν δὲ τὰ μᾶλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεόμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμίξαι προακηκόει δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. ὡς δὲ ἔξηλθε οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἠμέας στασιάζειν χρέων ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἱμέων πλέω ἄγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργά- σεται. λέγω δὲ τοῖς ὁτι ἵσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποτλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελο-
BOOK VIII. 77-79

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

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

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

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

80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστά διακελεύει καὶ εὐ ἴγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγώ ἐδεώμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. Ἰσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέ τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδει γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἔκοιντες ἴθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ "Ἐλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεῖ περ ἤκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφὶ ἄγγειλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεῖν τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφὶ σήμην αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεάν δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθουται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοίων ἤμων ἐσταί· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἰ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἔνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Ἀιγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόνις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθῶν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πάν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀληξησοῦνοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἑπάς μετετήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγὼντο λόγων ἀμφίσβασιν· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείδοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἤκε τριήρης ἄνδροι Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἄνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἦ περ δὴ ἐφερε τὴν ἀληθείαν πᾶσαν. 78
away from hence; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

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

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

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought
διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἑργὸν ἐνεγράφησαν Τῆνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖς τῶν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. συν δὲ ὄν ταῦτη τῇ νη ὑπὶ τῇ αὐτο-μολησάτη ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημήτῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο "Ελλησι ἐς τὰς ὁγδώκοντα καὶ τριήκοντα νέας: δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

83. Τοῖς δὲ ἔλαθε ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢν τῶν Τηνίων ρήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυ-μαχήσοντες. ής τε διέφανε καὶ οἱ σύλλογοι τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ποιησάμενοι, προηγούμενε ἐν ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέους, τὰ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖς ἦσσος ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάτη ἐγχύνεται- παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέτσω αἰρέσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ρήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς νέας. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτῳ τριήρης, ἦ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἄνηγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας "Ελληνες, ἀναγορέωντο σὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρ-βαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ ἀνεκροῦντο καὶ ὄκελον τὰς νέας, 'Αμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἄνηρ Ἀθηναίος ἐξαναχθέεις νηὶ ἐμβάλ-λει: συμπλακέσιςς δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὗτῳ δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι 'Αμεινίη βοη-θεόντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίας γενέσθαι τὴν ἄρχην, Αἰγύπτης δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἰγύπτον, ταὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν, λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακε-80
them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

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

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

¹ cp. 64.
λεύσασθαι ὡστε καὶ ἄπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὁνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, "Ὤ δαμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσον ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούσθη;"

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἄθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἰωνεῖς: οὕτω δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά. ἥθελοκάκεοι μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὅλιγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νῦν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριπράχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἐλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φύλακου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφότερων. τοῦδε δὲ εἶνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννυσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέως ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρη ἐδώρηθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστὶ.

86. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τούτων οὗτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖν ἐκεραίζετο, αἰ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἰ δὲ ὑπ' Ἁγιωτέων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὗτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόθο ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτο σφὶ συνοίσεσθαι οἷον περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρά ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐσώτην ἡ πρὸς Εὐθοίη, πάς τις προθυμεὸμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἔδοκε τε ἐκαστὸς ἐσώτην θείσασθαι βασιλέα.
cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

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

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

¹ Perhaps from old Persian var, to guard, and Kshayata, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from Khur sangha (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)
87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀπρεκέως ὡς ἐκαστοί τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγωνύζοντο. κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ’ δὲν εὐδοκιμήσε μάλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεύτε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πωλλόν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλείας πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καίρῳ ἡ νῆσὶ ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὖν ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἢ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ.

διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηλι φιλίᾳ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλεός Δαμασιθύμου.

εἴ μὲν καὶ τι νέκοις πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐτὶ περὶ Ἐλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσόντα νηῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίᾳ χρησιμένῃ διπλὰ ἐστὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ ἐργάσεται. ὡς ἴνα τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήμαρχος ὡς εἴδε μὲν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἐλληνίδα εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐστάτετο.

88. Τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ συνέβη ὡστε κακῶν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτῆς μάλιστα εὐδοκιμήσει παρὰ Ξέρξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβάλουσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων "Δέσποτα, ὦρᾶς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὗ ἀγωνύζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-
BOOK VIII. 87-88

87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befell Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king’s side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia’s ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia’s ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes’ eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, “Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and
μίων κατέδυσε;” καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέοντα εἶ ἀληθεύσε ἔστι Ἀρτεμισίς τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεός ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ δια-
θαρείσαν ἥπιστεάτο εἶναι πολεμῆν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἰρήται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίνη γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυδικῆς νεός μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραξόμενα “Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναίκες, αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φαί εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριάδνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξηω ἔων ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὁνομαστὶ Περσέων καὶ Μίδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὅλῳ δὲ τινὲς καὶ ᾿Ελλήνων ᾧτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοὺς αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένευον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρώται εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὁπίσθεν τεταγ-
μένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇ νυσὶ παρέναι πειρώ-
μενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέι, τῇ νυσὶ σφετέρησι νυσὶ φευγοῦσης περιέπιπτον.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινὸς Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ῥωνας, ὡς δὲ ἔκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδότων. συνήνεικε δὲν ἄυτῳ ὡς τῆ Ῥωνας τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς δια-
βάλλουτας λαβεῖν τοῖναδε μισθῶν. ἔτι τοῦτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλεν νηθ ᾿Αττικῆ Σαμοθρηκίη
how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

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

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while
νησ. ἢ τε δὴ 'Αττικὴ κατεδύτεο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Ἀιγιναῖη νησὶς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νέα. ἄτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντιστάι οἱ Σαμοθρηκίες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλ·
lλοντες ἀπῆραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησαν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτῆς. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς 'Ἰωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἐργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οία ὑπερλυ-
πεόμενος τε καὶ πάντας αὐτιώμενος, καὶ σφεών ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖ, ἴνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακὸν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γὰρ τινὰ ἱδοὶ Ξέρξης τῶν ἐσωτοῦ ἐργον 
tι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὀρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλέσαι 
Λιγάλεως, ἀνεπιθάνετο τὸν ποίησαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταί ἄνεγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον 
καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἔως 'Αριαράμηνης ἄνηρ Πέρσης παρεὼν 
τούτου τοῦ Φοινικῆιον πάθεος. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς 
tοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.
91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεούντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Λιγινῆται 
ὑποστάντες εν τῷ πορθμῷ ἐργα ὑπεδεξαντο λόγου 
ἀξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'Αθηναῖοι εν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκε
rάζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τάς φευγοῦσας 
tῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Λιγινῆται τάς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως 
dὲ τινὲς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι 
ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Λιγινῆτας.
92. Ἐνθάυτα συνεκύρεν νέες ἢ τε Θεμιστοκλέος 
dιώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτοι τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς 
Λιγινῆτεω νη ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἢ περ εἴλε 
tὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Λιγιναῖην,
the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

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

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan
HERODOTUS

έπ’ ἣς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰ σχενόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἴνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νη ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἀμα τοῖς Πέρσης ἦλῳ ἡ νήσος ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὡστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθήμαε ἐς Αὐγίναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσείδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἐγνῳ τὸ σημῆνον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αὐγίνητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν οὐειδίζων. ταύτα μὲν νῦν νη ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἦκουσαν Ἕλληνων ἄριστα Αὐγίνηταί, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄθηναίοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ Αὐγίνητης καὶ Ἀθηναίοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίς Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίώξε. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐμαθεὶς ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἄν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἡ εἰλὲ μιν ἡ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλω. τοῖς γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοις παρεκκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀδελθὸν ἐκεῖτο μῦριαι δραχμαί, ὅς ἄν μιν ἥριν ἐλη. δεινὸν γὰρ τὶ ἐποιεύτω γυναίκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἰρήταται, διέφυγε· ἔσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντας, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναίοι αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχάς, ὡς συνεμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,

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

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

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73)
τὰ ἴστια ἀειράμενον οὐχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδὼντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οὐχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γινεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμώνης κατὰ ἵρον Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπέπτειν σφι κέληται θείη παμπῆ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανήναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τί τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίουσι. τῆδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θείον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὡς γὰρ ἁγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Αδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγήν ὅρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας· οἷ ἐδὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρώντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἔχθρων." ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστεέων γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὸς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἴοι τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι ἀποθυήσκειν, ἡν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἐλλήνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις ἔλθειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτῃ φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορινθίου ὀμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρῶτοις σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίας νομίζουσι γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ ἀλη Ἐλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχον ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίος, τοῦ καὶ ὅλῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἄνδρος ἀρίστου, οὕτος ἐν τῷ θορῦβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβόν πολλόν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οὓ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἅκτην τῆς Σαλαμώνης χώρης, γένος ἐὼντες
panic, and hoisting his sails fled away; and when
the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they
were off and away likewise. But when (so the story
goes) they came in their flight near that part of
Salamis where is the temple of Athene Sciras,¹ there by heaven's providence a boat met them
which none was known to have sent, nor had the
Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught
of the doings of the fleet; and this is how they infer
heaven's hand in the matter: when the boat came
nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adi-
mantus, you have turned back with your ships in
flight, and betrayed the Greeks; but even now
they are winning the day as fully as they ever
prayed that they might vanquish their enemies."
Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not
believe they said further that they were ready to
be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were
not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus
and the rest did turn their ships about and came
to the fleet when all was now over and done.
Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians; but
the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were
among the foremost in the battle; and all Hellas
bears them witness likewise.

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

¹ The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis.
If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the
ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland,
it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.
'Αθηναῖοι, εἰς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησαν ἄγων, οἱ τούς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέυθη, κατειρύσαντες ἔσ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ "Ελληνες τῶν ναυηγῶν ὅσα ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἑώτα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήν ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐλπίζοντες τῇ περιεσύρῃ νησί ἐτὶ χρῆσθαι βασιλεά. τῶν δὲ ναυηγῶν πολλά ὕπολαβὼν ἀνεμος ξέφυρος ἐφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἕων ἡγοῦσαν τὴν καλεσμένην Κωλιάδα: ὅστε ἀπο- πλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσάιῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγα τὰ ταύτη ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἑτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ 'Αθηναῖον ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθημε πάντας τοὺς "Ελληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖς φρύξονσι
tούτο δὲ ἐμελλε ἀπελύσαντο βασιλεός ἐσεσθαι.

97. Ἐπεξῆς δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γε, ἠδὸς πάθος, δείγας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθήται τοῖσι "Ελλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοῦσως πλέειν ἐς τὸν "Ελλησπόντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνεις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κυδωνεύῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμον ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μὴτε τοῖσι "Ελλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χώμα ἐπει- ράτο διαχοῦν, γαῖλοις τε Φοινικίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἐωσί καὶ τεῖχεος, ἀρτετετο τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

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

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

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

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

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

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2 Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.
ορώντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταύτα πρήσσοντα εἰς ἡπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμίσειν. Μαρδόνιον δ’ οὖδὲν τούτων ἑλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα ἐμπειρὸν ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανόησ.

98. Ταύτα τε ἀμα Ἐρέξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἐπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοὖσαν σφι συμφορῆν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὡς τι θάςσου παραγίνεται θυντὸν ἔνν ὁποῖο τοῖς Πέρσῃς ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὅσεως ἵν ἡμερέων ἢ ἡ πάσα ὄδος, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖς διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίαν ὄδον ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἄνηρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὔκ ὁμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νῦξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχιστὴν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἥδη κατ’ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδομένα, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἐλλησὶ ἡ λαμπαδηφορία τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τούτῳ τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρῆν

99. Ὅ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελείᾳ ἀπικομένην, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθηνᾶς Ἐρέξης, ἐτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τὰς τε ὀδοὺς μυρσίνα πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἑθυμών θυμιώματα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤσαν ἐν θυσία τε καὶ εὐπαθείᾳ. ἢ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελείᾳ ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὡστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρῆ-

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

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

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team” (How and Wells).

2 ἄγγαρος is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἀστάναυς (How and Wells). ἄγγαρος passed into Greek usage; cp. Aesch. Ag. 282.
ξαντο πάντες, βοή τε καὶ οἴμωγη ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτω, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αὐτῇ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἄχθομενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ἐέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνων γενόμενον, μέχρι οὐ Εἴρξῃς αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Εἴρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλῃν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αυτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἔως τὸν ὅσ δῶσει δίκην ἀναγρώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἰς ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ καταργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτήσας τὸν βίων ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντας πλέον μὲντοι ἐφερέ οἱ ἡ γυνώμη καταργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα: λογισάμενος δὲν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῖν τούδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἴνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγών ὃ τὸ πᾶν φέρον ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἱππῶν. σοὶ δὲ οὕτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίζει ἢδη δοκεόντων καταργάσασθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθήσαι οὕτ' ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρος τῆςδε οὐ τε ἡμῖν ὡτιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκεῖ, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιεῖν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐστι Ἑλλησσοὶ οὐδεμία ἐκδυσῖς μη οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρῶτον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίει· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοί βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλὴν. σὺ
their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal: “Sire, be not griefed nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another
Πέρσας, βασιλεὺς, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλληνικά, ούδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τι τι δεδήλωται τῶν πρωγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐρείες ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοὶ. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κύλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ ὦ Πέρσαι τοι ἀντίοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεοι: εἰ τοι δεδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἦθε τα σεωτοῦ ἀπέλαυε τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἔμε δὲ σοὶ χρῆ τῇ Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.

101. Ταύτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὦς ἐκ κακῶν ἔχαρη τε καὶ ἰσθῆ, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευσάμενος ἐφή ὑποκρινεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύσετο ἀμα Περσέων τούτοι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἐδοξήσι οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίνην ἐς συμβολικήν μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότεροι ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίνη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὅτι μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεῖδος στρατός οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἄλλα βουλομένουσι σφι γένοιτ' ἀν ἀπόδεξις. ἔμε δὲν ἢ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάς ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τῇ Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δὲ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἢ θεῖα τὰ ἐμί. σὺ δὲν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὔ συνεβοῦ,
plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose.”

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

102. "Ο μὲν ταύτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἥ δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευμένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἀριστα εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς κατήκουσι πρῆγμασι δοκεῖμι μοι αὐτῶν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλειν τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταύτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλει. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἢν καταστρέψεται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοεῖν λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὡς δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο. τούτῳ δὲ ἢν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδόνιου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιεύντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σὸν· ἢ γὰρ σὺ τε περιής καὶ οἶκος ὁ σὸς, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἄγωνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐλληνες. Μαρδόνιον δὲ, ἢν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδὲ τι νικώντες οἱ Ἐλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἰνέκα τῶν στόλου ἐποιήσαο, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέλασ.

103. "Ἡσθε τε δὴ τῆς συμβουλῆς Ἐρέτης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύχχανε τὰ περ αὐτῶς ἐνοῦε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβουλεύον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐμενε ἀν δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίνην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἁγιοῦσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδες οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖς παισὶ φύλακον Ἐρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ
as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

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

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

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the
οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνοὺχῶν παρὰ βασιλέων· ὅπερ ἀλκαρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πηδασείς οἰκεοῦσι τοῦτοι τοιούτῳ συμβεβηκαὶ πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεάν τοῖς ἁμφικτυούσι πᾶσι τοῖς ἁμφὶ ταύτης οἰκεοῦσι τῆς πόλεως μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπῶν, τότε ἡ ἱερεία αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγονα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφὶ δὶς ἦδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασεῶν ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσι ἦδη ἄδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἁμείς ἰδιεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πολεομένων ὄνεεται Πανιώνιος ἁνηρ Χῖος, ὅ τι τὴν χούν κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσατο παίδας εἰδες ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμιων ἄγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς βαρβάροις τιμιωτέροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνούχοι πίστιοι εἶνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἀλλοισ τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξετάμε πολλοῦ, ἀτε ποιεύμενος ζε κούτου τιν χούν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος, ἀπικνέται ὧκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἕν τῶν ἔναν ὀν ἄλλων δόρων, χρόνου δὲ προίοντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτυμίθῃ μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη.

