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VOL. IV.

HERODOTUS,

WITH A

COMMENTARY BY THE REV. J. W. BLAKESLEY, B.D.

LONDON:
WHITTAKE AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;
GEORGE BELL, FLEET STREET.
1854.
HERODOTUS,

WITH

A COMMENTARY

BY

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VOL. II.

LONDON:
WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;
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1854.
ἩΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ
‘ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ.

TERŚΙΧΟΡΗ.

ΟΙ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἠρχε, πρῶτος μὲν Περσικῶν, Ἐλληνοποιητῶν, οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου, κατεστρέψαντο, περιεβέβηκαν πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παύνου τρηχεώς. οἰ γὰρ ᾦτι ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παύνου, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρατεύσεως ἐπὶ Περσικῶν καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιθέμενοι ἐπικαλέσωσαν ταῖς σφαίραις οἱ Περσικοὶ ὁμομαστὶ βάσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβιώσωσιν, μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐποίειν οἱ Παύνους ταῦτα: ἀντικατιθέμενοι δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν ἐν τῷ προστήματι, ἐνθαῦτα μονομαχία τριφασία ἐκ προκλήσεως σφι ἐγένετο καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἀνδρί, καὶ ἔπον ἔπρωφ συνέβαλον, καὶ κόσμῳ κυρίει νυκτών δὲ τὰ δύο τῶν Περσικῶν, ὡς ἐπαινώκου μεγαλυκές, συνεβάλοντο οἱ Παύνους τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐλεύθη καὶ εἰπάν κου παρά σφί οὐκ αὐτοῖς: "νῦν δὲ εἰ καὶ χρησιμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἢ μὴ νῦν ἠμέτερου τὸ ἔργον" ὤντω τοῖς Περσικοῖς πασίνεσας ἐπι-

1 καταλειφθέντες. The narrative is resumed from iv. 143.
2 Μεγάβαζος. One MS (δ) has Μεγά-

βαζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.
3 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβιώσωσιν, μὴ ἐπι-

χειρεῖν. These words are omitted in one
MS (8). The presumption is that the omission arises from a whole line being
left out by the transcriber, owing to his
eye falling upon the second ἐπιχειρεῖν
instead of the first. But it is possible
that there is here a real variation; for the
sense will be a perfectly complete one
without the words, although the construc-
tion will not be so symmetrical. See note
531 on ii. 173.
The majority of the MSS., which Gaisford follows, have ἀλλὰ, and in § 102, below, all have ἀλλὰ ἐσόδος. But the more general form is ἀλλὰ, and this is probably latent here under ἄλλα, the reading of S.

οἰκείων. One manuscript (F) has ἐπιφανῆ, which would be a fitting word if Perinthus was an addition to former conquests; and this was probably the case, although Perinthus was the first city attacked subsequently to the return of Darius (§ 1).

κατὰ γεώμετρα τὴν Φάρον. Thucydides, whose close connexion with Thrace gave him a right to form a judgment, takes a very different view of the matter: ἣς ἐπιφάνειαν ἐγγίζοντο χρημάτων προσδέου σι καὶ τὴν ἐθνικὴν ἐδαφικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκεῖ θέμενος ἀλλὰ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ διευρύνεται μετὰ τὴν Ἀχαίαν (ii. 97). But the notion of Thrace formed by Herodotus was one of a more extensive territory.

ἐκεῖ δὴ, "they are, after all." See note 6 on i. 1.

Τραυσ. If these are the inhabitants of the valley of the Traus, the information relative to them would probably be derived from the Hellenic town Dicaea. See vii. 109, below.

Ἄρραραῖοι. These persons appear to be the inhabitants of the town Cre- ston, mentioned by Thucydides (above, i. 57) as inhabited by "Τρυρρηνοὶ," in- land of whom were some "Πελαγιανοί," apparently the same people that are here coupled with the Transi and Getae. Whether these are to be regarded as Thracians or Pelasgians, it would seem that they are a very anomalous people, retaining cus- toms of an oriental character which, in the belief of the writer, are peculiar to themselves. It will be observed that he gives them no name (either here or in i. 57), and the account of their customs may very well have passed through two or three hands before it reached him. Cre- ston is simply described by Stepha- nus Byzantinus as a Thracian town, and its local deity appears to have been exactly identical (even as regards his sacred symbol, the wolf) with the Roman Mars. Lycophron speaks of τὸν Κρη- στάραν θεᾶν Καρδαίων ἢ Μάμερτον, ἀπόλιτων λόχων (937). And that Thra- cians, Cretonians, Pelasgians, and Tyr- rhenes belonged to the same race, that is, were different waves of the great human flood which set westward from Asia and poured down into the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas, seems evident from the cir- cumstance of their all being mixed up together in the peninsula of Mount Athos, where they formed a bilingual population. (See Thucydides quoted in note 186 on i. 57.) The two languages were no doubt
the Pelasgian (i.e. the common parent of Greek and Latin) and the Greek of commerce, arising from the mixture of Chalcidian settlers. The conjecture of Niebuhr (who would read Κροτώνα instead of Κριτώνα in i. 57) seems quite irreconcilable with this passage. At the same time Dionysius of Halicarnassus found Κριτώνα to refer to the Pelasgians. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

10 άλλοι. The manuscripts S and V read άλλοι. The manuscripts S and V read άλλοι.

11 οί μεν γενόμενοι... εν πάσῃ εύδαιμον. Thus in his play of Creophontes, had a sentiment of this kind:—

It is a matter of common knowledge that the gods of the Greeks were the same as the gods of the Thracians, and that the Thracians were the descendants of the Pelasgians, who were the ancestors of the Greeks. But Euripides was not content with this, but went further, and said that the Thracians were the descendants of the Pelasgians, who were the ancestors of the Greeks.

Strabo (x. c. 12, p. 444), who quotes the three last of these lines, seems to attribute the practice described in them to Asiatic barbarians. But Euripides would be likely to hear of such habits at the Macedonian court; and in that case they would more probably be fathered on the race with whom the Macedonians had most to do, i.e. European Thracians. Doubtless the religious ideas connected with such a practice would come from the east; and in the time of Strabo instances of the practice itself might be known in Asia.

13 οί δὲ κατούπερθε Κριτώναλεον. Stephanus Byzantinus (v. Geria) states it to be a custom of the Getae: έπιστραδεως την γυναίκα την άνδρα. The Hindu habit of suttee will occur to every reader. The practice of immolating wives at the funeral of their husbands was surpassed in barbarity by a custom which prevailed in Poland before it was Christianized, and of which Díttman, who was bishop of Morasburg in the year 1008, speaks as existing in the generation before him. "Unsucheque mulier post virti exequias suis igne cremati decollata subsequitur: et si mera- trix inveniatur, in genitali suo, turpi et miserabilis penat, circumcidebatur, idque (si sic dici licet) praeptium in foribus suspenditur." (Chron. viii. i., cited by Perizonius on Ælian, V. H. xii. 18.) See note 206 on iv. 73.
Their chiefs worship Hercules besides the popular deities, Ares, Dionsus, and Artemis. Mode of burial.

The northern parts of Thrace are uncertain.

4 HERODOTUS

mataw megáloj kai tò mév èstíxhav eignévoi kékritis, to ß
ástuqtoj aignévou páprih eigna kalllastov, ògí hè èrgatí, áte-
mótagon to xhì apò polému kai ìstwos kalllastov óystoi mév
sfeoiv Í ètìp不在nòatoj nómoi eisí. Theovs Í ñè sèbóntai moóvous

7 toúde: "Apea kal Diówusov kal "Artemw, Í ñè basidíes aútvov,
páreì tòv òllow políteivn, sèbóntai Í Ermìw máwsta òheos
kal Ímwnos moóvous tòutov, kai léguosu xegónei apò Í Ermìw
éuvtwos. Tafal Í tósoi xúdaimos aútvov eisí aíde treís mév
ìméraa proúttheas tov nèkroj, kai pàntovia xofásuntis ïríhia
éxochéntai, próklússantès prwton èpceta Í xepoju kai
catakayntov, Í òllos Í khrfánntes xóma Í xántes, ághiva

tièvov pàntovõn, Í tò tò mégústa òdèla tìbgeta kata lògon
moúnomacíxh. Tafal mév Í ãírekaa eisí aútai.

8 Tò Í ñè proò borèw tís xórhì ëti tautìs Í
sède ëxei frásvai
tò átrèkakos, ouvìves eisí ìnthwosov Í xíkewntas aùtìn

9 allà tò

pèron ìpht tòv "Ístrov érmwos xórhì fàwnetai òdòva kai ìneprov.
moóvous Í dé ñwmaaì xúdèsvai xíkewnta pèrho tov "Ístrov ìnthw-

10 to mév èstíxhav eignévoi kékritis.
This apparently has reference to a custom of
tatowling; in which case nobility would
of course be denoted by peculiar (and prob-
ably superabundant) marks,—a practice that
might easily be described as in the
text, by a Greek trader.

11 ògí èigna kalllastov. This maxim,
a natural one in the case of a warlike
race wholly or mainly pastoral, is noticed
by Tàcitus as prevailing among the
Germans of his time. (Germ. § 14.)

13 "Apea kal Diówusov kal "Artemw.
The combination of the deities here
mentioned will be easier understood, if
we consider that Herodotus is probably
following an account received from Hel-
lespontine traders, who would compare
the Thracian deities with those that they
were familiar with in Pontus and Asia.
Dionsus therefore is not the rustic deity,
the god of the vine-dressers, but the
oriental conqueror with his army of bat-
chats, prophesying amid the inspiration
of his orgies. This Dionsus was, in a
Lydian legend (Stéph. Byz. v. Mó-
dravp), made the reputed son of Ares,
with whom he is associated in the text.
So too the Artemis of the Thracians is
not the huntress goddess, the sister of
the Dorian Apollo, but analogous to the
cruel Tauric Artemis, the Artemis ðòva
and tawravolos of Teygetum, and the
Artemis Brauronia of Attica. The iden-
tity of the first of these with the Latin
Bellona and the Hellenic Enyo is de-
cisively proved by the great temple of Enyo
at Comana in Cappadocia; the orgies of
which were said to be brought by Orestes
and his sister Iphigenia from the Tauric
Chersonese. (Stràb. xii. c. 2. p. 5.)

14 òllwos, "simply." The use of the
word is like that in iii. 139, Ëívìw Í
òllwos, "but I offer it as a gift," i.e.
simply, without conditions.

15 kata lògon moúnomacíxh, "in the
way of single combat." This expression
would lead one to believe that the differ-
ent contests which were rewarded with a prize
were conducted on the principle of one
champion challenging the field; not in the
way which would be usual in Greece, by
selecting as the victor the best out of a
number of competitors.

16 tís xórhì ëti tautìs, "still within
the limits of this country."
Later writers seem to have placed this race further east. Strabo speaks of them as Asiatics (xi. c. 12, p. 444). This is easily to be accounted for. See note 24, below.

21 *μικρον δὲ καὶ σιμάδος. These are the ponies (polnische pferde) which no doubt in the time of Herodotus ran wild in the forests of Hungary and Transylvania.

22 *μαλακόι. Some MSS, including S, have *ευκάλακτοι.

23 *κατηκέω δὲ τιτων των οδυρομένων άγχος "Ενετών. The Eneti may be regarded as spreading over Carinthia, or at least conducting the traffic a considerable way inland from the coast. See note 329, a, on iii. 116. There appears to have been a line of communication between the Adriatic and the Euxine by the medium of some entrepôt on the Danube, perhaps not far above the point to which vessels from the Euxine might ascend. There is a vague and exaggerated description in the Aristotelian treatise περὶ βαμβακίων ἄκουσαμών, which indicates the existence of commercial intercourse by this route. From Delphi, a high peak in the mountains overhanging Istri, it was said that a view might be obtained of the ships sailing into the Euxine. Corycian wine jars are said to have been an important article in this traffic (§§ 104, 105).

24 *Μάθην ἐποίηκεν. The mode in which these races were descended from the Medes is to be explained on the principle stated in the note 336 on i. 94. From i. 196 it will be seen that a practice undoubtedly Asiatic existed among the Eneti, their neighbours. The custom of *συλλευτικα παρόντων, which prevailed among οἱ κατ᾽ ἐπερδέ Κρητεωταθεῖς, distinctly points to an eastern origin of the tribes inhabiting this region. See note 20, above.

25 *Σίγυννας δὲ καλόσωσι, κ.τ.λ. This clause has been considered by some as a gloss of a scholiast interpolated into the text. This may probably be the case; for although the name *σίγυννας, given by the Ligurians to merchants, may bear upon the question of the Median origin of the race, the Cyprian word certainly would not. But on the other hand there are so many parts of the MSS as they exist at present which look like later additions, that it appears unjustifiable to consider the clause as an interpolation in the proper sense of the word. It seems possible that the word *σίγωνερ is etymologically connected with Sigynnes.

Across the later dwell the Sigynnes, a nation with small hardy horses, said to be of Median origin.
Herodotus:

Darius on arriving at Sardis grants to Histiaeus Myrmicus in Eodonis, and makes Coes tyrant of Mytilene,

Circumstances under which he first hears of the Paeonians of the Strymon.

Dareios \\
had taken the Timo
des and made a treaty with the Cretans. \\

Megabazos. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

Megabazos. See iv. 97 and 137.

Tyranniou othodemis prooexichres. See the note 364 on iv. 138.

O tharonos. He is described in iv. 97 as the strategos of the Mytileneans. Apparently the constitution of Mytilene at the time was the one established by Pittacus when dictator (alevaphet). Aristotle, Polit. iii., p. 1236.

Pheres. One MS has Theres, and another Pheres.

Maestis. S and V have Maestis.

Kai kalhbeusas linn. Dr. Hunt describes the women of the neighbourhood of Acanthus as very hardy and industrious, and performing all agricultural labours except ploughing. Their dress (he says) resembles that of the women in the Highlands of Scotland, except as to the head ornaments. They wear short petticoats without trousers, shoes, or stockings; and those who are mothers carry their young children slung in a square piece of cloth behind their shoulders while they are working in the fields. In going from place to place they not only carry their infants in this manner, but often have a lofty jar or pitcher upon their heads, and a rack and spindle in their hands with which they spin as they walk. He adds that they are Albanian colonists (ap. Wollpole's Turkey, p. 227).

Aidia. The manuscripts S and V have Auidi.
ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΕ. Β. ΙΙ—ΙΧ.

第十章 منصوب

τὸν ίππον ἡ γυνὴ οἱ μὲν δὴ ὑπίσθεν εἰποντο, ἢ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπέκειτο ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμών, ὧς τὸν ἱππόν αἰροσα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγγος τοῦ ὕδατος ἔμπλησαμένη, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεβιάσει φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλεικουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον.

Ἀρείονδὲ ὁ Δαρείος τὰ τε ἱκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατακόπτων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὅρα, ἀγειν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνεν ἑσοφτῷ ἢ ὅσην ὡς δὲ ἄχρη, παρῆσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφεῖς αὐτῆς οι καὶ πρὸς σκοτιν ἑρχοντας τούτων εἰρωτεύοντο δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου ὑποδατή εἰς; ἐφασαν οἱ νευρασκοι εἶναι Παιονες καὶ ἐκεῖνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφήν ο ὅ ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παιόνες ἀνθρωποὶ εἰσι, καὶ οὐ καὶ σικεμένοι, καὶ τι κεῖνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔθλονεν όι ὅδρες; δὲ τοῖς ἐφραζον, ὡς ἔθλονεν μὲν ἐκεῖνο δόσοντες σφέας αὐτῶν, εἰς δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμών ποταμῷ πεπολυμένην ο ὅ Στρυμών οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Ῥῆσταποτοῦν εἴσαν τόν Τευκρόν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικους. οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτὰ ἐκαστα ἐλευγάν ὃ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πᾶσαι ἐκεῖσαν αὐτόθι αἰ γυναῖκες οὐκ ἐργάτες; οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐφασαν προθύμως οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτοῦ γάρ διὸν τοῦτο εἶναι καὶ ἐποίετο.

Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρείος γράφει γράμματα πρὸς Μεγάβαζον, τὸν ἑλπίς ἐν τῇ Θηρήσῃ στρατηγῷ, ἐνεπιλόμενος ἐξαναστήσαι καὶ ἡθέων Παιονας, καὶ παρ’ ἑωτων ἀγαγείν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα τοῦ καὶ γυναίκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπιπεδὸς ἔθες ἄφρον τὴν ἀγγειῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ῥῆσαποτοῦν περασοδέος δὲ διδὸ τῷ βιβλίῳ
15 Megabazos overruns Peonia, and transports some of the tribes.

16 Others successfully resist for the time. Description of a fishing town built in the lake Praxia, near Mount Orbelus.

The impression of the Peonians apparently was, that the attack would be made upon them through the Hellenic maritime states. See § 10, ad finem.

40 Ziropanoi. The Peonians of Siris, a town which is called by the author Siris of Peonia (viii. 115), to distinguish it from Siris in Italy, likewise mentioned (viii. 62).

41 tois en tis lymni ezaiemen, dde katoukymenous. The MSS have tois en tis lymni katoukymenous ezaiemen dde, which Gaisford retains. But if that order be genuine, it would seem that the text here must have undergone a great change, and that the existing description of the habits of the people of the town on the lake, must have been substituted for one of the manner in which Megabazos attempted to conquer them.

A precisely similar description to that in the text, is given by Haliodorus of the habits of the population living in the marshes of the Nile. (Ethiopica, i. 11.)
TERPSICHORE. V. 15—18.

πολέματα μετὰ δὲ, νόμῳ χρεώμενος ἵσταται τοιῷδε κομίζοντες ἢς οὐρος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστὶ "Ορβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυρόις ὑπόπτην ἄγεται δὲ ἔκαστος συχνὸς γυναίκας. οἰκεύοι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἔκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καλύψης τε ἐν ἦ διανύσαι, καὶ θύρης καταπακτής διά τῶν ἱερῶν κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὰ δὲ νῆπια παιδία δέοισι τοῦ ποδος σπάρτης, μὴ κατακυλοῦσθ' δειμαίνουστε τοῖς δὲ ἦποιοι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδυγοισι παρέχουσι χόρτων ἱερὰς ἔκβος 42. τῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἐστὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡστε ὃταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλῆσι, κατεὶ σχολὴν σπυρίδα 44 κεῖσθ' ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλῶν τινα χρόνων ἐπισχών, ἀναστὰ πλῆρα ἱερὰς ἱερίκουν. τῶν δὲ ἱερίκουν ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέοντας πάπρακα τε καὶ τίλωνας. Παίνων μὲν ὅις οἱ χειρῳδεύετες ἥγοιτα ἐς τὴν 'Ἀσίνην.

Μεγαβαζὸς δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παλονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄνδρας ἔπτα Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν κείνου ἤσαν δοκιμάσατο ἐς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέμπουσον δὲ οὕτων παρ' Ἀμύντην 43 αἰτήσοντες γην τε καὶ ὴδωρ Δαρελω βασιλεῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίνη πρώτα μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον, εἶ δὲ υἱοὶ τοῦ θαλα- τον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτησα· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέ- ταλλον, Δύσωρον καλομενον οὗτος ὑπερβιάνα εἶναι ἐν Μακε- δονία 44. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσας οἱ περφθάνεις οὕτως παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἰτεὶν ἐλθόντες ἐς ήν χρὸν τοῦ 'Ἀμύντεω Δαρελω βασιλεῖ γην τε καὶ ὴδωρ ὁ δὲ ταῦτα τε ἕδοσον, καὶ σφας ἐπὶ

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42 τοῖς δὲ ἔτοιμοι... χρόνων ἱερὰς. Marco Polo asserts the existence of a similar practice on the coast of Hadramaut. Very small fishes, he says, are caught there during the months of March, April, and May, in enormous quantities. These are dried, laid up, and given to the sheep, oxen, and camels, throughout the year. There is no grass there, it being the most arid place in the world (p. 349).

43 σὺνισκεῖν συμπίσσον. This probably refers to the mode of taking fish by pots of basket-work, which would be unfamiliar to the Greeks of the Hellenistic.

44 παρ’ Ἀμύντην. The court of Amyntas would be at Æge (or Edessa), which was high up in the mountains, near the sources of the principal of the streams which fell into the lake at Pella. The kings of Macedonia were buried there as long as the kingdom lasted, even after Pella became the residence. (Piny, N. H. iv. 10.)

45 εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονία. At the time of Scyllax's work being compiled, the boundary of Macedonia was the river Strymon (§ 67, p. 27, Hudson). But considerable changes seem to have taken place at or immediately after the invasion under Xerxes. See note on vii. 157. The mine from which the large revenue was derived perhaps passed over to Alexander at that time.
καλέει: paraskeneusámeinas de deútpou megalopotepes, éddéke tois Pérasas filofrónois. ós de apó deútpou égénontu, diapínontes éipan ois Pérasai táde: "Zeíne Makédóon, ëmín nómos éstí tois Pérasai, éteína deútpou prototómeba méga, tóte kal tás paláka kai tás kóuríabis gníakaí," éstagnóstai pára
b') su vnu, éteíner proðúmos mén ëdëxao megalos dé zeínizes, didoís te basilei Aarelf yin te kal údor, éteo vúmof to
hmetérfô" éipete prós tuaita 'Amúntas: "ó Pérasai, nómos mén ëmín yé éstí ouk óutos, allá kechórithai andras gníakón éteí
te de ëmeis ëontes deisîntai prosçychésete toutós, paréstai ëmín kal tuaita." éiptas tosaíta ò 'Amúntas metepémpeto tás gníakaí:
ai d' éteí te kalómevna ëthin, éteçhis ãntaí ëxvto tois Pérasai: éntvtaí ois Pérasai idómevnoi gníakaí xýmforos, ëleugon
prós 'Amúntan fámévoi "to ponthén toúto ouðèn éiain sófof
krestoín ydr éiain arñiðain mh ëdleívn tás gníakaí, ë idoúvna
kai mh parixómevna ãntaí ëxvthai allignóvna dia dhthalmón."
ánaxezevmoi de ò 'Amúntas ékileue parítei peixeumevnoi dé
tón gníakón, aínteka ois Pérasai mástovn te apontou, oia plêu
vnoi ówvmevnoi, kal kou té kal filíeei epεírato: 'Amúntas mé
dh
tauta òrèos átëmas éixe kai per duxforènos, oia intedemàvnw

tóis Pérasas: 'Aléxandros de ò 'Amúntes parèov te kal òrèov
tauta, áte nèo te èwv kal kávov ãpabhs, oúdámov eti katechei
ólos te ëh' óste dè barèov òrèov éipete prós 'Amúntea táde: "su
mèn, òd pátev, éixe ëh' ëmikí òpivn te ãnapairei, mhë dé 

The MSS vary here and elsewhere between the forms òlì ëxiva and òlì ëvrig. Schweighäuser considers that both are common to Ionic Greek, but that the latter is appropriate to Attic. Such a distinction appears as purely accidental as that between the two phrases of 'asking a person to come and dine' and 'asking him to come to dinner.'

The unfavourable criticism of Longinus (De Subi, § 4) upon this expression is well known. But after all it seems not unlikely to be the Greek equivalent of a Persian phrase, intended as a high compliment,—and meaning something the same as the English expression of "a dazzling beauty." Alexander the Great applied the same expression in pleasantry to the Persian ladies (elavn ëlyndóvns ëmuynov ois Pérsibes, Plutarch, Alex. § 21); and when it is considered that the sun and moon are the usual objects of comparison with female beauty at the present time in the east, it seems far from improbable that the Persians were employing the staple phrases of court gallantry in what they said to Amynthas.
πόσε καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ, πάντα τὰ ἐπιτείθεται παρέξω τοσὶν ἔλεγοι." πρὸς ταύτα συνεις ὁ Ἀμύνης ὃς νεώτερα πρήγματα πρῆξειν μελέτει Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει: "ὅτα παῖ, σχεδὸν γὰρ σει ἄνακαμιδόνος σωφήμι τοὺς λόγους, ὃτι ἐθέλεσ ἐμὲ ἐκτέλεσας ποτέών τί νεώτερον ἐγὼ ᾧν σει χρήσῃ μηδὲν νεοχώμαι κατ' ἄνδρας τούτους." ἤνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἠμέας ἀλλὰ ἀνέχεν ὁρέων τὰ ποιεύμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδοῃ τῇ ἐμῇ πείσμοια τοι." Ως δὲ ὁ Ἀμύνης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας: "γυναικῶν τοὐτῶν, ὃ ξεῖνοι, πολλῆ ἔστι ὑμῖν εὐπέτεις, καὶ εἰ πάσης βουλεύεσθε μιλησθαι καὶ ὁδόσθαι ὃν αὐτῶν τούτου μὲν πέρι αὐτοῖς ἀποστημανέτε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοινῆς ὡρα προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντά ὑμέας ὁρέως μέθης, γυναίκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἔστι, ἀφετε λούσαται· λουσαμένας, ὑπὸ ποιού προσδέκεσθε." εἰπάς ταύτα, συνέπαιοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναίκας μὲν ἐξειλούσας ὀπτέπιπτε εἰς τὴν γυναικὴν αὐτοῦ δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἱσοῦς τῆς γυναῖκας ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λεωγενείοις τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστίν γενεάς, καὶ ἐχεῖχαν δοὺς, παρίγγετε ἔστη. παράγοντας δὲ τούτων ἔλεγε τοῖς Πέρσαις τάδε: "ὁ Πέρσαι, οἴκοτε παιδαγοῦ σε λέει εἰστίς ὑμᾶς τα τὰ ἦκα ἄλλα ὅπως ἐχόμενοι, καὶ πρῶς, τὰ οἶα τῇ ἐξευρόντας παρέχεις, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστιν καὶ δὴ καὶ τόδε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον τὰς τὰ ἐστοίχια μέτροις καὶ τὰς ἀδελφικὰς ἐπιγείωμεθα· ὅπως αἰτιολογεῖται ἡ πατελέος μᾶθητε τεμεύομενοι πρὸς ἡμέας τῶν πέρ ἐστε ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεύ ὑπὸ τέμφημας ἀπαγγελθητε, ὅποι ἐπεὶ "Ἐλληνὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππάρχος" εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξασθε καὶ τράπεζα καὶ κοίτα" ταύτα εἶπας Ἀλέξανδρος, παρίγγει Πέρσῃ ἄνδρα ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ὅποι γυναῖκα τῆς λόγος· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὸ σφενῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύνειν ἐπείρουσαν, διεργάζοντες αὐτοῖς. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν τούτῳ τὸ μόρφῳ διεθάρσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπητή αὐτῶν ἐπείπερ γὰρ δὴ σφί

31 καὶ ἄνδρας τούτους. See note 165 on lv. 201.
32 ἤνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἠμέας, "that you not be the destruction of us." Compare Euphides, Hippol. 607: ὃς πρὸς σε γαρνάω, μηδαμῶς μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ. Helen. 1104: Κούρη Αἰμης Κόρη, μὴ μ' ἐξερ- γάσῃ.
33 ἐπιδασαφένωμεθα. This word is copiously illustrated by Hemsterhuis on Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, xxx. 2, εἶχε, ὃς Μιστος, ὃι καὶ ἐπιδασιφειρῆ τῷ ἐμοί ὑπακοήνω. It is applied to a prodigal expenditure over and above what the circumstances of the case require.
34 Μακεδόνων ἱππάρχοι. The use of the word ἱππάρχοι instead of ἱσοῦς is to be remarked. Alexander speaks of his father as the "satrap" of Macedonias, he having done homage to Darius the "king."
are slain with them. Alexander gets the matter hushed up.

22

The Macedonian kings belong to the Hellenic race.

23

Megabazus, en arriving at Sardis with the Paeonians, opens the

"Ellēnēs δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεως γεγονότας, κατὰ
περι αὐτὸν λέγοντα, αὐτοὶ τὸν τινα ἐπιστάμενος (καὶ δὴ καὶ
ἐν τοις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγοις) ἀποδέξετο ὡς εἰσὶ." Ἐλληνες, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ
οἱ τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διεπότανς ἀγώνα Ἐλληνῶν οὕτω ἔγρωσαν εἰς
'Αλέξανδρον γὰρ ἀδελθέατι ἐλλομένους καὶ καταβάντως ἐπὶ αὐτὸ
toû tòu, ói ánthwevómevoi 'Ellēnwn xeiρyginw mwn, fámenoi ou baβ-
βάρων ἀγωνιστῶν εἶναι τὸν ἀγώνα, ἀλλὰ 'Ellēnwn Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἶν 'Ἀργείος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι "Ελλην καὶ
ἀγωνιστῶν στάδιον συνεξῆπιτε τῷ πρῶτῳ.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω καὶ ἐγένετο. Μεγαβάζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς
Παλονᾶς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλησποντῶν ἐνθέτεν δὲ δια-
περαιωθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδης. ἄτε δὲ τεῦχος ἢδὲ Ἰστιαῖον
toû Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αὐτῆς ἔτυχε δωρεῖν, μουθίν
φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδῆς, εὕτος δὲ τοῦ χώρον τοῦτον παρὰ Στρυ-
TERPSICHORE. V. 22—24.

μόνα πτοσμόν, [τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Μύρκωνος 66.] μαθῶν ο Μεγάβαζος το ποιεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὥσ ἦθε τάχιστα ἐστὶν τὰς Σάρδις ἄγων τοὺς Παιόνας, ἔλεγεν Δαρεῖος τάδε: "ὁ βασιλεὺς κοίνον τι χρήμα ἐποίησας ἄνδρις "Ελληνι δεινός τε καὶ σοφὸς δοῦν ἐγκτίσσασθαι πόλων ἐν Ἀρκεία; ἦν γὰρ τε ναυπηγησιμός ἐστὶν ἀφθόνος καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχανε 61, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἀργύρες διμόλιον τε πολλὸς μὲν "Ελλην περιομεῖται πολλός ἐς βάρβαρος, οὗ προστάτευε ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ποιῆσουσι τούτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κείμενος ἐξηγήσαται καὶ ἕμερης καὶ νυκτὸς· σὺ τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα πάγων ταῦτα ποιεύμενα, ἦν μὴ ὅτι ἂν ἠολόμωσον ἑπίκηχαν 62. τρόπῳ δὲ ἢ ἡπτε ἐμπεθεμάκειν πάγων ἐπεάν δὲ αὐτὸν περιθάβη, ποιῶν ὅς μηκὸς κείμενος ἐς "Ελληνας ἀπῆκεται." Ταῦτα λέγων ο Μεγάβαζος εὐπτεὼς ἐπείδη Δαρεῖος, ὥς εὐ προορέθη τὸ μέλλον γινεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ, ἀγγελοῦνων τέμπης ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐς τὴν Μύρκωνον ἐλεγεν τάδε: "Ἰστιαίος, βασιλεῦς Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει: ὅγω φροντίζων εὐρύσκο ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοίχος ἐμοὶ πρῆγμαι οὐδένα εἰσίν σε ἄνδρα εὑρόεστεν τούτῳ δὲ ὡς λόγους, ἀλλὰ ἔργοι τοίχοι μαθῶν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπινοῶ γὰρ πρῆγμα μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικεύο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοῦ αὐτὸ ὑπερθέωμαι" τούτῳ τοίχοι ἐπείδη πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαίος, καί ἀμμέγα ποιεύμενος βασιλέως σύμβουλος γανεσθαι, ἀπέκειτα ἐς τὸς Σάρδις; ἀπικεύομένῳ ὡς ὁ Ἐλεγεν Δαρεῖος τάδε: "Ἰστιαίος, ὅγω σε μετεπεθεμάκειν τόνδε εἰνεκε τε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν

66 [τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Μύρκωνος]. These words appear to be a marginal note which has crept into the text. Herodotus had just before (§ 11) described the place by calling it Μύρκων τῆς Ἡλείῳντι. The MSS here vary between Μύρκων, Μύρκιας, and Μύρκωνος, although unanimous in § 11.

61 πολλοὶ κατείχαν. HESCHYLIUS: κατείχαι τὰ εἰς κάπας εὕθεν ἔβλα. 62 ἢν μὴ οἰκτεροὶ πολέμω ἑνέκεια. The apprehensions of Megabatus seem extraordinary if the resources of Histiaeus are to be considered as confined to Miletus but well founded if the conjecture put forward in the note 354 on iv. 138 be adopted, and if he is to be considered as a kind of satrap over all the Ionian cities which still remained unimpaired in their resources, with the solitary exception of Chios. Miletus is presently called τῆς Ἰωνίας πρῶτης, a phrase which suggests something of the nature of a τηκτονεία (§ 26). See too notes on § 33 and vi. 7. Naxos too, or at least the aristocracy (οἱ παχεῖ) within it, was in a state of alliance with Histiaeus (below, § 30); and Naxos could bring 8000 hoplites into the field (§ 31). A man so powerful in resources and in intellect seems just to have missed the establishing a dominion which would perhaps have forestalled Alexander.
HERODOTUS

25 after leaving Otanes, son of Sissamines, in the Hellespont, and Artaphernes, his own brother, satrap of Sardis.

Story of Sissamines, father of Otanes.

Otanes takes Byzantium.

The latter form had a recommendation with the Greeks, as it allowed them better scope for an etymology. Aeschylus avails himself of this in the Persae (769), where he says of the son of Darius's brother, φιλές γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φακοστράφων. It is quite clear that all the Persian names whose Greek equivalents end either in φαρσίς or φαρῆς themselves terminated in *frana*; which doubtless was significant in Persian, as it appears in the beginnings as well as the ends of names, e.g. Pharnachus, Phar- napes, and Pharnabazus, as well as Tisaphernes, Intaphernes, Artaphernes, Megaphernes, &c.

26 Ὄταν τι διάδοχος γενόμενος εἶναι τῶν παραβαλασσῶν άνδρῶν. This Otanes is not to be confused with the father-in-law of Darius, whose father's name was Pharnapès according to Herodotus (iii. 68), and Socrates (Thukra) according to the Behistun Inscription.

33 'Artaphernes. Some MSS have the form 'Artaφήneas both here and in vi. 94, and also in vii. 74. The latter form had a recommendation with the Greeks, as it allowed them better scope for an etymology. Aeschylus avails himself of this in the Persae (769), where he says of the son of Darius's brother, φιλές γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φακοστράφων. It is quite clear that all the Persian names whose Greek equivalents end either in φαρσίς or φαρῆς themselves terminated in *frana*; which doubtless was significant in Persian, as it appears in the beginnings as well as the ends of names, e.g. Pharnachus, Pharnapès, and Pharnabazus, as well as Tisaphernes, Intaphernes, Artaphernes, Megaphernes, &c.

34 'Ωτάν τι διάδοχος στρατηγὸς εἶναι τῶν παραβαλασσῶν άνδρῶν. This Otanes is not to be confused with the father-in-law of Darius, whose father's name was Pharnapès according to Herodotus (iii. 68), and Socrates (Thukra) according to the Behistun Inscription.

35 διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβαζῷ τῆς στρατηγίας. From this time the old system of leaving a very large jurisdiction in the hands of one person, which seems to have prevailed in the time of Cyrus (see notes 331 and 350 on iii. 120 and 127), no longer appears to be the policy of the Persian court. Darius has apparently carried out his plan to a considerable extent. His own brother is placed in Sardis as viceroy, but another great officer, with an independent command and a large army, has his head-quarters in the Hellespont. The satrapy too of which Dascyleus was the centre has been again filled up by Ecbates, son of Megabazus (vi. 33). We hear nothing more of Otanes, the son of Pharnapès, subsequently to the restoration of Sylonos to Samos (iii. 149), except the solitary fact that at some subsequent time (διάφοροι μέντοι χρόνοι) he reconquered Samos, a proceeding involving the possession of considerable power. But Herodotus leaves no hint as to what became of him, having apparently now got
TERPSICHORE. V. 25—28. I

Buβαντίον τε εἶλε καὶ Καλκηδονίου: εἶλε δὲ "Αντανδρον τὴν εἰς τῇ Τραδᾶς γῇ εἶλε δὲ Δαμαρώνιον λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Δασβίων νέας εἶλε Δήμιου τε καὶ Ἰμμέρον, ἀμφοτέρας ἐτὶ τὸτε ὑπὸ Πελαισίων οἰκεομένας. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Δήμιοι καὶ ἐμαχώμενοι εῦ καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν τοῖς δὲ περιευόμενοι αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπαρχόν ἐπιστασία Δυκάρητον, τὸν Μαυροδίου τοῦ βασιλεύουσαν Σάμων ἀδελφοῦν. (οὗτος δὲ Δυκάρητος ἀρχιν ἐν Δήμιῳ τετελεσταὶ). Αἰτῶ δὲ τούτου ἥδε πάντας ἴμπραποδίκετο καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λυποστρατῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθων αἰτιώμενοι, τοὺς δὲ σίνεσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὑπίκοις ἀποκομίζομεν οὗτος μὲν νῦν τοσάττα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγίσας.

Μετά δὲ, οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνέσεις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἡσιοῦ γίνεσθαι κακὰ. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος ἐνδαιμονιᾷ τῶν νῆσῶν προέφερε, τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μιλήτος αὐτῇ τέ ἐσωτήρ μᾶλιστα δὴ τὸτε ἀκμάσασα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα. κατοπθεῖς δὲ τούτων, ἐπὶ δύο γενέας ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μᾶλιστα στάσι,

into a cycle of traditions derived entirely from the intercourse between the Ionians and Hellespontines and the Persian officials with whom they came into contact. Possibly he is the Otanes whose daughter Amestris married Xerxes (vii. 61); and if so, her malice against a son of Darius and his wife (ix. 108. 111) may have been partly hereditary. And considering his great personal power and high connections, there can be little doubt that the Otanes here spoken of, and the Otanes of v. 116, and of vii. 40, were at least near relatives of his, whether or not identical with one another.

66 Εἰ τὸτε ὑπὸ Πελαισίων ὑκεομένας. See note 179 on ii. 56. It seems not impossible that this remark is added as a sort of salvo for the Lesbians having assisted the Persians in their subjection of Greek islands. In the time of Herodotus to have assisted the barbarian against any portion of the Hellenic race was a foul stain. But it is very doubtful whether this feeling exercised any wide sway before the time assigned to Darius's Scythian expedition.

67 οἱ μὲν δὴ Δήμιου . . . τετελεστή. Schweighäuser considers that the whole of this passage is an addition by the author to his work subsequently to its completion. But there seems no reason to believe this of more than the last sentence, οὗτος δὲ Δυκάρητος ἀρχιν ἐν Δήμιῳ τετελεστή. No doubt the word τούτων in the next sentence cannot refer to the death of Lycaretus; and the subject of ἀπεφασώκεντο must be Otanes. But the expression τούτων seems to be a more appropriate mode of reference to the act of appointing Lycaretus satrap of Lemnis than to the series of operations just enumerated. That appointment was only one instance of a policy universally carried out, and consequently mention of it naturally led to the statement of what that policy was. 68 Μαυροδίου τοῦ βασιλεύουσαν Σάμων ἀδελφοῦ. See note 392 on iii. 142.

69 ἄνευς κακῶν ἦν. This is the reading of Gaisford, who adopts the conjecture of Reiske, ἄνευς, for ἄνειαν or ἄνειας, which the MSS give. It is to me very unsatisfactory; but I can suggest nothing better.

70 εὐδαιμονίᾳ τῶν νῆσῶν προέφερε. See note on § 31.

71 'Ιωνίης πρόσχημα, "the head and front of Ionia." For the power of Miletus, as a single state, see note 64 on i. 17. For its probable influence at this time as the head of a number of kindred states, note 354 on iv. 138.

by the help of the Lesbians, Lesbians, Lesbians and Lesbians.

Flourishing state of Naxos and Naxos at this time.
29

sessions of Miletus for
two generations how
finally com-
posed by the Pari-
sians.

30

Exiles from
Naxos ar-
rive at Mile-
tus, where

72 kathéritwv. The meaning of this word has been somewhat mistaken by the commentators. The kathéritwv is not a person 'who brings together what is forcibly separated,' but one 'who arranges in order that which is in confusion.' The great cause of trouble in the ancient states was the question of the assignment of the offices; and the quality of mind which constituted a good kathéritw would, in Hellenic apprehension, be what Aristotle calls 'distributive justice,' ἡ διακρυμενη δικαιοσύνη. Thus the service of Demonax at Cyrene was shown in his judicious arrangement of the citizens in their tribes (iv. 161), for upon this arrangement their share of public offices would mainly depend. The misapprehension of the fundamental idea of kathéritwv has led to a bad translation of Matt. Evang. iv. 21. The apostles were assisting their father in 'stowing,' not in 'mending' their nets.

73 kathéllazan δε σφας δέ οἱ Πάροι. It is curious, and illustrative of the nature of the materials used by Herodotus, that from this account not the least information can be gained of the nature of the Milesian troubles,—or even of the time when they occurred,—although the political importance of Miletus then was probably at least equal to that of Athens at the time of the expedition to Sicily. Yet nothing is given of events spreading over two generations, except the story of a piece of shrewd observation on the part of the Parians. It is as if in a modern narrative the whole series of events which terminated in the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty from England should remain unnoticed, except for the purpose of introducing the mot of Rochester, that 'Charles II. never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one.' See note 494 on ii. 160.

74 εφηγον ἀνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. This revolution must not be confounded in any way with that one which terminated in making Lygdamis tyrant of Naxos. (See note 214 on i. 64.) Under no circumstances could Lygdamis have become diplomat at Naxos later than B.C. 527: for in that year Pisistratus died, eighteen years before the expulsion of his sons from Athens. (See Clinton on that year.) And it is an assumption that Herodotus, in the passage in which he represents him as owing his success to Pisistratus (i. 64), means to place the alleged conquest of Naxos in the third period of Pisistratus's dynasty at Athens. Lygdamis may have become tyrant of Naxos forty or fifty years before the event mentioned in the text; and it is more in accordance with the account of Aristotle, and not less so with that of Herodotus (see note 214 on i. 64), to suppose that he was so at
ΤΗΡΣΙΣΧΟΡΕ. Β. 30. 17

δε ἀπίκουντο ἐς Μιλήτου. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἔτηγχανε ἐπίτροπος 
ἐὼν 'Αρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεως, γαμβρός τε ἑών καὶ ἀνεψιός
'Ιστιαίου τοῦ Δυσαγόρεως, τὸν ὁ Δαρείος ἐν Σούσοις κατέχει ὁ
γὰρ 'Ιστιαῖος τόρισεν ἡν Μιλήτου', καὶ ἔτυγχανε τοῦτον τῶν
χρόνων ἑών ἐν Σούσοις ὡτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθοι, ξείνιοι πρὶν ἐντε 
τῷ 'Ιστιαίῳ ἀκιμόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου, ἐδέντο
τοῦ 'Αρισταγόρεως, εἶ καὶ αὐτοῦ παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα, καὶ
κατέλθουσιν ἐς τὴν ἐσωπόν ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δὲ ἐσωτὸν 
κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀρξεῖ τῆς Νάξου, σκήψεις δὲ ποιεῖμενοι 
τὴν ἐξώπη τῆς 'Ιστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε 'αὐτός 
μὲν ὑμῶν ὁ φερεγγῶς εἰμὶ δύναμιν τοσαύτην παρασχεῖν, ὡστε
κατάγεις ἀκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξιῶν πυνθάνομαι
γὰρ ὡς τακιμοιχίλην ἀσπίδα Ναξιόως εἶναι, καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ
πολλὰς μιχυσάμοις δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεῖμενος ἐπινοεῖ 
δὲ τῇ δε 'Αρταφέρνης μοι πυθᾶναι ἑών φίλος: ὁ δὲ 'Ιστιαῖ 
μὲν ἐστιν πάις Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφός, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθαλασ 
σίων τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ' ἀρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατεύμα τε πολλῆν 
καὶ πολλὰς νεάς τοῦτον ὁν δικεῖ τῶν ἀνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἀν
χρημάζων.' ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεν τῷ 'Αρισ 
ταγόρᾳ πρήσεν ἕξ δύναστο ἀριστα: καὶ ὑποσχέθαι δώρα ἐκε 
λευς καὶ δαπάνη τῇ στρατείῃ, ώς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες ἐνθη 
πολλὰς ἔχουσης, ὅταν ἐπιφανὲσθαι χ εὶ τὴν Νάξου πάντα ποιῆσε 
toις Ναξίους τα ἀν αὐτοῦ κελεύσει, δις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦ 

least thirty. In this case, following the ana 
logy of the known progress of events in 
other Hellenic states, we should conceive 
of the revolution of Lygdamis as one over 
throwing an hereditary oligarchy; but of 
the one which led to the expulsion of the 
πάχες, as similar to those of Corcyra and 
other places in later times, where the con 
tending parties were a democratie aristoc 
ratery, and a poor, but yet free commonalty. 
The tyranny of Lygdamis must have fallen 
before the commencement of the second 
revolution. 

13 τῶν ἕν Μιλήτου. It seems very 
strange that Herodotus, after the ac 
count of Darius's expedition to Thrace 
were an addition to an earlier draft of 
the work. 

74 τῶν δ ἐπιθαλασίων τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ. 
The province of Otanes (whose head-quar 
ters appear to have been at Sestos) was the 
παραβαλασίων ἐνδρα (§ 26). Assuming 
the two narratives to belong to the same 
cycle of accounts (which is not quite cer 
tain; see the last note), the principle 
upon which to reconcile them seems not 
to be to suppose that Artaphernes had the 
command in Asia, and Otanes in Europe, 
—for the operations of the latter were in 
Asia also, § 26,—but to regard Otanes as 
employed on the shores of the Hellespont, 
and specially in securing the means of 
uninterrupted transit between the contin 
teas.
31 Aristogoras goes to Sardis, and persuades Artaphernes to undertake the expedition.

32 On Darius giving his

77 τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτήμανας... τὰς Κυκλάδας καλεμένας. The possession of all these dependencies, with the naval force implied by them, and a land army of 8000 hoplites, shows an amount of power very unfavourable to the notion that Pisistratus had conquered Naxos, and committed it to Lygdamis as a sort of province. (See note 214 on i. 64.) After its subjection to Persia, and the annihilation of its resources, described by Herodotus (vi. 90), the case was very different, and such a statement would not be obviously absurd. The contingent of ships furnished by Naxos at the time of the battle of Salamis is only four (viii. 46). And in the year B.C. 466 it was taken, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery by the Athenians (Thucyd. i. 96), apparently without any resistance worthy of mention.

78 ἔξηγηται. This word is peculiarly appropriate. (See note 138 on ii. 49.) Aristogoras had not merely spoken to Artaphernes in general terms of a favourable opportunity for advancing the king's interests, but he had gone through his plan step by step, showing him what power for advancing further each would give him as it was taken.

79 δεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι. The caution of Artaphernes in not taking this step without previously intimating it to Darius is striking when compared with the conduct of Aryanthes, who sent the whole Egyptian army to the assistance of Pherecydes (iv. 167), or that of Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, who exterminated the whole population of Samos in direct contradiction to Darius's orders (iii. 147, 149). It adds an illustration to the points mentioned in note 38 on § 14 and 66 on § 26. See also note on § 123, ἐνάρξεσιν.
Σοῦσα καὶ ἅπερβαν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεως ἠγομένα συνέπαινος καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρείου ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν δυνκοσίας τριήρειας πολλῶν δὲ κάρτα ὄμιλον Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων στρατηγῶν δὲ τούτων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἀνδρὰ Πέρσην τῶν Ἀχαμενιδῶν, ἐως τοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεμφύν τοῦ Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομπρότως Δακεδαμώνιος, εἰ δὴ ἄλθης γε ἔστι ο ὁ λόγος ὡς ἡ τερεφρο χρώμα τούτων ἠμόσωμα θυγατέρα, ἔρωται σχῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύτανως γενέσθαι, ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης, ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρα. 

Παραλαβῶν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρα καὶ τὴν Ἰδία στρατηγὴν καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους, ἐπλεύσε πρόφασιν ἐπὶ Ἑλλήσποντος. ἔπει τοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἕσχε τὰς νεάς ἐν Καίκασα, ὡς ἔκβευεν βορεί ἀνέμοι ἐκ τῆς Νάξου διαβάλον καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίου ἀπολέσατι, πρῆμια τοῖς δισθενείς γενέσθαι: περιόπτοις μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν φυλάκως, ἐπὶ νέοις Μυκῆνης ἑτυγχο ὑσθὲν διὰ φυλάσσων δὲ δεινὸν τοὺς ποιήσαμεν, ἔκλεψα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρότα τὸν ἄρχοντα τάφτης τῆς νεᾶς, τῷ ὁμώμῳ ἤν Σκύλαξ, τούτου δῆσαι δίᾳ βαλάμης διελάβας τῆς νεᾶς, κατὰ τοῦτο, ἔρχο χεῖν κεφαλήν ποιείνται ἐνώ δὲ τὸ σῶμα. δὲ δεότας τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἄναγγέλει τις τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὅτι τῷ ξείνῳ ὦ τῆς Μυκῆνος Μεγαβάτης δήσας λυμαίνοντος ὦ τε ἐλθὼν παραίτετο τῶν Πέρσην, τυχῆσαι δὲ ὑπενδότας τῶν ἐδείτο αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐλισὺ πτυόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποίησεν στὸν Μεγαβάτης, καὶ ἐπεδήρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ὁ δὲ ἐστὶν ὑποκρίτης αὐτῶν.
Σοί δὲ καὶ τούτους τούς πρήγματί τι ἔστιν; οὐ δὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφέρνης ἐμέν τείθεσθαι, καὶ πλέων τῇ ἀν ἐγὼ κελέω; τί πολλὰ πρῆστες;" ταῦτα εἶπε Ἀρισταγόρης ο̣̣̃ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτους, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἐπεμπε ο̣̣̃ Νάξον πλοῖο ἄνδρας φράσοντας τοῖς Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρῆγματα: Οἱ γὰρ ἄν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκαντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τούτον ὁμιλήσαντο: ἔπει μὲν τὸν ἐπίθυμον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἑσενεκάντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄγρων ἐκ τὸ τείχος παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολυορκησθέντοι καὶ σίντα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τείχος ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὕτω μὲν παρεσκευάδατο ὡς παρεσυμμόν σφί πολέμου, οἱ δ’ ἔπει τε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χλώ τάς νέας ἐς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεσπέρντο τοῦτον, ἐπὶ πολυορκεῖν μὴν τὰς τέσσερας ὁς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἔλθον χρήσατα οἱ Πέρσαι ταύτα καταδεδαπάνητο σφί καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρη προσαναίωμα πολλὰ, τοῦ πλείωνος τε ἐδέστο ἡ πολιορκίη, ἐνδεῖτα τεῖχε τοῖς φυγασὶ τῶν Νάξιων ὀικοσυμμένους ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν ἡπειρόν, κακῶς πρῆγμαται.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῷ Ἀρταφέρνη ἐκπληροῦσαν· ἀμα δὲ ἐπίεξε μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατεύσεως ἀπατευόμενη, ἀρρόθεν ταῦτα πρῆξαντο κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος· ἐδόθη τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαρήσθησαι· ἀρρώδων δὲ τούτων ἐκαστὰ ἐβουλεύσετο ἀπόστασιν συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιμένον τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπέχθανε· Σουσέων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνουσα ἀπιστοῦσα· Ἀρισταγόρη ἀπὸ βασιλέας· τῷ Ἱστιαίῳ, βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστῆσαι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἰχε ἀσφαλεῖος σημῆναι, ὡστε φυλασσομένοις τῶν ὀδῶν ὁ δὲ τῶν δοῦλων τῶν πιστότατον ἀποζυρῆσας τὴν κεφαλῆς ἔστι, καὶ ἀνέμευσες ἀναφύνας τὰς τρίχας· ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχα κατα, ἀπέσευσε ἐς Μιλήτον ἐπείγμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἔπειαν δὲ ἀπέκται ἐς Μιλήτον,
He broaches his design.

Hecateus's advice is not followed.

88 'Ekataios ὁ λογοτείτως. Herodotus mentions this person again with the same title in ii. 143, and below, § 125. It is to be observed that he gives the same title to Ἐσχορ (ii. 134). See the note 9 on i. 1 for the wide signification of the word λόγιος at this time, at which it is highly unlikely that Ἐσχορ's productions existed in a written form. Αἰριάς (Exp. Alex. v. 6) couples Herodotus himself together with Hecateus as ὁ λογοτεῖτως.

89 ναυκράτης τῆς θαλάσσης, "in command of the sea." In vi. 9 he uses the expression ναυκράτης in the same signification. Θυκυδίδες (viii. 83) adopts the more expressive compound βασιλας-κράτες.

97 ἔρη λέγων. See note 414 on i. 118.

98 ἢπιστάσθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς Μιλήσιον ἔστιναι ἀσθενεία. It is at first very difficult to reconcile this assertion with what has just before been said, that Miletos was at this time at the acme of its prosperity (§ 28). But there is no real contradiction. There was no accumulation of ready money,—which was the thing wanted for the purpose of taking up a large number of seamen. The same necessity was felt by Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and he contemplated a similar proceeding to that of Hecateus with the gold in the temple of Athene. (Thucyd. ii. 13.) It should be remembered that public credit, on the strength of which large sums may be readily procured at any time, is a creation of modern days. The ancient states had no means whatever of acquiring a large fund of ready money except by hoarding, and no means of doing this safely except by dedication in some temple. The procedure of Cressus (i. 50) and that of Periander (v. 92) are illustrative of the difficulty of suddenly procuring any considerable amount of specie. Compare, too, the negotiation between Polycrates and Oropetes (iii. 122, 3), where the possession of only eight chests of gold was considered as enough to turn the scale of probable success in the event of revolt against Persia.
Αυτὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς ἐξε ἐπιδίδας ἐπικρατήσει τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ οὔτω αὐτοῦς τὲ ξενῶν χρήματα χρᾶσθαι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐ συνήθεσιν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἢ ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωται πρὸ τοῖς πρῶτοι τῶν λόγων ἀυτὴ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκη ἢ γνῶμη ἐδόκει δὲ ὅμως ἀπλαστάσα, ἐνα τὲ αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἢ Ἐνυόντα ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπέλθων, οὖν ἐναὶ, συλλαμβάνει πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιτελέοντα στρατηγοὺς. Ὁ Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰτηραγόρεω καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὁλιατοῦ Ἰβανόλοις Μυλασσα "καὶ Ἰστιαίον Τύμνους Τερμερέας, καὶ Κάμην Ἐρξάνδρεως ἡ Δαρείως Μυτιλήνη ἔδωρησατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδας Κυμαίον, καὶ ἄλλους συνκρόνους, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκησε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείως μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγοι μετεῖ τὴν τυραννίδα ἱσομοίῇ ἐποίηκε τῇ Μυλήτῃ, ὡς ἂν ἐκόμενοι αὐτῷ οἱ Μυλήσιοι συναπταίσατο μετὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλλη Ἰωνία τῷ τούτῳ ἐποίηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελάνυντων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δὲ ἐλάβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασένω ἐπὶ Νάξου, τούτους δὲ φίλαι βουλόμενοι ποιεῖτοι τῷ ἠλλῳ καὶ Ἀλλαι πολλῷ παραδίδοντος δένει εἰς ἑκατος. Καὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ Μυτιληναίοι ἐπεὶ τε τὰχαμα παρελάβοι, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευκαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν λόγων. The allusion is to i. 92, where see the note 327, from whence it will appear that Hecatæus’s apprehensions were not ill-founded. In fact, one may doubt whether the priests at Branchidae were not more attached to the Median than the Hellenic interest. See note 527 on i. 157. 327 Μυλασσα. It is rather curious that a Myslceanen, likewise son of an Ibanolis, is the leader of a body of Carians who entirely destroyed a Persian force in the course of the war thus begun (§ 121). Yet just after the fall of the Lydian monarchy Harpagus appears to have succeeded in overrunning Caria without any important resistance (i. 174). The Carians are represented (i. 28) as forming a part of the subjects of Croesus. There was a certain affinity between the Lydians and them, evinced by the common use of the ancient temple at Mylassa. (See note 577 on i. 171.) 326 Τερμερέας. STKRPH. BYZANT. sub v. makes Térmera a city of Lycia, and Strabo (xiv. c. 2, p. 202) puts it in Caria, —the promontory Termion being just opposite to a corresponding headland in the island Cos, and with an interval of no more than forty stades. That the boundaries of Caria and Lycia were not very accurately defined seems to follow from the remains of the ancient Lycians (Termis) found in Carian cities. (See note 585 on i. 173.) It is worth while to remark that Termes (if near to the Termion of Strabo) was close to Myn dus, the town of Scylax, who had just been so grossly insulted by the Persian commissioner (§ 33). Histiaeus, the son of Tymnæ, appears in the list of the Carian naval commanders in the flotilla of Xerxes (vii. 98). 326 Κάμην Ἐρξάνδρεως. See note 29 on § 11, above. 327 Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδας. See iv. 138. 328 φίλαι βουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι. See note 466 on ii. 152.
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σαν Κυμαίοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπῆκαν δὲ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πλείστες ἀπέσαν. τυράννων μὲν ποινα κατάπαντος ἐγένετο ἀνά τὰς πόλεις.

'Αρισταγόρας δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαινε στρατηγοὺς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πολεων κελεύεις ἐκάστους κατα-

στήσει, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ὡς Λακεδαιμόνας" τρήρει ἄποστολος ἐγένετο ἔθεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίας τινὸς οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευθεῖναι.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης "Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Δέωνος συκετί περιμένω ἐβασίλευε, ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκεε Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἔχει τὴν βασιλην, οὐ κατὰ ἀυθαγαθίνη σχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένους. Ἀναξανδρίδης γὰρ ἔχουστι γυναῖκα ἄδελφης ἐσοντου θυγατέρα, καὶ εὐοίχῃς ταῦτης οἱ καταθυμίνης, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγένοντο τοῦτο τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐνότοι, οἱ ἔφοροι ἔταπεν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν, "εἰ τοὺς τὸν γε σεωρτοῦν μὴ προορᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἦστι οὔτε περιστέρεον γένος τὸ Ἑὐρυσθέων γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σὺ νῦν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ τε τοῦ οὐ τίκτει, ἐξεο 97, ἄλλην δὲ ἥμιν καὶ ποιέων τάυτα, Ἑπαρτιγμίτης ἄδεης" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο φᾶς τοιῶν οὐδέτερα ποιήσεις ἔκεινος τοῦ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραπλησαντάς τὴν ἔχει γυναῖκα, εὐοίχις ἀναμάρτητον ἐσωτήρ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην ἐκαλλιγείναι οὐδὲ σφι χεῖσασαν. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέρουτες βουλευσάμενοι, προσέδρον Ἀναξανδρίδη τάδε "ἐπει τοῦτος τοῦ περιχώμενον σε ὀρέοιμν τῆς ἔχεις γυναῖκος, τὸν δὲ ταύτα ποίει καὶ μη ἀντίβαινε τοῦτοι, ἔνα μὴ τὸ ἂλλοιον περὶ

σει οἱ Ἑπαρτιγμίτης ἔκαλλονται γυναίκος μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ προσδεύμεθα σει τῆς ἐγέσίων; σὺ δὲ ταῦτα το πάντα ὡς νῦν παρέχεις πάρεσα, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταῦτη ἐσάγην γυναῖκα τεχνο-

ποιάν" ταῦτα καὶ λεγόντων, συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης μετὰ δὲ, γυναίκας ἔχον δίοι δεξα ἱστιάς ὅκεε, ποιεῖν οὐδαμῶς Ἑπα-

ρτιγμίτακα. Χρόνον δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα γυνὴ τίκτει τοῦ ὁ任何时候 γενεα 

88 ὡς Λακεδαιμόνα. These words are governed by a word the equivalent of ἀποστόλος ἐγένετο. See note 72 on i. 21.
89 τῆς δὲ Ἑπαρτίγας. The thread of the Lacedemonian history is resumed from i. 68.
97 ἔξεο, "discard." This is the ex-

tremely ingenious emendation of Schaefer from ἐκ σέο, the reading of most of the MSS, from which no sense resulted. The substantive ἔξεω appears in the next section.
98 τῶν δὲ Κλεομένα τοῦτον. See note 6 on i. 1.
HERODOTUS

24

baσιλεύα 99 Σπαρτινήτρια ἀπέφαυ, καὶ ἡ προτερή γυνὴ τῶν πρώτων χρόνων ἄτοκος εὐσᾶ τότε κῶς ἐκήσε, συντυχὴ ταῦτῃ χρησαμένῃ ἔχουσα δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθοῦσις γυναικὸς οἰκίας πυθόμενοι ὁχλεῖν, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένη ὑποβάλεσθαι. δεινὰ δὲ ποιεύμενοι αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάγματοι, ἧν ἀπιστίς οἱ ἔφοροι τικτουσά τῆν γυναῖκα περιμόεσθαι ἐφύλαξαν ἢ δὲ ὡς ἔστεκε Δωρία 100 ἱδέων ἱσχεῖ Δεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἱδέων ἱσχεῖ Κλεόμβροτον οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμου λέγουσι 101 Κλεόμβροτόν τε καὶ Δεωνίδην γενέσθαι ἢ δὲ Κλεομένεα τεκνοῦτα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέλθουσα γυνὴ, εὐσᾶ θυγάτηρ Πριμητάδεως 102 τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

99 ἐφέθης βασιλεύα. "a successor to the crown." The metaphor is taken from the practice in the games, illustrated in note 423 on i. 123. It is to be remarked that all the MSS without exception agree in this form, while in § 68 they are equally unanimous for ἐκθέθης. 100 Δωρία. A suspicion arises out of the subsequent conduct of Cleomenes that his mother was not of Heraclide, but of Achaean blood. (See note on § 72.) If this was the case, the choice of the name Dorius for the son of the original wife was probably determined by a wish to put his Heraclide descent prominently forward. By his father's side Cleomenes was pure Dorian. (See the pedigrees, vii. 204.)

101 οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμου λέγουσι. For the uncertain character of the Lacedaemonian history down to comparatively recent times see note 217 on i. 65. With regard to this particular point see note on vii. 205.

102 Πριμητάδεως. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Aldus gives the form Πριμητάδεω.

103 ἄκρομαρχῆς. It has been considered that this word is to be interpreted "half-mad!" and this version has been defended by the case of some words compounded of ἄκρος, which have pretty much the same force with others compounded with ἱμι and the same root. A list of these is collected by Corax on Xenocrates, p. 180. But there is a fallacy in supposing that because, for instance, a preparation of salt fish, where the seasoning was confined to the upper side, might either be called ἄκρομαρχῆς or ἄκρομαρχῆς ἡλικίας, the force of the elements ἄκρος and ἱμι is the same; the fallacy consisting (as pointed out in note 520 on iv. 203) in mistaking an inferential meaning growing out of the circumstances of the individual case for one essentially resident in the word. The use of ἄκρομαρχῆς (raving mad) in this passage is rather to be explained by its having reference to the subsequent condition of Cleomenes, which seemingly, in great measure, occasioned his notoriety throughout Hellas. See the history of his case as given in vi. 75. In his early life he was ὄντωραμφέτος, the same expression which is applied to Cambyses (iii. 28) and to Charibdis (iii. 146), but at a particular period αὐτῶν διδάσκει μανή νοοῖς. (vi. 75.)
Doriæus heads a private enterprise to Cnæae in Libya, from whence he is expelled, and returns home.

He next proposes to found Heracleæ in Sicily, and sailing along the coast of Italy, lands at Crotona,
and takes part in the capture of Sybaris. Varying accounts of the Sybarites and Crotoniates.

Evidence which they respectively produce.

also mentioned the fountain of blood and the wrath of Hera, although this last was shown in a dream seen on the same night by all the officials.

108 συνελίχε τήν Συβαριν, "contributed to the capture of Sybaris." By this the oracle which he received at Delphi was fulfilled. In taking part against Sybaris, Dorius may perhaps have sought a gratification of his spite against his half brother Cleomenes, who boasted himself to be 'not a Dorian, but an Achaeus.' (§ 72). The Achaeans became predominant in the population of Sybaris, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, expelled their fellow-citizens, who were of Tarentine origin. By doing this they brought an atonement upon themselves, for which the capture of the city was considered a divine punishment. (Aristotle, Polit. v. p. 1303.)

109 παρά τον ξηράν Κράστιν, "by the side of the dry Crastis." This phrase, I apprehend, describes a dry channel of the river,—its bed having shifted. The commentators assume that an opposition is intended between the Crathis in Achaea, which had a perennial stream (see the next note) and the river in Sybaris, which they conceive was dry in the summer.

This theory involves the necessity of an arbitrary alteration of the text, which I have endeavoured to show (see next note) is not justifiable.

110 παρά τον ξηράν Κράστιν. Weseling proposes to read Κραθίν, because in i. 145 Herodotus, speaking of Αγας in Achaia, says, ἐν τῇ Κραθίνι ποταμῷ δέναις ὀστη, ἀνα τοῦ θυρ' ἵπτερα ποταμὸ τὸ οὐρομένος ἰχθες. There is no question that the same river is meant, and that in subsequent times this was called Crathis. But here all the MSS (with the exception of S, which has Κράστιν) read Κράστιν, and in the other passage they are unanimous in favour of Κράστιν. Assuming that passage not to be an addition to the text subsequent to the time of Herodotus, I should be rather disposed to explain the difference between the forms by the change which language is perpetually undergoing. If at the time of the first settlement of Sybaris the word was pronounced Crathis, there would be nothing strange that in process of time this should change in the one case to Crastis, and in the other to Crathi. Herodotus is in this passage professedly following a Sybarite tradition, which in the other he certainly is not.

111 ἐπανάλημα Κράστει. In dedicating this temple to Athene, Dorius, both as an Heracle and as an adventurer, would probably have regard to the characteristic of the goddess which makes her the guide and protectress of heroes upon their adventures, of whom Hercules is the most complete type. It is to be remarked that this is not the form which her ritual assumed in Locremon, where, as in Athens, she was associated with Poseidon—that is to say, she belonged not to the Dorian, but the Achaean cycle of deities. (See this point further elucidated in the note on § 72.)
τοῦ Δωρείου τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῖται, οτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαυτεμένα ποιεῖν διεφθάρη εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μὴδὲν ἐπ᾽ ὧν δὲ ἐστάλη ἐπολεί, εἰλὲ ἂν τὴν Ἑρυκίην χώραν καὶ ἔλαυν κατέσχε, οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτὸς τὸ καὶ ἡ στρατικὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ Κροτωνιτὶς ἀποδεικνύσει Καλλήν μὲν τῷ Ἡλεῖῳ ἐξαπέτας ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνιτὶς πολλὰ δοθέντα, (τὰ καὶ ἐστὶ ἐνεμούτοι οἱ Καλλίεως ἀπόγονοι,) Δωρείῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ Δωρείος ἀπογόνοις οὐδὲν κατοίκησε τοῖς κατοικοῦντες καὶ πάρεστε ὁκοτέροις τις πειθάται καὶ τούτοις προσχωρέων. Συνέπεθεν δὲ Δωρείῳ καὶ ἄλλοι συγκεκάσατο Σεπταντάνοις, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραβάτης καὶ Κάλλης καὶ Εὐρυλέων οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄπλεστῳ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐστὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἀσθένων μάχῃ ἐσονθέντες ὑπὸ τῇ Φοινίκῃς καὶ Ἐγέσταλνων μοῦνοι δὲ γε Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκεκάσασές περιεγένετο τοῦτο τοῦ πάθεως συλλαβόν δὲ οὕτως τῆς στρατικῆς τοὺς περιγεινομένοις ἄσχει Μικάπην τῇ Σελινούσιαν ἀποκέφαλίσατο, καὶ συνελευθέρωσεν Σελινούσιος τοῦ μοναρχὸς Πεθαγόρεως,112 μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τούτοις κατείλε, αὐτὸς τυραννᾶς ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούσιος, καὶ ἐμομνάρχησε σέρον ἐπὶ θλύγων ὑώς μὲν Σελινούσιος ἐπαναστάτησεν ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Αἰών ἄγοραν βωμῷ·

Συνέστεπο δὲ Δωρείῳ καὶ συναπτόθαι Φιλίππου ὁ Βοϋκακιδῆς, Κροτωνιτῆς ἀνήρ δὲ ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλους τοῦ Συμβριτείῳ καθηκότα ἐξήγη ἐκ Κρότωνος φευγόθες δὲ τοῦ γάμου ὀχέτο πλέον ἐστὶ Κυρήνης ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὁμφάνες κυνεύστηκεν ὑπὸ τὴν τριπέτρινον καὶ οἰκείον ἄνδρων διάπανη, ἐν τῇ Οὐλιπέμονι καὶ καλλιστοῖς Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν καὶ ἐστόλον. διὰ δὲ τῇ ἐστόλου καλλος ἐνεκάτο παρὰ Ἐγέσταλνως τὰς ὀδεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώου ἰδρύματον θυσίαν αὐτῶν ἐπικονήσει. Δωρεῖος μὲν των τρόπων τοιούτω ἐξελέγησε δὲ ἢπόκεμετο βασιλεύουμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔβασθεν δὲ Ακαδείμονος, οὐ γὰρ τῶν πολλῶν χρόνου ἢρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ὀδ. ἀπέδεικεν ἄταξας ὑπατείας μοῦναν λιτῶν τῆς οὐδομᾶ ἑως Γοργάς.

112 Πεθαγόρεως. Some MSS have Πεθαγόρας.

46 On arriving in Sicily, the expedition is defeated by the Carthaginians and Segestans. Euryleon, the only surviving commander, becomes for a short time tyrant of Selinus.

47 Philip, a Crotoniate, who fell with Dorieus, is venerated as a hero by the Segestans.

48 Cleomenes reigned but a few years, and left no male issue.

49 'Απικλέεται δι' οὖν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν
This Cleomenes is king of Sparta at the time of the arrival of Aristogoras, who explains his views to him with the aid of a chart.

Σπάρτην, Κλεομένεος ἤχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν τῷ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἦς, ὁς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἤχων χαλκεὸν πίνακα 111 ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδος ἐνετέρμητο, καὶ θάλασσα τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες ἀποκεκόμενοι δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε "Κλεόμενε, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσῃς τῆς ἐνδιάβας ἀπίξης ὑπὸ γὰρ κατήκουτα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα 114. Ἰῶνων παύδια δουλοῖς εἶναι ἀντ ἐλευθέρων δυνεῖς καὶ ἄλλης μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῦ ἦμιν, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν λουτῶν ὑμῶν, ὅσοι προέστατε τῆς Ἐλλάδος, νῦν ὃν, πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἔλληνων, ἴσως Ἰωνικὸς εἰς δουλοσύνης, ἀνδρᾶς ὁμαλοὺς. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶα τε χαράειν ἐστι 115. οἴτε γὰρ ὁ βαρβαρὸς Αλκιμὸς εἰς, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πολέμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἄρτης πέρι ἢ τε μάχῃ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιχία, τὸς καὶ ἀλώνη βραχέας ἀναξιωρίδας δὲ ἤχοντες 116 ἤρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυριασθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῆς συνετεῖς ξειραθήναι εἰς. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τούτα τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένως, ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνάπτατο ἀλλοιοῦ- ἀπὸ χρυσὸν ἀρξαμένους, ἀργυροι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς τοιχία καὶ ὑποξύγα τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα τὰ θυμό χολόμενοι 117 αὐτὸ δὲν ἤχοτε. κατολογοῦνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἤχομενοι, ὁς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰῶνων μὲν τῶν δὲ Ῥηηὶ γενὸς Ἀυδολελεύομεν, ὁς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰῶνων μὲν τῶν δὲ Ῥηηὶ γενὸς Ἀυδολελεύομεν, ὁς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰῶνων μὲν τῶν δὲ Ῥηηὶ γενὸς Ἀυδολελεύομεν, ὁς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰῶνων μὲν τῶν δὲ Ῥηηὶ γενὸς Ἀυδολελεύομεν, ὁς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἐλληνος δὲ, ἐπὶ λέγων ὁ

112 ἤχων χαλκεὸν πίνακα. The nature of this tablet is a matter which has been frequently referred to by writers upon the history of physical philosophy, it being generally considered the first recorded instance of any attempt to represent to the eye the distribution of the several parts of the earth's surface. It is important to observe that Herodotus does not speak himself of having seen it, but distinctly states that the Lacedaemonians related Aristogoras to have had such a one at the time of his interview with Cleomenes. Under these circumstances it is certainly not safe to press the terms of the description too closely, and infer from it that Aristogoras brought to Sparta any thing like what we understand (or what even Bratisthenes would have understood) by a chart of the known world. That certain attempts at this existed in the time of Herodotus is plain from what he says in iv. 36; but the arbitrary character of the positions laid down in them appears from the same passage.

114 τὰ γὰρ κατήκουτα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, "for the matters which touch us are such as I will explain." See the note 344 on i. 97.

115 εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ὁτα ἐς ἄπειρα ἐστί, "and easily by you may these results be accomplished." Compare iii. 39, πάντα οἱ ἤχοις εὐπετέως. 118 ἀναξιωρίδας ἤχοντες. See note 239 on i. 71.

117 θυμό χολόμενοι. This expression is significant of more than χολόμενοι, which would simply mean "at your option." But the addition of θυμό, "with strong determination," implies that the Lacedaemonians would have to fight for these good things Aristogoras promised to them.
Terpsichore. V. 49.

Δρυσαγόρης, "οὐδὲ ἔχονται Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν 118, πολυπρο-
βατωτατοι τε ἔοντες ἀπάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οὐδὲ καὶ πολυκαρπότατοι.
Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ήμεῖς Σιρίους καλέομεν 119, 
tούτους δὲ πρὸς ουροῦ Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τῆν ἐν 
ὑ ἤ καὶ Κύπρος νῆσος κέται: οἱ πεντακώσια τάλαντα 120 βασιλεῖ τῶν 
ἐπέτειοι φόρον ἐπιτελεῖν. Κίλικες δὲ τῶν ἔχονται Δρυσαγόρην 
οὔδε, καὶ οὗτοι έόντες πολυπροβατοί. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματηροῦ 121, 
χώρην τήν ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων ἦ ἢ Ἰσούν ἐν τῇ 
παρὰ ποταμῶν τόνδε Χαός τῆς κείμενα ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦια ταῦτα 122, ἐνθά 
βασιλείς τε μέγας διαλατοὶ ποιεῖται καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ 
θησαυροὶ ἐνδιατοί εἰότε. ἔοντες δὲ ταῦτά την πόλιν, βαρεῖοντες 
ἐκτι διὰ πλοῦτον πέρι ἐρίζετε, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρης ἢ ἐπὶ 
πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστῆς, καὶ ὄμοιοι συμφορῶν, σχέδε ἐστιν ἱμέας 
μάχας ἁμαβάλλεσθαι 123 πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἑόντας ἱσοπαλέως,

118 Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν. Gaisford prints these words without a stop after 
Φρύγες, in which case a distinction seems 
to be intended between these Phrygians 
and some others. Perhaps an opposition 
may be intended to the Phrygians which 
came nearer to the coast, and possibly 
even to some kindred races in the Euro-
pcean continent. (See note on vii. 73.) 
But an easier solution of the passage 
seems to be to conceive Aristogoras as 
following the line of the great road which 
ran through Tyanitis. (See note 243 on 
i. 72.) At Cydras (or Cydrara) on this line, 
a column had been erected by Cressus marking 
the confines of Lydia and Phrygia. 
This would no doubt appear on Aristoge-
ras's chart; for at that point the road 
divided, two branches (the one from Caria, 
the other from Sardis) meeting there and 
continuing through Phrygia (vii. 31). 
Translate: "And next to the Lydians," 
proceeded Aristogoras, "here join on the 
Phrygians,—these as you go eastward—
the greatest flock-masters of all men I 
know, and likewise richest in the products 
of the soil."

119 τοῖς ἡμεῖς Σιρίους καλέομεν. Strabo 
(xvi. c. 1, p. 333) says that both the 
Cappodocians, οἱ τε πρὸς τῷ Ταφρῷ καὶ 
οἱ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ, up to his day were 
called White Syrians. Probably the term 
Ἀρμένιοι was substituted for Σιρῖνοι when 
the Greeks became familiar with the in-
habitants of Assyria, whose complexion 
would be of a swarthier cast. The wide 
extent of the Cappodocians race explains 
the text. The Pontine Cappadocians are 
conterminous to the Phrygians, the Ta-
rine Cappadocians to the Cilicians,—for-
merly not confined to the south side of 
Taurus: see Leake, cited in the note 
on i. 72,—and these Cilicians to the Arme-
nians. (See note 132, below.)

120 πεντακώσια τάλαντα. The partic-
lars of the Cilician tribute are more fully 
given in iii. 90.

121 Ματηροῦ. See, for an attempt to 
explain Herodotus's notions of the site 
of these people, note 681 on i. 202.

122 παρὰ ποταμῶν τόνδε Χαός τῆς κε-
ίμενα ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦια ταῦτα. Rennell 
( Geography of Herodotus, p. 203) says: 
"The Choaspe is the only river of Susi-
ans spoken of by our author, and this 
being a country of rivers, in effect, the 
drain of Media, Elymais, Cossaea, &c., 
and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may 
be collected from his silence that the Greeks 
knew little concerning it." The truer 
hypothesis perhaps is that the author 
derives his information from persons who 
gathered theirs only from travellers or 
from road-books. For the site of Susa 
see note 234 on iv. 83.

123 ἁμαβάλλεσθαι. The main difficulty 
in this passage is the use of the middle 
voice instead of the active ἁμαβάλλεμεν. 
But this is certainly not sufficient to jus-
tify an arbitrary change of the reading of
50 Cleomenes defers giving him an answer till the third day afterwards, when on learning the distance of Susa from the coast, he orders Aristagoras to quit Sparta before sunset.

51 Aristagoras attempts to bribe him.

all the MSS. ἀναβάλλων μάχας would be equivalent to κόπτων ἀναβάλλων μάχας, an expression which would be appropriate to the combatants who take part in the actual fray. But the nation which adopts a policy of this description and employs its soldiers in perpetual battles, would more properly be said ἀναβάλλεται, just as a parent would be said διδάσκεται, not διδάσκεται, if he employed a third person to instruct his son. The expression ἀναβάλλων κόπτων is used by Ἑσύχιος (Thes. 1030); and the phrase ἀναπροφτεῖν κόπτων is well known.

124 ἀναβάλλων ἐκείνων εῦ, "mystifying him successfully." See below, § 97, τολλαύσ γὰρ οἷς ἔστω καὶ πεπενταπτὸς δια- βάλλειν ἢ ἐκα, an expression however which may perhaps be taken from this one, and be by a later hand. (See the note on it.) In § 107, ἵστο αἰαῖς μὲν δὲ λέγων ταῦτα διεβάλλει, "Histiaeus now in saying these things was mystifying him."
ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΕ. V. 50—52.

31
tέκαυν ἐτύμχανε ἐδώ ἐτέων ὡκτο ἡ ἑνεὰ ἦλιξένη Κλεομένης δὴ his daughter Gorgo.

λέγειν μω ἐκεῖνε τὰ βουλεταὶ, μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἶνεκα. ἔνθατα δὴ ὁ Ἀριστοτάγορας ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ἐπισχεύμενος, ἣν ὁ ἐπιτελεσθὲν τῶν ἐδετοὶ ἀνανεῦοντος ἐμὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους, προεβαίνει τοιοὶ χρὴματὶ ὑπερβάλλον ὁ Ἀριστοτάγορας ἐς οὐ πεντίκοντά τε τελαμάν ἐποδέχετο, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἔποδέχετο "πάτερ, διαφθείρεσι σῶ ἡ ἑξίων, ὃν μὴ ἀποστάσις ἑγάμα." δὲ ὁ ὁ Κλεομένης, ἱσχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου ἡ παρωμές ἔδε ἐν ξέρεν οἰκεμα 126, καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτάγορας ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Ἡπάρτης ὁπὸ ὁ ἥξεγενσι ἐπιπλώε οὕτω σημηνὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ θεοὶ.

"Εγεί ήδη ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτη ὅσα σταθμοὶ τε παρατάκην εἰς βασιλείας, καὶ καταλύσεις κάλλωσταί 127, διὰ οἰκεμένης τῇ ὁδῷ ἀπαγόρα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς. διὰ μέν γε Ἀδής καὶ Φρυγίς σταθμοὶ τεινόντες 128 εἰκοσὶ εἰς, παρασύργαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐνενικνοῦντα καὶ ἡμοῦ. ἐκεῖκεταὶ δὲ τῆς Φρυγίς ὁ "Αλυς ποταμός 129, ἐπὶ δὲ πόλει τε ἐπεισὶ τῶν διεξελώσαι πάσα ἄνικησι 130 καὶ οὕτω διεχεραί ὁ ποταμῶν, καὶ φυλακτήρων μέγα ἐπὶ αὐτῶ. διαβάντω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίνη καὶ ταύτη πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὐρών τῶν Κλεικὼν, σταθμοὶ δυνώ δεόντες εἰς τρίκοντα, παρασύργαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐκατόν 131. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οὐρώμει δικαὶ τῶν πόλεων διεξέλοις.

126 ἢ υ ὁ ερευν οἰκεμα. The superiority of Cleomenes to bribery is shown not merely by this anecdote, but by some others. See iii. 148.

127 ἑκατάλυσες κάλλωσαί. "Excellent caravanserai." The varying distances between the several stations might arise from the different facilities of obtaining water, or other similar causes. It will be observed that the average distance between the stations in Lydia and Phrygia is considerably greater than the average in the whole journey. Here perhaps the roads were particularly good, and travellers could push on rapidly.

128 σταθμοὶ τεῖνοντες. "A series of stations." Perhaps there was greater regularity in their distances in this part of the route than elsewhere.

129 ἐκεῖκεταὶ δὲ ἐς τῆς Φρυγίς ὁ "Ἀλυς ποταμός. That the river spoken of here is not the Halya which flows into the Black Sea seems to me quite certain. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's statements concerning the Halya, note 243 on i. 72.

130 τῶν διεξελῶσαι πάσα ἄνικησι. This was the boundary of the Lydian empire, to the passage of which the oracle given to Croesus referred. It will be observed that a barrier appears to have been erected on the Lydian side, and a fort upon the Cappadocian. The former, a Lydian work, was probably intended for the collection of transit tolls; the latter doubtless had a military purpose, and was probably Persian. On the Cappadocian side was Cri- talia, the frontier town at which the army of Xerxes was concentrated when he commenced his expedition against Athens (vii. 26). Possibly, the name Crintalos (as well as Archalla, of which Leake supposes Eracle to be a corruption) is significant; cist containing the root of cista (castra) and ala that of Halya. See note 243 on i. 72.

131 διαβάντω δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίνη πέτρες καὶ ἐκατόν. I am altogether unable to reconcile this distance with
any probable route through Cappadocia. Strabo, describing the course which in his time appears to have been universally taken from Ephesus towards the interior of Asia, gives the following distances from Carusa, which he places on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria:—

**Stades**

To Holmi, which was regarded as the beginning of Phrygia Paraeus (through Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, and Metropolis) 920

Thence to Tyrium, the frontier of Lycaonia 500

Thence to Coropasus (which is still in Lycaonia) 840

Thence to Garaïra (a village of Cappadocia) 120

Thence to Mazaca 680

Thence to Tomisium (considered as the frontier of Cappadocia) 1440

From Tomisium to Samosata, which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the bridge or ferry over the Euphrates (Zeyphan) 450

The first part of this route is the same with that taken by Xerxes in his expedition, and the presumption would be that the latter part also was. But Herodotus is clear in making the Halys the boundary of Cappadocia (both here and in vii. 26), and in calling the frontier town of Cappadocia Critalla, and not Garsaïra. It seems therefore certain that there must have been a divergence somewhere near Holmi. But if so, this could not (I conceive) have been to the north, but must have been to the south of the route laid down by Strabo above. That there was such a road running through the central plains of Lycaonia and Tyanitis is quite certain. It was by it that the younger Cyrus invaded Asia (Xenophon, Anab. i. 2, seqq.). See also note 243 on i. 73. But if this road be the one intended in the text, it would not have conducted to the banks of the Halys, but by way of Dana (Tyana) to the Cilician Gates. Neither would it have conducted through Cilicia to Armenia, or anywhere near it.

In such a state of confusion it is rash to offer any conjectural explanation as more than a mere temporary stop-gap. It is quite plain that the views of the author are altogether indistinct; and probably the numbers he sets down are taken from some current itinerary. If however we suppose that in such a one all the main routes lying within Cappadocia were set down, the one described by Strabo,—the one from Critalla (of which see note 243 on i. 73) to the Cilician Gates,—and also a third by which Tyana was certainly in later times united to Mazaca, the aggregate length of these will not be very far off the numbers given in the text. We shall have

**Stades**

From Garsaïra to Mazaca . . . . . 680
From Mazaca to Tomisium . . . . . 1440
From Mazaca to Critalla, and from thence to the Cilician Gates (say six days) . . . . . 1050

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ΤΕΡΠΣΙΧΟΡΕ. V. 53.

'Αρμενίης ἔστι ποταμὸς ὑποσπήριτος, τῷ οὖνομα Εὐφρήτης' ἐν δὲ τῇ 'Αρμενίη σταθμῷ μὲν εἰσὶ καταγωγέων πεντεκαθέκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕμυον καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ποταμὸς δὲ νυστιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ἰέσως, τοὺς πάσας ἀνάγκης διαπορθμένας ἐστὶν πρώτος μὲν Τίγρις μετὰ δὲ, δεύτερος τε καὶ τρίτος ὄντως ὑνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὄντος ἔδων ποταμὸς ὄντες ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑώς (ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτες αὐτῶν καταλεγέντες ἐξ 'Αρμενίων ρέει, ὃ δὲ δύοτερον, ἕκατον Ματηνῶν) ὃ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὖνομα ἔχει Γύνθης, τὸν Κύρος διελαβὲ κατε ἐν διώρυγας ἔξηκοντα καὶ τρικοσίας. ὡς δὲ ταύτης τῆς 'Αρμενίης ἐσφάλλοντι ἐς τὴν Ματηνὴν γῆν, σταθμοῖς εἰσὶ τέσσερες. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἑς τὴν Καισάριν χώρῃ μεταβάλλοντι, ἐνδεκα σταθμοῖς, παρασάγγας δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσάρες καὶ ἕμυον ἕστι ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Χόραστον, ἑνότα καὶ τοῦτον νυστιπέρητον ἑς Ἐ Σάφης πόλις πεπόλεμαν. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσὶ ἐνδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν καταγωγοί μὲν νυν σταθμῶν τοσοῦτοι εἰσὶ ἐκ Σαρδίων καὶ Σῶσα ἀναβαλλοῦσι. Εἰ δὲ ὅρθως μεμετηρίται ὁ ὄντος ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ παρασάγγης, καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τρικοσίας στάδια, ὥσπερ ὄντος γε δύναται ταύτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς τη βασιλεία τὰ Μεμῦν χαλέμενα πεντάκοσία καὶ τρισχείλα καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἐντῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων.}

53

123 φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς. This can hardly mean a single fort some where or other in the course of the fifteen days' journey. I should rather take it as a small military post at each station,—perhaps a necessary precaution to secure the safety of travellers from the predatory tribes inhabiting the neighbourhood. For the sense of μυστιπέρητος see note 639 on p. 189.

124 οὖν ὑνομαζόμενος οὐκ ὄντος ἐν. So Gaisford prints without any notice of MS variation. But in ii. 79 there is an equal unanonymity for ὄντος, without the aspirate.

125 Γύνθης. This river is, according to Rennell, to be looked for in the Diysta, which falls into the Tigris between Bagdad and Modain (the ancient Cesiphon). See note 636 on p. 169.

126 τέσσερες. Bekker supposes a lacuna here, which, if supplied, might bring the text of the itinerary into conformity with the calculation in § 53. And δὲ Λαβάρη, in a paper in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. viii., does not hesitate to supply the words καὶ τρίκοσια, παρασάγγας δὲ ἑς Ἑταλ καὶ τρικοσίας καὶ ἑκατόν, purely from conjecture for this purpose. He also considers that the name Matiene is significant, and was applied by the Persians to any large tract of country bounded on the one side by a river and the other by mountains. But there seems no ground for this bold conjecture, except the use he makes of it in reconciling with one another the various passages in which Matiene is mentioned, and avoiding the alternative of setting down the geographical view of the author as obscure and incorrect.

127 ἐνδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν. The number of stations which are given in the MSS as they exist amounts only to eighty-one. See the last note.

128 καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τρικοσίας στάδια. See note on vi. 42.

129 παρασαγγέων ἐντῶν πεντήκοντα
HERODOTUS

τήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἕκαστον στάδιον ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη διεξειοῦσι. ¹⁴⁰

54 οὖν τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρη, ἔπαυσε πρὸς Κλεομένεα τὸν Δακεβαίμονιν εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἀνδρὶ τὴν παρὰ Βασίλεια, ὀρθὸς εἴρητο. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἄτρεκτεστον τούτον ἔτι δίψηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τούτο σημανέω τὴν γὰρ ἔξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδης ὄνδε δὲ προσολογίασθαι ταύτη. καὶ δὴ λέγω στάδιον εἶναι τούς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἐλληνικῆς μέχρι Σύοσων (τὸν γὰρ Μεμφώνιον ἄστι καλέσαν), τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τετρακοχίλιαν καὶ μιλων, οἱ γὰρ ἔξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδης ἔκα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιον στάδιον καὶ οὕτω τριῶ κ.register μηχανεῖται ἡ τρίμηνος ὄνδος.

55 'Ἀπελαύνεμεν δὲ ὁ 'Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Ἱππάρτης, ἦν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ¹⁴¹ γεγομένας τυράννων ὡς ἐλευθερας ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχὸν τὸν Πεισιστηρίον, Ἰππιέων ἐς τὸν τυράννου ἄδελφον, ὅταν δὲ ἔνυπνον ὑπὸ ἐναστάτην πάθει ἐναρχήστην, κτενοῦσαν Ἀριστογέτων καὶ Ἀρμιόνου, γένος ἔοντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραίοι, ¹⁴² μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνυπνεύσαντο 'Ἀθηναίοι ἐπί' ἔστε τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἤσσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, ¹⁴³ ἂ πρὸ τοῦ. Ὁ μὲν νῦν ὅψας τὸν Ἰππαρχὸν ἔνυπνον ἢν ἤδη ἐν τῇ προτερή νυκτὶ τῶν Παιανησίων ἔδοκεν ὁ Ἰππαρχὸς ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδεὰ αἰνοσεθαι τάδε τὰ ἔστεα.

56 καὶ τετρακοσίων. The number of par- sages given by the text is only 313; but for the route which passes through Matiense it is to be observed, that although the author gives the number of stations, he does not give the measured distance corresponding. See note 136.

¹⁴⁰ πεντάκοσιά δὲ καὶ ἕκαστον στάδιον ἐν ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ διεξειοῦν. Herodotus elsewhere reckons 200 stadia as a day's journey (iv. 101). It is not impossible that in this passage he proceeds on the supposition of a large body—such as an army—being moved; and in the other on that of a small company. And it ought not to be forgotten that the variation of climate and ground in the two regions of which he is speaking would cause considerable difference in the space travelled over between sunrise and sunset. A caravan would doubtless travel slower even than an army, passing only from station to station. The average length of the interval between these for the whole journey will be 4-15 parssages, nearly.

¹⁴¹ ἦν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The account of Aristogoras's proceedings is resumed c. 97, below.

¹⁴² Γεφυραίοι. The demo Cephisa is placed by Lukan at the crossing of the river Cephise, by the road which led to Eleusis. (Demi of Attica, ii. p. 142.)

¹⁴³ οὐδὲν ἤσσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον. ΘΥΕΥΣΙΔΕΣ (vi. 55) describes the ex- tremely temperate proceedings of the Pisistratids before the assassination of Hipparchus; but says that afterwards Hippias dia φθοῦν ἐκβαλλόντον τοὺς τε ταλαύνοντας ἔστεκε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐξο ἐμα διεκεισκεῖν (§ 59). And the author of the Platonic dialogue Hipparchus goes even farther in praising the early days of the dynasty: ὅβ (sc. Ἰππάρ- χου) ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαραθένθη- σων Ἀθηναίοι ὑπὲ τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ Ἰππαρχοῦ καὶ πατέντων τῶν ταλαύνοντος ηκούσαι δι' αὐτῶν μάλιστα ταύτα μέγαν τὰ ταυράλα καὶ ἐγίνετο ἐν Ἀθῆναις, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἔγγον τι. ἔχον Ἀθηναίοι δευτέρῳ ἐπὶ Κράνου βασιλευσάτος (§ 4).
The Cephrayan
s were of
Phoeni-
cian origin,
settled in the
neighbourhood of
Tanagra.

The Phoeni-
cians who
came with
Cadmus in-
troduced the
use of
letters.
In their set-
tlements
they were
generally
surrounded
with an
Ionian po-
pulation.

The fundamental Semitic alphabet is sup-
posed to have consisted of only sixteen
letters; and it is stated by Pliny (N. H.
vii. 56) that the first Hellenic alphabet
contained no more. Dr. Donaldson (New
Cradley, book i. chap. 5) gives the follow-
ing scheme of what he conceives to have
been the original arrangement of the two.

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Cradley, book i. chap. 5) gives the follow-
ing scheme of what he conceives to have
been the original arrangement of the two.
59 Tripods in the temple of the Ionian Apollo at Thebes said to be inscribed with Phoenician characters.

60 Θέρεσι δὲ τρίτος [ἐν ἕξαμετρῷ τόνῳ 148] λέγει:

61 Λαόδαμας τρίτος αὐτῶν ἐυσκόπη Ἀπόλλωνι

... be the Ionians not of Europe, but of Asia, whose preparation of the material contributed so much in after times to the library of Atalus. The remark seems to come from a person very familiar with Egypt, and accordingly mentioning the Egyptian βολᾶς without any special necessity. See note 474 on i. 140.

148 εἰς τρίτος τοῦ. The conjecture of Dobree, τρίτος, is a plausible one, and is adopted by Bekker.

149 [ἐν ἕξαμετρῷ τόνῳ]. These words appear to me to be a marginal annotation derived from i. 47, suggested by the word λέγει, but made by some reader who failed to remark that the word τόνῳ was inapplicable to written language. See note 145 on i. 47.

150 καὶ ὅσος ἐν ἕξαμετρῷ. I very much question the genuineness of these words, and suspect that they crept into the text from a marginal annotation made at the same time with the one noticed in the last section. But as they do not violate the usages of language, I have not enclosed them between brackets as decidedly an interpolation.
This surname of Demeter came to be derived not from Achaea, but from ἄχος. She was the "mourning mother," whose daughter had been carried off by Hades, and who sorrowed in anger for her loss. Plutarch speaks of a ritual to her in Boeotia, which he compares with the Thesmophoria at Athens, where the women sat on the ground fasting. Ἐνυχήθη τήν ἑορτήν ἔξωθεν ἀγαμάζοντας, ἀφ’ ὧν τὰς τῆς κόρας κάδοισεν ἐν ἄχοι τῆς Δημητρίου ἔσχας. The month (corresponding to the Αἴγυς of the Egyptians) in which this ceremony was performed was called by the Boeotians Αἴγυμπτεος, from the goddess. (De Iside et Osiride, § 69.) To this anguished of the goddess allusion is probably made in an obscure passage of the Homeric Hymn (v. 483—6):

—ἐκθαράβας ἔργα καλά, σεμνὰ, τὰ γ’ οἴνων ἐστι παρέξεται, οὕτε τυέθαι ὡσ’ ἄχειν μέγα γὰρ τι θείων ἄχος ἱσχαίες αὐθήν.

In this relation of Demeter she had a close affinity with Erinyes. 113 ἐμφυκραμνοῦν. See note 143, above.

112 Ἀλκμονιδαῖς τοῦ ὠπερ Παιανίης τειχιστέως. Leake places the site of the deme Παιανίαν about three-quarters of a mile from the modern village of Menidhi, which name he considers a corruption of the ancient one. There are some ancient remains about sixty stades from the Acharnian gate of Athens; and about three or four miles to the north of these stands, "at the upper end of a long acclivity," a small monastery of St. Nicholas, which Leake regards as being on the site of the ancient Lipsydrium (although there are no vestiges of antiquity there). The object of the Alcmenides in this "εντευκμός was to command the road which passed up the plain of Athens, and by which the communication with Oropus was carried on. Deceaces was occupied by the Lacedemonians during the Peloponnesian war for the same purpose, and with great effect; and Deceaces is in Leake's map only about three or four miles from Lipsydrium, yet further northward. The walls of Deceaces however remain, and Dodwell gives a drawing of them. Perhaps the Alcmenides were baffled at the very beginning of their building; and this seems almost implied in the way Herodotus tells the story.

114 τούτον ἀξιοδομήσω. The fund for repairing this temple was mainly raised by subscription. See what Herodotus relates (ii. 160) of the manufactures of Amares and of the Egyptian Greeks. The conduct of the Alcmenides on the occasion of rebuilding it made them, according to Pindar (Pyth. vii. 10), the theme of...
admiration in every Greek city. It is not wonderful if at the same time (as the Scholia says) the Pisistratids were accused of having burnt it! See a parallel piece of scandal, vi. 115.

135 χρημάτων εἰς ἡκοντες. Herodotus (vi. 125, seqq.) gives an account of the rapid rise of the family, first by the wealth which Alcmeon obtained from Creuses, and secondly by the marriage of his son Megacles to Agariste, the daughter and heiress of Clithenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Megacles was the rival of Pisistratus.

136 ἀνέκαθεν, “far back.” This word is used by Herodotus with reference to things separated by a long interval from the ordinary transactions of the time at which he is writing. He says of these same Alcmeonidae (vi. 125), ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄνεκαθαν λαμπροί ἐν τῷ Αἰγέατι, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαῖωνος καὶ αὐτίς Μεγακλίδος ἐγένοντο καὶ καρτα λαμπρό. Of Miltiades: τὰ μὲν ἄνεκαθαν ἅπα Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αγαλίσης γεγονος, τὰ δὲ νέοτερα Αθηναίων (vi. 38). Of Megistias the Acsarnian: λεγόμενοι εἶναι τὰ ἄνεκαθαν ἂν Μελάμυζος (vii. 221). Of the Pisistratids: ἦσαν ἄνεκαθεν Πόλιοι τε καὶ Νηλείδαι (v. 66). In all these cases the word points to the early and mythical period of the pediesseis. There is a somewhat analogous use of the word (iv. 57) applied to the fountains of the Tanais: δὲ ἔπεις τὰ ἄνεκαθαν δὲ λάμποντας μεγάλας φρεάτας, ἐνδιδοὺ δὲ ἐς μέσῳ ἔντας καλεμενήν Μαχαιρί. See below, note on § 66, ΟἰΚιριη.

137 Ὁ δὲ ὅν ἢ Ὀθρηνιος. Schweighäuser considers that Lacedemonians is the true reading here. But there is no reason to suppose that either here or below (§ 90) the author is following a Lacedemonian authority. On the contrary, in the latter passage, where the same statement is made, it seems highly probable that he is adopting the account of a person attached to one of the temples on the acropolis of Athens.

138 ἐπικουρήσῃ. See note on vii. 6, below.

139 ἄνδρα Κοιναίων. These words occasion some difficulty, as the only known town of the name of Conium is said to have been in Phrygia. Another reading, Πυργαίον (from Πύργος, a town in the mountain pass on the northern bank of the Peneus, by which Xerxes entered Thessaly from Macedonia), has been proposed, with much plausibility.
2.4. This exceedingly anomalous form has the sanction of all the MSS; but, if it be genuine, it implies a present tense μυχανώμαι, of which there is no trace whatever. The present tense used by Herodotus is μυχανόμαι.

3. A spot very near the walls of Athens, where was a gymnasion and a temple of Hercules. Each of these was in later times itself called Cynosarges; but Herodotus (both here and in vi. 116) makes a distinction between the Heracleum and the district in which it stood. Λεκέ fixes its site "at the foot of the S.E. extremity of Lycabettus, near the point where the arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus formerly stood." This would be nearly w.n. by e. of the Acropolis. He describes the spot as itself in the valley of the Ilissus, but close by rising ground from which a distant view of the road of Phalerum might be obtained. This rendered it an excellent position for the army after the battle of Marathon, when the Persian fleet, sailing round Sunium, menaced Athens.

It is not easy to understand the military movements as described in the text. The Lacedemonian force, when arrived at Alcuce, would be clear of the Phalen-
word τείχος has the support of all the MSS, and is given as genuine by Gaisford; but I am inclined to think it an interpolation. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides τὸ Πελαγικὸν was used simply to denote the ancient fortification (attributed in the local traditions to the Pelasgians) which defended the acropolis of Athens at the n.w. extremity, by which alone the hill was accessible. They were related to have built a wall round the whole acropolis (vi. 137); but the steep character of the rock rendered any thing of the nature of a fortification unnecessary except at the n.w. angle. The Pelasgicum (i.e. the fortress) was entirely destroyed by the Persians when they obtained possession of Athens, and never rebuilt. A curse was laid upon it, and an oracle declared, τὸ Πελαγικὸν ἄργεν ἄμειν (Thucyd. ii. 17)—doubtless from the circumstance that it had served as a stronghold to the Pisistratids. The Propylaea built by Pericles just before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war supplied its place as a key of the approach to the acropolis; and it remained a mere ruin (inhabited during the Peloponnesian war by the poorer citizens from the country under the pressure of necessity). While it was a fortress it was, according to Leake’s view (Demi of Athens, i. p. 311, seqq.), a series of enclosures with winding approaches, constructed on the principle of obliging an assailing force to expose their right or unshielded side to the defenders. He imagines the epithet ἐκέχρισαν to refer to the openings in these enclosures.

But after the battle of Eurymedon the wealth acquired by the Persian spoils enabled the Athenians to build up the south side of the acropolis with a wall (Plutarch, Cimon, § 13); and it is natural to suppose that the northern side was also repaired at the same time. Leake says that “in fact the substraction of the northern wing of the Propylaea has some appearance of being a part of the old Pelasgic wall; for its direction being more westerly than that of the wall which stands upon it, we may infer that it belonged to a different and more ancient system of works.” In after times when the different parts of the works were compared with one another, it would be natural to call the one portion τὸ Πελαγικὸν τείχος and the other τὸ Κυμάσιον (or τὸ νότιον) τείχος; but this would be in an antiquarian sense, and would not defend the use of the expression by Herodotus or Thucydides. In this manner the notices of Clitodemus (Paus. 22), of Pausanias (i. 28. 3), and of Myrsilus (ap. Diog. Halicarn. Antiq. i. 28) may be explained without the necessity of supposing with Leake that the terms τὸ Πελαγικὸν and τὸ Πελαγικὸν τείχος denoted two distinct buildings.

142 έκεχρισαν. See note on § 41, έφε-δρον Βασίλεια.

143 τερατόσανα... ἐκέχρισαν εἰς τής Ἀττικῆς. “They submitted, as the price of their children, on the conditions the Athenians wished; namely, within five days to evacuate Attica.” The important part played by the Lacedaemonians in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was well remembere by the Athenian people. Thucydides (vi. 53) mentions it as a painful subject with them at the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ: ἐκτιθάμενος γὰρ ὁ βίος ἀκορὲς τὴν Πισίστρατον καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτάσια γαμομένη, καὶ προε-τίς ὅθ', ὁ δ' οὖν καὶ Ἀρριμνίῳ καταληκ-ταίνον ἀλλ' ἃν Ἀλκεδαμιουμην, ἔφθασε τοῖς δ' ἄν. Hence they were not unwilling to give ear to more flattering representations of the case. (See note on i. 63.) And undoubtedly very different traditions existed on the subject. This is expressly
Σκαμάνδρως ἄρεστες μὲν 'Αθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἐξ τε καὶ τρίθηκον-
τα, ἕντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, έκ τῶν ἀυτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἅμφι Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἱ πρῶτοι ἐπίλαβες ἕντες, ἐγένοντο 'Αθηναίων βασιλεῖς. ἐπὶ οὖ-
τοι δὲ καὶ τώντο ὅνωμα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἡπποκράτης τοῦ παῦδη-
ς θάσου, τῶν Πεισιάτρατος, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέατορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεῦ-
μενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. οὗτοι μὲν 'Αθηναίοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθη-
σαν δότα δὲ εὐανερυθμίτης ἥρων ἦ ἐπάθος ἄξιόχρεα ἀπηγήσομεν,
πρὶν ἢ 'Ἰωνίην τε ἀποτεθηναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τῶν
Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐσ 'Αθήνας χρησι σφέων βοθεῖν, ταῦτα πρώτα πράσσω.

Ἀθήναι ἠοῦσα καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλάχθησα

66

τυράννων ἐγένοντο μέξους· ἐν δὲ αὐτησί δυο ἄνδρες ἐνυπάστευον,
Κλεισθένες τε, ἀνήρ 'Αλκαμανίδης, δόπερ δὲ λόγον ἔχει τὴν

remarked by Thucydides (vi. 54), who relates the incident of the assassination of Hipparchus at full length, showing, as he says, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε τῶν ἀυτῶν: 'Αθηναίων περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ γεγονόν, ἀυτῆς ἀδέλφων λέγων. See the next note but one.

164 Εἰς Πυλιόν το ἐπὶ τά πεντάθρα. See note on v. 94.

165 ἄρεστες μὲν 'Αθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἐξ τε καὶ τρίθηκον. This is in very fair conformity with the statement of Aristotle (Politics, v. 1315), that of the space of thirty-three years which intervened between Pisistratus's accession to the tyranny and his death, two exiles took up as much as sixteen years, and that after his death his sons reigned eighteen years. Thus we have 18+17=35 complete years for the duration of the actual power of the dynasty. But it is singular that the Schoolman on Aristophanes (Vesp. 509) should, while quoting this passage, give Aristophanes (the Alexandrine grammarian) as an authority for the tyranny having lasted forty-one years. Isocrates, too (De Biphí, p. 361), makes his client represent it as continuing for forty years, and as terminated by the expulsion of the tyrants under the leadership of his father's two great-grandfathers Alcidæ and Clithecæ. To bring these two notices into harmony with the chronology of Aristotle, and the statements of Herodotus and Eratosthenes (ap. Schol. Aristoph. l.c.), by supposing (as Clinton does) that the second exile of Pisistratus is left out of consideration, is a perfectly arbitrary proceeding. A better solution of the difference seems to be this. The Alcmaneids in after times appear to have thought it better to say nothing about the first period of Pisistratus's tyranny or the compact between the two families related by Herodotus (i. 80, 61), but to represent his arbitrary proceedings as the beginning of the feud between the two families. This is the course taken by the client of Isocrates, who says of his Alcmaneids ancestors: τὴν ἑπαξιάν ἔχειν τῶν τυραννῶν ἐκπελά-

ζοντον συνεχείᾳ ταίς ἑτοὶς Πεισιστράτῳ, καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν καταστήσας μᾶλλον αὐτῶν χρῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκ δέξαντον μετασχηματίζον τῆς ἕκαστον τυράννως, ἀλλ' ἐπικράτειας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολιτάς ἀναλιβεντος. See note 213 on i. 63. If this be the correct solution of the chronological differences, it follows (1st), that the marriage of Pisistratus with the daughter of Megacles (see note 203 on i. 61) will have taken place about B.C. 550 or 551; and if Hippias was then fifteen years old, he would be seventy-five or seventy-six at the time of the battle of Marathon. 2ndly, It is unlikely that in his account of the Pisistratid revolution Herodotus is following a family history of the Alcmaneids.

166 ἄρεστες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι . . . Νηλεῖδαι. See the note 204 on § 76.
Πυθήν αναπείσατι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρας ὁ Τισάνδρου, ὅλης μὲν ἐὼν δοκεῖ, ἀτὸ τὰ ἄνεκαθεν οὐκ ἦχῳ φράσας θύσως δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν Δίτ Καρίως. οὕτως οἱ ἄνδρες ἔσταισαν περὶ δυνάμος ἐστούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης, τὸν δήμον προστεταρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ, τετραφύλλους ἔνοτας Ἀθηναίοι δεκαφύλλως ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνοὺ παῖδων, Γελέντως καὶ Δημόκρέως καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος, ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπονομαίας, ἐπιχωρίων δ' ἐτέρων ἡρώων ἐπονομαίας ἐξευρόν, πᾶρεξ Αἰαντος. τούτων δὲ ἄτε ἄστυνετόνα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεινὸν ἑνότα προσέβετο.

Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, ἐμμέκτο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὕτως τὸν ἔως ἐνετοῦ μετροτάτορα, Κλεισθένεα τῶν Σικυώνων τύραννον Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείωνοι πολεμήσας, τούτο μὲν ραφφοῦς ἐπαυνε ἐν

117 θύσως δὲ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν Δίτ Καρίως. Herodotus gives this fact as a kind of clue to the early pedigree of Isagoras, because the traditions relative to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν were in almost all cases connected with religious commemoration of the eponymous ancestor. See note 156, above. The Ζεῦς Κάραιος here mentioned is not the deity spoken of by Herodotus (v. 119) under the name of Ζεῦς Στράτως, but a Pelasgic divinity, whose seat was on the acropolis of Megara (anciently called Κάρια). Στράτως (Β. Ζ. 460) nearly identical with Poseidon, and also with the Ζεῦς Κάραιος near Mylasa (i. 171). Isagoras therefore is so far from being represented as of barbarian extraction, that this intimation rather describes him as of very old family; his tutelary deity being autochthonous, and his family ritual being derived from the time when the Megarid was Ionian. (See the note 203 on § 76.) That he should have been of Megaric extraction is rendered further probable by the circumstance that he kept up the feud of Cylon (below, §§ 71, 72), and Cylon had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. i.)

118 παρὲξ Αἰαντος. Ajax was the tutelary hero of Salamis, and it seems not unlikely that the incorporation of many Salaminians into the body of Athenian citizens was one of the steps. He was also a hero acknowledged by the Αἰγίνηται; and the commercial activity of those islanders might very well have produced the residence of a considerable number of them at Athens, where their legal condition would be that of Metics, or resident free aliens. Now one particular act of Clisthenes was, if the right interpretation be given to an obscure passage of ARISTOTLE (Polit. iii. p. 1275, b, line 30) to give the civic franchise to many resident aliens, and to free many slaves, thereby putting them in the condition of free resident aliens: πολλοὶ ἐφολεκέσως (= ἔστως ἐνοίκος) ξένους καὶ δοῦλοις μετοκοι. Under these circumstances Ajax was an appropriate patron for a polis which was intended to comprise a commercial population, consisting (it might be expected), in a large part of Salaminians and Αἰγίνηται. See the note 176, below.

119 Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείωνοι πολεμήσας. ARISTOTLE (Polit. p. 1315, b, line 12) states that the dynasty of Orthogoras and his descendants at Sicyon was that of longest duration known (viz. 100 years), and gives as the reason of this: ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐχωρίῳ μετρίῳ, καὶ πολλῆς τοῖς νόμοις ἐδολευόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν ἑκατασφάλητος. He then adds: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐθμαγούμενοι, and tells an anecdote of Clisthenes illustrative of the fact. PAUSANIAS (vi. 19) gives an account of the treasure-house of the Sicyonians at Olympia, put up by Myron, the grandfather of Clisthenes (see the pedigree in vi. 126, below), on the occasion of his winning the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. It contained two θάλαμοι of "Tartessian brass," according to the tradition of the Eleians; but what this brass exactly was, beyond a conject-
Clisthenes of Sicyon, who showed the greatest dislike to Argos in his religious preferences and his treatment of the Dorian population of Sicyon.

... that it came from Spain, Pausanias professes not to know. The smaller of the two chambers, however, took five hundred talents weight of metal, and this circumstance was recorded in the inscription on it, which also represented it as being set up by "Myron and the commons of the Sicyonians." One of the two chambers was, according to Pausanias, of Dorian and the other of Ionian manufacture. The smaller one contained a trophy "from the Myones," and also "the hunting-knife of Pelops, with the handle of wrought gold, and a carved ivory horn of Alabates, the offering of Miltiades, son of Cimon, the first ruler of the Chersonese." The Sicyon in which Clisthenes reigned was the town on the coast, which afterwards served only as the harbour to the new one, distant from twelve to twenty stadia. (PAUSAN. ii. 8. 1; STRABON. viii. 6.) All these circumstances are favourable to the supposition that the dynasty of Orthogoras was one of a powerful house in a commercial republic; and such a supposition will explain the contempt with which Clisthenes is said to have treated the rural population of the Sicyonian territory, whose sheepskin garb (which he was reported to have obliged them to wear, and from whence they got the name of κατασκόμοις) made

... salem in to come into the city. (THEOPOMPOS, ap. AITHE. vi. p. 265.)

... This appears to be the union of two various readings, παλλα and πάντα. EUSTATHIUS (ad II. ii. p. 288) quotes the passage thus: δεδη 'Αργείοι καὶ 'Αργος τὰ παλλα ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμοῦνταί. A transcriber collating a MS containing the first of the two readings with another that gave the second, and collecting τὰ παλλά πάντα in i. 203 and ii. 35, probably believed that the two variants were to be reconciled by uniting them, from a false understanding of the idiom in the passages in question. With regard to the "Homeric poems," see note 99 on iv. 32. The author's remark is quite inapplicable to the Iliad or Odyssey.

... Gaisford with all the MSS has ἐκβάλλα. But compare εἰ ἐστε τὰ τυποὺς τὸν Μελαντήτην. The substantial effect of this move would be to confiscate the property of one hierarchy and with it to endow another, the former being one connected with Argos, the other with Thebes. It must be remembered that at the time in question religious rituals were in almost all cases performed by functionaries whose
office was hereditary in certain families. The measure of Clisthenes therefore was part of his general policy to depress the Dorian blood, by destroying the splendour of the religious ceremonies in which that portion of the population took part, and thus weakening the bond which held them together. See the next note, and the passage from Aristotle quoted in note 176, below.

172 ἐνδα καὶ πλείστων κατεγέλασα τῶν Σικυωνίων. It is difficult to imagine that the names said to be assigned by Clisthenes to the three tribes were anything more than sobriquettes given by a commercial aristocracy to the agricultural population. Sicyon possessed a population partly Doric and partly Achæan; and the dynasty of the Orthogoridae under Clisthenes represents the predominance of the latter.

Sixty years after Clisthenes' death it may be supposed that the balance was restored, and that the rural tribes acquired an importance which enabled them to rid themselves of their contemptuous nicknames. The Hyllæ, Dymanes, and Pamphyli are the well-known tribes into which nearly every Dorian population was divided; and it is impossible to conceive that they did not exist in Sicyon from the time of the Heraclide invasion.

174 ἀπὸ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέδρα, "he subjoined the actual terminations."

175 ἐς τοὺς Ἡλλὰς, "the well-known names Hyllæs," &c. So much is indicated by the article τοὺς. See the note 173.
μον Κλεισθένεα ἐμμηκάτο 176. ὥσ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον πρότερον ἀποσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐνοτών μοίραν προσε- εθηκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετονομάσε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῖνας ἐξ ἐλασ- σόνων δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχων ἀντὶ τεσσάρων ἐπιτέθη, δέκα δὲ καὶ τούς δήμους κατένευς ἐς τὰς φυλὰς 177. ἵν τε, τῶν δήμων προσθε- μενος, πολλοὶ κατάπερθε τῶν ἄντιστασιωτέων. Ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης, ἀντιτεγμένα τάδε ἐπικαλεῖται Κλεο- μένεα τοῦ Δακεδαμίουν, γενόμενον ἑωτῷ ἕξειν ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισ- στρατίδος πολεορκίας τοῦ δὲ Κλεομένεα εἴχε αὐτὴν φοιτάν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρου τῆς γυναίκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεο- μένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναὶς κήρυκα, εἰσβάλλα 180. Κλεισθένεα, καὶ μετὰ αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων ταῦτα

176 τῶν ἄμετρων Κλεισθένεα ἐμμηκάτο. ARISTOTLE (Politic. vi. p. 1319, b. line 20) instances the proceedings of Clisthenes at Athens and those of the authors of the constitution at Cyrene (see iv. 161), as well exhibiting the methods of securing the elements of democracy, and thus describes these: φυλαὶ τε γὰρ ἑταίρων τοιχεῖα πλῆ- σων καὶ φαρσάλων, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἤλευσ θεοῦ συναγωνίας εἰς δῆμον καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα συναγωγικὰ διαφέρουσαν αἱ πρὸτεροὶ. It is plain, therefore, that the formation of new religious combinations was a point in which he "imitated his grandfather;" and hence the necessity for taking in a number of the ἄγανωρα ἡμεῖς (§ 86). Under the old régime there would be two relations to which the sanctity derived from religious rites would especially attach, the one the συναγωγία or quasi-family tie, the other the tie of the tribesman (φυλής), strengthened by those religious rites in which the members of the same φυλή (or its subdivision, the φαρσάλο) joined. But besides these family rituals, there were very many others which may be called local rituals; i.e. containing the religious ceremonies (τεχναῖα) which were due to the tutelary deity of each particular spot, who was always regarded as, in a manner, aecritothei glebè. (See note 181, below.) Judging from Aristotle's description, we may conceive that a main part of Clisthenes' scheme consisted in a judicious union of several of these local rituals, forming a new ceremonial for a newly-constituted tribe. By such a step this change would be effected, that the new ritual would call up mainly local instead of family associations,—which last, being no longer refreshed by an union of families in the periodical ceremonial of the tribe, would continually become more enfeebled. On the other hand the new bond of union would every day acquire greater strength, and before long effectually take the place of that which had been destroyed.

177 δεκα... τὰς φυλὰς. These words appear to be a marginal note, although perhaps one proceeding from the hand of the author, intended merely as a memorandum for himself of a matter to be more fully developed at leisure. This supposition will explain the looseness of the expression δεκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένευς ἐς τὰς φυλὰς,—which seems intended to mean "he distributed the demos among the tribes by tens." A good deal of difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance that many more demos than one hundred are known to have existed. But it is possible that two or more of these may often have been regarded as one for Clisthenes' purpose; and Herodotus's words hardly show more than that a decimal subdivision formed the basis of the arrangement. The φαρσάλο, according to ARISTOTLE (ap. Harpocrateur., sub v.), was not the chief of the φυλή, but of its cavalry.

180 εἰσβάλλε, "wished to expel." For illustration of this use of the imperfect tense, see the passage of ARISTOPHANES quoted in the note 296 on § 77, below.
Hephaestus's altar was dedicated to the god Hephaestus, who was the master of the forge and the god of forging. This dedication was to protect the city from foreign invasion. The story of the Hephaestus altar also illustrates the importance of religious symbols in Greek society, as these were often used as a means of asserting power and control over the city. The story of the Hephaestus altar is also significant because it highlights the role of religion in political decision-making, as the dedication of the altar was a political act that served to strengthen Pericles' position as the leader of the city. Overall, the story of the Hephaestus altar is a window into the complex relationship between religion and politics in ancient Athens.
Cleomenes attempts a coup d'état at Athens, and is driven out of the city, after a bad omen.

184 ὤνεξέχε. Herodotus uses this word in vi. 74 and viii. 132, and in all cases it seems designed to express voluntary banishment, perhaps antecedently to any formal proceeding.

187 ἑπτάκοσια ἔστισια, "seven hundred hearth-falls," i.e. families. This expression is most appropriate to a religious procedure, as the fire on the hearth of the individual citizen, lighted originally from the sacred fire in the Prytaneium, symbolized the participation of the family in the national life. To put out for ever the hearth-fire was therefore considered as equivalent to the cutting off a diseased member of the body politic. See the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voc Prytaneium.

188 ήδε εστὶ τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ. On the highest hill at Sparta stood the temple of Athene χαλκεώφιος (called also χαλκεός from the bronze walls of the fame). This temple was said to have been commenced by Tyndareus, and after his death continued by the Dioscuri, but it was not completed till long afterwards. (Pausanias ii. 17. 2.) The Achæan popula-

189 οὐ Δωρείδοι εἰμι ἄλλον Ἀχαιὸν. By these words Cleomenes indicates his descent not from the Heraclid invaders of the Peloponnese, but from the Achæan Tyndarids who retained possession of Amyclæ and Therapne, and for a long time successfully resisted them. (See Pausanias iii. 2. 6; iii. 12. 9.) Müller (Orchomenus, p. 319) collects the evidence which proves the existence of Achæans (mixed with Minyæans) in this part of the Peloponnese, long after the date usually assigned to the Dorian invasion. He even conjectures that Amyclæ is the town which Homer calls Lacedæmon. See the note 221 on i. 66, and note 100, above.
δὲ ἔλλος: 'Αθηναίοι κατέθησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τὸν Αθηναίον καὶ Νεῖλον, τοῦ ἐργα χειρῶν190 τοῦ μέγιστο καταλέξαι. οὗτοι μὲν νῦν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν191. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ μετὰ ταύτα Κλεισθένεα καὶ τὰ ἑπτάκοσια ἐπιστέα τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένου καὶ δειπνοῦντες, πέμπτοιναι ἄγγελοι εἰς Σάρδας συμμαχήν αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας ἡπτεστέα τὸ γὰρ σφι Ακαδαμίουν. ταῦτα καὶ Κλεομένεα ἑκατοπλεομάθαι ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἄγγελων ἐς τὰς Σάρδας καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἑντεταμένα, ἀρταφέρησις δ 'Ἐστάστεος192. Σάρδεως ὑπαρχός, ἐκενρίττη τῖνας ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῆς γῆς οἰκισμοῦ193 δειλότατο Περσῶν σύμμαχος γενέσθαι; πυθόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἄγγελων, ἀπεκρίθηνας σφι τάδε194. εἰ μὲν διδοὺς βασιλεία Δαρεύον Αθηναίοι χιλίῳ τε καὶ ὅφειρη, δὲ συμμαχὴν σφι συνετίθετο εἰ μὴ διδοὺς, ἀπαλλάσσομαι αὐτοῦς ἐκέλευς: οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέον αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδοῦσι θάνατον, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχὴν ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἔως τῶν, αὐτίς μεγάλας εἰχον.

74 Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι περιβρέσθαι ἔπεισι καὶ ἐργοῖσι195

190 ἔργα χειρῶν. PAUSANIAS (v. 8. 6.) speaks of a statue of this Timaeus at Olympia, where he won two victories as a panathenaist. He obtained the same distinction three times in the Pythian games. Pausanias says that the statue is by Aegialus the Argive; and if this assertion is well founded, it probably was seen by Herodotus.

191 οὗτοι μὲν νῦν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. The SCHOLIAST on ARISTOPHANES (Lysistr. 273) says that after the unsuccessful occupation of Eleusis (which Herodotus relates § 74) the Athenians confiscated the property of those Athenians who had joined him in the attempt, raised their houses to the ground, and passed sentence of death against themselves, καὶ ἀναγραφήσατε ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῷ, ἔκτις ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἄρχων νεῖα. It seems not unlikely that the column in question is the basis for the assertion in the text. The parties were in law dead; hence the expression κατέθησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, and it was only to be expected that the occupation of the acropolis would soon, in popular tradition, be regarded as the crime for which they suffered. See the note 202 on § 78.

192 ἀρταφέρησις δ 'Ἐστάστεος. See above, v. 25. 30.

193 ἑπτεστέα τῖνας ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῆς γῆς οἰκισμοῦ. This question indicates that the power of Athens at that time must have been very small. On the other hand that of Naxos must have been considerable when Artaphernes was applied to for assistance to reduce it (above, § 31). Although able to reckon on the assistance of a part of the Naxians, he refuses to embark in an enterprise against them without the consent of the Persian court, and then determines to send double the force demanded. Such a relation between the resources of Naxos and Athens seems incompatible with the notion that Pissistratus had ever subdued the former. See note 214 on i. 64, and what Herodotus says of Athens under tyrannical government, below, § 78.

194 ἀνακορύφου σφι τάδε, “gave them this short answer.”

195 ἔπεισι καὶ ἐργοῖσι. ARISTOPHANES (Lysistr. 274—280) alludes to the surrender of Cleomenes, in terms which show that the miserable condition in which he was forced to evacuate the citadel remained a popular theme with the Athenian com-
...Δανναίων, συνέλεγε ἐκ τάσσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν, ὁ δὲ
φράζει τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλειν τῶν ὁδών τῶν
Δανναίων, καὶ ὕσαντον εὐπλαίμους τύραννον κατατησάμαι

...οὐδὲν ἔγραφε γὰρ οἱ ὁδών ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολιος. Κλεομένης τοῦ δὲ
στόλος μεγάλα ἐσέβαλε ἐκ Ἑλευσίνη, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ
συνδέσμως Οἰνώνες ἀρίστου ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλευσίνη,

...ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἔσωον ἔσωτες [χώρους] τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καλύτεροι ἀμφιβολοὶ ἐχόμενοι,

...Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὅστερον ἐμελέτων μνήμην ποιήσασθαι: Πελοποννησίων δὲ, ἐνοῦ ἐν Ἑλευσίνη, ἀμὴρ ἐπετο τὰ ὅπλα. Μελόντων δὲ συνάγεσ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, 75

...Κορώνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σὺν αὐτῶι δόντες λόγοι ὡς οὐ ποιεῖν

...On arriving at Eleusis, the allied force melts

...The chorus of old men, upon Lysistrata's occupying the acropolis, is made to say:...
cycle of events which produced the overthrow of the Bacchiades (a Doric oligarchy) at Corinth. The revolutions took the same shape in both states,—an overthrow of a class aristocracy by the commoners under the leadership of one of the oligarchs, who finally became tyrant, as Cypselus did at Corinth and Theagenes at Megara. Now as Cylon was the son-in-law of Theagenes, and Iasgoras the representative of Cylon's party at Athens, his elevation to power would have been equivalent to elevating the influence of the commons at Megara, —a population (as the native traditions show; see note 203, below) into which the Doric element entered very slightly. That the Corinthian oligarchical or Doric party was strong at this time is evident from the harangue of Sosicles (§ 92, seqq.). But Cleomenes the Spartan king disclaimed being a Dorian (§ 72), and showed his sympathy for the anti-dorian race not only in his patronage of Iasgoras, but in his subsequent attempt to organize an Arcadian confederacy against Sparta (vi. 74). Hence perhaps the decided break with Demaratus.

201 ἀπελιγκητοι σφι ἄντεσ, "being allies of theirs." See vii. 203, ἀπελιγκητοι ἐγένετο λαοὶ πανταστημίῳ, "the Locrians came to help them in full force." The idea of a friendly deity going forth with the host under some especial visible symbol, and taking part in their battles as an ally, was common to almost all the nations of antiquity. Thus the Eginetans are related by Herodotus to have sent the images of the Eacide, their tutelary heroes, to assist the Thebans (below, § 80); and the allied Greeks before the battle of Salamis despatched a ship expressly for the same (viii. 64). It was the same feeling which induced the elders of Israel to fetch the ark out of Shiloh, "that when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies." (1 Sam. iv. 3.) So too the chariot of Ormuzd went in the front of the Persian line of march (vii. 40). See note 111 on iii. 37.

202 τέταρτον δὴ τούτο. By the use of this expression it would seem that the occupation of the acropolis and that of Eleusis by Cleomenes are considered as part of one expedition,—a view quite in accordance with the account given by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Lysistr. 273), who makes Cleomenes evacuate Athens on terms, without any exceptions, and seize Eleusis on his march homeward (ἀριστέλει ἀνάθεσις, ἀπὸν οἰκεῖον οὖν Ἐλευσίνας κατέχει). If only the Lacedaemonians were allowed to quit the acropolis, it is difficult to conceive how Iasgoras, the prime mover of the intervention, should have been suffered to accompany them. See note 101, above.

203 δὴ καὶ Μέγαρα κατοίκισαν. The tradition followed here is the same as that
of the authors of the *Athides* (esp. *Scholia*, ix. p. 236), who related that the Megarid territory fell to Nisos, one of the four sons of Pandion, who built Nisaea; and that the population was Ionian and identical with that inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus, when, at the urgent request of the Corinthians and Messenians, Megara was founded, and the population of the Megarid became Dorian. *Sophocles* (as might be expected) followed the Attic tradition respecting the Megarid, making *Aegus* say of Pandion:

Πάντα δὲ τὴν ἄκλειδον ἐξαπει θέναν Ἰκέφρανον ἄκτης.

The native legends of Megara, however, related that the name Megara was given to the city in the reign of Car, the son of Phoroneus, at which time the sacred rites of Demeter were first introduced there, and that the name *MEGARA* was given to these. Twelve generations after Car, *Lelex* (an Egyptian) became king, and his subjects from him acquired the name of Leleges. His grandson *Sciron* married a daughter of Pandion and disputed the sovereignty with her brother Nisus. *Xacus*, being appealed to, decided in favour of Nisus, with a reservation of the military command to Sciron. Finally *Megareus*, a son of Poseidon, married Iphinoe, the daughter of Nisus, and succeeded to the kingdom. The Boeotian traditions made Megareus the son of Poseidon a native of Orchestias, and an ally of Nisos in the war against Minos (a war of which the Megarian legends were entirely ignorant). (*Pausan.* i. 38.) And yet another tradition made Megareus a son of *Apollo* (*Scholia*, *Byzant.* s. *Megara*), thus accounting for the Dorian character of Megara.

Τὰ δὲ στόλα ... ὅρθροι ἐν καλλ.

The words can scarcely be a part of the thread of the narrative; neither is their sense complete. Some such phrase as ἵνα παλλωμ ἀναβαλλεῖ seems required to express what is meant. Possibly they are a mere memorandum by Herodotus himself, made with the intention at some future time of giving a history of this expedition, about which very different accounts existed. The story which was current at Athens, and represented Codrus as sacrificing himself to save the city from being taken by the Dorian invaders, was supported by local tradition. The place where Codrus fell was pointed out on the banks of the Iliusus (*Pausan.* i. 19. 5); and his self-devotion furnished an useful topic to the orators. (*Lycurg.* c. *Lexaret.* § 85—90.) But *Aristotle* (Polit. p. 1310, line 37) cites Codrus as an instance, not of a king who sacrificed himself to preserve the independence of his country, but of a person who became a king by saving his country from slavery in war,—a view in harmony with what Herodotus briefly mentions of his family, above (§ 86). And *Pausanias*, after saying that the common Athenians would not hear of there having been any king at Athens (except Pisistratus) since the time of Theseus, says λατεραίας ἄθελους ὄστει καὶ ἐνεκομον ἔσθη χώραν καὶ τρόγγων διαν ποινὰ γόμησιν, adds, that if he pleased he could give a list of the descendants of Melanthus as low as to Clisticus, the son of *Aleximedes*, who then reigned at Athens (i. 3. 3). The reign of *Aleximedes* (whether as king or archon) began in the first year of the eighth Olympic (*Pausan.* iv. 5. 10), so that the traditions here alluded to by Pausanias would bring down the regal authority of the Nereid house quite into the historical times. It will be remembered that Pisistratus came of this family. (See above, § 85.) There is little or nothing in Herodotus or Thucydides to guide to a decision between the tradition followed by *Lycurgus* and that adopted by Aristotle; neither is the circumstance related by *Pherecydes* (fr. 119) incompatible with the latter account, although it has generally been woven into the former.
The Athenians obtain important advantages over the Boeotians and Chalcidians, through their naval superiority. But it will be remarked that the number is the same as that of the families exiled by Cleomenes (§ 72).

The presence of the article here has occasioned some difficulty. But it seems likely that although this name of Aristophanes is given to the aristocracy collectively, each individual member of it would not be termed ἱστοβότης, and that in case the article and substantive would cohere closely together, as in the phrases ὃι τρυπεστα, ὁ δέδεκα, κ.κ. Aristophanes (Politeia, iv. p. 1297, line 16) remarks that the early monarchies (βασιλεία) were in all cases succeeded by a military aristocracy of cavalry, adding this profound remark: τῇ γὰρ λογίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὑποκρίσει εἶναί τις ἰστιάσει ἐκ πόλεως ἐξέπεσεν ἔναν μήν γὰρ συντάξει ἔχουσαν τὸ διάτομο, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἦσαν καὶ τέχνης ἐν τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰς ὑπήρχον ὑπό τῶν ἰστιασεων εἶναι τὴν λογίαν. In another passage he remarks that in the ancient times wherever the force of a state consisted of cavalry, that form of government was oligarchal, and instances Chalcis, Eretria, Magnesia on the Meander, and the Ætolians over the Ætolians (iv. p. 1289, line 40). The same thing (in spite of the unaptness of Atticus for horse-breeding) was the case at Athens, and hence Aristophanes makes his homely citizen, who had married a wife of aristocratic descent, complain that she would have their son designated by a name of Hippothrotus (Nub. 60):

ἰστιάσεις μὲν ὑπὸ κατάθλημα ἐν πτολεμαῖοι καὶ ἀριστοκράτημα ἔχουσαν τό τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου ἄντων δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐστίνην τετραμέσου καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν

365 ἰστιάσεις αὐτῶν ἐξόργησαν. It seems not unlikely that the revolution effected by Sinistratus was coincident with the organization of an infantry force as an important arm of war. (See note 194 on i. 50.) Aristotle adds to the remark above quoted: ἀδεφαμένων δὲ τῶν τάλαντα καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτων ἐλευθερίων μᾶλλον πλείονες μετέχεις τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐς τῶν ἀλλότων κατελαθαὶ οἱ προτέρων ἐκέλουν δημοκρατίας.

367 Διϊκρίνων ἀντιμαχομένων. See vi. 79.

368 ἁλίκων δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐστίνην τετραμένου. As Gaisford punctuates this passage the reconciliation of it with the topography of the acropolis seems impossible. The following is the way I conceive the spoils to have been disposed of. The old temple of Athene Polias which the Persians burnt down probably...
ἐνθεάνει ἁμιθήμαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον τὸ δὲ ἁρι- στερῆς χερὸς ἐστηκε πρῶτον ἑσύντε ζ ἡ τὰ προπύλαμα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀκροπόλι, ἐπιγέραπται δὲ οἱ τάδε·

'Εθνα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκείων δαμάσκαντες παίδες Ἀθηναίων ἐργάζομαι ἐν τολίμων, ἄρεσθε ἐν ἀγαλματίσ εὐθυγάτευς ἔριμων τῶν ἱετῶν δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάδε' θεᾶσιν.

Ἀθηναίοι μὲν νῦν ἤξεταν. δὴ λοι ἀπὶ καὶ ἦν μοῦνον, ἀλλὰ ταυταχώς, ἡ ἱστοριγια ὡς ἔστι χρήμα σπουδαίων εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τυραννικόμενοι μὲν οἰδαμόν τῶν σφέας περιωκοῦντιν ἦσαν τὰ τολίμα ἀμέλους, ἀπαλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρὰ πρώτη ἐγένοντο. δὴ λοι ὁ τάτα, ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐθελοκάκεον, ὡς ἐποτή ἐργαζόμενοι ἐλευθεροθέντων δὲ αὐτῶς ἕκαστος ἑωτὴ προχυμένο κατεργάζεται, οὗτοι μὲν νῦν τάτα ἐφροσύνον. Ἡσαίοι δὲ μετὰ τάτα ἐς θεῶν ἐπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι Ἀθηναίοι, ἢ δὲ Πυθία ἄπο τού σφεών μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐφή αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν, ἡς ΠΟΛΤΗΜΟΝ ἢ δὲ ἐξενεκαντα ἐκέλευς ὡς ὁ τὸν ὑπάρχουν τῶν ἡσαίων, ἐξέφευρο τὸ χρηστήριον ἀλήθη ποιησάμενοι ὡς ἐνυπάνουν δὲ λεγόντων αὐτῶν ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΓΕΕΣΘΑΙ, εἶπαν οἱ Ἡσαίοι ἀκούσαντες τούτων "οὔκ ὅν ἁγχοστα ἡμέων ὅικεοις Ἁλαγραῖοι".

The Thebans, desirous of revenge, consulted the Delphic oracle, and were puzzled by the answer.
They apply for aid to the Egyptians.

Their very prosperous

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212 Ταναγραίοι τε καὶ Κορωναίοι καὶ Θεσπιτείς. Why these three should have been especially named here among the Boeotian towns in alliance with Thebes is very difficult to say. Tanagra and Thebes have some pretensions to be immediate neighbours of Thebes, and as they lie towards the Attic frontier might readily suggest themselves as valuable allies to Thebes. But Coronea (or—as Herodotus must have called it if the reading Κορωναίοι is genuine—Corone or Corone) is at a considerable distance to the N.W. of Thebes, with several towns of importance lying between. It may be thought to be mentioned from the circumstance of its being the first place occupied by the Boeotians when they issued from Thessaly and expelled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Copasic lake, and from its being also the place where the Pambosotia were celebrated. (Strabo, ix. cap. 2.) But it seems more likely that Herodotus is here following an Athenian tradition, and that therefore the principle of selection is one connected with Athenian associations. Now at Coronea was the temple of Ionia Athene, and in the immediate neighbourhood formerly stood the Boeotian towns Athens and Eleusis, on the banks of the brook Triton. Close by was Alacomenes, where there was a temple of Athene of great antiquity and highly venerated, and of which the tradition ran that the goddess was born there (a mythical way of expressing the fact that her peculiar ritual spread from thence as a centre). Now if we suppose the informant of Herodotus to have been a person attached to the service of Athenae on the acropolis of Athens, it is only natural that Coronea should occupy a prominent place in his mind, to the exclusion of other towns which would, from a Theban point of view, have been more appropriate. One may even conjecture that such a person might use the adjectival form Korōnaiōs from Korōna, (after the analogy of Ἀθηναῖος) instead of the usual forms, which were (according to Steph. Byzantinus) Korōnios, Korōnētis, or Korōnētis, where a citizen of the Boeotian town was indicated. It may be added that there was at least a mythical connexion between Athens and the other two towns (although, in the case of these, their proximity to the Attic frontier renders such a consideration unnecessary), for the Attic Gephyreai, whom Herodotus mentions above, §§ 55. 57, were, as he takes special pains to inform his hearers, originally from Boeotian Tanagra; and one of the traditions at Thebes made the founder to be a Thespian, son of the Athenian Erechtheus. (Pausan. ix. 26. 6.) Indeed, after the Persian invasion this town was rebuilt under Athenian auspices (see viii. 76), so that the connexion, not of Thebes but of Athens, with all three of the towns named is clearly established. See notes 184 and 197.

213 τοὺς Διακίδας συμπαθείς. See above, note 201.

214 κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Διακίδων,
The cause of the feud between Athens and Aegina.

The Epidaurians obtain some sacred olive-wood on condition of doing ser-

"under the notion that they had the Aesichae for their allies." See below, § 86, and to the left.

atat. The manuscript S has ΄Αθηναίων, which seems to indicate that both ΄Αθηναίων and ΄Αθηναίων are glosses inserted to render the sense more perspicuous. I have therefore retained the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS, but have placed it within brackets as a probable interpolation. But if it be one, it seems likely that both ΄Αθηναίων two lines back is also one; for if πειρασμένων and πειράσματος be referred to the same subject, the change of construction is gratuitously clumsy. I should account for the change with referring πειρασμένων to the Thebans with their allies, the Boeotian confederacy, but πειράσματος to the Thebans alone as the heads of the confederacy.

This is the reading of Gaisford and the majority of MSS. But one has ΄Αθηναίων "Athena", and Aldus 450, 460, (461), and 470. The variations induce me to suspect that the clause is an explanatory gloss. The case is a different one from that in viii. 144.

πονεον τράχνεων, "a piratical warfare," without the previous proclamation by heralds.

One manuscript (M) has ινακτο, which Gaisford follows. But see the note on ix. 13.

The origin of the word is undoubtedly δε μαία (= δεμαίτηρ), and the two deities are precisely equivalent to the ἱεροτρόφους and δεμαίτηρ χάλκη, who were worshipped together in a temple just at the entrance to the acropolis of Athens. (PAUSANIAS, i. 22. 3; ARISTOPHANES, Lysistr. 555.)

This is the reading of the former of these words is probably long, and possibly the orthography should be Δαιμής. See note on ix. 13.

These words are omitted in the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford retains them, but they appear to me to be a gloss. For ποιονται Gaisford and the MSS have ποιοι νεώτατοι. But see note 170 on i. 53.

These were the so-called Moriae, sacred trees, originally twelve in number, which stood in the Academy. ARISTOPHANES refers to these (Nub. 1006) as shading the walk where the young Athenians, who cultivated gymnastic exercises for the torch-race, practised themselves in run-
vice annually at the temple of Athena and Erechtheus on the acropolis.

83 At this time Aegina was a vassal of Epidaurus, but immediately afterwards became independent and hostile.

The Aeginetans carry off the images, and set them up in their own island. The ritual of the nature of a carnival, both there and at Epidaurus.

84...
TERPSICHORE. V. 83—86.

'Ἄθηναιοι ἔμηνον' tosai 'Επιδαυρίους: oi de ἀπέφανον λόγον ὡς οὐκ ἄρκον ὀν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον ἔχον τα ὁγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελεῖν τα συνέδετο ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστηρίζομαι αὐτῶν, οὐ δέκαμον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἐτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Διώνυτας πρὸς-σεσαίει ἐκεῖνον. πρὸς ταύτα 'Ἄθηναιοι ἰσ Δίῳνων πέμψατες ἀπαίτειν τα ὁγάλματα'93. oi de Δίῳνων ἐκάσαν, σφαίρας τε καὶ 'Ἄθηναιοι εἶναι οὐδέν πρόγραμα. 'Ἄθηναιοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλήναι τρήρει μιᾷ τῶν ἀστῶν, τούτοις ὁ ἀποτεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Δίῳνων, τα ὁγάλματα ταύτα ὡς σφετέρων ξύλων ἐντὰ ἐπειρώτει ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἐξαναστάν. ὥστε ἄνακομισθωτάν οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τοῦτο τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατήσει, περιβάλλως σχοινία ἔλεειν τα ὁγάλματα: καὶ σφε δίκουσι βροντῇ τε καὶ ἁμα τῇ βροντῇ σειρῶν ἐπιγενέσθαι τοὺς ἐς τρύματα τοὺς ἐκοι- τας ὑπὸ τούτων ἀλλοφρονήσως παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο, κατείνων ἀλλήλους ἀτε πολέμους ὡς ὁ εκ πάντων ἐνα λειφθέντα ἀνακο- μισθὼν αὐτῶν 222 ἐς Φέλορον. 'Ἄθηναιοι μὲν νυν οἴτω, λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Δίῳνωτα δὲ, οὐ μὴν ἁκούσω 'Ἄθηναιος μίλας μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁλιγῷ πλεύσας μῆς, καὶ εἰ σφε μὴ ἔγνως ὑπώρει, ἀπαμύνεσθαι δὲν ἐπιτελέος ἀλλὰ τολῆσαι νηροὶ ἐπιτυλεῖν only one man surviving.

The Eginetic account differs in the particulars from that the nature of the expedition. The messengers were taken from among the citizens (not soldiers), and went with a single galley (not in force). So much is in the indirect form; he then changes to the direct one in narrating the acknowledged facts, and returns to the indirect where the Athenian and Eginetic accounts again diverge. "The Athenians now say, that after the formal demand there were sent, in a single galley, some citizens, those who, having been publicly commissioned, and arriving at Eginus, did certainly try to lift these images, as being made of wood which was theirs, out of their stands, in order to carry them back; and that not being able to manage them in this way, they passed lines round and trailed the figures." If the whole of the circumstances had been peculiar to the Athenian story, the author would have continued the indirect form throughout: οὐ ἀποφεβθήσαταν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι, π.τ.λ.

93 ἔμηνον. The words μηνιας and μη-

322 ἐμηνον. The words μηνιασε and μη-

562. "alone."
of the Athenians, "abstained from deciding the issue at sea." Compare viii. 63.

230 κατὰ τὸ τοῦτο. Compare § 81, above, κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Αἰγίσθων. 231 τὸς τὸ δὴ 'Αθηναίων ἀποθείκαμαι ἐς τὴν Αἰγίσθην, καὶ παρεῖναι βοθέοντος σφί τοὺς 'Αργείους, "exactly now as the Athenians had effected a landing on the Ceginistic shore, there arrived the Argives to help them." See note 472 on iv. 181. 232 ἄλλο μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν... τὴν δὲ
The so called Ionian garb is really Carian. Customs of Argives and Eginetans having the same origin.

The Pythian oracle recommends the Athenians to keep the peace towards Eginia for thirty years.

...
90 The Spartans repented of the part they had taken in the expulsion of the Pisistratidae from Athens, and 60 HERODOTUS

κοστῷ, Λιακῷ τέμενος ἀποδέξαται ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Διηνήτας πολέμου καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τά βουλοῦντα ἵνα δέ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρεφώνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφεῖν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πεισθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσεων τέλος μέντοι καταστρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσι οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Λιακῷ τέμενος ἀπέ- ἐδεξαί, τούτῳ 235 τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγορῆς Ἰδρυταί· τριήκοντα δὲ ἦσαν ὁμ ἀνέχοντο ἀκούσαστε διὰς χρῶν ἐνὶ ἐπισκεφίν. τερονθὰς πρὸς Διηνήτας ἄνάρσια. Ἐς τιμωρηθῇ δὲ παρασκευαζόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἐκ Δικεδαμονίων πρήγμα ἐγερομένου εὑμέδειν ἐγώντο. ἱππόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Δικεδαμονίνοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν 'Αλκεμανίδων ἐς τὴν Πυθῆν ημελημένα 235, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθῆς ἐπὶ σφεῖς τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισοτριτάδας, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῖτο διπλῆ, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ἐξελεῖν σφι όντας ἐξελελάκασεν ἐκ τῆς ἑκεῖνος καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποίησαι χάριν οὐδεμία ἐφαίνοντο πρὸς τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἦτε τα τρόσ τούτων ἑνήγος σφεῖς οἱ χρησιμοὶ, λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἄναρσια ἱστεθαι αὐτοῖς ἦς 'Αθηναίων τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἔχαι ἄδακες, τὸτε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσατος ἐς Στάρτην ἔξεραμον. ἐκτέλεστο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς 'Αθηναίων ἀκρόπολις τοὺς χρησιμοὺς 235, τοὺς ἐκτείναντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισοτριτάδαι ἐξελελοῦμενον δὲ ἔλυον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ καταλείπθηντας δὲ δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέλαβε. Τότε δὲ ὁς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Δικεδαμονίνοι τοὺς χρησιμοὺς, καὶ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἔφερον αὐξομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἐόντας πείθεσαν σφι, νῦν λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν εὖν τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσαρρηστὸ τῷ ἐωτόντω γίνοντο 235, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πειθαρχεύοντες ἐτοίμως μαθόντες

this word and aleixon, and ε, δ unite both. Both are forms not found elsewhere. See notes 212 and 296, above.

235 τοῦτο. This word is quite superfluous in a written history, but would be very appropriate in a speaker, who, while telling his story, might point to the sacred precinct. It is an idiom constantly employed by Herodotus, even where there remains no trace of the original use.

237 τὰ ἐκ τῶν 'Αλκεμανίδων ἐς τὴν Πυθῆν μερικαγμένα. See note 154 on § 63, above.

238 τοὺς χρησιμοὺς. See what is related below (vii. 8) of Onomacritus, who had been highly patronized by Hipparchus. ΔΙΩΝΟΜΟΣ very happily ridicules the importance popularly attached to venerated oracular prophecies:

ΔΗΜΟΣ, ταύτι τί ἐστι; ΚΛΕΩΝ. ἅρμα. ΔΗ. τόπῳ; ΚΛ. θαυμάσως. καὶ νῦ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν καταλείπω κλέα. ΑΛΛΑΝΟΠΩΛΗΣ ἤρων 5 ὄπέρκων καὶ ἐνωτία δή. ΔΗ. φέρ' θε, τῶν γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ χρη- σιμοὶ ποιεῖ; ΚΛ. οὐχὶ μὲν εἰς δικάς. ΔΗ. οἱ δὲ φαί νόμος; ΑΛ. Γάνιδας, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Δικάδας γε- ρακτεῖν.

(Knight's, 998—1004.)

235 γίνοντο. Gaisford, with the manuscripts S and V, has ὡς γίνοντο.
δὲ τούτων ἔκαστα, μετεπέμποντο Ἰππήν τὸν Πεισιστράτον ἀπὸ Συνείων τοῦ ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ, ἐς δὲ καταφέργουν οἱ Πεισιστράτιδαι: ἐπει δὲ σφί Ἰππής καλέομενος ἦκε, μεταπεμψάμενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους, ἔλεγον σφί Σπαρτήγαται τάδε: "ἀνδρεῖς σύμμαχοι, συγγνώμοις αὐτοῖς ἦμιν ὑπὲρ σας ὁρόφοι;" ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κυβηθοῦν μαντῆουσι, ἀνδρας ξενίσας ἦμιν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκτούμενοι ὑποχείρια παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἔξηλασμένοι, καὶ ἐπείτα, ποιήσαντες τάντα, δὴ μοι ἁραίοις παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν δὴ ἐπεί τε δὲ ἡμέας ἐξευθείωθης ἀνέκυψη, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τοῦ βασιλεά ἡμῶν περιβρίσσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας ἀυξάνεται ὡστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περιοίκοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ άλλος ἑκατέρας ἀρματών. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐκεῖνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρήσομεθα σφέας ἁμιν ἀκοέμονος τίσασθαι αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εὐκεκεν τόνδε τοῖς Ἰππήν μετεπεμψάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, ἵνα κοινῷ τῇ λόγῳ καὶ κοινῷ ὀτόλφ ἐργαγώντες αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδόμοις τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα." Οἱ μὲν τάτα ἔλεγον τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νῦν άλλοι ἡσυχίαν ἔγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Ἐσοφίκλεας ἔλεξε τάδε.

240 μαθήται δὲ. The particle δὲ in this use corresponds nearly to the Latin igitur. It serves to recall the attention to the principal point to be impressed upon it, after a kind of digression. 251 Αἳδ Άγγελος τοῦ ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ. See above, § 65, and below, § 94. 252 συγγνώμοις αὐτοῖς ἦμιν οἱ ποιήσασι ἄρθρα. Compare ix. 60, συνιδαμένων ὑμῶν . . . . οὐκεὶ πολλοὶ προθυμιατότως. 253 Δόξαν φύσας, "having gained glory." This could hardly be said of the Athenian commonalty at the time of which Herodotus is speaking, and would scarcely have been said of them by a Spartan at any time. But it should be remembered that here it is probably an Athenian speaking under the Spartan mask; and consequently it is no more surprising that he should pay a compliment to his own countrymen in the assumed character, than that he should make the Lacedemonians charge themselves with being deceived by spurious oracles, with breach of faith to their own allies, with making a formal compact with tyrants, and end with prophecying evil to themselves from Athens (for it seems scarcely doubtful that they themselves are indicated by the words τις καὶ ἄλλος). To make such a speech as is here attributed to the Lacedemonians would, from the Hellenic point of view, be equivalent to proclaiming themselves as the enemies of the gods, led into the path of destruction by their own tutelary deity, the Delphic Apollo. It would be applying to themselves the current sentiment which is embodied by Sophocles in the well-known words (Antig. 620):
their proposal, and

reminds them of the times of the Cypselidae at Corinth.

Action married Labda, a lame person, daughter of Amphinom, a Bacchiad.

"Ἡ δὴ ὁ τε οὐράνος ἐσται ἐνερεί τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἔζοντο καὶ οἱ ἱχθύες τῶν πρῶτων ἄνθρωπων, ὅτε γὰρ ὡς εἰς τὴν ἱκανόν, ὅστε ὑπεράνεσθε τὰς πόλις κατάγειν. Παρασκεύασθε τοῦ ὂστε ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲν ἐστι καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐ οὐκαὶ ὑπεράνεσθε. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε δοκεῖς ὡς μὲν εἶναι χρηστῶν, ὅστε τυραννεύοντας τὰς πόλεις, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννοι καταστράφησαν παρὰ σφὶ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διῆλθον καταστράφηνυν νῦν δὲ, αὐτὸν ἀποροι οὖν τυράννων, καὶ θυμάσθωντες διώκεται τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῇ μὴ γεγένεται, παραχράσθησθαι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους. Εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμπειροι ἔστε κατάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἔχετε ἀν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνονας συμβάλλεσθαι ἦπερ νῦν.

ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΙΣΙ γὰρ ἐν πόλις κατάσσασις τοῦτο ἡ ἀλγαρχία, καὶ οὕτω "Βασιλεῖα χαλάρωσιν ἐνεμον τὴν πόλιν ἔδοσαν ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγουντο ἐξ ἄλλους. Ἀμφίων δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦτος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γνάτης θυγάτηρ κυνόμας αὐτοῦ μετοικίᾳ δὲ ὦ ἔντει τὸν Λάβδα". ταῦτη,
Anaximander of Miletus 

Anaximander was a pre-Socratic philosopher who lived in Miletus, a city in ancient western Asia Minor. He is known for his theories of nature and his views on the origin of the cosmos. Anaximander's work and teachings represent an important transition in the development of thought, as they challenge the traditional religious and mythological explanations of the world with a more rational and empirical approach. His ideas about the nature of reality and the origins of the universe have been influential in the history of philosophy.
τον τότε δὲ, τὸ Ἡττίλωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπόθουσα, αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνήκαν ἔννυμποι τῷ Ἡττίλωνος συνέντευκα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. εἴχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, ἔθελοντες τὸς μέλλοντα Ἡττίλων γενέσθαι γόνον διαφθείραι. ὡς δὲ ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, σπέρμασι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐν τοῖς ὅμοιοι ἐν τῷ κατόλειπτῳ Ἡττίλων, ἀποκτενώντας τὸ παιδίον ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτως ἐς τὴν Πέτρην315, καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αἰεὶ τοῦ Ἡττίλωνος, αὐτέως τὸ παιδίον ἢ δὲ Δάβδα, εἰδοῦ τε οὕτω τῶν εἴνεκα ἐκεῖνοι ἀπικόλοτο καὶ δοκεόντα σφεάς φιλαφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἴνεκα αὐτῶν, φέρουσα ἑνεχείρως αὐτῶν ἐνι: τούτι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ἐδών, τῶν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσούλοισι.316 ἐπεὶ τε ἦν εἴδοκε φέρουσα ἡ Δάβδα, τὴν λαβόντα τῶν ἄνδρῶν θεία τύχη προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὸν, φρασθέντα τοῦτο, ὁμοίως εἰς ἱερακτικοῦς δὲ παραδοδὸ τὸ δεύτερον: δὲ δὲ, τῷ τρίτῳ οὕτω δὴ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδεδομένων, οὐδένος βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι ἀποδόντες ὡς ὕπατ᾽ τῇ τεκνούργῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐξω, ἐστεότες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρών ἄλληλων ἀποτέλεσε κατατιθέμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πρῶτον λαβόντας ὡς ἐκπόνησε κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα· ἐς δὴ σφι, χρόνου ἐγκυκλομένου, ἔδοξε αὐτὸς παρελθόντας πάντας τῷ φόνῳ μετίσχειν. ἐδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡττίλωνος γόνου Κορίνθῳ κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν ἡ Δάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἥκων ἐστεότα πρὸς αὐτῆς τῇς θύραις. δὲ δὲ καὶ ἐλαθώς καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντας τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτενώσας, φέρουσα κατακρύπτες ἐς τὸ ἀφαστότατον οἱ ἐφάνετο εἰς, ἐς κυνηγὴν επισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψας ἐς ἥξις ἀπικόλοτο, πάντα ἐρευνήσεις μέλλονς τῷ δὲ καὶ ἐγώνει. ἐλθοῦν δὲ καὶ διεξεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς ὡς οἶκος ἐφάνετο, ἐδόξει ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγεις πρὸς τοὺς ἀποπεμψάτας ὡς πάντα ποιήσεις τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἐνετείλατο.

215 τὴν Πέτρην. It appears from this expression that the house of Aetion was in a part of Corinth which was called ἴν πέτρα, but it does not follow that such was the name of the local deme in which he resided. And there is no trace of a Corinthian deme being so named any where except in the present narrative. In Stra- nus's time the town lay under the rock on which the citadel was built, the sharp summit of which was surmounted with a temple of Aphrodite, and had the name Acrocorinthus appropriated to it. This last is the “bewitching Corinth” of the oracle; but the term ἴν πέτρα might well have been applied to the whole mountain, which extended so far that the ascent was thirty stades (viii. p. 211).

216 προσούλοισι. Compare Euripides, Med. 1151, βρέθη τε τούδων ζῶν προσούλοισι πέτρας. In Psalm cxxvi. 9 the expression for the same act is in the Sep- tuagint Ἰδαφίζων.
who, when grown up, encouraged by an oracle from Delphi, makes himself a tyrant of Corinth.

