HERODOTUS IV.
HERODOTUS

IV
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INTRODUCTION

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

BOOK VIII

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

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

Ch. 15-17. Second battle off Artemisium.

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 65. Dicæus’ vision near Eleusis.

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

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

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

Ch. 83-96. Battle of Salamis.

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

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

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

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

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

Ch. 113. Mardonius’ selection of his army.

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

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

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

Ch. 130-132. Greek and Persian fleets at Aegina and Samos respectively (spring of 479). Leutychides’ command. Message to the Greeks from the Ionians.
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Ch. 133–135. Mardonius' consultation of Greek oracles.

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

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

BOOK IX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

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

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

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

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

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

Prof. Goodwin, *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology,* 1906, pp. 75 ff.]
HERODOTUS
BOOK VIII
1. Οἱ ἰ ἐ ᾽Ελλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἤσαν οἴδε, Αθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταϊές ἀπειροὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς ἑόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ εἰκοσὶ, καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἐπλήρουν εἰκοσὶ, Ἀθηναῖον σφί παρεχόμενων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτώκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἐπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρεῖς δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήποι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοκτέρους δύο. Λοκρὸι δὲ σφί οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοκτέρους ἑχοντες ἐπτά.

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

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

3. Ἔγενετο γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ὡς τὸ ναυτικόν Ἄθηναίους χρεῦν εὑρὴ ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάστων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰκον οἱ Ἄθηναιοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιείναι τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ γνώντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς ἀπολέσται ἡ Ἐλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες: στάσις γὰρ ἐμφύλος πολέμου ὀμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτο κάκιον ἔστι ὀσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι δὲν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντίτεταυον ἀλλ’ εἰκον, μέχρι ὡς κάρτα ἔδειοντο αὐτῶν, ὧς διέδεξαν· ὃς γὰρ δὴ ὡςάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἥδη τοῦ ἀγώνα ἑποιεύντο, πρόφασιν τῇ Παυσανίεῳ ὑβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ύστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἐλλήνων ἄπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλάς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς ’Αφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἄπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἡ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρῳδήσαντες δρῆσιμον ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. γνώντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοῖοι ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμείναι χρόνου ὀλίγων, ἐστ’ ἄν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς ὦ, οὐκ ἐπειθοῦν, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἄθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθὸ τριήκοντα

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

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

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

5. 'Ο δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὄδε ποιεῖν. Εὐρυβιάδη τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πέντε τάλαντα ὡς πάρ' ἑαυτοῦ δήθεν διδοὺς. ὥς δὲ οἱ οὖν ἄνεπεπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὁκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἱσπαίρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὗ παραμενεῖν, πρὸς δὴ τούτων εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἑγώ μέξῳ δῶρα δῶσω ἡ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοῖς Μῆδοις πέμψει ἀπολιπώντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτα τε ἄμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδείμαντον τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὕτω τε δὴ πάντες δωροίσθω ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἢςαν καὶ τοῖς Εὐβοεῖσι ἐκεχώριστο, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδησε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἑχων, ἂλλʼ ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὖν δὴ κατέμειναν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὡδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δεῖλην προίην γυνομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἐτί καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἐλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἰ κως ἐλοίεν αὐτὰς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς αὐτής προσπλέειν οὐ κἀκεφαλέν τῶν ἐνεκα, μὴ καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ Ἐλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγήν ὀρμήσειαν φεύγοντας τε ἐνθρόνῃ καταλαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐμελλὼν δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἐδει δὲ μηδὲ
thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

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

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the
πυρφόρον τῷ ἑκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.
7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁν τάδε ἐμηχανόντο τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιεπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθοι, ώς ἂν μὴ ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὐβοιαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστοῦ ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οὐ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὅπισώ φέρουσαν ὅδον, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι εὔ ἐναυτίς. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπτον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ ἐπιθύσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημα σφι ἐμέλλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλέοντων ὡς ἥκοντων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ περιεπεμπτον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφετησὶ ἐποιεύτω ἀριθμόν.
8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ὧν οὕτωι ἀριθμῶν ἐποιεύτω τῶν νεῶν, ἴνα γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλῆς Σκιώναιος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος, δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῦτο Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς περιεβάλετο· οὕτος ο Σκυλλῆς ἐν νῷ μὲν εἰχε ἁρὰ καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεύτων ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἄτρεκεώς, θωμάξω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔστι ἀληθεὰ· λέγεται γὰρ ὃς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὁγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης
Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer\(^1\) of them must be saved alive.

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

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

\(^1\) The \(πυρφόρος\) carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.
διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἰκέλα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός τοῦτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξετερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τοῦτον γυνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμερε τοσί στρατηγοῖς τήν τε ναυηγίαν ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοιαν.

9. Τούτῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λευθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκεῖνην αὐτοῦ μέναντας τε καὶ ἀνασθέντας, μετέπειτα νῦκτα μέσην παρένεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν ὑσί περιπλεούσης τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ, ὡς οὐδείς σφί ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὑψίν γυνομένην τῇ ἡμέρῃς φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλοῦ.

10. Ὁρώντες δὲ σφέας οὗ τε ἄλλοι στρατιώται οἱ Ἑρέσεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας μησῷ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφί μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνήγου καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίζαντες σφέας εὔπετέως αἰρῆσιν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίζαντες, τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἕλληνων ὀρώντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωτῶν πληθεῖ τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἀμεινὸν πλεούσας. καταφροιήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλούντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἱώων ἦσαν εὑροὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἀδεικνύσετε τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλην ὀρώντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδείς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὗτος ἄσθενέα σφί ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων πρίγματα. ὅσοις δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοις ἦν τὸ γυνόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεῖτο ὅκως ἸΩ.
There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

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

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

1 For the διέκπλοιος see Bk. VI. ch. 12.
αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικῆν ἐλῶν παρὰ βασιλέος δώρα λάμψεται: Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖς λόγος ἢν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοίοι δὲ Ἕλληνι ώς ἐσῆμυνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοίσι βαρβάροις γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρώμας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἐργον εἶχοντο ἐν ὅλῳ περ ἀπολαμβάνει τοὺς κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τρυήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμίνων βασιλέως ἀδελφεῖν Φιλίονα τῶν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἕλληνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἰλε Ἀθηναίος Δικομῆδης Αἰσχραῖος, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήμον ἔλαβε οὕτος. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτη ἐτεραλκεῖσθαι ἀγωνιζόμενον νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Δήμωνος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέι Ἕλληνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐδοσαν αὐτῷ χάρων ἐν Σαλαμίν.

12. Ὑς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἢν μὲν τῆς ὄρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὑδωρ τε ἀπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου. οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγμα ἔξε- φέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἔταρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιώται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταύτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέσθαι ἐς οία κακὰ ἤκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι σφέας ἐκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ
Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

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

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

13. Καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νῦξ ἐγένετο, τούτῳ δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐνυσα νῦξ πολλὸν ἦν ἐτὶ ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένουι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἀχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑξέχων τε καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐπεγένετο ἐνυσα κατὰ τὰ Κούλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύμαι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξεπίπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιεῖτο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἀν ἐξισωθεῖν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶπ.

14. Οὔτοι μὲν νῦν περὶ τὰ Κούλα τῆς Εὐβοίας διεφθείροντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφέτησι βάρβαροι, ὡς σφι ἁμένουσι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀπέρριξε πελάγους καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτες πρήσασι ήσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἀμα ἀγγελία ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέουσι ποὺ Εὐβοίαν πάντες ἐγίναν διεφθαρμένοι ὕπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμώνου. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρὴν, πλέουσι ἐπέπεσον νῦσι Κιλισσην· ταῦτας δὲ διαφθειράντες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλεον ὑπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον.

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

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

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

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the
οὔκ ἀνέμειναν ἤτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνήγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὅστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλης. ἢν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἄγων τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἐυρίπου, ὁσπερ τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οὐ μὲν δὴ παρακελεύοντο ὡκως μὴ παρίσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἕλλαδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὡκως τὸ Ἕλληνικὸν στρατεύμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ἐρέξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τὸ Ἀρτεμισίω. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοεῶς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἔκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτοὺς.

16. Ἐνθεύτευ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπανέπλεον τε καὶ συνέμισσον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὡς γὰρ Ἐρέξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἑωτοῦ ἐπιπτε, παρασσόμενοι τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτουσέως περὶ ἀλλήλας’ ὡμος μὲντοι ἀντείχει καὶ οὐκ εἰκε: δεινὸν γὰρ χρήμα ἐποιεύντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλγεύων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἕλληνων νὲες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ’ ἐτὶ πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἄγωνιξόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ἐρέξεω στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν, οὐ ἀλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖς ἄνδράς εἰλιν Ἕλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἕλληνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ὁθηναιῶι καὶ
Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

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

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best; besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best;
'Αθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκήνην παρεγόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίουσι καὶ οἰκήνη νη.

18. ᾿Ως δὲ διεστηκαί, ἀσμενοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐσ ὄρμον ἤπειγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγῶν ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχεώς δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναίοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεὼν τετραμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα.

19. Νόω δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ τε ᾿Ιωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοὶ τε ἔησαν ἀν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἑλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε σφι ὡς δοκεόι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέων συμμάχων ἀποστῆσειν τοὺς ἄριστους. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγόμινον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρῆγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθέναι ὅσα τις ἔθελοι· κρέσσων γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατηγὴν ἔχειν ἴ τοὺς πολεμίως· παραίνει τε προεπεῖν τοῖς ἐωτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδὴς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὀρχὴν αὐτῶ ν μελήσειν, ὡστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα. ταῦτα ἦρεσέ σφι ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

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

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

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

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

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

σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐπούσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὠδὲ ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμὸς.

φράζει, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ξυγὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας ἀγας.

tούτοις οὐδὲν τοίς ἔπεσι χρησαμένοις ἐν τοῖς τότε παρεύσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖς παρὴν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησσοὺν, παρὴν δὲ ὁ Ἕκ Τρηχύνος κατάσκοπος. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ 'Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος 'Αντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέκτῳ, καὶ εἰχὲ πλοίων κατάρχες ἐτοιμόν, εἰ παλὴσει ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐνόσι: ὃς δ' αὐτῶς ἢν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Δεονίδη ἔτοιμος τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐνόσι ἀγγέλλειν τριμοντερῷ, ἡν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὕτως ὅπως ἢν Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενος σφι ἐσῆμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Δεονίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οὐ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεύτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἐκαστοὶ ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὑστατοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νεὰς τὰς ἀριστὰ πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενοι Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ύδατα, ἐντάμων ἐν τοῖς λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἰωνεῖς ἐπελθόντες τῇ υστεραίῃ ἥμερῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίου ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἐλεγε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνεῖς, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια
they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

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

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

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

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly
ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἄλλα μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶνον τε γίνεσθαι, ἄλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης μέξονος κατέξευχθε ἡ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἕργῳ, ἐπεάν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέεστε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ’ ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.” Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκεεῖν ἐμοί, ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα νοεών, ἃν ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωτῶν, ἡ ἐπείτε ἀνενεχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ἐρέξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

23. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῦν ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιέως ἀγγέλλων τῶν δρησμῶν τῶν ἦπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὗ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀπιστίς τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἴχον ἐν φυλακῆ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοφρομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὔτω δὴ ἀμα ἡλίων σκιδναμένῳ πῦσα ὑπ’ ἐστρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἄλης ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἅπα τούτου ἐπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαιήν· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐςχον τῶν Ἰστιαιεῶν, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοτῆς μοῖρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χωρας πῦσας ἐπέδραμον.

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

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

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

1 The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaeа.
μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔως τοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι (ἡσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενοι τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὁρυξάμενος ἐθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπὶ βαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ Βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θείσασθαι ὡς μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίχτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἡλίσιοι τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι."

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένοι, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγκέμετο πλοίων σπαινώτερον· ὅτως πολλοὶ ἤθελον θείσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηνέντο διεξίόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἡπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὀρῴντες καὶ τοὺς ἐλκύσας. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρῆξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἔωστο καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἄλλες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸντο χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταῦτα μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίη ὦι μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς οἴδον ὀρμέατο.

26. Ἡκον δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ’ Ἀρκαδίης ὄλγου τινές, βίον τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοί βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπινυθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν
to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaeia, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

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

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what
'Ελληνων τί ποιέοιεν· εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἢν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὦλυμπια ἀγούσι καὶ θεωρεόειν ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἀεθλον εἰη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται. οὗ δ' ἐπισ τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἴπασ γυμνὸν γενναιότατην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρτα-βάνου δειλίην ὄφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. πυθανό-μενος γὰρ τὸ ἀεθλον ἐδω στέφανον ἄλλα οὐ χρήματα, οὕτε ἥνεσχεο σιγῶν εἴπε τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαὶ Μαρδόνιε, κοίνως ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἡγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οὗ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τῶν ἀγώνα ποιεῦνται ἄλλα περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

27. 'Εν δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπόλησι τρώμα ἐγεγόνευ, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοί πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἀπε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ύστατον τρώματος καὶ τὸ καρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιη αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὗ πολλοὶ ἐτεσὶ πρότερον ταῦτης τῆς βασιλείας στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησόν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλήνη τὸν Ἡλεόν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλής ούτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖς τοιῶν. γυνώσας ἄνδρας ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἁρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὀπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἀν μὴ

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

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.
λευκανθίξοντα ἴδωνταί, τούτον κτείνειν. τούτους δὲν αῖ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἴδονσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω ὡστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νικήσων καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἀβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἔς Δελφοὺς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες ὁι περὶ τῶν τρίτοις συνεστεώτες ἐμπροσθεῖν τῷ νησὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἐτεροὶ τοιούτοι ἐν Ἀβησί ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσατο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκούοντας ἐωτοὺς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἱππὸν αὐτῶν ἐλυμῆμαντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἤ ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπωλι, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορεάς κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὀμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οὐ δὲ ὧς ἀναρπασώμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορεάς. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱπποὶ τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δὴ σφὶ ἄμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἱγγορευον τάδε. "Ω Φωκέες, ἢδή τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχεῖτε μὴ εἶναι ὀμοίοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησί, ὅσον χρόνον ἑκεῖνα ἡμῖν ήμάνε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτὲ ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὡστε ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀνατρικήσοντες ὑμᾶς. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλὰ ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντὶ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
slay whomever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

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

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

30. Ταῦτα σφὶ ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτης ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμιδίζουν, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὔδεν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐχθὸς τὸ Θεσσαλῶν εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὔξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐμιδίζου ἄν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἐφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖς ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ άλλως βουλοίατο. ἂλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὕτω οἱ λόγοι, οὔτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοίσι Φωκεύσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὀδοῦ. έκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχυνίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεῶν στεινὸς ταύτης κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὕρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἦ περ ἣν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυσίς. ἦ δὲ χώρη αὐτή ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωρίσων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὅπο τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσύναυτο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐμιδίζον τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοὶ.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἀκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστη δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύ δέξασθαι ὀμίλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ’ ἐωτής. Τιθορέα σύνομα αὐτῇ ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοί ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀξόλας Δοκροῦς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς
did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

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

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

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; (for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it,) but the most of them made their way out of the country to
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

’Αμφισσαν πόλιν τῇν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ τῇν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τῇν Φωκίδα. Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατὸν· ὅκοσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἐκείρου, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κυφισσοῦν ποταμὸν ἐδημόν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἐρώχων καὶ Θερόπων καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδίας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἀβας, ἐνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλοῦσιον, θησαυροῖς τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ τε καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ χρηστήμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν συνήχαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῦτο ὀρειν, καὶ γυναίκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι υπὸ πλῆθεος.

34. Παραποταμίως δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Παισεάς. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἦδι διακρινομένη ἡ στρατὶ αὐτῶν ἐσχύζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορευόμενον ἐπ’ Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδικε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀνδρὲς Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἐσώζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν Ξέρξη ὅτι τὰ Μιῆδων Βοιωτοῖ φρονέοιεν.