106. ᾠς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὀρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔδω ἐς Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τῆς Μυσίην, τῆς Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχυμένοις
most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

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

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

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1 The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from i. 175, where they occur more appropriately.
άντι τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἧν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκή ἐκείνη, ἀστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἀσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὦς δὲ ἁρὰ πανοικίᾳ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος τάδε. "Ὡ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἦδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; εἴδοκες τε θεοὺς λήσειν ὅια ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἴ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαῖῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χειράς τὰς ἐμὰς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δὲ οἱ ταύτα ὦνείδισε, ἀχθείνων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὃν ἦμαγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωτοῦ παίδων τεσσάρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοία ἀποτάμενει, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἔποιες ταύτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὅς ταύτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαξόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν ὦτω περιῆλθε ὣς τέσσις καὶ Ἐρμότιμος.

107. Ἐρέξεις δὲ ὡς τοὺς παίδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίη ἀπόγειον ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τὴς στρατηγῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖς τοῖς λόγοις τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὡμοία. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέως τὰς νέας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγαν ὅπισώ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὡς τάχεος εἴχε ἐκαστὸς, διαφυλαξόμενος τὰς σχεδίας πορευθήσει βασιλέι. ἔπει δὲ ἁγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι.
BOOK VIII. 106-107

mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my fore-fathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle" ¹ in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

¹ A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.
λεπταί τῆς ἰπείρου ταῦτης, ἐδοξάω τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευγον ἐπὶ πολλών χρόνων δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶνεν ἀλλ’ ἀκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγίνετο, ὀρῶντες οἱ Ἐλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἠλπιζοῦν καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεον τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντο τε ὡς ἀλεξισόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδου διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἔσ ὦ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενον ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώκαντας τὰς νέας πλεέων ἱδέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλησποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναυτήν ταύτην γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδιάς, τοῦτ’ ἄν μέγιστον πάντων σφὶ κακῶν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐργάσατο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ, πειρῶν ἄν ἥσυχην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἀγοντι μὲν οἱ ἥσυχην οὐτὲ τι προχωρέειν οἰόν τε ἐσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὐτὲ τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τε οἱ ἡ στρατηγὶς διαφθερέσαι, ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐργον ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἐυρώπῃν οἰα τε ἐσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἦτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἦ πρὸ τοῦτον ὀμολογεώντων τροφῆν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων καρπῶν. ἀλλὰ δοκεέων γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενεέων ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἐστέον ὅπων εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐσ ὧ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιεσθαι ἦδη τῶν 108
out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."
ΗΡΟ𝗗ΟΤΟΣ
άγώνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.
109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησσοῦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκπεφυγότων περιημέκτευον, ὅρμεάτῳ τε ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησσοῦν πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἐλεγεὶ σφι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη πολλοὶς παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νευκηκένουν ἀναμαχεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ, εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἤρωες, οἱ ἐφθάνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαει ἱόντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· δι τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία ἐν ὁμοίω ἐποιεότα, ἐμπιπρᾶς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· δι καὶ τὴν θύλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει εἰς τὸ παρεῦθ ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καταμείνατα ἡμέοι τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ τῆς οἰκής τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακός ἐχέτω, παντελῶς ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἐλλησσόντο καὶ Ἰωνίας." ταῦτα ἐλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἦν ἂν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχη ἀποστροφήν· τὰ περ ὅν καὶ ἐγένετο.
110. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε,
With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

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

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to
"Αθηναίοι δὲ ἔπειθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδομένοι εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐως ἀληθεῖσι σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὕτως οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπεπεμπε ἐχοντας πλοίοιν, τούσι ἐπίστευε σιγὰν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοις τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλέωι φράσαι· τών καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτις ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουσ τρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενυν ἐπὶ τῷ πλοῖῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρεξν ἐλεγε τάδε. “Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἄνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσουτά τοι ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑποργεῖειν, ἐσχε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τὰς νέας βουλόμενους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ ἡν κατ’ ἱσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο.” οἱ μὲν ταύτα σημάνατες ἀπέπλεουν ὅπλωσ. 111. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μῆτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μῆτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοὶ νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τοῦτο, ὡς ἦκοιεν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ ἑωυτοὺς ἐχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθὼ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τὲ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἀρα αἱ Ἀθήναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἱ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκοιεν εὗ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι
deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but
γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νήσου ἀλλ' ἀιὲ φιλοχωρέειν, πεινήν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τοῦτον τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίως οὐ δόσειν χρήματα: οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίης τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταύτα ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκήσαντο. Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπανέτετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐστέμπων ἐς τὰς ἀλλὰς νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖς καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρῆσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσοντι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατηγὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαίρησει. λέγων ταύτα συνελεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παριῶν, οὗ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἀνδρον ὡς πολιορκέωτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἰ ἔν αἰνη μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν, δεῖσαντες ταύτα ἐπεμπὸν χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκεώ δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τοῦτος μούνος. καίτοι Καρυστίουσι γε οὐδ' ἐπανεῖν τοῦτον εἶνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο. Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἰλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν νῦν ἐξ Ἀνδρον ὅρμωμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθη τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ἑβρήου ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξῆλαυνον ἐς Βους τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον. ἐδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμεῖν, χειμερίσατε ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν
blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

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

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to
Θεσσαλίη, καλέπειτα ἀμα τῷ ἐαρι πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρῶτος μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἰδανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὄδυνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἱππίαν τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἰλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ’ ὀλίγους, τοῖς εἰδεί τῷ ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοίσι τῇ χρηστῷ συνήδεε πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἔθνοις Πέρσας αἴρετο, ἄιδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ἕλιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ρώμη δὲ ἦσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιος τε τῇ στρατηγῇ διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἢν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις, Ξέρξην αἰτεῖεν δίκας τοῦ Δεωνίδου φόνον καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπον πτη κῆρυκα τῇ ταχίστῃ τῇ Σπαρτῇ τεταρτῇ, ὅς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἑοῦσαν ἐτὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατηγίην ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἑλθὼν ἐς ὕψῳ τῇ Ἑλλάδῃ ἔλεγε τάδε. ὡς βασιλεῖ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμονίοι τε σε καὶ Ἡρακλείδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτεῖσθαι φόνον δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τῇ Ἑλλάδῳ. ὦ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνου, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-
winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse, and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets) were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

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

1 Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55  
2 cp. vi. 83.
στεώς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνύς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε "Τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὁδέ δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἶας ἐκείνουσι πρέπει."  

115. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τἄχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, καὶ ἀπικνεῖται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατηγῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς ἐίπειν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ’ οὐστίνας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐστεόντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὕροιεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυμομένην καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλεπούντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατησθίον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἁγρίων, καὶ ἔλευπον οὐδὲν ταῦτα δ’ ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμὸν. ἐπιλαβῶν δὲ λοιμὸς τὸν στρατόν καὶ δυσεντερία κατ’ ὅδὸν ἐφθειρέ. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσον τῆς πόλις, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἑλαύνων, μελεδαίνων τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Ἀθηναίᾳ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίας καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱδον ἀρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖς Ὄρηξι ἀπαίτοντος Ἐρέξεω ἐφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνω Θρηκίων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγάς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116. Ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστονικῆς Ὄρηξ ἐργον ὑπερφυές ἐργάσατο· ὤς οὖτε αὐτὸς ἐφῆ τῷ Ἐρέξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ’ οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν
pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

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

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Cretstonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the
HERODOTUS

'Ροδόπην, τοίσι τε πασί άπηγόρευε μή στρα-
teύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἳ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλος σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεύσασθαι τὸν πόλε-
μον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἔτει δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσυνέες πάντες ἐξ ἕοντες, ἐξώρυξε
ἀυτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην
tαύτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτοι τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον,
oi δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηκής πορευόμενοι
ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἐλλή-
σποντον τῆς νησίδι εἰς Ἀβυδον. τὰς
γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ ἐυρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ
χειμώνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαύτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι
σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ’ ὀδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα
τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ οὔδατα μεταβάλλοντες
ἀπέθνησκοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέντος πολλοί.
oi δὲ λοιποὶ ἀμα Ξέρξη ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

118. Ἕστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδὸς λόγος λεγόμενος,
ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο
ἐπ’ Ὑιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεύτεν οὐκέτι
ὀδοιπορίστη διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατηγήν
Τὴδάρνεῦ ἐπιτράπτει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον,
αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπὶ νεός Φοινίκης ἐπίβας ἐκομίζετο ἐς
tὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δὲ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμοῦνὴν
ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματήν. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον
γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμοῦσα τῆς νεὸς, ὡστε ἐπὶ
tοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνόν Περσέων
tὸν σὺν Ξέρξη κομιζομένων, ἐνθάυτα ἐς δείμα
πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν
cυβερνήτην εἰ τρὶς ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν
εἴπαι “Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων
ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων.”
mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scathless, their father tore out their eyes.

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

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eıon on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it
καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπειν ὁ Ανδρέας Πέρσαι, τὸν τις διαδεξάτω ὡμέων βασιλέως κηδόμενος· ἐν όμοι γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρία." Τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθέσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβήναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιήσας τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέως τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσή στεφάνη τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὁτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, σύναμως ἐμοιγε πιστῶς οὕτε ἄλλος οὕτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτην πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίσει γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μή οὐκ ἄν ποιήσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κούλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δὲ ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἄν ἰσον πλῆθος τοῖς Πέρσησι ἔξεβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' δὲ μὲν, ὅσ καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρήται, ὅδ' χρεώμενος ἀμα τῶ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸδε μαρτύριον φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς 'Αβδηρὰ καὶ ξεινίῃ τῷ σφί συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοῖς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέω καὶ τῆρη χρυσοπάσσω. καὶ ὡς αὐτὸλ λέγοντι 'Αβδηρίται, λέγωντες ἐμοιανος οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν σώμην φεύγων ἐς Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐνώ. τὰ δὲ 'Αβδηρα έδρυται πρὸς τοῦ
is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you"; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

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

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

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

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἶον τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἀνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δημώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νῦν τοῖσι θεοίσι ἐξελον ἀκροβίνα ἄλλα καὶ τριήρεις τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθείναι, ή περ ἐπὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σοῦνον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἰαντὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληήν καὶ τὰ ἀκροβινα ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρίας ἐχου ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκροτηρίῳ νέος, ἐὼν μεγαθὸς δυώδεκα πηχέων. ἔστηκε δὲ οὕτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλεξανδρὸς ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροβίνα οἱ Ἕλληνες εὐ Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινὴ εἰ λειάθηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροβίνα. ὅ δὲ παρ’ Ἕλληνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐφησε ἐχεῖν, παρὰ Ἀἰγυπτέων δὲ οὐ, ἄλλα ἀπαίτητα αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήμα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Ἀἰγυπτεῖται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθησαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἱ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἐστάσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κροίσου κρητήρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληής ἐπέλευον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήμια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἕλληνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέων τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τὶς αὐτῶν ἐωτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς δοκεῖον ἀριστός γενέσθαι, δεύτερα
lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship.

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

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

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

124. Oû bouλoméνovn dè taúta kríneiv tòvν 'Ελλήνων φθόνω, áll' áποπλεοντων ékástwv ést ἡ ἑωντῶν ἀκρίτων, ὁμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη te και ἐδοξάθη εἶναι ἀνήρ πολλών 'Ελλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνά πάσαν ἡν Ἡλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικὼν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ἐς Λακεδαίμωνα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι καὶ μιν Λακεδαίμωνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήμα μὲν νῦν ἔδοσαν1. . Ἐὔρυβιάδη ἔλαις στέφανον, σοφίς δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέη καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἔλαις· ἐδωρήσαντό τε μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστέσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προεπέμψαν ἀπίόντα τρικόσιοι Σπαρτιτέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἱππεῖς καλέονται, μέχρι οὐραν τῶν Τεγεστικῶν. μοῦν δὴ τούτων πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἁμεῖς ἵδμεν Σπαρτιτίται προεπέμψαν.

125. 'Ως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακηδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔνθαυτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἔως, ἀλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανεῶν ἀνδρῶν, φθόνω καταμαργών εὔνε- κε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακηδαίμονα ἀπίξων προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακηδαίμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δ' ἐωτόν. δ' δὲ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταύτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἰπε τ' 'Οὕτω ἔχει τοι' οὔτ' ἄν ἐγώ ἐών Βελβινίτης

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

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

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

1 An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.
126. 'Αρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσηςι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἔως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταν-κῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προεπέμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὃς δὲ δὲ μὲν ἢν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, δὲ ὁπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἀτε Μαρδόνιον τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδὲν κω κατεπείγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυγχανὸν ἀπεστείδει Ποτιδαιότηςι μὴ οὐκ ἔξανθαποδισάσθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιόται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεξηλάκαι καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖς Πέρσηι οἰχώκεε φεύγων εκ Σαλαμίνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπεστασάν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. 'Ενθαῦτα δὴ 'Αρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαίαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὁλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέας, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοτταίαι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίων κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδονῶν, ἔπει δὲ σφέας ἐλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναῖῳ ἐπιτροπεύει καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὐτῶν Ὁλυνθόν Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Ἔξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ 'Αρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαιᾷ ἐντεταμένως προσείχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμοις συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμοδείνον ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὧντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγεται), τέλος 128
by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

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

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

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scio- naeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I
μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως βυβλίων γράψειε ἢ Ἰμοξείνους ἐθέλων παρὰ 'Αρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἢ Ἰμοξείνους παρὰ Τιμοξείνου, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλέξαντες καὶ πτερόσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμοξείνους προδιδόνς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ 'Αρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τοῦτον βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιίτης τὸν ὁμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὁμίλος, ὅτα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμω, οὐ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἐφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναιῶν συμμαχία. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῦσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αὐτίον τῆς προδοσίας ἐδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμοξείνου προδοσία τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἴνεκα, μὴ νομίζοιτο εἰναι Σκιωναίοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνει· 'Αρτάβαζῳ δὲ ἐπείδῃ πολιορκέουσι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἱδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρῆσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μολαρᾶς διοδοὺς διοδούσας, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἰναι ἐς ἐν τῇ Παλληνῃ, ἐπήλθε πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὥσιν οὐδαμά καὶ, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγοντες, πολλάκις γινομένην. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

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

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

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).
ροντο, τούς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαίηται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αὐτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαίηται τής τε ῥήχης καὶ τής πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐσ τοῦ νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἁσβησαν οὕτω τῶν Περσέων οἱ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτίον δὲ τούτο λέγοντες εὐ λέγειν ἐμοίγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγγε Ἀρταβαζός ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἐπρηξαν.

130. Ὅ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ἐρέξεως περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιζε τῇ Ἀσίᾷ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατηγὴν ἐκ Χερσονῆσιον διεπόρθυσε ὡς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμη. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρῶιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον, ἀλλά δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ. Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευσιν. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαῖος καὶ Ἀρταύντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεως συνήρχε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεως προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτης. ἀτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήσαν ἀνωτέρῳ τῷ πρὸς ἐσπέρῃς, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγκαξε οὔδείς, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατίμηνοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίνην μὴ ἀποστήν, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῆς Ἰάσι τρικόσιάς. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίνην ἀλλ’ ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἔωτὸν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφεάς οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίνος ἀλλ’ ἀσμενοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένου ἔςαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν 132
to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay here-in, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artaýntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artaýntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that
The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 204). The second was the line of Euryphon. In the present list "the first king among the
on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they
were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm
they could to their enemies, and to listen the while
for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring
and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to
action. They had not yet begun the mustering of
their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten
ships, came to Aegina; and their general and
admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing
his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus,
Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus,
Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus,
Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles,
Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus
who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second
royal house.¹ All the aforesaid had been kings of
Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides.
The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son
of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina,
there came to the Greek quarters messengers from
the Ionians, the same who a little while before
that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lace-
daemonians to free Ionia; of whom one was
Herodotus the son of Basileides.² These, who at
first were seven, made a faction and conspired to
slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their
conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices

ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more
immediate ancestors of L. belonging to a younger branch,
which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus”
(How and Wells).
² Otherwise unknown.
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133. Οἱ μὲν δῆ "Ελληνες ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὄρμωμενος ἐπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ συνόμα ἢν Μῦς, ἐντελέμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷα τε ἢν σφὶ ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὁ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἐχὼ φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅν λέγεται· δοκεῖ δὲ ἐγνωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐς τε Δεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθὸν πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβήναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἔς "Δῆσης τὰς Φωκείων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστηρίου καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θῆβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ περ

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

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

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

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

2 See How and Wells ad loc. for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiaras and “Ptoan” Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.
ἐν Ὄλυμπῃ ἱροῖς αὐτῶθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοῦτο δὲ ἥξειν τινὰ καὶ οὗ Θηβαίων χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτῶθι διὰ τὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνης ἑκάστης οὗτος κραίρεται καὶ ἀνατρέπειν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐντὸς ἥ ἀτέ μάντη χράσσεται ἢ ἀτέ συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχωμένου ὁ δὲ σύμμαχόν μου ἐίλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδὲν αὐτῶθι ἐγκατακομμηθήμαι.