"Ολαίος ουτος ἀνήρ ἐστιν δόμον ἐκκαταβαίνει τοὺς πάροις αὐξάνετο καὶ οἱ διαφιγόντι τοῦτος τῶν κύψελον ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίαν Κύψελος ὀνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδραθεῖτι δὲ καὶ μαντευομένῳ Κύψελος ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖς, τῷ πίσων βίους γενόμενον ἐπεχειρήσε τε καὶ ἐξεχειρήσε Κόρυθον 227. τὸ δὲ χρησμὸν δὲ ἦν;

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τούτῳ ἦν τυραννεύεσθαι δὲ ὁ Κύψελος, τοιοῦτος δὲ τῇ ἀνήρ ἐγένετο πολλοῖς μὲν Κορινθίους ἐδιώκει, πολλοῖς δὲ χρηστήριον ἀπεστήρησε, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτί πλεῖστοις τῇς ψυχῆς. ἄρρητος δὲ τούτῳ ἐπὶ τρίμηκον ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέκειται τοῦ βίου ἐδ. διάδοχος οἱ τῇς τυραννίδος ὁ πάξ Περιανδρός γνείται. ὁ τούτων Περιανδρός καὶ ἄρχει μὲν ἦν ἡπίωτερος τοῦ πατρός ἐτεί τε ἡ ἄμφισε 228 δὲ ἀγγέλων Ἡρακλείου τῷ ὁ προτείνειται καὶ ἐκεῖσθαι τού οὗ τοῦτος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκεῖς Κόρυθον ἦν τοῖς πασίν.

227 ἐπεχειρήσε τε καὶ ἐξεχειρήσε Κόρυθον. These words seem to indicate that the tradition here followed made Cypselus effect a revolution by force. ARISTOTLE however couples him with Panetius in Leontium, Miahtratus in Athens, and Dionysus in Syracuse, as an instance of a person becoming a tyrant from a demagogy. (Politic. v. p. 1310, l. 28.) And in another passage (v. p. 1315, l. 22) he says of him that throughout his whole reign, which lasted thirty years, he had no body-guard (κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατείλεσεν ἀδουρφόφωτος). The Corinthian speaker appears rather to conceive a case like that of Cylon at Athens. For other differences between his representations and other traditions, see notes 260 and 267.

228 ἐκκαταβαίνει. Valckenaer well remarks that this phrase is more appropriate to a person consulting the oracle of Trophonius, or some deity whose shrine was a cave, than to the case of the Delphic oracle.

229 ἡρήθης. EUSEBIUS (Prep. Evang. v. 36), quoting this verse, has the variation ἡρήθης. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the true reading is ἡρῆθης, a gentle name formed from ἡρῆς, under which term the father of Cypselus, Action, was symbolized in a former oracle.

230 χρηστήριον ἀπεστήρησε. This, if the case at all, was apparently, according to other accounts, by excessive taxation. See note 267, below. ARISTOTLE (Econom. ii. p. 1346, l. 32) says that Cypselus had made a vow to Zeus, that if he became sovereign of Corinth, he would offer up the whole property of the country. He fulfilled this vow by taking the tenth part every year for ten years; so that, says Aristotles, he fulfilled his vow, and yet left the country as rich as before.

231 διαπλέκειται. Some MSS have διαπλέκοντας. Neither of these readings look like a corruption from the other. The former may be illustrated by iv. 205: οὐδὲ Θερέμη ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ κατέλειπε, the latter by Plato, Phaedo. § 78: ἐντερ ἐπὶ σχεδίων κίνδυνοι διαπλέκειν τὸν βίον.

232 ἐτεί τε ἡ ἄμφισε. ARISTOTLE (Politic. iii. p. 1284, a. l. 28) tells the same story as Herodotus, except that he makes Periander the giver and Thrasebus the recipient of the advice. That this is not an oversight is clear from his referring to the same transaction in another passage (Politic. v. p. 1311, a. l. 20), as ἐν τῇ Περιανδρῷ τῇ Θρασύβουλῳ συμβιβάσκεται, ἢ τῶν ἐπερεχομένων σταγχῶν καλωσίων. In Livy we find the story transplanted to the soil of Latium, and the dramatis persona the king Tarquin and his son Sextus. See note 494 on ii. 180.
comes a more cruel tyrant than himself.

Anecdote of Thrasylus of Miletus.

Miliain, τυράννης, πολλῷ ἐπὶ ἐγενετο Κυφήλου μαμφονάτερος. τεύχας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κηρύκα, ἐπινυθάνετο διότι δὲ τό τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων, καλλίστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύει; Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου ἤξιγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος ἐσβᾶς δὲ ἐς ἀραναμένα τοῦ πολιτίς, καὶ ἐκλέγοις αἱ ἐπισκόπους τῶν κηρύκαν 263 κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τὴν Θρασύβουλον ἀπίζως, καὶ ἔκλεψεν αἱ ἐπισκόπους τῶν κηρύκαν. 

νοστήναστος δὲ τοῦ κηρύκους ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, ἦν πρόθομος πυθάνασθαι τὴν ἀπίζως. Ὁ Περιάνδρος δὲ οὐδέν οἱ ἐφε Θρασύβουλον ἠπόθεσαν ὅσαμένεσ τῷ ἀντί, παρὰ ὅλον μὲν ἀνδρὰ ἀποτέμνοντες, ὡς παραπληρή τε καὶ τῶν ἐντυπούσι πολλοῖς άπραγμένοις ἀπέπεσε πρὸς Θρασύβουλον ἀπόθεσε. Περιάνδρος δὲ συνεις τὸ ποιηθὲν, καὶ νόησαν ὅσα οἱ ἀπεστείλοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἐπεφύλαξεν τῶν ἐντύπων, ἐκδηλῶν δὴ πάσας καὶ τῆς ἠξίωσε ἐκτὸς τομίτας. 

καὶ διάκος, Περιάνδρος σφέα ἀπέτελε. κ., ὅπερ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἠπέδυε

pássas τῶν Κορινθίων γυναῖκας, διὰ τῆς ἐντυπούσι γυναίκα Μέλισσαν πεμάζαντες γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ Παρακαταθηκῆς πέρι ξεινίας, οὔτε σημανέων ἄφθα ἡ Μέλισσα ἀπαφεύγεσ, οὔτε κατερεύειν ἐν τῷ κέκεται χορῷ ἡ παρακαταθήκη. ρημοῦ τε γαρ καὶ εἰναι γυμνή τῶν γαρ

and 368 on I.v. 144. The intimate connection that existed between Periander and Thrasylus appears from what Herodotus relates of the information sent by him to Miletus (i. 20).


264 ἐς Θεσπρωτῶν ἡμέρα "Αχερόντας θηταμών. In Ambraecia (which was in Thesprotia) another Periander (whom some accounts made to be the sage) possessed sovereign power. He was expelled by a conspiracy got up by one of the nobles in revenge for a gross insult, the commons siding with the conspirators. (Aristot. Pol., v. p. 1311, 1. 40, and p. 1304, 1. 32.) Neaiphrates of Cyzicus made him to be cosin-german of the Corinthian tyrant (ap. D. L., 98); but this does not appear on any earlier authority than his, i. e. about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Strabo says that Ambraecia was founded by Tolus, the son of Cypselus (and therefore brother of the Corinthian Periander), and not far from the mouth of the river Achelus stood the Thessprotian Ephra—-the name anciently borne by Corinth (v. 7, p. 120). It seems plain that Thesprotia was at this time under Cypsidol influence; and also that a Periander, in some way nearly connected with the Corinthian tyrant, reigned there.
TERPSICHERE. V. 92.

οἱ συμκατέδαψε εἰμάτων ὁμολογεῖ οὐδὲν, οὐ κατακαυθότων μαρτύριον δὲ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθεία ταῦτα λέγει, ὡς ἐπὶ ψυχρῶν τῶν ἱππῶν Περιανδρός τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ὅπως ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιανδρῷ, (πυτῶν γὰρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, δὲ κεκρεῖ ἀοὐρέα Μελισσήμμεν, ἐμμη.) ἰδίες δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγέλῃν κηρύγμα ἐπονήσατο, ἐς τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐξερρὼν πάσας τὰς Κορινθιων γυναικάς. αἱ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἐς ὅρτην, ἥσαν κόσμῳ τῇ καλλιστῇ χρεώμεναι· ὃ δὲ ἱππότης τοὺς ἄρηντον, ἀπέδυσε σφαιράς τόσον τός τ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιτόπους· συμφόρησαν δὲ ἐς δρυμα, Μελισσήμμεν ἐπευκόμονοι κατέκαυσε· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ τινίσαντες καὶ τὸ δεύτερων τέμνοντες ἐφέρατε τὸ εἰδώλιον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χώρον τοῦ θείου τῇ παρακαταβῇ· τοῦτο μὲν ἔστι υἱὸν ἡ τυραννίς, δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιοῦτων

385 Μελίσσης. This was not only a proper name, but a technical term of the female hierophants of Demeter and Persephone. (Hes. frag. viii. 131, and Porph. De Antro Nunphiaram, quoted by Küster in his note on the same.) It was also a name of Selene in the character of Lucina. It seems unlikely that the horrible story in the text grew out of a perversion of the fact that Periander habitually consulted the oracle of the θεός δελεωτός, just as Numa was represented as the husband of the nymph Egeria. See note 164 on i. 52.

386 ἐς τῷ Ἡραίῳ. This was the temple of Hera under the surname Bouvala, situated not outside the city, as might be guessed from the phrase ἐξ ᾗ, but just under the summit Acrocorinthus. Pausanias describes it last of all the temples seen on the ascent to the summit, which itself was surmounted by the temple of Aphrodite (ii. 4. 7). See note 256, above. The local legends made it founded by one Bounas, son of Hermes and Alcimada, and a curious story brought it into connexion with the magical rites ascribed to Medea. This rests on the authority of Eumelus, a Corinthian and Bacchian genealogical poet, whose traditions therefore represent the mythical views prevalent at Corinth in his time, which is supposed to be the eighth century before the Christian era. Helios (the sun-god) gave the region of the Aesopus to Aloeus, and that of Ephyra (the ancient name of Corinth) to Eteses, the father of Medea. Eteses departing for Colchis put the government in the hands of Banus, on whose death Epepes, the son of Aloeus, succeeded to the sovereignty. Afterwards on the death of Corinthus, son of Marathon, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolchos, and made her queen. Through her influence Jason reigned in Corinth, and Medea had children by him. But these, as they were born, their mother buried in the temple of Hera Bounas, in the hope of rendering them immortal. Being detected by Jason in the act, and also deceived in her expectation, she fled and left the sovereignty to Sisyphus. The act attributed to Medea indicates that Hera Bounas was a θεός δελεωτός, and the same thing would be inferred from the temple in her immediate neighbourhood,—which were, one to the θεός δελεωτός, and another to the Morra, Demeter, and Cora. Concerning the import and origin of the word Bouvala, see Excursus on iv. 199.

387 τοιοῦτο μὲν ἔστι υἱὸν ἡ τυραννίς. The speaker takes no notice of that which, according to other accounts, seems to have been characteristic of the Cypselid dynasty, viz., their prodigal expenditure in votive offerings, which however was primarily designed to secure their allies in power by crippling the resources of their countrymen. Theophrastus (ep. Philetæmus, ev. τὰς Κυπελλίδον ἀνδραπόρους) mentions "the pyramids in Egypt and the Colossus of the Cypselides" as erected with this object. Aristotle (Polit. v. p. 1313, line 22) takes the same view. Ephorus (ep.
Hippias replies to Soc-
sicles predict evi-
to Corinth
from Athens.

93

94

'Diog. Laert. i. 96) gives a different rea-
son from Herodotus for the stripping of
the women at the Heraeum. Periander
had made a vow that if he won the chariot
race he would erect a golden statue (the
famous Colossus) at Olympia. Finding
his stock of gold insufficient, and obser-
ving the quantity of that metal worn by
the women at "a certain" religious festi-
val, he took that and made the image of
it. Probably the clothes were burnt to
obtain the inwrought gold; as by Croesus
(i. 50).

348 οἴκους. So S, V. Gaisford οἶκον. The regime in which this word is here
used is peculiar to Herodotus. The sense
is the same as if for it the words κωλ, οὗ
γὰρ were substituted. See i. 11: οἴκουν
δὴ πετυχα ἀλλὰ δό οὐκ ἀναγκάζονται ἀλλὰς
προκειμένη... αἱρέσει αὐτῶν περιέχουν.
i. 59: οἴκους τοῦτο παραπόλεμον Ἀλκιχορος
πεσόντα τόν ἤκτωρ καθὼς γενέσθαι
οὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν Πειστράτων. Another
mode of taking the passage would be by
placing a note of interrogation after 'Ἰρ-
πηρ,' which would bring the construction
under a well-known form. See notes 689
on i. 206 and 299 on iv. 118.

349 ἡ μὴν. Gaisford has, with some of
the MSS, ἡ μὲν. But the form in the
text, which is supported by S and V, is
appropriate when the very phraseology
used is intended to be given.

370 Ἀσθενικά. The town Anthemus
lay near Thessalonica, but was further
removed from the coast. An earlier con-
nexion of Pliasistratos with Macedonia ap-
ppears from the circumstance of his having
obtained a large revenue from the Stry-
mon (i. 64), that is, apparently, from the
neighbouring mines.

371 Ἰλιον ἐστὶ Χερεὼν. Whither he had
retreated on his expulsion from Athens
by the Lacedaemonians. (See above, § 65.)
The position of Sigeum was most favour-
able both for commerce and for plunder
of commercial rivals. See the descripti-
on of the headland in the note 117 on iv. 38.
Under it there was an excellent port for
vessels, which was supposed to be the site
of the Hellenic camp during the Trojan
war. The whole Trond was full of settle-
ments of the Ἀβαλλάνθων, and Sigeum seems
originally to have been fortified by them.
It was wrested from them by Phrynion the Athenian, and probably recovered by Pittacus of Mytilene, who slew Phrynion in single combat. (Strabo, xiii. 1.; Diod. Laert. i. 74.) After this perhaps the conquest by Pisistratus may have taken place. But Strabo takes no notice of any such thing.

Perhaps this Argive connexion may have formed the link between Pisistratus and the Macedonian Amyntas, who was himself a Temenid, originally from Argos. (Thucydidès, ii. 99.)

These contests were of the nature of those between the rival settlers on the Palatine and Aventine Hills, or that between the Athenians of the acropolis and the Amazons on the Areopagus. (See note on ix. 27.) The 'Αχιλλος πόλις was nothing more than a fortification thrown up about the barrow called the tomb of Achilles, which stood in the immediate vicinity of Sicyon. It was built as a means of annoying Sicyon (ἐπισιχμαδέω), and the tradition (adopted by Timaeus, but rejected by Demetrius of Scepsis) ran that it was built from the stones of the demolished Ilium. (Strabo, xiii. 1.)

For illustration of this pleonastic use of of see note 300 on iv. 118.

272 ἦσαν Ἐλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενελαῖος Ἐρέτα. Eschylius (Eumenid. 307) puts the mythical argument for the Athenian claim to the disputed territory by making Athene come from the region in dispute, she having gone thither to hannel it immediately after the Trojan war:—

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κιλιδόνι βοην, ἀπὸ Σκαμάδονον, γὰν καταφθάνομεν ἣν δὴν Ἀχιλλος ἄτορες τε καὶ τρόμοι, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρηματών λάχος μέγα, ἔξειμεν αὐτόπρεπον εἰς τὸ ταῦτα ἐξαιρετὸν δόρμηι Θρῆνος τόκως.

276 Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής . . . . φεῦγον ἐκφεύγει. This incident, although as related it would naturally be taken to have happened in the course of the wars springing out of the occupation of Sicyum by Pisistratus, must undoubtedly have taken place long before if at all, as Alcman was the contemporary and enemy of Pittacus, who slew Phrynion. (See note 271, above.) Phrynion's victory at Olympia as a pancratist is placed in B.C. 636 (see Clinton). And Periander died in all probability about B.C. 555 (see Clinton), twenty-five years before Pisistratus became powerful in Athens.

277 ἐπιστιῆς ἐς Μυτιλήνην. See note 125 on iii. 43.
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ναύπτε ἄνδρες ταῦτα. Μυτιληναίοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοι κατηλλαξείς Πειρανδρός ὁ Κυνήγους τούτος γάρ διαυτήρησεμετάποντα. κατηλλαξείς δὲ ὅτε πέμενεθα εἰκατέρως τὴν ἔχουσιν. Σχηματικῶν μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίους. Ἡπίπης δὲ ἔπει τε ἀπεκέντρόν τι τῆς Δακεδαλούσιος καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνη, πῶς χρήμα εἴκενε, διαβάλλει τοῦτο 'Αθηναίον πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρρα, καὶ ποιεὼν ἀπενταῦκος αὐτοῖς αἰ 'Ἀθήνη πείχειν ἵνα ὑπετης τε καὶ ταῦτα. Ἡπίπης τε δὴ ταύτα ἐπικρατεῖν, καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα, πέμπουσι τοῖς Σάρδις ἀγγέλους οὓς οἴνοις τῶν Πέρσας πείθοντας 'Αθηναίοι τοὺς φυγάρας ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρρας ἔκειλεν σφαιρᾶς, εἰ βουλοίτοις οὖς εἶναι, καταδέξεσθαί ὅπερ Ὁπίπην. ὅπως δὴ ἐνδεκεκτοῖ τοὺς λόγους ἀποφεμομένους 'Αθηναίοι οὐκ ἐνδεκεκτοῖς δὲ σφι ἐδοκοῦν ἕκτο τοῦ φανεροῦ τοὺς Πέρσας πολεμίους εἰπαί.

97

Nομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοις οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν ταύτω δὴ τῷ καυρῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Δακεδαλούσου ἐξελάθεσθε ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπεκέντρόν εἰς τὸ 'Ἀθήνας. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξουκάκεντα μέγιστα, ἐπεθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου ἡ Ἀρισταγόρης, ταῦτα ἔλεγε τα καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτη, περὶ τῶν ἄγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολεμοῦ τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὕτω ἀσπίδα οὕτε δόρυ νομίζουσι, εὐπτετέες

277 εἰκατέρως. Several MSS. have ἀμφότερος, of which perhaps the reading in the text is a refinement,—possibly an improvement from the hand of the author himself.

278 Αἴγιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίους. The account in the text is such a one as might accord with the popular view at Athens. No mention whatever is made of the victory obtained over the Athenian general Phrynion (see note 271, above). The only circumstances alluded to are honourable to Athenian prowess, and the settlement of the question is represented as favourable to the justice of their claim. But in order to combine these advantages chronology is set at naught. See notes 213 and 214 on i. 63 and 64, also 138 on iii. 47.

280 οὐκ ἔντας, "protesting against."

281 οὐκ ἐνδεκομένως δὲ σφι δέδοκεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τούτι Πέρσας πολεμίους εἰπαί, "and in refusing to receive them they had openly decided upon being at war with the Persians." This expression seems introduced as a sort of justification for the Athenian attack on Sardis. And if the outrage on the Persian ambassadors (recorded in vii. 133) really took place, it too might probably have been excused by the Athenians on the ground that they were at the time open war with Persia; so that the demand was a gratuitous insult. See the note 370 on iii. 134.

282 ὡς τὰς Ἀθήνας. So the manuscripts S and V. Gaissford, with several others, omits the article.

283 τῶν λοιπῶν ἐξουκάκεντα μέγιστα. This is given as a less flattering way of putting what he had said above, i. 56, that the Lacedemonians and Athenians were the most powerful of the Hellenes, each being the leader of the race to which they respectively belonged.

284 ταῦτα. Gaissford ταῦτα.

285 οὕτω ἀσπίδα οὕτε δόρυ νομίζουσι. See note 484 on i. 142.
This sentiment is one hardly calculated to find favour at Athens, and it contrasts strikingly in spirit with the remark in v. 78. It seems not impossible that the whole sentence is a note from a somewhat later hand, at a time when the numbers of the Athenians had become as great as those mentioned in the texts. In the year 444 B.C. the number of professional citizens was only 19,006, and these were, on a scrutiny, reduced to 14,240. (See Clinton on the year.) The next year the colony to Thurii, which Herodotus joined, took place; so that these numbers, if any, could hardly fail to be impressed on his mind. But 30,000 (which really was about the number of armed citizens and metics) seems, in common belief, to have been regarded as the number of citizens about the end of the fifth century B.C. Aristophanes (Eccles. 1133) makes a servant-girl say to her master:—

τίς γὰρ γνώσις ἐν μᾶλλον διδασκεῖτο, διότι κοίτων πλέον ἢ τριμυθών ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ δεδεμένα μέτας;

And Socrates (Plato, Symposium, § 3) compliments Agathon, who had just been successful as a dramatic poet, on obtaining distinction before an audience of more than thirty thousand Greeks. (See Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 390.)

226 τολοθοῦς γὰρ... διαβάλλειν ἢ ἦν. This sentiment is one hardly calculated to find favour at Athens, and it contrasts strikingly in spirit with the remark in v. 78. It seems not impossible that the whole sentence is a note from a somewhat later hand, at a time when the numbers of the Athenians had become as great as those mentioned in the texts. In the year 444 B.C. the number of professional citizens was only 19,006, and these were, on a scrutiny, reduced to 14,240. (See Clinton on the year.) The next year the colony to Thurii, which Herodotus joined, took place; so that these numbers, if any, could hardly fail to be impressed on his mind. But 30,000 (which really was about the number of armed citizens and metics) seems, in common belief, to have been regarded as the number of citizens about the end of the fifth century B.C. Aristophanes (Eccles. 1133) makes a servant-girl say to her master:—

τίς γὰρ γνώσις ἐν μᾶλλον διδασκεῖτο, διότι κοίτων πλέον ἢ τριμυθών ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ δεδεμένα μέτας;
‘Δρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπικέατο ἐλευθεροθέτησαν ἡμᾶς ἀνέγμενοι Ἐρετρίων πέντε τριήμερα, οὐ τὴν τε Οἰκίαν χάρων ἐστρατεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίαν, ὁφειλόμενα σφι ἀποδίδοντες’ (οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλησίων πρότερον τοῖς Ἐρετρίοις τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας τόλμησιν παράβολον χωνεύειν, ὅτε περὶ καὶ Χαλκιδέωι ἄντι τοῖς Ἐρετρίωι καὶ Μιλησίωι Σάμιοι ἐβοῦρ) αὐτοῖς δὲν ἐπιτελεῖ τὸ σφι ἀπικέατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι συμμαχοὶ παρῆσαν, ἐποίησε στρατηγὴν ἐστὶν Ἀρισταγόρης ἐστὶς Σάρδης. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύτω ἄλλο ἔμενε συν Μιλησίων στρατηγοῦ δὲ ἄλλος ἀπεδέξετο Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἑωτοῦ τε ἀδελφῶν Χαριπόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῶν Ἐρμοφανῶν. Ἀπεκάμονε δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τοῦτῳ Ἰωνές ἐστὶς ‘Εφέσου, πλοία μὲν κατέληψον ἐν Κορήσσῳ τῆς Ῥούμασθαραν. In Doriscus there was a Persian fort and a garrison at the time of which Herodotus is speaking (see vii. 69). And the position was undoubtedly a strong one; for Doriscus was the only Persian position on the European continent which was maintained against all the efforts of the victorious Greeks after the campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C. (See below, vii. 106.) If the fugitives therefore were landed there, they must have been supported by a strong Lesbian force to protect them from the garrison. The Etruscans were not likely to mix themselves up in a quarrel against the Pisistratids; for they strongly assisted Pisistratus at the time of his exile. (See i. 62, and also note on vi. 100.)

which was a very considerable Hellenic confederacy was organized on each side. It seems to have been one arising out of rival commercial interests, each of the principal belligerents being the metropolis of a large number of colonies. In Thrace especially their interests may be supposed to have jarred, Chalics having filled the region above Olynthus with her settlements, and Eretria the peninsula of Athos and Pallene with hers. (Εὐρισκόμενος, τ. c. 1, p. 32.) It is observable that as both of the towns are represented to have been founded from Athens by two different noblemen (Ælius and Cothus) even before the Trojan war, so in latter times they appear connected with two different powerful Athenian families, those of Pisistratus and Isagoras. See note 199, above. 

ἐν Κορήσσῳ. Στρ. Βυζαντ. speaks of this place as one where a legend
prevailed of Leto having given birth to Artemis on a spot where an altar to her was erected. A mountain is said to have been called by the name, but this place must have been on the coast, or the bank of the Cayster, by the ships being left there.

320 Ἐπερὶ τῶν Τμῶν. Strabo (viii. c. 4, p. 151) mentions the Persians having built on the very summit of Tmolus a station of observation of white marble, commanding a view of the plains all around, especially the valley of the Cayster. It might almost seem that the surprise related in the text was the occasion of their doing this.

324 αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης, "Artaphernes in person." Probably the fact of his being at Sardis casually increased the numbers of the troops there, and hence the expression ἔχων δύναμιν ὧν ἠλέγησιν. See notes 333 on iii. 120 and 296, below. The viceroy and brother of the king (above, § 25) would of course not move from one place to another without a guard.

and burns it, but is repulsed from the citadel.

325 Ἐλόντας. The manuscripts 8 and V have Ἐλόντας, which is perhaps a genuine reading.

326 τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλῆθεὶ πολλῷ προσφερομένους. This expression no doubt refers to the main army then concentrating on Sardis (§ 102). Herodotus mentions no special quarters from whence it was moved. Magnesia on the Meander appears (iii. 122) to have been the military headquarters of a Persian satrap; and perhaps the force there was the nearest available. This supposition would account for the Ionians having intelligence of the troops being put in motion; for the communication between Sardis and Magnesia would be through the Ephesian territory, which was friendly to them. In this view of the matter ἔλοντες should not be interpreted too strictly, although from Tmolus (see note 293, above) one probably could actually see the Persian columns marching towards the Cayster, before they reached the bank, and consequently while there was time to retreat.

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277 ἐπίγραφης θεοῦ Κυβῆθης. This passage shows that in the time of Herodotus Κυβῆθη and Κυβῆθη were regarded as two distinct deities. For at that period the former was completely identified in Hellenic notions with the μεγάλη μυθή (see iv. 76), and if the latter had been so likewise, she would never have been described merely as in the text. The most probable supposition is that Κυβῆθη was nearly identical with the Sidonian Astarte (Astartoth), the Assyrian Mylitta (see i. 131. 199), the Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία of the Cyprians (see i. 106), the Artemis Callisto of the Pelasgian-Arcadians, and the Venus of Lacedaemon,—that is to say, that she was a personification of the generative powers of Nature,—worshipped by rituals varying in detail, but in all cases of an impure character. The Syrian goddess described by Lucian (vol. ix. pp. 86—131, ed. Bipont), whose temple was at Hierapolis, near the Euphrates, may be regarded as furnishing the most developed of all recorded instances of this worship; and it appears not unlikely that from this centre the ritual spread in very early times through Asia Minor. (See note 299 on i. 93.) Lucian’s description of the divinities (Ζεὺς and Ήρ, as he calls them) in the θέλαμος of the temple at Hierapolis is very instructive: άνεύρονται ἄλλα τὰ μὲν "Ηρη λέωτες φόροισεν; σὲ τὰς Ζεύτις τάφρων ἀκρίβεται καὶ ἄντρα τὸ μὲν τῶν Δεσιάν ἀνάξια ἐν Δία πάντα ὅψθ, καὶ κεφάλη καὶ ἐναμετὰ καὶ ἐξωρία καὶ μὲν οὖσα ἐκεῖνα ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς; ἢ δὲ Ἡρη σκοτεινὰ τοῖς πολυκαθισίοις ἐναμείναι καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμπαντα ἀκρίβεια λέγω "Ηρη ἄστι· ἔχει δὲ τὶ καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ Ρήγης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Νεμέας, καὶ Μοῖρης. χειρὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐνεργό οὐκέτι ἔχει, τῇ ἄτρακτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀντωνὶ τὰ φορέω καὶ τύργον καὶ καστὰς, τῷ μὴν τὴν Οὐρανίαν κοιμάμενοι. (De Dea Syr. § 31.) Lucian does not give the native name of the deity,—Stephanus calls her Atargatis,—but it seems not impossible that it was Κυβῆθη or Κυβῆθη (for Κυμῆθος is the Atyss of the Syrian mythology, and stands in the same relation to Κυβῆθη that κῆβος (= θατερίμιος τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, Ρητέως) does to Κυβῆθη. And if we further suppose that Κυβῆθη and Κυβῆθη represent the same deity in different relations,—for instance the former as Ρησ, and the latter as Ἀφροδίτη,—an explanation is afforded of the two names being subsequently used indifferently. That the first syllable constitutes the root of the word seems likely from the word κυβ-ακόρα, explained by Herseythus as a Laconian word for ἐποικείως, and from the name Κυβῆθη, the mother of the Curetes (Nonnius, xiii. 135), and a nymph, afterwards called Chalicia, the eponymous foundress of the Euboean town opposite to Alcis. (Ἡκατεύς, Fr. 108.) For the particular site of the temple see note 292 on i. 84. See the note 366 on i. 105 for another form of the same goddess, and see also note 121 on ii. 41.

278 προτεσθισμένου ταῦτα. One manuscript (S) has προτεσθισμένοι. But Herodotus apparently wishes to show that intelligence of an intended outbreak had reached the Persian satraps, who began to concentrate their forces, although this operation was not completed in time to save Sardis. See note 296, above.

292 ἀποδέχοντος. The Ionians, apparently without the Athenians, who had retreated on their ships at the first appearance of a concentration of the enemy’s force. The completion of this operation by the Persians evnος "Ἀλνος ψοτάμοι νομοί ἔχον-
The Athenians desert the cause, but the rebellion is continued. The allies sail to the Hellespont, and gain Byzantium and the other cities, also the greater part of Caria and Casmia.

All Cyprus revolts under the influence of Onesilus of Salamis, except Ama-ktus, to which Onesilus lays siege.
During the siege of Amathus, news of the revolt is brought to Darius,

who upbraidsHistiaius as the cause of it,

but is persuaded by him of his innocence,
ΤΕΡΨΙΣΧΟΡΕ. Β. 105—108.

εμέλλει λυπηρῶν ἀνασχέσεων; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιώκημενος ποιέωμι ταύτα; τεῦξε δὲ ἐνδείχθης ἐών, τῷ πάρᾳ μὲν πάντα ὁσα περὶ σοι, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ὀξεῖμαι; ἀλλ' εἶ περὶ τοιούτου οὖν σὺ εἰρήκας πρῆσως ὦ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἦσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐωστὶν βαλλόμενον πεπραγμένα. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγορε ὦθε ἐνδεκομαί τὸν λόγον, διός τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεότερον πρήσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σα' εἶ δ' ἀρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖται, καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐων ἀκινήκας, ὁ βασιλεύς, μάθε ὦλον πρήγμα ἐργάζασι ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνασκαστῶν ποιήσας: Ἰωνίης γὰρ ὀικαστεῖ, ἐμὲ εὖ ὁφθαλμόν σφε γενομένου, ποιήσαι τῶν πάλαι Ιμερον ἐξήν ἐμέο δ' ἂν εὑροῦ τῇ Ἰωνίη ὑδεμέλα πόλεως ὑπεκύψῃ νῦν ὁ δ' ὡς τάχος μὲ ἀφές πορευθήναι ἐς Ἰωνίνην, ἵνα τοι τεῖς τὰ πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τῶντι 386 καὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταύτα μηχανημάτων ἐγχειρίδετον παραδώς ταύτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τῶν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμνημι τοὺς βασιλεύοις, μὴ μὲν πρῶτον εκδυσάζασι τὸν καθὼς καταβίβομαι ἐς Ἰωνίνην, πρὶν ἂν τοῖς Σαρδιῶν νήσοις τὴν μεγίστην 387 δασμοφόρον ποιήσω. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν ἂν λέγων ταύτα διέβαλλε 388. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπεἴθερο καὶ μια ἀπίεις, ἐντελάμενος ἐπεάν τὰ ὑπέσχετο ἐς ἐπιτελεῖς ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὑπόποιοι ἐς τὰ Σοῦρα. 389

Ἐν τοῖς κατά τὰ περὶ τῶν Σαρδιῶν παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνέµε, καὶ Δαρείῳ τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαῖῳ ἐς λόγους ἤλθε, 107

and sends him to put down the revolt.

108

386 καταρτίσω ἐς τῶντι, "get them into order, as they were." See note 72 on § 26.
387 νήσοιν τὴν μεγίστην. Sardinia probably obtained this reputation from its commercial importance,—it being for the Carthaginians what Sicily was for the Roman Republic and Egypt for the Roman Empire,—the place from which they habitually drew their supplies. They held firm possession of the plains, the aboriginal inhabitants retiring to the mountainous interior, where they bred cattle and sheep with extraordinary success. (Dion. Sic. v. 15.) No doubt it was mercenaries drawn from these highlanders which constituted the Sardinian force in the army with which Hamilcar attacked Gelon (vii. 165). The knowledge which the Hellenic cities of Herodotus's time had of all the islands west of Sicily was confined to the accounts brought by traders;

in which nothing would be more natural than that the geographical size of any place should be inferred from the magnitude of its exports, estimated in the rough manner which alone at that time was possible. And these accounts no doubt came directly or indirectly from Carthaginian sources; as the Carthaginian policy prohibited even their allies, the Tyrrenes and Romans, from trading with the parts in question, except either at Carthage or the factories in Sicily. (Polyb. iii. 24.) Eratosthenes (op. Strabo. xvii. c. 1, p. 440) related that the Carthaginians made it a regular practice to sink any strange sail they fell in with, bound either for Sar- dinia or the straits. It was the importance of the island to them which suggested the advice of Bias to the Ionians (i. 170).

388 διέβαλλε. See note 124 on § 50, above.
An Ionian force arrives to co-operate with the Cyprians under Onesilus against a Persian and Phoenician army from Cilicia under Artbyus.

290 *mēmetímēnos*. The manuscripts S and V have the form *mēmetímēnos* (perhaps a genuine one) both here and in vi. 1. But in vii. 229 all the MSS have *mēmetímēnos*. Whichever reading be adopted, the reduplication of the preposition is remarkable.

311 Αρτόβιος, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. The same name was borne by a Persian, who probably was the nephew of King Darius (vii. 68), if the reading of the manuscripts S, V, and D be genuine. But the others have 'Artóbios'.

311 διαλήπτει ἐκ τῆς Κηλίκης. The transit probably took place from *Amemarius*, a headland of Cilicia, from whence the run to Κρυμνόμον ἄκρα in Cyprus was estimated at only 360 stades, while the name of the Cilician cape (Fair-wind) would induce the belief that the predominant wind was favourable to persons who wished to cross. From 'Point Onion' to 'the Keys' was a run to the east of 700 stades; but in the interval the coast was favourable to such navigation as that of the ancients. In it was the *Αχαΐων ναῦοθ*, where the legend made Teucer, the foun-

der of Salamis, first land; and from Aphroditea (which was a little to the west of this), the march over land to Salamis was only 70 stades. 'The Keys' were really two little islands among a group lying off the mountainous promontory Olympus, on which was a temple of Aphrodite, and which is visible from the coast of Syria as well as that of Cilicia. The run to them direct from the mouth of the Pyramus was estimated at 700 stades, and from them to the high promontory Πυθάλκιον, also crowned with an Aphroditea-temple, at 800 more. (Strabo, xiv. c. 6, pp. 242, 3.) From their name and from the circumstance of their distances from several points being recorded, it may probably be inferred that it was the practice for the coasting merchant vessels to pass through them or by them. It is very clear that Herodotus's informant knew the coast only as a navigator, who called the promontory and group of islets by the name which his landmark bore; just as a pilot on the south coast of England will call the point of the Isle of Wight "the Needles."
"Iones pròs taíta: "Hmías áptepmefi to koinon tôn "Iónwn phulázeontas tìn thalasa"n," aìl' ouk Ína Kuprìouai tás nèas paraðontes autòi Peròsai peiç prosphorómeba. Hmías mév ton ën òn étachthme, taíta pioerómeba einai xeruotou hymas ðe xreous ësti òanamiasóthtias oia épíàxheti duyléontes pròs tôn Mèdow phínesbain ðandras òanáthous." "Iones méven toutous ameipanou metà ðe, Ínhtm tôn ðe tò pedion to Salamwión tôn Peròewn, diétaxson oi basileías tôn Kupríoup tôn mév ìllous Kupríoup kata tòus ìllous stratwntas antinástasontes, Salamwión ðe kai Solíów apóleaxontes to àriston antitéaxson Peròsai. 'Arthímio ðe tò stratò perieríhou òanatástasou 'Ouníolos. 'Hlaine ðe ðppon ðo 'Arthímio deididigménon pròs ðplítìn iostásastai ðoðhôn. pthdówmenos ði taita ðo 'Ouníolos, ðen gár ði òunaspwtísis génous mév Kai tä ðe pòlerma kàrta dòkimo, kai ìllous lìmastos plèlos, èipte pròs touton "pynthánomai tòn 'Arthímion ðppon iostámenos ðoðhôn, kai poio kai stómati kataëxezontai pròs tôn ði prosvenekhísi ði ðon boulévomai oútika èipte ðòteron bouleia phulázei phílosai, èipte ði ðppon èipte autón 'Arthímion." èipte pròs taíta o ðpáw autóu ðo basileú, ðtoiðois mév èngiai ðim poíleis ða amfótera ða tò éteron autón, kai pánw tò ði ðin epitásis síu ðis méntoi èmouge dòkéei èina tois próis prosphoréstexen, frásow basileía mév kai strataghýon xreuwn èinaí fèmi basileí te kai stratagýf prosphorébhai ðn te gàra kataélh ðandra stratagwn, méga tòi ðánetai kai déuterà, ðn ðe èkeino ðo ðh génouto, ùtpo àxióchron kai ðppbhanei ðmísiai sumphorí hyma ða tòus ðpphíntas ètëromai te ðpphíntas prosphorébhai kai pròs ðppon tôu ði tòs mhítan meléon fò$dbhísi èngia gàra [ðhî] tois ðppdédovmaì ðhì ði ðìndous stè-

312 phulázeontas tìn thalasa. See note on vi. 5. 313 diemphértheias oia éndikychei duyléontes pròs tôn Mèdow. There is nothing to show the bad condition of the Cyprians under the Median rule. Cyprus was reduced (for the first time according to Herodotus) by Amasis (ii. ult.), and it would seem that the desire of throwing off the Egyptian yoke induced them voluntarily to put themselves under the empire of Cambyses. (See note 56, a, on iii. 19.) Yet there may have been an Egyptian party in Cyprus of whom what is said in the text was true. 314 Salamwión ðe kai Solíów. Solí was on the opposite side of the island from Salamis, but only a little to the west of 'Point Onion.' (Strabo, xiv. c. 6, p. 245.) The distance therefore between it and Salamis (see note 311, above) cannot have been great.
112 in which the Phoenician fleet is beaten by the Ionian, and the Persian general slain by Onesilus; σεθαί ἐναντίον." Ταῦτα ἔθετε, καὶ μετανίκη συνέμοσε τὰ στρατόπεδα πεζῷ καὶ νησίῳ 311. νησίῳ μὲν ὶνας, ἀκορον γενόμενον ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, ὑπερβάλοντο τοὺς Φούκικας καὶ τούτων Σάμιων ἡλετεύουσαν πεζῷ δὲ, ὡς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα, συμπεσόντα εἱμαχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀμφότερους τὰς ἐγκεφάλους ὡς προσεφερέτο πρὸς τὸν ὶνασιδίον ὦ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὃ ὶνασιδίος κατὰ τὰ συνεχείατο 312 τῷ ὑπατητῷ παλικροσφερόμενον αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀρτύβιον ἐπηβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν ὶνασιδίον ἀποδέχεται, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ῥάπαρ δρεπάνοι πλήξεα ἀπαράσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. ὢ Ἀρτύβιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσῶν ὤμοι τὸν ἵππον πᾶττει αὐτῶν ταύτη. Μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἁλῶν, Στησίμαρ, τίραννοι ἐὼν Κούρην 317, προδοδοιοὶ ἔχουσιν δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑαυτῶν οὐ συμπερίτη (οἱ δὲ Κουρίες οὐδεὶς λέγονται εἰναι Ἀργείων ἀποκεκόμου), προδότην δὲ τῶν Κουρίεων, αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμιτῶν πολέμιστρια ἀρματα τόυτο τοῖς Κουρίεσι ἐπολέες γυναῖκές δὲ τούτων, καταπέρτεροι ἤσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμέμονος δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἄλλου τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ ὶνασιδίος τε ὁ Ἡέρων, δοτῆρ τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολωνίδας βασιλεὺς Ἀρηστόκηρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρος, (Φιλοκύπρος δὲ τούτου, τῶν Σώλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικάμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσε αἰνετε τυράννων μάλιστα.) ὶνασιδίον μὲν νῦν Ἀμαθοῦσιοι 318, ὁτι σφέας ἐποιεύμετρησε,
The Amathusians insult the dead body of Onesilus, but afterwards are commanded by an oracle to worship him as a hero.

The Ionians return to their own cities, and the Persians recover Cyprus.

The Persian army in three divisions attacks the Greek cities.

Dourises secures the shore of the Hellespont, but is compelled to move, in order to put down a

116

117

118

the husbands of different daughters, they were unlikely to combine together against their father, and conjointly they perhaps operated as a check upon their uncle. (See note 66, above.) Indeed it is possible that two of them may have been husbands of daughters borne by Darius’s first wife, the daughter of Go- brytas. (See vii. 2.) It is very plain however (from § 123) that the three here named were superior in rank to the rest of the Persian generals.

312 τοὺς Κάρας. See § 103, above.
movement in Caria.

119

The Carians are beaten on the bank of the Mar-
The Milesians join them, and in a second battle the Persian division gains a bloody victory, but subsequently is cut off in an ambuscade near Podanea.
stratagov auton, Daurios kal 'Amorhgos kal Xosmakhis. 331. sun
dexe syneixhme kal Mipros o Ilygos. 332. touto axhouch touitou
megimoi nyn 'Hrakleidh 'Ibasinos, anh Mulosox 333. odou me
un tov Perekh oxw thiebharxhain.

122

Hymneas,
after taking
Cius in My-
sia, falls
back upon
the Helle-
spont, and
dies in the
Troad.

123

Artaphernes
and Olanes

331 'Amorhgos kal Xosmakhis. The ma-
nuscripts B and V have 'Amorhgos kal
Xosmakhys.

332 Mipros o Ilygos. The individual
here spoken of is probably the agent
of Oretes in his treachery against Polycr-
ates; and perhaps owes his mention in
this place to the evil notoriety which he
acquired by connexion with the story of
that remarkable prince. See iii. 122.
Some MSS have the form Mipora instead
of Mipros.

333 Mulosox. The MSS have Mulos-
sev, which Gaisford follows. But Mu-
losax is unquestionably the true form of
the town, and therefore both here and
above (§ 37) I have adopted the ethnic
Mulosox.

334 tyn 'Ilyda. Valckmaer's conjecture,
yyn 'Ilyda, has great plausibility; for
yn 'Ilyax can scarcely mean any thing
else than yn Trophas, which immediately
follows.

335 tychi ouleofhntas tov arxalov
Tevkron. See note on vii. 20.

336 tov tritos stratagoph, i.e. with two
others (Hymneas and Daurios), in co-
ordinate rank with himself. See note 321
on § 116.

337 etaxhenev. This word is appropriate
to the case of orders received from a higher
quarter. It is not impossible that Darius
sent a sketch of the plan of operations
which he desired to have followed out.
It was quite in accordance with a system
of centralization that the satrap of Sardis,
even if formally the military superior of
the generals commanding the troops in
Asia, should not be selected for his military
talents, and therefore might prove unfit on
a great emergency for directing extensive
combinations; and here we see him acting
under special instructions, co-ordinately
with an officer who usually must have been
his inferior. (See notes 79 and 321, above.)
Such a state of things offers a curious
parallel to the conduct of Napoleon twenty-
three centuries later, directing the opera-
tions of his generals in Spain (among whom
was his own brother, Antonomachos
yn the baldewyn) from his own camp at
Moscow. The great importance attached
to the command of the Helleespont shows
itself in the proceedings of the Persian
generals. The towns captured so rapidly
by Daurios (§ 117) all lie, one after the
other, along the Asiatic shore of the strait,
while Hymneas, moving apparently from
Dascyleum upon Cius, no sooner finds
that the division which had occupied the
Helleespontine towns is withdrawn in order
to crush the Carian revolt, than he at
once puts himself by a retrograde move-
ment in a position to supply their place
(§ 130). It is plain that the Carian
movement must have been a very danger-
ous one, otherwise troops would not have
been marched from such a distance as the
Helleespont to put it down. Another cir-
cumstance worthy of remark is, that no
Persian troops seem to have been directed
upon any place between Dardanus on the
north and Cuma on the south, although
in the interval lies Lesbos, which contri-
ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ. Β. 122—126.

85 'Ιωνίης καὶ τὴν προσέχει Διόλδα στρατεύεσθαι. 'Ιωνίης μὲν νων ἡ Ἐκαταιών ἀφέουσι, Διόλδου δὲ Κύμην.

124 Aristagoras loses courage, and proposes to abandon Ionia and go either to Sardis or Myrion.

125 The advice of Hecataeus, to occupy Lemnos, is rejected, and Aristagoras goes to Myrion, where he is killed.

126 A τούτοις ἀρρητοὶ γυναῖκι ἡ τῆς Μύρικων ἀπαίγει. τῆς μὲν ἡ Μήλητος ἐντρέπει Πνθαγόρη, ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμων. αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα τῶν βουλόμενων ἔπλεε ἐκ τῆς Θρήκης, καὶ ἔσκετο τὴν κώρην ἐπὶ ἐκστάσει. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμεύομενος ἀπολλύεται ὑπὸ Θρηκίων αὐτὸς τὸ 'Αρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλειν περικατήμενος, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηκίων ὑποστόλων ἐξενέα.

86 But it was observed that the Lesbians were the first to follow the example of the treacherous Samians (vi. 14). Perhaps therefore Darius felt all along secure of the Εἰλική interest, even when matters looked worst. (See notes 476 and 593 on Book i.)

87 ἐπὶ δὴ ἄν ἐς Ζαρδά. See note 565 on i. 170.

88 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμων. Nearly the same phrase is applied to Telesarchus, the individual whose violence thwarted Mæandrius in his desire to establish a more liberal government at Samos. See note 396 on iii. 143, and on vi. 5.

'ἘΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ 'ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΤ Ε'.
'ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ
'

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ 'ΕΚΤΗ.

ΕΡΑΤΩ.

'ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ μὲν νυν Ἰωνίην ἀποστῆσας, οὕτω τελευτά. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετήμενος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἢς Σάρδις. ἀπογέμενον δὲ αὐτῶν έκ τῶν Σῶν ύπερτερον Ἀρταφήνης ὁ Σαρδίων ύπαρχος, κατὰ κοίτι τι δοκεοί Ἰωνίας ἀπεστάναι; ὅ δὲ οὕτε ειδέναι έφη ἐθώμαξε τε τὸ γεγονός, ὡς οὐδὲν δήθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφήνης ὅρεον αὐτῶν τεχνάσας ἐξέδω, εἰπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκὴν τῆς ἀποστάσεως: "οὕτω τοῦ Ἰστιαίε, ἔχει κατὰ ταύτα τὰ πρήγματα τούτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραφας μὲν σύ, ὑπεδῆσατο δὲ Ἀριστάγορῆς." Ἀρταφήνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐξῆκε ἐπεὶ Ἰστιαῖος δὲ δείχας ὡς συνιέντα Ἀρταφήνεα, ὑπὸ τὴν πρότην ἐπεξέβατον νῦντα ἀπέδρε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, βασιλέα Δαρείου ἔξηγασθηκός. δὲ Σαρδῖκα νήσου τῆς μεγίστης ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι, ὑπέδεικαν τῶν Ἰωνίων τὴν ἠγεμονίαν τοῦ πρὸς Δαρείου πολέμου. διὰ τὸ δὲ ἐς Χίον ἔδεθη ὑπὸ Χίων, καταγινώσχες πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσεις πρήγματα ἐς ἔσωτος ἢκ Δαρείου τοῦ μάθημα μέντοι οἱ Χίοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς πολέ-

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1 μεμετήμενος. See note 309 on ν. 108.
2 τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραφας, κ.τ.λ. This saying seems very early to have passed into a proverb. It must have done so at the time ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ put into the mouth of Cleon the words: οὐδ', ἐγὼ τὸ πράγμα τοῦτο δέθεν πάλαι καττύνα (Equil. 314).
3 νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. See note 307 on ν. 108.
4 νεώτερα πρήσεις πρήγματα ἐς ἐνω-
ERATO. VI. 1—4. 87

μίος εἰς βασιλεί, ἔλυσαν αὐτὸν. 'Ενθαῦτα δὴ ἐφωτεύμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰόνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, κατ' ὅ τι προθύμως οὔτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῳ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλείος, καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἴη Ἰωάννας ἐξεργασμένος; τήν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν οὐ μάλα ἐξέφαυσε, ὦ δὲ ἑλεύθερος, ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρείου ἐβουλεύσατο Φοινίκης καὶ μὲν ἐξαναστάσεις ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννη κατοκίζει, "Ἰωάννας δὲ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα ἐπιστείλει" οὐδὲν τι πάνως ταῦτα βασιλεύσωμεν. ἐδείκτων τούτω "Ἰωάννας 4." 

Μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἄγγελον ποιήμενον Ἐρμύρτου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀταρνέτεω, τούτοις ἐν Σάρδισι ἔδωκε Περσαίων ἐπεμπτε βυζίλα, ὡς προλεξεχαρημένων αὐτῷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὥ δὲ Ἐρμύρτου πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπετέμφθει οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρει τὰ βυζίλα Ἀρταφέρσει: ὦ δὲ μαθὼν ἄπειρο τὸ γινόμενον, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἐρμύρτου τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖς περὶ ἔφερε, τὰ δὲ ἀμοιβαὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαῖος ἐσωτῆρ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν, ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα Ἒφωτεύτω δεῖ. These words imply that the question put by the Ionians arose out of the defence which Histiaeus made for himself to the Chians. See the last note. 

& 36. 4 Ἐσωτῆρ δοῦναι. Some of the MSS have ἔσωτηρ or ἔσωτερ, and one (F) has Εὐλληνας. The clause appears to me an interpolated marginal note explaining the effects of Histiaeus’s statement upon his audience. 

& ᾧ προλεξεχαρημένων αὐτῷ, "as if they had in former days chatted with him." See the note 513 on i. 153, and that on ix. 71.
5 The Milesians refuse to receive him, and he commences a partisan warfare, capturing the Pontine trading vessels by the aid of the Mytileneans.

The Milesians refused to receive him, and he commenced a partisan warfare, capturing the Pontine trading vessels with the aid of the Mytileneans.

6 οδηγός πρόθυμος ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέχεσθαι. From this expression it would appear that Pythagoras, who held the most prominent position in Miletus subsequently to the departure of Aristogoras (v. 196), was by no means a retainer of the dynasty of Histiaeus. Probably, in deference to the circumstances of the time, he was selected from the number of the commercial aristocracy, whose houses had been thrown into obscurity by the peculiar splendour of the family of Histiaeus, elevated through its connexion with Persia. See note 306 on iii. 143, and 409 on iii. 148.

7 οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους. See note 17, below.

8 διὸ ἐστὶν Ἡστιαῖος. The feeling against Darius was probably much stronger here than in the Ionian states. Coös was the only one of the dynasts seized upon by Aristogoras, who was put to death by his emancipated subjects (v. 38). In the affair of Cyprus too, the Ionians were obviously unwilling to be brought into personal collision with the Persians, although glad of any opportunity of crippling the naval power of their commercial rivals the Phoenicians (v. 109).

11 τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πύργου ἐκτακουσίας τῶν νεῶν ἔλαμβανον. This was not so petty a warfare as it appears at first sight. Byzantium entirely commanded the Pontine traffic; and therefore the trade of all the Milesian colonies in the Euxine (see note 64 on i. 17) was at Histiaeus’s mercy. He would prevent them from taking their cargoes either to Miletus or to any port on the main which was in the possession of the Persians, and thus cripple their revenue. Besides this a more direct injury would be inflicted upon the enemy’s army. For the commissariat of the large bodies of troops maintained by them in Asia, doubtless the corn grown in the valley of the Borysthenes and shipped at the Milesian ports Olbia and Odessus was resorted to. The only other corn country available was Egypt, and independently of the resources of that country having been crippled by Cambyses, and required for the purpose of maintaining the standing army there, the expense of transport would be great. And it was the belief of the ancients (Arístotēlēs, Ὀρθομ. iii. 159, p. 909, A.), that the grain grown in northern countries kept far better than any other, and consequently was best adapted for military magazines. Histiaeus might therefore expect to starve out the garrisons at Doriscus and Dascyleum, or at any rate to make supplies so difficult as to prevent any considerable army from operating together for a length of time. Besides all this a great part of Hellas was at this time mainly dependent upon the Euxine trade for supplying the bulk of the population with their own articles of food, bread and salt fish (βηγόν). (See vii. 147.)
Hence the possession of Byzantium was the most powerful lever Histiaeus could possess for furthering any diplomatic combinations he might contemplate. He would also cut off the communication with the military posts of the Persians in Thrace. See note 111 on § 44.

12 πελίσσαμα. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of a few, reads πελίσσαθα.

13 ἡσαν προθυμιάται. See note 10, above.

14 Κλίκες. These Cilicians are not the mountaineers of v. 52, but the inhabitants of the southern flanks of Taurus in the immediate neighbourhood of the bay of Issus.

15 ἐσπρακτευόν. See note 687 on i. 204.

16 ἢ Πανιάνων. It would seem from this that whatever modifications the Persian conquest under Harpagus had introduced, the form of a congress still continued, but that a predominant influence was possessed by Miletus. Apparently Miletus, under the influence of Histiaeus, was made the seat of the federal government for certain purposes (probably those connected with the employment of the military and naval contingents; see note 81 on v. 33); and hence the advice of Thales (i. 170): ἢν βουλευτήριον Ἰωνών ἐκτήσοι, τὸ δὲ εἰσάγει ἐν Τηφ. He would have selected Teos somewhat on the principle on which the site of Washington was selected for the capital of the United States of America. Teos could never become formidable to the independence of the members of the confederation. Thales obviously belonged to a different party in Miletus from Histiaeus, as appears from the circumstances brought together in the note 566 on i. 170. Now, a revolution having been effected, commissioners are sent, with a special reference to the conduct of the war, to sit in congress. See vii. 172.

17 αὐτῶν Ἰλισίων, "the Milesians themselves," i.e. that no confederate force should be allowed. This probably would have been under the command of a Mision chief, under the system which had prevailed since the downfall of the Lydian monarchy. Jealousy of this Milesian influence perhaps affected the conduct of the Chians to Histiaeus (above, § 5).
They assemble a fleet of 353 ships against 600 of the enemy.

The Persian commanders have recourse to treachery,

18 Πρινθές δυνάμεκα νησι. The Frienians were sold as slaves by Mazares shortly after the fall of Croesus (i. 161). Possibly a fresh population was sent to the territory from Miletus, which had made terms with the Persian conqueror (i. 143. 169); and it may have been put on the footing of a dependency of that state after the usual Persian policy: προβάλλειν ἄφων τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῖν (i. 134). If so, there is an especial reason for the Frienian galleys flanking those of Miletus. See also note 354 on iv. 138.

19 καὶ Μυσιδοί τρισὶ νησι. In the place of these words the manuscript S has the words Πρινθέων διέσχυς Τῆσιν ἐκυκρονίδι νησι, and omits Μυσιδοί διέσχυς Τῆσιν ἐκυκρονίδι νησι. This variation is one which cannot have arisen from any casualty. It will be observed that the ships of Myrus are entirely omitted, but that the Teian contingent is proportionally increased.

20 Τῆσί. These Teians were a population imported since the time when Harpagus overran Ionia. On that occasion the whole original population deserted the city, and went as colonists to Abdera (i. 168). It is not unlikely that the gap may have been filled by Milesians; Miletus and Teos being the exact opposite among all the Ionian confederate towns in their feeling towards Persia at the time of the conquest by Cyrus.

21 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐρυθραῖοι τε ἑτασσοντο καὶ Φωκαῖς. Erythraeans and Phocaeans do not appear in the list of towns given in iv. 138. From the small numbers of the ships furnished, it seems possible that they were manned not by the towns, but by exiles who had fled at the time of the conquest by Harpagus,—at any rate those of Phocaea, the population of which must have been mainly changed (i. 165). The Erythraeans may possibly have been placed (or confirmed) in the position of dependents on the Chians at the time of Cyrus's invasion. See notes 67 on i. 19 and 354 on iv. 138. The hardihood of the Phoccean commander (§ 12) bespeaks a man seasoned by a semi-piratical life such as that of exiles would have been.

22 Χάμωι εἴχεσαν νησι. It is remarkable that so soon after the vicissitudes through which Samos had passed (see iii. 149), its resources should have enabled it to send a contingent so nearly equal to that of Miletus. The colonization under Oanes probably took place before Darius's campaign in Scythia (see note 36 on § 13, below); but the destruction of property under such circumstances as those described in iii. 147. 149 must have been nearly total. Possibly as the new dynasty was favourable to Persian interests, funds were advanced to the new colonists of the island from the Persian government.

23 αὐτα μὲν Ἰόνων ἦσαν, "these were the ships on the Ionian side." It will be observed that a considerable portion of the force, viz. the Lesbian, was not Ionian, but Αἰολικ. But the whole is called Ἰονικ, apparently on the same principle as in iv. 137 and viii. 90.

24 ταυράταρες. See note 86 on v. 36.
through the agency of the expelled dynasts.

35 *περιάδωθο* ἄσποχίζειν, “let him make a trial in detaching.” See i. 84: ἔνεπράτῳ προσεβαλέων. The manuscripts S and V have ἄποσχίζειν.

36 οὔτε τὰ ἱδία οὔτε τὰ ἱδία ἐμπερήστησαν, “neither their temples nor their houses shall be fired.” The distinction is the same as that made in slightly different terms, below, § 25: οὔτε η ἀῆλι οὔτε τὰ ἱδία ἐνερήσθη.

37 οὔτε δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλέστασαν, “and if nothing will serve them but to fight it out.” So iv. 127: εἰ δὲ δεὸς πάντως ἢ τούτως κατὰ τάχος ἀπεικόνισθαι.

38 ἀναστάσεως ἐß Βάκτρα. It is not easy to say with confidence why this expression should be used; but possibly it is because the line of traffic along which the female slaves destined for the oriental bazaars were carried passed in that direction. It was probably always the practice of the Caucasian mountaineers (as it is at present), to sell their own children for this purpose. At any rate they would habitually kidnap those of their neighbours, and the most convenient mart for these would be *Dioscurias*, a Milesian colony in the extreme eastern recess of the Euxine. This market was frequented by no less than seventy different Caucasian and Sarmatian tribes (according to some accounts 300), all speaking different languages and having no friendly intercourse with each other. (Stрабo. xi. c. 2, p. 408.) The commodity for which they bartered their prisoners was chiefly *sali*.

(Stрабo. i. c., p. 421.) From Dioscurias there can be little doubt that the female slaves would be shipped to Phasis (on the river of the same name), and from thence arrive on the eastern coast of the Caspian by the route indicated in the note 363 on i. 104. There they would get into the line of caravan traffic which led to Balk (which is, with more or less exactness, the Bactrak of the text), and from thence over the mountains to Caubul and the Punjab. It is a very remarkable circumstance that Herodotus should never mention Dioscurias, nor yet the name of the town Phasis. Perhaps the traffic was not strictly confined to barbarian slaves, and some of the Bosporanic Greeks may have been the victims of a system which undoubtedly they at a subsequent time carried on to the prejudice of their extra-Bosporani countrymen. Under such circumstances a Phasian or Sinopian trader would preserve a discreet silence as to the locality both of the barracoons and of the port to which their inmates were consigned.
Heronetus

Dionysius from Phocaea endeavoured to enforce strict discipline in the allied fleet.

11

Metà de, tòn Ιόνων συνελήφθην τούς τήν Δάδην, ἐγώντο ἄγοραί καὶ δὴ καὶ σφί καὶ ἀλλοι ἡγοῦντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁ Φωκαῖος [στρατηγὸς] Ἀιονίων λέγων τάδε: "ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα, ἀνδρὲ! Ἰωνὲς, ἢ εἰσί τελευταίοι ἢ δουλοί, καὶ τούτοις ὡς δρητῆσθι νῦν ἡμές ἢ μὲν βούλησθε ταλαμωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ἢ μὲν ἔσται, οὐ δὲ ἐσεθεὶ ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἄντικους εἰσί τελευταίοι εἰς ἐξορίσσειν εἰ δὲ μαλακίς ταῖς ἀταξίας διαχρήσσετε, οὐδεμιᾶς ἑμῶν ἢ ἐπὶ ἑπιδία μὴ ὡς ὅσιος ἡμές δικύκλι τῷ βασιλεί τῆς ἀποστάσεως. ἂλλ' ἐμοὶ τα πεθερεθεὶς καὶ ἐμοὶ ἡμές αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπων θεῶν τὰ ἱεροτόμων, ὡς ἀνακυκλοῦσαν τὸ ἐλασσόσεθαι." Ταῦτα ἀκούσατε οἱ Ἰωνὲς ἐπιτρέποντο σφέαρας αὐτῶν τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ, ἀνάγον ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς ὅρας, ὅκις τοιοῦ ἐρέθησα χρῆσαι, διέκπλοον ποιέομεν τῷ νησὶ νυσαί διὰ ἀλληλέον, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὑπολείπει, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας τὰς νέας ἔχεσθε ἐπὶ ἀγκυρών παρείχε τοῖς Ἰωνίν πόλεων τῇ ἡμέρῃ. μέχρι μὲν ἡμέρας ἕπτα ἐπείθοντο ταῖς ἐποιεῖσθαι τῷ κελευθοῦν τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτα. [ὅτι Ἰωνεῖς οἰα ἀπαθεῖς ἐστῖντες τῶν τοιοτῶν τετραμένην ταῖς ταλαμωρίαις τοῖς καὶ ἠλέον, ἐξελάβον πρὸς ἐνευτούς τάδε: "τίνα δαμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπλημματεῖ, οὕτως παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου," ἀνδρὶ Φωκαίι ἢ ὁ Φωκαῖος στρατηγὸς. The article is omitted by the manuscripts S and V, and the word στρατηγὸς by K, and in a citation by Longinus, De Subl. c. 22.

20 ἢ ὁ Φωκαῖος στρατηγὸς. The form used by Thucydides and Xenophon is ἢ ὁ κέρας, but these phrases differ only as πρὸς νότον and πρὸς νότον, "to the south" and "southwards,"—both of which are used indifferently by Herodotus. The operation intended is "rowing in columns," which is a movement "wing-wards," as contradistinguished from a charge upon an enemy drawn up opposite.

31 τὰς νέας ἔχεσθε ἐπὶ ἀγκυρών. Instead of allowing the galleys to be hauled up high and dry, he kept them riding at anchor, head to sea, with the marines on board in complete armour ready for action all the remainder of the day. His object probably was to throw the Phoenicians off their guard. Having his ships always ready for action, while they appeared to be merely practising, he would watch his opportunity, when the crews had been brought into thorough condition, to strike the same blow which Lysander, afterwards did at Ægina.)
διάξομι παρεχομένον νέας τρείς ἑπταήμορος ἄρους ἢμεας αὐτοῦς ἔχομεν; ὃ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἢμεας, λύμαιται λύμης ἀνθελοσωμια ὡς ὑπάλληλον καὶ ὃ ὅλοι μὲν ἢμεὼν ἐς νοῦσους πεπόκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπιδιδόξου τῶντο ταύτα πεισθαί εἰσιν πρὸ τε τοῦτῶν τῶν κακῶν ἢμῶν γε κρίσσων καὶ ὅλων ἀλλῳ παθέων ἑστιν, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δουλησίαν ὑπομείναι, ἢς ἐσται, μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι. γέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὲ πειθομέθα αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ἐξεαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πειθόθαι οὐδεὶς ὢθελε ἀλλ', οἷα στρατηγῷ, σχημασὶ τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκιπτοφέευτο, καὶ εὐσβάλλων οὐκ ἔθελοκέν εἰς τὰς νέας, οὐδ' ἀναπεράσθαι. Μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα γινόμενα ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων, ἀνθαίρετα δὴ παρ' Διάκεισ ὑπὸ Συλοσῶντος καὶ καίγοντος τοῦς πρότερον ἐπεμφότερος ἡμῶν ὁ Διάκης, καλεοῦμεν τῶν Περσέων, δεομένοις σφεὸν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰωάνων συμμαχῆν, —οἱ Σάμιοι δὴ, δρένουσαν ἀμα ὕπον ἀναξίων πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάνων, ἐδέκοστα τοὺς λόγους, ἀμα δὲ κατεφανετό σφι εἶναι ἄδυναν τὰ βασιλεῖς πρήγματα ἑπερμαίοναι, εἶ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεῦναντίκιν ἑπερ-

33 παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς. See note 354 on iv. 138; 561 on i. 552; and 544 on i. 165. The inveterate dislike of Milesians and Chians to the native of a city once a rival is in this passage combined with the commercial feeling in favour of property,—which not even their perilous situation could eradicate from the breasts of the wealthy traders. The epithet διὰ-ξων is very characteristic and expressive of the disgust which a number of landmen would entertain towards a martinet commander.

34 ἢμων γε, "for us at any rate," as if they were in a very different position from the Phocean contingent. (See note 21, above.) Perhaps the terms of the Persian generals' proclamation induced them to think, in the fashion of Lucullus's soldier, that the interests of a few exiles were not identical with their own. "Ibid. ibid eo quo vis, qui somam perdidit." (Horace, Epp. ii. 2. 40.) The Phocaeans were probably obnoxious to the sneer which Adimantus, the Corinthian, afterwards let fall against Themistocles (viii. 61).

35 μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ παρεούσῃ συνέχεσθαι, "rather than be kept without reprieve in this present one." See the note 361 on iii. 131.

36 οἷα στρατηγῷ, "like a land-force." Dobree, considering that Herodotus would have added the word πεθή, proposes to read οἷα δοπροτήθη, "as if on furlough," comparing Aristophanes, Peace, 525. But the alteration seems uncalled for. The discipline to which Dionysius kept his men was specially navat. (See note 31, above.) The pitching tents for shelter would be the ordinary proceeding of a land army, even on service.

37 ταῦτα γινόμενα. Gaisford prints ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα on the authority of some MSS. But S, V, P, and K omit the article, and the sense is certainly better without it.

38 Διάκεισ τοῦ Ἰουλοσῶντος. He was tyrant of Samos at the time of the expedition of Darius to Scythia (see iv. 138); and as this would imply the possession of considerable force, it must be supposed that the fresh colonization under the auspices of Otanes (iii. 140) took place before that expedition. It is likely that the new population would be mainly, though not entirely, composed of persons favourable to the dynasty of Sylosos, and consequently to the Persian alliance; and hence perhaps one cause of the success which the proposals of Αἴακες met with among the Samians. The remains of the old aristocracy thought very differently of the matter (below, § 22).
make separate terms for themselves,

and on an engagement taking place, all but eleven ships desert in a body.

\[\text{HERODOTUS}\]

βαλολατο τὸν Δαρείου, ἀλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον, προφασίου δὲ ἐπιλαθόμενοι, ἐπέ τε τάχιστα ἐδὼν τοὺς Ἰωνᾶς ἀρνεμένους εἶναι χρηστοὺς, ἐν κέρδει ἐποιείντῳ περποιήσατα τά τε ἰρά τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἰδία. \[\text{I.4}\] ο ἐν Διάκης, παρ' οτεν τούς λόγους ἐδέκυνοι οἱ Σάμοι, παίς μὲν ἦν Συλισσόντος τοῦ Διάκεως τύραννος δὲ ἐν τούς Σάμους, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλήσιον Αρισταγόρεως ἀπεστήρησι τὴν ἀρχὴν, κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι.

\[\text{Tóte ὄν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλουσι οἱ Φοῖνικε, οἱ Ἰωνεῖς ἀνταύγηγοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας, ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄγχοι ἐγώνυτο καὶ συνεμισθὸν ἀλλῆλοι, τὸ ἐνθεύτην οὐκ ἐχώ ἀτρέκεως συγγράψαι οὕτως τοῖς Ἰώνοιν ἐγώνυτο ἀνδρεῖς κακοὶ ἢ ἄγαθοι ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀλλήλοις γὰρ κατατιτώνται, λέγονται δὲ Σάμοις ἐνδαίτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκελμένα πρὸς τὸν Διάκεα, ἀεὶρέμενοι τὰ ἰστια ἀποπλήσαται ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἔδεκα \[\text{I.11}\] νεὼν τουτέστι δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενοι καὶ ἐναυμάχους, ἀνηκοστίσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ αφ' τὸ κοίνον τῶν Σάμων ἔδεκε διὰ τούτο τὸ πρῆγμα \[\text{I.11}\] ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγράφησιν πατρόθεν, ὡς ἀνδραίοι ἄγαθοις γενομένους καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγωρῇ. ἐδέκες δὲ καὶ Δέσδιοι τῶν προσεκέφειντας, τόπῳ ἐποίειν τοῖς Σαμίοις.
Their example is followed by the Chians, who take them for enemies.

Dionysius retreats to Sicily, and turns pirate.
Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἔπει τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἰωνας 44, τὴν Μελίτουν πολυρρέουσε ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπορύσσουσες τὰ τέλεια 45 καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἱρέουσα καὶ ἀκρης, ἔτερον ἔπει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῆς Ἀρακτήρεως καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν ὡστε συμπεσοῦν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ Μελίτου γενομένῳ. Χρεωμένους γὰρ Ἀργείους ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τῆς σφετέρης, ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκουνον χρηστήριον τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθέκην 47 ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλήσιον. τὸ μὲν γὰς ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἔχων, ἐπεάν κατὰ τούτο γένομαι τοῦ λόγου τὸ τέτοιο μετάθησομαι 48· τὸ δὲ τούτο Μιλήσιοι οὐ παρεόρει ἔχρησε ἔχει δὲ δὲ·

Καὶ τότε δὴ, Μιλήσιοι, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἐργον 49, πολλοίς δεῖτον ταῖς ἄγαλμα δάρα γενόμενοι·

σαλ 5 ἄλοχοι παλαιοὶ τόδε κάρυ ηφεσιν κομμᾶτι

μηδ' δ' ἡμετέρου Διαδόμοι έλλοις μελησεν.

44 τοὺς Ἰωνας. The manuscript F has τοὺς "Ελληνας Ἰωνας, which appears to originate in a double reading. (See note 6, above.) The corrector has erased "Ελληνας.

45 ὑπορύσσουσες τα τέλεια. See note 512 on iv. 200.

47 τῇ δὲ παρενθέκην. S has τῇ δὲ παρενθέκην, which is probably due to Doreus.

48 τοῦτο μετάθησομαι. See below, § 77.

49 κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἐργον. It would be interesting to discover when the oracle was delivered in which these words occur. Such an expression indicates disapprobation on the part of Apollo with the course upon which Miletus was entering, but what that course was does not appear on the face of things. I am inclined to suspect that it refers to the dissociation of themselves from the rest of the Ionians, which was manifested by the separate treaty with Cyrus (i. 141). That treaty was to the prejudice of Cressus, who was undoubtedly a favourite at Delphi.

46 ἄρον δὲ τὸ ἐν Διαδόμοι. It is singular that Herodotus, who elsewhere speaks of this temple as τὸ ἄρον τὸ ἐν Βραχυχώραι (v. 36), or as αἱ Βραχύχωραι (i. 92; ii. 159), or even of Βραχύχωραι (i. 157), should here use a different phrase without any explanation. It seems that the name Branchide came to be disused, and that of Apollo Didymus to be the one habitually given to the oracle. (Pliny, N. H. v. 23.) Possibly the treacherous conduct of the Branchides at the time of the Persian invasion (see notes 327 and 527 on Book i.) was the cause of the change.

48 ἐτέρωτι τοῦ λόγου. See i. 92; v. 36.
Erato. VI. 18–21.

The city of the same name, which had been kept in a dependant condition by the Miletians, and that the Persians restored them to a certain state of independence. The Pedasians who survived the taking of their own town, or perhaps a party among them favourable to Persia, may have been transported to the Miletian territory and mixed with the emancipated perioeci, who would be of the same race with themselves, and thus the whole called Pedasians. It is to be observed that FELLOWES enumerates among the "Ancient Lycian" towns, in which he observed remains, a Pedasia. (See note 585 on i. 173.) Herodotus seems to be quite ignorant of the existence of a town of that name in Lycia; but if there really was such a one, it is possible that the Miletian Pedasians had been transported from thence. They too would probably be of Lelegian race.

22 In "Ampy polis. This city is from the description to be looked for very low down on the Tigris, perhaps subsequently to the union of its waters with those other rivers which according to some writers procured for it, in its lowest part, the name of Pasitigris. (SPLAY, vi. c. 3, p. 319.) Opis, with which some have endeavoured to identify Ampe, was on the contrary very high up the stream. See note 624 on i. 189.

23 ἤβην. See note 604 on i. 189.

24 Πιθανῶς ἐκτῆσθαι. See note 590 on i. 175. It seems strange that the Pedasians, the only Carians who offered a formidable resistance to Harpagus, should have been settled by the conqueror in the highlands overhanging the Miletian territory. One may almost suspect that the Carians in the text were mainly a remnant of the old Lelegian population which had been kept in a dependant condition by the Miletians, and that the Persians restored them to a certain state of independence. The Pedasians who survived the taking of their own town, or perhaps a party among them favourable to Persia, may have been transported to the Miletian territory and mixed with the emancipated perioeci, who would be of the same race with themselves, and thus the whole called Pedasians. It is to be observed that FELLOWES enumerates among the "Ancient Lycian" towns, in which he observed remains, a Pedasia. (See note 585 on i. 173.) Herodotus seems to be quite ignorant of the existence of a town of that name in Lycia; but if there really was such a one, it is possible that the Miletian Pedasians had been transported from thence. They too would probably be of Lelegian race.

25 of Ælian te kal Σκιδρον οἰκεῖον. The former of these two towns is mentioned by STRABO (vi. c. 1, p. 3) as situated on the river of the same name, 120 stades from Velia, and as being a colony from Sybaris. Of Scidrus nothing is known. It is strange that this notice should appear here; but perhaps the passage was written after the author's arrival at Thurii, where his auditors would be more familiar with the localities.

26 ἤβην, "including all adults." The phrase is probably derived from a classification of the population for military purposes. See i. 172, where it may be rendered "in full force."

27 μάλιστα ἐν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἔτειν ἀλλήλων ἀλλήλων. The commercial interests of these two cities could not, from their relative situations, at all interfere with one another; and both in the one and the other the Achean element was a very important one in the population. For Sybaris, see especially the passage of Aristotle quoted in the note 581 in i. 167, and see also note 108 on v. 44. As for Miletus, its coins show that the predominant religious worship was that of Apollo Didymaeus, whose temple, according to the native legends, was far more ancient than the emigration under Nicias. (PAUSANIAS vii. 2, 4.) This deity was in fact identical with the Apollo at Thronax and at Amyclae (see note 236 on i. 70); that is to say, the Apollo not of the Heraclean invaders of the Peloponnese, but of the Achæan population they found there. (See note 189 on v. 72.) Independently of ethnic affinity, TIMAEUS (ap. AITHEANUM xii. p. 519) says that the Miletian woollen manufactures were in great demand at Sybaris.
HERODOTUS

Phrynichus the tragedian.

22 Μήλητος μὲν νυν Μιλήσιοι ἔρημον. Σαμίων δὲ τοισὶ τι έχουσι " τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθῶν οὐδαμός ἱππεῖς. ἔδοκε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν αὐτῆς οὐκετενοῦσι, πρὶν ἢ σφε ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικεκαθά τὸν τράπεζαν Δίακεα ἐν ἀποκεκαθήν ἐκπλεείς, μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδους τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαίοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίας τῶν αὐτῶν χρώμου τοῦτον πέμπτοντες ἐς τὴν Ιωάννην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Ἰωάννης ἐς Καλλήν "Ἀκτήν, βουλόμενοι αὐτὸν τὸλον κτίσαι Ἰώαννην. ἢ δὲ Καλὴ αὐτὴ Ἀκτῆ καλεομένη ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίους τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίας. τοῖτων δὲ ἐπικαλεόμενων, οἱ Σάμιοι μοῦνοι Ἰώαννων ἐστάλησαν σὺν δὲ σφι Μιλήσιων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες. "Εν δὲ τούτῳ δὴ τι συνήθεισθαι γενέθησα: Δάμοις γὰρ κομίζομεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐγένοτο ἐν Λοκροίδαι τοῖς Ἐπιζευρίουσί, καὶ Ζαγκλαίοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ ὄνυμα ἦν Σκύθης", περιπετέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν εξελίθην βουλόμενον.

23 said to have been the first person didáxei didômban.

24 ὤδην ὁμολογεῖ άληθευκαί. This is a very slovenly expression to connect the following anecdote with what had preceded. It is worth remarking, that STRABO, while recounting the anecdote, gives as the authority for it, not Herodotus, but Callisthenes (xiv. c. 1, p. 167). It seems not impossible that the passage is an interpolated note of some one between the time of STRABO and that of LONGINUS, who quotes it as from Herodotus (De Sublim. § 24).

39 ἀπεπάφ. This term is used of the production of a public performance, from the circumstance that the author himself had to superintend the instruction of the performers during their long practice in order to qualify themselves for the public display of his composition. The phrase is equally applicable to a play, a hymn, or a dance, where the parts were distributed among several persons, and each had not only to be made perfect in that which fell to him, but to be brought into combination with the rest. Thus (i. 23) Arion is said to have been the first person didáxei didômban.

30 τοισι τι έχουσι. See note 396 on iii. 143, and note 8, above.

61 πρὸς Τυρσηνίους τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίας, "turned towards Tyrrenia in its bearing from Sicily." Herodotus gives the name καλῆ ἀκτῆ to the promontory which running out from the shore and returning upon it produced that sickle-like appearance which gave the town built in the vicinity its name Δέκαλη. Although really a portion of the island Sicily, it was, to the eye, so much cut off from it as to be susceptible of the description in the text. (See note 292 on i. 84.) The name καλῆ ἀκτῆ was not only adopted by the Romans in the word Calacte, but even the ethnic Calactini formed upon it. CICERO says, "Calactinis quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas Calacte dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Ceso decumano darent?" (Ven. iii. 43.)

4 τῷ ὄνυμα ἦν Σκύθης. In order to combine what is related of this Scythe
with the narrative in vii. 163, 164, Peri-
zonius has conjectured that this Scythes
was the father of Cadmus, dynasty of Cos; 
while Valckenaer supposes he may have
been his great uncle. But there is no
historical foundation for these guesses,
and the necessity for them rests entirely
on the assumption that the two narratives
proceed from the same sources. See note
on vii. 164, ἐνδα μετὰ Σαμίων, κ.τ.λ., and
also note 86 (a) below.

63 ὁ Ρηγυνός τύραννος Ἀναξιλάως. He
had changed the form of government from
an oligarchy to a tyranny. (Aristotle,
Polit. vi. p. 1316.) Pausanias relates
that this Anaxilas was fourth in descent
from Alcidamides, who led a colony of Mes-
semniacs to Rhgium in Italy, after the
diastrophic termination of the first Messenian
war by the capture of Ithome; and that
he himself, after the termination of the
second by the capture of Ira, in the first
year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in-
vited some of the survivors who had re-
treated to Cyllene, the port of Elis, to
come over and join him in an attack on
Zancle, which at that time was occupied
by pirates who interrupted the navigation
of the straits, under the leadership of
Crattemen a Samian, and Pericrea from
Chalcis in Euboea (iv. 23. 3). This ap-
ppears to me to describe the condition of
Zancle, after the compact with Hippo-
crates presently related, and the refusal of
the Samians to kill the 300 Zancleans
who were put into their power. But the
chronology is nearly 200 years too early
(as Bentley has shown in the Disserta-
tion on Phalaris, pp. 216, seqq. ed. 1836);
and in fact Cratamines, a Chalcidian,
and Pericles of Chalcis are named by Thucy-
dides as the eccles of the early Zancle
(iv. 4). Pausanias goes on to say that
the Messenians in Cyllene, under the
leadership of Gorgus and Manticlus, ac-
cepted Anaxilas’s invitation, and together
with him captured Zancle, the Zancleans
flying for refuge to the altars of the gods.
Anaxilas wished his allies to put them
to death and make slaves of their wives and
children; but they refused to do this, and
instead of it united in one population with
them and changed the name of the town
to Messana. This Pausanias puts in the
first year of the twenty-ninth Olympiad,
consistently with what he has said before.
It appears to me to be really the dislocated
account of the recapture of Zancle from
the Samian bucaniers slightly alluded to
by Thucydides (quoted in note 64, be-
low), but not noticed at all by Heredo-
tas.

64 μεταλαβέων. This word is in sense
to be separated into its component parts.
It means μετ’ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, “to take on
division with them.” See note 686 on
i. 204. So Athenagoras says to his ari-
stocratic opponents (Thucyd. vi. 40): ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μαθόμενος γε ἢ μεταγράφεις τὸ
tῆς πόλεως ἡμών κοινὸν αὐτές, ἡγη-
σάμενος τούτῳ μὲν ἄν καὶ τούτῳ καὶ πλην
οἱ ἀγαθὸν ὑμῶν ἦπερ τῷ τῶν πόλεως πλή-
τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἰπποκράτεα λαγχάμειν. τοῖς μὲν δὴ
πλέυσας τῶν Ζαγγέλλων αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἔχει δῆσας,
tῶν δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριτοκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖς Σαμίωσι κατα-
σφάξας οὐ μέντοι οὐ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα. Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν
Ζαγγέλτων μοῦναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἰνύκου ἑκδιδρήσει ἐς Ἰμέρην ἐκ
δὲ τάυτης παρῆν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου
καὶ μὲν ἐνόμισε Δαρείῳ πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιότατον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ
tῆς Ἐλλάδος παρ' ἐωτὸν ἀνέβησαν καὶ γὰρ παρατησάμενος
βασιλέας ἢ Δικαιὴν ἀπίκευτο, καὶ αὐτὴσ ἐκ τῆς Δικαιής ὅπλισσο
παρὰ βασιλέας, ἐς γνήσια μέγα δῆλος ἦν ἐπελεύσατο ἐν Πέρατος.
Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδοιν, ἀπιστεῖ τῶλν καλλίστην
Ζάγγλην περιβεβλητάτο." Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναμαχίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ
Μιλήτου γενομένην, Φοῖνικες κελευσάντων Περσῶν κατῆγον ἐς
Σάμου Διάκεια τῶν Συλοσώτων, ὡς πολλοὺς τε ἄξιον γενόμενον
σφις καὶ μεγάλα κατεργασάμενον καὶ Σαμίως μοῦνοι τῶν ἀποστάτων
ἀπὸ Δαρείου, διὰ τὴν ἐκλεκτίν τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ
ναμαχία, οὕτε ἡ πόλει οὕτε τὰ ἱδρα ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ
ἀλούσης, αὐτίκα Καρίνη ἔσχων οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὶν τῶν
πολλῶν ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνώγχθη ὑποτιγγάντων. ταῦτα μὲν
δὴ οὕτω εὐγένετο.

θὸς μετασχεῖν, where μετασχεῖν tōu is equivalent to μετα τῶν ἄλλων σχεῖν tōu, "have your share with the rest of this." So in iii. 3: ἄληθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβαῖνει ἐς Ἐθούμα, καὶ τοίς ἐκ Γερατοῦ ἄλοιποι, ἐλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζοντες, ἢ ἐπιτυχόν ὄντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλοιποι ἑορτάζον...
Erato. VI. 24—28. 101

Adventures of Histiaeus after the capture of Miletus.

He occupies Chios.

Portents which happened at the time.

He then attacks Thasus, but in making a descent soon afterwards on Acharnes is captured.

He then attacks Thasus, but in making a descent soon afterwards on Acharnes is captured.

"Aptagos, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης", στρατηγὸς στρατηγίς, αὐχ δύναμις: δὲ ὁ

εἰς Ἡσσαν. The mines in this island and in its dependencies on the main (see § 46) were doubtless a principal object of this expedition. Histiaeus could only hope to carry on the war by the aid of mercenaries, and above all things therefore required specie. See the note 38 on v. 36.

65 Ἡσσας. Acharnes was the place which the Chians obtained as a grant in return for their extradition of the Persian refugees Pactyas (i. 160).

66 "Aptagos, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. There is no notice in Herodotus of the appointment of this individual to the command he held. Perhaps he may have succeeded Dauriass or Hymeas. It should not be overlooked that the Harpagus of Cyrus’s time was a Mede (i. 162), whereas this person is expressly stated to be a Persian."
Heredotus


d vathistov semibalov aitwv te 'Istiaivov zwhrjv exlabe kal tin
strovov autouv ton plhov diethere. 'Exwgrhth d' e 'Istiaivos
'vio' os ep'xovnto i' 'Ellhnes tois Pcrstov en tiv Malhph tis
'Aparnevitdos khfis, oi' men svvestasan xronov epit pollon, t' d' e
upothos usteron ormhthia euptipite tois.' 'Ellhnes tote de egrwv
th 'Hpov toio dgyevto kal tetrammenov twn 'Ellhnav, o'
'Istiaivos elptisov ouk apollwsothei upo basileous dia twn
paroxvavn amartada, filovxhjv toivnde twa anawretan os feuvnon
ke telembavan upo avdov Pcrsew, kal ou katasuqmenov upo
autov eumle svgekenthhesthe. Periojiva glwson meteis kata-
mwnv eouton, ou eiv 'Istiaivos o Milhsoz. Eiv men
vno ou exwgrhth akhjv anwmvno 66 para basileia Darvein, o de ou' d
empath kakhov oudev, dokewn emoi, aptwke te' d' au'tou tiv
auth' vyn de mou autov te touvnew eixe, kai ina m' diaphgyn autis megas
para basilei yevnetai 67. 'Arapofhyn te o Saridhov uparchoz kai
o laphen "Arapovos, os apixevo anwmvnoz eis Sagroidvs, to men
autov swma autov taivt anwstaorwsv", tin de kefalh
paroanvnotes anvekav para basileia Darvein eis Souvna.
Darvein de panamvnoz taivta kai epauthsamvnoz touts
taivta pojhsantas oti' men ou
kouv anvgyan eis depm tiv eoutou, tin kefalh tiv
'Istiaivou lovsantas te kai periosteiplantas eiv evneiteio tov
kai, ovdos megalos eouto te kai Pcrstov euergetos 68.

d' men peri 'Istiaivov ou'tov eshe.

'0 de naustikov stratov o Perseovx xenmerisas peri Milhton, to
seutovn etei os aneploso aiprveis euergetos tis vorkous tis pro tiv
htpfero kevmvov, Xion kai Lsozov kai Tenedov 69. okos de
laphov tma

66 akhjv anwmvnoz. This expression
seems undoubtedly corrupt. Bekker con-
jectures anavhjv anwmvnoz. The
enmity of Artaphernes towards His-
tiuev appears from the sarcasm addressed
to him (above, § 1). Probably Darius
would not have been sorry to have main-
tained some check upon the great Persian
officers in Asia Minor by means of a Hel-
venic satrap of the coast and the islands.
The union of Harpagus and Artaphernes
in the execution of Histiaeus is to be re-
marked. Perhaps neither, by himself,
would have had authority to order it.
See note 79 on v. 31.

67 euergetos. See note 421 on iii.
154.

69 Xion kai Lsozov kai Tenedov. The
weakness of Chios is remarked (§ 27).
At Leesbos there was a scarcity of provi-
sions (§ 28), so that the Persians com-
manding the seas with the Phoenician fleet
would soon starve it into a surrender,
especially after the defeat of the expedition
and death of Histiaeus. Tenedos was so
near the main (see note 508 on i. 151),
that under the circumstances an over-
and punish the rebels with extreme severity.

The fleet then sails to the Hellespont.

The Byzantion would likewise perish: and when the tide of fortune turned nearly twenty years afterwards, the history of the past would have to be reconstructed mainly from the recollections of the few exiles which returned.

* πρωτον μεν ὑπὲρ Λυκῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περσῶν. See i. 26, 27, and 169.

* τὰ τεῖχα τὰ ἐνὶ Θηρίσις. SCLAX classes Perinthus and Selymbria among the Θηρίσι τεῖχη. He gives a list of them after going through the Chersonese: πρωτον Λυκῆ ἀκτῆς, Τειροπάστες, Χρυσαλία, Γάνως, Γασινίος, Νέος τεῖχος, Περίφρους πόλις καὶ Λυκῆ, Δαμοῦν τεῖχος, Σηλυμβρία πόλις καὶ Λυκῆ (p. 38, Hudson). Herodotus

whelming force might be landed from thence in a single day. See the note 411 on ill. 149.

73 σαγγρώσας δὲ τόδε τὸν τρόπον. See note 701 on i. 210.

* αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς. After making every allowance for exaggeration in these accounts of the destruction wrought by the Persians, it is still clear that enough must have been done to destroy almost every vestige of Hellenic civilisation, and to make a complete break in the history of the Asiatic Greeks. The policy of Artaphernes was a far sterner one than that of Cyrus as regards the conquered Hellenic race. The Phoenicians were in point of cruelty the Croats of antiquity; and to turn over the towns of commercial rivals to their mercies was to ensure their utter destruction. Besides the loss of property and of human life, almost all the old associations, kept up mainly through the religious rituals, would die away when the centre of union, the temple of the tutelary deity, was destroyed. All archives

The fleet then sails to the Hellespont.
times and Chaldæans fly and found Mememobrazim in the Euxine.

All the Greek towns except Cyzicus and Cardia are sacked.

34. Story of the connection of Miltiades with the Chersonese appears to exclude from this class such towns as had a port of their own. Selbyria was a Thracian name, the termination beris signifying palis in the local dialect. (Stephanus Byzantinus, sub v., and Strabo, quoted in note on vii. 56.) Perhaps the circumstance of its having a port produced such an influx of Hellenes as to destroy its Thracian character. In vii. 108 we hear of the Samothracian thiasos, and in vii. 112 of the thiasos to the Peirous,—in both of which cases inland towns seem contemplated. In Thucydides (i. 69), to the Thracian is a very wide expression, including even Potidæa.

11 καὶ οἱ πέρπηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι. It is a proof of the efficiency of the operations of Histiaeus that the city Chalcedon should not have fallen into the hands of the Persians before this time. No doubt however first the diversion effected by the revolt of Caria (v. 117), and afterwards the death of Hymeas (v. 122), contributed something to this result.

14 ἐρεί πρότερον. Dobree conjectures ἐρεί πρότερον. It is natural to suppose that the Megabazon here spoken of is the same as the functionary who was left in command of the troops in Thrace (iv. 143), and succeeded after a time by Oanes (v. 26). The name Obares belongs to the groom to whose cunng Darius is said to have owed his kingdom (iii. 88). Another son of Megabazus was named Bubares (v. 21). No doubt these names are significant in Persian.

80 ἔπεσεν Καρδίς πόλις. It need not be supposed that Cardia successfully resisted the attack upon it; for at the time of Xerxes’ expedition it served as a dépôt of naval stores for the Persians (ix. 115), and therefore must have been in their hands. And there is no mention of its being taken between this time and that. It was however inhabited by an Aeolian population, and from the time of the fall of the Lydian dynasty there is no trace of any attempt of the Aeolian towns to recover their independence. See note 476 on i. 141, and note 534 on iv. 138. It appears to me more likely that the inhabitants of Cardia were well affected to the Persian interests, and that on this account they were exempted from the visitation of the Phocian fleet. They had been severely handled by their neighbours the Bisaia (Charon of Lampracus, op. Athen. xii. p. 580), and were probably very glad of the aid which Persia could afford.

81 πεσόντες πολέμοι ὑπὸ Ἀσπρών. It is a curious circumstance that this story
χρησιμότερον," ἢ δὲ Πυθή σφι ἀνέιλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην τούτην, διὰ ἂν σφαιράς ἀποίνηται ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξένων καλέσθη ἱόντες δὲ οἱ Δολόγκοι τὴν ἱρην ὄδον διὰ Φιλαίων τε καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἥξιαν καὶ σφαιράς ὡς οὐδὲς ἐκάλεσε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. Ἔν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθηναίοις τηρηκαίται ἔχει μὲν τὸ πάν ἐκτὸς Πεισοτράτους, ἀτὰρ ἐνυδάτευε" καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου ἔδω ὀικίσας τεθριπποτράφοι, τὰ μὲν ἄνεκαθεν ἄτ' Ἀλκαύ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις γενοῦσι τὰ δὲ νεότερα Ἀθηναίοις, Φιλαίω τοῦ Αλαυτοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου πρῶτον τῆς οἰκίας ταῦτης Ἀθηναίον. οὗτος ὁ Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τούτῳ προθύρωσε τούτοι ἐσώτεροι, ὅρεις τοὺς Δολόγκους παρίσταται ἐσθίτα ἵκονται οὐκ ἔγχυρὴν καὶ αἰχμᾶς, προεβέβεβλατο καὶ σφι προσελθόντας ἐπηγγελματία κατηγορηθῆ καὶ ἤξια. οἱ δὲ δέξαμεν καὶ ἰευνισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτὸν, ἐξέφαινον πάντων ὅτι τὸ μαυτῆρον ἐκφύγαμεν δὲ ἐδέσοιντο αὐτοῖς τῇ σφι μην πείθεσθαι. Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παρατικὰ ἐπεισε ὁ λόγος, ὅτι ἀκούσαντον τῷ τῆς Πεισοτράτου ἄρχῳ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκ ποδῶν ἔλειναι αὐτίκα δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, εἰ ποιήσῃ τὰ περ ἀυτοῦ οἱ Δολόγκοι προσεδέοντο; Κελευόμενης δὲ καὶ τῆς Πυθῆς, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, ὁ Ὁλύμπια ἀναιρηκῶς πρότερον τούτων τεθριππός, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα

of the invitation to Miltiades appears elsewhere, according in almost every feature with the text, except that the Aeschinians are represented as giving the invitation, owing to the losses they suffered from the Dolonchii. (Schol. inedit. in Aristodem., quoted by Vealeksera.) See the notes 8 and 9 on iii. 2; also 213, 214 on i. 63 and 64. The Aeschinians are perhaps the pericciacs of Ἐνους. See note on vii. 58.

18 ἐνυδάτευε. The word is used in the general sense of "influential." But that the power of Miltiades was actually much greater than that of an ordinary citizen can hardly be doubted. The leading men of Athens at this time may be compared with the heads of the great houses in the Italian republics of the middle ages. The occupation of the Chersonese by Miltiades, of Sigeum by Pisisstratus, and of Lysphydrium by the Alcmeonids, indicate physical force which could only spring from the maintenance of a large number of retainers.

19 τὰ μὲν ἄνεκαθεν τὰν Ἀλκαύ. See note 156 on v. 63.

35 Φιλαίου τοῦ Αλαυτοῦ . . τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. The whole pedigree, although probably confused, is preserved in a quotation from Didymus, the Alexandrine grammarian, who cites as his authorities Pherecydes and Hellanicus. It runs (1) Philaioi, (2) Daiclus, (3) Euphyces, (4) Aector, (5) Agenor, (6) Olius, (7) Lyces, (8) Typhon, (9) Laius, (10) Agamesor, (11) Tisander, under whose archonship something took place, but what is concealed by a lacuna, (12) Miltiades, (13) Hippocleides, in whose archonship the Panathenaeae were established, (14) Miltiades, the colonist of Chersonese (ap. Marcellium, Vit. Thucyd.).

36 aitoi. This is the reading of the manuscripts Σ and V. Gaisford, on the authority of the rest, prints aitoi. But there seems an especial force in aitoi. The personal feelings of the Thracians had become enlisted in favour of Miltiades from his treatment of them. They therefore ἐπεδοκινοῦσαν τοῖς πληρωμοῖς, "prayed him on their own account."
tōn boulloménon metēxεων tov stólon, ἐπλεε ἡμα τούτοι Δολόγκουσι καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώρην. Καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγγελμένοι τῷ παῖσαν κατεστήσαντο. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετέλεσε τῶν ἱσθμῶν τῆς Χαρσονίους ἐκ Καρδίνης τόλμοις ἐς Πατίταν, ἵνα μὴ ἐχοῦν σφαξὴ ἵνα Ἀφίνθου δηλέουσαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώρην. εἰσὶ δὲ σῶτοι στάδιοι ἐξε τε καὶ τριήκοντα τῶν ἱσθμῶν ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἱσθμῶν τοῦτον ἡ Χαρσονίους ἔσων πάσα ἔστι στάδιον ἐκεῖοι καὶ τεταρκοῦσαν τὸ μήκος. Ἀποτείχισας δὲν τὸν αὐξήνα τῆς Χαρσονίους ὁ Μιλτιάδης, καὶ τῶν Ἀφίνθους πρόφοι τοιοῦτο ὠς ἰσόμενοι, τῶν λυκτῶν πρώτως ἐπολέμησε Δαμψακτήροις. καὶ μιν οἱ Δαμψακτηροὶ λαχήσαντες αἵρεσαι χωρὶς ἤν ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίση τῷ Λυκῷ ἐν γυρώμα γεγωνὸς πυθόμενος ὁ Κροίσης ταύτα, πέμπτων προ-

88 ἔσχε τὴν χώρην. This is the reading of several MSS, is no doubt the true one. But both here and in § 47, below, the variant ἔσκε is found in others. It is now generally agreed that ἔσχε, whenever it is found in Ionic writers, has the sense of ἔσχε. But Aulus Gellius (N. A. vi. 16) speaks as if in his time ἔσκον was used as an Ionic form of ἔσχεν. Such would be the case if ὑκες were allowed to stand in the text; and if this be a corruption (which seems likely) it is one which neither Gellius nor a friend of his, whom he describes as ‘multi studii atque in bonarum disciplinarum operes frequens,’ recognized as such.

a tóraon katesthsanto. In the "treasury of the Sicyonians" at Elis, there was ‘a horn of Amathus’ of wrought ivory, on which was the inscription, ‘in ancient Attic letters,” Παρά τῷ ἔγκαμῳ ἀνέθηκα Ολυμπέως ἐκ Χαρσονίου τέχχοι θλίττες Ἀράτου ἐθηρής δὲ Μιλ-
tidó̂ς σφίμ.

Pausanias (no doubt following the account he heard on the spot) says that the offering was made by "Miltiades, son of Cimon, who first of that house obtained sovereign power in the Thracian Chersonese" (πι. 19. 4). This is an instructive instance of the way in which the more celebrated person in a family attracts himself to oral traditions the feats of the less distinguished. Ἀλιαν’s three Miltiadeses, on the other hand (Var. Hist. xii. 35)—like his two Periandres, ten Sibyles, and three Bacides,—spring from the assumption that different traditions must needs relate to different persons.

87 τῶν λυκτῶν πρώτως ἐπολέμησε Δαμψακτήροις. Lampasacus was only forty stades distant from a headland of the Chersonese, on which in the time of ἅπαξ a little town called Callipolis (Callipolis) was built (xii. c. 1, p. 92). This site, like the similar one of Zancle in Sicily, offered opportunities to the piratical adventurers of Miltiades’s time not likely to be neglected, and probably the war in question was of a predatory character. Lampasacus was a colony from Miletus.

88 οι γρώμα γεγωνός. This expression seems to mean γρώμας γεγωνός. It is far from unlikely that some sort of feudal relation had been entered into between Cressus and Miltiades. (See note 40 on iv. 14.) The whole of the coast of the Troad and Propontis was claimed by the Lydian kings as lords of the soil, and Abydos was said to be founded by the permission of Gyges. (Stрабo, xiii. c. 1, p. 95.) It is probable under such circumstances that certain seignorial rights would be reserved, and as the towns increased in wealth and commercial importance, a continual struggle would go on, the sovereigns desiring to increase the fund which they derived from the burghers, and the latter to get rid of the obligations under which they lay. To enforce payment in a summary manner, an effectual method would be to convive at the piratical proceedings of another vassal at the expense of the delinquent.
γόρευε τοισὶ Δαμφακηνοῖς μετέναι Μιλτιάδεας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σφέας πίτους τρόπον ἀπελέξε ἐκτρέψεων ὡς· πλανομένων δὲ τῶν Δαμφακηνῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τὸ σφί ἀπελέξειν ὁ Κροίς, "πίτους τρόπον ἐκτρέψεων," μόνος κοτὲ μαθῶν τῶν ταῖς προσεβτέρων ἔπε τὸ ἐνυ, ὅτι πίτυς μοῦν τῶν δευτέρων ἐκκενεία βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετέλει ὡς· ἀλλὰ πανόλεθρος ἠξαπόλυτων δείσαντος ὁι Δαμψακηνοὶ Κροίς, λύσαντες μετήμων Μιλτιάδεας. Οὕτως μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροίους ἐκείνης μεταὶ δὲ, τελευτῆ αἰτίας τὴν ἄρχην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδός Στηναγόρη τῷ Κιμωνὸς ἀδελφός παῦν ὄμοιοτρόπion καὶ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονήται θῦναι, ὡς νόμος οἰκισμοῦ, καὶ ἀγώνα ἐπικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν ἐπισταίνει ἐν τῷ Δαμφακηνῶν οὐδεὶς ἐγγίνεται ἄγωνι ξέσβαι. πολέμου δὲ ἐντὸς πρὸς Δαμφακηνοὺς, καὶ Στηναγόρεα καταλάβει ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα, πτηγύτα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελεκεῖ ἐν τῷ πρωταείῳ πρὸς ἀνδρῶς αὐτοκόλλον μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολέμοιο δὲ καὶ ἰπποθερμιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔργου.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στηναγόρεω τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἑνδαίτα Μιλτιάδεα τῶν Κιμωνῶν, Στηναγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφόν, καταλαμβάνομεν τὰ πρόγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποτελέσσοις τριήρει οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. ὡς· οἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπολεῖν εὗ· ὁς οὐ συνείδὸτε δῆδεν τοῦ πατρὸς Κιμωνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἀλλῷ λόγῳ σημαίνον ως ἔγενετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπεκβαίνειον ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον ἐλέγε κατ᾽ οἶκους, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Στηναγόρεα δηλαδὴ ἐπιτιμεῖν ὃι δὲ Χερσονήσου τε πυνθανόμενοι

88 πίτους τρόπον ἐκτρέψεων τοις Δαμψακηνοῖς. It has been concluded that Herodotus missed the real gist of this story, from the circumstances that he does not mention Lampeusus having been formerly called Pityeae or Pityae, which is said to have been the case. (Deiochus and Eapheoditus, ap. Step. Byzant. v. Adempas.) But the name Pityae applied to some town in that region occurs even in the Iliad (ii. 829), and of this it is not likely that Herodotus would be ignorant. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose that Croesus intended a pun by the phrase he made use of. He resorted to an illustration which would be appropriate to the region, abounding as it did in oars; just as in the prophetic writings of the Old Testament similar illustrations are supplied by the cedars of Lebanon and the vineyards and olive gardens of the valley of the Jordan.

90 μετέλει. See note 604 on i. 190.
91 οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. The connexion of the Peisistratids with the Troad appears by their holding Sigeum (v. 94.)
92 ὡς οὐ συνείδοτε δῆδεν, "as if, forsooth, they knew nothing about."
93 ἐν ἀλλῳ λόγῳ, "in another story." He fulfils his promise in this book, § 163, a circumstance which proves not only that the present division into nine books is not original (as Lucian's story makes it), but that a different division must have been contemplated.

94 δηλαδη. See note 346 on iv. 135.
His expulsion from the Chersonese by the Scythians.

40

*νεωστι μην ἀληθεῖεν.* On the assumption that this phrase refers to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, Larcher and Clinton (F. H. a. 515) have created a greater difficulty than really exists in it, from erroneously supposing that "the Pissistratidae" spoken of above must include Hipparchus, who was killed in the year 514 B.C. But "the Pissistratidae" merely mean "the Pissistratid party," and the expression is so used by Herodotus (v. 62—65). The first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese need not therefore have taken place before 510 B.C. Yet even then it seems strange that such a phrase as *νεωστι ἀληθεῖεν* should be applied to an event occurring at least seventeen years before. This inconvenience would be avoided by supposing that "the recent arrival" of Miltiades meant his return after his flight. In that case, θα κατέχουσα πράγματα, "the troubles which occupied him," must be taken to mean the troubles arising out of his relations with the Scythians, and the ἀλλα χαλεπότερα to refer to the new dangers threatened by the Ionian rebellion and its consequences. The Scythian invasion will be regarded as happening in the third year of these (τρίτη ἔτει τοῖς), and his return from the exile occasioned by it, in the third year before the arrival of the Phoenician fleet at Tenedos, and "the troubles which then came upon him" (τῶν τότε μην κατεχόντων). This interpretation synchronizes tolerably well with the course of events. Aristogoras was certainly slain in Thrace by a great Thracian movement in 497 B.C. (see Clinton under the years 497 and 465), and it is natural that the natives, flushed by success, should proceed to try whether they might not be as successful in the Hellespont. The Phoenician fleet came to Tenedos in 493, so that about two years would be given for the limits within which Miltiades was expelled and returned. The words τρίτη ἔτει τοῦτων will on this theory mean "in the third year of these troubles," i.e. the Ionian rebellion of which I am writing, which began with the burning of Sardis 499 B.C. τρίτη μην γὰρ ἔτει τούτων. This ought to mean the same, or nearly the same, as the more common expression, τρίτη ἔτει μετὰ ταῦτα. See below, ἕξη τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων (§ 46 and vii. 80). But the sense in which it has been generally taken is "in the third year before," and the time denoted regarded as the same with that expressed below by τρίτη ἐτεῖ πρῶτων. This interpretation seems however to be commended mainly by the assumption that *νεωστι ἀληθεῖεν* must refer to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, and this appears to me far from certain. (See the last note.) I should rather be inclined to suppose that Herodotus has here got hold of a tradition belonging to a different cycle from that which he has just been following,—probably one derived from Hellenistic sources, which merely related that Miltiades, after flying from before the Scythians, whom Darius had provoked, remained in exile until he recovered his power by the aid of the Dolonchi,—an event which took place in the third year before the advent of the Phoenician fleet. Such a Hellenistic tradition would take no account of what might have happened to Miltiades's ancestors at Athens. Their adventures Herodotus probably obtained from some other quarter. We may perhaps suppose that the main thread of the narrative proceeded from the third line of § 34 to the beginning of § 40, thus: Ἐπεράνθευς δὲ αὐτῶν μέχρι τότε Μιλτι- ῖδης ο Κίμωνος τοῦ Στηπασιάδου, κυνηγα- μένος τήν δραχμή ταύτην πρῶτον Μιλ- τιάδης τοῦ Κυκλίδου αὐτού δὲ ο Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης, κ.τ.λ., and that the author subsequently inserted the family history comprised in §§ 34—39.
νομάδες έρευναθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δαρείου συνεστράφθησαν, καὶ ἡλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης τοίτους ἐπιστάντας οὐκ ὑπομέναν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἐφευγε ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου, ἐς θεό τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ μιν οἱ Δολογκοὶ κατήγαγαν ὁπλῶν· ταύτα μὲν δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγενέει τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων, τότε δὲ πυθανόμενοι εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τρήρες πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρευόντων ἀπέπλευς ἐτὰς Ἀθηναίας καὶ ὀστεποὶ ὀρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίνα πυλῶν, ἔπλευ διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου παραμεβεῖτο τε ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περπάτησοντοι τῷ δὴ ἱπποῖς. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇ τάσσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἰμβροῦν, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλαν διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεότατης ἐτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεως παῖδον ὁ προεβητής ἀρχον Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλοροῦ τοῦ Ὀρῆκος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλὰ ἕξ ἀλλής καὶ τούτον ἀμα τῇ νῆτι εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι οὐδὲ εἰς Μιλτιάδεως παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκεόντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήκησαν· οτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμων ἀπεδέχατο ἐν τοῖς Ἰωσί πείδεσθαι κελεύων τοῖς Σκύθαις, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαις προσεέντο ἀλὰ ταύτης τῆς σχεδον ἀποπλεῖν ἐς τὴν ἔσωσιν. Δαρείος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τῶν Μιλτιάδεως ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν Μητίοχον ἄγαθά δὲ συνήκα καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτήσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσῶν χαμάκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰς Πέρσας κεκοσμεῖται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ εἰς Ἰμβροῦν ἀπεκλήθη ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίας.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἤτος τούτο ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τλέων

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41 His narrow escape from the Phoenician fleet which captures his son Methocles.

42 He arrives at Athena.

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97 ταύτα μὲν δὲ τὸ τότε μὲν κατεχόστωσα. Dobree considers that this sentence is mainly derived from the hand of a commentator, who misunderstood the meaning of the words τρίτῳ ἔτει τοίτου in the beginning of the section. He would read as a substitute for them, ταύτα μὲν δὲ πρότερον. But this change is unsupported by any variation in the MSS.

98 ἵππος μεγάλη καταθήκησα. Literally, “would deposit a great favour with him,” i.e. lay him under a great obligation. The metaphor is taken from the depositing of a balance with a banker, on whom the depositor thus acquires a hold. Thus Felix left St. Paul in bonds, ἠδὲν χάριτα καταθήκησα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, wishing not “to do the Jews a favour,” but “to lay the Jews under a great obligation,” i.e. to stop their mouths in the event of his official conduct being attacked. (Acts xxiv. 26.)

99 ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν. It seems not impossible that Darius rather wished than otherwise to attach to himself some person of influence among the number of the Hellenic dynasts in these regions. (See note 69 on § 30.) Both his temper and his comprehensive views would lead him to a very different policy from that which would occur to the merely military Persian commanders and the cruel semi-barbarous Phcenicians. (See note 74 on § 32.)
New settlement of Ionia.

43 In the next spring Mar-

100 metrēsas katá paraşagýgas. By this expression one may conjecture that the use of the Persian scale of measurement was at this time imposed upon the Ionians,—not a difficult matter, if the Persian scale was one adopted from Babylon. For it seems probable that this scale was identical with one which prevailed in Egypt from very early times (see note 511 on ii. 168), and this had been adopted for commercial purposes by the Samians, and probably also by all persons who had commercial intercourse either with Phœnicia or Egypt. Hence it is not unlikely that in the time of Herodotus any Ionian merchant (especially if his trade lay with the east) would speak in terms of the Perso-Babylonian scale. (See note 597 on i. 178.)

8 τὸ πέρας τὸ τρίβοντα στήθα. This must not be regarded as strictly true. Strabo (xi. c. 11, p. 449) says that some put the parasang at sixty stades, some at thirty, and some at forty. He remarks a similar variation with regard to the Egyptian sanchu. (See note 24 on ii. 6.) These differences will not be surprising if we regard the measure as forming an element in an organized system of locomotion, such as the Persian estafette. A parasang would be the posting unit of distance, the space which on average ground a courier would perform in a given time. But in the tariff by which travellers would be guided there would be bye-laws to meet the varying conditions of road, of season, of climate, and perhaps even of fiscal or police regulations, which would materially affect the length of the parasang considered geographically. These considerations appear in the Roman itineraries and in every modern system of posting conducted by the governments of the country. Col. Shiel in 1837 found considerable inconvenience from the Kurdish muleteers whom he hired habitually haling every商品, i.e. parasang (Journal of Geogr. Soc. viii. p. 77), and on the road on which this occurred there were certainly no measured distances.

101 ἀτὰ καὶ ἐνεκές σημά. This passage has been remarked as decisively proving the subjection of the Asiatic Hellenes to the king of Persia, at a time when the restoration of their liberty by Athenian arms was a favourite topic with the Attic orators. Müller (Dorier. i. pp. 186, 187) points out several other circumstances which show the same thing.

102 κατὰ τὰ ἀτὰ καὶ καὶ πρότερον ἑχορ. This mild treatment of the rebels is said by Diodorus Siculus (Excerpt. Val. p. 38) to be due to the persuasions of Hecatomnus, who was deputed by his countrymen to plead their cause with Artaxerxes.

123 τῶν ἀλλῶν καταλαμμένων στρατευμάτων χρόνος. Every thing which is related of Darius, with the exception of a single anecdote (see note 225 on iv. 84), goes to show that, like Alexander and Napoleon, his genius for consolidating the countries he conquered, and combining anew the elements of prosperity, was no less striking than his success as a conqueror. The generals mentioned in the text appear to have been superseded by direct orders from the king; and there seems every likelihood that the immediate occasion of this was the extreme harshness
with which they treated the towns they overran. (See § 32.)

104 πολλῶν ἐν ναυτικῶν. See note 190 on i. 69. To the instances there quoted may be added Ciconio (Pro Rabirio, § 4), ‘Hic verba non solum tenetvia vetustatis, sed etiam luce libertatis oppressa sunt.’

105 Αρτακζότρομον. Gobryas himself was Darius’s father-in-law (vii. 2), and brother-in-law (vii. 5). He appears in the account of the conspiracy against Smerdis as the most courageous and zealous of all the seven chiefs. The rock inscriptions make him “bow-bearer” of Darius. (See note 199 on iii. 76.) In the narrative of the Scythian expedition he is represented as the most sagacious and prudent of all the Persians. All these particulars go to the point of his being especially attached to Darius’s person and possessing his confidence. The appointment of his son Mardonius, therefore, with extraordinary powers in the existing juncture looks like the consummation of Darius’s policy of imperial order, as contradistinguished from the violent individual despotism of the great chiefs belonging to the old Persian régime. Perhaps even the feature of Mardonius’s youth is significant. He was not old enough to have imbibed the pre-judices of the Russian school who mutilated attendants (iii. 119), and considered all regulation of fiscal imposts worthy only of a buckster (iii. 89). Among the generals superseded is Otanes, who, though not himself the conspirator, was probably connected with him.

106 ἄμα τῆς ἄλλης νυστῆ. Perhaps to keep in check the savagery of the Phoenicians. See note 74 on § 22, above.

107 τοῖς μὴ ἀναδεικμόμενοι Ἑλλήνων. See iii. 80.

108 δημοκρατίας. These constitutional governments would be no inconvenient machinery for carrying on the ordinary business of the respective towns, while at the same time the imperial interests were protected by the existence of a considerable Persian force at Dascyleium and Magnesia. But the argument from such measures in favour of the historical truth of the views attributed to Otanes, is of the same kind as one would be, which should infer the probability of a republican government being suggested in the council chamber of a Plantagenet, from the fact that the kings of that dynasty were not unfriendly to municipal institutions.

109 κατάθεν. See note 287 on ii. 109.
...since on the army in wrecked off Athos.

110 Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοὺς ἱππόνοις δολοὺς προσεκτήσακεν. Possibly at this time Alexander the Macedonian became formally a vassal of Persia. See notes on v. 21, vii. 127, and viii. 136.

111 σφὶ ἦν ἕπὶ ἰππὸνα γεγονότα. The operations of Megabazarus, who had been left in Sestos with 80,000 men by Darius on his return from Scythia (iv. 143), were continued by Otanes (v. 26), and it would seem likely that the services of the former were confined to the European shore, where, after taking Percinthus, θλαμὼν τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Ὑπερεῖς πάνω πόλιν καὶ τῶν ἔθνων τῶν ταύτης οἰκείων ἰμαράμενος βασιλεῖ (v. 2). The only particulars given of those operations relate to the Peoniæs; but it appears incidentally that Doriscus was then strongly garrisoned, and Eion on the Strymon occupied (vii. 106, 7). From the anecdotes related of him (iv. 143, 144) it is plain that Megabazarus was not only highly valued by the king, but that he had an eye for an effective military position; which latter quality is further evinced by his seeing through the plans of Histius (v. 23). Possibly therefore when he had completed the arrangements for the permanent military occupation of the European shore, he returned, and Otanes was put in his place to carry out the details which were necessary on the Asiatic coast and the Hellespont for connecting the two continents by a chain of posts. By the list which Herodotus gives of the places taken by Otanes (v. 26), it is plain that the main consideration which influenced him was to command the straits so as to secure an uninterrupted communication. It should not be overlooked that the phrase τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων is only appropriate to a narrator who takes some place in the neighbourhood of the straits for his centre.

112 Θρακομακεδόνης ἐναυσίς τῆς ἐπανόρθωσι. This expression has been put forward as an instance of gross incorrectness on the part of Herodotus; and, in the view of defending him from the charge, it has been suggested that his meaning may be, that the shore of the sea in question was thickly tenanted with wild animals. But the words can hardly bear such a meaning; and a better defence would be, that by them the author intends to describe the existence of sharks in large numbers.

113 Βρόγυς Ἐρυθίκης. It can scarcely be doubted that these are the same tribes elsewhere called Βρόγυς or Βρόγυς. See note on vii. 73.
πολλοὺς φονεύσατο οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρπόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζοντι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸν δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπαύγαστη ἐκ τῶν χωρεῶν τουτεύον Μαρπόνιος, πρὶν ἡ σφαίρας ὑποχείριος ἐποίησατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρέφειμεν ἐπηγεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπόλογον, ἄτε τῷ πέντε τῷ προσπαθείς πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περι Ἀθήν. οὕτως μὲν νῦν ὁ στόλος ἀσχρός ἀγνωσάμενος ἀπαλάξθη ἡ τῆς Ἀθην.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρείος, πρῶτα μὲν Θεσίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυνεύτων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανολάτροι, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκελευθεροφυίας τὸ τείχος περιορέων καὶ ὅλοι νέας εἰς Ἀθῆνα χωρίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Ἐθάνων, οἱ ἐπὶ Ἰστιαλοῦ τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πολυπορθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἑσύστων μεγαλεῶν, ἐχρόνιον τοῖς ἐσμαίνοντες ναῦς τὴν ναυπηγείαν ομαλῶς καὶ τείχος ἵππουρόντες περιβάλλομενοι. ἦ δὲ πρόσωπος σφί ἔγνευτο ἐκ τῆς ἱππείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μεταλλῶν ἐκ μὲν γαὶ τῶν ἐν Σκαπτῇ "Τηλ." τῶν χρυσῶν μεταλλῶν, τὸ ἐπὶ πάντα γνωκοῦντα τάλαντα προχείρει ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συγγραμμάτων ἀναστέηται ἐντὸς καρπῶν ἀπελεύθη ἐπὶ τῆς ἱππείρου καὶ τῶν μεταλλῶν ἐκάστου διηκοσία τάλαντα ὑπὸ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιπλοῦσθε, τρηκόσια. Ἐπεξε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μεταλλα τάλαντα καὶ μακρὸ ἡν αὐτῶν ὁμασιωτάτα τὰ οἱ Φοῖνικες ἀνέφησιν, οἱ μὲν Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νήσου ταύτην ἐκεῖνα τὴν ἡπτών ταύτην ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τοῦτο τὸ Φοῖνικα τὸ ὤν τὸ κενὸν ἐκεῖ. τὰ δὲ μεταλλα τὰ φωκικὰ τάλαντα ἔσται τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Δινύρων τε χώρον καλεόμενον καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίν δὲ Σαμοθρηκίης δροσίς μέγα, ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει, τούτο μὲν νῦν ἐστὶ

114 Βρύγοι. One MS (b) has Βρογας. See the last note.
115 τὰς χριστὰς ἐκ Αβδερα κομίζων. Ἡροδοτος (i. 168) represents Abdara as founded for the second time by the Telans flying from before the face of Harpagus. But by this time it would seem to have become Persian in feeling; otherwise it would hardly have been selected as a dépôt for the galleys. The story told in viii. 120 goes to prove that even the descent of Xerxes failed to detach Abdara from his cause.
116 ἐν Σκαπτῇ "Τηλ." This name became Sceptreysia in Latin, the aspirate being represented by the sound s; just as ζ, ἵππαι, ἵππα, &c. appear in their Latin equivalents as sex, seplem, serpe, sal.
117 ἐξαιρὰτος καπτῶν ἀπελεύθη, "while free from imposts on their produce." The author apparently means to say that without the islanders paying any tithe or land-tax, the whole of the public expenses were defrayed from the profits of the mines, and the produce of the public demesne on the continent, a balance still remaining of two or three hundred talents. It must be remembered that among the public expenses would come the celebration of the religious festivals—a very heavy burden in ancient times.

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toio&7oi oí de Thásoi tì basileí kelleýsan& kal tò teýchos tò sφ&8eros kateílon, kal tòs vías tòs tásous ékymasan ès "A&833ra.

48 Metà de toûto, ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι ἐν νόμον ἔχουσιν, κάτερα πολεμέειν ἐσωτερικά ή παραβιάζειν σφέας αὐτού. διέμεινεν ὁ κύριος ἄλλοι ἄλλη τάξας ἀνά τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτείναι βασιλεία ἡν τε καὶ ὅπως. τούτως μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέμεινε ἄλλοι δὲ κύριοι διέμεινεν ἐς τὰς ἑσύνους δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραβαλλόμενας, κελεύων νέας τε μακράς καὶ ἱππαγωγῶν πλοία ποιέσθαι. οὐτό τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο τάντα καὶ τούτι ἥκουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἐδίδοσαν τὰ προσοχεί τοιούτων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ οἱ νησίωται ἔς τούς ἅπανταλτα ἀιτήσουσιν. οἱ τε δὴ ἄλλοι ἀναγόμενοι διέδοιν νῦν τε καὶ ὅπως Δαρείο καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ποιήσας δὲ σφι τάντα θέες Ἀθηναίων ἐπεκαταστάτης, δοκεόμενες ἐπὶ σφίνε ξύνοντας ὁ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίων διδοκεόμενος ὡς ἁμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύοντας καὶ ἀνεμονοί προφάσιμοι ἐπελάβοντο, φοίτεσθεν τε ἐς τὴν Ἐπίτροπην καταγώγειν τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τὰ πεποιήκειοι προδότες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίαν Κλεομένης ὁ "Ἀναξαγόρας, βασιλεύς ἐὼν Σπαρτητέως, διεβης ἐς Αἰγυπτίων βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς αὐτοτότους· ὡς δὲ ἀπερ&8333;τα συλλαβαῖον, ἀλλοὶ δὲ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο ἀντίξοι τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κρίων ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα· δὲ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτόν οὐδένα ἄξειν χάριστα Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεν γὰρ μνα Σπαρτητέως τοῦ κοινοῦ ποιεῖν ταύτα ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἀναγοροθέντα χρήσας· ἀμα γὰρ αὐτός τῷ ἔτερῳ βασιλείᾳ δλήνα συλλα&8333;βαινε· ἐλεγε δε ταύτα ἐς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρχίας. Κλεομέ&8333;ς δὲ ἀπελαυ&8333;μενος ἑκ τῆς Ἀγυπτίως, ἐρετο τῶν Κρίων δὲ οἱ εὖ τὸν σώμα; δὲ δὲ τὸν ἐφραίσε οὐδὲ δὲ Κλεομέ&8333;ς πρὸς αὐτὸν

118 ἐπὶ σφιν ἄξιον. Several MSS have ἐπὶ σφίν ἄξιον, but Εὐστάθιος (on Od. xix. 71, τι μοι ἄξιον;) takes occasion to remark that Herodotus separates the compound verb into its constituent parts. The expression ἄξιον here seems to answer to the old English phrase "to have at." Translate: "considering that the Ἀγινηταί were aiming a blow at them when they rendered the symbols of submission, that they might make war upon them with the Persian king for an ally." 119 ἐς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρχίας. The first decided break between Cleomenes and Demaratus was with the army of con&8333; federates at Eleusis. See note 200 on v. 75. For the use of the word ἐπιστολῆς, see note 27 on iv. 10.
εφη ἦν καταχάλκου, ὁ Κριὲ, τὰ κέρεα ὅσ συνοισίμενοι μεγαλῷ κακῷ.

'Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρχος δ' Ἀριστωνὸς διεβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἐὼν βασίλευς καὶ οὗτος Σπαρτηνεῖαν οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεστέρης κατ' ἄλλα μὲν οὐδὲν ὑποδεστέρης,—ἀπὸ ἡγὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονα, κατὰ πρεσβυγενεῖν δὲ καὶ δεκτὴν μᾶλλον ἡ Ἐυφυσθένεος. Δακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ ὠμολογῶντες οὖν θυσίαν ἡμεῖς ἔγωγοι 111 λέγουσι αὐτῷ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδάλου τοῦ Ἑλλοῦ, βασιλεύοντα ὀγγαγεῖν σφέας ἡς ταύτῃ τὴν χώρῃ τῆς νῦν ἔκτεται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλῶν, Ἀριστοδήμῳ τεκέων τὴν γυναίκα τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀργείην τυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς.

110 καταχάλκου, ὁ Κριὲ, τὰ κέρεα.

There is a bitterness of the Spartan king, whose authority was not only resisted, but resisted with the insolent words: οὖν δύνασθαι χαροντα λαμπαδονω, which should have prevented any comparison of this expression with the jests of Cicero upon the name of Verres. It is rather the mask of levity under which the deepest feelings seek to conceal themselves; and may be more fitly compared with the words of Esau (Gen. xxvii. 36), which were spoken just after he had "cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry." Shakespeare (King Richard II., Act 2, Sc. 1) furnishes a matchless specimen of this condition of mind, and at the same time gives the clue to its explanation:

"King Richard. What comfort, man? How is't with aged Gaunt?
Gaunt. Oh, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being old.
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;
And who abstains from meat, that is not gaunt.
For sleeping England long time have I watched;
Watching breeds leanness; leanness is all gaunt.
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon
Is my strict fast,—I mean my children's looks;
And therein fasting hast thou made me gaunt.
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as the grave, Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.
King Richard. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?
Gaunt. No: misery makes sport to mock itself:
Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee."

With the same propriety he makes Constance, who in an agony of passion at the compromise of her son's claim had thrown herself upon the earth in the presence of the assembled sovereigns (King John, Act 3, Sc. 1), rise up, on hearing the words of King Philip:

"The yearly course, that brings this day about,
Shall never see it but a holiday,"
with the reply—
"A wicked day, and not a holy day."

111 ὠμολογῶντες οὖν διεπεικὴν. The narrative which follows is extremely valuable, as containing the genuine Lacedaemonian traditions relative to the condition of their country at the period immediately following the Heracleid invasion. It may be put together with the account of Theras given in iv. 147—149, and from the combination of the two a very complete ethnological account (in terms of mythology) may be constructed of what the Lacedaemonians of the time of Herodotus thought about their own early history.
λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκους ταύτην δὲ τεκείν δίδυμα οπισθώτα ὑπό τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου τὰ τέκνα νοῦρο τελευτάν, Ἀκαδαιμώνος δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔντασι βουλεύσαι κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παιδῶν τῶν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι· οὕτως δὴ σφεας ἔχειν ὀκτέρον ἔλεοςται, ὡστε καὶ ομοιόν καὶ ἵσων ἕνων, οὐ δυναμένος δὲ γνώσει, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἑπειροῦν τὴν τεκούσαι τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτῆς φανεὶ διαγνώσκειν, εἰδὼς μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγει τιτά βουλομένην δὲ εἶ κως ἀμφότεροι γενολατο βασιλέες· τοὺς δὲ δὴ Ἀκαδαιμώνοις ἀπορεόντας δὲ πέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρομένους δὲ τι χρήσιον τῷ πρῆσαμεν; τὴν δὲ Πυθηνήν κελεύειν σφαι ἀμφότερα τὰ παιδιὰ ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γερατέρου τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθηνῆς ταύτη σφι ἀνελεῖ τοῦτο δὲ Ἀκαδαιμώνων, ἀπορεοῦσι οὐδὲν ἔσων ὀκος ἔξειροις αὐτῶν τῶν πρεσβύτερων, ἱπποδέσαν ἄνδρα Μεσσήνων τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Παντήν ὑποθέσαν τοῦ τούτου τοῦ Παντῆν τάδε τοὺς Ἀκαδαιμώνῳ, φυλάξας τὴν γεναμένην ὀκτέρον τῶν παιδίων πρότερον λοῦει καὶ συνίζει· καὶ ἴν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ φαύνηται αἰεὶ ποιεύσα, τοὺς δὲ παῖν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ διζέρητα καὶ κελεύοντο ἐξευρέειν ἢν δὲ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλὰξ ποιεῦσα, δηλα σφι ἔσεσθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδεν οἴδη· ἐπὶ ἄλλην τέ σφαι τρεπέσθαι ὡς ὑπάντα δὴ τοὺς Σπάρτιττας, κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας, φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παιδῶν λαβεῖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰμίωσαν τῶν πρότερον καὶ στοικεῖα καὶ λαυτροῦτι, οὐκ εἰδὼς τῶν εἶνεκεν ἐφίλασσετο· λαβώντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τὴν γεναμένην, ὡς ἐν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ καὶ οἱ οὖνομα τεθῆκαι Εὐρυσθέαν, τῷ δὲ [ὐεστέρῳ]. Προκλεᾶ· τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας, αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς ἔντασι λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς ἄλληλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡς ὑπάντα διατέλειν. Ταύτα μὲν Ἀκαδαιμώνοι λέγουσι μοῦνοι 'Ελλήνων τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπὶ 'Ελλήνων ἐγώ γράφω· ...... τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας μέχρι μὲν Περσῶς τοῦ Δανίη, τοῦ

53 The account which is current among the

122 [ὐεστέρῳ]. This word is omitted from M, K, F, d. It is quite unnecessary, and seems to have crept in as a gloss.
123 κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gaisford follows Schweighaeuser, who, on the authority of P, adopts κατὰ ταύτα λεγόμενα.
124 τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας. Before these words there appears to be a
ERATO. VI. 53—56.

The Persian account of Perseus.

The Persians had nothing whatever to do with Acrisius, whom the Hellenic traditions made his maternal grandfather. Hence the ancestors of Acrisius are said “in no respect to agree with [the Persian] Persians in the point of relationship”—they indeed being, as the Hellenic legend made them, Egyptians.

The "others" of whom the writer here speaks are, I conceive, especially Hecateus.

This is the only passage in which Zeus Δακέδαμονος is mentioned in any ancient writer. It can scarcely be doubted, whatever the original idea of the deity here spoken of, that he was invoked under this title as the guardian of the nation, and stands in the same relation to the Lacedaemonians that Athene did to the Athenians. It is not necessary to suppose that he had a separate temple under this title, or that the kings were priests of him.
in all his relations; but only that they, as the representatives of the nation, were bound to conduct the ritual in which the functions of a national deity were ascribed to him. The origin of the name is another question. Larcher considers that Λακε-βαλμος is equivalent to deus tonans, in which case Zeis /ακεβαλμος is synonymous with Zevs θυμβρέμετμες the ‘thunder-god,’—a not improbable account of the matter. In this view he would probably, as an elemental deity, be derived from the ante-dorian times, which the Zevs θυμβρέμετμες undoubtedly is. But this very circumstance excites a certain suspicion of the truth of the conjecture. Of the two elements which constituted the nation, one would expect each to be represented, either by separate rituals appropriate to each, or by one which should unite the characteristics of both. Hence the Zevs /ακεβαλμος seems more likely to be a deity of the Heraclite invaders. If we suppose him analogous to the Cretan Zeus, an armed warrior-god, the root Λακεβαλμος, both here and in the name of the people (Δακωνες), seems more likely to be connected etymologically with Λακεβαλμος (the sole of the foot), and to have reference to the sounding tramp of the soldiery, the Cadmeo-dorian conquerors of the country (κρατονσι ζτατζος γεινος άνθρωποι). In this view the ritual probably would be of a pyrrhic nature, like that of the Curetes (Strabo x. c. 3, p. 356), and may be supposed to date from the time of the Lycurgan institutions, i. e. the time of the military organization of the nation. This would account for the order in which the two priesthoods are named, that of the military caste naturally taking precedence over the one common to the members of it with their perioecian fellow subjects.

a From other passages it would seem that the body-guard consisted not of one but of three hundred. (See note on vii. 206.) But perhaps the three hundred were divided into three watches, so that there were never less than one hundred on guard at a time. In the case of a battle of course the whole number would turn out. (Thucydides, v. 72.)

131 Μηδεμας ιωσιμενον τοι μενο. Apollo was called Μηδεμας (Eschylus, Thesp. 806), and it has been assumed that this name is derived from the tradition that he was born on the seventh day of the month, which unquestionably was sacred to him on that account. Hesiod (Opp. et D. 770) says: Μηδεμας λεγεν ήμαρ τη γαρ Απόλλωνα χρυσοῦρα γεινοτο Λυκτη. The Corinthians celebrated on the seventh day of the month which at Athens was called Thargelion, and the philosopher Carneades got his name from being born, as Plato was, on that day. (Plutarch, Quast. Symp. viii. 1. 2.) But with reference to Apollo's reputed birth on the seventh day of the month, Plutarch (I. c.) expressly gives him the name of Μηδεμας-γεινοτο from it; and there seems no reason for wishing to change this, as Valckenaer does, into Μηδεμας-γεινοτο.
ΕΡΑΤΟ. VI. 57. 119

ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος 132, καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων, καὶ οἴνον τετάρτην Ἀλκωνίτην 133, καὶ ἐν τούτω ἀγώνι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἤξιερέτους· καὶ προείσων ἀποδείκτων· τοῦτοι προσκείσαντο τοὺς ἐν ἑδέλωι τῶν ἀστῶν 2· καὶ Πυθέων αἰρέσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον (οἱ δὲ Πυθίων εἰς θεοπρόποι ἐν Δελφοῖς, συνεδρεῖας μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημοσία.) μὴ ἐλθοῦν δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεύσαι ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον, ἀποπέμπετος σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοῦνικας ἑκατέρας καὶ οἴνου κοτυλῆμα παρεοιά, διειλήσαν πάντα δίδοσθαι τοῦτο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτῶν κληθέντας ἐπὶ δείπνον τιμᾶσθαι τὰς δὲ μαντητές τὰς γυμνάσσας τοὺς φυλάσσεις· συνειδέαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθέων 134. δικάζειν δὲ μοῦνον τὸν βασιλέα τοσάδε μοῦνα πατροχόν τε παρθένον 135 πέρι ἐς τὸν ἱερέα ἦχην, ἣν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἐργαζόμεθα καὶ ἐδώκων δημοσίων πέρι καὶ ἣν τις θετῶν παῖδα ποιεσθήναι ἐθέλη, βασιλέως ἕναντι ποιεσθάναι καὶ παρίσευν βουλεύον τοὺς γέροντας, ἐνδεικνύον τρήκοντα ἥν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τός μᾶλλον σφι τῶν γεροντῶν προσούντας ἦχην τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τυθεμένους 136, τρίτην δὲ, τὴν ἐνωτῶν.

132 ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος. The manuscripts S and V have ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. But the use of the genitive seems to admit of an explanation. The animal was probably brought to the temple of the god, and there delivered to the king to be sacrificed.

133 τετάρτην Ἀλκωνίτην. The ellipse appears to be of the word καθαρὰ or μερις, and one may suppose the quantity intended to be the fourth part of some generally received measure, probably the jar in which the wine when made was stored away. These would differ in different countries. The amphiros, in times when its contents came to be accurately settled, contained 8 gallons, 7·365 pints (Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, sub v.), but in every country local convenience furnishes the original standard of quantity, and the Laconian measure, of which the kings received a fourth part, was probably at first merely the contents of a jar which when full could be conveniently carried by its two ears (ἀμφιφορέας). It may be observed that the tetraptis (or quarter-bottle) is not a subdivision recognized in the Attic metrology, from which the medimnus seems to be taken. Hence perhaps the qualifying epithet Λακωνική. The χειρις and the cotyle were Attic; hence no explanation is given of them.

134 προείνου ἀποδεικτῶν... τῶν ἀστῶν. The protection which the possession of a proserus afforded to a foreigner was in all cases no doubt purchased at the price of considerable presents from the client; and hence the assignment of the right to stand in that relation would be an important piece of patronage. Similarly the bestowing the custody of wards was one of the most valuable privileges of the early English sovereigns.

135 συνειδέαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθέων. The importance of having some check upon the kings in order to prevent the publication of false oracles is evinced by the case of Demaratus (below, § 66). See also v. 63.

136 πατροχόν τοπάθεν, "an heiress." The technical name given to a female so circumstanced was in Athens ἧκληρος or ἐγκληρος. The Dorians called her ἑκτάμας, ἦκταμας, or ἀποτάμας. (Suter, Lectiones Andocideae, p. 48; Ti- meus, Voc. Platt. v. patr. w.) The number of females so situated was very great at Lacedemon. (Aristotile, Polit. ii. p. 1270.)

137 δύο ψήφους τυθεμένους. This
58 Ταύτα μὲν ζῶσε τοίοι βασιλεῖοι δέδοται ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε ἱππεῖς περιμετέλλουσι τὸ γεγονός κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Δακυνθίαν κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναικεῖς περιδοῦσα λέβητα κροτέουσι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τότε γένηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκείας ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεσθαι, ἀνδρὰς τε καὶ γυναίκας μὴ ποιῆσαι δὲ τότε ξημία λεγόλα ἐπικεῖται νόμος δὲ τούτοι Δακεδαμίνους κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς Θεανάτους ἦστι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ὁσίᾳ τῶν ἀρχῶν δὲν βαρβάρων οἱ πλείον τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς Θεανάτους τῶν βασιλέων ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Δακεδαμίνων, ἐκ πάσης δὲ Δακεδαμίνων, χωρὶς Σπαρτιτῶν, ἀριθμὸ τῶν περι- ολεκτικῶν ἀναγκαστικῶς ἐστὶ κῆδος ἑναί. τούτων δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰλικ- τέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἐπειδὰν συνελήξεισθαι εἰς τῶν τοιούτων χρυσάδες, σύμμαχα τῇ γυναικί κοπτοπαί τε τὰ μέτωπα προθυμο-(1) καὶ οἰκογενεί διαχρέωσαι ἄπλετων φάμευοι τῶν δοταυτων αἰτίας ἀριστεροῦ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστων. δὲ δὲν ἐν τολήμερό τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνη, τοῦτῳ δὲ ἐλθὼν σχεδό- σαντες κλη ἐν κλη ἐν ἀποκρυμένη ἐκφέρουσι ἐπειδὰν ἡθόποι, ἀγορά δὲκα ἡμερών οὐκ ἱσταται σφε υδὲ ἀρχαρεστὶ συνίζει, ἀλλὰ

dides (l. 20) mentions this opinion as one of the popular fallacies of his time. Another he speaks of is the reputed existence of the Πινακίτις ἱάχος in the Lacedaemonian army, which he emphatically denies. See ix. 53, below.

117 ταύτα μὲν τοιοί βασιλεῖοι δέδοται. It is remarkable that the writer should not mention among the regal rights the absolute power of life and death with which the kings were invested when on service, as he does take notice of some privileges which accrued to them only then. aristotle expressly remarks on the great change in their powers according as they were at home or abroad (Politics iii. p. 1285), and quotes Homer to show that it was the same with Agamemnon. But both this power and the unlimited amount of flesh noticed in the text arise out of the necessities of martial law. He who is responsible for the safety of an army must be absolute over the commissariat.

118 Λέβητα κροτέουσι. Probably the representative of the oriental gong,—a feature, which as well as that of exhibiting the signs of mourning in a sordidness of dress and person, bespeaks a custom existing antecedently to the Dorian invasion, and probably derived from Asiatic ancestors,—with whom to put dust on the head would be a common expression of grief.

119 καταμαίνεσθαι. See last note.

120 χωρὶς Σπαρτιτῶν, "independently of the Spartans," just as χωρὶς τοῦ φόρου (i. 106) is "independently of the specified tribute." The assemblage of mourners was to consist of two free Spartans (a man and woman) from each house, and a fixed number, the amount of which Herodotus does not specify, of perioeciants.

121 τὰ μέτωπα. These words are omitted in S.

122 τούτων δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστων, "that this one, if ever there was (δὴ), had been a very great man." These staple commendations are the nomenclature which used to be recited over the ancient Roman patricians, "Hunc plurimi consentienti Romani patrie primorem fuisse virum," and the like, which in their case, as well as that of the Lacedaemonians, are probably derived from a common ancestry.
PEPEROSI.

59. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἀλλ' ἄλλο τόδε τοὺς Τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα, έόντα ἐν τῇ Ἁγαθὰ προσεργάζομεν, οἱ Δῆμαρχοι διέβαλε, οὐκ Ἀγιωντέων οὗτοι κράματος ὡς φόνον καὶ ἄγριον εἰσήγαγον, οὐκ Ἀγιωντέων ἢ τὸ δημοσίον ὄφειλεν ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσης ὢς κατοικήματος βασιλείας τῶν προσφευλαμένων φόρων 144 

metiès πάσχοι τῆς πόλεως. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Ἀγιωντέωι Δακεδαμόνοι οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν 145 καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρίδας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητήν γίνεται, καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου, καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν ἐπιθέμενοι ἀλλοι όφεις παρακλητοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι 146.

taìa μὲν δὴ οὗτο γίνεται.

60. κήρυκες αὐτῶν 144 καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρίδας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητήν γίνεται, καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου, καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν ἐπιθέμενοι ἀλλοι όφεις παρακλητοῦσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσι 146.

taìa μὲν δὴ οὗτο γίνεται.

61. κήρυκες αὐτῶν. See below, vii. 134. There was also at Athens a house of Κήρυκις.

144 of κήρυκες αὐτῶν. See below, vii. 134. There was also at Athens a house of Kérýκηs.

145 o kathē kermophōnēn eptēmēnoi. . . . eptēmēnoi: "others do not on the strength of vocal power invade their sphere and exclude them, but they continue on doing as their fathers did."

146 ἄγριον. The MSS vary between ἄγιον, ἄττη, αὐτή, and ἄγριον. The word ἄγριον was restored by Valckenaer, by the help of a citation of Suidas; and there can be little doubt in the genuine reading. "Aγας is interpreted by Ἀγαύης, ἀγάυης, and ascribed to Ἀγαύης in the Thebes. The same lexicographer gives Ἀγαῦης, ἀγάυης, and Ἀγαῦης, ἀγάυης. And Herodotus uses the word ἀγαύης in connexion with ἀγαύης in viii. 60. According to Eustathius, the ancient Alexandrine grammarians asserted that ἀγαύης was used in three senses: τὸ θαμάζει, τὸ φθονεῖ, τὸ μοιεῖ.
Herodotus

62 ἡμέρην ἥ τής Ἑλένης ἱρών τοῦ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπτῃ kalémēn ὑπέρθε τοῦ Φοῖβου ἱρών. ὠκεῖσι δὲ ἐνελκείε ἡ τροφος, πρὸς τοῦ ἄγαλμα ἦτα καὶ ἔλισεν τὴν θεῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορφίας τοῦ παιδίου καὶ δὴ κατε ἀπαντήσει ἐκ τοῦ ἱρών τῆς τροφοῦ γυναικα λέγεται ἐπιφανείας, ἐπιφανείσις δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι μὲν ὃ τι 

63 φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγάλαι. καὶ τῇ τράπεζῃ ὃς παιδίου φόρεται τῇ δὲ κελεύσαι οἱ δείξας. τῆς δὲ οὐ χάναι, ἀπειρόθησαι γὰρ οἱ ᾧ ἐκ τῶν γενναμένων μηδὲν ἐπιδεικνύναι τῆς δὲ πάντως ἕσοντες κελεύον ἐπιδείξας ὅρισαν δὲ τῆς γυναίκας περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεμένην ἰδέαθαι οὕτω δὴ τῆς τροφοῦ δείξας τὸ παιδίον τῇ δὲ καταγώγασαν τοῦ παιδίου τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶπα τα, ὡς καλλιστεύσει ποιεῖν τῶν ἐν Ἔπαρχῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεποεῖν τὸ εἶδος γαμεῖν 144 δὲ δὴ μὲν ἐκ γάμου ὡριν ἀπικυμοῖν "Ἀγγίτος ὁ Ἀλκείδων, οὗτος δὴ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνον ἐκεῖσα ἀρὰ τῆς γυναίκος ταύτης ὃ ἔρως μυχαίναται δὴ τουσίδε αὐτὸς 

143 ἐν τῇ Θεράπτῃ. See note 189 on v. 72. The temple of Helen belonged to the Achaeans or ante-dorian times, when not the Heracles, but the Tyndarid, were the ruling race. Its superior antiquity to the Phebeum is shown by the position it occupies relatively to it, the hill-top being the place which the earliest settlers would fix on for the site of their temples. Thespiae was, according to the Laconian traditions, a daughter of Leukas. (Pausanias, iii. 19. 9.)

144 δείξας. All the MSS have this form instead of δείξας, which would be in accordance with the practice of Herodotus elsewhere, and there is an equal unanimity for ἐνείδεῖα, just below.

145 γαμεῖν. The change from the infinitive to the indicative, upon the author passing from the relation of an idle story to that of an undoubted fact should not be overlooked.

146 ὁ Ἀρίστων. These words exist in all the MSS, but so do τῶν Ἀρίστωνος below, and it seems impossible that both should have been written.

147 ὁ Ἀγγίτος. These words are wanting in 8, and as they render the sense much more perspicuous, they are much more likely to have been added by a transcriber than to have been omitted.
ERATO. VI. 62—65.

Demaratus, the son of a third wife, was born under doubtful circumstances.

Diad. 74. Bekker alters this without any MS authority into δι᾽ α. But there is no reason whatever why τὰ should not here have the force of the relative. Translate: "But, as it would seem, the ventilating of these matters was fated to deprive Demaratus of his crown, owing to the strong charges brought against him by Cleomenes, not only before, for having withdrawn the army from Eleusis, but more than ever on this occasion, when Cleomenes went over after the Median partisans among the Αἰγινηταὶ."
ταί... Δημαρήτου, φας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιτῶν, οὐκ ἑώτα παῦε τάρτα 'Ἀριστῶν' μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατομοσύνην ἐδιακόπτειν ἀνακόπτειν τὸ ἔπος τὸ ἐπεὶ τὸ 'Ἀριστῶν' τότε, διότι ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκείως παῦε γεγονέλαι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μένας ἀπώμοσε, φας οὖκ ἑωτὸν εἶναι τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιβασεῖν τοῦ ἡμιῶν ὁ Δευτερίδης, ἀπέφανεν τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε 'Αριστῶν γεγονότα, οὔτε ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἑφόρους μάτωπας παρεχόμενοι κείνους οὐ τότε ἐτυχον πάρεδροι τε ἐόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα 'Ἀριστῶν. Τέλος δὲ, ἐόταν περὶ αὐτῶν νεκρῶν ἐξοῦσε Σπαρτιτής ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰς 'Ἀριστῶν εἰς τάξις ὁ Δημάρητος; ἄφωνον δὲ γεγο-νέων εὖ προνοιὰς τῆς Κλεομένους ἐς τὴν Πυθίαν, ἑνδιάτα προσω-ποιεῖται Κλεομήνης Κάσσαν τῷ 'Ἀριστοφάντῳ, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελ- φοῖς δυναστεύοντα μέγαστον ὁ δὲ Κόρην Περιλάγα συνήπαμεν ἅ τὸ πρόμαχον ἀναπτεθεὶ τὰς Κλεομῆνης ἐμβουλοῦτο λέγουσαι λέγειν. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Πυθία, ἐπειροτούσια τοῖς θεοπρότοι, ἐκρινει μὴ 'Ἀριστῶν εἶναι Δημάρητον παῦε. ἦσθερον μέντοι χρώνη ἀνάπτυστα ἐγένετο ταῦτα, καὶ Κόρην τε ἐφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περιλάγας ἡ πρόμαχος ἐπαύσαθι τῆς τιμῆς.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημάρητον τὴν κατάπαιναν τῆς βασιλείας οὔτω ἐγένετο. ἐφευγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μῆδους ἐκ τοιοῦτον ἀνελθεσθευμένος μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν κατάπαιναν ὁ Δημάρητος ἦρξε αἰρεθεὶς αρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γημυστασθέναιν δ' θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημάρητος, ὁ Δευτερίδης γεγονὼς ἦγε αὐτὸς βασιλεύειν ἀντ' ἐκείνου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα, ἐπὶ γέλατι τε καὶ λάσῃς εἰρήτα τὸν Δημάρητον ὁκοῖν τι εἴη τὸ ἀρχεῖν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν; δ' ἐν δὲ ἀλγήσας τὸ ἐπειροτίματο ἐπεὶ φας αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφότερον ἦγε πεπερισθῆσας, κεῖνος δὲ ὃς οὖ τὸν μέντοι ἐπειροτίματο τάτην ἄρξειν Δακεδαλοῦσθαι ἢ μυρίς κακότητος ἢ μυρίς ἐκδαιμονίας. ταῦτα δὲ ἔπασα καὶ κατακαλυψάμενος, ἰε ἐκ τοῦ θείτρου ἐς τα ἑωτῶν

134 κατάμυναι, "protests upon oath against him,"—a proceeding probably neces- sary for the purpose of initiating an investigation of the matter.
135 ἄφωνον. This rare form of the verbal is analogous to the aorist infinitive ἄφωσθαι which appears i. 157.
* γημυστασθέναιν. See note 286 on i. 82.
After learning the particulars of his birth from his mother,

O nóstos cómnesque Dédim, quibus ipse mecumque

Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procace

Pascò libatias eruplia.

(HORACE, Sat. ii. 6. 66.)

In Ethiopia a practice was said to prevail which shows the origin of this kind of solemnity (iii. 24). The Zeus Ερκελος, or the Lar, was at the outset the deified common ancestor of the άμιοστωρι or άμιστοκλέων. His altar at Athens was in the Πανδροσεύμ, a temple which belongs to the primitive times, antecedent to the συνελατομί which is in mythical history ascribed to Theseus.
flies to Elia, and from thence to the court of Darius.

118 'Αστραβάκου. The local traditions relative to Astrabacus connected him with the rites of the Tauric Artemis. He and his brother Alopeus were said to have found the sacred image brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia, and left, according to the Laconian legend, in the neighbourhood of Sparta. The sanctity of the fetish exhibited itself in the frenzy which seized upon them. (Pausanias, iii. 16. 9.) As the ritual of this Artemis is undoubtedly of the ante-dorian times, it is reasonable to suppose that Astrabacus belongs to the same era. Hence the derivation of his name from ἀστραβή (any beast of burden, but especially an ass—ἀστραβηλάτης being interpreted as ἄσπρηλάτης), is a very plausible one. That the protecting genius of the stable should be called by a name derived from this animal is not wonderful when it is remembered that Arcadia was celebrated for its breed; and the Latin Epona in fact presents an exact parallel. The connexion of such a deity with orgiastic frenzy is a matter of extreme obscurity. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that which would identify him with the Silenus, who on ancient monuments is often represented as riding upon an ass in an excited state among a crowd of bacchanals. Creuzer's view, that the true form of Astrabacus is Astrobacus, and that the personage in question is a moon-struck astrologer (Symbolik. iii. pp. 638. 737), appears to me utterly worthless. Still the majority of the MSS here have the form Ἀστραβάκου, although Gaisford in adopting the other has the countenance of S and V.

119 Εἴλη. This must not be taken to mean Elia, the town, but the country, "the land of Elia." See note on viii. 73.
ΕΡΑΤΟ. VI. 70, 71.

127

ἔσει Ζάκυνθων διαβάσας 164 ὁ Δημαρήτου ἐκ τῆς Ἡλιδώς ἐπιδιαβάσας δὲ τοῖς διακειμένοις, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν βεράπουντα αὐτὸν ἀπαρέριντο μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύουν διαβάνει ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην 165 παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείων ὃ δὲ ἀπειθεῖτο τὰ αὐτῶν μεγαλωτὰ 166, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκεν 167. οὖν ἀπὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην Δημαρήτου 168 καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τόχον, ἄλλα τοῖς διακειμένοις συνεχὶ ἔργον τε καὶ γράμμως ἄπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ 'Ολυμπιάδα 169 σφὴ ἀνέλθων τεθρήπτῳ προσέβαλε, μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Στάρτῃ ποιήσας.

Δευτυχίας δὲ ὁ Μεοφρες, Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος, διεδέσται τῆς βασιληῆς καὶ οἱ γίνεται πάς Ζευξίδημος, τῶν δὴ Κυνικοῦ μετεξέτερος Σπαρτιτέων ἐκάλεσ. αὐτὸς ὁ Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβάσσετον Σπαρτῆς πρὸ Δευτυχίων γὰρ τελευτ. λιτῶν παῖδα Ἀρχηδηῶν Δευτυχίας δὲ στρεφθεῖς Ζευξίδημον γαμάει δευτέρῃ γυναῖκα Εὔρυδάμην, ἕδοσαν Μειδίον μὲν ἀδελφὴν Δια-

164 ἔσει Ζάκυνθων διαβάσας. The direct run from the Peloponnese to Zacynthus was from the headland Araxus, which is the northern boundary of "hollow Elia." (Strabo, viii. c. 2, p. 140.) To get round this into the Corinthian gulf, so as to reach Delphi by way of Cirrhus, might be very difficult, and thus Demaratus would be furnished with an excuse for bearing up to Zacynthus. The most natural course for him to have taken to get to Delphi would have been through Arcadia to the Achaean seaboard; but this would have led him through the parts where his enemy Cleomenes was most popular.

165 ἐν Ζάκυνθων διαβάνεις ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην. Ctesias would seem to have represented him as not joining the Persian court until the expedition of Xerxes. (See Photius, quoted in note on vii. 37.) That passage is perhaps reconcilable with an earlier flight, by the supposition that, like Themistocles, he remained for some time on the coast of Asia; but it is decidedly opposed to the account of Herodotus, who makes him a resident at the court of Susa, and an adviser of Xerxes, long before the death of Darius. See vii. 3 and 239.

166 μεγαλωτί. The manuscripts S and V have μεγάλωτοι.

167 γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκεν. In a similar way Artaxerxes bestowed upon The-
κτορίδεω δὲ θυγατέρας: ἐκ τῆς οί ἐφευ μὲν γινεται οὐδὲν, θυγατήρα
dὲ Δαμαστῶν τῆν Ἀρχιβήμον ζεύξιδημον γαμεῖει, δόντος αὐτῷ

72 Δευτυχίδεω. Οὐ μὲν οὖν Δευτυχίδης κατεγέρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ
πῶς τούτῳ τινά Δημαρήτης ἐξέτισε· ἐπροστύγεις Δακεδαίο-

73 μουλούς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν 164, παρεῖν δὲ οἱ ὑποτερία πάντα ποιήσα-
σθαι ἔφοδον ἄργυρον πολὺ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, ἐξεῖν ἕκτη Σπάρτῃ, ὑπὸ δικαστήριων ὑπαχθεῖς καὶ τὰ οίκια οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἐφύγε ἐς
Τεγένην 166, καὶ ἐπελεύσθη ἐν ταύτῃ. ταύτη μὲν δὲ
ἐγένετο χρόνος ὑστερον.

Τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει εὐδοκὸθη 167 τὸ ἐς τῶν Δημάρχουν
πραγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβόν Δευτυχίδην ἤν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίας,
δειρὼν τινὰ σφι ἐγκοστὸν διὰ τῶν προπηλακισμῶν ἔχων. οὕτω δὲ
οὔτε οἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, ἄμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἥκοντων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν,
ἐδικαῖον ἔτι ἀντιβαίλειν, ἑκεῖνοι τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα
Δαιμοντέων τῶν πλείστων ἄξιους καὶ πλούτω καὶ γένει, ἤγαν καὶ

164 ἐς Θεσσαλίαν. This was an expedition undertaken against the Atenas, the chiefs of that party which had endeavoured to bring about the interference of Persia. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 7, 8.) It is likely therefore that it took place at no long period of time after the success of the Hellenic confederates against the Persians. And this circumstance will perhaps help to explain the different statements by Diodorus (xi. 48) and other authors as to the time of the death of Leotychides. Pausanias says that Archidamus, his grandson, succeeded to the regal power upon the death of Leotychides. Diodorus apparently confuses this with his death, and accordingly puts this in 476 B.C. Concurring with other authorities in making Archidamus reign forty-two years, he puts his death in 434 B.C., consistently with his first mistake (xii. 35). But it is quite certain from Thucydides (iii. 1. 26) that Archidamus was alive in 428 and dead in 427 B.C.; and it appears from Plutarch (Cimon, 16) that the year of the earthquake at Sparta and the revolt of the Helots (i.e. 464 B.C.) was the fourth year of his reign. But Leotychides came to the throne in 491 B.C. (see CLINTON on the year); and the positive statement of Diodorus, that the reigns of Leotychides and Archidamus together amounted to sixty-four years, exactly agrees with the

indirect evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, which makes them spread over the interval between 491 and 427. The whole of these variations will be explained if we suppose that Leotychides lived in exile at Tegesa from 476 to 469, and that during that interval Archidamus his grandson was regent at Sparta. This would place the expedition against the Athenae about the year 477. And as in that year the Lacedaemonians lost their supremacy, it is not likely that any prominent part in punishing traitors to the cause of Hellas would be taken by them afterwards.