35. Οὕτω ἦν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἑγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὀρμέατο
the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaeian plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

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

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

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the
ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὕτωι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φοικίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρευον καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Λιολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτη ἀποσχυσθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατηγῆς τῶνδε εἶνεκα, ὅκως συλλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξη ἀποδέξαειν τὰ χρῆματα. πάντα δὲ ὑπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἀξία Ξέρξης, ὅς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἀμείνον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίοις ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροῖσον τοῦ Ἁλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες ἐμαυτεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι εἰς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεός σφεας οὐκ ἐὰν κινέειν, φας αὐτὸς ἰκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἔωτοῦ προκατῆθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἀφροτιζοῦν. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναικας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῆν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἀντρον ἀνηρείκαντο, οὗ δὲ ἐς 'Αμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ δών οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξελιποῦν τὴν πόλιν, πλήν ἐξήκοντα ἄνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεί δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιώντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὅρα πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκεῖμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξεννεγμένα ἵρα, τῶν οὐκ ὁσιον ἦν ἀπτεσθαι ἄνθρώπων οὐδενί.
temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

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

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

¹ In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).
ο μὲν δὴ ἡ γεῦ Δελφῶν τοῖς παρεύσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης 'Ἄθηναις, ἐπιγίνεται σφὶ τέρεα ἐτὶ μέξονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ κάρτα ἕστι, ὅπλα ἄρῃ αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἐξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηῶν: τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγένομενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἥξια θωμᾶσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἤσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνοὺς σφεών, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

38. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγουσας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπεκτειναν πλῆθος τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεύόντες ίθνα Βοιωτῶν ἐφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὕτω τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὄρην θεία: δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέξονα ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἑχουσα ἐπέσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διάκοντας.

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

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

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

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

ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἄνδρῶν αὐτῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱρὸν ἀπαλλαγῇ γίνεται.

40. Ὅ δέ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα προσεδεύθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναίοι, ἵνα αὐτοῖ παῖδας τε καὶ γυναικάς ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητεύν αὐτοῖς ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλήν ἐμελλόν ποιῆσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένους γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους παύδημεῖ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ὑποκατημένους τῶν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν ἐνδόν οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἱσθμοῦ αὐτοὺς τείχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελο-

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἔς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθήναιοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξιν κτήριγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροϊζήνα ἀπεστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Λίγυναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἐσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα υπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρῶ τε βουλόμενοι υπηρε-

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seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

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

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereat most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this: it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it; this
μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισμου-μένῃ τότε ἦν ἀψαυςτος. σημνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείς, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυ-μοτερον ἐξελιπον την πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυής τὴν ἅκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλευς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπει δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθα- νόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικός στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζνών. ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζνῶν λιμένα προέρχετο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέξθησαν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεύνεσ νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῷ πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ὑπὸ ὑποτές ὡς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἐυρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω ἀνὴρ Ἐπαρτής, οὐ μὲντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιληνεω ἐὼν νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλεύστας τε καὶ ἀριστα πλεύσας παρεῖχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύουντο δὲ εἰδ' ἐκ μὲν Πελοπο-νήσου Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρεί- χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζνίωι δὲ πέντε, Ἐρμιονεῖσ δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὕτου πλὴν Ἐρμιονέων Δωρικῶν τε καὶ Μακεδονῶν ἔθνος, ἕξ Ἐρμιοῦ τε καὶ Πάνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυσίδος ὑστατα ὁμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἐρμιονεῖς εἰς Ἰρύστες, ὕπο Ἡρακλέως τε καὶ Μηλεῶν ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.

44. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν Πελοπονησίων ἔστρατεύ- οντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐξώ ἥπερον, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώ-κοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, μοῦνον· ἐν Σαλαμῖν γὰρ οὐ
cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

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

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

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnese, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not
συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιές 'Αθηναίοις διὰ τού-ψευδε τι πρήγμα: ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ 'Αρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιές ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βουωτής χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὔτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σωζόντες ἐλεί-φθησαν. 'Αθηναίοι δὲ ἔπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχῶντων τὴν νῦν Ἐλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὁνομαζόμενοι Κραναίοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέως ἐκλήθησαν Κέκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ 'Ερεχθέως τὴν ἀρχήν 'Αθηναίοι μετωνομάσθησαν, 'Ιωνος δὲ τοῦ Ἐούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου 'Αθηναίοις ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου 'Ιωνας.

45. Μεγαρείς δὲ τὸντο πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπὶ 'Αρτεμισίῳ, 'Αμπρακιώται δὲ ἐπὶ τά νέας ἐχοντες ἐπεβοῆθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνους ἑόντες οὔτοι Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. ησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρεί-χοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφι καὶ ἄλλα πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἄλλα τῇς μὲν τὴν ἑωτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇς ἀριστὰ πλεούσης ἐν Σαλαμίνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου τῇ δ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖν ομα ὑν Οινώη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας Χαλκίδες τας ἐπ᾽ 'Αρτεμισίῳ ἐκκοί παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετρίες τας ἐπτά ὀὕτοι δὲ 'Ιωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήας τας αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνοι εὖν 'Ιωνικῶν ἀπὸ 'Αθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀπο-πεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-
fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

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

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

1 That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.
τέων κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησίωται, ἀλογήσαντες
dὲ τῶν ἑπταλέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας
Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκί-
μου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ
Ἰωνεῖς ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς
αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίῳ,
Κύθνιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἑόντες συναμ-
φότεροι οὐτοὶ Δρύσπες. καὶ Σερίφιοὶ τε καὶ
Σίφνιοι καὶ Μῆλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ
ἐδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ
właρ.

47. Οὕτωι μὲν ἀπαντεῖ ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσ-
πρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύουντο·
Θεσπρωτὸς γὰρ εἰσὶ δομουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτησι
καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρῶν ἐστρα-
τεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κρο-
τωνῆται μοῦνοι ἤσαν οἳ ἐβοηθῆσαν τῇ Ἐλλάδι
κινδυνεύοντα μῆ νη, τῆς ἂρχε ἀνήρ τοῖς πυ-
θινίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ
Ἀχαιοὶ.

48. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεαι παρεχόμενοι
ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι
πεντηκοντέρους· Μῆλιοι μὲν γένος ἑόντες ἀπὸ
Δακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ
Σερίφιοι Ἰωνεῖς ἑόντες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἐκάτεροι.
ἀρθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν
πεντηκοντέρων, τριηρόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ
ὀκτὼ.

49. Ὁσ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνήλθον οἱ στρα-
tηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο,
προθέντως Εὐρυβιάδεως γυνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν
βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκεῖ ἐπιτηδεύσατο εἶναι ναυ-
44
islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

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

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

49. When the leaders from the cities aforesaid met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks
μαχήν ποιέσθαι τῶν αὐτοῦ χωρέων ἐγκρατέσει εἰσὶν· ἦ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἥδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθησε. αἵ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείοντα συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς εἰ νικηθέωσιν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμῖν μὲν ἔοντες πολιορκῆσονται ἐν νῆσῳ, ἵνα σφί τιμωρήσῃ οὖν ἐνδείκνυσιν, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐσ τοὺς ἐσωτέρους ἐξοίσονται.

50. Ταύτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθει ἄνὴρ Ἀθηναίος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπέμενος στρατὸς ἀμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὤσαύτως, ἦκε τε ἐσ τὰς Ἀθηνας καὶ πάντα ἐκείνα ἐδήμου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὦτι οὐκ ἐμηδεῖσθω.

51. ΄Απὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ἡλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίβαντες μήνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσιν ἐρήμου τὸ ἀστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλύνους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἔοντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἴρον καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώποντι, οἱ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ήμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίον οὐκ ἐκχωρίσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ δικέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήμα τὸ ἡ Πυθία σφὶ ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον 46
BOOK VIII. 49-51

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

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

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be
52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἔζομεν έπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος οἶχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναίοι καλέονσι Ἀρίμον πάγον, ἐπολιορκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυπτείον περὶ τοὺς οὐστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἕς τὸ φράγμα. ἔνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίοι ὁ πολιορκεόμενοι ὄμως ἡμύνοντο, καὶ περ ἕς τὸ ἐσχατον κακοῦ ὑπημένει καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδοκότος· οὔδε λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ἔμολογίας ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνὸ- μενοι δὲ ἀλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶτο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὅλου- τρόχους ἀπίσσαν, ὡστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίσσει ἑνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας ἑλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸρων ἐφάνη δὴ τῆς έξοδος τούτω πολιορκοῦν· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεο- πρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἁπτικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἕπειρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσης. ἔμπροσθε δὲν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλεών καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὲ οὗτοι τοῦ ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἄν ἠπίσσε μὴ κοτὲ τὶς κατὰ ταύτα ἀναβαίναι ἀνδρῶπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρον τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρός Ἀγλαύρου, κατοί περ ἀποκρήμιων ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὕτως ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεοι ἐωτοῦς κατὰ τοὺς τέχεος κατοὶ καὶ διεφθείροντο, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

1 In vii. 142.
impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.\footnote{Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. \(\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\) here = \(\iota\rho\omicron\nu\).}

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

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff.\footnote{\(\text{\textit{Hdt.}}\)’s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is ‘in front,’ facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. \(\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu\) here = \(\iota\rho\omicron\nu\).} When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves
ἐπέστησεν τῷ πρῷς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφι πάντες κατέ-
στρωντο, τὸ ἵρον συνήσαντες ἑνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχὼν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθηναίας Ἐρέτων ἀπέπεμψε ἡς Σοῦσα ἀγγελον ἵππεϊν Ἀρταβάνου ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεσώμεναν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἔσωτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφατέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἵρα ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἶτε δὴ ὅπως ὁ πρὸς τινὰ ἱδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἶτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἑγένετο εμπρήσαντι τὸ ἵρον. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἴνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσῳ. ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἕρεθέος τοῦ γηγε-
νέος λεγομένου εἶναι νησός, ἐν τῷ ἑλαίῳ τε καὶ
θάλασσα ἐνί, τὰ λόγοι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσε-
δέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης
μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἑλαίην ἀμα τῷ
ἀλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε εμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος
Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευθorarily
ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἵρον, ὁρὼν βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ
στελέχειος ὅσον τε πηχυαίον ἀναδεδραμηκότα.
οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἑφρασαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίν Ἐλληνες, ὅς σφι ἐξηγο-
γέλθη ὡς ἐσχε τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν,
ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκουστο ὡς ἑνοι τῶν στρα-
τηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἐμευσάν τὸ προκείμενον
πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἱστία
ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθεοεσμένοι· τοῖς τε ὑπολείπο-
50
to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

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

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

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

1 Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.
μένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νῦξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἔνθαύτα δὴ Ἐθεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἔπὶ τὴν νέα εἴρητο Μνησίφιλος ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τι σφι εἰὴ ἱερὸς ἱερὸς αὐτῶν ὡς εἰὴ δεδογμένων ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, ἐπεὶ "Οὔτ' ἀρα, ἢν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμίης ἐτὶ πατρίδος ναυμαχῆσει· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἐκαστοὶ τρέφονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Ἐυνυβίαδῆς κατέχειν δυνῆσεται οὔτε τις ἄνθρωπων ἄλλος ὡστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆαι τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπολέσται τε ἡ Ἐλλάς ἀβουλίσῃ. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἠθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἢν κως δύνη ἀναγρώσαι Ἐυνυβίαδὴν μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὡστε αὐτῶν μένειν."

58. Κάρτα τε τῶ Θεμιστοκλέως ἦρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμενήψανος ἦμε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἐυνυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐφ' ἐθέειν οἱ κοινὸν τῷ πρήγμα συμμίζει· ὅ δ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευς ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἰ τι θέλει. ἐνθαύτα ἡ Ἐθεμιστοκλής παριζόμενος οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνα τε πάντα τὰ ἱκουσὲ Μνησίφιλος, ἐωτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθέοις, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἐκ τῆς νεὸς ἐκβήναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνεδρίον.

59. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἡ τῶν Ἐυνυβιάδην προθέναι τῶν λόγων τῶν εἶνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἢν ὃ Θεμιστοκλῆς εὖ τοῖς λόγοις οἶα κάρτα δεόμενος· 52
left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

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

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

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

60. Τότε μὲν ἥπιως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἑυρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἐτί οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεάν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος διαδρήσονται. παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐφερὲ οἱ κόσμων οὐδένα κατηγορείν. ὁ δὲ ἄλλος λόγον ἔχετο, λέγων τάδε. "Εν σοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ σώσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν ἔμοι πείθη ναυμαχίαν αὐτοῦ μένων πολέσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖς λόγοις ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκοῦσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχίζεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῶν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας. τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμίνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Λίγναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχίσωμεν. ἀμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεξὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἔγω λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις. πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλουντες νησὶ θλίψιν πρὸς πολλὰς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσωμεν. τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὐτίς δὲ Σαλαμίς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῶν ὕπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναίκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα.
of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the
ομοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελο-
ποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἰ
περ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.
ἣν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγώ ἐπιτίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν
τῆς νυσί, οὔτε ὕμιν ἐς τῶν Ἰσθμῷν παρέσονται
οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς
'Αττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οἴμεν κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε
κερδανέμουν περιεύσι καὶ Ἀιγινὴ καὶ Σαλαμῖν,
ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε
γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευμένουσι ἀνθρώ-
pοισὶ ως τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ οἰκότα
βουλευμένουσι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν
πρὸς τάς ἀνθρωπηίας γνώμας.”
61. Ταύτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτις ὁ
Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγῶν τε
κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατριᾶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ
ἐδώ ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλει ἀνδρί. πόλιν γὰρ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὔτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας
συμβάλλεσθαι. ταύτα δὲ οἱ προσέβησε ὅτι ἡλι-
κεσᾶν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ
Θεμιστοκλέας κεῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους
πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἐλεγε, ἐως τοῦ ἐθήλου
λόγω ὡς εἰς καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέξων ἢ περ
ἐκεῖνοις, ἐς τὸν διηκόσια ναες σφι ἔως
πεπληρωμέναι οὐδαμῶς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν
ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσθαι.
62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταύτα τῶν λόγω διέβασεν ἐς
Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. "Σὺ
εἰ μενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἐσεῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς:
eἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα: τὸ πᾶν γὰρ
ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νεες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
πείθο. εἰ δὲ ταύτα μὴ ποιήσης, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς
Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

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

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then
"The images of Aeacus and his sons; cp. v. 80.

2 N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day
BOOK VIII. 62–65

without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

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

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

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theoclydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian² plain, saw dust coming of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.