135. Τότε δὲ θώμα μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐλθεῖν ἁρα τῶν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστραφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ εἰς τοῦ Πτώφου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέρμασο. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ ἱρόν καλέσται μὲν Πτώφον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπέρ τῆς Κωπαίδος λίμνης πρὸς ὅρει ἄγχοστῶ Ακραιφίης πόλις. ἐς τούτῳ τὸ ἱρόν ἐπειτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλέομενον τούτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαί δὲ οἱ τῶν ἁστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἀνδρὰς τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπιέσσεις ἔμμελε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χράν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἐξεσθαί ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἐλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρηστωνται τῷ παράντι πρίγματι τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἔξαρπάζαντα παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτίν, φάναι δὲ Καρῆ μιν γλώσσῃ χράν, συγγραφάμενον δὲ οἰχεσθαί ἀπίστοντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

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

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

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

¹ Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children’s lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, op. vii. 197.
'Αθηναῖς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεων ἀνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἀδελφὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεων δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβᾶρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγονείς Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ, ἔνων τὸ σύνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέως τῆς Φρυγίας ἔδοθε Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι ἀμα δὲ ἦ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι προξενίς τε εἰτ καὶ ἐνεργήτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεμπε. τοὺς γὰρ 'Αθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλῶν ἀρα ἄκουσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα 'Αθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τοῦτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπικε εὑπτετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἀν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογιζέτο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεθαὶ τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν. τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν 'Αθηναίον ποιέσθαι τοῖς δὴ πειθόμενοι ἐπεμπε.

137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου τούτου ἐβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἦστι ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τουβδὲ. ἐξ Ἁργεος ἐφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυρίους τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφοῖ, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέρπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυρίων ὑπερβαλόντας ἐς τὴν ἀνω Μακεδονίνην ἀπίκουσαν ἐς Δεβαίην πόλιν. ένθαυτα δὲ

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

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

2 The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.
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εθήτευν ἔπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βους, ὁ δὲ νεωτάτος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτή τὰ σιτία σφὶ ἔπεσεν. ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνδρῶπων ἀσθενεῖς χρήμασι, οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτώ, ὁ ἀρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητος Περδίκκεως διπλήσιος ἔγινετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντο τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἰπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐωτῆς· τῶν δὲ ἄκουόντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἰκ τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας προηγόρευε σφὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυ- τοῦ. οὐ δὲ τῶν μισθῶν ἔφασαν δίκαιω νῦν εἶναι ἀπο- λαβόντες οὕτω ἐξέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἄκουόσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν κατοι- δόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχθων ὁ ἥλιος, εἰπε ὥστις λαβῆς γενόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνυδε ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γανάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐστασαν ἐκ- πεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγ- χανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἰπας τάδε "Δεκόμεθα ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ δίδοις," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἥλιου, περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀπαλλάσ- σετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἑκεῖνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆσαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῷ σημαί- νει τις τῶν παρέδρων οὗ τὸ χρήμα ποιήσει εἰς τὸν ταύτα ἄκουόσας καὶ ὃς σὺν νόῳ κείμων ὁ νεωτάτος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἄκουόσας καὶ ὥστις πέμ- πει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵππεις ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν

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thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonished when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

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

1 The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.
ἀνδρῶν ἀπ’ Ἀργείων ὑπόγονοι σωτηρί: οὗτος, ἔπειτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὗτω ἐρυθά ὡστε τοὺς ἵππεας μὴ οὖν τε γενέσθαι διαβήσαι. οὐ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἀλλήν γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίας οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίων, ἐν τούτῳ φύεται αὐτόματα ρόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἔξηκοντα ψύλλα, ὅρμητε ὑπὲρφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Σιλήνος τοίς κήποις ἢλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὅρος κέεται Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ὃ βαθὼν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὅρμομένοι, ὡς ταύτην ἐσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν.

139. Ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁδὲ ἐγένετο. Ἀμύντεως παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατήρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

140. Ἐγερομέε μὲν δὴ ὁδὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεως ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Αθήνας ἀποπεμφθείς ὑπὸ Μαρδόνιου, ἔλεγε τάδε. “‘Ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἣκει παρὰ βασιλέας λέγουσα οὕτω. Ἰ’Ἀθηναῖοις τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ εἰς ἐκεῖνων γενομένων πᾶσας μετήμι. νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίετο τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφί ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐλέοσθων αὐτοῖ, ήντινα ἄν ἐθέλωσι, ἔντες αὐτόνομοι ἱρὰ τε πάντα σφι, ἦν δὴ βοῦ-

1 This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (modern Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.

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

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

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

2 This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a “nature-deity,” inhabiting places of rich vegetation: if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the Odyssey.
λωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὤμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἔγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ύμετέρον αἰτίον γένηται. λέγω δὲ ύμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλέι ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἴοι τε ἐστε ἀντέχειν τῶν πάντα χρόνων. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑρέξεως στρατηλασίας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐκούσαν δύναμιν· ὡστε καὶ ἢν ἢμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν ὀυδεμία ἐλπίς εἰ περ εὗ φρονεῖτε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλῆσι. μὴ ὅτι βούλεσθε παρισοῦμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἰεί περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλεὸς ταῦτη ὁρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἢμῖν ὡμαιχ-μίνην συνθέμενοι ἂνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα δ ’Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἴπειν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐσύνης ἐξ ἐμεύ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθωτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίω. ἐνορῷ γὰρ ύμῖν οὐκ οἶοισὶν τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ἑρέξη: εἴ γὰρ ἐνώρῃν τούτῳ ἐν ύμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμιν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωποῦ ἡ βασιλείας ἐστὶ καὶ χείρ υπερμήκης. ἢν ὅτι μὴ αὐτίκα ὤμολογήσῃτε, μεγάλα προτεινό-των ἐπ’ οἴσι ὡμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαῖνῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμ-μάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἔξαι-ρετον μεταίχμιον τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ
that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me.” This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes’ host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius’ counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king’s might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;
πείθεσθε: πολλοῦ γὰρ υμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεῖς γε ο ὁ μέγας μούνοισι υμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπεις ἐθέλει φίλοις γενέσθαι.”

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὀμολογήματι ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμυσθέντες τῶν λογίων ὧς σφέας χρεοῦ ἔστι ἂμα τοίσι ἀλλοισι Δωριέσθι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μῆδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὀμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναίοι, αὐτικά τε σφί ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὡστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανέμειναι γὰρ ὃι Ἀθηναίοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἐμελλὼν Δακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἀγγελον ἐπ’ ὀμολογίαν πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες δὲν ἐποίειν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Δακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἑωτῶν γνώμην.

142. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγελοὶ πως ἠμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Δακεδαιμόνιοι δεσμομένους υμέων μῆτε νεώτερον ποιείν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μῆτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δικαιον ὦνδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἀλλοις Ἑλλήνων ὦνδαμοίς, υμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἶνεκα. ἦγειρατε γὰρ τοῦτο τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς ὦνδεν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ύμετέρης ἀρχὴθεν ὁ ἀγών ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης
for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

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

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought
τοῖς ὶΕλλησι ᾿Αθηναίοις οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχέτον, οὕτως αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευ-
θερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεξεμένουσι μέντοι ὦμῖν 
συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὦτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε δίξων 
ἡδη καὶ ὦτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνου ἡδη πολλῶν. 
ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὦμῖν Δακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναίκας τε καὶ τὰ ἐς 
πόλεμον ἀχρηστα οἰκετέων ἔχομενα πάντα ἐπι-
θρέψειν, ἐστ’ ἄν ὦ πόλεμος ὄδε συνεστήκη. μηδὲ 
ὡμέας ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὦ Μακεδών ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας 
τὸν Μαρδονίον λόγον. τούτω μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα 
ποιητέα ἐστὶ· τύραννος γὰρ ἔων τυράννοι συγ-
kατεργάζεται ὦμῖν δὲ ὦ τοιχέα, εἰ περ εὐ 
τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένουσι ὡς βαρβά-
ροις ἐστὶ ὦτε πιστὸν ὦτε ἀληθῆς ὦτεν.” ταῦτα 
ἔλεξαν οἱ ἀγγέλοι.

143. ᾿Αθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν ᾿Αλέξανδρον ὑπε-
κρίναντο τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο ἡε ἐπιστάμεθα 
ὅτι πολλαπλησίῃ ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἡ περ 
ὡμῖν, ὥστε ὦτεν δέει τοῦτο ἡε ὦνειδίειν. ἀλλ’ 
ὥμως ἐλευθερίης γλυχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα ὦτω 
ὄκως ἄν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὀμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρ-
βάρῳ μήτε σὺ ὡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείδευν ὦτε ὡμέος 
πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς 
᾿Αθηναίοι λέγοντι, ἐστ’ ἄν ὦ ἓλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὦδον 
η τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὀμολογήσειν 
ὡμέας Ξέρξη. ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί 
μιν ἐπέξιμην ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἦρωσι, τῶν 
ἐκείνος οὐδεμίαν ὅπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρηση τοὺς τε 
οἶκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σὺ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ 
λόγους ἔχων τοιούτῳ μή ἐπιφαίνεσθα ᾿Αθηναίοισι, 
μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑποργύειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν 
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upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth.” Thus spoke the envoys.

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

παραίνειεν οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἀχαρί
πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ
φίλον.”

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἄλεξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο,
pρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Τὸ
μὲν δεῖσαι Δακεδαιμοῖνος μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ
βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίνην ἦν᾿ ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς
γε οὔκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα
ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμόθι
τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρῃ κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα
ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ήμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλομεν ἂν
μηδίσαντες καταδουλώσαι την Ἑλλάδα. πολλά
τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύουσα ταῦτα
μὴ ποιέειν μηδ᾿ ἂν ἐθέλομεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ
μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα
ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοίσι ήμέας
ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον
ἡ περ ὀμολογεῖν τῷ ταῦτα ἑργασαμένω, αὕτης δὲ
τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐοῦν ὤμαιρον τε καὶ ὀμόγλωσσον καὶ
θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσία λήθεα τε ὀμό-
τροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ
ἀν εν ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθε τε τὸ ὄντω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον
ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐστ᾿ ἂν καὶ εἰς περὶ
Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὀμολογησόμενα ἡμέας Ξέρξη.

ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίαν τὴν πρὸς
ἡμέας ἑόςαν, ὅτι προεῖδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορη-
μένων οὔτω ὡστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς
οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῶν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται,
ἡμεῖς μέντοι λυπαρίσομεν οὔτω ὅκως ἂν ἔχωμεν,
οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὔτω ἔχουσιν,
στρατηγὸς ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπτε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς
εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκάς χρόνον παρέσται ὁ βαρβαρος

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for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner
ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πῦθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσωμεν τῶν ἐκείνως ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν οὖν παρεῖναι ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἔστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν." οἶ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.
will be upon us and invading our country in no long
time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him
that we will do nothing that he requires of us;
wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time
for us to march first into Boeotia.” At this reply of
the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.
I

1. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας ᾿Αλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ ῾Αθηναίων ἔσημηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἕκε Θεσσαλίης ὑπὲ τὴν στρατηγὴν σπουδὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ῾Αθήνας. οὐκ δὲ ἐκάστοτε γύνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἤγεομένους οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπραγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπήγγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροετεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Δηρισάιος Ἐρέξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς, οἱ Θηβαιοὶ κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευσαν αὐτὸ πλεῖστον ὡς οὐκ εἰς χώρος ἑπιτιθεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύσθαι ἐκεῖνον, οὐδὲ ἐων ἵναι ἐκαστέρω, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἢζομενον ποιεῖν ὥκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ᾿Ελλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἵσχυρὸν "Ελληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἳ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπασι ἀνθρώπους: "εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παρανέ-ομεν," ἐφασαν λέγοντες, "ἐξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἴσχυρὰ βουλεύματα: πέμπτε χρύματα ἔσ τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλις, πέμπτων δὲ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα διαστήσεις: ἐνθεύτευν δὲ
BOOK IX

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

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

1 In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.
τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονεώντας ῥημίδιως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέφεαι.”

3. Οἷς μὲν ταύτα συνεβούλευν, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινοὶ ἐνέστακτο ἱμερὸς τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἔλειν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοῖς διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν ἑόντε ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὑρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τε Σαλαμίνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῆς νυσί, αἰρεῖ τε ἔρημον τὸ ἀστὺν. ἡ δὲ βασιλείας αἴρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατήρην δεκάμηνος εὗνετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃς ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει εἰς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἀνδρὰ Ἑλλησπόντιοι φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοίς Ἀθηναίοις διεπόρθυες. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζον δὲ σφέας υπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὃς δοριαλώτου ἐφύσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐφύσης ὑπ᾽ ἐωυτῶ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἰνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ὃ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Δυκίδης εἰπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἀμεινών εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενείκαί ἐς τὸν δήμον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταύτα οἱ ἕανδαι: Ἀθηναίοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἱ τ̣ ε̣κ̣ τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἐξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περι-

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

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

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

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

6. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσοι. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἤξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οὐ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολάι-τέρα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ἄσο καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντὸ τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Δακεδαί-μονά τε ἐπεμπτον ἀγγέλους ἀμα μὲν μεμψομένοις τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι περεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλῃ οὐ μετὰ σφέων ὑπτίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἀμα δὲ ὑπομνή-σουτας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προείπα τε ὅτι εἴ μὴ ἀμυνεῖσι Ἀθη-ναῖοι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Δακεδαιμονίοι ὀρτὰζον τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἦν Ἰακίνθια, περὶ πλεῖστον δὲ ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἀμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἱσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἦδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκουτο ἐς τὴν Δακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἀμα ἄγομενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἄγγελους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον 162
round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Murychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

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

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

1 A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.
τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. "Ὡπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδίδοι, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ᾽ ὦσθε νεκρεῖται καὶ ὡς τε ὑποτίθης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἀν αὐτοῖς ἐλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἐλληνικὸν αἰδευθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταиνέσαμεν ἀλλ᾽ ἀρεπίμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ Ἐλληνον καὶ καταπροδίδομενοι, ἐπιστάμενοι τε ὃτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὀμολογεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πολεμεῖσθαι, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὀμολογήσωμεν ἐκώντες εἰναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἡμέων οὐτῳ ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίνην τοῖς ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶτε ἐξεμάθετο τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμᾷ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἐλλάδα, καὶ διὸ τείχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἑλαυνόμενον ἐν τελεῖ ἐστὶ, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιεῖσθε, συνθῆμενοι τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν προδεδώκατε, περείεδετε τὸ προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τῶν βάρβαρον. ἔς μὲν νῦν τὸ παρεῦμ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησατε ἐπιτηδείως. νῦν δὲ ὡς τὰ ἄρα στρατηγὴν ἄμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἀν τῶν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδῆ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίας, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον." 8. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἦκουσαν οἱ ἐφόροι ταύτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν υστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ
and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said: "The Athenians have sent us with this message: The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you; for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again
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υστεραίη ές τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεο, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἐχοντες πόλην πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἢν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αὐτίον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθηναίωνς σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίωνς, τότε δὲ ἄρθη ἐποιήσαντο ούδεμιαν, ἀλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμὸς σφι ἐτείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν ὅτε δὲ 'Αλεξάνδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἀπετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ εξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιτέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλοῦσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμονίτης μέγιστον ἔξινων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἀρα σφι τάδε. "Οὔτω ἔχει, ἀνδρεὶς ἐφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐοντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καὶ περὶ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλημένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλησιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἐλλαδί." 10. "Ὁ μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οὗ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοίσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπηγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ήτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχίλιους Σπαρτιτέων καὶ ἐπὶ περὶ ἐκαστον τάξαντες 166
till the day after; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

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

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

1 cp. viii. 135.
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tων εἰλώτων, Παυσανίη τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονία Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδου· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπος τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιήν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν τὸ τείχος δεῖμασαν μετὰ ταύτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινά βιοῦς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε: θυμόμενοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ὕλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ σύρανῳ. προσαιρέσται δὲ ἔσωτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυμάνακτα τὸν Δωρίεος, ἀνδρα ὀἰκίης ἑόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἐξω Στάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὃς ἡμέρη ἐγείρονες, οὐδὲν εἶδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπηλθοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νῷ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἐκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἐλεγον τάδε. "Τιμεὶς μὲν, ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆς μένοντες Ἰακίνθια τε ἄγετε καὶ παίξετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χίτει τε συμμάχων καταλύονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι συμμάχων βασιλεῶς γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ ἥν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέονται. ύμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεὺτεν μαθήσεσθε οὕκοιν ἂν τὶ ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ." ταύτα λεγόντων τῶν ἄγγελων, οἱ ἐφοροὶ εἴπαν ἐπὶ ὀρκου καὶ δὴ δοκεέων εἶναι ἐν Ὁρεσθεῖω στείχοντας ἐπὶ

1 His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus. 168
and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,¹ Euryanax son of Dorieus.