166 ἐγείρει δὲ ἐς Τεγέων. Leotychides took sanctuary, according to Pausanias (see note 221 on i. 66), in the temple of Athene Alea, and died in Tegesa. By his alliance with Cleomenes one may gather that he was favourable to the Achaean policy of that king; and hence perhaps the reason of his choosing Arcadia as his place of refuge. The recollection of the power wielded by Cleomenes under similar circumstances (§ 75 and note 172, below) possibly induced the Spartans to abstain from pressing him too hard, and made them still recognize him as king, although they made his grandson and son-in-law Archidamus regent. (See the last note.)

167 εὐδοκοθῆ, "was put into good train." See note 362 on iv. 139.
ERATO. VI. 72—74.

170 διεξέγετε. See note 186 on v. 72.

171 συνιστάτες τοῦ Ἀρκάδας. This attempt to organize an alliance of the antidorian population of the Peloponnesian against Sparta seems to be the final development of the general policy of Cleomenes. See the notes 189 on v. 72 and 200 on v. 78.

172 ἢ μὴ δεσπότας σφαίρα αὐτῷ τῇ ἀν ἔξυπποι. These are the terms of the oath, for the maintenance of which, among other securities, Cleomenes was especially anxious to have that of the water of the Styx, sworn to by the leading chieftains of Arcadia. It should not be overlooked that the δραχμ is not what is meant by the word “oath” in its modern acceptation. It is the sacred symbol which the person who swore touched in order to give a religious sanction to the promise or the assertion which he made—whatever that might be. Its representative in modern proceedings is the volume of the Old or New Testament, which is taken in the hand of the Jew or Christian, as the case may be, —or the chins cup which a Malay breaks before he gives evidence. Hence ἡμοίοι τῷ Στυγόι θηρὰ in “to administer an oath by the water of Styx,” which HEBIOD (Thesg. 784) calls δεξιὰ μέταν δραχμ.

The political significance of this procedure of Cleomenes was to get himself constituted dictator of the Arcadian townships, who, just like the Latin confederates by the fountain of Lucrin, met through their chiefs by the fountain of Styx from the earliest times. It was a daring attempt to undo the effects of the Heracleid invasion and to convert Lacedemon, as an Achsean state, into the most powerful member of an ancient confedcracy, of which one of her kings should be constituted the chief. There were many elements in the Peloponnesian favourable to the success of this scheme. The old population remained in considerable numbers in every part of the peninsula, and in the north was unmixed with any other. The Achaean League of nearly 400 years later showed how strong a hold their ancient associations still had upon the race to which Cleomenes made it his boast to belong (v. 72). Had he succeeded in his attempt the kingdom of Sparta must have fallen to pieces. The pure Spartans were a very small minority even of the free Lacedemonians; while the whole of the perioeci were genuine Acheans. In Argos Cleomenes had already destroyed so many of the free citizens as to lead to a revolution, in which “the slaves,” i.e. the old Achean population, gained the upper hand and held their power for several years (below, § 83). In the Megarid the Achean interest would be represented by the connexions of his protected Isagoras (see notes 167 on v. 66 and 196 on v. 74), while of an important portion of Elis (the valley of the Alpheus and the mountains bounding it to the west), Stubhov says: μεστὴ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐρμήτικον ταὐτάτων τε καὶ ἀφροδίσιον καὶ Νυμβρίων, ἐν ἀλεξίων ἀθέων ἃ τὸ νόημα, διὰ τὴν εὔφραταν συνόρα δὲ καὶ Ἰμερία ἐν ταῖς ὀδοῖς, Ποσελίδας θ᾽ ἐκ ταῦτα ἀπεδωροῦσι—"in other words, it was fruitful of traces of the elemental religious system of the Achean race (vill. c. 3, p. 154).

172 τῷ Στυγῷ θηρὰ. LEAKE (Travels in the Morees, iii. pp. 165—9) says that the natives still retain some of the ancient superstitions relative to this famous water, which is a slender perennial stream falling...
who at last destroys himself in a fit of madness, which is variously accounted for.

Narrative of an escape over a very high precipice and entering the rock at the bottom, which part, from the nature of the ground, is inaccessible. They call it τὰ Μαυροκέρια (the black waters), and τὰ Δρακοκέρια (the terrible waters), and say that no vessel will hold it. In the most improved shape which the fiction of the poisoning of Alexander by Aristotle took, this water was represented as the agent. See BLAKELEY's Life of Aristotle, pp. 91—3.

This paragraph is omitted in F, and it can hardly have stood together with the paragraph which presently follows, ἦ δὲ Νάυαρας ὄνομας, although they may possibly both have proceeded from the hand of the author.

κατῆγον αὐτὸν δελασάτε. See note 194, below.

ἐνέξχασεν, "he used to make a feint of threshing." The form ἐνέξχασεν is used by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (II. 283): τῶν ἀκοροτρών ἐνέξχασεν ἤλιον χρόνιν. The future χρόνιν appears in the Iliad, v. 138, where the Scholiast explains it by ἄμωρ ἐς' ἄλγον καὶ τῶν χρῶν ἐξάγετα. It is very characteristic that the lunacy of Cleomenes should have taken the turn of insult to that section of his countrymen whom his constant policy was to humble.
ERATO. VI. 75—77.

'Ερασίνον, δι λέγεται ρέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφήλες λίμνης, (τὴν γάρ δή λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανεῖς ἐκδιδόντας ἀναφαίνεσθαι εὖ ἐγείρων, τὸ ἀργείου τοῦ Ἕλληνος καλέσθαι) ἀποκόμενος δὲ ἄν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τούτον ἐφιμαζόμενον αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμὸν ἑκαλλέρεε διαβαίνει μοι, ἄγαθαῖ μὲν ἐφ’ οὗ τὸ 'Ερασίνον 117 οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολίτας, 'Ἀργείον μέντοι οὖν ὃς χαρίσεως μετά δὲ ταύτη ἐξαναρρίστηκε, τὴν στρατιὰν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέαν σφαγασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταῦτον, πλοίοισι σφαξ ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν Τιμυθήν χώρην καὶ Ναυπλίων 118. 'Ἀργείοι δὲ ἐβοήθεσαν πυνθανόμενοι ταύτῃ ἐπὶ 77 θάλασσαν ὡς δὲ ἀρχοὺ μὲν ἐγένομεν τὴν Τιμυθήν χώραν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέταιν Ἠσύεα ὀνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολαπτόντης ᾨσυντο ἀντίλοι τοὺς Δακεδαμουλοὺς. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ 'Ἀργείοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέντοι καὶ θαρ δὴ σφαῖ τοῦ τὸ πρῆγμα εἰχε τὸ χρυστήριον τὸ ἔπεισαν ἠχῆρεσε η Πυθή 119 τούτωι τε καὶ Μιλεσίωι, λέγον δὲν.

117 ἂγαθαὶ μὲν ἐφ’ οὗ τὸ 'Ερασίνον. The contrast between the conduct of Cleomenes here, and his utter contempt of the hero Argus’s fame (below, § 80), is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the circumstance that when he committed the sacrilege his blood was heated, and this would induce a man who was ὑπομαρτυρεῖν to do much in the way of outrage, from which, in his cooler moments, he would shrink. But it must not be forgotten that the Erasimus was exactly one of those streams to which the ante-dorian population most attached the notion of sanctity. It, like the Styx, entered the earth in Arcadia,—the home of the old religion,—and although it burst forth afresh in an enemy’s country, it still was sacred in the eyes of Cleomenes’s party, whose prejudices had been shocked by a disregard of the omens which forbade it to be crossed. Nothing of this sort would offend them at Argos, which was mainly Cadmeo-dorian. The seat of government of the Atrides was Mycenae, the population of which were a thorn in the sides of the Argives until they destroyed the city in the year 468 B.C. See Clinton on the year.

118 ἐς τῇ τῆς Τιμυθῆν χώρῃ καὶ Ναυπλίῳ. This region would probably be full of an Achean population. The two towns were both noted for their cyclopic walls; and like Mycenae, although in the territory of Argos, were ill-affect to the Dorian interest. Hence Cleomenes might consider that he was going to land in a friendly country. It seems not unlikely that an understanding with their inhabitants, or a party among them, enabled him to secure the means of transport at Thyrse, and that his success in this operation produced the fear in the minds of the Argives μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέντοι. The vessels were some of them Ἀγινεταν, pressed into the service (§ 92); probably merchant vessels lying at Thyrse after delivering their cargoes.

119 τὸ ἐπείσαν ἠχῆρεσε η Πυθή. See above, § 19.

120 ἂταν η θήλεα τοῦ ἄρσενα νυκτήσαν ἐξελάγη, καὶ κύδος ἐν Ἀργείουν ἄργηται. These lines seem to refer to the success.
of Cleomenes in obtaining the crown of Lacedaemon to the prejudice of his half-brother Dorieus (v. 42). If this was owing to the influence of his mother's family (the importance of which seems to be implied by their names being given, v. 41), the description of the transaction is not inappropriate. It has been already remarked, that it was in all probability through his mother that Cleomenes became the representative of the Achæan party among the population. (See note 100 on v. 41.) The "obtaining renown among the Argives" may have been the fruit of the wars of which the contest for Thrysea was the beginning. When Aristogoras came to Sparta, these either had not ended, or at any rate not ended so long back as to prevent him from speaking of them as a thing of the time (see v. 49), and there is nothing in Herodotus's story of the burning of the grove to fix its chronology.

This expression must refer to the Argives, whose death is to make "many women tear their garments in sign of mourning;" but it is not easy to give a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the image employed. The symbol of the Argives of the time of the Odipodean legend is in Sophocles not the serpent, but the eagle which stoops upon it, the serpent being the emblem of Thebes (Antigone, 110—126). But if this story in the text be derived from Peloponnesian sources, it is not impossible that the deivis doris of the oracle is the Cadmean element of the Argive nation, which seems to have entered much more largely into its composition than it did into that of the Lacedaemonians, probably from the much greater communication in early times between Argos and Phocis. (See the genealogy of Theras, the brother of Argeia, in iv. 147, and the story of Io in i. 1.) It is quite clear from the sequel of the narrative (see note 188, below) that the great loss of Argos fell upon the ruling class, i.e. the Cadmeo-dorian element.

123 ταῦτα πάντα συνελήφθη. "the coincidence of all these things," viz. the oracle to Cleomenes, 'that he should take Argos,' his former success against them after the expulsion of his rival brother, and their finding themselves occupying the position called Ζηνεια, which they connected with σημαία—a word that appears in some parts of Peloponnesus to have signified doris, Pausaniai, viii. 16—and with the deivis doris by which the oracle denoted themselves.

125 έχουν αὐτομόλους αὐδαρ. These would be not from the Argives shut up in the fane, but from the Achæan serfs, whose
masters were among them, and who betrayed their names to the conqueror.

The same ransom was exacted by the Athenians for each of the Chalcidian Hippobates which they took (v. 77). It therefore may be considered as the ransom of a man-at-arms, not of an inferior soldier; and hence too it may be inferred that the Argives shut up in sanctuary were of the ruling class, i.e. Cadmeo-dorians.

See note 322 on i. 91.

This temple was on the confines of the domains of Argos and Mycenae, forty stades distant from the former and ten from the latter. (Strabo, viii. c. 6, p. 196.) Its proximity to the latter place indicates that its original foundation belonged to a time when Mycenae was the seat of government,—and therefore that the fundamental character of the ritual was ante-dorian. Hence Cleomenes

confidently sacrificed in it, as being of Achæan descent, and treated the priest who endeavoured to prevent him as if he were really the intruder. Hence too, when the temple was burnt down, the priestess took sanctuary in an Achæan sanc at Teges in Arcadia. See note 221 on i. 66. For a similar proceeding of Cleomenes with regard to the temples of ante-dorian deities, see note 188 on v. 72.

The local legends of Argos in after times represented him as having been repulsed from the city by Telesilla the poetess, who occupied the fortifications of the town with the domesticoa servants, and met the enemy in the field with a force consisting of the women accoutred in the armour which hung up in the temples. (Pausanias, ii. 30. 9.) Socrates (op. Plutarch, De suicidio. p. 244) gives the same account in even a more exaggerated form. The other Spartan king, Demaratus, had succeeded in
On his return to Sparta he is accused of treachery but successfully defends himself.

83 Utter prostration of the Argive power.

occupying a part of the city called Pampyliacum, and was beaten out of it by the women.

188 of doûloi autôn. The Achean perioeci. See notes 178 on § 74, above, and 419 on I. 132. (Plutarch, De mul. vir. p. 245), following the authority of Socrates, says of this transaction that the Argives, ἐπιασθημένοι τὴν ἀληθείαν ὁμιλοῦσα Ἰωάκημος ἦς Ἰωάκημος Ἰσόπτερα, τὰ δὲ δοῦλα, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοικῶν ποιησμένοι πολλά τοὺς δρο- στους συνίκησαν τὰς γυναίκας. He adds a curious feature, which is clearly a distortion of the fact, that a part of the revolution consisted in legitimizing the marriages of the Dorian rulers with the Mycenean subjects, and ratifying the bond by the religious sanction of the Mycenean Here. The number of Argives slain by Cleomenes was so great that popular fables made it 7777. (Plutarch, l. c.). The Argives themselves put it at 6000 in their complaint to the Delphic oracle (vii. 148). It is no doubt this transaction to which Aristotles alludes (Politic. v. p. 1305): καὶ ἐν Ἀργοῖς, τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ιδίας ἄνθρω- πων ὡς Κλεομένου τοῦ Δάκωνος, ἢμαρτε- σθησαν παράδοξασθαι τῶν περιοικῶν τινῶν. 188 μάχα ἔσχος Τύρνος. It is impossible to doubt that the blow struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class in Argos produced a disorganization of the existing constitution, and that the effects of this must have showed itself throughout the whole of the Argive dependencies by increasing the power of the Achean race. Whether this showed itself in the form of a servile war, or of an enforced claim for the possession of extended civil rights in the several towns, it is impossible to say from the scanty accounts which the narrative in the text gives. The analogy of other ancient states would render it probable that the first effect of the victory of Cleomenes would be the replenishment of the ruling class by a large draft from the commons, and by the constituting new tribes, or new houses in existing tribes; and probably a preponderance of Achean influence resulted, which in time produced a reaction. In such a view the attack of the "slaves" upon Tyros might really be something analogous to the succession of the Roman plebs to the Mons Sacer.
ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνήρ μάντις Κλάστρος, γένος ἔων Φυλαλείων ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας. οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσασα τοῖς δεσπότησιν ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμὸς σφί ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνῶς, ἐδὲ δὴ μόνης οἱ Ἀργείοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

Ἀργείοι δὲ ταῦτα Κλεομένεα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Σπαρτητής φασὶ ἐκ δαμνώμον μὲν οὐκενοδο μανῆνι. Κλεομένεα, Σκύθος δὲ ὁμιλήσαντά μην ἀκριτοποτὴν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐκ τούτου μανῆνι. Σκύθος γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεὶ τε σφὶ Δαρείον ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονδάκι μην τίσασθαι πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην, συμμαχήν τι τοιοῦτοι καὶ συντεθεῖσαν ὡς χρέον ἐλθὲν αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φάσιν ποταμῶν 119 περιῶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτητίταις κελεύνειν ἐς Ἑφέσου ὄρμεομένους ἀνάβαλλειν, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐς ταῦτα ἀπαντών. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι, ἡκατεῖας τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς μεζώνως, ὁμιλεῖ τοῖς μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνεμένου μαθεῖ τὴν ἀκριτοποτήν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆνι μην νομίζον λατρείας ἐκ τοῦ τόσου 120, ὃς αὐτὸς λέγουσι, ἐπεὶ θυρότερον βούλευσαν πίεσιν, "ἐπισκόθισσον" λέγουσι, οὕτω δὴ Σπαρτητίται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένα λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τὸν ταύτην ὃ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι 121.

119 γένος ἐν Φυλαλείω ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίας. A prophet from Phigalia would not improbably endeavour to carry out the policy which Cleomenes attempted, viz. to unite the populations which had descended from the old ante-dorian inhabitants, by the common bond of their religious associations; and to persuade them that the time had come for the recovery of the Achæan supremacy and the reduction of Dorian Argos to its former condition as a dependency on Achæan Mycene. There can be little doubt that in the war between Argos and Tyrrus a part was taken by Mycene, and that its termination was effected by the utter destruction of that city by the Argives, which Thucydides mentions to have taken place, without at all entering into the circumstances which led to it (i. 10).

120 παρὰ Φάσιν ποταμῶν. For the course which, under such circumstances, they would be conceived to take, see note 363 on i. 104. Such a route would be an impossibility for nomads, for it would involve a journey of nearly thirty days for a man in travelling trim (εἶθεν) along the N.E. coast of the Black Sea, by mere mountain paths. But the story appears to be a mere fiction, without any historical foundation. See note 216 on iv. 77.

121 ἐκ τοῦ τόσου, "from so far back." The manuscripts S, V have ἐκ τοῦτον. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τὸν ταύτην ὃ Κλεο- μένης Δημαρήτῳ ἐκτίσαι. It may seem strange that Cleomenes’ misfortune should be considered as a visitation inflicted especially in consequence of his treatment of Demaratus,—when the treachery and cruelty displayed in his conduct at Argos is to modern apprehensions so much more striking. But it should be remembered that in order to effect his purpose he had tampered with the Pythian priestess (§ 66); and although subsequently to his banishment for this he was again restored to all his regal rights, yet the offence must always have appeared of the gravest kind to Doriæns, especially when it turned out to have been committed in the course of a scheme for humiliating the Dorian race throughout Peloponnesus. When this
Τελευτάσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος, δοὺς ἐπίθυμον Δικυνήτα, ἐπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωμούμενοι Δευτυχίδεων περὶ τῶν ἐν 'Αθήναις ὀμῆρον ἱερομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες, ἐγνωσαν περιμέμπρισθαί Δικυνήτας ὕπο Δευτυχίδεων καὶ μιν κατέκρυναν ἐκδοτὸν ἁγεσθαί ἐς Αθηναίαν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν 'Αθήναις ἱερομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἁγεῖν τῶν Δικυνητέων τῶν Δευτυχίδεων, ὕπε σφι Θεσσάλης ὁ Δευτρόπεσος, ὡς ἐν Σπαρτῇ δύσκολος ἄνθρωπος "τι βουλέσθη ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Δικυνήτα, τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἐλευθέρων ἐκδοτὸν γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτείων ἁγεῖ; εἰ νῦν ὡργῇ χρεώμενοι ἐγνωσαν οὐκ Σπαρτήτης, ἰδιώς εὗ ὑστέρης μὴ τι ύμῖν, ἂν ταῦτα πρήσῃστε, πανόλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβαλωσί."

ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Δικυνήται ἔσχυνον τῆς ἀγωγῆς ὁμολογίας δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιχῆς, ἐπιστόμων οἱ Δευτυχίδεως ἐς 'Αθήνας, ἀποδοῦναι Δικυνήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὅσα δὲ ἄπιστομον Δευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς 'Αθήνας ἀπαίτης τὴν παραβήκην, οἱ 'Αθηναίοι προφάσεως εἰλικρον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδόοναι, φαντεῖ δυο σφέας ἰστότας βασίλειας παραβιάζεσθαι, καὶ οἱ δικαίων τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἕτερου ἀποδιδοῦναι, οἱ φαμένοι δὲ ἀποδόουσι τῶν 'Αθηναίων, ἔλεξε φησι Δευτυχίδης τάδε "οἱ 'Αθηναίοι, ποιεῖτε μὲν ἄκειται

scheme was entirely shipwrecked by Cleomenes's insanity and death, it is only natural to suppose that the opposing party recovered much of the influence they had lost. And the whole narrative of Cleomenes bears many traces of being derived from some person attached to that party. Hence the commendation of Cleomenes's half-brother Dorius as τῶν ἰδίων τῶν πρῶτως and εἰς ἐπιστάμενον κατ' ἄνθρωπον αὐτὴ σχῆσιν τὴν βουλήτην. Yet as a Laconian the narrator has no sympathy for the Argive prisoners who were destroyed, or for the violation of the sacred precincts at Eleusis and Argos, although as a Dorian he speaks of the Argive perioeci as the classes of the ruling class. All these characteristics fit in very well with the situation and hereditary sympathies of Archias of Pitane, of whom Herodotus makes mention in iii. 59.

194 θυγατέρας περιμεμπρίσθαι Δικυνήτας. No explanation is given of this sudden change in the policy of Sparta. Perhaps it may be found in the circumstance that Gorgo, the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, was married to her uncle Leonidas (vii. 239). He was a son of Anaxandrides by his first wife (v. 43). This marriage therefore may be regarded as an union of the Dorian and Achæan interests in the royal house of the Eurythynides. Leonidas would have had a right to Gorgo as her nearest kinsman; but the alliance perhaps became the more welcome to her Achæan connexions, from Cleomenes having clearly shown, during his banishment in Arcadia, that his views were not confined to the elevation of the Spartan Achæans, but extended to the supremacy of the Achæan race in the Peloponnesus, at the expense of Sparta if necessary.

195 εὖ ὑστέρης. See note 362 on i. 108.

196 ἔσβαλωσι. Gaisford prints this on the authority of some MSS. The others vary between ἔσβαλωσι and ἔσβαλωσι, either of which would seem at least as good as ἔσβαλον. But there is no criterion of their relative probability. If ἔσβαλον be used, there must be implied a reference to the expulsion of Leotychides from Sparta.
βουλευσαί αὐτοῖς καὶ γὰρ ἀποδίδοντες ποιέστε διὰ, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναυτὰ τούτων ἁκοῦν μέντοι τί ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνεπείξαθη γενέσθαι περὶ παραβήκης, βούλομαι ἤμων εἶπαι. Λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπάρτηται, γενέσθαι εἰς τῇ Δακεδαλοῦν κατὰ τρύπην γενέσθαι τὴν ὅπης ἢμεν 197 Πλάικοι τ' Ἐπικύδεος παῦντε τούτοι τῶν ἄνδρα φαμέν τὰ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα περιήθηκα τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄκουειν ἀριστά δικαιοσύνης πέρι 198 πάντων δοῦσι τῇ Δακεδαλοῦν τούτοι τῶν χρόνων ὅλεων συνεπείξθηναι δὲ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἴσημενῷ τάδε λέγομεν ἄνδρα Μιλήσιων ἀπόκλιμένον ἐς Σπάρτην βουλευθαί οἱ ἐδέσθεν ἐς λόγους, προσχάμενοι τούτοις εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιως, ἴκε σὲ τῆς σῆς, Πλάικε, βουλευόμενοι δικαιοσύνης ἀποδάθαις οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαιν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην 'Ελλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἢν λόγους πολλοὺς, ἔμεσοντι λόγους ἔδιδον, καὶ οὗ ἐπικείμενον ἄτι αἰεὶ κατε ἡ Ἰωνίη ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλεὸς ἴδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τούς αὐτοὺς ἔστι ὅραν ἔχοντας ταῦτα τε δὲ ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευόμενῳ ἐδοξῆ μοι τὰ ἡμῖνεα πάσης τῆς ὄσινος ἐξαργυρώσαυτα θέεσθαι παρὰ σὲ, εὗ ἐξεπισταμένῳ δοὺ μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σὰν σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σοῦ λαβὼν δὲ ὅ ἄν ἔχουν ταὐτὰ ἀπαίτητο, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὅ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἡμῶν χείδος τοσαῦτα ἔλεψε Πλάικος δὲ ἐδόθη τῇ παραβήκῃ ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρήμενῳ λόγῳ χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διεισθότος, ἤλθον ἐς τῇ Σπάρτῃ τούτῳ τοῦ παραβεβηκόν τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες· ἐδόθοντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Πλάικῷ καὶ ἀποδικίαν ἕτα σύμβολα, ἀπαίτησόν τὰ χρήματα· ὅ δὲ διοβολέος ἀντιποκριμένος τούτῳ οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρήγμα, οὔτε με περιφερεὶ οὔδεν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὥμεις λέγετε 199, βουλομαι τε ἀναμνησθῆς ποιέων πάν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ

197 τὴς ἄλπης. See note 95 on iii. 34.
198 τούτων τῶν ἄνδρα φαμέν τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τάστι περίκειστε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκοῦσαν ἀριστά δικαιοσύνης πέρι. Of this man our account is, that beside all other qualities of the first kind which attached to him, he had the highest reputation for justice. Περίκεισις is nearly the same in sense as περιβάλλειν. A similar expression occurs below, vii. 16: ταὶ δὲ σὲ καὶ ἐμφάνετα περικέπτομεν καὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔμμοι σφάλλομεν, “both of which qualities [viz. sagacity and readiness to follow good counsels] belong to you, but the influence of evil associates foil them [in their operation].”
199 οὔτε με περιφερεῖ οὔδεν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὥμεις λέγετε, “nor does any thing lead me indirectly to a knowledge about the matters you mention,” i.e. I have no clue, in following which I may come in a roundabout way to know about the matter. This is the exact description of the mental process in recollection. Τοῦτος is governed by περι understood, and οὔδεν is the nominative to περιφερεῖ.
γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβαν, ὁρθὰς ἀποδόουναι καὶ εἰ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβαν, νῦμοι τοῖς Ἐλλήνων χρήσσαμαι ἐς ύμέας ταῦτα ὅν ἴμων ἀναβάλλομαι κυρώσει ἐς τέταρτον μὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν ποιεῖναι ἀπαλάσσοντο, ἀς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρημάτων Γλαύκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησμόνες τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ἐπιερωτώντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστηρύιν εἰ δυκα τὰ χρήματα ληστεῖται; ἢ Πυθία μετέρχεται τούδε τοῦτο ἔπεσεν

Γλαύκος "Εσπινδείθη, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω ἄρεν μιᾶς καὶ κρήματα ληστεῖται.

Λαμνὸς ἦτο θερατός γε καὶ ἐφορκός μὲν εἴηκεν.

ἄλλῳ ὁ Ορκυνός ἔστω ἀνάγιμος εἴη ἐπὶ χεῖρας, ἐφεδρικός κρατεῖσι δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰςδὲ πᾶσαν συμμάχας ἄλλης γενέθη, καὶ ὁδὸν ἐκάθη.

ὁδὲ ἐπὶ ἐφορκοῦ γενέθη μετέκοσμεν ἄμελενς.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαύκος συγκρόμην τὸν θεῶν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ ἀγχεῖν τῶν ῥηθέντων ἢ δὲ Πυθία ἔφη, τὸ πειρηθήναι τοῦ θεῶν καὶ τὸ πονῆσαι ἵνα δύνασθαι. Γλαύκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μίλησίους ξείους, ἀποδιδοὺ σφὶ τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἶναι ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ, δὲ Ἁθηναίοι, ὁρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ύμέας, εἰρήσται Γλαύκος νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονον ἄτι οὐδὲν οὕτ' ἰστὶν οἴδεμα νομισμάτων εἶναι Γλαύκον ἐκτῷρτηπα τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης *, οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ ἀπαιτεώντων ἀποδίδοναι." Δευτερίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, δός οὖ οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐστίγκουν οἱ Ἁθηναίοι, ἀπαλάσσετο.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀγινεῖται **, πρὶν τῶν πρῶτον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἢ Ἁθηναίοι ὑβρισάματα Θηβαίας χαρίζομενοι, ἐποίησαν τούτῳ μεμφόμενοι τοῖς Ἁθηναίοις καὶ ἀξιόωντες ἀδικεόντες, ὡς τιμορησόμενοι τοὺς Ἁθηναίους παρασκεύαζοντο καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ

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*a πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. Juvenal has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod du
bitaret
Deposatum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando. querebat enim, quae numinis
esset.
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet
Apollo?"

Reddedit ergo metu, non moribus; et ta
men omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque
probavit.
Extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longa deductia gente propin
quis."

Sat. xii. 199—210.

**οἱ δὲ Ἀγινεῖαι. The history of the fe
between Athens and Λέγινα is re
sumed from v. 89.
τοιαί ‘Αθηναίοι τεσσερισί’ 88 επί Σούνια, λαχθανόντες διή εύθυνα πλήρες ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων ‘Αθηναίων λα-
βόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔδησαν. ‘Αθηναίοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα πρὸς Ἀγινήτεων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανέσσαθι ἐπ’ Ἀγινήτασι καὶ ἥν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνωλθού καλεόμενος εν τῇ Ἀγινήθη, ἀνδρό ὁμοίως, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖς Ἀγινήταις προ-
τέρην ἐκεῖνον ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς ‘Αθηνα-
ίους ἀναρτημένους ἐρρέειν Ἀγινήτασι κακός, συνετίθετο ‘Αθηναίοι τῷ προδοτήν Ἀγινής, φράσας εν τῇ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπισχερήσει, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τῇ ἤκειρ οὐκεoverflow

89 ἔδησαν ταῦτα μετὰ ταὐτά, καταλαμβάναν μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατε 888 οὐ Νικόδρομος ‘Αθηναίοι τὴν παλαιὴν καλεόμενην τῶλαν ‘Αθηναίοι δὲ οὐ παραγγέλλονται ἐς δέον οὗ γὰρ ἐγεκοῦν οὖσαν νέες σφι ἀξίμαχοι τῷ Αγινήτεων συμβαλλέειν εν ἐς δὲν Κορυθῶν ἐκείνον χρήσαν σφι νέας, εν τοῖς δεικήνα τῇ πρήγματα 888. οἱ δὲ Κορυθοὶ, ἔχον γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τῷ χρόνον φίλοι ες τὰ μάλαππα 884, ‘Αθηναίοι διδοῦσι διομένου εἰκοσί νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πεπαράχθησιν ἀποδόμενον δοκίμην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἕξιν δοῦνα ταῦτα τῇ λαβόντες οἱ ‘Αθηναίοι καὶ τάς σφιτέ-

89ς, πλεοράσαντες ἐθεμοίκωνα νέας τὰς ἀπάσις, ἔπελεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγινήν καὶ ιστείσαν ἡμέρῃ μη τῆς συγκεκριμένης. Νικό-

δρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ ‘Αθηναίοι τὰς καίρους ὅπερ ἐγεκοῦν, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσθαὶς ἐκδιδρήσατε εκ τῆς Ἀγινήθης καὶ ἴνα ὁλού ἐκ τῶν Ἀγινήτεων ἐστοντο τούς ‘Αθηναίοι Σούνιον οἰκήσαι ἐδοκοῦν ἐδεύτευν δὲ οὕτως ὁμολογείος ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἤγαν τοὺς εν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀγινήτας ταῦτα μεν δὴ ὑστερον ἐγγένετο. Ἀγινήτεων δὲ οἱ παχές, ἐπαναστάτου τοῦ δήμου σφι ἀπὸ Νικόδρομος, ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ ἕπετα σφες χερσοδέμοι, ἐξήγησαν ἀπολέσαντες. ἢπὸ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγγένετο τὸ ἐκθέσασθαι οὔκ ὁλο τῷ ἐγγένετο ἐπι-

881 τεσσερις. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has τετερης, which would mean “a gallery with five banks of oars.” The meaning of the text is “a festival held every fifth year.”
882 κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατε. See note 211 on iv. 76.
883 διεθάρη τὰ πρήγματα, “their game was ruined.” See § 13: καταφαλεῖτο σφι εἶναι δόξανα τὰ βασιλείου πρήγματα ἐπερ-

884 ἔδησαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τῷ χρόνῳ φίλοι ες τὰ μάλαππα. This friendship may have originated in the conduct of the Co-


888 καὶ τὰ σφετέρας. These therefore must have been fifty in number; for the reason of which see Smith’s Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce ναυκρατιόν.
γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὅρθως ἀποδοθήκα ταῦτα ἐν ἕμεν ἑαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐν ύμεῖς ταύτα ἓν ἕμεν ἀναβάλλωμαι κυρόωσεν ἐν τέταρτον μὴν ἀπὸ τούδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι συμφορὴν πουέμου ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὡς ἀπεστημένοι τῶν χρημάτων Πλαύκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον ἑπειρωτάτων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐδρεύ τὰ χρήματα λήπτεται; ἡ Πυθίη μετέχεται τούδε τοὺς ἔπειν ἡ Πυθίη μετέχεται τούδε τοὺς ἔπειν.

ταῦτα ἄκοινας ὁ Πλαύκος συγκύκομην τὸν Θέον παρατίετο αὐτῷ ἵνα χειρὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἢ δὲ Πυθίη ἄφη, τὸ πειρήθηναι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι οὐκ δύνασθαι. Πλαύκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμφάμενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνους χειρὶν, ἀποδεῖξοι σφι τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἶναι ὁ λόγος ὑδε, ὅ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀρμῆθη λέγεθαι ἐς ύμεῖς, εἰρήσηται Ἡ Πλαύκος νῦν οὐτε τι ἀπόγονον έστι οὐδὲν οὗτ οὐτει οὐδεμία νομιζόμενη εἶναι Πλαύκον ἑκτέριττα τε πρόρρισος ἐκ Σπάρτης 4. οὗτοι ἄγαθοι μηδὲ διανοεῖται περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ ἀπαντεύοντο ἀποδιδόμαι.” Δευτερίθης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὡς οἱ οὐδὲ οὗτο ἔσηκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο.

87 οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπταί 4. πρὸς τῶν πρώτων ἀδικήματων δουναί δίκαι τῶν ἡ Ἀθηναίους ἤθελαν Ἡβηδανοὶ χρησίμοις, ἐποίησαν τοιῶν τιμωρησομενοι τοις Ἀθηναίοι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀξιεύονται, ὡς τιμωρησομενοι τοὺς Ἁθηναίους παρεκκεύοντο καὶ ην γὰρ δὴ

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*a προβρίζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. Juvenal has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cunidam respondit Pythia vates:
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod du-bitaret
Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando, querebat enim, que numinis
esse?

Mens, et sa hoc illi facinus suaderet
Apollo?

Reddedit ergo metu, non moribus; et ta-men omnem
Vocem adity dignam templo veramque
probavit,
Extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoqu
Et quamvis longa deductia gente propin-

4. 3. 266 οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπταί. The history of the feud between Athens and Αἰγίνα is resumed from v. 86.
τοίοι Ἀθηναῖοι πεντετήρις ἐπὶ Σουλφρ, λοχήσαντες διὸ τὴν θεωρίαν νὰ ἔλαυνε πλήρεως ἄνδραν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων λα-βόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἔδρασαν. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ παρακάμπτα ταῦτα πρὸς Ἀθηναίων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανῆσασθαι ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ὃν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοίθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀγινῆ ἀνὴρ ὄκλησε, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖοι Ἀθηναίων προ-τέρην ἐκείνου ἐξέλεισαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθῶν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναί-ων ἀναρτημένους ἔρθεν Ἀθηνάητας κακὸς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοις προδοσίαν Ἀγινῆς, φράσας ἐν τῇ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἑπταετῆς, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἔτσι τὴν ἴκεσι δεῖσθαι ἄνθρωπος· μετὰ ταῦτα, καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατα ὁ Νικόδρομος Ἀθηναίοις τὴν παλαιὰν καλεσμένην πόλιν Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐ παρακλήσαται ἢ δένδο ὡς ἔμαχοι σφι ἀξίωμακοὶ τῇ Ἀγινητῶν συμβασιλεῖσιν ἐν ὧν ὃν Κορώθων ἐκέντρικος ἐντὸς σφι νέος, ἐν τούτῳ δειπνῆρη ἡ πρόγνητα· οἱ δὲ Κορώθων, ἤσαν γὰρ σφι τούτῳ τοὺς ἁρμόνους φίλοις ἐν μᾶλλον ἂν ὁ Ἀθηναίοι διδοῦ εἰσδεόμενοι εἰκοσι νέοι, διδοῦν δει πεντάδραχοι αὐτοδίμηνοι δωτήσαν ὡς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔζη ἄνθρωπος· ταῦτα δὲ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὰς σφετέ-ρας, πληρώσαντες ἐνθυμήκομεν νέος τὰς ἀπάσας, ἐπελευς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁγίνην καὶ ἱστερῆσαν ἡμέρῃ μὴ τῆς συγκειμένης. Νικό-дрομος δὲ, ὃς ὁ Ἀθηναίοι ὡς τῶν καιρῶν σφι παρεγνύνονται, ἐν πλοίῳ ἐπιλαβεῖ τεταρταχώς ἐκ τῆς Ἁγίνης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι εἰκοσι τῶν Ἁγινητῶν ἄποντο· τοῖοι Ἀθηναίοι Σοῦνοι εἰδοποίησαν ἄσφαλας ἐνθυμήκομεν ὡς σφι ἄνθρωπος ἐφερον τὰς καὶ ἤγου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἁγινῆτας· ταῦτα μὲν δὲ ἠκούσαν ἠγινετο. Ἁγινητῶν δὲ οἱ πάχεις, ἐπαυσάτατον τοῦ δήμου σφι ἦμα Νικόδρομο, ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ ἐπειτὰ σφι χειρωσάμενοι, ἠγινετο ἄπολεοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι σφι ἠγινετο τὸ παράσύρονται οὐκ ἄλλο τῇ ἠγινετε ἐπι-
μηχανωμένου ἂλλ' ἐφθανε τὰς πρώτες καταφέρησεν πρὸς τὸν Ἐκτιτον ἱπποτήν ὅσον ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἠπεράντευτόν ἦν τῷ δικαίῳ μιαίῳ ἐπαγρήγατος, ἐβηγὼν ὅσον ἀπολέοντες ἐφ' ὑπ' ὑμῖν ἐκφύγων τα ὑπομένομεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπταποτηρῶν ἐγένετο· οἳ δὲ, ἔπει τὸ μὲν ἀποστάσαι οὔκ ὁδῷ τῇ τοῖς ἀπελκονται φύγωντα, ἀποκομμαντες αὐτοῖς τὸς λείρας ἰσών οὕτω χεῖρες δὲ κείναι ἐμπεφυκαία ἦσαν τοῖς ἑπταποτηρῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἦν σφέας αὐτοῖς οἳ Διόγνητας ἐργάσαντο. 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ ήκουσι ἑναμόχρησαν νησιώτης ἐβδομήκοντα· ἐσσώθησεν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐπεκαλέστως τούτως αὐτῶν τοὺς καὶ πρῶτον 384, 'Αργεῖοι· καὶ δὴ σφί οὔτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθῶσι 385, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Διόγναια νῖται ἀνάγωγα λαμβανότα τῷ Κλεομένους ἔχον τε ἐς τὴν 'Αργολικὴ κυρίαν καὶ συναντήσαντας Δακεδαλικοὺς. συναντήσαντας δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σικυώνων νεόν ἄνδρας 386 τῇ αὐτῇ ταὐτῇ ἐσσώθη. καὶ σφι ἢ ἤτοι 'Αργεῖοι ἐπεθυμήσαν ἄρτη, χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτάσαν, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικυώνοι μὲν μὲν κυρικτόνιον ἀδισκόλῃ, ὁμολογοῦσαν, ἐκατον τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες, ἀξίματο εἶναι Διόγνητας δὲ οὔτε συνεκκύκλωσεν ἦσαν τὰ ἀδιάδεστος. διὰ δὴ ἢ ἦν σφί ταύτα δεομένους ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς 'Αργεῖοι ἢτοί ἐβεβηκεν, ἐθελονταλ δὲ ἢ χίλιοι. 387 γε ἢ αὐτῶν ὡστρατηγὸς ἄνηρ ὡς οὖν ἡ πολιτεία Εὐρύβατις, πεντάεθει παρακηγόρασ τούτων οἴ πλεῖστοι οὔκ ἀπενόθησαν ὅπλα, ἂλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὅπ' 384 τοὺς καὶ πρῶτον. The Argives, according to their own and the Ἐγίνητας account, had contributed to the destruction of the Athenians recorded in v. 85—87. 385 οὔτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθῶσι. The severe blow which had been struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class probably much crippled them, independently of the soreness which they would have felt at the service rendered by Ἐγίνητας vessels in the transport of the Lacedaemonian army. Besides this, the population of Argos had been much altered. See note 182, above. 387 ἀπὸ Σικυώνων νεόν ἄνδρας. These appear to have been volunteers who joined in Cleomenes's expedition. If belonging to the commercial population of Σικυών, which was exalted in influence by the policy of the Orthagorid dynasty (see note 169 on v. 87), they would inherit a hatred of the ruling class of Αργος, and be not unwilling to lend themselves to the policy of Cleomenes. 388 ἐθελονταλ δὲ ἢ χίλιοι. Perhaps these may be regarded as mercenaries taken into the service of the Ἐγίνητας. It seems impossible to frame any connected notion of the operations in this contest, of which the important feature in the mind of the narrator appears to be the personal prowess of the two individuals whom he names. But the succession of contests, first between the Argives and Lacedaemonians, and, after the blow struck by Cleomenes, between the ruling class and the serfs, could hardly fail to collect bands of condottieri ready to take service any where if good pay were offered; —and this it would certainly be in the power of a rich mercantile state to do. The skill of Eurybates certainly bespeaks a professional soldier.
Athenian colouring, and from the same mint as the story introduced by Plato into the funeral oration (Meneses, § 10), that Datis was sent with orders to bring the Eretrians and Athenians into the presence of Darius, if he wished to keep his own head on his shoulders. Compare Legg. iii. § 16.

The expedition of Datis and Artaphernes was distinguished by great severity as plain from the sufferings of Naama. (See notes 74 on § 39, and 103 on § 43.) That the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes was distinguished by great severity is plain from the sufferings of Naaxa. (See notes 216 on vi. 36, and 77 on v. 31.) But the attributing the severity of the commission to personal irritation of Darius against the Athenians, stimulated by the charges of the Pisistratids, is, it can hardly be doubted, a piece of later Athenian colouring, and from the same mint as the story introduced by Plato into the funeral oration (Meneses, § 10), that Datis was sent with orders to bring the Eretrians and Athenians into the presence of Darius, if he wished to keep his own head on his shoulders. Compare Legg. iii. § 16.
ἀμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλὸν τε καὶ εὐ ἐκενικαμένου, ἑκατάτα στρατοπεδευμένοις ἐπήλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς τὸς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιστράτευε ἐκάστοις παρεγένοντες δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱππαγωγαὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προείπε τοῖς ἰωτοῖς δασμοφόρους Δαρείος ἐπομάζεις. ἀσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Ἱπποὺς ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάζαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἐπελεύη ἐξακολούθησα τρήρεις ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν. ἑνδέχεται δὲ οὗ παρὰ τὴν ἱππευρὸν ἑλχον τὰς νέας ἵνα τοῦ τοῖς Ἐλληστόνων καὶ τῆς Θρηκτῆς· ἄλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι, παρά τοῖς Ἰκάριοι καὶ διὰ νῆσων τῶν πλοίων ἐπομενοῦν, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς, δοιλαῖς μᾶλλον τὸν περιτυλοὸν τοῦ Ἀθω, οὗ τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομβήν μεγάλως προσεπτασάν πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξου σφέας ἡμῶν κατάκτητα, πρότερον οὐκ ἀλώνεσα.

Ἐπεί δὲ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγεος προσφερόμενοι προσέμεθαν τῇ Νάξῳ, (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τὴν ἱππευροῦσα ἱππαγωγαὶ τῶν πρότερον.) οἱ Νάξοι πρὸς τὰ οὐροὶ ὁλὸντας ἑφεύγοντες, οὐδὲ ἐπέμεναν οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραπόδισμαι τοὺς κατάλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνεπρήσαν καὶ τὰ ἰρά καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀναγόμενῳ.

Ἐν δὲ οὕτως ταύτα ἐπολευν, οἱ Δήλοι, ἑκλούντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δήλου, οὐροῦντας ἑφεύγοντας ἐς Τήρου τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεύσης, τῆς διὰ τοὺς ἄχρις πρὸς τὴν νῆσον προσφερόμεθα, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ὠρέης. αὐτοὶ δὲ πολύμενοι ἤσαν οἱ Δήλοι, τέμπων κήρυκα ἄρεως σφι τάδε "ἀνδρεὶς ιροῖ, τί, θυγατέρε παῦ εἰς τὴν καταπλεύσην κατ' ἐμὲ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός ἐπὶ τοσοῦτος ἴσος θεός, καὶ μοι ἐκ βασιλείας ὥσσις ἐπέσταλται, ἐν ἢ χάρι ὁ δύο θεοὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην μηδὲν

215 δοκεῖν. Gaisford has δοκεῖν. The MSS are divided.
216 μεμημενοι τῶν πρότερον. They appear to have remembered the powerful resistance made by the Naxians (v. 34) when they had notice of the armament coming against them, and therefore determined to surprise them this time. The manuscripts S and V have τῶν πρότερον, which is perhaps the preferable reading,—if it were supported by an equal weight of authority.
217 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες. For some idea of the amount of the mischief comprised in this brief notice see note 77 on v. 31.
218 ἄλλα τίρην ἐν τῇ Ὠρέης. The word ὤχει or some equivalent is to be supplied, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἐν προσφορμεθαι. See note 190 on i. 59.
219 αὐτὸς δὲ θεός. The Median Datis was recognized in the Phoebus and Phoibe of Delos the Mithras and Mitra of the Magian religion. Hecaton and Hecate were the names under which the same deities were worshipped over all the Asiatic coast in the neighbourhood of Lesbos and Teledos. (See note 506 on i. 151.) The Phoenicians, who doubtless formed a part of the fleet, would have had no re-
spect for this combination of deities; and hence Datís sailed on by himself, and kept them at Rhenea. They would have respected Μιτρα in her character of Aphrodite Urania; but in this she would have not been coupled with a male deity, but have been more analogous to the Arcadian Artemis, or the Sardian Cybebe. (See note 297 on v. 109.) For another instance of Datís's reverence for the Delian Apollo, see § 118.

An earthquake at Delos preceded the miseries suffered during the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.

There is no doubt that his statement and that of Herodotus are at direct issue with each other; but it will be observed that Herodotus grounds his merely upon the assertions of the Delians; and the only inference to be drawn from the discrepancy is, that Thucydides, if he heard, did not credit the story of the first earthquake, and that Herodotus either wrote this passage before the second occurred (see last note on vii. 137), or at some place where he did not hear of it,—which if he were in Italy would not be wonderful. For a proof of the futility of basing historical conclusions on such statements as these, see note 32 on iii. 10.

The effect of the conciliatory and temperate policy of Darius (§§ 42, 48) had doubtless been to render the Hellenic cities on the main again available for supplying a subsidiary force, just as they had been to Cyrus and Cambyses. (See ii. 1; iii. 1.)

[μέχρι έμει σωσθείσα]. The MSS vary in this passage in such a way as to induce the belief that the variations have all arisen out of the desire of explaining the fact that Herodotus limited the assertion of the Delians to his own experience,—which of course from the nature of the case he necessarily did. M and K have μέχρι έμει σωσθείσα, which Gaisford adopts. One manuscript (P) has ἐμει σωσθείσα without μέχρι. One (P) has μέχρι ἐμει μεθάντεσαι σωσθείσα, and several τα μέχρι (or μέχρις) ἔμει ὅν σωσθείσα.

A great deal of trouble has been occasioned to the commentators by the circumstance of θυχυρίσει (ii. 8) having stated that Delos was stirred by an earthquake just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, adding πρῶτον οὖν σωσθείσα ἔφυ σύνεσθαι μέχρι ὅσον ἔλαβε πίεσθαι.
HERODOTUS

αιτῶν τῶν καρυφαίων περὶ τής ἄρχης πολεμεώντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἄμελκε καὶ ἦμεραν Ἀχίλλου τὸ πρὶν ἔως ἄκιντον καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὁδὸς.

Κυρίων καὶ Ἀχίλλου, ἄκιντον περὶ ἔως ... 224.

dύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρείου ἀρχής, Ἀρταξέρξεως μέγας ἄρχῶν 225. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὡς ἀν ἄρχον κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἐλληνες καλλιοῦν.

99. Οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ ὡς ἀπήραν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχίλλου προσφέρον πρὸς τὰς νῆσους ... 226. ἐνθευτεὶ δὲ στρατηγῷ ταῖς παρελάμβανον καὶ ὡμήρους τῶν νησιωτῶν παιδίς ἐλάμβανον ὡς δὲ περιπλένουσα τὰς νῆσους προσέχον καὶ ἐκ Κάρυστου 227, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφί οἱ Καρυστιοὶ οὐτὲ...

224 καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον ... ἄκιντον περὶ ἔως. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, F, K. But they exist in the rest; and they can hardly be considered as an interpolation, although perhaps neither they nor indeed the greater part of the section may have existed in the first draught of the work. (See note 331 on § 101.)

225 Ἀρταξέρξεως μέγας ἄρχων. If, as seems to follow from this passage, the root Ἀρι has the significance of μέγα, the conjecture of CROZER, that the word Ἀρταξέρξεως is a derivative of Ἀρίων, gains some plausibility; as the significance of the word would in that case be Ἡ μεγάλη, or even Ἡ μεγάλη μῆτρη, and it is in this character that the Artemis worship prevailed from Ephesus throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia.

226 πρὸς τὰς νῆσους. These are doubtless the Cyclades, which were dependent upon Naxos, and were likely to yield at once when the metropolis fell. (See v. 31.) The Persians do not seem to have landed their cavalry until their arrival in Euboea. It should not be overlooked that in this expedition Datis exactly followed the plan of operations sketched out some years before by Aristagoras in his conference with the elder Artaphernes.

227 ἐκ Κάρυστου. This city, which was situated on the roots of Mount Ocha, derived its wealth mainly from exporting the marble from the quarries in its vicinity, the fine polish of which made the expression Ἐλληνος κληρος proverbial. (STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 322.) The marble is that which in Italy is called cipolino, which was much used by the wealthy Romans of the time of the empire, as is evinced by the number of columns of it still remaining. In resisting the summons of the Persians, the Cretans perhaps depended upon the danger of their roofbound neighbourhood, which is at this day considered the most dangerous navigation of the whole Aegean. The present population are wreckers of the very worst description; and although the bay appears to be protected from the Etian winds (exposed as it is to every other), the appearance is a fallacious one. HAWKINS was nearly lost there, and describes the circumstances as follows: "We appeared to be so completely sheltered from the Meltem (Etian) wind then blowing by the ridge of Mount Ocha, and there was so little chance at that season (September 15) of a wind from any other quarter, that I felt no apprehension of danger. What then could exceed my surprise and consternation when the whole fury of the Meltem poured down upon us from the ridge above,—its force having been concentrated, as I conceive, by the hollow form of the coast on the opposite side of the island? I had often experienced the effect of very violent gusts of wind in sailing along a mountainous coast; but this was a continued blast for the space of thirty hours, which would have tried the strength of the stoutest cable." (EP. WALSPOLE'S Turkey, ii. p. 367.)
ERATO. VI. 99—101.

όμηρους ἐδίδοσαν οὐτε ἐφασαν ἐπὶ πόλις ἀστυγείτωνας στρατεύ-

esθας, λέγοντες 'Ερετρίαν τε καὶ 'Αθήνας,) ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολι-

ορεύον τε καὶ τὴν ἡγήσαν καὶ ἀκορμον, ἐς δι καὶ οἱ Καρυστιοι παρ-

ἐστησαν ες τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἡμέραν. 'Ερετρίαις δὲ πυθαρόμενοι τὴν στρατινὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσαν, 'Αθηναῖον ἐδεσθήσαν σφαίρα βοθῶν γεγένοι: 'Αθηναίοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελτάντο τὴν ἐπικούρην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακοσικύλιους κληρονύμοις τῶν ἱπποβότενων Χαλκεῖων τὴν χόρην, τούτους οἱ διδάσας τιμωροῦσι τῶν δὲ Ἐρετρίαν ην ἀρὰ οὐδὲν ἦν θαλαμεύμα: οἱ μετατέμποντο μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἢδεας οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐβουλευόντο ἐκλυτέων τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τῆς ᾿Εὖβὼς 228, ἀλλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν 229 ἢδα κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσας ὀφεισθαν, προδοσίαν ἐκσκεύαζοντο μαζῶν δὲ τούτων ἐκάπετα ὡς εἰχε Ἀισχύνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἢν τῶν Ἐρετρίας τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει τοῦτο ἤκουσεν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρίγματε-

προσεδέτο τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφέτερα ἢ μὴ προσαπλάνωνται οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Ἀισχύνη συμβουλεύονται πείθονται καὶ οὕτω μὲν διαβάντες ἢ Μωσσόν ἐσωτὰ σφέας αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἐρετρίας χώρας κατὰ Ταμίνας καὶ Χιρκῶς καὶ Αγίλας καὶ Ἐκιρίλας κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρια, αὐτίκα ἰπποὺς τε ἔφεβαλλοντο 230, καὶ παρεσκεκατερα τοῦ τῆς Ἐὐβὼς ὑποτελεσμένος, "into the mountain tops of Euboea." Valckenaer, from a description of the coast by Dio Chrysostomus, under the person of a shipwrecked mariner, who gets ashore with great difficulty by running πρὸς τὰ κολά τῆς Ἐὖβολας, which he describes as ἀγρια καὶ σκληρὰ τὴς μέσου τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, forms the strange opinion that the τὰ καρα spoken of here are pretty nearly the same as the τὰ κολα of viii. 13; and that the object of the Eretrians was to seek a refuge on a part of the coast inaccessible, or difficult of access, to the ships of the Persians. But a coast may very well be a rocky and rough one, and extremely dangerous to land on, although the height of the cliffs may be very small. The summits on which the Eretrians proposed to take refuge were no doubt those of the mountains, of which Derphus, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is nearly inaccessible from its steepness.

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but afterwards submit.

100 The Eretrians send to Athens for aid.

101 The armament arrives at Eretria, and after

The party in Eretria strongly inclined towards the Pisonist faction is plain from the fact of that town serving as the base of Pisonius’ operations against Athens during his second exile. (See i. 69, and the note 199 on v. 74.) XENOPHON speaks of the Aeolian towns Myrina and Gymnias, as given by the king of the Persians to one Goggylius, δι’ ἑνὸς Ἐρε-

τρῶν μνήμης ἐργει. (Hellenica, iii. 1. 6.) Gorgion, the brother of Goggylius, had the town Gambrium in the same vicinity, and the two joined Thimbron in his expedition. As this was eighty years after the battle of Marathon, we must suppose the Goggylius of Xenophon either to have played the traitor at a much later time than the one of which Herodotus is speaking, or to have been the grandson of the original grantee.

228 ἀλλαὶ δὲ αὐτῶν. That there was a
six days burns the town and carries off the inhabitants.

102

Under the guidance of Hippias, the Persians then land at Marathon, where the Athenians

206 on ν. 77.) There was therefore reason for landing the horses. The resources of Erectria in its palmy days, which must have been about this time, are evinced from the circumstance that on a column in the temple of Artemis at Amyrathus (a village about a mile from the town) Strabo (x. c. 1, p. 325) found an inscription stating that the festival of the goddess had been attended by a procession of 3000 hoplites, 600 knights, and 60 chariots. Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands, independently of the settlements on the Macedonian shore, were among the dependencies of the town. Yet at Salamis the surviving Eretrians could only muster seven galleys (viii. 46), and at Platea only 600 hoplites, including the contingent from their neighbouring dependency Styra (ix. 28).

211 τοις ἀνθρώποις ἡπεραποδίατο. Strabo seems to have read a different text here from that which the present MSS give. His words are τῆς μὲν ὀλίγας πολέων κατέκαψαν Περσαί, σαγηνέυσαντες δὲ φήμες ἀπὸ τῆς τινός τῶν Παρθῶν τοιοῦτος. The MSS in the time of Strabo may have varied here, as the present MSS vary in iii. 149. That the destruction or capture of the Eretrians was nearly complete, appears from the circumstances mentioned in the last note; but that Datis's boast was not strictly true is insinuated by Plato himself.

212 καταγρώνοις. The manuscripts S, V, P have καταγρούντες. The passage appears to me corrupt, but I can suggest no plausible correction.

213 ἐς τούτο σφὶ κατηγείτο Ἰστιῆς. It was by this point that Pisistratus entered Attica after his second exile; and independently of the circumstances mentioned in the text, and the good omen which the former success furnished, it seems not improbable that Hippias expected a demonstration to be made by his partizans in Attica similar to that which took place on the former occasion. (See l. 62, 63, and the notes.) But the new arrangements which resulted from Clisthenes's constitution (v. 66), had done much to break up the old associations, and the Athenian force was able to meet the invaders on the coast without immediate fear of an attack in the rear. (See note 176 on ν. 60.)
ÉBOHSEOV kAI aίTOI OUS 66V MepAHOvEIA ÍGON DÉ SFAAES STRATIIGOV DÉKAA, TÓE 66V DÉKATOS ÍG 66V MELTIADOUS 674. TÓE TÓV Paterov KíMAV TÓV MepAHOV EKEIHEI. TÓV 66V 'Alephov PEOAIATPAV TÓV 'IPEPOKRATPSV KAI aITAI FÉYONNTI OLMIPVÁDA ANELÉZTAVI THEIRPVTPOV 6VUNÉBHI, KAI TÁTPIH MÉN TÍN VIKH 6VANéLMENOV MIM TÓUTO ËZEEI-LÉKSAV TÓI ËMOMIPTOE «ADELPHEV MELTIADOV» MÉTÁ DÉ, TÍ 6VAKFTY OLMIPTAÁ TÍZAI AÉTHOVOV ITPOVOV NIKH POLAODEIPOV PEOAIATPAV ANAKPHRITÁH, KAI TÍN VIKH PAREIC, TOUTO KATTHBI ÉPI TÁ ËZUNTOV ÍPÓSTPOUSV KAI MIM 6VANéLMENOV TÍZAI AÉTHOVOV ITPOVOV ÀLLHON OLMIPVÁDA KATETHAVEI 6PÔTH TÓV PEOAIATPAV PADOV, OUKÉTÉ PERIÉVNTOS AÉTHOVOV PEOAIATPAV KTEÍNOV DÉ Oittal MIM KATA TÁ PEOAIATPHEI, NIKHOS ÎPELZHATSEV ÀNVTAAV. TÉHÁHTA DÉ KíMVOV PRO TOU ÁSTEOS, PÉRNH TÍS DIA KOLHOS KALEOXMENOS ODOV 675. KATAVTÉT DÉ AÉTHOVOU ITPOVOV THEÍRAPHATAI AÉTHOVOY AÉTHOVOY OLMIPVÁDAS ANELMÉNAV. ÉPOTHEI DÉ KAI ÀLLHAI ITPOVOV 6VH TÀUTO TOUTO, EUBÁGROYEVI LÁKOVOS PLEK DÉ TOUVTÁVOV, OUDAMAI. DÉ MÉN DÉ ÎPESO- BÝTROV TÓV PADOV TÍ KíMVOV MepAHOV EKEIHEI. TÓV NIKH MELTIADOV TÍZAI PEOAIATPAV ANAKPHRITÁ 6V 'HERSOPHÍSH TÍZAI NEÜTEROS PAPÁV AÉTHOVOV KíMAV EN '6ZHMH, TOÚNOV ËXOVN ÁPTO TÓI OIKISTH TÍS 'HERSOPHÍSH MELTIADOV [MELTIADOV 676]. OBTOS DÉ DYN TÔTE DÉ MELTIADOV, HIKOV EV TÍS 'HERSOPHÍSH TÍZAI ËKPEFEUVOS DİPLOYV THÁVATOV, ÉSTRATIÎYGEI 'AÉTHNOLON. ÂMA MÉN YÁR OI PhÒNKEV AÉTHOVOY OI ÎPEIâDZÁNTEV MÉKÎRI 'IMBROU PERI PÔLLOV ËPOTOIHYTO LAZBEV TÁ KAI ANAYAZXATOV PARÁ BÁSÎLÉAV, ÂMA DÉ ÎKPHYVNTA TOUVTÓV KAI ËPTIKÔ- MÉNOV TÍS ËZUNTOV, DOKÉNTÁ TÁ EÎNAV EN SWOTPHY, 6VH TÍZAI ËNVEÎTEN MIM OI ËXHROI 677 ÍPODEFZÁMENOV KAI ÍPTO DikoastHriov AÉTHONOV AGANÝTSEV, ËDIOXNAV TPSV TÍS EN 'HERSOPHÍSH 'APÔFIVYVON DÉ KAI TOUVTÓS ÔSTHÒYV STRATIYGOV ÒSTO 66V 'HERSOPHÍSH ÍPTEDÉCHXH 678, AÎREBEIS ÍPTO TÓI DÍMHOV.

224 TÔN 66V DÉKATOS ÍG MELTIADOV. THE ACCOUNT OF THIS FAMILY IS RESUMED FROM §§ 34–43 OF THIS BOOK.

225 ÍPTOS TÍS DIA KOLHOS KALEOXMENOS ËDÓH.

FROM THIS POINT THE AUTHOR SEEMS TO GET INTO THE FULL STREAM OF ATHENIAN LOCAL TRADITIONS. THE STORY OF CIMON IS APPARENTLY CONNECTED WITH HIS TOMB; THAT OF PHILIPPIDES (§ 105) WITH THE SHRINE OF PAN. SEE NOTE 62 ON I. 13.

226 [MELTIADOV]. I HAVE ENCLOSED THIS WORD BETWEEN BRACKETS BECAUSE, IF NOT SPURIOUS, IT SEEMS AT ANY RATE NOT IN ITS PROPER PLACE.

227 OF ËXHROI. THESE WERE DOUTTLES THE ALCMENIDAS. SEE NOTE 263 ON § 116, BELOW.

228 STRATITHEOS ÒSTO 'AÉTHNOLON ÍPTEDÉ-LÊXH, "WAS THEREUPON MADE GENERAL OF THE ATHENIANS,"—AS IF SOMETHING CONNECTED WITH THE TRIAL LED TO THE DISTINCTION. SEE NOTE 316 ON § 140, BELOW. COMPARE ËF- MIÊTOS ÒSTMOS, § 107, AND ST. JOBAI (HOPOL. IV. 6) : Ó NÔN "ÉNPOUÜS KATAPOIÁV ËK TÍS ËDÓXAROY 6KATH (ETO ÒSTMOS (AS HE REACHED IT) ÉPI TÍ ËPÔTH."
Kal πρώτα μὲν, ένώτες έτι ἐν τῷ ἀστεί, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποτέκμισαν ποιοτικά τὴν Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φιδίππιδος, 'Αθηναίοι μὲν ἀνάγκαιον ἀλλάζω τῷ ἡμεροδρόμου τε καὶ τούτῳ μελετώντα. τῷ δ' ήσιν οὗτος το οὐνόμα τοῦ Φιδίππιδος τοῦ Πάνα, 'Αθηναίοι κελέεσθαι ἀπαγγείλαι διότι ένεοι τούτων ἑσπερίων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται ένότος εὐνοού 'Αθηναίοι, καὶ πολλαξίς γενομένου ἢδη σφαίρη χρησιμοῦ, τὰ δ' έτι καὶ ἐσομένου. καὶ ταύτα μὲν 'Αθηναίοι καταστάτων σφάλμα εἴη ἢδη τῶν προγγάτων πιστεύονται εἶναι ἀληθῆ, ἐδράσειν ὑπὸ τῇ άκροπόλῃ Πανώς ἵππον καί αὐτῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἄγνωστης

220 ὅσιν οὗτος τὸ έλεγε Φιδίππιδος καὶ 'Αθηναίοις ἀπαγγέλλει. In later times the feast of Phidippides was adorned with some picturesque features quite incompatible with this statement. He was said on returning to have brought back to Athens the news of the victory at Marathon; and, rushing into the Prytaneum, to have died with the words χαρίστε μικρών on his lips. (Lucian, Pro Iapet., § 3.) (See the note 284 on i. 82.) And in some accounts the adventitious part of the narrative even extruded the historical foundation. Phidippides’s death was related to have taken place in an attempt, in obedience to an oracle, to bring the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens in a single day. (Schol. inedit. ad Aristidem, quoted by Valckenaer.) Pausanias, where he gives an account of the fane (i. 28. 4), calls the courier Phidippides,—which is also the reading of the manuscripts S and V. I should be inclined to think it the genuine one; for the name Phidippides is put by Aristophanes (Nub. 67) as if invented by the homely Strepsiades and his fashionable wife by way of compromise between their respective crotchets. The point of the jest would be a good deal dulled if the name had been one of any celebrity at the time the Clouds were acted.

240 καταστάτων σφάλμα εἴ ήδη τῶν προγγάτων, "when their affairs were at last on a firm footing." The establishment of the ritual was apparently coincident with the settlement of the new constitution on a firm basis,—a result to which it cannot be doubted the great national effort in repelling the foreigners contributed a most important part. See the way in which the Athenian is made by Plato to put the matter: ἡμῖν γὰρ κατέκατον τοῦ χρόνον δέ η' Περσῶν ἐπίθεσιν τοῦ Ἐλλήνων, γνώσις δὲ σχεδόν ἔκπαι τοῖς τοῦ δόξαν οἰκοίνοις, ἐγίγνετο, πολλαπλασία τε ἓν καλόν καὶ ἐν μικρὼν ἀρχαί τως τετατών, καὶ διεστάσα τῶν τοῖς μεγίστοις τοῦ στόλου κατὰ τὴν κατὰ ἑνότατα γενομένων, ὑπὸ πάνω ἐπικράτησεν ἠμᾶς τοῖς τοῦ ἔρχονται καὶ τοῖς νόμοις διούσιν καὶ διὰ ταύτα τάδ' ἠμῖν ἑκάστου πρὸς ἠμᾶς αὐτοῖς σφόδρα φιλία. (Legg. iii. § 15.) The statements of the time took advantage of that feeling of union which the external pressure had generated to consolidate that part of the population which was descended from the rustic aborigines, identical in blood and religious associations with the Arcadian mountaineers. This was effected by making Pan (deus Arcadiae) one of the state deities, and dedicating to him a fane in the acropolis, which obtained national reverence the more easily from the occasion which gave rise to its consecration. (See note 176 on v. 68.)

241 Πάνος ἵππον. It is very doubtful whether what was done was more than the revival with new (and probably increased) solemnities of an old and possibly neglected ritual. For the shrine of Pan was in a cave immediately below the Propyles, by the side of a well of water. (Pausanias, i. 28. 4.) He was associated with Apollo here, the cave being the reputed scene of the union of that deity with Creusa, the daughter of Eurystheus and mother of Ion. (Pausanias, l. c.)
This site is confirmed by Euripides. It is:

and on a coin figured by Leake from the original in the British Museum, the same appears as a grotto in the rock of the acropolis, on the north side from the descent from the Propylaeum. There is a descent to it from the platform of the acropolis by forty-seven steps cut in the rock. (Wordsworth, Athens and Allica, p. 82.) Such a site as this indicates (on the principle laid down by Thucydides, i. 16) a ritual of the very earliest times; and probably the Apollo who forced Creas was originally a Pan, who in later times under Dorian influence gave place to the other deity, and now again was admitted to a share of his old quarters.

242 Ακρώπολις. For the nature of the torch-race, see the Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, v. λαμπάδοςφορία. It is however an assumption to suppose that the word Ακρώπολις always implies a race. It is not likely that it does so here; for it would have been quite impossible to run to a scene so situated as that of Pan was. (See the last note.) Neither could there have been any race in that portion of the solemnity in honour of Hephestus, at the time of the Apaturia, when 'Apollo κατελαμαθος' στέλλεται εν Ακρώπολις, λαβόμενος λαμπάδας απὸ τῆς έστασις, δύναμις τῆς 'Ηφαιστίων θεωτῆς, οὐκόμημα τοῦ κατανόησαν τὴν χρήσιν τοῦ πυρὸς δίδαξεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. (Isther, ap. Harpocrate, v. λαμπάδα.) So too the solemn procession with which the Orestean trilogy of Eschylus terminated had torches, but nothing like a race. In the case in the text it seems as likely that an illumination of the cave with torches was the ceremony introduced. At Asce- sium in Arcadia fire was kept continually burning before the image of Pan, who, as at Athens, was there associated with Apollo. (Pausanias, viii. 38. 8.) See also the passage quoted in the note 109 on i. 32.

243 γινεῖται. For his age at this time see notes 203 on i. 61, and 166 on v. 65, from which it will appear probable that he had been a young man grown up sixty years before, and therefore could not be less than seventy-six or seventy-seven.

244 συνεβαλέται. See note 322 on i. 91. The interpretation which he put upon his
The Platæans only help the Athenians. Origin of the connexion between them.
υἱὸν τοῦτος τῆς γένους ἦν ἐπικουρίας ψυχῆς φθαίνει γὰρ ἀν πολιτικός ἐξαιρετισθήτες ἐκ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς 'Αθηναίοι, πλησιοχώροιοι τε ἀνδράς καὶ τιμωρεῖν εὐοσι οὐ κακοῖος;" ταύτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι, οὐ δὲ εὐνοίαν οὐτού τῶν Πλαταιῶν, ὡς βουλήμενοι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἔχειν τόνα πώς συνετεῖθασι Βοιωτοῖς. Δακεδαμόνιοι μὲν τῶν Πλαταιῶν ταύτα συνεβούλευον οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἦπιότηταν, ἀλλὰ 'Αθηναίον ἤρι ποιεῖτον τοὺς διδέκα θεοί, ικετάς ἵνα μεν ἐπὶ τῶν βουλῶν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς; Θεβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταύτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν Πλαταιῶν, 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοήθεις μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτεις μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιείδων παραπτυχίανἐπὶκαὶκαταλαξάντηςἐπιτρέψατων ὑμοτέρων, οὕρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκάθεν Θεβαῖοι Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὲ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέσαν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὲ ταύτα γράφεις ἀπαλλάσσοντο 'Αθηναίοι δὲ ἀποικὼ ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσπάθησαν τὴ μάχη ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ 'Αθηναίοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιούς εἶναι οὐροὺς, τοῖς ὑπερβάντες τῶν 'Ασσωπίων αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν οὖρον Θεβαῖοι πρὸς Πλαταιῶν εἶναι καὶ Τιβίς. ἐδοκοῦν μὲν δὲ οἱ Πλαταιῶνες

a συμβουλεύομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ. This is the same view of the matter as that offered by the Plataeans when tried for their lives by the Thebans and Lacedaemonians about sixty years afterwards: 

246 ὡς ἤρι ποιεῖτον τοὺς διδέκα θεοί. This is the same view of the matter as that offered by the Plataeans when tried for their lives by the Thebans and Lacedaemonians about sixty years afterwards: 

251 πρὸς Πλαταιῶν εἶναι καὶ Τιβίς. Probably it was to recover the territory thus lost that the Thebans took advantage of the Lacedaemonian occupation of Eleusis (described v. 74) to seize Hysiae. The Plataean orator in Thucydides (ii. 71) asserts that the independence of Plataea was solemnly guaranteed by Pausanias and the Lacedaemonians in the presence of all the allied army immediately after the victory over Mardonius. At that time the Thebans would be in extremely bad odour from the connexion of the party in power with the Persian invaders; and perhaps this circumstance was taken advantage of to procure a declaration which at any other time could scarcely have been hoped for.
109

**Dissensions among the Athenian generals.**

To the Athenians, strict adherence to a strict interpretation of the Mêdos treaty would have been disastrous, as it would have allowed the Miltiades to unilaterally end the treaty and thereby eliminate the possibility of a joint attack on Persia. The Athenians, however, were not willing to accept such a concession, and the tension between the two sides escalated into open conflict.

110

**The conduct of Miltiades and the polemarch Callimachus.**

The tension between the two sides reached a breaking point, and the conflict between the Athenian generals could no longer be contained. The situation was further compounded by a series of events that occurred during the winter of 492–491 BC.

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233 ἐν σοὶ νῦν... ἐστι. See note 231 on iii. 85.

233 [συμβάλλεται]. The MSS vary between συμβάλλεται, συμβάλλεται, and ομοθετω συμβάλλεται, which induces the suspicion that the word has crept in from the margin. It is not necessary; and in fact the real ellipse is not of συμβάλλειν, but of κελευ-datable.

234 ἔλποτα τῶν στάσις μεγάλη. This is perhaps an allusion to the Alcmenoids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

235 τῶν ἑω κατέληξα ἁγάθων τὰ ἐννοητικα. By this circumlocution expression the speaker avoids the use of words of ill omen, which in such a moment would be considered fatal.
110 Order of battle.

111 Τὸς τοπίον ἡμέραν ἐγένετο τὸ Θεσσαλικὸν τὸν μέν δεξίον κέρας ἔχον, τὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἔξωκον ὑπεράρχοντα τὸν Θεσσαλαίον, τὸν Πελοποννησίαν, τὸν Ἑλλάδαν, τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον. Ἡμέρα πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐπετεινήθη γινομένως, κατεύθυνε ὁ κύριος ὁ Ἀθηναίος ἄρα τῇ Ἀθηναίοις (ἄγος) γίνεται τῆς ἀγάλματι καὶ Πλαταιεῖς. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς μάχης, Θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόμενον καὶ πανηγύρισα τὰς ἐν τῇ πεντηκοσίᾳ γινομένας, κατέστη ὁ κύριος ὁ Ἀθηναίος ἄμα τῇ Ἀθηναίοις (ἄγος) γίνεται τῇ ἀγάλματι καὶ Πλαταιεῖς. τὸ τε τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶι, ἐγένετο τοῦτο τῷ τὸ στρατόπεδῳ ἐξοσομένῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατόπεδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξις ἔλεγχός, καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν ἀσθενεύσατο τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρυμεν πλήθει. Ἰδὲ δὲ σφιν διετέτακτα καὶ τὸ σφυγμόν ἐγένετο καλά, ἐνδιαίτα ὡς ἀπελθῶσαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, δρόμῳ ἐντὸς ὡς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤσαν δὲ στάδιον ὡς ἔλεγχος τὸ μεταλλήμα αὐτῶν ἢ ὡς ὁ δὲ Πέρσαι ὁρεύνετο δρόμῳ ἐπίντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξίομενοι μανίην τε τούτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλέθριον, ὁρεύνετο αὐτοὺς ὄλγον, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπεγεμνόμενος, οὕτω ἤπειρον ὑπαρχοῦσιν σφι οὕτω τοξεύματα· ταύτα μὲν μην οἱ βαρβάροι κατείσαν "Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἄρθε σὺ προσέμεθαν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐμάχησθοι ἄξιος λόγον πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑμεν, δρόμῳ εἰς πολεμοῦς ἐχρήσαντο,

256 τῶν πολεμάρχων ἔχουσιν κέρας τὸ ἔξωκον. In accordance with this custom Euripides (Sigg. 456) makes Theseus, the commander of the Athenian army in the battle against the Thesians, occupy the same post:

αὐτῶν τι ἄρα, παῦλος κλεινὸν Ἀγαθόν, καὶ τοὺς οἷς αὐτῶν ἔξωκον τεταγμένοις κέρας, παῦλος Κερατίας ὁλκτορας.

The tribe which occupied the right extremity in the battle of Marathon was the

257 ὁ δὲ ἀριθμός, "according as they were numbered," that is, with reference to the turn of their prytanes to preside in the assembly.

258 ὁτὲ ἤπειρον ὑπαρχοῦσαν σφι οὕτω τοξεύματα. The Persians conceived that it would be impossible for them to keep order in the onset under such circumstances; and that having no cavalry or archers to cover them while reforming, they must insallibly be destroyed.
Herodotus

113
and after an obstinate combat conquer and pursue the Persians to their ships.

114
Distinguished conduct of Callimachus

210 ἐσθημένου. This word, which is of the form of a perfect participle, as from a present tense ἔσθημι, is used in one other passage (iii. 129). It is peculiar to Herodotus, and no other tense is any where used by him.

216 τὸ οὖμα τὸ Μῆδων φόβος ἀκούσα. It seems likely that at the time of Datis's expedition the distinction between the Medes and Persians was little known in European Greece, even if it was in Asia. Accordingly θα Μῆδως was the general name by which the enemy was designated. The Medians were, it can hardly be doubted, the more civilized part of Darius's subjects, and from them the Persians must have learnt their scientific strategies. See the notes 535 on i. 162, and 512 on iv. 200. The statement in the text has been by some considered as contradictory to i. 165 and v. 120 (in which passages Asiatic Hellenes are represented as engaging with Persians), and to i. 169, where their resistance to these is spoken of as creditable to them. But this seems pressing the author too closely. It is very far from certain that the conquest even of Ionia was effected by Median troops; and certainly they would hardly be expected to do garrison duty. They may rather be regarded in the same light as the European regiments in the Anglo-Indian army. And all that Herodotus means to say in the text is that the Athenians at Marathon were the first Hellenes with whom the prestige of the Median soldiers went for nothing. This was only natural, as they had no experience of them like the Asiatics. But still their prowess made the term Ἀσίας Μαραθωνικός proverbial. (Ἀριστοφανής, Νυν. 386.)

218 καὶ Σάκα. These were probably the marines of the fleet landed upon the occasion. In the great expedition of Xerxes we find this service performed by Sacans (vii. 96), the name by which the Persians designated all Scythians (as Herodotus says)—that is, perhaps, all troops whose armament was similar to the Scythian, in which the bow was the principal weapon. This would be by far the most efficient engine for such a service as that of marines. The English bow-men performed the same duty in the infancy of English naval warfare. See the important part played by Locksley in the old ballad of Sir Andrew Barton.

219 Κυλάγειου. This is the brother of Aschylus the tragic poet. The story of his gallantry was improved upon in later times. Justin (i. 9) makes him, on losing his right hand, seize hold with his left; and upon this being likewise bewn off, take hold with his teeth ("ad postremum morsu naves detinuit"). A similar caricature is observable in the more modern ballad of Chevy Chase (of about the time of James I.) as compared with the
original of nearly two hundred years earlier. The latter says:

"For Wtharryngton my harte was wo
That ever he slayne sholde be;
For when both his legsis wer hewyn ino,
Yet he knyled and fought on his knee."

The two last lines became in the new version:

"For when his legsis were smitten off,
He fought upon his stumper."

For the description of the ἀναβάσις, of which Cynegirus is represented as taking hold, see the article Aploutis in the Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities. It is not necessary however to infer, with the writer of the article, from this passage, that an unusual direction was given to the extremity of the woodwork, denoted by the word ἀναβάσις. Herodotus seems to include in the term the whole of the after part of the upper works; and Cynegirus, in his account, appears to have been climbing up into the vessel by the stern, which, supposing her riding on a hawse carried out from the bow, would be depressed for the moment that the latter rose with a swell. Justin's notion rests upon the Homeric standard of men's strength and ships' size. An Athenian in 490 B.C. had too much experience of the sea to attempt to hold a vessel of probably at least eighty tons burthen by seizing it with his hand.

εἴτε ἐν ἁλλ' Ἡρακλῆς τῷ Ἠνυσσαργείῳ. See note 160, a, on v. 63.

οἱ δὲ βαρβαροί... ἦσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν,
'En tauto tē en Marathōn makh ἀπέθανον tōn barbadarōn kata Ætakochilous kai tetrakosion tōn ἄνδρας, 'Δηνιάλων δὲ εκατον ἀνενήκοντα καὶ δύο ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις τοιοῦτοι. συνήθεις δὲ αὐτοθ θώμα γενέχασα τοιοῦτο 'Δηνιάλων ἄνδρα Ἐπίθεσιν τῶν Κοκαργώρων ἐν τῇ συντάξει μαχόμενον τε καὶ ἄνδρα γυνομένου ἀγάθον τῶν ὁματίων στερηθήμας, οὕτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὐτε βλαβέντα καὶ τὸ λιοῦν τῆς ἔρως διατελέοι ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρῶνον οὐντα τυφλῶν. λόγεως δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τοῦ τάθεου ἡμαυτά τοιοῦτο τιλ λόγον ἄνδρα οἱ δικέες ὁπλίτην ἀντιτιμάμε τόμον τοῦ τοῦ γένεα τῆς ἀστικά πάσαν ἐκνέσας, τὸ δὲ φάσμα τοῦτο ἐκτῶν μὲν παραξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐσωτυρία παραστάτην ἀποκτείνων ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίθεσιν ἐπιθύμησα λόγεως.

Δάτις δὲ πορεύμενος, ἄρα τῷ στρατῷ ἔστω τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐτέι τε ἔγενετο ἐν Μικρώνη, εἶδε δῆν ἐν τῷ ἔπειρῃ καὶ ᾿Αθηναίων μὲν ἢ ἰώνιων, οὗ λέγεται ὁ δὲ, ὁς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ξηπάνος ἐποιεῖτο τῶν νεὼν εὐρὸν δὲ ἐν Φωίσση νητ ἁγαλμα ᾿Ατόψαλος κεφυρσομένου, ἐμπυθάνετο ὁκάθεν σευλυμένον εἶναί πληθύνομος δὲ εἶ ὅν ἠροι, ἔπλεε τῇ ἐσωτυρίᾳ ἐ̑ς Ἀθήναν, καὶ ἀπλεγο ἄρα ττυμαίται οἱ Αθήναι οὐ τό ὥσον, καταστάθηκα, τε ἐς τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἁγαλμα καὶ ἐπελεύθερου τοῦ θείου, ἀπαγαγέ τοῦ ἁγαλμα ἕν Αθήναν τῷ Ἐθνοῦς τὸ δ ἐστι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ Χαλκίδος κατετήματο. Δάτις μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπελάβασαν ἀνέπλεε τὸν δὲ ανδριάντα τοῦτον Αθήναιον οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δὲ ἐκζεύγος Ἡθνοῦς αὐτὸ ἐκθερομένων ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Αθήναν. Τούτω δὲ τῶν ᾿Ερετρίων ἀνδραποδισμένων Δάτις τε καὶ Ἀρσανής ὁς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀπήγαγεν ἐς Σουσά· βασιλεὺς...

“and the barbarians; when in their course they had come off Phalerum with the fleet (for this was at that time the port of the Athenians), brought up off this point, and made sail back to Asia.” For the precise meaning of the word ἀνακεφαλάζω see note on vii. 36.

267 Δάτις δὲ πορεύμενος. The account of the proceedings of the expedition on the Attic shore is exactly of such a kind as one might expect to receive from an Athenian attached to Miltiades’s party forty or fifty years after they happened. The present anecdote is as obviously derived from Delos. The account of the well at Arderios again betrays the ἐκπομον, familiar with the commodities which he was accustomed to ship, and giving the account which he had received from the exporter of the way in which they were procured.

268 ἔπλεε τῇ ἐσωτυρίᾳ ἐς Αθήναν. See note 219 on § 97, above.

269 καταστάθηκα. The manuscript S has, immediately after this word, the two, ἐς Αθήναν, omitting those which appear in the interval in all the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.
Δὲ Δαρείως, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων γενόσθαι τοὺς Ἐρετρίας, ἐνείχε σφιτὶ δεόντως χέλον, οἷα ἀρκάντων ἅμαρτια προτέρων τῶν Ἐρετρίων ἐπεί τε δὲ εἰδὼς σφέας ἀπαχθέντας παρ᾽ ἑωτῶν καὶ ὑποχρισθούσι ἐνωτὶς ἄνωτας, ἐπόλοη κακῶν ἄλλα ὁδόν, ἄλλα σφέας τῆς Καισαρίνης καθολίκως ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωτῶν τῷ οὐνομά εστὶν Ἀρθρέωκα, ἀπὸ μὲν Σοῦκων δέκα καὶ δικασέως σταδίον ἀπέχοντο, τεσσεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τρυφασίας ἱδέας καὶ γαρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἀλάς καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρίσσου σαι διὰ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τουρβῶς ἀντλεῖται μὲν κηλευθυρίῳ ἀντὶ δὲ γαλού, ἡμοῦ ἄσκουν οἱ προσθέσθαι υπότυχα. 771 δὲ τούτῃ ἀντλεῖ καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἑρχεῖται ἡ ἐξαμενεῖν ἡ ἐν τούτῃ ἐν ἄλλο διαχείματοι τρέφομαι τρυφασίας ὄδοις καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἔλαι πήγενον παρατρέπεται, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσαν εἰς ἀργείας, τὸ οἵ Πέρσαι καλέσαντες βαδίσσεισ. 772 ἐστὶ δὲ μεθαν καὶ ὑμην παρεχομενον βαρέας, ἐνδοιατε τοὺς Ἐρετρίας κατοίκησε βασιλεύς Δαρείως οὗ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέδει εἴχων τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαιότην γῆσαν. 773 τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐρετρίας ἐζυγεῖ οὕτως.

770 τῇ οὕτω κατὰ Ἀρδείκα. Προβαλμωνικά. Probably this name is a significant one, and given to several places. The village in the text is entirely different from the one mentioned in i. 186. According to Strabo (xvi. c. 1, p. 361) these Ertrians were settled among the people "formerly called Carthusi, and in his time Gordyeli," i.e. Kurda.

771 ἐποτύφας. All the MSS and Gaisford have ἐποτύφας. But the word ὑποτύφα (the reverse of ἀναπτύφα) seems especially applicable to the action denoted here and in ii. 136; iii. 130. The machine described in the text is one similar to that commonly employed in drawing water in Italy and the South of France at this day. The pole is attached to a long pole hung at the longest arm of a long lever, the short arm of which is so heavily weighted with stones, that the empty pole remains on a level with the mouth of the well. In order that water may be raised, the drawer lays hold of the pole, first pulling till the lever is horizontal,—which brings the pole to about the level of the water in the well,—and then pushing the pole by stopping, he fills it with water. This part of the action is expressed by the word ὑποτύφας, and it is obviously exactly the same with that of a person sounding a pool with a staff (κυντέος), or dipping down into a chest full of loose coins with a snaucer.

Rawlinson (Journal of the Geogr. Soc. ix. p. 92) imagines that the spot described by Herodotus is Kir Ab (the bitumen water) which is about twenty-eight miles north of Dijful, a point on the great military road into Media, lat. 32° 10', long. 46° 30'. He says that the liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the way described by Herodotus;—but "the bitumen pits abound" in the locality in question, and the distance is too great for any site which can be assigned to Busa to allow identification with the φρεάς in the text, if the writer be regarded as an eye-witness. See note 267, above.

772 τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσαν εἰς ἀργείας, τὸ οἵ Πέρσαι καλέσαντες βαδίσσεισ. Several MSS have, instead of this sentence, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέσαντες τοῦτο βαδίσσεισ, and two (b, c), τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέσαντες βαδίσσεισ.

773 οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέδει εἴχων τὴν χώρην ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαιότην γῆσαν. This clause is omitted in one manuscript (F), and it can scarcely be of the time of Herodotus. Hardly a generation had passed from the time of the engagement at Marathon to his emigration to
120 A detachment of 2000 Spartans arrive too late for the battle.

121 Credence is not to be attached to the story of the Alcmanonids having signaled to the enemy.

122 Ἐξαυτίστα ἐστὶν τὸν ἐμπρακτόν. Καλλιέω δὲ τοῦτον ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην ἐστὶν πάντα τινα ἔχειν τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ προκελεσμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀληθοῦν τὴν πατρίδα τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐποίησε, Ἰπποτὸς ἔχει, τῆς ἐν γάρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνέλομου, ἐφανερώθη ἐκ τῶν Ἔλληνων πάντας μεγάλης δαπάνης τούτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἑωντος θυγατέρας, εὐώς τρεῖς, οἷς τὰς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένετο γαμόν ὁβραίας, ἐδωκε σφί διερήθη μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, ἐκεῖνος τε ἐγείραστο ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι ἀνδρα ἐσωτήρ ἐκλεξάσθαι ἐδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἅρπλ. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμανοδαὶ ὁμολογοῦσαν, ἤ οὐδὲν ἤσον τούτῳ, ἤσον μισοῦραινοῖν. Θώμα δὲ μοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμανοβίδαις ἐν κοτε ἀνάδεξθα μετὰ τῆς συμβολῆς, ἢ ὄνομα τῶν Μεγάλων ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐθέσαστοι μετὰ δὲ, αἰνεῖον Ἀθηναίοι καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὑπόπωσ.

Italy, and to notice the fact of a population not having forgotten their language in so short an interval would be absurd. 274 καὶ ἐν Ὁσῖα. Of course if the Alcmaneids contemplated treachery, it would not have been under the idea of receiving Hippias back again; but to put themselves in the position of vassals of the Persian court and sovereigns of Athens through Persian influence. The writer of the paragraph (see note 277, below) quietly assumes the very point at issue. 275 Καλλιέω δὲ τοῦτον, κ. τ. λ. The whole of this section is wanting in the manuscripts M, K, P, F, δ. Gaisford includes it between brackets. 276 Ἰπποτὸς χρήσαι. This was, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Nub. 284), in the fifty-fourth Olympiad. 277 ἠστανοὶ μισοῦραινοῖ. This is doubtless the light in which the Alcmaneids wished to appear to their countrymen after the establishment of the democracy. See note 166 on v. 65. But the whole account which Herodotus gives of the early part of the tyranny of Pisistratus (see especially i. 61, 62) is quite at variance with this statement. The whole of the discussion (§§ 121—124) appears to me to proceed from a later hand than Herodotus; and to be of the nature of a note, drawn up by some person well acquainted with the family history of the Alcmaneids. This may have been afterwards incorporated with the text, and perhaps not long after the age of Herodotus. But it would almost seem that Paubianus (iii. 4. 6) must have used a copy of the work in
which it did not occur. For the corruption of the Pythian priestess by the Alcmeonids is here assumed as a point beyond dispute (ἐκ μηχανῆς τῆς τοῦτον ἐξήλεπτον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τῆν τυμάνιδα), and Pausanias, in reviewing the different causes assigned for the mania of Cleomenes, with a distinct reference to this book (§§ 76, seqq.) settles upon his tampering with the Pythian priestess as the real one, on the ground that Cleomenes was undoubtedly the only man who had ever ventured to corrupt an oracle. When Herodotus speaks of the transaction before, it is rather as a scandalous story (v. 63. 66) than as a likely matter, far less as one beyond all question. 570 ἐγὼ γάρ τοῦτο πάντα χρόνον τοῦς τυμάνιους. This statement also is quite incompatible with the former account, but consistent with subsequent professions of the Alcmeonids. See note 166 on v. 65. 379 ἐνηγρίασον. See note 143 on v. 65.

Family history of the Alcmeonids.

250 ὦ μοι πρότερον δεδήλωτο.
Their wealth greatly increased by their connexion with

126

HERODOTUS

ὅπισκόμενον δὲ δωρεάται χρυσῷ τὸν ἄν δώνηται τῷ ἑωτοῦ σῶματι ἐξενεκασθαι ἑστάτη; ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαῖος πρὸς τὴν δωρεάν ἐσόμενα τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτεθέντος προσέφερε ἔνδις καθώνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπων πολλῶν καταλαμάμενος τοῦ καθώνας, καθόρνους τοὺς εὐρυκές εὐρυτάτους ἐώτας ὑποθηκάμενος, ἦς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγοροῦν, ἔπαιζον δὲ ἐς σως ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κινήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ δοὺς ἐχώρεων οἱ καθόρνου: μετὰ δὲ, τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλημάμενον χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διατάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, εξῆνε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλεγκυ μὲν μόγις τοὺς καθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τερ οἶκος μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπη τοῦ τὸ τε στόμα ἔβατο καὶ πάντα ἔξογκαιτο. ἦδοντα δὲ τὸν Κροίτου γῆς ἐσήλθε· καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκείνα διδοῖ, καὶ πρὸς, ἔτερα δωρεάται οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκεῖνον. οὐτῶ μὲν ἐπιλύστη ἢ οἰκῇ αὐτῇ μεγάλως καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμαῖος οὕστοι οὕστω τηρηστορήσωσ᾽, Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναμέτρεται 281.

Μετὰ δὲ, γεννῆς δευτέρη υστερον, Κλεισθένης μὲν ὁ Σικυώνος τύραννος ἐξήμερε, ὡστε πολλῷ ἀνωμαστοτέρῃ γενέσθαι εν τοῖς Ἔλλην ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστοτόνου 282 τοῦ Μύρωνος 283 τοῦ Ἀνδρέω 284 γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῆς οὐνόμα ἢ Ἄγα-

281 Ὁ λυμπίαδα ἀναμέτρεται. The client of Ἰσοκλάτης (De Bigh, p. 351), himself an Ἀλκμείον (see note 166 on v. 65), says that Ἀλκμείον was the first Athenian citizen who obtained a prize at Olympia with a pair (τὰς μύρους). And that only one Ἀλκμείον had been an Olympic victor at the time of the battle of Marathon follows from the expression of Πίνδας (Pyth. vii. 13): μᾶλε ἢ ἀκρετικῶς ἄλλες Ὀλυμπίαις. The word τῆς τηρηστορήσωσ᾽ must therefore be taken in a general sense. See note 206 on v. 77.

282 Κλεισθένη γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστοτόνου. The founder of the dynasty at Sicyon was Ὀρθόγας (Aristoloth, Poll. v. p. 1315; see note 169 on v. 67), and Clisthenes was one of his descendants; but it is not easy to say in exactly what relation he stood to him. If Ὀρθόγας was the father of Ἄγα, it is strange that Ἐρωδοτος should not have continued the pedigree up to him, supposing him to have followed the same accounts with Aristotle.

283 τοῦ Μύρωνος. From a notice in Aristoθole (Poll. v. p. 1316): μεταθήκει καὶ οἱ τυραννίδαι τυραννίς, (ὅπερ ἡ Σικυώνος ἐς τοῖς Μύρωνος οἱ τοῖς Κλεισθένης), καὶ οἱ δαλαρχίας, (ὅπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἢ Ἀστιάλωνος), καὶ οἱ δημοκρατίας, (ὅπερ ἡ Ἐθνών ἐν Μακρακόντα), καὶ οἱ ἀριστοκρατίας, (ὅπερ ἡ Ἀρχιδαμος ἐν Λακεδαιμον, καὶ ἐν Εὐρύδικον), it is plain that a decided change took place in the constitution of Sicyon between the time of Myron and that of Clisthenes. Both were dynasts, but the form of their power was different. It seems not unlikely that the change consisted in the relative depression of the Dorian agriculturists and the elevation of the Achaean mercantile population. (See note 169 on v. 67.)

284 τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. This name, which is very rare in subsequent times, appears in the mythical history of the foundation of Orchomenus, where a son of the river Peneus (who formed a settlement, the vicinity of which was afterwards called Ἀνδρέως γῆς) bears that name. (Pausanias ix. 34, 6.) It seems not unreasonable to suppose from this that the name prevailed among the Orchomenians in later times. Perhaps therefore the Ἀν-
of any individual.” ARISTOTLE related that Smindyrides had a robe made of so gorgeous a character, that it attracted more admiration than any other object whatever that was exhibited at the pagenyris of the Lacidian Here. The tradition ran that the elder Dionysius, afterwards obtaining possession of this garment, sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. The name of Smindyrides in later times became the peg to hang all stories of inordinate luxury upon. He is made the hero of the well-known narrative of the crumpled rose-leaf by AELIAN. (Var. Hist. ix. 24.) On the occasion of his visit to Sicily his suite consisted of a thousand persons, employed in catching fish or birds, or in dressing them. (ATHENAEUS, vi. p. 273.) AELIAN converts this into one thousand of each sort. (Ib. xii. 24.) One of the most genuine in appearance of the anecdotes of this celebrated Sybarite is that he declared that for the space of twenty years he had never seen the sun either rise or set. (CHAMALEON or THEOPHRUSTUS, ap. Athen. i. c.)

288 Δάμασος, 'Αμψίρος. This is the reading of Gaisford; but most of the MSS have Δάμας ο Χαμάρως. The form in the text however appears to be the true one from a proverb which obtained currency (mātēran 'Αμψίρος), applied to those whose sagacity is great, but who are so much a-head of the world as to be regarded as foolish by it. Amyris recognized the fulfilment of an oracle, ‘that Sybaris would fall as soon as men should be treated with greater reverence than the gods.’ A slave having committed some offence took re-

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fuge in a temple, but his master caring nothing for this inflicted summary punishment on him therein. On this he fled to the tomb of his master’s father, and this procured the remission of his offence. Amyris observing this, sold his landed property and left the country. (Proverbia Diogeniana, iii. 26.) Probably Sireia was the place where he settled.

282 Τιτώρμου. Several MSS have Τίτωρμοι. The later anecdotes of this giant make him a herdsman. Ελίας (Var. Hist. xii. 22) relates a contest between him and the celebrated Milo, similar in its character to that which the old ballads describe between Robin Hood and Little John. Milo rolls with difficulty an enormous stone; Titorinus lifts it and carries it for a distance of eight fathoms. He catches a furious bull by the hoof (compare Theocritus, iv. 35), and on another coming up to assist the first, he seizes it in the same way with his other hand. Milo allows himself to be fairly beaten.

283 Φείδωνος δι τοῦ τά μέτρα . . . τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίη ἀγώνα θηκε. This clause has been considered an interpolation, from the circumstance that it is a chronological impossibility to bring the Phidon, who expelled the Eleans from their presidency at the Olympic games, down to the time of a man whose father entertained the ambassadors of Croesus on the occasion recorded in i. 47 and vi. 125. The time of Phidon is securely ascertained by the fact that the Eleans refused to register the Olympic in which the intrusion took place. This was the twenty-ninth (Strabo, viii. c. 3, p. 173 and 178), a time which also harmonizes well with the genealogy attributed to Phidon, that makes him tenth from Tenemus, and therefore about three centuries later than the time given to the Heracleid invasion. His son therefore could not have been the rival for the hand of Agariste with the father of the Clisthenes who 170 years after the date of Phidon’s usurpation was in active public life at Athens. But it seems unwarranted to criticize the features of such a narrative on bare historical grounds. The whole account appears to be derived from the private traditions of one of the great Hellenic families which constituted a commercial aristocracy in the early times, until they at last received their death-blows by the revolution of Clisthenes and the circumstances springing out of the Persian invasion. (See note 176 on ν. 68.) A greater objection than any derived from chronological inaccuracy seems to be that the introduction of an Argive suitor is out of keeping with the known antipathies of Clisthenes. (See v. 67.) All the other competitors are of the ancient ante-dorian blood. Without Leocedes too, they are twelve in number.

285 τοῦ δεξαμενοῦ τοῦ . . . Δισσακόρου δικίου. A legend of these gods, wandering under the form of men and requesting hospitality, is found elsewhere. At Lacedaemon the house of Phormio was shown, where the Dioscuri were thus received. (Pausanias, iii. 16. 3.) The story of Baucis and Philemon is another form of the same legend (Ovid, Metamorph. viii. 625, seqq.), in which Jupiter and Mercury take the place of the twins. In this shape
it was a current belief in Lyconia in the first century of the Christian era (Acte xiv. 12). Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, xix.) points out the various forms which the same story took in the Scandinavian mythology, and the adaptation of these to several medieval fictions. The legend was old in the time of Findar (Hyginus, Poet. Astron. c. 34), who, probably in his Dithyrambs, related a tale based upon it.

Both these names come into the pedigree of Miltiades's family (see above, note 84 on § 30), but a Miltiades is interposed between them.

Aposto totoyz kai tois hemov, protoprosou, ev tois arhronous kai tois Hemous (Ovomastos 'Agaion) autou, ev de 'Athenous apliko atop Megaselen, a tois Alkmaleis ton toyn tu pera Krouson apkomemeno, kal ALLWOS 'Ippokleidis Tiasandrou, ploutos kai idiai profeirous 'Athenous. Aposto de 'Eresirh, anbeiis ton ton ton xronon, xusanis' autou de aut epo keiinai mouz. Eke de Theoelleis hle tois Ekontadewn Diakoridas Kranonos, eke de Molososon 'Alkous tosoitoi me enevo stoii ois mepsthere.

Aposto apkomemeno de totoyz ev ton proemeneun enmei, o Kleisthenes prota mev tois patras to auton anepoteto kai xeno ekastou metod, katechou eniatoi diepeirasto auton tis te anagagiois kal tis orhik, kai pайдeixon tis kai proston kai eni ekastou iwn ev synousin kai synapasei, ev de xynamiai te exagwneous sos au gei auton neoteroi, kal, to ge megistou, ev ton synesthie diepeireasto ton ypor kalei xronon autous, totoyz pantas epolei kai ame eixeini megaloprepew. Kal de kou malosta tois mepstheres hreskouin ois aut Athetais apnymeno, kal totoyz mallow 'Ippokleidh o Tiasandrou kai kai anagagioi enkrinoi, kai eto akebaste 228 tois ev Korinthos Kynelfhesi ou proskeuwn. Dei eti kuri epygeto tois hemereon tis te kataklisi ton yamou kai ekphasi auton Kleisthenes, ton krinoi eto panton, thanas bozis ekaton o Kleisthenes enikei autous te tous mepsthereis kai tous Ekontadewn pantas. Ois de auto debein autogeno, ois mepsthereis erin eichon amphi te mousiki kai to legemeno eto meson prouousis de tis posios, katechou pollou tois ALLWOS 229 o 'Ippokleidh, ekelenei ois tois aulithen aylhjai emelieian 230. peidomewon

Hippocides, the most accomplished of the suitor, throws away his own chance. Origin of the proverb o CE' F'OR 0' 'ELLOU. 'Ippokleidh.
130 Agariste is given to Megacles, the son of Alcmeon, and the marriage takes place according to the Athenian rites.

131 Of this Agariste was born Clisthenes, the great reformer of the Athenian polity, carried out with regard to the religious worship of Sicyon had something to do with his uneasy feelings on seeing Hippocleides commence his performance. He had severed the ritual of Adrastus into two parts, and appropriated the least important—the choruses to Dionysus; and it would seem that this was the only portion which the devotees of Adrastus could accept. (See v. 67, and note 172.) Hippocleides therefore by what he did, even at the first, identified himself in a manner with that class of Clisthenes's subjects for which he had the greatest dislike.

131. 295 εξειροώμην. See note 351 on ii.
121. 296 οὐ φρονίζει Ἰπποκλείδης. The proper application of the proverb is to persons so light-hearted, or careless, as to let no misfortune affect them even for a minute. 297 τὸ δὲ Αλκμαιόνος Μεγακλέας. The manuscripts Μ, Ρ, Κ, Π have merely Μεγακλέας δὲ.
ERATO. VI. 130—133.

132

The influence of Miltiades is much increased by the success at Marathon.

133

He is sent on a roving commission with seventy ships, with which he attacks Paros:

a ARISTOTLE (Politic. v. p. 1304) speaks of the effect of the battle of Marathon as having been to raise the influence of the court of Areopagus, and increase the aristocratic character of the Athenian government, while, on the other hand, the feast of the ναυτική διάστασα at Salamis democratized it. The inhabitants of the Piraeus were, in his time, more democratically inclined than those of the city. (Il. v. p. 1303.)

336 πρὸς "Τάρανα τὸν Πέρσην. A Hydarnes is mentioned in the narrative given below (vii. 136) as having the same command on the coast of Asia Minor, which above (v. 26) is said to have been entrusted to Otanes. But Otanes does not appear to have been superseded until just before the first expedition of Mardonius,—and then, apparently, by Mardonius absorbing his command and also that of others in the higher powers which he had received. See vi. 43. A year before this Miltiades had left the Chersonese; so that the calumny in question must have taken place at an earlier period. But Otanes was appointed immediately after Darius's return from Scythia, before he left Sardis (v. 25). If therefore the stories belong to the same cycle of accounts, we must suppose Hydarnes about the person of Darius before being appointed to his command, and in this capacity to have been influenced by Lysagoras. A Hydarnes was one of the seven conspirators (iii. 70); but if he is the individual here meant, it is strange that the circumstance should not be mentioned.

'Athnaloioi dé èk Pároioi Múltiádeo apóvonsthsanta éxchnh év stówmav oí te álloiv kal málsota Æávitppov o 'Arífrnovov 302. dé

299 prókave. This form of próke is found four times in Herodotus. See note 392 on i. 111.

300 kathghsvato. See note 161 on ii. 49, and that on vii. 183.

301 ekfⁿnavan, “as having exhibited.” The difference between the office of the dkhsthv and the arwpoźni is well shown by this sentence. Timo was supposed to have “instructed Miltiades what course to pursue” (dγγγγσa) in order to capture Paros, but to have “exhibited” (ekfrn) to him the sacred symbols, which no male might behold. See note on 141 on ii. 40 (with which compare PLATO, Legg. xii. § 9).

302 Æávitppov o 'Arífrnovov. See note 263 on § 115, above.
ERATO. VI. 134—137.

167

θανάτου ἃπαγαγῶν ἀπὸ τὸν δήμον Μιλιάδεα ἐδιώκει τῆς 'Διή-
ναλων ἀπάτης ἐνεκεν Μιλιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὴν παρεἴχον οὐκ ἀπε-
λυγέτο· ἂν γὰρ ἀξίων τότε σημεύουν τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου 
δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλην ᾑπερατολογήτων οἱ φίλοι τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν 
Μαραθῶν γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Δήμου αἱρ-
εσίν 333, ὡς ἐκὸν Δήμου τε καὶ τις ἁμένους τοὺς Πελασγὸς παρ-
έδωκε 'Αθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῶ κατὰ τὴν 
ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου δὲ ἐξεισάγωντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίαν ἐπιτή-
κοντα τὰ λάνωτοι, Μιλιάδης μὴν μετὰ ταύτα σφακέλασάντος τοῦ 
τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαφέντος τελευτά, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τὰ λάνωτα 
ἐξέτασε ὁ πᾶς αὐτῶ Κίμων.

Δήμου δὲ Μιλιάδης ὁ Κίμων ὁ δὲ ἐσχὲ Πελασγοῦς, ἔευς τε 
ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὡς τ' Αθηναίοι 'ἐξεισάγοντον, εἰτέ ὅν ἃ ὃν 
ἐτέρας ἐκέντρος· (τούτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσας πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα) ὡς 
'Εκαταιοντος 334 μὲν ὁ Ἡγισσάνθου ἐξέρχετο, εἰς τούτο λόγοις λέγων 
ἀδικίας· εἰς τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώρην, τὴν σφικ 
αὐτοῖς· 335 ὥστε τὸν Ἰππίσων τοῦ τῶν ἔχον εἰκόνα μισθὸν τοῦ 

a ἃπαγαγῶν. The MSS vary between this and the simple form. The latter is found without any variation in § 104: ὅτι διαστήματι αὐτῶν ἀγαπούσε, and the former in § 82: νοστήσατα δὲ με δε-

333 τῆς Δήμου αἱρέσεως. These words in the accusative case, coupled (as they conceived) with a genitive, τῆς μάχης 

333 τῆς ἐν Μ., have caused some discussion among the commentators, which perhaps was aided by the injudicious punctuation. But there is no difficulty at all in the pas-

334 σφικ αὐτοῖς. It has been pro-

335 φικ αὐτοῖς. It has been pro-

137

Circumstances un-

under which 

Miltiades 

obtained 

possession 

of Lemnos.

Athens his 

enemies en-

deavour to 

ruin him, 

and partially 

succeed. 

representing it as a feast of vengeance for 

offences committed against the Athenians 

long before,—ἐν Μ., κ.τ.λ. See note 

315 on § 140, below. 

If PLATO may be trusted, his escape 

was a very narrow one. Miltiades 

tὸν ἐν Μαραθῶν εἰς τὸ βαθαρέα ἐμβαλὼν 

ἀνήργειον, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν πράττων, 

ἐνέκειτο ἐκ. (Gorgias, § 163.) 

If Ἐκαταιοι μὲν, κ.τ.λ. I have 

included the remainder of this section 

between brackets, not from any notion of 

its being spurious, but because it seems 

undoubtedly to be of the nature of a note, 

although not improbably from the hand of 

the author himself. 

σφικ αὐτοῖς. It has been pro-

posed to erase αὐτοῖς, or to read αὐτὸς, 

referring it to the Athenians. But it is to 

be observed that here a statement is being 

copied from Hecateus’ work; and if He-

cateus gave the account as the Pelasgian 

one, making them tell the story (by intro-

ducing it with some such phrase as ὡς 

δὲ Δήμου λέγοντι), σφικ αὐτοῖς, 

"themselves," would be the proper ex-

pression to use. The same explanation 

will account for the use of αὐτοῖς below, 

i. e. "the Pelasgians."
τείχεοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατε ἐλημένου ταύτης ὡς ἔδειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εἰς, τὴν πρῶτην εἶναιος κακῶς τε καὶ τοῦ μηδένος ἁζήν, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἵμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὡς ἐξελαίωμεν αὐτοῖς οὔδεμαλλον ἄλλην πρόφασιν προϊσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσι, δικαιὸς ἐξελάσατο κατοικημένως γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ ''Τμήσιαν'' ἐνθείτεν ῥηματίσιν ἄδικεπεν τάδε φοιτάν γὰρ ἀεί τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας;'' ἐπὶ δὲ πρὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκροουν''ο'' (οὔ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφιξὶ καὶ οὔδὲ τούτοι ἄλλοις ''Εὐλογοι οἰκέται'') δικαὶ δὲ ἐλθοις αὐταῖς, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ δοκίμος τε καὶ ἄγνωρες βιάζοις σφεαί; καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφίξει οὐκ ἀποχράων ποιέων, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιζουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσεων οὐχ ἐπειδὴ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν ἀμείνων, δόρῳ παρέων αὐτοῖς ἀποκτείνει τοὺς Πελασγοὺς (ἐπεὶ σφεαὶ ἐλαβον ἐπιζουλεύοντας) οὐκ ἐδηλήσαμε, ἀλλὰ σφίροις εἰς τῆς γῆς ἐξεῖναι τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ γεγορήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Δήμουν''ο''. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ ''Ἀθηναίοι λέγουσιν. Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὐτοὶ Δήμονος τότε νεμόμενοι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμώρησασθαί, εἰ τε ἐξεπιτάμευοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτᾶς, πεντηκοσίους σχημάμενοι ἐλάχισταν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶι ἀγούσας ὀρτῆν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναίκας'' εὐθείων δὲ ἀρπάσατις τουτέσσαρες πολλὰς ὀξύντα ἀποπλέωντες καὶ σφεαὶ ἐς Δήμουν ἀγαγόντες παλλακᾶς ἔλοχον ὡς δὲ τέκνων αὐταὶ αἱ γυναίκες ὑπεπλῆσθησαν, γλῶσσαν τε τὴν

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305 τὴν πρῶτην εἶναι. This expression has caused some difficulty to the commentators from their not remarking that τὴν is the relative pronoun, not the article.

307 One manuscript (3) omits the words καὶ τῶν σώβαρον καὶ Σκίθερ καὶ Βεκκερ, not only omit them, but the particle τε which precedes them. But there seems no sufficient reason for this proceeding. No doubt the practice in antiquity was for the women of the family to be Ὀρφόβοι. Here however the additional words do not oppose this fact. Translate: "Their daughters with the children used to go after water." That Herodotus considered the daughters as the important feature in the story is evident from the gender of σφετέρας, and of Ariston two lines below.

308 ἐκ τῆς Ἐννεάκροους. Θυευκτιδεῖς speaks of this spring, which was called Callíthkē originally, as being in the oldest part of the city with the exception of the acropolis (ii. 15). It is to be looked for under the south-eastern part of the hill. It was beautified by the Pisistratids, and from its separation into nine outlets got the name of Euneakrumus.

309 καὶ δὴ καὶ Δήμονος. From Lemnos (according to the tradition followed in iv. 145) they expelled the grandchildren of the Argoanans, who thereupon went as suppliants to Tágyetum.
'Αττικὴν καὶ τρόπου τῶν 'Αθηναῖων ἑδίδασκον τοὺς παιδαν· οἱ δὲ οὕτως συμμετέχοντα τούτων ἐκ τῶν Πελασγιδῶν γυναικῶν παιδον ἤθελον, εἶ τε τούτων τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τινός, εβοηθεῖς τας πάντες καὶ ἐπιμαίρεσιν ἀλλιώσασθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τας τῶν παιδῶν οἱ παιδεῖς ἑδίκατες καὶ πολλὰς ἐπεκφάσεως μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐννοοῦσι λόγους ἑδίδοσαν καὶ σφιες βουλευομένοις δευτέρων τε ἄσκουν, εἴ δὴ διαγνώσκοσεν σφιες δὲ βοηθεῖς οἱ παιδεῖς πρὸς τῶν κουριδέαν γυναικῶν τοὺς παιδάς, καὶ τούτων αὐτής ἄρχειν πειράματο, τί δὴ ἄνδρον βαρέως δῆθεν ποιήσουσι· ἐνδιατὰ ἔδοξε γὰρ κατεύθυνε τούς παιδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν 'Αττικῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖν δὴ ταῦτα, προσπάθησον δὲ σφιες καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ ἄρχουν καὶ τοῦ πρωτέρου τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ γυναικοῦ αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἄνδρα Θάνατι ἄνδρας σφιες ἁπτόμενοι, νενομίμεται ἀνα τῆς 'Ελλάδας τὰ σχέδια ἔργα πάντα Δήμων καλέσθαι. 'Αποκτείνωσι δὲ τούτοι Πελασγροὶ τοὺς σφιες παιδάς τε καὶ γυναίκας, οὔτε της καρπῆς ἔφερε οὔτε γυναίκας τε καὶ ποιοῦν ὁμολογὸς ἐπικοινωνεῖ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πιεζομένου δὲ λιμοῦ τε καὶ ἀπαιδεῖ, ὥς 'Αθηναῖος ἡμῖν ἀλλῆλοις σφιες παραδόντων κακῶν ἢ δὲ Πυθῆς σφίες ἐκέλευε ·'Αθηναῖοι διάκεισαν διδόναι ταῦτα ταῦτα, δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς 'Αθηναίου δικαίως ἤθελαν τοῦ δὲ τῆς 'Αθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ καὶ διὰς ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος · 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρωτερίῳ κλήνης στράφησαν ός ἐλκοῦν καλλιστα, καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπικινδύνου ἄγαθον πάντων παραδόντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίες παραδίδωσιν ὁμοῦ ἤχουσαν οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες ἔπαιναν· "ἐπέλεα βορέ ἄνεσιν αὐτής ἐν τῇ μετέρητη ἐν τῇ μετέρητα δὲ τοῦτο μεταφέρεται οὐκ ἔπαιναν· ἔπαιναν τοῦτο εἰς μικρῶτα καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς μικρῶτα· ἔπαιναν δὲ κάρτα πολλῶν τῆς Δήμου. τὸν μὲν τοσοῦτο· ἔπαινα δὲ κάρτα πολλῶν

318 κουριδέαν γυναικῶν. See note 463 on i. 136. 311 ἀντ αυτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἄρχου. It is not difficult to see that Herodotus here following a popular Attic tradition. The early pride of the children is a feature showing the Athenian origin of the legend. For another tradition relative to the Pelasgian neighbours of the Athenians, see note 150 on ii. 61. Another origin still may be assigned to the proverb. Lemenos was a name of the μεγάλης θεᾶς, and virgins were habitually sacrificed to her. (Stephanus Byzantinus, s u. d. Αθήνας, apparently following Hecateus.)
313 ἔστει κάρτα τοπλοῖον ὑστερον τοῖς. The outrage upon the Athenian women was conceived to have taken place in the third generation after the Argonautic expedition. (See the note 309 on § 137.) Miltiades' justification of an act of violence by the plea of a mythical event supposed to have taken place centuries before, is quite in keeping with the feeling of pagan antiquity to its very close. Tacitus makes the Asiatic cities, when pleading for certain privileges before the Roman senate, urge mythical tales of their origin as an argument. The Ætolians too were said to have obtained the privilege of self-government from the Romans, on the ground that their ancestors, alone of all the Greeks, had abstained from joining the expedition against Troy. (Strabo, Χ. p. 348.) But the medieval history of England furnishes a perfectly parallel case. "In a dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I. between England and Scotland, the descent of the kings of England from Brute the Trojan was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, as an argument bearing on the case then in discussion, and it passed without attack from the opposing party." (Grote, History of Greece, i. p. 639.)

315 ὧσ ἡ Χερσόνησος ἢ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἡγέμον ἤτοὺ' Αθηναίων. This is the form under which Athenian vanity, after the complete establishment of the popular government, was disposed to represent the dynasty of Miltiades. Compare the account (probably from family tradition) which Herodotus gives above, § 39. A precisely similar perversion of historical truth appears in the case of Sigeum. See note 271 on v. 94, and 276 on v. 95.
the Ionians, would find no sympathy from the allies, and Miltiades would be enabled to secure his prize as the price of his adhesion to the revolution. When the overwhelming Persian force at last obliged him to take refuge in Athens, the jealousy of the Alcmeonids would be excited by his presence, and they would endeavour to fix a charge upon him of having played the dynast in the Chersonese (§ 104), a charge which the contrast between Lemnos and the Ionian cities, whose tyrants were expelled (v. 37), would be a most powerful argument to confirm. But his presence of mind did not fail him. He admitted the fact of his being dynast over the Hephæstians, but pleaded that this δυναμις (an euphemism for δυνατελαν) was what clinched (διωσδού) the surrender of the Pelasgians. He was only the instrument of fulfilling the omen! Lemnos belonged to the Athenians! Such a coup as this would naturally lead not only to his acquittal, but his immediate election as στρατηγός. (See note 238 on § 104.) Hermon was less fortunate or less shrewd.

'HΡΟΑΟΤΟΤ ἩΣΤΟΙΩΝ ἘΚΘ.
EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

... 

There are several points connected with the account of the battle of Marathon which are very difficult to explain. COLONEL LEAKE has employed a chapter of the Appendix to his work on Athens and the Demi of Attica in the examination of them, but has not, in my opinion, altogether cleared up the subject.

One difficulty, perhaps the greatest of all, arises from the circumstance that although Hippias, who acted as guide to the invading army, is expressly stated to have selected Marathon as the point for debarkation, partly from its adaptation to the employment of cavalry,—an arm in which the Persians were notoriously superior,—no mention of the use of cavalry appears in the account of the engagement. And that, from some cause or other, the invaders were not able to avail themselves of the advantage they possessed in this respect, may be inferred from the proverbial expression χωρίς ἵππων ("the cavalry are away"), which, according to Suidas (sub v.), arose from the very fact of their absence at the time of the engagement, and of the advantage which the Athenians derived from the knowledge of that circumstance.

Colonel Leake accounts for this, as well as for some other features in the narrative of Herodotus, by imputing to the Persian commanders an amount of imbecility which nothing but the strongest
EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

He supposes that on landing their cavalry, and finding that there was "insufficient space for them in the plain of Marathon within the marshes, they were placed in some neighbouring plain, without any means of passing either those barriers or the mountains; and that on the day of action they were not even within sight of it." He also remarks it as a very difficult thing to explain, why the Persians should have remained inactive during the nine complete days which elapsed between the moment when the Athenians arrived in the presence of the enemy and the time of the battle. "It is even difficult to conceive (he says) how it happened that with such numbers as ancient authors have ascribed to them, and straitened for room as they must have been in the plain of Marathon, they did not spread on every side, until they had gradually occupied all the hills around the plain, had ascertained the weakness of their adversaries, and had found the means of surrounding and attacking them on the flanks and rear. But it is clear from Herodotus that no such consequences took place; that the invaders did not even venture to penetrate into the valley of Marathôna, which was open to them; but that they remained irresolute in their maritime position until the Athenians attacked them."

That the Persians expected to fight almost immediately upon their landing seems likely from the part taken by Hippias on that occasion. He himself at once drew up the troops on the debarkation being effected,—and so little did he appear to consider success certain, that he prudently got the ships afloat (probably by carrying a hawse off) as soon as ever they touched the beach (καταγωγὸς ἐστὶν Μαραθῶνα τὰς ναυς δρομέως εἰς, § 107). These provisions indicate a cautious temper rather than an irresolute one. Hippias, if he expected to be attacked while the debarkation was going on, took the most judicious measures to defend himself. The bowmen from the ships, they riding in just enough water to float them, could have effectually covered the troops while forming on the beach, and, in the event of their being driven back by the Greeks, would have very much facilitated their re-embarkation. That in fact they did this on the day of the engagement is very likely, from the circumstance, that in spite of the asserted panic-flight of the Persians, the victors succeeded in capturing only seven vessels.

Now, as Herodotus goes into these details of the mode of debark-
ation, it is remarkable that he should say nothing of the landing of
the horses,—an extremely difficult operation at all times in the face
of an enemy,—and an especially interesting one on this occasion, as
the adaptation of the plain for cavalry is explicitly stated to be Hip-
piasi's motive for selecting the site he did. I believe the real reason
of this omission is, that in fact no horses in any numbers were yet
landed. They had been debarked at Eretria, as Herodotus mentions
(§ 101), little more than a week before, and there, I conceive, they
still remained. There was no difficulty found in landing them there;
for the power of the Eretrians was, at least in their own opinion, so
inferior to that of the Persians, that the former had no thoughts of
resisting in any other way than by shutting themselves up within
their own walls¹ (§ 101).

But now the question occurs, why should not the cavalry have
been carried at once to Marathon? They were not so, I conceive,
because of the much greater difficulty of landing them in the face of
an opposing force such as Hippias's proceeding shows him to have
anticipated. His plan apparently was in the first instance to form
a lodging on the coast, by means of which he might cover the
landing of the cavalry, without fear of an attack during the operation.
This preliminary step having been effected, intelligence could easily
be sent to Euboea, and the horses transported from the good quar-
ters in which they had been left in the country of the Hippobotes, to
the barren hills of Attica, exactly at the time when their services
would be required. If, instead of maintaining their important posi-
tion at the temple of Heracles, the Athenians had retreated upon
Athens, Hippias would doubtless have done as his father did under
similar circumstances forty-seven years before; he would himself
have occupied the position evacuated by them. He would then have
sent for his cavalry; and on their arrival have moved up the valley and
entered the plain of Athens. But the position of the Greeks seems
to have been so skillfully selected as to present an almost impregnable
barrier to the invaders, so long as there remained resolution to
maintain it. The plain of Marathon is enclosed by the heights of

¹ Perhaps it is to this circumstance the taunt of Themistocles alludes (Plutarch,
Themist. § 11): τοῦ μὲν ἕρετριδος πενταμίδου λέγει τι πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ηγαρŏ, δὲν, καὶ
δὲν περὶ τολὴμον τίς ἐστι λόγος, οὗ καθάπερ αἱ τευθιδές μᾶχαιρω μὴ ἔχετε, καιρδιὰς
δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;"
Diacria and Brilessus, the roots of which extend to the sea, forming respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the bay. Towards the interior the plain branches off into two valleys, flanked and separated from one another by mountains inaccessible to cavalry, and in which the positions become stronger at every step, until they meet in one point at the modern Stamáta, near the upper part of the plain of Athens. In the southernmost of these two valleys is a small village, called at the present day Vraná, which Colonel Leake, on apparently good grounds, identifies with the site of the ancient Marathon. About a mile nearer the sea this valley debouches into the plain of Marathon, and here Leake has seen reason to fix the site of the Heracleum in the precinct of which the Athenians were encamped. Their right rested upon the hill of Argaliki (a part of Brilessus), and their left was protected by Mount Kotróni, an insulated hill of no great height, but extremely rugged, which separates the two valleys above mentioned. Thus posted, the army of Miltiades effectually stopped all access to the plain of Athens by the nearest road, which ran through Vraná and Stamáta. But their position appears to have been taken up not merely with this view, but also for the purpose of defending another means of access to the city. The roots of Brilessus which form the southern boundary of Marathon fall so gradually as to present no very defensible impediment to the communication between the plain of Marathon and the plain of Mesogaea, and Athens might be reached by a road over these, passing through Gargettus and Pallene. (In the view of many this is the road by which Pisistratus marched upon Athens from Marathon.) But a glance at the map shows that while the Athenian force was posted at the Heracleum, no body of troops could move by this road without exposing their right flank and rear to them. And although the roots of Brilessus are not so steep as to present an inaccessible barrier, they are at this time, and doubtless were at the time of the engagement, covered with low pine-trees and brushwood; and the road itself, at its debouchment from the plain, not a mile and a half to the south of the Heracleum, passes between the mountains and a marsh. With an army so posted as that of the Athenian general, a few judiciously placed abatis, formed of trees cut down and laid with their heads towards the enemy, might be converted into a quite sufficient obstacle to prevent his march by this road in the presence of an enemy.
on the vulnerable flank. And this is perhaps the operation which is obscurely indicated in the account of *Cornelius Nepos* 2, and alluded to by *Clement of Alexandria* 3.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps more a matter of wonder that the Greeks should have assumed the offensive, as they at last did, than that the Persians should not have done so at an earlier period. Both of the proceedings, however, seem to me to admit of an explanation from the fact which Miltiades pressed upon the consideration of the polemarch Callimachus, in order to bring him over to his own view 4. A strong Pisistratid faction still existed in Attica, and the establishment of a formidable Persian army in a corner of the territory would naturally, so soon as it was generally known, become the signal for these to show themselves in the most useful way possible under such circumstances, viz. by assembling a force to co-operate with the invading army. Now, I have above 5 endeavoured to show that the interests of the Pisistratids were especially strong in that part of Mesogea which lay on the eastern side of Hymettus, and to explain, from that consideration, the singular account which Herodotus gives of the details of the battle at Pallene, which restored Pisistratus to his throne after his second exile. Hippias, no doubt well recollecting the success of his father’s plan of operations adopted on the former occasion, pursues exactly the same course. Content with establishing himself in force on the bay of Marathon, he waits for a demonstration on the part of his friends in Attica of sufficient importance to menace the communication of Miltiades with the city. Had this taken place, and the position which kept him in

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2 Eius auctoritate impuls Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerant, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt: deinde *postero die sub montis radicibus acie e rege inuctae, novē arte*, vi summâ proelium commiserunt, namque arbores multas locis erant rares: hoc consilio, ut et montium teneretur altitudine, et *arborum tractu* equatōs hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderetur. (*Miltiades*, § 5.) In the place of *rara*, which has been thought corrupt, Van Stauren proposes to read *strata* or *sata*. But the expression seems to mean “in patches,” which gives a sufficient sense; although it does not clear up the nature of the use made of the trees.

3 ἵνα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νόστορ διὰ ὀνομάσας Βαδίσας καὶ πλανήσας τοὺς τριψύρτας αὐτῶν τῶν Βαρθάρων... καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαλούς τῶν τάκων προκαταλαβόμενος ἰρθέττειν, διὰ τὸ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἥττῳ τὴν ἑμελεῖαν. (*Stratêma*, i. § 162.)

4 ἦν μὲν τοὺς μη συμβλέποντας, ἐπικαλεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ στάδας μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διαστάσεων τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, διότι μηδίσαν (§ 109).

5 See note 194 on i. 59; 291 on i. 60; 310, 211 on i. 69.
EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

check been abandoned, the cavalry would at once have been brought from Bubon, and would have destroyed the Athenian army upon overtaking it either in the plain of Athens, or that of Mesogea.

Herodotus, by the way in which he describes the difference of opinion among the ten generals, namely, that it was a simple question whether they should engage the enemy or not, leaves the reader strangely puzzled to account for the conduct of Miltiades, who, although four of his nine colleagues resigned their command to him, and although he had won over the polemarch to his side by strongly representing the necessity of striking a blow before any internal rottenness should disclose itself, yet delayed to engage until the fifth day after he had the power of doing so. To account for this by supposing that he waited for his own regular turn, in order to prevent the possibility of any rival claim to the credit of a victory which he foresaw would follow, appears to me a notion which could never have arisen before the event. But if the real alternative at issue with the Athenian generals was, not whether they should provoke the invaders to fight or retain their position of defence; but, whether they should persist at any cost in holding their strong position, or fall back on the city, the conduct of Miltiades becomes quite intelligible. We may suppose him each day drawing out his force in front of his lines, and thus stopping all access to the interior by the southern road, as well as by that up the valley. The invaders in their turn forming a longer line by means of their superior numbers, keep him effectually in check (as they conceive), he not being able to move forward to attack them without being outflanked. But the experience of four days convincing him that they, on these grounds, expect nothing less than an attack by him; on the fifth he attempts to strike, and succeeds in striking, a fatal blow, by suddenly extending his line (at the price of weakening his centre), and rapidly attacking the enemy before they have time to make a counter movement. The

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6 Not all, as Mr. Gauntz assumes. Herodotus says it was those who voted with him for fighting (τῶν ἢ γραμμὶ τῷπερενεύμολλαυν).

7 This very question perhaps lies at the bottom of Naere's statement of the matter. "Inter quos (cell. decret pretores) magna fuit contension, utrum manibus so defension- rent, an oblivem irent hostibus sciisque decernrent." The writer apparently supposes the council of war to be held at Athens, but has no definite notion on the subject of the locality. (Miltiades, § 4.)
flower of the invading army—the Persians and Sacans, who were posted in the centre—broke that part of the Athenian line which was opposed to them; but these had a strong position to fall back upon, whereas the wings of the enemy were totally ruined and overwhelmed in the marshes, into which they rushed headlong in the *panic* of the moment.\(^1\)

At this stage of the proceeding Herodotus's description offers another difficulty. According to him the two victorious wings of the Athenians *united*, and, without pursuing that portion of the invading army which had given way, turned at once upon the Persians and Sacans, who had pursued their own centre quite into the interior (*ίς τῶν μεσόγεων*). However little this expression be strained, we cannot take it to mean less than that the pursuit had extended considerably up one or both of the two narrow valleys which converge at Stamáta; so that when the new attack was made upon them the Persian centre must in a manner have been caught in a trap, with the victorious Athenians and Plateans between them and their ships. To reach these they must in fact have forced their way *through* their new opponents,—a work doubtless of difficulty, but not impossible for highly disciplined troops; especially as their opponents, after all their success against the wings, might think it much more expedient to harass a retreating enemy than to force him to desperation. The whole number of ships captured in the re-embarkation is only seven, little more than the hundredth part of the fleet, and the whole loss of men but 6400,—an utterly inconceivable result, if we are to suppose (what Herodotus's description would imply) at least twenty times that number flying in confusion before a victorious enemy, and re-embarking on a line of coast of not more than two miles in length.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) In the painted portico at Athens the destruction of the invaders in this way formed a prominent feature. They were depicted *φείδοντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄλος ἀδιαφόρους* (Pausanias, i. 15. 3.) Here was doubtless the good service rendered to the Athenians by the god Pan, the nature of which is not stated by Herodotus, although he speaks of the reward which was rendered for it (§ 105). But afterwards, when Marathon had become to the Athenians very much what Agincourt became to the English, a discreet silence as to the marshes seems to have been observed; and there is nothing in Herodotus's narrative even to indicate the nature of the locality, although it is so conspicuous as at once to attract the attention of a traveller.

\(^2\) Sir Arthur Wellesley consumed the greater part of three days in landing 13,000 British troops, under the most favourable circumstances, in the Mondego river on August 1—3, 1808. Of the operation he himself says, "The landing is accompanied
The design which is attributed to the Persians of surprising Athens, before the return of the army which had just foiled them in the plain of Marathon, is another feature in the narrative of Herodotus which harmonizes well with the view that the Persians and Sacans retreated in comparatively good order, and for the most part got safe on board their vessels; but it combines very ill with the notion that they had saved themselves in a precipitate flight. Such a scheme could never occur to a commander whose whole force had been routed, and demoralized to the extent which a complete defeat implies.

But although, in my opinion, the description given by Herodotus of this celebrated action cannot possibly be received as an accurate account of its real circumstances, it appears to be a most faithful reflection of the opinions which in his time currently prevailed upon the subject at Athens. It is in all ages the habit of the vulgar to regard great military successes as the result of merely superior prowess; consequently popular tradition rapidly drops all those particulars of a battle which evince strategic genius, and substitutes for them exaggerated accounts of personal bravery. Few Englishmen can endure to acknowledge the share which the Prussians had in the complete victory at Waterloo; although the nature of the ground alone proves conclusively to the eye even of a civilian, that their co-operation must have entered into the original design of the illustrious commander of the British. There can be no wonder therefore if the consummate skill of Miltiades in seizing the only conditions under which victory could be hoped for, soon became a less satisfactory way of accounting for his success, than the principle that one Athenian was a match for ten, twenty, or even sixty Persians; and if the story of the action soon took a corresponding shape.18

One other circumstance may be pointed out confirmatory of the above remarks. Pausanias, when he visited the field of Marathon, seems to have been puzzled to account for the circumstance, that

with some difficulties even here, and would be quite impossible if we had not the cor-
dial assistance of the country, notwithstanding the zeal and abilities of the officers of
the navy." Gurwood (Selections from Dispatches, No. 233).

18 The jealousy which would have been excited by the truer view of the matter may
be guessed from the story told by Plutarch (Cimon, § 8). The sentiment of Sochares
of Decelea: οὗτος μόνος ἀγνωστόμενος, ἢ Μιλτιάδη, εὐχάρις τῷν βαρβάρον, τότε καὶ
τιμάσαι μόνος ἄξιον, was doubtless shared by all the ἀντίκες Μαραθωνίας.
although the barrows which respectively covered the Athenians, the Plateans, and the slaves who fell in the action, were conspicuous objects, there was no indication of where the Persians were buried. That the corpses were covered with earth he makes no doubt: common humanity would prevent their being left exposed. The solution of the difficulty with which he contents himself at last is, that they were buried here and there as they fell. But, as a mere question of labour, it is obvious that the digging a single pit requires far less time than a multitude of separate graves. The fact apparently is, that the loss of the Persians consisted almost entirely of the fugitives who perished in the marshes, for whom therefore no grave was requisite.

11 i. 32. 5.
12 This is, in fact, stated by Pausanias as a current belief (i. 32. 7).
Plan of the Bay & Plain of MARATHON, with part of the Adjacent Country (from land).
'ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ
'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ 'ΕΒΔΟΜΗ.

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

'ΕΠΕΙ δὲ ἀγγέλη τὸ πέρα τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶν 1 γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου τοῦ 'Τοτάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένων 2 τοὺς 'Αθηναίους διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδης ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπολεί 3 καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμητο στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπτων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις, ἐτοιμᾶζων στρατηγήν, πολλῷ πλέον ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοις ἢ πρότερον παρείχον, καὶ νέον τε καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ σῖνου καὶ πλοῦτῳ τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων, ἢ Ἀσία ἐδοξέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλέγομένων τε τῶν ἀριστῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων 4, καὶ παρακεναιμένων.

1 ἀγγέλη. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ἄγγελη. But the use of the words τὸν Ἀθηναίων in the next line, as well as the statement of Darius's irritation at the invasion of Sardis in such general terms, seem to indicate that here we have the beginning of what, in its first draft at any rate, was an independent history. And the manuscripts B, C, and D all omit the article. In fact the whole of the work of Herodotus up to this point may almost be regarded as a mere introduction for the more complete understanding of what follows. See note on § 173, below.

2 κεχαραγμένων. Herodorus explains this word by φρέγαμεν. Euripides (Med. 166) has κείνῳ τόδε μὴ χαράσσων. The idea seems to be that of a person on whom a strong impression has been made which cannot easily be got rid of. Hence in philosophical language the word χαραγμένος is used for that which defines the individual.

3 πολλῷ δευτέρᾳ ἐπολεί, "came to take it much worse." The difference between δευτέρῃ ἐπολείν and δευτέρῳ πολεί is that between a man who at once conceives a feeling of irritation, and one who, by brooding over the matter of wrong, aggravates and exaggerates the instinctive resentment.

4 τῶν ἀριστῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων, "the choicest troops, as it was against Hellas that they were to act."
H E R O D O T U S

tetáρτω δὲ ἔτει Ὀλυμπίας, ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως δουλωθέντες, ἀπεληθὼν ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὄρμυτο καὶ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερος στρατεύσεως. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπίας καὶ Ἄθηνας, τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ στάσεις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἥγεμονίας· ὡς δὲ μιᾶς ἀπόδεξεται βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, οὕτω στρατεύσεις· ἤσαν γὰρ Δαρείος καὶ προτέρων ἦ βασιλέασσα γεγονότες τρεῖς παιδεῖ, ἐκ τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς Γαβρίου τιχατρό, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀττόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἑτερο τέσσερες τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευεν Ἀρταβαζάνης, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ἀμφώνας· ἐντὸς δὲ μητρὸς οὗ τῆς αὐτής, ἐστασάζον ὃ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης, κατότι πρεσβύτατος τε εἰς παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομίζομενα εἰς πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρεσβύτατων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων Ἀμφώνας δὲ, ὡς Ἀττόσσης τε παῖς εἰς τῆς Κύρου τιχατρό καὶ οὗ Κύρος εἰς ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖς Πέρσαις τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύει καὶ γνώμην, ἐτύχοντα κατὰ τάκτων τούτωι καὶ Ἀρίστως τό Ἀριστωνος ἀναβεβηκός· ἐς Σοῦσα, ἐσπερνήσας τῇ ἔν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείᾳ καὶ φυγήν ἐπιβάλλων ἐντὸς· ἕκ Δακεδαίμονος· οὗτος ἀνδρὶ πυθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παιδῶν τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἔλθων, ὡς ἡ φάτις

6 tetáρτω δὲ ἔτει. CLINTON (F. H. a. 456) makes this the fourth year, not reckoning the one in which the battle of Marathon took place; but it does not seem necessary to suppose this from what Herodotus says, and such a sense is contrary to the ordinary usage of the writer. In another passage, where he wishes to state that years were completed, he adds the word πάλημ (§ 26, below). The battle of Marathon took place in the month of September, 490 B.C., and if we suppose the revolt of Egypt to have taken place during the time of the inundation—which would be the most favourable opportunity for a rebellion—in B.C. 487, the intelligence would probably not arrive at the head-quarters of the army in Asia Minor till after the expiration of the season for military operations in the same year. This arrangement of events seems more consistent with Herodotus's expressions than the equally hypothetical one of Clinton, who supposes the revolt to have taken place a year later; and it will be seen below (see note in § 7) to aid in reconciling the statements of Herodotus with that of THUCYDIDES (i. 18), who puts the great expedition against Hellas in the tenth year after the battle of Marathon.

7 Aρταβαζάνης. PLUTARCH (De Fraterno Amore, § 15) gives different particulars of the disputed succession. According to him Darius died without determining the matter, and Xerxes, in the absence of Arianemes (whom, and not Artabanus, he makes the eldest son), assumed the sovereignty. The two brothers referred their claims to the decision of their uncle Artabanus, and continued perfect friends. It is apparently the account of Plutarch to which JULIAN refers (Oral. i. p. 33), and certainly JUSTIN (ii. 10) draws from the same source.

8 ἐπικύρων κατὰ τέντα, ἀναβεβηκός. See vi. 70, above.

9 φυγὴν ἐπιβάλλων ἐντὸς. See vi. 70.
POLYMNIA. VII. 1—5.

μν ἔχει 10, Ἑρέξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Α. ἔλεγε ἔτεσι, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείων ἣδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχουν τῷ Περσῶν κράτος. 'Αρταξαμένος δὲ ἔτι ἰδιότη ἐστὶ Δαρείῳ 11. οὐκ ὦν ὑπὲρ οἰκος ὠφτε ὄντε ὄντε διάκων ὄντα τοῦ τὸ γέφερ δὲ χρείον πρὸ ἐκεῖνου ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐκ Σιάρτη, ἐφὶ ὁ Λημάριτος ὑποτιθόμενος, οὐτὼ νομισμάτως, ἤν οἱ μὲν πρωγογόνοις ἔσωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφόντων βασιλεύσαμεν ὁ ὁ βασιλεύοντι ψυχήν υπογίνεται, τοῦ ἐπηγενομένῳ τὴν ἐκείνον τῆς βασιλικής γίνεσθαι. χρησάμενον δὲ Ἑρέξῃ τῇ Δημαρίτου ὑποθήκη, γιὰς ὁ Δαρείων 12 ὡς λόγιο θρίαμβι, βασιλεύτω, µν ἀπεστικλεῖ.

δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ἀνευ ταύτης τῆς ἑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἐν Ἑρέξης ἢ γαρ "Ἀτοσσα ἐλέξε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

4 In the fifth year Darius dies, having reigned thirty-six years.

Ἀποδεξάς δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσης Δαρείου Ἑρέξη, ὄρμητο στρατεύσας ἀλά γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τα καὶ Ἀγγυτοῦ ἀπόστασις τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει 13 παρασκευαζόμενον συνήμεκε αὐτῶν Δαρείου βασιλεύσαμαν τὰ πάντα ἔτεα τε καὶ τριήκοντα 14, ἀποθανόντας, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ὠφτε τῶν ἀπεστειλεῖσθαι Ἀγγυτοῦ οὐτὲ Ἀβασαλοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι ἀποθανόντως δὲ Δαρείου, ἡ βασιλικὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν πᾶν τοῦ ἱελίων Ἑρέξης.

5 'Ο τούτων Ἑρέξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἐλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν καὶ τοίχα στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀγγυτοῦ ὑποτιθέμενο ἀρχής τὸς ἀρχῆς τὸν ἄρχειν δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις παρατήρησις τῷ Μαρδόνιος ο Ἡβρύων 15, ὡς ὁ Ἑρέξης μὲν ἀνεγόριος δαρείου δὲ

In the fifth year Darius dies, having reigned thirty-six years.

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In the fifth year Darius dies, having reigned thirty-six years.

10 ὡς ἡ φάσις μὲν ἐχεῖ. So viii. 94: τὰ σουμοῦ μὲν τοιρότη φάσις ἔχει. In ix. 84 the expression is varied: ἔχει δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ διομοσφαίρει. 11 ἐτὶ ἰδιότη ἐστὶ Δαρείῳ. It appears from iii. 70 that at the time of the conspiracy against the Magians, Darius's father was still alive.

12 γιὰς ὁ Δαρείων. Another account made the matter settled after Darius's death. See note 7, above.

13 τῇ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει. This would probably be in the early spring of 488 B.C., not in 485 B.C., as CLINTON puts it. See note 5, above.

14 τὸ πάντα ἔτεα τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. Gaisford adopts the variation of two, which put the word ἔτεα after τριήκοντα.

At the time of Cyrus's death Darius is represented as being about twenty years old (i. 209). The reign of Cambyses occupies seven years and five months (iii. 66), and the usurpation of the Magians seven months more (iii. 67, 8). Assuming, therefore, the identical sources from which these accounts proceed, Darius was in them considered to be sixty-four years old at the time of his death. See however note 308 on ii. 110. COTESIAS makes Darius reign thirty-one years, and die at the age of seventy-two.

15 Μαρδόνιος ο Ἡβρύων. It seems remarkable at first sight that a member of Gobryas's family, which had contested the succession with Xerxes, should be of all Persians the highest in his confidence. But it is not impossible that Artaxerxes, the wife of Mardonius (vi. 43), was the daughter of Atossa, and if so, his connexion with Xerxes would be a closer one than with Artabazanes. It is also probable that the daughter of Gobryas, whom De-
by Mardonius,

The Alcndad of Thessaly,
and the
Stistae-
tida, with
the aid of
the prophet rius married when a private individual, was not by the same mother as Mardonius. She had borne three children to Darius before he became king, whereas Mardonius was a young man just married twenty-six years afterwards (vi. 43). It is not likely therefore that there was less than eighteen or twenty years' difference between their ages, which in the east would be almost conclusive against their having the same mother. But above all it would seem (see notes 105 on vi. 43, and 213 on vi. 94) that Mardonius and Artaphernes represented different schools of policy, and that the late unsuccessful attempt at Marathon issued in a restoration of Mardonius's influence,—which had been damaged by his own partial, though not complete, failure in Thrace (vi. 45). It will be observed that the plan of both his campaigns contemplated the extension of operations along the line of posts established by Megabasus (see note 111 on vi. 4), whereas Datis and Artaphernes followed out the sketch of Aristogoras (see note 226 on vi. 99).

The MSS vary between this reading, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, and τοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, which last is adopted by Gaisford.

τὰ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν. Gaisford, with several MSS, has τὰ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν.

In the Odyssey, the mother of Xerxes, represents her son as having been influenced by the solicitations of evil advisers to make war upon Helles:

ταῦτα τοῦ κακοῦ ὁμολογείν ἀδρασίοι διδαι-
παρεσκευαζόμενοι αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχόντι
 Axios, mother of Xerxes, was the heroine of the legend, and Artaphernes accordingly offered his services to the king, in order to secure the accession of Darius to the throne.

Cythesias couples an Artabasisus with Mardonius as the principal agents in this unfortunate policy (ap. Photius, p. 38). But even if this is the same name as Artabanes, it is not intended for the uncle of Xerxes, whom Herodotus represents as taking an entirely contrary view of the matter, but for a son of one Artagryus, by whose aid the Magian succeeded to the throne, and by whose treachery Darius and the other conspirators were subsequently assisted.

The Alcndad were a distinguished house at Larissa in Thessaly; and it is a boast of Gorgias that he was the instructor of some of its principal members. (Plato, Menon, § 1.) They were probably anxious to occupy the same position in Thessaly which Histiaeus had done at Miletas. Philip of Macedonia
subsequently made use of one of them, by name Simus, for furthering his plans. (HARPOCRATOS, & N. τεταρταῖαι.) Those who came to Susa appear to have been three in number (ix. 58), and to have put themselves forward as the representatives of the whole of their countrymen (vii. 130). Their proceeding was attributed by Curtius to their excessive luxury and taste for expense, which made the habits of the Persian court an object of desire to them,—and probably rendered supplies from these accounts necessary (ap. AEKLENUS, xii. p. 527).

οἱ δὲ Ἀλευνάτων ὅσων ἦσαν Θεσαλίας βασιλέως. These words exist in all the MSS., but from a comparison of vii. 130 it seems not unlikely that they are a marginal note which has crept into the text.

τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ Οἰλενναί. It seems far from unlikely that the Thessalian cavalry which assisted the Pisistratids against the Lacedaemonian interference related above (v. 63, 64), was a force consisting of clansmen of the Auleands. Compare the relations into which Pisistratus entered with Lygdamis (note 214 on i. 64). The names of the cities (who were three in number) are given below (ix. 58). Gorgias the rhetorician boasted that among his pupils at Larissa he had Ἀλευνάτων τοὺς πρῶτους (Plato, Mem. § 1), and the same family had the reputation of having secured the success of Philip of Macedonia in their own country. (DEMOSTHENES, ap. Harpocrat. & τεταρταῖαι.)

ἐντούτοις ἐν τῷ Μοϑανῷ. Onomasticon had also the reputation of interpolating the line: εὐθαλάσων αὐτῶν δὲ μετ᾽ ἀδερβανίου. θεοί, after x. 601 of the Odyssey. (See Porson on Eurip. Orest. 5.) This interpolation, by whomsoever effected, was obviously imagined for the purpose of reconciling the notice of Hercules in Hades with the received tradition which regarded him as one of the tenants of Olympus. See note 339 on ii. 120. It is the more curious as the whole passage, xi. 562—526, is obviously much more recent than the context. For the importance attached to the possession of oracles, see note 238 on v. 90.

κατὰ τῇς θαλάσσης. In subsequent writers the accusative case would be more usual; but the genitive appears in a similar case, below, § 235: κέρδος μὲν δὲν Ἀριστείρησα κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδωκέων ἦ υπορέχειν.
In the year after his father's death he makes his brother Achemenes lord-lieutenant. He then convokes an assembly of the Persians, and from this time (§ 20) would bring it to the middle of the season for military operations in 481, leaving time for the assembling of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Sardis before the winter set in. This arrangement brings Herodotus into perfect harmony with the statement of Themistocles: έκτέρην δὲ ἔμεινε μὲν ἀκόντων [τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶν μάχην] αὐτῶν ὂς ἔμελλε εἰς χείρας ἔξεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τῷ ἀδέσποτον ἑλεοτρόπον. Περσέως τῶν ἁριστῶν ἐποίησε, ἵνα γνώμας τῇ πόλει σφέων καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν

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²² έκτέρην ἔμεινε, "in the second year." Much difficulty will follow if we suppose this "second year" to begin twelve months after the death of Darius; for then it will be necessary to bring the commencement of the movements of the grand army of Xerxes (§ 20, below) into the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon, reckoning both extremes. But I apprehend that the expedition against Egypt really took place in "the second year" of the reign of Xerxes, which would be regarded as commencing on the first of Thoth preceding the actual decease of his father. Hales (quoted by Clinton, Appendix to Vol. ii. p. 247) gives the rule that appears to have prevailed in the Astronomical Canon, which reckoned from the epoch of Nabonassar, and which probably represents the practice of the Persian court. It is "that each king's reign begins at the Thoth (or Egyptian new year's day) before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor." Now if we suppose (consistently with the notes 6 and 13 on §§ 1. 4) that Darius died in the spring of 486 B.C., the reign of Xerxes would be reckoned from the preceding Thoth, i.e. from the twenty-second of December, 487 B.C. His second year then would commence in the same month of 486; and if Egypt was rapidly conquered, its subjugation would doubtless be completed before the commencement of the inundation in 485 B.C. Four full years from this time (§ 20) would bring it to the middle of the season for military operations in 481, leaving time for the assembling of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Sardis before the winter set in.
POLYMNIA. VII. 7, 8. 187

πάσι εἶπη τὰ θέλειν ὡς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεγε Δέρξης τάδε ἱσονικά: "Ἤδε ρε Ἵπρα, ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦμαι νόμον τῶν ἐν υἷωνμένων, παραδεξάμενος τὸν αὐτὸ χρῆμαμαίν. ὎σο γὰρ ἐγώ πυθώ τους προειπτέρους, οὐδεμά καὶ ἤτρεμήσαμεν, ἔπει τε παραλάβομεν τὴν ἤγεμονικὴν τήν ἔτη Μιῆδου Κύρου κατελάντος Ἀστυνάγας. Ἀλλὰ θεώς τούτων οὐτω ἄγειν, καὶ αὐτῶς ἦμιν πολλὰ ἐπέποιησε συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἅμεινν. τὸ μὲν νῦν Κύρος τε καὶ Καμβόγιος πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρείου κατεργάζαντο καὶ προεκτήσαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένους εἰς ὅπις ἂν τὸς λέγον ἐγώ δὲ ἔπει τε παραλαβὸν τὸν θρόνον, τούτο ἐφρόντειν, ὅκως μὴ λείψωμα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇ, μὴδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκύνησαι δύναμιν Πέρσας. φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκομαι ἀμα μὲν κύδως ἦμιν τὸ προσθησάμουν, χάριν τε τῆς ὑπὸ εἰκόμεθα ὅπις ἔλασσων αὐτὸ ἀνουτροτὴν, παμφοροτικὴν τε, ἀμα δὲ τιμωρεῖται καὶ τὶς γνωμομένη διὸ ὑμεῖς ὑγὼ συνελέξα, ἵνα τὸ νοεῖ τῆς ὁρέσσεων ἀπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. μετὰ, ἐξαίρεσι τὸν Ἑλλησσοῦνταν, ἐλάντο στρατοῦν διὸ τῆς Ἐλύρου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν Αθηναντις τιμωρησομαὶ σαφα δὲ πεπονομάζα Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τῶν ἐμῶν. ὥρατε μὲν νῦν καὶ Δαρείων ἀιῶνα ὑστερεύσας ἐπὶ τοῦς ἄδρας τούτους ἀλλ' ο ὅ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ ὅπις ἔξεγενετο οἱ τιμωρησαθαντις ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔκεινον καὶ τῶν Ἀλλων Περσαῖον ὧν πρότερον παύσαιμαι πρὶν ἢ Ἠλῳ τε καὶ πυρόσω τὰς Ἀθηναντις οἱ γέ ἐμε καὶ πατέρα τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπήρξαν ἀδικὰ ποιεῖτες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδον ἑξεσάτει ἀμα Ἀριστακράτης, (τῷ Μίλησι, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμέτερον.) ἀποκόμενει ἐνέργησαν τὰ τὸ ἀλλατι καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ. δεύτερα δὲ ἦμεα ὁια

28 ἔλεγε Δέρξης τάδε. The whole of the following speech is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the treatise in which he compares the relative merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, as an example of the medium between the severe and the florid styles. For such a purpose it was natural that he should, as he does, convert it into the common dialect of his time. There are also some other slight variations.

21 εὐει τα. Dionysius has ἐξ οὖν. εἰπεί. Dionysius has ἱξερεί. See note 323 on v. 118.

32 πυρόων. The use of this word by Herodotus (here and in viii. 109) in the place of the more usual πρὶς, is remarked by Eustathius, who observes that Sophocles also has done the same thing: ἄμφωτας ναοῖς πυρὸς ἢ ἀλλή. (Antig. 290.)

22 τὸ τὰ ἀλλα εἰς καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ. The simplicity of the Ormuzd worship must have been out of fashion at the Medo-Persian court, if Xerxes really took an interest in vindicating the sanctity of the Sardinian goddess Cybele, for whose nature see note on v. 102. This indeed is only what was to be expected from the policy of Darius as represented by Herodotus. (See Excursus on iii. 74, pp. 434, &.) At the same time, the whole speech is obviously of Hellenic manufacture.
that his purpose to conquer Hellas, and desires their zealous cooperation.

Mardonius applauds his views.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Met' aitòv dē Mardônios ἔλεγε} & \quad \text{"o ἀπόστοτα, οὗ μόνον ἔχει τὸν γενομένων Πέρσων ἀριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπίκειο ἀριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικεμένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαται ἦμῖν, εἶνα τὰ ἀνάξιος καὶ ἔχει δεῖνὸν δὲν εἶπῃ πρήγμα, εἰ Σάκας \text{ mēn kai} Ἰνδόν \text{ kai} Ἁλθισᾶς \text{ te kai} Ἀσσυροὺς ἀλλὰ τένον πόλλα
\end{align*}\]
καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν ἄλλα δύναμιν προσκατάσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεφόμενοι δούλους ἐξομεν. "Ελληνας δὲ ὑπάρχαντας ἀδικήσῃς, οὐ τιμωρησύμεθα· τί δεῖσαντες; καθὼς πλήθεος συντροφὴν, καθὼς δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην 43, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἄσθενε· ἐξομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεφόμενοι τούτους, οὗ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικήμενοι, Ἰωνεὶς τε καὶ Διολεῖς καὶ Δωρίες καλέονται. ἐπειρήσθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη ἐπελαύνων ἔπι τούς άνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθεὶς· καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίας ἐλάσαντε· καὶ ἄλγουν ἀπολύσαντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθηνὰς ἀπικεύεσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἀντωθὰ ἐς μάχην. καὶ τοῖς γε ἐσώθασιν Ἐλληνες, ὡς πυθόμασι, ἄβουλότατα πολέμους ἱστασθαι, ὑπὸ τὸ ἀγνωστικὴν καὶ σκαῖρτοτος· ἐπεάν γὰρ 44 ἀλλήλους πόλεμον προειποστέ, ἐξευρισκότες τὸ κάλλιον χρώμιον καὶ λειτοταν, ἐς τοῦτο κατῴκητε μάχονται· ὡστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶτες ἀπαλλάσσασται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσωμενῶν οὐδὲ λέγω ἄρχαν, ἐξώλεσ γὰρ δὴ γνώσοντε τῶν χρημίν, ἔοντας ὅμογλῶσσους, κήρυξε τε διαχρεώμενου καὶ ἀγνόουσας καταλαμβάνει τὰς διαφοράς 45, καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσιν ἐκ πάντων ἑκεῖ πολέμεον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτερον εἰς δυσχεροτάτου ταῖς, καὶ ταύτῃ περιάν τρόπω τοῦν οὐ χρηστὸν Ἐλληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμὸ διάλαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίας γῆς, οὐκ ἠλθόν ες τοῦτον λόγον ὡστε μάχεσθαι, σολ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις 46, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προσφέρων, ἀγουν καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας 47; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκεῖα, οὐκ ἐς τούτο θράσεος 48 ἀνήκει τα Ἐλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ γε ψευσθεῖν γνώμη, καὶ...
"τοσοῦτα ἐπιλέψας τὴν Ἐρέτας γνώμην, "after so far smoothing down [the objections to] the opinion of Xerxes." The metaphor seems to be taken from the act of a carpenter, who smooths a piece of wood so that no knot or obstacle causing friction can be found. The Latin proverb, "nodus in scripo querere," rests on a similar idea. The simple form χείλων is used below (viii. 142).

τῷ δὲ καὶ πίσων ἔδω. The weight of Artabanus at the Persian court appears, independently of his relationship to the sovereign, from the advice which he ventured to give to Darius (iv. 83) when meditating his expedition against the Scythians. The traditions followed by Ctesias, (or whoever is the authority for Plutarch's story quoted in the note 7 on § 2, above,) seem to represent him in the same light with those adopted by Herodotus, as enjoying a high repute for wisdom and moderation.

κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔριστοι. The anachronism of attributing power at sea to the Athenians of this time shows the origin of the speech here put into the mouth of Artabanus. His brother Artaphernes is made to take a very different and a juster view of the matter. (See note 193 on v. 73.) The encomium passed upon the Greeks, especially the Athenians, towards the end of the speech, as also the common places of ethical philosophy which appear in it, would lead one to refer it to the same class of compositions as the address of Solon to Cresus (i. 32, 33), and the political discussions (iii. 80—82). See notes 118 on i. 32, and 221 on iii. 80.
Θάλασσαν ἐσσωθήναι, ἢ καὶ κατ’ ἀμφότερα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκημον πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατὶν γε τοσάττην σὺν Δάτι καὶ 'Αρταφέρνει ζηλοῦσαν ἐστὶ τὴν 'Αττικὴν χώρην μοῦνον 'Αθηναίων διέμειραν. οὐκ ἄν ἀμφότερον σφι ἵχόρησεν. ἀλλ’ ἂν τῇσι μηαὶ συμβάλωσι, καὶ νυκτίσασθες καυσακὰ πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἑπευτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν, τούτῳ δῆ, βασιλεῦ, γίγνεται δειμν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμί' σοφή ῥίατη αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ’ οἶνοι κοτὲ ἱμέας ὅλγου ἐδῆσεν καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατήρ σος ξεφᾶς Βόσπορον τῶν Θρηκίων, γεφυρῶσας δὲ ποταμῶν Ἰστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθων, τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοτο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰαώνων λύσας τὸν πόρον, τούσι ἐπιτετραπότο ἤ φυλακή τῶν γεφυρῶν τοῦ Ἰστρον καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαίως ὁ Μιλήστου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέστη τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἡτυίδῃ, διέργαστο ἀν τὰ Περσέων πρῆγματα· κατὰ τοῦ καί λόγῳ ἀκούσαι δειμν. ἐπὶ ἄνδρι γε ἐν πάντα τὰ βασιλεῖον πρῆγματα γεγενήσθαι. οὐ δὲν μὴ βούλευε ἐς κῦδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπεκεκοθῆ, μηδέμης αὐγάκης εὐόσμης· ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεν μὲν τῶν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον αὐτὸς τε, ὅταν τοι δοκέ, προσκεφάλμαν ἐπὶ σωστοῦ, προσφόρετε τὰ τοι δοκεῖς ἐμοὶ ἄριστα· τὸ γὰρ εἰ δοκεύσεσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω εὖν εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθήναι τι βδέλει, βεβουλεύται μὲν οὐδὲν ἱσοῦν εἰ, ἔσωσταί δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλειμα· οὗ δὲ βουλευτάμενος αἰσχρός, εἰ ὁ τύχη ἐπίποντο, εὐθήμων εὐρήκη· ἱσοῦν δὲ οὐδεν οἱ κακῶς βεβουλεύται. ὅρας τὰ ὑπέρχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ εἰς φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδὲν μιν κυνεῖ; ὅρας δὲ ὡς ἐσ ἐοὶ ἐκεῖματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰὲλ καὶ δεύδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκέπτετο τὰ βδέλεα; φιλέευ γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ὑπέρχοντα πάντα κολλοῦν. οὔτω δη καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὅλγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιὸν ἔπειν σφι ο θεὸς φθονήσας φοβοῦ ἐμβάλῃ, ἢ βροντῆ, δι’ οὖν

32 οὐκ ὁμοφέρει σφι ἵχόρησε, "still success did not attend them in both arms," i.e. by land and sea. Artabanus goes on to show what peril would follow if this should be the case; and it is to be remarked that he imagines by way of argument a scheme which was subsequently proposed. (See viii. 108.)

43 ὅλγου ἔθνος, "wanted little." Translate: "what a calamity all but bes-

44 ἡτυίδῃ. The manuscripts M, F, K, P have ἡτυίδῃ, which Schweighäus-
ner considers to be a mixture of the two readings ἀντιδή & ἡτυίδῃ.

45 φαντάζεσθαι. This word is used in a similar sense by Εὐρίπιδος (Phain. 93): μὴ τις τοιλίζων ἐν τρίβων φαντάζα-

Translated: "what a calamity all but be-
εφθάσασι 66 ἀνάξως ἑωτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωτῶν. 67 ἔπεισθήναι μὲν νῦν πάντως πρὸς τῆς σφαλματοῦ, ἐκ τῶν ζημίας μεγάλας φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισκέψει ἑστιν ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παρατύπου δοκοῦντα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξείριστο τις ἴν. σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὁ βασιλεὺς, συμβουλεύοντον οὐ δὲ, δὲ παί Γεωργίων Μαρδώνη, παῦνει λέγων λόγους ματαιόν, περὶ Ἐλλήνων, οὐκ ἔστων ἄξων φλαύρως ἄκοινων Ἔλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων, ἐπαιρεῖτι αὐτὸν βασιλέα σπαρατεύονται, αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἰνέκεις μοι πᾶσαν προφυλαίξει ἐκτείνεις. μὴ νυν οὖν γένηται διαβολὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ δεινότατον ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰς τις ἀδικεύοντες, εἰς δὲ ἄδικεόμενον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδίκεις ὑπὸ παρεῖσον καθηγορείς· ὁ δὲ ἀδίκεις, ἀναπεθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀπεκέφωσε ἐκμάθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄπειρον τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοὶ διακόπτεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδράς τούτους σπαρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεῦς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθείς τοῖς Περσῶν μενέτω· ἡμῶν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, σπαρατεύεται αὐτοῦ σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἠθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν σπαρατεύειν ὅκυςτε τῶν βούλειν· καὶ Ἰ ὑμὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνῃς βασιλεῖ τα πρήγματα, κτεινέσθαι οἱ ἔμοι πάδες πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦς καὶ ἐγώ ἢν δὲ τῇ ἔγῳ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα παρούσων σὺν δὲ σφι καὶ σα, ἢν ἀπονοσισθῆς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύουν οὐκ ἠθέλεσθις, σὺ δὲ πάντως σπαρατεύα μακαζεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐκλάδα, ἀκούοσθαι τῶν φημί τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑπολευκομένων, Μαρδώνην μέγα τι κακῶν ἐξεργασμένον Πέρσας υπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὄρνιθων διαφορεύομεν, ἤ κού ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σὲ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἀρα καὶ πρότερον κατ᾽ ὄδον, γρήγορα ἐπὶ οὖν ἀνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις σπαρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα.”

66 εφθάσασι. Some MSS have ἐσφαλματοῦ.
67 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωτῶν. The MSS vary between this reading, οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονεῖν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑωτῶν, and οὐ γὰρ ἐξ φρονεῖν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἑωτῶν.
POLYMIA. VII. 11.

193

taũτην τὴν ἀτιμήν προστίθημι ἑόντι κακῶς τε καὶ ἀθύμω, μῆτε συστρατεύονται ἐμοὶ γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀμα τίσι γιναιξί: ἡγώ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σεό διαπερ εἰπτα ἐπετελεά ποιήσων μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρελοῦ τοῦ 'Τοτάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀραμάμενος, τοῦ Τελέπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τελεπείου, τοῦ 'Αχαμένος γεγονός, μὴ τιμωρήσαμενος 'Αθηνα- ούς: εὖ ἐπετάμενοι, δι' ηἴνεις ἀνυχίνην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι56 ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρῆ σταθμώ- σασθαι τοῖς ἀπαρχήμιαν εἰς ἐκείνων οἱ Σάρδες τις ἐνέπρεπεν καὶ ἠλασαν ἐς τὴν 'Ασίην. οὕτως ἐξαναχωρεῖν οὐδετέρουσι δυνατῶς57 ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέως η ὁ παθεῖν προκεῖται ἄγων ἵνα καὶ τάδε πάντα ἐπὶ Ἐλλης, ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσης γένηται τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἕχορῆς ἐστι καλὸν δὲν προπεπονθῶτας ἡμέας τιμοῦτεν ἡδὴ γίνεται, ἢν καὶ τὸ δεῦρον τὸ τελοῦμαι58 τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶς τούτων, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐδώ πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δούλως59, κατεστρέφατο οὕτω, ὡς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοὶ τε ὀνόματι καὶ ἢ γῇ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέσων.

56 μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρελοῦ τοῦ 'Τοτάσ- πεος... τοῦ 'Αχαμένος γεγονός. The deciphering of the arrow-headed character by Major Rawlinson has rendered possible the complete explanation of this genealogy. See the Excursus on iii. 74, pp. 427—9. The corrected genealogy will run thus, representing pure Persian traditions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Achemenides</th>
<th>Teispes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariaramnes</td>
<td>Cambyses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsames</td>
<td>Cyrus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hystaspes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xerxes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The left hand column represents the lineal descent of the Achemenids, who were kings of Persia; while the right hand column connects Xerxes's claim to be the king of Media in right of his mother Atossa with this Achemenid pedigree. Teispes is repeated by the error of putting the two branches one after the other instead of side by side.

57 δι' εἰ ἡμεῖς ἀνυχίνην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι, "that if we shall keep the peace, yet will not they." This use of ἀλλὰ after a hypothetical proposition is found throughout Greek literature from the Homeric poems downwards. From the nature of the case it is appropriate to oratory, and in the later writers alone is it used otherwise than in a speech.

58 οὐδετέρους δυνατοί. The manuscripts S and V have οὐδετέρους ἰκανοί, and one other δυνατὰ for δυνατοί. P and V have also προσκείται in the place of προκείται.

59 τὸ δεῦρο τὸ τελοῦμαι. This ironical expression appears to be directed against the words of Artabanus: τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐνεστὶ δεῦρον, ἣ μὲ σοὶ διδακόν ἐντῷ φρυ- ξῷ. These words indicate that in the mind of the authority followed here by Herodotus, Xerxes was regarded as the lineal descendant of the Assyrian dynasties, as in no other way could Pelops possibly be described as the vassal of his ancestors.

VOL. II.

2 c
In the night after the council has been held Xerxes has a vision.

and the next day he changes his mind.

The next night the same vision reappears to him with threats.

The Persians should excuse him for "turning short off in his resolutions" (ὦ τε ἄρχηστορα βουλευμα). In a court where the infallibility of the sovereign was an axiom, the alteration of a decree became a serious matter, and Xerxes seems spontaneously to have hit on the useful theory of advisers, who should be responsible for his mistakes.

metadeoguménon. The MSS vary between this reading, metadeoguménon, meta
dedogumén, and metadeogumépsi.
τάχος ἔσεαι." Ἑξέρξης μὲν, περιδε很差 γενόμενος η τῇ ὁψε, ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοινθίας, καὶ πέμπτει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ 'Ἀρτάβανον' καλόντα: ἀπλικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Ἑξέρξης τάκα: 'Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγώ τὸ παρανύκτικα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνων, εὔτας ἐσ’ σὲ πάτακα ἐπεα χρη- στῆς εὐεκα συμβουλῆς μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων μετέγειν, ἔγκον δὲ ταύτα μοι ποιητέα ἡμών τὰ σὸ ὑπεθήκατο. οὗν κυνικὸς τοι ἐμὶ ταύτα ποιεῖν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεχωκότι ἐπιφοτών ὀνειρον φανταζότα μοι, οὐδαμοὺς συμπέσαιον ἐνον ποιεῖν με ταύτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπείρας ὁμολογεῖν· εἰ δὲν θέος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπιπέμπτων, καὶ οἱ πάντων ἐν ἡμοῖ ἔστιν γενότας στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ελλάδα, ἐπιπέμπεται καὶ σοὶ τῶν τοῦτο ὀνειρον ὄμοιος καὶ ἐμόι ἐπελέμνων· εἰρήκακ δὲ δὲν ἀν γιγάν- μεναι ταύτα, εἰ λάβον τὴν ἐμὴν σκέψιν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδικικα μετα τοῦτο ζωον ἐν τοῖς ἐμοί θρόνον, καὶ ἑπεταὶ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπτικώσειας." Ἑξέρξης μὲν ταύτα οἱ ἔλεγε 'Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ τοῦ πρῶτο οἱ κελεύσαντει πειθόμενος οἷα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐστὶν τὸν βασιλέως θρόνον ἔσεθα" τέλος ὡς ἡγαλικέτοι, εὔτας τάκα ἐποίεε τὸ κελεύμονον Ἰσον ἔκειν, ὁ βασιλεὐς, παρ’ ἐμόι κέκρι- ται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τὸ λέγοντι χρηστά ἐθέλειν πειθέσθαι τὰ σὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα περικόντα, ἀνδρόπων κακῶν ὀμίλλαι σφάλ-
λοιπον κατά περὶ τὴν πάντων χρησιμοτάτην ἀνθρώπους θάλασσαν πνεύματα φαινόμοις ἐμπιπτόντα, ὥς περισσαὶ φύσει τῇ ἐωτής χρήσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαν ἔπρος σεβ. κακοῦ ὑπὲρον ἔσω μὲν ἀδελφοὺς τῆς δὲ καταπανοῦσης, καὶ λεγοῦσις ὅσι κακῶν εἴπερ διδάκτων τῇ ψυχῇ πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχει τοῦ παρεόντος—

tοιοῦτων προκειμένων γνωμένων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτήριν ἑν’ σεωτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσας ἀναίρεσιν ὑπὶ ὄν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραγχει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείως, φης τοι μετένει τὸν ἔπ᾽ Ἑλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτῶν διείρων θεοὺς τινὸς ποιμῆγι, ὧν ἐωινάτι 15 σε καταλύει τὸν στόλον ἄλλ’ ὑδὲ ταῦτα ἐστί, ὦ παί, θείαν ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐσ ἀνθρώπων πεπλανημένα τοιώντα ἐστὶ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ διδάξει, ἐστι σεβ. πολλοῖς προσβύτεροι ἐῶν πεπλανημέναι αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον ἐώθαις αἱ δύνασ τῶν ὑπεράτων, τὰς ἦμερας φροντίζειν ἠμείς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἦμερας ταῦτα τὴν στρατηγισάσην καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἔχουμεν μετὰ χειρας’ εἰ δὲ ἀρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο ὑον ἐγὼ διαρέω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦθεν μετέχων, σὺν τῶν αὐτῶν 16 συλλαβῶν ξειρηκας φαντότε ν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὡς καὶ σοι διακελούμενον φανήμαι δὲ σουδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὑδελεί ξεχυτὴ τὴν σὴν ἐσωμῆτα ἢ ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐμῆν 17’ ὑόδε τι μᾶλλον ἐν καὶ τῇ τῇ ἠμαναπομενῷ ὃ οὐ καὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐκπερ γε καὶ ἀλλας ἐθελεί ξειρηκας αὐτὸ ποίο γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο γ νεηθηλῆς ἀνήκει τοῦτα, δι’ ὑδὴ κατέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφανόμενον τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὑπὶ, ὁστε δόξη εμὲ ὡρων σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσωμῆτε τεκμαρμένουν εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν σουδὲν ἴχνο ποίησεται, ὑόδε ἐξωσεὶ ἐπιφανήμαι, ὠντε ἦν τὴν

14 σφαλερωτήριν. This is the reading of the majority of MSS, and is adopted by Gaisford. But S, V, and K have the superlative σφαλερωτήτας, which is certainly more likely to have been willfully altered by copyists into the comparative than the converse.

17 ἐσωμῆτα. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS, the others having ἐσωτερος, which of course would require to be referred to the word θεου. But although no doubt δεινος and δεινον are equally legitimate forms, it seems very unlikely that in the same anecdote in which the latter has been repeatedly used, the former should in a single instance be substituted for it. Yet it is perhaps even less probable that a transcriber finding ἐσωτερος should have willfully violated the course of precedent by changing it into ἐσωμῆτα.

16 αὐτὸς. So S. Gaisford and the other MSS have αὐτό. But the emphatic word αὐτὸς seems more appropriate, considering the dignity of the person addressed; and in the oldest uncial MSS the final Σ would very likely be omitted before the same letter beginning the following word. See note 25 on i. 5. Translate: “Thou thyself in what thou saidst didst take in every thing. For let it appear now with orders for me too as it did to thee.” The allusion is to the words above: ἐπιτήθησαι καὶ σοὶ τῶντι νυκτοῦ δεινον ἐμοὶ ἐνσελαμένων (§ 16, above).

17 ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμῆν. See the note 300 on iv. 116.
The same vision ap-
Artabanus,
and, influ-
cenced by it,
Artabanus
yields to
the proposal
to invade
Hellas.

....

ρομνια. VII. 17, 18. 197

ημιν ἐσθητα ἔχω οὕτε ἦν τὴν σήν, σε δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσει, τοῦτο ἦδη μαχητεύον ἐστὶ εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσεις γε συνεχέως, φαίνει ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεόν εἶναι εἰ δὲ τοῦ ὰυτοῦ δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ οὰ τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἦδη δεὶ ἐμὲ ἐν κολῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φερε, τοῦτων εξ ἑμεῖς ἐπιτελευμένων, φανήτω καὶ ἐμοὶ μέχρι δὲ τούτου, τῇ παρευρήσῃ γνώμῃ χρῆσομαι." Τοσαύτα ἐπισε Ἀρτά-

βανος ἐπίτιξων Άρεξεα ἀποδέχεσθ σφιγγοῦσα οὐδὲν, ἔποιει τὸ κελευ-

μένων ἐδώς δὲ τὴν Άρεξεα ἐσθητα καὶ ἰξίμενος ἃς τὸν βασιλῆιαν

θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κούτον ἐποιεῖτο, ἥλθε οἱ κατυπνωμένοι τῶντι δοείρων τὸ καὶ παρὰ Άρεξεα ἐφοίτα ὑπερτῶν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρτα-

βανοῦν, εἶπε τὰδε "ἀρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἰς ὁ ἀποσπείδων Άρεξεα στρατεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὄς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὕτε ἑς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὕτε ἑς τὸ παραυτικά νῦν καταπροβήσεις" ἀποτρέ-

πον τὸν χρεὸν γενόθαι. Άρεξεα δὲ τὰ δεὶ ἀνήκουστοντα παθεῖν, αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο δεδήλωται." Ταῦτα τε δὴ ἔδοκε Αρτάβανος τὸ

διείρων" ἀπείλεται, καὶ θερμοὶ σηδηρότως ἔκκαλείς αὐτοῦ μέλλειν

τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ δς, ἀμβώτας μέγα, ἀναρώσκει, καὶ παραξύ-

μένος Άρεξεα, ὃς τὴν δὴν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγαγόμενος,

δευτερά οἱ λέγει τὰδε "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἄθρωπος ἰδὼν

ηδον πόλι τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσοῦνα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἴσονών, οὐκ

ἐως σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἠλικίῃ ἑκεῖνῳ, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἰς τὸ

πολέμων ἐπιθυμεῖες, μεμνημένος μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου

στόλων ὁς ἐπτρήξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Αἰθίοπα τῶν Καμ-

βίωσε, συστρατευμένομεν δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖο τῇ Ἐκάθαρα ἐπιστάμενος

τἀτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντα σε μακρατίον εἶναι πρὸς πάν-

των ἀνθρώπων. ἐπει δὲ δαμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμή, καὶ Ἑλλήνης,

ὡς ἔσσει, φθορὴ τις καταλαμβάνει θείλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς

τράπωμαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι συ δὲ σήμερον μὲν Πέρ-

σης τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευς τούτοι ἐκ σὲ ἡν

πρῶτοι προειρήμνοι τὰ ἐν τῷ παρασκευήν ποιείς δὲ ὦτον, ὅκως,

καταπροβήσει. See note 106 on ιἱ. 39.

τὸ διείστεν. The MSS are divided between this reading and τὸν διείστεν. See note 75 on § 18, above.

τῇ ἠλικίῃ ἑκεῖνω. It is an error to suppose that these words are used in a different sense here from v. 19. In both cases they mean "to follow the dictates of one's age." Xerxes being a young man, his natural impulses were to adventurous action; Amyntas (v. 19) being aged, his were to retire from a banquet which was becoming indecent and boisterous. The note of Baehr on this passage is an example of a very common mistake in commentators, to attribute to actual phrases a meaning in themselves, which only follows inferentially from the circumstances in which they are used.

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HERODOTUS

τοῦ θεοῦ παραδίδοντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδείχθει μηδὲν." τούτων λεχθέν-
tων, ἐνδαύτα ἐπαρθένες τῇ ὄψει, ὁς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ἀρέ-
ξις τε ὑπερεπίθετο 81 ταῦτα Πέρσης, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, δὲ πρό-
tερον ἀποστείειν μοῦνον ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

81 ὑπερεπίθετο. S and V have ὑπερτίθεε. But the latter word seems quite out of place here. See notes 378, 379 on i. 106. 82 οἱ μάγοι ἑκρινα. The Magi appear from this passage to stand in the same position as at the court of Astyages, their influence having entirely recovered from the effects of the revolution by which Darius was raised to the throne. See Excursus ii. on Book iii. p. 435. 83 ἐλαΐς θαλλός. This feature in the story would lead one to look for its origin in some locality where a crown of olive leaves would be a symbol of superiority. It can therefore scarcely be a native Persian legend, and may very well be an Athenian.

84 ἦλι τοῖς εἰρημένοις, "on the faith of the promise which had been given," i.e. that the satrap who brought his contingent in the best order into the field should receive the presents which were deemed the most honourable. (See § 8, above.) 85 ἠδέγαρον, "an extraordinary levy." The ordinary contingent sufficed for the conquest of Egypt (tà ἄγρυπτον ἀκάθειτο τῆς στρατῆς ἑγερεῖν, § 8, above), but additional troops were called out for the expedition against Athens. It is no objection to this interpretation that the simple form is used below (§ 48), for there the force of the ἔτι is supplied by the epithet ἄκαθεν coupled with στρατοῦ. 86 τέμπτον δὲ ἔτει ἀνωμέλεις ἐποματάτη-
ess, "in the course of the fifth year he put the army in motion." The word ἀνω-
μέλεις has been by some commentators explained as meaning "ending," and by others "commencing," according as the one or the other means squared best with their chronological arrangements. But it really seems to mean neither the one nor the other, but simply "advanc-
ing." This is the sense of ἐπομεν τῷ ἐργαν, an expression used in i. 189 and viii. 71. For an attempt to explain the difficulties in the chronology of the events related as occurring subsequently to the battle of Marathon, see notes 5 on § 1, and 25 on § 7, above. 87 χεῖρι μεγάλη πλήθος, "with an enormous force of troops." The word πλήθος nearly corresponds with the French 'monde,' which also is sometimes employed to mean the aggregate of rank and file under the command of the general.
Polyvnia. VII. 19—22. 199

up four full
years after
the reduc-
tion of
Egypt.

21 Canal dug
through the
isthmus
connecting

22

τὸν ἅγιον ἔστερον Δαρείου ἐτήμωρέτο. Σε Ἰονίσσων γενόμενον. Μεταφραστείς. Eleusis, which was at the extreme point of the Chersonese, was excellently situated as a look-out for all vessels from whatever quarter, proposing to enter the Hellespont. The Persian commander in the Chersonese appears to have possessed a semi-naval character. His title was στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἄρ- δρων (v. 25); and his jurisdiction appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands. We may perhaps suppose Eleusis the head-quarters of the fleet under his command, with which he would control Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thassos, and the maritime towns on the Thracian main. In this sense, therefore, Eleusis may be said to be the point from which the engineering operations were carried on at the isthmus of Athos. The labourers employed in them would probably be relieved from thence, and also supplied with meal from the corn produced in Pontus, shipped in transports. The headquarters of the commandant, however, would doubtless be Sestos, the strongest position in the Chersonese (ix. 116), and the point where the communication be-
Method of conducting the excavation.

tween Europe and Asia, which it was of vital importance to the Persians to maintain, could be most securely preserved. Eleneus is the scene of a transaction related by Herodotus elsewhere (ix. 116) on the authority of Chersonesian informants (ix. 119).

ное мостыон. The practice of the Persian petty-officers to inflict summary corporal punishment, like the centurions in the Roman army and the boatswains in the English navy, seems to have struck the Greeks forcibly, judging by the way in which it is repeatedly noticed, e.g. §§ 56, 103, below. Larcher remarks, with the simplicity of a closet critic, that "a soldier thus treated must have been insensible to honour." It is strange that the instance of Marius, who "nodosam frangebat vertice vitem, cum tardiug pirge muniret castra dolabra," did not occur to his mind to disabuse him of such a pedantic notion.

Boubdros. This individual is probably the same who is mentioned in v. 21.

Athenis. One MS has Megabouzou.

'Artalou. S and V have 'Artaxalou.

Sane was a colony from Andros (Thucydides, iv. 109), and appears to have contained a purely Hellenic population. The other towns are enumerated by Thucydides (who calls one Acrathoi), and described as containing a mixed population, speaking two languages. Sane was so near to Acanthus, that it would seem from the treaty made in the middle of the Peloponnesian war, it must have been placed by that town in the position of a dependency, and its citizens removed thither, as those of Alba were by Tullus to Rome. One provision is: Μη νεπορεθείναι καὶ Σαναλοὶ καὶ Ἑγγαιοὶ οἴκει τὰς πόλεις τὰς ήπικαίς, καθιστέοι Ὀλυμπίοι καὶ Ἀκράθωιοι. (Thucydides, v. 18.) In subsequent times its importance seems to have outgrown that of Acanthus; for Strabo (vii. 15) obviously assigns that name to the locality occupied by Sane.

'Ακράθωιοι. The MSS vary between Ἀκράθωιοι and Ἀκράδωιοι, and Gaisford adopts the former. But I have not hesitated to change the reading on the authority of Thucydides (iv. 109). The Acrathoi are the inhabitants of the high peak of Athos, in which there are now so many monasteries.
POLYMNIA. VII. 23—25.

201

Ταύτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐπολεί παρασκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλα ἐς τούς ἀνωτάτως οὕτω δὲ ἐξεφόρεϊ τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τούτα μὲν νυν ἀλλοι, πλὴν Φωνέων, καταρρηχυμένοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύματος πόνον διπλῆσιν παρείχουν ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἀνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιεῖόμενον, ἐμεῖλε σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποθέσεθαι. οἱ δὲ Φωνίκες σοφίζον ἐν τε τούς ἀλλοις ἔργωσι ἀποδείκνυται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἀπολαξοῦντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε, ὧν υπάρχει τοῦτο στόμα τῆς διώρυγας ποιεῖσθαι διπλῆσιν ἡ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτῇ τῇ διώρυγα γενέσθαι προβαλλόντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, συνήγον αἰεὶ καίτω τε δὴ ἐγινετο, καὶ ἔξισοτο τούτο ἀλλοικαὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἔνθατα δὲ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορῇ τε ἐγινετο καὶ πρητηρίον ὅτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἔφοιτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀδησίας ἀληθεσμένος. οὐ μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλέομενον εὐρύσκεων, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἶναι αὐτῷ Ζέρξης ὀρύσσεως ἐκέλευς, ἐθάλαις τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυόμεναι καὶ μυμόσωμα λυπέσθαι παραίνῃ γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τῶν ἠθῶν τὰς νέας διερύσαι, ὀρύσσεως ἐκέλευς διώρυγα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἔσω ὡς δῶ τρεῖρας πλέιν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις, τοῖς περ καὶ τὸ δρυμά, προστετακτό καὶ τῶν Στρυμόνα ποταμῶν ζεῦγαντας γεγυρίσασε.

24 Motives which induced Xerxes to attempt the work.

25

88 οὕτως εὐφορεύετο ἐνέβαλλε, "as much as fell to their shares." See note 379 on i. 106.

89 οὐ μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλέομενον εὐρύσκεων. This notion of Herodotus, that no permanent object was in view in the construction of a ship canal, was doubtless shared by many; and perhaps was partly the cause of the scepticism which many of the ancients felt as to the operation having been really effected, so that 'valificatus Athos' came to be reckoned with 'epota fluminis Medo prandente' among the proverbial fictions of Greek historical writing. (JUVENAL, Sat. x. 178.) But the canal was traced by CARLYLE (ap. WALPOLE'S Turkey, i. p. 234) throughout the whole of its extent. "It is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across. It has been much filled up with mud and rushes. Its bottom is in many places very little above the level of the sea; in some parts of it corn is sown, in others there are pools of water." And if it be regarded as a part of the system of arrangements for the permanent occupation of the country, by facilitating the access of a fleet which might be required to carry stores for a land army whenever occasion demanded, it ceased to excite wonder. As for the amount of labour, it cannot have been anything like so great as must have been expended on the great earth-works in Mesopotamia. But then the whole of the chain of military posts (with the exception of Dorices) fell before the Greeks, the scope of the canal ceased to appear, and it came to be represented as due simply to the ostentatious spirit of the invader. Subsequent writers did not fail to improve upon this idea. PLUTARCH gives a letter written by Xerxes to Mount Athos, menacing it with his vengeance for opposition to his will. (De cohidentid i. p. 455.)

100 ὅπλα, "tackle." The word is applicable to all instruments used in working a vessel, and not confined to the ropes, although in this particular instance the ropes would be the most important por-
tás γεφύρας βύβλινα τε καὶ λευκόλινον, ἑπτάξας Φολυνζί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτιώσας καὶ στιλά τὴ στρατιὰ καταβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ λυμένει ἡ στρατιὰ, µηδὲ τὰ ὑποίγια ἑλαύνοµενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀναπυθόµενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους, καταβάλλειν ἐκεῖνε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεύσατο τοῦτο εἶτα, ἀλλὰ ἀγινεώτας ὅλκασε τε καὶ πορθμηµῆσε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ἄν πλεοῦσαν ἕνε τῇ Ἀκτῇ καλεοµένη τῇ Ἡράκλεις ἀγίνεσεν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Τυρόδιαν τῇς Περισσίας, οἱ δὲ ἐν Δορίσκον, οἱ δὲ ἐν Τιοντῷ τῇς ἕνε Στρυµών, οἱ δὲ ἐν Μακεδονίαν διατεταγµένοι.

'Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὖσον τοῦ προκείµενος πόλεως ἐγκαθίστατο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἄτοπαι συνιλεγέσειν ἀμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐν Σάρδης, ἐκ Κριταλλών ὠρθήθησα τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίαν ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἰρήνη συνιλεγέοι πάντα τὸν καὶ ἤπειρον βήθαιρον ἀμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. δὲ μὲν τῶν ὑπάρχον στρατόν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγάγων τὰ προκείμενα παρὰ βασιλέας ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχον φράσας. οὐκ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐστὶν τούτῳ πέρι ἄδικος ὅλος. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντας τὸν "Αλων ποιμην ὃμησαι τῇ Φεργυῃ" δὲ αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐκ Κελανίας. Ἡν

In Theocritus (xiii. 52) the order κοφέταρα ποιεῖσθαι θελα would imply the laying in the cars and, as English sailors express it, "making all snug," to prepare for the coming breeze indicated by the falling star.

καταβάλλειν στίκα, "to form magazines of provision."

101 ὁ Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98. The site is described below, § 59. It will be observed that the places named here form a chain of posts along the line of march into Hellas. Eton and Doriscus, besides their accessibility from the sea, of which the Persians had the command, secured the passage over the Strymon and the Hebrus respectively. That the greatest quantity of stores should be laid up at Leuce Acte was likely from the circumstance that the supplies came chiefly from Pontus (above, § 23). What the particular points for magazines in Macedonia were, Herodotus does not say. His informant was perhaps a Hellespontine Greek, more familiar with his own neighbourhood than with the coast west of the Strymon. He also knew no particulars which happened on the march until Celenae was reached.

102 ἐκ Κριταλλών. Critalla was the frontier town of Cappadocia. See notes 243 on i. 72, and 130 on v. 52.

103 τὰ προκείμενα. See above, § 8.

104 οὐκε τε διαβάντες τὸν "Ἀλων ποιμῆν ὃμησαι τῇ Φεργυῇ". The passage of the river here seems undoubtedly to be at the same place which Herodotus speaks of in v. 52. See the note 129 on that passage, and also 243 on i. 72.

105 ἐκ Κελανίας. The population of this city were removed by Antiochus Soter to Apamea, which he built in honour of his mother Apame, and which became, next to Ephesus, the most important commercial town of Asia. (Strabo, xii. c. 8, p. 73.) From this circumstance it may be presumed that the same character had attached to Celenae, which quite accords with its being the locality in which an individual like Pythius was established. See note 111, below. Apamea was situated at the source of the river Marsyas, which was no doubt the same as that which Herodotus calls Casaraci, for the
current belief was that both the Marayas and the Meander rose from the same tarn, which was above the hill on which Celsus had stood. (Strabo, p. 74.) This tarn abounded in the reeds from which the musical pipes were made,—a circumstance which doubtless determined the assignment of this locality to the contest of Marayas with Apollo. 

In the time of Xenophon the stream issued from a court in the palace of the younger Cyrus, which had been built there, surrounded with a park of wild animals preserved for the purposes of the chase. Probably this residence did not exist in the time of Herodotus, as he takes no notice of it, although the tradition ran that it was built by Xerxes on his retreat out of Europe after the defeat at Salamis. (Anabasis, i. 2. 9.)

In τῇ. One manuscript (b) has ἐν φ. In the time of Xenophon the skin was suspended in the grotto from whence the stream called Marayas issued, and the place where it joined the Meander was fixed as the site of the flaying. (Anabasis, i. 2. 8.)

The manuscripts P, K, F, 6 have Ἀτρός.

The article is to be observed: "the well-known golden plane," &c. Pythius had doubtless both received benefits from Darius and rendered services to him (see note 111, below), and the superiority of Greek artists gave him an opportunity of making a present which for its beauty astonished the Medo-Persian courtiers. The trait of Xerxes knowing nothing of the man's name, but being familiar with his magnificent present, is beautifully characteristic of courtly selfishness.

The majority of MSS have ἐμευτοῦ, which Gaisford retains. But ἐμευτοῦ exists in K, and it is perhaps more likely to have been altered into the usual form than the converse. In iv. 97 the great majority of the MSS have ἐμευτοῦ, and only two ἐμευτοῦ.
\[\text{HERODOTUS}\]

μένος, ἀργυρίον μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εὖσας μου ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυρίας στατήρων Δαρείκων.\[111\] Εἰπώδεσσας ἐπὶ τὰ χιλιάδες. καὶ τούτωι σε ἐγὼ δερέμαυι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπείων ἄρκειν ἄκτι βιὸς." Ὁ μὲν τοιαύτα ἠλεγεὶ Δέρψης δὲ ἠθείες τοὺς εἰρημένους, ἐπεὶ "ἐξεῖν Άλδε, εἰγὼ ἔπει τε ἐξῆλθον τὴν Περσίδα χάριν, οὐδεὶς ἄγρι οὐκ ἕξετρα ἐκ τούτου ἔδει γενείας ἐξεῖνα προθεώσει στρατὸ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς δύον τὴν ἕμη καταστᾶν αὐτοπάγγελος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσαι χρήματα, ἐξε οὕτω σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείλωσας μεγάλοις στρατῶν τῷ ἐμῷ, καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεια. σοὶ δὲν ἐγὼ ἀντί αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ἐξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῖμαι ἐμὸν.\[111\] καὶ

\[\text{\[111\] τετρακοσίας μυρίας στατήρων Δαρείκων.} \] If the Dari hvordan be reckoned at \[\text{117 \text{a} \text{b} \text{c} \text{d} \text{e} \text{f} \text{g} \text{h} \text{i} \text{j} \text{k} \text{l} \text{m} \text{n} \text{o} \text{p} \text{q} \text{r} \text{s} \text{t} \text{u} \text{v} \text{w} \text{x} \text{y} \text{z}}\] , which would be its value if compared with our own sovereigns with reference to the amount of pure gold in each, this sum would be enormous, and make the wealth of Pythius such as to throw into the shade not only the fortunes of European Greece, but even those of the modern millionaires of England. But it seems clear from the excess of gold over silver, that this is too great an estimate of its current value in Phrygia at the time of Xerxes’ invasion. Independently of the Lydian gold from the Timolus, a great deal would come in from central Asia, where it has always been abundant in comparison of silver. (See the note 280 on iii. 95.) In the time of \text{XENOPHON} \[\text{Anabasis, i. 7. 18,}\] when there had been a vast efflux of gold from Asia into Europe, the doric was still reckoned as equivalent to only twenty silver drachmēs, or 300 dorieis to one talent. This would give about \text{10s. 3d.} for the value of the doric. Taking it at this sum, the property of Pythius would still amount to \text{£3,400,000 in gold} (after Xerxes had made it up to a round number), and \text{£610,000 in silver.} The wealth of Callias, the richest of Athenian citizens in the most flourishing times of the commonwealth, was assessed at 200 talents, or \text{£61,000.} \[\text{Lysias, xii. p. 649, Reiske.}\] The only way in which this enormous accumulation in the hands of a private individual in those days becomes conceivable, is by supposing that Pythius had farmed the revenues, and probably on very favourable terms, upon the constitution of Darius’ system of satrapies. In carrying out those arrangements the assistance of the experienced Lydian financiers would be one of the greatest necessities; and the same class of persons would, almost alone, be able to turn to their own advantage the troubles which ever since the destruction of the Lydian dynasty had prevailed in Asia. The whole matter is explicable if Pythius is regarded in the same light as the Fuggers of Augsburg, and his liberality to Xerxes as an act parallel to the well-known story of the head of that house; who presented the emperor Charles V., towards the close of a splendid entertainment he gave to him, with his own hand to light a pile of fragrant spices. In its turn the agency of Ionian capitalists will help to explain the peculiar order of the satrapies in Darius’ cadastral system, as given by Herodotus, to which attention was called in note 261 on iii. 90. \text{Plutarco} \[\text{de Virtut. Mol. p. 262}\] gives a long story of Pythius, whom he calls Pythos, and whose wealth he derives from the discovery of some gold mines, and represents him as forcing all the inhabitants of "the city which he governed" to work these. He is converted from this policy by his wife, who gives him a practical lesson that gold is only useful as an article of exchange. \[\text{\[112\] ἐξεῖνόν τέ σε ποιεῖμαι ἐμὸν.} \] In these formal expressions of friendship between persons of very unequal rank there seems to be the germ of modern titles, at any rate of that of "count" (comer). Philip of Macedonia gave a formality to the title \text{ἐξωγέρος,} which he seems to have bestowed upon men of weight by whose services he hoped to profit.
ὸς τετρακοσίας μυράδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσσω παρ' ἐμετωτῷ, δεὸς τὰς ἐπὶ τα χιλιάδας ἦνα μῆ τοι ἐπιδεέες ἔως αἱ τετρακοσίαι μυράδαις ἐπὶ τὰς χιλιάδες, ἀλλ' ἢ τοι ἀπαρτιλογία ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη κάστρῳ τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἑκτῆςα, ἐπίστασι τε ἐναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτοι· οὐ γάρ τοι ταίτα ποιεῖτε οὕτε ἐς τὸ παρεῦ διῆς ἐς χρόνων μεταμελήσει·

Ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιότατο, ἐπερέσειτο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω. "Ἀνανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμεμβόμενος, καὶ Λύμενην ἐκ τῆς ἄλεσ γίνονται, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κολοσσᾶς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίς. 112 ἐν τῇ Δύκος ποταμῷ ἐς χάσμα τῆς ἐσβάλλου ἀφαίρεται, ἐπείτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα καὶ ἀναφαινόμενοι εἰκόδοι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Μαλαδρόν. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσῶν ὑμεῖς ὄρμεμοις ὀστρατός ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖν τῶν Φρυγῶν κατὰ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἀπίκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν ἑσθα στήλη 114 καταπεπηγία, σταθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίασον, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖν. Ὄσ' ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Λυδίαν, σχειρόμενης τῆς ὄδος, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴ ἐπὶ Καρλῆς φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξίην ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ δὲ καὶ παρασκευῶν διαβάμενην τῶν Μαλαδρῶν ποταμών πάσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται, καὶ ἵναι παρὰ Καλλάτησον 115 πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημοσερχό μέλι ἐκ μυρίσης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῖσ. 116, ταύτην ἴδων ὁ

112 δὲ Κολοσσᾶς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίς. S and V omit the word μεγάλην, and the former has the form Κολοσσῶς. The city Colossae is said by Strabo to have derived its name from the peculiar aptness of the wool produced by the sheep in the neighbourhood to take the colour which was designated by that name. Laodicea, which was in the immediate neighbourhood, on the Lycus, was equally remarkable for the excellence of its wool in taking the colour called color. (xii. c. 8, p. 74).

114 Κύδραρα πόλις ἑσθα στήλη. S has Κυδραράιν, ἑσθα ἡ στήλη, an important variation, as it indicates that the monument was a well-known one. Two or three other MSS also have Κύδρα instead of Κόμβρα. Nothing is known of the town. Probably it was a mere frontier station, existing chiefly for the purpose of exacting transit duties,—a circumstance which would make it notable to travelling merchants. (See note 130 on v. 52.) It has been identified with the Carupa of Strabo (xiv. c. 3, p. 212) by Schweighäuser; but Carupa was the frontier town between Caria and Phrygia, whereas Cydara is represented by Herodotus as the frontier between Phrygia and Lydia, and somewhat south of the point where the road towards Caria turned off.

115 Καλλάτησον. The manuscripts S and V have Καλλάτην. Nothing is known of the place. Probably it was only noted for the manufacture spoken of in the text. It has been placed by conjecture on the site of Philadelphia, but apparently without any good reason.

116 ἄνδρες δημοσερχό μέλι ἐκ μυρίσης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῖσ. Herodotus speaks of an extensive manufacture of honey among one of the Libyan tribes (iv. 194). It must be remembered that the word 'honey' would, as naturally as the word 'sugar' with us, be employed by the ancients to express any saccharine substance which might be obtained by an artificial process. As the bee-honey furnished the original and also the principal means of sweetening, its name would be extended to
left leading to Caria, which took, to Sardis. From Sardis heralds are sent into Hellas.

32

Δέρξης τὴν ὀδὸν, εὑρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεσ εἰνεκα δωρησάμενον κόσμων χρυσείῳ καὶ μελανθωφο άθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, δευτέρα ἡμέρῃ ἀπέκειτο ἐς τῶν Αυθών τὸ ἄστυ. Ἄπικόμενον δὲ ἐς Ζώρδης, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπτε κηρύκας ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, αἰτήσατο γῆν τε καὶ ὕδαρ καὶ προσεύκατα δείπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζεως πλὴν οὕτε ἐς Ἀθῆνας οὕτε ἐς Δακεδαλίου απέπεμπτε ἐπὶ τῆς άτεσίων, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ τὸνδὲ ἐς εἰνεκα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέπεμπτε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδαρ' ὅσον πρότερον οὐκ ἔδοσαν δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτων πάγχυ εδοκεὶ τότε δείσαντα δῶσει βουλόμενον ἃν αὐτὸ τούτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκρίβως, ἐπεμπέται δὲ ταῦτα παρασκευάζει τὸ ἀδύνατον ἢς ἠλῶν ἐς Ἀδύνατον.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν Ἐλλησποντιῶν εξεύγυναν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τὴν Ἑὔροπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἐλλησσώνη, Σητοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξύ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτή τραχεία ἢς θάλασσαν κατίκευσα Ἀδύνατον κατατάλων ἐνθα μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ ὅστερον οὐ πολλὰ, ἐπὶ Εαυθίππου τῶν Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων, Ἀρταχέντα ἄνδρα Πέρσην λαβόντας Σητοῦ ὑπαρχοῦ, ξύνα πρὸς σανίδα προσδειπτάσθενταν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτοσέλεω τὸ ἱδον ἐς Ἑλλαίνιτα ἀνυκομένοις ὑγιεινα, ἀδέμνῃ ήρεσικε. Ἐσ ταύτην ἄν τὴν ἀκτήν ἐς Ἀδύνατον ὀρμεόμενον ἐγκύρουν τοῖς προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν ἕλευκολων Φοίνικες, τῇ δὲ ἐτερήν τὴν βυζήλην Αργυπτίτην ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπὶ στάδιον ἐς Ἀδύνατον ἐς τὴν

all others. The word ἐμπορῶν is mentioned by Athenæus (iv. 172) as having been the name given by the ancients (ὁ πρότερος) to the makers of pastry,—which may induce the conjecture that the origin of this kind of cakes was in the offerings made to the deities, and that a peculiar mode of manufacturing them was preserved as a part of the sacred traditions, and committed to the hands of certain officials.

117 μελανθωφο άθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας, “having committed it to the charge of a member of the Immortal Band as its guardian.” Of these ‘immortals,’ see below, § 83.

118 Ἀπικόμενον δὲ ἐς Ζώρδης. It will be observed that in the description of the route of Xerxes to Sardis, there is no pre-}

119 τὴν ἄτεσίαν. For a reason of this see § 133, below.

120 τὸ δεύτερον. These words are omitted by S and V.

121 δοσαν. The MSS are divided between this word and ἐμπρακτέωσιν. This clause is omitted in V, and apparently from no error of vision in the transcriber.

122 Βουλόμενος ὅπως ἐπαιτεῖν. This word with which δοσαν is γέφυρα, gathered by inference from the preceding verb ἐγεφύρωσι.
The construction is the same as if the author had said ἔτι τῶν Ἐλλησποντων ἰκέλευ τρικοσίας ικέτωσα πληγάς, "he ordered that three hundred stripes with the scourge should be applied to the Hellespont." By the way in which Ἀσχυλος speaks of the act of bridging over the strait, it seems likely that the whole story of the insults wreaked on the Hellespont has for its foundation "poetry condensed into fact."

 dela Ἐλλησποντων ἱδρυς, δοῦλος δὲ δεσμάδεις
 ἥλιος σχέσεις βλέπω, δύσσηρον βόηθοι στάται
 καὶ πόρον μετεξῆθας, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλατοί
 περιβαλαν πολλήν κέλευθον ψυσαι πολλή στρατό
 ὀψιάν ὃιθεν δὲ πάντων φέτοις οὐκ εὐβολίας
 καὶ Ποσείδανος πραγμάσας, πυρὰ τῶν οὐ νάναι φρενῶν; (Περ. 745.)

It seems quite plain that in the time when the Persians were produced on the stage, the particulars related by Herodotus of Xerxes's fury were unknown at Athens. His impiety is made to consist in the forcing his passage across the sacred strait, the displeasure of which had been already evinced. Under more equivocal circumstances Cleomenes did not venture to cross the Eurystus (vi. 76). Ἀσχυλος repre-

sents the Persian metaphorically as treating the Hellespont like a rebellious slave,—for whom bonds, the lash, and the στρυμνά would be the appropriate punishment; and the popular traditions supplied these, although the last feature seems (as was not unlikely from its utter inappropriateness) to have been wanting in most of these. It did not appear in the account with which Juvenal was familiar, which also varied in making the winds, not the Hellespont, the objects scourged.

Ile tamen qualis redit, Salamine reliquit,
In Caurum atque Ephurn solitum seviere
flagellis
Barbarus, Αἰολίο nuncquam hoc in carceres
passos?
Ipsum compedibus qui vincerat Enoseei-
geum,
Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
Creditit! (Sat. x. 179, seqq.)

The address to the Hellespont, which is put into the mouth of the Persian king, is of nearly the same stamp as the letter to Mount Athos given by Plutarch. See note 99, above.

Story of the outrageous behaviour of Xerxes when the bridge gave way.

126 τρικοσίας ικέτωσα πληγάς. The construction is the same as if the author had said ἔτι τῶν Ἐλλησποντων ἰκέλευ τρικοσίας ικέτωσα πληγάς, "he ordered that three hundred stripes with the scourge should be applied to the Hellespont." By the way in which Ἀσχυλος speaks of the act of bridging over the strait, it seems likely that the whole story of the insults wreaked on the Hellespont has for its foundation "poetry condensed into fact."

137 στρυμναὶ. The Hellespont, perfectly land-locked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing in it altogether the appearance of a 'river;' and it is from this notion of it that the epitheta παρέβει and ἄρεσιν are applied to it in the Homeric poems.
τριήρεις συνβάλλεις, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐφείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντα τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαροσίας 10 τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησποντοῦ κατὰ ρόον, ἵνα ἀνακαλύψῃ τῶν τόνων τῶν ὀπλῶν συνβάλλεις δὲ, Ἀρκύρας κατὰ ἑκάστην περιμήκειας—τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης, τῶν ἀνέμων εἰνεκέν τῶν ἐσοβεθν ἐκτενέων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης [τῆς 120] πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Ἁγιαλοῦ—οὔραν τε καὶ νότον εἰνεκέα: διέκπλου ὃν ἐπόφασιν 121 κατελύσαν τῶν πεντηκοντάρων

118 τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαροσίας. See the note on iv. 101. It is impossible that any persons who had ever constructed a pontoon bridge should think of mooring vessels, when stability was an object, in any other position than with their heads or sterns in the direction of the current; and it is such an erroneous assumption which has caused so much difficulty in the understanding of this passage. Owing to the shape of the channel the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other. A vessel therefore laid, as it must be if it is not to be soon carried away, in the line of the current, would be at an angle to the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis; it would seem as if not going direct up channel. All the ships were so moored,—each being what the writer describes the whole to have been,—with the object of "steadying the strain of the tackle" (ἐν ἀνακαλύφῃ τῶν τόνων τῶν ἐπικαροσίας). The only difficulty arises from the circumstance that the author imagines the pontoon-ships to have been first put together (συνβάλων), and then brought into line by an operation like that effected with the tubes of the Menai tunnel; whereas no doubt they were first anchored individually, then brought accurately into line by heaving at the capstan, and finally made fast to each other. The two bridges reciprocally acted as breakwaters to each other against the effects of the prevalent winds, the East and the South-west. (See note 87 on iv. 27.) No doubt anchors were also laid out from the inner extremity of each vessel in the two lines, but these would not need to be of the size of the external ones, as the strain upon them would be much less.

strabo describes the line of the bridge as having been from a point above Abydos to one a little below Sestos, which in his time bore the name of Apobathra. The ferrymen in crossing from Sestos used to go down channel a short distance until they came off 'Herō's Tower,' from which point the set of the current enabled them to make Abydos. From Abydos, on the contrary, they crept up along shore for about eight stades, and then stood for Sestos. The distance from port to port was put at thirty stades, but the length of the bridge at only seven (xiii. c. 1, p. 96). The passage from Europe to Asia was considered the easier.

120 [τῆς.] This word is not found in S, P, F, and I have little doubt that it is an interpolation. It seems impossible to give any sense to the passage if it be retained. But after expunging it from Gaisford's text, on the authority of the above-mentioned MSS, the sense becomes manifest, making allowance for the false notion the author entertained of the mode of the operation. Translate: "After attaching together pentecenters and triremes, 360 for the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 for the other (all laid at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont, to steady the strain on the gear), they laid out anchors with very long flukes,—some on the side of the sea for the one bridge, on account of the winds that blow from inwards; and for the other bridge, on the side of the west and the Ægean,—[they laid them out, I say] on account of the w. and s.w. winds [respectively]."
which were passed from shore to shore, and strained tight by the gigantic capstans (kóma) on land.

112 χυτόι. These appear to have been moles or breakwaters run out for some distance, to prevent the mouth of the canal from being chocked up by the shingle, which would otherwise accumulate. The phrase ρηχήσις is not to be interpreted too strictly, as if it meant merely the rise of the tide. That would be very inconsiderable (although not absolutely null) in this part of the Mediterranean. But a great sea would get up on the shore under the influence of the Etesian winds, and soon fill the mouth of the channel with shingle and sand, unless prevented by some such contrivance as that referred to in the text.

113 ἐπινεφέλων. So Gaisford prints.

But two MSS have κεί νεφέλων, and several κεί νεφέλων. If absolute dependence could be placed on the statement that an eclipse took place, as Herodotus relates, the exact time of the passage of the raft might be determined. But it seems (see Larcher), that no eclipse took place in the year 480 B.C. which would be visible at Abydos, although such a one did occur the year before. It is however quite impossible to reconcile the passage of the army in that year with the general chronology of Herodotus's history. See notes 5 and 25, above. It is more reasonable to suppose that in subsequent times the traditions connected the celebrated eclipse of 481 with the transit of Xerxes in 480. See note 32 on iii. 10, and 221 on vi. 98.
Story of the horrible punishment for an offence given by Pythius the Lydian.

38

θεος ἐκλειψεν τῶν πολλῶν λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἐλλήνων πρωτόκορος, σελήνην δὲ σφέων 132. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἱερός περιχαρῆς εὗρον ἐποίητο τὴν ἔλασιν 134. ' gói δὲ ἔξηκαν τὴν στρατηγήν, Πύθιον ὁ Δυνάμης καταρρῳθήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὤρανου φάσμα ἔπαρθε τοῖς διερήμασι, ἠλθὼν παρὰ Ἰερός ἔληγεν τάδε "ὁ δὲ διάσπορα, χρῆσας ἃ τι τεύχοιμον τυχεῖν 136, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρῶν τυχάνη ἐὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον" Ἰερός δὲ πάνω μᾶλλον δοκεῖν μου χρῆσαι ἢ τὸ ἐδείη, ἐφή τε ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ διαγραφέων ἐκέλευεν ὅτεν δεύτορο δὲ ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἤκουσε, ἔληγεν διαγραφῆς τάδε "ὁ δὲ διάσπορα, τυχάνουσι μοι παῖδες ἐστίν πάντες, καὶ σφέας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἀμα σοι στρατεύουσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδαν· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ὑπὸ τόδε ἡλικίας ἠκούσα ὀθείρας, τὸν μοι παῖδων ἑαυτὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν πρεσβύτατων.

132 λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἐλλήνων πρωτόκορος, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. This passage indicates a great change in the religion of the Persian court as compared with the time of Cambyses. (See notes on iii. 35, and on § 114, below.) The same doctrine was laid down by the Egyptians in Alexander's army, which had been terrified by an eclipse of the moon just before the battle of Arbela. (Curtius, iv. 10. 7.) But it seems not unlikely from the expression "vetereaque exempla persensent," that the story is framed on the model of this very passage. At any rate Darius, very soon after (iv. 13. 12), is represented as invoking "Solem Mithren, sacramque et sternum ignem." The popular notion at Athens in the time of the Peloponnesian war was that both sun and moon were the especial deities of the barbarians, as contradistinguished from the anthropomorphic deities of European Hellas. Thus Aristophanes takes advantage of the irregularity of the Athenian calendar to show the Athenians how the feuds of Greece served the policy of Persia:  

134 περιχαρῆς ἐὼν ἐποίητο τὴν ἔλασιν. Photius (Biblioth. p. 39) gives the following words as the summary of Ctesias, immediately after mentioning the building of the bridge: Δημάρτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαίμων παρεγένετο ἢδη πρῶτον, καὶ συνὶ συνή ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπείρη τῇ εἰς Λακεδαίμων ὧδεον. It is observable that while differing in every particular, the prominent point brought forward equally in both narratives is the dim apprehension of calamity impending if the strait should be crossed.

136 τῶν πρεσβύτατων. It would seem that the anger of Xerxes was mainly excited by the request of Pythius being made for his eldest son,—who, according to oriental ways of thinking, would be the most precious of his children. (See the note 676 on i. 199.) Hence the expression τοῦ περίχαρα μᾶλιστα in Xerxes's reply. Sennec 'improves' the story, by making Pythius ask for one son without specifying which. Xerxes allows him to take his choice, and having by this means discovered which was the favourite child, proceeds in the manner related in the text. (De Irf. iii. 17.) See the note 235 on iv. 84. The non-historical character of the story is confirmed by the circumstances that no eclipse seems to have happened in the year when the army crossed into Europe. (See note 132, above.) Compare note 235 on iv. 84.
"ιία αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῖ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελετοῦσι οἷος δὲ τέσσερας ἰγει ἵμα σεωτόσ καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοῦν τοστήσεις ὄπλων." Κάρτα τε ἐθνοῦθ ὁ Ἐξήγης, καὶ ἀμείβετο τούτῳ θ᾽ ἢ κακὴ ἀνθρώπε, ὦ ἐγκλησια, ἐμεῖ στρατευόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντο παῖδας ἐμοῖς καὶ ἀδέλφεοι καὶ οἰκίσκοι καὶ φίλοις, μνησάσθαι περὶ σεο παιδός ἢ ἐν ἔμοι δοῦλος, τὸν χρῆν πανοικία αὐτῇ γνωσκείν συνέπαια; εὔ νῦν τὸ ἐξεπλησσὸ, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ ὡς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖα ὁ θυμός ὡς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψεις ἐμπυπάλῃ τὸ σώμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τοῦτοις ἀκούσας ἀνοίξειν ὦτε μὲν ὑπὸς χρηστὰ ποίησας ἐτέρα τοιαύτα ἐπηγγέλλει, εὐρυγέφυος βασιλέα ὁ καυχηθεὶς ὑπερβαλέσθαι ἐπεί τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδή στεροῦν ἐπάθειν, τὴν μὲν ἁζήν ὡς λάμψειν, ἑλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἁζής σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς τέσσερας τῶν παιδῶν ῥύεται τὰ ξείνα τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσει. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα εἴκενε τοῖς προσετέακτο ταῦτα πρήσοντο, τῶν Πυθίων παιδῶν ἐξερύθης τῶν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμώντος δὲ τῷ ἡμίτοιμα διαθέναι, τὸ μὲν ἑπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὕδου τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ καὶ ταῦτα διεξάγειν τῶν στρατῶν." 137

Ποιησάντων δὲ τοῦτων τούτω, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήγει ὁ στρατός. 40 ἤγενοτε δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἳ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποτύλιμα μετὰ δὲ τούτων στρατός παντολοί ἐθνῶν ἀναμίλη, οὐ διακερμένοι. 138 τῇ δὲ ὑπερπημίας ἡσαν, ἑναὐτὰ διελεύηπτο 139 καὶ οὐ συνέμυσον οὗτοι βασιλεῖς. προηγεύτο μὲν δὴ ἢ ποτέται χιλιον ἐκ Περσῶν πάνων ἀπολελεγμένοι μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμαλώτοι χιλιοι, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πάνων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κατά ἐς τὴν γην τρέψαντες μετὰ δὲ, ἵπποι Νισαῖοι 140 καλεύμενοι ἢπτοι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλωται. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἢπτοι ἐπὶ τούτε ἐστὶ τελῶν μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς 141 τῷ ὀνομα ἐστὶ Νισαίου τούς ὃν δὴ ἢπτοι

137 καὶ ταῦτῃ διεξάγειν τῶν στρατῶν. See note 235 on iv. 54.
138 στρατός παντολοί ἐθνῶν ἀναμίλη, οὐ διακερμένοι. These troops were probably raised for general service, and entered into the framework of the standing army. Such an arrangement, natural to a great empire, was quite foreign to the habits of the Greeks of Herodotus's time, where the civil relations were not lost sight of in associating levies from different states.
139 τῇ δὲ ὑπερπημίας ἡσαν, ἑναὐτὰ διαλέγοντο, "in the point where the half of the number was turned, there a break in the line had been left."
140 Νισαῖοι. Some of the MSS have Νησαῖοι.
141 τετελῶν μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς. See note 307 on iii. 106. Rawlinson says (Journal of the Geogr. Soc. ix. p. 101), "With Herodotus, who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisua (Nesá) of
Khorassan, and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion. In his description we recognize the great grazing plains of Khâval, Aliabtar, Huru, Silakhûr, Burbûrûd, Jâpalâk, and Ferûdîn, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another along the southern frontiers of Media. These pastures lie along the mountain range, reaching from about Behistun (Bagistane), lat. 34° 16', long. 47° 35', to Isphahân, and it is probably the westernmost of them which were visited by Alexander on his march from Susa to Agbatana. (Ariab., vi, 13.)

The office of ηνιχος was no doubt one of high rank, like that of bow-bearer and quiver-bearer and all others which involved close proximity to the person of the sovereign. This circumstance suggests that Patiramphes may have been son of the consipirator Otanes, apparently the most powerful of the Persian aristocracy. (See note 192 on iii. 68, and 390 on iii. 141, and the exceptional position of his family described in the text, iii. 84.) On the other hand, it is certainly striking that so important an individual as the consipirator Otanes should be designated merely as ἀνήρ Πέρσης, if the narrative here belongs to the same cycle of historical traditions as the account of the conspiracy in Book III.

This seems to indicate, when taken in connexion with the reversal of the arms of the guard who preceded the sovereign, a symbol of respect to him. The notion seems to have been that the rear guard were regarded as more in the actual presence of the monarch than the advanced guard. In the university of Cambridge the maces of the esquire bedelles are borne reversed when preceding any other official than the chancellor himself.

These pomegranates were no doubt sacred emblems. (See note 666 on i. 196.) The statue of Here in the temple at Mycesse had a pomegranate in the one hand and a sceptre (on which a cuckoo was perched) in the other. Pausanias says that there was a secret doctrine connected with the former (ii. 17. 4). The statue Pausanias saw was by Polyclitus, but the symbol would doubtless be traditional, and derived from much an earlier time. The wife of the rex sacrificicus at Rome, when sacrificing, wore a garland composed of a twig of the same tree. (Pesturiu, v. Iuarculum, and Servius, ad Æn. iv. 137.) As the deity of Mycesse was a θεός γαμφαῖος, and the rites at Rome alluded to were of the same nature as the Attic Thesmophoria, it seems likely that the productivity of nature was symbolized by the fruit, remarkable as it was for the number of seeds it contained. In this case the deity to which the emblem belonged would be some form of Aphrodite Urania, and would be a recent adoption among the pure Persians.
probably under the name of Mithra. See i. 132, above. Layard professes to have found the pomegranate among the sacred emblems on the Nimroud sculptures. (Nineveh, ii. p. 296.) A Parthian with a short spear, at the extremity of which is a sphere, is figured by Hope. (Costumes of the Ancients, vol. i. fig. 13.)

ἀνθές δὲ Καλκου. From this point the line of march until the Hellespont was crossed would lie among an Ἑλληνικό πολιτώμα, which covered the whole country from Cyzicum to the Caicus. (Stauro, xiiii. c. 1, p. 81.) Case is the promontory which constitutes the southern point of the bay of Adamyttium, Lectum, a spur of Mount Ida, being the northern one. (Ib. ib. p. 134.)

διὰ Θῆβης πεδίου. The town Thebe is represented in the Iliad as having been sacked by Achilles, together with eleven others in the neighbourhood. It was there that Chryses, the priest of Apollo under the name of Hecatus, dwelt, and Andromache, the wife of Hector, was the daughter of its king Aetion. Xerxes, according to the text, seems to have kept the coast road which led from Aetarneus to Adamyttium, but on arriving near the latter place to have passed between it and Antandrus, and struck northwards into the hill country between Ida and a range running east and west, called in the Iliad Placus, under which Thebe lay.

"Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα. See note 179 on i. 56.

"τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβόν ἐς ἀριστηρή χέρα. It is not easy to understand this expression; for if Xerxes had left Ida on his left, he would have come upon the Granicus, not upon the Sceander. Their sources however were not distant from one another, although the rivers descended on opposite sides of the water-shed.

His route between Adamyttium and Abydos is over the top of Ida, and there seems no obvious reason why he should have abandoned the coast road, which, although longer, would have been much easier for a large army. Perhaps the bulk of the force did really take the coast road, and only a detachment accompany the king by the short cut over the mountains.

"ἐς τὸ Πρίμυον Πέργαμον. This phrase is perhaps used to distinguish the place visited by Xerxes from the hill-fort from Sardis to Abydos.
which Lysimachus afterwards made the acropolis of the celebrated city of the same name. 

The barrows with which this locality abounds were all regarded as the burial place of some of the worthies of the Trojan war, and chapels were erected to these, either on them or on the elevations in the neighbourhood. At Rhetaeum was a chapel of Ajax, at Ophryum a grave of Hector, at Sigenum the tomb of Achilles. The tomb of Hecuba (called καθώς σῆμα) was between Dardanus and Abydos; and near Sigenum was that of Protesilaus. (Strabo, xiii. p. 102, seqq.) Larocher attempts to account for the discrepancy between the conduct of Xerxes here and the habits ascribed to the Persians in l. 132, by supposing that it arose from a desire to conciliate the gods of the land through which the army was passing. There is no doubt something in this; but the true explanation is (I believe) to be found in the view put forth in the Excerptum on iii. 74, pp. 434—5.

These Gergethians had been subdued by the Persian general Hymenaeus in the course of putting down the Ionian rebellion (v. 129, above).

44 In Abydos the army is reviewed.

45 Xerxes is moved to tears.

46 and Artabanus takes

Hermogenes the rhetorician, in quoting a portion of the dialogue which follows, makes not Artabanus, but Aristobulus to be the party with whom the Persian king discourses. This is doubtless owing to a slip of the memory, the attention of the writer being taken up by the substance of the discussion, and the name of the interlocutor being comparatively a matter of indifference. But this very circumstance should operate as a caution to those who attempt to identify the individuals mentioned here and there in the stories related by Herodotus with one another; for exactly the same causes which influenced Hermogenes would also
Ελευθέρως ού συμβουλεύον τίτλο εξήγη στρατεύεσθαι επί την Ἑλλάδα, οὕτως ἄνδρας ἱεράς δικαστικάς ἥρετο τάδε· "διὸ βασιλεύ, ὥσ πολὺ ἀλλήλων καθοριζομένοι ἐργάσασθαι νῦν τε καὶ ὅλως πρό-
τερον; μακράσια γάρ σεωτόν δικαίως." ο δὲ εἶπε· "ἐσθήθη γάρ με"135 λογοσαμενοι κατοικεῖτοι ὡς βραχὺς εἰς ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώ-
πος Βίας, εἰ τούτων γε οὖν ποιοῦσι οὐδείς ἐς ἐκατοστὸν ὦντος περεύεται" ο δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ἐπερα τούτω παρὰ τὴν ἐξ οἰκτρότερα· εἰ γάρ οὕτω βραχεῖ βίω οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθρω-
πος ἐστιν εὐδαιμόνι πέφυκε, οὕτε τούτων οὕτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παρα-
πηνύσκαλι πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἀπατᾷ τεθυναί βουλεύεται μᾶλλον ἢ ἦνεν αὐτό οὐλομεν προσπίπτουσαν136 καὶ αὐτοὶ συν-
ταιράσονται καὶ βραχὺν ἐνυτὸν μακρὸν δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιεῖται τῶν 
βίων οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοιχητής ἐνυσίς τῆς ἐξ, καταφυγῇ 
αιρετισαίται τῷ αὐθρώπῳ ἐρέγων· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀλεξάνδρις ἀτυχά 
αινα, φθανέρος ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐόντα141." Ἑξῆχες δὲ ἀμείβετο 
λέγων· "Ἀρτάβανε, Βιοτῆς, μέν μυν ἀνθρωπήτης πέρι, εὐσκός του-
αίτης οὐντερα σὺ διαρεῖ;137 εἶναι, παυσόμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμει-
μεθα χρηστὰ ἐχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χειρὶ· φράσον δὲ μου τόδε εἶ 
τοῦ ἂν, ὅπως τοῦ ἐνυπνίνου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτω ἐφανέ, εἰχες ἄν τὴν 
ἀρχαίαν γραμμήν οὐκ ἦν ἐν στρατευείσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣ 
μετέστην ἄν; φέρε μοι τούτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ;" ο δὲ ἀμείβετο 
λέγων· "διὸ βασιλεύ, ὅψης μὲν ἡ επιφάνεια τοῦ ὀνειροῦ ὡς βουλο-
μεθα ἀμφότεροι τελευτήσει εὐγό δ' ἐτι καὶ ἐς τόσο δείματος εἰμι 
ὑπόπλεος, οὔτ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐπιπέρομενος καὶ 
δὴ καὶ ὅρεων τοῦ δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμώτατα."
48 Ξέβξης δὲ προσ ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τούδε· "δαμόνεις ἄνδρῶν, κοία ταῦτα λέγεις εἰναι δύο μοι πολεμώσατα; κότερα τοι ὁ πετός μεμπτὸς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐστί, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐτάτισμα φαίνεται πολλαπλάσιον ἐσεσθαί τοῦ ἡμετέρου; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λέγεσθαι τοῦ ἔκεινον; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γὰρ τοι ταῦτα ἐνδέεσταρα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρῆγματα, στρατεύον ἀν ἄλλως την ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιοῦτο." 'Ο δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ὁ Βασίλειος, οὐτε στρατιῶν ἡτοίμασάς γε σύνεσιν ἔχει μέμφοντ' ἃν, οὕτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἢ τὰ πλείστα συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἐτὶ πολεμώσερα γίνεται· τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἐστὶ γῆς τε καὶ θάλασσα· οὕτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λαμην τοσούτοις οὐδαμόθε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὡς ἐγειρομένων χειμῶνος διέξενος σεύ τοῦτο τῶν ναυτικῶν, φερρόγνων ἐστίν διασώσας τὰς νέας· καὶ τοι οὐκέ ἄλλοι οὕτως εἶναι τῶν λαμηνᾶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πάσαν τὴν ἡμέραν, παρ' ἣν δὴ κομίεια· οὐκ δὲν δὴ ἐόντων τοι λαμηνῶν ὑποδέξιον· μᾶθε δὲτι ἂν συμφορά τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπου τῶν συμφορέων οἷς ἂν τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰσρέμουν· τὸ ἐτέρου ἔρχομαι ἐρέων γῆ δὴ· πολεμή τῆς τοι κατάστασα· εἰθὲ τοι οὕτως ἀντίξον καταστάσας· ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τῶν συμφορέως· καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἐτέρου εἰσρέμονεν· τὸ ἐτέρου ἔρχομαι ἐρέων γῆ δὴ· πολεμή τῆς τοι κατάστασα· εἰθὲ τοι οὕτως ἀντίξον καταστάσας· τοσούτως τοι ἡμέτερα πολεμωτέρα ὡς ἂν προβαίνη σὲκαστέρα, τὸ πρῶτο λεί ἄλλοτέρων εὑρετέρων· εὑρετέρων γὰρ οὐκ ἡτοί ἄνθρωποι οὔδεμα πληθώρης· καὶ δὴ τοι, ὡς οὐδεμόν ἐναντισμένου, λέγω

139 οὕτε στρατιῶν, κ.τ.λ. Valcknaer calls attention to the circumstance of the following sentiments of Artabanus being by Seneca (de Benef. vi. 31) put into the mouth of Demaratus, while, on the other hand, the argument relates to the succession (§ 3, above), which Herodotus ascribes to Demaratus, is by Plutarch and others who followed him attributed to Artabanus. See note 154, above.

140 ὑποδέξιοι, i.e. κατανόι δότες υποδέξιοι. The analogy of ἀλάσιοι, ναυπηγάρσιοι, & c., would lead one to expect the form ὑποδέξιοι. The fear of not finding sufficient accommodation for their ships induced a tripartite division of the fleet which sailed from Athens on the fatal Sicilian expedition, although that consisted only of one hundred and thirty-seven ships. (Thucydides, vi. 42.)

141 γῆ δὲ. So S. The other MSS have γῆ δὴ, which Gaisford follows.

142 τὸ πρῶτο λεί ἄλλοτέρων, "being cheated as you go of [real] advance." The meaning seems to be, that success not being complete is no success at all. Whatever is achieved, more will seem to remain behind.

143 εὑρετέρως γὰρ οὐκ ἢτοί ἄνθρωποι οὔδεμα πληθώρης, "with men there is no such thing as a plethora of success." This is exactly parallel to the sentiment of the Chorus in the Agammemnon of Aeschylus, where the thought is very beautifully followed up:

τὸ μὲν εἰ πρόσειν ἀκραίστοιν ἐσφι 

παῖς Βροτών: Βασιλευδείστων δ' 

οἵτινες ἄντειπτον εἴργει μελάθρον, 

ΜΗΚΕΣΕΣ ΕΞΕΔΟΤΗΣ ΤΑΔΕ, φαντ. 

(cf. 1331—4.)
τὴν χώρην πλείων ἐν πλείων χρόνῳ γινομένην λυμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος ἦν ἐκ ἀριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρραβόλοι, πᾶν εἰπελεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑγραίνει εὖ." 'Αμελβετις Ἀρέχης τούτος " 'Αρτάβανος, οἰκότως μὲν σὺ γε τούτων ἐκαστα διαμέαν: ἄτιρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγει εἰ γὰρ δὴ βουλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ οἷόν ἐπεφαρμένῳ πρῆγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίος εἰπελέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἄν οὐδαμά οὐδὲν κρέσον δὲ πάντα διαφέροντα ἦμιον τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον, ἢ πᾶν χρῆμα προδιημιοῦντα μηδαμὰ μηδέν ταθεῖν εἰς Δ' ἐρίζου πρὸς τῶν τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ τὸ βέβαιον ἀποδέξεις, σφαλλέσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ἐπίσης ἐχεῖ εἰδέναι δὲ ἀνθρωπον ἕντας κώς χρή τὸ βέβαιον; δοκεῖο μὲν οὐδαμός. τοῖς τοῖν ɒλου κατολύμενοι ποιεῖν, ὡς τὸ ἐπίταν φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδη. τοῦτο δὲ εἰπελεγομένοι τὰ πάντα καὶ ὀπλεύσοι, οὐ μᾶλα θέθει. ὁρᾷ τὰ Περσέων πρῆγματα ἢς τὸ δυνάμως προκεχορίσθη εἰ τοῖνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῖς γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γενόμενοι ἐξερεύνηται 148 ὁμοίης καὶ σὺ, ἢ μὴ χρεώμενοι γνώμης τιοικρίτης ἄλλους συμβουλίως ἐξον τοιοῦτοι, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἰδὲς αὐτὰ ἡ τοῦτο προελθόντα νῦν δὲ κινδύνως ἀναρρητέομενες ἢς τοῦτο σφέα προγγάγοντο μεγάλα γὰρ πρῆγματα μεγάλωσι κινδύνους ἔθελε καταφρέσκεις ἥμισι τοῖνυν, ὁμοίωμενοι κελώμενοι, ὡρᾶν τοῦτο ἔστεσ καλλιστήν πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστραφμένοι πάσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὑπὸσ, οὐτῇ λιμὴ ἐνυγνωσοὺς οὐδὲν ἔλλο ἄχρι παθόντες οὐδὲν τοῦτο μὲν ἢ ἔρ γενοὺς πολλῆς φοβήσων φερόμενοι πορεύομεθα: τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν

148 μὴ τὸ βέβαιον. This is the reading of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, P, δ have μὴ τ' βέβαιον. Gaisford's reading, which I have followed, seems to furnish a satisfactory meaning. Translate: "and if, while taking exceptions to everything which is proposed, you fail to point out the secure course, you are open to failure in them (i.e. the perilous conjunctions, τοῖς δεινοῖς) no less than those who have been given opposite advice. And as for the secure course, how should mortal man know it? I hold it to be impossible!"

149 ἐξερεύνητο. So Gaisford prints, but the MSS have ἐξερεύνητο, and in the next line χρῆμανοι. Some of the MSS have τῆς for ὁμολογεῖ, a change which seems to arise from a gloss.

150 κινδύνους ἀναρρητέουσας. Εὐβοῖδεῖς (Ἰο. Ἰρ. 14) uses the simple verb: νῦν β' εἰς μιᾶν ἀνάλογους, κινδύνου μέγας βέτοτες.

So too the author of the Rheums (154): ἔδη πρὸ γαίας τάνδ' κινδύνον ἔδη βῆμαι κατάκτησα καὶ ἐν 'Ἀργείαν μολεῖν.

The metaphor is taken from the throwing of dice. Translate: "playing the dangerous game." In the expression κινδύνου αἱρετία (Herac. 504), the metaphor is from lifting a burden.

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ἀν κοί ἐπιβέωμεν γήν καὶ ἑθνος, τοῦτων τὸν ἀτ' ἐξομεν ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας." Ἀλέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα: "ἀδραμελεῖ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀρρωδεῖς οὔδὲν ἔχεις πρῆγμα, σὺ δὲ μὲν συμβουλὴν ἐνδεξάμενος ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχεις περὶ πολλῶν προφήμων πλείους λόγους ἐκτείνειν. Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεως Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν, πλην Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέφατο δασομόφορον εἶναι Πέρσην τούτων ἀν δ' τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύον τοις μηδεμίῳ μηχανῇ ἄγεις ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας. καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦτων οἴοι τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτηροι γίνεσθαι: ἢ γὰρ σφεας, ἢν ἐποιεῖται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδοῦλους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιωτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μὲν τοὺς γυναῖκας, οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσιν δικαιωτάτοι δὲ γυναῖκας, οἴοι τε δηλήσωσθαι μεγάλος τὴν σήμερην στρατηγίαν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὅν βαλεῖ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος ὡς εὖ ἐλεηταὶ, τὸ μή ἁμα ἀρχῆ πάν τέλος καταβάνεισθαι." ᾿Αμεῖβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Αἴρηξις: "Ἀρτάβαν, τῶν ἀπεφάνας γυναῖκας σφάλλει κατὰ ταῦταν δὴ μάλα, διὸ Ἰωνίας φοβεῖται μὴ μεταβάλλων τῶν ἔχομεν γυναῖκας μέγιστόν τῶν, ὅσοι τε μάρτυς γίνεται καὶ οἱ συστρατευόμενοι Δαρείου ἀλλοι ἔπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτους ἡ πάσα Περσική στρατηγία ἐγένετο, διαφθέραι καὶ περιποιήσαι οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνεδώκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὔδέν πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμερήσει καταλπόταντα τέκνα τε καὶ γυναικάς καὶ χρήματα, οὐδέ ἐπιλέγοντας χρήναντον τοῖς ποιήσαις οὕτως μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβεῖται, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθόν, σῶζε οἶκον τοὺς ἔμοι καὶ τυραννίδα τῇ ἐμῆν σοι γὰρ ἐγὼ μοῦνο εἰς πάντων σκήπτρα τὰ ἐμα ἐπιτράπω." 

Ταῦτα εἴποι καὶ Ἀρτάβανος ἀποστείλας ὡς Σαῦτα, δεύτερα μετεπέμφησε Αἴρηξις Περσῶν τοὺς δικαιωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρῆσαν, ἕλεγε σφ' τάδε "ὁ Πέρσαι, τοῖς ἐγὼ ὑμῶν χρῆσον  

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187 ἔγειν ἐτὶ τοῖς πατέρας. This is the argument which in the sequel Themistocles used to induce the Ionians to take part against their Persian masters: ἄδραμε Ἰωνίας, οὐ ποιεῖτε δικαία ἐτὶ τοῖς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι (viii. 22).

188 δηλήσωσθαι. S and V have the active form δηλήσαι.

189 ἐς θυμὸν ὅν βαλεῖ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος. The same expression is used below (viii. 60): ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τὸδε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῖν.

187 φοβεῖαι. See note 604 on i. 180.

187 γνώμαι, "ground for knowing." The word is not a common one, but is used by Sophocles (Trachin. 503): ἀλλ' εἰδενα χρή δρασών ὡς ὡδ' εἰ δι-κεῖτ' ἔχειν, ἔχως ἐν γνώμαι μὴ τυραννίσῃ.

187 ἀποστείλας. S and V have ἀπο-λέσας, which seems to be an original reading, though Westcley regards it as derived from a gloss.
P O L Y M N I A. VII. 51—55. 219

συνέλεξα, ἀνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἁγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ κατασχύνειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐργασμένα Πέρσης, ἐντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιας ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἐκατοσ, καί οἱ σύμπαντες προθημήν ἐξωμεν ἐννόω γὰρ τούτο πᾶσι ἁγαθον ἔπειδοται. τόνδε δὲ εἰνεκα προσορεῖον ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθτάνομαι, ἐπὶ ἀνδρας στρατεύομε-να ἁγαθοὺς· τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἵππων ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. τῶν δὲ διαβαλῶμεν ἐπενεῦμενοι τοῦτο θεοῦ, τοι Περσίδα γῆν λελύγχασιν

Ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἥµεραν παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τῇ δὲ ὠστεράθη ἀνέµενον τὸν Ἡλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἅλωσοντα, θυμή- ματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν κατασκευάται καὶ μυριάζαι στορμύντες τὴν ὁδὸν ὡς ὁ ἐπανείλευλο ὁ Ἡλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσές φώς Ἐλέγξης τῆς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν Ἡλιον, μυρ- 

172 τοι Περσίδα γῆν λελύγχασι. The manuscripts P, K, F, a, δ have οἱ Πέρ- σιδα λελύγχασι.

174 εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν Ἡλιον, "prayed, turned to the sun." This practice, which prevailed in all the religions of antiquity into which sun-worship entered, was transferred to the early Christians, probably to avoid shocking the habits of new converts, and the Fathers of the Church took considerable trouble to give explanations of the practice conformable to the principles of Christianity. But, nevertheless, the habit drew upon them the calumny that the sun was an object of their adoration, and, in the case of many individuals, probably with justice. Leo (quoted by Voss, De Origenie Idololatris) complains that some persons after mounting the steps to the altar of St. Peter's Basilica, which, contrary to the usual practice, stands at the west end, "converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curvatis cervi-

cibus in honorem se splendidior orbis inclin-ent," and in a Latin sermon of the seventh century by St. Eligius (quoted by Grimm, Anhang zur Deutschen Mytho- logie, p. xxx) appears the caution, "Nul-lus dominus Solem aut Lunam vocet." The same idolatry of which Leo complained had aroused the indignation of the prophet EZEKIEL at Jerusalem (see viii. 16); and the direction in which DANIEL turned (vi. 10) was doubtless a portion of his dis- obedience to the royal decree which espe- cially excited the wrath of his accusers. The position of the temple at Jerusalem was, according to the notion of some, expressly determined on as a protest against sun worship (τὸν ἅγαθον ἀνθρώπως ἐναντιοῦν ἐκλα τῶν ἥλιον διεστῆτη. ANASTASIVS, Quast. xviii.). This position is enjoined for Chris- 

tian Churches in the Pseu-Adi-Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 57).
τὸ Ἀλγαῖον 176 τὰ ὑποξέγυμα καὶ ἡ θεραπευτὴ ἤγεντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανομένους πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτου οἱ σύμμαχοι στρατῷς παντολῶν ἐθέκεν. ταῦτη μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὔτοι τῇ δὲ ἀντεράίρῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέ- 
ποντες ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὔτοι μετὰ δὲ, οἱ τε ἱπποῖ οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ 
tὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρών ἐπὶ δὲ, αὐτοὶ τε Ἀέρβης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ 
ἱππόται οἱ ἱλίοι ἐπὶ δὲ τούτουι ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς καὶ αἱ νῆες 
ἀμα ἀνήγεντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίαν 178. ὥσ τῇ ἱκουσα καὶ ὅστατον 
διαβήμαι βασιλεὰ πάντων. 177.

56 Ἀέρβης δὲ ἐπεί τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἕλληνην, ἐθείτω τοῦ στρατοῦ 
ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα 178. διέβη δὲ ὁ στράτος αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ 
ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφράγεισθε, ἐκλυόμενοι οὐδένα χρώμαν. ἐν ἑαυτῇ 
λέγεται, Ἀέρβης ἐδοξοθηκότος τὸν Ἐλληστοὺντον, ἀνδρα 
εὐπτεὶν Ἐλληστούντον "ο Ζεῦ, τι δὴ ἀνδρὶ εὐδόμενος Πέρση καὶ 
οὐνομα ἀντὶ Δίως Ἀέρβης βέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἕλλαδα ἀθέλεις 
ποιήσας ἄγον πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆς το 
ποιέειν ταῦτα."

57 Οὐ δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς οὗν διάμημνοντο τέρας σφι ἐφάνη 
μέγα, τὸ Ἀέρβης ἐν οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐπούσατο καὶ περὶ εὐσύμβλητον 
ἔσον ἴπποι γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγῶν. (εὐσύμβλητον δὲν τὴ δεύτερο ἐγένετο, 
ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἕλαν στρατὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἕλλαδα Ἀέρβης ἀγαυρῶτα 
καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶτα, ὅπλων δὲ περὶ ἑωτοῦ τρέχοντο 179 ἦξεν ἐς 
τῶν αὐτῶν χόρον,) ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ τέρας εὕνη ἐν 
Σάρδισιν ἥμιλοις γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμῖλον διὰ καὶ ἠχοῦσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν 
δρέσεως, τὰ δὲ θηλεῖς καταυπηρεῖ δὲ ὅτι τὰ τοῦ δρέσεως. 
Τῶν 
ἀμφιτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσαμενος, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορευότα 
τὸν 
δὲ οἱ πεζὸς στράτος ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἐξε τῶν Ἐλληστούντων 
πλέουσα 180, παρὰ γὰρ ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἐμπαλὶ πρήσασιν τοῦ πεζοῦ 

176 τὸ Ἀλγαῖον. F has τὸν Ἀλγαίον. F has τὸν Ἀλγαίον. "got 
under way for the opposite shore."

177 ὥσ τῇ ἱκουσα... βασιλεὰ πάντων. 
The diversity of these two accounts indicates 
the uncertain character of the sources 
of the narrative; for the difference be- 
tween them is not the difference between 
two witnesses who contradict one another 
in details entirely unimportant to the main 
gist of a story, but it is a contradiction in 
the very particular which could not have 
failed to impress itself upon a spectra- 
tor,—the place of the monarch. 

178 ὡς μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. See 
ote 92 on § 22, above. 

179 περὶ ἑωτοῦ τρέχων. One manu- 
script (S) has περὶ ἑωτοῦ τρέχων. But 
the genitive is warranted by the majority 
of MSS, and by the whole in viii. 140: 
θεῖον περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. 

180 ἦξο τῶν Ἐλληστούντων πλέον. One 
MS only has τῶν Ἐλληστούντων, which 
would be the usual form. Perhaps ἦξω
πλοῦν is to be regarded as a single verb governing the accusative τον Ἑλλησπόντιον, in the sense "evacuating." Above (v. 103) the expression ἀπελώνουσας ἡμῶν τῆς Ἑλλησπόντιος is used.

111 ἐπὶ Χαριτωνίους ἄκρης ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπιζων. This phrase is not a very easy one to translate, except by a periphrasis, although the meaning of the author is plain enough if the form of the coast be considered. The fleet would not really sail in a western direction on leaving Sestos, but first of all in a s.w. course till it came off Elenus. When that point was rounded they would hug the shore of the Chersonese for four or five leagues, and then would stretch across for the Sarpedonian head in a direction only two or three points to the westward of due north. The ships were laid "for the cape" (ἐπὶ ἄρχης) in the process of "making the land" (ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπιζων). After that had been effected, they would proceed westward along the shore to the beach adjacent to Doriscus (§ 59). Looking on the one hand to the point of rendezvous for the ships, and on the other to the direction of the mountain range in which the Chersonese is continued, and to the south of which the land forces must have marched for a considerable time, a native of Sestos might not unreasonably describe the courses of the fleet and the army as being respectively to the west and the east. Speaking in general terms they were this; and strictly they were in opposite directions to each other.

112 Καρθήν πόλις. See note 80 on vi. 33.

113 Ἀλων. This place was a very strong one, as appears from the circumstance that in the war with the Romans carried on by Philip, king of Macedonia, in the year 200 B.C., it gave great trouble to the besiegers, and at last only fell by the treachery of the governor. (Livy, xxx. 16.) It probably was occupied by a Persian garrison as an important post, and perhaps on this account is mentioned by the author in iv. 90. The Thracian name of Ἀλων was Polytobria, which was equivalent to "the town of Polys," for the termination βία, that appears in Selybria, and Mesembria (the ancient name of Mesembria) is, according to Strabo (vi. c. 6, p. 111), the equivalent of ρῆλαι. Another name of the city was Argyenikus. (Stephanus Byzantinus, s. Alou.) Hence it is possible that the Argyenikian Thracians of whom Herodotus speaks (vi. 34 and ix. 119) are the perioeci of this town, although in the text there is no hint of any connexion between them. The population was certainly Αἰολιαν. (Thucydides, vii. 57.) Ἀλων is however mentioned in the Iliad (iv. 590) as the town from which the Thracian leader Pirus came.

114 Ἐσ θορίακον. See note 289 on v. 98.
katesthekse upo Daraiov ex ekelvo tou chrwon etel te ep Sivbas esstratweta. edoje o tiv Aerhe o chrwos elwv episthedos evdiantazai te kal exarismhia tou stratow kal etoile twta. tao men de nea tas piasas aptikomenev ex Doraikov ou vnaarxhov, kelleusanto Aerhe, ev tou aigialov ton prosechv Doraikov ekamvasen ev tiv Sallh te Samothrakia peptolostai polis kal Zawv, telenataloga de autov Sfereiou, akri vnomasth.185 de chrwos ouvto to palaiov ivn Kikwnov. ev touvou tou aigialov kataschontes, tas nea anevynov aneklousantes. de ev ev tiv Doraikov touvou tou chrwov tis stratihs arhmov entopito. "Osson men vnv ekastov paraleixov plhov ev arhmov184, ouk evchov elpai to atrekev. ouv gar legetai prs ovdamov antwropwv smupontos de tiv stratwv tou pezov to plhov efanh ebdymihtata kal ekatov muryvides. exerimheta de tivde tiv tropon sunyagontes ev eva chrwov muryida antwropov, kal sunadzantes187 tautivv ws malkveta evchov, periheraflav evbvev kivklov periparaphantes de, kal aptantes touv muryvov, aiaqmvn periabelov kata tiv kivklov ypsov aniekousan avrdv ev tiv omfalov, tautivv de peusasantes, allwv eubebakov ev tiv periokodomhmenov medruxiv ouv paitas touv trofiv evyrhmheta arhymhantas de kata evna ditaasov.

Oi de stratevedmoiv oide 7wv Pervsa men dde ekstassemenv peri men tivs kfarhisv elchov tivras kaleomvnoiv, plvon apagav.188 peri de to wma kivwvov xerwvovtoiv189 pukloiv, leipdov sunerpeiv ypiv evthnoidos peri de ta skelaa anaxuridason, ant de asptidov yepa. upo de, faretredwv ekrem atof.190 aixmas

185 akri vnomasth. Perhaps from its importance as a landmark to the mariner, it forming with Sarpedon's Head the bay within which there was so good a beach for ships to be hauled up high and dry.

184 plhov ev arhmov. The manuscripts B, V, a, c have plhov ev arhmov, and d, plhov arhmov.

187 sunadzantes. The true reading is probably sunadzantes, which is adopted by Bekker. The meaning of sunandwos would be "to compress." See above, kataadzantes (§ 36).

188 plivov apagav. See Hesychius, quoted in note 449 on i. 132.

189 xerwvovtoiv, "sleeved." The whole of the upper part of the body of these Persians was protected by a coat of mail, of such a kind as still not to prevent them from drawing the bow. For the manner in which they acted see ix. 61, and the note thereon. The lower part of the body was not necessarily defended by armour, for this was protected by the huge shield fixed in the ground. A figure of the kind is given by Layard from the sculptures of Kouyunjik. (Nineveh, ii. p. 348.)

190 upo de, faretredwv ekrem atof, "and under these were hung quivers of arrows." This does not (I conceive) mean that the shield was carried on the back, and thus covered a quiver suspended from the archer's shoulders; but that the quivers were hung to the interior of the...
commanded by Otanes.

shields itself, which when used fixed in the ground formed a kind of breastwork. (See note on ix. 61.)

111 παρά τον δεξιόν μηρόν. See note 176 on iii. 64.

112 τὸν Ἀμήστρος πατέρα, τὴν Πέρσεω γυναικί. Rawlinson (Note on the Persian Inscriptions at Behistun, p. xiii.) believes that Otanes is here confounded with his son Anaphes or Onophas. (See note on i. 19.) Having been old enough to have a daughter married to Cambyses (iii. 68), and to take a command against Smeres (iii. 141), Otanes (in his judgment) could not by any possibility have led the Persians, the flower of the army of Xerxes, in the expedition against Greece, still less could he have had a daughter young enough to marry Xerxes. It is possible that there is a confusion; but Rawlinson's reasons do not appear to me satisfactory. Considering the early puberty of women in the east, Otanes may very well have been no more than thirty-five or forty when he conspired against the Magian. This would make him little more than eighty at the time of Xerxes' expedition; and the examples of Swarrows, Radetzky, and Wellington are enough to prove that warfare is not a thing impossible at that age. Besides this, the command of the Persians (like the colonelcy of our regiments) may not have implied active service with them, but rather have been the index of the rank of the commander. Xerxes offered the highest military command either to Artynte or her nominee (ix. 109). The age of Amastris too would not be a conclusive argument. She need not have been more than twenty-five or thirty. No doubt one great cause of her occupying the position she did was the power of her family, whether she was the daughter of Otanes or of Anaphes. (See note 192 on iii. 68, and also iii. 83, 84.) And the bitter jealousy exhibited by her against the wife of Masistes is rather in keeping with a woman whose personal attractions have gone off, and who feels her power over a sensuous husband diminishing (ix. 111, 112). Compare the anecdote of her told in vii. 114.

113 Αρταῖος. This word would seem to be equivalent to magnates. See the interpretation of Ariaetarces given in vi. 96. The etymology would indicate that they were a ruling class living among a servile population; and if so the term περαικῶν does not mean merely "neighbours," but implies (as in Hellas) an inferior condition.

114 ἵνα δὲ Πέρσεδες, κ.τ.λ. This genealogy shows that the author is here drawing from Hellenic, not Oriental, sources; for "the Persians" made Persesus an Assyrian by birth, and in no way connected with the family of Acrisius. See vi. 53, above.

115 Μῆνισθ ἡμ. κ.τ.λ. See i. 135.

116 ἐκαλεόντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀρων. The MSS all have the term "Ἀρων" both here and in § 66; but "Ἀρως" in iii. 93. Hellenicus called Aria, which he used both in the feminine and neuter gender, a region of Persia. (Steph. Byz. sub ν.)
tis Kolchidos eis Athenes ev tois Arionous toytous, metexalou kai ou to othyma. autol de perip sefew oude legyous Mipoi.117)

Heronotus

Kaisi dē stratetemomeni ta mev allα katapēr Pērsou ekeina

dato antil de twis pilous, muthrphoroi ἤσαν. Kiosou de ἤρχε

"Anaphēs" 186 de "Otanew. "Tkakioi de katapēr Pērsou eعesakhato, ἤγεμονα paragmenou Megapantou tovs Basulwous δηστερον toytov

epistropesauanta. "Asouroi dē stratetemomeni perip mev tis kēfalēs eixou chalke te krania kai sevelugmena trōsou tis

βαρβαρων ou ekathēgmatos. 188, astibas de kai aigmata kai ēγχειρια

paraplišis τῆς Διονυσίας eixou prōs de, ρόπαλα ξύλων teuxi-

lumēna siδηρω καὶ λινοὺς δορβκας 200. oustou de ὑστὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς

ekaleontos Σύρων 201, ὑστὸν τῶν βαρβάρων "Asouroi eklexithsan

toyn de metaxi, Kalldaios 202. ἤρχε de sefew "Otanews ὁ "Arta-

xalos.

Baktroi dē perip mev tis kēfalēs aγχῶτα τῶν Μηδικῶν

ēkontes estrapetontos, tōsa de kalaima ēpιχώριa kai aigmata

117 autol de perip sefew oude legyous Mipoi. The most determined sticklers for the authority of Herodotus will hardly contend that genuine Median traditions brought the author of their name from Athens. Tigranes is in fact an Armenian name; and in the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene, a Tigranes takes the part in the overthrow of the Median empire which Herodotus ascribes to Cyrus. (See note 441 on i. 130.) Perhaps "the Medians" here are the inhabitants of that region which is spoken of elsewhere as so very near to Colchis (i. 104, where see note 363).

186 "Anaphēs. The manuscripts S and V have "Anophēs. Rawlinson considers this name identical with "Othoeras, the name by which Cyprius designates one of the seven conspirators against the Magian pretender, and whose daughter he makes Amestris, the sultana of Xerxes, to have been. See Diopeus, cited in note 228 on iii. 84.

199 xalake te krania kai sevelugmena trōsou tis ραββαρων ou ekathēgmatos. I take these words to mean two different kinds of casque, the former being the helmet familiar to the Greeks with a curved crest, and the latter a scull cap surrounded by a turban. Both of these (as well as others) were found by Layard at Nimroud represented in the sculptures. See the figures given by him, Nisicrēs, vol. ii. p. 338. He also found helmets, but they were of iron, sometimes inlaid with stripes of copper.

200 λινοὺς δορβκας. These were very probably of Egyptian manufacture, or at least produced by Egyptian artisans. The Egyptian flass and byblus manufactures are well known; and the offering of Amasis to the Lindian Athene, and that which he intended to send to Lacedemon (ii. 182 and iii. 47), seem to have been a chef d’œuvre of the particular article which his subjects were famous for producing. A quilted thorax made from the coarse byblus thread of which sailcloth was manufactured (ii. 96) would be a considerable protection. See i. 135, and the note 461.

281 oustou de ὑστὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ekaleontos Σύρων. The name Syrians seems to have been aciently applied by the Hellenic race so as to include Assyrians, Syrians proper, and Cappadocians. Specially however it was applied to the last, who in speaking exactly were termed White Syrians (Λευκόσαριοι). Stebisco, xvi. init.

282 τούτων de metaxi, Kalldaios. It seems not impossible that these Chaldeans who were mixed up with the Assyrians were the armourers to the heavy-

armed troops. They can scarcely be the Chaldeans of i. 181.
by Hytaspes, son of Darius and Atossa;

Indians by
Pharnazeus; Arians by
Sisamnes; Parniains,

Chorasmians, Sagdians, Gandaviains, and Daddics by
Ariabazxus, Axanes, and Aryphius; Cappadocians by

These words appear to me a gloss. The manuscripts P, F have δέγματα, which Schaefer adopts. The word δέγματα, "stiffened," makes it likely that the caps were of felt.

This word, which is etymologically identical with the Latin 'securus' and the Armenian 'sacr,' denotes the double-headed Amazonian axe which appears on the works of art. It was also the ensign of Zeus Labrandeus in Caria (see note 327 on v. 119), and an hereditary weapon of the Vindelici in the time of Horace. (Od. iv. 4. 17.)

Σκύθαι 'Αμυργιόι. No clue seems to exist for determining the site of these Scythians. The Mss vary between 'Αμυργιόι, Αμυργιόι, and Αμυργοί. Cooley from the etymology supposed them to be the inhabitants of the valley of the Moorg. They served as marines on board the ships (§ 90), and their weapon, the sagaris, must have been very effective in boarding. A somewhat similar one is used in the British navy for the same duty.

And ἓλασι, penei ména. This has been understood to mean "made of tree-wool" (πείρα ἓλασι, i.e. coltun. See the note 219, b, on iii. 86.

'Αριεί. All the MSS have this form here, but in iii. 93 they are equally unanimous in favour of 'Αριείων.

'Ο Τάδρανος. See note 254 on § 83, below.

Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χορδάσμοι καὶ Σούδοι. These three nations, together with the Arii, form one nome in the cadastral system (iii. 93).

Γαυδάριεως καὶ Δαδίκαι. See note 258 on iii. 91. The name Γαυδάριεως is probably connected with Candalbar. In the Behistun Inscription Gadarra comes next to Suguda (Sogdians) in the list of tributary countries. The Persians seem to have found a difficulty in pronouncing the letters M and N when followed by a mute, and thus Gandaria became with them Gadarra, just as Intaphernes did Vidagvana, and Cambeses Kabujiya. Cooley identifies the Dacie with the Tadjek, "a people of ancient Persian race, now widely scattered through the countries east of Persia;" and says that Von Hammer traces the word in Tadschik (Tedeschi), the ancestors of the Deutschen, or Germans.

'Αρτιαν. S and V have 'Αρταν. See note on § 224, below.

VOL. II.
67 'Αρτόφως. Both here and in the next section S, V, and d have 'Αρτόφως, a name which was borne by a Persian of distinction killed in Cyprus (v. 108).

211 συσύνασε τε ενδιδυκότες. This (which was no doubt the ordinary garb of the country) suggests that these Caspians were more probably inhabitants of a cold than a warm region,—rather therefore to be sought in the mountains than on the plains. That they should have had some cavalry is no objection to this view. That it was insignificant is clear from the description of its armament (below, § 86). See, with reference to the word Caspian, the note 269 on iii. 93.

212 τῶν 'Αρτοφίου ἄδελφων. The circumstance of two brothers having such high commands suggests the probability that their father Artabanus was Darius’s brother.

213 Ξαράγγια. Zarangia is one of the twenty-two countries enumerated in the Behistan Inscription as making up the empire of Darius. (See note 278 on iii. 94.)

214 συμφυρόροι. This description of their garb would lead one to suppose that the Pactyes were mountaineers living at a high level, which produced severe cold. Their site is most difficult to fix. See note 294 on iii. 102, the view in which is corroborated by the circumstance that ‘pash’ is said in the Afghan language to mean ‘a hill.’ (Potter, Etiologische Forschungen, quoted by Cooley, ad loc.)

215 'Αρτόντης. The majority of the MSS have this form, but some have 'Αρταντής and 'Αρταντής. See note 353 on iii. 128.

216 ἐσηρᾶ. This word is explained by the grammarians as χείφως ἀνακεκαλομένως, a phrase which appears to be corrupt.

217 τόξα δὲ παλάττων. These are bows which when unstrung assumed a curved form, sometimes approaching nearly to circularity, with the convex side in the opposite side to that on which it shows itself when the bow is strung.

221 μακροβίας. This is the reading of the manuscripts E, a, b. The majority (which Gaisford follows) have μακροβίας. But it would be impossible to use very short arrows with bows of six feet.
**POLYMNIA. VII. 67—72.**

οὐ πεποιημένον, τρόπου λόγχης εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά· and Artystone his favourite wife.

dé σαματος τὸ μὲν ἡμιου ἐξελεύψετο γύνῃ ἑντες ἐς μάχην, 

τὸ δ’ ξετερον ἡμιν μιλτρ. Ἀραβιῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀδιόπων τὸν ὑπὲρ 

Ἀγύπτου οἰκεμένων ἱρχε Ἀρσάμης 222, ὁ Δαρεῖο καὶ Ἀρτυστών ὑπ

τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός τὴν μάλοια στέρξα τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείος, 

eἰκιώ χρυσέν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο 224. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Ἀγύπ

του Ἀδιῶπων καὶ Ἀραβιῶν ἱρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου 

ἀνατολέων Ἀδιῶπως, (δεῖξο γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο,) προσετέτακατο 

τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, διαλασσότως εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐτέροις, φανὴ 

dὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μοῦν οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Ἀδιῶπως ἑιδύτριχὲς 

εἰσ’ οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀδιῶπος οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἐξούσι πάνων 

ἀνθρώπων. οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀδιῶπως, τὰ μὲν πλεῖ 

κατάπετρ Ἰνδὸς ἐσσαφάτο, προμετωπίδα ἐς Ἱππων ἐξούν 225 ἐπὶ 

τῆς κεφαλῆς σὺν τα τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκδειρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφίᾳ καὶ 

ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἡ λοφική κατέχρα τα δὲ ἄτα τῶν Ἰππων ὅρθα 

πεπτυότα ἐξοῦν προβλήματα δὲ ἀντὶ ἀστίδας ἐποιεύτοι γεράνων 

δοράς. Λύβες δὲ σκέψει μὲν σκυτήν ἡμίαν ἐξούσες, ἀκούοιτο 

δὲ ἐπικαύτως χρωμένων ἀρχοντα ἐς παρεῖχοντα Μασσάγην τὸν 

Ὀρλίου. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς 

ἐξούσες κράσειν πεπελεγμέα 226 ἀστίδας δὲ σμικρᾶς, αἰχμάς δὲ υἱ 

μεγάλας πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχείριδα περὶ δὲ τούς πόδας, 

πεδία ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέστην κνήμην ἀνατεύοντα. Λύγες 227 δὲ καὶ 

222 Ἀρσάμης. βασιλεύς Ἐθελκύνους. 

222 a position quite in accordance with his holding the command which Herodotus ascribes to him. He makes him slain in the action of Salamis (308).

224 εἰκάς χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο. Perhaps this was an effigy after her death. Just before the death of Darius himself Asperse possessed the whole influence with him (vii. 3), which would scarcely have been had Artystone been alive. According to the canons of the grammarians the Ionic form of the accusative  ισός and  ισίας, he adheres to  ισάκας and  ισαίας. 

2225 προσετέτακατο δ᾽ Ἰππων ἐξούν. These are helmets made of a portion of the skin of the horse's crest, perhaps a part of the bone being also left in to protect the forehead of the wearer. The helmet of Hercules is in a similar way made of the head of the Nemean lion in Valerius Flaccus:

"CLEONEO JAM TEMPORA CLUSUS HIATUS ALCIDES" (Argonaut. i. 34).

226 ἐξούσες κράσειν πεπελεγμέα. See above, note 190 on § 65.

227 Λύγες. One manuscript (S) has Λύγες, and the same, together with V, has Λύγες instead of Ἀλγήνων in iii. 92.
Herodotus

Matirnol kal Maramdonoi te kal Σύρων. τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσι τα ἔθνα τραγωδοῦνοι οἱ ἐν Σύροι οὕτωι ἀπὶ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέοντας. Παφλαγόνων μὲν νῦν καὶ Ματηρών Δώτος ἐστιν ἔνδορ. Ὅρος. 73 οἱ Φρυγία οἱ τῇ Αρτυστάνῃ. Φρύγες δὲ ἄγχοστα ἐν τῇ Παφλαγωνίκη σκεύην ἐξουσίαν, ὄλην παραλλάσσουσα. οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδονὲς λέγοντες ἐκάλεσαν Βρῆγες. 74 χρόνων δὲν τῶν Εὐρωπητῶν ἔνοτε σύνοικοι ἤσαν Μακεδόνες, μεταβάλτες δὲν ἔνας τῆν Ἀσίαν ἁρμα τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὸ ὕλον μετημβαλόμενον ἔστιν. Ἀρμένων δὲ κατετάφρον ἔστεσάξατο, ἔνοτες Φρύγικας ἀποκελλούμενοι. τούτων ἀντικτάσεις ἔτη γεγονοῦσαν, Δαρείου τεξόν θυγατέρα. Λυκοὶ δὲ ἀγχοστά των Ἐπιλληνίκων ἐξούσια ὅπλα (οἱ δὲν Λυκοὶ Μινδέποι ἐκαλεύοντο τὸ πάλαι). ἐπὶ δὲν Δυσοῖ τοῦ Αττικοῦ ἐξούσια τὴν ἔπαρμηνη, μεταβαλόμενο ὑπὸνομοῦ. Μυσοὶ δὲν ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξούσια κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἔπικαις δὲν σφικτίς ἀκονίων. ἐξεχωρεῖσιν ἐπικαυτοῦσι. (οὐδὲ δὲν εἰς ἰδιῶν ἀποκελοῖ ἀπὸ Οὐλίμπου δὲν ὄρεος

228 Σέροι. See note 242 on i. 72.
229 Δώτος. One MS has Δέκτος.
230 Γαβρίες. This is the reading of 8 alone. The majority of the MSS have Βρήγες, and α and ε Γαβρίες.
231 Ἐκαλεύοντες Βρήγες. This account of the matter by the Macedonians is very instructive as a type of the manner in which historical facts were both preserved and modified by the early traditions. The ethnical affinity of the tribes thrown off in successive waves of the great stream of migration which set from central Asia westward was manifest, partly by the similarity of their ritual, partly by that of their garb and military equipments, partly by that of their language. (Thus Εὐδοξία, ap. Στέφανος. Βυζαντ. συν συν καὶ Ἀρμενία, remarks of the Armenians, that they θεοὶ φυτῆς πολλὰ πιστεύουσι.) But the westernmost were the first to benefit by contact with Hellenic civilization, and after this was the case, and commercial intercourse had again renewed their intercourse with their kinmen, all recollection of the original connexion having died away, the first mode of explaining the phenomena which forced themselves upon their notice would be to consider the inferior race as the degenerate descendants of the superior. Hence, as in the text, the Asiatic Phrygians are represented as colonists from Macedonia, and the Armenians as colonists from Phrygia. Hence, too, the phenomenon which so continually recurs in mythical times, of pairs of legends, the one of which represents a given tribe (A) as the ancestors of another (B), while the corresponding legend exactly reverses the relation.

The form Βρῆγες, or Βρῆγες (which one MS has), for Φρῆγες, is due to the dialect of Macedonia, which substituted β for φ, or for the digamma Φ of which βαλακρόν, κεβαλλή for κεφαλή, Βρεφικὴ for Φερεφική, and Βρήγος for Φρήγος (Lat. frigus), are familiar instances. It may be remarked that this provincialism was not confined to the lower orders; for although the father of Alexander the Great is always called, and probably wished always to be called, Φιλαρρως, yet when his generals succeeded to thrones, the vulgarism was elevated to a court fashion, and neither Pherecius nor Polyemus ever make their appearance in Greek literature. The Βρῆγος of vi. 46 are no doubt the same as the European Βρῆγες of the text.

228 Μινδέποι ἐκαλεύοντο τὸ πάλαι. See i. 7, above.
233 ἑκοτισια . . . ἐκακακάσια. It is not easy to imagine such weapons as these formidable, yet Αἰσχύλος distinguishes the bearers of them as ἑκοτισιαν ἀνθρώποι. (Per. 52.)
P O L Y M N I A. VII. 73—76.

229 kaléontai Oülmüntnrooi. 834) λυθον δὲ καὶ Μυσὸν ἥρξε Ἀρτα-
φέρνης ὅ τι Ἀρταφέρνεος, δι' ἐσ Μαραθώνα εσθώλεται ἀμα Δάτι.
 Thetaikes δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐλοπεκές ἑχοντες ἐστρα-
tέυντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σώμα κινώνας: ἐπὶ δὲ, ζεϊρας περιμεθυμεῖνοι
ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κινήμας πέδωλα νεβρῶν,
πρὸς δὲ, ἀκονία τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἄγχειριδία σμικρὰ. (οὔτοι δὲ
διαβάντες μὲν ἔσ την Ἀσίην, ἀκλιθοῦσα Βιθυνοί 231. τὸ δὲ πρότερον
ἐκλάλων, ὡς αὐτὸ λέγοντι, Στρυμόνοις, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνων
ἐξαιστηθέναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθῶν ἰντὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν 332.)
Thetaików δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίη ἤρξε Βασσάκης ὅ Ἀρταβάνου. . .
. . . ἀστίδας δὲ ὀμβολίας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο
λυκοεργέας 234 ἐκαστὸς ἐλχε' ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα χάλκεα.

234 kaléontai Oülmüntnrooi. For the site of the Myssian Olympus see note 124 on i. 36. It is the scene of the death of Croesus's favourite son.
231 πέδωλα νεβρῶν, "dearakin buskins." See note 27 on ii. 9.

234 Bithyno. The Thyni are not mentioned (as in i. 28) by the side of the Bithyni, which is certainly remarkable, if, in accordance with the general view, we suppose both to be Asiac Thracians. Sthlako (xi. c. 3, p. 18) mentions a place called Thynias Acte, on the European side of the Exurie, between Apollonia and Selmydeussus, as an evidence (like the Thracian tribe called Bithyni) of the European origin of the Asiatic Thyni and Bithyni. It is clear therefore that he and the authorities whom he followed conceived of the Thyni of i. 28 as Asiatics. But it is observable that wherever these last are mentioned on the Asiatic shore, it is always in connexion with the Bithyni; whereas the European Thyni were a notoriously warlike Thracian tribe in the time of Xenophon (Anab. vii. 2. 22). Under these circumstances I am inclined to sus-
pect that the Asiatic Thyni owe their existence only to the misunderstanding of the passage in Herodotus (i. 28), it being wrongly assumed that the catalogue of Croesus's subjects there given related only to the continent of Asia. But it is far from impossible that through the agency of the elder Miltiades a feudal submission may have been rendered to Croesus by the chiefs of the European Thyni. (See note 88 on vii. 37.) And if these are meant in i. 28, their absence from the roll of the Persian army here is at once explained,—

75 Thraciants (Bithynians) by Basseas;

76 Asiac Thraciants, who have an oracle of Ares;

which on the generally received hypothesis of their being Asians would be very diffi-
cult to account for. This view of the case illustrates the antipathy of the younger Mil-
tiades to the Persian power (see note 354 on iv. 137), and the difference of feeling be-
tween him and Histiaeus, who stood to Da-
rius in very much the same feudal relation that the elder Miltiades had done to Croesus. It also serves to show the steps by which Croesus came to entertain the project of building a navy of his own (i. 27). His success abroad through Miltiades might give plausibility to a scheme which would be obviously insane in a purely continental potentate. But it would be very natural for a sanguine and successful prince to think that if great results could be achieved by a small fleet of (so to say) privateers, yet more might be effected by a pitched battle with a regular navy. The intense desire exhibited a few years ago in Ger-
many to get up a confederate fleet for the purpose of protecting the foreign trade of the Zoll-verein is an exaggerated parallel of the delusion of the Lydian monarch.

231 ἡσποτὴμα ... ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. This event would have taken place in the course of the expedition spoken of in § 20, above. But with re-
gard to that expedition see the note on the passage, and 332 on ii. 118.

232 proboλους δύο λυκοεργέας, "wolfs-
spears." The commentators from the time of De Pauw seem agreed that a lascus must exist after the word Ἀρταβάνου, the name of some tribe or nation to whom the armament described belonged having fallen out from the text.
καθελέας. These, it cannot be doubted, are the same as the Kaβάδων of iii. 90, although the difference in the form of the name suggests that there will have been a different source for the two lists. In that passage the Lasonii are represented as not identical with the Cabalii, but the text is certainly corrupt; the Hygennae are never mentioned elsewhere; and the conjecture of Valckenaer that KAİΤΤΕΝΝΩΝ is a corruption from ΚΑΛΕΤΜΕΝΩΝ is, to say the least, a very plausible one, and completely reconciles the two accounts.

Mλαβ. See i. 173, and the notes upon it.

βαδης. Respecting this name see note 83 on iii. 30.

Μακρωνες καὶ Μοσγουκος. See notes 274, 275 on iii. 94. Ηεκατους mentioned both these tribes by name. The latter he made conterminous to the Τιβαρι, and mentioned a city in their territory named Χορδας (ap. Steph. Βυζ. ν. Χορδας).

Μόσχου. In the cadastral system of Darius, the Moschi, Tibarenii, Macrones, Mosynoci, and Mares constitute the nineteenth satrapy, and their tribute is fixed at 30 talents (iii. 94). Strabo (xi. c. 2, p. 406) makes the Moschi to be the inhabitants of the roots of the s.w. side of the Caucasus on the coast of the Euxine, immediately north of the Colchians. But it seems quite clear from the armament which is here attributed to them that they were mountainaeans; and Ηεκατους (sp. Steph. Βυζ. ι. 94.) made them conterminous with the Matieni. So too Hελανικος (sp. Steph. Βυζ. ν. Χαρματιος) says: Κερκησίνων δ' και καὶ Μόσχου και Χορδας, κατω δ' Ηπικου, και δ' Κοραζολ. The Coraxi are described by Ηεκατους (sp. Steph. Βυζ. υ. ν.) as a Colchian tribe. We shall probably be right in considering them as ethnically identical with the Achei, Zygri, Henochi, and Cerceta, whom Strabo places on the mountainous shore of the eastern coast of the Euxine. Still Moschice is further to be said by Strabo to be the name of the region drained by the upper part of the Phasis, and its feeders Glancus and Hippus, which run from the Armenian mountains, i.e. the northern side of the range of Taurus. In this country the legend of Jason was indigenous, and he, as also Phrixus before him, was said to have gone as far as Media,—an indication of the early existence of the commercial route described in the note 363 on i. 104 (xi. c. 2, p. 410).

Χερσαμους. S has Χεράμους, and Valla Chorasmis filius. Chorasmia is one of the twenty-two countries forming the empire of Darius in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) But Artayctes is specified elsewhere to be a
P O L Y M N I A. VII. 77—82. 231

ėpetrōpēve. Māres dē ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἐπιχώρια πλεκτά ἐλχών, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκώτοια. Κόλχου δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς κράνεα ἕξιλνα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ώμοβοδνὰς σμικρὰς αἰχμᾶς τε βραχέας πρὸς δὲ, καὶ μαχαίρας ἐλχών. Μαρδών δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἥρχε Φαραγνᾶτης ο Τεσσάρων, Ἀλαρόδου δὲ καὶ Σέσπερες κατάπερ Κόλχου ὑπακομένου ἐστρατεύοντο τούτων δὲ Μασίτιτος ὁ Σιμωμίτρως ἡρχε. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ θέβνα τὰ ἐκ τῆς 'Ερυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νῆσων δὲ ἐν τῇς τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικεῖ Βασιλεὺς, ἀρχετάτω τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐλχὼν ἐσθητά τε καὶ ὑπλα τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἥρχε Μαρδώντης ὁ Βαγαίου, δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ στρατηγεὺς δευτέρῳ ἤτει τούτων ἐτελεύησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

Ταύτα ἢν τὰ κατ᾽ ἡπειρον στρατευόμενα τὰ ἠθένα, καὶ τεταγμένα ἐς τὸ πετῶν. τούτων ὅν του στρατοῦ ἠθῶν οὔτως ὑπερ εἰρήταν καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαρμοφόραντες οὕτως ἦσαν, καὶ χιλάρχας τε καὶ μυράρχας ἀποδέχαντες ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ μυράρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἠθείων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σμαίνοντες. ἦσαν μὲν δὲ οὕτως, ὑπερ εἰρήτας, ἄρχοντες. 'Εστρατηγεὺς δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τὸ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πετῶν Μαρδώντος τε ὁ Γαβρίεως, καὶ Τριτανάκχης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου

Persian (ix. 115), so that the interpretation of Valla is apparently correct.

Māres. See note 276 on iii. 94. Hecatetus made the Mares conterminous with the Mosynocē (ap. Steph. Byz. sub ν.).

Sedipere. See note 272 on iii. 94.

to ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους. See i. 93.

Deutērōn ἢτει τούτων, "in the second year after these things." See note 96 on vi. 40.

tέλων δὲ καὶ ἠθείων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σμαίνοντες, "and of entire nations also there were other officers having the command." A distinction is taken between the ἄρχοντες, whom Herodotus has mentioned as high officers directly appointed by the king, and these persons, probably the chiefs of their several tribes, who brought their followers au mäne on their own authority.

Marpóntos ἢ Γαβρίεως, κ.τ.λ. These six generals are united in pairs below (§ 121). Mardonius and Masistes are in command of one division, which keeps up the communication with the fleet; Tritantechnes and Gergis of a second, which seems to be a light division, as it would have to act against mountaineers; and Smerdones and Megabyzon of a third, which was accompanied by Xerxes in person. Mardonius being named first, in spite of the rank which Masistes's birth must have given him, induces one to suppose that the command in chief was practically given to him. Hence he commanded the most important of the corpus which had to act with the fleet; and hence, when Xerxes retreated, he was formally recognized as chief.

Tritanákchēs. This is the name of a satrap of Babylonia (i. 192), but his father's name is Artabarus. It may be observed that the richness of the Babylonian province rendered it an appropriate government for a near relative of the sovereign; and in the uncial MSS v might
The corps of
"the Immortals"
commanded
by Hydarnes.

The cavalry
contingent.

Sagartians.

The description of their
armament reminds one of the
laser of the Pampas; and in the late war in
Hungary very formidable irregular cavalry
were furnished by the mounted shepherds, who

§ 135. But all this connexion of circum-
stances is pure assumption. There is no-
thing to prove that the Hydarnes of iii.
70 is the same with all or any of the par-
ties of the same name mentioned in viii.
133; vii. 66. 211, and 135; and there
are some reasons against it. See note 298
on vi. 133.

§ 224 σκεύην δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεταλο-
μήν τῆς Ἡρωδοτοῦ καὶ τῆς Παντείκης.
Perhaps the covering of their heads as
well as their dirks resembled the Persian.
Being nomads, they would doubtless be
shepherds, and the rough sheepskins
would be the point of similarity between
them and the Pactyes, who wore capotes
of goatskin with the hair on. (See § 67,
above.) The description of their arm-
ament reminds one of the laser of the
Pampas; and in the late war in Hungary
very formidable irregular cavalry were
furnished by the mounted shepherds, who

easily be mistaken for ζ. The Tritan-
techmes of this passage seems to have
inherited his father's prudence, if the
reading of S in viii. 26 be the true
one.

223 'Αριστο. The manuscripts S, a, c,
d have 'Αριστο.

223 Μεγάβυςος ο Ζασπύρον. It has been
assumed that this Zopyrus is the same as
the individual whom Herodotus represents
to have played so important a part at
the siege of Babylon. But if he was so re-
garded, it seems strange that no allusion
should be made to that remarkable story.
See the note 440 on iii. ult.

224 'Θάρρυς ὁ 'Θάρρυος. RAWLINSON
(Note on the Persian Inscriptio of Be-
hista, p. xv) calls this person the elder
of the two sons (the other being Stiammis,
§ 66, above) of Hydarnes the conspirator.
He also tacitly identifies the conspirator
with the great officer mentioned below,
δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὗτοι χάλκεα οὗτοι σιδήρεα, ἐξο οὐκεφαλίδων χρέωνται δὲ σειρῆσι πεπλεγμένῃς ἐξ ἵματων ταύτης πλάσμων ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε ἐπεάν συμμιᾶσασθαί τοιοῦ πολεμίσασθai, βάλλοντι τάσσας ἐπ' ἄκρω βράχων ἐχώσας· δεῦν δ' ἐν τύχῃ, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνδρώπου, ἐπ' ἐντὸν ἔλκει ὅτι ἐν ἐρέσει ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφελοῦνται τοὺτοι μὲν αὐτή ἡ μάχη καὶ ἐπετετάχθατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας. Μήριος δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἡχον κεφαλῆν καὶ Κάσπιος ὡσαίτως. 86

'Ινδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεανάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἡλακτὸν δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἁρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοιοῦ ἁρματοῦ ὑπήραν ἵπποι καὶ ὅνι ἁρμοι. 88. Βάστριοι δὲ ἐσκελεύδατο ὡσαίτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Δίβες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καταπέπε ἐν τῷ πεζῷ χλακον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἁρματα. ὥς δὲ αὐτὸς Κάσπιοι. 87 καὶ Παρικάνδης ἐσεανάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. 'Αράβιος δὲ σκευή μὲν εἴχον τὴν αὐτὴν ἦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἡλακτὸν δὲ πάντες καμήλους, ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἤππων. Ταύτα τά ἐθνεα μοῦνα ἑπτευεν. ἀρμνός δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὡτὸ μυρίδες, πάρεξ τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἁρματων. οἱ μὲν ἅλλοι ἑπτεῖες ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τέλεα, 'Αράβιος δὲ ἐχάρα τούτου ἑπετετάχατο· ἦν γὰρ τῶν ἤππων οὗτοι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὀστεῖς ἐτετάχατο, ἕνα μὴ φοβθεῖνο τὸ ἵππων· "Ἡπάρχοι δὲ ἦσαν "Ἀρμακάρθης τε καὶ Τήμας, Δάτιος σαῦδες", δὲ τρίτος σφι συνύπαρχος Φαρνύχχης καταλέπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων ὡς γὰρ ὀρμέων ἐκ Σάρδισι, ἐπὶ συμφορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεβελητον. ἐλαύνοντι γάρ οἱ, ὑπὸ τοὺς

likewise carried a lasso loaded with a heavy ball of lead at each end. They however are described as using this in the manner of a hand-sling, whereas the Sagartians employed their weapon like the South American horsemens. With regard to the site of the Sagartians see note 433 on l. 125.

ὅσοι ἔγόνοι. This feature in the narrative is very suspicious. The σεβὰς has never been tamed, although many trials have been made.

Κάστριοι. S has Κάσσωι. The Κασπιαν have been mentioned above (§ 63), but the Caspians are unknown except from this passage.

Παρυκάνδης. Ηγετὰκεν (φιλ. Βυζ. άκον. άκαν. ονικ.) gave Παρυκανδη as the name of a city in Persia. But the site is entirely unknown. The Parianians are mentioned above (iii. 92), where see note 260.

Πρωτεύευ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. The majority of the MSS have the present Πρωτεύευ. Πρωτεύευ οὐ μὴ φοβθεῖνο τὸ ἵππων. See i. 60.

ἐπὶ συμφορὴν . . . ἀνεβελητον. A similar expression is used below (§ 133): ἐπὶ τοίον Ἀθηναιοὶ ταύτα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς ἄρματος κυριακαί κυριακαί ἀνεβελητον γενέσθαι, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑαυτῷ. The extreme aversion to using words in themselves importing misfortune may be observed. Similarly Solon says, τὰ μὴ τῖς θέλει, meaning ἄνθρωποι ματα all the time (i. 32); and the phrases
πόδας τοῦ Ἰπποῦ ὑπέδραμε κόων καὶ ὁ Ἰππος οὐ προϊόντων, ἐφοβηθή
tε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσείατο τοῦ Φαρνούχεσα. πεσὼν δὲ, ἀλὰ τε ἡμεῖς,
καὶ ἐς φίλων περιήλθε ἥ νοῦσος τὸν δὲ Ἰππὸν αὐτίκα καὶ
ἀρχάς ἐποιήσαν οἱ οἰκεῖαι ὡς ἐκλέενε ἐς τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷφε
κατεβάλε τὸν δευτέρα ἀπαγόρευτος, ἐν τοῖς γούνας ἀπέταμον
tὰ ἑκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὖν παρελθή τῇ ἱγμενοῖσι.

Τῶν δὲ τριήρων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἄγενετο ἐπὶ καὶ διηκόσια καὶ
χίλια. 331 ταρέχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οὗτος Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Σύριοις
τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριήκοντας, ὡδὲ ἐσκευασμένον περὶ μὲν
τόσον κατεληων κυνέας ἐλχον ἀγχοτάτῳ πεποιημένος τρόπον τῶν
ξένων ἐνδικότες δὲ θάρηκα σωμάτων. 332 ἀστίδας δὲ ἐπὶ
οὐκ ἐχούσας 333 ἐλχον, καὶ ἀκόντως: οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν

οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔδειξα, καὶ τὸ, ἔργα, εἰναι κοινὰ πόλεως, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρβατοῦ, ὥστε τοῦ ᾳο 
καὶ διηκόσια καὶ χίλια. Tὸ σαμβοῦν ἐπὶ τὸς Ἀρβατοῦ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀρβατω 
διερχόμενοι τὰς ἀρχαῖας, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄγνωστοι, πεποιημένοις ἀρχαῖ 
τῶν τῶν ἡβραίων ἐνδικότες δὲ θάρηκας σωμάτων. 332 ἀστίδας δὲ ἐπὶ 
οὐκ ἐχούσας 333 οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων. (Περγαμοῦ, 341.)

If the 207 swift sailers be taken exclusive of the 1000 before mentioned, the two ac 
counts exactly coincide. But that this was the intention of Εκτέλες seems very 
improbable, if we look back to the two preceding lines, where he says:

"Ελλησσιαν μὲν ἦν ὁ τὰς ἀριθμόν ἐς τριάκοντα δύκα 
νῶν· δέκα δρών· δύκας δέκα· ἦν τῶν χωρὶς ἑκατόν."

It is quite certain that the ten select ships here are not exclusive of the 300, and it is 
almost so, that the 207 of the Persian armament is intended to stand in the same 
relation to the whole as the ten of the allies to their fleet. And both Plato (Legg. 
iii. 14) and Ctesias (ep. Ploution, p. 39) make the numbers of the Persian ships 
something above a thousand. This circumstance proves decisively that a definite 
tradition, which confined the numbers to a thousand or a little more, existed in the 
early part of the fourth century B.C., even among those persons who would be most
tempted to exaggerate the enemy's force. The statements of the orators (such as 
Hippocrates, who gives in one place 1300 and in another 1300), and of the later 
compilers of history, are not worth taking into account. I am inclined to the opinion 
not only that the interpretation of Εκτέλες, in accordance with Plato, is the 
more authentic one, but that the discrepancy between the resulting numbers and 
those which appear in the text arises from the other interpretation of that very pas 
sage, viz. the addition of the squadron of 207 to the whole fleet, of which it was 
really a part. Herodotus' informant had fallen into this mistake (as I conceive), 
and perhaps into another also,—the re 
conning the Egyptian squadron as an inde 
pendent one of 200 ships. See note 288 
on § 98, below.

333 Εθνεσιαν λικέας. Probably of E 
γυπτικον μασαν. See note 461 on i. 135, 
and above, note 199 on § 63. The simi 
larity of the Phoenician, Carian, Egyptian, 
and Greek helmet of the time of Herodot 
us was so great as to suggest the proba 
bility of the common origin of them. See 
note 407 on iv. 186. But I do not believe 
with Layard (Niniveh, ii. p. 338) that 
it came from Assyria, but rather that it 
was imported thither from Phoenicia or 
Egypt, after the expeditions of the Asy 
rian monarchs to those countries. It seems 
to me to be originally Carian, and to have 
been invented before the era of Minois. 
(See note 487 on iv. 189.)

334 ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐξοδικας. The grammarians 
explain ἀπὸ as the bosses of the shields; 
but they are the rims surrounding them.
Oikeov, ós aútois légonui, épi t' Eruvth' thalássas' évdeten dé interpretávtes 242, tis Súrís oikéouvi tis pará thalássan tis dé Súrís tóutó to xworón, kai to méxri Aigúptou taw, Palaustíni kále- etai 243. Aigúptiou dé néas paraíchouú déukosías; óntoi dé eíchou perí ménu tésis kefalhí kráneas xheleuvtá 244, astídas dé kóllas tás wstis megalás eúchosas, kal dératá te naúmacha, kal tónous 245 megalónou. to dé pléthos autois thoríkoforóis hésen, makárais dé megálas eíchon. oúntoi ménu aúto estaládato. Kúprios dé paraíchouú néas peúthkonta kai ékatón, ékenasaménoi ódeis tás ménu kefalalas eulíkhto métrsi ois basileies aútwn ois dé álloi eíchon kibównas 246. tó dé alŁa káptiper "Ellines. tóutón dé tósoide ðeúlêa éstov ois méno ápó Sálamón kai 'Athnénas ois dé ápó 'Arkádías ois dé ápó Kíthovn" 247 ois dé ápó Fúnikías ois dé ápó Aídiostíneas 248, ós aútoi Kú- prios légonui. Kikwes dé ékatón paraíchouú néas oúntoi ès aú pérai ménu tésis kefalhí kránea epíkhória, lausía te eíchóv ant' astídou émambohías peýonéména, kai kibównas eírphéous énedukótes dívo dé akántova ekástos kai xífos eíchon, akhótátw téis Aigúptihis makh-

245 Ívedêven dé interpretávtes. This is a similar account to that given in i. 1. But there were traditions which exactly reversed the matter. See Strabo quoted in note 214 on ii. 111.
246 tis dé Súrís … Palaustíni ka- lêtau. A distinction between Phoenicia and Palestine seems to be made in iii. 5, although the passage is certainly in confusion. But the two were united in the same name by Darius (see iii. 91), and it is probably with reference to this division that the term Palestine is applied to the whole sea-board. In the genuine Persian account of the satrapies the two appear massed together as Arabia (see the Be- histen Inscription in note 278 on iii. 84), although Arabia, according to Herodotus, was excluded from the satrapy.
247 χρειαμα. Hesychius explains this word as eîcheta de xkólon. 248 tóus, "poll-axes." See Lind- dell and Scott's Lexicon, sub v. 249 ois dé álloi eíchon kibównas. Pollux (x. 162) quotes the word kibównas as used by Herodotus, which has induced the conjecture that kibównas is the true reading in this passage instead of kibównas, which certainly does not give an adequate sense.
250 ois dé ápó 'Arkádías ois dé ápó Kíthovn. These would be respectively Pelas- gians and Dryopes, both of which appear among the elements of the mixed population in Ionia (i. 146). Hermione, on the coast of Argolis, and the two towns (each called Asine) in that region and on the coast of Messenia were likewise Dryopian, the founders being apparently hierodules of the Delphic Apollo antecedently to the revolution, which is mythologically described as a conquest by Heracles. (See Paz- nias, iv. 34. 9, seqq.) Asine was the name of a town in Cyprus (Stephanus Byzantinus, sub v.), and probably there- fore a Dryopian and Cynidian settlement. That the 'Arcadias' in Cyprus should really have come from Arcadia seems as little likely as that the Pelasgi mentioned in the Íadh, as one of the races in Crete, should have come from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly. In both cases the existence of diverse fragments of the same race is ac- counted for by the hypothesis of a colony.
251 ois dé ápó Aídiostíneas. It seems not impossible that these were the descendants of negroes brought as slaves from Africa; or perhaps they may have been a swarm of the pirates who haunted the Bucolic branch of the Nile in Egypt. See note 293 on ii. 104.
HERODOTUS

236

The present passage belongs to the original draft of the work, and that the other is an addition of a later period. This seems a more natural solution of the contradiction than to substitute δυο ἢ Ἀθηναίοι for ἡ Ἀθηναία, three lines below, as Valckenaer conjectures.

The Samothracians in the fleet of Xerxes, who are of the same race as the natives of these islands, are spoken of as Ionians, although probably in contradistinction to Phoenicians, in viii. 90. See the note there.
POLYMYIA. VII. 92—97.

ménoi ós "Ελληνες" kai touto Pelasgikón étvov, ósteron de ὸσινκόν ἐκλήθη kata τον αὐτὸν λόγον kai oi διωδεκατόλες "Ιωνες oi óp τ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰσχλεὺς de ἐξῆκοντα νέας παρεῖχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι te ós "Ελληνες kai to pála kalokémoni Pelasgoi, ós "Ελλήνων λόγος. Ἐλληστόντωι de, πλὴν Ἀβυδόνων (Ἀβυ-
δροποία γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέως, κατὰ χώρην μένουσι, φύλακας εἶχαν τῶν γεφυρέων) oí de λουποί ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου116 stra-
tevómoenoi, παρεῖχοντο μὲν ἐκατόν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι de ἦσαν ós "Ελληνες. οὖν τε Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰορείων ἀποικοί.

Ἐσεβάτευον de ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι217. τοὺῶν de ἄριστα πλεύσας παρεῖχοντο νέας Φολνικεῖ,
καὶ Φολνίκων Σιδώνως. τοῦσι πᾶσι, kai toûs é tón peqón tetaγμένων aiwónov, ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστωτοι ἐπιχειροῦν ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐνῷ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαία ἐξέγραμαι218 ἐς ιστορίας λόγον, ου παρα-
μεμένωμαι: οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἐν
tε ἐνε ἐκάστη δοσιντερ πόλεις, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν219. εἶποντο de ὡς οὐ στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὀπτεροὶ οἱ ἀλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι: ὑπὲρ στρατηγοῦ τε ὡ τὸ πῶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἀρχοντες
tῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρεταί μοι. Τοῦ
dὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐκστρατήγεων οἶδε Αρμαβύργης220 τε ὁ Δαρελοῦ, καὶ Πρηζάδος ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω221, καὶ Μεγαβάζω ὁ Μεγαβάταεω222.

217 ὡ τοῦ Πόντου. Among these one may expect the Cymehees, from their
tale, to have furnished a considerable
dissentire, the Hellenes, after the
destruction described in vi. 33, could have
purchased little or nothing.

218 ἐξέγραμαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

219 οὔτε γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. See
above, note 249.

220 'Αρμαβύργης. Possibly this is the
same individual whom Plutarch (The-
mel. § 14) describes under the name of
Aristasena, as the admiral of the Persian
naval force, and as πολυ κρατίστος τε καὶ
diskos of all Xerxes' brothers. He was
killed at Salamis. The Hellenic πο
is sometimes represented in Persian by δ;
for instance, Megabazus is in the Behistun
tables Bagabukshka.

221 Πρηζάδος ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω. An Asia-
thenes is mentioned by Herodotus, although
not so by the Behistun Inscription, as one
of the seven conspirators wounded severely
in the attempt to slay the Magian (iii.
70. 78). But if the same person had been
meant here, some allusion to the circum-
stance might have been looked for. Pos-
sibly he may have been a son of the Pre-
aspe who by his confession and voluntary
death did such good service to the cause
of Darius (iii. 75), as in several instances
the Hellenic practice of naming a grand-
son after the grandfather appears as ex-
isting among the Persian nobles.

222 Μεγαβάζω ὁ Μεγαβάταεω. Perhaps
this Megabazus is the chief of whom
Herodotus tells two anecdotes (iv. 143); and
from the practice which evidently pre-
vailed of putting members of the royal
family in high command, it seems likely
that his father Megabates was the first
cousin of Darius (mentioned in v. 32). Some have also identified Megabazus with the Megabyzus of iii. 70. But great caution is requisite in such proceedings. (See note 337 on iv. 143.)

237 Αἰγυπτίωσ δὲ ἐστρατηγός Ἀχαμένης. After the revolt of Egypt, which took place in the last year of Darius's life, and which was quelled by Xerxes, Achamenes was sent to that country as viceroy. He seems therefore to have left his government in command of the naval contingent furnished from thence. A question arises, how was this enormous force (200 triremes, § 89, above) raised? There is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians themselves were ever any thing but river boatmen. The naval conquests of Amasis and of Apries were probably effected by Hellenic auxiliaries. (See note 554 on ii. 182.) The refusal of the Phoenician squadron prevented Cambyses from attempting the conquest of Carthage after he had subdued Egypt, although he had the Ionian and Eolian naval contingent with him (iii. 19). Therefore at that time there could hardly have been an Egyptian fleet. Nevertheless Arystades possessed a fleet either native or foreign (iv. 167), which was commanded by a Persian. If we suppose the fleet in question to have been created by Achamenes subsequently to his going to his government, we shall see the force of the expression: Αἰγυπτίωσ πολλὰ δουλοτέρινα ναῦσας (§ 7, above), for the most stringent measures must have been required to produce such results. And after all, it seems not impossible that although the Egyptians probably supplied rowers, the navigation of the ships may have been performed by Phoenicians or Philistines, the funds for the payment of these, and probably also for the building of the fleet, being furnished by Egypt.

238 κέρκυρα. Accounts vary as to whether this description of vessel was Cyprian or Corcyrean. Its mention here by Herodotus goes to corroborate the former view.

237 Μάτης. The MSS vary between this form, Μάτης, and Μάρτης. Of Σιθρόμοι, see note 301 on v. 104.

238 Μέρβαλος. Some MSS have Νέρβαλος. Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus were the three cities which constituted the Phoenician Tripolis. It will be observed that no Philistine or Egyptian commander is named among the subordinate chiefs. The Philistine contingent too is reckoned together with the Phoenician one above, § 89; and possibly the real solution of the difference between the numbers of Ἀξιόκλης and those of Herodotus is to be found in the view that the Egyptian contingent really formed two thirds of the three hundred galleys, of which Tetrannestus, Mapen, and Merbal were the subordinate commanders. See note on viii. 17.

238 Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσους. This individual had been replaced in his position as king of Salamis in Cyprus (v. 104) on the reconquest of the island by the Persians (v. 115).

239 Ἰστιάιος τε ὁ Τύμων. This individual was one of the commanders in the
fleets which attempted the coup de main on Naxos, whom Aristagoras secured at the outbreak of the Ionian revolt (v. 37). 291 Δαμασίθυμος. This individual is probably the commander of the fleet sunk by Artemisia in order to save herself (viii. 87). Perhaps his notoriety was mainly owing to this circumstance. 292 'Αλμαρνηασκού. This is the reading of all the MSS. Below F has 'Αλμαρνηασκού and 'Αλμαρνηασκον. See note i on i. 1. 293 Καλυμνομ. Gaisford, with the MSS, has Καλυμνιον. But it seems certain that the inhabitants of some island near Halicarnassus are here meant; and such an island existed, of the name Καλυμνομ (called Kalymnos by SKEWULFY, A.D. 1102), in the immediate vicinity of Cos and Nisyros. Calydra was a name given to some very small islands just off the shore of Tenedos, and at one time to Tenedos itself. And it seems not improbable that the island Calymna was sometimes called Calydra (for the IIiad, ii. 677, couples ους υς Καλιβος with Cos). But the form Καλυμνο appears in inscriptions (HOFMANN, Griechenland, p. 1441, note 26), and therefore seems to be the authentic form for the times when the orthography was settled. But see note on viii. 87. 294 άπεγραφαν οι γραμματιστα. It is a conjecture of Heeren's, which is approved of by Bishop Thirlwall, that the muster rolls thus formed fell into the hands of the Greeks after the defeat of the Persians, and formed the authority for the account which Herodotus has been giving of the troops.
παρὰ τὰς πρώτας τῶν νεών, ἐπειρατῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμολογοῦν καὶ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναϊάρχοι ἀναγγέλουν δόσον τε τέσσερα πλέον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐγαλοῦ ἀνεκάκιος, τὰς πρώτας ἐς γῆν τρέφαντες πάντες μετωπηδοῦν, καὶ ἐξοπλιστώς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οὐ δὲ ἐν τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἔθηντο καὶ τοῦ αὐγαλοῦ.

101 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε, καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεώς, μεταπέμψατο Δημάρχην τοῦ 'Ἀρίστανος, συστρατευόμενος αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα· καλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρετο τάδε· 'Αἰμάρητε, νῦν μοι σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπιφροσύνα τὰ θέλει, οὔτε ἐλαχίστης, οὔτε ἀσθενεστάτης· νῦν δὲ ὄν μοι τάδε φράσοι, εἰ 'Ελληνες ὑπομενούν χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρομένου· οὖ γὰρ, ὅσον εἰσίν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντες Ἐλληνες καὶ οἱ λαοί, οἱ πρὸς ἐστήρες οἰκονόμοι ἀνθρώπους συνελεύθεραν, οὐκ ἄξιομαχοι εἰσίν· ἐμὲ ἐπιστὰν ἕρωτα· ὅ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρήτα· ὅ δὲ ἅπαλον έφη· "βασιλεῦ, κόσμω ἁλληθῃ χρήσομαι πρὸς σε· ἐν η ἡδονή;" ὅ δὲ μιν ἁλληθῃ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευς, ὅς οὐδέν οἱ ἀνδρεύσεων ἐσθεθαί ἡ πρότερον ἦν· ὁς δὲ ταύτα ἥκουσε Δημάρχης, ἔλεγε τάδε· "βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἁλληθῇ διαχρήσασθαι πάντως με κυπεύεις, ταύτα λέγουσα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενος τῆς ἐστεροῦ ὑπὸ σει ἄλογον, τῇ Ἐλλάδι πενήν μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος σύνετοι, ἀρετῇ δὲ ἑπακτὸς ἔστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίας κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμον ἴσχυρον τῇ διαχρησμένῃ ἡ Ἐλλάς, τὴν τε πενήν ἀπαμείνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποτήν. αἰεόν μὲν νῦν πάντως Ἐλληνες τοὺς περὶ κελώς τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χήρους οἰκήμενοι· ἐρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούς· ἄλλα περὶ Δακεδαμινῶν μοῦνον πρᾶτα μὲν, ὃτι οὐκ ἔστιν δικος κοτε σοις δεξιοί λόγους δολοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἐλλάδι· αὐτοί δὲ, ὅς ἀντιστοιχοῖ τοι εἰς μάχην, καὶ ήν οἱ ἀλλοι· Ἐλληνες πάντες τὰ σα φρονέως· ἄρμιμος δὲ πέρε, μή πῦθη δος τινίς ἕστο ταύτα ποιεῖν οἰο ν τε εἰς· ἦν

102 μὴ ἔστως ἄρθροι. These words appear to me to have dropped out of their proper place, which seems to be after the word ἀνταειρόμενοι.
te γὰρ τύχωσι εξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἢν τε ἑλάσσονες τούτων, ἢν τε καὶ πλείνεις.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Εἰρέτης, γελάσας ἐφες: “Δημάρχης, οἷον ἐφθέγξασ ἔπος, ἄνδρας χίλιους στρατίκη τοσίδε μαχήσανται. ἄγε, εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φής τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν αὐτὸς βασιλέας γενέσαι; σὺ ὁν ἑθελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ὅμων τὰν ἄρα τούτων οἷον σὺ διαρέεις, σὲ γε τῶν κείκων βασιλέα πρέπει πρὸς τὸ δυσπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. εἰ γὰρ κείκων ἐκαστὸς δέκα ἄνδρῶν τῆς στρατικῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀντάξιος ἐστι, σὲ δὲ γε διξήμαί εἴκοσι εἴναι ἀντάξιον καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀρθοῦν ἀν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σὲλ έφημένους. εἰ δὲ, τοιοῦτοι τε ἐόντες καὶ μεγαλόθεν τοσότου οἷον σὺ τε καὶ οὐ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῶ σ᾽ Ἐλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αἰχμέτε τοσότου, δρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὕτος εἰρημένος ἐτη. ἔπει φέρε ἵδο παντὶ τῷ οἰκότι κρός ἀν δυναίαιτο χίλιοι, ἢ καὶ μύριοι, ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, εὔνους γε ελεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίοι καὶ μὴ ἵν’ ἐνός ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ τοσίδε ἀντιτῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνεις περὶ ἕνα εκαστον γνώμεθα ἡ χίλιοι, εὕνους ἐκεῖνων πάντες χιλιαδέωι. ὅπερ μὲν γὰρ ἐνός ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τῶν ἡμέτερον, γενολατ’ ἂν δεμαίνοντες τούτων καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἑωτῶν φύσις ἀμελίους, καὶ οἴεν ἀναγκαζό- μενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεύνας ἑλάσσονες ἐόντες’ ἀνεμένου δὲ ἐς τὸ ελεύθερον, οὐκ ἂν ποιείνς τούτων οἰδέτερα. δοκεὶ δὲ ἔγνυγε καὶ ἀνυσοβένως πλῆθει χαλεπῶς ἢν Ἐλλήνως Πέρσης μοὺσοι μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἵμων τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ σὺ λέγεις’ ἐστὶ γε μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ σπαών εἰςι γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν ἐμῶν αἰχμοφόρων οὐθ ἑθελήσοντι Ἐλλήνων ἄνδρας τρειλ ὅμων μάχε- σθαι’ τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειροι, πολλὰ φλυηρεῖς.” Πρὸς ταῦτα 104

297 πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι: By the selection of this number it would seem as if Xerxes had here in his mind merely his guardsmen, the band of the Immortals, who were 10,000 in number, although, as Herodotus tells the story, the conversation with Demaratus takes place when he is elated at seeing the numbers and efficiency of his whole force, fleet as well as army. And it is with reference to the whole force that he pursues the argument below: ἐπεὶ τοι πλεύνεις... πάντες χιλια- δέωι. 298 το πολιτικόν. This term is used to denote the aggregate of the πολίται in contradistinction to ὁ ἄρχων. Ἀνατόντως (Nicomach. Ethic. iii. p. 1116.1.10) calls the civilians employed in an army as military men τὰ πολιτικά, in contradistinction to the regular soldiers. 299 κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἡμετέρους. There is perhaps here an allusion to the custom at Sparta of setting before the kings a double share of the victim whenever they were invited to a private sacrifice (vi. 67). The practice was a sort of symbol of their being held equal to two other men.
Δημάρχητος λέγει "ο δ' βασιλευ, ἀρχήθεν ἡμιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθής χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἕρεμον οὐ δὲ ἐπει ἡμίγκεκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθετάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ καθήκοντα Σπαρτήτρου· καλτοὶ ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τά νῦν τάδε ἐστοργοῦς ἐκείνους αὐτός μᾶλλον ἔξεπτεσται 200, οἳ με τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελάμβαινον πατρῴα ἄπολιν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποίηκασι, πατήρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίων τε μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε· οὐκὼν οἰκὸς ἐστὶ ἀνδρας τὸν σώφρονα εὐνοοῦν χαμόμενη διαθέσεις, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλλον· ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω δεκά ἀνδρᾶς ὑπέχοραι οἶς τε ἐναι μάχεσθαι, οὕτω δυοῖν· ἕκον τε ἐναι οὖν ἐν μονομαχίᾳ· εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίη ἐστὶ ἡ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρίκών ἄγων, μαχομάν ἐν πάσιν ἡδιστά ἐν τούτων ἄνδρων, οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐκατότος φησὶ τριῶν ἄξιος ἐστι· δὲ δὲ καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἐνα μαχεόμενοι οὐδαμῶν ἐστι κακλους ἄνδρων, ἀλλὰς δὲ ἀριστοὶ ἄνδρων ἀπάνων ἔλευθεροι γὰρ ἔντεις οὗ πάντα ἔλευθεροι ἐσιν· ἐπέστη γάρ σφι δεσποτῆς νόμος, τὸν ὑποδημαίνουσι πολλὰ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοὶ σὲ ποιεῖσθαι γὼν τὰ ἐν κείμενος ἁνάγη· ἀνάγεται δὲ τόντοι αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἐών φέουγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἄνδρόπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένουσας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικραιτίῳ ἡ ἀπόλυται 201· σοὶ δὲ εἰ φανομαί ταῦτα λέγων φιλορρεεῖς, τὰλα 202 συνάν θέλω τὸ λοιπὸν νῦν, νῦν ἐναγακαθεὶς ἔλεξα· γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόμον τοι, βασιλεῦν·"

"Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείλυστο Πέρσης δὲ ἐς γέλωτα τε ἔτρεψεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὑπὸν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἠπίως αὐτὸν ἀπετέλεσαν τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἄλλου Πέρσης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ 203 καταστάσεως Μακάκης τῶν Μεγαδάστων, τὸν δὲ ἔντο Δαρελοῦ σταθήσατα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλαυν τῶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς

200 καὶ οὗ ἐγὼ... ἀυτὸς μᾶλλον ἐξεπιτευχα. "although no one knows so well as you how little, as things now are with me, I am disposed to feel kindly towards them on this subject."

201 ἐπικρατεῖσιν ἡ ἀπολυσθαι. These infinitives are governed by some such word as κελεύω, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἐν οἷς. Valcknaer compares ALEXIS (ap. Stoborum, p. 454):

οὐκ ἡξισά καταστείν τὴν μυνερα, πράττων ὑ πάλεις,

and the description given by St. Paul of the perverters of Christian simplicity:

κατανικών γαμείν, ἡξισά βραβεύθων· (1 Timothy iv. 3.) Compare note 218 on vi. 97.

202 τάλα. Several MSS have ἔμα, from which Wesseling conjectured that ἀλλὰ was the true reading. But the text as it stands appears quite sound, and the words ἔν τοίς λοιπὸν are something more than τάλα. They are in opposition to τοῦ, which follows. "If this my language appears vapouring, I will keep silence on other matters for the future, and as it is (τοῦ δὲ) I spoke by compulsion."

203 τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. See § 59, above.
Θρήνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλυσε δὲ ἀνδρά τοῖς τοῦ Ἐλλαδικοὶ μυθών τῷ μονῷ Ἑρέξς δόρῳ πέμπεσκε 394, ός ἀριστεύοντι πάντων ὅσοις κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἢ Δαρείος ὑπάρχουσιν πέμπεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πάν ἐτοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ἑρέξς 395 τοῖς Μασκαμελιοὶς ἐκγνώσει. Κατέστασαν γὰρ ἐτὶ πρότερον ταῖτης τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπάρχου ἐν τῇ Ἐρήνη καὶ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου παραχθὰ 396. οὕτω ἀν πάντες, οἱ τε ἐκ Θρήνης καὶ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου 397, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων ὦστερον ταῖτης τῆς στρατηλασίας ἐξηράθησαν τοῦ δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμινν ὄντας εἰς ἑλλασφθῃσαν 398. ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν περισσαμένων διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οἱ τὰ δόρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλείουντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσηι. Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεύς Ἑρέξς ἐνόμισε εἰς ἀνδρά ἀγαθοὺς, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μοῦνον, τὸν ἔκ Ἰηνὸς τοῦτον δὲ αἰνῶν οὐκ ἔπανετο, καὶ τοὺς περιέσπαντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃς παίδας ἔτιμα μάλιστα ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἰνῶν μεγάλου ἐγένετο Βόγης. δὲ ἐπειδῆ ἐπολαρκεῖτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κλημονος τοῦ Μελτιάδου, παρεόν αὐτῷ ὑπόστον ἐξελεῖν καὶ νοιτήσαι ἐς τὴν Ἀθήνην, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλὴ δόξεσι περιέσπαι βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ διεκαρτήσει ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν ὡς δ' οὖν οὕτω ἐπὶ φορβῆς ἐν ἐν τῷ τεῖχει, συννήσας πυρήνα μεγάλην, ἐσφάξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἑπείτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπαῦνα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔστιν πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος ὅς τοῦ Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, ἑσυνάλλο ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὖτος δικαίως αἰνεταὶ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσεὺς 399.

394 τῷ μονῷ Ἑρέξς δόρῳ πέμπεσκε. Mascames was perhaps the only Persian chief to whom the Greeks in these parts were cognizant of gifts of honour being sent. By i. 136 and iii. 160 it appears that there were certainly some others who received them yearly.

395 Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ἑρέξς. This prince succeeded to the throne in the latter part of the year 465 B.C. Clinton explains a slight diversity which is found in the different statements of the date of his accession.

396 κατέστασαν γὰρ ... παραχθῆ. See note 111 on vi. 44.

397 παραχθῆ ... τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου. These words are omitted from the two manuscripts S and F. The mistake apparently arises in the latter from the eye of the transcriptor being deceived. But in S this is not the real cause; for that MS has immediately afterwards: πλὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ.

398 ἑλλασφθῆσαι. This form, which is of very rare occurrence, is found in ii. 19: οὐδὲν παραλαβὼν ἑλλασφθησαν, and ii. 43: οὐδὲν Ἀλήστου ἑλλασφθησαν ἰκουσάναι.

399 ὑπὸ Περσεύων. Θυκυδίδης, who mentions the capture of Eion as the first success of the allies after the transfer of the hegemony from the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians, gives no hint of the heroic conduct of Bogos, but simply states that the town was taken by blockade, and
the inhabitants sold as slaves (l. 98). He must have been quite familiar with the local accounts from his connexion with the neighbourhood; and his complete silence goes to confirm the inference from Herodotus's expression, that the authority of the latter was an Asiatic one. Dio-

Porri Sicular (xi. 60) places the capture of Eion by the Athenians in the year 470 B.C.; but, as is remarked by Wesseling, he in that passage puts together transactions which took place at a considerable distance of time from each other. That the circumstance mentioned by Herodotus: δὲ ὡσὶν ἐνὶ φορβῆς ὁμην, was a striking feature in the siege, seems likely from the fact of its appearing in the epigram cited by Aeschines (c. Cleisth. § 184): ἢν ἢνάκεινον ταλακράδοι, οὐ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐνόν

παλῶν, ἀν' Ἰόλον Στρυμώνος ἀμφὶ βότας, λαμέν τ' αἰθωνα κρατεῖσσε τ' ἐκάλαυες ἀρχαῖς,

πρότοτα ὅμολοιν ἐβρον ἀμφιχνόητον.

The starvation was no doubt effected by closing the straits, and thus stopping the transit of corn from the Euxine. In later times it was said that the city was taken by Cimon turning the course of the Strymon, so as to set the current against the walls, which, being of unbaked bricks, gave way. (Pausanias, viii. 8, 9.) But if this was the discovery of Cimon, as Pausanias states, it would hardly have been unnoticed by the epigram or by Herodotus. Aegospolis adopted the same strategy at Mantines; but the mountain streams of Arcadia would be much more efficient agents in undermining than an estuary.

There is no trace of this in the Behistun Inscription, although Sparta and Ionia are there mentioned among the subject countries. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) It seems very unlikely that the Persian occupation of the country from the Hellespont to the Strymon was more than that effected by a line of strong military posts. If the country had been ἀσφαλοφόρος, they would hardly have made Iesus the base of operations when cutting the canal through the isthmus of Athos. See above, § 22, and the note 91.

Megaβάξου τε καταστρεφάμενον καὶ ὅστερον Φαρδοῦνος. See v. 1, 2, and v. 43, 44, with the note 111 on the last passage.

In the view of the historian it would seem that the course of Xerxes was in a great degree determined by the opportunity which these lakes
The salt lake near the town Pityusos.

The Thracian tribes through which the army passed were all compelled to join in force, except the Satra, among whom is the oracle of Dionysus, and the Beotians.

afforded of watering his army. Stores would probably be supplied by sea, and magazines of grain stored at the towns on the coast which are mentioned. Abdera seems to have been a principal port of the Persian,—apparently a naval arsenal. (See vi. 46, 47.)

313 Traiaos. There is no doubt some connexion between this river and the tribe (Trai) mentioned above, v. 4.

314 of to Dionysou to mauntioin eis esthymenoi, "these are the possessors of the celebrated temple of Dionysus." The use of the article, as in as many similar cases, indicates that the author is speaking of a thing well known by common report,—doubtless derived originally from the traders on the coast. This is the Dionysos mentioned by EURIPIDES: δ Θηριούμενοι εἰς Δίωνως τάδε. (Hecuba, 187.) For the nature of this Dionysus, not the rustic deity, but the conquering leader, see note 18 on v. 7. His worship had in early times extended as far as Delphi, where he is invoked by the priests in ESCHYLS (Eumenides, 24) under the name of Bromius, a word significat of orgiastic rites. From the time of EURIPIDES a syncretism of this deity with the wine-god seems to have been generally accepted, the connecting link being the physical excitement caused either by intoxication or by other means. Thus Tiresias says:

μάντις δ' ο δαιμόνις δε' τ' γαρ βασιλέως,
καλ τις μαντιδες μαντικήν παλλήν ἔχει
θαν γαρ ο θεός εἰς τ' σῶμ' εἴη νυκτὶ,
λέγει τι κέλλον τοις μεμιρφθασκ νοεί.

(Bacch. 298.)