1

²
κοιμαρτών χωρέοντα ἀπ’ Ἑλευσίνοις ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κοινορτὸν ὅτεοι κοτῆ ἐν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκοῦειν, καὶ οἱ φαινεσθαί τήν φωνῆν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ίακχον. εἶναι δ’ ἀδαίμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι γυνομένων τὸν Δημάριτου, εἰρέσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὁ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἰη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “Δημάριτος, οὐκ ἐστὶ ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἐσται τῇ βασιλείᾳ στρατηγῷ τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἔρημον ἐσώφης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ’ Ἑλευσίνοις ἰδόν ἐς τιμωρίν’ Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. καὶ ἤ μὲν γε κατασκήνη ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλεία καὶ τῇ στρατηγῷ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἐσται, ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τἀς νέας τράπηται τἀς ἐν Σαλαμῖν, τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεύς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρθὰν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναίοι αὐτά πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κοῦρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μνεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῆ ἴακχάζουσι.” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάριτον “Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλω τῶν λόγων τοῦτον εἴπης· ἢν γὰρ τοι ἐς βασιλεά ἀνεμειχθή τὰ ἐπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλεῖς τὴν κεφαλῆν, καὶ σε οὕτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὕτ’ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἰς. ἄλλ’ ἔχ’ ἱσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατηγῆς τῆς δὲ θεοῦσι μελῆσει.” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραγείσει, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρρυθμῆσθαι φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δή αὐτοῦς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπο-
from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be; and Dicaeus said, “Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king’s host; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven’s sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid, and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated; and the cry which you hear is the ‘Iacchus’ which is uttered at this feast.” Demaratus replied thereto, “Keep silence, and speak to none other thus; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace; and for this host, the gods shall look to it.” Such was Demaratus’ counsel; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes’ ships must perish.—This was

1 Demeter and Persephone.
λέσθαι μέλλου. ταύτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενοι.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐσ τοῦ Ἑρέξεω ναυτικῶν στρατοῦ ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνου θεσάμενοι τὸ τρώμα τὸ Δακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἤμερας τρεῖς ἐπλευρ ἐν Ἐυρίποι, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἤμερησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἠλάσσονες ἐντεταῖρον ἐς ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς, κατὰ τε ἢπειρον καὶ τῆς βουλής ἀπεκόμενοι, ἦ ἐπὶ τε Ἑμιπάδα ἀπίκουτο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀντιδήσῳ γὰρ τοῖς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χείμῶνος ἀυτῶν ἀπολομένους καὶ τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃ καὶ τῆς ἄρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίᾳ τούσδε τοὺς τότε ὦκω ἐπομένους βασιλεῖς, Μηλιέας καὶ Δωρίας καὶ Δοκρόους καὶ Βοιωτοῦς πανεπιστρατηγὸ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιῶν καὶ Πλαταίων, καὶ μᾶλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὡς γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσοῦτο πλέω ἐθνείοι ἐπετοῦ.

67. Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς πάντες ὦτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκάραδοκεύν τὸν πόλεμον κη ἀποβησέτειν), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸ Φαλήρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ἑρέξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμιξαί τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προϊετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἵ τῶν ἐθνεῶν τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξιαρχοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεών, καὶ ἰζοῦτο 62
the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocydês; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

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

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

\(^1\) In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.
68. Ἕπει ἔπει περιών εἰρώτα ο Μαρδόνιος ἄρξαμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδώνιου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ γνώμην ἐξεφέρουσαν κελεύοντες ναυμαχήν ποιεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισία ἔπει τάν δὲ ἔφη. “Εἰπείν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιος, ὡς ἔγω τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Εὐβοία ὡστε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμενή. δὲσποτα, τῆν δὲ ἐσόσαι γνώμην μὲ δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυχχάνω φρονέουσα ἀρίστα τρίγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοῦ τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίν ποιεό. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἄνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίναι ἀνακινδυνεύει; οὐκ ἔχεισ μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ ἐνεκα ὀρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεισ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ελλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δὲ τοῖς ἱσταται υοίδεσ. οὐ δὲ τοῖς ἀντέστησαν, ἀπῆλλαξαν οὔτω ως κεῖνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκεόν ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ ἄντιπολέμους πρῷματα, τὸντο φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἔπειχθης ναυμαχίν ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχης πρὸς ἥ μένων ἡ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπτεώς τοῦ δέσποτα χωρῆσει τὰ νοέων ἐληλυθα. οὐ γὰρ οἱ οἱ το πολλὺν χρόνου ἐστὶ το ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾶς, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ ἐκαστοι φεύξωνται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφί ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς 64
honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: “Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseeemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies’ doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you
οικός, ἂν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκείθεν αὐτῶν ἴκοντας, οὐδὲ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχέειν. ἂν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθής ναυμαχήσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακοθείς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσηται. πρὸς δὲ, ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ τὸδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλεν, ὡς τοῖς μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοῖ. σοὶ δὲ ἐώτι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσὶ, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἰναι ἐώτες Ἀιγυπτιῶν τε καὶ Κύπριων καὶ Κύλικες καὶ Πάμφυλω, τῶν ὁφελοὺς ἐστὶ οὐδέν."  

69. Ταύτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὥσιν μὲν ἢσαν εὑνοοὶ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορῆν ἐποιεῖντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακῶν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέσθαι; οἱ δὲ ἀγεόμενοι τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἀτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσῃ ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γυναικίς ἢ Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἡσθῇ τῇ γυνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, καὶ νομίζουν ἐτί πρῶτην σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἶνε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πεἰθεσθαί ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοῖαν σφέας ἔθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεύσεσι ναυμαχέοντας.  

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

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

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the
Ο ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ δείχνει πως η Ελληνική περιοχή από την Πελοπόννησον μέχρι την Αθηναϊκή κοινότητα ήταν υπέρ γής ή γης, οπότε οι Δρυάδες κατέφεραν την πολύνοπα της Αθηναϊκής κοινότητας. Η απόδοση αυτή έγινε και από τους Σιθνούς και Ορεινούς, οι οποίοι κατέφεραν τα ιερά και ιστορικά μνημεία της κοινότητας μέχρι την κοινότητα του Πελοπόννησου.

71. Καίτοι τα δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμιχάνητο ὁκὼς κατ’ ἥπειρον μὴ ἑσβάλοιεν οἱ βαρβαροὶ. ὡς γὰρ ἐπίθοιον τάχιστα Πελοπόννησιον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλησι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμώντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔσχον, καὶ σφὶ ἐπὶ ποὺ δεσφῆς Κλεομῆροτος ὁ 'Αναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφῶις. ἵσομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὀδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφὶ ἐδοξε βουλευομένουι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἄτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζόμενον, ἦντο τὸ ἔργον καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνουν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὕτε νυκτὸς οὕτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παῦνημείν οἴδε ἢσαν Ἠλλήνων, Δακεδαῖονοι τε καὶ Ἀρκαδοὶ πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἑπεταιάριοι καὶ Φλάσιοι καὶ Τροιζηνοὶ καὶ Ἐρμιονεῖς, οὕτοι μὲν ἢσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρω- δέουντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κυνυνευόση. τοίσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

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

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

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

73. Οἱ κέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐθνεὰ ἐπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθωνα ἐόντα κατὰ χώρην ἴδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι: ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαι-κόν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μὲντοι τῆς ἐωτῶν, οἴκεει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐθνεὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπηλυδὰ ἑστὶ, Δωρίες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρῦσπες καὶ Δήμνοι. Δωρίεων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλις μοῦνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἐρμίων τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλη τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Δημνίων δὲ Παραρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἑόντες δοκέουσι μόνοι εἰναὶ Ἰωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευσι δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἑόντες Ὁρνεῖται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐνεών αἰ λοιπὰ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο: εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἐξῆστι εἶπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμίδησον.

74. Οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παινός ἣδη ὅρμον θέοντες καὶ τῆςι νηοὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψε-σθαι: οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖν ὄμως τάυτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρόδεον, οὐκ οὗτοι περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δει-μαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς συγῇ λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Ἐυρυβιάδεω ἀβου-λίην τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγώετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,
nothing; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.¹

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

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

¹ That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. \(\text{Cp.} \ \text{vii.} \ 205.\)
HERODOTUS

οἱ μὲν ώς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεοῦν εἰτ ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Αἴγινηται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γυνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἔξερχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἔξελθὼν δὲ πέμπτε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μηδὼν ἄνδοα πλοίῳ ἐπτειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεῶν, τὸ ὀνόμα μὲν ἢν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἢν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέως παίδων τὸν δὴ ύστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὀλβιον. ὡς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. "Επεμψὲ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλείος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ύμετερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἡ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἑλληνες δρησμόν βουλεύονται καταρρωθήκοτες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ύμέας ἑργῶν ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν μὴ περίδιτε διαδράπατα αὐτοῦς. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλληλοις ὀμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ύμῖν, πρὸς ἐωντοὺς τε σφέας ὡφεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ύμετέρα φρονεόντας καὶ τοὺς μή."

76. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα σφι σημήνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τούτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμίνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ήπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τούτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσα νύκτες, ἄνηγον μὲν τὸ ἅπ'
that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

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

With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttaelea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing
€σπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἄμφι τὴν Κέων τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχον τε μέχρι Μονυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νησί. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἢν δὴ τοῦτο "Ελλησι μηδε φυγεῖν ἑξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνετε ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι δοῦν τῖσιν τῶν ἑπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἄγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξουσιομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγῶν (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἑσέσθαι ἐκείτο η ἥσος), ἢν τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγή ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοῦσι οἱ ἑναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέουσι.

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

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαφόρου ἱερὸν ἄκτην νησί γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν ἐξπίδι μανιμένη, λιπαρὰς πέραντες Ἀθῆνας, δία δικὴ σβέσθει κρατηρὸν κόρον, ὑβρισι νῦν, δεινὸν μαμώοντα, δοκεύντι ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

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

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

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

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

2 There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.
χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκὸς συμμίξεται, αἵματι δ’ Ἀρης πόντον φωινίζει. τότ’ ελεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἡμαρ εὐρύσπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

εἰς τοιαύτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίας χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ’ ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὀδισμὸς λόγων πολλῶν· ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκὼ ὅτι σφέας περιεκκυκλούντο τῆς νησί οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ’ ὤσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦς Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τῶν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυθανόμενος αὐτῶ τῶν τρόπων, ἀριστον ἀνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν ἸΔήμησι καὶ δικαιώτατον. οὕτως ὁμὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνεδρίου ἐξεκαλέσετο Ἰθεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἐωτόφ οὐ φίλον ἔχθρον δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεου τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκεῖνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῶ συμμίξαι· προακηκόες δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθε οἱ Ἰθεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τῷ άλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐν τῷ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δὲ τοι ὅτι ἦσθον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὅλιγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελο-
BOOK VIII. 77-79

Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and which my bidding of Ares
Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-sa


Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon Hellas.”

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

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

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, “Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing
χαλκὸςι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοῦ λέγω γενό-
πόντι ἰν νῦν οὐδ ἦν θέλωσί Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ
eν Εὐρυβιάδης οἴοι τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι:
μεχρόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν κύκλῳ. ἂλλ'
ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο
τοῖςδε.
80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελύεαι καὶ εἰ
ἡγειλας: τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς
αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἢκεις. ἦσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμεῖο τὰ
ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκώντες
ἡθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ "Ελληνες,
ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. οὐ δὲ ἔπει περ ἢκεις
χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφί ἀγγειλον. ἢ
γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ
πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύμενον τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα.
ἀλλὰ σφί σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει,
ἐπειδ' ἐς σημῆνης, ἢς μὴν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ
τὰ κάλλιστα, ἢν δὲ αὐτοίσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται,
ὅμοιον ἢμῖν ἠσταί. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἰ
περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς οὐ λέγεις."
81. Ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἄριστείδης,
φάμενος εἰς Αἰγίνης τε ἢκειν καὶ μόρις ἐκπλῶσαι
λαθῶν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας. περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν
τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεὼν τῶν
Ξέρξεων. παραρτέσαθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἄλε-
ξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας μετεστήκεε,
tῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη τοῖς γὰρ
πλεύσεις τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ
ἐσαγγελθέντα.
82. Ἀπιστεοῦντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἄνδρῶν
Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἄνηρ Παναίτιος
ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἦ περ δὴ ἐφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πάσαν.
away from hence; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this.”

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

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

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought
διὰ δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔργον ἑνεγράφησαν Ηῆριοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὴν τρύποδα ἐν τοῖς τῶν βαύρβαρον κατελύσαν. σὺν δὲ δῶν ταύτῃ τῇ νη τῇ αὐτο-
μολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἔπει
Ἀρτεμίσιοι τῇ Λημνίᾳ ἔξεπλημμύρουτο τὸ ναυτικὸν
tοῦτον Ἕλλησι εἰς τὰς ὁγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκονίας
νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεὼν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τῶν
ἀριθμῶν.
83. Τοῦτο δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢν
tῶν Ηῆριῶν ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυ-
μαχήσοντες. ἦλθεν δὲ διέφαινε καὶ οὐ σύλλογον
tῶν ἐπιβατῶν ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὐ ἔχοντα
μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέως, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἢν
πάντα κρέσσω τοῦτο ἴσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα
δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπων φύσι καὶ καταστάσιι ἐγγίνεται:
παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέσθαι καὶ
καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς
νέας. καὶ οὖντο μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἤκε ἡ
ἀπ’ Λιγύνης τριήρης, ἤ κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας
ἀπεδήμησε.
84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας” Ἕλληνες,
ἀναγομένοις δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἑπεκέατο οἱ βαύ-
βαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρόμυ缚
ἀνεκρούντο καὶ ὠκελλοῦν τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ
Πάλλινες ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεῖς νη ἐμβύλ-
lει· συμπλακείσις δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων
ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὔτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίη βοη-
θέοντες συνέμισσον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὔτω λέγοντο
tῆς ναυμαχίας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Λιγύνηται δὲ
tὴν κατὰ τοὺς Λιακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Λιγύναν,
tαῦτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε,
ὡς φάσμα σφι γνωστὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακε-
80
them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

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

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

¹ cp. 64.
καὶ ἀπαν ἄκοψαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὑνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, "Ὡς δαμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσον ἐτὶ πρύμνην ἀνακρούσθε;"

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὕτωι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονίους Ἰωναῖοι οὕτωι δ’ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἕω τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά. ἐθελοκάκεοι μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολάς ὁλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν ὁμιόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδος ἑλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖς οὕδεν πλήν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀιδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τούδε δὲ εἶνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τὸ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἑπταράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φυλάκος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέως ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ’ εὐεργέται βασιλέως ὀροσάγγα καλέονται περσιστί.

86. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτως εἰχε το δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν εὖ τῇ Σαλαμῖν ἐκεραίζετο, αὐτὸ μὲν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων διαδιδομέναι αὐτὸ δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀγινητέων. ἢτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεύσων καὶ κατὰ τάξειν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὕτως τεταγμένων ἐτὶ οὕτε σὺν νῷ πολεύσων οὕδεν, ἐμμελλε τοιοῦτο σφι συνοίσθεσθαι οἴνον περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἡσῶν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτη τὴν ἴμερην μακρῷ ἀμέινον καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ ὕποδημαίων Εὐβοῖα, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίων Ξέρχην, ἐξοδεῖ τε ἐκαστος ἐσωτὸν θεύσασθαι βασιλέα.
cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

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

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

¹ Perhaps from old Persian var, to guard, and Kshayatu, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from Khur sangha (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)
87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τούς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετε-ξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἔκαστοι τῶν βαρ-βάρων ἢ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἐτὶ παρὰ βασιλεί. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλοῦ ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλεός πρήγματα, εὐ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νῆσι ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεόν Ἀττικῆς καὶ ὡκνύσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθεὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μᾶλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἐδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήθειο ποιήσασθ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νη' φιλίῃ ἄνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νέκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγονεῦ ἐτὶ περὶ Ἐλλησποντον ἐόντων, ὥς μὲν τοιούτοι εἰχῳ γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παρα-πεσοῦσα νῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχὴς χρησάμενη διπλα ἐωτὴν Ἀγαθὰ ἐργά-σατο. οἱ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νέος τριήραρχος ὡς εἴδε μὲν ἐμβάλλουσαν νη' ἄνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἐλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἑτράπετο.