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

¹ Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.

²
τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς βαρβάρους. οὐ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἔξεμαθον πάν τὸ ἐόν, ὡστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταξισθην διώκοντες. σὺν δὲ σφι τὸν περιοίκων Δακεδαμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλῖται τῶντο τοῦτο ἐποίεσον.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπείτε τάξιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεως ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμποντο κῆρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἀριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίων ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσει τὸν Σπαρτήτην μὴ ἐξείναι· δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλεγε τάδε. “Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Δακεδαμονίων ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξείναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὑρβουλευόμενος.”

13. “Ο μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ συνάμοι ἐτί πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἦκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν ὑπὸ ποθέοθαι ὑπεκόχειε, θέλων εἴδειν τὸ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, ὅκοιν τι ποίησοντι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὀμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεί δὲ οὐκ ἐπειδή, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἡ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεως ὡς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβάλειν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κοῦ τι ὄρθων ἴν τῶν τειχέων ἡ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἡ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλῶν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε

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

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

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

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρησε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἤλθε ἀγγελία πρόδρομον ἀλλὴν στρατιὰν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Δακεδαιμονίων χιλίων· πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ καὶ τούτως πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἤγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· δὲ ὑπὸς προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἤλιον δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὐτὴ στρατιὰ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίως ἤλθε ἀγγελία ὡς ἀλέες εἶησαν οἱ "Ἐλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ." οὕτω δὴ ὁπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δακελήνης· οἱ γὰρ βουλτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσσωπίων, οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὀδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν ἐν Τανάγη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐναυσίμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκόλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίῳ ἡν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ περιπτόμενων ἐκείρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτω κατὰ ἐχθὸς αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἐρυμά τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἣν συμβαλόντοι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὀκοῖον τι ἔθελοι, κηρσυγυγεῖν τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατὸπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων 172
BOOK IX. 13-15

marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage. 1 Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

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

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

1 He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeran.
παρὰ 'Τσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταϊδα γῆν,
παρὰ τὸν 'Ασωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ
μέντοι τὸ γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποίετο, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κη μέτωπον ἐκαστον.

16. 'Εγώντων δὲ τὸν πόλιν τούτον τῶν βαρ-
βάρων, Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύνονος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος
παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια
αὐτὸν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσῶν
τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ σύντοι ἐποντο-
ζήν δὲ τὸ δείπνου ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε
δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλουπα ἦκον Θερσάνδρου ἄνδρος
μὲν Ὄρχωμενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρώτα ἐν
Ὅρχωμενῷ. ἐφ' δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθήναι καὶ
αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κλη-
θήναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ
σφεων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃ
τε καὶ Θηβαίοι ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ
δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμό-
κλινον Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν ἴεντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν
ὀποδαπός ἔστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἰπ-
ὥ Ὄρχωμενίοις. τὸν δὲ εἶπείν "Εἴπει νῦν ὁμοτρά-
πεζὸς τὲ μοι καὶ ὄμοσπονδος ἐγένεο, μυημόσυνα
τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλυπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ
προειδῶς αὐτὸς περὶ σεβωτοῦ βουλεύσθαι ἔχῃς
τὰ συμφέρουτα. ορὰς τούτους τοὺς δαυιμένους
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλιπσμένον ἐπὶ τῷ
ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύμενον. τούτων πάντων
ὁψεί ὁλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὁλίγους
tινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἀμα τε τὸν
Πέρσην λέγει καὶ μετείναε πολλὰ τῶν δακρὺν.
αὐτὸς δὲ θωρμάςας τὸν λόγον εἶποίν πρὸς αὐτὸν
"Οὐκὼν Μαρδονίω τε ταῦτα χρεον ἐστι λέγειν

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Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Platacae, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius
καὶ τοῖς μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐν αὐνῇ ἐνοῦσι Περσέων ἦν,
τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἦν ἐνεσθαί ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πεῖθεσθαι οὐδείς.
ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαῖα ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἔχθιστη δὲ ὁδὴ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονεόντα μηδὲν ὤν, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώποις πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταῖοι τῇ μάχῃ.

17. Μαρδώνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατοπεδευμένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρεῖχοντο ἀπαντεῖς στρατιήν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς 'Αθηναῖας, ὥσις περ ἐμῆδιξον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκήμενων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμῆδιξον γὰρ ἡ σφόδρα καὶ οὕτωι) οὐκ ἐκόντες ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίας. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπιξίων τὴν ἐς Θῆβας ύστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἤγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνήρ τῶν ἁστόν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίπατο καὶ οὕτωι ἐς Θῆβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἵππεας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ’ ἐωτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρὴν ἵππος ἡ ἀπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στραταπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Ἰππίων ἑόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντεῖ σφέας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι’ αὐτῶν Φωκέων τῶντο τούτο. ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνεσε λέγων τοιάδε. "Ω Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὕτωι οἱ ἀνθρώποι μέλλουσι προ- ὀπτῷ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσ- σαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ
and those honourable Persians that are with him?"

"Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orchomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for
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... ύμεων χρεον ἐστὶ γενεσθαι ἀγαθὸν· κρέσσου γὰρ ποιεύντας τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτήσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχύστω μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔστιν βάρβαροι ἐπ’ “Ἐλλησὶ ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν.”

18. “Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνει· οἱ δὲ ἰπτεῖς ἐπτεῖ σφαιρὰς ἐκκυκλώσαντο, ἐπὶ ῥάλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετέινοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπῆσοντες, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἐστησαν πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἔνθατα οἱ ἰπτόται ὑπεστρεφον καὶ ἀπῆλαυνον ὡς ὄπισω. οὐκ ἔχω δ’ ἀπεκένως ἐπισεῖν οὔτε ἐς ἑλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὔτω δὴ ἀπῆλαυνον ὡς ὄπισω· ὡς γὰρ σφὶ ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος, ὡς δὴ ἀπὶ οὐτ’ εἰ αὐτῶν πειρήθηναι ἠθέλησε εἰ τί ἀλκής μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὡς ἀπῆλασαν οἱ ἰπτόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐλεγε τάδε. “Θαρσέτε ὁ Φωκέες· ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἔοντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἢγὼ ἐπιύθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· ἐνεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ’ ὃν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα.” τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύνοντο. πυπανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὁ λοιπὸς Πελοποννήσιοι τοῦς τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οὐκ δὲ καὶ ὅρωντες ἔξωντας Σπαρτήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαιεῖν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργησάντων
every one of you to play the man; for it is better to
end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to
suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach
them that they whose slaying they have devised are
men of Hellas.” Thus he exhorted them.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the
Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay
them, and drew their bows to shoot, and ’tis
like that some did even shoot. The Phocians
fronted them every way, drawing in together and
closing their ranks to the best of their power;
whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back
and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they
came at the Thessalians’ desire to slay the Phocians,
but, when they saw the men preparing to defend
themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer
some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was
Mardonius’ command),—or if Mardonius desired to
test the Phocians’ mettle. But when the horsemen
had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this
message: “Men of Phocis, be of good courage; for
you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and
not as it was reported to me. And now push this
war zealously forward; for you will outdo neither
myself nor the king in the rendering of service.”¹
Thus far went the Phocian business.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were
come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When
the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better
cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth
to war, they deemed it was not for them to be
behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore
they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of

¹ That is, serve us and we will serve you.
τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐß Ἐλευσίνα. ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαύτα ἱρά, ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐß Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθον τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος.

20. Μαρδόνως δὲ, ὡς ὦ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐß τὸ πεδίον, πέμπτε ἐß αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰπποῦ, τῆς ἱππάρχει μασίστιοι εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσης, τὸν Ἐλληνες Μακιστιόν καλέοντι, Ἰπποῦ ἐχῶν Νησαίοι χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαύτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέας ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τῆς ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τὸν χωρίον παυτός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτη ἐγίνετο τῇ Ἰπποῦ. προσβάλλοντος δὲν τῆς Ἰπποῦ οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἐπεμποῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ οἱ κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρεῖς λέγουσιν ἡμεῖς, ἀνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοὶ εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων Ἰπποῦ δέκεσθαί μοῦνοι, ἐχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐß τὴν ἐστημεν ἄρχην ἄλλα καὶ ἐß τὸδε λιπαρή τε καὶ ἄρετῃ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζομενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμφετε διαδόχοις τῆς τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." δὲ μὲν δὴ σφι ταύτα ἀπῆγγελλε, Παυσανίς ἔτι ἀπε-180
sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

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

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke: “From the men of Megara to their allies: We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein.” Thus the herald reported, and
22. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων εἰς Ἑρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελήμενοι, μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνου τέλος τοιόνικα ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἱπποῦ κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστῖος προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἱππὸς βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἰσταταί τε ὅρθος καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Ἐρυθρᾶς πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ’ ἄρχας οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτως ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἰς χρύσεοι λεπτιδώτων, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθώνα φοινίκεου ἐνεδεδύκεε. τυπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδὲν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παιέε μιν ἐς τὸν ὀδηγὸν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπεσὲ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθηε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ οὕτε ἀποθησκόντα, ἀναχωρήσιος τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἐμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὡς σφεας οὔδεὶς ἢν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς, διακελευσάμενοι ἡλαύνων τοὺς ἱπποὺς πάντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

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

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

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,
Αλλην στρατιήν ἐπεβόωσαντο. ἐν ὅ δὲ ὁ πειζός ἀπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὃξα ἐπεὶ τού νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἔως μὲν ἦν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριη-
κόσιοι, ἐσούντο τε πολλοῦ καὶ τούτοι νέκρον ἀπέ-
λειπον· ὡς δὲ σφι τὸ πλήθος ἐπεβοήθησε, ὦτω ὅ-
γοι ὁυκέτι οἱ ἵπποι ὑπέμενον οὔτε σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρόν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἵππεων. ἀποστήσαντες δὲν ὅ-
σον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὁ τι χρεῶν εἰη 
ποιέειν ἐδόκεε δὲ σφι ἀναρχίας εὑσθη ἀπελαύνειν 
παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἱπποῦ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον 
πένθος ἐπούσαντο Μασίστιον πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιά 
καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες 
καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια οἱμωγῆ τε χρεώ-
μενοι ἀπλέτων· ἀπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατεῖχε 
ὁχώ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον 
λογιμωτάτον παρὰ τε Πέρσησι καὶ βασιλέι.

25. Οἱ μὲν νυν Βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ 
ἀποθανόντα ἑτῖμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες 
ὡς τὴν ἱπποῦ ἑδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξα-
μενοι ὁσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ 
πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ 
τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν ἥζης ἄξιος 
μεγάθεος εἰνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἰνεκα καὶ 
ταῦτα ἐποίεεν· ἐκλείπουτες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων 
θεσόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἐδοξέ σφι ἑπι-
κατάβημαι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο 
πολλῷ ἐων ἐπιτηδεότερος σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύσθαι 
ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίον τα τε ἄλλα καὶ 
ἐνυδρότερος. ὡς τούτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ 
τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ 
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they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

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

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,
ἐδοξε σφι χρεόν εἶναι ὑπικέσθαι καὶ
dιαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες
dὲ τὰ ὁπλα ὤσιαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρές τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος
παρὰ 'Τσιάς ἐς τὴν Πλαταίαν γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι
dὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἑθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης
τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ 'Ανδρο-
kράτεος τοῦ ἦρωος, διὰ ὀχθῶν τε ὀυκ ὑψηλῶν
καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. Ἐνθαύτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων
πολλῶν ὁμισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων:
ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐχεῖν τὸ ἔτερον
κέρας, καὶ καὶνὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα.
tοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεηταὶ ἔλεγον τάδε. «Ἡμεῖς οἰεῖ
κοτὲ αἰείμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀπάντων, ὡσα ἄδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο
Πελοποννησίοις καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἓς
ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἔπειτε Ηρακλείδαι ἐπειρώντο
μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατίοντες ἐς Πελο-
pόννησον· τότε εὐρομεθα τοῦτο τοῦτο πρῆγμα
tοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἴωνων τῶν
tότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοθήσαντες ἐς
tὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζομεθα ἀντίοι τοῖς κατιούσι, τότε
ἀν λόγος Ὅλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεόν εἰη τὸν
μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμ-
βάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου
tὸν ἀν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσε ἑναὶ ἄριστον, τοῦτον
οἱ μονομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένουσι. ἐδοξε τοῖς
τοῖς Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα ἑναὶ ποιητέα καὶ
ἐταμον ὀρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοῦδε, ἢν μὲν Ὅλλος
μικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι
Ḥraκλεῖδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ
they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