On this principle Hecuba (Hecub. 123) calls Cassandra μαντίσσωμει βδέλω, although her inspiration proceeds from Apollo. In later times legends were coined to connect the Delphic Apollo with Dionysus mythically. One in the latest form is given by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. (Protrept. i. § 18.) When the Titans had destroyed Dionysus, and put his mangled fragments into a cauldron, Zeus appeared, scattered them with his thunderbolts, and gave the mutilated members to Apollo to bury. Apollo car-
He then passes by the Persian castles, leaving Mount Pangæum on his left, and from thence through the territory of the Persians, to Eion on the Styron, where the Magi offer a sacrifice of white victims to Parnassus, and there interred them. Compare Plutarch (de Deo Delph. § 9) and Tzetzes (on Lycurg. 207). It is plain from the terms of this account that it implies a previous identification of Dionysus with Osiris, and perhaps also of each of these with the vitalizing power of nature symbolized by the sun,—all of which notions are (I believe) later than the time of Alexander.

The female votaries were called Bassoûtes, and Bassareus is the name under which the deity was invoked. (Horace, Od. i. 18. 11.) This tribe appears to have stood in somewhat the same relation to the temple of Dionysus as the Selli to that of the Dodonian Zeus, and the Delphi to that of Apollo. Strictly speaking, Apollo (Loxias) was the ἰονιστής of Zeus at Python, but still the term was, as in the case of the Bassai, applied to the Delphians themselves. See Euphiletides (Ioni, 413. 416):

Εὔπλετις, τις ἰονιστής θεία;
Ιων. Δελφῶν ἰατρίας οδὴ ἐκλήσσεσα παλαιός.

See also note 168 on ii. 55. It is probable that this oracle was founded by settlers coming in remote times from the east. (See v. 9, and the notes thereon.) The word Bassus is the name of the satrap of Bactria, who murdered Darius after the battle of Arbela.

The manuscripts S, V, P, K, F, δ have χρώσας, which (from the form χρώμα) is defensible by the analogy of ὀρνατές, ὀρέωσι, from ὀρέω.

Ἐν τῷ χρώσῃ τε καὶ ἄγριᾳ ἐξαιτείται μετάλλα. From here perhaps was derived that revenue which Herodotus mentions to Pisistratus to have obtained from the Styron (i. 64). Hence his connexion with the king of Macedonia (v. 94).

These and the Persians are represented (v. 15) as having been subjugated by the Persian forces and transported into Asia; but in the same place it is stated that the Dobræs were not at that time conquered, although subsequently their submission may have followed.

Ἐν τῷ Μάγωι ἐκαλλιρέωντο σφάδας. The victims were so placed that the jet of blood from the stab fell into the stream. See notes 35 and 37 on iii. 11. Strabo mentions that the Persians were very careful when they sacrificed a victim to a river, not to let the blood fall into it, but into a trench dug for the purpose (xx. c. 3, p. 326). The account in the text, therefore, if true, can...
hardly be of a pure Persian ritual. See note 322, below. Tridates in after times sacrificed a horse to the Euphrates (Tacoitus, Annal. vi. 37) when intending to pass that river; and the proceeding of Julius Caesar (see Suetonius, quoted in note 174 on ii. 65) was perhaps intended to be in honour of the Rubicon. But originally among the Persians the horse seems to have been a victim appropriated to the sun-god. See Xenophon, Anc. iv. 5; Curtius, viii. 3, compared with note 713 on Herodotus, i. 216. Strabo too says of the Persians: έσται ὅτι θεοίσκατε θέφος, προς τῷ πυθείματι. (I. C.)

This is the same place which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of Amphipolis. That Herodotus should not mention it, has been accounted for by the hypothesis that he was at Thurii when he wrote this part of his work, and had gone there before the new foundation, which took place B.C. 437.

Herakles δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορθίσεως. This assertion is very suspicious, if it be intended to represent the practice as a part of the religious ritual of the genuine Ormuzd-worshippers. But it is very probable that under the reign of Xerxes, and possibly the latter part of that of Darius also, foreign religious ideas may have gained ground in the Persian court. See Ezcurrus on iii. 74, p. 435. The proceeding of Amestris may perhaps be accounted for on this principle. She, and (through her) her husband, may have been

come addicted to the mysteries imported by foreigners into Susa, just as the Roman ladies under the empire were devoted to the ritual of Isis or of Serapis; and if the Persians acted as described at 'the Nine Ways,' this may have arisen either from the desire to gratify the individual superstition of Xerxes, or may have been the act of a portion only of the multifarious army accompanying him, in accordance with their national ceremonies. It is to be observed that these words do not exist in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, although the following clause does. (See note 103 on iii. 35.)

322 δὲ ἔστα. Probably there were seven of each sex, and the same in the case of the sacrifice which Cyrus is said to have designed to offer (i. 86), for no where does fourteen ever appear to have been a sacred number. But if victims of both sexes were taken, the deity to which they were offered was most likely an union of two, a male and female. In this instance it would probably be a pair analogous to Hades and Persephone, in the other to Hecateus and Hecate, or Helios and Selene. See notes 308 and 506 on Book I., and also 219 on vi. 97.

κόλπων τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδήνου. The MSS have Ποσειδῆνου, but I have not hesitated to insert c. The gulf is not named, but described by a landmark such as would be familiar to a navigator, and as such doubtless named after the sea-god.
Next he passes by Argolis and Stageira, and halts at Acanthus, where the whole force is assembled.

Favour shown to the Acanthians.

117 Death of Artaxerxes, to whom the Acanthians pay the honours of a hero.

118 Ruinous cost of entertaining Xerxes.

χερὸς ἔχων, ἦν διὰ Συλέσων πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγευρον πόλιν Ἐλλάδας παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπικεθα ἡμᾶς Ακανθίδαν ἢ μίαν ἀγομένοις τούτων ἔκαστος τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαμον ὅρος οἰκείων ὁμόλογος καὶ τῶν πρότερου κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ ταλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένοις ἐν νησὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ’ ὑπὲρ ταλασσῆς περὶ ἐπομένους· τὴν δὲ ὀδον ταύτην, τῇ βασιλείᾳ Βέροις τοῦ στρατοῦ ἠλπίζει, οὗτο συνέχεοι Θερμίδης οὗτ’ ἐπιστεύροις, σέβονται τε μεγάλου τοῦ μέχρι ἐμεύ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθίδαν ἀπικεθα, ἐξεινὴς τε ὁ Πέρσης, τοι’ Ἀκανθίδας προεῖπε καὶ ἔδωρησά το σφαῖρα ἑσθῆτι Μηδικῆ, ἐπαίνεε τε ὁ ὁρέων αὐτοῦ προθύμους ἐνναος τοῦτον πελεμόν καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ἄκοιμον.

Ἐν Ἀκανθίδῃ δὲ ἐστίνα Βέροις, συνήνεκε ἢτο νοῦσον ἀποθανεῖν τῶν ἐπεστέωτα τῆς διώρυγος Ἀρταχάλην, δόκιμον ἐνναον παρὰ Βέροι καὶ γένος Ἀχαιομίνην, μεγαθεῖς τε μεγίστων ἐνναον Περσῶν—ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχῶν βασιληλῶν ἀπέλευσε τέσσαρας Δακίων—φονεύτω τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων διότι Βέροις, συμφορὰ τούτων μεγάλην, ἐξεινήκα τε αὐτῶν κάλλωσι καὶ θάψωντο ἐν ταύτῃ τοῖς ἕμετρον τοῖς Θερμίδοις ἐξεινήθησαν, ἐπολυμάξοντες τὸ οὐνόμα βασιλείας μὲν διὰ Βέροις, ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχάλην, ἐπουντεύτο συμφορῇ.

Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεικνύοντες Ἐλλήνων τὴν στρατινὴ καὶ ἀμυντὶς Βέροις ἐς τῶν κακῶν ἀπικεκατο, οὕτως ὅστε ἀνάλατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο ὅκου γε θαύμαζε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλῶν τῶν σφατέων δεξαμένους τὴν Βέροις στρατινὴ καὶ ἀμυντὶς Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ὁ Ὀργέας ἀραιμένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνήρ δόκιμος.

326 Στάγευρον πόλιν Ἐλλάδας. Both this town and Acanthus were colonized from Andros. (Thucydides, iv. 84, 88.) 327 ἡ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S, V, P, F, a have Βέροις. See note on § 133, below. The phrase ἐξεινήθης προεῖπε does not mean “ordered a banquet,” but “offered alliance.” See viii. 120: ἐξεινήθη σφι συνήσφιμος. Doubtless the honour entailed the cost of entertainment. 328 ἑσθῆτι Μηδικῆ. See iii. 84. 329 ὁ ὁρέων αὐτοῦ προθύμους ἐνναος. The commercial advantages resulting from the expenditure of the people employed in cutting the canal would no doubt make their employer popular in any neighbouring town. It would be of great importance to Xerxes to conciliate the Acanthians, who by destroying the canal would have done him incalculable mischief; and they, for their parts, doubtless viewed the construction of such a work near their own town with the greatest satisfaction, knowing the impulse which would be given to their trade. 330 Ἀρταχάλην. He had a colleague. See above, § 22. 331 πηχῶν βασιληλῶν. See note 597 on l. 178.
ομια το μαλαστα, απεδεξε ες το δειπνον τετρακοσια ταλαντα  
ἀργυριον τετελεσμενα. "Ως δε παραπλησιας καλ έν τησι αλλησι 
pολαι οι επεσεντες απεδεικνυσαν των λογων το γαρ δειπνου 
tουνιε τι εγυντο, ολα εκ πολλων χρονων προερημενον και περι 
pολλοποιοιμενον τουτο μεν, ως επιθυμο παχυτα των κηρυ 
kων των περιαγγελλωντων220, δασεμενοι σιτουν εν τησι τολμου 
οι αυτοι αλευρα τε και αλφετα επολευν παντες επι μηνας συχνους 
tουτο δε, κτηνεα σιτευσκον εξευρηκοντες τημης τα καλλιστα, 
ετρεφον τε δρυσιν χερσαινων και λιμαινων εν τε οικημαι και 
λακκους, ες υποδοχας του στρατου τουτο δε, χρυσεα τε και 
αργυρεα ποτηρια τε και κρυπηρες εποπευντα, καλ τα άλλα οδα 
επι τραπεζαν τιθεαται παντα. ταυτα μεν δε αυτοι τε βασιλει 
και τουι ομοσιτοι μετ εκείνου επεποιητο, τη δε άλλη στρατη 
tο ες φορβην μοινα τασσομενα. δεκα δε άποκουν ε στρατη 
σκητε μεν εςκε πεπηγημα ετοιμη ες την αυτοσ σταθμων ποιεσκετο 
ξερξης ε δε άλλη στρατη εςκε πιελιμος ε δε δειπνου γινωτο 
ορη, οι μεν δεκαμενοι ξεσκον πονομεν οι δε, δεκας πλησθεντες 
νικα αυτου αγαννεων, τη υστεραη την τε σκητην άνασθασαν 
tε κα τε επιπλα παντα λαβοντες, ουτω οπελαινεσκον, λειψοντες 
oδε, άλλα φερομενω "Ευθα δε Μεγακρεοντος άνδρος 'Αδηπρή 
tεως επος ευ ειρημενον εγυνε, δε συνεβουλευσε 'Αδηπρήμερος, παν 
δημελ αυτους και γυναικας ελθωντας ε τα σφετερα ίνα. Χεσθαι 
ικατα των θεων, παραιτομενον και το λυπον σφι άπαμινεν 
tων επιστομα κακων τα ήμισεα221. των τε παροιχομενων εχεν 
σφι μεγαλη χαριν, ότι βασιλεως Ξερξης ου δε εκαστης ήμερης 
ένομεν σιτουν αιρεσεβαν παρεξεν γαρ δε 'Αδηπρήμερος ει 
και αριστον προερητο ομια το δειπνον παρασκευαξεν, ε μη υπο 
μενειν Ξερξης επιστα, ετοιμα εταιμενοτατο κακων παντων άνθρω 
πων διατρηβησαι222. οι μεν δε πιεξομενοι ομοιως το επιπασσ 
μεν έπετελεον.

220 των κηρυκων των περιαγγελλωντων. These were sent out as soon as Xerxes had arrived at Sardis. See above, § 32.
221 των έπιστομων κακων τα ήμισεα. The Abderitan population was familiar with calamity; for the town itself had been founded by the population of Teos, who left their native country en masse to avoid falling under the power of Harpagus (I. 168). But both the phrase which Herodotus there uses: των των ἐν 'Αβδή 
ρων, and the close alliance formed by Xerxes with the town (viii. 120), would induce the belief that the bulk of the population consisted of others than the original colonists.
222 παρέχειν γαρ ἐν 'Αβδηρήμεροι, . . . . διατρηβήσι. These words are not to be
121

From Acanthus Xerxes proceeds across by land to Thermes,
and the Pallestis peninsula. Its course, considered as a part of the saying of Mesacron, but as an explanation, on the part of the author, of the thought which suggested his remark. The failure both here and in iv. 144, to observe where the actual saying ended, has caused a witty remark to be regarded as an insipidity by some modern critics.

122

sending the fleet through the canal to sail round the Sthenois and the Pallestis peninsula. The course, considered as a part of the saying of Megacreon, but as an explanation, on the part of the author, of the thought which suggested his remark. The failure both here and in iv. 144, to observe where the actual saying ended, has caused a witty remark to be regarded as an insipidity by some modern critics.

123 συντομώτατον ἐπομενόν, "was the shortest cut across."

124 τρεῖς μολὼν... δασάμενος. This is a similar expression to δυῖδεις μολὼν δασαί Αθηναῖον πάσαν (ii. 147), where see note 435. The regimen is the same as if the writer had said τρικτῆς δασάμενος, a phrase which he uses in ii. 39. For the previous mention of the generals in command of these main divisions of the army, see above, § 82. Comparing the order in which they are there given with this passage, one may conjecture that Masiotes, Gergis, and Megabryzus were subordinated to the generals with whom they are here respectively associated. Perhaps Masiotes was placed with Mardonius on account of the recognized military skill of the latter, whose corps certainly had the most important work to do, and who had himself experience of the region in which the movement took place. See above, note 250 on § 82.

125 ἔτης ἀπέμεινος... Αμπέλου τῆς. These words are omitted in F.

126 κάποιον... ἀμπέλου τῆς Τορωναλήν ἄκρην. As the text stands the meaning would be that in the rounding Ampelus, the fleet passed the Greek towns presently mentioned. This, however, is an impossibility. (See note 341, below.) If the MSS were not unanimous, I should be disposed to put a colon after ἄκρην and insert δὲ after the following word παραμεῖβο. In this case the words (ἥλεε... ἄκρην) would merely give the general direction of the course of the fleet. "It sailed off into the Thermaean gulf and round Ampelus, the headland of Torone,"—just such a description as an inhabitant of Some, in the isthmus of Athos, would give of what he saw take place under his eyes. Then follows an account, which would naturally be derived from other sources, of the towns from which it issued contingents as it passed them.
tάοις τóλοις. By this expression being used here, one would suspect that Amasa, Florus, Singus, and Sarta were not settlements of Greeks. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS describes each of them as πόλις, πρότερον γάρ τι άμφα, or περί των άμφων. It is probable that the Greeks would only know of them by hearsay at Sane, the Hellenic city on the isthmus, and would not willingly enter the gulf in which they lay. From the description of Herodotus it is impossible to say whether they were on the eastern or western shore. Σάρπη seems to be merely a dialectal variation of Σάρπη (a name which must certainly be Thasian, see above, § 111); and Amasa is, according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, the name also of a Scythian village. Neither have the other names at all a Hellenic character.

καὶ Πάρων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.) calls this πόλις Θρεσίς καὶ Πάρων, quoting as his authority the Europe of HECATEUS. Both he and THUCYDIDES (iv. 107), who puts Myrcia, Galepeus, and Gàme together, probably allude to a town to the east of the embouchure of the Strymon, assigned to that locality by STRABO (vii. fragm. 16). Thucydides knows of no Galepeus in the locality here ascribed to it by Herodotus. He calls Galepeus a Thasian colony (i.e. c. and v. 6), which would certainly not induce one to look for it to the west of Mount Athos. Stephanus also calls Sermylia πόλις πρότερον άμφων, on the authority of Hecateus, which would bring it at any rate to the east of Point Ampelus. Thucydides speaks of a Hermyle, which is doubtless the same town (i. 65; v. 18), but not so as to decide whether it is to be looked for in the Tornesian or the Singitic gulf.

Μηκαβερναί. STRABO calls this place the arsenal (ενώνων) of Olynthus (vii. fragm. 13).
I believe it here, like Galepusus in the last section, to be introduced by an error.

234 Αλαίος . . . . Αλέωι. These were probably mere hamlets. When Cassan- der founded the city Thessalonica, he transferred to it the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages (πολύχωρα), of which Αλεωι is mentioned by Strabo as one (vii. fragm. 10).

235 Χαλέστρη. HECACTUS stated that this town was inhabited by a pure Thracian population; Therme by Thracian Helenes. (Steth. Byz. vi. 26.)

236 Πέλλα. It is to be remarked that at this time Pella is not even Macedonian. It owed its importance to Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, after he became king; he having been brought up there. SCYLAX (§ 67) mentions a POLYGALIS, where there was a royal palace, and from the site it seems almost certain that this was at Pella; for that (see STRABO, vii. fr. 8) was ninety stages sail up the river . Voss wishes to alter the text of SCYLAX to ΠΕΛΛΑ πόλις, but perhaps the form in SCYLAX is the old Bottesian name. Another suggestion is, that ΠΟΛΥΓΑΛΙΣ is a corruption of ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΠΡΟΙ, Εγερθε being the residence of the Macedonian kings before the time of Philip. But Εγερθε was high up in the mountains, and would never be mentioned in a description of the coast. Livy gives a very graphic description of Pella at the time it was occupied by the Romans in B.C. 168 (xlii. 40).

237 Ξέρεις δὲ . . . . ἐκ τῆς Ακάνθου. These words must be taken with consid- erable allowance. It cannot be supposed that the whole land army of Xerxes de- parted so far from the direct route to Macedonia as to go to Acanthus. The main division would doubtless have held that course which in subsequent times is marked in the Antoinine Itinerary, lead- ing from Amphipolis (The Nine Ways where Xerxes crossed the Strymon, §14) to Thessalonica (Therme) through Apollonia. The distance is variously given as 67, 68, and 69 Roman miles, in the Antoinine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table, and the Jerusalem Itinerary, which are compared by HOFFMANN (Griechenland, p. 119). From the head of the valley called Arc- thusa (where there was a station of the same name, and in which the town Stagi- rus lay) there was a steep mountain-road, called ACANTHEMA from its precipitous char- acter, which likewise led into Macedonia. (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxvii. 4.) Both of these routes, (of which perhaps the latter ultimately fell into the former,) would have run along the northern side of the mountain ridge which formed the...
through *Pamonia* and *Creostonia*, in which passage his baggage camels were attacked by lions.

126

These parts abound in lions, and wild cattle with enormous horns. Limits of the lion region.

127

Position of the Persian army on forming a junction with the fleet.

boundary of Chalcidice, and by going to Acanthus, this would have been crossed and recrossed. This it is very likely might have been done by the king with the troops in immediate attendance on his person, but certainly not by the whole army. If we suppose the main force to have moved on the line of the road above mentioned, the circumstance of the large number of wild animals observed in the march may be explained. The whole country to the north will have been beaten by the troops moving through it, and the lions and other animals previously dispersed over it, λειτουργεῖ τὰ σφέτερα ἱδέα, will have been forced into the region which the king, on his route from Acanthus, would have to pass through. Considering the passion of the oriental sovereigns for the chase, and the provision made for it by taking hounds with the army (§ 187), it is far from unlikely that one motive which carried Xerxes out of his way to Acanthus was to take advantage of this operation,—which would have secured him the pleasure of the sport during the whole passage. A similar reason may have induced him to take the course over Ida, while his army went round by the coast, as is suggested in the note 148 on § 42, above. It will be observed that all particulars of the course which he took are wanting, except the circumstances that he directed it to the river Echedorus, and that he found a very large number of wild animals, particularly lions, which were especially attracted by the camels. This would be a matter of talk at the Macedonian court when he arrived; and thus would get to the Greeks.
tion of Scylax’s work, the two rivers seem to have found their way into the sea by separate channels; and the city Alorus (called by Pliny, iv. 10, Olorus) is placed between the two embouchures (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson). Stephanus Byzantinus (sub v.) calls Alorus a Macedonian town at the very head of the Thermean gulf. It is therefore obviously on the coast. An inference from this would be, either that the river Lydias had changed its direction between the time of Herodotus and the compilation of Scylax’s work, or that the geography of the former was at fault. The first of these suppositions is by no means unlikely; for the enormous deposits of alluvium in this district, and the great variation in the amount of water brought down at different seasons, would very easily occasion the formation of a new mouth. In this case the Macedonian territory may have been conceived by Herodotus as the space in the fork between the Haliacmon and the Lydias, and the Bottizean as the southern bank of the lower Haliacmon and the northern of the lower Lydias. Thus we may reconcile his statement with that of Thucydides (ii. 99), who represents “Alexander” (the prince mentioned above, v. 17) “and his ancestors” as having expelled the Pierie from Pieria, the Bottizean from Bottia, the Paonians from a narrow slip along the s.w. bank of the Axios down as far as Pella and the sea, and the Edones from the other side of the Axios as far as the Strymon. Considering the intrigues of Alexander with the Persian court (notes 56 on v. 21 and 110 on vi. 44), it seems not unlikely that the presence of the Persian armament on this occasion gave him the opportunity of completing his part of this revolution. (See note 45 on v. 17.) Gaetz (History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 18) rejects the account of Thucydides, which he regards as incompatible with that of Herodotus, and as not leaving sufficient room for the Bottizeans on the coast north of the Pierias. The circumstance of Herodotus not mentioning the original seats of the Pierias, but merely speaking of them as in Mount Pangeus (§ 112, above), is well accounted for by supposing their displacement to have been effected by the “ancestors” of Alexander.

230 ὁ τῶν κατάπερθε οἰκιομένων, “the mountaineers,” as opposed to those on the narrow strip of sea-coast, but not necessarily the inhabitants of upper Macedonia. The mountain defiles, which nearly proved fatal to a Roman consul (see note 321) were only twelve miles from Diun. (Livy, xlv. 4.)

231 παρὰ Γόννων πόλιν. Livy describes this town as in a narrow pass, and as a point from which a descent into Thessaly from Macedonia might be advantageously effected. “Ante ipsa Tempes in faustum Macedonie clausura totiusima prebet, et in Thessaliam opportunnun Macedonibus decurremur.” The consul Crassus made an attempt upon it, but “quem et loco et præsidio valido inpugnabilis cessit, abortit incepto” (xliii. 67). But the descent was in 169 B.C. so difficult as to be impossible if the pass were resolutely defended. In the narrowest part ten men could have maintained their ground against an army. (See the description in Livy, xlv. 6.) But the Alexiad had probably secured the co-operation of the mountaineers with Xerxes, and the pioneering operations of the army (below, § 131) doubtless removed much of the natural difficulty. Hawkins, who visited Tempes in 1797, seems inclined to place Gonnus on the south side of the Peneus, where
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ. VII. 128, 129.

δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐπολεε ταῦτα· ἐσβάς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τὴν περὶ ἐστέβαμε αἰεὶ δέκα τῷ θέλοι τοιούτῳ ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημάδιον καὶ τούτω ἄλλως ἀνάγεσθαι, καταληπτών αὐτοῦ τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν ἔπει δὲ ἀπέκτει καὶ ἐθέσθησον Ἀντίφας τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Πηνείου, ἐν θόματι μεγάλῳ ἐνσχετὸς καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐπεὶ εἰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἦστι παρατείνονται ἐτέρη ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγείη; (Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλίαν λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαίων εἶναι Λίμνην, ὡστε γε συγκεκλησίσαν τόπον ὑπερμήκεια ὁρεαῖ τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν ἔχοντα τὸ τε Πηνείου ὦρος καὶ ἦ ὑσσα ἀποκλήμει συμμέσχοντα τὰς ὑπορελας ἄλλης, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέω ἀνέμου ὁ Οὐλυμπος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐστέρην Πιάδος· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρήν τε καὶ ἀνέμου νότον ἢ Ὄθρυς τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν ληθέων νυρέων ἢ Θεσσαλία ἐστὶ, ἡ πόλη κοιλη ὡστε διὰ ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶν, Πηνείου, καὶ Ἀπιδάνου, καὶ Ὁσηχώνου, καὶ Ἐνυτέος, καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νῦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν νυρέων τῶν περικληπτῶν τὴν Θεσσαλίαν οὐνομαζόμενοι, δὲ ἔνος αὐλῶν, καὶ τούτου στενοῦ, ἕκρουν ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσχοντες τὸ ὄδορ πάντες ἐς τῶν ἐπεάν δὲ συμπλαθοῦν τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦν ἡ Ὄθρυς τὸ οὐνόματι κατακρατεῖν, ἀνονύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἰναι ποιεῖν τὸ δὲ παλαίων λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος καὶ τοῦ αὐλῶν καὶ διεκρόσιον τοῦτο, τοὺς ποταμοῦς τοῦτος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς τοῦ τῆς Βοιηνίας Λίμνην, οὗτο οὐνομάζεσθαι κατάπερ νῦν

he found some ruins of a fortification commanding the entrance into Thessaly along the Peneus (Walpole's Turkey, i. p. 526). But this apparently arises from his imagining Livy (xii. 6) to be describing the latter pass, which Xerxes did not take, and not the northern one, which both he and the Roman consul did. On the same grounds he considers Livy's description exaggerated, which it probably is. But it would seem likely that the pass by Gonnus had been made purposely much more difficult by the Macedonians between 191 and 169 B.C. In the former year Larissa, being besieged by Antiochus, was relieved by a Roman detachment proceeding by forced marches to a hill overlooking Gonnii. When there, Claudiaus, who commanded it, caused fires to be made, as if a large body of men were assembled. This being seen from Larissa, twenty miles off, produced an impression that the whole Roman army was at hand, and Antiochus raised the siege. (Livy, xxxvi. 10.) If the pass had been then at all like what it is described in the latter year, the advance of any number might have been easily stopped. Hawkins speaks of a route between Thessaly and Macedonia as being commonly taken by travellers at this time, over the mountains, through the modern town Rapsiani. This is (I believe) the very route taken by Xerxes, and the more northern part of it that by which the Roman consul, Q. Marcus Philippus, descended upon Diom, finding the descent on Thessaly by Gonnus (which was his only alternative) utterly hopeless. (Livy, i. c.)

§ 3 Οὐλυμπος. This is the reading of S, V, M, P. Gaisford, on the authority of F, omits the article.
to which an outlet was formed through Tempe by Poseidon.

130

Xerxes observes the facility of laying Thessaly under water.

353 Poseidōnων ποιήσα τὸν αἰῶνα. HUMBOLDT gives several instances both in South America and Central Asia of similar legends existing under similar circumstances, and remarks, "ce qui se présente comme une tradition, n'est souvent que le reflet de l'impression que laisse l'aspect des lieux" (ap. Grote, History of Greece, l. p. 836, note). The remark is a very true one, if it be taken as one particular application of the general principle, that in rendering an account of existing phenomena, every uncultivated people will unhesitatingly resort for an explanation to the traditions with which they are familiar. It is not that philosophical opinions are put by choice into the shape of narrative, when they could have been stated in their proper shape,—but that the narrative form is (under the existing conditions of culture) the only one in which they could be conveyed at all. The same necessity determines the particular features of the narrative. A people with only one history perforce refers all facts to it. Thus water-works, which in the time of Herodotus were ascribed to Semiramis or Nitocris, are by the inhabitants of the same locality at the present day ascribed to Nimrod. (See note 628 on i. 185.) LAYARD says that in the neighbourhood of Bittis "several bridges and spacious khans, whose ruins still attest the ancient commerce and intercourse carried on through these mountains, are attributed, like all other public works in the country, to Sultan Murad during his memorable expedition against Baghdad (A.D. 1638). . . ." About five miles from Bittis is a tunnel of about twenty feet in length, carried through a mass of calcareous rock. "There is no inscription to record by whom and at what period this passage was cut. It is of course assigned to Sultan Murad, but is probably of a far earlier period. There are many such in the mountains." (Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, p. 35.) Compare note 380 on ii. 128, above.

354 ἐστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον. HAWKINS, who entirely confirms this view, says that he observed marks of similar revolutions in other parts of Greece, especially Arcadia. He mentions especially the river Ladon, which, at a short distance above the ruins of Telphusse, bursts its way through a vast chasm, which is reported to be several miles in length, and has the appearance of being inaccessible to a human being. Parallel instances to the Peneus are also afforded by the passage of the Potomac through the Blue Mountains in Virginia, and that of the Elbe through the sandstone of the Saxon Switzerland.

355 ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄλλη ἡθάνατη. HAWKINS says that the closure of Tempe would undoubtedly cause so extensive an inundation as to cover the whole eastern half of Thessaly (that is, Pheraebia and Pelagiotis). In this state of things the first draught of the waters would be towards the Paganese gulf. But were they to rise so much higher, in consequence of this stoppage, as to spread over the plains on the western side of Thessaly (Hestiosis), they would undoubtedly find an issue between Pelion and Ossa, near the modern town of Asia. In this case I conceive that a range of hills which separates the two great level districts (connecting Phere and Pharsalia with Trico and the towns which lie on the s.w. borders of Macedonia) would be the only part of the interior above water" (Walpole's Turkey, i. p. 525).
PIONEERING OPERATIONS TO FACILITATE THE TRANSIT OF THE ARMY.

LIST OF THE HELLINES WHO SUBMITTED TO THE KING.

For the transit of the expedition where they met with a favourable reception. In this case they would naturally not return until the army was at hand, when they would come to report on the state of the preparation for it.
cause of no commissioners being sent to Athens or Sparta.

Wrath of Talthybius in consequence of the violation of the law of nations shown in the story of Sperthias and Butis.

The manuscripts S and V have Ερέχθης.

This pit is alluded to by Aristophanes (Knights, 1362): ἀρας μετείχον ὡς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμπαθέω ἐκ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἀκρυμένας Ἡδέρβελον.

ἀνεθάλητον. See note 261 on § 86, above.

οὐχ ἦχῳ ἔργα. In later times the misfortunes of the family of Miltiades were regarded as the divine vengeance for the crime of the Athenians, Miltiades being said to have persuaded his countrymen to commit the offence against the law of nations. (Fausanias, iii. 12. 7.) But that this was not the common view in the time of Herodotus is plain not only from the expression in the text, but from the fact that he attributes the divine vengeance upon Miltiades to an offence of a different kind. See vi. 135.

οὐχ ἦρα τὸ λαέρον. This is a tomb of Talthybius near Temarum. It is to be observed that the ritual of Talthybius is ante-dorian, as he is a hero of the Agamemnonian cycle of Greece. Accordingly, not only in Lacedaemon, but in Achaea, in the agora of Ephes, his tomb was shown. (Fausanias, iii. 12. 7.) That is to say, his worship was carried thither by the Achaeans population expelled by the Heraclides from the greater part of Peloponnesus, or existed there among the primitive race.

οὐχ ἦχῳ ἔργα. The construction is the same as if, instead of θερεθήσατο, its equivalent καλὰ γενέσθαι ἵκρα had been used. See ix. 19: ἄν σφι ἐκαλλιερέτο. 

Σπερθίς. In Suidas, Plutarch, and other writers this tale is told of a Sperchias; and it has been conjectured that the poem Σπερθίς τῶν ἱδερῶν, alluded to in Thucydides (iv. 94), was a composition of which this self-devoted patriot was the hero. Compare the note 265 on i. 82.
Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις τα ἔπεα, προενόμευος γὰρ ἐσε Σοῦσα, ἀπικνέουσα παρὰ Τδάρνει. ὁ δὲ Τδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης, οὗτος δὲ τῶν παραβαλασίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὡς σφες, ξείνα προθέμενος, εἰστία. ξείνων δὲ, εἰρήτῳ λέγων τάδε: “ἂνδρες Δακεδαμίνοι, τι δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεῖ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὅρατε ἡμάς ὡς ἑπιστάτα τις ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶν, ἡμεῖς ἐμὲ τε καὶ τά ἐμα πρήγματα ἀποθέλουστε. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡμῶς εἰ δοῦσθε ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς βασιλεῖ, δεδώξωσθε” γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἂνδρες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ, ἐκαστός ἀν ὑμῶν ἀρχοὺ γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δύνατος βασιλεύειν.” πρὸς ταύτα ὑπερκύρινα τάδε: “Τδάρνης, οὐκ ἔξ ἱου γίνεται ἡ συμβουλή ἡ ἢ ἡμᾶς τεῖνοντα: τοῦ μὲν ἡμάς πεπερημένος συμβουλεύειν, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐνώ τὸ μὲν ἡμᾶς δοῦλος εἶναι ἐξεπίστευε, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὗκ ἐπερήσῃς, οὕτως ιδίως ἢτοι εἰ μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐτής πειρήσαι, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύσας ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἓλλα καὶ πέλεκεσι.” Ταύτα μὲν Τδάρνηα ἀμελήσαντο ἀνθέτευν δὲ ὦς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἠλθοῦν, πρῶτα μὲν τὸν δορυφόρον κελεύοντος καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφέροντος προσκυνεῖνες βασιλεῖα προσπέπτουσι, οὐκ ἐφασαν, ἀθεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλήν, ποιῆσον ταῦτα οὐδάμα. οὕτω γὰρ σφι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνεῖνες, οὕτε κατὰ ταῦτα ἥκεις ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δεύτερα σφὶ λέγοντι τάδε καὶ λόγου τουσδέ ἐχόμενα, “ὅ δε βασιλεὺς Μήδων, ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Δακεδαμίνοι ἀντί τῶν ἐν Στάρῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων, ποιήσω ἔκεινοι τίσωσιν.” λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα Ἑρέτθε ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοίοι ἐσεβέσθαι Δακεδαμινοίς: κείνους μὲν γὰρ συγχέω τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμομα, ἀποκτείναντας κήρυκας αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ κείνους ἐπιτυλίσεις ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσειν. 212
où ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἡ Τιρυνθιαί αὐτοκτονεῖσα ἐκέλους, ἀπολύσεωι Δακεδαιμονίου τῆς αἰτίας. Οὗτος ἡ Ταλνθίου μήνις, καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦσίν τοι Σπάρτης, ἐταύσατο τὸ παρατήκα, καλὴν ἀπονοσισάντωι ἐς Ἡττάρτῃ Σπερβέω τε καὶ Βούλιος· χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῷ ἐπηγέρθη, κατὰ τὴν Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγομεν Δακεδαιμόνιοι. τούτῳ μοι ἐν τοῖς θεώτατοι φαίνεται γενέσθαι, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσχε τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλνθίου μήνις, οὐδὲ ἐταύσατο πρὶν ἡ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δέησαι οὕτω ἐφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς παῖδες τῶν ἄνδρών τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλεῖα διὰ τὴν μήνιν, ἦς Νικολάω τὸν Βούλιος, καὶ ἢ Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερβέω, δὲ ἔλεε ἀλλάς τοὺς ἐκ Τιρυνθοῦ 373, ὀλεμαὶ καταπλώσας πλήρει ἄνδρών δήλων ὃν μοι ὅτι θείου ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆμια εἰς τῇς μήνιος· οἱ γὰρ, πεμφθέντες ἐντὸς Δακεδαιμονίου ἀγγέλου ἐς τὴν Ἀττήνην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Στιτάκας τοῦ Τήρεω Ἐρημέως βασιλεός 374, καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πίθεου ἄνδρος Ἀθηναίων, ἠλώσαν κατὰ Βισάνθῃ τὴν ἐν Ἑλληνοποντῷ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττήνην ἀπέβανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεμαντός 375, Κορίνθιος ἄνηρ· ταῦτα μὲν τὸν πολλοὶ ζητοῦν ὑπερτορον 376 ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως στόλου ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον λόγων.

138
Constitution of Hellas at the approach of

373 ἃς ἔλεε ἀλλὰς τοὺς ἐκ Τιρυνθοῦ. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedemonians destroyed all persons they could fall in with out at sea, considering them as favourable to the Athenian cause; and it was in retaliation for this savagery that the Athenians, on getting Anaristus, Nicolaus, and their colleagues into their power, put them to death. (Thucydides, ii. 67.) These Tyrnithian fishermen were probably a notorious instance of the barbarous warfare which Thucydides describes.

374 Στιτάκας τοῦ Τήρεω Ἐρημέως βασιλέας. Herodotus mentions this chief before (iv. 89), but there does not think it necessary to describe him, just as if he was a person familiar to his hearers. See the note on that passage. Sitales had, according to Thucydides (ii. 29), married a sister of Nymphodorus, and was entirely under his brother-in-law's influence.

375 'Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδεμαντός. This Alimantus is probably the general mentioned in viii. 59, 61, 94. The success of the son against the Athenians at Potidaea (Thucydides, i. 61, 62), perhaps contributed more to his being put to death than the conduct of the father at Salamis, to which Larcher most gratuitously ascribes it.

376 πολλοὶ ζητοῦν ὑπερτορον. The event of which Herodotus speaks took place in the second year of the Peloponnesian war. If this section proceeds from the pen of Herodotus, it is one of the many proofs existing that the work did not receive a last polish at his hands. See note 221 on vi. 98.
χάρι αυτῶν δόντες γήν τε καὶ ὑδαὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔχουν θάρσος ὥς
οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρουν οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες εὖ
δειμαι μεγάλα κατέτασσαν, ἀτε οὔτε νεὼν ἔουσαν εὐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
ἀριθμῶν ἀξιομάχων δεκαπεν τῶν ἐπιοντα, οὔτε βουλευμένων τῶν
πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδὲῦντοι δὲ προθύμους.
'Ενδυάτα ἀναγκαία ἐξέργασαι ἐπίθυμων μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γὲ μοι φανεῖται
εἶναι ἄλλης, οὐκ ἐπισχήσῃ εἰ ᾽Αθηναίοι καταρρεθάντες τῶν
ἐπιοντα κινδύνου ἐξέλαθον τὴν σφετέρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλατάντες
ἀλλὰ μελάντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτῶς Ἐβέρξη, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν
ουδέαν ἐν ἐπειράντο αὐτείμενοι βασιλεῖ. 318 οἱ τούτων κατὰ τὴν
θάλασσαν μηδέεις ἥπειροι Ἐβέρξη, κατὰ γένα τὴν ἁπειρον τοιάδε
ἐγίνετο εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τεχέων κινδύνες ἦσαν ἐκπλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ
Ἰσθμοῦ Πειλοποννησίου, προδοθέντες ἃν Δακεαδιμόνων ὑπὸ τῶν
συμμάχων, οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ἑπὶ ἀναγκαίας, κατὰ πόλις ἀλάσκο-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμοκράσαν
μουνοθέντες δὲ αὐ, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα, ἀπέθανον γεν-
ναιοὶ. ὡς ταῦτα ἐν ἐπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, ὄρεωντες ἢ καὶ τοὺς
Ἀλεξο{'Ελληνας μεδίζωντος, ὀμολογήθη ἐν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ἐβρέας
καὶ οὔτω ἐν ἐπ' ἄμφοτερα ἢ ᾽Ελλας ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσης τὴν
γὰρ ὀρφεῖν τὴν τῶν τεχεών τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλεφάντων οὐ
dομαὶ πυθέσαι ἢτις ἂν ἂν, βασιλεὸς ἐπικρατεύοντος τῆς θαλάσ-
σης τῶν δὲ ᾽Αθηναίων ἐν τῇ λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς ᾽Ελλά-
δος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀλληθὲς 319. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐκότερα τῶν πρη-
γαίων ἐτρήσκοντα, ταῦτα ἡγεῖτο ἐμελέτη ἐλάμβονε δὲ τὴν ᾽Ελ-
λάδα περείναι ἑλευθερήν, τούτο 320 τὸ ᾽Ελληνικὸν τῶν τὸ λιοῦν
ὅνως μὴ ἐκήθησα, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα
μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενον οὐδὲ σφέας κρατητήρια φοβερὰ ἑλόντα

This must refer to at least as far back as the year before the invasion actually took place. See § 146, below.
318 ἐξέργασα. See note 106 on i. 31.
319 οὖν δομαὶ ἐν ἐπιράντο αὐτείμενοι βασιλεί. See note on § 148, below.
320 τὸ ἀλληθὲς. This is not to be taken after ἀμαρτάνοι, in which case a genitive would be required; but is equivalent to ἀλληθές, "in good sooth."
321 τοῦτο. Σ has τοῦ, and after the word ᾽Ελληνικὸν the participle δέ. Also, for αὐτῶ in the next line, it has αὐτοῦ. There seems to be a corruption in the text somewhere or other. I am inclined to suspect the sentence originally ran: ἐλά-
μανει δὲ τὴν ᾽Ελλάδα περειναι ἑλευθερήν, τοῦτο αὐτῶ, τὸ ᾽Ελληνικὸν τῶν τὸ λιοῦν ὅνως μὴ ἐκήθησα αὐτοὶ ἦσαν αἱ ἐπεγείραν-
tες. The word αὐτῶ, having dropped out of its place and been inserted in a wrong one, may have been changed into αὐτός or αὐτοὶ, to make sense.
262 HERODOTUS

ἐκ Δελφῶν, καὶ ἐς δείμα βαλόντα, ἔπεισε ἐκλυπεῖν τῇ Ἑλλάδᾳ ἀλλὰ καταμεινατεῖς ἀνέχοντο τὸν ἐπιοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην δέξασθαι.

140 Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρότους, χρηστημαζοντεῖς ἦσαν ἑτοίμους καὶ σφί ποιήσαι περὶ τὸ ἱ든 τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσεβόντες ξύνοντο, χρὰ ἡ Πυθία τῇ ὁμορρά ἦν Ἀριστοτέλει τάδε:

"Ο μάλωτο, τι κάθητε; λείπει φαύλη θυσίας ἄδικης καὶ πόλιος τροχοεῖδες ἁμα κάρφων.
οὕτω γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἐμεθνω, οὕτως ἄμα, οὕτως πάλαι νεατοὶ, οὕτως ἄμα, οὕτως πάλαι νεατοὶ, οὕτως ἄμα, οὕτως πάλαι νεατοὶ.

ταλλὰ δὲ κάλλ᾽ ἀποκλεῖ τυφώμενα, καὶ τὸ σῶν αὐτοῦ πολλὸν ὅσον ἦσαν μαλλὰ πυρὶ ἄσκεις, οὗ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἔτησαι, ἵνα μέλαιν κάθηται, προῖδων κακῶτας ἀνάγκας.

ἀλλ᾽ ἂν εἴλοιτο, κακοὶς οὕτως ἐκπίεσθαι θυμῶν.

141 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρότους, συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωστο προβάλλοντι δὲ σφέας αὐτοῦς ἕως τοῦ

382 ἐς τὸ μέγαρον. The inmost recess of the temple, where the sacred weapons were suspended, which no mortal hand was allowed to touch. See viii. 37.

388 τόπος τροχοεῖδες. An allusion to the circular fortification which enclosed the city.

386 ἱερῶς ἐπουθημένος. Drops of moisture standing upon the statues was considered a portent among the ancients, who were entirely ignorant of the physical cause of it. The original notion suggested seems to have been that sweat was produced by the influence of fear, or tears let fall under that of sorrow at an impending calamity: "mœstum illacrumat templis ebur, eraque sudant." (VIRGIL, Georg. i. 480.) Sometimes the credulity of the spectators, enhanced by superstitious terror, converted the moisture into blood. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS describes the panic which follows habitually:

"ὅταν αὐτὸνι τὰ ἐδέσα ἐς ἱερὰ ἐφάνην αἰματί, καὶ μνήμης ἐνιαίω ἐφέσσεται, ἰὲ καὶ ἔτεος μέχρι ἐνεκατ' ἐφάνεν τις παράκλητος σωματίδιον, τὰ δὲ λαμπρὰ δὲ ἥρεν ἄστρα φαινέται."

(L. 1284.)

At the time of Alexander's march upon Thebes the statues in the agora were seen ἱερῶς ἐφάνεται καὶ μεγάλων μεστοῖ σταλαγμῶν, and at the same time word was brought from Delphi that the shrine, which the Thebans had set up there out of the tithe of the spoils of the Phocians, ἡματικήν ἐκαὶ τῆν ἄρτην ἔφαινα. (DIONY. xvi. 10.) Blood too burst out from the pavement of the temple of Here at Sybaris, shortly before the destruction of the city. See note 107 on v. 43.

321 προβάλλοντι δὲ σφέας αὐτοῦς. It is not easy to say exactly what the notion is which is implied in these words; but I think the most plausible interpretation is "throwing their cause up," lit. "casting themselves away," as a gamerest would dice out of his box. Hence the author of the Rheus uses the expression ἐν ὑδίαιν ημῶν Ψευδή προβάλλοντι εν καθώσι διάμορφοι. The Athenians appear to have thought that their case was one in which no prudence could avail, and that nothing remained but to give themselves up passively to the course of events. Schweigl's seems to think the expression
κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλατα, συνεβούλευε σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὐτοῖς ἐδόθασι χράσθαι τῷ χρηστήρῳ ὡς ἱκέταις πειθομένοις δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ λέγουσι: "δυναῖς, χρῆσθων ἡμῶν ἄμεινον τε περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰτεθείης τὰς ἱκετήριας τάσεις τὰς τοῖς ἱκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὔ τοι ἀπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδότου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἐστ’ ἀν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν" ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πράματι τοις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε:

Οὐ δόνται Παλλᾶς Δι' Ὀλυμπιων ἡξελάσοσαι,
λιασμένη πολλοὶ λέγουσι καὶ μὴ τιδ' πυκνὴ.

σοὶ δὲ τὰς αὕτις ἐποίην Ὁδόματι. 233 ἐπίθεσας
τῶν ἄλλας γὰρ ἀληκομένης, δοτα Κέρκυρας ὁδρος
ἄντις ἔχει κεφαλ Xamarinon καθεοι,
τείχος Τριτυγνικέοι ἱλικόν διδοὶ εὔφωνα Ζεύς
μοῦνὸν ἀψόρευτον τελέσθεν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ἀγαθῃ.

μηδὲ σὺ γ' ἱπποκόης τὸ μένος καὶ πεζόν λάστα
πολλὸν ὡς θεῖοι στρατηγοὶ ἱπποῖς, ἀλλ' ἵπποις
κεῖτεν ἐπιστρέφας· οὐτ' ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦ ἴσημη.
δ' θείς ξαλαμή, ἀπολέει δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἡ ποικαμανένης Δημήτρεος, ἡ συνιοτησης. 237

Ταῦτα σφι ἕπιστερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔδοκε εἶναι,
συγγραφαίμενοι αὔταλάσαστον ἐς τὰς 'Αθηναίας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες
οἱ θεσπρότης ἀπὶ τήγγελον ἐς τὸν ἄμμον, γνώμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ
ἐγίνοντο διημένους τὸ μαντητό, καὶ αἰδέ συνεστηκών μᾶλιστα
τῶν προσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκεῖν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περίεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἀκροπόλις τὸ παλαι τῶν

from the latter of which they derive a ray of hope.
'Ἀθηναίων ῥηχὺς ἐπέφρακτο οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ἐξυλλον τείχος εἶναι οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ταύτας παρατίθεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέναντας. τοὺς δὲ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ἐξυλλον τείχος ἐσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας·

зд θεία Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σφ τέκνα γυναῖκῶν, ἢ τού σκεδασμὸνς Δημιούργης ἢ συνισθής.

κατὰ ταύτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν φαμέων τὰς νέας τὸ ἐξυλλον τείχος εἶναι οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγους ταύτα ταύτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεδε σφείς ἑσσοθηνά, ναμαχήνην παρασκευασμένους. Ἡν δὲ τῶν τὰς Ἀθηναίων ἀνήρ ἐς πρῶτων νεωστὶ παριών, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν ἡ Θεμιστοκλῆς, πάις δὲ Νεόκλεος ἐκαλέστοι οὗτος ἀνήρ οὐκ ἔφη πάν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλοντας, λέγων τοὐδεὶς ής ἡ Ἀθηναίων εἶκε τὸ πάθος ἐπὶ οὐκ εἰρήμενον ἐστῶς, οὐκ δὲ ὁμοῦ μὲν δοκεέω ἡπίως χρησθήναι, ἀλλὰ ἄδει ὅ σκετήλη Σαλαμίς ἀντὶ τοῦ δὲ θεία Σαλαμίς εἴπερ γε ἐμέλλων οἱ οἰκίστερος ἀμφὶ αὐτῆς τελευτάσεως ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον, συνκαλυβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς ἀλλὰ οὐκ εἰς Ἀθηναίους, παρασκεύασθαι δὲ αὐτοῦς ὡς ναμαχήσονται συνβανδεῖν, ὡς τούτοι ἐστῶς τοῦ ἐξυλλον τείχος. ταύτη Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναίοι ταύτα σφι ἐγκοσιαί αἰρετάστεραι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων οὐκ ἔστων ναμαχήνην ἀρτέσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείστεραι ἀλλὰ ἐκλποτνας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικήν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζετεν. Ἐστήρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνώμῃ ἐμπροσθεῖ ταύτης ἐς καρυγν ἥριστενεν ὡς Ἀθηναίους γεομένων χρηστάντων μεγάλον ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐκ τῶν τῶν μεταλλῶν σφι προσῆλθαν τῶν

381 ἑστῶς. This is a conjectural reading adopted by Schaefer and Bekker. The MSS have ἑνὸς κοινῷ, to which no sense can be given.

382 αἰρετάστερα εἴναι μᾶλλον. Compare μᾶλλον διαβάστερον (i. 32.), κερδαιστέρον μᾶλλον (ix. 7).

383 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. The substantive understood is ταμείῳ. Similarly the Romans said "in publicum redigeret," understanding the word "semarium."

384 ῥηχὺς, "a palisade." Pausanias says, that the Trozoneans gave the name of ῥηχὺς to the wild olive (ii. 32. 10). This being a tree indigenous to the country, it is likely that its wood would be common, and being generally used in fences of this kind would give its name to them, just as the outer door of students' rooms at Oxford is called an "oak."

264 HERODOTUS

143 Themistocles interprets the oracle of the ships.

144 Former attempt of Themistocles to
POLYMNIA. VII. 143—145. 265

create a navy.

They send commissioners to Argos, Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete, for succour, to form the statement of Herodotus: and the Athenians, Hemusokles himself, being at the isthmus, the war with Eginne the probable invasion an additional reason. These ships (Thucydides remarks) had not decks running their whole length. The Peloponnesian war was the main argument, independently of this, which appears the more probable, and that the Athenian navy did not amount to more than two hundred ships at the time of the battle of Salamis. (See note 2 on viii. 1.) And independently of this batch of galleys, they had at least fifty others when the war with Eginne was going on (vi. 80).


144 ορθῶς, "very strong man."
όμολος πάση Ἑλλησ. τα δὲ Γέλονος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἰναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλῶν μέγω.

"Ιδιδέ ταύτα σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἐχθράς, πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν 'Ασίνην ἄνδρας τρεῖς: οἱ δὲ ἀπικό-μενοι τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμαθοῦσι τὴν βασιλείας στρατιῶν, ὡς ἐπάσι ηγέτω ἤγεντο, βασιλευοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρτι ἀπίγονον ὡς ἀπολείμενον καὶ τοῖς μὲν κατακέκριτο χώνατος Ἰέρεχις δὲ ὡς ἐπίθετο ταύτα, μεμφθεὶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γράμμα, πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρως, ἐνευλάμενος, ην κατα-λάβοντος τῶν κατασκόπους ὑπότας, ἀγείν παρ’ ἑωτόν ὡς δὲ ἐτι περιεύοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἤγεν ὡς ἄνθρω τὴν βασιλείας, τὸ ἐνθεῦτε, πυθομένος ἐπ’ οἷα ἠλθοῦ, ἐκελεύη σφέας τῶν δορυφόρων περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τῶν πεζῶν στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν ἱπποὺν ἐπεάν δὲ ταύτα θείετες ἔσω θλήρες, ἀποπέμπετε ἐς τὴν ἀν αὐτοῦ ἰδέλωσι χόρρην ἀσινέας. Ἑπιλέγον δὲ τῶν λόγων τόνδε ταύτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπόλυτον οἰ κατάκοποι, οὕτε δὲ τῶν ἑωτόν πρήγματα προεπίθοτο οἱ Ἑλληνεῖς ἐνταῦτα λόγον μέξα, οὕτ’ ἄν τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσώματο ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες νοστηράτων δὲ τούτως ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, δοκεῖν (ἀφ’) ἀκούσαντας τοῖς Ἑλληνας τα ἑωτοῦ πρήγματα, πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γιωμένου παραδόσεις σφέας τὴν ἱδέαν ἀλεθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὕτω δεδημεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ στρατηλατεύουντας πρήγματα ἐχειν. οἷκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὴ ἡ γράμμα τῇ γε ἄλλῃ ἐως γῆρ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἢ Εὔρηξις, εἶδε πλοία ἐκ τοῦ Πύντου συναγηγή διεκπέλλοντον τῶν Ἐλλήσποντον, ἐς τῇ Ἀγίναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα." οἱ μὲν δὲ πάρερδοι αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπίθυτον πολέμων εἰναι τὰ πλοία, ἐτοίμως ἦσαν αἱρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐβελεύοντες ἐς τὸν βασιλεία ὀχοῦσαν παραγεγέλειε ἢ δὲ Ἰέρεχις εἰρετο αὐτοῦς ὀκῆ πλέον ὑπ’ οἱ δὲ εἶπαν "ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὁ δὲ διάτατο  ἐς τὰς αἰγίνοις" ἢ δὲ

"taken from the rows of a galley, who all fled to their oars together to increase the steadiness and force of the stroke. The same expression is used in iii. 82.

μεμφθεὶς. See note 287 on i. 77.

ἐκελεύη σφέας . . . καὶ τὴν ἱπποῦν. A similar piece of contemptuous magnani-
mimity is ascribed to Scipio by Livy (xxx. 29).

ἐς τῇ Ἀγίναν καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα, "bound for Aegina and Peloponnesus." The centre of the traffic be-
tween Pontus and European Greece at this time would probably be Calaures, a little island in the immediate neighbour-
hood of Troye, and not far from Aegina. See note on viii. 41: οἱ μὲν πλείονες ἐς Τροιτιάνα.

δὲ διάτατο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεῖ."
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ. VII. 146—148.

267

υπολαβών ἔφη "οὐκ ὄν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἐνθαπερ καὶ
οὕτωι τοιαὶ τε ἄλλοις ἐξηρτυμένοι καὶ στήρ; τὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδικέονοι
οὕτοι "ἂν συλλα παρακομίζοντες;" οἱ μὲν υπὲρ κατάκοποι
οὕτως θεσσαμένοι τε καὶ ἀποτεμφθέντες ἐνώστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐ-
ρώπην.

Οἱ δὲ συνυμότα τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν
τῶν κατασκόπων, δεύτερα ἐπεμποὺς ἐς "Ἀργον ἀγγέλους. "Ἀργεῖοι
δὲ λέγουσι τὰ καὶ ἑκούσις γεγονέναι ὑδὲ πυθόμεθα γὰρ αὐτίκα
καὶ ἀρχῶς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου γεγονόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθώντες ὡς σφαῖραι οἱ Ἔλληνες περιήγουσιν
παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τῶν Πέρσων, πέμψαι θεσπρῶτοι ἑς
Δελφοὺς, τὸν βασιλέα ἐπειρήσθαις ὡς σφὶ μελέτη ἀριστον ποιεῖσι
γεγονέναι; νεωτὶ γὰρ σφαῖρας τεκνάναι ἐξαισχύνουσιν ἐντὸς ἐκεὶνης
ἱκανότητος καὶ Κλεομένου τοῦ 'Ἀναξαμήνου τῷ δὲ ἐνεκα
πέμπεις τὴν δὲ Πυθίνην ἐπειρατόσωμεν αὐτοῦς ἀνέλειπον τᾶς

"Εχερὶ περιτέλεσθαι, φιλέ ἑκάστῳ τεωσί, εἵνε τὸν προβάλλον
ἐχθράν πελαγικόν ἓνο, καὶ κεφαλὴν πεδαλεύον κάρη ὑπὸ τὸ σῆμα σαλβώς.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίνην χρῆσαι πρότερον μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐξεῖχ
τούς ἄγγελους ἐς δὴ τὸ "Ἀργος, ἐπειδέθεν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον
καὶ λέγεω τὰ ἑντελαμένα τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρι-
νασθαι, ὡς ἐτοιμοὶ εἰσίν Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τρυπήσατα ἐτε
εἰρήνη σπειράμενοι Δακεδαμόνιοι καὶ ἱγιεμένοι κατὰ τὸ ἡμι
πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ τοῦ παραδίκαν ἡνεχθαι τὴν

463 ἐξηρτυμένου. ΝΑΙΜΟΣ remarks that
this word is used by Herodotus in
the sense of κατασκοπεῖον. The same
expression is used above: ἀργοὶ τε καὶ στῆ-
ρος εὗ ἐξηρτυμένοι (II. 32).
464 τί δήτα αδικέονοι ὁτοὶ. Xerxes
had perhaps sagacity enough to be aware
that any interference with the corn trade
of the Euxine would be most prejudicial
to his own interests. His own supplies
from thence must have been enormous.
465 πεποιθοῦσα παραλαμβάνοντες. He-
rodotus habitually uses the verb πεποιθεῖν
with a participle, where in other authors
an infinitive would be found. θέσαμεν
ἐν ἐπειράσματι ἀντιτείμητο βασιλεύτι (§ 139,
ἀργοῦ). ἡμεῖς δὲ πεποιθοῦμα αὐτῷ τῶν
σωτηρίων μυκηνείων (§ 172, below).
466 τεθνάναι ἐξαισχύνουσιν. See note
186 on vi. 83.
467 τὸν προβάλλον, "the spear," a wea-
son which in warfare would be advanced
forward. The term πρόβαλος, for 'a boar
spear,' is used by Herodotus (§ 76, above).
468 καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον . . . ἱγι
ναρ. Schweighäuser considers that this
passage has reference to the supremacy of
Aegamemnon at the time of the Trojan
war. But the seat of Aegamemnon's dominion
was not Argos, but Mycenae; and the Myce-
naeans did actually send eighty auxiliaries

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149 ἤγεομένουσι. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντο σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς "Ελλήνας συμμαχῆς" σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχεισ σπουδᾶς γενέσθαι τριήμερα καίπερ τὸ χρηστηρίου φοβερομένους, ἵνα δὲ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τούτους τοὺς ἔτεισ μὴ δὲ σπουδῶν ἑωρέων, ἐπίλεγον, ἄρα σφαῖς καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλῳ παύσας πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, ἴνα τὸ λουπῶν ἔσωσι Δακεδαμουλών ὑπῆκοοι."

150 τῶν δὲ ἀργείων τοὺς ἄπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ βρέχεται ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείβασθαι τοίοῦτό μὲν σπουδῶν ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλείωνας περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦς ἐνετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφι μὲν εἶναι διὸ βασιλέας, 'Ἀργεῖος δὲ ἐδέναι οὐκ ὄντων δυνατῶν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παύσας τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὃμόφωνοι τῶν 'Ἀργείων εἶναι καλοῦσι οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ 'Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτητῶν τῆς πλείονεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἁρχασθαι ή τὰ ἱππεῖα Δακεδαμονίων προειπτεῖ τό τοῦτο ἀγγέλους, πρὸς δύνας ἡλικίαν ἀπαλλάσσοσθαι ἐκ τῆς 'Ἀργείων κύρος' εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέλεγον ὡς πολέμους.

A report current in Hellas accuses the Argives of really favouring the Persian cause.

Ἀυτοὶ μὲν 'Ἀργεῖοι τοσοῦτο τούτων πέρι λέγουσι. ἦστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα, ὡς Ἕρως έπεμψε κήρυκα ἕως 'Ἀργος πρότερον ἦ περ ὄρμησαι στρατεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τούτων λέγεται εἰσπένθ "ἀνδρὲς 'Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλέας Ἕρως τάδε ὡμῶν λέγειν ἡμεῖς νομίζωμεν Πέρσην εἶναι, ἀν' ὦ ἡμεῖς γεγονόμενοι, παῖδα Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφαίου θυγατρὸς 'Ἀνδρομήδης'' οὕτω ἀν δὲν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι

to assist Leonidas at Thermopylae,—a circumstance which is said to have in the sequel induced the Argives to destroy the city. (Diodorus, xi. 65.) I should rather consider it as based upon the tradition of Temenus being the eldest of the three Heraclide brothers, who were said to have conquered the Peloponnesus.


419 τῶν 'Ἀργείων. The word βασιλέα would naturally have to be supplied; but there seems to be no trace of the regal office in Argos at this time. Perhaps the polemarch for the time being would be regarded as representing the kingly office. But as this would only be in the field, the answer of the Lacedemonians squares very ill with the circumstance asserted by Herodotus above (v. 70), that after the joint expedition of Cleomenes and Dermatus to restore the Pisistratida, a law was passed that only one Spartan king should take the command at once.
Story of what Callias, son of Hippocrates, heard years afterwards at Susa, confirming the charge.

Remarks of the author on the subject.

That this genealogy was Hellenic, not Persian, appears from what the author himself says elsewhere. See the notes on vi. 54, and note 194 on vi. 61. It is likewise obviously absurd that genuine Persian legends should derive their own ancestor from Argos.

111 πρήγμα ποιήσατο, "considered it a thing of importance." Compare vi. 63: τούτο ἔκσωσεν μὲν οἱ ἐφοροὶ, πρήγμα μὲν· τούτων ἐνοπήσατο τὸ παρατικά.

111 ταχρήμα μὲν οὖδὲν ἐπηγγέλλομεν μετατείθησιν, "at the moment made no demand in their overtures."

111 ἐν Σοφοιοί τοις Μεμνονίωι. Gaisford, following S, V, P, F, prints Μεμνονίωι, but the majority of MSS, both here and in v. 64, give the reading Μεμνονίωι. Strobel (xv. p. 317) says that the acropolis of Susa was called Memnonium.

111 ἑπεροὶ πρήγματος εἶνεκα. It really was no other than the concluding a peace with Persia. (Diodorus, xii. 4.) The reason of Herodotus not mentioning the business expressly in this passage is obvious. To make terms, however honourable, with the foreigner, no doubt called forth taunts; and the Athenians would be very glad to show, if they could, that Argos had throughout been treacherous to the Hellenic cause. The immediate cause of the peace was the success of Cimon and his successors in Cyprus (449 B.C.). On the other hand the Athenians had suffered a severe loss in Egypt three years before (Thucydides, i. 110), and had been forced by want of supplies to raise the siege of Citium. (Thucydides, i. 112.) Peace, therefore, was to the mutual advantage of the belligerents, although it could hardly have been regarded in those times as anything but a blot upon Hellenic patriotism to make it.

114 Ἀρταξέρξης. The manuscript S has here Ἀρταξέρξης, but in the next section Ἀρταξέρξης.
It is even said that the Argives invited the Persian invasion.

Embassy to Sicily.

Family history of Gelon.

513 [ἐπισταμαί...ἐσενεκαστο.] This reflection has nothing at all to do with the matter in hand, which relates to the crimes which people impute to each other, not to the troubles of which they complain. The passage is, I believe, an interpolation. If it be removed, the following words, ὡσει δὴ, refer to the explanation of their conduct which was given by the Argives themselves (γράφειν τὴν ἄρετον Ἀργεῖον λέγοντες). They were enjoined to neutrality by an oracle; and in spite of this, if they could have had what they deemed their rights, they would have joined the Hellenic confederacy. “In this view, then, the conduct of the Argives was not utterly base. But I am bound to say what is said, although not altogether bound to believe it—a principle which must be extended to my whole story—for it is even said, that, after all, the Argives were those who invited the Persian to invade Hellas,” i.e. not the Pisistratids or Demaratus. See note on ix. 12: συνεδρίβομεν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον μὴ διέλθην. 514 Γέλαιος. This city was built on the bank of a river of the same name, so called (according to Stephanus Byzantinus, sive n.): δεῖ γάλαξι γάλαξι γενετονε ταύτην γαρ τῇ Ὑσυκών φυγὴ καὶ Σικελίων γέλας γέλας λέγοντες. The Greek and Sicilian gela has left its trace in the Latin gela, but it is more likely that the stream obtained its name from its temperature, than from any quality which could be described in the words used by Stephanus. It should not be overlooked that according to this statement one would expect the great bulk of the inhabitants of Gela to have been the aborigines. Else its name would have certainly been Helenic. The proper ethnic adjective is Γέλαιος—not Γέλως, the form which Herodotus uses, and which customarily prevailed. Stephanus says that perhaps the form Γέλως is derived from gela, not an unlikely proceeding on the part of Greek settlers, for the sake of the omen. 515 Λινδί. The place which was first enclosed, and where the town Gela existed in the time of Thucydides, bore the name Lindii (v. 4). Thucydides says that a portion of the original colonists were Gelaioi (l. c.).
τρόπω τοιούτω· ἐς Μακτώραν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελώων, ἐσσωθέντες στάσις τούτους ὁ Ὁ Τηλώνης κατήγγειλε γε Γέλην, ἔχον συμπληρώσας ἄνδραν δύναμιν ἄλλα ἵππα τῶν θεῶν οὗ δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε 429 ἢ αὐτός ἐκτῆσατο, τούτῳ οὐκ ἔχω εἶπεν τούτοις ὃν πίσων ἔχων, κατήγγειλε ἐπʼ ἃ τε ὁ ἄρχων ἄνδρος ἰσοφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. ἤδη μιᾷ ὁ δὲ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυθάνομαι κατεργάσασθαι Τηλώνην ἔργων τοσοῦτων τὰ τοιαύτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς ὁ πατάνης ἄνδρος 430 μενόμενα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχής τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ρώμης ἀνδρείας ἃ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίας τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰ ὑπεννία τούτων, πεφυκέναι θηλεύρης τε καὶ μαλακότερος ἄνηγε 431. οὕτω μὲν εὖν ἐκτῆσατο τούτῳ τὸ γέρας. Κλέανδρος δὲ τοῦ Παιτάρεως τελευτάσαστος τὸν βιοῦ, δε ἐπιράννεικε μὲν Γέλης ἐπὶ θέαν ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβίλλων ἄνδρος Γελώων, ἐναὐτὰ ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίαν Ἰπποκράτης, Κλέανδρον ἐὼν ἄδελφος· ἔχοντος δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, ἐὼν Τηλώνος ὁ ἱροφάντων ἄρτιγον, πολλῶν μετʼ ἄλλων καὶ Διηνοτῆμον τοῦ Παταίκου 432 δὲ ἧν δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος 433. . . . . . . μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς Ἰπποῦ εἶναι Ἰππαρχος. πολλορκότεν αὐτῷ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλοπόλιτας τε καὶ Ναξίους 434.
and on his death succeeds him as king of Gela, to the exclusion of his son.
δήμος ὁ τῶν Συρχεοσίων ἐπώνυμος Γέλων παραδοθεὶς τῷ τὸν καὶ ἐννυτόν. 'Ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε παρέδωκε τὰς Συρχεοσίας, Γέλως, ἡμιμοῦν ἐπικρατεῖαν λόγον θάλασσαν ἐποίησε 129, ἐντρέψεις αὐτὴν Ἰερωνίδη θεολογοῦ ἐνυτόν ὅ δὲ τὰς Συρχεοσίας ἐκράτειν, καὶ ἦσαν ἐπικρατεῖα αἱ Συρχεοσίαι 130. αἱ δὲ παραντία ἄνε τ᾽ ἐδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον 131. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριάλοις ἐπικρατεῖ ἔτσι τὰς Συρχεοσίας ἄγαγῶν πολίτας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἁστυ κατέκαυσε τούτο δὲ Γέλως ὑπερημίσεις τῶν ἀστών τούτων τούτων Καμαριάλοις ἐποίησε. Μεγάραις τε τοῦ Συκελίης, ὡς πολυρκεομένους ἐστὶ ὡς ὁμολογία προσέχωρησθαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέος, ἀδεμάντως τοὺς πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκόντας ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τούτου, ἄγαν ἔτος τὰς Συρχεοσίας πολίτας ἐποίησε τόδε δήμον τῶν Μεγαρῶν, οὐκ ἐνώτια μετατίθεν τὸν πολέμον τούτον οὐδὲ προσδοκόμενον κακόν οὐδὲ πείσθαι, ἄγαγῶν καὶ τούτους ἔτος τὰς Συρχεοσίας ἀπέδεικτο ἐπ᾽ ἔξαγωγη ἐκ Συκελίης. τούτω δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὐφράος τοῖς Συκελίη ἐποίησε 132, διακρίνας.
ἐπολεῖ δὲ ταύτα τούτοις ἀμφότεροι, νομίσας δὴμον εἴναι συνολικὰ ἀχαριτώτατον. τοιοῦτο μὲν τρόπῳ τῶν ἄνθρωπος ἑγεμόνες μέγας ὁ Γέλον.

Τὸτε δὲ, ὥσις ἀφήγει τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸς Συρηνίκος, ἀλλάζεις αὐτός ἐς λόγους ἔλγεν τάδε ἡς ἐπεμφάνιζεν ' Ἄκεδαιμόνιοι οοιοὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμψάμενοι σε πρὸς τῶν βάρβαρων τῶν γὰρ ἐπίντα ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα πάνως κου πυνθάνει τοῖς Πέρσαις ἀνήρ μελλεί, ξεῦξαι τοὺς 'Ελλήνας ποτὸν καὶ ἐπέγαν πάντα τῶν ἴππων στρατοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ασίας, στρατηληθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιείμενος ὥσις ἢ Ἀθήνας ἑλάνει, ἐν νῦν δὲ ἔχοι πάντοι τὴν 'Ελλάδα ἅπον ἐντυπώσασθαι. οὐ δὲ δυνάμοις τε ἴκες μεγάλῆς, καὶ μοιρὰ τοῖς τῆς 'Ελλάδος οὐκ ἔλαβατι μέτα, ἐφιστο γε Ζεύγειας βοήθει τοῖς ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν 'Ελλάδα, καὶ συνελεύσετο. ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ γυμνόμενα πᾶσα ἢ 'Ελλάς χείρ μεγάλη συνήγαγε, καὶ ἄξιαμαι γυμνομένα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι ὃν ἢ ἴκες ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν καταπραθῶσι οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἴμαντον τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἢ ἄλλων, τοῦτο δὲ ἴκες δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέτος πᾶσα ἢ 'Ελλάς, μὴ γὰρ ἔλπις, ἢν ἴκες καταστρέφηται ὁ Πέρσαις μᾶχη κρατήρας, ὡς οὐκ ἤξει παρὰ σὲ γε ἄλλα πρὸ τοῦτον φύλαξαι βοήθειον γὰρ

ΧΕΝΩΣ. πάντως, ὅ δὲντοκος, ἀπάντω χώρᾳ κοτίλοισαι, ἐκκαθαρίσαυτι πλατειάδοις ἐπάνα. ΓΟΡΓ. Μα: πέλει διάρρηκτος; ὅ ἐν τίνι, εἰ κοτίλα εἰμί; παλυμένων ἐπίτοςας; Συρηνίκας ἐπάνα; ἐπότος εἰς εἴδεις καὶ τοῦτο, Κορινθίους εἰς ἐνθεῖν, ὅσα καὶ δ' Ἐλληνορών Πελοποννατοί λαλεῖμεν. Βωρίσων δ' ἔξειν, δεικτο, τοῖς δορίσεσιν. (Ἰδικ. ν. 67—93.)

It seems not unlikely that the altar of Apollo Archaegetes at Naxos, which Taucidides attributes to the original colonists (see note 425, above), received increased honours at this time; and also that to the same revolution is to be ascribed the substitution of the head of Apollo for that of Dionysus on its coins. Gelon also professed an anxiety to revenge the death of the Lacedemonian Dorius (§ 158).

423 Λακεδαιμόνιοι. After this in V follow the words καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, and in S τῇ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, which Gaisford adopts. Bekker reads Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ λ. Θρησκευόμενος, which brings the text into a conformity with the usage of language, but seems a perfectly arbitrary change. All the rest of the MSS have the reading I have adopted. The problem seems rather to be, to account for the variations found in S and V, than to disturb the evidence of the other MSS. And it appears not unlikely that the words καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων crept in from a marginal note, written by some one who observed that in § 161 an Athenian commissioner was mentioned. I do not believe either that at the time of the embassy any other people would be coupled with the Lacedemonians as of coordinate rank in the confederacy, or that at the time at which Herodotus wrote such a representation would be made. This perhaps might have been when the archetypal MS from which S is derived was written; and this was perhaps the feeling of the editor who inserted the copula τε.
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ. Β Ι 5 , 1 5 8 .

ἡμῶν σεσωτοὶ τιμωρεῖς τῷ δὲ εἰ βουλευθῆναι πρόχειμα τελευτὴ ὡς τὸ ἐπίταυχον χροστὴ ἐθελεῖ ἐπνιγμεθλαί." Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον
Γέλων δὲ πολλὰς ἐνέκειτο "ἀλλὰς ἢ ἄδρες." Ἐλληνες, λόγου ἑξοπλῖτες πλεονεκτήσας ἐπειδὴ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τῶν βάρβαρων
παρακάλοντες ἀθέων αὐτοῖς δὲ, ἐμεῖς πρότερον δεσμεύσας βαρβάρους, ἀριστοκρατοῦντος ὑπὲρ τῶν Δωρίων τῷ Ἀναξιάνδριδεῖ πρὸς
'Εγεσταλών ἐκπρήξασθαι, ἵπτετονύτος τῇ ὑμηρᾳ
συνελευθεροῦν "ἀλλὰς ἤ ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὁφελεία τε καὶ ἐπανρέσεις
γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῖς εἴνεκα ἠλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τῶν Δωρίων
φολον ἐκπρήξομενοι, τῷ τε καὶ ὑμέας τάδε ἀσπάσα ὅταν 
βαρβά
ροις νῦν 
ἐν 
αὐτῷ ἣ γὰρ ἥμι 
ν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄμεινον κατέστη


424 πολλὰς ἐνέκειτο. See note 348 on i. 98.

425 πρὸς Ἐγεσταλών. Several of the MSS both here and in v. 46 have Ἀγαθο


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αὐτὰ ἀκούσας οὔτε Ἰνάκχετο ὁ Σύργος ἐκεῖ τῇ τάδε· "ἡ κε μέγ' ὑμᾶς εἶναι ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων", πυθόμενος Σπαρτήτης τὴν ἱγμονήν ἀπαριθμήσας ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν τὸ λόγον μηκέτι μνησθή, ὅκως τὴν ἱγμονήν τοῦ παραδώσωμεν ἀλλ', εἶ μὲν βοιλώ τοὺς βοηθείς τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ἵσθι ἄρομεν ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμόνοις εἰ δ' ἠρα μὴ δικαιοίς ἀρχεθαι, οὔ δ' αὑτοῖς βοηθεῖς." Πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ἄρα ἀπεστραμμένοι τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σύργου, τὸν τελευταίον σφί τόνδε ἤξεσαν λόγον "ὡς ἠξενί Σπαρτήτη, ὀνείδα κατιότα" ἀνθρώπων φιλεῖ ἐπανάγει τὸν θυμὸν σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενοι ὤμολαματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὔ μὲ ἐπεισάκχημα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι. οὔκος δὲ ὑμεῖς οὔτω περιήχεσθε τῆν ἱγμονίαν, οἷος καὶ ἕμεν μᾶλλον ὑμῶν περιήχεσθαι, στρατηγὸς τε ἐόντα πολλαπλασίας ἡγεμόνα καὶ θηρῶν κολύ μελίσσων ἀλλ' ἐπεί της ὑμᾶς τοῦ λόγου οὔτω προσάντως κατιόταται, ἡμεῖς τι ὑπεξέρρομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου εἰ τοῦ μέν τετύχοι ὑμεῖς ἡγεσιᾶ, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγώ εὐ θεόν τοῦ κατὰ θᾶλασσαν ἱγμονεύειν, τοῦ πενθοῦ ἐγώ θέλω καὶ ἡ τούτων ὑμῶν χρέων ἐστι ἀρέσκεσθαι, ἡ ἀπίαναι συμμάχων τούτων ἐρήμων.

437 μέντοι ὑμᾶς οἷς εἶναι ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων. The expression is a parody on the Homeric verse: ἡ κε μέγ' ὑμᾶς εἶναι γέρων ἐν τῇ ποδείᾳ, (Π. v. 125.) It will be observed that Syagrus, although he does not absolutely profess, like Cleomenes, to be "not a Dorian, but an Achaeans" (v. 73), yet rests the dignity of Lacedaemon on its connexion with the Achaeans or ante-Dorian dynasty of the Pelopidae. The party of Cleomenes therefore was obviously represented in his person. That it should at the time be predominant at Lacedaemon, in spite of Cleomenes's own death, is not wonderful, as his daughter and heiress, Gorgo, was the wife of Leonidas (v. 48; vi. 205 and 239), and her celebrity for shrewdness indicates a woman of influence.

468 οὐ δὲ μὴ βοηθεῖς. Compare i. 126: οὐ δὲ στάσας τε καὶ πανασχένος πλήρως μάθησαι. iii. 134: οὐ δὲ μοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδων στρατεύσεως. ἄπεστραμμένοι τοῦ λόγου. Weisinger suspects that the true reading is ἄπεστραμμένοι, a form which occurs below in iii. 69: λέγους μᾶλλον ἀπεστραμμένοι (where see the note). But the reading in the text gives a fair meaning, "that Syagrus's views were averse to the proposal," although undoubtedly the remark of Gelon in reply is a reproof of violence, which would be implied in the word ἄπεστραμμένοι.

469 κατιότα. Compare κατιότας τοῦ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα (l. 219). The word ἀπρόθετο must be taken both with what goes before and what follows.

471 αἵρεσθαι. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρεσκεῖν, which is adopted by Bekker. Either word would give a good sense; but the reading in the text has more of caustic bitterness in it, which accords better with the spirit of Gelon's answer. "You must either contrive to make yourself happy under these conditions, or take yourself off without the assistance I have described." And the word ἀρέσκεσθαι is several times used by Herodotus: οὐκ ἄρεσκεσθαι τῇ κρίσει (iii. 54). διὰ τὴν ὑπομακαίρα ἄρεσκεν Σωκράτη (v. 718). οὐκ ἄρεσκεσθαι τῷ τράγῳ τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ κοιναμετέχειν (ix. 69). But the other expression occurs in ix. 33: οὔδ' ὅτι ἡρά ἢτι ἀρεσκεῖν τῷ τούτῳ μανσοί.
Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταύτα προτείνετο: φθάσας δὲ ἦ Ἀθηναλον ἄρχετος τῶν Δακεδαμιωνίων, ἀμείβετο μὲν τοίοῦτο: "ὃ βασιλεὺς Συρκουσιών, οὐκ ἤγεμόνοις δεσμένη ἦ Ἔλλας ἀπεθεμένη ἡμᾶς πρὸς σὲ, ἀλλὰ στρατεύεται ὑπὸ δὲ δώκιμοι μὲν στρατηγῶν πέμψεις μὴ ἤγεμόνοις τῆς Ἐλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὅσι δὲ στρατηγῆσαι αὐτὴς ἠλήσεις ἡμῶν μὲν ὑπὸ ταυτὸ τοῦ Ἐλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέον ἡγεσιαί, εὐχρεία ἡμῶν τοῖς Ἀθηναλοις ἑσυχίαν ἔχεις, ἐπισταμένους ὡς ὁ Δάκων ἢ ἐπεῖδη τοῖς Ἐλλήνων στρατοῖς ἐξεσθαί καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄμφοτέρων ἀπολογοῦμενος ἢ ἐπεῖδη τοῖς ἄμφοτεροις ἐπισταμένους δέ εἶναι τῆς ἐναρχὴς, οὕτω ἑχει τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁ Δάκων ἐπί τοῖς ἄρχεις αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις ἠμέτρητο γὰρ ἡ ἑαυτὴ γε, μὴ αὐτῶν βουλομένων Δακεδαμιωνίων. τούτους μὲν ὅργησθαι βουλομένους οὐκ ἀντιτέυχοι, ἄλλω δὲ παρῆσομεν οὐδὲν ναυαρχεῖς μᾶλλον γὰρ ὡς ἔπειρα τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατοῖς πλείστοτε εἰμι, εἰ Συρκουσιώνοι οὗτοι Ἀθηναῖοι συμμαχήσους τῆς ἤγεμονις, ἀρχιμαρτότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μοῦνοι δὲ οὕτως ὃ μετανάσται Ἐλλήνων ἢς τῶν καὶ "Ομηρος ὁ ἑποποιὸς ἀνδρα ἀριστον ἔφησε οὖς "Ἰλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι στρατοὺς οὕτως οὐκ ὄντως οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἔστι λέγειν ταύτα." Ἀμείβετο Γέλων τοῖσι: "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναίε, οὐκέτι οὐκατε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ήχει τοὺς δὲ ἄρχομενοι οὐκ ήχεις ἐπεὶ τοῖς οὐδένις ὑπίστες ἢς έχει τὸ τάν θέλετε, οὐκ δν φθάνοντε τὴν ταχύτητα ὑπόσω απαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀρρένατο τῇ Ἐλλάδι σιτι καὶ τοῦ

(See note 179 on i. 156.) In this sense may be justified what EUROPIDES (ap. Plutarch, de Estilo, § 13) says of Athens:—

"Η ἑραία μὲν ἔσσι ὡς ἐν α鹑οτε ἐλληνες, ἀληθεύσεις οὔ ἕφεμεν αἰ γείαις ἐλληνες τέλεις, πολλάκις ἔνοικοι διαφθορεῖται διόλα, ἐλληνες ταρ' ἐλληνες οὐ δὲ ἔξωμεν." 

οὐδὲν ὑπίστες. Some MSS have οὐδὲν ὑπίστες. But ὑπίστες is used by Herodotus in several places: διὰ τῆς ἐργῆς (i. 156; iii. 52); ἐναλλαίς τις ἀγωνιζόμενης (χ. 4); and the only reason of the genitive being used in those passages is that a merely partial remission is contemplated, such as would be expressed if the particle ἐν had been introduced. (See note 523 on i. 156, and 347 on iv. 136.)

Gelon puts an end to the conference with a sneer.
163 Gelon's temporizing policy after the departure of the commissioners.

164 His agent was Cadmus, son of Scythes, tyrant of Cos, celebrated for his probity.

εἴναι τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῆς ἔξαραίρηται ἢ τοῖς ἱματοσκόμοις ἐπήλει λέγειν δήλα γὰρ ὅσ ἐν τῷ ἐναυτῷ ἔστι τὸ ἐαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατεύσεως τῇ ἑαυτῷ στρατήγῳ στερισμομένην ὅπως τὴν Ἐλλάδα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἴκαζε, ὡς εἶ τὸ ἐαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ ἔξαραρμένου εἶναι.

Οἱ μὲν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγγελοὶ τόσον τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματισάμενοι ἀπέπλευον Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταύτα, δεῖσας μὲν περὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησ μὴ δικένοντες τοὺς βάρβαρους ὑπερβαλλέσθαι, δεινοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέτως ποιησάμενοι ἐκλόγας ἐς Πελόποννησον ἀρχεῖον ἐντὸς Δακεδαμονίων ἐόν Σικελίας τύραννος, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ Ἰμήλησε, ὁ δὲ Ἀλίσις εἰχετο, ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα ὑπὸ τὸν Πέρσου διαβεβεκτα τῶν Ἑλλήσποντος, πέμπετε πεντηκοστήρως τρισὶ Κάδμῳ τῷ Σκύθεω, ἀνδρὰ Κρόνου, ἑς Δελφοὺς, ἑς οἰκοματα πολλὰ καὶ πιλίνους λόγους, καραδοκήσαντα τὴν μάχην ἣ πεσότηται καὶ ἂν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾶ, τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτῶ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ υἱὸν τῶν ἄρχει ο Γέλων ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἑλλησ, ὡςισον ἀπάγειν.

163 Ὅ δὲ Κάδμος οὕτως, πρῶτον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κρονοῦ εὐ βεβεκένει, ἐκὼ τε εἶναι ἐκ δεινοῦ ἐπίωτον οὐδενὸς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐς μέσον Κρονοῦ καταβεβεκτα τὴν ἄρχην, οἷοτε ἐς Σικελίαν ἐστὶ μετὰ Σαμίων ἐσχε τε καὶ κατολήσε τοὺς Ζάγκλης ἐς τὴν ἑς Μεσσηνὴν μεταβάλλοντα τὸ ὄνομα.

"ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῆς ἔξαραίρηται, "that out of her year springside has been cut away." ARISTOTLE, in two passages (Rhetoric, i. p. 1365, and ii. p. 1411), quotes this illustration as one of Pericles's in his funeral oration, but its employment there is much more appropriate: τὴν νεωτητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνρήθηθα δικτύροι τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ εἰ ἕξαραίρητα. EURIPIDES compares the young and ardent citizens to the spring growth of plants (Suppl. 447—9):

πῶς ὁυ ἐντε καὶ γένοιτο ἐν ἐκθρόνοις, ὡς τις, ὥς λείματος ἡμῶν στάχτω, τότες δέομαι καταλυσθή νῦν;

and the orator DEMADES appears to have called the ephebi: ἐαρ τοῦ δήμου (ap. Athen. iii. p. 99).

447 ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῆς ἔξαραίρηται, "that out of her year springside has been cut away." ARISTOTLE, in two passages (Rhetoric, i. p. 1365, and ii. p. 1411), quotes this illustration as one of Pericles's in his funeral oration, but its employment there is much more appropriate: τὴν νεωτητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνρήθηθα δικτύροι τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ εἰ ἕξαραίρητα. EURIPIDES compares the young and ardent citizens to the spring growth of plants (Suppl. 447—9):

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448 ξένοι τε εἶναι. See note on viii. 30.
TOU του δθ διν το Γηλων τον Κατου και τουστρ τροπη ατικώ-
μενου, δια δυκαλοσυνη την οι αυτος αλλη ουσης εουσαν, έπεμπε
δκ τοι καλοις δυκαλοις τοι με εσ ουσαν αργασμενους, και
τοις οι διακοιτων τοις ελεστοις κρατησας γαρ μεγαλων
χρηματων των οι Γηλων επετραπετο, παρεδω κατασκευαςς, ουκ
εσκλαμ, αλλη επει οι Ελληνες επεκατιτησαν την ουσαχης, και
αρης οικωκεσ απελαιων, και δε και έκεινους απικετο εσ την
Σικεληναι απο πιντα τα Χρηματα Αγων.

Δεγεται δε και τας ιπ των εν Σικεληναι οικαιμενων, ως Βιως και
μελλων αρχεσαι ιπτο Δακεδαιμονιων το Γηλων εβοιβησε αυ τως
Ελλης, ει μη ιπ Θηρων οι Γηλων Αυθενηθησεν 439 Ακραγαντινων
μουναρχου ξελασθησε ες Ιμηρης Τηριλλος ο Κρουττου, τυχαι
ους Ιμηρης, επιγει εσ αυτη τους χρονου τοις Φουκλων και
Διβων και Ιβυρων και Ανων και Ελωικων 441 και Σαρδονιων
και Κυριων 442 τριχουντα μυραδας, και στρατηγων αυτων Αμιλκαν
των Αιωνων Καρχηδονιων έοντα βασιλεα· κατα ξεινην 443 τη την
εωτου ο Τηριλλος αναγινωσας, και μαλιστα δια την Αναξιλεω
444 του Κρητικας προσμηνι, δε Ρηγιου έωσ τυραννος, τα εωτου
τέκνα δους ομηροι Αμιλκα επηγε μήν ετι την Σικεληνη, τιμωρεον
το πενθερον Τηριλλου γαρ εξε θυγατηρα Αναξιλεως τη ουνομα

by republican Greece. (See note 154 on
vii. 46.) Respecting the Samians men-
tioned in the text, see note 64 on vi. 24.
439 Θηρων οι Διαμενηθησεν. This
Theron is the subject of the second and
third Olympic odes of PINDAR. His
father Evesidemus is mentioned above
(§ 154) Theron derived his descent from
Thersander, son of Polyneices (OLymp. ii.
76—80); and this was also the case with
Theras, the eponymous colonizer of Thera
(iv. 147). Thersander's daughter Argeia
was, according to pure Macedonian tradi-
tions (vii. 82), the progenetrix of the
Macedonian Hesiodic dynasty.
440 Αιωνων Καρχηδονιων. STEPHANUS BYZAN-
TINUS (on the authority of Hecataeus)
says that this is a Ligurian tribe.
441 Σαρδωνιων και Κυριων. These are
mountaineers from Sardinia and Corsica
in the Carthaginian service. See note
307 on v. 106.
442 κατα ξεινην. Most probably Ter-
illus was supported by the influence of
Carthage, between which and the Syra-
clan dynasty a continual struggle for the
possession of all Sicily lasted, until both
fell before the power of Rome. Hamilcar
would be his 'patronus,' and the great
influence of that chief would cause him to
be popularly considered by the Sicilians
as the 'king' of Carthage. The Alcua-
des are called "kings of Thessaly" in § 6,
above.
443 Αναξιλεως. This Anaxilaus is the
person who persuaded the Samians to
seize upon Zancle, which at that time was
in alliance with Hippocrates, the prede-
cessor of Gelon. (See note on vi. 23.)
It may be reasonably supposed that the
connexion of Terillus with him sprang
out of political relations, for Himera was
a colony from Zancle, and its inhabitants
were mainly Chalcidians, intermixed with
exiles from Syracuse; and the institutions
were mainly Chalcidian, although the
dialect was a mixture of Chalcidian and
Doric. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) Rhegium
also was colonized by Chalcidians; so that
here also the struggle appears to be be-
tween the two races. (See above, note
439, on § 156.)
They sacrificed to Hamilcar as a hero.

166 and of the battle in which he defeated Hamilcar, on the same day as the action at Salamis.

167 Carthaginian account of the matter.

Diodorus says that the action took place on the same day with that at Thermopylae, adding: διδορος έκτεχνης ουδεν έκ του δαιμονιου περι του αυτου καιρου τοσανοις γενέσθαι την τε καλλιτευσιν και την θεοαστητατην ηττ- τεν (xi. 24). Aristotle mentions it as taking place about the same time (kατα τοις αυτοις χρονοις) with Salamis. (Poet. p. 1459.) Perhaps the exact identification of the day sprang from the disposition to draw a parallel between the Sicilian and Athenian commanders and their respective stratagems, —which Diodorus says was a favourite topic with the Sicilians.

455 εισαγειον, “judging from probabilities.” This is a conjecture of Koen, the MSS having εικασε. Gaisford prints εικασαί. They had probably no direct evidence of Hamilcar having burnt himself; but only of what he was engaged in when the scale at last turned against the Carthaginians. Diodorus says that he was destroyed, while sacrificing, by some cavalry of Gelon’s, who were mistaken for a friendly detachment from Selinus. (See Diodorus, quoted in note 676 on i. 199.) The self-sacrifice of the general at last was an action having the same object as the devotion of the Roman consul Decius. (See note 566, below.) Diodorus, in the account he gives of the action, makes Poseidon the deity to whom the Carthaginian general was sacrificing. The origin of this diversity of statement is pointed out in note 130 on ii. 45. It was as foreign traders that the Sicilian Greeks knew the Carthaginians, and hence the tutelary deities of the latter would come under their notice as “domini navigantium.”
Τεραχονευτοί δή τάδε ὑποκρίναμενοι τοῦτο ἀγγέλουσι τοιάδε ἐποίησαν καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανοι οἱ αὐτοὶ οὕτε καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπίκατο, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς Γέλωνα ἔλεγον οἱ δὲ παραντικὰ μὲν ὑπάχωντο πέμφεις 488 τε καὶ ἁμνεῖες, φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφι περιοπτέῃ ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀπολ·

λυμένη ἢ γὰρ σφάλη, σφέες γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύουσι τῇ πρότει τῶν ἠμερῶν ἄλλα τιμωρητέον εἷς ἐς τὸ δυνατότατον. ὑπεράνωνε μὲν οὕτω εὑπρόσωπα ἐπειδὲ δὲ ἔδει βοηθεῖεν, ἀλλὰ νοεῖν τις ἐπιλήφοναν νέας εξήκουντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχέντες προσέ·

έμεθαν τῇ Πέλεοποννήσῳ καὶ περὶ Πύλων καὶ Τάιώαρον γῆς τῆς Δακεδαιμονίας ἀνακόχευον τὰς νεὰς, καραδοκεῖντες καὶ οὕτωι τῶν τὸλεμον ἀ πεζότατα. ἀλλὰ πεζότατοι μὲν τούτοι Εὐλίνας ὑπερβαλέρ·

εσθαίν, δοκεῖντες καὶ τῶν Πέρσην κατακρατήσαντα τολλόν ἀρξεῖν τάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος· ἐπολεύσαν τὰ ἐπίτηδες, ἢν ἔχωσι, πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν τοιάδε "δὲ βασίλει, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβάνοντο τῶν Ὑπλήκην ἠμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Αθηναίοις, οὐκ ἐθελήσαμεν τοῦ ἐναντίωσθαι, οὐδὲ τοι ἀποδόμοι ποιήσας" τοιαύτα λέγοντες ἠλπίζοιν πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων οἶκεσθαι τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἐλληνοις σφι σκέψεις ἐπεποίητα, τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσατο·

αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἔβοιηθεν, ἔβαζεν πληρώσαν μὲν ἐξήκουντα τριήρεα ὑπὸ δὲ ἐπησεῖν ἀνέμων ὑπερβάλεως Μαλένων οὐκ οἷοι τῇ γενέσθαι οὕτω καὶ ἄπικεσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ κακὸτης λειψθαι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτω καὶ οὕτω διεκρύβαντο τοῖς Ἐλληνοις

Κρήτης δὲ, ἐπεί τὰ σφαίρα παρελάμβανοι ὦ ἐπὶ τούτοις ταχέτερα Ἐλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιάδε πέμφαντες κοιμῇ θεοπρό·

τοὺς ἐς Δέλφους τῶν θεῶν ἐπειρώτατο, εἰ σφι ἀμείνων γίνεται τιμώρεισι τῇ Ἐλλάδι; ἢ δὲ Πυθία ὑπερκρήνατο "δὲ νῖππω, ἐπὶ

μέμφεσθε 489 δός ύμιν ἐκ τῶν Μενέλαι τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε μηνίων 490 δακρύματα, διτά οὐ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο

488 πέμφεις. S and V have πέμπεις.

489 ἐπιμέμψαθε; "you are not content with."

490 μηνίων. The anger of Minos was excited from the circumstance that the difficulties attending the siege of Camicus should have induced his subjects to give up his quarrel, and stop short of exacting satisfaction (ὁι έκπράσασαί) from his murderers; while, on the other hand, those who went to Troy persevered,—and that in a cause where the injury was done

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αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπὸ Καμίλια θάνατον γενόμενον, ὡμεῖς δὲ κείνους τὴν ἐκ Σεπτῆς ἀφαγοθείσαι ὑπὸ άνδρὸς βαρβαροῦ γυναικῆς." ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπευξεθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχωντο τῆς τιμωρίας. Δέγεται γὰρ Μίνων 441 κατὰ ζητησιν Δαιδάλου ἀποκόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικέλιας καλεομένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαλὸ θανάτῳ ἀνά δὲ χρόνου Κρήτης, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολυκιντέων τε καὶ Πραισίων 442 ἀποκόμενος στόλο μεγάλω ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορκεῖν ἐπὶ ἔστε πέντε πόλεις Κάμικων τὴν κατ᾽ ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντίνου ἐνόμοντο τέλος δὲ, οὐ δυναμένως οὔτε δείλην, οὔτε παραμένειν λυμῷ συνεστάτως, ἀπολυνόντας οὐχεῖαν ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ιησοῦν γενέσαί μας πλώσας, ὑπολαβόντας σφὲς χείμων μέγαν ἐκβαλλέας ἐς τὴν γῆν υποραξιῶν τῶν τῶν πλοίων, οὐδὲ μίαν γὰρ σφὶ ἐπὶ κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φανερεῖν, ἐνδιατὰ Τριήν 443 πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμείναι τε, καὶ μεταβαλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρήτην γενέσαί μας Ἰησοῦν Μεσσαπίους, 444, ἀντὶ δὲ εἷμι 444 ναοῖντας, ἔπειροντας αὐτὸ δὲ τρίτης πόλεως τὰς ἄλλας οἰκισιών τὰς τοῦ Ταραστίνου χρόνῳ υπότερον πολλῷ ἐξαναστάτες προσέπταισιν μεγάλως ὡστε φῶνος Ἐλληνικὸς μέγιστος ὁτὸς δὲ ἐγένετο 445 πάντως τῶν ἡμεῖς ἄδειον, αὐτῶν τε Ταραστίνων καὶ

not to a Cretan, but to a foreigner—in prosecuting the quarrel to a successful issue, the capture and destruction of the city. Hence he was said μυρεῖν, which is nearly the equivalent of νεμεῖν, although generally confined to the case of gods and heroes. (See note 226 on v. 84.) The Arcadians used the word ὑμεῖν in the same sense.

441 Μίνων. Gaisford follows Schweig- häuser in printing this form on the authority of two MSS only. Two others (S and B) have the anomalous form Μιναὼν, and several more MSS. Below (§ 171) almost all have Μιναὼν.

442 Πολυκιντέων τε καὶ Πραισίων. From Τύμχυδες (ii. 88) it appears that the territory belonging to Polichne was conterminous to that of Cydonia; and that, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, there was hostility between the two towns. Πραισίων, according to Straphylus (ap. Strabon. x. c. 4, p. 371), was a town of the Eteocretes, whom he considered as an aboriginal population, occupying the southern part of the island. At Presus was the temple of the Dictean Zeus. Strabo calls it sixty stades from the sea; and it is placed by Passley in his map nearly at the western extremity of the island.

443 Τριῆν. The manuscripts Μ and P have, both here and below, Τρηῖς. Others have Τρηῖς, which is either an error for Τρηῖς, or Τρηῖς for it. Strabo calls the place Οπλα.

444 Ιησοῦν Μεσσαπίους. Ἡσαῖως asserted that there were two Iapygias, the one in Italy, the other in Illyria. (ap. Steph. Byz. v. Ιαπυγία.)

445 οὕτως Ἐλληνικὸς μέγιστος ὡστε δὲ ἐγένετο. It may be reasonably concluded that this passage was written before the annihilation of the Athenian expedition sent against Syracuse. Had that taken place, the writer could hardly have avoided some reference to it; and indeed the remark he makes would have been glaringly incor- rect. The destruction of that armament took place in the month of September, b.c. 413. Aristotelc no doubt refers to this carnage of the Tarentines by the Iapygians, where he says that the de-
struck of the γνάφμου on the occasion was so great as to cause the Tarentine constitution to be changed from the form of a polity to that of a democracy. (Politi. v. p. 1303.) He assigns it to a period soon after the Persion expedition against Greece. Diroom, who puts it in the fourth year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, relates that the division from Rhegium, after its defeat, was so closely pressed by the Iapygians, as to be unable to prevent the pursuers from entering the town at the same time with themselves and capturing it (xi. 52).

ἀνέθαναν τρισχίλιον οὖσαν, “fell to the number of three thousand on the spot.” For this use of the word οὖσαν, see note 238 on vi. 104. The words τῶν ἀντίων appear to me to have been inserted in the wrong place by some transcriber who had omitted them from their proper order,—which I take to be after ἀνέθαναν.

οἱ δὲ Μικυθ. PAUSANIAS, who calls this individual Sinemithus, quotes this passage of Herodotus, as stating: ὁ Ἀναξίλας τὸν ἐν Ρηγίῳ τυφανθέντας γέμανες διόλοι καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀναξίλα γκραμένης, ἀνέθαναν τοῖς ἀντίων ἀφεντά τοῖς Τεγέα τελευτήσαντας Ἀναξίλα (v. 26. 4). The statues were by two Argive artists; and from their numbers must have cost a great deal. Pausanias says

the inscription on them related that they were set up as a thank-offering for the recovery of a son from consumption.

διέδεξαν. The relation of Micthus to Anaxilaus seems to have been somewhat the same as that of Meandrus to Polycrates. (See note 392 on iii. 142.) Meandrus is called in one passage the γραμμαστής of Polycrates (iii. 123), as Micthus is called the ταύμα χρυσιδῶν of Anaxilaus by Pausanias. (See the last note.) From the word ἀνέθαναν one may conjecture that he was originally a freedman,—a position which would not, in a monarchy, prevent him from holding the highest offices, although the Greek republicans would not fail to describe it in the most offensive terms. STRABO calls Hermius the slave of Eubulus of Atarneus (xiii. p. 128). DIOROYREUS represents Micthus as being regent for the children of Anaxilaus, who had left him guardian during their minority, he himself dying in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, consequently three years before the battle related in the text (xi. 63). When they came of age he gave so faithful an account of his stewardship, that the young men press him to continue holding the reins of government;—which however he refused, and emigrated to Teges (xi. 66).
The Thessalians at first take part with the allies, and at their request a Lacedaemonian and Athenian force takes up a position at Tempe;
of Tempe itself. "The road through the Bogas [the gorge of Tempe] is chiefly the work of art, nature having left only sufficient room for the channel of the river. [This at the end of May, the time at which Hawkins visited it, is generally about fifty yards across.] The road is, nevertheless, broad enough for the use of wheel carriages, and in some parts of its course consists of a paved causeway, which has been laid on the bank of the river; whilst in others it is a solid terrace of rock, hewn out of the base of the mountain. It is carried on for a great way, at the height of twenty or thirty feet above the river; but towards the eastern end of the vale it rises much higher, in order to surmount the brows of some promontories which fall there precipitately, and without any basement, into the water." The Bogas "answers to our description of a rocky dell; and is in length about two miles." The scenery is "distinguished by an air of savage grandeur, rather than by its beauty and amenity; the aspect of the whole doth impressing the spectator with a sense of danger and difficulty, not of security and indulgence." (ap. Walpole's Turkey, i. pp. 519—522.)

It is striking that the heir apparent of the Macedonian king should be thus simply described, especially after the prominent part he has already occupied in the earlier part of the history (v. 19—22). Yet that he is the person here mentioned seems not to admit a doubt. The Macedonian prince was the πρόλεγος καὶ εὐρήγης of the Athenians (viii. 136); and the part of magnifying the Persian power is that for which his services were especially used (viii. 140). The most obvious solution of the difficulty is, in my opinion, the hypothesis that the last three books of Herodotus's history were, in the original design, an independent work. See note 1 on § 1, above, and that on viii. 104: δι' ἐν' ἐγένετο.

That the reason assigned by Herodotus for the retreat of the allies was their real one may be doubted. The only real danger was, lest the enemy, having a navy as well as an overwhelming army, should land in large numbers at Alus in the Thermaic gulf, where they had left their transports, and thus take them in a trap if they remained in the defile. "The enormous numbers of the land force and the ships," of which news was brought, would have been quite unnecessary (and the latter entirely inapplicable) for forcing the passes over Olympus and along the gorge of the Peneus. But by cutting them off from their base of operations, the enemy would insidiously have destroyed them.
175 The allies determine to make their stand at Thermopylae, with a fleet supporting them at Artemision.

176 Description of the site.

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκατο ἡς τῶν Ἰσθμοῦν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἢ τε στήσοντα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐν οἷον χώροιν ἢ νικώσα ἡ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τῆν ἐν Θερμο-πύλης ἑσβολήν φυλάξαι· στεινωτέρῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἑώσα τῆς Ἐθσαλῆς, καὶ μᾶ 448, ἀγχοτέρῃ τε τῆς ἐσωτήρι ὁδοὶ τῆς δὲ ἄτραπον δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ἄλοντες Ἑλλῆνων ἐν Θερμοπύλης, οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν ἑώσαντ' ἄτροπον ἦπερ ἀπικόμενοι εἰς Θερμοπόλοις ἐπιθύμητο Ὀργάνων ταύτην ἐν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσουσι τῆν ἑσβολήν, μὴ παρίειν ἃ τῆς Ἐλλάδα τῶν βάρβαρον τῶν ἂν ταυτικον στρατόν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος 449 ἔπλητέρων ταύτα γὰρ ἄγχος τῇ ἅλλῃ ἐφεί, ὅτε πυκνώθησαί τὰ κατὰ ἐκατέρους ἑώσαν.

Οὐ τὸ χώρον ὀφείλει ἔχουσιν· τούτῳ μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον 450 ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Ἐρήμου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν πόρον τὸν μεταχὺ ἐνν' σεῖκαμον καὶ ἑττευρόν Μαρναθῆς· ἢ ἐκ τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἱδά τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον δεκέται αἰγιάλοις ἐν δὲ, Ἀρτέμιδος Ἰρών., ἢ δὲ αὐ τῷ Ἑλλάδος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐστι, τῇ στεινώτατῃ, ἡπτιπλεθρών οὐ μέσοι κατὰ τούτο β' ἐστὶ τὸ στεινότατον τῆς χώρης τῆς ἅλλης, ἀλλ' ἐμπροσθεὶς τῇ Θερμοπολείᾳ καὶ ὅπως κατὰ τῇ Ἀλτηρίῳ ὀπισθείς ἐόντα πρὸς ἀμαξιτὸς μοῦνα, καὶ ὀπισθεὶς κατὰ Φοινίκα ποταμοῦ, ἄγχοι 'Ἀνθηλῆς πόλος, ἀμαξινὸς ἅλλη μοῦνα τῶν δὲ Θερμοπολεῖων τὸ μέν πρὸς ἐσπέρης, ὅροι αἵματον τε καὶ ἀπόκρημον, ἱψηθών, ἀνατείνου ἐς τὴν Ὀλινθον τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγει· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόφθα λαώς Θερμαλαύραις, τὰ Χύτρων καλέουσι 451 οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ Βοιωτοῦ ἤρεται Ἰορνίσκος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

448 καὶ μᾶ. This is the reading of S and V. The rest of the MSS have καὶ ἄμα, which Gaisford adopts.
449 γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος. The Histoire here meant is the northern part of the island Eubea; but above, i. 56, a portion of Thessaly is intended.
450 τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον. The strat is, according to Larcher, intended by this name; and it is not impossible that the term, proper to the beach, should in common language also be given to the neighbouring roadsted. The English "Spithead" is a somewhat similar case.
451 τὰ Χύτρων καλέουσι. In the time of Pausanias a large plunging bath (κολύμβησθι) was formed to receive the water which issued from these springs, and the name of them was χύτρος γυναικείοι. Pausanias says the water was the brightest
εδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τὸ γε παλαιὸν πῦλαι ἐπήσαν ἐδειμαν δὲ Φωκεῖς τὸ τείχος δελαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσαντες ὡς τὴν Διόλδα, τίμητε νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἀτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφοντας σφαις, τούτῳ προσευλάξαντο οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσσον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεὶ ὁ χώρος παν μηχανέωμεν ὅκως μὴ σφι ἐσβάλοιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην. τὸ μὲν νῦν τείχος τὸ ἄρχανον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἵνα χρόνου ἐκείνου τούτου δὲ, αὐτὸι ὁρθώσασι, ἔδειξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμένεις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν βάρβαρον. κάμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχο- τάτο τῆς ἄκου, 'Ἀλπηνοῖ οὐνομα' ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπιστυγείθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἔλληνες.

Οἱ μὲν νῦν χώροι οὗτοι τοῖς Ἔλληνει εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδειον ἀπαντα γὰρ προσκευάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογίσθεντες ὃτι οὔτε πληθεὶ έξουσι χράσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἔπην, ταύτῃ σφὶ ἔδειξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιώντα ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα- ς ὡς δὲ ἐπίθυνον τὸν Πέρσην ἐντα ἐν Πειρή, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ 'Ἰσθμοῦ ᾧς; ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλαις τετζε, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ ἢ 'Ἀρτέ- μισιον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἔλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ἵππῳ ἔστων καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρροδηκότες καὶ σφὶ ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμουι εὐ- χεσθαι. μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἐσθαί τῇ 'Ελλάδι συμμάχοις. Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξαμενὸ τὸ μαντήσιον, πρώτα μὲν, Ἐλλήνων τοῖς βουλομένωι εἰ δεῦεθον εὐσυνεῖται τὰ χρησάθαι αὐτῶν καὶ σφὶ δεινῶς καταρροδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαιρέσθαι, χάριν ἀδάνατον κατέδεχον μετὰ δὲ ταύτα, οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖς ἀνέμουι βομῶν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ, τῇ περὶ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρός

blue (γλαυκόστοσον) of any he had ever seen (iv. 35. 9).

442 ἀτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφοντας σφαις. It was apparently discovered at this time that the Melians discovered the mountain pass which enabled Xerxes to take Leondidas in the rear. See § 215, below.

443 διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἱσθμοῦ. The army of Xerxes was detained for some time in Pheria, for the purpose of carrying out the pioneering operations which were requisite to make the pass into Thessaly available (§ 131, above). It may therefore be supposed that the allies were able to take up their position before it was again put in motion.

444 ἀνέμουι εὐχεσθαι. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (Stromm. vi. c. 3, § 29) gives as the actual words of the oracle the hexameter line: ὡς Δελφοῖ, λύσεσθ' ἀνέμουι, καὶ λέον ἔσται. (See note 172 on i. 53.)

445 ἐν Θυίῃ. Thysia is mentioned by
PAUSANIAS (x. 6. 2) as being made, in some of the local traditions of Delphi, the daughter of Castalus, an autochthonous inhabitant of the place. She was first of all a priestess of Dionysus (and from her the bacchants are called Thyrides), and she afterwards bore Delphus to Apollo. This is manifestly a mere frame-work to connect the different portions of the Delphic ritual,—the Pelasgian or autochthonous element-worship (see note 164 on i. 52), the orgies of the northern Dionysus (see note 15 on v. 7), and the anthropomorphism of the Dorian Apollo. Pausanias does not mention the genealogy of Thia with recorded in the text; but he does say that some accounts made Delphus the son of one Melaina, a daughter of Cepheus. And the name Thia was given to certain Aithic women, who every year proceeded to Delphi and joined the Delphic women in bacchic orgies (x. 4. 2). It is not wonderful, therefore, that in Athenian traditions the Delphic Thia should receive an Athenian parentage. But as she is here connected with an altar of the winds, perhaps she may have been identified with Orithya, "the Athenian damsel," carried off "by boisterous rape" in the arms of the north wind. See below, § 189.

179 A Persian advanced squadron of ten ships surprises three Hellenic vessels posted in observation at Scissus.

180 "O de nautikos Zérbew stratatos, ὁρμεὼμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλοις, παρέβαλε ἡνυ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄριστα πλεούσι τέκε τοῦ Δεήμου ἐνθα ἤναν προφυλάσσουσι νέα τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Θρούςτη τε καὶ Διήναι καὶ Ἀττικὴ προϊόντες δὲ ὅσοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγήν ὄρμησαν Τὴν μὲν δὲ Θρούςτην, τὴς ἱρίκης Πηρείνου, αὐτικὰ αἱρέουσι ἐπιστάμενοι ὅι βάρβαροι καὶ ἐπειτὰ τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τῶν καλλιτεύουσα ἄγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸρης ὅτις Ἱενὸς ἐσφαζάν, διαδέξεων ποιεύμενοι τῶν ἑλίγεων τῶν Ἑλληνίων πρῶτων καὶ κάλλιστον τὸ δὲ σφαγισθέντι τοῦτῳ οὖν οὐνομα ἢ Λέγω τάχα ὅ ἢ τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπάρουτο "181. Ἡ δὲ Διήναι, τῆς ἑτηράρχει Ἀσσαλίδος, καὶ τινὰ σφὶ θόρυβον παρέσχει, Πιθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενοῦ ἐπιβατεύοντος ἀνδρὸς ἁριστὸν γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἕμέρην ὁ ἐπειδὴ ἢ ναῦς ἠλύκετο, ἢ τούτο ἀντείχε μαχώ.

from point to point,—which, from the habits of navigators in ancient times, always had something of the nature of a venture in it. See note 493 on § 182, below. 493 ὅ τις πρῶης. 8 and V have ὅ τις πρῶης. 496 διαδέξεων ποιεύμενο, "securing a good omen for themselves." The maxim, "Who spills the foremost foeman's life, That party conquers in the strife," seems to have prevailed very generally among the Indo-Germanic nations. Tacitus relates of the Germans of his time: "Est et alia observatio suspiciorium, quia gravium bellorum eventus explorant: eus gentis, cum quâ bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patrisque quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro iudicio accipitur." (Germania, § 10.) And Ptolemy says of the Scandinavians (Thallassa): "Τῶν θερείων όρφα το ἀκάλλυτον ἄρωμα ἢ τὸν ὅποι ἴδος ἄρωμα τὸ καλλίτευον πρῶτον. (De Belli Gothico, ii. 15.)

491 τάχα Φ ἢ τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματι ἐπάρουτο, "and perchance he will gain something from his name," i.e. his fate will the more remain in the memories of men, from the circumstance that he bore that name.
μενοις, ἐς δὲ κατεκρεμουργήθη ἀπας ὡς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ’ ἤν ἐμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οὔτε ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεὼν, δὲ ἀρέτην τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιήσατο μιν περὶ πλείονον ἐποίησαντο, ἀμύνοντι τε ἱόμενοι τὰ ἄλκεα καὶ σωφῶν βυσσίνης τελαμώσινα” κατελιστώσαντες καὶ μιν, ὡς ὁπίσω ἀπίκουντο ἐς το ἐωτύνον στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγελόμενοι πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ, περίσσους εὔτε ἔλοιπον ἔν τῇ νητῇ ταύτῃ περείπους ὡς ἀνδρά-ποδα. Αἱ μὲν δὲ δύο τῶν νεών οὕτω ἐξερόθησαν ἥ δὲ τριτη, τῆς ἐπιφαράρχεις Φόρμος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἱερόγυσα ἠξοκέλλη εἰς τὰς ἐσβολάς τοῦ Πειρεύου καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφους ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ ως ἀρδ. δὴ τάχιστα ἐπικείμενα τὴν ἐνα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποδορώντες, καὶ Ἑσσαλίην περιομένου ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. ταῦτα οἱ Ἐλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιος στρατοπεδεύοντες πυθανόνται παρὰ πυρὸν ἐκ Σκιάθου πυθο-μενοι δὲ καὶ καταρραχήσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μεταφόρδοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάξοντες μὲν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, λείπουσας δὲ ἡμεροσκό- τους περὶ τὸ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρ- βάρων τρεῖς ἐπέλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐνε Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίας, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύριμηκα. ἐναύατα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπεδίδο- στὴρα λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀμηρθάντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ Θέρμης, ὡς σφί τὸ ἐμπόδιον ἐγενόνει καθάρον, ἐπέπλεον πάσης τῆς νυνί, ἕνδεκα χρόνα παρέντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέας ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης· τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφί καταγράφετο, ἐν ἐν τοίχῳ μάλιστα. Πάμμαν Σκιάθας πανημερὸν δὲ πλώστες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξα-

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492 σωφῶν βυσσίνης τελαμώσινα. This phrase has been used before (ii. 69) of the bandages in which the mummies were swathed in Egypt.

493 ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πειρεύου. It is impossible that the Athenian galley should have taken such a course in order to escape the enemy’s ships, unless these had come upon Scithus from the seaward, so as to be, when descried, farther from the main than the Hellenic vessel was; and in order so to make Scithus, they must have stood out a long way from the main. See above, note 488 on § 179. Several of the MSS have ἐσβολὰς instead of ἐσβολάς.

494 κατηγόρατο, “pointed out,” no doubt while sailing with them as a pilot. See note 141 on ii. 49. Stрабo mentions an individual named Salgennus, employed by the Persians to take the fleet along the coast on this occasion. His tomb stood by the side of the Euripus on the Chalcidian shore, and the story ran that he was put to death by his employers while they were under the erroneous impression that there was no passage; and that while pretending to carry them through a strait, he was really running their ships on shore at the head of a gulf. On the Sicilian promontory there was a “tomb of Pelo- rius,” to which a similar legend attached (i. c. 1, p. 15).

503 πανημερῶν πλώστες. The distance from Therme would be about ninety geographical miles, or 500 stades. Elsewhere Herodotus makes 700 stades a long
The contingent from Asia amounted to 517,010 on board the fleet, and 1,800,000 land troops, day's run for a vessel (iv. 86). But here he is apparently speaking of war-galleys, not, as in the other case, of merchantmen, whose rate of progress would be much slower than that of a trireme.

486 ἐπιβάταις. Gaisford puts the comma after this word. But ἐπιβάταις are "marines,"—not "crews" (see above, § 96: ἐπιβάτευον δὲ ἐπὶ πασῶν τῶν πέντε Πέρσων καὶ Νῆσοι καὶ Σαμου); and it is impossible to suppose that this service was performed by the nations who supplied the crews, in addition to the thirty Persians whose special duty it was. In each of the Attic galleys which fought at Salamis the number of marines was only eighteen,—four archers and fourteen hoplites. (Plutarch, Themist. § 14.) Moreover, the calculated sum total does not allow for more than 230 in each ship. There is no doubt as to the expression ἐπιβάταις τρίχοικα ἄρδες ἐπιβάταις, but not such as to give offence in this writer.

487 ποιήσας. The word ποιήσας is here used as the Latin facere often is,—in the sense of "to suppose for the sake of argument." Cicero, Tuscul. Disc. iii. 18: "Fac sane esse summum bonum non dole." See below, § 186: καὶ δὲ σφετερίων ποιῶν ἐπιβάτων εἶναι. Demosthenes, L. p. 279: εἰπέ τῶν ἐμίσων ἐπιβάτων, δὲκα δῆσον... καὶ μηδὲ τῶν τε τοιμάζων εἰς εἰς πάντα ἡ ἐξομοσφατός ἐκκαθάρεται; ποιήσας μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων.
in addition to the European Hellenes, 24,000 in number, at least, and the Thracian auxiliaries, probably 500,000.

The commissariat was at least as numerous.

498 τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάντης . . . ἔπερθηκέναι, "but now there is the army brought from Europe still to be added to all this number which has been calculated." See note 6 on p. 1.

499 δόξησιν δὲ δὲι λέγεται. The manuscript P has δόξησιν δὲ δὲι λέγεται, and M, δόξησιν δὲ δὲι λέγεται, which is probably an union of two variants. Sophocles uses the expression δόξησιν εἰς ἐν opposition to ἔκκρισιν λέγον. (Trach. 432.)

500 Βαρμάροι. So and ὁ Βερμάρωι, and P μέρως.

vellon. "O nóstos mén dh tōu sýnáptanōtis tōu Ἑρέσεως στρατεύματος ἀρηνμός· γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιεών, καὶ παλλακέων, καὶ εὐνοχῶν, οὐ δὲ ἐπίτηδεν ἀρηνμόν ὑμὶ αὐτῶν συγκεῖσθαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων τῶν ἄχθοφωρῶν καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἔπομενον," ὑμῖν ἀν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπάνω πλῆθες οὐδὲ ἐπίτηδεν ἀρηνμόν. ὅπερ οὖν μὴν τῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦν τὰ βέβαια τῶν ποταμῶν ἃτι τῶν, ἄλλα μᾶλλον ὅκος τὰ σφικτά ἀντέχοντο, θώμα μοι, μυρίσαι τοσαῦτά εὑρίσκα γὰρ συμβαλλόμενοι, εἰ χοῦνα πυρὸν ἐκαστὸς τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλαμβανε τα κηδεμονία τε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, ἑνεκεὶ μυρίδας μεδίμνους τελεομένας ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστης, καὶ πρὸς τρημακούς τὸ ἄλλο τοῦ οὐδὲν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. οὐ σφικτά ἐπὶ καὶ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ ἀποιγυνώσκοι καὶ κυνοῖ, οὐ λογίζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὖσαν τοσοῦτον καὶ μεσίδεων καὶ μεγάλων οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἄξιον ὕποτέρος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ἑρέσεως ἔχειν τούτῳ τὸ κράτος.

Ο δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατός ἐπέλθε τις ἔρημες ἐπιλευκέ, καὶ κατὰ χαριάς τῆς Μαγνησίας χώρας ἐξ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ Κασσανίδας τε πόλεως ἐνωτα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶτοι τῶν νεῶν ὀρμενόν πρὸς ἔγερε, ἀλλαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ εἰκόνις ἐπὶ ἄγκυραν ὅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐνωτα ὑμῖν ἐναντίον, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμενῶν ἐκ τούτων, καὶ ἐπὶ ὁσὶν νέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὴν εὐθύροντα οὖν ἀμα ὅρθιον, ἔξ ἀρνησθε τε καὶ νηνεμήνη τῆς πολεμικής ζεῦγος, ἐπείσι τοῖς ἁχιμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὰς ἀνεμοὺς ἀπηλώτως, τὸς δὴ Ἐλλησπόντιον καλέσσοι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χείρα ὀικεῖμον. ὅσοι μὲν εἰς

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447 Κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἔπομενον. See note 347 on § 124, above.
448 Ἐνδεκα μυρίδας ... τεσσαράκοντα. This quantity of corn, reckoning the medimna at 48 chalices, would give 5,296,320 rations daily, which is 13,100 more than the numbers adopted in the text require. It seems hopeless to attempt to discover the source of the miscalculation,—which likewise occurs in several other instances in which numbers are concerned in the course of the work.
449 πρόκροσται ὀρμέντοι ἐπὶ πόλεων, καὶ ἐπὶ δηλώται νέας, "they rode at anchor head out seaward, and eight ships deep." The word πρόκροστος has occasioned a good deal of discussion; but the derivation of it from πρό and κόμος (ἕκεραῖο) seems to give a sufficient clue to its meaning. The griffin-heads which encircled the bronze bowl in the Heraeum at Samos (fr. 152) stood out in relief (the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST ON PLAUT. xii. 258, says that some of the commentators explained ἔχωσα ἐς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πόλισις ἑξέκεισα λίθους); and the expression of AGATHOCLES (ap. Athen. i. p. 30), relative to the Cyzicones (that they ἔβοσδομοι, πρόκροσεν σερομενοι ἐπὶ τῶν κόμοις), seems exactly to answer to the English "rushing headlong" into the thick of the battle. That the vessels should be arranged with alternate intervals is indeed very likely from the nature of the case, but it does not appear to be implied in the word πρόκροστος. See note 520 on fr. 203, and note 408, above. See also Plut. xiv. 38: πρόκροστοι βροιον.
αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἐμαθον τὸν ἀνέμον καὶ τοὺς ὦτοι εἴχε ὄρμον, οἱ δὲ ἐφθάσαν τὸν χειμώνα ἀναστάσας τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιήμαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν διὰς δὲ τῶν νέων μεταρρύθησαν ἡλιότοι, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰππονρέος ἀκαλομένον τούς ἐν Ἡλιότοι, τὰς δὲ ἐς τῶν αἰγιλαύνων αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτήν τὴν Σηππίδα τερεύσαντο, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίσσιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναλήν ἐξεβράσαντο· ἢν τε τοῦ χειμώνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. Δέχεται δὲ λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι τὸν Βορῆν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος, σφι ἄλλον χρυστηρίον τοῦ γαμβρῶν ἐπίκουρου καλέσασθαι· Βορής δὲ, κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλήνων λόγον, ἐχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν Ὠρείναν τὴν Ἑρεχθέας κατὰ δὴ τὸ κήπος τούτο οἱ Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς φάτοι ὁμοίηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφι τὸν Βορήν γαμβρῶν εἶναι, πανορέσαντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλείδη, ὡς ἐμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμώνα, (ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου) ἐλθόντο τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν τε Βορῆν καὶ τὴν Ὠρείναν, τιμωρήσας σφι καὶ διαφθείρας τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν νέων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθηνά. εἰ μὲν νῦν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοίως ὁ βορής ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οἱ δ ἄν Ἀθηναίοι σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσατα τοῦ Βορῆν πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορήει ἔδρασαν παρὰ ποταμοῦ Ἰλισσόν. 310

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσίων οὖν ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρας τε ἀναριθμητοὺς, χρηματῶν τε πλῆθος ἀφθονον ὡστε Ἀμενοκλῆι τῷ Κρῆτειν ἄνδρι Μάργητι, γηγένοιτο περὶ Σηππίδα, μεγάλος ἡ ναυμηγή ἐγένετο χρηστὴς δὲ πολλὰ μὲν χρύσα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρῶν ἐβασσόμενα ἀνέκλει, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρας θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν εἶχε, ἄλλα τε χρύσα εἰς χρήματα περιβάλλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν

310 πρὸς Ἰππονρέος. One manuscript (V) has πρὸς Ἰννον, and in some MSS of Strabo (ix. c. 5, p. 316) the reading πρὸς Ἰππονρέος has a variant, πρὸς Ἰρρεούσα. But the reading in the text is apparently the only genuine one.

511 τῶν γαμβρῶν. This word is used in the general sense of κατανυγή, "connexion by marriage."

512 παρὰ ποταμοῦ Ἰλισσόν. Plato makes Socrates, in his conversation with Phaedrus, speak of an altar set up to Boreas in this spot, where, according to the tradition, the damsel was carried off. (Phaedrus, § 6.) On the other side of the river there was a spot called Αγρα (or Αγρα), and a name of Artemis Agrotera (Pausaniai, i. 19. 6), to which, in the time of Pausanias, the legend attached, that in that spot the goddess first commenced hunting on her arrival from Delos, and the image was therefore represented with a bow in the hand. But Socrates speaks of Αγρα as the name of the goddess herself. Another Athenian legend made Orthynthia carried off from the Areopagus. (Phaedrus, § 7.)
191
Of transport, the number lost is not known.

The storm lasts for three days.

192
On hearing of the enemy’s loss, the allied fleet moves to Artemisium. The surname Preserver is from this time given to Posisidon.

193
The Persian fleet sails to Abydus, in the Pelaotian gulf,

tάλλα οὐκ εὔτυχέων, εὐφήμαι μέγα πλοῦσιος ἐγένετο· ἵνα γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορή λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνοι 513.) Σκισιάγων δὲ ὄλκαδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἄμιθοι· ὁστε δεῖσται τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοι επιθέωσι τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, ἔρικος ύψηλον εἰκά τοις ναυτικοῖς περιβάλλοντο ἡμέρας ὡρ δὴ ἑχεῖμαζε 514 τελος δὲ, ἑστημένα τα ποιεῖτε καὶ καταεισταίτε γήσι· 515 τῷ ἄνθερ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς τα τούπων καὶ τῇ Θετί καὶ τῇ Νηήματι δύνας, ἐπιταύσετε τα τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἡ ἅλλης καὶ αὐτῶς ἐθάλων ἐκόπασε τῇ δὲ Θετί ἐθνον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώκων τοῦ λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθέναι ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Στηνίδας ἅρπας τα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηήμαδον ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἑπτάντων. Τούται δὲ Ἐλεσι τοι ἡμεροσκότοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρών τῶν Εὐβοικῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ ἅπ’ ἀρχ’ ὡς Χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσῆμαιν ἅπάντα τα γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυτικήν οἱ δὲ ὡς ἑπόθουντο, Ποσειδέων Σωτήρ εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπουδὰς προχεῖντες, τὴν ταχύστην ὑπόθη κοίμησον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον ἐπιταύσει τάλας τινὰς σφι αὐτίκους ἑσσαθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἑθώντες, περὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον ἐναυλόχουσι, Ποσειδέων Σωτήρες ἐπονυμίησιν ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς τούτῳ νομίζοντες.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπίσωσατο τὸ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἐσώμωτο, καταστασάντες τὰς νήσας ἐπίλευσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμέραν κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαργανίσης, ἑδείαν ἐπίλευσον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τῶν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἦστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦτο τῆς Μαργανίσης, ἐνθα λέγεται τὰ Ἰερακλῆς καταλείφθησαν ὑπὸ Ἰήσους τὸς καὶ τῶν συνετάλων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦ ἐπ᾽ ὕδωρ περιθέεται, εἴπ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ κόλπον ἐπὶ Αἰαὶ τὴν Κόλυμβα ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἐμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσεσιν ἐπὶ

513 συμφορή...παιδοφόνοι, "a misfortune by which a child of his was killed;"—not however necessarily by himself, as some both in ancient and modern times have assumed.
514 ἑχεῖμαζε, "there was stormy weather." See notes on viii. 113 and 133 for the use of this word, and of χειριζόμενοι, by Herodotus.

515 καταεισταίτε γήσι. If this reading is sound, the expression must be interpreted, "laying the wind by means of chants of sorcerers," the Magians not themselves reciting the sacred spells, but employing other subordinate functionaries for this purpose. Reiske proposed to read χείρι for γήσι, and Bekker γέφος in the sense of γήσι.
τούτου δὲ τῷ χῶρῳ οὖν μα μέγανε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὅπως ἄρμουν οἱ Δέρξεως ἐποιεῖτο.

Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νησῶν τουτέων ἐτυχόν τε βοστατι πολλῶν ἐξαναχθέσαι, καὶ κως κατατοικοῦν τὰς ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσια τῶν Ἐλλήνων νῆσας, ἐδοξάζετο ὅτι τὰς σφέτερας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ πλεονέται ἐσπερεῖον ἔτσι πολιμοῖοι· ἐστρατίζησε ὁ Ἀδριαῖος Χύρης τὰς ἐπανεικτάς τῆς Ἀλποίδος ὑπάρχους Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασινὸς τοῦ δὴ πρότερον τούτων βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τοῦ ὅδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε, ἐπιτά τῶν βασιλείων δικαστέων. ὁ Σανδώκης εἶπ’ ἐρμίσαι ἀδικοῦ δίκην ἐδίκασε· ἀνακρεμασθάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρείος εὑρέ τοὺς πλέον ἀνάβα λ ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα ἐσι τοὺς τὸν βασιλέαν εὑρὼν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Δαρείος, καὶ γνὼς ὅτι ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἐν σοφότερα ἐργασμένοις εἶν, ἐκυκσε. Βασιλέα μὲν δὴ Δαρείον οὗτῳ διαφυγὼν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆρ τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας καταπλάσας, ἔμελεν οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγὼν ἔστησαν ὡς γὰρ σφέας εἰδον προσπληκτέας Ἐλλήνης, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γυνομένην ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχέντες, ἐπιτέως σφέας ἐλών. 'Εν τούτων μὴ 'Ἀριδώλος πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος 'Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίᾳ ἐν ἐτέρῃ δὲ, ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημοκόου, δὲ ἔγε μὲν διώδεκα νῆσας ἐκ Παφοῦ, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφέας τὰς ἐνδέκα τῷ χειμώνῳ τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σητηόδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένῃ καταπλάσει ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσια Ἐλληνως, τούτων οἳ Ἐλλήνης, ἔξιστορήσαντες τὰ ἐξουσία πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Δέρξεως στρατηγῆς, ἀποπεύμπουν δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμὸν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς, πάρεξ τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν ἐποί Σανδώκηα στρατηγεύον, ἀπέκεετο ἐς Ἀφέταις. Ἐξῆςς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεῖδα, πορευεῖς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαίας, ἐσβεβληκός ἄν δὴ τριταίος ἐς Μηλίας· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἀμμαλλον ποισάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐκποίε, ἀποπείρμοις καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἱππων, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη ἐτή τῶν ἔλληναν ἐνθα ἄι Ἐλληνες ἐνθα δὴ αἱ Ἐλληνες ἵπποι ἐλήπτοντο πολλῶν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ποταμῶν, ὁνόμως μοῦνον εἰκάτερον τῇ στρατηγῇ

516 τῶν βασιλείων δικαστέων. Of these functionaries, answering pretty nearly to the Ulema of the modern Turkish monarchy, see ill. 31, above.

517 εὑρέ τοὺς πλέον ἀνάβο τοὺς ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένων. See note 421 on ili. 154.
to ῥέθρων, πινόμενος τῶν δὲ ἐν 'Αχαΐᾳ ποταμῶν ῥέων, δήσις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, διδό αὐτὸς αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ φλαῦρως.

'Εσ Ἀλων δὲ τῆς 'Αχαίας ἀποκομένῳ Ἐδέξη, οἱ κατηγομένοι τῆς οὐδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγεσθαι. Ἐλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώρων λόγοι, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυτίου διὸς ὁ Αθάμας οἱ Αἰώνιοι ἑμνηχάσατο Φίξιος μόρον, σὺν Ἰννο βούλευσας μετέπειτα δὲ, ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτείνοντο τοιαύτα ἑκεῖνον ἀπογόνοισι σέθλους τοιοῦτος δεῖ ἢ τοῦ γένους τούτου προβάτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρωταθητοῦ, αὐτοὶ φυλακᾶς ἔχουσί. (λίθου δὲ καλλονυὶ τὸ πρωταθητός οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ) ἢ ἄλλη ἐπιθετή, ὡς ἐτί δοκεῖ ἐξεῖναι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μελλύς. ὡστε ἐτί πρὸς τούτους, πολλοὶ ἱδί τῶν μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι, δεῖσατο, ἵχνοντες ἀποδράσατε ἢ ἄλλαν χαρῆν χρῶν δὲ προ- ἴσοντος ὑπὸ τοῦτοι κατελθόντες, ἢν ἀλλακταντες ἐκεῖθεντες ἢ τὸ πρω- ταθητό, ὡς καταλαγες τι, ἔξηγοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς ταῦτα δὲ πάσχοντι Κυτισσώρον τοῦ Φίξιον παιδὸς ἀπόγονος, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρης ποιεμένων Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεόπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Διόλων, καὶ μελλόντων μὲν χώνευ, ἀποκομένους οὗτος ὁ Κυτισσώρος ἐξ Δῆσ τῆς Κολ- χίδος ἐρρύσατο ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, τοῖσι ἐπηγομένους ἐξ ἑνώτου μᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. Ἐδέξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ὡς κατά

518 οἱ κατηγομένοι . . . ἔξηγεσθαι. These words are omitted in S.
519 Λαφυτίου. Some of the MSS have the form 'Αφυτίου.
520 στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεὶς. This was an essential part of the particular ritual, with which the Athenians were so familiarized through Sophocles's play of 'Aithmasas, as to suggest the allusion in Aristophanes:—

ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. καθίζει τοῖν έτει τὸν ιερὸν στήματα.
ΣΤΡΕΒΙΑΔΗΣ. ἰδοὺ κάθιμαι. ΣΟΚ.
τοῖσι τοῖνος λαβῇ τὸν στέφανον. ΣΤΡΕΒ. ἐτεί τι στέφανον; οἴμαι, Σόκρατες, ἐστὶν μὲ τὸν 'Αθάμανθος μὴ θέστε. (Cloudes, 266.)

The Scholiast on this passage says that Sophocles represented Athamas as sitting crowned and ready to be sacrificed at the altar, and saved by Heracles just as the fatal blow was about to be given.

521 καθαρμὸν . . . ποιεμένων. He was to be slain for the purpose of removing the plague of drought which had been brought upon the land by his injurious treatment of Nêphele, the mother of his children Phrixus and Helle. (Scholiast on Aristoph. Nub. 256.)
522 ὁ Κυτισσώρος. This personage appears in the local legend to take the part filled by Heracles in Sophocles's play.
523 μῆν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. He brought upon himself the anger of the deity by interrupting the course of vengeance. At Peyllis or Phyllis in Bithynia, the legend prevailed that Phrixus first landed there with the ram, and there too sacrificed on the altar of Zeus Lepytus. (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 682.) The Scholiast adds: καὶ μέρι πῦρ νῦν ἔστι θεσλεμένα εἰς τὸ πρωταθητὸν ἔνα
tō ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἐργεῖτο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατῇ πάσην παρῆγγελε' τῶν τε 'Αθαμάντου ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκήν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

Ταῦτα μὲν τα ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τα ἐν 'Αχαΐᾳ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦσε ἐν τῇ Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπῳ βαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἀμφοτερίς τε καὶ ρήχην ἀνὰ πάσαν ἁμέρνη γίνεται· περὶ δὲ τῶν κόλπων τούτων ἐστὶ χώρος πεδίως, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στεινός· περὶ δὲ τῶν χώρων οὐρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικλήτει πάσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηλίκηναι πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν τῶν πόλεων ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ὕμντε ἀπὸ 'Αχαΐας, 'Ἀντικύρη' παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σερεχθίες ῥέων ἐξ 'Ενυπήν ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο, διὰ εἰκοσὶ κοῦ στάδιων, ἄλλος ποταμός, τοῦ οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοσθέντα τῷ 'Ἡρακλεὶ καιρομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀναφαίνεται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο, δὲ ἄλλων εἰκοσὶ στάδιων Δύρας; ἄλλος ποταμός ἐστι, δε καλέσσεται Μέλας. Τρηλίκη δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλαινος τούτων ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐς τῆς χώρης ταῦτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατὰ δὲ Τρηλίκης πεπόλισται· διοικεῖται τῇ γαρ καὶ διοικεῖται πλέον τοῦ πεδίου ἐς τοῦ οὖρεος τὸ περιμέληται τῆς γης τῆς Τρηλίκην, ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρήν Τρηλίκην· διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγους 'Ασωπὸς ποταμὸς μέει παρὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ οὖρεος· ἦστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὗ μέγας, πρὸς μεσαμβρήν τοῦ Ασωποῦ· δὲ ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ρέων, ἐς τὸν 'Ασωπὸν ἐκδίδοι κατὰ δὲ τῶν Φοίνικα ποταμῶν στεινότατον ἐς τοῦ ἀμαξίττος γαρ μία μοῦνα ἔδημηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Φοίνικος ποταμὸς πεντακαίδεκα στάδια ἐς τῆς Θερμοπύλας· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπύλας κώμη τε ἐς τῇ οὖνομα 'Ανθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἴνα παραρρέῃ ὁ Ασωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτῆς εὐρὺς, ἐν τῷ Δημήτριος τε ἱδρῦν Ἀμφικτυοῦδος ἐδρύται, καὶ ἔδρας εἰς 'Αμφικτυόνος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αμφικτυόνων ἱδρύν.

198 Topography of the coast of the Melian bay.

199 Anticyra brook Sperchius; twenty stades further, the brook Dysus; ἄλλος ποταμός ἦστι, δε καλέσσεται Μέλας. Τρηλίκη δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλαινος τούτων ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατον ἐς τῆς χώρης ταῦτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατὰ δὲ Τρηλίκης πεπόλισται· διοικεῖται τῇ γαρ καὶ διοικεῖται πλέον τοῦ πεδίου ἐς τοῦ οὖρεος τὸ περιμέληται τῆς γης τῆς Τρηλίκην, ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρήν Τρηλίκην· διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγους 'Ασωπὸς ποταμὸς μέει παρὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ οὖρεος· ἦστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὗ μέγας, πρὸς μεσαμβρήν τοῦ 'Ασωποῦ· δὲ ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ρέων, ἐς τὸν 'Ασωπὸν ἐκδίδοι κατὰ δὲ τῶν Φοίνικα ποταμῶν στεινότατον ἐς τοῦ ἀμαξίττος γαρ μία μοῦνα ἔδημηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Φοίνικος ποταμὸς πεντακαίδεκα στάδια ἐς τῆς Θερμοπύλας· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπύλας κώμη τε ἐς τῇ οὖνομα 'Ανθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἴνα παραρρέῃ ὁ 'Ασωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτῆς εὐρὺς, ἐν τῷ Δημήτριος τε ἱδρῦν Ἀμφικτυοῦδος ἐδρύται, καὶ ἔδρας εἰς 'Αμφικτυόνος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Αμφικτυόνων ἱδρύν.

200 Gorge of the 'Aσωπος, to the south of Trachis. South of the 'Aσωπος is the Φενίξ; and fifteen stades south of the Φενίξ, Θερμοφύλαι; between which and the "VOL. II."
Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀέρξεως ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδους ἐν τῇ Τρηχυνίῃ οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἑλληνες, εν τῇ διόδῳ (καλεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεύσων Ἑλληνών Θερμοπολίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχειρίων καὶ περιολοκῶν Πύλαι.) ἐστρατοπεδεύεσθαι μὲν τών ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τωσι χροίσας ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βοήθη ἀνεμος ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχυνίων, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότοις καὶ μεσαμβρίαν βερώτων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταῦτης τῆς ἱπέτρου.

*Ἡσαῦ δὲ οὖς Ἑλληνες οἱ ἱσπομένουτες τὸν Πέρσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ Σπαρτιτέως τε τριπότοιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεγέτων καὶ Μαντινέως χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἐκατέρων ἐξ ὁρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρακ- δής εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λυπῆς Ἀρκαδῆς χίλιοι τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φιλιόντου δεκακόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ἱγδόκοντα. οὕτους μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν ἀπὸ δὲ Βουθών, Θεσσαππεῖν τε ἐπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. Πρὸς τούτους ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο" δοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀσπονίοι πανιστρατίζησι, καὶ Φωκεώς χίλιοι αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφαῖς ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες, λέγοντες δὲ ἀγρεύλως ὅσοι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἤκουεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκησι πᾶσαν εἰς ἡμέρην ἡ ἀλασσά τε σφί εἰς ἐν φυλακῇ, ὥστε Ἀθηναῖοι τοις φρουρεμένη καὶ Λιγνη- τέως καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχέωςς καὶ σφί εἰς δεὶ τὸν νόμον οὐδὲν γὰρ θεῶν εἶναι τῶν ἐπίστα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δὲ θυτοῖο οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἐστιν, τοῖς κακοῖς ἢς ἀρχής γενομένων οὐ συνεμελέτης τοις δὲ μεγίστωι αὐτῶν μέγιστα ὀφείλειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπελαίωντας, ὡς ἐνέσταθαν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσέων ἀν ὅτα ταῦτα πυντικοίμενοι ἐβοῆσθεν ἐς τὴν Τρηχυνία.

Τούτωσι δὲ μὲν τῶν καὶ ἄλλων στρατηγῶν κατὰ πόλεως ἐκάστων ὁ δὲ Θεμαξίμωρος μάλιστα καὶ πάντως τοὺς στρατεύματος Ἰεομένοις Δακεφαλόν νῦν Δεονίσης ὁ Ἀναξαμένεως, τού Λέων- τος, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτειος, τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεως, τοῦ Πολυδόρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένους τοῦ Τηλέκου, τοῦ Ἀρχέλου, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεως, τοῦ Δορύσσου, τοῦ Δεοβότεως, τοῦ Ἐκστράτου 537, 537 Ἐκστράτου. One manuscript (δ) has Ἀρχέστράτου.
His succession to the kingdom was unexpected, and occasioned by the death of two elder brothers, and a marriage with the daughter and heiress of one of them.

Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφί Λεωνίδην πρῶτοις ἀπέσευσαν Σπαρ...
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A horseman sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre finds the Lacedaemonians exercising, and combing their hair in front of their lines.

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Ταύτα βουλευμένων σφέων, ἐπεμπτε Ἑξῆς καταδόκοπον ἰππέα, ἰδέσθαι ὡς ἰκόσι τε εἰσὶ καὶ ὃ τι ποιεῖσθαι; ἀκηκόει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐθεσαλή, ὡς ἀληθεία ἐκ ταύτῃ στρατιᾷ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοῦ ἔγε-μόνιας ὡς ἐπείρα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον τε καὶ Ἐλευθερίδος ἐνῶ γένος Ἡπα-κλείδης ὡς δὲ προσέλαμα ὁ ἵππεας πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθενείτη τε καὶ κατάφερ γὰρ μὲν οὐκ ὁ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἡμᾶς τετα-γμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθόσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶδα τε ὃν κατεδέσαν οὐκ ἔμανθαν τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὁπλα ἐκείτο ἐτυχὼν οὐκ ἔτοιτο τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιον ἐξο τεταγ-

534 Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἢ ἐμποδαῖν. There was an especial reason why this festival should not have been interrupted. In it Apollo was celebrated under the title of "Leader of the army" (ὦγόμωρ), with a particular reference to the voyage from Naupactus to the Peloponnesus on the occasion of the great invasion. To cut short the ritual of a deity viewed in such a relation would be more than an act of irreverence; it would be in itself an ill omen for the very expedition about to be undertaken. And for the extreme importance of this point, see notes on viii. 132 and ix. 92. But the absence of Lacedaemons from this festival was possibly not undesigned in the existing crisis. See note 550, above, and note 555, below.

535 ἢ γάρ κατὰ τὸν τὸν Ὀλυμπιάδας. Hence the answer of the Arcadian refugees, below, viii. 26.

536 περιστρέφοντος τῇ γέφυρα ταύρῃ. Valckema proposes to read περιστρέφοντος τῇ γέφυρα ταύρῃ. Hence the negligence of the copyist, on the ground of the active form στρέφεσθαι being no where used by Herodotus, but always the passive στρέφεσθαι. Thus: ἐστερέωστος τῇ Ἀραγόρῳ (v. 33). Κροίος δὲ στρέφεσθαι εἶναι (i. 33). Suidas says: στρέφεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ταραχῆσθαι, καθαρθείς.
μένοι τοὺς μὲν δὴ ορὰ γρηγορομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κενευρόμενοις ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εμαύθανε, μαθῶν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπῆλαιν ὄπτοσ καὶ ὅνυχινον οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐδιάκε ἀλογίας τῆς ἐνεκύρῃσις ἐπολῆς ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἑρέξεα τάπερ ὅπως τε πάντα. Ἀκούκων δὲ Ἑρέξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐὼν, ὅτι παρασκευάζωμεν ὡς ἀπολεύομενοι τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς γελολαὶ γὰρ ἐφοίσουσην ποιέων, μετεπέμφισεν Δημάρχην τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀποκόμμενον δὲ μιν εἰρότα Ἑρέξης ἐκαστὰ τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεόμενον πρὸς τῶν Δακεδαμιόνων ὃ δὲ εἶπε "ἲδουςα μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εἴτε ἀρμῶνει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἄνδρων τούτων ἀκούσας δὲ, γέλατά με ἔθεε" ἡγούμενα τάτηρ δρόμον ἀκβοδόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· έμοι γὰρ τὴν ἀληθώς ἀσκέειν αὐτὰ σεῦ, δὲ βασιλεῦ, ἄγων μέγιστος ἀστικὸς ἀκούσθε δὲ καὶ νῦν οἱ ἄνδρες οὕτω απήκατα μαχεόμενοι ἥμαιν περὶ τῆς ἑσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζωμαι· νόμος γὰρ σφί οὖν ἔχων ἐστὶ· ἔπελα ἀμέλλωσι κυνοφυίᾳ τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε δὲς κεφαλὰς κοσμεόμαι· ἐπίστατα δὲ, εἰ τούτων τε καὶ τὸ ἱππομένων ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέφεσθαι, ἦστι οὖν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἄνθρωπον τὸ σε, βασιλεῦ, ἰππομενεῖ χείρας ἀνταειρόμενον νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλέην τε καὶ καλλιτὴν πολὺ τῶν ἐν Ῥήγης προσφέρεσαι, καὶ ἂνδρας ἀρίστους." κάρτα της δὲ ἀπίστα Ἑρέξη ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα ἐναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντων τρόπων τοσοῦτοι ἐφόρησε τῇ ἐνούτοι στρατιᾷ μαχεστάτου; ὃ δὲ καὶ εἶπε· "ὁ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χάσθαι ὡς ἄνδρι ψεῦστης, ἦν ἡ ταῦτα τοι ταύτη ἐκβή τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω." Ταῦτα λέγων οὖν ἔπειθε τῶν Ἑρέξεων· τέσσερα μὲν δὴ παρεξήκοτοι 1110 ἠμέρας, ἐβλτίζων αἰεὶ σφέας ἀποδόθησαν πάμπτη ἐδ, Ἑρέξεα, after four.

533 ἐνεκύρῃσις. The use of the compound verb ἐνεκύρῃσις. The simple verb ἐκχορήσεως is not easily explained. Perhaps the preposition has the force of the English "withal," as it sometimes does when used without a case, in the manner of a conjunction. See note 63 on vi. 23, above. Bekker reads ἐκχορήσεις from conjecture.
534 γέλατα μὲ θεῦν. Compare ii. 29: ἔτη τοῦ διακεῖ γε σν ἄνθρωπες γέλατα ἐμὸν ἀνθέρεσθε.
535 ὡς ἄνδρι ψεῦστης. In the Persian view, falsehood was the lowest vice in the scale of depravity; so that the imprecation of the Spartan king on himself was as strong as if he had said ἀνωστάρθην. See i. 138: ἀναχυμον δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ πεψά θεοῦ μνημόσυνα δεύτερα δὲ τὸ δρόλιν χρός, στιλεῖν μὲ καὶ ἅλλων ἐνεργημένων, μελῶστα δὲ ἀναμνησθῇ φασὶ εἶναι τὸν θεοῦ λόγον καὶ τὴν ψεύδος λέγειν.
536 παρεξήκον. S and V have παρήκκεν.
days' delay, orders an attack on the pass,

which entirely fails

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ός οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείᾳ τε καὶ ἄβουλή διαχρεώμενοι μένεις, πέμπτει ἐν' αὐτοῖς Μῆδος τε καὶ Κισσίων θυμωθεῖς, ἐπιείλεσσος σφαιρὰς ξωρύθσας, ἀγείν ἐς ὕφεν τὴν ἑστιον ὃς δ' ἐπέτραπον φερόμενοι ὡς τοῖς "Ελληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτὼν πολλοί ἄλλοι δ' ἑπεσθῆσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καίτερ μεγάλοις προσπταλοῦσθε δήλου δ' ἐπολεον παντι τερν καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλείᾳ, ὅτι πολλοί μὲν ἀνθρωποι εἶνεν ὅλοι δ' ἄνδρες. ἐγώνοτε δ' ἡ συμβολὴ δ' ἡμέρης. 'Επεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηκέως περιήπτοντο, ἑνδείκτα οὕτω μὲν ἔπεξῆσαν, οἰ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἑπίσταν τοῖς ἄθανάτοις ἐκάλεσα βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἦχε Ἄδαρνης441, ὃς δ' οὐτὸν γε ἐπτετέως κατεργασάμενον ὡς δὲ καὶ οὕτω συνέμασιν τούσι "Ελληνα, οἰονεὶ πλέον ἐφέρων τῆς στρατικῆς τῆς Μῆδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, δὲ ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τῷ χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ ὀφρασι βραχυτέρουσι χρεώμενοι ἦπερ οἰ "Ελληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλῆθει χρήσασθαι. Δακεδαιμόνι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἄξιοι λόγοι, ἀλλὰ τα ἀποδεικνύμενοι εἰς οὐκ ἐπισταρέομενοι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπισταμένοι, καὶ δώσων ἐπιρρήσεως τὰ νότα, ἀλλὰς φεύγεις κοινὰς ἔδρευοι δὲ βαρβαροὶ ὅρεσται φεύγοντες βασιλείᾳ τῇ καὶ πατάνῃ ἑπίσταν, οἳ δ' ἄν καταλαμβανόμεναι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἰσναι τοίς βαρβάροις μεταστρέφομενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πληθὺς ἀναμφιθύμους τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιτινω θὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν ἑνδείκτα όλοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔθνικατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἔσοδον περιείμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα442 καὶ παντοῖος προσβάλλοντες, ἀπῆλθαν οὖν ὅπλοι. ἐν τούτῳ τούτω προσδόκει τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλεὰ θηεϊμενον τρίς ἀναδραμέιν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου443, δεσιάντα περὶ τῇ στρατικῇ. Τότε μὲν οὕτω θηγολεικότῃ τῇ δ' ὑπεραιρῇ οἱ βαρβαροὶ οὐδὲν ἄμενοι ἀέθλεον ἀτε γὰρ ὅλγοιν ἑοντω, ἐπισταμένοι σφαιρας κατατρεματισάσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶνος τε ἐκεῖσθαι ἐτι ξαψανθεῖα συνέβαλλον οἱ δ" Ἔλληνες κατὰ τάξεις τε καὶ κατὰ ἑθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ήσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐκαστοί ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων οὕτω δὲ ἐς τὸ ὄνειρος ἐτάχθησαν

441 Ἄδαρνης. See note 254 on § 83, above.
442 κατὰ τέλεα, "by squadrons." See note on ix. 24, below.
443 ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. This act expresses sudden consternation. So Darius is described as ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπανθηψάμεθα when Zopyrus presents himself mutilated before him (iii. 155). With the grave orients nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.
πιλάξωμε τὴν ἀτραπόν ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὐβρικὸν ἀλλοιῶτερον οἱ for two whole days.

Πέρσαι ἡ τῇ προτεραθῇ ἑκόρων, ἀπελαυνὼν.

'Ἀπορεοντος δὲ βασιλέως δ ἡ χρήσται τῷ περαντὶ πρή-

γματι, Ἑπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἄνδρ Μηλεὺς ἠλθὲ οἱ ἐς λόγους,

ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκέων οὐσεθαι ἐφράζε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὕρος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοτύλας, καὶ

dιᾶφθειρε τοὺς ταύτη ὑπομείνατας Ἐλλήνων ὅστερον δὲ δεῖας

Δακεδαιμονίους ἐφραί ἐς Θεσσαλίην καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν

Πυλαγόρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτύνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαγὴν συλλεγομένων)

ἀργύρων ἐπεκπρύχθη· χρόνος δὲ ὅστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι-

κυρίνη, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηκλίνου ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης

οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν ᾿Επιάλτεα δι’ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς

ὁπίσω λόγους τὸν ᾿Επιάλτης δὲ ἐπιθυμηθεὶς μέντοι ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων

οὐδὲ θανὼν. Ὁ ᾿Επιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὅστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε.

῾Εστι δὲ ἄτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὁς ῾Ονήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω

انون Καρόστιος καὶ Κορυδαλλὸς ᾿Αντικυρεύς εἰοι οἱ ἐπίσταντες

ὑπὸ βασίλεα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιγεγραμμένοι τὸ ὄφος

τοῦσ. Πέρσαις, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοι ἐς πιστὸς τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὄφος σταθμώσασθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ὃ ᾿Ελλήνων Πυλαγόρω ᾿Επιάλτων ἐπεκηρύζαν οὐκ

ἐπὶ ῾Ονήτη τε καὶ Κορυδαλλῶν ἀργύρων, ᾧ ἐπὶ ῾Επιάλτη τῷ ῶ-

Τρηκλίνῳ, τῶν τοῦ ἄτρεκτατον πυθόμενον τοῦτο δὲ,

φιάσκοντα τὸν ᾿Επιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἰδαμεν εἰς ἐν τῷ

γὰρ ἔννοιαν, καὶ ἐνοὶ Μηλεὺς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν ῾Ονήτης

εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὀμιλητικοὶ εἶναι ᾧ ἐπὶ ῾Επιάλτης γὰρ ἐστι

ὁ περιγραμμένοις τὸ ὄφος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἰτίον

γράφω.

ᾍρηξις δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἠρεσοὶ τὸ ᾿Επιάλτης κατεργά-

σεσαι, αὐτίκα περιχάρα γενόμενος ἐπεμπή ῶτὰραν, καὶ τῶν

ἐπιστράτηγη ῶτὰραν ὅρμεατο δὲ περὶ λόγιων ἀφὰς ἐς τοῦ στρα-

τοπεῖον. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριαι Μη-

λεῖες, ἐξεφώνοντες δὲ Θεσσαλοίς κατηγοροῦσαν ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε,

ὅτε οἱ Φωκέαις φράσαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἥσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ

χρήσται. Gaisford has given this reading on the authority of one manuscript (S). The others are divided between χρή-

σται and χρήσται. See note 34 on v. 12.

ἐν τούτῳ δεισιθε λόγοι. Herodotus does not fulfill this promise. See note 620 on i. 184.

Ἄρηξις δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἠρεσοὶ. S has ᾿Αρήξις δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠρεσοί.
 polynomial". Eκ τε τόσον δὴ κατεδεδεκτο ἐσουσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴν Μηλεῶσι. Ἐξέλ ἔδεε ἢ ἄτραπος αὐτὴ ἀρχεῖαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωτοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος βέοντος οὐνομα δὲ τοῦ ὦρει τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἄτραπῳ τῶντο κεῖται Ἀνόπαι. τείνει δὲ ἢ Ἀνόπαι αὐτὴ κατὰ ράχιν τοῦ ὦρεος λάγει δὴ κατὰ τα Ἀπολλινὸν πόλιν, προτὴν ἐσουσα τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλεῶν, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυνων τα καλεόμενον λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἑδρας τῇ καὶ το στεινότατὸν ἐστι. Κατὰ ταύτην τῇ τόν ἄτραπον καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἀσωτοῦ διαβάντας ἐπερούντο πάσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξίῃ μὲν ἔχοντες ὦρεα τὰ Ὀλταίαν ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχύναν ὅσος τε δὴ διέφαινε ἢ χαί, καὶ ἔγενοντο ὑπὲρ ἀκρωτηρίου τοῦ ὦρεος. κατὰ δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ὦρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι διδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὅπλως, νυμφεῖς τῇ τῆς σφετέρῃ χώρῃ καὶ φρουρέως τῆν ἄτραπον μὴ μὲν γὰρ κατω ἐσβολή ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρήτας τὴν δὲ δία τοῦ ὀρέους ἄτραπον ἐθελοντα Φωκές ἐποδέξημεν Δεωνίῃ ἐφύλασσεν.