88. Τούτῳ μὲν τοιοῦτῳ αὐτῇ συνήθεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ συνέβη ὡστε κακῶν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μᾶλιστα εὐδοκιμήσαι παρὰ Ξέρξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θησεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων "Δέσποτα, ὥρᾶς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὐ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-
BOOK VIII. 87-88

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

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, "Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and
μίων κατέδυσε;” καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθεώς ἦστι Αρτέμισις τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπὶσήμου τῆς νεός ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρέσαν ἡπιστεάτο εἶναι πολεμήν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἰρήται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς ἐνυχώνυμον, νεότερη ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπεν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα “Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἄπο μὲν ἐθάνει ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαζήγης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐδώκει δεδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὁνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὄλοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἀπὸ γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖς αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένευσιν. τὸν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ βαλάσσῃ διεφθαρήσαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγήν ἐπῆκοιν, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπως τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇς νυμίς παρέναι πειρώμενοι ός ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐργον βασιλεῖ, τῇς σφετέρις νυμίς φευγοῦσα οἰκεῖοι περείππουν.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ, τῶν τινος Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνιαί, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδότων. συνήνεικε δὲν οὕτω ὡςτε Ἰωνιῶν τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηλ Ἀττικῆ Σαμοθρηκίη.
how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

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

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while
νὴσ. ἢ τε δὴ Ἀττικῇ κατεδύτεο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Ἄιγυπτία οὐκ ἀπέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νέα. ἀτε δὲ έόντες ἀκοινώσατο οἱ Σαμοθρηκίες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλ- λοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησαν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς 'Ἰωνας ἔρρυσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἰς σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένου, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οία ὑπερλυπεόμενος τε καὶ πάντας αὐτοίμονος, καὶ σφεών ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλοσιν ὁκὼς γὰρ τινα ἤδη Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τὸ ὅρεῖ τῶν ἀντίων Σαλαμίνος τὸ καλέσαι Λιγάλεως, ἀνεπτυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἕως Ἀριανίμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοινικῆιο πάθεος. οἳ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρο, Αἰγυπτίαι ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγον ἀξίαν. οἳ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι ἐν τῷ θυρῷ καὶ κεράζον τὰς τέ αὐτισταμένας καὶ τὰς φενγοῦσας τῶν νεῶν, οἳ δὲ Αἰγυπτίαι τὰς ἐκπλεύσας· ὁκὼς δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ή τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ή Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρός Αἰγυπτίων νῆλ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδώνιη, ή περ ἔθη τὴν προφυλασσόντων ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγυπτίην, 88
the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

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

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan
93. 'Εν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινήται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγγελός καὶ Ἀμενίς Παλληνεύς, ὅσα καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλὲ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἢλώ. τούτι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοις παρεκκελέυστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἐκεῖτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὅσα ἂν μιν ξωὴν ἐλή. δεινῶν γὰρ τι ἐποιεύτω γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναῖς στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὅσ πρότερον εἰρήται, διέφυγε ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντων δὲ τῶν Κορίνθιων στρατηγῶν λέγουσι Ἀθηναίοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνεμίσχον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,
ship that watched off Sciathus, wherein was Pytheas son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he knew it by seeing the admiral's ship's ensign, and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with the Persians.\(^1\) Such taunts did Polycritus hurl at Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge with the land army.

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

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73).
τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον ὀχέσθαι φεύγοντα, ἵδοντας
dὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν
ὡς αὐτῶς ὀχέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι
tῆς Σαλαμινῆς κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος,
περιπέπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε
πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τὸ τῶν ἢπὸ τῆς
στρατηγῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοισι.
tῆδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θείον τὸ πρῆγμα.
ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἢπὸ τοῦ
κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀπο-
στρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγήν ὀρμησάς καταπροδοὺς
τοὺς 'Ελληνας· οἳ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ
ήρωτο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἔχθρων." ταῦτα
λεγόντων ἀπιστεέιν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς
τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἶοι τε εἰεν ἀγόμενοι ὀμηροὶ
ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικώντες φαίνωνται οὐ "Ελ-
ληνες. οὔτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτὸν
tε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένους ἐλθεῖν ἐς
tὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοῖς ἡ Κορινθιοῦ
ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτους σφέας αὐτοῖς τῆς
ναυμαχίας νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφι
καὶ ἡ ἀλλη 'Ελλάς.

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

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

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1 The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.
HERODOTUS

'Αθηναίοι, ες την Ψυττάλειαν νήσου ἀπέβησε ἀγών, οἷς τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νῆσϊδι ταύτῃ κατεφύονευσαν πάντας.

96. 'Ος δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέυτο, κατειρύσαντες ες την Σαλαμῖνα οἷς Ἔλληνες τῶν ναυνηγίων ὅσα ταύτη ἐτύγχανε ἐτί έόντα, ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλην ναυμαχίαν, ἕλπιζον τῇ περιεύσησι νησιῷ ἐτί χρησεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυνηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβῶν ἄνεμος ξέφυρος ἐφέρε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ την ἡμέρα τῆς καλεμένην Κωλιάδαν. ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τέ ἀλλὸν πάντα τόν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ταύτης ἐφρημένον Βάκδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυνήγια τὰ ταύτη ἐξενεχθέντα τὸ εὑρημένον πολλοῦσι ἐτεσὶ πρὸτερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ 'Αθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθησε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρεμοῖσι φρύξουσι τοῦτο δὲ ἐμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως ἑσεσθαι.

97. Ξέρχες δὲ ὡς ἐμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δεῖσας μὴ τις τῶν ἱόνων ὑποθῆται τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἡ αὐτοῦ νοῆσωσι πλέειν ἐς τῶν Ἕλλησποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνεις ἐν τῇ Ἐὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησοῦν ἐβούλευσι. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μὴτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖς ἐωτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χώμα ἐπειράτο διαχώνῃ, γαύλουσι τε Φοινικίους συνέδεσθαι, ἢν ἀντὶ τε σχεδίᾳς ἐωσι καὶ τείχεσι, ἀρτεέτο τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἀλλην ποιησόμενος.

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

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

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

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

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

2 Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.
Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals.
They were of various kinds. One was "a relay or team race.
There were several lines of runners; the first man in each
so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes’ purposes.

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

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

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

ξαντὸ πάντες, βοή τε καὶ οἴμωγη ἐξρέωντο ἀπλέτω, Μαρδόνιος ἐν αὐτῇ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὖτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταύτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Σέρξη δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἡν ταύτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνων γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Σέρξης αὐτὸς σφεις ἀπικόμενος ἐπανεῖ. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὅρθῳ μὲν Σέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐωτόν ὡς δῶσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσου εἶ ἄνακινδυνεύσαι ἡ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον ὕπερ μεγάλοις αὐρωρθέντα: πλέον μὲντοι ἐφερέ οἱ ἡγὼμη κατεργάσασθαι τῆν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος δὲν ταύτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπεύ μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλῃν ποιεύ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἶνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ἐξῶν ἀγῶν ὃ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ήμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ὑπ' ὅντων. σοὶ δὲ οὕτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἢ δοκεόντων κατεργάσατε ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσατε ἀντιοδήναι οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἢπείρου τῆς ἡγὼμη οὕτως εἴδοσαν, ἔδωκαν δίκας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκεῖ, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐπὶ σχεῖν, παρέχει ποιεῖν ταύτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμει· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἐλλησι οὐδεμία ἐκδύσις μη οὔ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἰναὶ σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταύτα ποίει· εἰ δ' ἀρὰ τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατίνη, ἀλλὰν ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλὴν. σὺ 98
their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal: “Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another
Πέρσας, βασιλεύ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἕλληνις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃ τοί τι δεδήλυται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἔρεες ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἀνδρεῖς κακοὶ. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ Κύκλικες κακοὶ ἑγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τὸτε προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἦδη δὲν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἵτιοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθει· εἰ τοι δεδοκταί μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐν τὰ σεωντοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλὸν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρῆ τὴν Ἐλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον." 101. Ταύτα ἀκούσας Ἐρέξης ὁς ἐκ κακῶν ἑχόρη τε καὶ ἡσθῆν, πρὸς Μαρδώνιον τε θουλευσάμενος ἐφη ὑποκρινέσθαι ὅκοτερον ποιήσῃ τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα Περσέων τοῖς ἐπικλήτοις, ἐδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλὴν μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρὸτερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἤν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ἐρέξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με Μαρδώνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὡς μοι Περσαὶ τε καὶ ὁ πεῖζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιον πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ θουλευμένοις σφι γένοιτ' ἄν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ δὲν ἡ ταύτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἡ αὐτῶς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τῆν Ἐλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δὲ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς θῆκα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ δὲν ἐμοὶ, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας εὖ συνεβού·
BOOK VIII. 100-101

plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

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

102. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύσετο, ἦ δὲ λέγει τάδε. “Βασιλεὺς, χαλεπῶν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευμένῳ τυχείν τὰ ἀρίστα εἴπασαι, ἐπὶ μὲντοι τοῖς κατήκουσι πρῆγμασι δοκεῖι μοι αὐτῶν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὁπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἢν καταστρέψῃται τὰ φησὶ θέλει καὶ οἱ προχωρῆσι τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον δὲ δέσποτα γίνεται οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδόνιου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλῃ ἐσται σὲ τε περιεύοντος καὶ ἔκεινων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οίκου τῶν σῶν ἢν γὰρ σὺ τε περὶ ἤς καὶ οίκος ὡς σός, πολλοῖς πολλάκις ἁγώνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐλληνες. Μαρδόνιον δὲ, ἦν τι πάθης, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδὲ τι νικῆσεις οἱ Ἐλληνες νικῶσι, δούλου σὸν ἀπολέσαντες. σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἰνεκα τῶν στόλων ἐποιήσασθαι, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθηναῖας ἀπελᾶς.”

103. “Ἡσθῇ τε δὴ τῆς συμβουλίας Ἐρέξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβουλευσαν αὐτῶ μένειν, ἔμενε ἀν δοκεῖιν ἐμοί· οὔτω καταρρί- δίκες. ἐπαινέσαις δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἁγοῦσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἐφέσου· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδες οἱ συνέσποντο. Ἔραπτου, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ

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as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do.”

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

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

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the
οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνοίχων παρὰ βασιλέων ἡν[

1 οἴ

δὲ Πηδασέως οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ, ἐν

dὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τουτέωσι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται

πρήγμα γίνεσθαι. ἐπεάν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι

tοῖσι ἀμφι ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ
tι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἐσεσθαι χαλεπῶν, τότε ἢ ἱερείη

αὐτὸθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο

dὲ σφὶ δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἐρμότιμος

ἡν] τὸ μεγίστη τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο

πάντων τῶν ἡμείς ἰδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ

πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὀνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνήρ

Χῖος, ὅς τὴν ζῷην κατεστήσατο ἅπ' ἑργῶν ἀνοσιω-

τάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτῆσαιτο πάλαις εἴδεος ἐπαµ-

μένους, ἐκτάμων ἀγινέων ἑπώλες ἐς Σάρδις τε

καὶ Ἐφέσοις χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ

tοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι

πίστιος εἴνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἅλλως

tε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλοὺς, ἀτε ποιεῦ-

μενος ἐκ τούτου τῆς ζῷης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτου. καὶ

οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἐρμότιμος, ἀπι-

κνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ'

ἀλλων δῶρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν

εὐνοῦχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Σέρξη.

106. ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὁρμα

βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἑών ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα

καταβάς κατὰ δὴ τι πρήγμα ὁ Ἐρμότιμος ἐς γῆν

τῆς Μυσίης, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ

καλέται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπι-

γνοὺς δὲ ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτῶν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους

λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δὲ

ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχυέμενοι

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most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

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

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

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

ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μὲν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἴκετας οἰκέῃ ἐκείνῃ, ὡστε ύποδεξάμενου ἁσμενοῦ τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὥς δὲ ἀρα πανοικίᾳ μιν περιέλαβε, ἐλέγει ο Ἐρμότιμος τάδε. "Ὄι πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἦδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἐργῶν ἀνυσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τι σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἰναι; ἐδοκεῖς τε θεοὺς λήσειν οία ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οὐ’ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσia, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ύπήγαγον ἐς χείρας τὰς ἐμᾶς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμφασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέ τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὅνειδισε, ἄκθεντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς ὑγιν ἐμαγκάζετο ο Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωτου παιδῶν τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἴδοια ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτὸν τε, ός ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παιδεὶς ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μέν νυν οὕτω περιήλθε η τε τίσις καὶ Ἐρμότιμος.

107. Ξέρξης δὲ ως τὸν παῖδα ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίᾳ ὑπάγειν ἐς Ὑφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδώνιον ἐκέλευσε μιν τὴν στρατηγῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖς λόγιοι τὰ ἐργα πειρώμενον ὁμοία. ταῦτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ. Φαλήρου ἀπήγγειν ὑπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντὸν ὡς τάχεος εἰς ἐκαστός, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλέοντες οἱ βύρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἀκραί
mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my forefathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

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

1 A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.
λεσταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἐδοξάντες νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευρόν ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων δὲ μαθοῦστες ὅτι οὐ νέες ἔεν ἄλλ' ἀκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὅρωντες ο ún Ἑλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἠλπιζόν καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεον τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντο τε ὡς ἀλεξη- σόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπίθυντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ τάυτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεων στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδου διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδροῦ, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδροῦ ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν νυν ὑψώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν θέους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντὸν λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. Εὐρυ- βιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίων ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὅτι εἰ λύσοντι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ ἂν μέγι- στον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρᾶτο ἄν ἰσυυχήν μη ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἰσυυχίν οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶον τοῦ ἐσταὶ τῶν προγμάτων οὔτε τοῖς κυμίδι τὰ ὁπίσω φα- νήσεται, λιμῷ τε οἱ ἡ στρατὶ διαφθείρεται, ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργον ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷον τὲ ἐσταὶ προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλις τε καὶ κατὰ ἑθνεά, ἣτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἂ πρὸ τοῦτο ὀμολογεύων τροφῆν τε ἐξείν σφέας τῶν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρ- πῶν. ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην ἔστεόν ων ἐνιαί φεῦγειν, ἐς ὁ ἐλθοὶ φεῦγων ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ- το ἐνθεύτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέσθαι ἥδη τῶν 108
out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."
109. Ὅς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς ἡς πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι ἦρα μᾶλλον ἐκπεφευγότοι περιημέκτευον, ὁρμέατο τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι ἢ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγε σφὶ τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη πολλοῖς παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἁκίκοια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νευκημένους ἀναμάχεσθαί τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακοτῆτα. ἥμεις δὲ, εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρῆκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἥμεις κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἦρωες, οὐ ἐφθάνοηςαν ἄνδρα ἐνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι ἐόντα ἀνόσιον τε καὶ ὑπάσθαλον. οὐ τὰ τε ἵπται καὶ τὰ ἰδία ἐν ὀμοίῳ ἐποιεῖτο, ἐμπιπτάς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα. οὐ καὶ τὴν θύλασαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ’ εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρέον ἦμιν, νῦν ἔν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθήναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καὶ τῆς οἰκίης τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἔχετο, παντελῶς ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἐαρί καταπλέομεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίας." τάδε ἐλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιῆσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἦν ἦν ἄρα τι μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν τὰ περ ὃν καὶ ἐγένετο.