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

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

2 Son of Heracles.
'Ηρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατήγην ἐκατόν τε ἔτέων μὴ ζητήσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς Ἡχεμος ὁ Ἡρόπο τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἠμέτερος, καὶ ἐμονομάχησε τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὄτλον, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελοπόννησίοισι γε τοῖς τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἑχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἔτερου αἱ ὑγεμονεῖν κοινῆς ἔξοδον γνωμομένης. ὡμῶν μὲν νῦν ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἱρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν τοῦ δὲ ἔτερον φαµὲν ἡμέας ἴκνεσσαί ὑγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγμένου ἔργου ἄξιονικοτερα εἰμὲν Ἡθναῖων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἑχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὗ ἑχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἦμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτηται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδατα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὁν δικαίου ἡμέας ἑχειν τὸ ἔτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἡθναίους· οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐστὶ ἕργα οία περ ἦμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὕτ' ὁν καὶνα οὕτε παλαιά." 27. Οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἡθναίοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. Ἑπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τὴνδε μάχης εἰνέκα συλλεγήναι πρὸς τῶν βάρβαρον, ἀλλὰ οὐ λόγων· ἔπει δὲ ὁ Ἱεγήτης προεθυκτερα παλαιά καὶ κατα ν λέγειν τα ἐκατέρωσιν ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασαι χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἦμῖν ἑχει δηλώσαι πρὸς υμέας ὅθεν ἦμῖν πατρώων ἐστὶ ἐουσὶ χρηστοῖσι αἱ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὑτοὶ φασὶ ἀποκτείναι τὸν ὑγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτοι
contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead
their army away, and not seek to return to the
Peloponnese till a hundred years were past. Then
our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son
Eëropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all
the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew
Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians
of that day granted us this also among other great
privileges which we have never ceased to possess,
that in all united campaigns we should ever lead
the army's second wing. Now with you, men of
Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid
you choose the command of whichever wing you will;
but this we say, that our place is at the head of the
other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat
which we have related, we are worthier than the
Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields
on which we have fought with happy event in regard
to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It
is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians
should hold the second wing; for never early or late
have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians
replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered
in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not
for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made
it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old
and new, which either of our nations has at any time
achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we,
rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour
an hereditary right to the place of honour. These
Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Hera-
clidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-
μὲν τούτους, πρῶτον ἐξελαυνομένους ὕπο πάντων Ἐλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίλατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέαν ὑβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνους μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργείοις τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἔπι Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν άιῶνα καὶ ἀτάφοις κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ θάφαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσί, ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θέρμώδοντος ποταμῷ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς πόνοις οὐδαμῶν ἑλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τοῦτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἀν χρήστοι τότε ἔοντες ὁμοί εὖν ἀν εἰεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἔοντες φλαύροι ὑνὸν ἀν εἰεν ἄμεινοις. παλαιῶν μὲν ἐκεῖν ἔργων ἀλῖς ἐστωνν. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοίσι καὶ ἄλλους Ἐλλήνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμέν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἴτινες μοῦνι Ἐλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχίσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἔξε τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἄρ', οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμέν ἔχειν ταύτῃ τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦτον μοῦνον τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοῦτῳ τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμέν πείθεσθαι ἡμῖν ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἱνα δοκείη ἐπιτηδεύσατον ἥμεας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ' ὀὐσίαν πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένου πειρησόμεθα.
clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from our feat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that one feat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

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

2 When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."
εἶναι χρήστοι. ἔξηγέσθη δὲ ὡς πεισομένων." ὁ µὲν ταῦτα ἀµείβοντο, Λακεδαιµονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονπροτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἡ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὔτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ὑπερβῆλουντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὡδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτώτεσ τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ µὲν δεξίον κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιµονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιοι ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον φιλοὶ τῶν εἰλότων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἀνδρα ἕκαστον ἐπτά τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσει εἴλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιήται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἰνεκα καὶ ἄρετῆς· τούτων δὲ ἦσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτος ἱσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσει εὑροντο παρα Παυσανίων ἐστάναι Ποτίδαιντέων τῶν ἐκ Παλληνῆς τοὺς παρεόντας τρικόσιους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχωμένοι έξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρετέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐστησαν Ἐρμιονέες τρικόσιοι. Ἐρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταντο Ἐρετρεών τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπραιντέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτως Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτόρων ὀκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-
men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from
ληνίς διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγυπτέων πεντακόσιοι ἔταχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσ-
σοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἰχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἕξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι
'Αθηναίοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐόνυμον,
ὁκτακισχίλιοι: ἐστρατήγησε δ' αὐτῶν 'Αριστείδης
ὁ Δυσιμάχου.

29. Οὕτως, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστὸν τεταγ-
μένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὅπληται, σύμπαντες
ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες
καὶ ἐκατοντάδες ἐπτά. ὅπληται μὲν οἱ πάντες
συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι,
ψιλῶν δὲ πλήθος ὦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς
τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ώς
ἐόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἐκαστὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς
τις παρῆρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἶς περὶ
ἐκαστον ἐως ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι
καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων τῶν μαχίμων
ἡν τὸ πλήθος ἐξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες
καὶ ἐκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ
'Ελληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιᾶς σὺν τε
ὁπλήτης καὶ ψιλοίς τοῖς μαχίμοις, ἕνδεκα
μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων
ἄνδρῶν καταδέουσαί. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖς
παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἐνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆ-
σαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ
περιοῦσις, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χίλιους·
ὀπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὕτως ἔχον. οὕτως μὲν ὑπν ταχέωτες
ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ασωτῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

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

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

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataeae, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors 1 of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus.

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

1 That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.
κύδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιᾷς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτην ρέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὅπερ ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Δακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιήσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξεις πλεύνας ἑκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπέίχον τοὺς Τεγεύτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὔτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Δακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεύτας. ταύτα δὲ ἐποίεε φραζοῦτοι τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους καὶ Ποτίδαιητας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους καὶ Σικυνίους. Μήδους δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζνίους καὶ Δεσπρείτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους, μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδοῦς· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐρμομένας τε καὶ Ἐρετρείας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οὗ ἐπέσχον Ἁμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Δευκάδους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίον τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ δὲν ἀπαντεῖ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμῆδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἕλληνων ἕδουν περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεύτευν ὀρμόμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἠγοῦ τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατίνα καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἕλληνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-
mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Orchomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Locrians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,
δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς 'Αθηναίονς.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὤνομασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου παχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἑθνῶν ἄνδρες ἀναμεμηγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Ὄρηκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιῶνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οὗ τε Ἐρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἳ περ εἰς Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄμα Ἐρέξη ἀπικόμενον ἐς 'Αθήνας Αἰγυπτιοί. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον δεδήλωται: τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἴδε μὲν ούδεις ἁριθμῶν οὐ γὰρ ὄν ἡριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγόμαι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἳ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ὑπόσ τοις χωρίς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὅς δὲ ἀρὰ πάντες οἳ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἑθνα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθάυτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρη ἑθύνοτο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἐλλησὶ μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντίόχου ἦν ὁ θυομενὸς· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἐπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τοῦτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἑόντα Ἥλειον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμεδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενὸς γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ γόνου ἄνειλε ἡ Πυθία ἁγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

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

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,¹ who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,² and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadae were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Клаутиадов.

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

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

2 According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.
οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετέινατο ἤσσαν δώσοντες οἱ ταῦτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἔπο-
ρέγεται ὄρεων αὐτοὺς πετραμμένους, φάσ, ἣν μὴ
cαι τῷ ἄδελφῳ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον
tῆς βασιλείας, οὗ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οὐ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ
tαῦτα.

35. 'Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπάρτιηται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινὸς
tοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεον οἱ. συγχωρη-
σάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπάρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ
pέντε σφὶ μαντεύομενοι ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγάλους
Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἡλείος, γενόμενος Σπάρτιήτης,
συγκαταίρει. μοῦνι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐγένοντο οὕτοι Σπάρτιητησι πολιτηί. οἱ δὲ
pέντε ἀγῶνες οἴδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος
οὕτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇ, ἔπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς
Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ
ὁ ἐν Διπαίευσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλῆ
Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμη,
ὑστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε
καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος' οὕτος δὲ ὑστατος
κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὕτος δὴ τότε τοῖς Ἔλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός,
ἀγώνων τῶν Σπάρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ
Πλαταιᾷ. τοῖς μὲν νυν Ἔλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο
τὰ ἵρα ἀμυνομένοις, διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν
καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὐ.

37. Μαρδοὺω δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν
οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἵρα, ἀμυνομένως δὲ καὶ
tοῦτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἔλληνικοῦσί ἐροῦσι ἐχρατό, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἡλεῖον

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thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

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

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

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

¹ The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaeae.
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te καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὲ πρῶτον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἐδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέξον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηρο-δέτω, ἐσενειχθέντος καὶ σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτικα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο ἀνδρημότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἤμειν ἰδιμεν. σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύστει αἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν παρσόν ἐωτοὺ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος υπὸ φυλάκων, διωρύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νῦκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὑλῆν καὶ αὐλιξόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανθημεῖ διζημένων τρίτη εὐ-φρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θωματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τῶν τόλμης, ὀρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυ- ναμένους εὑρεῖν. τὸτε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακε- δαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἔοίσαν οὐκ ἅρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῖτον τῶν χρόνον- ύγιῆς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινων πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἱθῆς Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμοις. οὐ μὲντοι ἐς γε τέλος οἱ συμμεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἦλω γὰρ μαντεύμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

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

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,
κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὡστε μάχεσθαι ὦρι τε αὐτοῖς Πέρσης ὀφτε τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνων ἐνοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἰχὸν γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ἐσυστῶν μάντων Ἰππόμαχοι Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύσων, Τιμιγενίδης ὁ Ἑρμυνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολάς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὃς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἑλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὃς ἀπολάμψειο συχνοῦσ.

39. Ἡμέραι δὲ σφι ἀντικατημένοι ήδη ἐγέγονεσαν ὠκτῶ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὐ ἔχουσαν, ὃς εὐφρονὴ ἐγένετο, πέμπτε τὴν ὑπον ὡς τὰς ἐκβολάς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοῖς μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλᾶς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ Δρυῶς κεφαλᾶς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἴπτοται οὐ μάτῃν ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ὡς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποξύγια τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ έιπτοντο τοισε ξεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταῦτῃ τὴν ἀγρὴν οἱ Πέρσαι ἀμβελέως ἐφόνευσον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποξυγίου οὐδενὸς ὀφτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἰχὸν κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἠλαιον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέστριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἀρξαν μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήησαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἴππος ἡ Μαρδονίῳ αἰεὶ προσέκειτο τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἄτε ὑδίζουσι τεγάλως, προθύμως ἐφερον τὸν πόλε-
and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpy, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

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

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

41. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνει ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇ, οὐ τε δὴ Ἐλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιμέκτεε τῇ ἐδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοις Περσέων ἦν ἀνήρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. Βουλευομένων δὲ αἴδε ἦσαν ἂν γνώμαι, ὃ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεον εὖ ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχιστὴν πάντα τῶν στρατῶν ἴέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαῖον, ἐνθα ἑτοῖ τέ σφι ἐσενηνείχθαι πολλῶν καὶ χόρτον τοίς ὑποζυγίοις, κατ' ἱσυχίαν τε ἱζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεύντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσθμον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων ψειδομένως μηδενὸς διασέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, Ἐλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστῶτας ἐν τῇ πόλις, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτοις μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαῖων γνώμῃ, ὡς προειδότοις πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτοι, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἱσχυροτέρῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστήρῃ καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένῃ· δοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὰν τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχύτην μηδὲ περιορῶν συνλεγομένους ἐτὶ πλεῦνας τῶν συναρρηκτῶν, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιο-
were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor
42. Τούτον δὲ οὕτω δικαιεύντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὡστε ἐκράτει τῇ γνώμῃ. τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατηγῆς οὕτος ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἔωυτον ἑόντων Ἔλληνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα ἐὰν τι εἰδείεν λόγιον περὶ Περσῶν ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἔλλαδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμοὺς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ὠδεί ἐὰν δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε ἃ ἔπει τοῖνυν ὡμεῖς ἢ ἢστε οὐδέν ἢ οὐ τολμᾷτε λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ ἔρεω ὡς εῦ ἐπιστάμενος: ἐστὶ λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἔλλαδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγῆν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοῖνυν αὐτὸ τούτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὐτέ ὑμεῖ ἢπί τὸ ἱρὸν τούτῳ οὕτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάξειν, ταύτης τε εἶνεκα τῆς αἰτίῆς οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὡστε ὑμέων ὁσοὶ τυγχάνοντι εὔνου εἵντες Πέρσησι, ἡδοςθε τούτῳ εἶνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἔλληνων.” ταυτὰ σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέσθαι ὡς ἀμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τούτον δ’ ἔγγον τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοῦς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οίδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ’

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

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

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the
Referring to a legendary expedition of these north-western tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.

A little to the N.W. of Thebes.
army of the Encheleës. But there is a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle:

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

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

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

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts; and when they were come Alexander said to them: "Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that
μενὸς πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἀλλον ἔ Παυσανίῳ, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε: οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἑλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαιον καὶ ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἑθέλοιμι ὀρῶν τὴν Ἐλλάδα. λέγω δὲ δὲν ὡς τι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι πάλαι γὰρ ἄν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἕαν χαίρειν, ἀμ’ ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέσθαι καταρρόδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἂν δὲ ἀρὰ ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιῆται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες: ὁλιγέων γὰρ σφὶ ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἂν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος οὖδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθήσαι τινὰ χρή καὶ ἐμεῖ ἐλευθερόσωσι πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἶνεκα οὐτω ἔργου παράβολον ἐργασμαι υπὸ προθυμίας, ἑθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοια τὴν Μαρδονίου, ὅταν μὴ ἐπιτέσσωσι ὑμῖν ἔξαίψης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένουσι κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών.” ὡ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπῆλαυνε ὅπισώ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἔως τοῦ τάξεων.

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

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: “Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you
ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μῆδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεῖται, ἦμεις δὲ ἀπειροὶ τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἄδαες τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν. Ἑπαρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μῆδων· ἦμεις δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐμπείροι εἰμὲν. ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεὼν ἐστὶ οἶναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ὑμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον.” πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. “Καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦμῖν πάλαι ἂπ’ ἀρχής, ἐπείτε εἰδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νῷ ἐγένετο εἰπείν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἄρωδεόμεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἦδες γένονται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὅν αὐτὸι ἐμμησθητε, καὶ ἠδομένοι ήμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐτοιμοὶ εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα.”

47. Ὅσ’ δ’ ἦρεσκε ἀμφοτέρους ταῦτα, ἦώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις, γνώντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδόνιω. ὅ δ’ ἐπείτε ἢκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γνώμενον ὁ Παυσανίας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λαυθάνει, ὁπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Ὑπαρτητάς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας· ὅσ δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐώνυμον.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Ὑπαρτητάς ἐλέγες τάδε. ”Ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἰναι ἄνδρες ἀριστοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἄνθρωπων, ἐκπαγχειμένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντες τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ’ ἀρ’ ἢν οὐδὲν ἄλλης· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμεῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στᾶσιν 216
have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left.” “We, too,” the Athenians answered, “even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say.”

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

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: “Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your
ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἰμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἴμεας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃ μάχεσθαι, ἀρτιοὶ ἐόντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὐρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν δὲν ἑπείδη ὡκ ὑμεῖς ἠρέατε τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἴμεασ ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἕλληνων ὑμεῖς, ἑπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑμεῖς ἵσοι πρὸς ἱσοὺς ἀριθμοῦ ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' δὲν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ύστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἴμεασ μοῦνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἴμεασ δὲ διαμαχεσάμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἴμεασ νικῆσωσί, τοῦτος τῶ ἀπαντὶ στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν."

49. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴτας τε καὶ ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω, ἀπελθών δὲ ἐσῆμαινε Μαρδωνῷ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὃ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεῖς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἑπὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἴπτοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆλασαν οἱ ἵπποται, ἐσίνουτο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατηγὴν τὴν Ἕλληνικὴν ἔσακοντες ξοντές τε καὶ τοξεῦσantes ὁστε ἵπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφήν, ἀπ' ἦς υδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἕλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν δὲν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Δακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοισι "Ελλησὶ ή μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἑκαστοὶ ἐτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ 218
station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,
Ασωπός ἄγχος. Ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ὀυτῶ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρῆςν ἐφοίτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφῆς οὐκ ἐξῆς ὕδωρ φορέσθαι υπὸ τε τῶν ἒπεύω καὶ τὸιευμάτων.