"Εμαθον δὲ σφέας οἱ Φωκεῖς δὸδε ἀναβηθήκότας ἀναβαίνουσε γὰρ ἐλάνθανοι οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ ὦρος πάν ἐν δρυμῶν ἐπίπλεον ἦν μὲν δὴ νημεία, ψόφου δὲ γνωμόν μονού ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἦν πᾶλλα ἐποκεχυμένον ὑπὸ τοῖς τοῖς ποις, ἀνὰ τὰ ἑθραμόν οἱ Φωκεῖς καὶ ἐπινυτὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτικα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν ὡς δὲ εἴδον

n 448 ἐν σκέτη τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on l. 143.
449 ἐκ τοῦ τόσου ... Μηλεῶσι, "from so long back had the Melians been made aware of its capabilities for mischief." The euthemism of ὄλθιν χρηστὴν in the sense of "extremely pernicious" is very common. There seems no record of any particular occasion on which the Thessalians succeeded, by means of this path, in turning the position of the Phocians. It was doubtless in the very early times, when the Thessalian tribes came first into the region which they inhabited in the time of Herodotus (above, § 176). The wall, said to be built by the Phocians on that occasion, had fallen with age.
450 Μελάμπυνων τοι καλεόμενον λίθου. Melampyrum seems to have been a surname of Heracles, who is represented as having in wraith slain two brothers called Cercopes for ridiculing him. The term κέρκων appears to have been the name of a kind of monkey (into which one version of the legend made the brothers to be metamorphosed: Zenobius, Proverbs, iv. 50), and hence the term is used both to denote a person of extreme cunning, and one who delights in mischievous annoyance. Ἀσχίνης (De falsa legatione, § 43) uses it in the former sense: δ' θι μὲν οὐν τὸν 'ος Κέρκων, ἢ το καλεόμενον παταλῆμα, ἢ το παλίμβολον, ἢ το τοιαύτα ρήματα, οὐκ ἂν πρότρεπον. Another version of the legend made the brothers changed into stone, a form of the story which probably prevailed in the locality described in the text, although the catastrophe is laid in Lydia at the court of Ombale. (See Gaisford's Paraphr. Graeci: Bodleian Proverbs, No. 537.)
451 ἢς τε δὴ διέφαινε. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following P, F, and δ', omits δ. S has ἢς τε δὴ ἐφώμε. 452 ἢς τε δὴ ἐφώμε. οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν, "just as the Phocians got on the
The Greeks in the pass learn the passage of the mountain by the enemy and Leonidas sends away most of his troops.

\[\text{Polyb. VII. 219}\]

\[\text{polyb. VII. 220}\]
Here all the MSS. with scarcely an exception, have this form instead of the more usual ἐκέχρητο. But see the note 437 on ii. 147.

Ἡ Δακεδαίμων ἀνάστατον... ἀπολέσθαι. The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering. (See note 676 on i. 199.) Leonidas is the Hellenic Decius, who, as Livy describes it, seemed "sicut coro missus, piaculum omnis deorum ire, quis peperit a suis aversem in hostes ferret." Compare the case of Hamilcar (above, § 167). It was no doubt this superstitious feeling, and not mere vanity (as some have interpreted the proceeding), which determined him to stay after his position was turned. Some of the stories which were current in after days proceed on the supposition that at the time he left Sparta he never expected to return. Plutarch, for instance, says that his wife asked instructions for her conduct in her widowhood from him; and that funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence. (De Malign. Herod. § 32.) It may be observed that these human sacrifices belonged to a primeval system of religion, as may be seen by the formula with which the elder Decius devotes himself. (Livy, viii. 9.) Now the attachment of Leonidas' father-in-law and half-brother Cleomenes to this religious system has been above remarked. (See especially note 189 on v. 72, and notes 173, 177, 186, and 190 on Book vi.) And it is a curious circumstance, that to Leonidas it was allowed as a special favour by the Thebans to pass the night in their temple of Heracles, where he consulted the deity by a dream. (Plutarch, Ibid. § 31.) The mode of consultation proves that the religious ideas on which the service was originally founded belonged to the same system (see note 164 on i. 52), so that in the fact of the privilege conferred on Leonidas there is presumptive evidence that he shared the religious predilections of his half-brother, and on this account was perhaps allowed access to a temple which would have been otherwise closed against him. On the same principle we may perhaps account for his absence from the Carnea, the festival especially appropriate to the Dorian Apollo, and commemorating of the successful invasion of the Peloponnesse. See notes 530 and 534, above.

μοῦνον. Plutarch (de Malign. H. § 31) quotes this passage as if he found μοῦνον in his copy, and censures Herodotus for attributing such unworthy motives to his hero. But all the MSS. have μοῦνον, and the sense afforded by that reading is more in accordance with the context. Leonidas wished the glorious story of the Spartan deed to remain pure and unsullied with any discordant incidents, such as those of flight or recusancy on the part of their companions.
221 οἰχομένου. Μαρτύριον δὲ μοι καὶ τὸδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονεν οὐ γὰρ μοῦνον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν δὴ εἶπεν τῇ στρατηγῇ ταύτῃ. Μεγιστάνη τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων λέγομεν εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμπυδος, τούτου ἐπιταγὰ τῇ τῶν ἱέων τὰ μελλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν φανερὸν ἐστι Δεονίδης ἀποστέμπων, ἵνα μὴ συναπτόηται σφι ὁ δὲ ἀποστεμπόμενοι αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπελπῖετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατεύομεν ἔστα τοῖς μουσικεῖον ἀπέπεμψε.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποστεμπόμενοι οἰχονύ τε ἀπίνοντες, καὶ ἐπείδουτο Δεονίδης Ἰσσαίης δὲ καὶ Θησαῦρι κατέμεναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Δακεδαμονίοισι τούτων δὲ Θησαῦρι μὲν δέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλομένοι κατείχε γὰρ σφεὶς Δεονίδης ἐν ὁμήρῳ λόγῳ ποιείμενος Ἰσσαίης δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα ὁδ., οὐκ ἐφασαν ἀπολυούντες Δεονίδην καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέδανον ἐστρατήγηε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαλέλομεν.

222 Ἀρέσης δὲ ἡτὶ ἤλιον ἀνατελλαντος σπουδᾶς ἐποίησατο, ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κοινὸν μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσδονα ἐποίησεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλεν ἐς Ἐπίμαλλεως οὔτων ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρεῖος ἤ κατὰ βάσις συντομοτέρη ἐς ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλών, ήτερ ἡ περιοδὸς τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἰ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἄμφι Ἀρέση προσήκασαν, καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Δεονίδην ἄλλην, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐξουσίων ποιείμενοι, ἢ δὲ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἀρχὰς ἐπεζήσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐρυμα τοῦ τείχους ἐμφάσεσε, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεζόντες ἐς τὰ στενοτέρα εἰσάγοντο. τότε δὴ συμμίσσαστον ἐς τῶν στενούσων, ἐπιτυγχάνει πολλοί τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπεζόντας γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἐχοῦσι μάστυνες, ἐρράπετον πάντα ἀνδρὰ αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοί μὲν δὴ ἐσεπίπτων αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θαλάσσαν, καὶ διεθεράφωνο πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῦνες κατεπατήσαντο

223 Θησάνθιος δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα. In later times the credit of a share in the action was attributed at Athens, not to the Thespisians, but to the Plataeans. The author of the Oration against Neera says of these: μονοὶ τῶν Ἑλλῶν Βοιωτῶν . . . μετὰ Δακεδαμονίων καὶ Δεονίδου ἐν Θερμώπολαι παραπάζομενοι τῇ Βαρβάρᾳ ἔπειτα συνεκάλυμα. Half of the adult citizens, according to the orator, perished in the pass; the other half embarked on board the Athenian galleys, and fought at Artemision and Salamis (§ 128). Compare equally varying statements of facts which must have been notorious, in note 213 on i. 63, and 136 on iii. 47. Pausanias, possibly by a slip of the memory, makes, instead of the Thespisians, eighty Mycenaean participants in Leonidas's exploit (x. 20. 1).
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ξυνὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἢν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἢτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα σφί ἔσεσθαι βάναυτον ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν τὸ ὁδός, ἀπεδείκνυτο ῥώμης ὅσον ἔχων μέγιστον ἐν τοῖς σαρ- βαρώσις, παραρχεύομεν τε καὶ ἄδεαντες. Ἄρατα μὲν νῦν τοὺς πλέονες αὐτῶν τηρικαίται ὡς ἐπὶ χαρακτήρα, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐξέπεσε διεργάζοντο τῶν Πέρσας καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόλω πλάστε, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀριστος, καὶ ἔτεροι μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀνομά- στοι Σαπρέπτες, τῶν ἐνώ ὁς ἀνδρῶν ἄξιων γενομένων ἐπιφόρμην τὰ οὐνόματα: ἐπιφόρμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριρκοσίων, καὶ δὴ καὶ Περσῶν πάπτουσι ένθάνται ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομάστοι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, 'Αβροκόμης τε καὶ Ἰππέανθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Ἐφαρμοίης γεγονότος Δαρείῳ ὃ δὲ Ἀρτάνης. Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέω ὃν ἀνέδειφος, Ἰστάτοις δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς: δὲ καὶ ἐκδούσα τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τῶν οἴκων πάντων τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μοῦνοι οἱ ένθάντες ταύτης τείκουν. Ἑρέσω τε δὴ δύο ἀνέδειφος ἐνθάνται πάπτουσι μαχεύ- μενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω. Περσῶν τε καὶ Λακεδα-

μονών ὀδυσσαμὸς ἐγένετο πολλὸς· ὡς δ' τούτον τε ἄρετῇ οἱ "Ελληνες ὑπεξείρωσαν, καὶ ἐτρέφωντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τούτο δὲ συνεστήκε μέχρι οὗ οἱ συν 'Επιάλη ταρεγένοντο ὡς δ' τούτο πέφθασιν ἐπὶ τὸν κολλανίον πάντως ἀλέας οἱ ἄλλοι, πλην Θηβαίων ο δὲ κολλανός ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόφῳ ὅπου νῦν ὁ λίθιος λέων ἐστήκε ἐπὶ Δεωνίδην ἐν τούτῳ σφέα τῷ χόρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρις, τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἐτὶ περισσοῦσιν, καὶ χερσό καὶ στόμαι, κατέχονσιν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλουσιν, οἵ μὲν εὖ ἐναντίς ἐπισπάμουν καὶ τὸ ἐρήμα τοῦ τεῖχους συχωστοῦν, οἵ δὲ περιελθοῦντες πάντοθε περισσοῦσιν.

Ἀκαδαιμινίοιν δὲ καὶ Θεσπιῶν τοιοῦτον γεγομένου, ὡμοῦ λέγεται ἄνθρωπος γεγέρθαι Ὁπαρτήνης Διηνέκειον τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἐποὺ πρὶν ἡ συμβαίνει σφέα τοῦτοι Μῆδοις, πυθόμενον πρὸς τεῖχος τῶν Τρηχύνων ὡς ἐπεάν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπέλειος τὰ τοξεύματα, τῶν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ὀστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσιν τοσοῦτο το πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγῆτα τοῦτοισι, εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μῆδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχύνων ξείνος ἀγγέλλω, οἱ ἀποκρυπτοῦντοι τῶν Μῆδων τῶν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκῆ ἐσοῦτο πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἥλιον τάτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτο ἐπεάν χαρὴ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτο ἐπεάν φασι Διηνέκεα τῶν Ἀκαδαιμινίων λιπέσθαι μυμβοῦσιν. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀριστεύσας λέγονται Ἀκαδαιμινίοις δύο ἄδελφοι, ὁ Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, ὁ Ὀρσεύμποντας παῖδες. Θεσπιῶν δὲ εὐσκόμιμο μάλιστα τῷ ὅσῳν ἤν Διότατος Ἀρματίδος.

526 Anecdote of Diōneus, the bravest of the three hundred, who was remarkable for his good sayings.


529 ἐν τούτῳ σφέα τῷ χόρῳ. Diodorus (xi. 9) and Plutarch (de Malign. H. § 32) give an entirely different account of the particulars of the death of the Greeks. According to them, they, on finding themselves taken in the rear, broke up from their lines at night and advanced into the midst of the Persian camp, hoping to reach the quarters of the Persian king and to slay him. It is plain that such a proceeding is incompatible with the circumstances of time as given by Herodotus. But all the details of the affair must necessarily have been very uncertain if really none survived; and it is only to be expected that they should be varied in the current accounts. A parallel instance, singularly instructive as showing how the kernel of a true story remains while almost every particular is altered, is afforded by the heroic feat of the centurion, who alone preserved his fidelity to Galba at the time when he was assassinated. The accounts given by Tacitus (Hist. i. 43) and Plutarch (Galb. § 26) both seem to rest on the authority of actual eye-witnesses; and yet they differ remarkably from each other.
... θαφείς δὲ σφι αυτοῦ ταύτη τρίτη ἐπέσον 444, καὶ τούτι πρό-
τερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ἑπί Δεονίδεο ἀποπεμφθέντας οὐχεσθαι, ἐπι-
γέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε:

Μυρίδων τοῖς τρίτοις τριηκοσιαῖοι ἐμάχυντο
ἐκ Πελαγώδαν χιλιάδες τέτορες 445.

ταύτα μὲν δὴ τοὺς πᾶσι ἐπιγράφατας τοὺς δὲ Ἐπαρθητήριοι
ιδία.

'Ω ξεῖν, ἀγγέλλων Δακεδαμινίων, διὶ τρίτῳ
κελεύον τοῖς κείνων ῥήμας πειδόμενοι.

Δακεδαμινίωισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τῷ δὲ μάντι, τάδε:

Μηδέν τοῖς κλεισίῳ Μεγαστίῳ, ἰδιὶ τοῖς Μήδοις
σπερχεὶν τοσάδε κεῖνον ἄμηρπονοι,
μάντιοι, δὲ τότε κῆρας ἐπερχόμενας σάφα εἰδὼς,
οὐκ ἐτλι Ἱππάρχει ἤμανας προλεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νῦν καὶ στήλησι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπί-
γραμμά, 'Αμφικτύνεις εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες τὸ δὲ τοῦ
μάντιος Μεγαστίῳ, Σιμώνιδης ὁ Δεσπρέπος ἔστι κατὰ ἕξινην
ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

229

Διὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐδρυτὸν τε καὶ 'Αριστό-
δημον, παρεῖν αὐτοῦς ἀμφοτέροις κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοις, ἢ
ἀποσωθήναι ὁμοί ἐς Σπάρτην, ὅσοι μεμετιμένοι 447 τε ἔσταν ἐκ
τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Δεονίδεο, καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν 'Αλπηνοίοις ὀφθαλ-
μώντες ἐς τὸ δοχατὸν ἢ, ἐγιγή μὲ ἑξολοντὸς νοστήσας, ἀποθανεῖν
ἄμα τούτι ἄλλους παρεῖν σφι τούτων τὰ ἄτερα ποιεῖν, οὐκ
ἐθελήσαν ὀμοφρονεῖν ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενεχθέντας, Εὐδρυτὸν μὲν
πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντα τε τὰ ὁπλα καὶ
ἐνδύσα, ἄγειν αὐτῷ κελεύετο τὸν εἰλατα ἢ τοὺς μαχομένους
ὅκως δὲ αὐτῶν ἤγγα, τὸν μὲν ἀγανάκτα οὐχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἢ τὸν ὁμολύν διαφαράμην Ἀριστόδημον δὲ
λειποφυχέωντα 448 λειφθήναι. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἢ μοῦν Ἀριστόδημον

444 αὐτοῦ ταύτη τρίτη ἐπέσον. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years afterwards. See above, note 559.
445 χιλιάδες τέτορες. See vii. 25, below.
447 μεμετιμένοι. See note 309 on π. 106.
448 λειποφυχέωντα. This word appears to be used in the sense of "failing in courage," not in its usual meaning of "fainting" from physical exhaustion.
ἀληθῶς, ἀποστήσαι οἱ Σπάρτητες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομμῆν γενέσθαι, δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφι Ἀριστοτέλης μὴν οὐδέποτε μιᾶς ἀποστήσαι· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιον οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκαι, ἀναγκαίοις σφι ἔχειν μηνίαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοτέλης. Οἱ μὲν δὲν ὅπως σωθῆναι λέγουσι ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἡ Σπάρτητες, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τουτέστι· «ὁ δὲ ἀναγκαῖος πεμφθέντα» ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἔξαεν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἠθελημέναι ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὅδῷ περιγενέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνάγηγελον αὐτοῦ ἀποκόμων ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν. 'Ἀπονοοτήσας δὲ ἐς Δακεδαλώναν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δυνάμεις τε ἐξει καὶ ἄτιμον, πάρχον δὲ τοιάδε ἡγίματο. οὐτὲ οἱ πῦρ οὐδές ἐναν.»198 Σπάρτητες οὖστε διελέγετον, δυνάμεις τε ἐξει ὁ τρόπος Ἀριστοτέλης καλοίμενος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταῖοι μάχη ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν οἱ αἰτίην.200 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἀναγκάζοντο ἡ Θεσσαλίη τῶν τριήκοσιων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὖν οὖν εἶναι Παντίτης νοστήσας δὲ τούτων ἡ Σπάρτη, ὡς ἡγίματο, ἀπαξίζησαι.

Οἱ δὲ Θεσαλοί, τῶν δὲ Λεωνίδας ἐστρατήγησε, τεώς μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔνατες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχομένης πρώτην τὴν βασιλεύων στρατινήν ὡς δὲ ἔλθον κατατέρτα τῶν Περσέων γνώμην τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδα Ἐλλήνων ἐπενεχθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τῶν κολονῶν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χειράς τε πρόετοι καὶ ἠσθαν ἄστοι τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθετάτοτον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδέκουσι καὶ ἥγη τε καὶ ὑδαρ ἐν...

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498 ἄγγελος πεμφθέντα. Plutarch (l. c.) relates that Leonidas, desirous of saving the lives of two persons of his own family who were with him, ordered them to take a report home of the state of things. The one answered that his office was that of a soldier, not a courier; the other took his arms, saying that the facts would report themselves. The ethopoeic character of these stories is obvious. Who survived to report them?

521 οὐτὲ οἱ πῦρ οὐδές ἐναν. This act symbolized the cutting him off from the people. (See note 187 on v. 72.) To refuse fire or water, or to show the right road to one who had lost it, or to pass by a dead body without aiding to bury it, were offences against which a commination (attributed to a primeval legislator, Buzges,) was formally pronounced at Athens. 521 ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσαν οἱ αἰτίην. This expression is analogous to τὸ ὅρα τῷ ἀνδρί (v. 121), and ἀναστάσας τὴν προτειόταν κατάτητα (viii. 109). The metaphor is taken from a person who recalls that which he has said, or takes up again what has been laid down. Such an act undoes that which has been done. Translate: "he did away with the whole of the blame which had been imputed to him."
234

Xerxes much struck with the bravery of the Spartans, has another conversation with Domaratus,

prōtous évdoxan basileiē, ὅπο δὲ ἀναγκαῖα ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπυλας ἀποκολατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἰς τοῦ τρόματος τοῦ γεγονότος basileiē διὰ ταῦτα λέγοντες, περιεγγόντο ἐίχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τὰ γέ πάντα εὐτύχησαν ὡς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἔλθοντας, τοὺς μὲν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσώπαντας, τοὺς δὲ πλείωνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ἐξέφω, ἐστινος στίγματα βασιλείας,

"Αρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Δεοντίδου τοῦ τῶν παιδά Εὐρίμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιές, στρατηγήσαντα ἁγῶν Θηβαλῶν τετρακοσίων καὶ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπυλάς "Ελληνες οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο Ἐξέφως δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητος, εἰρήνη ἀρξάμενοι εὐθέως· "Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ ἐς ἀγαθὸς· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀλήθείᾳ· οἵ γὰρ εἰπαν, ἀπάντα ἀπέβη ὦτων· νῦν δὲ μοι εἶπε, κύον τινές εἰσιν οἱ λουτόλ Δακεδαμώνων, καὶ τούτων ὑκόσοι τοιούτοι τὰ πολέμα, εἰτε καὶ ἀπαντεῖς;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὁ βασιλεὺς, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Δακεδαμώνων πολλῶν καὶ πόλεως πολλαί, τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθέων εὐθέως· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Δακεδαμωνί Στάρτη, πόλεις ἁγῶν ὀκτακισχιλῶν μαλιστά· κι' οὕτω πάντες εἰσὶ όμοίοι τοῖς ἐνδαμαχεσαμένους· οἳ τις μὲν ἄλλοι Δακεδαμώνων τοῖς ὄμοιοι μὲν οὐκ όμοίοι, ἀγαθὸ δὲ·" εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἐξέφως· "Δημάρητε, τέω τρόπῳ ἀποντράτα τῶν ἁγῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσωμεν· ἠδὲ ἕτοιμον· χίλιον ἡμέρα ἐχεις αὐτῶν τοὺς διεξόμενος τῶν βουλευμάτων·"

572 ἠστιγμὸν στίγματα βασιλείας. The tatowling of slaves to indicate the property in them probably originated in those cases in which they were dedicated to some deity. See note 319 on ii. 113. The Persian sovereign would however in the time of Xerxes be regarded as sacro-sanct; and hence a mark would be set upon his slaves,—or those who were considered as such. I do not imagine that private individuals ever put their mark upon their serfs. PLUTARCH (de Malign. Her. § 33) adduces this statement of Herodotus as a presumptive proof of the falsehood of his story of the Theban disloyalty. The brand of Xerxes would, he considers, never have been set upon members of a state well affected to Persian interests.

573 σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων. This expression refers to that surprise of Plataea by the Thesbans, which was the first overt act of the Peloponnesian war, and which THUCYDIDES describes at length (ii. 2, seqq.).

574 στὶς γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόμενας τῶν βουλευμάτων. The same expression is used above, iii. 156. Translate: "for you are master of the ins and outs of their plans." The words διεξόμενα, διεξελθέναι, and διεξελθέναι all rest on the same fundamental notion of a complicated system of paths leading to a given end,—such, for instance, as those in the labyrinth described ii. 148. Hence διεξελθέναι is the proper phrase for telling a story where there are several points to be taken up one after another, all bearing upon the main one, or for going through a scientific exposition of a theory; διεξελθέναι, that for communicating knowledge discursively.
POMYRA. VII. 234—236. 313

Où δέ ἀμείβοντα: "ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰ μὲν δὴ συμμεπώνει ὁι προθύμων, δικαίων μὲ σοι ἐστιν φράζεν τῷ ἀριστον. εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατηγῆς νέας τριήκονας ἀποστειλαίη ἐπὶ τὴν Δάκανων χώρην ἔστι δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ νήσος ἐπικείμενη τῇ ὀνομα αὐτὸς Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλαν, ἀνήρ παρ᾽ ἢμῖν σοφότατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέξον, ἔφη, εἶναι Σπαρτῆς ἡκτα τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδείκεται μᾶλλον ἀν' ἐπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τοι προσδοκοῦν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οὖν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγεῖμαι οὗτο τόν σωμάτων προεικόν. ἀλλὰ πάντα ὀμολόγος φοβεόμενος ἄνδρῶν στόλον ἐκ ταύτης ἀν τῆς νήσου ὑμεόμενοιο, φοβεόμενων τοὺς Δακανικούς παροίκοι δὲ πολέμου σφί ἔντονος οἰκητήν, οὐδὲν δεινοῦ ἐστιν μου, μὴ τῇ ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος ἀλεξικομένης ἦπο τοῦ πεζοῦ βοηθοῖς ταύτης καταδοιληθέντως δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος, ἀσθενεῖς ἢκο τὸ Δακανικόν μοῦνον λείπεται. ἂν δὲ ταύτη μὴ πολέμε, τάδε τοι προσέχει ἐσεπαί στις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἴσημος στεινός ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννήσιων συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοι, μάχας ἰσχυρότερας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων προσκέπον ἐσεπαί τον ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητεῖ δὲ θεόμος μυὸν καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρῆσαιν. Δεικτὶ μετα τούτων Ἀχαμενῆς, ἀδελφός τε ἐνῶν Ἐρέτου καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ, παρατηχόν τε τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ δεῖσις μὴ ἀναγκασθῆ Χέρσης ποιεῖν ταύτα: "ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ ἡρωικὸς ἐνδικτυμένου λόγους δὲ φθονίες τοῦ εἰ πρήσασιν, ἢ καὶ προδίδοι πρήγματα τὰ σά ν καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρύπους τοιούτου κρεώμενοι οἱ "Ἐλληνες χάροισκα τοῦ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς φθονόντος καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγνούσαν. δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρειμίας τῆς χρήσαν, τῶν νέων νεανικήμασι τετρακτύλισεν, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριήκονας ἀποπέμψεις περι-

235 who advises him to occupy Cythera,

236 but is opposed by Achemenes,

—carrying the learner on through one path after another, hither and thither, till at last he finds himself master of the subject,
—teaching atad μεθοδίαν and not only μεθοδίαν, by direct manifestation. Thus CLM. ALEXANDRINUS uses the term μεθοδίαν for a chain of logical reasoning, leading step by step to a conclusion. (Strom. iv. 26.)

237 ἐκ ταύτης δὲ τῆς νήσου ὑμεόμενοι. The Athenians fulfilled the apprehensions of Chilon in the eighth year of the Pelo-

Pomessian war by capturing the island. It was the more important to the Lacedaemons as being exactly in the run from Libya or Egypt to Lacconia. (Thucydides, iv. 59.)

237 ἀδελφός τε ἐνῶν Ἐρέτου. Achemenes was the son of Atossa as well as of Daris, and therefore whole brother of Xerxes (vii. 97).
πλοίων". Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιώμαχοι τοῦ γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐνώ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχειριστὸς τὸ αὐτότικον γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχήν οὐκ ἀξιώμαχοι τοῦ ἔσονται· καὶ τὰς ὁ ναυτικὰς τοῦ πεζὸν ἀρήζει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τοῦ ναυτικῆς, ὁμοίο παρευμένοις· εἰ δὲ διαστάσεις, οὔτε ὡς σεῖα κείνοις χρήσιμος οὔτε κείνοις σοι· τὰ σεῖα τὸν τρόμον δὲ τιθέμενος εἰς, γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολίτων μή ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρίγγματα, τῇ τε στήσοντας τῶν πόλεμον, τὰ τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τὰ πλήθος εἰσιν ἵκανοι γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι γε αὐτοῖς ἐσοντων πέρι φροντίδευ εἰσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμῶν ὢσσατος. Δακεδαυ-μονίων δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν Ἀρετής ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρεών τρόμα ἀνεύνηται. "Διεισεῖται Ἀέρης τούτοις· "Ἀχάιμενες, εἰ τέ μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταύτα. Δημάρχης δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἀριστα θέμετα εἶναι ἐμοὶ, γνώμη μένους ἐσούτως ἱπτερός ὡς αὐτῶν ἑως ἐν ἑαυτῶν περὶ φροντίδευ εισὶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμῶν ὢσσατος. Δακεδαυ-μονίων δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν Ἀρετής ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρεών τρόμα ἀνεύνηται."

237

whose advice is followed.

238

Xerxes orders the dead body of Leonidas to be decapitated.
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ. VII. 237—239.

πων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οῖ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίετεν
tοίς ἐπετέκτατο ποιεῖν.

"Ανεμί δὲ ἐκεῖσε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπτε. ἐπίνυλτο
Δακεδαμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοντο ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα, πρῶτον καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστίριον τὸ ὡς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψεν, ἐνθα δὴ σφὶ ἕχρησθη τὰ ὅλην πρότερον εἶπον 181. ἐπίνυλντο δὲ
τρόπῳ θυμοσιός Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ ᾿Αρίστωνος φυγὼν ὡς Μίδους,
ὡς μὲν ἔγω δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἴκος ἐμὸι συμμάχεται, οὐκ ᾧ δένοοι
Δακεδαμόνιοι 182. πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνολὴ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν
eἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων ἐπεὶ το ᾿Αίρξη ἐδοξεῖ στρατηγιδών ἐπὶ
tὴν ᾿Ελλάδα, ἐδών ἐν Σοῦσοι ο ᾿Δημάρητος 183 καὶ πυθόμενος
tαῦτα, ἱθέλησε Δακεδαμόνιοι ἐξαγγείλαι. ᾿Αλλος μὲν δὴ οὐκ
εἴχε συμμαχεῖν ἐπικυνδυόντων γὰρ ᾧ δὴ λαμβάνετο ὅ δὲ μηχανᾶται
tοιαῖς ἰέλτιον διπτύχων λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκυψε, καὶ
ἐπετα ἐν τῷ ἔξιλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλείας ἡκόμης
πτώσεις δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἤν
φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίο μηδὲν πρίγγη λαμβάνοι ὁ πρὸς τῶν
ὀδοφυλάκων ἐπεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀπίστοι ἐς τὴν Δακεδαμόνα, οὐκ ἐίχον
συμβαλέσατο οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι, πρὶς ὃς ὃς σφί, ὃς ἔγω πυθόμενο
κλομένος μὲν θυγατὴρ Δεσποίδεω δὲ γυνῆ, Γοργῶ, ὑπεθέτο, ἐπιφαστείσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν κινῶν κελεύσα, καὶ κυρίσεως σφέας
γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἔξιλῳ πειθόμενοι δὲ εὐρὸν καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἐπειτά
dε τοῖς ᾿Αλλοις ᾿Ελλησ ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται
γενέσθαι.

181 τὸ ὅλην πρότερον εἶπον. This
seems a reference to the oracle which is
given above (§ 290).
182 οὐκ ᾧ δένοοι Δακεδαμόνιοι. Ctes-
bías seems to have represented him more

183 ἐν ᾿Ελλησ ᾿Ο Δημάρητος. See
note 162 on vii. 70.

ἬΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ὉΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ζ'.

2 s 2
EXCURSUS ON VII. 225.

The following tables show the pedigree of the royal family of Darius, exclusively according to the traditions embodied in the narrative of Herodotus.

**Hyetaspes (an Achæmenid, i. 209).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Darius, eldest son of Hystaspes, twenty years old at the time of Cyrus’s fatal expedition against the Massagetas (i. 209).</th>
<th>A daughter, wife of Gobryas, by whom she had issue.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artanes, whose only child and heirress, Phrataguna, married her uncle Darius (vii. 224).</td>
<td>Artaphernes, half-brother only to Darius (vii. 25), satrap of Sardis (vii. 42), who had a son Artaphernes, the colleague of Datis at Marathon (vi. 94).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabanus (iv. 33.143), who had a son Smerdonenes (vii. 82); another, Anophe or Anaphanes (vii. 68); and a daughter, Amestris, sultana of Xerxes (vii. 61).</td>
<td>A daughter, wife of Teispius (iv. 43).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trismantachmes (vii. 82).</th>
<th>[Tigranes (vii. 26), according to all the MSS except S, which has Trismantachmes.]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Artaphiios (vii. 66, 67), called Artibius by S, V, and d.].</td>
<td>Arismardus (vii. 67).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bagasaces or Bagasaces (vii. 75)].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hyetaspes** had also a brother, whose name is not given, but who had a son Megabates (v. 32). The Megabazus of vii. 97, is probably the son of this Megabates.

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1 Where the connexion is not positively established, brackets are used. It is not certain that the Olanes who was the father of Amestris, or the Artabanus who was the father of Artaphiios, Bagasaces, and Tigranes (or Trismantachmes of vii. 26) are identical with the sons of Hystaspes who bore these names.
EXCURSUS ON VII. 225.

DARIUS, before his accession to the imperial throne, married a daughter of Gobryas, by whom he had issue—

(1) Artabazanes (vii. 2).
(2) Ariabignes (vii. 97).
(3) A son, perhaps named Arsames (vii. 68).

After his accession he married—

First, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, who had been before sultana of Cambyses, and of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), and who was at the time immediately before his death (36 years afterwards), all-powerful (vii. 3, 4).

By her he had issue—

(1) Xerxes, his successor in the empire (vii. 2. 4).
(2) Hytaaspes (vii. 64).
(3) Maestes (vii. 82), put to death by his brother Xerxes (ix. 107).
(4) Achæmenes, satrap of Egypt (vii. 7), and commander of the Egyptian naval contingent in the expedition against Hellas (vii. 97), subsequently destroyed by Inarus at the time of the revolt of Egypt (iii. 12).
(5) Artazostra, who married her cousin Mardonius, son of Gobryas (vii. 5), a young man five years before the battle of Marathon (vi. 43).

Secondly, Artystone, daughter of Cyrus (iii. 88), his favourite wife (vii. 69); by whom he had issue—

(1) Arsames (vii. 69).
(2) Gobryas (vii. 72).

Thirdly, Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom he had issue—

(1) Ariomardus (vii. 78).

Fourthly, Phædime, daughter of Otanes (son of Pharnaspes) the conspirator, previously an inmate of the harem of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom it does not appear from Herodotus whether he had, or had not, issue.

He also married, either before or after his accession, his niece Phrataguna, heiress of his brother Artanes, by whom he had issue two sons, Abrocomas and Hyperanthes, who fell at Thermopylae (vii. 224).

Besides the above-named, he had a daughter married to Dourises
(v. 116), another to _Hymeas_ (v. 116), a third to _Otanes_ (v. 116), a fourth to _Arsamenes_ (vii. 68), a fifth to _Artocles_ (vii. 73), and some others to some other officers in high command (v. 116); but there are no _data_ for identifying the mothers of these with one another, or with any of the individuals who are more particularly specified.

The pedigree of the family down to _Hystaspes_ is given in vii. 11, and is explained in note 59 on that passage. If that explanation be well grounded, _Atossa_ and _Artystone_ will appear to have been second cousins of Hystaspes.
'ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΟΔΟΝ.

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

ΟΙ δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἔσαν σιδάροντα ἔπτα 1 καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἑπτά δὲ ἀρετής τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταίας, ἄπειρος τῆς ναυτικῆς εἰσόδης, συνεπλήρων τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων ταῖς νεαῖς Κορινθίων δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρελχοντο. Μεγαρίδες δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ Χαλκιδές 2 ἐπλήρωσι εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφί παρεχόντων τὰς νεας· Ἀθηναὶ δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ Σικυώνιοι δὲ δεύκα Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὅκτω· Ἐρέτριδες δὲ ἐπτά· Τριώνοι δὲ πέντε· Στυρίδες 3 δὲ δύο· καὶ Κεώδος δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντά-

1 ἔπτα. One of the manuscripts (d) has ὑπή.
2 Χαλκιδές. These will no doubt be the Athenian settlers established upon the Chalcidian land (v. 77). Their number (four thousand) would give the exact complement for twenty gallies, at the rate at which the author reckons (vii. 184). They had retreated from Euboea at the time of the invasion by Datis and Astaphernes (vi. 100), and there is no account of their having returned to the island, although they probably did so. But at the time of the former invasion they seem to have been regarded in the light of outlying Athenians; for when the Eretrians demanded aid from Athens, the Athenians were asked τὴν ἑπικορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πετρακαστίλιον καθώς ὑπερήφανος τῶν ἐπικορίων Χαλκιδῶν τὴν χάρην, τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἱδούς τιμορείς (vi. 100). The notice of Dionysius Siculus (xv. 78), where he makes Epaminondas speak of the two hundred vessels furnished by the Athenians in the war against Xerxes, and the boast of Themistocles (§ 61, below), will be brought into exact harmony with the account of Herodotus by reckoning these Chalcidians as Athenians; for their whole contingent will then be 127 + 20 + 53 (see § 14, below).
3 Στυρίδες. Styra is a small town in the immediate neighbourhood of Carystus (Stephanus Byzantinus, s.p, n.). A little island belonging to the inhabitants
HERODOTUS

2

who mustered at Artemisias, in all 271 ships under Eurycles the Spartan,

3

the confederates having rejected the proposal that the navy should be under Athenian command.

called Αἴγιλες, had served as a dépôt for the Eretrian captives during the time that the Persian fleet made the attempt on Attica (vi. 107).

4 ἐπεβοηθεῖν, Gaisford prints this form on the authority of S, but the great majority of the MSS have the common form ἐπεβοηθοῦν. In § 72, below, the same MS has the common form βοηθᾶσαν, and Gaisford retains it without the note of any variation whatever. In ix. 23, S and V have ἐβοηθεῖν (which Gaisford adopts), but all the other MSS ἐπεβοηθοῦν, and in the same section, all, without exception, have the common form ἐπεβοηθοῦν.

5 πριν ἥ καὶ ἐν Σικελίη ἥμενειν. This is the embassy to Gelon related below (vii. 167—162).

6 [στάσις γὰρ . . . τόλμησιν εἰρήνης]. I have placed this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation of a rhetorical common place. The στάσις περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας was not an ἐμφύλιος στάσις, for the contending parties would never have been regarded as ὁμφύλιοι.

7 μέχρι δὲν, “until.” So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But some have μέχρι ὅσο, and others μέχρι δόσος.

8 ἐποφασίς τῆς Παυσανίου ὑβρίμ προϊσχήματος. Ταυτοδίκη agrees with the author in making the offensive conduct of Pausanias the moving cause for the allies rejecting the supremacy of Sparta: παραλαβότες [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐκόπτων τῶν ἔμμαχων διὰ τὸ Παυσανίου μὴν ὁμοῦ (i. 96). In later times the worth of Aristides was represented as having influenced them to the step even more than the faults of the Spartan general. (Diodorus, xi. 44. Nèros, Aristid. c. 3.) But there is no trace of such a tribute to virtue in the contemporary records.
URANIA. VIII. 2-5.

Tóte dé oítoi oi kai ép ’Artemísioy ’Ellínon átipikómenoi, ὥσ' eídon vàs te polláis kataxhësas ès tás ’Aphásas kai stratègis àpanta plía, épeí aútois papá dòxan tá prógmata tôn barbáron ápêbaíne ὑ ὡσ αὐτοί katekókeon, kataarpodíhantas, drhímon èbouleunon átpo tôn ’Artemísioy èsw ès tôn ’Elláda gónites dé sphaes oi Euvböeës táuta bouleunoménous, èdèontu Euvbíadeos prosmeína chrónon ìlhonian, èst' ën aútoi těkína te kal tôn oïkétas ùnteúdoiتن.

The allies at Artemision are intimidated by the amount of the Persian force, and prepare to retire.

5 'O de Òthmstoklélos tôn ’Ellínon épìsoxèn óde poíeèn: Euvbíadeí toùtwn tôn chrímatwn metaxídoi pente tálantw, ὥσ παρ' èwntōú ðèbhèn didou's ὡσ δὲ oi oítoi ìn-épeístw, (’Ádeímatos yar ò ’Oktwón, Kórhídos stratérgos, tôn loiptwn ëstapairènous, φàmenos átpoplósèthesaí te ápò tôn ’Artemíliou kai oû paramevéwn,) prós ðè toùtwn èipte ò Òthmstoklélos èpomóas: "ósu ñe ëmías aútoletheiêns, épeí toi ìgivò méko ðòra ðòsw ðè Basileiì ìn toi ðè ’Mídon ðémn ìe aútoletheiêns tòsw ìmmakónos." tautá te ìma ëgôrènai, kai pémpeti èpit tôn ñeà tôn ’Ádeímatou tálantà árgyrlou tríà. ðòtoi te ðè plhgléntes ðòròwai ònàpplèsmènous ësan, kai toûs Euvbëèes èkèharia ìtòs te ðò Òthmstoklélos èkèrhpondè, ëlánìanè dé tà loupà ñíchovν

9 ònteúdoi. Compare v. 65: ònte- tithèmów, ýar èsw tôn chrónh pòdeis tôn Pierioustrítow̱n èlásanw, kai § 41, below: ònteúdoi dé tátá ònteúdoi. The word ònteúdoi, used in the same sense, ix. 6: oûth ðè òntèkókolosótw tè tálantè ìn aútoi diëbdhèn ès Zalalānè. The correlative of ònteúdoi is ònte- kiódoi, which is used below, § 60: Zalalānè pòrgyíntai, ès tôn ñíin ònteúdoi tèkína te ìn ìn ñínakètes.

10 ’Adéímatos ýar ò ’Oktwón . . . . ñístairè µóinoi. While the reputation of Themistocles as a successful manager of secret service money seems to have been universally allowed, the details of the transaction were variously reported. Plutarch, following the authority of Phaenás of Lesbos, represents a countryman of Themistocles (one Architeles) who commanded the sacred ship Salaminia, as the principal obstacle to the plan of removing. His crew dissatisfied at not getting their pay, assaulted him at supper-time and took his provisions. Themistocles sent him a fresh supply in a box which had a talent at the bottom, and bade him make a good supper and pay his men the next day, menacing him with a false accusation if he did not take the hint. (Themist. § 7.) Of this story there is nothing in Herodotus; while, on the other hand, Plutarch does not mention Adimantus.

11 ònteklósèthesaí. This is the reading of S and V. All the other MSS have the common form ònteklósèthesaí. See note 409 on iv. 156.

Plhgléntes ðòròwai. This expression is a very strange one, and without any parallel in the classical times. The later writers have something like it. Plutarch (Democr. § 25) has πληγεῖς ὧδε τίς διακόδεκα, and Themistius (ii. p. 26), ταλαντοί οὐκ ἑτροσὺ.
6 Oúta dé katámeivn te én tý Eβdójí, kai énavāmáxhsan.

évēmto dé òdei épei te dé ék tás 'Aφētas peri déiljyn prōthn 13

γυμμένην ἀπίκια tó bárβaro, πυθόμενo mén éti kai πρότερον

peri tó 'Artemísoon nàuλoχέεn nía 'Eλληνıδas ὀλγα, tóté

δὲ αὐτῷ ἱδόντες, πρόθυμοι δὲν ἐπιχείρευν, εἴ kai ἔλοεν αὐτάς.

ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίς προσπλώεν οὐκ ὁρὲ δὲδικε τῶνδε εὖνεκα,

μὴ kai ἱδόντες οἱ Ἐλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φοιγήν οὐρησίαν,

φευγούντοι τε εἰςφόνη καταλάβοι καὶ ἐμελλόν ἄκθεν εἰκεφύε-

ζεσθαῖ, ἐδεί δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκεῖνoν λόγχα, ἐκφραζόντα

περιγενέσθαι 14. πρὸς ταῦτα δὲν τάδε ἐμπανένωτο τῶν νεών

ἀπασέων ἀποκρίνεται δηξιοσία περιπέμπων ἔξωθεν Σκάδον,

ὡς ἐν μὴ ὀφθέων 14 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώοντες Εβδομαν,

κατὰ τὰ Καρπέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστῶν, ἐν τῶν Εὐρυπον ἵνα δὲ

περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπκόμοιοι καὶ φράζουν αὐτὸν

τὴν ὅπλων φέρουσαν ὄνος, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστόμοι δὲν ἐναντίης ταῦτα

βουλευόμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεών τις ταχείας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ

13 peri déiην prōthn, "in the early part of the afternoon." See note on § 18, below.

14 ἐμελλόν δὲν εἰκεφύεσθαι. The employment of the word δές δὲν indicates a sort of irony in the writer, smiling at the fact which he is relating. See iii. 74: ταῦτα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐνεβαλλότοι, ὡς πυστ-

τάδε δεδεῖν ἱδότως αὐτῷ ἐν Πέργαι. And in the last section: ἐν τάρ εἰςτοῦ δεδεῖν δίδων. It is used pretty much in the same way as the expression "si dis placeat" by the Latin writers.

15 μηδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι, "not even a torch-bearer should escape." This proverbial expression is explained by the proverb collectors (Diōgeníanos vii. 15. Ζενοβίου v. 34) as originating in the practice of each army to be preceded by a seer with a wreath of laurel and a fillet on his head. He was considered under all circumstances as having a claim to quarter. The Scholiast on Eupírides' Phæm. 1336 gives another account of the matter. He says that anciently the signal to engage was given by torch-bearers throwing down a flame between the armies; and that the persons so employed were regarded as sacred to Ares, and consequently spared even when all others were put to death. These explanations appear to me doubtful. There are many instances of seers perishing with their army, without any thing to intimate that such a catastrophe was a violation of the law of nations; and it seems more likely that the proverb arose from the fact, that the πυρφόροι, only having to carry fire, would, from the nature of the case, be less mixed up in the fray than any others; and not being encumbered with armour, would be more likely to save himself by flight than one of the rank and file. The duty of this functionary in the Lacedaemonian armies was to carry a light kindled at the altar of Zeus in Sparta along with the army. From this fire the pile was kindled on which the sacrifices were burnt. (Xenó-

phôn, Rep. Lac. xiii. 3.)

16 ὀφθέων. The MSS appear to be nearly equally divided between this reading and the optative ὀφθέωσεν. See note 40 on i. 8. The detachment rounded Sciatns in order to avoid the observation of the ἰμαραξέων of the allies, who, from the high points of the north end of Euboea, would have been able to signal their movements if they had taken the direct course.
ἐν νῷ ἔχουσας ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοίς "Εὐληπτε ἐπιθύμεσθαι, οὖν πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημα σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι" παρὰ τῶν περιπλώοντων ὡς ἱκουτών. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιπετευτών τῶν δὲ λυπέων νεών ἐν τῇ ʼΑφέτροι ἐποιεῖτο ἄριστον.

8 ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ʼοί οὗτοι ἄριστον ἐποιεῖτο τῶν νεών, ὅπε ἐν τῷ στρατηγῶδε τούτῳ Σκυλλῆς Σκευαναῖος, δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν ἄριστον· δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυτηγῇ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γεφυρέμη πολλὰ μὲν ἠσώσε τῶν χρημάτων τούτων Πέρσας.18,· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιβάλετο. οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλῆς ἐν νῷ μὲν εἰχε ἀρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολύσειν ἐς τούς "Εὐληπτε, ἀλλ' οὗ γὰρ ἥρας παρέσχε ὡς τότε ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνεύτευν ὕσῃ ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς "Εὐληπτε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπαὶ ἄπτεκέας· θυμαξύ δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς εἰ Ἀφετέων δὸς ἐς τὴν τῆς θάλασσας, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτε- 
μίσων, σταδίους μᾶλσατι κα τούτων 20·· ὡς ὑγάκουντα διὰ τῆς 
θαλάσσης διεξελθῶν. λέγεται μὲν νῦν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέοις εἴκελα 
περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μὲν 
τούτῳ γνώμῃ μοι ἀποδεξῆθω, πλοῖον μὲν ἀπικέοι ἐπὶ τὸ 
Ἀρτέμισων ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμενε τούς στρατηγοὺς 
την τε ναυτηγὴν ὡς γένοντο, καὶ τας περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεών 
περὶ Εὐβοιαν. Τούτῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ "Εὐληπτε, λόγον σφι ἄ 
αυτοῖς ἑδίδοσαν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἔνικα, τὴν ἡμέρην 
ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μελεντάς τε καὶ αὐλοθέντας, μετέπειτα νῦτα μίσον παρέντως, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντῶν τῇ τούς περιπλωκύρθη 
τῶν νεών μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε·21, δεῖχνεν

17 πρότερον ὡς τὸ σύνθημα σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι. A similar combination of movements appears to have been attempted in Cyprus. See note 317 on v. 13. 18 πολλὰ μὲν ἠσώσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς Πέρσας. In the time of Παυσανίας, a statue of this person existed at Delphi, set up by the Amphictyons,—probably on account of the service rendered to the Hellenic cause by the information he conveyed. But Pausanias, no doubt following the prevalent tradition of his time, says that the services thus rewarded were those performed by himself and his daughter Ηυδήα (whom he had taught to dive) in assisting the destruction of the Persian vessels during the storm off

Pelium, by loosening the anchors and other holdfasts! The statue of Ηυδήα had been carried off to Rome by Nero. Pausanias adds, that the power of diving is possessed by females who continue virgins, but by no others (x. 19. 2).

19 ἁλὴς. Some MSS have ἁλὴ instead of this word, and one or two omit both.
20 τοῦτως. This word is omitted in Σ and V.
21 ὡς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε. The adversaries whose advance they had expected were the two hundred galleys, which they learnt on the preceding afternoon had been sent on round Euboea. It is not, however, to be assumed that the allies actually made a retrograde movement to such an extent as themselves to reconnoitre the whole
the detachment is not near, attack the enemy in front,

in which skirmish

channel north of Chalcis: for the words of the text are compatible with the view, that the intelligence of the enemy not being in sight was telegraphed to them. See note 16, above. On the other supposition, the exhaustion from rowing so far would have quite disqualified them for fighting in the evening. Leake (Appendix II. to Athens and the Demi of Attica, p. 245) maintains that these words apply to the Persian fleet at Aphethe, and supposes that the engagement took place on the day on which the council was held. But there is nothing in the text to imply, or to justify, a change of opinion on the part of the allies. When they formed their plan, they could not possibly have expected the squadron at Aphethe to attack them the same day; and consequently could not have changed their plan (which Leake’s interpretation assumes) on finding that it did not. Leake’s view is also irreconcilable with the position of the Persian detachment at the time the storm caught them. See note 30, below.

Lecher considers this expression to mean “three o’clock in the afternoon.” But it is an error to interpret such expressions as these as if the limits of the time denoted were at all definitely fixed. The divisions of the day which ἤτοι, ἐστήρα, μεσημβρία, δείλη, and the like indicate, are such as strike the sense of the common man, not certain portions of an artificial period. The federates watched the time when it became late in the afternoon, i.e. when the descent of the sun became obvious. It should not be overlooked, that one effect of the time selected would be, that the sun would shine in the eyes of the steersmen of the Persian ships.

The operation denoted by these words seems to have been the backing the galleys in a direction which would have made their stems (had the proceeding been continued) converge in a single point, the centre (τὸ μέσον) of the circle of which they occupied a segment while retreating with their beams turned upon the advancing enemy. But when they changed this movement for a charge, it must not
they take thirty galleys and make a prisoner of a man of consequence.

U R A N I A. VIII. 10—12.

be supposed that they diverged, "like rays," from the same centre; but that they moved in comparatively close order parallel to one another, and thus overwhelmed the small portion of the enemy opposed to them. The Persian line of battle had been greatly extended in order to surround the Greeks; and the effect of the movement of the latter was to render its flanks useless through their position in the circumference of too large a circle. Before the mistake could be remedied, a direct charge (κατὰ στόμα) upon the central ships had overwhelmed them. Leake's notion of the Hellenic force forming a complete circle, and actually surrounded by the Persian ships, is to me inconceivable.

22 Γύρων τοῦ Σαλαμίνων βασιλέως ἀδέλφων. See v. 115. Possibly Philacon, if captured alive, may be the original source of the narrative which the author has given of the proceedings in Cyprus (v. 108—115).

23 Δικυρίας. Plutarch considers that Themistocles was connected by blood with the family to which persons of this name belonged, arguing from the circumstance that a τελεσθρόνιον in Phyle which belonged to them, and was burnt by Xerxes, had been restored and decorated with paintings by him,—a fact recorded by Simonides (Themist. § 1). He also makes this Lycomedes sink the first ship of the enemy in the engagement at Salamis (§ 18). Of course it is possible to suppose that he gained this distinction in both engagements; but it is not likely that, if these were the facts, Herodotus should only mention the one, and Plutarch only the other. See note 185 on i. 57.

12 A storm of rain and thunder sets in with night-fall and alarms the Persians.
13 The detachment dispatched round Euboea is totally destroyed.

14 The next day the allies are reinforced by fifty-three Attic ships, and make a successful attack on the Cilician squadron.

15 On the third day the invading fleet makes the attack,
URANIA. VIII. 13—17.

épate de òote taîs aútaîs ëmérais tás te naumakías ën喜悦 tautas kai tás pezomakías tás en Òermopólous òn de òas ò arîn toû kata òalasas peri toû Eûrînou, òssper toûs âmî deounìda tìn ëpsbolh filâseis oî mèn de ïparekaleúnto, òkow ì paraíson oî tîn 'Ellâda toûs bôrbaîrous oî ð', òkow òtoû 'Ellînîkou strateîmei diarseîrantes, tòû pórou krateîsonou. òs de taçámonei oî Òêrîeîo épèlloou, oî 'Ellînies ãtrèmas ëîçou proû tîs 'Artemisîs oî de bôrbaîrous ìçîuyedês pouîkontes tòûs neîvòs, ékukleînto òs ïperîbâsei aútoûs ìçîvont oî 'Ellînîs ëpántîlloôi te kai sunêmugn. ën taûth tì naumakîh para-

tîlsoi ìllîllooi ëgnîvouo'. 22 ö ìhar Òêrîeîo stratôs ìçto megâ-

thèos te kai plîtheos aútoûs ònt' ìvont ëpîntte, paragomôneois te tòûs neîvòs kai ïperîpîtosouneîvòs peri ìllîllos, òmow mèntoi antîxhe kai oîke ìgê ìvont ìhar khrîma ìpôisîvnto ìçto neîvòs ìlîgoun òs phrîghi tîrapètht. 

'En taûth tì naumakîh Aìgnîtoûi mèn tòûs Òêrîeîo stratîtseis ëpîteusen'. 23 oî ìlla te megâla ëgma ìpêkêînto, kai ìnes aútoûs ìndrâsî ìllî vou 'Ellînîdâs pênte tòûs de 'Ellînîwos kata-

taûth tìn ëméraî ëpîteusen 'Àthnaios, kai 'Àthnaios ìleivîs 

ò 'Alkîmîdèos, òs ðapìnî ouîkîh ìpêkêîh tîrapèthtou ìllîllois ìstratîtseîo ìndrâsî te ìporosîsîoi kai ouîkîh ìnt.

22 tâpexîllooi ìllîllooi ëgnîvouo. Not òth 'îhàd eual foas', ònt òhà came to be on an equal footing? i. e. the invaders were so confused by their own numbers that they could not bring a superior force to bear upon their ene-
mies. On the other hand, the same cir-
cumstance prevented the Greeks from availîng themselves of their superior skill. 

They were hemmed in before they had made a sufficient offîng to be able to manouevre.

23 Aìgnîtoûi mèn tòûs Òêrîeîo stratîtseis ëpîteusen. Diodorus (xi. 15), in relating this action, makes not the Egyptians but the Sidonians distinguish themselves above all others in the in-
vading fleet. Possibly this is a confusion on his part with the distinction which they obtained at the Hallespont (vii. 44), but it is more probable that he is follow-
ing a distinct authority. From the de-
scription which is given of the armament of the crews of the Egyptian galleys (vii. 
89), it is likely that in a mêlée (tâpexî-

mêlâs tòûs neîvòs kai ïperîpîtosouneîvòs peri ìllîllois) they would have a great advan-
tage. And if the ships, although manned by Egyptians, were of Sidonian build, and possibly commanded by a Sidonian chief (see notes 252 and 258 on vii. 89. 98), the statement of Diodorus is readily explained, and in its turn confirms the conjecture put forward in the notes referred to, as to the cause of the divergency of Ðeschylus and Herodotus in the numbers of the Perizaí 

fleef.
"Ως δὲ διέστησαν", ἀσμενοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἠπελγοῦντο· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες, οὓς διακρίνοντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐπεκράτεσσεν τρηχείς δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἤμισυ τῶν νεῶν τετραμέναι ἠσαν", δηρυμένοι δὴ ἐμπυκενοῦν ἐσώ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Νόρ δὲ λαβόν τὸ Θεμιστοκλῆς, οὐ, εἰ ἀπορραγεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ τὸ Ἰωνικόν ἕσοι καὶ τὸ Καρίκον, οὐκ οἱ δὴς τῶν λοιπῶν κατέπερθε γενέσθαι, ἑλαυνόντων τῶν Ἐβδομῶν πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν βάλασαν, ταύτῃ συλλέγας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλέγει σφι ὡς δοκεῖ ἔχει τῶν παλάμην τῇ ἐπιτιθεὶ τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσῃ τῶν ἀρίστων ταύτῃ μὲν πιν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνων ἐπὶ δὲ τούτωι κατήκουσιν πρήγματε ταὐτῇ ποιήσαντε σφι ἐλευθεροῦ τῶν προβάτων τῶν Ἐβδομῶν" καταθέν ὡς τὰς ἐθέλοι (κρέαςον γὰρ ἔτι τὴν στρατην ἔχει ἦ τοὺς πολεμίους) παραπέτει τοῖς πρωτεύουσι ἐκάτερος τῶν ἀνακοίμησεν κυμάζει δὲ πέρα τὴν ὅρον αὐτοῦ μελέσων, δοτε ἄνυπες ἀπεκέχεσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταύτῃ ἔσεγε σφι ποιεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα τὸ ἀνακαυσήσαντε ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα. Οἱ γὰρ Ἐβδομῶν οἱ παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Ἰακώβος χρησίμων ὡς οὔδεν λέγοντα, οὔτε τί ἐξομιλοῦσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσάγαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τὸ ἐποτίσαντο σφι ἂντοιχος τὰ πρήγματα· Βάκιοι γὰρ ὅσον ἦερεν περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησίμων·

Πρόξεος βαρβαρόφων οὕτως γενὸς εἰς ἱπποδρόμον, Ἐβδομὴ ἀπομείναξεν ἀλώας.

καθεύσει καί ὀφείλειν πολυμικὴν ἀλήθειαν.

τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲν τούσι ἔπεςι χρησίμων ἐν τούτῳ τότε παρευσάτο τοῖς καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοίς, παρῆν σφι συμφορῷ ἀρκεῖος πρὸς τὰ μέγατα.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπηρρήσαν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἤκ τὸν χρησίμων κατάσκοπον. ἦμι μὲν γὰρ ἔπει 'Ἀρτεμισίων κατάσκοπος, Πολύας, γενὸς 'Ἀντικυρέως, τῷ προστετάκτῳ, (καὶ εἰς τὸν ταχύτερον ἐντοίμον.)

35 οὐ δὲ διήστησαν. S and V have οὐδὲ διήστησαν.
36 τῶν αἱ ἤμισυ τῶν νεῶν τετραμέναι ἠσαν. One cannot help suspecting considerable exaggeration here. The action off Salamis took place too soon afterwards to allow the supposition that there was time to refit their crippled vessels, and yet the Athenian contingent there was 180 strong at least.
37 Εὐβοιῶν. Gaisford prints Ἐβδομῶν, following the majority of MSS. But S and V have the form in the text, which is the reading of all in vii. 192.
38 ol γὰρ Ἐβδομῆς, κ.τ.λ. Schweighäuber well remarks, that the proper place for this section appears to be immediately following § 4, above.
ei palîseiv 38  ou nautikos stratós, sêmaîneîn toû i en Thërmô-
pýlporo éous: de ò autou hû 'Abrôunhos ò Lysiklês, 'Athenaios, 
kaî parà Deôvndh étoîmos toû i en 'Artemisîr éous aîgëllês 
trophvnterô, hû ti katálabàvnev ùvstêrôn ton peôv, óntos de ò 
'Abrôunhos åplkúmenos sfí êstîmáne tâ phgównta perî Deôvndhâ 44 
kaî ton stratôn autou oû de òs íptûthonto tauta, oûkèî ës 
ânabòlás ëpouroî tûnh åpokhôrinsen ékombînto òs ãkastoi 
éthshsan, Korîvthoi prôtôi ësastoi de 'Athenaios. 'Athenaios 
22 de ñeas tâs árista plhswsan épilexámênous Òhmuîkolèn 
ëporeuêtô perî tûnh ùtûma ùdasta, êntâmnon en toûsi ëkdotôv 
grámmata 41, tâ 'Ioues ëpellebontes tû ùsteraî ãmërph éntî tû 
'Artemisîon ëpellebantî tâ de gràmmata tâde ëleugó 42 ãndres 
'Ioues, ou poiêtê diakia ëntî tûnh patêras strateuîmênou 43, kal 
tûnh 'Elláda katabouloumenou ãllê màlwmata mèn prôs ãméav 
gînesei 43, de ò ùmûn ëstî toûto ì ù ùmavto ùpoizh, ùmèes de ëntî 
kaî vûn èk toû ùmou ãmûn ëxhèî 44 kaî autôi, kaî toûs Karîon 
dêsèî tûa ùmûn poièês eî de ùmhèteron toûtoû oûn te 
gînwhai, ãllê 45 'anàgkaîs ùmouos katóleuxhê 46 ëh òstëe 
âpîsayshai, ùmèes ãe ën tû ëgrh, ëptêàm sümîmagnw, Ótheloka-
kète, mêmêmênoi oûtî 'an' ãmêav ãgrômata kai oûtî ãrhîhèn 
ê ãxhîr prôs tûn Bárbaron ãp' ùmêav ãmûn ãghîne. 'Òhmuîkolèn de 

38 òkàlûseie. Hesychius explains this 
word by diaphthesia, where the true reading 
has been supposed to be diaphthérè. 
The word òkàlûse appears to be an Ionic 
form of palaîse, used in that sense in 
which the word palaî is ordinarily found. 
Valexas de doubtsly puts forward the 
conjecture TITPAÎXIE (τι παίσεις) for 
PAÎXIE. 
39 Aelia. F, both here and in § 16, 
above, has Aelia/Bry. 
41 èntâmwn en tótoi ì avsouv gràmmata. 
Compare iv. 67: òntamv gràmmata ès 
ì ùn Òthoûria ès ètì ùn Òllhmà. 
Elsewhere the word ènkoulaîrî is used in the 
same sense. i. 93: kai sôf gràmmata 
ènkoulaînto. 187: ènkoulaîrî de ès ùn 
tûfou gràmmata ângasta tâds. The latter 
word is found in the Septuagint (3.Mac. 
ii. 27), and elsewhere, but the former 
is peculiar to Herodotus. 
43 en tótoi patêras strateuîmênou. See 
vi. 150: atô òs ãmûn oedèt ì òtôi 
ìmouwvsgorwv èkkrateuîfshai. A 
similar plea on the part of the Phenicians 
seems to have been allowed by Cambyses. (iii. 19.) 
44 gînesei. S has gînesei, which is un-
questionably no corruption, but a genuine 
variant. 
45 en toû ùmou ãmûn ëxhèî, "be neu-
tral." Compare iii. 83: oûtôs mèn òh 
sôf òk hgragwî. (etô, ãllî en toû ùmou 
padhîto.) iv. 118: òmow òn ìmêvî trèph 
en toû ùmou katóîmenv perîthése ãmûs 
diafthérîsan, and below, § 73: oî òjouv 
àlîs en toû ùmou èkkateî. For the 
use of ãhô in combination with this 
phrase, see note 318 on ii. 113. It is 
not pleonastic, for the interests of 
the European Greeks were much affected 
by the neutrality of the Ionians. 
46 en 'anàgkaîs ùmouos katóleuxhê. 
This expression has a very poetical 
colouring. Compare Òschylus (Prometh. 
108: ìmûvkaîs tâvov òômèvngma tâlws. 
Sophocles (Philoct. 1025): klôî ûe 
ìmûvkaîs ûgèlw ìeîlæs ìwv autôs. 

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2 U
23 The next day the invading fleet advances as far as Histiaia, and overruns the hamlets on the coast.

24 Xerxes allows leave of absence to visit the field of Thermopylae, after burying nineteen-twentieths of his own dead.

25 'Ενθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἔστων, Εὔρηξ ἔτομασάμενος τὰ πέρι τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἐπεμπεῖ ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα: προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔως τὸν ἄρα νεκροῖ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἔστων ἄρα καὶ δύο μιριάδες ὑπολιπόμενοι τούτων ὡς χιλίων, τοὺς λοιποὺς, τάφρους ὄρυζόμενος, ἔθαι πολλάκις καὶ γῆν ἐπαυσάμενος, ὅπις καὶ ὄφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε: "Ἀυτὲς σύμμαχοι, βασιλεῖς Εὔρηξ τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμένων παραδίδοσι, ἐκλώντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα βεβαιῶσαί τις μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόητους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἡπιεῖσαν τὴν βασιλεῖας δύναμιν ἁπεραβαλέσατο." Ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐγνώτε πλοίων σπανώστηκαν οὗτοι πολλοὶ ἤθελον βεβαιῶσαι: δια-περαμεθέντες δὲ ἔθεσιντο διέζωσαν τοὺς νεκροὺς πάντες δὲ ἤπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Δακηδαιμονίους καὶ

44 ἄινοις τοιούτος τοῦ Ἰωάν. See note on ix. 96.
45 ὅταν δὲ, "then, at last." See note 22 on i. 5.
46 ἢμα ἡλικία σκυθαμένη. The metaphor is apparently the same as that which is expressed more fully by AESCHYLUS: πρὶν σκεδασθήναι θεοῦ ἄκτινα (Perc. 502); and appears yet more distinctly in Lucretius's "Sol lumine concrescit arva," and Milton's "Morn sawing the earth with orient pearl."

48 Ἰστιαίης. See Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, the other MSS having the form Ἰστιαίης. See note 63 on iv. 20.
Τὸς αὐτόμολον ἄνδρας ὡς Ὕρκας ἔλεγε τινὲς, βίον τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. Ἀγοντες δὲ τούτοις ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέα, ἐννυθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τὰ ποιεῖν εἰς τις πρὸ πάντων ἡν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοῦς ταῦτα: ὁ δὲ σφίξαγεν, ωθών Ὀλυμπία ἀγονεῖν καὶ θεορεῖν ἁγγέλων γυμνοί καὶ ἰππίκων ὁ δὲ ἐπελεπροῖ τι τὸ ἄθλον εἰς σφὶ κειμένοι περὶ οὗ ἀγονίζονται τῶν δὲ εἴπον τὸς ἐλαίος τῶν δεδομένων στέφανον. Ἐνθαῦτα εἴπασι γνώμων γανατότατην Ἰρισταντίαχυμὸν ὁ Ἀρτα-βάνου, δειλὴν ὑπὲρ πρὸς βασιλέως πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον ἐν τοῖς στέφανοι, ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, ουτε ἤμετρον σιγών εἶπε τὰ πάντας τάδε "παπαλ, Μαρδώνε, κόλους ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ἡγανες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οὐ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τῶν ἁγώνων παοεντις αλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς," τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ταῦτα εἰρήνη.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ διά μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἐν Θερμοπολίσι πρῶμα ἐγεύνεσε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλότατον κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἐπὶ σφὶ ἐνέγουσεν αἰεὶ χόλον ἀπὸ τοῦ υπότατον τρόματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανοστρατεῖ αὐτοῦ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμ-μαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τῶν Ἔλεος, οὐν πολλοί ἔστει πρότερον ταῦτάς τῆς βασιλέως ορτηλειάσης, ἐσοβόθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ Ποικίλαι. Καί ἀνεκδοτο τὰς ἑρώτησες. Τὸ ἑρώτατος ἑρώτησε τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων. Τὸς τάξιον τῶν διδόμενων στέφανον τῆς Βασίλεως ορτηλειάσης, ἐσοβόθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ Ποικίλαι. Τὸ ἑρώτατος ἑρώτησε τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τῶν διδόμενων στέφανον καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων. Τὸς τάξιον τῶν διδόμενων στέφανον Τριτάνθημος ἐς Αρταβδάνου.
There appears to have been a family of Telliades at Elis, one of whom, Hegesistratus, was also a seer (ix. 37).

It is an error to suppose that this device had no other object than that of terrifying the enemy. The instructions given: τὸν ἄλλον λευκαθίσσοντα δοθῆται τοῦτον κτεινέναι, show plainly that the aim of Tellias was to give his troops the means of recognizing one another without using the watchword, which would have destroyed the præstigie of their appearance.

56 εἰ "Αβᾶς. See note 141 on i. 46.
57 οἱ μεγάλοι αὐρίδαις οἱ περὶ τῶν τριπόδων συνεστῶτες. For the use of the article see note 490 on iv. 192. Pausanias describes two groups of figures set up at Delphi in commemoration of the successes of the Phocians over the Thessalians. The one of these was the work of Aristomedon the Argive (whom Sillig places in the 47th Olympiad). Its subject is not named by Pausanias, but he describes it as containing statues of Apollo and Tellias the seer, of the leaders of the Phocian force, and some of the ἄμφες ἐνικῶν (x. 1. 10). But the occasion on which this group was set up was not, according to Pausanias, the defeat described by Herodotus in the text. That, according to him, took place afterwards (x. 1. 11). In another passage he describes a second group, likewise set up by the Phocians in consequence of their success under Tellias. Apollo and Heracles are represented as contending for the tripod; while Athenæus is endeavouring to moderate the anger of Heracles, and thebians and Leto that of Apollo. The figure of Athenæus was said to be the work of Chionis, the others of Dyllus and Amyclæus,—all three Corinthians (x. 13. 7). Sillig cannot with any certainty fix the dates of these three artists; but he assumes that the group was put up soon after the transaction. But if Herodotus had found two monuments of the two defeats, it is unlikely he should mention one, and only one. And if he only found one, it can scarcely have been any but the work of Aristomedon. (See note on ix. 81, below.) Supposing it to have been this, it will follow that between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias, the story of the Delphic ciceroni will have varied,—the same trophy being referred to different events. That such should be the case is very natural; but its likelihood is a matter often lost sight of in estimating the historical value of temple-traditions. See note 449 on ii. 148.
9 endeavours to extort a compensation of fifty talents from them.

30 The Phocians refuse, and the Thessalians lead the invading army from Thrace, through Doris and Phocis.

31 and the Thessalians lead the invading army from Thrace, through Doris and Phocis.
The Phocians themselves mostly escape, some to Parnassus, but most to Amphissa.

The invaders overrun the whole of Phocis.

and taking the line of the valley of the Cophasus, burn the towns

63 Δρυσίδας. The manuscripts S and V have Δρυσίδας. But in i. 56 the form in the text is supported by all the MSS.

64 καὶ χάρις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ μητρότεραι Δωρέων. The meaning of the writer is, apparently, not that this district was the primitive seat of the Peloponnesian Dorians, but that they came into Peloponnesus from Thessaly. Any stricter interpretation would be quite incompatible with the ethnographic notice in i. 56, from which it would appear that the reputed primitive seat of the Dorian race was Phthiotis in Thessaly. Compare too the expression: ἡσσατα δρμθήσεις, § 43, below.

65 κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν. PAUSANIAS, who in his description of Phocis continually refers to this part of Herodotus's work, remarks, that in the “oracles of Bacis” the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are called Thithoreans: and he conjectures that the town Thithora (which existed in his time) was formed by the segregation of their hamlets, and that its name extruded the one of Neon. As Neon was burnt by the invaders, this is not an improbable conjecture; but the expression of Herodotus indicates that the town Neon existed in his time. In the time of Pausanias there was a fair held here twice a year in honour of Iate,—a circumstance which indicates considerable communication with Egypt. The staple of the place seems to have been perfumes made from the oil and the herbs grown in the vicinity (x. 32. 8—19).

66 ιδρυτής ἐτοι ἐστὶν, “insulated.” Compare ii. 2: οὐκ εἴρημεν ἐν τούτοις καθέσθαι.

67 ἀναψείοντος. The words τὰ χρήματα, τὸν ἐδιάβλημα, or some analogous expression, are understood. Compare iii. 148: ἀποκόμενος οὗ ἐστὶν καὶ ἀναψείεις τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξεσφάγησα. A similar ellipse of the accusative appears below (§ 36).

68 καὶ ἐτοι ἦν ἐρά. Instead of these words, S has κατεκάων.

69 Ἀμφίπολις. PAUSANIAS calls this town Amphiklea, but intimates that it was corrupted by the local pronunciation into Οφίλεα, which Amphícola might, but Amphícoli hardly could have been. A legend was given for this corrupted name, connected with the worship of a Dionysus-Esculapius (x. 33. 9).

70 καὶ Ἐλάτειας, καὶ Τάμπωλις. The road from Elatea to Hyampolis and Abe was a mere mountain-path. It is scarcely
conceivable that more than a detachment of the Persian army could have accompanied the Thessalians through Phocis. PAUSANIAS mentions the very great scarcity of water both at Charadra and at Hyampolis. In the latter place there was only one spring, and at the former the people were obliged to fetch what they wanted from the Charadra, three stades off. The Panopeans likewise had no spring (x. 4. 1).

PAUSANIAS questions the fact of there ever having been a town of this name, and says that the people called by the name were the inhabitants of the banks of the Cephissus,—by far the most fertile land in all Phocis. He adds, that neither are there any ruins of Parapontamia, nor any tradition of its former site (x. 33. 7.). But the description of Herodotus does not seem to imply a town. Probably the invaders burnt all the hamlets.

This outrage was perhaps mainly owing to the hatred of the Thessalians, who remembered the defeat they had suffered in the neighbourhood (§ 27. above). But the temple may also have had some importance as a military position; for in the sacred war some fugitive Phocians took refuge in its ruins, and the Thebans burnt them, temple and all, which they would hardly have been obliged to do, had not the place proved a strong fortification. The emperor Hadrian built a smaller temple by the side of the old one. (PAUSANIAS, x. 35. 3.)

It is not easy to conceive that this statement is exactly a correct one. See note 69, above. The greater part of the army must have moved by the sea-road for the sake of supplies. Perhaps at the time Herodotus is now speaking of, we may conceive the front of the invading army extended along the line from Panopeus through Hyampolis to Opus. A portion of this,—that which Herodotus has been describing,—would have come into position at Panopeus by marching through Doris and Phocis. From this portion the expedition sent against Delphi would necessarily be detached. It seems possible that the real object of the expedition was rather to get the temple into the hands of the Thessalians than to destroy it. The Delphic oracle had, at any rate in later times, the reputation of not having been ill-affected towards the Persians. When Themistocles was desirous of making an offering at Delphi out of his share of the Persian spoils, the priestess desired him to take the offering out of the temple, saying:

\[μὴ μοι Περσῶς σκῆλοι περικαλλὰ κόσμων ἐγκαταβῇ οἶκον ἀπέστειλε τὰ χαρτα.\]

Two accounts were given of this; the one, that the deity, being aware that Themistocles would at a future time become a suppliant of the Persian king, wished to prevent him from committing the offence of making an offering from Persian spoils; the other, that, if those who made offerings from this source had, like Themistocles, asked the deity’s permission beforehand, every one would have been equally rejected. (PAUSANIAS, x. 14. 5.)
35 while a detachment proceeds against Delphi, Xerxes having heard much of the treasures there, especially of the offerings of Croesus.

36 The detachment is repulsed miraculously from the temple,

37 Aiolides. This (or Aiolides) is the reading of all the MSS, but it is certainly corrupt. Valknaer conjectures very ingeniously that the true word is AIAIΛΕΩΝ.

74 προκατήθεαι. The metaphor is taken from a sentinel on duty, who takes up his position in front of the post over which he is watching. In ix. 106 the full expression is used: 'ένων προκατήθεαι φρονήματα.

75 ή τό Καρύκιον ἄντρον. RAIKES describes the entrance of the Corycian cave as being very low and narrow, and opening out of a steep and bushy slope which is the northern boundary of a high table land, spreading out to a breadth of five or six miles. On getting in, the visitor finds himself at once in a large chamber 330 feet long by 200 wide, abounding in stalactites and stalagnites. A narrow, wet passage in a descending direction led out of this, but Raikes was deterred from going further by fear of the failure of his torch (ap. Walpole's Turkey, i. p. 313).
When the Thebans were hesitating whether or not to give battle to the Lacedaemonians at Leuctra, their courage was raised by intelligence brought them from Thebes, that the doors of all the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the sacred arms had disappeared from the Heraclaeum. (Xenophon, Hellenic. vi. 4. 7.) They drew the same inference from this fact that the Delphians did from the statement of Aceratus. Valcknaer takes some pains to argue against the notion of Aceratus's act being a wilful imposture, and considers him to have been under the influence of enthusiasm. In such matters it is impossible exactly to draw the line where fanaticism ends and imposture begins. Thirlwall has some admirable remarks on this particular transaction (History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 299).

77 Πρωτης. The MSS authorities do not enable one to decide between Πρωτης and this reading, which seems undoubtedly the correct one in i. 92. Gaisford prints Πρωτης in both passages.

78 ο. Several MSS have οδό." 79 εχοντα. This is the reading of all the MSS. Matthiae changes it into ἐνορ- τας, which certainly makes the construction smoother. But if the passage be corrupt, I should rather be inclined to correct it by reading μέξωνα instead of μέξωνα, above.
stones fallen from a summit of Par.

40

ο δὲ Ἐλλήνων ναυτικός στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιον, Ἀθη

ναλῶν δεθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατάσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶν δὲ ἔ

ίκα προσεδέθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναίοι,

ἐνα αὐτὸ παίδας τα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεκαγόωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς,

πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύωσαι τὸ ποιητέοι αὐτοὺς ἔσται. ἔπε γὰρ

tούτα κατέκουσι πρῆμιμα βουλήν ἔμελλον ποιήσειν, ἐὰς

ἐφευσμένοι γυνώς δοκεόντες γὰρ εὐρήσεων Πελοποννησίων

πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοωτῇ ἰσοκατημένους τῶν βάρσαρον, τῶν μὲν

ἐνοῦν ὦν δὲ ἐπιφανέντα τὸν Ἐσθόν αὐτῶς τεεχόντα, καὶ

τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένου περιείναι τε

καὶ ταῦτη ἔχοντα ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπέναιν ταῦτα πω

θανόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δὴ προσεδέθησαν σφενταῖν σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν

Σαλαμίνα. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα,

Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἔς τὴν ἐωτόν μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίστευσαν πάνω

ἐποίησαν, Ἀθηναλῶν τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς

οἰκεῖας ἑσταῖν ὧν ἐνεπιέτοι ἐς Τροίζενα ἀπόστειλαν, δὲ
"Ison ton Δηλόν τε Καλαφείδως τε νέμο
σαι,
Πιθαν' τ' ἡγήθην καὶ Ταναρον ἡμεῖς,
and the device of "Arion on his dolphin" was apparently a representation to the eye of the same kind of thing. (See note 55 on i. 24.) In the island Celaeres there was an Amphictyonic gathering of deputies from the seven cities, Hermione, Epidaurus, Αρκείνα, Athens, Prasias, Nauplia, and Minychian Orchomenus. Argos in after times stood in the place of Nauplia, and Leondeemon of Prasias. (Συναγ. viii. p. 204.)

οὗ της θεοῦ ἀπολογούμενης τῆς ἀκροτούλης. The prevailing feeling of antiquity was that the tutelary gods of a town must abandon it before it could be destroyed; and that if they did abandon it, its destruction would inevitably follow. Hence the prayer of the panic-stricken Chorus in Ἀειχύλος (Theb. 203):—

μήποτ' ἔλην κατ' αὐτόν λίτην θέων
δεί παράγωροι, μὴ δ' ἠφειομεί τὸν
ἀντιδρομομένην τόλμη καὶ στράτευμα
ἀντίμευχον πληρώθω.

So Ενεας (Ἀνειδ. ii. 351) announces the capture of Troy to his companions in the words—

"Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Di quibus imperium hoc steterat,"

a catastrophe which Εὐριπίδης makes the tutelary god Poseidon declare for himself:—

οὐδ' ἐὰν—νυκτέριον γὰρ Ἀργείας θεοῦ
"Ἡσα 'Ἄθρας ὦ, οἱ συνεξείλοις Φρύγας,
λέητο τὸ κλείον Ἰλιῶν βασιλὸς τ' ἐμοί.

(Tr. 23.)

A formula for evoking the gods of a hostile city was in use by the Romans in the earliest times, which Μακρόνιος has extracted from "the very ancient book" of one Furius. (Saturnalia, iii. 9.) In it the deities are promised that no less honours than they have been accustomed to shall be paid them if they will consent to migrate to Rome. (See also Verr. 2 x 2
"Επει' δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτέμισιον ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πυθανόμενοι οἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ναυτικοὶ στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἔγαρ Πάγωνα τὸν Τροίζηνον λαμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελεχθησάν τε δὲ πολλῷ πλεύσεις νέες ἢ ἔτι 'Ἀρτέμισιος ἐναμάχεων, καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλεύσων ναύαρχος μὲν εἰς ἄτιτυν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ 'Ἀρτέμισιος, Εὐρυβάδης ὁ Εὐφυκλείδεω, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιτής οὐ μένου τενέος γε τοῦ βασιλεύτων ἐὼν νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλεύστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωτάσας παρείσην τὸ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἑστρατεύοντο δὲ οἴδε ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου, Δακεδαμωνίων ἕκασθε νήσας παρεχόμενοι Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι το καὶ ἔπι 'Ἀρτέμισιος. Συμβολου δὲ πεντακεκάσθεν παρεχόμενο νήσας. Ἐπιδαυρίω δὲ δέκα. Τροίζηνοι δὲ πέντε 'Ερμονίεσ ὑπὲρ τῶν δώτοι πληρ 'Ερμονίνων, Ἁρμοκότων τε καὶ Μακεδονίων ἑθος, ἔπι 'Ερμονίω τε καὶ Πιδών καὶ τῆς Δρυσίδος ὅστατα ὅμοπλατεῖς. οἱ δὲ 'Ερμονίες εἰς Δρύσεις ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείων τε καὶ Μηλείων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δορίδος καλομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάσες. ὅστις μὲν τινὶ Πελοποννησίων ἑστρατεύοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἕξου ἠπείρου Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νήσας ἕγο δίκοιντα καὶ ἐκατόν."

Placcus, ap. Plin. N. H. xxvii. 2.) To capture a town without evoking the tutelary gods in due form was considered a horrible sacrilege, which brought a judgment on it; and consequently the real name both of Rome and of the tutelary deity was kept carefully concealed, lest an invader should take advantage of it. (Macrobius, l. c.)

67 ὅστατα ὅμοπλατεῖς. See note 64 on § 31, above.

68 οἱ δὲ 'Ερμονίες εἰς Δρύσεις ἐξαναστάτες. The ancient city of Hermione was situated on a promontory about seven stades long, and not more than three in its broadest part (Pausanias, ii. 34. 9); and the temples which Pausanias found there— all surrounded with cyclopean walls— were sacred to Demeter, Athena, Helios, and the Charites; all of them, therefore, as well as one of Poseidon lower down, belonging to a different religious system from that of the Heracleid Dorians. There was also a stadium, with the tradition that the sons of Tyndarus had run there. In the more modern town, besides other deities proper to a maritime population, there were temples of Apollo, one under the name of Pythæus. But the non-Dorian population obviously predominated; and the traditions of former hostilities doubtless kept up a hatred of race. Asine in Laconia, which is coupled with Hermione as Dryopian (below, § 73), was founded by refugees from the town of the same name in Argolis, which was utterly destroyed by the Argives in revenge for its inhabitants having joined the Lacedæmonians in laying waste their territory. (Pausanias, ii. 36. 4.) Aristotle made the eponymous founder Dryops an Arcadian (op. Strabo. viii. c. 6, p. 203), an origin which indicates a close ethnic affinity between the Argolic Dryopians and the primitive population of the Peloponnesian. See more in note 270 on vii. 90.

69 πρὸς πᾶντας τοὺς ἄλλους. Compare ii. 36: ἔργα λόγῳ μὲν παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσιν χάριν. iii. 94: φόρος ἄραγός πρὸς πᾶντας τοὺς ἄλλους.

70 ἕγο δίκοιντα καὶ ἐκατόν. Thucydides makes the Athenians boast to the Lacedæmonians of having furnished
"nearly two-thirds of the whole fleet of 400 galleys" which fought at Salamis (i. 74). Herodotus gives as the aggregate 378; so that the Athenian contingent in his view was something less than the half (below, § 48). The sum of the separate squadrons which he gives amounts to only 366; but this perhaps admits of an explanation. (See note 101, below.) Ctesias puts the Hellenic fleet at 700, but there must certainly be some error in this number (ap. Photium, p. 39).

μούνοι, "by themselves," i.e. independently of the Plataeans. It is a striking circumstance that the Athenians should have been able to bring so large a number of ships into action, if there be not a great exaggeration in the former statement (§ 18), that one-half their galleys were crippled in the last battle which took place at Artemision. Doubtless the Athenians bore the brunt of that engagement.

εἰς τὴν περαλὴν τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρας, "into the Boeotian territory on the opposite shore." One manuscript (V) has the reading περαλήν for περαλήν, an obvious corruption, although adopted by Valla's translation.

'Αθηναὶοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ... Κερκοπίδαι. Koen, in a letter to Valckenaer, argued that there was an extensive corruption in this passage, from the circumstance that Cercopes is placed by Apollodorus before Cramus (Biblioth. iii. 14. 1—5). Assuming that the pedigree, as given by the Alexandrine grammarian, must possess absolute authority, he proposes as a conjecture in the text: ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ... ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι κραναοὶ ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέως ἐπεκλήθησαν Κερκοπίδαι. Εκδεξαμένου δὲ ἔρεμοθεος τῆν ἀρχήν, 'Αθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν 'Ιωνος δὲ τοῦ Ἰοῦντος στρατάρχεως γενομένου 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐκλήθησαν ἅπαν τοῦτον Ἰωνές. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τούτῳ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο τὸ καὶ ἔπε 'Αρτεμισίων ' Ἀμπρακτῶτα ἐπὶ ἕπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβαθήσαν Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς ἔθνος ἔοντες οὖντω Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

"Εὔνοοι ἔοντες οὖν Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. This refers both to the Ambriaciots and the Leucadians. Ambracia is said to have been founded by Tolagus, a son of Cypselus, and consequently brother of the celebrated Periander. (Strabo, vii. 7, p. 120.) See note 264 on v. 92. Thucydides calls Leucadia a Corinthian colony (i. 30); and its foundation probably belongs to the time of the Cypselid dynasty, which appears to have had influence over the whole west of European Hellas as far as Corcyra. (See above, iii. 52.) It is observable that Herodotus does not speak of Leucadia as an island, although it was at one time made so by
digging through the ishmus, and is so at the present day. In the time of Strabo a bridge connected it with the mainland (x. c. 2, p. 332).

"τριμμοκτων. Larcher proposes to read διο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα, in order to make the numbers square with the total of Herodotus. Pausanias states that the Æginetans furnished the largest contingent next to the Athenians (ii. 29. 5). As the Corinthians contributed forty, the Æginetans must (Larcher thinks) have furnished some number greater than this. But Pausanias perhaps followed some other authority in the number he gives; and the total may be otherwise accounted for. See note 101 on § 48, below.

"την ἔωταν ἐφιλακσσον. The island Ægina was well protected against an enemy by the submarine rocks and shoals which surrounded it; and of all the Hellenic islands was the most difficult to make. (Pausanias, ii. 29. 6.) Hence only a small number of vessels was required to defend it, and this appears not improbable to have been twelve on the present occasion.

"παρείχοντο τέσσερα. Plutarch (de Malign. Herod. § 30) read τρεῖς in the MS he used. Hellenicus, he says, had related that the Nahians voluntarily sent six to the aid of the Hellenic confederates.

"Δημοκρίτου. According to an epi-
gram of Simonides (ap. Plutarch, de Malign. Herod. § 30), this individual highly distinguished himself in the action:

Δημάκριτος τρίτος ἦρε μάχη, οὗτος Σαλαμίνα.

"Ελληνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει,

πέντε δὲ νῆς ἔλευς βῆσαν, ἐκ τὴν β' ἄλοχον

κρύον 

ρούσατο βαρβαρικῶν Δορῆς ἀλεξάκωι-

κην."

"Κώθου. See note 270 on vii. 90.
U R A N I A. VIII. 46—48.

νηλ μεν, της ἤρχε ἀνήρ τρίς πυθιονίκης, Φάυλλος. Κροτωνίηται δὲ γένος εἰσί 'Αχαιοι 148. Οἱ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρεις παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιος δὲ, καὶ Σίφνιοι, καὶ Σερῆφοι, πεντηκοντάρων. Μῆλιος μὲν, γένος ἑστηκε ἀπὸ Δακαιάμωνος, δύο παρεῖχοντο Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερῆφοι, Ἰωνεῖς ἑστηκε ἀπ' 'Αθηναίων, μιᾶν ἕκατεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγενότο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεών, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντάρων, τρικόσιαί καὶ ἐβδομάκουτα καὶ ὄκτω 149.

148 Κροτωνίηται δὲ γένος εἰσί 'Αχαιοι. This notice is rather remarkable, although it is confirmed by ZENOBIVUS (Proserp. Centur. iii. 42), who calls Myceles, the founder, a Rhypane. But on the other hand a coin of Crotona gives Hercules as the oieotης; and Ovid not only makes Myceles set out on the expedition at the risk of his life under the special direction of Hercules, but calls him the son of Alemon of Argolis. (Metamor. v. 19.) Perhaps these discordant accounts may be reconciled by supposing the colony (which Dionysius places in the second year of the seventeenth Olympiad) to be somehow of the nature of that under Phalan tus to Tarentum, i.e. to consist, as far as its chiefs were concerned, of the issue of a marriage of disarangement between the Heraclid invaders of Argolis and the Achaean population they found there, the great bulk being pure Achaeans. The remaining members of the family of Ale mon (the wanderer) may very probably have formed part of the exiles from Peloponnesus who found refuge in the twelve towns of Achaea, and thus the gens may in after times have existed among the Rhynes. At Sybaris the population was partly Achaean and partly Trojan, and the city was founded only ten years before Crotona. The two neighbours appear to have lived amicably with one another until shortly before the total destruction of Sybaris related above (v. 44). The war which then broke out, was, according to Aristotile (see note 108 on v. 44), connected with the expulsion of the non-Achaean by the Achaean part of the population. The presumption therefore would be that, contrariwise, in the hostile Crotona the Heraclian element prevailed over the Achaeans. And this is confirmed by the coins, which in the case of Crotona have the infant Hercules, Here, and the laurel-crowned Apollo, while those of Sybaris bear the head of an ox, or the horned human head. (Hoffmann, Griech.-
enland, pp. 1938—41.) If this supposition be true, the war will have been exactly of the kind to attract the Lacedemonian Dorians. (See note 107 on v. 44.) It will have been a war of races, whose mutual antipathy finally burst forth in Sybaris by the expulsion of the Doric Trozenians, and the march of the Achaean population en masse upon Crotona, after massacring thirty Crotolian commissioners and casting their bodies to the dogs (Phyllarchus, fr. 45, ed. Didot.), a ferocity paralleled by the conduct of Cleomenes at Argos (vi. 79). Under such circumstances of mutual exasperation, it was not unnatural that Sybaris should be by the victorious Crotolians so entirely destroyed as to leave its very site obscure. It seems not impossible that Phylilus, the commander of the solitary galley which fought at Salamis, was himself descended from the Achaean portion of the original settlers of Crotona, and was as much disgusted with the predominance of the Dorian interest there, as the Spartan Dorians had been with the triumph of the Achaean party at Lacedemon. In this case, the statement that the Crotolians are Achaeans may be a generalization from the crew of his ship and himself. Paeanias speaks of Phylilus in terms which might induce one to believe he was actually living away from his own city: ἐναμάοντας καὶ ἐνασία τοῦ Μήθου, καὶ τὸ παρακεκαταμένος ὁλείνα, καὶ Κροτωνιάτων ὑπὲρ ἑξῆμον τῆς Ἑλλαδος ἐνβιβάσασα (v. 9. 9). If the crew were exiles of the Achaean party, the whole matter is explained.

149 τρικόσια καὶ ἐβδομάκουτα καὶ ὄκτω. The manuscripts S and V and Valla's version have the number 358, but neither sum agrees with the aggregate of the several contingents, which amounts to 366 triremes and 6 penteconters. The number 378, however, can hardly be a corruption; for another reference is made to it below (§ 82). Larcher considers

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49 A council of war is held, and it is proposed to give the enemy's fleet at the isthmus.

50 News comes that the whole of Attica is being wasted by the enemy.

51 They enter Attica in the archonship of Callicrates, just four months after commencing the

that the error is in the numbers assigned to the Aeginetans (§ 46), which he would make 42 instead of 30, as PAUSANIAS (ii. 29. 5) asserts the Aeginetan contingent to have been the most numerous next to the Athenian. I should rather consider that the balance of twelve is made up of those vessels with which the Aeginetans are said to have guarded their own island, and which may have been regarded as a detachment from the allied fleet.

102 ἐν πτεράδος. The majority of the MSS have εἰ πτεράδοι, but S and V support the reading in the text. Either with the subjunctive has a very different sense from that which is required here. See note 170 on i. 53, and note 161, a, on ii. 52.

103 ἔξοικοται. A similar use of the word is found below (§ 76): αἰθαίτη μάλεκα ἐξοικομένων τῶν τε ἄνδρων καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν.

104 ἑλήλυθε. This is the reading of all the MSS, but the conjecture of Matthiae (ἐνέλυθε), or of Bekker (ἐλήλυθε), seems necessary.

105 Θέσιας. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford follows the majority of MSS, which have Θέσιας. For τοὺς διατρίπτοντας . . . εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. The actual time occupied by the transit of the Hellespont was seven days and seven nights (vii. 56). This passage therefore must not be construed too strictly. The month perhaps included the whole time from the arrival of the vanguard on the shore of the straits to the commencement of the march into Hellas after the review at Doriscus (vii. 59). It was not till then that the whole force of the army appears to have been ascertained, and the line of march assigned to each division. (See vii. 60, ad fin.)
52 The garrison baffle them, but at last are surprised by escalade in a part of the rock which was thought inaccessible, 

53 but at last are surprised by escalade in a part of the rock which was thought inaccessible, 

All the other MSS however have the form Αγλάφων, and so has Pausanias where he speaks of the legend of the nymph in question (i. 18. 2). Leake says that about seventy yards to the eastward of the cave of Pan (see note 241 on vi. 105) there is, in the midst of the Long Rocks and at the base of a precipice, a remarkable cavern. (Athens and the Demi of Attica, i. p. 266.) This it he supposes to be the site mentioned in the text. Pausanias, however, represents the τέμενος of Aglauros as above the Anaeum, or temple of the Dioscuri, and says that it was there the Persians scaled the acropolis (i. c.).
plundered and burnt.

54 Xerxes, on the next day, orders the exiles to offer the proper sacrifices to the local deities, and they discover the sacred olive to have made a new shoot of a cubit long.

55 ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας ταύταις δὲ ἀναλάβοντες, τοὺς ἴκητας ἐφόνευον ἔπει δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστροφον 110, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες, ἐνέπτρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρότολον 111.

Σχοῦν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς Αἴρησις, ἀπετέμησε ἐς Σωσά ἁγγελον ἵππεα Ἀρταβάρνη ἁγγελέων τὴν παρεοιάζαν σφί εὐπρῆσις. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψεως τοῦ κήρυκος δεύτερη ἕμερῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐσωτερικὸ ν ἐπομενον, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τοῦ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ 112 ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρότολον εἰτε δὴ ὅπως τωδ' ἵδιον ἐνυπνίον ἐντέλετο ταῦτα, εἶτε καὶ ἐνθύμον ὦν ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντα 113 τὸ ἱρόν ὦν δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐνυπνία. Τοῦ δὲ εὐεικέν τούτων ἐπεμυθηθὲν, φράσω· ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρότολος ταύτης Ἑρέχθεος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λεγομένου εἶναι τόπος 114, ἐν τῷ ἱλαίν τε καὶ θάλασσα ἑνιαὶ τὸ λόγον παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔρισαντας τερά τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέοις ταύτην ὅτι τὴν ἱλαίν άμα τὸ ἄλλο ἵρον κατέλαβε ἐμπρήσωντι ἢπο τῶν βαρβάρων δευτέρη δὲ ἠμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως. Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ἢπο βασιλέως κελεύομενοι ὡς ἀνέθησαν ὦ τὸ ἱρόν, ὄροι βλαστῶν ἕκκ τοῦ στελέχους 115 ὅσον τε πηχυναῖοι ἀναδεδραμμένοι. οὕτω μὲν τῶν ταύτα ἔφρασαν.

110 οὕτω δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστροφον. The same expression is used in ix. 76, below: ὥστε τούτο Ἑλλάδος ἐκ Πλαταίας κατέστροφον αἱ Φιλοβραδίου. 111 ἐνέπτρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρότολον. Cicero (de Legg. ii. 10) says that the Magi induced Xerxes to burn the temple of Greece on the ground that it was a wickedness to pretend to inclose deities within walls, the whole world being their proper habitation. In another passage (De Repub. iii. 9) he applies this particularly to the case of Athens. But although Cambyses might have acted on an iconoclastic feeling,—and probably did so in Egypt,—yet it seems unquestionable that a great deal of toleration for temple-worship, and perhaps for foreign religions, had grown up in the Medo-Persian court by this time. See the note 321 on vii. 114, and the Excursus on vii. 74, p. 405. Mardonius too consulted the oracle of the Isernian Apollo, the Apollo Peius, the Apollo at Abydus, and also the shrines of Amphiaras and Trophonius (viii. 134).

112 τρόπῳ τοῦ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρά. See note 138 on ii. 49, and note 86 on § 41, above.

113 ἐμπρήσαντα. This is the reading of P. K. F. 5. Gaisford, with the rest of the MSS., reads ἐμπρήσαντα. Either is legitimate, but it is more likely that the symmetrical construction should have been introduced by a transcriber than the converse.

114 τόπος. This is the old Erechtheum. See note 308 on v. 77. The ἔδαφος is a mineral spring of salt-water within the sacred precinct, which the tradition attributed to a blow of the Trident of the Attilian Poseidon, Erechthes. (Pausanias, 1. 27. 6. Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.)

115 βλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχους. The sacred olive's character of indestructibility is probably what is alluded to in the verse of Sophocles (Ed. Col. 688, seqq.)—

ζὸδε ὁ ἱλάτων αὐτοῦ ἔθνους ἔθνους φθίνουσα δαίμον,

بطلο τρόπῳ τοῦ νεκρώσει θάνατος.
On the news of the fall of Athens, a panic seizes the fleet of the allies.

Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, represents to Themistocles the ruin that would follow their retreat from Salamis.

and Themistocles induces Euribidas to call a fresh council of war.

He is insulted by Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, and makes a witty reply.

On the same day (i. 97. 2).

Of this Mnesiphilus, see Plutarch, quoted in note 99 on i. 30.

'Adimantus. Plutarch in one passage (Themist. § 11) attributes this rebuke to Euribidas; but in another (Apophthegmata, p. 185) puts it into the mouth of Adimantus. See note 494 on ii. 160.
60 His speech to the coun-
cil.

στεφανεύονταί." Τότε μὲν ἦπειος πρὸς τὸν Κορίθθων ἀμείβομεν· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἕλληνα ἐλεγε ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκετὶ οὐδὲν τῶν πρό-
tερον λεγόντων, ὡς ἔπειτα ἀπαρχοῦ ἀπὸ ταλαμάνος, διαδρή-
σονται: παρέοντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμοι
οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὃ δὲ ἄλλον λόγον ἔχετο, λέγων τάδε: "ἐν
σοι νῦν ἔστι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη ναυμαχήν αὐτοῦ
μένων ποιέσθαι, μὴδὲ, πειθόμενοι τούτων τοὺς λέγουσι, ἀνα-
ζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νῆσας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκού-
σας· πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπτυμανίως
ναυμαχίσεις, ἐσὶ δὴ κιστά ἢμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νῆας ἢχουσι βαρυ-
τέρας· καὶ ἀρείῳν ἐλάσσονας τούτοι δὲ, ἀπὸλεῖς Σαλαμίνα τε
καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγινα, ἥπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχέσωμεν ἀμα
γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔκειται καὶ τὸ πεῖδρο στρατιώ· καὶ οὕτω
σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάση
τῇ Ἑλλάδε· ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγώ λόγῳ ποιήσῃ, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῦς
χρηστὰ εὑρήσεις πρῶτα μὲν, ἐν στενοὶ συμβάλλοντες νησί
ἀλγήσῃ πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκίστα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ
πολλὰν κρατήσομεν τὸ γὰρ ἐν στενοὶ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων
ἐστὶ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτὸς δὲ, Σαλαμῖς περι-
γινεται, ἐς τὴν ἢμῖν ὑπέκλειται τέκνα τα καὶ γηναίκες. καὶ μὴ
καὶ τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστὶ τα και περιέμεθα μάλιστα· ὅμως
αὐτὸ τε μένων, προναυμαχήσεις Πελοπόννησον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ
Ἰσθμῷ οὔδε σφέας, ἐπερ εὐ φρονείς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπό-
νησον. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγώ ἐπίκυο γένηται, καὶ ἰκνήσωμεν τῇν
νησι, οὕτε ἢμὶς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέστονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὕτε

118 οὐδὲ· ἀναζεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
tὰς νῆσας. This expression is not a very
easy one to explain; but perhaps the
metaphor is taken from the unharneing of
horses, and thereupon removing them
from the car in which they had stood
ready for use. In ix. 41, ἀναζεύξης
tὸν στρατὸν is "to move the army out of
its position in the field;" and in ix. 58,
ἀναζεύξῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον, "to break
up the encampment." Here, therefore,
we should perhaps translate: "and not
break up and move the ships to the isth-
mus." We very much suspect that for the word
ἐγώ οἴκησι we should read ἐγώ οἴκησι, but
Gaisford gives no variation of the MSS.
119 ἢμας ἢχουσι βαρυτέρας. It is not
Λήξεις τῆς 'Αττικῆς, ἀπασθεὶ τε οὐδενί κόσμῳ, Μεγάλουσι τε κερδανέομεν περιευθεῖ, καὶ Διόγει, καὶ Σαλαμίνι, εὖ τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγῳ ἔστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατοπτρεθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν των βουλευμένων αὐθρώποιος ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθελεί γίνεσθαι μὴ ὁ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευμένως, οὐκ ἐθελεί οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπητὰς γράμμας 120. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλίους, αὐτὸς ὁ Κορίθιος 'Αδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, συνὰς τε κελεύων τῷ μῆ ἐστὶ πατρὶ καὶ Εὐρυμάδηα οὐκ ἐφώ ἐπισημίζειν ἀπόλι 121 ἀνδρὶ πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον, οὕτω ἐκέλευε γράμμας συμβάλλεσθαι ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἥλακεναν τε καὶ κατεχόντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τὸν δὲ τὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς κείνων τε καὶ τοὺς Κορίθιος πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε ἑωντούσι τε ἐδῆλον λόγω ὡς εἶν καὶ τόλμω καὶ γῆ μέζων ἦπερ κεῖνοι, ἔστι τι δινόκοιται νῆς 122 σφι ἐς το πεπληρωκεῖν ἀσβαμοῦ τὸ Ἐλλήνων αὐτοῦ ἐπίνωτας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα, τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξα τε Εὐρυμάδηα λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα 123. "σι εἰ μενεύσι αὐτοῦ, καὶ μένων ἔσταν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς—εἰ δὲ μη, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἐλλάδα—τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέροντος αἱ νῆς. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πέπεθεν εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκεῖς, κομμεύμεθα ἐς Σιήνιν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίη, ἦπερ ἡμετέρη τῇ ἔστι εκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι 124, καὶ τὰ λόγα λέγει ὑπὶ ἡμέων

120 μὴ δὲ οἰκότα . . . πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπητὰς γράμμας, "where one forms irrational plans, neither is the deity wont to second the judgment of man."
121 ἀνδρὶ. This uncommon form of the dative implies a genitive ἀνδρός. See a parallel case in ἄχρι (i. 41). The words ἐπισημίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ, mean "to put a question to the vote on the motion of a man who had no country." The phrase ἀνδρὶ ἀνδρὶ is no doubt the very one used by Adimantus, at which Themistocles was so stung.
122 δηλάσαι νῆς. See note 2 on § 1, above.
123 λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπιστραμμένα. "saying in terms more direct to the point." Compare ἑρετο ἐπιστραμμένος (i. 30). The idea suggested in both cases is that of a person who, from strong feeling, turns sharp upon another with whom he is conversing. See the way in which this notion is brought out by the various uses of the word ἐπιστραμμένος quoted in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon.
124 ἦπερ ἡμετέρη τῇ ἔστι εκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι. Strabo says that one account of Siris in Italy made it a colony from Troy, in proof of which assertion there was exhibited a wooden image of Athene, said to have been brought from thence. The eyes of the figure were closed; and the legend related that this took place on the occasion of certain fugitives being violently dragged from sanctuary by the Ionians, who were engaged in taking the town. Strabo remarks upon the audacious falsehood of such a story, especially as there were several other Palladías,—each with equal pretensions to being the genuine Trojan image,—at Rome, Lavinium, and Luceria (vi. c. 1, p. 20). Compare the story of the parallel portent (v. 86, above). But another version (which probably is the one Themistocles had in his mind) made the fugitives whose sanctuary was violated Ionians, and the aggressors emigrants from Troy in conjunction with Crotonians. The Ionians had settled there before the Trojan war. This
HEBRODUTUS

350

63
Eurybiades is convinced.

64
An earthquake is felt at daybreak, and the allies invoke the Aeacidae for aid.

65
An anecdote of a portent near Eleusis observed by Diceus, an Athenian refugee in the Persian army, in company of Demaratus the Spartan king.

Is the account given by the Scholiast on Lycorephon, to explain the words of the poet:

τὴν ἃ οὐκ ἐνδιδαχθομεν τὴν ἰδίαν διάκρισιν δέ τοι θυμάται Λαοφόν κάρην, Ἀλεξίας, ἔδυσαν ἐν ποιμέν τοῦ προδρόμου Ποδίδος ἀκτικότας. γλῶσσα δ' ἀγαλμα τοῖς αναμακρίνοις μενεῖ.

συνηχθη, Ἀφαίων τοις ἰδιώσεις θάνατον λέγεται, φάνον τῇ ἁμώλαιν ἀγαθῶλαιν λείψατο.—(τν. 984—990.)

It will be observed, that the winking image is the point on which the diverse traditions hang. See note 420 on ii. 141.

128 Αιαντα τε καὶ Τελαμων. S has Αιαντα τοῦ Τελαμωνοῦ.

124 ἔτι δ' Ἀιαντα καὶ τοῦ Άλλου Αλαξίδας. See note 201 on τν. 79.

127 πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

128 τῶν μυστικῶν ἱερείων. The sacred hymn which was sung on the occasion of this kaim of Dionysus to Eleusis began with the word "Iakhe," the name under which Dionysus was invoked on the occasion. It is introduced by Aristophanes in the Frogs.

ΧΟΡ. "Iakhe," ὡς "Iakhe," ὡς "Iakhe.

ΧΑΝΘ. τοῦτον ἄντ' ἤκειτο, ὡς ἄλλον τις μεμυθηθης ἀσταθῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ, οὗ τοις προθεσμοῖς εὐφορίας κρίνει. *

ἡδονή γὰρ τὴν ἱερολογίαν ἄνευ Αἰγάφας.———(315, μεσ.)

Hence the hymn itself came to be termed Ἰακχις, and the chanting ἤτοι ἱακχις. Compare notes 206, 207 on ii. 79. For the nature of the kaim see note 73 on i. 21.
κατεσχόμενοι τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλευθῶν τῶν Δημάρχων, εἶρεσθαλ τε αὐτὸν ὃ το λόγον ἔστη τῇ βασιλείᾳ στρατηγῷ τάδε γὰρ ἀρίθμηλα, ἑρήμου ἑταίρης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείων τὸ φθεγμὸν ἀπὸ Ἑλευθῶν ἦν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήνη ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνοῦσι αὐτῷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῇ στρατηγῷ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐστιν· ὧν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ὕπαρ τριτιαί τὰς ἐν Σαλαμίν, τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν κινδυνεύσει βασιλείᾳ ἀποβαλέεις τὴν δὲ ὀρθὴν ταύτην ἀναγινόμενον Ἀθηναίοις ἀνα πάντα ἔστε τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κοῦρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ θεοῦ λόγον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων μνεῖται καὶ τὴν φωνήν, τῆς ἀκούσεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρθῇ ἰαχώξοναί πρὸς ταύτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρχων τοῖς, σύνα τε, καὶ μεθείλῃ σὲ ἀλλὸν τὸν λόγον τούτως ἐξής· ἢ γὰρ τοὺς ἐς βασιλεά ἀνενεχθῆ τὰ ἐπεά ταύτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ σε ὅστε ἐγὼ δινήσωμαι ῥύσασθαι σοῦ ἂλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἰς ἀλλʼ ἢς θουχος περὶ δὲ στρατηγῷ τῆς δείκουτε. τοῖς μὲν δὲ ταύτα παρανεώρει ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινοτροποῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενόσαθαι νήφος, καὶ μεταρρυθμεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἐλλήνων όσω δὲ αὐτῶς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἡράκλεως ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταύτα μὲν Θεοκύδεως ἔλεγε, Δημαρχίτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπότομοι. 123

Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἡράκλεως ναυτικῶν στρατὸν ταχθεῖτε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ 66

Τροχίζων, θεσάμενοι τὸ τρόμα τὸ Δακωνίκου, διέσχατε ἐς τὴν Ἰονιανὸν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ δῆς Ἐυρίποι, καὶ ἐν θέρρῳ τρισὶ θέρρῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. 124 ὡς μὲν ἐμὸν δοκείην, ὡς ἐλάσσονες ἐνεργεῖς ἁρυμὸν ἐσέβαλον 125 ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖος,

123 καταπότομοι. This is noticed by Eustathius (ad Iliad. ix. 582) as a pecu-
lar use of the word by Herodotus, equiva-
lent to μάρτυρας προφέρων. Apparently the original use of the phrase is in ap-
lication to an oath, where the person swear-
ing took hold of some sacred symbol in
order to authenticate the truth of his state-
ment. See note 167 on vi. 63.

124 ὡς κρίσης τρισὶ θέρρῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. Leake considers this expres-
sion to indicate that the whole fleet of the Persians arrived at Phalerum. The
harbour, however, could not have held them; besides which, the mishap at
Sepias would be a warning to the com-
manders not to push forward their ships
in such masses, as to prevent the possi-
bility of their finding the means of beach-
ing them if necessary. The force is rather
to be conceived as moving along the coast
in strong detachments, each capable of
overcoming any opposition likely to be
made to it. See below, note 154 on § 76,
and the Excursus. Nevertheless, the ex-
pression σάριν ὁστῆν (§ 67) is favourable
to Leake's opinion, so far as Herodotus's
view of the matter is concerned.

125 ὡς ἐλάσσονες ἐνεργεῖς ἁρυμὸν ἐσέβαλον. It is impossible to conceive this
from viewing the field of Thermopylae.

The forces of Xerxes probably not diminished by his previous losses.

67 Xerxes calls a council of war at Phalerum as to the expediency of fighting a pitched battle by sea.

'Επει δὲν ἀπίκατο ἢ τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὖν, πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ, ἑκακοδέχοντο τὸν πόλεμον κη ἀποθῆσεται) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκατο ἢ τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ρέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νῆς, ἐθάλων σφι συμμελέει τε καὶ πυθέσαι τῶν ἐπιπλωόντων τὰς γρώμας. ἐπεί δὲ ἀπίκομεν προίκετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐνεέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξιαρχοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νῆν, καὶ Ὕμνο ός σφι βασιλεῖς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδέωκες πρώτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος Βασιλεύς.

opinion at all near the truth, unless enormous exaggeration is to be presumed in the accounts of the engagements off Artemisium. Xerxes, since his arrival at Sestias, had lost 200 gallies, which had been despatched round Euboea (§ 7), 30 more captured in the first engagement off Artemisium (§ 11), "the Cilician squadron," whatever its strength, in the second engagement (§ 14, where see note 32), and a much larger number than the Greeks in the third (§ 16), where the destruction was so great that half the Athenian squadron was crippled (§ 18). The contingents from the Cyclades which subsequently joined cannot possibly have made up more than a very small fraction of this sum. While Naxos was in the height of its power, and all these islands dependent on it, a hundred gallies were considered sufficient to reduce it (v. 31). At this time Naxos had been ruined (vi. 98), and the contingent it was able to supply was only four ships (§ 46, supra), which deserted to the side of the allies. Of the rest, Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos could not among them must a single trireme, and Cythnos only one. Moreover, it is doubtful whether these islanders are not included in the original roll of the fleet. See note 277 on vii. 95.

131 τῶν πᾶντα τολῶν. Not "the five cities," but "the five states." They were the islands Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Cythnos, and Seriphos (§ 46, above).

132 ἀπίκατο ἢ τὰς Ἀθήνας. Athens must here be taken to include its ports, Phalerum being the point where the Persian navy, or at least its commanders, assembled. This was at the time the only harbour which Athens used; and it is nearer to the city than any other.

134 πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος Βασιλεύς. The Sidonian chief (Tetramnestus) is named first in order of all the subordinate naval commanders in the list (vii. 98), and the Tyrian (Mapen) second. It is somewhat strange that Mardonius should here be represented as the organ of communication between the king and these chiefs, as there were four admirals, princes of the blood royal, who commanded the fleet. That he should be employed probably indicates the much greater confidence placed in his strategic talents than in those of any other,—he being perhaps regarded as the commander-in-chief of both services. See note 260 on vii. 82, above.
μετά δὲ ὁ Τύρωσις ἐπὶ δὲ, ἄλλον ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπέκεις Κοῦντο, πέμψας Ἐξέρχησα Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα, ἀποπειράμενος ἐκάστον, εἰ ναυμαχήν ποιεύτω δὲ περικάκιον εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδηροῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶν γυνώματος ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχήν ποιεύσασι, Ἀρτεμισία δὲ τάδε ἐφ᾽, "ἐπείν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγώ τάδε λέγω ὡς κακῶτερη γενομένη ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῆς τοῦ Εὐθείας, ὡς ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξάμενη, δέσποτα, τίνες ἐνοῦσαν γυνώμενον τεῖν ἔστιν ἀποδεικνυόντες, τὰ τυχανόν φρονεόντα ἄριστα ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτὴς τὰ σάς. καὶ τῶν τάδε λέγων φείδεο τῶν νησιῶν, μηδὲ ναυμαχίαν ποιεῖσθι οἱ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖς τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσουσοι τοιαῦτα εἰσὶν καθάσσαν, δοὺς ἀνδρεῖς γυναικέων. τί δὲ πάντως δεῖ τοι ναυμαχήσεις ἁγιατινών; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τῶν περὶ ἐνεκα ὑμῆς ἀρκετᾶς στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλῃ Ἐλλάδᾳ; ἐμποδῶν δὲ τοι ἰσαται οὐδεὶς ὁ δὲ εἶναι ἀντιστόχως, ἀπῆλθαν οὖν ὡς κείνους ἐπρεπεῖ. τί δὲ ἐγὼ δοκεῶ ἀποβηθήσεται τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω ἐγὼ μὴν μὴ ἐπειρήθης ναυμαχήν ποιεύσομαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς νήσους αὐτοῦ ἔχεις πρὸς τῆς μέσως, ἡ καὶ προβαινεῖς ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνίδῳ, εἰς τοῦ δεῖστα, χωρῆσαι τὰ νοέμα σηλυθρᾶς οὐ γὰρ οἶοι τοῖς πολλάχιοι κρόνοι ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀντιχεῖσι οἳ "Ελληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδάζοις κατὰ τὸν δὲ ἐκαστοί φεύγονται οὗτο γὰρ οὕτω πάρα σφίξει ἐν τῇ βιωτῇ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθανόμαι, οὗτο αὐτοῦ ῥητορικον, ἂν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἐλαίνης τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν, ἀτρεμείῳ τοῦ ἐκείνῃν αὐτῶν ἱκετεύς 114 ὡς σφίξει σφιγγῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχείων. ἢν δὲ αὐτήκα ἐπειράθης ναυμαχῆσας, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ κατικός στρατός κακοθεῖς τῶν πεζῶν προσδηλήσῃς. πρὸς δὲ, ὁ βασιλεία, καὶ τὸν ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῖς, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν χρηστοῦσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν κακόλοιφοι κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς χρηστοῖς οὖ δὲ ἐντὸ ἐντὸς ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακῶν δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἰσί, ἐντες Ἀγάπτουίοι τε καὶ

113 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι. Gaisford, on the authority of B and V only, reads of μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι. 114 τίνα δὲ οὕσων γράφων, "this my real opinion." 115 ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.
The fleet moves up from Phalerum to Salamis, and arrives shortly before night-fall.

The same evening the army gets into motion.

PERSIANS TO THE WESTWARD WAS THE INROAD OF MARDONIUS'S CAVALRY INTO THE MEGARID. AT THE SAME TIME, A COMPARISON OF OTHER PASSAGES MAKES IT PRETTY CERTAIN THAT HERODOTUS UNDERSTOOD THE MOVEMENTS OF THE INVASING FLEET NEARLY AS LEAKE DOES. SEE EXERCUSUS ON § 76, BELOW.

A PARAPHRASES DIATACHÈTES, "THEY TOOK UP THEIR POSITION AFTER THE DISPOSITION WHICH HAD BEEN MADE." DIOFRITON IS TO ASSIGN THE SEVERAL QUARTERS OF THE VARIOUS PORTIONS OF A FORCE, ΠΑΡΑΧΡΙΣΘΕΙΝΩ, TO GO THROUGH THE EVOLUTIONS REQUISITE FOR CARRYING OUT THE SCHEME.
tάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεωνίδεα ἐν θερμοπύλῃ τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες εἰκὸς τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ξύντο καὶ σφί ἑπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεώμπροτος οὗ Ἀμαζονίδεω, Δεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφέως 143. ήσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συνήσθησαν τῇ Στρυμνίδᾳ ὠδῇ 144, μετὰ τούτο, ὡς σφί ἑδοξε βουλευομένους, οἰκοδόμενοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἄτε δὲ ἔσωσεν μυριάδεως πολλῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρός ἐργαζόμενον, ἢντο 145 τὸ ἔργον καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλάνθοι, καὶ κέλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρες ἐσεφορέωτο καὶ ἐλίνων οὐδένα χρόνον ὦ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὕτω νυκτὸς οὕτε ἡμέρης. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεῖ, οἷς ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων Δακεδαμινίοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες, καὶ Ἡλεῖοι, καὶ Καρπενθείοι, καὶ Σικυόνιοι, καὶ Ἑπιδαύροι, καὶ Φλώσιοι, καὶ Τροίχηνοι, καὶ Ἐρμονέεις. οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες 146 καὶ ἔσωσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος κινδυνούσης τοιαί δὲ ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐμεῖς οὕδεν. ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρφεια παροικώκεε ἤση. οἰκεῖα δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐθνεὶ ἐπτά· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο, αὐτάρχθενα ἐστίνα, κατὰ χώραν ἲρυτυς ἡνὺν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι 147 οἰκεῖαν, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι. ἐν δὲ ἐθνοῖς, τὸ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοπόννησου οὐκ ἐξεχόρησεν, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐσωτήροις οἰκεῖα δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπά ἐθνεὶ τῶν ἐπτά [τέσσερα] ἐπτήλυδα ἐστὶν. Δωριεῖς τε, καὶ Διττολοί, καὶ Δυστῆς, καὶ Δήμιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλὰς τε καὶ δόκιμου πόλεις, Διττολῶν δὲ Ἡλίς μοῦνη 148. Δυστῆς δὲ, Ἐρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς

143 Δεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφέως. Some accounts made him a twin brother (v. 41).  
144 συνήσθησαν την Στρυμνίδη σν. The road destroyed by the allied force was a narrow corridor artificially formed in the perpendicular rocks which run along the Barentic gulf. The ordinary road from Athens into the peninsula ran over the Geranean mountain and through a narrow gorge, which, according to Colonel Squire, offers a most formidable position for defence. The lines, however, appear to have been drawn from Lechaeum to Cenohrise, further than the south-west part of the isthmus, with a view of preventing a debarkation in the rear of the defending force. Had they been carried across the narrowest part, the whole harbour of Cenohrise would have been at the command of the invaders (op. Waiolofe's Turkey, i. pp. 343-5).  
145 ήσαν. This is Gaisford's reading, backed by a single manuscript (P). The majority have ἢντο, and one (F) ἢντο. For the sense of ἢντο, see note 86 on vii. 20.  
146 βοηθήσαντες. This is the reading of all the MSS, although only four lines above some have βοηθήσασθε, which Gaisford adopts. See note 4 on § 1, above.  
147 νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι. This is the reading of all the MSS; but Valcknaer’s conjecture, νῦν τὴν καὶ τὸ πάλαι, seems to me to be the true reading.  
148 Διττολῶν δὲ Ἡλίς μοῦνη. This expression raises a doubt as to whether the section is not a latter addition. Strabo expressly states that Elis (the city) did not exist at the time of the
The Peloponnesian commanders in the allied fleet at Salamis disapproved of Eurybiades remaining at Salamis.

Themistocles upon this devises a stratagem to keep them there.

Persian war, but that it was a later combination of several hamlets, of the same kind as the five which by their union made up Mantinea, the nine which made up Tegea, the nine which made up Hermione, the seven which made up Patrae, the seven or eight which made up Aegium, and the eight which made up Dyne (viii. c. 3 p. 143). Larcher proposes to read Alabatn instead of Alabatwn. In vi. 127 the MSS vary between Alabatwn and Alabatw. It is observable that here, as in many other cases of cognate races, one tradition brought Albatans from Calydon to found Ellis, while another derived Albatn, the eponymous ancestor of the Albatans, from Ellis. (Pausanias, v. 1. 4; Apollodorus, i. 7. 6.) See note 183 on i. 57.

For the occasion of the Lemnians occupying this part of Peloponnesse, see iv. 148.

149 αὐτόχθονες ἄντες δοκεόμει μοῦνον εἶναι Ἴωνες. It is not easy to understand what the Ionians of these Cynurians consisted in, except it were the celebration of the festival of the Apaturia. That, and the coming originally from Athens, are the two characteristics which alone are employed by the writer to designate the Asiatic Ionians (i. 147). If autochthonous, the near affinity of the Cynurians with the Arcadians and Achaeans cannot be doubted. And the Dryopians were apparently mainly of the same race. (See above, note 88 on § 43.) Larcher considers the text here to be corrupt.

151 τὸ Μήδων. Plutarch, in describing this stratagem of Themistocles, makes Sicinus to be himself a Persian; and it is a very ingenious conjecture of Valkenaer's, that the cause of his doing so is...
that he found in this passage the reading τῶν Μῆδων. 

Eschylus distinctly states that the individual who brought the false intelligence was a Greek. (Pers. 355.)

113 τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν. LEAKE describes this island (now called Λευκοκοράντα) as "low, rocky, clothed with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad." (Appendix ii. p. 267.) It has not a single creek into which a vessel can be put, thus precisely answering to the description of Eschylus: βαλτά, δύσοροι καίνατοι (Pers. 447).

113 ἐκείνη ἐγίνοντο μήτε νύκτες. Eschylus represents the invading vessels as being put in motion as soon as night came on, the crews too having taken their supper previously, and made all preparation to be able to get under way immediately after night-fall (Pers. 374–9).

114 ἄνθρωπον μὲ τὰ ἀν ἐπέκρετο κέρας... ὅταν τῶν πορθμῶν τῇς νυκτὶς. This description occasions great difficulty, which no commentator has succeeded in explain-
nēs, ίνα δὴ τούτο "Ελληνες μηδὲ φυγέεις ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμ-φέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι, δοῦτε τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτέμισιν ἀργο-νισίμους ἐς δὲ τὴν νήσῳ τὴν Ψυττάλειν καλεόμενην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσῶν, τῶνδε εἴενεκ, ὡς ἐπεάν γένηται ναυμαχία, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξουσιοῦντο τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγῶν, (ἐν γὰρ δὴ τὸρος τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς μελλόντος ἔσεθαι ἔκειτο ἢ νῆσος) ἱνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιήσοι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθειράσω· ἐπολεμῶ δὲ συνή ταύτα, ὡς μὴ πυθανολάτοι οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ ταύτα τῆς νυκτὸς, οὐδὲν ἀποκουμπᾶτος, παρατένων.

77 Χρησμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰς ἀληθείας, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἢ τούδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

"Ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάρχου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν, ἔθετο γεφυράσωσι, καὶ εἰσελθείν Κυνόσουραν,

some error in the text. Perhaps Herodotus wrote τὴν νῆσον in reference to the island Pyttalea." (Appendix ii, pp. 285—260.) But as there is no evidence that there was any such place in Salamis as Ceeos, or any headland there named Cynosura, such an explanation has little claim to acceptance. It may be remarked in the first place, that although the movement be an impossible one, it may not have appeared impossible to Herodotus; for in his account of the battle of Marathon he obviously supposes that Athens was only saved from surprise by Datis by the forced march made by the Athenian army from the field of Marathon to the Heraclaeum in the Cynosarges. Yet, according to his own account, Datis's manœuvre must have occupied, in addition to the time required for running the sixty nautical miles from Cynosura to Phalerum, the further time demanded for sailing to Styra, embarking the Eretrian prisoners, and again getting under way for Athens. Of the two alternatives, it seems less violent to suppose a want of accurate knowledge as to the distances of Ceeos and Cynosura on the part of the writer or his informant, than the existence of the names in question in the immediate neighbourhood of Phalerum. But in fact the difficulty may be explained on an entirely different principle; for which see the Excursus at the end of this book.

116 ἐκόλουθον δὲ σελήνη ταύτα, ὡς μὴ πυθανολάτοι οἱ ἐναντίοι. This is quite alien from Εἰσχύλου's notion. He makes the crews cheer one another as they get under way (τάξις δὲ τάξις παρεκλητεῖ νεῶσ μαραίας. Pers. 380). According to his view, the intended escape of the Greeks was, in the opinion of the Persians, entirely precluded by the latter getting the start of them. That point having been secured, they were not careful about concealing the movement.

116 παρατένων. The manuscripts S and V leave out this word and all that follows to ἀνάλαγην οὕτω δὴ in § 84, no doubt from a lacuna having existed in the archetypal codex from which they were derived.

137 Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάρχου ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν. Leake supposes that here reference must be made to a temple of Artemis in Salamis, and also that the temple stood upon the western headland of the little bay in which the city Salamis (corresponding to the modern Ἀμβελάκια) lay. This he infers from a passage in Παυσανίας (i. 36. 2): ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνοις δὲ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἔστων ἱερὸν, τούτῳ δὲ τριπτοποῖται ἔστι ἤτοι τῆς νῆσις ἢ Γηματοκάλας ὁ Νέκλοπους ἄνετος ἔγενετο γεγονές τοῖς Ἕλληνσι, which he renders "on one side of the city a temple of Diana, and on the other the trophy erected," &c. (vol. ii. p. 169.) But it is quite an assumption to attribute this meaning to τοῦτο μὲν and τούτῳ δὲ. Even if the temple alluded to
αῖτις μαυρομένη λεπτάς τέρσαντε Ἀθήνας,
διὰ Δηαίς άκταντε κρατερόν Κήρον, Ἰεροῦ υἱὸν 128,
δεινόν μαμάοντα, δοκείν' ἀνά πάντα τίθεον.
χαλός γὰρ χαλός συμβᾶς, αματί δ' Ἀρης
πόλιν φωτίζει, τόνόν δεσπότην Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
εὐφέρον Κρενίδης εφαγεί, καὶ πότεν Νηλι.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργεῖοι λέγοντες Βάκιδε, ἀντιλογίης
χρησμών πέρι οὕτε αὐτῶν λέγειν τολμέω οὕτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδε-
κομαί.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι στρατηγῶν ἐγώντος ὀδησσάμος λόγων πολλῶν
γίδεσαν δὲ οὗκ, ὅτι σφέας περιεκκυλάω τῇ ὁρνή ηὐσαί οἱ βάρβαροι
όλλ', ὥσπερ τῇς ἡμέρας ὄροιν αὐτῶν τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ
χώρην εἶναι. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν 119, ἐξ Αὐγήνης
διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Δυσμάχος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρα-
κισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου τῶν ἐγὼ νεόμοια, πυνθανόμενος
αὐτῶν τοῦ τρόπου, ἀριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃ καὶ
δικαιώσατον οὕτως ἄνυρι στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ἐξεκαλέστο Θεμ-
στοκλῆς ἑνότα μὲν ἐνωτῷ οὗ φίλον ἔχθρον δὲ τὰ μᾶλιστα ὑπὸ
δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεύτων κακῶν λήθην ἐκεῖνων ποιεύμενος
ἐξεκαλέστο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμέλαζε προακόη δὲ ὅτι σπεύδουν
οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἄναγείσ τὰς ὑβιὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν διὸ δὲ
ἐξήλθα δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε "ἡμέας στα-
σιάζειν χρείον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ δεὲ
περὶ τοῦ ὄκατερος ἡμέρων πλέον ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται:
λέγω δὲ τού, διὸ ἴσων ἐστὶν πολλά τε καὶ ὅλα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλῶν
τοῦ ἔσωτεν Πελοποννησίασιν" ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀυτόπτης τοῖς λέγω γενό-
μενοι, διὸ νῦν, οὐχ ἡν θέλωσι, Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης
οἷοι τε ἔσωσιν ἐκπλῶσαν περιεχόμενα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων
κύκλω ἀλλ' ἐσειδῶν σφί ταῦτα σήμην." ὡς δ' ἀμείβετο
τούτῳ δ" κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακαλεύει καὶ εὐ ἄρρειπας τὰ γάρ
ἐγὼ ἐδείγην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ξωκείς Ἴσι δὲ γὰρ

by Baci is was the one in Salamis, there is
nothing to show whereabouts in Salamis
it was. But for another way of explain-
ing the prophecy, see the Excursus on
§ 76, of this book.

128 Κήρον, Ἰεροῦ υἱόν. FINDAB per-
haps has this oracle in his mind where he
speaks of "Ἡρων Κήρον μνημὰ θρασομή-
θου (Olymp. xiii. 12).

119 συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν,
"after the commanders had come to direct
issue" [in their views]. See note 336 on
iv. 132. The reference is to the ἄθρωμα
mentioned in the last section.
The intelligence of Aristides is discredited by the majority of the confederates.

82 until confirmed by a Tenian vessel which deserts from the enemy.

81 ίσθι γὰρ εὖ ήμεν τὰ τουεύμενα ἕως Ἡθῶν. It has been considered that the word τουεύμενα is to be repeated inferentially with εὖ ήμεν. (See note on § 142, below.) But if the word τουεύμενα is to be repeated at all, the perfect tense τουεύμενα seems required. The ellipse—not an unusual one—is only the word δίτα. “The present doings of the Medes originate with me.”

161 μύις ἐκκλάσει λαθῶν τινος ἑπομένως, “that he found great difficulty in getting out unperceived by the blockading squadron.” From this expression one must infer that at least a portion of the Persian vessels had been stationed at a considerable distance from Salamis (the town), and that their observation was by no means confined to watching the channel between that island and the main. This is quite in accordance with Ἀσκυλύων, who makes the Persians—

τάξιν πέντε στίχοι μὲν ἐν στίχου τρισλεκλοῦς φυλάσσειν καὶ πάροντον ἀλλρόθως, ἄλλας δὲ κύκλω δίσον Αἰαντός πέριτε. (Per. 366-8.)

It must have been ships outside the island Salamis, whose observation Aristides had found it difficult to escape. See Euxynus on § 76.

812 ἀνωμασία. See notes on iv. 14; ix. 74.

813 Ἀρβρὸν Τηνίων. Plutarch seems to have found the word Terebés in the copy he used. He says of the occurrence mentioned in the text: ἐράθη Τερέβης μὴ τρίχησε αὐτόμελος. (Themist. § 12.) Pausanias, however, states that the name of the Tenians was inscribed on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was dedicated in honour of the victory (v. 23. 2). The tripod mentioned in the text appears really to have had reference to the feats of the Greeks at Platea, not at Salamis; for at first Pausanias inscribed on it the verses: Ἐλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐστι στρατηγὸς Ἰλείων Ἡθῶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. (Thucydides i. 132.) Hence the Plateans, when pleading for their lives, appealed to it as an evidence of their own descent: τὸν μὲν πατέρα Λακεδαιμονίας ἐστὶν τρίαδος τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ οὗ ἔργον τὴν τάξιν. (Thucydides III. 87.)
The allies now prepare for battle, and at sunrise, after a speech from Themistocles, get under way.

The battle at once begins, the accounts varying as to the pre-

at Marathon, were brothers of the poet Aeschylus. But Herodotus gives no ground for such a supposition; and if this near relationship had existed, it would be strange that he should not have alluded to it. The name of Cynegirus's father was the same as that of Aeschylus; and this would furnish quite a sufficient basis for the identification of the two in the later times, when a superficial knowledge of Greek literature became fashionable. The literary men of the Roman empire considered it a part of their duty to supply all the details which the curiosity of their readers might require, in order to fill up the more general notices of the classical writers. *Juvénal* (Sat. vii. 229—236) gives an amusing picture of the qualifications required from the instructors of his time:

"— vos servas imponite leges,
Ut praecipitor verborum regula constet,
Ut legat historias, auctores novit omnes
Tanquam unguis digitosque suos; ut
forte rogatus
Dum Petit aut thermas aut Phoebi
balneas, dicat
Nutriciem Anchise, nomen patriamque
noveres"
The Athenians had the Phoenicians opposed to them, the Lacedaemonians the Ionian contingent. Among these several distinguished themselves against the allies, specially two Samians,

86 Theomestor and Phylacus.

The Athenians determined to attempt a movement against Phalerum, which they knew to be a strong defensive position for the Corinthians. They therefore sent a force of 2000 men under Theomestor and Phylacus to attack it. The presence of the Athenian fleet at Salamis had prevented the Corinthians from occupying the strait, which was now the only passage between the mainland and the island. The Athenians therefore hoped to capture Phalerum before the Corinthians could reinforce it.

85 The Athenians,however,attacked Phalerum under their two commanders, Theomestor and Phylacus. The Corinthians were taken by surprise and their forces were scattered. The Athenians quickly captured the town and the Corinthians retreated to their transports. The Athenians were not able to pursue them, however, and the Corinthians were able to escape. The Athenians were left with a significant victory, but the Corinthians remained intact and were able to regroup and continue their campaign.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰσεῖν ἀπρεκέωσι, ἀλλὰ ἐκαστοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγεμόνοι παρὰ Ἰεραπετρίου τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου τὰ βασιλεῖα ἐπέκει ἅπαξ ἢ σώρισαν πολλὰν ἀπὶκετο τὰ βασιλεῖα πρήγματα, ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ Ἀρτεμισίου ἐνίκητο ἤπειρος Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἢ, οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφορέως ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἢς οὖθαν ἂν ἄλλης φιλία ἢ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν πολέμῳ μάλιστα ἐτύπωσεν ἑσώθας. ἔδοξε καὶ τὸν ποτίσαν, τὸ καὶ συνήθεις ποιησάσθη διασκορέως ἐμπροσθε γὰρ ἁπάντωντας ἡμᾶς ἢς Ἀττικῆς, φέροντα ἐνέβαλε νηθὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ Καλυμναῖαν ἢ ἀνδρῶν τοῖς Ἡλευκάναντοι τοῖς Καλυμναῖοι βασιλέας Δαμαστικὸν εἰ μὲν καὶ τὸ νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγονεῖ ἢ τὴν Ἐλλήναντον ἄνωτον, οὐκ ἡμῶν ἢ γένος ἢ γένος εἰσεῖν, εἰτε ἐκ προνοιας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἰτε[172] συνεκύρωσεν ἡ ἡς Καλυμναίας κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηθὸς ὡς ἐνέβαλε τοι καὶ

b [καὶ ἐγένοτο] [ἣ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν]. I have included these words between brackets, not as considering them interpolations in the proper sense of the term, but because it seems nearly certain that ἐγένοτο is an alternative reading of ἐγένος, and ἐγένοτο Εὐβοίας ἀπὸ ἰδιώτων. Neither alternative has any claim to be preferred to the other; but the text as it stands is a combination of the two produced by the transfer of the variant from the margin.

[172] ἀνδρῶν τοῖς Καλυμναῖαν. Stephanus Byzantinus (in v.) calls Calynda a town of Caria, like Caryanda, and refers to this passage. If Calynda be really a Carian town, it seems not unlikely that Calynda and Carydas are merely dialectal variations of the same word. Callisthenes (op. Strabon. xiii. c. 1) related that the Leleges of the Homeric poems, (whose site is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Assus and Antandros, and of whom Gargara on Ida was a colony,) after the destruction of their towns by Achilles, went south into Caria, and founded several cities there in the neighbourhood of Halicarnassus. One of these was Peaena, of which Herodotus speaks (i. 175), and which was named after a Peaena in the Troad. In the course of time these Leleges melted away and became identified with the Carian population; but as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. they still had eight towns in the region Peana near Halicarnassus, from six of which Mausolus removed the population to Halicarnassus,—preserving the remaining two, Myndus and Suagela. (Strabo, xiii. p. 127.) If this account indicates an ethnical identity, in early times, of the tribes respectively inhabiting the Troad and the coast of Caria, it is reasonable to suppose also an etymological identity between Calydna (the ancient name of Tanedo), Calynda the city here mentioned, and perhaps also Calymna the island. See note 293 on vii. 99.

[173] ἀφρα ... ἀφρα. This is the reading of only one manuscript (K). The rest have ἀφρας εἰ ... ἀφρας εἰ, which Gaisford adopts.
κατέδυσε, εὐτυχὴς χρησαμένη, διπλὰ ἔσων ἡγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὁ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νήσος τριήραρχος ὡς εἰδε μὲν ἐμβαλλοῦσαν νητὰ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίζας τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίνης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι, ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέφεις πρὸς ἄλλας ἔτραπετο. Τούτω μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτὴ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι, διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τούτῳ δὲ, συνεβη ὡστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην, ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Ἑρέξεω λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλλοῦσαι καὶ δὴ τινά ἑπιταῖν τοὺς παρέσιντων "δέσποτα, ὁρᾶ Ἀρτεμισίνην, ὡς εὐ ἀγανάκτησε καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμιῶν κατέδυσε·" καὶ τοῦ ἑπείρου, εἰ ἀληθεῖος ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίνης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ τούς φάναι σαφῶς τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νῆος ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρείαν ἑπιστεῖτο εἶναι πολεμίον· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς ἐξηγηταὶ, αὐτὴ συνήνεικε δὲ εὐτυχής γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἑκ τῆς Καλλικράτης νῆος μικρὰν ἀποσωθῆναι κατήγορον γενέσθαι· Ἑρέξεω δὲ ἑπιταί λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζμένα· "οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες." τοῦτα μὲν Ἑρέξεω φασὶ ἑπιταί.

Many Persians of distinction, among whom is Aristobulus, are slain, and great numbers of the common men, but of the Hellenes few, from their being good swimmers.

Anecdote of the gallantry of the marines on

'Ἐν δὲ τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθνεν ὁ στρατηγὸς 'Ἀριστοβούλης' ὁ Δαρείου, Ἑρέξεω εὖ ἀδελφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὄνομαστοι Περσεῖν καὶ Μῆδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὅλγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἢτε γὰρ νέοιν ἐπιστάμενοι, τούτοι αἱ νῆες διεφθείροτο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀποκλίμενον, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένευον τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ βαλάς διεφθάρησαν, νέοις οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἔπει δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείοντες διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ δηποτε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆς νησοῦ παρέδωκαν πειρόμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔργον βασιλέα, τῆς δὲ σφηνίσχος νησι θνηύοντο συνεπιπτοῦν.

'Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τὸτε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινως Φοινίκων τῶν αἱ νῆες διεφθαρέταο, ἐθύντες παρὰ βασιλέα διεβαλλον τοις Ἰωαννοῖς, ως δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπολοίατο αἱ νῆες· ὡς προδότων

174 Αριστοβούλης. One manuscript (F) has Ἀριστοβόλης. Of this chief, see note 282 on vii. 97.
175 ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀπολοίατο αἱ νῆες. There seems no more likely way in which the Ionians could have been the means of destroying the Phoenicians than by fouling them while eagerly pressing forward to engage the enemy.
swept down, else 'Iōnian te tois stratēgonous μὴ ἀπολέσαι, Φοινικῶν te tois διαβάλλωντας λαβέων τοίνυν μεθὸν ἐπὶ τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἑνεβάλει τῇ Ἀττικῇ Ἀμισθείκις νησὶ· ἦ τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατεύθυντο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένῃ Ἀγυναίῃ νησίς κατέδυσα τῶν Ἀμισθείκων τὴν νῆα· ἦ τῇ Ἀκοντιστάι οἱ Σαμοθρηκεῖς, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσεως νησὶς βαλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέθησαν τε καὶ ἔσχων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς "Ἰωάννας ἐρρύσατο" 176. ὡς γὰρ ἐδέ τεθεὶ Βέργης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασμένος, ἐκτάκτου πρὸς τοὺς Φοινικᾶς, οἷα ὑπερπελάμονοι τε καὶ πάντας αὐτώμονοι· καὶ σφέων ἐκέλευε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταιμῶν ἵνα μὴ αὐτῶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἁμένονας διαβάλλοσι. (όκως γὰρ τινὰ ἴδοι Βέργης τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατέμεθος ἑπὶ τὸ οὔρει τῷ ἀντίλ Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλεῖτα Αἰγαλεῶς, ἀνεπτυχάντον τὸν πορίσαντα· καὶ οἱ γραμ-
The Persians retreat to Phale-rum, and in the way are fallen upon by some Aeginetans, who by their deeds clear themselves of the charge of treason.

178 προσελάβητο. This, which was the conjecture originally of Reiske, is adopted by Gaisford. All the MSS have προσ-εβδηλητο or προσεβδηλητο. The sentence has generally been taken to mean that Ariaramnes, being a friend to the Ionians, contributed to bring about this chastisement of the Phoenicians. But προσελάβησθαι πάθος seems to mean something very different from προσελαβώσθαι εἰς τὸ πάθος. Xerxes was sting to the quick at the loss of the battle, and disposed to blame every body; and stood in no need of any incitement to whet his severity. I should be disposed to take the passage as if Ariaramnes had been made to “speak the face of the Phoenicians,” not as if he had aided in bringing it about. He was a favourite of Xerxes and standing by, and perhaps was rash enough to interpose a word in favour of the Phoenicians, upon which the irritated tyrant sentenced him to die with them.

132 ἐνεργη. The name Ariaramnes appears in the list of Darius’s ancestors, not only in Herodotus, but also in the Behistun Inscription. See note 59 on vii. 11, above.

184 ὑποστάσεις εἰς τῇ πορθμῷ. These perhaps were the vessels which had been reserved for the defence of the island Egeina. (See above, notes 98 and 101, on § 46.) It would have been quite impossible for any of the ships engaged within the channel to get out so as to occupy the position which is here ascribed to the Aeginetans. The number of thirty, which was that of the Aeginetan galleys in the allied fleet, seems a very small one to be furnished by a state which at that time was a first-rate maritime power. If a part of the navy remained at Egeina, there was the more cause to suspect a reasonable motive; and it is quite in harmony with the supposition that this was a squadron of reserve, that we find Polykrates, the son of Crius, in it. See note 182.

185 ἐν ἐκείς Πυθῆς ἄ 'Ισχενον. The MSS have, without exception, ἄ 'Ισχε-νον. But there is an equal unanimity for the form ἄ 'Ισχενον in vii. 187, and Gaisford follows the other editors in introducing that form here.

186 ἐς τῶν Ἀγίνητων τοῖς μετάμελοις κυριεῖτο. One is disposed to infer from
μνημοσυνίας, οί δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἱ νῆες περισσότερο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὕπο τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν.

'Εν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἀριστα Αιγινήται ἐπὶ δὲ, Ἀθηναίοι άνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τοῦ Ἀιγινήτης, καὶ Ἀθηναίοι Εὐμένης τοῦ Ἀναγράφου καὶ Αμενίης Παλληνείς, δὴ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίνην ἐπεδιώκει. εἰ μέ νυν ἐμάθη ὦ ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι ἡ Ἀρτεμισίνη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπάυσατο πρότερον ἡ εἴλε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἠλιον τούτων γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι τριήριχοι παρακεκλείσατο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀκολου ἤκοι μύριαι δραχμαί, δὲ ἂν μὲν ξωῆν ἐλπὶ δευτού γὰρ τι ἐποιεῖτο, ἦν ναυακά ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας στρατεύεσθαι. αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον ἔρχηται, διέφυγε ἡσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἱ νῆες περισσότερον εἰς τῷ Φαλῆρῳ. 'Αδελμαντὸν δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Αθηναίοι, αὐτίκα καὶ ἄρχας ὡς συνέμοιον αἱ νῆες, ἔκλαυγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδειούσα, τὰ ἱστα ἀειράμων οἴς εἰσχοντας. ιδύντας δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων τὴν στρατηγίαν φεύγουσαν, ἄσωστοι οἰχεσθαι ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκυρίνου, περιπλάνεων σφί κέλητα θείη πομπῆ τοῦ ὀψε πέμψαντα φανήσαι οὐδένα, ὀψε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγῆς εἰδοὺ προσφέρεσθαι τῶν Κορινθίων τῇ δὲ συμβάλλοντες εἰκανθείον τὸ πρήγμα, ὡς γὰρ ἄγχους γενέσθαι τῶν ἤπιων τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος, λέγεν τάδε "'Αδελ-

93 In the battle, the Aeginetans were thought to have earned the first distinction, and next to them the Athenians.

94 Varying accounts of the behaviour of the Corinthians.

this passage that Themistocles belonged to that Athenian party which had accused the Aeginetans of treason towards Hellas before the Lacedaemonians. (See vi. 49.) The father of this Polycrates was the principal agent in resisting the attempt of Cleomenes to arrest those of the Aeginetans who appeared to be specially guilty (vi. 50). Hence there was every reason for the son to taunt any distinguished Athenian that had taken part with Cleomenes.

183 ἀπεριστ. See note 366 on iv. 143.

184 κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκυρίνου. LEAKE identifies this spot with "the n.w. promontory of Salamis, upon which now stands, in a narrow plain by the shore, the monastery of the Virgin brought to light" (ἡ παραγελομένη), so called because a buried picture of the Virgin was here said to have been discovered in the earth, in consequence of a miraculous voice which issued from the place. The monastery stands on the site of a Hellenic building, of which many large squared blocks are still to be seen, together with some fragments of Doric columns; and it seems therefore to be one of the numerous examples still extant in Greece of Pagan temples converted into churches, and which still retain portions or fragments of the original buildings." (Vol. ii. p. 163.)
'Adeimantos, αὕτω τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸι οἷοι τε ἔπει ἀγάμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθῆκες, ἥν μὴ νικῶτες φαίνεσθαι οἴ "Ελευσίς" οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέφαντα τὴν νῆα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἔπει εξεργασμένοι ἐθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτων μὲν τοιαῦτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθους ὁμολογεύοντο, ἀλλὰ ἐν πρώτοις σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίας νομίζουσι γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ δε σφι καὶ ἡ Ἀλλή Ἑλλάς.

95 Feat of Aristides.

'Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Δυναμάχω, ανήρ 'Αθηναίος, τοῦ καὶ ὑλίγχ τι πρῶτον τοιῶν ἐπεμνήσθην ὅσ ἀνδρός ἀριστον, αὐτῶς ἐν τῷ θορῦβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποιεῖ παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οὐ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτήν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἡντεῖ 'Αθηναίοι, ἕσ τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἷος Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτη ἑαυτοῦνες πάντας.

96 After the battle, the

"Ελευσίς τῶν ναυμαχῶν ὡσ ταύτη ἐτύχχαν ἐτὶ ἐόπτα, ἑτοῖμοι

185 τούτους μὲν τοιαῦτη φάτις ἔχει. See note 10 on vii. 3. It gives a very unfavourable idea of the accuracy of local tradition to see that such an account as this should have become popular at Athens, little more than a generation after the action took place. The question of the presence of a squadron of forty ships, or of its absence eight or ten miles off at the time of the battle, was not a thing admitting the possibility of mistake. (See note 177 on vii. 55.) Dio Chrysostom relates a foolish story of Herodotus having inserted this scandalous account of the Corinthians out of revenge at having been refused a pecuniary reward by them; the first draught of his history not having contained it. That the motive assigned cannot be the true one, is obvious from the discrepancy which he attaches to the report; it is probably a fiction of later times, to account for the variation of different copies of the work, some of which very likely did not contain the story. (See note 178 on i. 56.)

186 ὠλύσα τι πρῶτον τούτων. See § 79.

187 γένος ἡντεῖ 'Αθηναίοι. The mention of this circumstance, and also of the country of Aristides is to be remarked. The author is (from § 93 to § 98) enumerating the particular distinctions won by the several states. The feat of Aristides is put in the best possible way for his reputation. It is represented as a sudden thought occurring to him, while the sea-fight was going on (ἐν τῷ θορῦβῳ τούτῳ). Plutarch goes even further than this. Aristides, in his account, observes that the island Psyttalea is strongly occupied, puts some picked volunteers in boats, destroys all the Persians except a few of the most distinguished (whom he sends at once prisoners to Themistocles), and then occupies the whole shore of the island with troops, in order to assist the Hellenic sailors and destroy those of the enemy who might swim ashore. (Aristides, § 9.) 

URANIA. VIII. 95—98.

369 allies prepare for a repetition of it, taking up their former station.

Fulfilment of prophecy by the wide dispersion of the wrecks.

Kalidēs ἀνελθεῖς ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως ἑσσθαί.

Xerxes fears that his communication with Asia may be cut off, and meditates flight secretly.

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως ἑσσθαι.

Description of the Persian system of cataphettes.

188 ἔταιμοι ἦσαν, "offered." See note 237 on i. 70.

189 τὸ ἀλλήλες πάντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Herodotus does not mean to say that the Greeks were ignorant of the existence of the line he quotes, but only that they failed to see its meaning.

190 φρέζουν. The MSS, which Gaisford follows, have φρεζου, which gives no sense. I have adopted the conjecture of Ken. The meaning seems to me to be, that "the women shall toast their cakes with fires made of [the fragments of broken] ears."

191 ὥσπερτοι ἠθέλουσαν. ESCHYLUS represents him as breaking up from the position which his army occupied, and retreating precipitately, owing to the consternation which the sight of the capture of Psyttales inspired:

Πέρσης ἐν ἀνήμων κατά ὅλην ὅρα θάλασσαν, Ἰάσων γὰρ ἔδει πολλὰς ἀναχαιμίας στρατιῶν, εἰς ἑξελόν ἐστιν παράληπας ἀλληλικά μὴ ἔμελλεν τὸ τέλος κάνακας καταφεύγατα λιγή, πεταλίου παραγωγάς ἐφαρμοσμένων ἱππίων ἀρεσκείας, ὧν ἀκάμεν ἂν φυγῇ.

(Pers. 468—470.)

Herodotus, on the contrary, expressly makes him remain for a few days before retreating into Boeotia (§ 113, below).
to some degree, I think you might have misunderstood or misinterpreted the text. Please provide your best interpretation or clarification of the document in question. Whether it be a transcription, translation, or explanation, I am here to assist you.
URANIA. VIII. 99—101.

άναγνώσεις βασιλέως στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέστοι εἰς ἀνακινδυνεύει τῇ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἡ αὐτῶν καλὸς τελευτήσα τῶν βλῶν ὕπερ μεγάλων αἰσθήματα199. πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λογισμόνος δὲ ταῦτα, προσέφερε τῶν λόγων τόνδε “διέσπας, μήτε λυπέο, μήτε συμφορήν μηδεμιῶν μεγάλην ποιεῖ τοῦ τοῦ γεγονότος εἰνέκαν πρήγματος” ο ἱγαρ νῦν ἁγῶν ὁ τὸ πάν φέρων ἔστι ἡμῖν, ἄλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ Ἰπποτῶν σοι δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πάν σφι ἡδὸν δοκεόντων κατεργάσασθαι ἀποβάς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσαται ἄντων, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἱππείρου τῆς οὐ τε ἡμῶν ἠμώθησαν, ἐδοσαν δικαία. εἰ μέν νυν δοκεῖ, αὐτίκα πιερόμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐπισκέπτει, παρέχει ποικέων ταῦτα μή δὲ δυσθῆμεν οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ "Ἐλληνες οὐδεμιὰ ἐκδοὺς μη οὐ δύναται λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρῶτον εἰναι σοις δούλους.200. μάλιστα μέν νυν ταῦτα πολεῖς εἰ δ' ἥδα τοῖς βεβούλευται αὐτῶν ἀπελάνωντα ἄπαγεν τὴν στρατίνην, ἑλλην χεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δούλων σὺ Πέρσας, βασίλεως, μη πονηρός καταγελαστος γενέσθαι "Ἐλληνες οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ Πέρσας δεδηλησαῖ τῶν προηγομένων, οὐδὲ ἐρείς ὁκαὶ ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοὶ εἰ δὲ Φοινίκες τε καὶ Δινύπτυοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κύλλες201 κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἴδαν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἢδ' ἐως, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσας τοι ἂντιο εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθοιε εἰ τοι δεδοκται μη παραμένεις, σο μέν ες ἡσα τα σεμνοτάτα ἀπέδειμε τῆς στρατινῆς ἀπόγων τὸ πολλῶν ἐμὲ δ' σοι χρή τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖ σε δοξολομένην, τρήσοντα μυρίάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πέρσης ὁ χακως ἐγέρθη τε καὶ ἤσθη πρὸς Μαρδούνων τε, βουλεύσαντος ἐφθ' ἀποκρινεῖσθαι ἀκότερον ποιήσας τούτων ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύεσθαι ἀμα Περσῖον τούτοις ἐπικλήτους, ἐδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίν ὥς συμβουλίων μεταπέμψασθαι οτι πρῶτον ἑβάλεντο

199 εἰπερ μεγάλην αἰσθήματα, "οι as he had set a high stake at issue." This circumstance is what justifies the expression καλῶς τελευτήσα τῶν βλῶν even in the contingency of defeat; and therefore no comma must be inserted after βλῶν.

200 εἴρει σοι δούλους. The state of the case would require γέγονα, instead of τοῦ τε καὶ πρῶτον εἰμι. But courteously etiquette forbade the use of an expression which implied that the Greeks were still free. See the note 412 on i. 118.

201 Φοινίκες τε ....... Κύλλες. The omission of the Ionians from the list of worthless allies, both here and in the speech of Artemisia (§ 98, above) is to be remarked. At the time Herodotus was writing there would be too close an alliance between the European and Asiatic Greeks to allow any thing to stand which would appear derogatory to the latter.
μούην νοθούσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν ὡς δὲ ἀπόκειτο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε: "κελεύει μὲ Μαρδόνιος, μένοντα αὐτὸν, πειράσαθι τῆς Πελοποννήσου λέγων ὃς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδένος μεταίτι πάθεός εἰ, ἀλλὰ βουλομένουσι σφί γίνοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὴ δὲ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυρίας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην αὐτῶν δὲ μὲ κελευθεὶς ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἢ θέα τὰ ἐμὰ. σὺν ἄν ἐμοὶ, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας εὐδευβουλεύσας τῆς γενομένης ὃως ἐστα τοιαῦτα, τὸν τε συμβοῦλουσι δικότερα τοιῶν ἐπιτυχός εὐ δευβουλεύσαμεν.” "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο· ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε: “βασιλεῦ, φαλέστοιο χαλεπών μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυγχάνει τὰ ἁριστά ἐπισκέψας ἐπὶ μέντοι τοὺς καθήκους πρήγματι, δοκεῖ μου αὐτῶν μὲν σὲ ἀπελαύνειν ὅπισω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ἐποδεκεῖ ταῦτα ποιήσας, αὐτὸν καταλαύνειν σὺν τούς ἐθέλει τούτο μὲν γὰρ, ἢν καταστρέψηται τά φησὶ ἐθέλει καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὺν τὸ ἔργῳ, ἢ δεσποτα, γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο· τούτῳ δὲ, ἢν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γίνεται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἐσται σὺν τοῖς περιενότας καὶ ἔκεινοι τῶν προγιμάτων περὶ ὀλίκων τῶν σῶν ἢ γὰρ σὺ τε περίξ δὲ οὐκ οὐκ ὁ σὸς, πολλοίς πολλάκις ἀγώνιος δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ "Ἑλληνες Μαρδονίου δὲ, ἢ τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται· οὐδὲ τε νικῶντες οἱ "Ἑλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὺν ἀπολόγασται· σὺ δὲ, τῶν ἐνεκα τῶν στόλον ἐποιήσας, πυρῶσας τὰς Ἐθνῶν ἀπελάσας.”