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

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

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to
Λθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτοι δεδομένοι εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφὸς· τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὃς δὲ οὕτωι οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἐχοντας πλοίοι, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σημὰν ἐς πᾶσαι βάσανοι ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεὺς φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτῶς ἐγένετο· ὦ δὲ ἐπείθε ἀπίκουντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὗ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ἐρέμῃ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Επεμψε μὲ Ἰδικιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἄνηρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφότατος, φράσοντι τοι ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενον ὑποργεῖν, ἐκεῖ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διόκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντω γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἤσυχίαν πολλήν κομίζεον." οὐ μὲν ταῦτα σημάνοντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπισω.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐπείτε σῇ ἀπέδοξε μῆτ' ἐπεδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μῆτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντου λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεύν ἐθέλουτε. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδροι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέως χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Ἐμιστοκλέως λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦκοιεν Ἀθηναίοι περὶ ἑωτοὺς ἐχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθῶ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τε σῇ κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ύπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἁρα αἱ Ἀθηναὶ μεγάλαι τε καὶ ευόδαμον, καὶ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

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deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but
γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντα, καὶ θεοὺς
dύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νήσου
ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ φιλοχωρεῖν, πεινὴν τε καὶ ἀμηχανίαν,
καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβολοὺς ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους
οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκατε γὰρ τῆς ἐωτῶν
ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινόμενοι καὶ
οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐποιλορκέοντο. Ἐκμιστο-
κλέης δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέρων ἐς
tὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητήριοι λόγους αἴτει
χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος
tοῦσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἔχομαστο, λέγων ὡς εἰ
μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὰν
tῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέον ἐξαιρήσει. Λέγων
tαῦτα συνελέγει χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων
tε καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἀνδρον
ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμύρισε, καὶ Ἐκμιστοκλέα
ὡς εἰ ἐν αὐτὴ μεγάλῃ τῶν στρατιῶν, δεῖσαντες
tαῦτα ἐπεμπὸν χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ
ἀλλοὶ ἐδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἐχὼ ἐπεἶν, δοκέω
dὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μοῦνους,
καὶ τοὺς Καρυστίους ἵπτεν τοῦτον εἰσεκα τοῦ
κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο. Πάριοι δὲ Ἐκμιστοκλέα
χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στρατεύμα. Ἐκ-
μιστοκλέας μὲν ὑπ’ ἑξὶν Ἀνδρον ὀρμώμενον
χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτῳ λάθρῃ τῶν
ἀλλῶν στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δ’ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισκόποντες ὀλίγας
ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἑξῆλθαν ὡς Βοιωτοὺς
τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον. ἐδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίω ἀμα μὲν
προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἀμα δὲ ἀνωρίῃ εἶναι τοῦ
ἐτεὸς πολεμεῖν, χειμερίσατε τα ἄμεινον εἶναι εἰν

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blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotency; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

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

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to
Θεσσαλία, καὶ ἔπειτα ἁμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ώς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγησε πρῶτος μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἄθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὀδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ όυκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλεῖος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρυκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἀποστὶ τῆς χιλίης, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεξὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποστὶ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθενα ὅλα εἰλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγησε κατ’ ὀλίγους, τοῦτο εἰδεῖ τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοίση τι χρηστῶν συμψήρει πεποιημένον· ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέστηκεν, ἀνδρᾶς στρατοπόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν ὦκ ἔλασσον ἤσαν τῶν Περσέων, ρώμη δὲ ἡσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἀπεύση.

114. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιος τε τὴν στρατηγὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξην ἢν περὶ Θεσσαλίαν, χρηστήριον ἔληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίωισι, Ξέρξην αὐτέειν δίκας τοῦ Δεωνίδου φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἔξ ἐκεῖνον δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτήται, ὃς ἑπείδη κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἐτὶ πᾶςαν τὴν στρατηγὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὦφιν τὴν Ξέρξην ἐλεγε τάδ᾽. "Ω βασιλεῦε Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαί οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αὐτέουσι φόνον δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα." ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνου, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε...
winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,¹ and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)² were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

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

¹ Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55  
² cp. vii.83.
στεώς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνύς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε “Τοιγάρ ἕλθα Μαρδόνιος ὃδε δίκας δῶσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκεῖνοις πρέπει.”

115. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξίμονος τὸ ῥηθέν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ἐρέξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καταλιπὼ ἀυτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατηγῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἴπειν, ὅκου δὲ πορεύόμενοι γινοιάτω καὶ κατ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπων, τὸν τούτων καρπῶν ἀρπάζουσι ἐσι-τέουτο. εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὑροίεν, οὐ δὲ τὴν ποιήν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυμένην καὶ τῶν δενδρῶν τὸν φλοιὸν περιέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδέποντες κατήκους, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἑλειπον οὐδὲν ταύτα δ' ἐποίεσον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερία κατ' ὅδον ἑφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσον τῇς πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γνώστο ἐλαύνων, μελε-δαινεῖν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίας καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἁμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τῇν Ἑλλάδα ἦλαυνε, ἀπιών οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παίονες τοῖς Θρήξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ἐρέξων ἐφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθήναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνω Θρήκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνίκῆς Θρήξ ἔρχον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργά-σατο· ὅσοι οὖν αὐτὸς ἐφή τῷ Ἐρέξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὀρός τὴν
pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

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

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Cretsonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the
'Ροδόπην, τούτι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα. οἳ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἀλλας σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινείς πάντες ἐξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἳ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἐρημίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπεισόμενοι τὸν Ἐλλησπόντουν τῆς ηὕρῃ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδον τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὐρὸν ἐτὶ ἐντεταμέναις ἄλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλευμέναις. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ὧ καὶ ὄδον ἐλάγχαυον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ οὗτα μεταβάλλουτες ἀπέθυνον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεύοντος πολλοῖς. οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀμα Ξέρξη ἀπίκυνοντα ἐς Σάρδις.

118. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλος ὁδὲ λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ Ἡρώνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεύτεν οὐκέτι ὁδιπορίσῃ διεχράτο, ἄλλα τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν Ἰδάριν ἐπιτράπτει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντουν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ νέος Φοινίσσης ἐπιβάς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δὲ μιν ἀνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμουσίης τῆς νεός, ὡστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεύοντοι συχνῶν Περσῶν τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῦμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βῶσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἰ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρί, καὶ τὸν ἐπαί "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἐστί σου ὑδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγῆ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."
mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scatheless, their father tore out their eyes.

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

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eion on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it
καὶ Ἐρέθην λέγεται ἱκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπεῖν ἄνδρες Πέρσας, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ἕμιν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρία·' τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνεόντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθείσαν οὔτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ἐρέθην, ποιήσαι τοιῶνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἐσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνη τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπόλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ἐρέθων νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοιγε πιστῶς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὔτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτης πρὸς Ἐρέθην, ἐν μυρίσις γυνώμησι μιὰν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαι βασιλέα τοιῶνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, τῶν δὲ ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὁκὼς οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖς Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλὰ δὲ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρηται, ὁδὸς χρεώμενος ἀμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ἐρέθης ἐν τῇ ὁπίσω κομιδὴ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα καὶ ξεινίῃ τε σφί συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινήτῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τήρη χρυσοτάστω. καὶ ως αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηριταῖ, λέγοντες ἐμοίγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ξόνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὡπίσω, ὃς ἐν ἀδείᾳ ἐὼν. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ
is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, “Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you”; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king’s life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

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

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

1 *cp.* perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tunic till he reaches Ionia; or the reference may be to a man’s being *εὐζωνος* (with his ‘loins girded up’) for swift travel.
'Ελλησπόντου μᾶλλον ὡς τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡλείας, δεδεμένοι της Ἡλείας, ἂν μὴν φασί ἐπιβίναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελείν τὴν Ἀνδρον, τραπέμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δημόσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξεῖλον ἀκροβίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρες τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τῆν μὲν ἢς Ἰσθμον ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἐπὶ καὶ ἐς ἔμε ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σοῦνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Λιαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ διεδάσαντο τὴν ληήρα καὶ τὰ ἀκροβίνια ἀπεπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χείρι ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐδώ μέγαθος δυσδεκα τηχέων ἐστήκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεως.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροβίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῆ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἁρκοβίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ'] Ἕλληνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐφησε ἔχειν, παρά Αἰγινητῶν δὲ οὐ, ἄλλα ἀπαίτει αὐτοὺς τὰ ἁριστήμα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμίνια ναυμαχίας. Αἰγινητᾶς δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χοουσέως, οἱ ἐπὶ ἰστοῦ χαλκέον ἔστάσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήηρας ἐπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἁριστήμα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἕλληνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοί διενεμον τὰς ψῆφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαύτα πᾶς των αὐτῶν ἐωτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς δοκέων ἁριστὴν γενέσθαι, δεύτερα
lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eion, where they say that he took ship.

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

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

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

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἐλλήνων φθόνοι, ἀλλὰ ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὦμος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἐλλήνων σοφότατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἑτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι καὶ μιν Δακεδαίμονι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξατο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήμα μὲν νῦν ἐδοσαν1. . . Εὐρυβιάδη ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίας δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέη καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντο τὲ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπίοντα τρικόσιοι Σπαρτιττέων λογάδες, οὕτω οὐ περ ἐπιτείς καλέονται, μέχρι οὕρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μοῦν δὴ τούτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἴμεϊς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιηταὶ προέπεμψαν.

125. Ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέως ἐὼν, ἀλλώς δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργεύων ἐνείκε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Δακεδαίμονα ἀπιξίν προφέρων, ὥς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχω τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Δακεδαίμονίων, ἀλλ’ οὐ δὲ ἐωτῶν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἰπε “Οὔτω ἔχει τοι’ οὔτ’ ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης

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

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

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

¹ An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.
126. 'Αρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρινάκεος ἀνήρ ἐν Πέρσῃ λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἑών, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτί γενόμενος, ἔχουν ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδώνος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ὅπισώ πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλληνῃν ἐγίνετο, ἀτε Μαρδώνιον τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδὲν κω κατεπείγοντος ἦκειν ἐς τὸ ἀλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχῶν ἀπεστέωσι Ποτιδαιότης μὴ οὐκ ἐξαναρποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῦ Πέρσηςι οἰχώκεε φεῦγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνων, ἐκ τοῦ φανερῶν ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τῆς Παλληνην ἐχοντες.

127. Ἔνθαυτα δὴ 'Αρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους ὑπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέας, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκεῖον, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγόν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωνίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὕτω 'Ολυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἐσχον.

128. Ἔξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ο Ἄρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτίδαιῃ ἐντεταμένωσ προσέβησε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίαν Τιμόξεινον τοὺς Σκιωνάιον στρατηγός, ἡντινα μὲν τρόπουν ἄρχην, ἐγγαγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὁν λέγεται), τέλος.
by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens.” Such was the end of that business.

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

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

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidæa; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scio- naeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I
μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὁκὼς βυβλίον γράφειε η' Τιμόξεινος ἔθελων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι η' Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιελιξαίκας καὶ πετρόσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἑτοξεύον ἑς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἑπάιστος δὲ ἐγέιετο οἱ Τιμόξεινος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἑς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τὸν χωρίον τοῦτον βάλλει ἄνδρος Ποτιδαιήτεος τῶν ὀμοιον, τῶν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὁμιλοῖς, οία φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἱ αὐτῖκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἐφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναιῶν συμμαχία. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῦσι ἐπιλεξαμένοις τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τῶν αὐτίων τῆς προδοσίας ἐδοξῇ μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίη τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλεως εἴνεκα, μὴ νομίζοιατο εἶναι Σκιωναίοι ἐς τῶν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγενόμενε· Ἀρταβαζός δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκεύοντι ἐγενονεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτικὴς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἰδοὺς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέμαγος γενόμενο ν παρήσαν ἑς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοῖρας διαδοτοπρίκεσαν, ἐτὶ δὲ τρεῖς υπόλοιποι ἴσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἐσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὡσ σεούδαμα κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

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

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

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).
HERODOTUS

130. Ο δὲ ναυτικός ὁ Ἐρέξιος περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμενε ἐς Ἀβυδόν, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμη, ἐφαρσ τὸ χειλόμυςτον πρῶτος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον, αὖ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέριζαν αὐτοῦ: Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων ὁ πλευνὴς ἐπεβάτευον. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδὸντις τε ὁ Βαγάιο καὶ Ἀρταυνής ὁ Ἀρταχαῖος. συνήρχεστο τοῦτος καὶ ἀδελφίδεος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταυνεῖος προσελομένου Ἰθαμέτρης. ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προῆςαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδὲ ἐπηνάγακε σοῦδεις, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατημενοί ἐφύλασσα τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῷ ἱπποτὶ τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὖδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλεύθερα ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ’ ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἐωτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας ὡς ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίνος ἀλλ’ ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἥσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν.
to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay here-in, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

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

131. Τοὺς δὲ Ἔλληνας τὸ τε ἔαρ γιμόμενον ἥγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐὼν. ὅ μὲν δὴ πεξὸς οὐκο συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Λύκιον, νὲς ἄριθμον δέκα καὶ ἐκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρης τοῦ Ἄλκησίλεω τοῦ Ἰπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἄναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχεδήμου τοῦ Ἄναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεσσαλίου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνεος τοῦ Εὐρυφωντος τοῦ Προκλέους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδάου τοῦ "Τῆλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλεός, ἐὼν τῆς ἔτερης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγένουσα τὴν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγησε Σάμιττος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

132. Ὅς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Λύκιον πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκεντο Ἀλκιώνων ἀγγέλοι ἐς το στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἐλλήνων, ὁ καὶ ἂς Σπάρτην ὅλῃ πρὸ τερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέσω τοὐν Λακεδαιμονίων ἑλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίῃν. τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληλίδης ἦν ὁ στασισὶτα σφίσι γενόμενον ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττος ἩΧίου πυράνω, ἐόντες ἄρχην ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενικαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν

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

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

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

Otherwise unknown.
μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λαοί τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ υπεξεσθοσύνεται ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναν, τῶν Ἐλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἱ προήγαγον αὐτούς μόνης μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρῳ πᾶν δείνον ἦν τοῖς Ἐλλησι ὁυτε τῶν χώρων ἔστι έμπείροισι, στρατιῶς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμου ἐπιστέατο δύξη καὶ Ἰρακλέας στήλας ἕσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὡστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρῳ Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρροδημότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἤδω κατωτέρῳ Δήλου· οὕτω δὲος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνες ἐπέλεον ἐς τὴν Δήλου, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθευτεν δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἐπεμπτε κατὰ τα ἱρηστήρια ἄνδρα Ἑὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντευλάμενος πανταχῆ μιν ἱρησόμενον ἔλθειν, τῶν οἷα τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὁ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν ἱρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ δὲν λέγεται· δοκέω δὲ ἐγὼνε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων προγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος δὲ Μῦς ἐς το Λεβάδεαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθὸς πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβίναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσαστο· ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ περ

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

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

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

2 See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiarraus and "Ptoan" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.
ἐν Ὄλυμπῃ ἱροῖς αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τούτο δὲ ξείνου τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων χρήμασι πείσας κατεκούμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεως. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξεστὶ μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευς σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίαν ποιεύμενος ὅκοτερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι τούτων, ἐσούτῳ ἡ ἂτε μάντι χράσθαι ἢ ἂτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένου· οὐ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἐξεστὶ Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακομμηθῆναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἔλθειν ἀρα τὸν Ἐὑρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τού Πτώον Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τούτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέσται μὲν Πτώον, ἐστὶ δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαίδος λίμνης πρὸς ὅρει ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραίφις πόλιος. ἐς τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τούτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἴρετοις ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χράν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἐχεσθαι ἄκοινοτας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἐλλαίδος, οὔδε ἔχειν ὁ τι χρῆσωνται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι τὸν δὲ Ἐὑρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτὴν, φάναι δὲ Καρίᾳ μιν γλώσσῃ χράν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οὔχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

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

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

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

¹ Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, cp. vii. 197.
\[\text{HERODOTUS}\]

'Αθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι ὁι προσκηδεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἀδελφεὺς Γυναίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγενότευ 'Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ, ἔχων τὸ ὦνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλεῶς τῆς Φρυγίης ἔδοθε Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι ἀμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνος πυθόμενος ὁτί πρόξεινος τε εἵη καὶ ευφρένητος ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέμπε. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὖτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεθαι, λεών τε πολλῶν ἅρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατηλπίζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἀν καὶ ἂν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὖτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τά πρήγματα ἐσεσθαι τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν. τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέσθαι τοὺς δὴ πειθόμενος ἐπέμπε. 137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τούτου ἔβδομος γενετωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεως ἐφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυρίων τῶν Τημένου ἀποικοῦν τρεῖς ἀδελφοῖ, Γανάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυρίων ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίνην ἀπίκοντο ὡς Λεβαϊν πόλιν. ἐνθαύτα δὲ

\[1\] Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Caria (cp. vii. 195); Stein prefers to read Alabastra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.
Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda¹ a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdicas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos² to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdicas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as