50. Τούτων δὲ τοιούτων γινομένου ὀτὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοῦ, ἀτε τοῦτ ὑδατος στερηθέεσθης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἒπου παράσσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἑλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπες ὑδατος συμία εἶχον ἐτὶ, οὗ τε σφέων ὑπέων ἀρπομεφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπιστευμένοι ἀπεκεκληίατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἒπου, οὗ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευμενόνοι δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐδοξέ, ἢν υπερβάλλονται ἐκεῖνης τῆς ἡμέρην οἳ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιεῦμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἵναι. ἢ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρῆςς τῆς Γαργαφίας, ἐπὶ ἐςτρατοπέδευοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιῶν πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ ὀυτῶ ἄν εἴη ἐν ἥπειρῳ σχίξομενοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ρέει κατὼ ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ βεβέθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἐπείτα συμμίσχει εἷς τῶντο. οὔνομα δὲ οἱ Ὡρέη. θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἳ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τούτων δὴ τῶν χώρων ἐθουλεύσαντο μεταναστήναι, ἵναι καὶ ὑδατὶ ἐχωσὶ χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἒπεύες σφέας μὴ

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

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

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

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataeae, see the Introduction to this volume.
σινοίατο ὀσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων· μετακινέσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεάν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμομένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἵπποται. ἀπικομέ
νων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἦ Ἀσσωπίς Ὄμερόν περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἥμισεας ἀπο-
stέλλευν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβωιν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτιὰ οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολε-
lαμμένοι.

52. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ῥήτρου έχουν πόνον ἀτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἦ τε ἡμέρη ἐληγε καὶ οἱ ἴππες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἑούσης τῆς ἄρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτο σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο ὡς ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἐφευγον ἀσμενοι τὴν ῥήτρον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικυνέον-
tαι ἐπὶ τὸ ῾Ηραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἰκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίας ἀπέχον· ἀπικομένοι δὲ ἐθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἰροῦ τὰ ὄπλα.

53. Καὶ οὗ μὲν περὶ τὸ ᾿Ηραιον ἐστρατοπε-
dεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὁ ὅρων σφεας ἀπαλλασσο-
mένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγειλε καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαδεμαμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἴεναι κατὰ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἴεναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἳ μὲν ἄλλοι άρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίης, ᾿Αμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεως λοχη-
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horsemen, as now when they were face to face; and they resolved to make their removal in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and disorder their array. Further, they resolved that when they were come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oëroë as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to fetch away their followers who were gone to get the provision; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

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

53. So they encamped about the temple of Here. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader
γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἐφι τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνεῖν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἑθόμαξε τε ὄρεων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἄτε οὗ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίς τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυνάαξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεύτω τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνου σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κεῖνον ταῦτ’ ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἂν ἀπολύπωσι ποιεύτες τὰ συνεδρίακαντο τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησί, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθείς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Δακωνικὸν, καὶ ἐπειρώντω πείθοντες μὴν ὡς οὐ χρεόν εἰτα ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

54. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοὸν Δακεδαμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων ἀλειμμένου, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιᾶδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Δακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμπτον σφέων ἵππεα ὕψομενον τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρείσιν οἱ Σπαρτιῖται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεύνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυσανίᾳ τὸ χρέον εἰτα ποιεῖν.

55. Ὄς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κήρυξ ἐσ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νεῖκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρῶτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέωντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὁ τε Εὐρυνάαξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίς μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μοὸν οὐ λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἐπειδὼν, ἐς ὁ 224
of the Pitanate¹ battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they disliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitanate battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aright.

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

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

¹ Thucydides (I. 20) denies the existence of a Π.τανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana v. iii. 55.
HERODOTUS

ἐς νείκεί τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατο σφὶ ἀπίγμενος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῆς χεροί καὶ τιθεῖς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεως ταύτη τῇ ψῆφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφῆ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὃ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τέ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφὶ πρήγματα, ἐχρήζε τέ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς ἐωτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τὰ περ ἀν καὶ σφῆς.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἔπει ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἐωτοὺς ἣς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν ὁμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Δακεδαίμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνίων τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἴποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεήται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἴσαν πάντα ἐμπαλινὶ ἢ Δακεδαιμόνιοι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ἀχθων ἀντεἴχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κεθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ὑποὺν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κἀτῳ τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ὁμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπέειν, περιέχετο αὐτὸν μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίη, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθή τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν.
wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

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

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its
λόχου τὰ ὀπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στύφος·
tο δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν
'Αμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα
ιδρυμένου 'Αρησιότιον τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ
καὶ Δήμητρος 'Ελευσινίης ἱρὸν ἠσταί. ἀνέμενε
dὲ τούδε εἶνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολειτῇ τὸν χῶρον
ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ 'Αμομφαρέτος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος,
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεῖ οπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους.
καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν 'Αμομφαρέτον παρεγίνοντο σφι
καὶ ἡ ῥῆρος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα.
οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι ταῖς ἐποίειν οἶον καὶ ἑώθεσαν ποιέων
αἰεί, ἴδοντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο
οἵ' Ἐλληνες τῇ σι προτέρησι ἡμέρῃς, ἠλαυνοῦν τοὺς
ἰπποὺς αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἀμα καταλαβόωσε
προσεκέατο σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ὅλληνας
ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νῦκτα εἰδὲ τοῦ χῶρον ἔρημον,
καλέσας τὸν Ἀρισιάιον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
φεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλου καὶ Ἐρασυδίου ἐλέγε
"Ω παίδεσ 'Αλεύεω, ἐτὶ τι λέξετε τάδε ὀρῶντες
ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Δακε-
δαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρὰς εἶναι
tα πολέμια πρῶτους· τοὺς πρότερον τε μετιστα-
μένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἰδέτε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροι-
χομένην νῦκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρῶμεν διαδράντας·
dιέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεάς ἐδέε πρὸς τοὺς ἄψυχεος
ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχη διακρίθηναι, ὅτι οὐδένες
ἅρα ἐόντες εἰν οὐδαμοῦσι ἐσούσι "Ελληνε ἐναπεδει-
κνύοτο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπελθοῦσι
πολλῇ ἐκ γε εἰμεν ἐγκύθεστο συγγνώμη, ἑπανεύοντων
τούτως τοῦτοι τι καὶ συνηδέατε. Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ
θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρῳδήσαι
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arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Moloïs and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeïus, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I mar-velled much more at Artabazus, that he should be
Δακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἰπὶ ἀναξεύζατας ἡ στρατόπεδον ἴναι ἐς τὸ Ἡθβαῖων ἀστυ πολιορκησομένους: τὴν ἔτη πρὸς ἐμὲ βασιλεύς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἐσται λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ταύτα ποιεύσι όυκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὁ καταλαμβάνετες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκαια.”

59. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἥγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρασκόντων, ἐπείχε τε ἐπὶ Δακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους: Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁχθῶν οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρῶντες ὁμομένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρίκων τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἑιραν τὰ σημεῖα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ός ποδῶν ἐκαστοὶ εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὔτε διαμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῆ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπῆσαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Παυσανίης δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ὴππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵππεα λέγει τάδε, “Ἀνδρεὶς Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγώνιοι μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἡ δεδουλωμένη τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένη νῦκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὡν δέδοκα τὸ ἐνθεῦτε τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν: ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἀριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ἡμέας ὀρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ὴππος, χρὴν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ἡμῖν. νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἀπασα κεχώ-230
so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

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

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole
ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεξομένην μαλιστά τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνόντες Ἰέναι. εἴ δ' ἂρα αυτοῦς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατον τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἢ μῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐσύσι πολλῶν προσθυμοτάσιοι, ὡστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακοῦειν.”

61. Ταύτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπίθυμον, ὅρμεατο βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφι ἦδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντίταχεντες Ἐλληνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὡστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μονοθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεηταῖ, ἐόντες σὺν ψυλλοῦ ἀριθμὸν οὐ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεηταὶ δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδαμά ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἔσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίω καὶ τῇ στρατῆ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλά πλεύσει ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράζαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίσσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφεθεῖσι, οὕτω ὡστε πιεζόμενων τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν Πανσανίων πρὸς τὸ Ἡραίον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἔλπίδος.

62. Ταύτα δὲ ἔτι τούτοις ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεηταῖ ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτίκα

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brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could now send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Here at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of
μετά τὴν εὐχήν τὴν Παυσανίως ἐγίνετο θυομένους τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγίνετο, ἐχώρευν καὶ οὖντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι αὐτοὶ τὰ τόξα μετέντευσε. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἦδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἱσχυρὴ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνου ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἐς ὁ ἀπίκουντο ἡ ὑδισομὸν τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήμματι μὲν νυν καὶ ρώμη οὐκ ἡσόνεσ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὁμοιοὶ τοῖς ἑναντίοις σοφίης, προεξάισονες δὲ κατ’ ἐνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνὲς τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρέφομενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διε- φθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐώς Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ’ ὑπον τε μαχόμενος λευκὸν ἔχων τε περὶ ἐωτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἑναντίον ἐπίσεσαν. ὅσου μὲν νυν χρόνου Μαρδόνιος περιήν, οὗ δὲ ἀντείχου καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πόλλους τῶν Δακεδαιμο- νίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνου τεταγμένον ἐὼς ἱσχυρότατον ἐπέσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἰςαν τοίς Δακεδαιμο- νίοις. πλεύστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἔσθης ἔρημος οὖσα ὀπλών· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῖτες ἀγώνα ἐποιεύτο.

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

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

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the
νων τὰ οὐνόματα εἰρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὑπολευκὸς γὰρ σφι τυγχάνουσι έόντες. ἀποθυνήσκει δὲ Μαρδό-
νιος ὑπὸ Λεωνίδητον ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὡς χρόνῳ ὑστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἀνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενοκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίους πάσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκοσίοι.

65. Ἕν δὲ Πλαταίης οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράπτωντο ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, ἐφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωτῦνοι καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλιον τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδε. θώμα δὲ μοί ὅκος παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἑφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἔσελθον ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δὲ, εἰ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρήγματων δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτής σφεάς οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

66. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἁρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἤρεσκετο κατ’ ἄρχας λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἦνε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐὼν ἐποίησε τε αὐτός τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενοι τούσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρ-
δονίου ποιευμένοις. τῶν ἐστρατήγη ὁ Ἀρτάβα-
ζος (εἰς δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἐωτύν), τού-
τους, ὅκως ἂς συμβολῇ ἑγίνετο, εὐ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλὲ ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἤγε κατηρητμένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ ἴσην πάντας τῇ ἀν αὐτός ἐξηγήται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἑχοντα. ταύτα παραγγείλας ὡς 236
rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

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

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharmaces had from the very first misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence
67. Καὶ δὴ οὕτω μὲν ταῦτη ἐτράποντο· τὸν δὲ ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως ἑθελοκα-
κεόντων Βοιωτοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνῶν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Ἐθη-
βαίων, οὕτω εἰχον προδυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἑθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὡστε τριηκόσιοι 
ἀυτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἀρίστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὕτωι, ἐφευγον 
ἐς τὰς Ἐθηβας, οὐ τῇ περ ὀι Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὁμιλος, οὕτε διαμαχεσά-
μενος οὐδεν ὡστε τὶ ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφευγον.
68. Δηλοῖ τε μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν 
βαρβάρων ἦρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τῶτε οὕτωι 
πρὶν ἡ καὶ συμμίξας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφευγον, ὡτι 
καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὄρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἐφευγον 
πλὴν τῆς ὑπον τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίως 
ἀυτῇ δὲ τοσαύτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, 
αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀγχιστα ἐνδα 
ἀπέργουσα τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν 
Ἐλλήνων.
69. Οἳ μὲν δὴ νικώντες έκποντο τοὺς Εἴρξεω 
διώκοντες τε καὶ φονεύοντες. εὖ δὲ τούτω τῷ 
γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς ἀλλοίως Ἐλληνι 
τοῖς τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἡραίον καὶ ἀπο-
γενομένοις τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ
of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

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

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

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a
νικήσει οί μετά Παυσανίεω. οί δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταύτα, οὐδένα κόσμου ταχθέντες, οί μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐπέστρεφον διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείας καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ίθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οί δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας περιεῖ καὶ Φλειάσιοι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειτουργία τῶν ὁδῶν. ἔπειτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγέινοντο οἱ Μεγαρέας καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπειδόντες σφέας οἱ τοῦ Ἐθηβαίων ἵπποται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἔλαβον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἱπποὺς, τῶν ἵππαρχες Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάυρος, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἐξακοσίους, τούς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κεδαιρώνα.

70. Οὕτωι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο. οί δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ο ἄλλοι ὁμιλοῦσαν, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐσ τὸ ἔλυσιν τείχος, ἐφθάσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὸ ἑ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφφάξαντο ὡς ἡδυνέατο ἀρίστα τὸ τείχος: προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκει σφί τείχωμαχία ἐρρομενεστέρη. ἔσω μὲν γὰρ ἀπήσαν οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, οί δὲ ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἰχον τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ὡστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τείχωμαχέειν ὡς δὲ σφὶ 'Αθηναίοι προσήλθοντο, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τείχωμαχία καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λυπαρῇ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναίοι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἥριοι τῇ δὴ ἐσεχόντο οἱ Ἑλλήνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσήλθον Τεγεάται ἐς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ διαρπᾶσαντες, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἱππῶν ἐσοῦσαν χαλκόν πᾶσαν καὶ θέας ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν
battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the lelevelst way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated
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φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν ἱηὸν τῆς Ἀλέξις Ἀθηναίης Τεγεηταί, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῶν, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖς Ἔλλησι. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ οὐδὲν ἐτὶ στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκής ἐμέμηντο, ἀλκύταξεν τε ὁι ἐν ὅλιγῳ χώρῳ περιβημένου τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλήμεναι ἄνθρωπον παρὶ τε τοῖς Ἔλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὡστε τρίῇκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεικνύον τεσσάρων τὰς ἔχουν Ἀρτάβαξος ἐφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζῶς μὲν ὁ Περσέως, ὕππος δὲ Ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος. Ἔλληνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερβάλουσαν ἀρετῆς Δακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἀπαντες ἅρι οὕτοι τοὺς κατ' ἔωντος ἔνικον), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἀριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὅς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριήμεροι σωθεῖ περὶ ὁνείδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιτής. καὶ τοῖς γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἀριστος, ἐγνωσαν

1 These figures must refer to the ὀπλίται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περίοικοι and the rest of the light-

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

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae;² and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

¹ Cp. vii. 231.
οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν 
βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης 
οί αἵτις, λυσσώντα τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν 
ἔργα ἀποδεξασθαί μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ 
βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνθρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθῶν 
τοσοῦτοι τούτοι εἰς αἷμαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν 
καὶ φθόνῳ ἀν εἴποιεν οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα 
πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν 
ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο. Ἀριστοδήμος δὲ 
βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἵτιν 
οὐκ ἐτίμηθη.

72. Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταϊῷ ὀνομαστότατοι 
ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης 
ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 
tῶν τότε Ἕλληνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἕλληνων δὲ, 
ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγμάζετο Παυσανίς, κατῆμενος ἐν τῇ 
tάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ 
οὐ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, δὲ ἐξευθειερμένοι εὑροθανάτε 
tε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταῖα 
οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὁτι πρὸ τῆς Ἕλλάδος ἀποθνήσκειν, 
ἀλλ' ὁτι οὐκ ἔχρισατο τῇ χειρί καὶ ὁτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ 
oi ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευ-
μένου ἀποδεξασθαί.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμήσαι Σωφάνης 
ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δὴμον Δεκελεῖθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ 
tῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν 
pάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸι Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν. ὡς 
γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι
most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

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

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

1 According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.
ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλῆθεί καὶ αὐτόστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἴδότες ἦνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἢ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Θησέως ὤβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάση τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, γὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπρόδιδοὶ Τυνδαρίδησι. τοῖς δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελεῖε ἐς τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ ἐτι ἑώσα, οὕτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοπονησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἅλλην Ἀττικὴν Δακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ξωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφορεὶ χαλκὴν ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρένην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσει ἀπικυνόμενος τοῖς πολεμίσαις χαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἑκτίπποντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναῖτο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἑναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὕτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἐτερος τῶν λόγων τοῦ πρῶτου λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀστίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεμιξούσης ἐφορεὶ ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρένην.