"Ἡσθῆ τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ξέρξης· λέγοντα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τάπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόεσθ' οὖδ' ἐπη, εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσι συνεβουλεύοντο αὐτοῖ' μένειν, ἐμεν δὲν, δοκείς εἰμι· οὕτως καταρροδηκεσ ἐπαύσεις δὲ τῆν Ἀρετεμίσην, ταῦτα μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄργουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἢ "Εφεσος νόθοι γὰρ τις παῖδες οἱ συνεσπειντο. Συνέπεμπτε δὲ τοίοι παῖσιν φύλακον Ἐρμότιμου, γένος μὲν ἐντα Πηδασία, φερόμενον δὲ οὖ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν ἐνούρχων ३२२ παρὰ

३२२ σὸ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν ἐνούρχων. Per- haps Hermotimus was made captive as a youth at the time when Pediass was taken by Harpagus (i. 176). In that invasion the Chians, like the Milesians, made separate terms for themselves with the
βασιλεύειν. Οἱ δὲ Περσαί οὐκέτι ὑπὲρ Ἀμαρνησσοῦ ἐν δὲ τοις Περσαῖς τούτοις τούτως δὲ φέρεται πρήγμα γίνεσθαι ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀμφικτῖοις πάσι, τοῖς ἀμφι ταύτῃ οἰκεύον τῆς πόλεως, μέλλει τι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἔστησθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱερεία αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίας φύει πώγωνα μέγαν τοῦτο δὲ σφί διὸ ἢδη ἔγενετο 282. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Περσαέων ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἦν τῷ μεγίστῃ τῖς ἡδή ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδίων ἀλώντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐντὸ πολεμίων καὶ πολέμευον ἰάντεται Πανιώνιος, ἀνὴρ Χίου, δὲ τῇ τίνι βασιλείᾳ κατεστήσατο ἅπα ἐργαν ἀνοσιωτάτων δεικόν γὰρ ἐκτός ταῦτα παῖς ἄλλοις ἀντίκεισθι τῇ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν παιδί τῶν ἑρμείων ἔστησαι ἐν Σάρδις καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ ἁρπαγών παρὰ τοῖς βασιλείας τοῖς πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς πολέμευοιν ἑκατέρα παρὰ Ἀρμείας. Εἰς ὅτι τὸ στρατευμά τὸ Περσαῖον ὡς ἢ ἀπειληθέντας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἔστη ἐν Σάρδιας, ἕναντι αὐτῶν καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ ταύτῃ ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ὡς ἔστη τῇ τῆς Μυσίκη, τῇ Χίῳ μὲν νέμονται, ἀπαγορεύεται, καὶ ὁ πολεμίων ἡρακλῆς πολεμίων καὶ φίλων λόγων, ἀπὸ μὲν οἱ καταλέγοντα διὰ αὐτῶν δὲ ἔχουσιν ἠγάθον, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ἰσχυρεύμενοι ἀντί τούτων διὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀναδέουσιν, δὲνομίζει τὸν οὐκέτα ἐκείνη ἐκείνη ἡ υποδεξάμενον

Persians, and had obtained Atarneus as the price of the extradition of a Persian refugee. See note 332 on i. 160. 282 οὐκέτι ἔγενετο. This is one of several passages which serve to show either that the work could not have been left by the author in a finished state, or else that great interpolations have taken place. In i. 175 he says that this singular phenomenon had in that state "thrice happened. See note 477 on vii. 173. It is not easy to suggest any certain explanation of the "bearded priestesses." MINUCIUS (t. xxix.) gives such a figure from the temple of Baalbeke. PLUTARCH (quoted in note 188 on vi. 83) says that the Argives, after recruiting the loss of their citizens by a large number of mixed marriages with the perioeci, passed the law that brides should be similarly ornamented upon retiring to the nuptial chamber. See note 188 on vi. 83. In that case the custom was apparently symbolic, and expressive of the same idea which probably lay at the bottom of all androgynous representations in the Hellenic mythology, they being a compression into one of a male and female deity. It is not impossible that the Ptolemaic Athena was an androgynous deity, an union of Ares and Aphrodite Urania, a war-deity in one of the sexes, and a genius of fruitfulness in the other. (See note 303 on v. 104.) 284 οἶκες ἐπαμείλους. So οἴκες ἐπαμείλους in i. 199, above.
Xerxes leaves Mardonius with a large detachment from the army, and orders the fleet to make all sail to the Hellespont.

The allies, on discovering...
εδόκεον τα ναυμαχίσεις σφέας, παραρτεόντο τε ὁς ἀλεξησόμενοι· ἔτει δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν τὰς νῆσας ὁχυρωματικὰς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειον τὸν μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ἀέραυνον ὁπειδόν διώκεται μέχρι Ἀνδροῦ, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδροῦ ἀπίκουμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γρώμην ἀπεδέλευσε, διὰ νῆσων τραπεζεύσων καὶ ἔπιδιώκας τὰς νῆσας πλαών ἰδέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, λύσατος τὰς γεφύρας. Εὐρυβαύδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίον τοῦτο γρώμην ἐπίθετο, λέγων, ὅτι ἂν λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τούτῳ ἄν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακῶν τὴν Ἡλλάδα ἐργάζαιντο· εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθῇ ἀπολαμβάνει ὁ Πέρσης μὲν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειράσει δὲ ἄγνωστον μὴ ἀγνεῖν ὡς ἀγωνίας μὲν οἱ ἴσχυσιν, ὡς τι προσκυρήσων οἴνον τε ἔσται τῶν προγμάτων, ὡς τις κομίδη τὸ ὅπλον φανεραίτω, μερὶ τὸ οἱ ἡ στρατικὴ διαφθαρέσται, ἐπιχειρεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργον ἔχομεν, πᾶντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οὖν τε ἔσται προσκυρήσαι κατὰ πολλὰς τε καὶ κατὰ θέανα, ἦτοι ἀλλοκομένων γε ἐν τῷ τοῦτον ὁμολογεόντων τροφήν τοὺς ἐξεῖν σφέας τῶν ἐπετέυχον αἰτὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καρπῶν ἀλλὰ δοκεέε γὰρ νυκτῆσαι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενεύει ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἐστὶν οὗν εἶναι φεύγειν ἐς ἑκατον φεύγειν εἰς τὴν ἑωτοῦ τοῦ ἐνείτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνης ποιεῖσθαι ἤδη τοῦν ἀγώνα ἐκέλευς. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς ἐγκάπης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοὶ. 'Ως δὲ ἔμαθε δὴ ὅτι οὐ πείλας τοὺς γε πολλοὶς πλαών εἰς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—οὕτως γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκπεφυγόντων περιπετεύουσι, εἰρμένετο τε ἔστω τοῦ Ἐλλήσποντος πλαών καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ διόλου μὴ βουλολατο—ἐλεγέν σφι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη πολλοὶς παρεγνώμην, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἄκχοια τοιοῦτε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγάλυν ἀπειληθέντας, νεκρομενοὺς ἀναμέχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα· τοῦτος ἦδε, (εὔρημα γὰρ εἰρήκαμεν ἡμέας τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἄνθρωπων ἀνοσάμενοι,) μὴ διάκομεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας· τάδε γὰρ οὖν ἡμέας κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἱέρως, ὡς ἐφθάνεσαν ἄνδρα ἑνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι, ἐντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ

109

He then induces the Athenians to acquiesce in the determination,
HERODOTUS

ἀτάσθαλον δς τα τε ιρα κα τα ιδια εν δμολο γησευτες, εμπνυτσας τα και καταβάλλαν των θεων τα άγαλματα δς και την θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστήγωσε πέδασ τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' ευ γαρ ἐχει ἐς τα παρεόν ἡμων, νυν μεν εν τη 'Ελλαδι καταμείνατας ἡμών τε αυτών ἐπιμεληθηκαν κα των οἰκετών κα τις οἰκετην τε ἀναπλασάθω κα σπορων ἀνακώς ἔχουν, παντελῶς ἀπελάσασ των βάρβαρων ἀμα δε τω ξαρι κατακλέωμεν επί 'Ελλησπόντον κα Ιωνίων." ταυτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι εφευρετουν εις των Πέρσων ἴνα, ἡν αρα τι μνη καταλαμβάνῃ προς 'Αθηναίων πάθος, εχα ἀποστροφήν τάπερ δν καλ εγένετο.

Θεμιστόκλης μεν ταυτα λέγων διέβαλλε: 'Αθηναίοι δε ἐπειθόντο ἐπειθὴ γαρ, καλ πρότερον δεδομένου ειναι σοφος, ἐφανερωτευτερον οἰκονομοι φυσικοι τα αρχαιοτατερα πάντως ἐτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πειθομεθαι. ὅσ δε οὕτω οί ἵναις λεγομενοι ἦσαν, αυτικα μετα ταυτα ὁ Θεμιστόκλης ἀνδρας ἀπέκειμεν ἐχοντας πλαινου, τοιοι

289 δς τα τε ιρα κα τα ιδια εν δμολο γησευτες. The primitive Persian religion led to a detestation of temples and images (i. 131), but this could hardly be said of the Persian court at the time of Xerxes. See Excursus on iii. 74, p. 436. However, the outrageous conduct of Cambyses in Egypt may very well have produced a feeling with regard to the invaders, which it would be the interest of Hellenic statesmen to keep up.

290 δς κα την θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστήγωσε πέδασ τε κατήκε. See note 126 on vii. 34.

291 καταμείνατας. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following two (S and c), prints καταμείνατες.

292 ἀνακώς ἔχειν. PLUTARCH (Theb. xci. § 33) speaks of ἀνακώς ἔχειν as a familiar expression applied to those who kept watch over any thing, and conjectures that the Dioscuri may have had the name ἄνακες (under which they were worshipped at Athens) given to them δια την ἐκμελειαν και υπερβολικον του μεθεις κακως ταθειον. This is apparently an exact reversal of the true derivation, ἄνακες ἔχειν being probably in its origin applied to the care bestowed by the tutelary deity upon the objects of his care. PLATO, the comic poet, used the expression τας θερας ἄνακες ἔχειν (fragm. lec. xxiii.), which Meineke very ingeniously proposes to correct into τας θερας ἄνακες ἔχειν, supposing the phrase to have been put into the mouth of a Dorian, and quoting ΕΟΣΟΠΑΝ: ἄνακες ἐκμελειαν και περαιτεροφυλαγμένοι ευτικες δε ἡ λειξι θυρυμεθα. It is used by Herodotus in another place (i. 24), and once by THUCYDIDES (viii. 102: δεομεν αυτον ἄνακας ἔχειν, ἐν κηρύλου), and always with the genitive case.

293 ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι. THUCYDIDES makes him plead the circumstance of the bridges not having been destroyed as a proof of the good will he had borne to the Persian monarch; he falsely representing it as entirely his doing (i. 137). If Xerxes found the bridges actually carried away on his arrival at the Hellespont (below, § 117) — it would be scarcely possible for Themistocles to have claimed merit for saving them; although nothing would be more natural than that he should (as Herodotus here puts it) have once contemplated doing so upon a certain contingency arising. At the same time it seems that the news of the destruction of the bridges had not reached the allied fleet at the time of the battle of Mycale; which is very strange if Xerxes really found them gone when he arrived at the strait.

294 et. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.
In the time of Plutarch the popular view of the matter seems to have been, that Themistocles hastened the retreat of Xerxes, by sending him word that the Greeks intended to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. (Thes. § 16.)

211 ἐπιτάλαθεν. This is the reading of S and V, adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS vary between the simple forms πλέων and πλέω.

212 Πειθό τε καὶ Ἀπαγαγής. Plutarch, in telling this story, substitutes Bla for Ἀπαγαγή, and Ἀτοπία for Ἀμμαχαία in the pair of Andrian deities. At Corinth there was actually a temple dedicated to Ἀράχη καὶ Bla, into which no one was allowed to enter. (Pausanias, ii. 4, 5.)

extorts money from the Croatsians and Parians, and others. 

113 The land army of Xerxes, after a few days, moves into Boeotia, and from thence to Thessaly, where 300,000 of the best

211 χρεάμενος λόγυσι τούτι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἔχρηστα. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have a very important variation: χρεάμενος τούτι καὶ πρὸς Βασιλέα ἔχρηστα, "employing the same agents which he had in his transaction with the king." This reading gives a sense which seems more accordant with the condemnatory phrase: οὐ γὰρ ἔπαυε τὸ πλεονέκτημα, and with the notice in the sequel: χρήματα παρὰ ἰππιστῶν ἐκτέτον λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, than the reading adopted by Gaisford is. It is quite clear that the money extorted from the islanders was not the regular contribution for carrying on the war, which was afterwards collected; for only Croatsians and Parians were positively known to the author to have paid the demand.

212 τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολῆ, "a putting off of the evil." This use of the word ὑπερβολῆ is found in Polybius: ἐν τῷ Ἀρκαδίαν πέμπειν ἥλιος, καὶ μηδεμίῳ ὑπερβολῇ ποιησάμενος ἐξέλγχει καὶ ταῦτα τὴν ἐλπίδα (xiv. 9.6); but only in that one passage; and in Herodotus it always signifies "excess." But ὑπερβολάμων, "deferring," is found in vii. 206, and ὑπερβάλλονται in the same sense, ix. 51.

213 ἐπισχύταις ἄλλας ἡμέρας. See note 191 on § 97, above.

214 χειμερίζει, "to winter." The word is formed after the analogy of θερίζειν and ἀπαθίζειν. Herodotus habitually uses it. See vi. 31: χειμερίζεις περὶ Μιλησίων, and below: χειμερίζετο περὶ Θεσσαλίας (§ 126): ἐξειμέρει ἐν Κυμή (§ 130). But in § 133, below, the more usual word ἐξειμαζε is employed. See the note on that passage.

215 [μὲν Πέρσας]. The MSS vary between these words, μὲν τοῖς Πέρσαις, μὲν τοῖς μορίοις, and μορίοις. The whole seem to me to be glosses.
troops are selected to remain with Mardonius. 114

Anecdote of an omi-
nous saying of Xerxes to a Spartan herald, who demanded satisfaction of him for the death of Leonidas.

III. 113, 114.

114 114

IV. 379.

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέας;) μετὰ
dὲ, τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους, καὶ τὴν ἱπποὺν τὴν
cηλήν καὶ Μῆδους τε καὶ Σάκας, καὶ Βακτρίων τε καὶ Ἰπποῦν,
cαὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἱπποῦν. ταύτα μὲν ἔθενα διὰ εἴλητο ἐκ δὲ
tῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ’ ὀλγοὺς, τούτω εἰδεὶ τε ἐπὶ
tὴρ ἄλλων διαλέγατο καὶ εἶ τέσσαρα τι χρηστάν συνείδει πεποιθήμαν·
ἐν δὲ, πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέτο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε
cαὶ ψευλοφόρους. ἐπὶ δὲ, Μῆδων: (οὗτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ
ἐλάσσονε ἥσαν τῶν Περσῶν ρώμη δὲ ἐσονες;) διότι σύμπαντας
τρίς μεταμεγάλεοσ γενέσθαι σὺν ἵππισσι: 232. 114

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδώνῳ τῆς τὰς στρατιὰς
dιέκρινε καὶ Ἱέρει ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίας, χρηστήριον ἔληθε εἰκ
Δελφῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, Ἱέρεα αἰτίεσθαι δίκας ἔν τοῦ Δεινίδεω
φόνον, καὶ τὸ διδόμενον εἴ ἐκείνου δέκασθαι πέμπειτο δὴ κηρύκη
τὴν ταχὺτην Σπαρτῆς· ὡς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐνοῦσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
tὴν στρατιὰν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, Ἀθῶν ἐς ὅψα τὴν Ἱέρεα ἔμελε τάδε
"ο βασιλεὶ Μῆδων, Δακεδαμίων ὁ τε καὶ Ἱππαλκίας καὶ ἀπὸ
Σπάρτης" 242 αἰτίους φόνον δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τῶν βασιλέα ἀπέκτει-
Loss of the horses of the sacred chariot which had been left on the way.

Anecdote of the Thracian king of the Bitilas and his six sons.

229 δεξάμενος τὸ ῥῆον, “having accepted what was said [as an omen].” Compare § 137, below: δεξάμενα ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ δίδοις, and ix. 91: δέκαμοι τὸν ἄλοχον τῶν Ἡγεσίστατον.

230 οὖν μέρος, “a mere nothing.” The account which the messenger gives in ESCHYLUS agrees with this:

Ἡμεῖς ἐκφωνήσατε οὖν πολλαί τιμῆς ἴππων ἱλανίων γιαῖς.—(Pers. 610.)

231 τὸν τοῦτον καράν. This could not have been the growing harvest; for there would be none at such a season of the year. It probably refers to the stores laid up in the barns of private proprietors.

232 νεμόμενα. From the gender we may suppose the idea of the narrator of this story to have been, that the chariot of the sun was drawn by mares. This, however, does not seem at all likely. In vii. 56, φανέροι ὁ ἑαυτὸς ἄνδρας and of the horse of Cyrus which was drowned in the Gyndes (i. 168) appears by the description to have been a mule. But the known habit of the Persians to use mares for ordinary purposes, possibly caused the adoption of this feature of the story.
On arriving at the Hellespont, the remnant of the army passes over in boats, finding the bridge destroyed. Xerxes arrives at Sardis.

Another story of the return of Xerxes by sea from Eion,

and of the self-devotion of the troops under Artabazus (§ 126) which was in immediate attendance on the king, passed by the bridge, while the mass of the irregulars, spread over the country for the greater facility of obtaining supplies, attempted to cross on the ice. If Xerxes himself had undergone any great personal peril, such as that of the troops described by Eschylus, it is unlikely that the tradition of it would not have remained and been related by Herodotus.
tion of the Persians.

"Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέως ἱκοδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οὐκ εἰναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρία" τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν τοὺς δὲ προσκυνώντας ἐκτηθέειν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν νῆα ἐπικοινωνείσαν, οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν ὡς δὲ ἔκβησαι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Άβρεξα, ποὺσαι τοῖνυν ὁτι μὲν ἐσώτερα βασιλέας τὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῆ στεφάνῳ τῶν κυβερνήτων· ὅτι δὲ Περσῶν πολλῶν ἀπόλλεις, ἀποταμεῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν.

Ὀντος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος ἐπει οὗτοι τῷ Άβρεξῳ νόστουν, ὁδομών ἔμοιγε πιστῶς, οὐτε ἄλλως οὔτε τῷ Περσῶν τούτῳ πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρήθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνητῶν πρὸς Άβρεξα, ἐν μυρίσαμεν ληφόμερσα μιὰν οὐκ ἔχω αντίξουν, μὴ οὔκ ἂν ποὺσαι βασιλέας τοῖνυν· τοὺς δὲν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστροφῶν καταβίβασαι ἐς κοίλην νῆα, ἐστις Πέρσας καὶ Περσῶν τοὺς πρῶτους, τοῦ ἐρετέων, ἑόντων Φωνίκων, οἴκως οὐκ ἀν θηνο διὰ θυσίας τοῖνοι Περσῶν ἔξεβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἂλλ' ο μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον εἰρήται, ὅτι χρεωμένοις ἀμα τῷ ἄλλῳ συναποδότηκε ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον φανεται γὰρ Άβρεξης ἐν τῇ ὁπίσω κοιμηθήκων ἀνακόμοιος ὡς 'Αδηπρα, καὶ ξεινὶν τῇ σφί συνδέμενος, καὶ δωρησάμοις αὐτοῦς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσῆ καὶ τύρη χρυσοπάτας καὶ ὡς αὐτολ λέγουσι 'Αδηπρίται, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ τις οὐδάμως πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ἱώνιν φεύγοιν εἰς 'Αθηναῖον ὑπὸσι, ὡς ἐν κινήσει ἐστι οὐ δὲ 'Αδηπρα ἰδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἐλλησσάρου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρομόνον καὶ τῆς Πιὼνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶν ἐπιβιβάζειν ἐν τῇ νῆα.

221 οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of V and P. The other MSS have οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται δ λόγος, which appears to be, if anything, the preferable reading.

222 ἔξεβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Whatever discredit the story of the devotion of the Persians may deserve, no person who had ever been at sea in bad weather, would imagine that additional security would have been gained by drowning the crew, and putting in their places a number of landmen, who probably had never touched an oar, and most likely were half dead from sea-sickness. I am inclined to think that §§ 119, 120, proceed, not from Herodotus, but from an ancient commentator or editor, perhaps an Alexandrine grammarian. (See notes 432 on ii. 145, and 90 on iv. 32.)

227 δὲ καὶ πρῶτον εἰρήται. Gaisford prints, on the authority of M, P, K, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι εἰρήται. But the other MSS omit the pronoun, and, I believe, with justice. See the last note.

228 ζεινίν σφί συνδέμενος. See note 331 on vii. 120.

229 τὰ δὲ 'Αδηπρα ἰδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἐλλησσάρου μᾶλλον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But the others have πρὸς τοῦ Ἐλλησσάρου δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ 'Αδηπρα ἰδρυται,—a variation which suggests the probability of the whole clause being originally a marginal note.
The allies break up from Andros, and after laying waste the domain of Caryatida, return to Salamis and divide the spoils. The allies break up from Andros, and after laying waste the domain of Caryatida, return to Salamis and divide the spoils.

Special offering of the Aeginetans. Afterwards the congress at the Isthmus awards the second

The temple, symbolized by two triumphs of the Aeside, led by Athens, over Trojans, represented by figures combatting. In the east gable (which refers to the expedition against Laomedon) it is the Aesidal Teleamon, in the western (referring to that against Priam) it is Ajax, who represents Aeginetan valour. Athens appears in each gable. For the full description of the groups, see Thielsch, in Boettiger's Amalthea, i. p. 137. It has been shown by Dr. Wordsworth (Athens and Attica, p. 265) that this temple, which is situated eight miles from the city of Aegina, in the N.w. corner of the island, is not, as has been supposed, identical with that of the Panhellenian Zeus. (See note on ix. 7.)

The triumph of the Hellenic race over the Asiatics appears in the two tympana of the temple, symbolized by two triumphs of the Aeside, led by Athens, over Trojans, represented by figures combats.

The allies break up from Andros, and after laying waste the domain of Caryatida, return to Salamis and divide the spoils.

Special offering of the Aeginetans. Afterwards the congress at the Isthmus awards the second
τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων ἐνθαῦτα πάς
tis autōn ἐσωτέρο ἐπίθετα τὴν ψήφων, αὐτὸς ἐκατοσ τοικέων ἄρι
stoις γενέσαι δεύτερα δὲ, οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξεπίπτεντον Θεμιστοκλέω
crίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐμονούντος Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δεστερείοις
ὑπερβάλλετο πολλόν. Οὗ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν
Ελλήνων φθόνοι, ἀλλ' ἀποπλοώντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἐσωτήρ
ἀκρίτων, ὦμοι Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβόηθησε τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ	pολλόν Ἕλληνων σοφότατος ἀνὰ πάσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα. ὧν δὲ

124 Great credit of Themis
tocles throughout Hellas, and honors
paid to him at Laco
damnion.

125 Anecdote of his reply to the civil of Timo
demus.

the parties concerned was symbolized by
the laying out the pebbles upon the altar,
as in secret voting it was by taking them
from it. Gaisford, following the minority
of MSS, prints διεύκολοτο. Two (S and
V) have ἰφέρων.

214 μηδὲν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἄθροισ.
This is entirely confirmed by the account
of the Athenian orator in Thucydides,
who says of Themistocles, that he ἀείθα
tatоς ἐν τῷ οὐκ αὐτέρχεται ἑγένετο,
ὥσπερ σοφότατα θεωρεῖ τὰ πράγματα καὶ
ἀναλών δὲ τούτο διὰ μάλιστα ἐμπήκον ἄν

56, and note 531 on vii. 205.

245 'Αφίδναιος. The manuscript S has
'Αθήναιος, and Valla's translation neither
the one nor the other. There is some
difficulty in understanding the gist
of Themistocles's retort if Timodemos
were a native either of Athens or Aphidna.
Belbina is said to be a small island off
cape Sounium. Scylax (p. 40), Plato
(Plat. Polit. 1. § 4), and Plutarch (Themis-
t. § 18) tell the story, but make the adver-
sary of Themistocles a native of the little
island Serifos. See notes 494 on ii. 100;
368 on iv. 144; 263 on v. 92; 154 on vii.
46.

246 ἦν Belbiniης. See the last note.
URANIA. VIII. 124—128. 385

126

Artabazos δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσης λόγιος καὶ πρόσθε ἐδώ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Παταιών καὶ μάλλον ἐπὶ γενόμενος, ἔχον δὲ μυρίας εἰστὶ τοῦ Μαρδώνος ἐξελέγατο, προσέπεπτε βασιλεία μέχρι τοῦ πόλου ὡς δὲ ὦ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ 'Δοσὶ, ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ λιπωνᾷ περιεύμενας κατὰ τὴν Παλλῆν ἐγένετο, ἀπὸ τὴν Παλλῆν ἐγένετο, ὁ Μαρδώνιος τῷ χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας, καὶ οὐδὲν καὶ καταπελεγόντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἀλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔδικαιον, ἐντυχεὶν ἀπεστείωσι Ποτιδαιμίσης, μὴ οὐκ ἔξωραποδίσασθαι σφαῖρας οἱ γαρ Ποτιδαιμίται, ὅς βασιλεὺς παρεξελεύκηκε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῦ Πέρσης οἰκούσεις φύγον ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, ἐκ τοῦ ταυριοῦ ἀποτάσσας απὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ὦι τῆς Παλλῆν ἐχοῦσες, ἐναύσῃ δὴ ὁ Ἄρταβαζος ἐπολούρκη τῆς Ποτιδαίην. Τοποτεύοντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Ολυμπίους ἀποτάσσασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ταυτὴν ἐπολούρκη ἕχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοτταίων ὥς καὶ τοῦ 'Ερμαλοῦ κόλπου ἐξαναστάτες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων 247. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφαῖρας ἕλε πολυρρέων, κατέσφαξε ἔξογαγος ἐς λιμνήν τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδον Κριτο- βοῦρ Θεομαλῆ ἐπιτροπεῖεν, καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει 248, καὶ οὖν ὁ 'Ολυμπίου 'Χαλκιδεῖς ἐσχον. Ἐξελέγω δὲ ταυτὴν ὁ Ἄρταβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένοις προσεῖχε προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προ- βύριοι συντίθεται προδοτικὸ Τιμόξενος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατοῦ δυναὶ μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἐγογκείχον ἐς εἰπέσθαι οἱ γαρ δυνά- λεγέναι τέκνα μετοικὸν ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ Λυβίων ἡράσκει ἡ Τιμόξενος, ἐθέλον παρὰ Ἄρταβαζον πέμψαι, ἢ Ἄρταβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξενον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας 249 περείλλοντες καὶ περιστράντος τὸ βυθιόν, ἐγένετο εἰς συνεκέμενον χωρὸν. ἐπάϊστος

127

He also takes Olym- phis, destroys the inhabitants, and fills the town with Chalcidians.

128

He concerta the betrayal of Potidea with one Timo- renaus of Scione.

247 Βοτταίων οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαλοῦ κόλπου ἐξαναστάτες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. See note 349 on vii. 127.

248 τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει. Probably the old feud between Chalcis and Eretria still survived sufficiently to render this step a politic one. See the note 291 on v. 99. The Chalcidians of these parts formed a portion of Xerxes’s army (vii. 185), perhaps not altogether against their will, as the Persian vengeance had been especially aroused against Eretria.

249 παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας. This is the reading of all the MSS, and seems required. The course taken was, to wrap the parchment on which the communication was written round the shaft of the arrow till it reached the barbs, not round the barbs themselves. It was so managed as not to attract attention, except under such a close inspection as would arise when a man was wounded. Hence the feather was set on the parchment roll, which doubtless at a little distance was taken for the shaft.
δὲ ἐγνετοὶ δ Ῥιμόζεινος προδίδοις τὴν Ποτίδαιαν τοξεύων γὰρ ἄ "Ἀρτάβαξος ἐστὶ συγκεκριμένοι, ἀμαρτών τοῦ χρονίου τούτου, βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτίδαιτει τὸν ἀμοινὸν τὸν ἃ βληθέντα περιέβιρα ὄμολος, οἶοι φιλεῖς γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ αὐτῖκα τὸ τοξεύμα λαβώντες, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυθιλὸν, ἔρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναιοῖν συμμαχήσας τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιλεξα
cένοια τὸ βυθιλὸν καὶ μαθῶσι τὸν ἀυτὸν τῆς προδοσίας, ἐδοξῆ
cῇ κατατλέξαι Τιμόζεινον προδοσία, τῆς Σκιαναῖοιν πόλιος εὐθεία, μὴ νομίζολατε εἶναι Σκιαναίοι ἐς τῶν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προ
dότας ἀ μὲν ὅτι τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ ἐπάϊστος ἐγεγονεί. Ἄρταβαξὸς δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολυκέοντι ἐγεγονείσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμεσος τῆς

329 After three months he loses a great part of his army in an attempt to pass the walls of the city during an ebb tide.
'Ασίη βεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατήν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθυνε ὁ "Δίβυς", ἐγεμέρισεν ἐν Κύμην ἀραμὸς δὲ έπιπλάσαιους, πράτοις 244 συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμων αἱ δὲ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ ἐγεμέρισαν αὐτοῦ Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεὺρες ἐπεβαίνωσεν στρατηγὸς δὲ σφί ἐπίθλου δύσθνης, Μαρδόνις τε ὁ Βαγαλοὺ καὶ 'Αρταγύνης 245 ὁ 'Αρταγύνης συνήχθη δὲ τούτου καὶ ἀδελφόν, αὐτοῦ 'Αρταγύνης προσελέγον, Ἰθαμίρης 246. ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προῆσαν ἀνωτέρω 247 τὸ πρὸς ἐσπερίας, οὐδὲ ἐπηράγαθεν οὐδεὶς ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι, ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίνην µὴ ἀποστῆνε, ἂν ἠχοῦντε σὺν τῇς Ιάσι τριγκοσίοις, οὐ µὲν οὖδε προσεδέκτω τούτως 'Ελληνας ἐλευθεραί ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίνην, ἀλλ' ἀποχρέσθησαν σφί τὴν ἑωτὰν φυλάσσειν σταθμεύοντες μὴ σφίασι οὐκ ἐπεδιοξάνειν εἰκόνος ἐκ Σαλαμίνος, ἀλλ' ἀμενος ἀπαλάσσοντο. κατὰ µὲν τὴν τῆς θάλασσας ἑσωμενοῦν ἔκτας τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῷ δὲ εὐδοκεῖν πολλάν 248 κρατήσειν τὸν Μαρδόνις ἔντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ, ἄμα µὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ τὶ δυνατόν κακὸν τῶν πολεμίους ποιεῖν, ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἀτακοῦστον ὁκενείᾳ προέϕεται τὸν Μαρδόνιν πρῶγματα.

Τοῦς δὲ 'Ελληνας τὸ τε ἔσορ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐναι. ο µὲν δὴ πεζὸς οἷον συνελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ναυτικός 249 ἀπίκετο ἐς Ἀγίουν, νῆες ἀρμιδών δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν στρατηγός δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἢν Λευτερίδης ὁ Μενάρεος, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεως 250, τοῦ

244 πράτοι, "early." The manuscripts S, V, d have πρώτων. But πράτοι seems to be the true reading both here and in St. John’s Gospel (i. 43), where the trace of it remains in the Latin “mane” of the Codex Veronensis, although no Greek manuscript gives any thing but πρῶτον or πρώτων.

245 'Αρταγύνης. It seems not unlikely that the two generals were connected with each other; for a Bages, son of an Artaunites, appears elsewhere (iii. 128, where see note 363). There was also an Artaunites, son of an Ithamitres (vii. 67, where see note 219).

246 'Ιθαμίρης. The MSS have ὁ 'Ιμηρίας, doubts-doubts of the confusion in uncial copies between IGAMITRHS and IOAMITRHR. In ix. 102, all have Ἰθαμίρης or Ἰθαμίρης, where the same person is meant.

247 ἰσημέρων. The use of this word here is very singular. But there is a similar one below: ὅτε τούτος µὲν βαρβάρος τὸ πρὸς ἐπίθλον ἀνωτέρω Ζήλου µὴ τελέσαν καταστάσει, καταφελεῖται. τούτο δὲ 'Ελληνας, κρητίζοντας Χλας, τὸ πρὸς ὄτε κατηγόρων Ἀδριάν (§ 132). From the analogy of ἀφέναι and κατέρχεσθαι, one may suppose that the phrases ἀφέναι and κατερχεσθαι would respectively mean "away from" and "towards" some port regarded as a centre. In the present case this would be some place on the Asiatic main,—perhaps Ephesus, which was the port through which the commerce with Europe mainly passed. (See note 312 on i. 162.)

248 πολλάν. So Gaisford prints from S and V. The other MSS have πολλὰς.

249 ο δὲ ναυτικὸς. See above, note 203 on § 130.

250 τοῦ Ἡγησίλεως. In vi. 65, all the MSS, without any exception, make Agis
The are indeed to move as far as Delos by some Ionian exiles,
the grandfather of Lecytichides,—a difference which can only be accounted for by supposing different sources. CLINTON (P. H. ii. p. 209) considers the present passage corrupt. And there are doubtless many great difficulties in it. In the first place, Aristodemus and his three ancestors can in no way be said (conformably with ordinary accounts) to have been kings of Sparta, as the country was subdued in the time of Aristodemus at the very earliest. Again, all the descendants of Theopompus, from Anaxandrides to Hippocratides both inclusive, are unknown from any other authority as kings of Sparta. In their place PAUSANIAS (iii. 7. 5) gives Zeuzidamus (grandson of Theopompus, his father Archidamus having died), Anaxandrides, Archidamus, Agasticles, and Ariston. This Ariston is the person mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 61). In some other details Pausanias's list of the Procleid house differs from that of Herodotus. He puts a Sois between Procles and Eurypon, which latter he calls Eurypon, and reverses the order of Eunomus and Polydeuces. But it would be very rash to place implicit dependence upon any one list, and to attempt to correct the others by it, as there is little probability that any one rests upon contemporaneous records. See note 217 on i. 65.

281 to Πρωτάνως. One manuscript (P) omits this name.

282 Ἀθηναίοι δέ ἀπετράγηκαν Πάθεττος δ' Ἀρίφρονος. This was the father of the great Pericles. The reputation of Themistocles seems to have occasioned a difficulty in later times to account for his not appearing in command on this occasion; and Diodorus puts together a number of facts to explain the matter. According to him, the distinction gained by the Athenians at Salamis was such, that a general opinion prevailed that they would put forward a claim to the hegemony. In order to thwart this, the Lacedaemonians by their influence caused the Aristeus to be adjudged to the Aeginetans, as it seems from Herodotus (§ 122, above) was done. But now, dreading the effects of this, they found it necessary to conciliate Themistocles personally; and hence the distinctions which were heaped upon him. The Athenians in their turn, angry with Themistocles for receiving these honours, deposed him, and appointed Xanthippus in his place (xi. 27). A more simple explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact, that a new campaign having begun, new commanders were naturally appointed; and certainly the most important post for an Athenian statesman would no longer be at the head of the fleet, after the enemy's navy had been destroyed, and while he had an enormous army in Thessaly.

283 Στραττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ. This Stratittis was one of the Ionian dynasts who discussed the question whether they should destroy the bridge which Darius
URANIA. VIII. 132, 133.

389

had thrown across the Ister, when the failure of his expedition into Scythia had become manifest (v. 136). He had no doubt been replaced in his position by the Persians, when they recovered Ionia after the revolt had been crushed by the capture of Miletus (vi. 31). The dative case ἀνατέτατο is analogous to ἔλεβε (i. 31), and also to the adjectives ἄχρι and ἀνάλι (i. 41; ix. 61).

264 ἀνατέτατο. See note 186 on v. 72. 265 τὴν ἄνω διώκοντι διὰ τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον. This observation has been noticed as an extravagant exaggeration on the part of the author. "His object is here, by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase during his own time, of nautical power and enterprise among his European fellow countrymen, of which result the victories he had just celebrated were a principal cause. And in his zeal to produce this illusive effect he would have us believe, that prior to the epoch of those victories the great central port of Samos, which was probably even in those days little less familiar to Attic merchants and seamen than the port of Piraeus, was viewed by the Greek commanders stationed at Delos, within sight of this very Samos, much in the light of some terra incognita or ultima Thule of the eastern waters." (MURR. Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece, iv. p. 406.)

These remarks seem to leave out of consideration that the fleet was under the command of a Lacedaemonian, totally unused to operations by sea, and that the "Hellenes" in the text have reference merely to the commandant and his staff. The feeling remarked with regard to the distance of Samos (not from Delos, but from Sparta) probably arose in a great measure from the failure of the enterprise against that island, recorded in iii. 56. That expedition, the first undertaken to Asia since the Dorian invasion, turned out so badly, that it is not wonderful if \* a voyage to Samos \* became proverbial at Sparta for an unlucky enterprise. It will be seen that next year, when the Spartan admiral adopted a more venturous policy, it was in the sequel of an omen, which in ancient ways of thinking would be regarded as a most important matter. If any superstitious persons thought that a spell was laid upon all expeditions to Samos, here was an indication that the spell was broken.

264 ἀνατέτατο διώκοντι. See note 257 on § 130, above.

265 ἄχρι διώκοντι. Herodotus elsewhere uses the form χειρώπισεν in this sense (see note 321 on § 113, above). And it is the more extraordinary that he should not have done so here, as he employs the word χυμίζων in a different sense (vii. 191). See the note on that passage.

266 Ἔσπερησα. This was a town called Europolis in Macedonia, and another in Syria, the latter of which however is of later times than the conquest of Alexan-
390 HERODOTUS

de talks to the Delphian oracle about the future of the city. The oracle says: "The city will be destroyed by fire." This message is received by the people of the city and they prepare for the worst. However, the city is saved from the fire and remains intact. This event is recorded in the Histories of Herodotus.

The city, however, is not destined for destruction. Instead, it is warned to prepare for a new enemy. The oracle predicts that a great army will invade the city and destroy it. This prophecy is dismissed by the people, who believe that the city is invincible. However, their belief is put to the test when the army arrives.

Herodotus describes how the army approaches the city and how the people are prepared for battle. The city is defended with courage and determination, and the army is eventually driven back. This event is recorded in the Histories of Herodotus.

The story of the city and its warning from the oracle serves as a reminder of the importance of preparedness and the consequences of complacency. It also highlights the power of prophecy and the role it plays in shaping the course of history.

The story is told to warn future generations of the dangers of neglecting the warnings given by those who possess the gift of prophecy. It serves as a lesson in the importance of heeding the advice of those who can see beyond the present moment and into the future.
upon the final settlement of the struggle between the Cadmean invaders and the aboriginal population of the country. Amphiasraus was a hero belonging to the mythology of the latter. He was propitiately and converted into an ally by respecting the privileges of his worshippers, or, in other words, by leaving his ritual in the hands of that race to which it belonged. It is to be remarked, that just before the battle of Leuctra, which led to the re-establishment of a Messenian and Arcadian influence in the Peloponnesse, the Thebans consulted exactly the same oracles which Mys did on the occasion of Mardonius's commission, with the addition only of that of Delphi. And some connexion of the oracle at Delphi with that of Amphiasraus at Oropus appears from the argument of Hyperides (Pro Euxenippo, col. 28, line 21).

273 Ακραφίνης. This is the reading of F, b, d. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has Ακραφίνης. But in Paeanias (ix. 23. 5) the town is called Ακραφίνων. It was a mere hamlet within the territory of Thebes until the destruction of that city by Alexander, when a portion of the population found refuge there. The temple of Apollo Ptoüs was fifteen stades from the town, on the right of the road which led to it from Thebes. The legend made Ptoüs, from whom the surname of the god was derived, a son of Athanas and Themistocles. The poet Asiaus of Samos is regarded by Paeanias as the authority for it, other accounts relating that Mys consulted the oracle in his own language, and not merely, as Herodotus puts it, understood the latter when speaking in a foreign tongue. This would be the more natural proceeding, if we suppose (which there is every reason to believe) that the oracle was originally founded antecedently to the invasion of the Cadmeans, and belonged to the old inhabitants of the country,—a population pretty nearly identical with the autochthonous part of the population of Attica, and with that of the Megarid at the time when the acropolis of Megara was called Caria. (See note 167 on v. 66.) An acquaintance with the ancient language would doubtless be preserved by the functionaries of the temple.
On receiving the responses of the several oracles, Mardonius despatches Alexander the Macedonian prince as a commissioner to Athens.

long after it ceased to exist, as a living one, in the neighbourhood. Most probably formularies in it constituted a portion of the religious service of the deity. The proceeding of Mys would be, in this view, analogous to that of a person who should address the Brahmins of Benares in Sanscrit, or the ecclesiastics of a Transalpine Romanist church in Latia. It would be a stroke of policy in Mardonius to employ as his agent an individual familiar with the religious system to which the temples visited by him belonged.

377 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμαντέων. For the conduct of this Alexander, in his younger days, to the Persian embassy at his father's court, see v. 19—21. But his Persian brother-in-law was the son of Megabazus, the chief who had organized the European continent from the Hellespont to the Strymon, and who stood in the highest favour with Darius. (See note 111 on vi. 44.) He therefore had doubtless modified his views, and probably hoped to become in Europe what Histiaeus had been in Asia. Compare the overtures of Hydarnes to the Spartans, Sperthus, and Bulls (vii. 138).

378 Άνδρα Μακεδόνα. This is the description by which Alexander is introduced to notice in vii. 173, where see the note.

379 Ἀλάβαστρα. Stephanus Byzantinus appears to have found the reading 'Ἀλάβαστρα in his copy. But although Alabanda in Caria is well known, there is no notice elsewhere of an Alabanda in Phrygia, or of an Alabaster any where whatever. 380 πρόεδρος τοῦ καὶ ἑνεργεύτης. This connexion was probably one not with Athens, but with the Ptolemaic dynasty. Amynatas, the father of Alexander, had offered Hippia in the town Anthemus on his final abandonment of the attempt to recover Athens (v. 94). But after the discomfiture of the Persians at Salamis, and the growth of the power of the commonalty (which took such a start from that event; Aristot. Pol. v. p. 1304), it became an absolute necessity to represent the relations which formerly subsisted between the great dynastic families in a false light. See notes 197 and 201 on i. 60; notes 213 and 214 on i. 63; note 166 on v. 68; and note 315 on vi. 140. It is perhaps out of delicacy to democratic feelings that Alexander, both here and above, vii. 173 (where see the note), being spoken of as a friend to the Athenians, is described without any reference to his exalted position.

381 [τῶν Ἐλαμηκῶν]. One manuscript (S) has Ἐλαμήνες, another Ἐλαμηκῶν, and a third τὰ τῶν Ἐλαμηκῶν, variations which induce the belief that the whole originate in a marginal gloss.
Δ' αν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον οἱ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς δὲ πειθόμενος ἐπεμπεῖ 222. 

Τὸ ὁ Ἀλέξάνδρου τούτου ἐξόντος γενέτωρ Περίκλης ἔστι, ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τούτῳ 222. Ἐτὶ Ἀργείως ἐφύγον ἐς Ἰλιρίδος τῶν Πηνελόπων τρεῖς ἀδέλφεις, Γανάνης τε καὶ Ἀρέστος καὶ Περίκλης ἕκαστο ἐς Ἰλιρίδος ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίαν, ἀπίκουντο ἐς Δεξαίμην πόλιν ἐνεπάλται δὲ ἐδήθησάν εὐπρεπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ μὲν ἕποντο νεῶν, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περίκλης τὰ λεπτά τῶν προβάτων ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ οἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενεῖς χρῆσαν 222. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὗτος ὥσπερ τῷ βασιλεῖς αὐτὴ τὰ συντά σφι ἐπέσει δικαὶ δὲ ὅτι διότι ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητοῦ Περίκλεους, διπλήπως ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἐνωῦτο ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶν τούτων ἐγίνετο, ἐπί πρὸς τῶν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐνωτῆς τῶν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐστὶνλε αὐτίκα, ὡς ἐχεί τέρας καὶ φέροι ἐς μέγας τῶν καλέσας δὲ τούς θητας, προηγηρεύει σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι εἰς γῆς τῆς ἑνῶτοι οἱ δὲ τῶν μισθῶν ἔφασαν δικαίους εἶναι ἀπολυμένους, οὔτω ἐξένειν ἐνεπάλται ὁ βασιλεῖς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἣν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καταπολέμησιν τῶν οἰκὸν ἑσέχουν ὁ θῶος, ἐπεὶ θεοβλάβης γενόμενος: "μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ἔννοι οὗτοι ἄνωθεν ἀποδίδωμι" δεξιάς τῶν θῶος. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γανάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀρέστος, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἐστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὥς ἦκοντο ταῦτα: ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύχειν γὰρ ἓκοι μάχαιραν, ἐπιπερ τὰ δὲ δεκόμεθα, ὁ βασιλεῖς, τὰ διδοῖς 222. περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς

222 δέκα δ' αἱ καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια . . . πειθόμενοι ἐκτείνει. The manuscripts S and V have δέκα δὲ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα ἐπεμπέσοντο, and S οἱ προλέγοι. Instead of οἱ τοιχοθετεῖ, all but S and V have τοιχοθετεῖ. There can certainly be little doubt that Mardonius's object was not a purely spectacular one; but that he was endeavouring to shake the Greek confederacy by means of an appeal to the religious preceptions of a portion of it.

223 οἱ κτησάμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τούτῳ. Τοιχοθετεῖ so far coincides with Herodotus in his account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, as to make Pericles the first of them, and Archelaus (the son of Alexander) the eighth (ii. 100). The traditions therefore which both these writers follow are entirely distinct from those which make the original founder of the empire to be Ceresus, a brother of Phidon the dynasty of Argos.

224 ἦσαν δὲ τὰ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενεῖς χρῆσαν. The instances in the Homeric poems of Nausicaa employed in washing the garments of the family (Odys. vi. 57, seqq.), and of the brothers of Andromache slain while tending their father's herds (IIiad. vi. 422) will recur to every one.

225 δεκόμεθα, ὁ βασιλεῖς, τὰ διδοῖς. There is no "ambiguous answer" here as has been supposed. According to ancient
τὸ ἕδαφος τοῦ ὦκου τῶν ἠλιῶν περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κάποτν τρίς ἀρναμένος τοῦ ἠλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον.

138 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπόκαμα τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ σημαίνει τῶν τοὺς παρέδρον ὁλὸν τῇ χρήσιν ποιήσας ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὁς σὺν νῷ ψύχον ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἄκουσας, καὶ ἔμυθε, πέμπει ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἂπην ἀπολέουσα. ποταμῷ δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσα οἱ τούτων τῶν ἁγίων ἄρτοι "Ἀργεός ἀπόγονοι σωτήρια". οὗτος, ἐπει τε διέβησαν οἱ Τημευθήι, μέγας οὐτοὶ ἐμφάνισαν ὡς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῶν τῆν ἂπην, μὴ οὖν τῇ γενέσθαι διαβαθήσατα. οἱ δὲ, ἀπηκόμηκαν εἰς ἄλλην Ἰτιν τῆς Μακεδονίας, οἴκησαν πελάς τῶν κηπῶν τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μιθ. τοῦ Γορδίεων ἐν τῷ Ιερέως, τὸ αὐτόματα Ῥόδα, ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἔσκοι ἐξήκοντα ψῆλλα, ὁδη τε ὑπερφτέρωται τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτουσι καὶ ὁ Σιλήνος 43 τοῖς κῆποις ἥψιλο, ὡς λέγεται ἄπο τοῦ Μακεδονών ῥέτε δὲ τῶν κηπῶν ὦρος κέεται, Βέρμιος 433 σύνομα, ἄβαστον ἐπὶ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεύτω δὲ ὁμοίωμενος, ὡς τούτην ἐμποίη, καταστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίνην. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περίδικου Ἀλέξανδρος ὁδὲ ἠγεγονεὶ Ἀμίντων παῖς ἵν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀμίντης δὲ Ἀλέκτων Ἀλέκτων ἡ παῖς ἡ Ἀδρεπος· τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος· Φίλιππος δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περίδικος ὁ κηραμώμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. ἠγεγονεὶ μὲν δὴ ὁδὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμίντων.

139 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς 'Αθῆνας ἀποτυποθεῖτο ἄπο τοῦ Μαρδονίου, ἠλεγε τάδε: "Ἀνδρεὶς 'Αθηναίοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει, ἐμοὶ ways of thinking the offer and the omen are inseparable from each other, and both from the actual object which was visible to the eye,—the sunlight streaming into the hut. Hence the gesture of Periander, as if securing his new possession. See notes on ix. 91, 92.

280 σωτήρια, "a thank-offering for preservation." Several of the MSS have σωτηρίων, which Gaisford adopts. But although the name σωτήρ is applied as a surname to many of the ancient deities, the position of the word at the end of the sentence, without any explanation that it was a surname, would be unusual.

281 Ἄληνος. The legend of Silenus, and his dialogue with Midas, upon physical subjects as well as the philosophy of life, appears to have been a very popular one in antiquity. Theopompos seems to have gone most fully into the details of the matter. He made Silenus the son of a nymph, and to be something greater than a man (for he was represented as immortal), although less than a deity (cp. Her. iii. 18). Aristotle (cp. Plutarch, Consol. § 27) introduced an allusion to Silenus in one of his own exoteric works, written in dialogue, entitled Eudemus, or On the soul. But this does nothing more than invite us to him a peculiarly dark view of human existence. His sentiment is: ἅρπτον γὰρ τοις καὶ τάσιμα μη γενέσθαι τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἄνωτερον, δεύτερον δὲ, τὸ γενομέναν ἀποθανεῖν ἕως τάχιστα.

282 Βέρμιος. S and K have Βέρμιος, which is confirmed by Valla's forms Berbinus. Another (d) has Κέρμιος.

283 ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς 'Αθήνας. The Athenians apparently returned home immediately after the retreat of Xerxes' army northwards (§ 113), although the circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus.

284 Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. See note
ἀγγελῆ ἦσει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὗτον Ἀθηναίων τας ἀμαρ-
tάδας τας ἐς ἔμε ἔξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετῆμιν· νῦν τε ὡδὲ, Ἄρανδωνε, ποιεῖ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος· τοῦτο δὲ, ἄλλῳ πρὸς ταύτη ἐλέσθων αὐτοὶ ἦτινα δὲ ἐξ ἐνεχθές αὐτῶν· ἵνα ταῦτα σφι, ὡσ ἄφοιλανταγε νὰ ἐμοὶ ὅμολογια, ἀνόρθωσον, ἄσα ἄγο ἐνεχθῆς. τοῖν όμων ἀπαγέχουν, ἄναγκαιῶς ἦσει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντὶ οὗτοι 291 ἐνεκταγε Λέγον δὲ ὑμῶν τάδε· νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πολεμοῦ βασιλεία ἀνταερίχαμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἄν ἐπερβάλλονθε οὗτο οἷοι τε ἐστὶ ἀντέχειν τοῦ πάντα χρόνον εἴδετε μὲν ἀν τῆς Ἀέρξεως στρατηγιαὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἐργὰ παιδανεῦσεν δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ 292 ἐσούσιν δύσαμεν ὡστε καὶ ἂν ἡμέας ἐπερβάλεσθε, καὶ νικήσετε, (τοῖπερ ὑμῶν οὐδὲν μᾶλις ἐξερχετο εἰς φρονεῖς, ἠλλὰ παρέσται πολλαπλασια, μὴ ἂν βούλεσθε παρεκεφήμοι βασιλεία, 293, στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χόρης, θέειν δὲ αἰὲ ἔπρι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθη παρέχει δὲ ὑμῶν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλεός ταύτῃ ὁρμημένοι. ἔστε ἐλεύ-
θεροι, ὡμῶν ὁμαχυμηνοι συνήθεμοι ἃνε τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρ-
dόνεοι μὲν ταῦτα, ὡ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνετειλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας-
έγα, δὲ περὶ μὲν εἴνοις τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐνυπαχνὴς εἰς ἐμεῖς ἐνδεικν λέξων (οὐ γὰρ ἄν νῦν πρῶτων ἐκμάθητε 293.) προσχρήσθη δὲ ὑμῶν, πείθεσθαι Μαρδόνων ἐνορέω γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἦσθε, τε ἐσομένου τοῦ πάντα χρόνον πολεμεύνειν Ἀερξυ (εἰ γὰρ ἐνόροι τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κατε ἦν ὑμέας ἢ πρῶτον ἐγὼς τούτων τύσδε) καὶ ἄρα δύσως ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπον ἡ βασιλείας ἐστί, καὶ χειρ ἰπερμήνησε 294. ὡς ἂν μὴ αὐτικα ὅμολογησετε, μεγάλα προτεινώντων ἐπι ἔοι ὅμολογειν

118 on iii. 40. One manuscript (K) has for ἐλεγε ταδε simply λέγει, and then proceeds: ἄγγελη ἢςει παρα βασιλεος, κ.τ.λ. 291 ἀντίων. This is the ingenious emendation of Valcknaer, all the MSS having αὐτῶν. 292 παρ’ ἐμοὶ. This is the reading of one manuscript (a). The rest, with one exception, have παρ’ ἐμι. 293 παρεσέσμοι βασιλεῖ, “putting yourselves on a footing with the king.” The expression is used elsewhere of the proceeding of Aryandes, who, by issuing a coinage, put himself on the footing of an independent prince: παρεσέσμοι Δα-

322 ἔστε δὲ αἰὲ περὶ ὑμῶν αὑτῶν. A similar expression is used above (vii. 57): περὶ ἑαυτοῖς τρέχων. 293 οὐ γὰρ ἃν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθητε. This apparently refers to the communication made to the allies when they were encamped in the valley of the Peneus. See above, vii. 173. 294 χειρ ἰπερμήνησε. Ovid has rendered this proverbial expression into Latin: “An necas longas regibus esse manus?” (Heroid. xvii. 166.)
ἐθέλουσι, δεσμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων, ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε θεορομένων μοῦνο, ἐξαίρετον τι μεταίγμαν τὴν γῆν κεκτήμενον. ἄλλα πείθεσθε πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἤξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ μέγας μοῦνοι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπεικ θελείς φιλός γενέσθαι." Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἦκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄθικος ἐς ὑμελογίαν ἐξοιτὰ τῷ βασιλέᾷ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀναμισθέντες τῶν λογίων 297, ὁς σφέαροὺς ἐκ τῇ ἄμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Δακεδαμόνιοι διατίθεντο, εἰ ἐπιστάμενοι ὑπὸ ἐμελλόντων τῶν βασιλέων ἄγγελον ἐπὶ ὑμελογίαν, πυθόμενοι τε πέμψαν τὴν τάχιος ἄγγελον· ἐπίτηδες δὲ ἐποίησαν, ἐνεκεκυμνημένοι τοῖς Δακεδαμόνιοι τὴν ἐωτῶν γνώμην. ὦν δὲ ἐπιστασία λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξαμένως ἔλεγεν οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελον "ἡμας δὲ ἐπεμψάν Δακεδαμόνιοι ἐνεργείαν ὑμέων, μὴς νεώτερον ποιεῖν μὴν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μὴς λόγους ἐνδέξεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέας οὔτε γὰρ διεσκορπίσαον οὔτε κόσμων φόρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνων οὐκομοί, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ διὰ τάντας ἡμιστα, πολλοὶ εἴεθεκα· ἔγειρατε γὰρ τόν τοῦ πολεομον ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπετέρης ἀρχῆς 298

297 ἀκινητούργετα τῶν λογίων. These prophecies are perhaps what Cleomenes had brought with him from Athens, after the failure of his attempt to establish Isagoras in power at that place. See v. 90. Possibly they may have been composed by Onomacritus, who appears to have been retained as a sort of family seer by the Piastrids. The oracles, on the strength of which Hippias foretold ill to the Corinthians (v. 93), appear to have had the same general bearing as those referred to in the text.

298 περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχῆς. Wesseling, very naturally surprised at such language as this from Lacedaemonian commissioners to the Athenians, was at one time inclined to read περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλτην ἄλτην καὶ ἄλτην καὶ, in accordance with what Themistocles says to the Ionians: ἀρχηγὸν ἡ ἕξυρὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἄμεον καὶ ἄμεον γέγονεν (above, § 92). But the speech, although put into the mouth of a Spartan, is from an Athenian mint, and of a coinage later than the time when the ἱερομανία was transferred from Lacedaemon to Athens. See the note 243 on v. 91. A similar remark is suggested by what presently follows: οἱ τινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος φαινεθα πολλοὶ καὶ διατίθεντος πολλοὶ καὶ διατίθεντος τῆς ἀρχῆς. The Lacedaemonians had enjoyed the reputation of universal liberators while their supremacy lasted, which was owing to their habitual policy of substituting aristocratic for dynastic government wherever they could extend their influence. (See the beginning of the speech of the Corinthian Sosicles, v. 92, and Tandycides, cited in the note 243 on the same.) When the Athenians stepped into their place as the leading city in Hellas, they earned the same title.
by supporting the commonalty against an aristocracy against the
Athenians, whose sometimes these two policies were
popularly confused with each other, 
which furnished the orators with abundant material for flattering the national vanity.

οἷς  '"Αθηναίοις ὑπερήφανοι τάτοντας τάδε.""

143

Ariatid.  § 10) the answer to
Alexander was made by Aristides, who
was authorized to return it by a public decree. The terms are, as was to be ex-
pected, more energetic than they appear in Herodotus.
Heredotus

τῶν ἔκεινος ὀδηγεῖν ὅπως ἔχων, ἐνέπροσε τοὺς τε οἰκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιοῦτο δή ἐπι-
φαίνει Ἀθηναίων, μηδὲ δοκεῖν χριστά ὑπορέχειν ἄλλεμπο ἔρευν παραίνει ὃν γὰρ σε βουλήθηκεν ὀδηγὲν ἀχαίρο πρὸς Ἀθη-
ναίων ταῦτας, ἐσύνη πρὸξείνιν τε καὶ φίλον. ἢς ἀλλ' ἀλεξάνδρον ταῦτα ἐπεκρίναντο πρὸς δε τοῖς ἀπὸ 
Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Δακεδαιμόνιος μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαβαρῷ, κάρτα ἄροτριόν ὑπὲρ ἀταραῖος γε οἰκατε, ἐξευτελάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ φρόνημα, ἀρρωθήσατα διὶ οὐ 
χρυσός ἐστὶ νης ἐνδαμώθη τοιοῦτο πάτες χώρα κἂν λαῖοι καὶ ἀρτέ 
μέγα ἑπιφέρουσα, οἷα δὲ, ἐξευτελάμενοι τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ 
φρόνημα, ἀρρωθησάτα διὶ οὐ χρυσὸς ἐστὶ νης ἐνδαμώθη 
τοις ἀρτέ 
μέγα ἑπιφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμέρι ἐξευτελάμενοι 
δὲ, τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ἐνο γαμμὸν τε καὶ ὁμογλωσσὸν, καὶ θεον 
ἴδρυματα τε κοῖνα καὶ 
θυσία, ἤθεα 
τε 
ἐρότρησα τῶν προδότας

303 ὀδηγεῖν ὅπως ἔχων. The word ἔχω is used below, ix. 76. But the word is otherwise peculiar to the Homeric poems, or rather is to be considered as an Ionic phrase, remaining only in them.

304 ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων ταῦτας. In the time of the orator it was commonly believed that Alexander narrowly escaped stoning at the bands of the Athenians on this occasion. (Lycurgus, s. Leocrat. § 72, p. 156.) He represents him however as coming from Xerxes, not from Mardonius.

305 ἐσύνη πρὸξείνιν τε καὶ φίλον. See above, note 280 on § 136.

306 πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα. After the victory of the allies at Platea, it became a popular view of the war at Athens to represent it as one waged against the Persians in revenge for the outrages they had committed in destroying the temples of the Hellenic deities. In this spirit is the oath conceived, which according to the orator Lycurgus (c. Leocrat. § 82, p. 158) was taken by the collective allies just before the battle at Platea: ὁ πολισσαμ 
πρὸ 
κατάληγος τοῦ ἔχων τῆς ἔλενθερας, ὁδὴ 
καταλήγοις τοῦ ἐλεστικὸν ὁδηγὸν καὶ ἀπειθὸν ὑπὸ δῶστ 
θεοῦ ἠπείθε 
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The resolution sworn to at the commencement of the war by the Peloponnesian confederates (vii. 152) is of a much more prac-

tical character.
make themselves out deadly enemies to
the barbarian. Just in the same way the
Parisians under the Directory took pride
in having had relations guillotined during
the reign of terror.

237 τὸν ἰδίᾳ τοῖς οἰκουσίων. This is the
reading of Gaisford and the manuscripts
S and V. The others have the variation
τὸν πρὸς ἢμᾶς ἔσωσαν. Here the differ-
eence is apparently to be attributed to an
original diversity of διασκέδας, and not, as
in v. 81, to the introduction into the text
of an explanatory gloss.
EXCURUSUS ON VIII. 76.

In describing the details of the battle of Salamis, modern writers have, without any exception so far as I am aware, been almost exclusively guided by the narrative of Herodotus; bestowing little or no attention on those features of the transaction which appear in other writers, and which are in some cases altogether incompatible with the details of the historian's account. This is the more to be wondered at, as Herodotus himself plainly intimates, that there were many particulars about which he was unable to speak positively¹; while about some there was a very great disagreement at the time he wrote². Colonel Leake, whose view of the matter seems to have been adopted unhesitatingly by the best modern historians of Greece, gives what appears to me a very false turn to these facts, by the remark, "that, instead of giving a consecutive narrative of the battle, Herodotus has related only a few of the most interesting occurrences; consistently with that determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts, which is observable in every part of his history of the Persian invasion³."

No person can have a higher opinion of the truthfulness of the so-called Father of History than myself, if by this is meant no more than an honest desire to relate such accounts as he received, in the form in which he received them,—to judge on principles of common sense between conflicting statements,—and to avoid the appearance

¹ viii. 87. ² viii. 94, where see note 185. ³ Athens and the Demi of Attica, Appendix II. p. 264.
Map to illustrate the 
BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

The Egyptian fleet is near the island of Euboea, at a distance of about seven geographical miles.

The Egyptian ships have moved in the direction to block the western entrance of the Channel.
of bestowing credence upon such stories as seemed to him manifestly not to merit it. For this, and for the clear eye of an observer, he deserves entire credit. But neither the character of Herodotus's work, nor any thing which has been related of himself by the ancients, warrant us in attributing to him that searching criticism which should lead us (as it might in the case of Thucydides or Aristotle) to prefer his statements to those of a contemporary witness of the events described,—especially if such a one's position had made him an active participator in them.

Now in the case of the battle of Salamis we have the account of a contemporary, deserving of the closest attention,—which, if it had proceeded from a prose-writer, it would probably have received. But the unconscious association in modern minds between the ideas of poetry and fiction has, I believe, deprived the great Greek dramatist of his due weight with our historians. Eschylus, who, even if he did not himself take a part in the action⁴, most undoubtedly was perfectly familiar with it under the aspect which it must have borne to those who did take part in it, produced his play The Persians, of which it constitutes the main feature, only seven years afterwards, before an audience chiefly made up of the very men who had manned the victorious galleys; to whom consequently every line of his description must have vividly recalled circumstances with which they were perfectly familiar. If his availableness for the purpose of the modern historian is somewhat curtailed in one respect, that before such an audience he could not enter into details with which they were well acquainted, although it would be most interesting for us to know them,—details most appropriate to the historian, and which we are thankful to Herodotus for preserving⁵,—there is on the other hand an advantage which he possesses without a rival. It was alto-

⁴ Late writers assert, or assume, that he did (Pausanias, i. 14. 5). But though it is very possible that such was the case, these writers are little to be depended upon for a fact, six centuries old if true, unless it appears that there is some intermediate authority to which they had access. Pausanias seems merely to speak on the strength of the current opinion of his time.

⁵ It is only through an indirect allusion that we can at all infer from Eschylus that Athens had been burnt, and that the whole hopes of the citizens lay in the fleet at Salamis:—

ἐν τῇ Ἀθηνῶν ἔστιν ἀπόρφητος πόλις,
ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἔστω, ἓκος ἐστὶν ἀσφάλεις.—ν. 348, 9.
gether impossible for him, without the certainty of disapproval, to present any view of the transaction which did not commend itself to Athenian eye-witnesses,—full, we may allow, of national prejudices and personal vanity, and quite ready to accept any grouping of the facts which actually occurred that might most flatter themselves, but still eye-witnesses, who would be at once revolted by any picture which contradicted their actual experience. Herodotus, it should be remembered, whatever weight we may please to attach to his individual judgment, is exempted from this corrective influence. Supposing him to have been actuated by even a critical spirit, in the modern sense of the word,—of which however there is not the slightest trace,—his facts were a generation old; the Athenians of his time were the sons and grandsons of those before whom the Persians was acted; and in the forty years or more that had elapsed since the battle, its story had been told over and over again in every family, as the twentieth day of Boëdromion returned, and the schoolboys had a holiday to go and see the procession of Iacchus. It is not at all necessary to suppose wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who fought their battles over again to their children and grandchildren on their knees, in order to believe that the gallant bearing of the Athenian sailors, and the brilliant acts of individual commanders, together with such exciting incidents as the device of Artemisia to escape destruction, were more interesting both to tell and hear, than the accurate notice of times and places and other circumstances attending the movements of the forces engaged; although these were of far more vital importance to success, and by the actual combatants would at the time be felt to be so.

I assume it, therefore, as an axiom, that when Æschylus does relate any particulars of the action of such a kind as must have come under the notice of eye-witnesses, his narrative possesses paramount authority; and that if any incident, or any special notice of time or place appears in Herodotus irreconcilable with these, it must be regarded as erroneous. On the other hand, if any circumstance recorded by the historian, of difficult explanation when we merely regard its agreement with his main story, be yet found to harmonize well with the course of events contemplated in the dramatic narrative, it is to be received without hesitation.

Now, in the description of Herodotus there is room for the appli-
EXCURSUS ON VIII. 76.

cation of each of these principles. It is, I believe, quite incompatible with the view of the battle taken by Æschylus, that the engagement should have commenced—which Herodotus implies it to have done—with the Persian fleet formed in line along the strait between Salamis and the main. This is the position assigned to it by Leake, and it is a view in which he has been unhesitatingly followed. Assuming this position to be the true one, Leake naturally finds a difficulty in the well-known passage of Herodotus 6, in which it is stated that with a view of enclosing the Greeks between the island Salamis and the main, the Persians caused a squadron of ships at Ceos and another at Cynosura to close up. Cynosura was the name of the cape forming the northern headland of the bay of Marathon 7, and as this was more than sixty geographical miles from Salamis,—a distance which could not be completed in the time required,—and as Hesychius adds that it was a generic name given to every thing like a peninsula, Leake identifies it with the cape of St. Barbara (Aghia Varvára), in the island Salamis. But independently of there being no foundation in ancient writers for this arbitrary allocation, Ceos, the island to the s.e. of Sunium, is more than forty geographical miles from Salamis;—a distance almost equally unmanageable in the time which Herodotus allows for the operation. Leake is therefore driven to the necessity of supposing "it is possible that Ceos may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura: it is also possible that there is some error in the text." I will endeavour to show in the sequel that Ceos and Cynosura are respectively the well-known island and cape, and that the real difficulty is occasioned, not by their distance, but by the erroneous notion conceived by Herodotus of the operations of the Persian fleet, which is to be corrected by the help of the description of Æschylus.

Before, however, proceeding to contrast the narrative of the two writers who come near to the time of the events they describe, it will be well to turn for a while to that of Dionysus. Of course no one would wish to compare so vague and modern a compiler with Herodotus, if the question were merely between the judgment of the one and the other; but in this instance our attention is attracted by the fact that in his description of this celebrated action, he is not

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6 viii. 76. 7 Hesychius, s.v. 8 See note 154 on viii. 76.
epitomizing from Herodotus and superadding further facts from his various collections, but is undoubtedly following an entirely different authority;—a circumstance the more remarkable, as a very short time before, he had been taking Herodotus as his text-book. According to the latter, after the Persian fleet had been collected in the bay of Phalerum, the army having in the mean time overrun the whole of Attica and burnt Athens, a council of war is held, and the result of this is, that on the day before the great engagement, it having been determined to fight by sea in the presence of the king, the fleet (or at least the main portion of it) advances to Salamis, and makes dispositions at its leisure with the intention of engaging the next day; while the vanguard of the army marches the same evening upon the isthmus of the Peloponnese, where the Greeks were assembled to oppose it. Diodorus, for his part, makes the Persian fleet proceed at once from the open sea, to attack the Greeks who are drawn up across the strait of Salamis, their line occupying the ferry between the island and the Heracleum on the main*. Other circumstances in which he differs from Herodotus will be mentioned in the sequel; but here it is sufficient to direct attention to the important point, that according to the authority he followed (whatever it may have been), the great engagement begins by the Persians attempting to force their way into the eastern entrance of the strait of Salamis, the Greek line being drawn up across it to oppose them; while in Herodotus they are supposed to be already within the strait and drawn up in line along it, the Greeks being ranged opposite to them along the northern coast of Salamis.

Now if we turn to Æschylus, we find another important variation. His description makes the Persians completely taken by surprise, the Greeks advancing upon them at daybreak quite unexpectedly, and they themselves having made preparations, not for fighting, but only for intercepting an enemy which they imagine to be dispersing stealthily. The narrator attributes the whole calamity which has befallen his countrymen to the false intelligence sent by Themistocles. So indeed do Herodotus and Diodorus. But in those two writers the only benefit resulting to the Greeks from the movements which that intelligence occasioned is, that they are compelled to give up all

* xi. 19.
thoughts of retreating, and to put confidence in themselves. Far
different is it in the view of the dramatic poet. With him the intel-
ligence becomes the cause of the Persians altering a disposition
which was favourable for fighting,—taking up one in which they were
quite disqualified for engaging,—and, while in this, being brought un-
expectedly to an action. This will be plain if attention be given to
the several features brought prominently forward in his description,
although the very fact of his audience having been engaged in the
battle would necessarily (as observed above) prevent him from de-
tailing the manoeuvres in the way that would be proper for an
historian.

Taking Herodotus as our guide up to the point where Æschylus's
description commences, we have the great bulk of the Persian war
gallies, on the day before the action, advanced from Phalerum to
Salamis, too late in the day to render it desirable to fight; so that
all they do is to make at their leisure arrangements for engaging the
next day. There is every reason to believe that their disposition
was within the strait of Salamis, along the coast of the main, from
the roots of Mt. Ægaleos on the west to the headland opposite Cape
St. Barbara, in Salamis, on the east. This would, in fact, be a very
advantageous position. The whole of the coast behind them was
lined with the flower of the Persian army, so that if in the approach-
ing engagement the gallies should chance to be driven on shore, they
would be secure of protection. Their ships were high out of the water,
so that a strong breeze would have been productive of much incon-
venience to them by rendering them difficult to steer 10. Here, being
land-locked, they would be to a great extent protected from this evil.
The great numbers of their vessels would enable them to extend their
line beyond that of the enemy, without at the same time weakening
it; and the narrow channel being unfavourable to manoeuvring, there
seemed every prospect of using with great effect the Sacan and Per-
sian archers from the forecastles of their vessels,—the archers being
an arm in which they placed the greatest confidence 11, and as the

10 Plutarch, Themistocles, § 14.
11 In addition (it would seem) to the native marines, thirty Persians, Sacans, or
Medes were embarked in that capacity on each of the ships furnished by the foreign
dependencies (vii. 184). These would probably be all archers. The Athenian ships
at Salamis had only sixteen marines, of which four were archers, on board of each.
battle of Plataea showed\textsuperscript{12}, with perfect reason. It is after this position has been taken up, opposite to the allied fleet of probably less than half the number of vessels, lying in the bight of Salamis to the west of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvária), that the treacherous message of Themistocles is brought to the Persian commander. Here the detailed narrative of Æschylus begins; and every single particular of it was doubtless intended to have weight. The instant the Persian admiral receives the intelligence, he obviously dismisses all thoughts of a battle from his mind, and bends his whole attention to taking measures for preventing the escape of the supposed fugitives. Orders are at once issued to all the captains for a movement, which is to be carried out as soon as it should be dark\textsuperscript{13}. In the mean time every thing is done which could be done, without attracting attention, to facilitate the intended operations. The men have their supper rations distributed to them, and make their oars fast to the pins\textsuperscript{14}. As soon as it is dark, sailors and marines embark at once, and, encouraging one another with cheers, repair to their respective stations\textsuperscript{15}, the orders having been to block each entrance

(Plutarch, Themistocles, § 14.) Hence the appropriateness of the complaint of the Persian messenger in the play of Æschylus, that the course of events prevented this superiority from being made available:—

\begin{quote}
oùδὲν γὰρ ἦκει τὰξιν τὰς δ’ ἀπάλλυτος
στρατὸς δημασθεὶς ναυσὶν ἐμβολὰς. — Pers. 278.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{12} See ix. 61.

\textsuperscript{13} οδόν τ’ ἐνθάλλος, οὐ δὲξί θόλον
εἶλαμος ἀκολούθα, οὐδὲ τὸν θεῖον φθόνον,
πᾶσιν προφυλάκας τὸ τέωδε ναυάρχοις λόγον.—νν. 361—3.

\textsuperscript{14} βεβηκόν τ’ ἐκπροσόντο, ναυβάτης τ’ ἄνθρ
ἔπρατο τὰς σκαλαμιὰς ὁμοὶ εἴρητον.—νν. 375, 6.

\textsuperscript{15} ἐπεὶ δὲ φόγος ἡλίου κατέφθατο
καὶ νῦς ἄνθρακε, τὰς ἄνθρωπος ἄνες
ἐς ναῦν ἰχώρει, τὰς δ’ ἐπιλαῖς ἐκποτάτης.
τὰς δὲ τὰς παρεδέλεας νεὼς ὑπερᾶσ,
πλανῶς δ’ ἐν ἱκάστοις ἤτε τετείμιοι.—νν. 377—81.

Herodotus, who makes the Persian movement begin at midnight, says that it was executed in silence, that the Greeks might not perceive what was being done (viii. 76). But in the view of Æschylus, the only object was to get the start of the Greeks in a race to the outlets of the channel. Accordingly, though preparations for getting rapidly under weigh are made in secrecy before sunset, yet when once off, there is no occasion for the observance of silence, and the men encourage one another by cheers as they push for their several stations. The outlets once blocked, the Greeks were caught.
of the channel of Salamis with a triple line of galleys, and to post others all round the island. If the Greeks escape, they are to lose their heads. All night long they are kept cruising: strange! time passes, and the Greeks have never attempted to get away. Morning breaks, and the first thing they hear is the clear sound of the Greek psan re-echoed from the island rocks. A panic comes over them: they have been deluded! that solemn psan means any thing but flight! A trumpet sound kindles up all the region where the enemy is, and immediately there is the simultaneous dash of oars in water, and he is plainly discovered advancing in full force. First, the right wing led, in perfect order, and next the whole fleet advanced; and at the same instant loud shouts were heard, "On, children of Greece! now have ye every thing at stake." The cry of the Persians responds to the sound; there is no time for delay, and ship at once turns upon ship with brazen beak, the onset commencing by a Greek galley crippling a Phoenician one. Surprised however as the barbarians are, they do not fly. A stream of ships at

16 τάξις μεν στέφον μὲν ἐν στίχοις τριοίν
ἐπελευσ εὐλάδεσιν καὶ πόρους ἁλιρρόθους,
ὅλος δὲ κύκλω ἤπειρον Λαυρτος πέριξ.—vv. 366—8.

17 ὥς εἰ μῷρον φευξόλαθ "Ἐλλήνες κακοίν,
μανεῖν κρυφαίρω δραμένω εὔφωνες τινήν,
πᾶσιν στέφεσθαι κρατός ἢ τροκείμενον.—vv. 369—71.

18 καὶ πάλιν οὖν ἡ διάλευκα καθόταις
μεν ἄνακτες πάντα καυτικὸν λέον
καὶ νεῖς ἐξίσατε, κού μάλι ΄Ἐλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαίρων ἐπελευσθεν ὀδομμῆς καθότα τοι.—vv. 382—5.

19 — φόβοι δὲ πάσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γεμάτης ἀποθαλάσιν οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν φυγῆ
tαιων ἐφόμονοι σεμεῖαν "Ἐλλήνως τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην δριμοῦτες εὐφώχη θράσει.—vv. 391—4.

20 ὅπλης δ' ἀντα' ἐκεῖ' ὑπελεφεγγεῖν
εἴδος δὲ κάρας πολλαῖς ἐξεμεμολῃ
ἐπισει μεν ἄληθη βρέχον οἱ κελεβασίτος,
θωσ δὲ πάντες ἤσαν ἐκφανεὶς ιδεῖν.—vv. 395—8.

21 τὸ δεξίον μὲν πρῶτον εὐνάκτως κέρας
ὑγείτο κόσμος δεύτερον δ' ἢ πάς στόλος
ὑπεξηχάρει, καὶ παρῆν οὕτω κλίσιν
πολλῆν βοήθ. το δαίμον ὑπελεφε "Ελλήνων, τεκν. κ.τ.λ.—vv. 399—405.

22 — κοῦκ δὲ ἢν μέλλειν αἰμάθ, ἡ' οὖθες δὲ ναίσ ἐν ἐνεχ χαλκηρὴ στόλον
first makes head against the assailants; but their numbers crowded together in a narrow space prevent mutual aid. They run into each other and sweep away one another’s oars. In the mean time the Greeks with no little skill surround them, keeping up a continued onset with their beaks, till the whole sea is concealed from view by the wrecks of capsized galleys and the corpses of men. Finally, the whole fleet takes to flight in disorder, followed closely by the victors, who present the spectacle of fishermen pursuing a shoal of tunny-fish and destroying them with broken oars and fragments of wreck. The wall of despair spreads over the open sea, until night puts an end to the pursuit.

It appears to me perfectly impossible to reconcile this account with the view which Colonel Leake (justified as he certainly appears to be by the narrative of Herodotus) takes of the relative positions of the two navies at the commencement of the battle. If the triple line of the Persians had been drawn up, as he imagines, along the strait which separates Salamis from the main, immediately opposite to the line of the Greeks, they could not have been attacked unexpectedly; the right wing of the enemy would not have been first seen leading the onset; they themselves in their efforts to get into action would have presented nothing like the appearance of a stream of ships; there is no reason why they should have run aboard of each other; and least of all—their line extending from the entrance of the Piraeus to beyond the western extremity of Mount Ægaleos—would the enemy, who can have extended scarcely half the distance, have been able to surround them. It may be added, that when they began to retreat, none but the easternmost part of the line could by any possibility have escaped into the open sea; neither would it have occurred to them to attempt it, when in their immediate rear

23 τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ὅθ' ἑκεῖνα Περσικὸν στρατεύ
ἀντέχειν ὅσι ὅ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῖσι
ἡρωιστ', ἐρωτῇ δι' εἰσὶν ἀλλὰς παρὰν,
ἀμφ' ὅ' ὅφ' ἀυτῶν ἐμβολάτως χαλκοστόμως
παῖον', ἱππανον πάντα καθήκη στῆλον,
'Ἐλληνικά τε ὅτι τὰ ἄρρημα νεῖσι
κύκλῳ περίθ' Ἐθνικόν, κ.τ.λ.
24 — ὥμως ὅ' ὅρω
κυκλάμαις κατείχη πελάγιαν ἀλα.—ὶν. 426, 427.
25 viii. 70, compared with §§ 76, 84, and 91.
26 Herodotus makes not the Greeks but the Persians the attacking party (viii. 84).
the whole coast was lined with their own troops, who, on their reaching their galleys, would have furnished them with effectual protection,—a course as natural in ancient warfare as running under the guns of a friendly battery would be in modern. Moreover the island Psyttalea would not have been in the middle of the line of collision 20, but quite at the extremity; and the wrecks would have been carried by the afternoon swell rather into the bay at the head of which stands the Heracleum, than, as they actually were, on to Cape Colias 21.

All these difficulties will be avoided if we take a different view of the object of Themistocles’s stratagem, and suppose that his design was not merely to induce the enemy to surround the Greeks and so compel them to fight, but also to bring him into such a position as, at the beginning of the engagement, to be just entering the narrow channel where Leake supposes him to be already drawn up in fighting order. Supposing the invading fleet to have taken up the position which Leake assigns to them, the afternoon before the battle—a supposition which has the apparent sanction of Herodotus, and is not opposed to Æschylus—the movements which would follow the change of plan produced by Themistocles’s message would naturally bring about this result. The westernmost squadron of the Persian line would move on to block the narrow outlet between Salamis and the coast of Megaris. The squadron at Ceos might from the point of Sunium be signaled to close up near to Ægina, and that at Cynosura to make sail round Sunium; and the remainder of the fleet in the channel, passing outwards by the eastern strait, would take their stations round the s.e. side of the island Salamis, the last of them (which we shall presently see would be the Phoenicians) blocking the narrow entrance with a triple line of galleys. When morning broke the land breeze would be blowing; and if they desired to re-enter the channel, the Phoenician ships, their crews fatigued with their labour throughout the night, would be obliged to pull against it round the head of the Silenian promontory (Ægina Varvára) and through the narrow channel between Psyttalea and the main. The Greeks (I apprehend) timed their movements so as to

20 ἐν γὰρ ἐνθεί δὴ πάρει τῆς παμφάξας τῆς μελλούσης ἑσεθαι ἔκκειτο ἢ νῆσος (viii. 76).  
21 viii. 96.

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attack them just at this conjuncture. The right wing would thus be seen by the enemy apparently leading, but the object being to wheel into line by bringing forward the extreme left, the Athenians (which were there stationed) would be quite as likely as any others to be well up in front when the actual shock took place 31. They would make this with the advantage of the wind, and success would be nearly certain. The headmost ships of the Persians would be crippled, and would drift back upon those who advanced to support them from the rear; these as they pressed forward would enter a continually narrowing channel, and not only fall aboard of each other, but have their oars swept away by those which had been previously crippled. The triple line would be thrown into disorder, and the crowd of advancing vessels, each pressing forward as it best might, would present the appearance so graphically described by Æschylus as "a stream" of ships. As the head of the column got clear of the narrow passage, it would be "surrounded" by the Hellenic line and at once destroyed. This state of things would continue so long as the invaders continued their attempt to force the passage; but when they gave this up and retreated, the pursuit would continue on the open sea, over which (as Æschylus says) the cries of the enemy were heard as they were being destroyed.

The description of the naval part of the engagement by the dramatic poet ceases here. The formidable resistance made by the Ionians, of which Herodotus speaks 32, finds no mention in him. This is exactly what might be expected. At the time The Persians was acted liberty had been restored to the Asiatic Greeks, and good taste forbade the mention of any passage of arms between them and their European brethren. But still the course of proceedings in the engagement which the description of Æschylus indicates affords an explanation of what is related in Herodotus respecting

31 Athenian vanity, a generation afterwards, would scarcely fail to turn this movement to account. To effect the manoeuvre it would be necessary for the extreme right of the allies to remain stationary, or even back their galleys, while the speed of the others would be proportioned to their distance from the right, the pivot on which the whole wheeled. This is, I believe, the fact, which in a distorted form became the statement of Herodotus: οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες έπὶ πρόμην ἀνεκρόνοι, καὶ ὀκελλοῦ τὰς νῆς: Ἀμεινής δὲ Παλληνεύη, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαρχθεὶς, τῆς ἐμβάλλει (viii. 84).
32 viii. 86.
the Ionians. If the Persian fleet had, in the night before the battle, taken up the position I have supposed in the order which Diodorus's authority gives, the Ionians would be the furthest removed from the narrow channel where the action commenced, and in fact so placed that they could not have acted until the Phoenicians were out of the way. If, too, the Athenians were the part of the Greek fleet which began the battle, the remainder of the allies would not have come into the front until after the enemy had been forced back through the eastern strait. Hence the Peloponnesian force would be the part of the fleet brought into collision with the Ionian contingent; but this would not be until the channel was cleared and they had got out into the open sea, where naturally the efforts of the Ionians would be more fruitful. But still at the time these were brought into action, they would have been rowing ever since sunset on the preceding day, and would be encouraged to the treason previously suggested to them by Themistocles, by seeing the entire ruin that had fallen upon the Phoenician squadron. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that they too should have given way, although their resistance was beyond all comparison the most effective of any rendered by the several contingents that made up the navy of the invaders.

Various insulated particulars which appear here and there in the narratives of Plutarch and Diodorus, as well as that of Herodotus, receive some illustration from the above remarks. Plutarch says that Themistocles did not begin the action until the usual breeze set in from the sea, causing a swell to set into the straits; and that the effect of this was most detrimental to the Persian ships, which were high out of the water and top-heavy, and being caught by the wind could not be steered well; so that they laid their flanks open to the beaks of the Hellenic galleys 32. Here what Plutarch does is merely to confound the land breeze which is blowing at daybreak—the time at which the engagement really commenced—and the sea breeze—which sets in late in the forenoon, and which doubtless had the effect he mentions,—not indeed upon ships engaged within the channel (where the island Salamis, as above observed, would have served as a breakwater), but upon vessels in the open sea, which, in

32 Themist. § 14.
the course of events I have sketched out, would naturally first come into action several hours after daybreak.

Diodorus also, although here, as elsewhere, his notions of the course of proceeding are extremely vague, goes to confirm the view above taken. He makes (as I have observed) the Greek line of battle to be formed across the strait between Salamis and the main (τὸν πόρον μεταξύ Σαλαμίνος καὶ Ἡρακλείου κατείχον), not, as Leake makes it, along the same. And he also supposes the advance of the Persians to be from the open sea into the narrow. "They held their course," he says, "at first in good order, for they had plenty of sea-room; but on entering the channel they were obliged to withdraw some of the ships from the line, and made terrible confusion. The admiral, too, who led and began the action, was killed after a brilliant struggle, and when his ship was sunk, confusion spread over the barbarian fleet; for orders were given by many, and each one issued different commands; so that they desisted from a forward course, and, backing their gallies, retired into the open sea; upon which the Athenians, seeing the confusion of the barbarians, advanced upon them." . . . It is obvious that this description is quite compatible with the view which I have taken, and agrees with the narrative of Æschylus as well as the vague account of a writer compiling his history hastily from books five hundred years after the event can be expected to agree with the vivid description of an eye-witness; but that it is altogether incompatible with the notion of Leake.

It is also to be observed that the naval force of the Persians was arranged, according to Diodorus, by nations, in order (he says) that the crews who understood one another's language might be near to each other, and able to express to one another the need they might have for assistance. Arranged on this principle, he says, the Phœnicians occupied the right wing, and the Greeks in the Persian service the left. But if this idea was really acted upon, the most natural place for the Egyptians would be beyond the Phœnicians on the extreme right: for the great intercourse between Phœnicia and Egypt would certainly produce some facility of oral communication between the maritime and fluvial population of these two countries. Now if the Egyptians really did occupy the extreme right, when the

24 xi. 19.  
31 xi. 17.
Persian fleet took up the position along the strait of Salamis, which Herodotus indicates, (although Diodorus himself says nothing about it,) the day before the battle,—and if the movements were such as I have above supposed\(^{24}\),—the Egyptian squadron would be exactly the one whose position rendered it desirable for it to move westward for the purpose of blocking the western channel; and after it had been detached for this purpose, the Phoenicians would remain (as Diodorus places them) the extreme right of the Persian fleet. And it also happens that the especial service of blocking the western channel actually was, according to Diodorus's express statement, assigned to the Egyptians, although, by the way he mentions the matter, he does not imagine that at the time they were moved they were actually in line in the channel of Salamis, but rather conceives of them as despatched from Phalerum\(^{17}\).

Again, Herodotus mentions that when the battle was over, the victorious Greeks towed in to Salamis “as much of the wreck of the destroyed vessels as remained still in that part," but that a large quantity was carried by the west wind on to Cape Colias\(^{22}\). This is exactly the description of what would occur under the circumstances which have been sketched out. The conflict beginning at the entrance of the channel of Salamis, just as the head of the Persian column rounded the Silenian headland and the northern extremity of Pyttalea (the land breeze blowing at the time), part of the wrecks would be caught by the point and the island\(^{29}\), but a large portion would drift out into the open water till the sea breeze sprang up, which, as it took them, would carry them in the direction of which

\(^{24}\) Herodotus says that the Persians surrounded their opponents by moving their right wing round to the island and closing up the eastern channel with the squadrons from Cocos and Cyndonica: ἀκίδην ἐγκυμονεῖ μέσα νύκτες, ἵππους μὲν τὸ ἀντικήριον κέφαλι κυκλοθείζοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα ἵππουν δὲ οἱ ἄροι τὴν Κλον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνάσσον τεταγμένοι, κατείχον τοὺς μέχρι Μουσχητῆς πάσα τὸν πορθμὸν τῷ ὕμνῳ (§ 76). This, as Leake says, is an impossibility.

\(^{17}\) xi. 17.

\(^{22}\) viii. 96.

\(^{29}\) As, for instance, the body of Artembares was, which

στύφλους παρ’ ἄκτας τεθείται Σαλαμίνα.—Pere. 303.

The bodies would not float like the wrecks, and therefore it was the island Salamis and the immediate neighbourhood where they were chiefly found.

πλὴθοις μεκράν διαυγάμενοι ἐποδήμιοι
Σαλαμίνοι ἄκται τὰς τε πρόσχερος τόπους.—Pere. 278.
Herodotus speaks. Had the action taken place where Leake supposes, the wreck could not have been carried any thing like so far along the coast of Attica.

That eminent topographer appears to have been led in no small degree to form the view which he has taken of the position of the Persian fleet, from the interpretation which he has put upon an oracle which Herodotus records and mentions as having been strikingly fulfilled by the course of events. Ruin is predicted in a prophecy of Bacis to the arrogant invaders, "when they with their ships shall have made a bridge from the sacred shore of Artemis, bearer of the sword of gold, to sea-girt Cynosura." Leake imagines this to refer to the Persian line of battle extending, as he supposes it to have done, from a cape of Salamis opposite to the Silenian promontory, on which he believes a temple of Artemis to have stood. As the Silenian headland, which he identifies with Cynosura, would lie opposite to the centre of their assumed line, he argues that by taking up this position they fulfilled the conditions of the prophecy; and that in fact this circumstance was the main cause of Herodotus mentioning Cynosura at all in the passage above quoted. This appears to me a most unsatisfactory explanation of the passage, to say nothing of the gratuitous assumptions which it involves. The way in which the prophecy was fulfilled will be plain

40 viii. 77. The words are:—

\[\text{ὅποιο νεμών γεφυρέως καὶ ἐναλλήλην Κωνέαρων.}\]

Leake translates this erroneously, "when the barbarians shall cover with their ships the sacred shore of Diana and that of Cynosura," and the erroneous translation masks the meaning of the oracle.

41 "Thus the point of Cynosura [by which he understands the Silenian headland] and the island of Pyyttales were opposite to the centre of the triple line of the Persians, and near their right was a cape of Salamis, upon or adjacent to which, as we have already seen from Pausanias, stood a temple of Diana; and hence the words of the oracle of Bacis relating to the shore of Diana, which Herodotus has quoted." (Appendix ii. p. 261.) "On the one side of the city a temple of Diana, and on the other the trophy erected in honour of the victory gained over the Persians." (vol. ii. p. 169.) All that Pausanias really says is, that there is at Salamis the temple and the trophy (i. 36. 1), while Leake has apparently considered that the expression τούτω μὲν — τούτω δὲ was intended to denote a position such as he has assigned to the two. "Herodotus seems to have introduced the name of Cynosura [in § 76, quoted in note 36, above] solely for the purpose of noticing the fulfilment of the prophecy of an oracle." (Appendix ii. p. 269.)
enough, if we only consider the manner in which the armada of the invaders was moved, before the land and sea forces were united for the last time at Phalerum. It is obvious that with an enormous multitude like that under Xerxes (even allowing an unlimited amount of exaggeration as to its numbers), the great difficulty must have been to move the forces and provide them with supplies. And the way in which this problem was attempted to be solved may be made out by the indirect notices of Herodotus, although he was (as may be proved from various passages of his work) quite unable to comprehend the vast scale of oriental strategies 44. The endeavour of the Persian commander was as much as possible to proceed pari passu with the army and the fleet. This was desirable, because wherever opposition was encountered, it was important they should be able to act together; consequently, although great preparation had been made beforehand in forming magazines, it would be impossible to dispense with the attendance of vessels to carry supplies. An army of such magnitude as even to be reported able to drink considerable streams dry, could not by any possibility be moved except in bodies separated from each other by a considerable interval. The same would be the case with the fleet, the crews of which (as is notorious) were in ancient times compelled continually to land. A supply of food and water in a ship of war sufficient to render it able to keep the sea even for a very few days is a thing unheard of in ancient history. And if we turn to Herodotus's account of the march from Doriscus (where the whole force was first assembled) to Acanthus 43, we see that the mode of advance is obviously planned with a reference to the means of providing supplies. The army moved on three lines; one considerably inland; another along the coast, keeping up a communication with the fleet; and a third between the two. This last was the line of march taken by the guards and the king in person. That the main force of the army was included in the second of these divisions can scarcely be questioned. The first having to pass through a mountainous region, would be lightly equipped, and thus would be more able to provide for its own subsistence by foraging, without depending altogether upon the commissariat. The third, with the king in person, moving

42 See notes 268 on i. 77, and 234 on iv. 83. 43 vii. 121.
along the line of the inhabited towns, where stores were laid up," would also be provided for. But the second must have been mainly supplied through the medium of the fleet, with which it kept up a close communication. The extreme importance of maintaining this was perhaps the cause that the division advanced under the immediate command of Mardonius," the general of greatest reputation in the service. When the central division arrived at Acanthus, the nature of the shore necessitated a change of plan for a time. It was no longer possible to keep up a constant communication between the army and the fleet; and accordingly the latter was ordered to make all sail for that point at which such a communication could be restored, viz. the bay of Therme." There a halt was again made, and the land force encamped along a considerable line of coast, "from the city Therme and Mygdonia, as far as the river Lydias and the Haliacmon, which form the boundary between Bottiaea and Macedoniat.""

From Therme a second simultaneous move of both army and navy took place. And in fact here their difficulties really began. There was now a prospect of meeting an enemy in force, which involved the necessity of concentrating the war galleys to a considerable extent; and when steps for securing this had been taken, the evil that had been foreseen occurred,—there was no port large enough to receive the whole in the event of foul weather." There can be no question that it was the expectation of resistance from the Greek fleet at Artemisium, that induced the Persians to bring on the same day to Sepias, so large a force as to be obliged to anchor in eight lines off the shore." The land forces were being pushed forward to Thermopylae, and it was necessary to get the fleet into the bay of Pagasae to cooperate with them." The enormous loss which was sustained on this occasion would undoubtedly prevent a similar risk from being unnecessarily incurred; and when the pass of Thermopylae was at last forced, and the Greek fleet retreated to Salamis," the two arms of the invading force once more found themselves united, with nothing in the shape of an enemy to stop them until another concen-

tration should be effected in the ports of Attica. The army advanced without the least resistance, over-running Attica and sacking Phocis; and Xerxes had his head-quarters at Athens, with a large force ready to be pushed on to the isthmus, at the time when the fleet entered the port of Phalerum. The question now is, what was the nature of their movements to reach this point: and common sense would suggest that squadrons were advanced in succession, perhaps within signal distance of each other, but at any rate not so near as gratuitously to risk the safety of the ships, and increase the difficulty of procuring water and other necessaries for the crews. Wherever there was an extensive beach upon which the gallies might be hauled up, there, in the nature of things, it would be arranged for a large number to assemble. This would doubtless be the case at Eretria in Eubea, which lies most opportune for re-assembling the fleet after its necessary delay in passing through the narrow channel between Aulis and Chalcis. After Eretria, the next beach of any capacity would be that of the bay of Marathon, some fifteen miles off, in running for which the point Cynosura, its northern extremity, would be the natural landmark. And here, I apprehend, is to be found the solution of the problem offered by Bacis's prophecy. Seven stades only from Eretria, at the hamlet Amarynthus, was the temple of Artemis Amarusia, a deity worshipped with the greatest pomp under this name by Athenians as well as Eretrians. A fleet of 800 or 1000 ships crossing to Marathon in the order in which they would have to take up their station on their arrival, when seen from the hills overhanging Rhamnus or Tricorythus, could hardly fail to suggest to the imagination of a spectator the notion of bridging over the sea between the two points. Again, as between Marathon and Phalerum there is no facility for beaching any large number of ships, the advance from the one to the other would naturally be by detached squadrons, and the great bulk of the fleet might very well be reported at head-quarters while the rear still remained on the safe shore of Marathon (ἀμφὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν), and while an intermediate squadron had been advanced only as far as Ceos in their course round the southern foreland of Attica. In such circumstances the signaling them to close up, under the impression which the Persian admiral had

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31 viii. 66.
32 STRABO, x. p. 324.
33 PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 5.
formed of the intentions of the Greeks, would be exactly what we might look for. By so doing the more advanced ships would be in a position to sweep the channel between the islands of Salamis and Ægina; and it is exactly here that if any Greek vessels had stolen out from Salamis in the night, they would have been found when day broke.

I will conclude these remarks by a reference to one other passage of Herodotus, which confirms the view just taken of the movement of the squadron from Ceos. When Aristides, in the night before the engagement, arrived suddenly in Salamis and informed Themistocles that the enemy's fleet had surrounded the island, he said "that he had come from Ægina, and found great difficulty in getting out to sea without being seen by the squadron of observation." Herodotus indeed makes him add, by way of explanation, "that the whole Greek position was surrounded by Xerxes' vessels." But this circumstance would have been a hindrance to him, not in getting out from Ægina, but in getting in to Salamis. If however the squadron of observation he meant was the one which had been signaled to close up from Ceos, the difficulty is exactly what would have occurred. According to Æschylus's view, the false intelligence of Themistocles is conveyed to the Persian commander-in-chief a considerable time before sunset. Orders would instantly be telegraphed to the squadrons at Ceos and Cynosura, and they would get under way with all speed: and this would easily bring the former into the neighbourhood of the island Ægina before it was too dark to distinguish them. Thus commanding the space between the two islands, the difficulty of Aristides would be to get past them, which is exactly what appears to be indicated by the phrase (μόνας ἐκπλῶσαι). The vessels actually surrounding Salamis would occasion him comparatively little difficulty. He was probably only in a small boat, much more speedy, and less distinguishable at night-time than a trireme would be; and when he approached the southern shore of Salamis, it would be easy for him to watch his moment, row in to land, and proceed over the hills to the Grecian camp on foot.

viii. 81: ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἧκει, καὶ μόνας ἐκπλῶσαι λαβὼν τοῖς ἑπόμενοις.

67 This must have been the case; for the time was sufficient to give orders to each of the captains, and for them in their turn to get their several galleys ready to start the instant it should be dark. The entirely different view of Herodotus is remarked above, note 15.
The battle of Salamis has so long been popularly considered as an example of what may be effected by mere valour against enormous odds, that possibly some may experience a feeling of unwillingness to take any view of the subject which diminishes the disparity between the contending navies. But this is scarcely a reasonable way of looking at a matter of history. Bravery does much when directed by skill; but all experience leads us to doubt statements of any great results effected by it when without this guidance. If the foregoing views are well-founded, our wonder at the extraordinary success of the Greek fleet may perhaps be diminished; but certainly in at least as great a degree must our admiration of the acuteness and resolution of its commander be increased. With an overwhelming force opposed to him actually drawn up in order of battle, a friendly coast lined with the flower of the Persian army in its rear, he succeeds, first of all in detaching a large portion of the ships opposed to him, and placing them in a quarter where it was out of the question that they should be active; secondly, in getting the remainder out of the position they occupied into one incomparably inferior; thirdly, in exhausting the enemy's crews by keeping them in motion all night; and, finally, in bringing them on a sudden to action in a way which rendered their peculiar armament unavailable, and under circumstances which must have made them feel, not only that their estimate of their foes had been totally wrong, but that probably they had traitors in their own ranks.

*It should not be overlooked, that according to Aeschylus's view the crews of the Persian fleet got their suppers early,—not as they would under ordinary circumstances, at nightfall. Hence, when day broke, they had not only been at the oar all night, but likewise fasting for a longer period than customary.*
'ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ
'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΘ.

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

1 ΜΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΣ δὲ, ὅσι οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσῆμην, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γῆς οἱ τούτους παρελάμβανε. τούτῳ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἤγεομένουσι οὗτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τεπρηγγέμενα μετέμελε οὐδὲν, πολλῷ τῷ μᾶλλον ἐπήγγον τὸν Πέρσην καὶ συμπροέκμεψε τῇ Θώρῃ ὁ Λησσαῖος ἢ ἥρρεξα φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βουκολίου, οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες...

1 Μαρδόνιος δὲ. The close connexion of this clause with the one which terminates the last book, shows plainly the arbitrary nature of the present division,—which however (it should be remembered) is an essential part of Lucian's story relative to the recitation at Olympia: παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν ὅπωρόντος ὕπαθσάς, ἀλλὰ ἄγωνιστὴν ὁ Περσῶν παρὲχεις λαυτόν, ἄξιον τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ ζηλῶν τῶν παρόντων, ἄριστο τού καὶ Μεσθαί κληθήκας τὰς βιβλίους αὐτοῦ, ἑγνέα καὶ αὐτὰς ὁδοῖς.

2 ἀξιώματε γῆς οἱ τούτους παρελάμβανε. Diodorus makes the number of troops levied by Mardonius, in addition to the 300,000 left with him by Xerxes, to be 200,000 (xi. 28).

3 Θώρη ὁ Λησσαῖος. Thoerax was one of the Achaemenids. He is mentioned together with his two brothers, Baryphylus and Thrasydæus, below (§ 58).

4 κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον, "tried to stop Mardonius." This sense is readily deducible from the original idea of the word καταλαμβάνειν, on which see note 139 on i. 46, and note 55 on v. 21. Compare iii. 36: ἰσχὺ καὶ καταλάμβανε σκεῦος, "restrain and control yourself;" iii. 128: καταλάμβανε ἐρήμωσας, "stopped their disputing;" iii. 52: Πειράμαθος τούτου αὐτὸν καταλάμβανε, "Periander at-
tempted to manage him by these remarks."

3 Αλλ’ αυτόν ἔχον ἄλλου. Before these words is to be supplied the verb ἔχειν, or some one of similar sense, derived by inference from the οὐκ ἔχων which has gone before. See note 301 on vii. 104.

καταστρέφεται. This is the reading of all the MSS. But Bekker adopts the correction καταστρέφεται, which is in accordance with the invariable use of Herodotus. Compare i. 8: ποιεῖ δεκαεκατόν θείας γυμνὴν. i. 9: σοι μελέτην τὸ ἐρωτήσων δεκακατὸν μή σε ὑφήσαιτί λόγον διὰ θυρών. iii. 36: ήπιοι δεκακατὸν πόλιμο αὐτών καταστρέφεται Περσαί. iii. 135: ἦπιοι δεκακατὸν θυρών διὰ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐπών θησ. ν. 109: ποιεῖ χρεῶν ἄτικ χράμα ἄτικ τοῦ κατ’ ὁμάδας ἢται ἡ ἐποίησις ἀνακύκλωσις. ix. 91: ποιεῖ δεκακατὸν ἀνακύκλωσις. "καταστρέφεται, for that in point of actual force, those Hellenes who before acted together, were enough to make it difficult for even all the world to hold their own against them." The sentence if continued as begun would have ended with the words: καὶ ἐπάνως ἀνθρώπους καταστρέφεται... ἀνθρώπους, "for that in point of actual force, those Hellenes who before acted together, were enough to make it difficult for even all the world to hold their own against them." The sentence if continued as begun would have ended with the words: καὶ ἐπάνως ἀνθρώπους καταστρέφεται... ἀνθρώπους, or some equivalent phrase. But as good manners would have forbidden the putting this sentiment in its direct form to the Persian command, the normal structure is abandoned, and an anacolouthon results. See notes 412 on i. 117, and 200 on viii. 100. So too is to be explained the sentence ii. 66: ταῦτα δὲ γνώμαι τόθ' αὐτοῖς μεγάλα τῶν Ἀρχιμενίων καταλαμβάνειν. The normal structure would have been ταῦτα δὲ γνώμαι τῶν Ἀρχιμενίων λυκεῖν. But the author rightly understanding that it was not affection for the animals perishing, but a superstitious interpretation of the phenomenon which caused the mourning, intimates as much by changing the form of the sentence.

μετὰ τῶν στρατιώτων, "with the aid of your partizans." That there was a very powerful party, even in Athens, favourable to Persian schemes, is plain from the story told by Plutarch (Aristid. § 13). A number of Athenians of noble families, who had been ruined by the war, met together in a house at Plataea, at the very time the two armies were in possession over against one another, to concoct a scheme for betraying their country to the invader; and it was only the tact of Aristides which baffled their attempt. The manuscripts S and V have μετὰ στρατιώτων, "with the aid of a military force." Neither of these readings appears to me to be a corruption of the other. See a similar variation in iii. 144, and note 308, thereon.

οὐκ ἐπέθετο. The Attic orators assert that one Arthinius of Zela was sent into the Peloponnesus with a large amount of secret-service money, for the purpose of sowing dissension among the allies. Demosthenes professes to quote from an inscription on the acropolis at Athens, in which a sentence of outlawry against him for that offence stood registered. (Philipp. iii. p. 122.) There is no direct notice of this in Herodotus, but there is not wanting very plain indirect evidence that such a policy was pursued. See note 34 on § 12, below.
Herodotus

εἶλειν ἀμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγρομοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοίς διὰ νῆσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ διήλωσεν ἐώτει ἐν Σάρδισι, οτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὅσοσ εὖτε τότε ἀπικόμενοι ἐσ τῷ Ἀττικῷ εὑρε τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ Σαλαμίν τοὺς πλείστους ἐπηναβέτο εἶναι, ἐν τῇ τῇ ἐπιστημονίᾳ ἀρείει το τὸ ἄστω. ἦ δὲ βασιλεύος αὐρείος ἐσ τῷ ἕστερᾳ τῷ Μαρνούλῳ ἐπιστημηνίᾳ δεκάμπον ἐγένετο.

4

He sends one Mardonius, a Hallespontine, to Salamis, with new overtures.

Εἴπε δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδώνιος, πέμπεις σαλαμίνας Ἡμουρούχου ἄλλα Ἐλλησπόντιων, φύσευν τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοις διειστόμηκε. ταύτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπεσταλεῖ, προχών μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁ φίλας γεωμένος, ἐπιτύχων δὲ σφαῖρα ὑπίσχει τῆς ἀγρομοσύνης, ὡς δοριλιῶν ἐνοῦ τῆς τῇ Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐνοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ὑπ’ ἢν εὔτο τῶν μὲν ἐνεκα ἀπέτευχε Μινουρνίδους ἐσαλαμίνα. Ὅδι, ἀπικόμενος ἐπί τῷ βουλήν, ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρνούλῳ τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν Ἀλκίθας ἐπὶ γνώμην, ὡς οἱ

5

Lycidas, a member of


10 προχῶν μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁ φίλας γεωμένος. As this passage is commonly interpreted, προχῶν is taken in a very unusual sense, as meaning "previously aware of." But both προχῶ and its derivative πρόχημα uniformly express the notion of "forward," or "putting forward." And the meaning of this passage seems to be that Mardonius sent a communication to the Athenians, on the face of which he acknowledged their enmity to Persia, but appealed to their sense of their own interest. I should translate, "putting forward indeed the unfriendly disposition of the Athenians, but hoping that they would relax in their perseverance, seeing that the land of Attica was overrun entirely, and now under his absolute command." This is exactly the view of the case, which, after the final defeat of the Persians, would be most palatable to Athenian vanity. Their enemy is made to bear testimony to their disinterested patriotism in the very wording of his overtures to them.

11 Ἀλκίθας δὲ σφαῖρα ὑπίσχει τῇ ἀγρομοσύνῃ, "but expecting that they would relax something of their perseverance." The construction is the same as that of δύσα τῇ δράγγα (l. 156; iii. 52).

12 Λυκίθας εἶτε γνώμην. Bishop Thirlwall, who follows the account given by Herodotus of the outrage which follows, remarks that "it is somewhat perplexing to find this incident related by Demosthenes (De Cor. p. 296) of one Cyrus, whom, as it would appear from the comparison he draws, he conceived to have excited the anger of his countrymen by opposing Themistocles the year before, when he proposed the evacuation of Attica. It can scarcely be doubted, that the orator alludes to the same occurrence which the historian describes. Perhaps the easiest solution of the difficulty would be to suppose that Lycidas had also been called Cyrus,—a name which might imply that he had already made himself odious or contemptible by overbearing manners." (History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 327, note.) This explanation is, in my opinion, scarcely more satisfactory than the one offered by Valkenaer, viz. that on two occasions happening within a year of each other, two different persons brought upon themselves the fury of the populace by the same proceeding, and that while the one of these is noticed by Herodotus, the other is alluded to by Demosthenes. In the time of the orators, the battle of Salamis and the energetic conduct of the Athenians antecedently to it, had become so completely the principal national boast, that it is only natural that anecdotes of which the character was mainly ethical should be referred to that time rather than the year following. See, for an exemplification of
CALLIOPE. IX. 4—6.

...prophetei, ezeineka kai eis tôn dhmon o men dh tautiôn tihn gnômhn ap'pefaileto, ei te dh degeugómenos chrîmata para Maradonou ei te oi kal tauta éanade' Athenaios de autíka deivn poieugameno, ois te ek tis boûlèes kai oi eixeive, ois épóvonto, periostánteis Lukiade kateleuskei bállontes, tôn de 'Elybostóniou Mouriugideia ánpeperifan aivwga seugumeno de therubou en tis Sallavin peri tôn Lukiade, peritháneontai to gnúmenon ois gninakês tôn 'Athenaiw diákeleusaménei de gnivh gninaki, kai paralabousa, epist tis Lukiade oikínu hiasan aútokelëes, kai kata mév eileugan auton tîn gninaika kata dh têkiva.

"Ei de tîn Sallavin dièbhsan ois 'Athenaios ódei eaxs mév 6 prosoedékonto tîn, ek tis Pellooswusou stratou gnwv tîmowfisontà sphi, ois de exeun ev tis 'Aittikî épéi dei ois mév makróterà te kai scholáitera epitioin, o de epow kai dh eiv tis Bouwtikî élłgeto exis, óun dh upsekomiasmévte te panta kal autoi dièbhsan exi Sallavin eis Lakedaimóna te epémpo anugulo, ama mév megwoménon tois Lakedaimonoi oti perièidov emiwloíta tîn Bárbarov eis tis 'Aittikin, all' oú metá sevóù hñzasa eis tîn Bouwtikin, ama de upoomíshontas dsa sphi upéxhneto o Pérsos metabálloútei dôseis proeiptai te, oti ei'm aúmneis 'Athenaios, os kal autoi tîs alewchn eirhshontai. Oi ydr dh Lakedaimónoi at the time..."
of the Lacedaemonian Hyacinthia.

7 Commisioners arrive in Sparta with strong representations from the Athenians, and a demand that an army shall accompany them back.

"Δις δὲ ἀπ'κυκτο εἰς τὴν Δακεδαλίων οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀμα ἀγῶνειν ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγνέλον καὶ ἐκ Πλαταῖων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἑπεθεντεῖ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους." ἔπεμψαν ἡμεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, λέγοντες ὅτι ἦμι βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων, τούτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδιδόν, τούτο δὲ συμμάχους ἔθελεν ἐπ' ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίως ποιήσασθαι, ἀνευ τὸ δόλον καὶ ἀπάτης ἔθελεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἤμετέρῃ διδάναι τὴν δυ αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανα, ἡμεῖς δὲ Διὰ τε Ἑλλήνων αἰδευθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεῖμεν προδοναυ, οὐ κατανείσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καὶ πέτρα ἀδυκέμενοι ἐν Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδίδομεν, ἔστι αὐτοῖς τινὶ κερδαλεώτερον ἔστι ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ὥσπερ πολεμεῖς οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶμι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίδρηλον ἐν νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρραβώνῃ τότε ἀπυκόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶ τὲ ἐκείμενοι τὸ ἤμετρον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὃς οὐδὰμα προδώσομεν

18 καὶ σφι ἦν Ῥωμία. The celebration of the Carnea had last year imposed an obstacle to the concentration of a force at Thermopylae (vii. 44); nevertheless king Leonidas absent himself from it. The Hyacinthia however was a festival which seems to have been of a more popular character; for all the citizens, and indeed the slaves also, took a part in it. This would be very natural if it were a festival of the ant-dorian times; and that it was so seems certain, both from its nature (see note 207 on ii. 79) and from the circumstance that during its celebration Sparta was deserted for Amycle. (Pólycrates ap. Athénæum, iv. p. 130.) See note 189 on ν. 73. To neglect the ceremonial would consequently have been a much more dangerous experiment on the temper of the bulk of the citizens, than the proceeding of Leonidas was, even supposing the Spartan magnates to have been strongly inclined to march—itsel a doubtful matter. (See note 34 on § 12.)

19 Διὰ τε Ἑλλήνων αἰδευθέντες. It is not very plain to what Zeus the ambassadors refer under this title. Perhaps it may be the Olympian. But, on the other hand, it is far from impossible that it was the deity worshipped under the name of Παναλλήνιος at ᾿Εγία; for the temple there was regarded as possessing a peculiar sanctity. It was mythically connected with ᾿Αεας, by whose mediation alone the Delphic oracle declared that Hellas could be relieved from a drought which desolated both the region within and that without the isthmus. (Pausanias, ii. 29. 6.) It will be remembered, that the presence of the ᾿Εγιντανον ᾿Αεας was considered of vital importance at Salamin, as well as on another occasion (v. 89; vi. 84), and that the Delphic deity expressly required an offering from the ᾿Εγιντανος after that victory. Up to this time, therefore, the reputation of the ᾿Εγιντανος Zeus must have been very great. After the battle of Platea (in which the ᾿Εγιντανος appear not to have taken any active part), the Olympian Zeus may reasonably have been preferred. See below, § 81.
CALLIOPE. IX. 7—9. 425

τὴν Ἑκλάδα, καὶ διότι τέχνος ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τελεῖ ἐστὶ, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέοντες 21. συνθέμενοι τε ἡμῶν τῶν Πείρεν άντιώσεθαι ἐσ τὴν Βοωτίαν προδέδωκατε, περετείδετε τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Αττικὴν τῶν βάρβαρον. εἰς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεῦρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μην λούνον οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτυδέως· νῦν δὲ τὰ τάχως στρατιῶν ἄμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖμεν, ὡς δὲν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ομοπλων τῆς Βοωτίας, τῆς γε ὁμοτρίης ἐπιτυδέωτατὸν ἐστὶν ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θράσιου πεδίον". "Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἦκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν ὑποταλίαν ὑποκρίνομαι· τῇ δὲ ὑποταλίᾳ, ἐς τὴν ἐποίησιν. τούτῳ καὶ ἔπι δέκα ἡμέρας ἐπολεον, ἐκ ἡμέρας ἐς ἡμέραν ἀναβάλλομεν· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ ἐτελέσεον, σπουδὴν ἔχουσι πολλῆς πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ σφι ὦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπιτο τὸ αὐτίου, διότι ἀπεκοιμένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος εἰς Αθηναίος σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο μὴ μηδεῖαι 'Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὄρθων ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐπετελείσθη, καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίοι ἔτι δέσθαι οὐδὲν ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπύκνετο εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὐκ ἀπετελεῖσθοι· ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρροδήκτες τοὺς Πέρασας.

Τέλος δὲ, τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξοδοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιτῶν 9 ἐγένετο τρόπος τοὐσδέ· τῇ προτεραΐᾳ τῆς οὐσίας καταστάσεως μελετοῦσας ἔσθεναι 22, Χίλεος, ἀντὶ Τεγέητης, δυνάμεος ἐν Δακεδαλμοὺς μεγίστα ζείεσθαν 24, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπίθετο πάντα λόγον τῶν ἐν τῇ Χαριάτῃ ἐν τῶι Ἰσθμοῖς άρχοντες, "come to take no account of the Athenians." So above (§ 6), καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοωτίαν ἐλέγετο εἰναί, "come to be talked of as being in Boeotia." See note 15, above.

21 καὶ δὴ λόγος οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέοντες, "come to take no account of the Athenians." So above (§ 6), καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοωτίαν ἐλέγετο εἰναί, "come to be talked of as being in Boeotia." See note 15, above.

22 ἐπιθετεῖότατον ἄντι εἰρακάσας το Θράσιου πεδίον. The suggestion of the Thessian plain as a desirable locality for engaging an enemy who was possessed of an overwhelming force of cavalry, strikes at first as somewhat strange. But apparently the Athenians considered that the command of the sea would give them great advantages if the enemy were brought to action there. They would have menaced his rear by crossing over from Salamis; and in the event of his being defeated, might have closed up the pass from the Thessian plain into the plain of Athens. This would have compelled Mardonius to retire into Euboea by Phyle alone, if the victorious Peloponneseans succeeded, as they probably would have done, in stopping the road by Ænoe, by which alone Citheron could be crossed.

23 τῇ προτεραϊᾷ τῆς οὐσίας καταστάσεως μελετοῦσας ἔσθεναι, "on the eve of the last audience there was to be." Compare viii. 141.

24 δυνάμεος ἐν Δακεδαλμοὺς μεγίστα ζείεσθαν. That a Tegean should then have great influence at Larissa, probably arose from the circumstance of the Achaean party being likewise strong there, and at the time jealous of their influence.
being impaired. Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylæ, had married the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, who scorned the name of Dorian, and called himself an Achean. The child Pleistarchus was therefore the representative both of the Eurysthenesid line of kings and of the Achean party, while his uncle Cleombrotus (his legal guardian) was by a different mother from Cleomenes, and (by the death of his elder brother Dorieus) had become representative of the Dorian party. That his son Pausanias should have retained the partialities of his grandmother's connexions, seems likely from his association of Dorieus's son Euryanax with himself in the command of the army (§ 10). Under these circumstances there was apparently some cause for uneasiness on the part of the Achean faction; and the existence of this would give great weight to the representations of an ally who belonged to the same race.

21 μεγάλαι κλησίδες ἀναστέταται. This phrase appears to have been taken by Polyxenus as if specially referring to the means of invading the Peloponnesus, which the possession of the Athenian fleet would confer upon the Persians: πολλὰ διαβάσαι ἔχωνε εἰς τὴν Πελο-

πόννησον ὁ Βάρδαρος (v. 30). And Plu-
tarch puts the matter with special reference to the utility of the lines at the isthmus: τοῦ διατειχισμοῦ οὐδὲν ἐφέλον ἕτερον Πελοποννήσῳ, ἣν 'Αθηναίοι Μαρκινοῦ προσγέγοντο (ii. p. 871). The phrase became in subsequent times almost a proverbial one. Plutarch has μεγάλα ἐν τῷ Ἀντιόχου Περσαῖος ἀπαντάνακας κλησίδας (Comparat. Arist. c. Cat. § 2); μεγάλα αὐτῷ κλησίδας ἐδίδε τὴν πολιτείαν ἄνοιγον-
tος τοῖς τε γένοις καὶ τοῦ πλεῖον (Acle-
biad. § 10): μεγάλα μὲν τῷ ἀδέφῳ λέον
cλησίδας ἄνοιγοντες (De Iride et Ori-
ride, § 23). St. Paul uses the same figure in 1 Cor. xvi. 9, and 2 Cor. ii. 12; but in Coloss. iv. 3, ἐν δὲ Θέου ἀνοιχτῷ ἡμῖν ἄνοιχτον τὸν λόγον, this does not seem so clear.

22 [καὶ ἐτὰ περὶ ἑκατόν τάξεως τῶν εἰλωτῶν.] These words do not exist in S and V, nor in the translation of Valla. Wesseling supposes them to have been introduced into the text from § 28.

27 ἀπαγόρευσε ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσχυοῦ τὴν στρα-

τὴν τῷ τείχῳ δείμασιν. THirl-

wall considers that the retirement of Cleombrotus to Sparta from the lines across the isthmus, took place during the time that the Athenian envoys were at Sparta; and he endeavours to explain the conduct of the Lacedemonians,— which on the face of things he regards as capricious and childish,—from this cir-

cumstance. "If Cleombrotus brought his army back during the ten days that the envoys were detained, his illness and death, and the appointment of the new
commander-in-chief, might render so long a delay unavoidable, and the departure of Pausanias, instead of having been deferred to the last moment, may have taken place at the very first that admitted of it; yet it may at last have been both sudden and secret." (History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 329.) But it seems extremely unlikely that the army of the confederates should have been employed during the winter months in completing the lines. There is no instance of any thing like such a continued retention of a whole army under arms in ancient history, and the commissariat requisite for the purpose would have far exceeded the resources of the country. The course of events seems to have been, that immediately after the battle of Salamis, the thought of attacking the Persian army occurred to Cleombrotus. But the eclipse seemed to forbid the step. The Persian army appeared to be in full retreat, and the Spartan principle to give a pont d'or to a flying enemy. Accordingly he broke up his position and returned home, imagining the war at an end. But in the spring Mardonius showed that he was going to try his fortune again. He had halted in Thessaly, and his movements "woked the Greeks up" (γιγνεται). The land force had been disbanded and not reassembled: οικεω συνεληγεν (viii. 13).

11 χρόνων τω δει βιως ἀπέθανε. (ἀπηγε δε την στρατιν ο Κλεόμ-βροτος εκ του 'Ισθμου δια τοῦθεν 32. θυμέλω οι έπι τοῦ Περση, ο ήλιος ἀμαρωθή ἐν τω οὐρανῷ.) προσαφερΕται δε ἐνωτίς Παυσανίας Ευρώπανα των Δωρίων, ἄνδρα οἰκετής ένοικα της αὐτής. Οι μεν δε συν Παυσανίας ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἐξω Σπάρτης οι δε ἄγγελοι, ας ἠμέρη ἔγεγονε, ουδεν εἰδότες περι της ἐξόδου ἐπηλθεν ἐπι τοις ἐφόροις, ἐν νόθ δε έχοντες 33. ἀπαλάσσεσθαι και αυτοι ἐπι την ἑωτοῦ ἐκαστος ἐπελθοντες δε έλεγον τας ὑμεις μεν, δε Δακεδαμινου, αυτοι τηδε μενοντες, Σακιλινα ἔπαι ἄγετε, και παιζετε καταπροντες τους συμμάχους. 'Αθηναιοι δε, δως ἄδικεμενοι υπό υμεον, χεῖτι συμμάχους, καταλυονται τω Πέρση ουτως οικε, δων θεωνται καταλυομενοι δε, δηλα γαρ δε οτι συμμαχου βασιλεως γνωμέθα, συντραπεζέμεθα ἐπι την δων ἐκείνου ἔγηγονται υμεις δε το ἄνθετεν μαθήσεοῃ ὁκελον δεν τι
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ELEUTHEIRES. Two manuscripts (F and c) have 'Orestheis. The Orestheis here mentioned is apparently in the vicinity of Tegea, upon the mountain Minoa, to 'Orestheis Maunall as Thucydides calls it (v. 64). The town was a very ancient one, and in the local traditions reputed to have been founded in the third generation after Pelasgus, by his grandson Orestheus, from whom it was at first called Orestheum. The name was afterwards called Orestheum, from Orestes. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 3. 2.) From an anecdote related of an heroic action of a hundred volunteers of the town, who, by the sacrifice of themselves, purchased the return of the population of Phigalia, it may be inferred that the name could not have been changed, and consequently the tutelary hero altered, until the latter part of the seventh century B.C. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 39. 3.) But the dramatic poets paid no regard to such chronological considerations. EURIPIDES makes the Dioscuri say to Orestes:

In the Orestes, too, Apollo orders him to pass a year before lustration in the Parnassian plain, of which he says:

εκλησαςτε δε σατη φυγη ζησομενον

'Λασιν, 'Αραδει τ' 'Ορεσθεοι κηλευ. (1647.)

23 ζεινους γαρ έκκλεων τον βασιλεα. See note on ix. 55.

24 ιπτεδεσανει σχονοις των ξηπατη-

την μη δειναι. In what way did the Argives expect to be able to hold the Spartans in check? Certainly it could not have been by any force they could hope to bring into the field. Possibly they tried to foment the jealousy of the pure Spartans at Lacedaemon against the Achaean portion of their fellow countrymen. They had been so much alarmed by the designs of Cleomenes, as to render this no difficult task. A current report in Hellas in the time of Herodotus, was that the Argives actually invited the Persians, in consequence of the blow which had been struck by that king (viii. 153). If there is any truth in the statements of the Attic orators, there was no want of money for the purpose of furthering intrigues in the Peloponnesian. See note 9, above, and note on § 88, below.
CALLIOPE. IX. 12—14.

who ravages Attica and falls back upon Boeotia.

... η希腊ς ταντα. πριν μν νυν η πυθεσθαι, ανεκλήθες, θελων εινεναι τα παρ 'Αθηναλων οικοιν τα ποιήμαν και ουτε οπήμανην ουτε εσινετο 35 γην την 'Αττικην 36, ελπίζων δια παντοσ του χρόνου ομολογήσειν σφέας. έπει δε ουκ έπειθε, πυθόμενος τον πάντα λόγον, πριν η τους μετά Πανανίεου εις του 'Ισθμου εμβαλεν, υπεξεχωρεί εμπρησας τε τα 'Αθηνας, και ει κοι τι ορθών ήν των τεχέως η των ουκμάτως η των λοιπων, πάντα καταβαλλών και συγχώσας. εξήλαυνε δε τάνδε ενεκεν, δι χρωματη την 'Αττικη, ει τε νυκτοτ ουμβαλλων απάλλαξιν ουκ ήν δι χρωματη ταντα στεινων 37, διε και ελγους σφεας αυθρότους ισχεων, εμβουλουτέαν, επαναχωρησας εις τας Θήβας, αυμβαλλών προς πόλει της ταιησθαι και χιρί ιμπασιμή 38.

Μαρδίωνος μεν δη υπεξεχωρεί ενθη δε εν τη δοθη εντι αυτοι χρωματη ανγελητη, πρόδρομων 39 αλλην στρατηγην ήκειν εις Μέγαρα, διακεδαμωνιν χιλιων πυθόμενον δε ταυτα εμβουλουτεθο, θελων ει και τουτον πρωτον έλανυ συστριβεσθα δε την στρατηγην ηγε επι τα Μέγαρα, δε έππος προελθουσα καταπιπασατ χρωμην

35 εσινετο. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has εσινετο, and this is adopted by Gaisford. In iv. 123, the same MS alone has συνενεθα, which he also adopts. In v. 81, that MS has the common form εσινετο, and so have all the others except one (M). But Gaisford here adopts the exceptional reading. I have throughout preserved the common form, it being sanctioned by the majority of MSS, and the Ionic form apparently arising from an arbitrary alteration to produce conformity with the canons of the Alexandrine grammarians. In the existing state of the text, it appears in most instances quite futile to attempt to ascertain what form the author actually used; but the safest course probably is, in every case to adopt the common form, unless the weight of MS authority decidedly predominates on the other side.

36 ουτε εσινεμαι ουτε εσινετο γην την 'Αττικην. While Mardonius held the country, it would have been bad policy in him to have injured the crops, as he would in so doing have been impairing his own resources. When, on the other hand, he determined to retreat into Boeotia, it became no less desirable to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. To the reasons assigned in the text for his evacuation of Attica, may be added that by this means he approached nearer to his own magazines, and removed the allies farther from theirs.

37 δι μη κατα στεινων. If he had fought the battle in the Thriasian plain, and been defeated, he would probably have had to withdraw by the pass of Phyle alone. See above, note 22. If again he had engaged in the plain of Athens, his only road in case of defeat would have been by Deceasa.

38 ιππασιμν. The manuscripts V, P, K, F, α, and ε, have the form ιππασιμφ, and 8 τη ιππασιμφ, although the same unanimously agree in ιππασιμη in the preceding sentence.

39 προδρομων. This is the conjecture of Schweighauser, and adopted by Bekker. The MSS and Gaisford have προδρομοι. But έγεγελη προδρομοι is an expression which occurs nowhere else, and affords no satisfactory sense, while προδρομοι ιππας is found in iv. 121, and προδρομοι in iv. 123, for the advanced postes; and in vili, 203, it is asserted of the body of troops under the command of Leonidas: έν αυτω μη ηκαν προδρομοι των έλλων.
HERODOTUS

15 Mardonius marches by Decelea, Sphendales, Tanaagra, and Scutius, where he constructs a fortified camp within the Theban territory.

16 Ἐχθρῶν δὲ τὸν πόλιν τούτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἄρταγισος speaks of Scutius as if it had been on the Platman side of the Asopus, and apparently forty stades down the stream from the point where the road from Platae to Thebes crossed that river. That this log fortification, or πτέρωμα, was actually completed before the general action, seems to follow from the account of the difficulty of its capture (§ 70, below).

15 κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιάδα γῆν. Just at the entrance of the domain of Platae were the barrows (three in number) of the Athenians, Leckedemonians, and other Greeks, who fell in the battle. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 2. 5.)

16 πτέρωμα. The MSS vary between this word and πτέρωμα. I suspect that not only is πτέρωμα the true reading, but that διὰ 'Ερυθρών and πτέρωμα 'Τόκω are alternative readings which have become combined in the MSS. 'Ερυθρών and Ὕσις are mentioned by PAUSANIAS as if the ruins of the two were close to each other, on the right hand of the road leading from Eleutherus to Platae. Just after returning to the main road, the tomb of Mardonius was seen, likewise on the right of Ὕσις (ix. 2. 1 and 2). See note 197 on v. 74, above.


CATULLUS. IX. 15, 16.

ο Φρύνωνος, ἀνήρ Θησαίως, παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως 44, ἐκάλεσ
ἐπὶ ξείνα αὐτὸν τε Μαρδώνον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς
λογοματάτους· κληθέντες δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν· ήν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιε-
μένουν ἐν Θήβαι. τὰ δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπιλαυτα ἦκουν Θερσάνδρου,
ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ἐροχενίων, λογίου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ἐροχενίω
ἐφι δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθήμαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ 'Ατταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ
δεῖπνον τούτο κληθήμαι δὲ καὶ Θησαίων ἀνδρας πεντήκοντα·
καὶ σφέων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρως κλίναν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ
Θησαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστῃ· ὡς δὲ-ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἕσαν, διαπινόντων
44, τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον, Ἕλλαδα γλώσσαν ἔνετα, ἔρεσθαι
αὐτὸν ὁποδάπο ἐστι; αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ἐροχενίως
τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "ἐπεὶ τῶν ὁμοτάτων τὸ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδο
ἐγένετο, μιμομόσχω τοὺς γνώμης τῆς ἐκείστηθαν θέλω, ἢν
καὶ προειδός αὐτὸς περὶ σεισμοῦ δουλεύσαις ἔχεις τὰ συμφέ-
ροντα. ὅρας τούτων τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας, καὶ τῶν στρατῶν
τῶν διέτομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύοντον; τούτων πάν-
των ὄφεια, ὁλίγου τίνος χρόνου διελθόντος, ὁλίγους τίμας τοὺς
περιγυμνώνους." ταυτά τε ἀμα τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν, καὶ μετέναι
πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων αὐτὸς δὲ θωμᾶσα τὸν λόγον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς
αὐτὸν "οὐκὼν Μαρδώνῳ τε ταύτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν, καὶ τοῖς
μετ᾽ ἔκεινον ἐν αἰ̃̃γο ἐσώεις 44 Περσέων," τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταύτα εἰπεῖν
"ἐξείναι, ὅ τι δέν γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι
ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ ἡρ τιστά λέγοιν ἐθέλει πειθεσθαι οὐδέμι.

44 παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως. The constitution of Thebes appears at this
time to have been a very close oligarchy, the members of which (to judge from the
instance of Attalus and some of his party, see below, § 88) were men of very
great wealth. The Theban orator in ΘΕΥΣΙΔΕΣ, iii. 62, so describes the
matter: ἥνιν μὲν γὰρ ὁ πόλεως τότε ἐνεγ-
χαζεν οὔδε ναρκή ταὐτάδε καὶ ὕπερ
πλεῖστον ὁμόθεν καὶ τὰ δημοκρατικά
διανείπετε. οὕτως δὲ ἔστιν, ἐν γείσ
οις τὴν συνεργασίαν ἑξορίζειν τὰ πράγματα.
Of course, after the defeat of Mardonius, and the expansion of the heads of the Persi-
an party (below, § 88), the constitution would be in some way or other changed.
At the time of the battle of Eunorbyta, which happened quite at the beginning of
the year 485 B.C., it was a democracy;
44 διαπινόντων. This phrase is especi-
ally applicable to the conviviality of a
drinking party, where the cup is passed
from the one to the other, and so goes
through from one to the other. Similarly
διακελεύειν is to pass an order through a
number of persons, from one to the other.
The expression rests on the same idea
with the English phrase, "to drink about." Compare v. 18, ὅς δὲ ἐκ δεῖπ
νου ἐκεῖνον, διακελεύεται εἰσιν τοῖς
πέροις τάδε.
44 ἐν αἴη ἐσώεις. This same expression
is applied to Prexaspeis, iii. 74, and to
Themistocles, viii. 43: πυρσανεμοῦν ἄς
εἴη ἐν αἴη μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν.
432 HERODOTUS

taîta dê Perseôn suynoi ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαῖα ἐνδεδεμένοι." ἐχθρίτη ἐδ ὁδύν ἄστι τῶν ἐν ἀνδρώποις αὐτὴ, πολλὰ φρονέστω μιθέν κρατέεων." taîta mēn τοῦ Ὀρχιμενίου Ἰερ-

σάνδρου ἱεσοῦν, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτους, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγω

taîta πρὸς ἀνδρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιίς τὴν

μάχην.

17 Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατοπεδευομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι

παρεῖχοντο ἀπαντεῖς στρατηγῷ, καὶ συνεσεῖβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας ὅσοι

περ ἐμηδείου Έλληνων τῶν ταυτή οἰκήμενων μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκεῖς:

οὐ δισθαλεῖ πολλοὶ καὶ ὤδοι, ὡς ἔκωντες ἀλλ᾽ ἕπτ᾽ ἀναγκαῖος ἱμέρισε δὲ ὅ πολλής μετὰ τὴν ἄπειρων τὴν

ἐς Θῆβας ύστερον, ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὑπόλαυτον χίλιον ἵψε δὲ αὐτῶν

Ἀρμοκύδηςς, ἀνήρ τῶν αὐτῶν δοκιμώτατος.57 εἴη δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ

ὀδοι ἐς Θῆβας, πέμψαε ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππεάς, ἐκελεύσευς σφαίρα ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Κεσθαί.58 εἴη δὲ ἑποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα

παρῆν ἡ ἱππος ἀπασά μετὰ τὰ ταῦτα, δειξῆθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ

στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μύθου59 ἐόντος φήμης, ὡς

κατακομμείει σφαίρα δειξῆθε δὲ αὐτῶν Φωκέων ταυτὸ τοῦτο ἐσθα δὴ σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παράλλει λέγων τούτῳ "δὲ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γαρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἀνδρωποὶ μέλλουσι προ-

ὀπτερ θανάτῳ δώσετε, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσαλῶν, ὡς εἰσὶν εἰκάζω νῦν ὅσον άνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεῖον ἔστι γενέσθαι

ἀγαθὸν κράσιον γαρ ποιεῖται τι καὶ ἀμοινομένους τελευτήσας τοῦ αἰῶνα, ἤπερ παρέχονται διαφθαρῆσαι αἰχμάλωτοι μόρφον ἀλλὰ

μαθέτω τοῖς αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ᾽ Έλληνις ἀνδρᾶς

φόνον ἔρραψαν." Ὅ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα παραλίθει οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς, εἴη
tέ σφαίρα ἐκκυλήσαυτον, ἐπήλαυνον ὅσο ἀπολεύνεις, καὶ δὴ διετεῖ-

47 ἀναγκαῖα ἐνδεδεμένοι. A similar expression is used i. 11: ἀναγκαῖα ἐνδείχει.
48 ἐμηδείου γαρ δὴ σφάδρα καὶ οὔθεν, "for these too came to profess Persian views strongly." The Phocians had at first refused to join the invaders (viii. 30), but seem to have been thoroughly cowed by the sufferings inflicted upon them by that division of Xerxes’s army which overran their territory (viii. 32, 33). The expression μηδέποτε μεγάλας is used of the Thebans (§ 40, below), and some of the MSSs have μεγάλας instead of σφάδρα in this passage. The affection of violent attachment to the cause of the invader was perhaps produced by a desire to out-

bid the Thesalians, if the statement of Herodotus as to the feelings of the Phocians (viii. 30) be correct; and to the last some seem to have stood out, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the enemy (§ 31, below).
49 δοκίμωτας. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have δοκιμᾶτας.
50 ἐς ἔπων τοῦ Κεσθαί. See below, note on § 38.
51 Μῆδος. S has Μῆδον.
The allies assemble at Eleusis and march to Eretria in Boeotia, where they find the enemy encamped on the Asopus.

They are attacked by the Persian cavalry under Masistius.
The Meagareans are hardest pressed, and the Athenians, under Olympiodorus, alone volunteer to relieve them.

Masistius is slain with much pain. Masistius arose out of any consciousness of this, and a desire to convey the sense of the word. I should rather conceive it to have sprung out of a kind of jesting allusion to the stature of the Persian chief. (See § 25.) Both Plutarch and Pausanias speak of the individual by the name Masistius, without any hint of a variation.

Herodotus

Masistius arose out of any consciousness of this, and a desire to convey the sense of the word. I should rather conceive it to have sprung out of a kind of jesting allusion to the stature of the Persian chief. (See § 25.) Both Plutarch and Pausanias speak of the individual by the name Masistius, without any hint of a variation.

57 Νισαίων. The manuscripts S, Ρ, c, have Νισαίων. Of these horses see note 307 on iii. 106, and 141 on vii. 40.

58 προσβάλλον κατά τέλεα. The maneuvre apparently was an attack by squadrons, each successive one delivering its javelins as it reached the line of the Greeks, but not attempting to break the phalanx. After the discharge of the missiles, each squadron would make room, by a movement in column, for its successor to attack. The greater the rapidity with which the whole were brought up one after the other, the more effective the operation would be; and this rapidity no doubt it was which prevented the troops from discovering that their commander had fallen, until the whole body had delivered their missiles and reassembled themselves. When this at last took place, they were in a situation to charge in a body, which they accordingly did (διαλέον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, οὐκετί κατὰ τέλεα, §§ 22, 3).
καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμνόμενον κτείνωσι, κατ’ ἄρχας οὗ δυνάμενος ἐνέκακθαστο ἡμὰρ οὕτως ἐντὸς θάρσης εἶχε χρίσεως λιπιδατῶν κατοπερθεὶς δὲ τοῦ θάρσης κιβώνα φωνίκεον ἐκδεδοκείτο τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θάρσης, ἐποίειν οὔδεν πρὶν γε δὴ μαλῶν τις τὸ ποιεῖμενον, παίειν μὲν εἰς τὸν ὄφθαλμόν οὕτως δὴ ἐπετέλευσε ταῦτα δὲ κενοὶ γίνομεν ἐκελήθησαν τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππεάς· οὕτε γὰρ πεσόντα μὲν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ οὕτω ἀποθάνασκοντα· ἀναχωρήσῃς τὸ γεγομένης καὶ ὑποστροφής οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γεγομένον, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐστήσαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν ὅτι σφαῖρας οὐδεὶς ἦν τὰς σαυρῶν μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγομένον, διακεκλεισάμενοι ἠθαύνον τὸν ἱπποῦ πάντας, ὡς ἂν τὸν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελώσατο. Ἄδοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελκύοντος τοὺς ἱππεάς, ἀλλ’ ἁμα πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατηγήν ἐπεβόσαντο· ἐν γὰρ δὲ τὸ πείλος ἀπασ ἐβοθεῖ τινὸς τῷ πολλῷ καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον ἂν δὲ σφί τὸ πλήθος ἐπεβοήθησαν, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται Ἰππέμενον, οὔδεὶς σφί ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέηθαι ἀλλ’ πρὸς ἔκεινο παλαιότερον τῶν ἱππῶν. ἀποστήσαντες δὲν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια, ἐβουλεύοντο δ’ τι χρεον εἰς ποιεῖν; ἐβοθεῖ δὲ σφί, ἀναρχής θυσίας, ἀπελαύνει παρά Μαρδόνον. Ἀπεκαθολομένης δὲ τὴν ἱπποῦ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πένθος ἐποίησαντο Μανιστίου πασά τε ἢ στρατηγὴ καὶ Μαρδόνον μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτῶν κελροῦσι καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγα ὁμογενεῖ τοῖς χερώμενοι ἀπλέτω· ἀπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατείχε ήχῳ.

59 ἐσόθεαν. This is the reading of all the MSS, but it is probably corrupt. The most probable conjecture is ἐσώθεα, a word used by Herodotus in the sense of "missed" (iii. 36).

60 ἐβοθέει. See note 4 on viii. 1, above.

61 ἀποστήσαντες, "having retired." The word seems used technically to denote the manoeuvre which was the oppositte of προσελκύοντας.

62 σφέας τε αὐτῶν κελροῦσι καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγα. I am not aware of anything conhrming the inference which might be drawn from this passage, that the Persians cut the manes and tails of their horses as a mark of mourning. But such was really the practice of their Thessalian allies. PLUTARCH (Pelopid., § 33.) Thus EURIPIDES makes Admetus on learning the death of his wife, give the order:


63 ἀπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατείχε ήχῳ. This is not to be considered a simple exaggeration, meaning that the sound was so great that the noise of the mourners in the camp was heard all over the country. A general order was no doubt given for the highest funeral honours to be bestowed on Maniotes; and
the result of this would be a wailing and lamentation wherever troops were posted. If the numbers of Mardonius's army were any thing like what is related, the extent of his line must have been such that the assertion in the text may well be true, almost to the letter. A traveller would no sooner get beyond the sound of the cries of one body of troops than he would begin to hear those of another.

Γαργαφίν. This is the reading of all the MSS except 8, which both here and below (§ 49) has Γαργαφίνας. The fountain has been identified with one named in the present day Vergentiani, a copious stream just on the left of the road leading from the pass of Citheron (formerly called Δρόσος κεφαλαλ) to Platea. During the summer months it supplies with water the villages of Gondara and Velia, the former of which is supposed to occupy the site of part of Hysia. From the pass Δρόσος κεφαλαλ to the vestiges of the ancient Platea is about three miles, and about half-way is a low range of hills running northward from the main range of Citheron, and forming a watershed between one of the feeders of the Asopus, which falls into the Egean, and another river, probably the Oreos, the waters of which after passing by Platea fall into the gulf of Corinth. Both the Asopus and this river have separate branches in the mountain, and the latter precisely forms that sort of island, described by Herodotus (below, § 50). Its streams, like those of other Grecian rivers, are merely torrents in the winter; but the Asopus, which is rather more considerable, has stagnant pools in different parts of its channel, even throughout the summer. (Colonel Squire, op. Walpole's Turkey, i. p. 338.)

tεμένες του 'Ανδροκράτεως του Ἡρως. This sain stood on the right hand of the road which led direct from Platea to Thebes (Thucydides, iii. 24), and must have been quite close to the former.

πολλάς. Several of the MSS have πολλῶς, but Geisford has followed the reading of S and V. It is defended by the general use of Herodotus. Compare vii. 325: Περαίων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμων.
Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐδίκαιον γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἔτερον κόρας, καὶ καὶνα καὶ παλαιά παραφέροντες ἔργα. τούτῳ μὲν οἱ Τεγεηταῖ έλεγον τάδε. ‘ήμείς αἰεὶ κατε ἄξιεύομαι ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, διει ἢν ἔξοδοι κακαὶ ἐγένοτο Πελοποννησίοις καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν’ καὶ τὸ νέον, ἢς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπει τῇ Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπειρώντω μετὰ τῶν Εὐρυσθέων θανάτων κατυπητεῖ ἐκ Πελοπόννησος. τότε εὔρομεθα τούτο διὰ πρήγμα τοιὸνς ἐπει μετὰ Ἀχαίων καὶ Ἰῶνων τῶν τότε ἐστών ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, ἐκβοήθησαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζομεθα ἀντίοι τοὺς κατιοῦν τότε ἄν λόγος Τῆλοι ἀγορεύοντο现已, ὡς χρεὼν εἰς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τὸ στρατεύ μὴ ἀνακαυκώτερα συμβαλλόντα, έκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννήσου στρατοπέδου, τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνοσαι εἶναι ἀριστον τούτον οἱ μονομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακεκόμενοι. εἴδοξε τὲ τούτω Πελοποννησίων τούτα εἴναι ποιητέα, καὶ ἔταμον ὁρκικά ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ἢν μὲν Τῆλοι μικρὴ τὸν Πελοποννήσιον ἡγεμόνα, κατέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώα ἢ ἰδὲ νικηθῇ τὰ ἐμπαλών Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, καὶ ἐπάγει τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκατόν τοῖς ἐπειτὶς μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρῆθη τέτη ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἠθελοντής Ἐχεμός ὁ Ἡρόπου, τοῦ Φηνέως, στρατηγὸς τε ἐνοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἡμέτερον καὶ ἐμυνομαχήση τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Τῆλοι ἐκ τούτων τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν τούτως Πελοποννησίωι τούτο τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέσαμεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἔτερον αἰεὶ ἡγεμο-
the disposition of the troops, the Tegeans are quite separated from the rest of the Arcadians, and placed next to the five thousand Spartans,—in a more honourable position therefore than even the picked Lacedemonian perioecian hoplites, —καὶ τιμῆς ἐνεκα καὶ ἀρτησίας (below, § 28). Perhaps one of the conditions under which they submitted to the supremacy of Sparta, after the long series of wars, was that they should in all respects be on a superior footing to these, and always rank next to the pure Spartans. This, in time of war, would give them one of the wings where the force was purely Peloponnesian, and in time of peace might entitle those of them that were in Sparta to an honourable place at festivals, and such like distinctions. It would be only natural, if the Tegeans stood in a better position than the non-Spartan Lacedemonians, that the latter should be exceedingly pleased with any opportunity of humiliating them, and should for this purpose take advantage of the new case which offered, of Athenians joining the Peloponnesian confederacy. The terms in which they decided in favour of the claim of these contain a supercilious reflection on their opponents. See note 77 on § 27, below.

71 πρὸς ἡμέας. See above, i. 67.

72 ὥστε ἄν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχει τὸ ἔτερον κέρας, ἤπερ 'Αθηναίων. This passage is generally considered as an instance of the use of the positive adjective in precise equivalence to the comparative; and if it be not corrupt, it certainly is so; for there is nothing in the words which allow even of the inference of a comparative sense, such, for instance, as in the passage of Theocritus (ix. 20):

ἐκ δέ τοι οὖν άδοχος χόρον κείματος ἢ μονδη καρπῶν, ἀμίλλου παρόντοι,

or as in Pindar: εἴνα ἃ 'Αρκάδας; in the next section, supposing the reading of S to be adopted. I doubt whether any real case can be produced from early authors of an interchange of degrees such as that in the text. But the manuscripts are unanimous; and the reading, if corrupt, is probably as ancient as the Alexandrine times, when apparent solecisms came to be studiously imitated, and thus to produce real ones.

73 δ 'Εγερτής. See note 511 on i. 152.

74 μάλλον ἢ 'Αρκάδας. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), which omits the word μάλλον. Gaisford however follows it, considering the word μάλλον in the rest to have been in-
'Ἡρακλείδας τῶν οὕτωι φασὶ ἀποκτείναι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τούτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον, ἐξελαινωμένους ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἥτις ἀποκταντος φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδέχαμενοι, τὴν Ἑφυσθέος ὑβρίς κατείλαμεν, σὺν κείνοις μάχη νικήσαντες τοὺς ἐκείνοις Πελοπόννησον τούτῳ δὲ, Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνέκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσανται, τελευτάσαντες τὸν αἰώνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους, ἀνελάθατε τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ βάψας τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἑλευσίν. ἦστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὗ ἔχων καὶ ἐς ὁμαζοῦνας, τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδουτος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλοῦσας κατέ εἰς ἕρην τὴν Ἀττικήν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Τρῳκιοῖς πάνοις οὐδαμῶν ἐλευ- πόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμηθάνας καὶ γὰρ ἄν χρονοτόλ τότε ἐόντες ὁὑτόν νῦν ἃν εἶν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαυρί τῶν ἀν ἐν ἐκείνους. παλαιῶν μὲν νῦν ἔργων ἄλω ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἀλλὸ ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένων, ἀστέρι ἐστὶν χωλάν τε καὶ εὗ ἔχουσα εἰ τέωσι καὶ ἄλλοις Ἐλλήνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθώνι ἔργον ἄξιοι εἶμεν τούτω τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτων ὅτι ἐν τούς ἔθνος ὑμῶν Ἐλλήνων δὴ μονο- μαχήσαντες τὸν Πέρση, καὶ ἔργω τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες, περι- εγενομέθα, καὶ ἐνοικήσαμεν ἄνεια ἐξε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἂρ

sorted as a gloss. This is possible; but it seems to me more probable that it has been omitted from S by an error of the copyist, who originally left out ἄλω also.

17 ἐσβαλοῦσας κατ' ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀτ- τικήν. The celebrated Hill of Mars was the site of the Amazonian encampment, and their settlement upon it was in the Attic older legends represented as an ἐπι- τειχισμὸς against Athens. In this way Ἐσχύλος alludes to it (jumlah. 665—690). See note 273 on v. 94. The historical fact lying at the bottom of the myth is the existence of a community in Attica, identical in religious traditions and in race with another localised in the neighbourhood of the river Thermos. This race formerly spread over the north and west coasts of Asia Minor, and into the islands, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, Myrione, Paphos, and other places, being said to be named after Amazonian founders. In the time of Στράβο they were said to exist conteminariously to the Gargarees, whom Metrodorus the geogra-

pher placed on the northern flanks of Caucasus (xi. c. 5, pp. 418—420). He remarks that the traditions of this race are the only instance in which it is impossible to draw the line between fable and history. On the subject of them, the essay entitled Ἀρακους in the CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM (vol. i. p. 106) may be studied with great advantage.

18 ἔθνα ἐξε τα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. Few persons will be inclined to believe that troops from so many different nations were embarked in six hundred ships for the purpose of invading Greece; but it would be very interesting to discover the origin of the notion. It seems possible that its source is some arrangement (perhaps for the purpose of military service) in which the subjects of the Persian king were classed under forty-six different heads. Such, for instance, may have appeared on the στῆναι which Darius set up at Byzantium (iv. 67, where see notes 245 and 247). The circumstance of the Athenians having been alone at the battle
of Marathon, not only served them in good stead for the purpose of gratifying their national vanity, but likewise enabled them to put the facts of the transaction in their own way without the danger of contradiction.—a circumstance of which they took full advantage, if we may believe Thucydides, who speaks of this as one of several matters, in which Ἀθηναῖοι τέλει ἀδιεξέχειται καὶ παρακρούονται τοῖς Ἑλλάσισι. By the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, every other state was heartily weary of it; and when an Athenian put it forward, a hubbub was sure to follow: τὰ Μεσοπολεῖα καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἠνεῖσυ, εἰ καὶ δὲ ἡ χλοῖν μᾶλλον ἔσται: δὲ προβαλλε¬

data

The Lacedaemonians unanimously decide for the Athenians.

28 Arrangement of the line of the allies,
λήνης τούς παρεώντας τρικόσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἢσταντο Ἄρκαδες Ὁρχομένου ἐξακόσιοι τούτων δὲ, Σικύνων τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐξούσιο Ἑπταειρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτων Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσετο χίλιοι. Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Δεσπερτέων διηκόσιοι τούτων δὲ, Μικητῶν καὶ Τιμιονθέων τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Φιλάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἠστασαν Ἐρμονεῖς τρικόσιοι. Ἐρμονεῖων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἢσταντο Ἐρετρείων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέως τετρακόσιοι τούτων δὲ, Ἀμπρακιτέων ἐπτετρακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων, Δευκαδών καὶ Ἀνακτόρων ὀκτακόσιοι ἠστασαν τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι. Παλαῖοι οἱ ἔ Κεφαλαρχηνὶς διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων, Ἀγινητέων πεντεκόσιοι ἠτάσσονταν. παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἠτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. ἐχόμενο τούτων, Πλαταιές ἐξακόσιοι. τετελευταίοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἠτάσσοντο. κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὔκομον, ὀκτακιχλιόν ἐστρατήγησε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Δυσμάχου. οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἑκαστον τεταγμένων Ὁσπαρτήτησι, ἦσαν ὁπλίται, συνάπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὥκτω χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. Ὁπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτον ψιλῶν δὲ πλήθος ἦν τὸδε τῆς μὲν Ὁσπαρτήτης τάξιος πεντακιχλιοὶ καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἐπὶ περὶ ἑκαστον ἄνδρας καὶ τούτων πάν τις παρῆκιτο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀκεδαμαριων καὶ Ἐλληνῶν ψιλοῦ, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἑκαστον ἐως ἄνδρας, πεντακιχλιοὶ καὶ τετρακιχλιοὶ καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν ψιλῶν μὲν δὲ τῶν ἀπότομων μαχιῶν ἦν τὸ πλήθος ἔξε τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ τού συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιῶς σύν τε ὁπλίται καὶ

80 Ἀμπρακιτέων. S and V have Ἀμπρακιτέων, but all the other MSS support the reading of the text. In § 31, below, S has Ἀμπρακιτέως, and V and d Ἀμπρακιτέας. In iv. 123, the forms Μαυτίνων and Μαντίνων are supported by all the MSS.

81 πεντακιχλιοὶ καὶ τετρακιχλιοὶ καὶ τρισμύριοι. According to Herodotus’s own statement, the numbers of the light-armed troops, independently of the Helots, should be 33,700, or 500 less than he here puts them at. But the incorrect number seems to arise only from an error of calculation, and not from any lacuna in the MSS, as the aggregate of the various contingents agrees with the sum given in the text for the numbers of the hoplites.

82 καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες. These words are omitted from S and V, but apparently only by an error of transcription in the archetypal MS.

83 τέντα. Two MSS have ἔττα, which, as in other respects they do not vary from the others, would give too great a numerical force of the light-armed troops by 1000.
The enemy follow the allies to their position at Platea. Order of their line.

31 The enemy follow the allies to their position at Platea. Order of their line.

81 οἱ περιέγεντες. Theepize had been destroyed by the army of Xerxes the year before, on which occasion the inhabitants found refuge in the Peloponnesus (viii. 50). But the phrase seems to refer especially to the loss they sustained at Thermopylæ, where 700 were with Leonidas (vii. 220), and remained voluntarily with him after his position was turned (vii. 222, where see note 557).

82 ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (P), which has ἀμφὶ περὶ Μαρδόνιον,—obviously an union of two alternative readings.

83 ἓν τε Ἑλληνὶ παρέδωκεν καὶ γὰρ τὸ Σικυονίων ὁ Δακέδαιμον. Οائها ἕστησε "Πέρσας καὶ δὴ πολλὰ γὰρ περίεσαν" πληθεὶς οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τῇ τάξει πλείους ἐκεκοσμεῖτο, καὶ ἐπέειχον τοὺς Τεγέητας: ἐτάξε δὲ οὗτοι ὦ τι μέν ἢ αὐτοὶ δυνατῶτατον πάνω ἀπολέσασι, ἐστήσας ἄντι αὐτῶν Δακέδαιμον ἤτο γὰρ θενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγέητας ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεις φρακτών τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περετὼν δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μηδώνους οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποιτιδαίτας, καὶ Ὀρκομενίους τε καὶ Σικυόνιους. Μηδών δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τρακηνίους, καὶ Λαπρίττας τε καὶ Τινών, καὶ Μυκηνάιος τε καὶ Φλάσσιος. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε 'Ἰδώνος οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἔρμονέας τε καὶ Ἑρετρίας, καὶ Στυρίας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. 'Ἰδώνος δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε οἱ ἐπέσχον 'Λυμπρακήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτόριος, καὶ
Δευκαδίους, καὶ Παλέας, καὶ Αἰγυνήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία 'Αθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βουσωτοῦς τε καὶ Δοκροῦς, καὶ Μηλέας τε καὶ Θεσαλών, καὶ Φωκέων τούς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ἄν αὕτης οἱ Φωκείτες ἐμῆδεσαν ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ 'Ελλήνων πέξουν, περὶ τὸν Παρνησίου κατειλημένου· καὶ ἐνθεύτευς ὁμομέμνον, ἐφεύριν τε καὶ ἦγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὰν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας 'Ελλήνων ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας· τοὺς τε περὶ Θεσαλίην οἰκεμένου· κατὰ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὁ νόμος ἐμφανίζει τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέων, τάπερ ἐπιφανεστάτατα τε ἢ καὶ λόγου πλεονεύσαν ἐνέσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναμεμνήσαμεν, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Ἐρυθρίων, καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιῶνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθίτων τε καὶ Διήνυπτων (οἱ τε "Ερμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίας καλεόμενοι") μαχαιροφόρον οἵπερ εἰσὶ Διήνυπτων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι τοῦτος δὲ ἔτι ἐν θάλαμῳ ἔως ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἀπεβιβάζοντο, ἐόντας ἐπιθάνετο· οὖ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τῶν ἄμα ἥχη ἀπικόμενον ἐς 'Αθηνὰς Διήνυπτοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τρίχοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ 'Ελλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἴδη μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀρμῦνος οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἠμφημύθησαν ὡς δὲ ἐπεκαίνατο, ἐς πάντες μυριάδες συλλεγόμεναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν ἢ δὲ ἵπποι χωρὶς ἐτέκακτο.