² The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadæ, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.
ἐδήτευν ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί, ὃ μὲν ἑποὺς νέμων, ὃ δὲ βοῦς, ὃ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἦ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτῆς τὰ σιτία σφὶ ἐπεσσεί ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἰ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενείς χρῆμασί, οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δήμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτώ, ὁ ἀρτος τοῦ παιδός τοῦ θητοῦ Περδίκκεως διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἐωστοῖ. ἔπει δὲ αἰεὶ τῶν τούτων τούτων ἐγίνετο, εἰπὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρὰ τῶν ἐωστηρίως· τοῦ δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἰην χάπας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θητας προηγορεύε σφὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἐωστοῖ. οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξίεναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεύς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν κατω- δόκην ἐς τὸν οἰκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἡλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ύμῶν ἐγὼ ύμῶν ἄξιον τόπου ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἡλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γανάρης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἦκουσαν τὰῦτα· ὃ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εὕπας τάδε "Δεκόμεθα ὁ βασιλεύς τὰ διδοῖς," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἰκου τὸν ἡλιον, περιγράφας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλιος, ἀπαλλάσσεστο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

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

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

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

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

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

2 This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a "nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation: if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the Odyssey.
Λωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογεῖειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἔγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγιμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἢ μή τὸ ύμέτερον αὐτίων γεννηται. λέγω δὲ ύμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλουσθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὶ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἰδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑρέξεως στρατηλασίας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθαίνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ εὐσάν δύναμιν ὅστε καὶ ἢ ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περὶ ύμῶν οὐδεμία ἔλπις εἰ περ εὗ φρονέσθε, ἀλλὰ παρέσται πολλαπλῆσιν. μὴ δὲν βούλεσθε παριστοῦμεν βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θεεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ύμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε. παρέχει δὲ ύμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέως ταύτη όρμημένου. ἐστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἢμῖν ὁμαχμίνιαν συνθέμενοι ἀνευ τε δὸλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατο μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ύμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὔνοιας τῆς πρὸς ύμέας εὔσης εὖ ἐμεῖν οὐδέν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρητίζω δὲ ύμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ, ἐνορωγάρ ύμῖν οὐκ οἴοισι τε ἐσομένουις τοῦ πάντα χρόνου πολεμέειν Ἑρέξει· εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ύμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ύμέας ἥλθοι ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις υπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ἢ βασιλεός ἐστι καὶ χείρ υπερμῆκης. ἢν ὁν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσῃ, μεγάλα προτεινοντων ἐπ᾽ οἱ ὁμολογεῖειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω υπὲρ ύμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μοῦνων, ἔξαιρετον μεταίχμιον τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ
that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;
πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεῖς γε ὁ μέγας μουνοισὶ ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιεῖς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαίμονις δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἦς Ἀδηνίας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἢξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀδηνίαος, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφεας χρεών ἔστι ἀμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Δωριέσθη ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μηδών τε καὶ Ἀδηνίαιον, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μή ὁμολογῆσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀδηνίαοι, αὐτίκα τε σφι ἐδοξε πέρπειν ἄγγελους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὡστε ὁμο的声音 γγεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν ἐπανέμειναι γὰρ οἱ Ἀδηνίαιοι διατριβοῦτες, εὐ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἐμελλὼν Λακεδαίμονιοι πεῦσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ’ ὁμολογίη, πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἄγγελους. ἐπίτηδες δὲν ἐποίευν, εὐδεικνύμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοισι τὴν ἐωτοῦ ᾿γνώμην.

142. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι Ἡμέας δὲ ἐπεµψαν Λακεδαίμονιοι δεσμομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιεῖν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα μήτε λόγους εὐδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμουν φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοις ᾿Ελλήνων οὐδαμοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἢκιστα πολλῶν εἶναι. ἥγειρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ῥμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχηθέν ο ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα: ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης.
for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

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

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought
τοίς Ἡλληνικῶν οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετοῖν, οὕτως αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευ-
θερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μὲντοι ύμῶν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἢδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἢδη πολλὸν.
ἀντὶ τούτων δέ ύμῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπι-
θρέψειν, ἕστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὄδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ
ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών ἀναγνώσῃ, λείνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτω μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστὶν τύραννος γὰρ ἕως τυράννω συγ-
kατεργάζεται ύμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἰ περ εὗ
τυγχάνετε φρονέωντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβά-
ροισι ἐστὶν οὔτε πιστῶν οὔτε ἀληθῶς οὔδεν." ταῦτα
ἐλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπε-
kρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοί τούτῳ γι' ἐπιστάμεθα ὁτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ
ήμιν, ὡστε οὐδὲν δέει τούτῳ γι' ὁνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἑλευθερίης ἐλεχόμενοι ἄμυνεύμεθα οὕτω οὔκ
ὡς ἀν καὶ δυνόμεθα. ὀμολογήσαι δὲ τῷ βαρ-
βάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὔτε ἡμῶ
πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἡ ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονσι, ἕστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ὅδον ἢ
τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὀμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξην ἀλλὰ θεοίσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοι
μιν ἐπέξειμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῦτο ἠρώσι, τῶν ἐκείνων οὐδεμίαν ὅπως ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τοὺς τε
οίκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σὺ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ
λόγους ἔχων τοιοῦτος μὴ ἐπιφαίνει Ἀθηναίοις,
μηδὲ δοκεῖν χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἐρδεῖν
150
upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth.” Thus spoke the envoys.

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

παραίνεις οὖ γὰρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα προξεινον τε καὶ φίλον.”

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. “Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Δακεδαμιούντος μὴ ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπίην ἦν· ἀτὰρ αὐχρῶς γε οὐκάτε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρούρια ἀρρωτήσαι, ὅτι οὐ γροφή κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλομεν ἃν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἔστι τὰ διακωλύουσα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν μηδ’ ἡν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖς ἡμέας Ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρεῖν ἐσ τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὀμολογεῖν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὕτω δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν ὄμαιρον τε καὶ ὡμόχωσσον καὶ θέων ἱδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἢθεά τε ὀμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἀν εὔ ἔχωι. ἐπίστασθε τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐνυγχαίνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἐστ’ ἀν καὶ εἰς περὶ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμά ὀμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ἐρέξη. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἔοιμαν, ὅτι προειδοτε ἡμέων οἰκοφορημένων οὕτω ὅστε ἐπιθρέψῃ ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τούς οἰκέτας. καὶ υμῶν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρῆσομεν οὕτω ὅκως ἂν ἐχώμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὦς οὕτω ἔχοντων, στρατηγὴν ὁς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὁς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκάς χρόνον παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος.
for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill be seem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner
ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὰν ταχιστα
πύθηται τῇν ἀγγελίην ὧτι οὐδὲν ποιήσωμεν τῶν
ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν δὲν παρεῖναι
ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προ-
βοηθήσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην.” ο’ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπο-
κριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.
will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia.” At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.
1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὦς οἱ ἀποικιστήρας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἑσώμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς εἰς Θεσσαλίης ὑγε τὴν στρατιὰν σπουδῆ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γύνοιτο, τούτους παρελάβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἱγεομένοισι οὕτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πετρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἑπίγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψε τῇ Ὀρήξε ὁ Λησσάιος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάβασαν τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβόλευσαν αὐτὸ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εὔθεα χάρος ἐπιτυδεότερον ἐν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔσον ἔσαν ἐκαστέρω, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ ἵζομενοι ποιεῖν ὁκὼς ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν Ἐλλήνας ὀμοφρονέοντας, οἱ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἑγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγύμνεσθαι καὶ ἀπασι ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἣμεῖς παρανέομεν, ἐφασαν λέγοντες, ἐξεῖς ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἱσχυρὰ βουλεύματα πέμπεις χρήματα τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἀνδρὰς ἐν τῇ πόλις, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις ἐνθεύτευν δὲ.
BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens¹; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thorax of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

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

¹ In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.
τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥημαῖος μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεια.”

3. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευσιν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἢμερος τὰς 'Αθήνας δεύτερα ἔλειν, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ’ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἀμα δὲ πυρσοῖς διὰ νῆσων ἐδόκει βασιλέα δηλώσειν ἕοντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι 'Αθήνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὑρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τε Σαλαμῖν τοὺς πλεῖστοις ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τῇ νησί νησί, αἱρεῖ τε ἔρημον τὸ ἁστυ. ἢ δὲ βασιλέας αἱρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηγῆν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν 'Αθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδονίος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην άνδρα Ἑλλησ-πώτιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών τοῦ Ἀθηναίοις διε-πόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ το δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχον μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριάλωτον έούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ έούσης ύπ’ ἔωτῳ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἀπέτεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἴπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκει ἀμείγον εἶναι δε-ξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφὶ Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, εξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δήμον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρῆματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτα οἱ έξάνδανε; 'Αθηναίοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἐξωθεν ὃς ἐπύθουστο, περι-
itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

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

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

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

6. Ἡς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὦδε. ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοπονήσου στρατὸν ἤξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οὐ δὲ ἐμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔπει δὲ οὗ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, δὲ ἐπιδόν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐλέγετο εἰναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τε ἐπεμπὼν ἀγγέλους ἁμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλον μετὰ σφέων ἤμτιάσαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἁμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλόντος δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμμυνεσθη Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινὰ ἀλεωρὴν εὑρίσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφι ἤν Ἰακώβια, περὶ πλεῖστον δὲ ἠγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἁμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξης ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα οἱ ἀγγέλοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἁμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταϊῶν, ἐλεγον 162
round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Murychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

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

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

1 A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.
τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. "Επεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἦμιν βασιλεύς ὁ Μῆδων τούτῳ μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδόμενι, τούτῳ δὲ συμμάχους ἔθελει ἔπ᾽ ἵση τε καὶ ὁμοίας ποιήσασθαι ἂνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἔθελει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἰᾶν αὐτοῖς ἐλώμεθα. ἦμεις δὲ Δία τε 'Ελλήνων αἴδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενον προδοῦναι οὐ καταίνεσαμεν ἀλλ᾽ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ 'Ελλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοι τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τολεμεῖν· οὐ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογησόμενν εἰκὸνες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄπ᾽ ἡμέων οὔτω ἀκιβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ελλήνας· ἦμεις δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδὴν τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογησόμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἔξεμαθε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσας ἡμῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ δίοτι θεῖος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστὶ, καὶ δὴ λόγου οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέσθε, συνθέμενοι τε ἦμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βουωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετε τε προσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μὲν τινι τὸ παρεῦν Ἀθηναίοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησατε ἐπιτηδείως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιῶν ἀμα ἦμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμίρτομεν τῆς Βουωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεύοστον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τῷ Θριάσιον πεδίον." 8. 'Ως δὲ ἄρα ἠκούσαν οἱ ἐφόροι ταῦτα, ἄνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ
and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said: "The Athenians have sent us with this message: The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you; for that which you have done bespeaks you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again
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υστεραΐη ἐς τὴν ἔτερην τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίειν, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. Εν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἄισθμὸν ἔτειχεν σπουδήν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἢν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αὐτίον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθηναίων σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίοις, τότε δὲ ὅρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλο γε ὅτι ὁ Ἄισθμὸς σφι ἔτειχε τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἢ ' ἐτειχίστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίοιν ἢτι δεῖσθαι οὐδὲν. οτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκώ ἐπετειχίστο, ἔργαζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τούς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ύποκρίσιος καὶ ἔξοδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιὸς. τῇ προ- τεραιὴ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἐσέσθαι Χίλεος ἄνηρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λα- κεδαίμονι μέγιστον ἔτεινον, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἐθηναίοι ἔλεγον ἄκοι- σας δὲ ο Ἐχλεος ἔλεγε ἀρα σφι τάδε. "Οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἐφοροι, Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμῶν τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἄισθμον ἐθηλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλησίας ἀναπεπτέται ες τὴν Πελο- πόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσκαύσατε, πρὶν τι ἀλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφιλάμα φέρον τῇ Ἐλ- λάδι."  

10. "Ο μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλεψε οὖς δὲ φρενί λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοίσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπειμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἐτὶ ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἐπτὰ περὶ ἑκαστὸν τἀξαντες 166
till the day after; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens¹ the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

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

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

¹ cp. viii. 135.
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τῶν εἰλότων, Παυσανίη τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγένετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονία Πλευστάρχου τοῦ Δεονίδου· ἀλλὰ ὃ μὲν ἤπὶ παῖς, ὃ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίως μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιήγη, ἀλλὰ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατηγὴν τὴν τὸ τείχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατηγὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἴλιος ἀμαρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαρέεται δὲ ἐωντῷ Παυσανίης Ἐὐπνάκακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἀνδρὰ οἰκίας ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Ὅ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἐξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἤμερη ἐγεγόνει, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἐξοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐωντοῦ ἑκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἐλεγον τάδε. "Τμεῖς μὲν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῆς μένοντες Ἱακίνθια τε ἀγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ὡς ἄδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν χήτει τε συμμάχων καταλύονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὦκος ἂν δύνωνται· καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι συμμαχοὶ βασιλείας γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ ἣν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθέτευν μαθήσεσθε ὠκοῦν ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἄγγελων, οἱ ἑφόροι εἰπαν ἐπὶ ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκεῖειν εἶναι ἐν Ὁρεσθεῖω στείχοντας ἐπὶ

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἢδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ έόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἀλλην στρατήν ἤκειν ἕσ Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίωνν συνημενος δὲ ταύτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἰ κως τούτοι πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατήν ἤγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἢ δὲ ἔπος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρῃ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύναντος ἢ Περσική αὐτῇ στρατιῇ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Μαρδονίως ἠλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὗτο δὴ ὅπισθ ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελείς· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τούς προσχώρουσα τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆν ὁδὸν ἰγέοντο εἰς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἐς Τάγαγρα· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νῦκτα ἐναυλισάμενοι, καὶ τραπόμενοι τῇ υστεραίᾳ ἐς Σκόλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαύτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ περ μηδιζώτων ἐκεῖρε τοὺς χώρους, οὗτι κατὰ ἐχθὸς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ ὑπὶ ἀναγκαῖας μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἐρυμά τε τῶν στρατῶ ποιῆσαθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοῖν τι ἔθελοι, κρησφύγετον τούτο ἐποιεῖτο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑρξάμενον ὑπὸ Ἔρυθρῶν.
marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage. Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

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

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

1 He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.
παρὰ Τσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταϊδά γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μὲντοι τὸ γε τείχος τοσοῦτο ἐποίετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κῇ μέτωπον ἔκαστον.

16. Ἐχόντων δὲ τῶν πόνων τούτων τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγίνους ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνήρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξεινία αὐτῶν τε Μαρδονίου καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὕτω εἴποντο· ἢν δὲ τὸ δείπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θῆβῃ, τάδε δὲ ἦδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἥκουν Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρός μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἐφε δὲ ὁ Θερσάνδρος κληθήριαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον τοῦτο, κληθήριαι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἀνδρας πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρίς ἐκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαίον ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστῃ. ως δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἐλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὅποδατός ἐστί, αὐτός δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἰη Ὀρχομενίοις. τὸν δὲ εἴπειν ἦν ὀμοτράπεζος τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημοσύνα τοῦ γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλυπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδώς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωτοῦ βουλεύσεθαι ἔχης τὰ συμφέροντα. ὀρᾶς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύωμεν τοῦτων πάντων ὡς ἐκεῖ ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἁμα τε τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἴπειν πρὸς· αὐτὸν "Οὐκών Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεον ἐστὶ λέγειν

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

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius
καὶ τοῖς μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐν αἰνῇ ἐστὶ Περσέων;” τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπειν “Εἰς ὑμῖν, ὦ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγοντι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συνει̣ οπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένου, ἑκθείᾳ δὲ ὀδύνῃ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτῆς, πολλὰ φρονέοιτα μηδενὸς κρατεῖν.” ταῦτα μὲν ’Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἦκον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἦ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιήσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατοπεδευμένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρεῖχοντο ἀπαντεῖς στρατεύῃ καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὡςον περ ἐμίδιζον Ἐλλήνων τῶν ταύτης οἰκισμένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκεῖς οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμίδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὕτωι) οὐκ ἔκοντες ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίῃς. ἦμερσι δὲ οὐ πολλῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀποψιν τὴν ἐς Θῆβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι, ἤγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνήρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὕτωι ἐς Θῆβας, πέμψας οἱ Μαρδόνιος ὑπεέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ’ ἐωστῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἔσθεσαί. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἑπος ἡ ἀπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ οὗ Ἐλλήνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μῆδων ἐκτός φήμη ὡς κατακοινεῖ σφέας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δ’ αὐτῶν Φωκέων τῶν τούτῳ τούτῳ. ἐνθα δὴ σφι οὐ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνει λέγων τοιάδε. “Ὡ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὐτοὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι μέλλουσι προ- ὁπτὸ θανάτῳ δῶσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσ- σαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· γίνη ἀνδρα πάντα τινὰ 176
and those honourable Persians that are with him?"

"Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the harshest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power."

This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orchomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataeeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for
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18. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα παραίνει· οι δὲ ἰππεῖες ἐπεὶ σφαῖρα ἐκκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπησουντες, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ ἀτήκη. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἐστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες ἐνωτος καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἰππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὑπίσω. οὖκ ἔχω δὲ ἀπρεκέως εἴπειν οὔτε εἶ ἢλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκεάς δειθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρὼν πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δεῖσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὔτω δὴ ἦπηλαυνον ὑπίσω· ὡς γὰρ σφὶ ἐισεβιλατοῖ Μαρδόνος· οὔτε εἶ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἰ τὶ ἀλκῆς μετέχουσιν. ὡς δὲ ὑπίσω ἀπῆλασαν οἱ ἰππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Θαρρεῖτε ὦ Φωκεές· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφανήτε ἐόντες ἁγαθοί, οὖκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην· καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίησι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ' ὅπως ἔμε οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Δακεδαμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδέυοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοίς τα ἁμείνω ἕανδαν, οἳ δὲ καὶ ὄραντες ἐξίοντας Σπαρτήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Δακεδαμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὡς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργοῦντων

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every one of you to play the man; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas.” Thus he exhorted them.

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

Thus far went the Phocian business.

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

1 That is, serve us and we will serve you.
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tόν ἴρὸν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἑλευσίνα: ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἴρά, ὡς σφί ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἀμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμίνοις, συμμιγγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσίν. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπέκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐς Ἐρυθραῖ, ἔμαθον τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἑπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευόμενοι, φρασθέντες δὲ τούτῳ ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

20. Μαράδνιος δὲ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπτες καὶ αὐτοὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἱππον, τῆς ἱππόρχεε Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσης, τὸν Ἑλλήνης Μακίστιον καλέονσι, ἱππον ἔχον Νήσαιον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλους κεκοσμημένους καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, προσέβαλλον κατά τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναικῶς σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέας ἐτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχότατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παυτὸς, καὶ πρόσδος μάλιστα ταυτὴ ἐγένετο τῇ ἱππῳ. προσβαλλοῦσας ὧν τῆς ἱππον οἱ Μεγαρέας πιεζόμενοι ἐπημποῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ο κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέας λέγουσιν ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἱππον δεκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταυτην ἐς τὴν ἐστημεν ἄρχην ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὸ δε λιπαρὶ ὑπὲρ καὶ ἄρετη ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινὰς ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξεως, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξεων." ὃ μὲν δὴ σφί ταύτα ἀπηγγέλλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπε-180
sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

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

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke: "From the men of Megara to their allies: We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and
πευράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰ τινες ἔθελοιεν ἄλλοι ἔθελονταί ζέναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τούτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεύσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ολυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπτωνος.

22. Ὅντοι ἦσαν οἳ τε ὑποδέξαμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἔρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνων τέλος τοιόνυμεν ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβάλλοντες τῆς ἱπποῦ κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίον προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἱπποὺς βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀληθινὰς δὲ ἱστατὶ τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσεῖται τῶν Μασιστίου πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἳ Ἀθηναίοι αὐτίκα ἑπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἱπποῦ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἕνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτως ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεων λεπίδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρικος κηθῶνα φωικέος ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρικα ἐποίευν οὔδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσε τε καὶ ὑπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθησε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππεὰς· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἴδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ οὔτε ἀποθυόμενον, ἀναχωρήσιος τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὡς σφεάς οὔδες ἢν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαινυν τοὺς ἱπποὺς πάντες, ὡς ἄν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἳ Ἀθηναίοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππεὰς ἄλλα πάντας, τὴν 182
Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

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

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,
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άλλην στρατιών ἐπεβίωσαντο. ἐν ὦ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἄπασ εβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὥξεα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἐως μὲν τὸν μοῦνοι ᾔσαν οἱ τριή-
κόσιοι, ἑσούντο τε πολλὰν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέ-
λειπον· ὡς δὲ σφὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοηθήσε, ὀυτὸ
δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἵπποι τα ὑπέμενον οὐδὲ σφὶ ἐξεγένετο
tὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄλλους
προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἵππεων. ἀποστήσαντες δὲν ὅσον
tε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὃ τι χρεῶν ἔη
ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δὲ σφὶ ἀναρχίης ἐόυς ἀπελαύνειν
παρὰ Μαρδόνιοι.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
πένθος ἐποησάντο Μασίστιον πᾶσα τῇ στρατίᾳ
καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοῖς κεῖροντες
καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἱ ἔρχοντες
τὴν Βοιωτίαν κατείχε· ἔδωκε δὲ σφὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου
καὶ Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτον παρὰ τῆς Πέρσης καὶ βασιλεῖ.

25. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ βάρβαροι τρόπω τῷ σφετέρῳ
ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον. οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες
ὁ τὴν ἵππου ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξά-
μενοι ὅσαντο, ἐθάρρησαν τὰ πολλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ
πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἀμάξαν ἑσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ
τὰς τάξις ἔκομψον· ἢ δὲ νεκρὸς ἢν θέης ἄξιος
μεγάθεος εὐεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εὐεκα καὶ
tὰντα ἐποίειν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων
θεσόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἐδοξεῖ σφὶ ἐπι-
καταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο
πολλῷ ἐως ἐπιτηδεύτερος σφὶ ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι
ὁ Πλαταϊκὸς τῷ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
εὐνδρότερος· ἢ τούτον δὴ τῶν χώρων καὶ ἐπὶ
tὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ
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they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

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

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,
εὐσαν ἐδοξέ ζηφι χρεόν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ
dιαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες
dὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἦσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Καθαιρώνος
παρὰ Τσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι
dὲ ἐτάσσοντα κατὰ ἑθνεα πλησίου τῆς τε κρήνης
tῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ Ἀνδρο-
kράτεος τοῦ ἢρωος, διὰ ὁχθῶν τε ὑδν ὕψηλῶν
καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. Ἔνθαυτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων
πολλῶν ὀθίσμως Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐδικαῖν
γὰρ αὐτοῖ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἐτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέρωτες ἔργα.
tοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεηται ἐλεγον τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ
cοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταῦτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμ-
mάχων ἅπαντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοινὰ ἐγένοντο
Πελοπονησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ής
ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπειρῶντο
μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελο-
pόνησον" τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρήγμα
toιόνυ. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰόνων τῶν
tότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοπονησῷ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς
tὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα αὐτῖοι τοῖς κατιόντες, τότε
ὁν λόγος Ἄλλων ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεόν εἰς τὸν
μὲν στρατὸν τὸ στρατῆμα ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμ-
βάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοπονησίου στρατοπέδου
tὸν ἄν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνοψι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτον
ὁι μουνομαχίσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοις. ἐδοξέ τε
tοῖς Πελοπονησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητεὰ καὶ
ἐταμοῦ ὅρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἦν μὲν Ἄλλως
νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοπονησίου ἤγεμόνα, κατίειναι
Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἦν δὲ νικηθῆ, τὰ

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they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

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

1 That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves.  
2 Son of Heracles.
Εμπαλιν' Ηρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατηγὸν ἐκατον τε ἐτέων μὴ ἴητησαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἑθελοντῆς 'Εχεμὸς ὁ 'Ηερόπου τοῦ Φιγγέος στρατηγὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἱμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχῃς τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ἦλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν Πελο-
ποννησίοις γε τοῖς τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα,
tὰ διατελόμεν ἑχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὥμων
μὲν γὰρ ὁ Δακεδαίμονιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ
dιδόντες ἀϊβεσιν ὀκοτέρου βούλευε κέρεος ἀρχεῖν
παρίμεν. τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνεέσθαι
ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς
tε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροι
eἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ
μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἑχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἠμῶν, ἄνδρες
Σπαρτῆται, ἀγώνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
πρὸς Ἀλλοὺς. οὔτω δὲν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ
ἑτέρον κέρας ὑ περ Ἀθηναίους. οὐ γὰρ σφὶ ἐστὶ
ἔργα οὐκ ἐν ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ' ὅιν καὶ
οὔτε παλαῖα.

27. Οἱ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγον, Ὁ Ἀθηναίοι δὲ πρὸς
tαύτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύν-
οδον τήνδε μάχης εἰνεκα συλλεγήναι πρὸς τὸν
Βάρβαρον, ἀλλὰ οὐ λόγων ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης
προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καίνα λέγειν τὰ ἐκατέροις
ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγ-
καίως ἡμῶν ἔχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῶν
πατρώων ἐστὶ έούσι χρηστοῖσι αἱ ἐπὶ πρῶτοισι
εἰναι μᾶλλον ἡ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι
φασὶ ἀποκτείναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο
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contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnesian till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eëropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our place is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-
μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοιλάτους φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Ἑνρυσθέος ὑβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκεῖνοισι μάχη

υκήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἐχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τούτῳ δὲ Αργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰώνα καὶ ἠτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμέν καὶ

θάψας τῆς ἱμετέρης ἐν Ἑλευσίνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὐ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλοὺς κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Πρωικοῖς πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὤντοι νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαύροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἅλλως ἐστώ· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένων, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὐ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῦσε καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτῳ, οὕτως μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχίσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔδεα ἕξε τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἅρ’ οὔ δικαιοὶ εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτῃ τῆν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦτο μούνον τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ’ οὔ γὰρ ἂν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἶνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἀρτιοὶ εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὡμῖν ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκεῖι ἐπιτηδεοτατον ἥμεας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ’ ὀψίνας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα.
clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, we and none other received them; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from our feat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that one feat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

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

2 When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."
eînai χρηστοί. ἔξηγέσθε δὲ ὡς πεισμένων." οὐ μὲν ταύτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἢπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὖτω δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐτάσσοντο ὡδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντες τε καὶ οἱ ἄρχην ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων, τὸ μὲν δεξίον κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριον τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας Σπαρτιτήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλότων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἀνδρὰ ἐκαστὸν ἐπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἴλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιτήται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἶνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς τούτων δὲ ἦσαν ὁπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἱσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὐροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεως ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιτέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριγκόσιος τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταντο Ἀρκάδες ὑρχυμένιοι ἐξακόσιοι τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τινυθίων τετρακόσιοι τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλεώσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως ἐστησαν Ἐρμυνέες τριγκόσιοι Ἑρμυνέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἱσταντο Ἐρετρέων τε καὶ Συρέων ἐξακόσιοι τούτων δὲ Χαλκέδεες τετρακόσιοι τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτως Δευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-192
men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey.” Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Laecdaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from
ληνής διηκόσιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αλεξινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἔταχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἀτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἰχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιών ἐξακόσιοι. τελευταίοι δὲ καὶ πρώτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχουσι τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι: ἐστρατιήσει δ’ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμαχοῦ.

29. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ήσαν ὁπλίται, σύμπαντες ἕως μὲν τρεῖς τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες ἐπταῖ. ὁπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβαρῶν ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλήθος ἦν τὸ, τῆς γὰρ Ἀθηναίης τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ἃς ἐναὶ ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρῆρητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον οἱ ἐς τῶν λυσίμαχον Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλληνῶν ψιλοί, ἢς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐναὶ ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὲ τῶν ἀπαίνων τῶν μαχιμῶν ἢν τὸ πλῆθος ἢς τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐνεέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιῶς σὺν τε ὁπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοίσι τοῖς μαχίμοισι ἐνδέκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἄνδρων καταδέουσας. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖς παρευόμενοι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἐνδέκα μυριάδες: παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεώντες, ἀριθμῶν ἐς ὀκτακοσίως καὶ χιλίους: ὀπλα δὲ οὐδ’ οὕτω εἶχον. οὕτω μὲν ἐννιαχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσσωτῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύσοντο.

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

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

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

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

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1 That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.
κυδένυσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τούς Ἐλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιᾷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτι τὸν Ἀσωτὸν τὸν ταύτη ἰρέντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὡδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλῶν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τὰξις πλεύνας ἐκεκοσμεάτο καὶ ἐπείχοι τοὺς Τεγεύτας. ἐτάξε δὲ οὔτω· ὦ τι μὲν ἢν αὐτῶν δυνατότατον πὰν ἀπολέξας ἐστήσε αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ὠσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεύτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραξόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἔχωμένους ἔταξε Μῆδοις· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχοι Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτίδαιτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μῆδων δὲ ἔχωμένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχοι Ἐπιδαύριους τε καὶ Τροιζνίους καὶ Δετρεύτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδοὺς· οὕτω δὲ ἐπέσχοι Ἐρμονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρεάς καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ινδῶν δὲ ἔχωμένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ ἐπέσχοι Ἀμπρακίττας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Λαγνήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἔχωμένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Μεγαρέων Βωιτοῦς τε καὶ Δοκροῦς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλούς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὁι ἀπαντες οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων ηὗξον περὶ τῶν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμόμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἤγον τὴν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἐλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-
mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidæa and Orchomenus and Siéyon; next to the Medes, the Bætrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Myceæae, and Phlius. After the Bætrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacæ, fronting the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leneadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacæ, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Loerians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phociæ; for not all the Phociæans took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,
δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκήμενος κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32. Ταύτα μὲν τῶν ἑθνῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὑνόμισται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ ἐπιφανεστάτα τε ἢν καὶ λόγον πλεῖστον· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἑθνῶν ἄνδρες ἀναμεμειγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Ὀρθίκων καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Ἀλθίστων τε καὶ Λυγυπτίων οἱ τε Ἕρμηνευσί καὶ οἱ Καλαθίρες καλομένοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἱ περ εἰσὶ Λυγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτε Ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἑών ἀπὸ τῶν νεὼν ἀπεβίβασατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἁμα Ἔρηξ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀδήνας Λυγυπτίου. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρὸτερον διδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἕλληνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἴδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμῶν οὐ γὰρ δὲν ἡμιθηράσαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆσαι εἰκάζω. οὐτοὶ οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἢ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἅρ τῶν ἐπετάχθατο κατὰ ἑθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτερῇ ἡμέρῃ ἑθύνοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἔλληναι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυώμενος· οὕτως γὰρ δὴ ἐπέτεο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἡλείου καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἡαμόδεων [Κλυτιάδην] Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενὸς γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ γόνου ἀνείλε ἡ Πυθία ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.
ούτω δὴ υποστάντες τά ὁ Μελάμπυς προετεύναν τό Μελάμπυς προετεύναν ἦμαν ὁμοίων οἱ ταύτα. ὁ δὲ ἔνθαυτα δὴ ἐπορεύεται ὀρεών αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φαύς, ἤν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι μεταδόσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληῆς, οὐ ποιῆσεν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Αργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στειῶν κατανεύουσι καὶ ταύτα.

35. 'Ως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχῷρεον οἰ. συγχωρήσαντων δὲ καὶ ταύτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτῶ δὴ πέντε σφί μαντεύόμενος ἁγόνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενοῦ ὁ Ἡλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρεύε. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὕτω Σπαρτιήτησι πολιήται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἁγώνες οἴδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὕτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταίησι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεχέγῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἄργείους γεγένομεν, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαiegσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλῆς Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ῥήμωμη, ὑστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Ἄργείους γεγένομεν· οὕτος δὲ ὑστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἁγώνοιν.