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broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.¹

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

¹ But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).
75. Ἡερόδωτος: Εσθι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνειον λαμπρόν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Αθηναίων Λήγουν εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργείου ἀνδρα πεινάεσθον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τοῦτων κατέλαβε ἀνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἀμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωρὸν εἰν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ὁς δὲ τοῖς Ἁλλησι ἐν Πλαταιᾷ κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτα σφυ ἐπήλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἡλλήνας, ἐούσα παλλακὴ Φαραυδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεως, κοσμημαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμφίπολου καὶ ἐσθήτῃ τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβάσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης ἐχώρευ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐτι ἐν τῇ φοινίκι ἐούτας, ὀρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἑκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερον τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὡστε πολλάκις ἀκούσα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονιῶν ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεῖν Σπάρτης, ῥύσαι με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν ὄνομας, τοὺς ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπειν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῆρη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγίτορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου· βίη δὲ μὲ λαβών ἐν Κῶ εἰχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖς ὑπερ. "Τύναι, θάρσει καὶ ὡς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο τυγχάνεις ἀληθεὰ λέγουσα καὶ εἰς 248
75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon, he was slain at Datus by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

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

1 In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.
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θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κρόου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐδώ τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκιμένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἑφόρων τοῖς παρεοῦσιν, ὑστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἰγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἦθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξεν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαυτινέες ἐπὶ ἐξεργα- σμένοις μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὑστεροὶ ἦκοισι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλην, ἄξιοι τε ἐφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας. Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων, ἀπεγονότας διώκειν. οὐ δὲ ἀναχαρί- σαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαυτινέας ἦκον Ἡλειοί, καὶ ὁσαύτως οἱ Ἡλειοί τοῖς Μαυτινέοις συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελ- θόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδιώξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαυτινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλειοὺς τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπτων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἔων τὰ πρῶτα· ὅσοι ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἔτεο πρὸς Παυσανίνην, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ σπουδὴ ἔλεγε τάδε. ""Ω παῖ Κλεομῆροτο, ἔργον ἐργαστάι τοῦ ὑπερφυές μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ρυσάμενον τὴν Ἐλλάδα κλέος κατα- θέσθαι μέγιστον Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ποίησον, ἄκου εἰς τοῖς ὑστεροι φυλάσσηται τῶν Βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἐργα ἀτόσθαλα ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. Δεονιδεω 250
you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

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

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas
HERODOTUS

γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλησι Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Εὔρυξ ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν: τὸ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδοδοὺς ἐπαινοῦν ἐξεις πρότα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Ἑλλήνων. Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Δεωνίδην.

79. Ὅ μὲν δοκεῖν χαρίζεσθαι ἔδειε τάδε, ὁ δὲ ἀνταμεῖβετο τοῦσιδε. ὁμ ξείνει Λιγνήτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προσφάτο ἀγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς ἐξαιρέσας γὰρ μὲ υψίν καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατεβάλεσ παραίνεσεν νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἣν ταῦτα ποιέων, φᾶς ἀμεινὸν μὲ ἀκοισέσθαι τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάρουσι ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἑλλησὶ καὶ ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπιφθειόμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁν τότου εἴфηκα μήτε Λιγνήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δὲ μοι Σπαρτιητῆς ἄρεσκόμενον οὐσια μὲν ποιεῖν, οὐσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Δεωνίδη δὲ, τὸ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, ἕμω μεγάλως τετιμωρήσαι, ψυχήσι τε τῇ τῶν ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηταί αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι σελευκτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἐμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ὑπό έδων ἀπαθής.

80. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίς δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἀπτέσθαι τῆς λητής, συγκομίζεις ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἶλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἦνα τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὑρίσκουν σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ
was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

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

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls
Η έπαργύρους, κρητηράς τε χρυσέως καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπὶ ἀμαξέων εὐρίσκουν, ἐν τοῖς λεβητεῖς ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεώτες χρύσεοι τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευν ψέλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἔσθητός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. Ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίας οἱ εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἣν κρύψαι· ὡστε Αἰγυπτίησι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἄρχην ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἀτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἵλωτων ὀψέοντο.

81. Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ, ἀπ᾽ ἢς ὁ τρίπος ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήμου ὀφίος τοῦ χαλκεοῦ ἐπεστεώς ἅγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ᾽ ἢς δεκάπην χαλκεον Δίᾳ ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ᾽ ἢς ἐπτάπηχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαφέροντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἐκαστοὶ τῶν ἂξιοι ἠσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύγιαι. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρετὰ τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῷ ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμόν, δοκεῖ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς καὶ τούτοις δοθηναι Παυσανίη δὲ πάντα δεκα ἐξαίρεθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναικεῖς ἑπτοὶ τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὅς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τάλλα χρήματα.

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

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,¹ nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says; but I think that they also received gifts; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells’ note ad loc.
82. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος Μαρδοκαί τὴν κατα-
σκευὴν καταλίπων τὴν ἐωτοῦ. Παυσανίην δὲν ὅρωντα τὴν Μαρδοκαίν κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ
ἀργυρῷ καὶ παραπτέσμασι ποικίλουσι κατε-
σκευασμένην, κελεύσας τούς τέ τιν στρατιώτους καὶ
tοὺς ὑποποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδοκαί
δεῖπνον παρασκευᾶξειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὕτω
ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἱὸντα
κλίνας τέ τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὗ ἐστρωμένας
cαὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρα-
sκευήν μεγάλοπροπέᾳ τοῦ δεῖπνον, ἐκπλαγέντα τᾶ
προκείμενα ἁγαθὰ κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωτοῦ
διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Δακωνικοῦ δεῖπνον. ὡς
δὲ τῆς θοινής ποιηθείσης ἢν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον,
tὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν
Ἐλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, συνελθόντων δὲ τοὺ-
tων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρθη
τοῦ δεῖπνον παρασκευήν, "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἕλληνες,
tῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ἕγὼ ὑμέασα συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος
ὑμῖν τοῦ τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην
dέξαι, ὡς τοῦτο δέιαται ἔχων ἢλθε ἡ ἡμέας
οὕτω ὁθορὴν ἔχοντα ἄπαιρησόμενος." ταῦτα
μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων.

83. Ἡστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μέτα ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
Πλαταιῶν ἐυροῦν συχνὸι θῆκας χρυσῶν καὶ
ἀργυρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφαίη δὲ
καὶ τὸ ὅστερον τούτοις ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περι-
ψιλωθεῖτων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεοι γὰρ τὰ
ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἕνα χῶρον· εὐφρέθη κεφαλὴ
οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν ουδεμίαν ἄλλ' ἐξ ἐνὸς οὖσα
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82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh; there was found a skull whereof the bone was all
84. Ἐπείτε δὲ Ἡμαρδονίον δευτέρῃ ἠμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἤφαιμος, ὑπὸ ὅτεν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τὸ ἄτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἴπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἦδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἦκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρά Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ὡς τις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενος τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιον, οὐ δύναμαι ἄτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἐξεὶ δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνήρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ’ ὃ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιησί τὴν ληήρην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωτῶν χωρίς ἐκαστοί. Δακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τρίες ἐπούσαντο θήκας, ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱπένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιοι καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἔνι τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱπένας, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ ἐκλώτες. οὕτως μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεήται δὲ χωρίς πάντας ἄλεας, καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἐωτῶν ὁμοί, καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱπποὺ διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσιοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιησί ἐόντες

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

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one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

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

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens," 1 among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

1 Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.
τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὃς ἔγω πυθάνομαι, ἔπαισχυνο-
μένους τῇ ἀπεστοί τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χῶματα
χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἶνεκεν ἀνθρώπων,
ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἴγυπτεών ἔστι αὐτοθι καλεόμενος τάφος,
τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι υστερον μετὰ ταύτα
dεπιθέντων τῶν Αἴγυπτεών χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν
Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, προξεινον ἐόντα
αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ’ ἀρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλα-
tαιῆσι οἱ “Ελλήνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοι σφι
ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐθῆς καὶ ἐξαιτέειν
αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοις δὲ αὐτῶν
Τιμηγενίδης καὶ Ἀτταγίνου, οὗ ἀρχηγεῖται ἀνὰ
πρώτων ἦσαν ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδώσι, μὴ ἀπαν-
σταθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι.
ὡς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἐδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτη ἦμέρη
ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Ἐθ-
βαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὔ
βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐθβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε
γῆν αὐτῶν ἐταμιν καὶ προσβαλλον πρὸς τὸ
teichos.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύωτο σιωμένοι, εἰκοστῇ
ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖς Ἐθβαίοις Τιμηγενίδης τάδε.
“Ἀνδρεῖς Ἐθβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖς
“Ελληνις, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστήμαι πολιορκέων τὰς
ἡ ἐξέλωσι Ἐθῆς ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖς παραδῶτε, νῦν
ἀδὲ ἡμέων εἶνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ,
ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα
ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματα σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ
κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδησαμεν οὐδὲ
μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἄληθέως δεόμενοι
πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην
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their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

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

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

88. Ὡς δὲ ἠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίνης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φας τοῦ μηδίσμου παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μετατίθουσιν. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἵ μὲν ἔδόκεον ἀντιλογίας τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέσθαι· ὃ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοεῖν τὴν στρατιῆν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἀπασαν ἀπήκε καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἁγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῆς καὶ Ἡθῆσι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιῶν καὶ δὴ πρὸς ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξεῖνα ἐκάλεσαν καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἀλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆς γενομένων. ὃ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνών ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν ἁγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεῦσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεθαι γὰρ ὅι ταῦτα τινὰ οἴετο πνευμόνεοι τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκεάς ἐξηγορεῖ οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὅρατε, ἐπείγομαι τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλὼν ἐς Ἐρυμήνην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀνγίαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν βραχεὶς αὐτῶν ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῖς ἐλαύνον προσδόκιμος ἐστί.
ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

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

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching
τούτον καὶ ξεινύζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῖτες φαίνεσθε·
οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῖτε μεταμε-
λῆσει." ταῦτα δὲ εὕτας ἀπῆλαυνε σπουδὴ τὴν
στρατιῶν εἰς Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἵδ' ἡ
τῆς Θηρίκης, ὡς ἄληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν
μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὀδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς
Βυζάντιον, καταλιπτὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωστοῦ
συνόντος ὑπὸ Θηρίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' ὀδὸν
καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτω· ἐκ Βυζάντιο
δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὕτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε
ἐς τὴν Ἡσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταῖσι
τὸ τρόμμα ἐγένετο· συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν
Μυκᾶλῃ τῆς Ἡσίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ
κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ συν ησ ινη ἂμα Δευτυ-
χιδῆ τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἡλθόν σφὶ
ἀγγέλοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπτων τε Θρασυκλέως καὶ
Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγεσίστρατος
Ἀρισταγόρεως, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρη
τῶν τε Περσῶν καὶ τοῦ τυφάνου Θεομῆστορος
τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου
τύραννοι οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ
tους στρατηγοὺς ἐλεγε Ἡγεσίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ
παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μοῦνοι ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνεῖς
ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσῶν, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι
οὐκ ὑπομενέσθω; ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομενώσι, οὐκ
ἐτέρῃν ἀγρήν τοιαύτῃ εὐρεῖν ἄν αὐτοὺς· θεοὺς τε
κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ὑσασθαι
ἀνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμίναι τὸν
βάρβαρον· εὐπέτες τε αὐτοῖσι ἐφὶ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι
tῶς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἄλι-
ομάχους κείνους εἶναι. αὐτοὶ τε, εἰ τι ὑποπτεύονσι
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close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it.” So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

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

91. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ Ξείνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἶτε κληδόνος εἶνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἶτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεύντος, "Ὡς Ξείνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ ὅνυμα;" δὲ εἶπε "Ἡγησίστρατος." δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν λόγον, εἶτιν ὀρμητὸ λέγειν ὁ Ηγησίστρατος, εἶπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἴωνον τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, ὁ ἦσθαι Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτὸς τε δους πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεις καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἴδε, ἢ μὲν Σάμιους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους."

92. Ταὐτά τε ἡμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὄρκια ἐποιεύτω συμμαχίας πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. ταὐτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἴωνὸν τὸ ὅνυμα ποιεύμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνες ἐπισχόντες ταῦτα τῆς ἡμέρης τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφὶ Δημόνου τοῦ Ἐυνήιον ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιῆτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τοῦτον τὸν πατέρα Ἐυνήιον κατέλαβε πρήγμα τούνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταῦτῃ ἤρα ἥλιον πρόβατα, τὰ τᾶς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χώνα ποταμῶν, ὅσ ἐκ Δάκμονος ὄρεος ἰέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ᾽ Ὠρικοῦ λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιριμένου ἄνδρες οἱ πλοῦτος τε καὶ γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὕτως φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται.
have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

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

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

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

1 Hegesistratus = Army-leader.
'Απολλωνιήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροτῖον τινὸς· ἐν δὲ ἀντρῳ αὐλίξουσι· ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκάς. ἐνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Ἐυήνιος οὗτος ἀραιημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακομβήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἀντρόν διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα. ὅ δὲ ὁς ἐπήμισε, εἰχε συγῆ καὶ ἑφᾶραι οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσει ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐλάθε τοὺς 'Απολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατεκρίναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακομβήσαντα, τῆς ὤψιος στερηθήναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἐφερε ὁμώς καρπόν. πρόβαντα δὲ σφὶ ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγίνετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αὐτίον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οὗ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἑφραζόν ὦτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὤψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαν· τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερον τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκεῖνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δώσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταῦτας τὰς ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐλητάι καὶ δικαιοὶ· τούτων δὲ τελευμένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐήνιῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαρεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

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

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to com- miserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would
εἰ ἑθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιήται δίκας ὑποστήναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκόας τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἰλετο εἶπας εἰ τις οἱ δοῖ ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὄνομάσας τοίς ἥπιστατο εἶναι καλ- λιστοὺς δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἤδει καλλιστὴν έσώσαν τῶν ἐν πόλι τοῦτων δὲ ἐφὶ ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τού λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχράν γενομένην, καὶ δὲ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε, οὐ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβοῦντες "Εὐνύιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιήται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." δὲ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεῦνα ἐποίες, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὅς ἐξαπατηθεὶς ὁ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοὺσι οἱ τὰ εἰλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαυτικὴν εἴχε, ὡστε καὶ ὄνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηήφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐνύιον ἀγόντων Κορυνθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατῇ. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηήφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐνύιον οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐνύιον παῖς.

96. Τοίοι δὲ Ἔλληνει ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγουν τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμύης πρὸς Καλαμίσουσι, οὐ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ ταύτη παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίαν, οὐ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέεν ἀνήγουν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινικῶν ἀπήκαν ἀποπλέειν. Βουλευομένοις γὰρ σφί ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίαν μὴ ποιέσθαι οὐ γὰρ ὃν

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choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said: "Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them." At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

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

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Here that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea; for they
Ταῦτα Βουλευσάμενοι άνήγοντο. ἀπικομενοὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτινεῶν ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινῆς ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπιστόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστῶν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τένας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρα ἐκκόψαντες ἤμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρασκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρασκευάζοντο.

97. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ὡς ἐπάθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἡχόντου ὡς ἐκπεφυγότων ἀπορίᾳ τε εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὑπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἐδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέων, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἥπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι δὲν ἐσε ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἑδες, ἐπιλεον ἐπὶ τῆς
deemed themselves overmatched; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses¹ at Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopois,² where is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus), there they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and trunks of orchard trees that they cut down; and they drove in stakes round the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

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

¹ Demeter and Persephone.
² The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale; Scolopois, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Μυκάλης. ἔπει δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρα-
τοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο σφι ἐπαναγόμενος,
ἀλλ’ ὄρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τεῖχεος,
πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰ-
γιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νη παραπλέων,
ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Δευτυχίδης
ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἰωσὶ λέγων
"Ἀνδρείς Ἰωνεῖς, οἱ ὑμεῖς τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες,
μάθετε τὰ λέγω τάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι
Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγώ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἔπεαν συμ-
μίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινὰ χρῆ ἐλευθερίας μὲν
πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνήθματος Ἡβης.
καὶ τάδε ἵστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἄκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ
ἀκούσατος." ὦντὸς δὲ οὕτος ἔδω τυγχάνει
νόσος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέως ὁ ἐπ’
Ἀρτέμισίῳ. ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ρήματα τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἐμελλε τοὺς Ἰωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα
ἀνενεχθέντα ἐσ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιῆσειν ἀπί-
στους τοῖς Ἐλλησι.

99. Δευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα
δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ Ἐλληνες προσσχόντες τὰς
νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν
ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἐλληνας
παρασκευαζόμενους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ πα-
ραίνεσαντος, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίων
τὰ Ἐλλήνων φρονεῖν ἀπαίρεοντα τὰ ὁπλα. οἱ
γὰρ ἃν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώ-
των ἐν τῇ νη πνεοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον
ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελεμμένους οἱ Ἐρέξεω, τοῦ-
τους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιά-
σαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας τῶν εἶνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑπο-
ψῆν εἰχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλᾶς τῶν Ἐρέξεω
held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry 'Hebe': and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium; either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

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

1 Cp. viii. 22.
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πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τούτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φεροῦσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίειν δὲ τούτῳ τούδε εἶνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατόπεδου ἔωςι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεοι νεοχμὸν ἀν τι ποιεῖν δυνάμος ἐπιλαβομένοις, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ὤς δὲ ἀρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἐλλησι, προσήγαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἢκυλὶ δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὰν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνῃ ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενος· ἢ δὲ φήμη διήλθε σφι ὅδε, ὡς οἱ Ἐλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατὶν νικῆσαν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοίτι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεία τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῆσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἐσεσθαι τρόματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἐλλησι τοῖσι ταύτη ἑσαπίκετο, ὡστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατὶν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἑθέλειν προδυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινῆς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ’ αὐτῷ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρὸτερόν μοι εἰρήηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἐμελλε ὁσαύτως ἐσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νύκη τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίων Ἐλλήνων ὀρθὸς σφι ἡ φήμη συνεβαίνει ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι πρωὶ ἐτὶ τῆς ἡμέρῆς ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δεύλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνεβαίνει

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Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

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

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same
γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αυτοῦ, χρόνω οὖ τολλῷ
σφί ύστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ᾧν δὲ
ἀρρωδὴ σφί, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὗτι
περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω ὡς τῶν Ἐλλήνων, μὴ
περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἢ Ἐλλάς. οὐ μέντοι ἢ
κληδῶν αὐτῇ σφί ἐσέππατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύ-
tερον τὴν πρόσωδον ἐποιεύτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλλήνες
καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφί
καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προεκεῖτο.

102. Τοῦτο μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τοῦτο προσ-
εχέσι τούτους τεταγμένους, μέχρι κοι τῶν
ἡμισέων, ἢ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ᾽ αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ
ἀπεδον χώρου, τοῦτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίου καὶ τοῦτο
ἐπεξῆς τούτους τεταγμένους κατὰ τε χαράδραν
καὶ ὀρεα. ἐν φ’ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περήσαν,
οὕτως οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο.
ἐὼς μὲν νυν τοῦτο Πέρσης ὁρθὰ ἢν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύ-
νοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλασσον εἰχον τῇ μάχῃ ἔτει δὲ
τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως
ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων,
παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργον εἰχοντο προθυμότερον,
ἐνθεύτεν ἢδη ἐτεροιούτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι
γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὕτως φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς
τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν
ἀμυνόμενου τέλος ἐφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναίοι
dὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι
(οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπιστό-
μενοι συνεσέπιττον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ
tεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὕτ’ ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράποντο
οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε όρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν
Περσέων· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-
month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

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

103. Ἡ ἤτε δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο
Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων συχνὸν ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι
καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ
στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ
Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὀπλα, ὡς εἴδον
αὐτίκα κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἐτεραλκέα τὴν μά-
χην, ἔρινον ὅσον ἐδυνάτο προσωφελέειν ἐθελοντες
τοῦς Ἑλλησ. Σαμίων δὲ ἠδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι
"Ἰωνεῖς ἀρξαντας οὔτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες
ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.

104. Μιλησίους δὲ προσετέκτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν
Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν σωτηρίας εἰνεκά σφι,
ός ἡν ἀρὰ σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἷα περ κατέλαβε,
ἐχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφάς τῆς
Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ
πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλησίοι τούτου τε εἰνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ
παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν·
οἱ δὲ πάν τοῦναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον,
ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ
δὴ ἐφερον ἐς τους πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι
ἐγινοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὔτω δὴ τὸ
δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

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with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artaýntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

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

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

1 ἀμφίπληκτος here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side or other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one as opposed to the other.
105. Ἐν δὲ ταύτη τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλληνῶν ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοῦν, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ, μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἡρίστευσαν.

106. Ἐπεἶπε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀπαν, τὴν λιγήν προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινας χρημάτων εὑρὼν ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέττελεν. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὅκη χρεὸν εἶνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικισάι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγκρατεῖ ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἄδυνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἐωτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατήσθαι φρονρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνου, καὶ ἐωτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωνας ὀδεμίαν ἐπίδει εἰχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταύτα Πελοπονησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἐσύστε ἐδοκεῖ τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαναστήσαντας δούναι τὴν χώρην Ἰωσι ἐνοικήσαι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδοκεῖ ἄρχην Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοπονησίοις περὶ τῶν σφετερῶν ἀποκιέων βουλεύειν ἀντιτευνόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἰξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. 282
105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancratium, Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrnus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

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

1 The "pancratium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.
καὶ οὗτῳ δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Δεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς νησίωτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστατευόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποίησαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοις ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοις ἐπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἐτὶ γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὕτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ᾽ Ἐλλησπόντου ἐπλεον.

107. Τὸν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἅκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἕοντων οὗ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ᾽ ὅδον Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύντην ἔλεγε πολλὰ τε καὶ κακά, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίων φας αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγίσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέως οἰκον κακόσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσηι γυναικὸς κακίων ἀκούσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστὶ. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἦκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι σπάται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλον. καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ἑιναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεως ἀνήρ Ἄλικαρνησσεύς ὁπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτὸν Ἀρταύντεω ἄρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἕξαιρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεως προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἑιναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστην τιθέμενος καὶ Ἑρξῆν, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφόν τὸν ἐκείνον· καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον Ἑιναγόρῆς Κιλικίης πάσης ἡρῴς δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ᾽ ὅδον πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ ἀποκυνεόταί εἰς Σάρδις.

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

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

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at
λεύς εξ έκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε εξ ’Αθηνέων 
προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε 
δὴ ἐν τῇ Σάρδισι ἥν ἂν ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω 
γυναίκος, έουσίς καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δὲ οἱ 
προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ 
βίην προσέφερετο προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἄδελφεον 
Μασίστην. τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα: 
ἐν γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένην ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἐρέξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρῆσετε τῶν γάμων 
τούτων τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐωστοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς 
γυναίκος ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν 
μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταύτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας 
δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα: 
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τῇ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἐωστοῦ 
Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναίκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν 
γυναίκος ἐπέπαυσε, ὅ δὲ διαμεισάμενος ἤρα τε 
καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναίκος Μασίστεω 
δὲ θυγατρός: οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν 
’Αρταύνην.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται 
τρόπῳ τούτῳ. ἕξυφήνασα Ἀμηστρῖς ἢ Ἐρέξη 
γυνὴ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον 
διδοὶ Ἐρέξη. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τὲ καὶ 
ἐρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταύνην. ἡσθείς δὲ καὶ 
ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ 
γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπορηγημένων. πάντα 
γὰρ τευξομένη οὐχὶ 

τῇ δὲ κακῷς γὰρ ἔδει 

πανοικία γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταύτα εἶπε Ἐρέξη “Δῶ-

σεις μοι τὸ ἂν σε αἰτῆσο;” ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον 

dokέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπηχνείτο καὶ ὁμοσε. ἥ 

dὲ ως ὁμοσε ἀδεως αἰτεῖ τὸ φάρος. Ἐρέξης δὲ 
pantōtos εγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ’ ἀλλο 

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Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaynte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaynte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save
μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζοῦσθα τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἑπευρεθῇ πρήσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἐμελλέ· οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον, ἀλλ’ οὗ γὰρ ἐπείθε, διδοὶ τὸ φῶρος. ἦ δὲ περιχαρῆς ἐούσα τῷ δῶρῳ ἔφορε ὁτε καὶ ἀγάλλητο.

110. Καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρις πυθανεῖται μιν ἐχούσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεῦμεν τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτη οὐκ ἐίχε έγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταύτα ἐκείνην πρήσειευ, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὀλῃρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τῶν ἁνδρά τῶν ἑωτής Ξέρξην βασιλῆιν δείπνου προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρα- σκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρη τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὕνωμα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦτῳ περισιτί μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν τέλειων· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμάται μοῦνον βασιλεύς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρης φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δο- θήναι οἱ τῇ Μασίστεω γυναίκα. ὧ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφοῦ γυναίκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναίτην ἐούσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τοῦτον· συνήκε γὰρ τοῦ εύνεκεν ἐδέστο.

111. Τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεύσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχήσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατὸν ἔστι βασιλῆιον δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἄκων κατανευεί, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιεῖ ὅδε τὴν μὲν κελεῦει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὧ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἀδελφεῶν λέγει τάδε. “Μασίστα, οὐ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τούτοις καὶ εἰς 288
that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

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

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;
"Ανὴρ ἀγαθὸς· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικεῖς μὴ συνοικεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοι ἄντ' αὐτῆς ἔγω δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν· ταύτῃ συνοικεῖ· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖς ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα." ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. "Ὡς δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγου λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναίκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παίδες τε νευνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναίκα, αὐτή τε μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτῃ με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμα; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγίλα μὲν ποιεύμαι ἄξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιὸ πρῆγματος τοιούτῳ δέομενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἠγείρων, ἐμὲ τε ἐὰ γυναίκι τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικεῖν." ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοις ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμώθεις λέγει τάδε. "Οὗτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴ γῆμα, οὔτε ἐκεῖνη πλέινα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἦκοσε, ἐξιτας τοσόνδε ἑχώρει ἔξω "Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κὼ με ἀπώλεσας."

112. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, εὖ τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἄδελφῳ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρὶς μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεως διαλυμάνεται τῇ γυναίκῃ τοῦ Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζὸν ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ρίνα καὶ ὅτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλώσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκον μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. Ὅ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν κω ἄκηκος τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τὶ οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς 290
you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

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

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the
τὰ οἰκία. ἵδων δὲ διεφθαρμένη τὴν γυναίκα, ἀυτίκα μετὰ ταύτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοσί παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοσὶ ἐωυτοῦ ύποίσι καὶ δὴ κου τισὶ καὶ ἀλλοισι ώς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τὰ περ ἀν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκείν, εἰ περ ἐφθή ἀναβάς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐστεργόν μιν καὶ ἤν ὑπάρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἐρέξις πυθόμενος ταύτα ἐκείνον πρήσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιά τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ἐρέξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεωθάνατον τοσάκτα ἐγένετο.

114. ὁ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὴρμηθέντες Ἑλληνες ἐπ' Ἕλλησπόντου πρώτον μὲν περὶ Δεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβύδου καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὐρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἐτί ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ ἡκιστα ἐνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἕλλησπόντον ἀπίκοντο. τοσί μὲν ὑπὸ ἀμφὶ Δευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίων ἐδοξέ ἀποπλεεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἕλλαδα, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειράσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεουσ, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἔσ δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἔοντος ἵσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ, συνήλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἕλλησπόντου, ἐκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πύλιος Οἰόβαξος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὅς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἢν κεκομικός. εἰχον 292
havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum ¹ under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

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

¹ At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.
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dε ταύτην ἑπιχώριου Αἰολέες, συνήσαν δὲ Πέρσαι
tε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὁμιλος.

116. Ἔτυράννευε δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ νομοῦ Ἑρέξεω
 ὑπαρχος Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνήρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, δις καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ’ Ἀθήναις ἐξητάτησε, τα Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφύκλου
χρήματα εξ ’Ελαιούντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω
τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐνθα ὧν χρήματα
πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσει καὶ ἀργυρεῖ καὶ
χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναβήματα, τα Ἀρταύκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντως. λέγων δὲ
tοιάδε Ερέξην διεβάλετο. “Δέσποτα, ἔστι ὅικος
ἂνδρός’ Ἑλλήνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὥσ ἐπὶ γὴν σῆν στρατευ-
σάμενος δίκης κυρῆσας ἀπέθανεν τούτῳ μοι δὸς
tὸν ὁικον, ἵνα καὶ τὶς μάθη ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σῆν μὴ
στρατεύοντα.” ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἐμελλε
ἀναπείσειν Ἑρέξην δούναι ἂνδρός ὁικον, οὐδὲν
ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρονε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ
tὴν βασιλέος στρατεύοντα Πρωτεσίλεων ἠλεγε
νοέων τοιάδε τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωτῶν
eίναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα εξ ’Ελαιούντος ἐς Σηστὸν
ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐστειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο,
αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο εἷς ’Ελαιούντα ἐν τῷ
ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσθητο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο
υπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἔσ πολιορ-
κίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἀφύκτως
dὲ κως αὐτῷ ἔπεσεν.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοις σφι φθινότωρον
ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἤσχαλλων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ τῇ
by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes’ viceroy Artayctes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus\(^1\) son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings; all of which Artayctes carried off, by the king’s gift. “Sire,” he said deceitfully to Xerxes, “there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man’s house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory.” It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man’s house, having no suspicion of Artayctes’ meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king’s territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

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

\(^1\) The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, \(\nu\eta\delta\, \grave{a}ποθέρωσκω\) (Hom. II. ii. 701).
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118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεῖχεῖ ἐς πᾶν ἡδή κακοῦ ἀπιγμένου ἦσαν, οὗτοι ὡστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐστίνοτο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτα ἐτι εἶχον, οὗτοι δὴ ὅποι νῦκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ ὘ίόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τεῖχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημώτατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὥσ ὃς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονήσιται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοις τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἐδίωκοι, οὐ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Ὁρηίκην Ὄρηκες Ἀψίθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὑστεροὶ ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Λιγός ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνων ἐπὶ συχνῶν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οὐ δὲ ξῶντες ἐλάμβησαν. καὶ συνείπουσαν τοὺς σφέας οἱ Ἐλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ’ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὸν παιδα αὐτῶν.

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

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

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artāyctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat’s Rivers,¹ where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestus, and Artāyctes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

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

¹ A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).
τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο τε καὶ ἥσσαίρον ὅκως περ ἱχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες θώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τῶν ὀπτῶντα τούς ταρίχους ἔφη "Εἴειν Ἡθναίε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφυνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὶς καὶ τάριχος ἐώς δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἑχει τῶν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. ὥν ἦν ἀποινὰ μοι τάδε ἔθελω ἐπιθείναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἰροῦ ἐκατόν τάλαντα καταθείναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἡθναίοις περιγενόμενος." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενοι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεως τιμωρέοντες ἐδεύτο μην καταχρησθήναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόσος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ἐρέξης ἐξευξεῖ τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολώνον τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπάσασθε ἀνικρέμασαι τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεως κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες ἀπέπλευον ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, τὰ τε ἅλλα χρῆματα ἄγαντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρών ὡς ἀναθησασθήνει τὰ ἵππα· καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τοῦτων ἐγένετο.

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

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

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

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1 There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.
Μέγας ζεύς Πέρσης ήγεμονίαν δίδοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κύρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἀλλήν σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυνείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἀνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ δότε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;" Κύρος δὲ ταῦτα ἄκουσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὔτω δὲ αὐτοῖς παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρχοντας ἀλλ' ἄρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χῶρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι οὐ γὰρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστόν φύειν καὶ ἀνδρας ἄγαθον τὰ πολέμια. ὃςτε συγγνώμης Πέρσαι οἴχοτο ἀποστάντες, ἑσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρον, ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέουτες μᾶλλον ἡ πεδιὰδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.
before Cyrus; this was its purport: “Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?” Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; “Do so,” said he; “but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil.” Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.
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