'Ος δὲ ἀρά πάντες· οἱ ἐτετάχυτο κατὰ τε ἐθνεὶ καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαύτα τῷ δευτέρῳ ἠμέρᾳ ὄθυντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. 'Ελληνικοὶ μὲν Τιταμενὸς 'Αντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυμὸν οὗτος γὰρ δὲ ἐγέρστο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τῶν, ἐόντα 'Ἡλείων καὶ γένειος τῶν 'Ιμπεδών Κλυτιάδην, Δακεδαιμόνοι ἐπουσίσαντο λεοσφέτερον·

88 περὶ τὸν Παρνησίου κατειλημένου. See viii. 32, and note 48 on § 17, above.
89 έτάξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας. These were the contingent furnished by Alexander the king of Macedon, who commanded them in person (§ 44, below).
90 τοὺς περὶ Θεσαλίην οἰκεμένους. These would doubtless be the clansmen and retainers of the Aeacids and Scopades, serving with Mardonius.
91 οἱ τα 'Ερμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίας καλεόμενοι. Of these soldiers see note 506 on ii. 164.
92 τρίχοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται. These numbers are given above (viii. 113), but there the thirty myriads seem to include the cavalry. And of these thirty myriads, six attempt unsuccessfully to take Potidea (viii. 126), and suffer very great loss before they raise the siege (viii. 129). Dioporos puts the numbers of the allies at 100,000, and those of the invading army at half a million (xi. 30).
93 ἢποῖες. This word is omitted in S and V.
94 γένειος τοῦ 'Ιμπεδών Κλυτιάδην. This is the reading of all the MSS except...
under which he was made a Lacedaemonian citizen. Tisamenus γὰρ μαντεωμένον ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ γόνου ἡ Πυθῆ ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναρίστεσσαι πέντε ὁ μὲν ὁ ἀμαρτών τοῦ χρηστηρίου, προσείχε γυμνασίος ὡς ἀνεμφατομενος γυμνοκος ἀγώνας ἀσκεῶν δὲ πετασθένοι παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμεν νῦν Ὁλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνίμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἑλθον ἐς ἕρων Δακεδαμόνοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνοκος ἀλλὰ ἐς ἀρήσεως ἀγώνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντίτην, μισθὸν ἑπειρώτω ἐπισταντες Τισαμενοῦ ποιέσθαι ἴματον Ἡρακλείδειον τοὺς βασιλεύσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων ὃς ὁρεῖν περὶ πολλοῖς ποιεσμένονοι Σπαρτητας φίλοι αὐτῶν προσθέσαι, μαθὼν τῷ ἐκτίμω, σημαίνον σφι, ὃς ἦν μν πολιτην σφέτερον ποίησωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταύτα ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δὲ οὖν Ἑπορτητα δὲ, πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δειλὰ ἐποιεύτω, καὶ μετέσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν τέλος δὲ, δείμασε μεγά-

S, which has Καυτίδεω instead of Καυτίδην. But it occasions a good deal of difficulty; for both Ιαμίδης and Καυτίδης are gentile names; and Cicero (De divinatione, l. 41) expressly states that there were in Elis two families specially distinguished for their skill in divination, the Iamidae and the Clytidae. It would seem certain, therefore, that if Tisamenus belonged to the one, he could not bear a name implying that he was a member of the other. It is remarkable too that Παυσανίας, in relating the story of this Tisamenus, and obviously from this passage of Herodotus, does not mention the name Clytidae at all (iii. 11. 6). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect, that here, as in many other places, alternative readings have been combined in the text. The tradition relative to Tisamenus may very well have varied, some accounts making a member of one of the two families, and some one of the other. Thus some of the MSS will have run: τὸν, ἔστω Ἡλιον Καυτίδην, and others: τὸν, ἔστω Ἡλιον καὶ γένεσι τῶν Ιαμίδων. After the two variants were incorporated into one, the scribe of S (or of its archetype) appears to have endeavoured to soften down the incongruity by making Tisamenus the son of a Clytides.

μαντεωμένῃ ... περὶ γόνου. Schweighäuser seems to think that there must be some error in the text, because in the answer of the oracle there is no reference to the subject about which Tisamenus inquired. But although the desire of a family may have been the special cause which took him to Delphi, there may well have been something in the reply which led to further inquiries as to his career in after-life. Besides, it seems to have been no uncommon practice at Delphi to make answer quite beside the scope of the question put by the votary. (See iv. 150 and 155.)

παρὰ δὲ πάλαισμα ἔδραμεν, "he had it turn on the issue of one fall in wrestling." In the way in which Παυσανίας puts the matter, one is led to suppose that having beaten Hieronymus in running and leaping, and probably been beaten by him in throwing the javelin and the discus, the victory remained to be finally determined by the issue of the wrestling bout. The expression παρὰ δὲ πάλαισμα may be illustrated by Ιασών (iii. p. 41): παρὰ τέσσαρα ψήφους μετέχει τῆς πάλαισμα, "his citizenship was established by four votes,"—that number being the excess of the majority. DEMOSTHENES (c. Aristocraτ. p. 688): παρὰ τρεῖς μὲν ἀφίεσιν ψήφους τὸ μὴ βασιλέα ὑποστάτο, "they acquitted him, saving him from capital punishment by three votes." The common formula παρὰ δλῆνον is a familiar instance of the same idiom.

τῆς χρησμοσύνης, "of their need." This word seems to have been employed by Heraclitus as a philosophic term, and the opposite of ἔθος. FESTI, JUVENT. speaking of the professors of one particular form of pantheism, says that such a one
is 'Hrāpalitauj ibrēs ytmārōs, "kōro:n kai χρησμοσύνην," kai "ἐν τῷ πάντι," kai "πάντα ἀμοιβὴι" εἴκοσι. (Leygum allegoriae, iii. p. 89, Mangey.) In another passage, giving a mystical meaning to the practices of dividing into portions an animal offered as a victim, he says, ἡ δὲ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζωῶν διανομὴ δηλοῦτο, ἦτοι ὅσ ἐν τὰ πάντα, ἡ δὲ ἐν ἴδιο τε καὶ εἰς ἐν παρ οἱ μὲν κόρον καὶ χρησμοσύνην ἐκάλεσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐκπρώσει καὶ διακόφησαν. (De animal. sacrificio idoneis, p. 242.) Plu-
tarch (De ei Delphico, § 9) refers to the same nomenclature: ἕκαστε δὲ οὗτος ὁ τῶν περιδῶν χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μείζων δὲ τῆς ἀτίτολος, ἦν κόρον καλοῦσιν, δὲ τῆς χρησμοσύνης ἐλάττων.

34 Similar story of Melampus.

35 τῶν ἄδελφων ἐνωτοῖ Ἡγήν. Tissamenus appears to have had a grandson of the same name with his brother. He was said to have been Lysander's seer, and by his auguries to have brought about the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami. This was the tradition attached to a bronze statue of him which Pausa-
nias saw at Sparta (iii. 11. 6). But the statue certainly cannot have been an original one; for it stood by the side of the altar of a temple dedicated to Augustus Caesar. See note 109 on i. 31.

μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ . . . πολείται. The instance of Tyrtæus refutes this observation. (Plutarck, Aphorist. Lact., § 15, p. 230.) But it has been before remarked, that Herodotus appears to be ignorant of all the particulars of the Messenian wars, with the common narrative of which Tyr-
tæus is mixed up, and to which Pausanias's apophthegm recorded by Plutarch refers.

35 ἐν Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους. This battle will probably have been at the
time when the Achean population were possessed of considerable influence in Argos, after the revolution noticed in vi. 83, where see note 189. Just before the battle of Platea the alliance of Tegea and Sparta must have been very close. (See note 70 on § 26, above.) But the policy of Pausanias seems to have been an opposite one to that of Cleomenes; for he voluntarily associated with himself Euryanax, the son of the self-banished Dorieus. See note 24 on § 9, above.) The rejection of the claim of the Tegeans therefore to the second post of honour may very well have been afterwards followed by the abridgement of other special privileges, and thus they may have become alienated from Sparta, and disposed to take part with Argos, at that time stripped bare of the Cadirosso-Dorian part of her citizens.

109 \textit{ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ}. 

\textit{Διπεραι} was an Arcadian hamlet in the region of Menaus. (Pausanias, iii. 11. 7.) The battle fought against “all the Arcadians” will, I apprehend, have occurred in that war which was kindled by Cleandrus the prophet from Phigalia, mentioned in vi. 83, where see note 190.

110 \textit{πρὸς τῷ Ἰσμή}. See note 138 on iii. 47. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, but P, K, and F, have \textit{πρὸς Ισμή}, which Gaisford adopts. Pausanias, going through the five victories, thus describes this one: τέταρτον δὲ \textit{πρὸς τῷ Ἰσμή}. This is the reading adopted by Wesseling, who have \textit{πρὸς τῷ Ἰσμή}. In the MSS, however, the word \textit{πρὸς} is added, and I think that the classical MSS approached this text.

112 \textit{ἐν Τανάγρῃ}. This is the battle mentioned by Thucydides, i. 108.

113 \textit{ἔχρες}. This is the reading of B and Aldus, and is adopted by Gaisford. S and V have \textit{ἐχρέα}, and M, P, K, F \textit{ἐχρέας}, which is apparently a corruption from \textit{ἔχρες}.
CALLIOPE. IX. 36, 37.

ο δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὡστε τρέχουν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος

104 πολλὰ τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργων ἐργάσατο μέξιν λόγων ὅσ γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσεινιχθέντος καὶ σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμειχανάτῳ ἀν-

Dreiwatton ἔργων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑμεῖς ὑπαρχόντων, ἅρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται ὁ τὸ λουτρὸν τοῦ ποτῶν, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσῶν ἑωτοῦ, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων,

Dοιρόβας τῶν τούξων ἀπέδρη ἢς Τεγήνη ἢς, τὰς μὲν νῦκτας πορεύο-

μενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταθύνων ἐς υἱήν καὶ αὐλιζόμενος· οὕτω ὡστε, Δακεδαμονίων πανιδημεὶ δεξιές, κρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγήνη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλω ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρεύοντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποτῶν κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυναμένον εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφύγων Δακεδαμονίων, καταφεύγει ἢς Τεγήνη, ἑσόησαν οὐκ ἄρμη ὧς Δακεδαμονίους τούτων τῶν χρῶν, ἢς, ἢς

In accordance with this, when Epaminondas 287 years afterwards re-established the Messenians in their own country, the religious solemnities performed by the confederates belonged, without any ex-

ception, to the ante-dorian period. The Thebans and Epaminondas sacrificed to Dionysus and the Isemian Apollo, the Argives to their Here and the Nemean Zeus, the Messenians to the Ithomaiian Zeus and the Dioscuri, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caunon. The Arcadians furnished victims for the whole; and the whole invoked in common, as ἡμεῖς συνοικοῦσι, Messene, the daughter of Triopas (of whom see notes 402 and 687 on Book I.) in the chief place, and after her Eurytus (a hero to whom libra-

tions were offered preliminary to the orgies of the Great Goddesses, PAU-

SIANIAS, IV. 3. 10; iv. 33. 8); Aphaireus, and his sons Idas and Lyceus (the heredi-
tary hierophants of the Great Goddesses, PAU-

SIANIAS, IV. 2. 6); and of the Heraclides only Cresphontes and his son Epytus (the grandson of an Arcadian king, and re-established in his Messenian domin-

ions by Arcadian arms, PAU-

SIANIAS, IV. 3. 6). The only music allowed was Bœco-
tian and Argive wind instruments, and the melodies most conspicuous were those of Sacadas and Pronomus. (PAU-

SIANIAS, II. cc.)

105 οὐκ ἀρμηνίαρ ὧς Δακεδαμονίωι τούτων τῶν χρῶν. This time must have been antecedent to that arrangement by
Heronotus 
does not mention the peculiar privileges at Lacedaemon of which they boast above (§ 25), or at least antecedent to the time when they were secured and ratified by the common practice.

which the Tegeans obtained the peculiar privileges at Lacedaeomum of which they boast above (§ 26), or at least antecedent to the time when they were secured and ratified by the common practice.

"in accordance with his hatred of the Lacedaemonians." Compare viii. 30: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερί τοῦ Θεσσαλίων.

"exclusively for themselves." So above (§ 17) the commander of the Phocian contingent orders his men Ἰκλεῖοι ἐν ἑνωμένοιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, "to take up a position by themselves in the plain;"

and the Amazon, unwilling to join the tribe of their new husbands, urge them to form a separate settlement, ὁ θεσσαλός ἔδωκεν ὁ Πηρσαῖος ἂν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ἑαυτῶν. This pass is apparently to be looked for to the west of that which lay between Cenea and Hysie, and led direct to Thebes. It was probably a mere mountain track, not a road, and like the packhorse routes in Switzerland.

περιβαλλόμενοι, "securing them." The metaphor is apparently taken from a
The two days the Greeks are constantly galled by the enemy’s cavalry.

On the eleventh day a dispute takes place between Mardonius and Artabazus as to the best course to pursue.

person who wraps a mantle round him. It is used above, 371: ἐπὶ περιβάλλοντος λευκῆς κέρδεα, and viii. 8: πολλὰ μὲν δέων τῶν χρυσάτων τῶν Πέρσας, πολλά δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ περιβάλλοντο. 111 κατηγοροῦσα μέχρι μάχης, “took the lead until it came to fighting.” There is in this phrase and in the succeeding one, μάλα δέκαν οἱ απεδείκνυτο ἀρετάς, an insinuation unfavourable to the prowess of the Thebans which bespeaks a hostile feeling towards them. 112 περιμένετε. See note 134 on i. 44.

The roll of the army (vii. 68) this individual is represented as the commander of the Parthians and Chorasmians, — names which do not appear in the list of troops brought into line at Platea (ix. 30). But it is possible that a change of command had taken place when Xerxes determined upon retreating; as we find Artabazus at the head of a detachment from the 300,000 troops selected by Mardonius (viii. 126—129). It will be observed, that the system of corruption which he recommends had been tried by himself at Potidaea, and with apparent success until detected accidentally. 114 ἀνακελώτας τὴν ταχητὴν τάντα τῶν στρατῶν. See note 116 on viii. 68.

112 συμβάλλοντας. One manuscript (S) has συμβάλλοντας. The sense seems rather to require κυνουριόν συμβάλλοντας.
πλεύν τι καὶ τοῦτῳ Μαρδονίου δὲ ισχυρουτήρη τε καὶ ἀγνοομετέρη, καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγρισμοκομῆν δοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλὰς κρέστοια εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατίτην τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλει τε τὴν ταχύτητι 116, μᾶλλον δέ περιφράν συλλεγομένους ἐτι πλεύνας τῶν συλλεγομένων τὰ τα σφάγια τὰ 'Ἡγεσιστράτοιο ἕκαστῷ μὴ διαφέρεται, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Πέρσαις χρεωμένοις συμβάλλειν. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὔδεὶς, ὡστε ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γινόμενῃ τῷ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τὴς στρατίτης ὀνόμα τοῦ Βασίλεως, ἀλλ' οὐκ 'Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμφάμενοι δὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτῶν Ἑλληνῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, εἰρώτα ἐκ τε εἰδεῖν λόγων περὶ Πέρσαις, ὡς διαφθείρεται 117 ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι; συγκώτων δὲ τῶν ἑπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρημάτων, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν εἰς ἄδειάς δὲ οὐ ποιεμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδονίου ἔλεγεν "ἐπεὶ τοῖς ὑμεῖς ἢ ἵστε οὐδεὶς, ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς σὺ ἐπιστάμενος ἐστι λόγων ὡς χρεῖον ἔστι Πέρσαις ἀπικομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διαρπάζατο τὸ ἱρὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγήν 118 ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμῖν τούτῳ, αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενοι, οὐτε ίμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο 119 οὔτε ἐπικεφαλής ἄμειν διαρπάζων τοῦτος τε ἐνεκά τῇ αἰτίᾳ οὐκ ἀπολυμένει. ὡστε ὑμένων ὅσοι τυγχάνονται εὑνοὶ ἑνῶς Πέρσαι, ἀδεσθεὶ τοῦτο ἐνεκά, ὡς περιεσχόμενος ἡμᾶς Ἑλληνών." ταύτα σφὴ ἐπετεῖς, δεύτερα δεύτερα παραρέσονται τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα 120 ποιε-σθαι, ὡς ἀμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιστοίλῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένη.

Τούτου δὲ ἔγνω τῶν χρησμῶν τοῦ Μαρδονίου εἴπε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἄχρεω, ἀλλ' Ἑλληνοὺς τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑγγέλεως στρατῶν οἴδα πεποιη-

116 συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχύτητι. This clause is not to be taken after δοκεῖν, but after Μαρδονίου ἡ γεγένη θε. "The view of Mardonius was more a violent and headstrong one, and in no respect inclined to mild measures. [It was to the effect] that he thought their own force far superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should fight as soon as possible, and not look on at the assembling of additional troops in greater numbers than were already concentrated." There seems to have been a kind of reaction in the mind of Mardonius, perhaps arising from mortification at the disappointment of his schemes; for it is plain that the policy recommended by Artabanus had been pursued by himself. (See above, notes 9 on § 3, and 34 on § 12, and 282 on viii. 136.)

117 διαφθείρεται. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS vary between δια-φθείρεται (which is adopted by Wesseling and Bekker), διαφθεί-ρεται (the reading of S and V), and διαφθείρεται.

118 διαρπαγή. One manuscript (S) has διαρηγήν.

119 τοῦτο. S omits this word.

120 εὐκρινέα. S has εἰκρινα, and P εὐ-κρινα.
CALLIOPE. IX. 42—45.

μένον"131, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσεῖς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἠστί132 ἦστιν τὰυτὴν τὴν μάχην πεποιημέναν:

τὴν δ' ἐνε Θερμόδωντι καὶ 'Ασσαφίς λεγετορὶ Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον, καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἤργην τῷ πόλεμῳ πεσᾶναι ὑπὲρ Δάκων τῷ μὲρῳ τῷ τοξοφόρων Μῆδων, ὅταν αἵματον ἡμῶν ἐπεῖθε.

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλησία τούτων ἄλλα Μουσαίου133 ἔχοιντα οἶδα ἐσεῖς Πέρσας· ὃ γὰρ Θερμόδων ποταμὸς ἡσεῖς μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλύσαντος.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιερώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραλειψει τὴν ἐκ Μαρδούλου, νῦν τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσεῖς φυλάκας ἐτάσσεστο. ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τῆς νυκτὸς προεληφάντο, καὶ ἄσυμη ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνδροι τοῦ Ἅρμιθνος εἶναι ἐν ὑπηρ. τηρικάντα προσελισάμενοι ὑπὲρ πρὸς τὸ φυλάκας τοῦ 'Αθηναίων. 'Αλέξανδρος οὖ 'Αμύντιος, στρατηγὸς τοῦ τῶν καὶ βασιλέως Μακεδόνων134, ἐδίκητο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐς λόγους ἐδέειν τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν τιτανίων παρέμευνοι, οἵ δὲ θέουν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐδόκει τὸ ἔλεγον, ὡς ἄνδρος ἦκοι ἐπὶ ὑπὶ τὐοῦ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Μηδών, δὲ ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδὲν παραγομένου ἐπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομαζόν, ἐθελεῖν φησί· ἐς λόγους ἐδέειν. Οὐ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἷκουσαν, αὐτίκα ἐποτοῦ ἐς τῶν φυλάκων ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐλεγεῖ 'Αλέξανδρος τάδε: "ἄνδρες 'Αθηναίοι135, παραβήκην ὑμᾶς τὰ

131 ἐς Ἀλυσίων τοῦ . . . πεποιημένων.
This is the application of the oracle adopted by Ευσκυπτηρέας (Bacchus, 1333), who makes Dionysus prophesy to Καδμος:

tολάμες γὰρ πέρονες ἄνθρωπον στρατεύομαι πάλιν ὃν δὲ Λοξίων ἀρχηγὸν διαφύλασσοι, νῦστον ἄλλοιν πάλιν σχίσουν.

132 ἅλλα τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἠστι. S has τὰδὲ μὲν instead of τὰ μὲν, and F leaves out ἄστι, which S inserts after μέσην. Gaisford prints ἅλλα τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἠστι τὰυτὴν τὴν μάχην, ἄστι, and continues the sentence on after the citation of the verses, as if πεποιημένα were to be understood after Μουσαίου.

133 Μουσαίου. This is a conjecture of Ανκερ's, the MSS all having Μουσαίου. For the way in which that reading is to be explained, see the last note.

134 στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἐναὶ καὶ βασιλέως Μα-

κεδώνων. Herodotus has mentioned this individual so often before, that it was scarcely necessary for the purpose of perspicuity again to describe him. Perhaps he is so described here on account of his father having recently died.

135 άνδρες 'Αθηναίοι. The στρατηγὸς, whom Alexander named as persons whom he wished to see, are Athenians, possibly individuals with which he had dealings on the occasion of his embassy to Athens in the previous year (vii. 136, seqq.). But still he thinks it desirable to make himself known to them at the end of his speech, as if he had been an entire stranger. Plutarch describes him as asking for Aristides (Aristid. σ. 16). In the course of a generation or two the celebrity of Aristides was sure to attract to him the floating traditions relative to the incidents of the war. See note 86 a on vi. 37.
ἐπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπὸρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας Ἀλλὸν ἢ Παυσανίτην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρῃς ὦ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μή μεγάλος ἐκδόμησην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἑλληνὶς γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον, καὶ ἂντ' ἐλευθερίας δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλομι ὅραν τῆς Ἑλλάδας· λέγω δὲ ὄν, ὅτι Μαρ- 
δονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ σφόνγια οὐ δύναται καταβύμα γενεσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἄν ἐμάχεσθε νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφόνγια ἔαν χαλέων, ἀμα ἡμέρᾳ δὲ διαφαυσκοῦση συμβολὴν ποιεύσαι· καταρρώθηκε γὰρ μὴ πλείονς συλλεχθήτε, ὡς ἐγώ εἰκάζω. πρὸς 
ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζομαι ἢν ὃ ἄρα ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρ-
δονίους, καὶ μὴ πούμεθα, ἀποφεύετε μένοντες· ὅλωνς γὰρ σφ 
ἡμερῶν λείπται σὺν 138. ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος δὲν κατὰ νόν 
tελευτηθῇ, μηνοθῆνα τινὰ χρῆ καὶ εἰμέν ἐλευθερώσως πέρι, ὃς ὁ Ἐλληνικὸς εὐκα δότω ἐργον παράβολοιν ἐργασμαί ὑπὸ προθυμίας, 
ἐθάλων ὑμῶν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς Μαρδονίου, ὡμέν ἐπι-
πέσωσι ὑμῶν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκόμενοι καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ Ἡλιε 
ἀνδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπιφανές, ἀπήλαυνε ὡπλῶς ὡς τὸ 
στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐσωτό τάξιν.

46
Dread of being opposed to the Persians induces Pausanias to attempt an alteration in his line,

Οἱ δὲ στρατηγικὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίόν κέρας, ἔλεγον Παυσανίας τάπερ ἦκουσαν Ἁλεξάνδρον, ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ 
λόγῳ καταρροήσας τοις Πέρσαις 137, ἔλεγε τάδε· ἔτει τοῖς ἐς 
ὁμον ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεὼν ἐστιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 
στήμιν κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βουνοὺς τε κα 
tοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ὁλληνικοὺς, τῶν δὲ εὐκα 
ἵμαις ἐπι 
stάσωσιν τοὺς Μύθους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν, ἐν Μαραθῶν μαχε 
σάμενοι· ἥμεις δὲ ἀπειροῦσα εἰμὲν καὶ ἄδαες τοιούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. 
Σπαρτητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μύθους ἡμέες δὲ Βουνοὺ 
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐστι καὶ ἐπειροῦσα εἰμὲν. ἄλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τῇ ὅπλα χρεῶν 
ἐστιν λέειν ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τὸ νόμῳ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνιμον." 
πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιταν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· ἐκαὶ ἀποκαλεῖς ὑμῖν πάλαι 
ἀπ' ἄρχεσιν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐνδομεν καὶ ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας,

138 ὀλγὼν γὰρ σφι ἡμερῶν λείπται 

a σύνα. This statement is not at all easy to reconcile with the argument of Artabazus (§ 41), that they should fall back on Thebes, where there were ample supplies both for horse and man. There can be no question that, with the superiority 
in cavalry possessed by the Persians, it would have been perfectly easy to main-
tain an uninterrupted communication be-
tween Thebes and the army in camp. 

137 καταρροήσας τοῖς Πέρσαις. See 

note 158 on § 60, below.
ἐν νῦν ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταύτα τάπερ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρεστε· ἄλλα γὰρ ἄρρωστομεν ἡμᾶς ὅπως ἦδεες γένονται οἱ λόγοι· ἐπεῖ δ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἔμμηνοθητε, καὶ ἤδομένοι ήμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγονοσί· καὶ ἐτοίμοι εἰμέν ποιεῖν ταύτα· ἦς δ' ἦρεσε ἀμφοτέρους ταύτα, ὅς τε διὰφαίνεται καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις· γινότες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον, ἐξαγορεύοντες Μαρδονίου· ὁ δ' ἐπεί τε ἦκουσε, αὐτικά μετατάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπειρατό, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Δακεδαμιούντος. ὅς δὲ ἔμαθε τούτῳ τούτῳ γνώμοναν ὁ Παυσανίας, γνῶς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὁπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιητὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας· ὅς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὁ Μαρδονίους ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰσώμου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἄρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδονίους κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Ἐθνικοὺς ἕλεγεν τάδε· "ὁ Δακεδαμιούντος, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγοντες εἶναι ἄδρες ἀριστοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαιδευομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τὰξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντες τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ή ἀυτοῖς ἀπόλλυτε. τῶν δ' ἃρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλησθε· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμίας ἡμέας ἐς χειρὰς τῶν νόμων ἀπείκοσαθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ἡμέας εἰςομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τῇ τῆς πρόπετρον ποιεύμενος, αὐτοὺς τε ἀντὶ δοῦλον τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένων· ταύτα οὖν ἄδρες ἄγαθων ἐργα· ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐφεύσημεν. προσδεκόμονεν γὰρ κατὰ κλέος, ὅς δὲ πέμψεις ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μοῦνοις Πέρσας μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐντέλες ποιεῖσθαι ταύτα, οὔτε τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ἡμέας εὑρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσονται μάλλον. νῦν δὲν ἔπειθεν οὐκ ἡμέας ἠρξατε τοῦτο τόν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἡμέας ἄρχομεν, τί δὴ οὗ πρὸ μεν τῶν Ἐθνικῶν ἡμείς, ἐπεὶ τε διδάσκοντα· εἰναι ἀριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεις, ἵσοι πρὸς Ἰσον ἀριθμον μαχεσμεθα; καὶ ἤν μὲν δοκεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ μετετεινα μαχεσθων ὡστερον εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκεον, ἀλλ' ἡμέας μοῦνους ἀποχάρα, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσμεθα·"
49 He attacks the whole line of the allies with his cavalry, and destroys the Gargaphian fountain, from whence the whole army was supplied with water.

50 The allies resolve to move to "the island," ten stades off, in the course of the next night.

51 "The island" is formed by two branches of a river named Οἰόκη.  

133 περικρατής γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχῆς νείρη. That this is a Hellenic view of Mardonius's sentiments, and can have no foundation of truth, seems perfectly certain. See the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the want of strategical skill among the Greeks (vii. 9). He was not likely to have his spirits elevated on finding that he was opposed by as good a general as himself, and one who did not intend to give up the advantages of a strong position. With the expression ψυχῆς νείρη compare ἐπαρθεὶς ἐνεκερή, vi. 108.

134 προσφέρεσθαι ἐπαρα. Not "unable to engage in close fight," but "impossible to bring to close fight." Compare ἐστομα ροσφυκείγων, which is said of the Scythians (iv. 46) from the same cause.

135 Γαργαφίνη. See above, note 64 on § 25.
CALLIOPE. IX. 49—52.

On the army getting into motion at night, the greater part retreat as far as the Heraeum at Platea, twenty stades from the Gargaphian fountain.

128 θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι 'Ασοποῦ οἱ ἐπικότοι. See note 353 on vii. 129. This stream appears to have been crossed by the road running from Platea to Thebes, but at what distance from Platea does not appear. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 4. 4.) See COLONEL SQUIRE quoted in note 64, above.

127 δισφεῖ κατ' ἅπαντας, "as they did, while they were directly exposed to them."

129 δευτέρα φυλακή. The Greeks divided the interval of time between sunset and sunrise, not, like the Romans, into four parts, but into three. The second watch would therefore, at this time of the year, commence nearly two hours before midnight.

130 ἧσαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κιβαρώνι ἀπολελαμβανόμενοι, "for they had been blocked up in Citheron. The convoy in question had apparently intended to enter Boeotia by the way of Οἰνός, but was unable to descend into the plain for fear of the enemy's cavalry.

140 ἐκ τοῦ Ἡραίου. The deity in this temple was called Ἡρα τελεά or Ἡρα νυμφουμένη. She was a thea γαμήλιος, and a festival called Δεδάλα was celebrated by the Plateans in her honour every seventh year, or oftener. Every sixtieth year there was a grander celebration, in which were associated together with Platea, Coronea, Theopis, Tanagra, Cheronessa, Orchomenus, Lebades, and Thebes, and other smaller towns. Fourteen images of oak, attired as brides, were drawn in chariots along the banks of the Asopus, and from thence to the summit of Citheron. There an altar was built up of square logs of wood like masonry, and heaped with fascines, and, a bull being sacrificed to Zeus and a cow to Here, by each of the townspeople taking part in the ceremony, the victims were burnt together with the wooden brides upon it. The altar itself at last taking fire, the whole produced a bonfire seen far and wide. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 3. 9.) It is this Here, whose temple was enriched,
53 On Pausanias ordering the Lacedaemonians to move, Amompharetus, commander of the Pitanean battalion, refuses to stir.

Pausanias halts the Lacedaemonians to avoid sacrificing him.

54 The Athenians do not move as agreed upon from distrust of the Lacedaemonians.

and added to, with the spoils of Platae, when the Spartans and Thebans destroyed the town in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. (Thucydides, iii. 64.)

151 τούτων Παταγίτων λόγον. See note 136 upon vi. 57. It is scarcely useful to speculate much upon the cause of Herodotus's error with regard to this battalion's name. Possibly the story of Amompharetus, a Spartan of the old school, may be derived from the same source as that of Archias and Lyconas, the two brave soldiers who fell at Samos. This last was told to Herodotus (or his informant) by an individual who resided at Pitana (iii. 55). Now if this person himself served under Amompharetus at Platae, and the battalion contained others from the same deme; he would, in speaking of Amompharetus, very naturally use such an expression as "our colonel,"—which might no less naturally be interpreted as in the text, by any one who assumed that the Lacedaemonian army was organized as an aggregate of local militia.

154 ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἀλλα φρονεότατοι καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. The attribution of treachery to the Lacedaemonians was a popular topic at Athens. Euripides:

Ἀπάτης ἔνοικοι, ἄλλα βουλευτήρια, ἄλλαν διαφόρων καὶ, ἑλικτὰ, κεφάλιν ὑπὲρ ἄλλα πᾶν τέρσοντες.—(Andromache, 446.)

Aristophanes doubtless spoke the current sentiments of his countrymen in the person of Hierocles:

συνήχεις πεποιηθέντας. Καὶ τοις χαροτοίοις κιθάραις, &c.—(Peace, 1065.)

and where he describes the Lacedaemonians as persons οἷον οἶνον ὀνείρου, ὀνείρου πλούσιος, οὔτε στρατος, οὔτε ὅρκος μέτει. But history
does not bear out the charge of any especial bad faith on the part of the nation, in the proper sense of the word. No doubt the predominance of one party or the other in the government of Sparta produced a corresponding variation in the external policy of the country. A Spartan statesman had, in his foreign as well as his domestic policy, constantly to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid on the one hand the danger of alienating the Achsean population, and on the other that of endangering the Cadmeo-Dorian supremacy; and a course so fettered would always, when seen from without, assume a tortuous appearance. The light in which the Romans viewed Carthage, and that in which the continental nations of modern Europe are apt to view Great Britain, furnish something of a parallel. Napoleon, had he invaded this country, would doubtless have complained of treachery, on finding that he was not joined by the whigs. In the text, the charge against the Lacedemonians is made to cover the fault of obstinacy or unskilfulness committed by the Athenians, who did not obey the orders of the general commanding. 143 ξίωνος λέγων τοις βαρβάροις. The peculiarity of the Lacedemonians to use the term ξίως where others would say βαρβάρως, has been remarked above (§ 11). It would be a mistake however to infer any especial mildness of feeling towards the foreigner from this circumstance. The Latin word "hostis" at one time was used in the sense of "peregrinus," that which was in later times called "hostis" being denoted by the word "perduellis." (Festus v. Hostis.) This circumstance is thus commented on by Cicero: "Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esseat, est hostis vocaretur, leniatur verbi tristitiam rei mitigante. 'Hostis' enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc 'peregrinum' dicimus." (De officiis, i. 12.) But the real state of the case is, that both ξίως in Greek and 'hostis' in Latin originally meant "an alien;" and from the foreigner being in most instances an enemy, came to involve from the very beginning the idea of hostility. The process of association is exactly the same as that which produced the case of the English word "unkindness,"—originally the feeling towards those who are not of the same kin or kind, i. e. ἄλλοι φίλοι.
mένους πρὸς ἑυνοῦς ὑπὸς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος. οἱ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκεῖν τῶν Ἀμομφαρέτων λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Δακεδαμιῶν ἀποστειχίων, (τὰ δῆ καὶ ἐγένετο,) σημεῖα ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν καλωσίων τοῦ λουτρῶν πάντως εἰσόντο δὲ καὶ Τεγείτα. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχέως ἦσαν τὰ ἐμπαλῶν ἡ Δακεδαμίων οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸς ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑποτείχος τοῦ Κιλικῶνος, φοβοῦμεν τὴν ἰππον Ἀθηναίοι δὲ, κατὸ τραβέστηκεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον. Ἀμομφαρέτων δὲ, ἄρχει τε οὖν ἄρκειν Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέως ἀπολυτείν, περι- ἐξεύθεν αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλυτείν τὴν τάξιν προτερεύοντων δὲ τῶν σων Παυσανίη, καταδέχεται αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν τέχνην ἀπο- λυτείν αὐτοῖς, ἀναλαβόντα τῶν λόγων τὰ ὑπὰ ἤγη βάδθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στόμον τὸ δὲ, ἀπέλθον ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια, ἀνέμει τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτων λόγων, περὶ ποιμένων Μολέστα. Ἰδρυτέος Ἀργιοπόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινής ἰρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμει δὲ τούτῳ εὐερκα, ἢν, ἢν μὴ ἀπολύτη τὸν χώρον εἰς τῇ ἑτέραχα τὸ Ἀμομφαρέτων, τε καὶ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μένοντι, βοηθεῖ ὑπὸν παρ᾽ ἐκείνους. καὶ οἳ τε ἄρμα τῶν Ἀμομφαρέτων παρεγινότο σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν ἰππα- βάρων προσέκειτο πάσα. οἱ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπόλεος οὐν καὶ Κατήμενος. See note 225 on iii. 83.

144 προτερεύοντων. This is the unanimous reading of the MSS here; although in § 66, below, some have προτερεύων.

145 ἰδεῖ τέχνην, “plainly,” i. e. without any attempt to disguise the matter.

146 Μοιλέστα. One manuscript (K) has Μολέστα, and another (S) Μολέστα.

147 τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινῆς ἰρὸν ἦσται. Herodotus makes no mention of the story connected with this temple, which Plutarch relates (Aristid., § 11). The Athenians were promised victory by the Delphic oracle, on condition of their previously offering prayers to Zeus, the Cithæonian Here, Pan, and the nymphs called Sphragitides, of sacrificing to Androcrites and certain other local heroes, and also fighting the battle in their own territory in the plain of the Eleusinian Demeter and Core. They were puzzled at this, as the oracle seemed to fix upon two distinct localities; when Arimnestus, the

Platean commander, had a dream, which induced him to take counsel with some of the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen. After consultation with them, it was found out that there was an extremely ancient temple dedicated to the Eleusinian Demeter and Core near Hysia, under the flanks of Cithæron. On arriving there, it appeared that the site was most favourable for infantry to resist cavalry in, and just by was a chapel of the hero Androcrites. To conform to the oracle the better, the Plataeans decided on throwing down the landmarks between their own territory and Attica. Thirlwall (History of Greece, ii. p. 334) regards this story as “perhaps an Athenian or Platean tradition, not generally current.” It appears to me to be a story of a later time than that of Herodotus, and such seems to be the opinion of Thirlwall with regard to the latter part of it.

148 καὶ οἳ τε ἄρμα τῶν . . . προσέκειτο πάσα. Translate, “and exactly as Amom-
CALLIOPE. IX. 57—59.

έδεσαν ποιεῖν αἰεὶ ἠδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κειμὸν ἐν τῷ ἑτέταχατο οἱ "Ελληνες τῇ προτέρῳ ἡμέρῃ, ἡλιαννοῦ τοὺς ὑποὺς αἰεὶ τὸ πρῶο· καὶ ἀμα καταλαβόντες προσεκεκάτο σφι.

Μαρδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἐπύθετο τοὺς "Ελληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα, εἶδε τῇ τὸν χῶρον ἐρήμων, καλεσάς τὸν Δηρισαίαν Θάρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήνην, ἐλεγε· "ὅ παϊδες Ἀλεύων, ἐτὶ τῇ λέξετε, τάδε ὀρέοντες ἐρήμω; ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησίοχοροι ἠλέγετε Δακεδαμιούνοις οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρᾶς εἰναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτον; τοὺς πρῶτον τῷ μεταστάμενοις ἐκ τῆς τάξις εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρέομεν διαδράντας διέδεξαν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεδε ἐδεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχη διακρίβηναι, ὦτε συνήθεις ἀρὰ ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖς ἐόντες ὑπὸ τὴν Εὐλησίαν ἐπανακυνάτον. ὑπὸ μὲν οὐσί Περσῶν ἀπελούειν πολλῆς ἐκεῖ ἡ ἦμεν ἐγκυνήσῃ συγγλώσση, ἐπαινεῶν τούτους τούτοις τοὺς τῇ καὶ συνθείατε πάντων τῶν." Ἀρσάβαξον δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖς, τὸ καὶ καταρροῦσας Δακεδαμιούνους, καταρροῦσαντα ὑπὸ ἀποδέξαθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὥς χρεόν εἰς ἀναζεύξαται τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐβεβεῖ ὑπὸ τὸ Θηβαίαν ἀπὸ πολλοφωςομένους· τὴν ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ βασιλεῖς πεῦσετα. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθε ἦσαν λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἔκειναι τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστὶ· ἀλλὰ διωκότοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τὸ καταλαμφθὲντες δώσους ἡμῖν τῶν ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δικᾶς." Τοῦτα ἐκεῖσα ὑπὲρ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀρὰ μοί, διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσσυρίαν, κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀποδιδρασκῶν ἐπείχη τε ἐπὶ Δακεδαμιούνους τε καὶ Τεγεῆς μοῦνους· Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶν οὐ κατώρα· Πέρσας δὲ ὀρέοντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελεών ἄρχοντες, αὐτίκα πάντες

58 Speech of Mardonius to the Achaemenian dignitaries. He crosses the Aesopus and presses onward after the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans.

59 pharetra's troops effected a junction with them, the whole cavalry of the barbarians charged. For the construction, see note 551 on vii. 318.

112 ἀνάδεσσατο. This is the reading of all the MSS; but in i. 176 they all agree in the form ἀνάδεσσατο.

113 σωρθέαται. The MSS vary between σωρθέαται and σωρθέαται. Betrie and ai are continually interchanged by the copyists, having been for several centuries pronounced alike in modern Greece. The word in the text is regularly derived from σωρθῆ, a familiar variation of σωρθῆς, the preterfertfect of σωρθά.
Παυσανίας δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ Ἡππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵππας λέγει τάδε: “ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ἄγιονος μεγίστον προκειμένου ἡλευθερίαν εἶναι ἡ δεδουλωμένη τὴν Ἑλλάδαν, προδέδομεν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμῶν τοῖς Ἀκαδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ τὴν παροικομένην νῦκτα διαδράσεως ὑμῶν δὲ δεδοκαί τὸ ἐνθεύτευν τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν. ἀμυνόμενοι γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει ἁρίστα περιστέλλοις ἀλλήλους εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ὑμῶν ἀρμήνε ἄρχεν ἡ Ἡππος, χρῆν ἡ ἡμέας ταῖς τοῖς μετ' ἡμῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδαν οὐ προδίδοντας Τεγεύτας βοσθέες ὑμῶν ὑπὸ δὲ ἡμῖν γὰρ ἰσάς κεχάρηκε, διὰκολοῦτε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιετομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρῶν ἀμυνόμενοι ἱναί. η δὲ ἡμῶν ὑπὸ καταλεῖβηκε ἀδύνατον τι βοσθέει, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξίτας ἀποτέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοδιὼν δὲ ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντα τόδε πόλεμον ἐξεύτω πολλόν προδομητάτοις, ὅστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐπακούειν.” Ταύτα οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὡς ἐπίθυμον, ἀρμέατο βοσθέειν, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφί ἡδὲ στέιχουσι ἐπιτίθεται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὅστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοσθήσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπετε. οὕτω δὲ μουσώθεντες Δακιδαμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεύται, ἐοίτε σὺν ψυλλοῖς ἄρθιμοι οἱ μὲν πεντακασιόμοιροι, εἰ δὲ συνοδευμένοι πολλοὶ προδομητάτοι. 

155 ἔκαστος. ᾿Α, B, F, have ἔκαστοι. But the singular is found in i. 169: ἀνδρεῖς ἠγάρικτον ἠγαθὸν προ τῆς ἑκατον ἐκαστὸν μακχαίμενοι.

156 ἀπαραπασήμενοι. S and V have ἀρ- πασήμενοι. But all the rest have the compound, which, in viii. 28, is the unanimous reading of all the MSS.

157 τὸ ἐνθεύτευν τοιοῦτον. This is the reading of S. The other MSS, which Gaisford follows, have τὸ ἐνθεύτευν τὸ τοιοῦτον, which not impossibly may be a union of two alternative readings,—τὸ ἐνθεύτευν and τὸ τοιοῦτον.

158 συνοδευμένοι ἦμιν... ιότης πολλῶν προδομητάτοις. Compare v. 91: συγ- γευόσκομεν αὐτοῖς ἦμιν οὐ ποιήσασι ὄρθος. This tribute of praise to the Athenians for their general conduct throughout the war, coming in the midst of an urgent despatch from a Lacedaemonian commander on the field of battle, bespeaks, like many other features in the narrative of the campaign, an Athenian authority. It is quite of a piece with the representation (§ 46, above) that from terror of the Persians Pausanias wished to change his position so as to get the Athenians opposed to them,—an arrangement which would have been tantamount to conceding them the post of honour in the whole allied army. The hostile feeling of the narrator (or rather his authority) shows itself by the remark (§ 54, above): ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Δακιδαμόνων φρονίματα, ὥσ τὰ φρονεῖτι καὶ ἀλλὰ λεγόστων.
These numbers would be thus made up:

Spartan hoplites . 5,000 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them 35,000
Lacedemonian hoplites (picked perisciania) 5,000 (§ 11, above)
Light troops attached to them 5,000 (§ 29, above)
Tegean hoplites . 1,500 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them 1,500 (§ 29, above) ——— 53,000

In front. Behind this he discharged his arrows from a long bow (vii. 61).

The hope which Pausanias prayed might not be frustrated, apparently was that the whole army of the enemy might be brought to action at close quarters. The important thing for the allies was, to neutralize the power of the enemy’s cavalry, especially the horse-archers. Now the retreat of the allied force had done much towards this. The Persian army imagining their opponents in full flight, followed them in a disorderly manner, ὡς γὰρ κατὰ στάσας ἐκλειὼν (§ 59). When the whole had crossed the Asopus, the space between the Lacedemonian line and the enemy must have been so narrowed, that such manœuvres on the part of the cavalry as had been so effective the day before, were out of the question. But instead of coming to the charge, as seemed certain, the Persians pitch their shields in the ground and begin a galling fire of arrows. It appeared, for the moment, as if the advantage gained was again to be lost, and the hope of a decisive engagement frustrated. The problem for Pausanias was to keep his troops perfectly in hand, without any show of a disposition to attack, until the onset of the enemy became so general, that they no longer would have it in their power to avoid a pitched battle.
Mardonius is slain by one Aesimnēstes, a person of note in Sparta.

63

64

162 κατὰ τὸ χρυσάθριον. This is the oracle from Delphi, spoken of above (viii. 114).

163 τῶν δὲ κατῆρθεν οἱ προγόνοι τὸ οὐνάματα εἴρησαν. See above, vii. 204.

164 οὗ Ἀσιμνήστου. PLUTARCH (De oraculorum defectis, § 5) says that Mardonius was killed by a blow with a stone, —a fate which had been foretold by the vision which his emissary had in the cave of Trophonius. If killed by a stone, however, he would hardly have fallen by the hand of any Spartan of consideration. Plutarch (l. c.) makes the name of the individual who slew Mardonius to be Aesimnēstes, which is the reading of S, d, and Valla in this passage. See note 163 on § 72, below. It is observable that THUCYDIDES (iii. 59) speaks of a Platean named Lacos, a son of one Aesimnēstes. This goes somewhat to confirm the reading in the text. We may conceive the words ἀρδρός ἐς Σπαρτὴν λογίου not to mean a Spartan of consideration, but a foreigner (perhaps a Platean citizen) of great influence in Sparta, like the Tegean Chilées (above, § 9). If he were in such a position, it is not unnatural that he should call his son Lacos, on the same principle that the son of Archias of Pitana was named Samios (iii. 55).

165 ὑπὸ Στενυκλήρος. The engagement in which Aesimnēstes was slain doubtless took place in the third Messenian war, of which see note 101 on § 35, above. From the way it is mentioned, one may conceive
Calliope. IX. 63—66.

65 Πλαταιησα οι Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαμινωνιοὶ, ἐφευγον οὐδὲνα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωντῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἔλιλον ἐτὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μαίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίῳ. δόμα δὲ μοι ὄκως, παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἀλὸσ μαχομένων, οὐδὲ ἐλι ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσέλθουν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐπιστοβοιαν.

περὶ τὸ τὸ ἱὸν ὅ τι πλείοτα ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἐπεσεν δὸκεῖ δὲ, ὅ τι περὶ τῶν θείων προγόματος δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἢ θεὸς αὐτῆς σφαίρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἔμπροσθατα τὸ ἱὸν τὸ ἐν 'Ελευσίνι ἀνακτόρων ἐν αὐτη μὲν νῦν ἢ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρταβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα το οὐκ ἀρέσκετο κατ’ ἀρχὰς λεωπομένῳ Μαρδούνι ἀπὸ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνει, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων ἐποίησε τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε, ὢς οὐκ ἁρεσίμονος τοὺς προήκει τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδοῦνι ποιεμένοις τοῖς ἐστρατήγη τῆς Ἀρταβαζος ἐηέδε δὴ δύναμιν οὐκ ὅλην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐπερ ἐωντὸν τούτους, δοκεῖ ἢ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὖ ἐξεπευτάμενος τὰ ἐμελλή ἀποβῆσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἔγενε τοπιατηρημένους, παραγγελια κατὰ τῶν Ἀείμνετος surprised by a sudden revolt, and cut off before relief could reach him. The name Stenyerus of himself would indicate a naturally strong position; and no doubt Aemnestus commanded the garrison which was intended to maintain military possession of the country. Stenyerus was in the centre of Messenia, and was on that account, according to Herodotus, selected by Cressbonites as the seat of his government (Ep. Strabon. viii. c. 4, p. 183). It was the acropolis of it, as the Acrocorinthus was of Corinth; and Demetrius Phalerus compared the hold upon the Peloponese which was secured by the possession of these two points, to the mastery over a bull which is obtained by getting hold of his two horns. (Strabo, l. c.)

66 ἂντικτορων. Gaisford adopts this form, but the MSS. are equally divided between it and ἄντικτορων. It is originally, not the whole temple, but that part which constituted the sanctuary, where the sacred images were kept. A portion of the temple at Cela (five stades from Philus), in which orgies exactly similar to those at Eleusis were celebrated every three years, was likewise called by the name ἄντικτορος (Pausanias, ii. 14. 4), and this is probably the reason why Herodotus uses the qualifying words: τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. Ἐιμάριανδρις applies the term ἄντικτορος to the face of Apollo at Delphi (Andromach. 1157), to that of Artemis in Tauri (Iph. Taur. 41 and 68), and to those of the local Trojan deities (Iph. 15). ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. See note 251 on viii. 129.

ὁ λατ. κατηρημένος. The MSS. vary between ὁ λατ. κατηρημένος and κατηρημένος. Gaisford prints ὁ λατ. κατηρημένος. I should translate, "led out in marching order." The great mass of the army had rushed to battle in a tumultuous manner, on seeing the Lacedaemonians retreating before the Persians. Artabazus seems to have kept his corps back until they had put on what answered to the kit of the modern soldier,—a very reasonable precaution even in the event of the allies being beaten, as he would then have been prepared to fol-
HERODOTUS

67 Of all the Greeks in the Persian army the Boeotians alone made a stout resistance.

68 The Persian force appears to have been the only part of the invading army to be relied on. low them up. There is no reason to suppose that he foresaw the defeat of his own party, still less that he contributed to it by deserting them, although it is very natural that this would be the Hellenic interpretation of his proceeding. At the Persian court his reputation, which had been high before, was raised by his conduct at Platea,—that is, doubtless, by the skill with which he brought off his division (viii. 126).

116 ἔνας ἄν αὐτῶν ὀρέως: σπουδὴς ἔχεται. Compare ὅ τε τῶν ἐξεχνότατοι (vi. 116); ὅ τε τῶν ἐξεχνότατοι (above, § 90); ὅ τε τῶν ἐξεχνότατοι (viii. 107).

117 ὅτε ἔκ μέχρι ἔγρα αὐτῶν τῶν στρατιῶν. He led the troops out professionally (ἐξεχνεῖν) to battle. Compare vi. 1: ὅτε οὖν ἔκ μεχρί τῶν παραδόντων προμαχῶν ἐκστάσεις, "as if, forsooth, he was entirely ignorant of the things going on."

118 προτερέως δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ. See note 148 on § 57, above.

119 οἱ γὰρ μιθικῶτες τῶν Ἑθαίων, "for the Median party in Thebes." There appears to have been an oligarchy established in Thebes at this time, whose sentiments were opposed to those of the commonalty. Padanias (ix. 6. 1) speaks of it as if it had been an inroad upon the ancient constitution (ἡ παράδος πολιτεία); but this can scarcely be true, if he means that there was ever a democracy in Thebes before the times of the Persian invasion. It is very likely, however, that the government had gradually become confined to a few powerful families, in the sequel of that policy of centralization which had been pursued for some time past, and which alienated Platea and Hysia from the Boeotian confederacy.

120 ἄρκει. This word is not to be taken as an impersonal verb. Its real nominative is the sentence, τὸ τέτυχον τῶν σφαιροῖς, gathered by inference from the words ἐν καὶ τέτοι ἐφεύγειν. Translate, "and if these even then took to flight (as they did) before crossing swords with the enemy, because they saw the Persians also doing so, it proved to me, &c."
Of the Greeks not actually engaged in the battle, the Megarians and Phliasians suffered much from the Theban cavalry.

The Persians retreat to the fortified camp and defend themselves successfully against the Lacedaemoniens, until the arrival of the Athenians, who make a breach in the wall, by which first the Tegeans and afterwards all the rest pour in.

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172  οὕτοι ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν. Schweighäuser expresses surprise that they should not have set fire to the log-fort. It was doubtless constructed of perfectly green wood.

173  Ἀλένης Ἀθηναίης. Of the temple of this deity, see note 221 on i. 96.
Among the enemy the Persian infantry, the Sacan cavalry, and, as an individual, Mardonius, most distinguished themselves. Among the allies the bravest man was Aristode-

178 κατειλημέναι. This is a conjecture of Schweighäuser's, but undoubtedly a true one. Of the word ἔλατο (to crush) and its derivatives, see the excellent article in Buttmann's Lexicon.

179 Ἀλκαδαιμωνίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Ἠπάρτης . . . πεντάκοντα. By the way in which these numbers are mentioned, one may expect that the loss sustained by the corps of 5000 Lacedemonian perioctans, and by the light-armed troops, which together amounted to 74,500 (above, § 29), is not taken into account. The public monuments gave 1360 as the whole number slain on the side of the allies. (P. Tútarsh, Aristid, § 19.) Herodotus only mentions 750, including the 600 Megarians and Phliasians cut down by the Theban cavalry (above, § 69). According to Cidemus, all the Athenians who fell belonged to the tribe Æanîs. The numbers of the enemy slain are quite incredible. The whole number of the allied force under arms, including the light troops, was, according to Herodotus’s highest statement, 108,200, and the number of the enemy destroyed more than 267,000, giving a proportion of between two and three for every man engaged on the side of the victors. It is a curious circumstance that this was almost exactly the case at Moanæ, where nearly 6000 Belocchees were killed and disabled by Sir Charles Napier’s little army of 2000. But the destructive power of the British artillery, which is described on the latter occasion as “blowing the enemy away by twentys at a time,” prevents the two examples from being at all parallel. Besides, of the whole army of the confederates, only the Lacedemonians, Tegeans, Athenians, and perhaps the Plateans, amounting on the whole to only 71,900, were actually engaged. And it must not be forgotten, that the 300,000 do not include either the Greeks in the Persian service (estimated by Herodotus at 50,000, § 32) or the cavalry. All the killed and disabled from these, therefore, would have to be added to the above number. But in fact the numbers of the Persian army, if not of both, obviously rest upon very loose data. See above, note 92 on § 33.

180 ἔλατο ὑπέδα καὶ ἀτιφήμα. See above, vii. 231.

181 γεγομένης λέσχης, “on a discussion having taken place.” The word λέσχη originally signified nothing more than a seat in a warm situation, defended either by its situation or by artificial means from the cold winds, and consequently offering an agreeable place of resort, especially to the aged, in a country where so much time was habitually past out of doors, and where fires, except for purposes of utility, were unknown. As civilization advanced,
the sunny bench or sunny walk became in some cases a stately building, something like a cloister. Such was the Leche at Delphi (Pausanias, v. 28, seq.), ornamented by the paintings of Polygnotus, which, it is calculated, occupied a length of ninety or one hundred feet of wall. But in general the Leches were smaller. An extant example of one probably is the semi-circular high-backed stone seat in the old agorae at Pompeii, calculated to hold ten or a dozen persons. From their object it is very natural that they should have been dedicated to Apollo (Cleanthes ap. Ptolemaeus, n. λάσχη), who indeed is said in some places to have been invoked under the appellation λάσχη δρειοι. (Id. ib.)

From their facing the south for warmth, the epithet ἐνεκέρα (which is only a Doric form of ἐνακερ) seems to have been currently applied to them. Heiron (ἰπτ. 491) couples χάλησις δόκων καὶ ἐνεκέρα λάσχην together, as the places haunted by the winter in the shade of the winter which might be obtained there. They are found in a similar combination in the Odysseus, xviii. 329: "οὖν ἄθεοι εὐθύς χαλκῆσον ἄδομι ἐκδώον ἑκ τούτω λάσχην."

It is plain that, resorted to in the first instance for the sake of the animal enjoyment of warmth, they would necessarily become places for gossip and chit-chat, especially as they were frequented most of all by the aged, whose chilled blood most required the comfort they furnished, and who, while sitting idle in them, would delight in talking over the wonders of their youth. Accordingly at Athens it is said that the number of Leches amounted to no less than 300. (Schol. ad Hesiod. ἐτρ. 491.) They formed in fact the substitute for the coffee-houses and clubs of modern times. Peribius (v. 177) recommends a bountiful largess to the ambitions sedile, that the "aspicis sensis" may recollect his exhibition of the Florella. In modern times the analogous motive held out would be, that the entertainment might become "club-talk" (ῥηματοσκέψεων).

From this use of the λάσχη the several secondary senses in which the word is employed derive themselves most readily. The company gathered within the seat would naturally, after the analogy of the English "club," be called by the same name as the place of their gathering. This is the use of the word in Æschylus (Eumenides, 385), where the Erinys describes their exclusion from the circle of the Olympian gods by the words: Ζεβεγᾶ ἀλματοσκέψει ἐξήμειον ἅθους τούτω λάσχης ἀτατισώοντο. The several senses of "a meeting for the purpose of conversation,"—"the conversation held in such a meeting,"—and "the kind of conversation held in such meetings" (i. e. gossip),—are familiar to every one, and require no particular illustration.

302
73 Αθηναίων δὲ λέγεται ευδοκιμότατος Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐνώμιδεσ, ἐξ ἰδίου Δεκελέηθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν ποτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἐργὸν χρήσιν ἔχον τῶν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸ 'Αθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ὡς γὰρ ἦτο τὸ πᾶλαι κατὰ Ἐλένης κομίδην Τυνδαρίδα ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τῆς Ἀττικῆς σὺν στρατῷ πλήθει, καὶ ἀνιστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅταν ὑπεξείπετο ἡ Ἐλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν Δεκέλου ἄχθομεν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὡς δὲ διεμαίνοντα περὶ φάση τῆς Ἀθηναίων χώρα, ἐξηγησάμενον σφι τὸ πᾶν πρόγνημα, κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τᾶς Αφίδνας τὰς δὲ Τιτακός, ἐώς αὐτόχθονι, καταπροδίδοι Τυνδαρίδησι τούτοι δὲ Δεκελεύσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτοι τοῦ ἐργοῦ ἀτελείᾳ τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖ ἐς τὸ δεῖ ἐπὶ ἑνότα, οὕτω διότα καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἐτέσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πελοποννησίων, συνεμένον τῆς Αθηνᾶς Ἀττικὴν Δακεδαμονίαν, Δεκέλεας ἀποσχέσθαι 133. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἑώς ο Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίοι, διεῖς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει τοὺς μὲν, ὡς

133 Ἀριμνηστός. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the manuscripts M, P, K, P. Others, including S and V, have Ἀειμνηστόν. In § 64, above, where the majority have Ἀειμνηστόν, S, d, and Plutarch have Ἀριμνηστόν. Pausanias was the leader of the Plateans, both at the battle of Platea and that of Marathon. His statue stood at the feet of an image of Athena Areia, in the temple which was built with the spoils which fell to the share of the Plateans at the battle of Marathon (ix. 4. 2). When the Plateans made their defence against the charge of the Thebans after the capture of their town, one Lacon, the son of an Aemnites, was their spokesman. This Lacon was the Lacidian consul (πράξενος) at Platea. (Thucydides, iii. 52.) All the MSS of Thucydides have Ἀειμνηστόν.

134 Δεκέλης ἀποσχέσθαι. Thucydides, in describing the invasion under king Archidamus, says that the Spartans, after failing in their hope to bring the Athenians to a general action by devastating the region of Acharnae, proceeded to lay waste some other demes between the ranges of Parne and Brilessus (ii. 23). But although Decelea lay in this direction, the phrase of Thucydides, so far from contradicting Herodotus (as some have supposed), rather indirectly confirms it. And the community of religious traditions, indicated by the story about Helen, suggests that it was not merely the position of Decelea which pointed it out as a favourable site for an ἄντρεισμος against Athens. Perhaps the population of it was cognate with the Achaeans element at Lacedaemon.
CALLIOPE. IX. 73—76.

ἐκ τοῦ ξυστήρου τοῦ θόρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκῆς ἀλύσιν δεδεμένην ἀγκυραν συνήρεν τὴν, δικοὶ πελάσει ψικτικοῦς, τοῖς πολεμοῦσι, βαλλόσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μην οἱ πολέμοις ἐκκείποντές ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μετακινήσει μὴ δυνατως γνωμόνης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναυσίων, δέδοκε τὴν ἀγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὐσίω διώκειν οὕτως μὲν οὕτως λέγεται: ὃ δὲ ἐτερος τῶν λόγων, τῷ πρὸτερον λεχθέντι ἀμφίβατεν assignable λέγεται, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀστιδοι αἰεί περιθεοῦσι καὶ οὐδαμά ἀτρεμίζουσα ἐφόρεε ἐπισήμων ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θόρηκος δεδεμένην συνήρεν. Ἡ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρόν ἔργων εξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀθηναίων Ἐφοιτάτην τῶν Ἀργείων ἄνδρα πεντάέθελιν ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνος ύστερον τούτου κατέλαβε, ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν τιμά τιμά Λεοφρό τῷ Πλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτρῳ περὶ τῶν μεταλλῶν τῶν χρυσῶν μαχεόμενον.

'Ὅς δὲ τοιαὶ Ἑλληνικά εἰς Πλαται ἔστρεφετο καταστροφός ὁ βαριός, ἐνθαῦτ᾽ σφι ἐπήλθε γινώ συνόμους ἐπειδή ἐμπέθη ἀπολογότας τός Πέρσας καὶ νυκτῶς τούς Ἐλλήνας, ἑφύσα παλλακή Φαραοδάτεος τοῦ Τέασπος, ἄνδρός Πέρσας, κοσμη-

183 ἀμφίβατεν. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, K, and F; and it is defended by the analogy of ἀμφιβασις in viii. 81, which Gaisford has restored on the authority of the three last-mentioned manuscripts, and which can hardly be other than the true reading. S, V, ά, ά have ἀμφιβασις. See note 41 on iv. 14.

184 Ἐφοίτατην τῶν Ἀργείων. The incident of the death of this individual is related above (vi. 92), where see note 209. In this passage Valla's version and the manuscripts S and V have Ἐφοίτατην instead of Ἐφοιτάτην, but in vi. 92, they are unanimous in favor of the reading in the text. On the assumption, therefore, that the two stories of the death of Sophone's opponent proceed from the same source, the reading Ἐφοιτάτην is certainly the preferable one. This assumption, however, is not to be regarded as an altogether unquestionable one. See note 387 on iv. 180.

185 ἄνδρας ἑτὰν Ἡδωνών. The settlers in the expedition referred to fall in a sudden attack upon them by the Edomians, after they had succeeded in getting all the land as far as Drabescus into their hands. Their confusion was said to have been augmented by a thunderstorm, which scattered bolts among them. (Pausanias, i. 20. 5.) This is said to have happened at the time when Lycurgas was archon at Athens, i.e. in the year 453-2 B.C. It is not, however, mentioned by Thucydides in his short summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; perhaps because the expedition was of the nature of a bucéraner indulging attempt, and produced no important political results. A Charone son of a Leopras commanded the small Athenian squadron which interfered in the naval engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. (Thucydides, i. 51.)

186 καταστροφός. See above, note 110 on viii. 53.

187 Φαραοδάτεως. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. But S and V have Φαραοδάτεως. The individual, however, is doubtless the same as the commander of the Mares and Colchians (vii.
into the harem of Pharan-
dates.

The Mantineans and Eleans ar-
rive after the termi-
nation of the battle.

79), who in all the MSS is called either
Φαρανδάτης or Φερανδάτης.

120 Ὅσον ἤστησεν. Pausanias was not
really king of Sparta, but guardian of
the king Plistarchus, the young son of
Leonidas (§ 10, above). But there seems
no reason to suppose that the Coan lady
forgot this fact in her joy at her deliver-
ance. Pausanias was to all practical pur-
poses during the campaign king of the
Spartans, and would naturally be ad-
dressed by the title of highest honour,
where the object was to conciliate his
favour.

77 Metá de tìn ἀπίξιν τῆς γυναῖκος, αὐτήκα μετὰ ταύτα ἀπέκοντο
Μαντινεῖς ἐπὶ εξεργασμένους. 119. μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὦτεροι ἤκουσι
τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλην, ἄξιοι τε ἑρῶσαν εἰναι
σφέας ἤμων· συνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μίθους τοῦ μετὰ Ἀρτα-
βάξου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδιώκον ὑπὸ Θησαύρος· (Δακεδα-
μάνου δὲ οὐκ ἦνοι φεύγοντας διόκεων 121) οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρῆσαν
εἰς τὴν ἐωτοῦν, τοὺς ἠγέμονας τῆς στρατείας ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.
μετὰ δὲ Μαντινεᾶς ἦκον Ἑλεοῦ καὶ ὁσαύτως οἱ Ἑλεοῦ τοῖς
Μαντινεῖσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἀπελθόντες
dὲ καὶ οὕτωι τοῖς ἠγέμονας ἐδίωξαν. ῥα κατὰ Μαντινεὰς μὲν καὶ
 Honolulu τοσαύτα.

119 δομιν. See note 303 on viii. 143.
120 Ὀσιὸν ἦστησεν. “After all was
done.” So above: ἐσι ἐξεργασμένοι,
ἐδίωκον ἐκ της στρατείας (viii. 94).
121 Δακεδαμῶνοι δὲ ουκ ἦσαν φεύγοντας
dιόκεων. These words are not (I pre-
hend) to be translated as if the Laceda-
monians hindered the Mantineans from
pursuing the retreating enemy, but merely
to be considered in the light of a state-
ment of their own habitual practice.
“The Lacedaemonians forbade the pur-
suing of a retreating force.”
Ἐν δὲ Πιεταυμίῳ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Διηνυτέων ἦν Δάμπων ὁ Πύθεως ἔργον λόγον ἔκει τῇ 'Ελληνων ἔργῳ ἐργαστήρι Δαμόποτον ἄκουσάμενος δὲ, στηρεῖ ἐλεγε τάδε: "ὁ παῖ Κλεομπρότου, ἔγρων ἐργαστήρι τοῦ ἑπερφεῖ μέγατος τε καὶ κάλλος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέδωκε, ὑσύμενον τὴν Ἐλληνδα κλέος καταδέστηκε μέγιστον Ἐλληνων τῶν ἡμείς ἴδεις. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λουτά τὰ ἐπὶ τούτως ποίησον, ὅκας λόγος τέ σε ἔχει ἐπὶ μέξου, καὶ τὰ δοστέρον φυλάσσοτα τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἱπάτησεν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποίειν οἷς τοὺς 'Ελλήνας. Δεονίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃ, Μαρδονίδος τε καὶ Βάρθης ἀποταμώντος τὴν κεφάλην ἀνεστάλωσαν τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίων ἀποδείξατο, ἔπαινον ἐξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὅπι τῶν Σπαρτιτέων, αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων Μαρδονίδος γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίας, τετιμορέσατο καὶ πάτρων τῶν σὺν Δεονίδεον." Ὁ μὲν δοκεῖς χαρίζεσθαι ἐλεγε τάδε: ὁ δὲ ἀνταμείβετο τοῦτο: νὰ Ἐλλήνης τὸ μὲν εὑρεῖς τε καὶ προσφέραν ἄγαμασ σεν ὡν ὁμοίων μόνοι ἡμᾶς θρησκείας. ἔλεγε γὰρ μὲ ὀψαν καὶ τὴν πάθην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὸ μὲν δεν κατέβαλεν παρανέον νεμάτω παραλέσσασι καὶ, ἔγερται ποίεις, φὸς ἁμαρτὸν ἐκ ναῦσαντο τοῦτο μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ποιεῖ, ἑπερ."Ελληνης καὶ ἐκείνοις δὲ ἐπιφθονόμεν. ἔγερτα δὲ τῷ τούτῳ εὐεκτα μήτη Διηνύτης ἀδούμε, μήτη τοῖς ταῦτα ἀφέσκεται ἀπογραμμα ἐμοὶ, Ἐλληνης ἐρεσκόμενον δουλέ μὲν ποίειν, δουλά δὲ καὶ λόγοις Δεονίδη δὲ, τῷ μὲ κελεύεις τιμωρήσασι, φημὶ μεγάλοις τετιμορήσασι ψυχῆς τοῦτο τῶδε ἀναρμόθητο τιμήτω αὐτὸ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃς τελευ- τηθηκαντες. εὐμένιοι ντίς εὐθον λόγου τούδε μήτη προσέλθης ἐμουε, μήτη συμβουλεύσος χάρων ἰσθι τὲ ἑων ἀπαθης." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκόσας ἀπαλλάσσετο.

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184 Δαμόποτος Πύθεως. It has been thought probable that the Pythia, whose son makes the disrespectful proposal in the text, is identical with the Pythia whose gallantry excited the admiration of his captors (viii. 181), and who was re-taken by an Eginetan galley at Salamis (viii. 93). But if the father had been treated in so honourable a manner, it is unlikely that the son, however intense his hatred of Persia, should indulge in an unworthy insult of the body of Mardonius. And it is also unlikely, had he done so, that the writer would have omitted to compare his conduct towards that general with the conduct of the Persians towards his own father.

185 Τὸ πρῶτα. This is the reading of the best MSS, and is printed by Gaisford. The old editions have τα πρῶτα φημοιν.

186 Ἐρετα. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, adopts Ἐρετα.
Παυσανίας δὲ κήρυγμα πουησάμενος μήδενα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήθης, συγκομίζειν ἐκδελευ τοὺς ἑλπίστας τὰ χρήματα· οἱ δὲ ἄνα τὸ στρατόπεδον σκευάσματον εὐρίσκων σχέδια κατεσκευαζόμενα χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπὶχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρη- τηράς τε χρυσέους, καὶ φίλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἔκπνεμα· σάκκους τε ἐπὶ ἀμαξέων εὐρίσκουν, ἐν τοῖς λέβητις ἀμάλλον ἑνεχόμενο χρύσεοι τε καὶ ἀργύρους ἀπὸ τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐκκύλευον ψελά τε καὶ στρεπτόνοι·107 καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκες, ἐόντας χρυσέως· ἐπὶ ἐσθήτως γε ποικιλής λόγως ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἰς. ἦναίτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἑπόλευον πρὸς τοὺς Δίγνιτας οἱ ἑλπίζετε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδεικνυσαν, δότα αὐτέων οὐκ οὐδὲ τῇ ἁρμα κρύψαν· διότε Δίγνιτης οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχῆς ἐνδέχετε ἐγένετο, οἶς τὸν χρυσὸν, ἄν ὑπόθητας χαλκῶν ἐθέλει·108 παρὰ τῶν εἰσελθόντων ἄνεντον.

Συμφαρήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἔν Δελφῶι θεῷ, ἃν ὅ τὸ τρίτον ὑπὸ χρύσεος ἀνετήθη, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ τρικάρπου δῖος τοῦ χαλκοῦ,109 ἐπιτεύχθην ἄγχιστος τοῦ βαθμοῦ· καὶ τῷ ἔν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἃν ἂς δεκάπτων χαλκῶν Δίων ἀνέθηκα, καὶ τῷ ἔν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἃν ἂς ἐπιτάκτης χαλκοῦς Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο· ταῦτα ἐξελόντες, τὰ λοιπὰ διαμείνετο, καὶ ἐλασθενοῦσι τοῖς ἐξίσου ἑαυτών καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περίκες, καὶ τοῦ χρυσῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρῶν, καὶ ἀλλὰ χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύγια. ὅσα μὲν νῦν ἐξαίρετα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασι αὐτέων ἐν Πλαταικῇ ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν δικαίῳ δὲ ἐγγὺς καὶ

107 ψελά τε καὶ στρεπτῶν. See above, note 226 on viii. 113. The sacrifices probably was gold hilted.
108 ἓτε ἑότα χαλκῶν δήθεν. Larcher quotes as a parallel the case of the Swiss, who, after the battle of Granson, took the silver plate of the Duke of Burgundy, which fell into their hands, for tin, and sold his largest diamond, imagining it to be glass, for a florin.
109 δῖος τοῦ χαλκοῦ. PAUSANIAS (χ. 13. 9) says the serpent remained, but that all of the offering which was of gold had gone in the sacred war. He mentions it next in order to the second group described in note 57 on viii. 27, so that it seems probable that that group also stood near the altar, and is different from the one mentioned by Herodotus as of μεγάλοι αὐθαίρετοι. See above, note 78 on § 28.
CALLIOPE. IX. 80—83. 473

τούτους δοθήναι. Παυσανίη δε πάντα δέκα 201 εξαρέθηε τε καὶ ἐδὸθη, γυναῖκες, ὕποι, ταλαίντα, κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἀλλα χρήματα. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι ὡς ΄Ερέξης φεύ-
γων έκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίφ τῆς κατασκευήν 202 καταλύτω τῆν ἐωντοῦ Παυσανίην ὃν, ὁρέντα τῆν Μαρδονίν κατασκευήν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλουσι κατασκευασμένην, κελεύσας τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους 203 καὶ τοὺς ὄψωπους κατὰ ταύτα καθὼς Μαρδονίφ δείπνων παρασκευάζειν ὡς δὲ κελεύμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίειν ταύτα, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Παυσανίην, ἔδοντα κλίνας τε χρυσάς καὶ ἀργυρέας εὐ ἐστρωμένας, καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσάς καὶ ἀργυρέας 204, καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλα-
γέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ, κελεύσας ἐπὶ γέλας τοὺς ἐωντοῦ διηκόνους 205 παρασκευάζαι Δακονικὸν δείπνων ὡς δὲ τῆς θολῆς ποιηθείσας ἦν πολλὰ τό μέσον 206, τῶν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς. συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων, εἶπεν τῶν Παυσανίην, διεκυνύτα ἐς ἐκατέρυ τοῦ δείπνου τῆς παρασκευής 207. “ ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνες, τῶνδε εἰνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς συνήγαγον, βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν τοῦτο τῷ Μήδῳ ἡγεμόνος τῆς ἀφροῦσίνης διέξας δὲ τούτῳ διάϊταν ἥχων, ἂνθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτων διψύχης 208 ἔχοντας ἀπαρηπόμενον” ταύτα μὲν Παυσανίνην λέγεται εἰπείν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Τοῦτο ἡ μεντὸν χρόνον μετα ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταίων ἔδρον συγκο-
θίκες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὅστερον ἐτί τούτων, τῶν νεκρῶν περιπλοθέντων τὰς σάρκας” συνεφόρους γὰρ τὰ ὄστεα οἱ Πλαταίες ἐς ἐνα χώρων εὔρηθη κεφαλή οὐκ ἔχουσα μαθήν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἐνὸς ἕνου οὖ-

201 πάντα δέκα, “ten of every article.” See note 213 on iii. 74. 202 κατασκευήν. Ἀθηνάες (ὑπ. p. 136) quotes this passage with the variation of παρασκευήν. 203 ἀρτοκόπους. Αθηνάες has ἀρτο-
κόπους. It is certainly not impossible that in the uncial MSS the two words should be interchanged; but see note 163 on i. 51. 204 εὐ ἐστρωμένας . . . ἀργυρέας. The manuscript S leaves out this clause, ob-
viously owing to an ocular error on the part of the transcriber. Αθηνάες leaves out the word εὐ. 205 τῶν ἐωντοῦ διηκόνους. Αθηνάες has the dative: τῶν ἐωντοῦ διηκόνους. 206 ὡς δὲ τῆς θολῆς ποιηθείσας ἦν πολ-
λὰ τὸ μέσον. Compare i. 125: οἱ δὲ ἔφαγον πολλὰ ἐναί αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. 207 διεκυνύτα ἐς ἐκατέρυ τοῦ δείπνου τῆς παρασκευής. S and V omit ἐς, and F, a, f the article before παρασκευής. Αθηνάες cites the passage: ἐπιδείξας ἐκατέρυ τῶν δείπνων τῆς παρασκευής. 208 ἐς ἡμέας οὕτως διψύχης. Αθηνάες has ἐς ἡμέας οὕτως ταλαίπωρον.

82 Anecdote illustrating the contrast between Persian luxury and Spartan homeliness.
The body of Mardonius was secretly buried.

Tomb of the several Hellenic states on the field of Platea.

210 Ἑρωδότου. The MSS are unanimous in this form here. But see note 353 on iii. 128, and note 219 on vii. 67.

211 ἤκειν τὰ κατά τὴν ἐπονομαζόντα. See note 10 on vii. 3.

212 ἦσαν τοὺς ἑωτῶν χαρὰς ἔκαστο. Pausanias, in describing the barrows of the dead, says that there are separate tombs for those of the Athenians and those of the Lacedaemonians who fell, but that the rest of the Greeks were buried together, and that an altar of Zeus Eleutherius stands not far from this last mound. It seems not impossible that the mounds he saw were the three Lacedaemonian barrows, and that he mistook that of the helots (which would naturally be much the largest) for the common sepulchre of all the Greeks. Epitaphs, said to be by Simonides, were upon the other two (ix. 1. 5).
CALLIOPE. IX. 84—87.

τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πληρέσσει ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι τῶν δὲ Ἀλλων οὐκ ουδέ καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιᾷ οὔτε τάφοι, τούτως δὲ, ὡς ἔγω πιθανόν, ἐπισχυμομένους τῇ ἀτρετῷ τῆς μάχης, ἐκάστους χάματα χῶσαι κείνα, τῶν ἐπιγυμνών εἰνεκεν ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀγινητέων ἐσκῆ αὐτῶι καλεόμενος τάφος, τῶν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἑτέρων μετὰ ταῦτα, δεικνύων τῶν Ἀγι-

νητέων, χῶσαι Κλεάδην τοῦ Ἀιτωδίκου ἀνδρα Πλαταιᾶ, πρόεσων ἐόντα ἀυτῶν.

"Ως δὲ ἄρα ἐδάφιαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιᾷ οἱ "Ελληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευμένους σφι ἑδόκεε στρατεύεσθαι" πρὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτεύουσιν τούς μηδεταίον. ἐν πρώτον δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηνεώθος καὶ Ἀττανίνων, οἱ ἀρχηγεῦται ἀνὰ πρῶτον ἠσαν Ἰδών δὲ μὴ ἐκδίδωσι, μὴ ἀπαιτοσθαμὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλθωσι ὡς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἐδοξῆ, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτη ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπεκόμενοι ἐπολύρκεως Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδίδοναι τοὺς ἀνδράς οὐ βουλευμένοι δὲ τῶν Ἐλληνων ἐκδιδόνα, τἐν τὸν ἡγὴν αὐτῶν ἔταμιν καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τείχος. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύνοντο σωμάτων, εἰσοῦσιν ἡμέρᾳ ἐλέξει τοῖς Θηβαίοις Τι-

μηνεών τὸ ἀνδρέες Θῆβαις, ἐπειδῆ ὅταν δέδοκα τοῖς Ἐλληνοις, μὴ πρότερον ἀπανατήμαι πολύρκεως ἢ ἐξέλοσι Θῆβαις, ἢ ἡμέρων αὐτοῖς παραδότε, νῦν δὲ ἡμέρας εἰνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτία πλέον μὴ ἀναπλῆσῃ ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηβοῦσαν πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἔξαστόμαι, χρήματα σφι δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινῶ

392 ἀπετάστα. Gaisford has ἀπέστατο. See note on i. 86. The word in the text is adopted from the conjecture of Valck-

naer. The Ionic dialect is especially partial to forms in ous. Thus Herodotus uses κτιστάς below, § 97; λαμεύς above, v. 6; καταπλαστεῖς, iv. 75. Hesychius interprets the word ἀπετάστα by ἀναπληρῶσις.

388 ἐκάστους χάματα κείνα. This assertion seems quite incompatible with the existence of the houses of the cities thus dispersed upon the base of the brazen statue of Zeus Eleutherius. See above, note 78 on § 28. But the account which Plutarch (Aristides, § 21) gives of the discussions which followed the battle shows how very much matters varied. He makes all the Greeks resign their pretensions to credit in favour of the Plat-

aeans,—of whom Herodotus makes no mention whatever,—and says that an annual congress of the Greeks was held at Platea in memory of the battle,—of which there is no trace elsewhere. But Plutarch is no doubt following the local traditions prevalent at Platea in his own time, and these would naturally be shaped to the glorification of Plateans. There was a festival held on the spot on the third day of Boedromion, which was considered to be the day on which the battle had been fought. For Cleades, the reputed builder of the Εἰγειναῖον σεναχοῦ, the manus-

cripts M, K, P, F, ὅ have Aleades.

391 στρατεύεσθαι. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. M, P, and F have στρατεύετον.

392 τοῦτο ημεῖσας. See note 44 on § 16, above.
Attalus escapes, but the rest are put to death by Pausanias.

'Attaginos, μὲν ἐκδιήκησεν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθήνα τις αὐτῆς, φᾶς τὸν μηδόσμον παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίνους τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδω- σαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν εἶδοκεν ἀντιλογίης τῇ κυρήσει, καὶ δὴ χρήμας ἑπτολίθεσαν διωβέθεσαν: ὁ δὲ ὁς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοεῖν, τὴν στρατηγὴν τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἀπασάν ἀπῆκε, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄγαγος ἐς Κόρυθον διέφθειρε. τὰτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλα- ταιῆς καὶ Θῆβαις γενόμενα.

89

Anecdote of the hurried retreat of Artabazus through Thrace to Byzantium.

's Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Παρνάκεος, φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ πρός ἑαυτῶν ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ἔλθε τὸ ἐγέρει, καὶ ἀνειρέων περὶ τῆς στρατηγῆς τῆς Ἁλλής, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενον τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῆς γενομένων οὐ δὲ 'Ἀρτάβαζος, γνοίς ὅτι εἰ ἔθελοι σφὶ πάσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν ἀγωνίων εἰπτεῖν, αὐτὸς τὸ κινδυνεύει ἀπολέσσα καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἔπι- ςηθεὶσαν γάρ οἱ πάντα τωά ὁστὸ πυθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα- ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος, οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκίας ἐβαρέσανον οὐδὲν, πρὸς τοὺς Θεσαλοὺς ἔλεγεν τάδε: "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ ἄρας Θεσ- αλοὶ, ὃς ὀράτε, ἐπεγομαί τε κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἑλών ἐς Θρη- κην, καὶ σπουδὴν ἐχὼ πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὰ πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατο- πέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὤμον Μαρώνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας μεμὲν ἔλλοι προσδοκίμοι ὑπετεί τούτον καὶ

219 σὸν γὰρ τὴν κοινῆς καὶ ἡμείς ἔμεθασαν. See above, note 178 on § 67.
220 ἐπὶ ἀντιλογίης. This phrase, which is very peculiar one, and is not similarly used, so far as I am aware, in any other writer. ἀντιλογίη appears to be 'the pleadings on each side.' Translate ἡμεῖς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίαν παρέδομεν: "we will give ourselves up to be tried."
221 ἐκεῖνοι ἄγαγοι ἐς Κόρυθον δι- εβίστηρε. THIRLWALL designates this act as "the first indication that appears of the imperious character of Pausanias." I should be more inclined to explain it by the sup- position, that even at this time Pausanias had been intriguing with Persia, and that he put the Theban oligarchs to death in order to conceal the evidence which they might have given against him, had they been brought to trial. (See notes 8, 24, and 34, above.) His dismissal of the allies before destroying the accused is a very striking feature in the story; and so is the liberation of Attaganus's children, the father being himself at large, and therefore formidable.
CALLIOPE. IX. 88—90.

ἐξενώθη καὶ εὐ ποιεῖται φάνεσθε οὐ γὰρ ἤμων ἐς χρόνον ταύτα ποιεῖται μεταμελῆσειν ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας, ἀπέλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατινὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἵνα τῆς Ἀρχαγγέλους, ὅσα ἀληθεύει ἐπεγιόμην, καὶ τὴν μεσογαίαν τάμων τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ ἀπεκνεύει τε Βυζαντίον, καταλυτῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ συννοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰωνίων τε κατακοπήνας καὶ ὄδον, καὶ λαμφροῦσιν τοῖς κακοτείχοις καὶ καμάτρω ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ δίδεσθε πληροῦμαι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀπενόθησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τήστερ εἰς Πλαταιᾶς το τράμα ἐγένετο, συνεκάθησαν γενέθαι καὶ εἰς Μικάλη τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἔπελ γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέως οἱ Ἐλληνες οἱ εἰν τῇ νυσσὶ ἀμα Δεσμυχῆς τῇ Δακεδαμοὺλῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἤλθον σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάεμπων τε Θρασυκλέως καὶ Ἀθηνάγορᾶς Ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ Ἰωνιστρατος Ἀρισταγόρως, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάβῃ τῶν τε Περσῶν καὶ τοῦ τυμάννος Θεομάρτου τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τῶν κατέστησαν Σάμου τυμάννον οἱ Περσῶν ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφενῶν ἐπὶ τούς στρατηγοὺς, ἔλεγε Ἰωνιστρατος τολλά καὶ παντοῦ ὅσ γὰρ μοῦν ἰδοναί αὐτοῦς Ἰωνιανίοις ἀποστήσαντα ἀπὸ Περσῶν καὶ ὅσι βάρβαροι οὐκ ἑπιμενοῦσαν ἂν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, ὅπως ἐτέρην ἄρχην τοιαύτην εὐθεῖαν ἀν αὐτῶς.

222 ἡμὶ Ἰωνιανή τε κατακοπήνας. In the time of DEMOSTHENES it seems to have been the common belief that the calamity referred to in the text was due not to the Thracians, but the Macedonians. He says: Περθέας τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Θεομάρτου τούτου ἐνεπιστρέφεται βασιλεύσαι Μικάλης, τὸν ἀναφέρουσαν εἰς Πλαταιῶν τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς διαφάνειας καὶ τέλειος ἔνδοξος ἐν Φιλιστράθιος καὶ Θεομάρτου τοῦ βασιλέα, οὐκ ἐπηρεάσατο [οἱ δύνατοι πρὸς γενοῦς] ἄγγελον εἰς τὸν ἄκορον Περθέας ἀλλὰ πολλάκις Θεο- κάρων μέοιν (c. Aristocrit. p. 687). But it appears that Alexander, the father of this Perdiccas, was still alive in B.C. 463, at the time when Cimon recovered Thasos; for FLUTARUS speaks of a suspicion which attached to Cimon of having been influenced by him to the detriment of Athenian interests. (Cimon, § 14.) To hypothesize a regency of Perdiccas during the life-time of his father is a less satisfactory way of explaining the variation, than to account for it by the ordinary phenomenon, observable in every country, of the inaccuracy of popular traditions with regard to dates and persons. (See note 213 on i. 63, and 247, a, on vi. 108.) Nothing is more likely than that Alexander himself should have acted treacherously towards his Persian patron when he found him decidedly the weaker of the two contending parties. (See the provision he makes for such a contingency, above, § 45.) The ethnical affinity of the Thracians with the Macedonian commonality, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between the two countries (see above, note 45 on v. 17; note 349 on vii. 127; and note 277 on viii. 138), would readily lead to the confusion of the two nations in common estimation.

221 θεομάρτων τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος. See note 170 on viii. 86, above. The manuscripts M, K have θεομαρτων, and S, θεομαρτως, but obviously from an error of transcription. In viii. 86 there is no corresponding variation.
Theoús te koivos ánakaλéws, proétrepei aitóis músaotai ándras "Ellínnas ék doulouσýnhs kai ápatínw tón bárrbaron eipetíes te aitoi, efí, taútā ginesthai tás te yáρ νέαν aitónw kακóst pléow"234 kai ón αξιομάχous keíνous eiνain aitó te, ei te úpoteúνo μη δόλφ aitónw proágoun, etóymoi eiνain eiν tón bárrbaro tís eykeiν atónw ánuñoi eiνain. 'Lis de tóllas ēn λισσó-

ménos235 o xéiνos o Sámmos, éretos Deyntuχíðh, énete klyðónov eiνekeke thélw nuiσtai, énete kai káta sunntíxhí thóu pí脓ontos "o xéiνe Sámmh, ti tó to oúwnora;" o de eiνe "'Hγíσιτρatōw" o de iπáppásas tón éplówntov λóγo, ei tív děl métí keígaw o "'Hγíσιτρatōw, eiνe "dékoma tów oívnon, tón 'Hγíσιτρatov"236, o xéiνe Sámmh sú de hínw tóle tóik xósw aitón te dòis pístov aπo-

píleúswa, kai oi són sòl étwes oúde, ē méν Sámmw hínw pí-

bíwos eiνeθai sumýwos." Taítá te aμa tháρwne kai tó èrhoν proásth237. aitíka giαr oi Sámmo písw te kai órkw éπouθwto sumýwos péri prós tóus "Ellínnw" taítá de pí脓ontes, oi méν áπéπłwv meτá sféon giα ékélwne pléow tón 'Hγíσιτρat-

wov238, oívnon tó oúwnora píueímenos239. o de "Ellínnw éπouθwntes taítw tón hímerw, tý ústeraík ékallíerwnto, maunteímenov sme

234 tás te yáρ νέαν aitónw kακóst pléow. The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: Αγάπην απο το κάποιο και Κίλικε και Πάλμυλις, τῶν δὲ ψάλλει ἔστε ὡδή (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.

235 de de tóllas ēn λισσómenos. See note 346 on l. 98.

236 dékoma toun oιλον, toun 'Hγíσιτρα-

tov. Valckerna would exclude the words tōn 'Hγíσιτρατων as a gloss. I should be rather disposed to do so with tōn oιλον, if anything. But the two may well stand together. See note 266 on viii. 137, and compare Arístóphanes, Plát. 63: ἵκων τὸν ἐνάρε καὶ τὸν ἐρω τοῦ σωθ. 237 proásth. The manuscript S has προσήγε. If προσήγε be retained, the words τὸ ἔρων προσήγε must mean "acted thereupon."

238 tōn 'Hγíσιτρατον. These words do not exist in S and V.

239 metá sféon yáρ ékélwne ... oívnsa píueímenos. The name Hegesisthenes was not merely lucky in itself, but even more so as suggesting ἡγήσις στρατοῦ, the title under which Apollo was worshipped in the Carneia, the festival in which the successful invasion of the Peloponnesus was commemorated. Hegesisthenes would be, in a manner, considered as an εὐαρετ of the tutelary deity sent for this special occasion. Hence the point made by the Spartan king not to let him add the name of his father, which he would naturally have done. (See note 266 on viii. 132.) Cicero tells a story of L. Æmilius Paul-

lus, who, on going home from the senate-

house just after having been appointed to con-
duct the war against the Macedonian king Perseus, found his little daughter in tears for the loss of her lap-dog. He kissed her and asked the reason. "Fa-

ther," she said, "Perea is dead." "Τωm illis arctus puellam complexus, 'scipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.'" (De Divina-

tiones, l. 48.)
Ἀμφάνεϊ τοῦ Ἐὐνίου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτου, Ἀπολλωνίας δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. Τοῦ τῶν πατέρα κατέλαβε Ἐὐνίων πρίγγαμα τούδε: "Ἕστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ταύτη ἰρὰ ἥλιου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμὸν, δὲ διὰ τὸ πολύμιον ὁχῆρος ἡγεῖται διά τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ’ Ἀρκείου λιμένα: τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιημένοις ἄνδρες οἱ πλοῦτος τε καὶ γένεις δοκίμαστοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὕτωι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκαστὸς περί πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῖται Ἀπολλωνίας τά πρόβατα ταύτα, ἐκ θεοπρόποτον τυόν ἐν δὲ ἄντρο αἰώνειον, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκά. ἐνδιὰ δὴ τὸτε ὁ Ἐὐνίων οὕτως ἀραιημένοις ἐφύλασε καὶ κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατακομμῆσαι τῆς φυλακῆς, παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρο διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξῆκοντα: ὥς δὲ ὡς ἐπέησε, εἰχε συγκαὶ ἐφραζε οὐδενὶ, ἐν νῦν ἔχειν ἀντικαταστῆσειν ἄλλα πριμάμενοι καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίας ταύτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐπέθυντο, ὑπαγαγότες μν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τῆς φυλακῆς κατακομμῆσατο, τῆς ὄψεως στερηθήραι: ἐπεὶ τε ἐς τὸν Ἐὐνίων ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα οὕτε προβάτα σφι ἐτυκτε ὡς ἔθεσε ὁμοίως καρπον πρόφαυται δὲ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπιερῶτες τοὺς προφητάς τὸ αἷεῖ τοῦ παρεόντως κακοῦ, οἷ᾽ ἐν αὐτούς ἐφραζεν ἄκις τῶν φυλακῶν τῶν ἔρωτος ἐστερηθαν αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους οὐ πρότερον τε παύσεσθαι τιμορεύεσθαι ἀκείνους, πρὸ το ὑποκάθισι τῶν ἐποίησαν τάντας δὲ αὐτὸς ἐληται καὶ δικαιοὶ τούτων δὲ τελεομένων,
θεούς τε κοινούς ἀνακαλέων, προέτρεψε αὐτοῖς ρύσασθαι ἄνδρας
"Ἑλλήνας ἐκ δουλούσιν καὶ ἀπαμίναν τὸν βάρβαρον εὐπέτες τε
αὐτοῖς, ἐφι, ταύτα γίνεσθαι τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς
πλέον" καὶ οὐκ ἄξιομάχους κείνους εἶναι αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τε ὑπο-
πετεώσῳ μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοῖς προάγων, ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι ἐν τῷ ὁποῖο
τῇ θείᾳ ἀκινήτῳ ὅμοιοι εἶναι. Ἡ δὲ πολλὰς ἦν λισσό-
μενος 324 ο ζεύγος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Δευτυχίδης, εἴτε καθὼς
ἐλεκτὼν θέλων πυθέσθαι, εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίαν θεοῦ ποιεώντος
"ο ζεύγος Σάμιος, τί τοι τὸ ὄνομα;" ο δὲ εἶπε: "Ἡγεσίστρατος"
ὁ δὲ ὑπαρτάσας τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν λόγον, εἴ τινα ὁμοιότατον λέγειν ὁ
Ἡγεσίστρατος, εἶπε: "δέκομαι τὸν οἰκών, τὸν Ἡγεσίστρατον" 325,
ὁ ζεύγος Σάμιος συ δὲ ἡμῖν παλέε ὁκαὶ αὐτὸς τε δοὺς πίστων ἀπο-
πλεύεσαι, καὶ οἱ σὺν σοι ἠκούσας ὅδε, ἢ μὲν Σάμιος ἡμῖν προ-
θύμους ἑσοθαί συμμάχους." Ταύτα τε ἀμα ἠγορεύε καὶ τὸ ἔργον
προσήγη 327. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πλεῖστον τε καὶ δρικὰ ἐπουρεύτῳ
συμμαχίας πέρι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήνας ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, οἱ
μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκλείπει πλέον τὸν Ἡγεσίστρα-
τον 328, οἰκών τὸ ὄνομα ποιεώμενος 329. ο δὲ Ἑλλῆνες ἐπισχώντες
tαύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, τῇ υπεραί γέλαλεύουσι, μαντευομένου σφι

324 τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέον. The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: Ἀλγιστίος τε καὶ Κύντριοι καὶ Κλίκειοι καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν δηλοὶ λατὶ οἴδαν (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.
325 ὡς δὲ παλάμ ἦν λισσόμενος. See note 346 on i. 98.
326 δέκομαι τὸν θάλαμον τὸν Ἡγεσίστρατον. Valcknaer would exclude the words τὸν Ἡγεσίστρατον as a gloss. I should be rather disposed to do so with τὸν θάλαμον, if anything. But the two may well stand together. See note 385 on viii. 137, and compare Aristophanes, Plut. 63: δέχον τὸν ἱππότην καὶ τὸν ἱππότην τοῦ θεοῦ.
327 προσήγη. The manuscript S has προσήγην. If προσήγη be retained, the words τῷ ἔργῳ προσήγη must mean "acted thereupon."
328 τὸν Ἡγεσίστρατον. These words do not exist in S and V.
329 μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκλέπει... οἴδαν ραμένος. The name Hesestrasates was not merely lucky in itself, but even more so as suggesting ἤγγελον στρατοῦ, the title under which Apollo was worshipped in the Carnea, the festival in which the successful invasion of the Peloponnese was commemorated. Hesestrasates would be, in a manner, considered as an aetas of the tutelary deity sent for this special occasion. Hence the point made by the Spartan king not to let him add the name of his father, which he would naturally have done. (See note 265 on viii. 132.) Cicero tells a story of L. Emilius Paulus, who, on going home from the senate-house just after having been appointed to conduct the war against the Macedonian king Perseus, found his little daughter in tears for the loss of her lap-dog. He kissed her and asked the reason. "Fa-
ther," she said, "Persia is dead." "Tum ille arctius pellum complexus, accipio," inquit, 'neea filia, omen.'" (De Divinat-
tiones, i. 46.)
Δημήδωνος τοῦ Εὐνίου, ἄνδρος Ἀπολλωνίτης, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ 228. τοῦ τῶν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐνίου πρώγμα τοιοῦτος: "Εστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίη ταύτη ἱρὰ ἢλιον πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βάσκεται παρὰ ποταμῶν, δὲ καὶ Δάκρυσος οὖρεος ἔρει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ' Ἄρησον λιμένας τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιμένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτω τε καὶ γένει δοκιμάσας τῶν ἀστών, οὗτοι φιλάσσουσι εἴσαιντον ἔκαστος περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῖται Ἀπολλωνίηται τὰ πρόβατα ταύτα, ἐκ θεοπροτεύον τιμῶς ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλιζόμεναι, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰκάς. ἐνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐνίους οὗτος ἀραιμένοις ἐφύλασσε καὶ κοτε ἂντων κατακομμήσαντος τῆς φυλακῆς 221, παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρο διεβεβαίαν τῶν προβατῶν ὡς ἐξήκουσαν. δὲ ὡς ἐσπῆσε 222, εἰχε συνή καὶ ἐφράξει οἴδει, ἐν νόοι ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσεις ἀλλὰ πριάμενος καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίητας ταύτα γενόμενα, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπόθυντα, ὑπαγογόντες μιν ἵππο δικαστήριον 223 κατέκρυψαν, ὡς τῆς φυλακῆς κατακομμήσαντα, τῆς ὅψεως στρεφθῆναι ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τῶν Εὐνίουν ἔξεττυφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα οὔτε πρόβατα σφι ἐκτικε ὡστε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμώς καρπὸν πρόβατα 224 δὲ σφι ἐν τε Δεδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφῶνι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπιφρέωντος τοὺς προφήτας τοῦ αἰτίου τοῦ παρέοντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἔφραζον, ὡς ᾠδεος τῶν φιλάκων τῶν ἱδρύν προβατῶν Εὐνίου τῆς ὅψεως ἐστέρησαν αὐτόι 225 γὰρ ἐπορμήσας τοὺς λύκους οὐ πρὸ τοῦ τε παύσωσας τιμοροῦσας ἑκεῖνα, πρὶν ἡ δὲ ἔκα τῶν ἐπορμήσαν ταύτα ταύτα ἐν αὐτὸς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοί 226 τούτων δὲ τελεομένων,

228 Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. This clause is quite necessary to distinguish the town from the other of the same name in the Euxine,—which was probably more familiar to Herodotus than this. See iv. 90.

221 κατακομμήσαντος τῆς φυλακῆς. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), in which the word κατακομμήσαντος is written, although corrected by the same copyist. But Χenoρoθoς uses the expression κατακομμήσαντος τῆς φυλακῆς (Memorab. ii. 1. 30); and the very phrase κατακομμήσαντος τῆς φυλακῆς is used in the sense of "to fall asleep" in Άλλιος several times. If, therefore, there were the sanction of MSS, I should think κατακομμήσαντος the better reading.

222 ἐσπησ. This is the sorcit from ἐσπήσε. "But he, as he perceived it." 223 υπαγογόντες μιν ἵππο δικαστήριον. The common expression would be ὑπαγογόντες μιν ἵππο δικαστήριον. But the expression in the text is used elsewhere by Herodotus. See vi. 72; also ὑπὸ τὸν ἅγιον, vi. 82; ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρη, vi. 136.

224 πρόβατα. The manuscripts S and V have πρόβατα, probably originating in a marginal gloss.

225 αὐτὸ. This word apparently refers to the θεόν in Dodona and Delphi, gathered by inference from the word προφήτας.

226 καὶ δικαιοὶ. I suspect these words to be an alternative reading to ἔληται, taken into the text from the margin.
αὐτὸι δῶσειν Ἐινυνίῳ δόσων τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαρεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταύτα σφί ἐχρησθῆναι δι᾽ Ἀπολλωνίται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι, προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι οἱ δὲ σφί διέπρηξαν διὰς κατημένου Ἐινυνίῳ ἐν θώκῳ, ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἔποιεύτω, ἐς ὁ κατέβασιν συλλυπέμενοι τῷ πάθει· ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγωντες εἰρώτεν τινα δίκην ἄν ἔλοιπο, εἰ ἐθέλουσ' Ἀπολλωνίται δίκαια ἱποστήναι δώσεις τῶν ἐποίησαν; ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἄκηκον τὸ θεοπρότερον, εἶπετο εἶπας· ἐὰν οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι τῶν ἀστῶν, ἀνομάτης τους ἡπιστατο ἐκαλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολ· λωνίῃ, καὶ οὐκήσας πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν ἤδεις καλλίστην ἑώσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι τούτῳ δὲ, ἐφι, ἐπηθίζολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιντος εἶναι, καὶ δίκη οἱ ταύτην ἀποχράν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· "Εὐθύνε, ταύτην δίκη Ἀπολλωνίται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσεως ἐκτίνουσι τοιαῦτα θεοπρόπτα τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταύτα δεινὰ ἐποιεύτω, ἐνυθίτην πυθόμενος τῶν πάντα λόγων, ὡς ἐξαπατηθεὶς οἱ δὲ, πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτυφλώς, διδοῦσι οἱ τὰ εἴετο. καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἀναίτικα ἐμφυτῶν μαντικῆς ἔχε, ὡστε καὶ οὐνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

Τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Δηθύνοις ἔων παίς τοῦ Ἐινυνίου, ἀγόντων Κορυθῆς, ἐμαυεύτω τῇ στρατῇ. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα, ὡς οἱ Δηθύνοις ἐπιβιασόμενοι τοῦ Ἐινυνίου 228 οὐνόματος, ἐξελάμβανε 229 ἐπιδών τὴν Ἐκλαδά ἔργα, οὐκ ἔων Ἐινυνίου παῖς. Τούτῳ δὲ Ἔλλην ἂς ἐκαλλιέρεσε, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δῆλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο τῆς Σαμηνῆς πρὸς Καλάμωσι 230.

227 οἱ κατέβασιν συλλυπέμενοι τῷ πάθει, "until at last they ended with expressing sympathy with his calamity." For the explanation of the phrase καταβαίνειν, see note 316 on i. 90. 228 ἐπιβιασόμενοι τοῦ Ἐινυνίου. Compare iii. 63: ἐπιβιασόμενοι τοῦ Σαμηνιώτου οὐνόματος. 229 ἐξελάμβανε. This expression is a very singular one, and perhaps best to be understood by remembering that it is the correlative term of ἠδὼν. It is used in that sense by Plutarch, of a painter who contracted to execute a drawing: ἐκλάμβαν γὰρ ἵππων ἀληθοῦν γράφαιναι, and ἐκλάμβαν παρὰ τὸς πάλαις καλλίστας γράφαιναι μάχαις στέπας (Pelopidas, § 25); and so it is by Balsi, in reference to the parable in Math. Evang. xxi. 33: τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβέτων μὲν τὶς ἀμφελώσα, τοῖς δὲ καρπὸς μέν ἀποδιδότων. Deiphonus seems to have travelled over Greece, and to have been consulted on special cases where there was a need for the exercise of his art. In fact he was a travelling fortune-teller. 230 πρὸς Καλάμωσι. This is a conjectural emendation of Wesseling's. The MSS have ἐν Καλάμοισιν, except S, which has Λαμοίσιν. The name would
CALLIOPE. IX. 94—98.

οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄρμοςάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ ταῦτα, παρασκευάσατο ἐστὶν ναυμαχήν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφαῖρας προσπλέειν, ἀνήγγει καὶ αὐτοὶ προς τὴν ἤρειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπήκοα ἀποπλέειν βουλευομένοι γὰρ σφι ἔδοκε ναυμαχήν μὴ ποιέσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ὅν ἔδοκεν ὁμοίοι ἔφειρε· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤρειρον ἀπέπλευς, διὸς ἐσεὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατοῦ τῶν σφετερῶν ἑόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ δὲ, κελεύσαντος ἀξέρξεως, καταλελειμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, Ἰωάννην ἐφύλασσε τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἡν δὲ μυριάς, ἐστρατήγης δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης, καλεῖ τε καὶ μεγαθεὶ ἑπερφέρουσι Περσῶν. ὑπὸ τούτων μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσατο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνείρυσαι τὰς νέας, καὶ περιβάλλεται ἐρκος, ἔρμια τῶν νεὼν καὶ σφεών αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. Τάητα βουλευόμενοι ἀνήγγει· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνεῶν ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἦς Γαλατώνα τε καὶ Σκολοτόπατα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἑλευσίνης ἐστὶν ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλατος δὲ Παυκλέος ἠδρύσατο Νείλεος τῷ Κόρδου ἐπιστρέφοντος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κυπτοῦ, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαι καὶ περιβάλλοντο ἐρκος, καὶ λίθων καὶ ἀγάλματι, δένδρα ἐκκοπαστὶ θηρεά, καὶ σκόλπας περὶ τὸ ἐρκος κατέπηξαν καὶ παρασκευάδατο ὡς πολλοκρησίμονει καὶ ὡς νυκτοςθεῖτε, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερας ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρασκευάζομεν 241. 

Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦσαν οἰχωκότας τῶν θαλάσσων καὶ τὴν ἤρειρον, ἔκβολος ὡς ἐκπεφευγόντων ἐν ἀπορίῃ τε εἴσοδο τι τῇ ποιέωσι, ἐπιταπαλάσσοντας ὡς ἐκεῖ καταπλέκοις ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντιον τέλος ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μυριάς ποιέως, ἐπιπλάξεις δὲ ἔπι τῆς ἤρειρος παρακευσαμένοι διὸν ὡς ναυμαχήν καὶ ἀποβάθρας 242 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἐδει, ἐπέλευσαν ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ seem to indicate the marshy nature of the site; and it is at first sight strange that the Heraeum should have been built in such a situation. But perhaps it occupied the spot on which the first settlers located themselves, who, if a half commercial, half piratical race, as in such times was to be expected, would be more likely to remain in the marshes than to occupy the interior. Alexander of Samoa mentions a temple of Aphrodite at Samos, called by some Aphrodite in the Knidian, and by others Aphrodite in the Eleusinian (ap. Athenaeum, xii. p. 572). He is no doubt speaking of the same locality as Herodotos. It seems not at all improbable that the Samian Hera absorbed into her ritual both that of the Artemisium and that of the Aphrodisium. See note 143 on ii. 48.

241 τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ. These words are omitted in S.

242 ἐπιπλάξεις τούτων ἐπὶ τῆς ἤρειρος. These words are omitted in S.

"for they made their preparations at their leisure." The meaning of ἐπιπλάξεις is "to think and talk any matter over."

243 ἀποβάθρας. These are the gang-
army to revolt.

and then debarks his troops and prepares to attack the camp. The Persians, distrusting the Samians, disarm them, but put the Milesians in an im-

boards, which were laid out from a vessel's side to the shore to enable a landing to be effected. It was while passing along one of these, in order to get ashore at Pylos, that Brasidas received a blow which caused himself to fall backwards into the galley, while his shield dropped into the sea and so came into the hands of the enemy. (Thucydides, iv. 12.) The same, or a similar, machine would probably be used to facilitate boarding when two ships engaged out at sea happened to fall foul of one another.

of one another. 244 τολλάτα δὲ πεζῶν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τῶν αἰγαλῶν, "and a numerous land force which had been brought into position along the line of coast." See note 140, a, on viii. 70.

Several MSS have the form ἔγχρυψας, but in ii. 60 all but S have ἔγχρυψατε, which by inadvertence I have omitted to substitute for Gaisford's reading. Still nothing can be more uncertain than Herodotus's use of such forms; for S is one of the MSS which in this passage have ἔγχρυψας. The verb is active, and so or some such word is to be supplied. See ii. 60.

See above, viii. 23.

247 [ταύτῃ "Ελληνες"]: These words seem to have been a gloss from the hand of a scholar who imagined the word ἄντων to be used in an active sense, and to refer to βαρβάρους instead of "Ἰωάνας. They however are in all the MSS, and are retained by Gaisford without suspicion.
CALLIOPE. IX. 99—101. 488

portant place.

On commencing the attack a rumour flies through the army that Mardonius is beaten.

322 τοιοῦ Ἑλλησίων. It does not clearly appear from the narrative of Herodotus who these Milesians were. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, which had been caused by the intrigues of Histiaeus, Miletus was taken, and the surviving population transported to the islands in the Érythraean sea. The Persians themselves (Herodotus says) occupied the plain, and the highlands were given to a Carian population. (See note 54 on vi. 20.) But when the new settlement of Ionia was made by Darius (vi. 42), it is not unlikely that the cultivators of the soil for the Persian conquerors were allowed to acquire a beneficial interest in it, and that these are the “Mileseans” referred to in the text. The conquerors would certainly not cultivate the soil for themselves, and the easiest method of deriving benefit from it would be to leave it in the hands of the natives, exacting in return a certain proportion of the produce. Probably at the time the arrangement was made, the Persians found their situation improved, and were well disposed to support their new masters against their old. But after twelve or thirteen years had passed, the old hardships would be forgotten; and they would be glad of an opportunity to get rid of the burdens which were still imposed upon them, and convert their tenancy into an absolute possession,—which of course would result from the expulsion of the Persians. Hence perhaps we may account both for the confidence placed in them, and for their abuse of it.

323 παρασκευάζων. As this is the plural form, Bekker conjectures παρασκευάζων. I should be more disposed to expunge the words τοῖς Ἑλλησίων. These may have been placed in the margin as a gloss of σφι, and from thence have been inserted in a wrong place of the text.

324 οὐδέ δὲ σφι... ἐν τῆς κυματωγῆς κῆλμαν, “and as they advanced not only had they a rumour spread suddenly among the whole force, but there appeared on the edge of the beach a herald’s staff lying.” Diodorus makes Leotychides put a herald with a very loud voice into the galley which he sent along the line of the barbarian encampment, and order him to declare that the allies, having defeated Mardonius at Platea, are come to Asia to liberate the Greeks of that continent. This conversion of the omen into a premeditated stratagem, is of a piece with his version of the escape of Sesostrias. See note 301 on ii. 107.
Another strange coincidence occurred in the fact that both battles took place in the vicinity of Dumeler.

102

To ὁ τις μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῦτο προσεχέοι τούτοις τε-
ιμένοις, μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἡμιστὶν, ἡ ὀδὸς ἐγκενετο καὶ ἀγιαλόν
tε καὶ ἀπεδοχὸν χώρον τοῦτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεξής
tοῦτοι τεταγμένοις, κατὰ τα χαράδρην καὶ οὔρεα: ἐν ὧ 
δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήσαν, οὕτως οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ 
κέρα ἔτη καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἐως μὲν νυν τοῦτο Πέρσης ὑπή 
τὰ γέρρα, ἡμέτωπο τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλασσον εἶχον τῇ 
μάχῃ ἐπει δὲ τῶν Ἀθη-

ναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, διὰς ἐκδυστὼν γένηται τὸ ἐργον καὶ μὴ 
Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακαλεούσαν, ἔργον εἶχον 
προδυσμένει, ἐνθεύετε ἐδὴ ἐτερωοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα. διοικα-

μένων γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὕτω, φερόμενοι ἐσέπησον ἄλλας 
τῶν Πέρσας; οἱ 

dὲ δὲ δεξάμενοι, καὶ χρῶνον συχνὸν ἀμφιλόμενοι, τέλος ἐφευγον ἐς τὸ 
τείχος: Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Κορινθιαὶ καὶ Σικυόνων καὶ 

τριφύλων, (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπέχθης τεταγμένοι,) συνεπιστόμενοι συνεσέπτητον 

ἐς τὸ τείχος; ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀφάλητο, οὕτω 

ἐτέρωσι τοῖς βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴρ 

Περσῶν οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἔλαγος γυμνόμενον, ἐμάχοντο τοῦτο 

ἀιέ 

ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐσπιπτοῦσι Ἐλλήνων, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν

221 ὑπή ἐδὲ ἐς τὰ γέρρα. See note 160 on § 61, above.

222 ἐτερωοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα. Compare vii. 225, ἐτερωοῦτο τὸ 

τείχος.

224 καὶ ἐλάγος γυμνόμενον, "forming into small knots."
Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶν Ἀρταύνης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτης, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ, ἀποφεύγουσι Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τυγράνης μαχομένοι τελευτῶσι. Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένου τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Δακεδαμίνου καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδεχεληρίζον ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων συνηχόν ἐνδιάτα άλλοι τε καὶ Συκυνίων, καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι, εἴσοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραρμένου τὰ ὅπλα, ὥσ ἔδων αὐτίκα κατ’ ἄρχος γινομένῃ ἑτεραλκέᾳ τὴν μάχην, ἐξον ὅσῳ ἑπικάλτο, προσσωφελεὶς ἐθέλοντες τοῖς Ἐλληνοι Σαμίοις δὲ ἐδόθηνε ὁ Αἰγάιος ἀρξάντας, οὔτω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάτησιν ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέδεικτο τοῖς βαρβάροις. Μιλήσιοι δὲ προσετέκτοντο μὲν τῶν Περσέων τῶν διόδους τηρεῖν, σωτηρίας εἰσεῖκα σφι ὡς, ἢν ἀρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἶν τερ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἑγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νῦν ἔπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι, τούτου τε εἰσεῖκα καὶ ὕπα παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ τῷ νεοχῦροι ποιεῖν ὃ δὲ τάν τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ προστατευμένου ἐποίεσιν, ἄλλας τε κατηγομένοι σφι ὅδος φεύγουσι αἱ δὲ ἐφερον ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἑγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμώτατοι, οὔτω δὲ τῷ δεύτερον Ἰωνία ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἐλλήνων ἠριστευσαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀθη

ναῖοι, Ἐρμολύκος ὁ Εὐθύνων, ἀνήρ πυροκρατίων ἑπακόμης τοῦ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἐρμολύκου κατέλαβε ὑστερον τοὺς, πολέμου ἠντος Ἀθηναίοι τε καὶ Καρυστίοι εἰ, ἐν Κύρνη τῆς Καρυστίης

103 the Ionians in his army turning against him,
104 and the Milesians proving the deadliest foes of all.
105 Among the allies the most distinguished were the
Athenians, and of them one Hermo-
lycus.
The allied fleet returns to Samos, and the future policy is discussed.

'Estei te de katergázanto oĩ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τὸν βαρβάρον, τὰς νέας ἐνέτρεψαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπαν, τὴν λήψιν προσβαλγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ θησαυρῶς τινας χρημάτων εἰρον ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπετέλεσαν, ἀπικοδέμον καὶ ὡς Σάμῳν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβουλεύουσαν περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὅτι χρεῖον ἐν τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίας, τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγκατάστασις ἦσαν τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίαν ἀπείναι τούτων βαρβάρων. ὥσπερ ἐφφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἑαυτοῖς τε Ἰωνῶν προκατῆθαμεν 261 φανερώντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ ἐωτῶν μὴ προκατηρμένον, Ἰωνᾶς ὀδηγεῖον ἐλπίδα ἐχον χαρούντα πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν ἀπαλλάξεων 262. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖς ἐν τελεί εὐθύς ἔδοκε τῶν μηδε-
σάντων ἑυσελίκτην τῶν 'Ελληνων τὸ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας, δούλων τὴν χάριν Ἰωσὶ ἐνοικίσας Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἔδοκε ἀρχήν, Ἰωνίαν γενίσθαι ἀνάστατον 263, οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίωι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποκικέσσω νομων ἀντιτείμωτων δὲ τοῦτων προθύμων, ἐξαν οἱ Πελοποννησίωι καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σάμιον τε καλ

this war as one in which no other of the Eubecean towns took a part, and which was terminated by a pacific arrangement. This happened after the extension of the Athenian relations to Macedonia by the occupation of Eion on the Strymon (i. 98). From the site of Carystus and the character of its population (see note 227 on vi. 98), it appears likely that outrages would be committed on Athenian trading vessels going northward through the Eubecean channel, and driven by stress of weather on the shore. In this case, satisfaction would be given by the extradition of offenders. Had it been a war of conquest of which Thucydides speaks, it could hardly have ended as it did. Themistocles had extorted money from Carystus after the battle of Salamis, and, after this, its territoy had been devastated by the allies (viii. 112, 121).

261 ιῶνων προκατῆθαμεν. See note 74 on viii. 36.

262 Ιωνᾶς οδηγεῖον ἐλπίδα ἐχον χαροῖαν πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν ἀπαλλάξεων. "They had no hope that the Ionians would be quit of the business without suffering at the hands of the Persians." The fear of the allies was, that the Ionians would be utterly exterminated by the Persians as soon as their protectors had left; but to express this directly would have shocked the feelings of a Greek, who above all things avoided words of ill omen. Hence εἰ χαροῖαν, being the substituted equivalent for τὰ ἐκστερανοῦσα ἢ ἀρσενώτως or some similar phrase, is put in the regimen appropriate to that.

263 Ἰωνίαν γενίσθαι ἀνάστατον. Such a measure as that proposed, would, if carried out, have given the Laconaeans a predominance not only in the Peloponnesian, but also in Bocotia and Thessaly, which would have overwhelmed all other interests. Naturally, therefore, it encountered an opposition on the part of the Athenians, which would be the more effective, as their contingent formed for the largest part of the fleet, and a refusal of their ships would have entirely baffled the project had it been resolved on.
CALLIOPE. IX. 106—108.

Χίους καὶ Δεσθίου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιστέπτα, ὡς ὑμους συντρεπτέωμεν τοῦτο Ἐλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐπούσαντο, πιστὶ τε καὶ ταλαβόντες καὶ ὅρκιοις, ἐμένεν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆσαν τοὺς δὲ καταλαβόντες ὅρκιοις, ἐπειπο τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες ἢ γὰρ ἐδώκειν ἐντεταμένας εὐφήρεσιν. οὕτως μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἐλληστῶν ἐπειπο.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ τοιλλῶν, ἐγένετο κομμὸν ἐς Σάρδις, πορευομένων δὲ, κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ἄρ αρείου παραπλῆρος τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τοῦ στρατηγῶν Ἀρταύνην ἐλέγε τοιλλά τε καὶ κακὰ, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακῶς φᾶς αὐτῷ εἶναι τοιαύτα στραπηγάσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τῶν βασιλέων οἷκον κακῶς σαντα: παρὰ δὲ τούτο Πέρσων γυναικῶς κακῶς ἀκούσαι δέννος μέγατος ἢστιν ὃ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τοιλλά ἦκουσε, δεῦρα ποιεῖμενος, σπάται ἔπτι τῶν Μασίστην τῶν ἀκμάξας, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλον καὶ μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεως, ἀνὴρ Ἀλκαρνησσηνής, ὁπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύνητος, ἀρπάξει μέσον, καὶ εὖρας παιεῖ ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι Μασίστεως προεστήσαν ὃ ὅ Ξειναγόρης ταύτα ἐργάσατο, χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστη τυβί μένοι καὶ Ἀρξίης, ἐκσώζων τοῦ ἄδελφον τοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ διὰ τούτῳ τἐς Ἐρχον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίας πάσης ἡρξε, δόντος βασιλέως τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἐτὶ πλέον ἐγένετο τῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπεκείνεται ἐς Σάρδις ὃ ὅ Σάρδις ἐτύπχανε ἐνὶ βασιλέως, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε ἐξ Ἀδηνείων, προσταίασαι τῇ ναυαχώρῃ, φυγὼν ἀπίκετο.

Τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Σάρδις ἐδών ἀρα ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεως γυναικός, ἐνυότας καὶ ταύτης ἐνθάδειας ὡς δὲ οἱ προσπέμπονται οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφήρε, προμηθέωμεν τοῦ ἄδελφον Μασίστην τούτο δὲ τοῦτο ἐξήκε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπεύπατον βίης οὐ τευχομένη ἐνθάδεια δὴ Ἀρξίης ἐργάσεως τῶν ἄλλων, πρῆσει τὸν γάμον τούτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐσωτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα.
τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκ汶川 αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἣν ταύτα ποιήσῃ, ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομίζομέναι ποιήσας ἀπῆλαναι ἐς Σοῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεὶ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἤγγειετο ἐς ἑωτοῦ Δαρείῳ τῆς γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὲ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυντο, ὡ δὲ διαμεμισόμενοι ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός-οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικῇ ταύτῃ ἢν Ἀρταδήνη. Χρόνῳ δὲ προἰόντος, ἀνάπνοτα γνώσεται τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐξυφνίσασα Ἀμηστρις, ἡ Χέρβης γυνή, φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικιλὸν καὶ ςύς δέξιον, διδοὶ Χέρβης ὁ δὲ ἱσθεῖς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τῆν Ἀρταδήνην ἱσθεῖς δὲ καὶ ταύτη, ἐκέλευεν αὐτὴν αἰτήσαι δὲ τοί βουλέται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπουργοῦμένων. πάντα γὰρ τεῦχεσθαι αἰτήσασαν τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἐδει πανοκλη τὴν ἱσθεῖα, πρὸς ταύτα ἐπεὶ Χέρβης "δῶσες μοι τὸ ἀν σε αἰτήσω;" ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκῶν κελνύν αἰτήσαι, ὑποαχθεότερο καὶ ὁμοσε ἡ δὲ ὡς ὁμοσε, ἀδείς αἰτεί τῷ φάρος Χέρβης δὲ παντοῦς ἐγίνετο, οὐ βουλόμενος δούναι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεῖμενος δὲ Ἀμηστρις, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζοῦσα τὰ γινόμενα οὐτω ἐπευρεθήσεται πρήσσων. ἀλλὰ πόλεως τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετῶν, καὶ στρατῶν τοῦ ἐμελλε οὐδές ἄρξειν ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἔκεινν Περσικῶν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς ὠρῶν ἀλλ᾽ οὗ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοὶ τὸ φάρος ἥ δὲ περιχαρῆς ἢουσα τῷ δόρῳ, ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἡγάλλειτο καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρις πυθάνεται μὲν ἔχουσαν. Μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον, τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκοτον ἡ δὲ ἐπίτξουσα τῆς μυτέρα αὐτῆς ἐγνίστην καὶ ταύτα ἐκεῖνην πρήσσεις, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευεν ἀλεθρον φυλάξασα δὲ τῶν ἀνδρα τῶν ἐσοῆς Χέρβην φαινόμενον δείπνον προσεβαίνει τοῦ τοῦ ἐναύτοι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐγένετο βασι-
CALLIOPE. IX. 109—111. 489

λεύς." 272 oúνωμα δὲ τῷ δεύτερῳ τούτῳ Περσαὶ τίμησαν ΤΙΤΚΤΑ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐσαήλων γιάλώνταν. ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ 273 τὸτε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σματιά μοῦνον βασιλέως, 274 καὶ Πέρσαις διώσκεται ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν φιλάξασα ἡ Ἀμπιστρές, χρῆσεις τοῦ Ἀρέσεω δοθῆναι οἱ τῷ Μακιστεώ γυνάικας. ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρτου ἐποιεῖτο, τούτῳ μὲν ἀδελφὸν γυναῖκα παραδόθηκε, τούτῳ δὲ ἀνατίθην έσονναν τοῦ τρίγματος τούτων συνήκε γὰρ τοῦ εἰκεικοῦ εἴδετο. Τέλος μέντοι, κείνης τε λατρεύσεως καὶ ύπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος· ὁτι ἀνυφράσκει τὸν χρῆσθαι οὐκ οὐφι δύνατον ἐστὶ βασιλείου δεύτερου προκειμένου κάρτα δὴ ἀκόω καταανείπει καὶ παραδόν ποιεῖ ὁδηγεῖ τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τα βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμφύσμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν λέγει τάδε: "Μακιστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός." 275 πρὸς δὲ ἔτοι τοῦτοι, καὶ εἰς ἄντιρ ἀγαθὸν γυναίκα δὴ ταύτην τῇ νῦν συνοικίσας, μή συνοικίζῃ ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄντικρις ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ταύτην συνοικίσας, τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖς ἐμὸι, μὴ ἔχεις γυναίκα." ὁ δὲ Μακιστής ἀποθεωμάς τὰ λεγόμενα, λέγει τάδε: "ο δεύτερον, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύον μὲ γυναίκα, ἐκ τῆς μοί παιδεῖς νευρίαν τε εἰς καὶ θυγατέρας, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωτῷ θαγός γυναίκα, αὐτή τε μοι κατὰ νόμον τυγχάνει κάρτα εὐσέβες, ταύτην μὲ κελεύεις μετέντα, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἄγω δὲ, βασιλέως, μέγα μὲν ποιεῖμαι ἐξεεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποίησει μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα· σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βίω τριγματος τοιοῦτοι δείμου καὶ δείμους, 276 ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνήρ ἄλλος φαντάσει ἐμέ νῦν ἡσοῦν ἐμὲ τε ἐκ γυναικί τῇ ἐμής συνοικίσας." ο μὲν δὴ

272 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐγένεσι βασιλέως. The natural signification of these words would be, "in the day in which he became king;" but there seems little doubt that the day in question was the monarch's birthday, which was by far the highest feast of all among the Persians. (Above, i. 133, and DION. ap. Ἀθηναῖ. i. 147) PLATO (Alcidla. i. § 36) says that the birth-day of the reigning sovereign was observed as a festival throughout the whole of Asia. Thus too the festival in which Herod could not refuse a boon was τοῖς γυναικίς αὐτῷ. (Marc. Evang. vi. 21.) But the word βασιλέως was commonly used without the article, just as if it were a proper name, when applied to the Persian king. (See VII. 174.) This passage, therefore, may perhaps be rendered, "on the day on which His Majesty was born.

273 ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ. When Herodotus uses this word elsewhere, he adopts the form τέλος, after the analogy of ἐπιτόθεος, ὑπάρει, &c. instead of the common ἐπιτόθεας, ὑπάρειας.

274 βασιλέως. S and V have ὁ βασιλέως. But see note 272, above.

275 εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελ.

276 ἐστὶν ἄχρηστος. He was the brother of Xerxes by both father and mother (vii. 89).

277 σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βίω τρίγματος τοιοῦτοι δείμους. "and do thou not think of pressing thy request for such a proceeding."
to an*tos tov, Maseistras, peperktau, ote *a*v a*v tov dephn thugatp ttn e'mh
ghmm, ote ekeine/n plenh chaonon swnoikseis wos mabh th ddn-
mevna dkenstai." d d o* sa tauta *hkonse, *e*nas tosund, *e*arree exw
"de*posota, o* d* k* o* me *apoolee/sas." *En d* to*tw to ddi m*es
chaon ev tw d'bh* t*o abdefei dielegeto, f Am*ntres mete-
pferamene/tou* dorofores tou* d'bh*, dialamaiteta ttn
ynaika twn Maseistew tou te mabh 377 apotamouso koi
proe*ale, kal *ina, kal o*ta, kal *hleia kai *ylwosan *e*ptamouso,
e* oikon m*v apotpe*ntes dialleuamase/n. O d* Maseistis ouvde
kai *akheko tou*ton, elpime/no d* x ou*ko k*van, e*pixe*teis
*domo es t* oikia. *idw d* diefthaneme/n ttn ynai*ka, aitika met
*tauta swhmoleu*sa*vo tou* tou paioi, eporeveto es Baktion
*ou ne to*si *wntov *uidi*ai kal d* kovi*ai kal *hloioi, wos aposthtso
ynovon tov Baktion, kai pou*so/ *a me/gista k*van *asilea-
tapei au kale *ge/neto, wos *emol *dok*ve, e*ster *zh/ *anabade
* ouv Baktion 378 kai ouv *Zakais kai *d* apergon *m*, kai *h
*uparcho touv Baktrion *allla yar d'bh* puthme/no ta*ta *ekh/vo
prososota, *e*p* *autou *strat*thi, *e* ti *e*mero *katetekte
*autou *te *ekh/vo kal ouv *paitas *autou* kai *te *strat*thi
*te *ekh/vo 379. *kat* me/n tou d*roto touv d'bh* e/kal kai
tou*to Baktion to*sa*ta *ge/neto.

Oi d* ek Mikanlis *ormh*ntes "Ellhnies epi 'Ellhnooton

377 ma*vos. 8 and V have *muabos. See note 616 on iv. 202.
378 touv Baktion. The power of the
Bactrians at the time of Cyrus's accession
to the throne was very great indeed. See
the passage of Cris*ias cited in the note
441 on i. 130. And even after the acce-
sion of Cambyses, the country seems to
have been only nominally dependent upon
the Median sovereign. Kupos d* mllas
*elvt*wn *ka*bo/ *m*n *n* w*van *van
*basilaia ka*hist, *sw*xfrkew d* *n
*van*trw d* *elvta* nes*ono
*Baktion
* * *ka
* * *chaos *kai *k*romelw
(forte legen-
dum *k*romelw) *kai *Per*thi *kai *Kar-
melw, e*te*vo *zh *chaos d*nu*stam*
pori. (Cris*ias *P*lot. *Bibl*oth. *p. 37.)
Under such circumstances, it was not un-
natural that it should have been compara-
tively little affected by the centralizing
policy of Darius, and furnish a ready in-
strument to any disaffected member of
the blood-royal. It should not be over-
looked, that Maseistras, being the son of
Atossa, would have in his veins the blood
of Astyages's daughter, the representative
of the old Medo-magian dynasty. And
his enemy Ame*tris, whether the daugh-
ter of Otanes or Onophas, comes of the
stock of one of the seven conspirators
who slew the Magian. (See note 192 on
vii. 61.)
379 *n* str*ro* *n* *ekh/vo. There
is no occasion to regard the word *str*
*ro* as a marginal gloss, or to change it
into *th*a.* In astrap of Bactria,
Maseistras would undoubtedly always be
attended by his guards, just as an English
noble before the wars of the Roses was
by his retainers.
The allies sail to the Hellespont, where they find the bridges destroyed. The Peloponnesians return home, but the Athenians, under Xanthippos, remain main, and besiege Sestos, the strongest place in the Chersonese.

Story of Artayctes, the commander of the district.

In his army in Xerxes' expedition (vii. 68).

For the nature of the Chersonese satrapy, see notes 64 and 76 on v. 25, 30, and 91 on vii. 22.

His father's name was Chorasmis, or Cheramis. See note 244 on vii. 79.

For the position of Elatus, see note 91 on vii. 22.

The manuscripts S and V, confirmed by Valla's translation, give the reading artēs, which some have preferred on the ground that when Artayctes was misleading Xerxes he had not as yet laid hands on the treasures of the foe. But this may possibly not have been the case; and, anyhow, the text as it stands means no more than that he both robbed Protesilaus and deceived the Persian king. Still it does not seem so likely that artēs is due to an arbitrary correction, as that this is another instance of an early variation of reconstructions.
The Persian kings considered themselves the representatives of the Median and Assyrian dynasties, and hence Xerxes is made to speak of Pelops as the vassal of his ancestors (vii. 11). Whether the Assyrian empire really ever extended to these parts is of little consequence. All oriental sovereignties of importance have probably regarded themselves, and been regarded by their subjects, as possessing a claim to universal dominion. Plato, however, makes the dynasty of Priam vassals of that of Ninus (Legg. iii. § 6); and the name Assaracus (Asur-ac) is a decisive proof of some connexion of Assyria with the neighbourhood of Troy. The name of the builder of the n. w. palace in the mound of Nimroud is read Ashur-ac-bal, as well as Assur-adam-bal (Sardanapalus).

This is probably the Hellenic version of the fact that Artaxerxes converted the demesne and temple of Protesilaus into a paradise and seraglio. Such a sacralisation of sacred lands would no doubt involve the destruction of many rights of the citizens of Elam,—for the whole town belonged to the hero (Pausanias, i. 34. 2)—as well as cause enormous scandal. The contrast between the reckless proceeding of Artaxerxes, and the tenderness of Xerxes for religious institutions of exactly the same character as the Protesilaus-worship (see vii. 43), is not to be overlooked. The women whom Artaxerxes collected (Agyios, vii. 33) in his harem probably were, as they are at the present day, Circassians; for he commanded the contingent in Xerxes' army which came from that part of the Persian king's dominions. See notes 243 on vii. 76, and 274, 275 on iii. 94.

This reading is adopted by Gaisford on the authority of S and V. The rest of the MSS have ἀφωλάκτῳ, which a very fair sense may be given; for the main gist of the story is to show the formidably issue of the vengeance of Protesilaus. That the word ἀφωλάκτῳ should be unusual is no objection, as it is formed according to analogy.
They are captured or destroyed.

Singular omen which befell Artayctes, whose ransom is refused, and he himself crucified.
Ἡρόδοτος, βασιλεὺς δόντος λέγων δὲ τοιαδέ Άρεξα διεβάλετο: "δέσποτα, ἄστι οἶκος ἄνδρος. "Ελλήνοις ἐνθαίτα, ὃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατευσάμενος, διὸς κυρίσας ἀπέθανεν τούτῳ μοι δός τῶν οἶκων, ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύοντας" ταῦτα λέγων, εἰπετέως ἐμάλλες ἀναπείσεων Άρεξα δοῦναι ἄνδρος οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποταπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνων ἐφρόνεμεν ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας στρατεύοντας Πρωτεστίλεων ἔλεγε, νοεῖν τοιαδέ την. Ἀσίνην πᾶσαν νομίζουσί εὐνουχῶν εἶναι 291. Πέρασα, καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλευόντος ἐπεί δὲ ἐδόθη τὰ χρήματα, ἐξ' Ἑλλασοῦντος ὡς Σητῶν ἕξεφόρησα, καὶ τὸ τέμνειον ἐπειρέει καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὦκος ἀπίκακο ο Ἑλλασοῦντα, ἐν τῷ ἀδυτῷ γυναιξὶ ἐμβυζέτο. 292 τότε δὲ ἐπολυρίκετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω παρασκευασμένος ἐς πολυρίκην οὕτω προσθεκάμενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀφυλικτον 293 δὲ κοισ αὐτῷ ἐπέτεσον.

Einai δὲ πολυροκεμένους σφι φθινοπωροῦ ἐπεγένετο, καὶ ἤγχαλ- λον οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐουτῶν ἀποδημένας καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξελείν τὸ τείχος, ἐδέντο τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὦκος ἀπόγοιές φεραὶ ὑπὸ, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐφασαν, πρὶς ἡ ἐξελοῦν ἀ Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν φεραὶ μεταπέμενας οὕτω δὴ ἐπερεύονς τὰ παρεῦνα. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐς τὸν ἥζη κακοῦ ἀπηγείμας ἡμαῖ, οὕτω δὴ οὐ καὶ τόνων ἄφωντες τῶν κλιγέων ἐντεύοντες ἐπεί τε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον,

291 έντοιν εἶναι. The Persian kings considered themselves the representatives of the Median and Assyrian dynasties, and hence Xerxes is made to speak of Pelops as the vassal of his ancestors (vii. 11). Whether the Assyrian empire really ever extended to these parts is of little consequence. All oriental sovereignties of importance have probably regarded themselves, and been regarded by their subjects, as possessing a claim to universal dominion. Plato, however, makes the dynasty of Priam vassals of that of Ninus (Legg. iii. § 6); and the name Assaracu (Assur-ac) is a decisive proof of some connexion of Assyria with the neighbourhood of Troy. The name of the builder of the n.w. palace in the mound of Nimroud is read Assur-ac-bal, as well as Assur-adal-bal (Sardanapalus).

292 ἐν τῷ ἔδρον γυναιξὶ ἐμβυζέτο. This is probably the Hellenic version of the fact that Artayctes converted the demesne and temple of Proteus into a paradise and seraglio. Such a secularisation of sacred lands would no doubt involve the destruction of many rights of the citizens of Eleusis,—for the whole town belonged to the hero (Pa'derianis, i. 34. 2)—as cause enormous scandal. The contrast between the reckless proceeding of Artayctes, and the tenderness of Xerxes for religious institutions of exactly the same character as the Proteusian-worship (see vii. 43), is not to be overlooked. The women whom Artayctes collected (ταύρατο, vii. 33) in his harem probably were, as they are at the present day, Circassians; for he commanded the contingent in Xerxes's army which came from that part of the Persian king's dominions. See notes 243 on vii. 78, and 274, 275 on ili. 94.

293 ἀφυλικτον. This reading is adopted by Gaisford on the authority of S and V. The rest of the MSS have δπφωντος, to which a very fair sense may be given; for the main gist of the story is to show the formidable issue of the vengeance of Proteus. That the word δπφωντος should be unusual is no objection, as it is formed according to analogy.
CALLIOPE. IX. 117—120. 493

σύνω δὴ ἣπο νύκτα οἴχονται ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρ-
ταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰλάβαξος, ὅπως τε τὸν τεῖχος καταβάντες τῇ ἡ
ἐξημέραν τῶν πολέμων ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ὁ Χερσονησίας
ἀπὸ τῶν πύρηνον ἐσφυγμένον τούτῳ. Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς
πύλας ἄνοιξαν τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἐδόκωσι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν
ἐξεῖχον. Οἰλάβαξον μὲν ἦν ἐκφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Θηρίκης Θηρίκες
Ἀφίλωιος λαβόντες ἔθουσαν Πλειστώφρῳ ἑπίχαριον θεῷ, τρόπῳ
τῷ σφετέρῳ τούς δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὦτεροί ὀρμηθεῖτε φεύγωμεν, καὶ ὅσα κατ-
ελμαθώμενο. ὅλοι οὖν ὑπὲρ Ἀγίως Ποταμών, ἀλεξώμενοι
χρόνον ἐπὶ χρόνων, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ξώσαν ἐλάμβανον. καὶ
συνήθησαν τὰς σφαίς ἦν Ἑλλήνες ἤγους ἐς Σηστόν μετ’ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ
Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένων, αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὸν παύδα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τερ-
τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ἐπὶ Χερσονησίτεως, ταρχῶν ὑποτυπν
τέρας γενέσθαι τοιώδες οἱ τάρχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλ-
λοτοί τε καὶ ἦσπαρον, ὅσος περ ἴχθυς νεολατόν καὶ οἱ μὲν
περιχυθάντες ἐθόμαζον ὅ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης ὁ στὰ τὸ τέρας, καλέσας
τὸν ὑπώντα τοὺς τάρχοις ἔφη "ἐξείναι Ἀθηναίε, μηδὲν φοβεῖ τὸ
tέρας τούτον ὦ γὰρ σοὶ πέφρυνός ἀλλ’ ἕμωι σημαίνει ὁ ὃν Ἑλλα-
οῖτις Πρωτεσδάκεως, δὴ καὶ τεθνεῖς καὶ τάρχοις ἐὼν δύναμις πρὸς
θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικεότα τίνεσθαι τῶν ὄν ἀπούνα τοὶ τάδε ἥθελον
ἐπιθείμαιν. αὐτὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἠλαβοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, ἐκατὸ
τάλαντα καταθέωμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ δ’ ἐμευνοῦμαι καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀποδόσον τάλαντα δυνκόσια Ἀθηναίοις, περιγεγομένος." τοῦτο
ὑπισχύμενος, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἐλαυνίππον οὐκ ἐπειθεὶς οἱ γὰρ
Ἑλλαίοιοι τῷ Πρωτεσδάκει τιμωρεύοντες ἔδεικνυ ὡς καταχρη-
σθήμαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη ὁ νόος ἐφερε’ ἀπαγαγόντες
d' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἀδετὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑρέτης ἐξεύξε τοὺς πόρους. (οἱ δὲ

294 Ἀφίλωιος. These are perhaps the pericricians of Εἴνευ. See note 81 on vi. 34, and note 183 on vii. 58.
295 ὦτεροὶ. S, V, and F, have ὦτεροὶ. In the next line S alone has ἅλγος, and the rest ἅλγον, which Gais-
ford prints.
296 ἐρίλεοντο. This word has nothing to do with ἐρίλεοι, but is the imperfect passive of ἐρίλεω.
Compare δείματε παλ-
λάμωμεν in the oracle (vii. 140), and the word παλλαμίωσι applied to the leaping of fish just drawn out from the water
(i. 141).
297 ἐπούν εἰς τὰς ἔθους ἐπιθείμαιν. The more usual phrase would be ἐπούν διδᾶ-
κα τοῖς ἑπίσκευσι. (See vi. 79, above.) But what Artayctes is doing is to impose a
penalty on himself for his impiety. Trans-
late, "Now therefore I am willing to fix
this satisfaction for him." He uses indeed
the phrase which would be appropriate to
the arbiter, not to one of the parties in
the case.
298 ἐς τὴν ἀδετὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑρέτης Κεφάλη
tῶν πόρων. In the description which the
The Athenians return home.

Anecdote of Artembares, the grandfather of Artayctes.

The author gives of the bridges (vii. 33), he assigns this locality to the scene of Artayctes’s punishment, without mentioning any other.

Κύρος προσήγεικαυ, “attributed to Cyrus.” It is the view of Artembares: έκ μαλακών χάρων μάλακοι άνδρες, which is the λόγος of the text,—the argument.

Άρχειν τε ελεύθερον ηλικίους. The facts scarcely bear out this statement; for Cyrus, as well as Cambyses after him, appears to have made Agbatana his capital, and in fact to have placed himself in every respect in the position of the Median sovereigns whom he succeeded. (See Ercvuxus on iii. 74, p. 429.) The ruffianly conduct of Artayctes is very much of a piece with the violence which is imputed to some individuals of the old Persian party. (See iii. 118, and note 435 on iv. 106.) And the opinion ascribed in the text to his grandfather is just such a one as might be expected from a man brought up under the influences of barbarism, and endeavouring to find a reasonable justification for his prepossessions.

* * *

"ΗΡΩΔΩΤΟΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΑΣ."
EXCURSUS ON IX. 19.

CTESIAS AND THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA.

The account which is given from CTESIAS of the expedition of Xerxes, while in its main features it agrees with the narrative of HERODOTUS, yet differs in some respects so remarkably from it, that it is worth while to present it in a connected form; in order to show what widely different stories had obtained currency in Greece respecting events occurring scarcely more than a generation before. It is only fair to a writer who has been somewhat unduly depreciated, to state, that there is in his account less exaggeration of numbers than in that of Herodotus, while at the same time there appears no tendency to disparage the extraordinary success of the Hellenic efforts at resistance.

According to him the whole force collected by Xerxes for the expedition consisted of 1000 triremes and 800,000 land troops, besides war-chariots. While these were crossing the bridge of boats at the Hellepont, Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, met the invader, and endeavoured to dissuade him from directing the expedition against his native country; but whether this attempt was made by arousing Xerxes's fears or by deprecating his anger, the brief notice of the summary does not allow us to determine. At Thermopylæ the first resistance appears. Artabanus is sent on thither with an advanced body of 10,000, but effectually resisted by Leonidas. His force is doubled, and afterwards increased to as many as 50,000, but with no better success, and the attempt is given up at the time. Afterwards, however, by the agency of two Trachi-nians, 40,000 troops are brought into the rear of the Lacedæmonians, and the whole of them cut to pieces. After this, another army 120,000
strong, under Mardonius, is dispatched against Plataea at the instigation of the Thebans. Pausanias the Lacedaemonian meets them at the head of 300 Spartans, 1000 Lacedaemonian perioeci, and 6000 allies, totally defeats them, and compels Mardonius, who is himself wounded in the engagement, to retreat in disorder. Then follows the account of an expedition for the purpose of despoiling the temple of Apollo, headed by this same Mardonius; but his success is no greater in this instance, and he loses his life by a storm of enormous hailstones in the attempt,—an event which (Ctesias remarks) occasioned extreme grief to Xerxes.

By the way in which these events are related, one is induced to believe that, in the story of Ctesias, the main army was represented as occupying some portion of Greece north of Thermopylae, while strong expeditionary detachments were sent forward for special purposes. After the death of Mardonius, however, Xerxes is represented as himself marching upon Athens, and burning, first the city, and afterwards, when deserted by its defenders, the acropolis also. Then, descending to the coast to the neighbourhood of the Heracleum, he attempts to carry a mole across the strait between Salamis and the main, the Athenians from the city having in the mean time taken refuge in the island and carried over to it 120 ships. It would seem as if this operation was interrupted by the aid of a subsidiary force of bowmen brought from Crete by the advice of Aristides and Themistocles. Next follows the great naval action, between more than 1000 vessels on the side of the Persians under the command of Onophas (the father, according to Ctesias, of the sultana Amestris), and 700 on that of the allies. Five hundred of the Persian galleys are destroyed; and Xerxes, under the influence of the intrigues of Aristides and Themistocles, retreats, having in the course of the expedition lost 120,000 men in battle. Once arrived in Asia, and on his march to Sardis, he sends another expedition to lay waste the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and insult the deity. Megabyzus, to whom the command is offered, declines it, and the expedition is put under the orders of an eunuch named Mataces, who, after executing his commission, returns back to Xerxes.

It is a singular circumstance that, in the above account, while the

1 See note 80 on viii. 39, above.
main historical events constituting the turning points of the war, appear in nearly the same important light as in the narrative of Herodotus, their chronological arrangement is entirely different. Platea, Thermopylae, Salamis, and the retreat of the Persians through the intrigues of Themistocles, are with both historians the salient features of the picture; in both, too, Athens is represented as having been burnt, and a temple of Apollo attacked without success. But the prolongation of the war by Mardonius after the retreat of Xerxes is peculiar to Herodotus, being not merely unnoticed by Ctesias, but altogether incompatible with his notion of the progress of events.

Few persons will be disposed to renounce that long-standing belief as to the details of this celebrated campaign, which has grown up on the basis of the description of it by Herodotus; but nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the account of Ctesias is not only more in accordance with verisimilitude, particularly as regards the numbers attributed to the invaders, but likewise favoured to some extent, in one or two particulars, by the contemporary poet Æschylus. The precipitate retreat of the Persian king immediately after the battle of Salamis is a point strongly put forward by the dramatist, and is quite compatible with Ctesias's view of the attempt at forming the mole to the island, but not so with that of Herodotus. The great panic, too, which accompanied the return of the army through Thrace is difficult to understand, if their retreat was covered by an entire army under the commander-in-chief. Again, that there should be no allusion whatever in the drama to the calamity at Platea is somewhat strange; but less so if the battle there was on the scale and at the time represented by Ctesias, than if we are guided in our estimate of it by the account of his rival. In the one case it certainly challenges attention as the first successful repulse of the invader; but after all it does no more than oppose a temporary check to his advance. He moves on, weakened indeed by losses, and discouraged by minor failures, but still on the whole quite irresistible, until he has overrun the main, and wants nothing to complete his triumph but the command of the strait of Salamis. Then, the destruction of half his fleet there, and with it the loss of the command of the sea,
becomes an overwhelming calamity, and justifies the cry of woe which Æschylus puts into his mouth on seeing the "depth of his misfortunes." Under such circumstances the Hellenic triumph at Platea obviously bears so small a proportion to that at Salamis, that it might well pass unnoticed in a performance devoted to the magnifying the latter. But as Herodotus represents the matter, the case is altogether different. Mardonius was so formidable, that in spite of the misfortune at Salamis, he still expected to conquer Hellas. The scoff of Xerxes to the Spartan herald in Thessaly shows that in the mind of the king himself this expectation amounted to an undoubting conviction; and the apprehensions of the troops at Mycale are an evidence that the probability was considered a very great one even by the Greeks themselves. Add to these circumstances the attempt to carry the mole across to the island of Salamis,—if we accept the time which Herodotus assigns to the operation,—and we have a state of things which would render panic on the part of the Persian army nearly inconceivable.

The movements of the Hellenic army antecedently to the battle of Platea are, in the narrative of Herodotus, extremely difficult to understand. Mardonius appears to have occupied the whole of Attica, or at least to have had it in his power to do so. The rapid advance of the Peloponnesians takes him by surprise, and he withdraws his army into Bœotia, with apparent difficulty, by the aid of Theban guides, through the easternmost passes only of Cithæron. The most direct road would have been by Ænœ and Eleutherææ to Hysia, which was the position really occupied by the extreme right of his army when the allies came into the presence of it. It is by this road that they themselves marched, and compared with that by which Mardonius is represented as retiring, it is as the chord to the

3 viii. 100.
4 δὲ γέλασας καὶ κατασχίας πολλὰν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐνέγχασε προστεθὼς Μαρδώνιος, δεινὸς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπεν τοιγάρ ὁ φίλος τοῦ Μαρδώνιος οἷς ἔδεικα δῶσιν τοιαῦτα ὅλα ἐκείνοις πρότειν. viii. 114.
5 ix. 101. Compare the argument of Alexander on his embassy (viii. 140), τι μάλιστα πόλεμον βασιλέως ἀνταποδείξας, κ.τ.λ., the force of which is not questioned in the reply: καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γε ἐπιστήμωσα, δι' ἐπιπληθυνή ἂν τό Μήδω δήμωι ἤπερ ἡμῖν (viii. 143).
6 ix. 15.
7 For the great strength of Ænœ as a position commanding the access to the Platæis from Attica, see Leake quoted in note 197 on v. 74.
arc of a segment of a circle. If then we are guided by Herodotus’s
description, the rapid movement of the allies must be viewed as an
attempt to cut Mardonius’s army in half, by an attack upon that
portion of it which occupied the line of the Asopus, before the return
of the remainder from Attica through the eastern passes. But it
must be remembered that such a supposition implies the possession
of the whole line of approach from Eleusis to Hysiae; and that this
should have been left uncovered by Mardonius seems inconceivable
except upon some hypothesis to which Herodotus’s narrative gives
no clue, such, for instance, as the previous occupation of ÓEnoe by a
Hellenic force, or the inability of Mardonius to hold it for want of
magazines. The attempt of Pausanias however is foiled by the
superiority of the enemy in cavalry; which obliges the Lacedæmoni-an
general to halt as soon as he debouches from the passes on to
the northern incline of Cithæron. Unable to contend against this
superiority even on the flanks of the hills, he retires to the Gargaphian
spring, and the immediate vicinity of Platsea, where ultimately the decisive action takes place. But this site is undoubtedly
one where we cannot conceive a force any thing like that mentioned
by Herodotus capable of being drawn up. The numbers of Ctesias,
on the other hand, whatever may be his general authority, are such
as occasion no difficulty.

The retirement of the allies from their first position appears to
have put the debouchement of the road by ÓEnoe and Hysiae into
the command of the Persians; for the convoys which they eight days
afterwards succeeded in cutting off were advancing not by that route,
but by the Oakheads, a pass which must certainly be looked for to the
west of it. Now the maintenance in an advanced position of a suffi-
cient force to command this road, and at the same time to keep up a
continual galling attack upon Pausanias in his new station, may well
have occasioned difficulty to Mardonius; and thus we may possibly
understand the discussion between him and Artabazus which Her-
odotus mentions. The numbers of the Greeks would “daily in-
crease,”—not indeed in Pausanias’s camp,—but on the line of ÓEnoe
and Hysiae, thus rendering it necessary for Mardonius to continually

ix. 19, 20. ix. 25. ix. 28. ix. 39, where see note 109.
ix. 41. 3 s 2
strengthen the detachment from the fortified camp at Scolus which masked those two burghs, and to supply it with forage and provisions. If it were in any material degree diminished, opportunity would be afforded the allies for striking a heavy blow, by a simultaneous advance of Pausanias and of the garrisons upon it. The plan of Pausanias seems to have been, to draw more and more of the enemy into this false position, and at last oblige them to fight with the Asopus at their back; that of Mardonius, so to annoy the division of Pausanias by his cavalry, as to oblige him either to retire from the north side of Cithæron, or else fight a pitched battle in order to drive the Persians from their lines, which of course could not be done without crossing the Asopus and engaging under circumstances which would have given a decided superiority to them. Artabazus appears to have thought that in this trial of patience Pausanias would be the successful party, and accordingly to have recommended Mardonius at once to withdraw his advanced division within his lines, where there would be a facility of supplying them, and within which he might remain secure to try the effect of temporising. That this advice should be in after times represented as counsel to break up the camp and retire within the actual city walls of Thebes is not at all surprising.

In the narrative of Ctesias, the advance of the enemy being supposed to be altogether from the north, and before a footing had been gained by him in Attica, any hypothesis to account for his non-occupation of the strongholds in it becomes unnecessary. But this advantage adds little to the presumption in favour of the correctness of the arrangement of events. Pausanias could hardly have been in command of the Lacedæmonian army during the life-time of his father Cleombrotus; and there is nothing in Ctesias contradictory to the account which Herodotus gives of the time and circumstances of Cleombrotus's death.

If the actual history of Ctesias still existed, we might perhaps be able with tolerable confidence to point out the origin of the difference between the two historians, and decide upon the exact particulars in which credence should be attached to each. But as all our knowledge is derived from an extremely meagre compilation of the work, little more can be done than to call attention to the fact of the difference between them, and to the amount of variation in the cur-
rent opinions of the day which that difference indicates. It seems not unlikely that in the times immediately following the repulse of the invaders, Salamis was the one triumph which occupied the attention of the Athenian people. The share which they had in the victory at Plataea was—as may be gathered even from Herodotus’s partial narrative—a very small one indeed. On the other hand it was quite obvious to all, that at Salamis they were the saviours of Greece. Hence it would not be wonderful if at first it was the fashion to say very little at Athens about Plataea; and thus perhaps the silence of Æschylus is to be explained. The Lacedaemonians on the other hand, accustomed to look upon naval warfare with little respect, would not unnaturally regard the whole of the proceedings by land, from the occupation of Thermopylae by Leonidas to the final defeat of the Persians by Pausanias at Plataea, as so many parts of one continued campaign, and think of the operations of the fleet both at Artemisium and Salamis as merely affairs incident to its function of flanking and supporting the army. Hence it is very conceivable that in Lacedaemonian traditions there should be a connected account of the proceedings by land, independent of any allusion to the engagement at Salamis; just as at Athens (if we may regard Æschylus as the representative of public opinion) the possession of that city was represented as the real object of the Persian invasion, and the victory of its citizens at Salamis the only important event of the war. Time, however, reducing all things to their proper position in the world’s history, would soon put a stop to the prevalence of either of these exclusive views. Even the Lacedaemonians themselves were revolted by the arrogant pretension of their own king to have destroyed the common enemy; and the popular admiration of the victory at Salamis, which had led to such signal distinctions being at once conferred on Themistocles, soon produced a recognition of the services of his countrymen. On the other hand, the battle of Platae, when its important consequences showed themselves, not only in the immediate expulsion of the Persians from the whole of Greece south of the Strymon, but eventually from almost every position on the European continent, could no longer be ignored by Athenian vanity. It had clearly been a decisive battle: this it was no use to pretend not to see. The best course then was to magnify the share which the Athenians had in it; and from this feeling sprang (I conceive) most
of the details which Herodotus has embodied in his account of the action, the very doubtful character of which, in a historical point of view, has been pointed out in several of the notes on the Ninth Book. He may throughout his account of the invasion be considered as the representative of the views current at Athens, while Ctesias may perhaps in the same way be regarded as a Lacedaemonian authority. In the original work of the latter it is indeed possible that the account of the battle of Salamis was not really chronologically displaced, but that, being related in an insulated manner, after the completion of the history of the land operations, its position in the written work led a hasty compiler to assign it to a wrong place among the actual events.

The above solution of the difficulty arising out of the variations of the two Greek historians is, undoubtedly, one which can only be regarded as a hypothetical suggestion, enabling us to understand how their differences may have arisen, without rashly branding either with the charge of wilful falsification. It is however an hypothesis which is entirely in accordance with the habits of the time in which the events described occurred; and it will (I believe) be received with some favour by those who have been careful to examine the nature of the authorities on which our acquaintance with the early history of Greece repose.
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