36. Οὕτος δὴ τότε τοῦτο "Ελλησὶ ὁ Τισαμενός, ἁγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταίιδι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν "Ελλησὶ καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοις, διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἀρχουσι οὐ.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προδημοσεμένῳ μάχης ἀρχεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτίθεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἕλληνικόις ἱροῖσι ἐχράτο, μάντιν ἐχον Ἰησοίστρατον ἀνδρὰ Ἡλεῖον.
thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

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

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

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

\(^1\) The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaeae.
τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἔόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτήται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὦ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέξου λόγου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ἔξυλῳ σιδηρο-δέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἑκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδριότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἴμειν ὑμέν ταφιμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐωτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νῦκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἴμερας καταδύνων ἔς ὑλήν καὶ αὐλιξόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων παιδημεῖ διημένων τρίτη εὐ-φρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέη, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλων ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὀρὼντας τὸ ἴμύτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινος ὦ δυ-ναμένοις εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακε-δαιμονίων καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἔούσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίνι Λακεδαιμονίοις τούτων τῶν χρόνων ὑγής δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ἔξυλων πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἠθές Λακεδαιμονίοις πολέμιος, οὐ μέντοι ἐς θείος ὅσα συνήμενε τὸ ἐχθὸς τὸ χεὶς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένοι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαυτενόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

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

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,
κατά τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὖκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὡστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖς Πέρσησι οὔτε τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ἔσσι Ἐλλήνων (εἰχον γὰρ καὶ οὕτω ἐπ᾽ ἐωτῶν μάντων Ἰππόμαχον Δευκάδιον ἀνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύσσων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἐρπνος ἀνὴρ Ὥηβαιὸς συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἐλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψουσι συχνοῦς.

39. Ἡμέραι δὲ σφὶ ἀντικατιμένουσι ἥδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὁκτὼ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι συνεβούλευσαν Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὑ ἐχούσαν, ὡς εὐφροῖνῃ ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αὐ ἐτί Πλαταιῶν φέρουσι, τὰς Βουωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἤπποται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, συτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ἤπποντο τοῖς ξεύγεσι. ἐλύντες δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφείδεως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὔανεος οὔτε ἀνθρώποι. ὡς δὲ ἅδην εἰχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἡλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρὰ τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δῦο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἂρξαν· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσσωποῦ ἐπήμισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἤπποι ἦ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτο τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἐλληνας· οὶ γὰρ Ὥηβαιοι, ἄτε μηδίζουτες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἐφερον τὸν τόλμησθος.
and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

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

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

41. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἔγινετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνει ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοις εἰς Πλαταιήσι, οὗ τε δή Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδονίς περιπαίκτες τῇ ἕδρῃ, ἐνθαύτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνις τε ὁ Γοβρύως καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὁλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξη. Βουλευομένων δὲ αἴδε ἦσαν αἱ γυναικεῖς, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτάβαζος ὡς χρεὼν εὐθ ἀναζεύζαι τήν ταχύστην πάντα τῶν στρατῶν ἤρναι ἐς τὸ πείχος τοῦ Ἐθβαίων, ἐνθα σιτόν τε σφι ἐσενηνείχθαι πολλῶν καὶ χόρτου τούτου ὑποζυγίοις, κατ' ἡσυχίαν τε ἔσομένους διαπρήσεσθαι ποιεῖντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἁσιῦµον, πολλοῦ δὲ ἀργυροῦ τε καὶ ἑκτώματα· τούτων φειδομένων μηδὲν διαπέμπτειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἕλληνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προστεθῶτας ἐν τῇ πόλις, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτω μὲν ἡ αὐτῇ ἐγίνετο καὶ Ἐθβαίους γυνῶν, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἱσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστήρη καὶ ουδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκείν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσους ἐναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατίην τῆς Ἕλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχύστην μήδε περιορᾶν συνλεγομένους ἐτὶ πλεῦνας τῶν συνλεγομένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησισ-
were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor
42. Toůtov ὅ ὄυτω δικαίωντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτει τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατηγῆς ὄντος ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲν τοὺς παξίαρχους τῶν τελεων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωντοῦ ἐντων Ἕλληνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἰ τι εἰδείπον λόγιον περὶ Περσῶν ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήσων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμόν, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἐλεγεῖ “ἐπεί τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἢστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εἰ ἐπιστάμενος· ἦστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἑστὶ Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἕλλαδα διαρπάζαι τὸ ἰὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγῆ ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ὑμεῖς τοῖνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὐσὲ ἢμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἰὸν τοῦτο οὕτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάξειν, ταύτης τε εἰνεκα τῆς αὐτίκης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εἰνοι ἐόντες Πέρσησι, ἢδεσθε τοῦδε εἰνεκα ὡς περεσομένους ἢμέας Ἕλληνων.” ταῦτα σφι ἐἵπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτεσθαῖ τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέσθαι ὡς ἄμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τοῦτον δ' ἐγώνγε τὸν χρησμὸν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἴπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἕλληνος τε καὶ τὸν Ἔγχελεων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts; and when they were come Alexander said to them: “Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that
μενος προς μηδένα λέγειν ύμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ Ἐλληνικός εἰμὶ τῶρχαιν καὶ ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὑπὲρ τήν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δεδοκταὶ τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐὰν χαίρειν, ἀμ" ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολῇ ποιεσθαν· καταρρωδήκε γὰρ μὴ πλεύνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἑτοιμαζέσθη. ἤν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέσθαι, λιπαρεῖτε μένοντες· ὄλγενω γὰρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος οὐδὲ κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθήσεται τινὰ χρή καὶ ἔμεν ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὅσ' Ἐλλήνων εἶνεκα οὔτω ἔργον παράβολον ἐργασμαί ὑπὸ προθυμίᾳ, ἔθελον ύμῖν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἴνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ύμῖν ἐξαιρήσεις οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένουσι καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξάνδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπῆλουν ὁπίσω ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

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

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you
ἐπιστάσθη τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἅπειροι τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἥδαες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτητέων γὰρ οὗτοι πεπείρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμέν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὁπλα χρεόν ἐστι θέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τὸ δέ τὸ κέρας, ὑμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐνύμυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἰπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοῦσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχής, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν καὶ ὑμέας τασσομένους τους Πέρσας, ἐν νῷ ἐγένετο εἴπειν ταύτα τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε: ἄλλα ἄρρωσεις μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ήδέες γένωται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἕδομένοις ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐτοιμοὶ εἰμὲν ποιέων ταῦτα."

47. Ὁς δ' ἤρεσκε ἄμφοτέρους ταῦτα, ἕως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. ἱρύντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοί τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἢκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτός ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γυνόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὁπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτητῖτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐνύμυμον.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτητῖτας ἐλέγε ἑτέ. "Ὡς Λακεδαιμονίου, ὑμεῖς δ' ἴη λέγεσθε εἶναι ἀνδρεῖς ἀριστοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεουμένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντες τῇ ἄπολλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἤν οὐδὲν ἄληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ συμμίξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δ' φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν 216
have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say."

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

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Laedaeamonians with this message: "Men of Laedaeamon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your
ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἰδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίωσι τῇ τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἕμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὖδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἄλλα πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ὑμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ Βουλόμενοι μούνουσι Πέρσης μάχεσθαι, ἀρτιοὶ ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὖδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὑρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν δὲν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἠρξατε τούτο τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τὰ δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἔλληνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδοξωσθε ἐναι ἀριστοί, πρὸ δὲ τῶν Βαρ-βάρων ὑμεῖς ίσοι πρὸς ἱσοὺς ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢν μὲν δοκῆ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὄν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μή δοκεῖ οἱ ἔλλι ὑμέας μοῦνους ἀποχρᾶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ διαμαχε- σόμεθα· ὅκοτεροι δ' ἂν ὑμέων νικήσωσι, τούτοις τῷ ἀπαντει στρατοπέδῳ νικάν.”

49. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὖν δεις οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὑπίσω, ἀπελθῶν δὲ ἐς ήμαίνε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ κατα- λαβόντα. δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπαρ- θείς ψυχρῆ νίκη ἔπικε τὴν ἱππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἔλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἰππόται, ἐσίνουτο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Ἔλληνικὴν ἐσακοντι- ξούτες τε καὶ θεομένους ὡστε ἱπποτοξόται τε έόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἦς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἐλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν δὲν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοίοι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἐλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ως ἐκαστος δὲν τεταγμένοι, ὁ 218
station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacone-daemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,
δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἄγχος· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἄσωποῦ οὐτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφί οὐκ ἔξην ὑδωρ φορέσσαι ὦτο τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50. Τοῦτον δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἀτε τοῦ τε ὑδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱπποῦ ταρασσομένης, συνελέξθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἑλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίῳ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας. ἀλλα γὰρ τοιου τοιούτου ἐωτῶν μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύτεε· οὔτε γάρ σιτία εἰχον ἐτὶ, οἱ τε σφέων ὑπέων ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπιστιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκλημάτω ὑπὸ τῆς ἱπποῦ, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσσα ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευομένοις δὲ τοίς στρατηγοῖς ἐδοξε, ἦν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔναν. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἢ ἐστρατοπεδέυντο τὀτε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὗτο ἄν εἵη ἐν ἡπείρῳ σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρόνου ρέει κατω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, δέχων ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἄπει ζῆθυρα ὡς περ τριά στάδια, καὶ ἐπείτα συμμίσσει ἐς τόντο. οὖν οἷς δὲ οἱ Όιρόν· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆσαι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἐχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφεὰς μὴ
whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever
go to the spring, because they were barred from the
Asopus, not being able to draw water from that
river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

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

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

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

σινοίατο ὁσπερ κατιθ' ἐόντων· μετακινεσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἰππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἢ Ἀσωπίς Ὡμέρον περισχίζεται ἰέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, ὅπο τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἤσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

52. Ταῦτα Βουλευσάμενοι κεῖνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἀτρυντον· ὡς δὲ ἢ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἵππες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γυνομένης καὶ ἐσθιός τῆς ὀρῆς ἐς τὴν συνέκειτο σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοί ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο ὅπις ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οὗ δὲ ὡς εἰκινήθησαν ἐφευγον ἀσμενοι τῇ ἵππου πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικυνέουνται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίνος ἀπέχουν· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθετο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

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

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

53. So they encamped about the temple of Here. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader
γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους 
φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αὐχυννέειν τῇν Σπάρ-
tην, ἐδώμαζε τε ὅρεων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἀτε οὐ παρα-
γενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ 
Ἐυρυνάξαξ δεινὸν μὲν ἔποιεύντο τὸ μὴ πεί-
θεσθαι ἐκείνων σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κεῖνον 
tαῦτ᾽ ἀναινομένου, ἀπολυπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πι-
tανήτην, μὴ ἣν ἀπολύσωσι ποιεύντες τὰ συνεθή-
καντο τοῖς ἀλλοις Ἐλληνι, ἀπόλυται ὑπολει-
φθεῖς αὐτὸς τε Ἄρμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ. 
ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον 
tὸ Λακωνικὸν, καὶ ἐπειρώντο πεῖθοντες μὲν ὡς οὐ 
χρεον εἶν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

54. Καὶ οὐ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἄρμομφάρετον μοῦ-
νον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, 
Ἄθηναιοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας 
αὐτοῦς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαι-
μονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα 
λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμ-
πον σφέων ἵππεα ὑφόμενον τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπι-
χειρέσιον ὁι Σπαρτηῖται, εἶτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ 
διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυ-
σανίην τὸ χρεόν εἶν ποιεῖν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κήρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-
νίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένος καὶ 
ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς 
γὰρ δὴ παρηγορεύοντο τὸν Ἄρμομφάρετον οὔ τε 
Ἐυρυνάξαξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κυνδυνεύειν μένον-
tας μοῦνος Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἐπειθοῦ, ἐς ὁ

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

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

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

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1 Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a πετανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana v. iii. 55.
ἐς νείκεα τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἄπυγμενός. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇς χερές καὶ τιθεῖς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίων ταύτη τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ἔξινος, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. δὲ μαίνόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναίον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτώντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφὶ πρήγματα, ἐχρήζε τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς ἐωτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τὰ περ ἀν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὃ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἐωτοὺς ἦδος κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεις τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαίμονιων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημῆνας ἀπῆγγε διὰ τῶν κολώνων τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἴποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεήται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἡ Λακεδαίμονιοι· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὁχθῶν ἀντεῖχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κεθαίρων φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἡπ᾽ οὐ, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμῆσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείλετο αὐτοῦ μένουτας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰδέῃ τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν 226
wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

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

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its
λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἦγε βαίδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος·
tὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὄσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τῶν
Ἄμομφαρέτου λόχων, περὶ ποταμῶν Μολόεντα
ιδρυμένων Ἀργιόπιον τε χώρον καλεόμενον, τῇ
καὶ Δήμιτρος ᾿Ελευσινής ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε
dὲ τούδε εἶνεκα, ἦν ὦν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χώρον
eν τῷ ἑτετάχατο ὁ ῾Αμομφάρετος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος,
ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεῖ τὸ ὅπισώ παρ’ ἐκείνους.
καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ῾Αμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντο σφι
καὶ ἦ ὅππος ἦ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα.
οἱ γὰρ ἤποταί ἐποίευν οἶνον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιεῖν
αἰεί, ἱδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἑτετάχατο
οἱ ᾿Ελληνες τῇ προτεργησί ἡμέρησι, ᾿Ηλαυνὸν τοὺς
ἵππους αἰεί τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἁμα καταλαβόντε
προσκέετο σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπίθετο τοὺς ᾿Ελληνας
ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νῦκτα εἰδε τὸν χώρον ἔρημον,
καλέσας τὸν Λησιαἰων Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
θεούς αὐτοῦ ᾿Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήμου ἔλεγε
”cisionless” παῖδες ᾿Αλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὀρθῶν
ἔριμα; ὥμεις γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἔλεγε τὸ
λακε-
δαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρας εἶναι
τὰ πολέμια πρῶτοις· τοὺς πρὸς τῶν τοὺς
ἐπεὶ σφεας ἐδεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρσενες ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ
dιακρίθηναι, ὅτι οὐδὲνες ἀρα ἐόντες ἐν ὀούδαμοις ἐεὗσι."Ελλησι ἐναπεδει-
κνύσαι. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐεὗσι Περσέων ἀπείρουι
πολλῆ ἐκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεοῦντων
τοῦτοι τοὐσ τῇ καὶ συνηδέεσταν ἆρταβάζου δὲ
τῷ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τῷ καὶ καταρρωδήσαι
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arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Moloïs and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus’ men come up than the foreigners’ cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, and said: “What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be
Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωθήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλότητιν, ὥσ ἵρεον εἰς ἀναξέιγαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵναι εἰς τὸ Ὁηθαιῶν ἀστὶ πολιορκησμένους. τὴν ἐτί πρὸς ἐμεῖ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἐσται λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἔστι, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὁ καταλαμφθέντες δῶσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.

59. Ταῦτα εἴπας ἥγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπείχε τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μοῦνος, Ἄθηναῖους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατόρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρῶντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἀρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημῆνα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἐκαστοῖς εἶχον, οὐτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν βοὴ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπῆσαν ὡς ἀναρτασόμενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας Παυσανίδος δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἱπποσ, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἄθηναίους ἑπέεα λέγει τάδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἄθηναῖοι, ἀγώνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἰναι ἡ δεδουλωμένη τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδομέθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἄθηναιοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νῦκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὡν δὲ θεοῦ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν ἀμυνόμενος γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἀριστα περιστέλλειν ἄλληλους. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ἡμέας ὀρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἱππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθείν ἡμῖν νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἄπασα κεχώ-230
so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven’s advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians.”

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

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: “Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole
ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ύμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνόντες ίέναι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῦς ύμεῖς καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατον τι βοηθεῖν, ύμεῖς δὲ ἴμιν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ύμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἔουσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτουσι, ὅστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακοῦειν.”

61. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὀρμέατο βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμένειν καὶ σφὶ ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἄντιταχθέντες Ἑλληνῶν τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὡστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπησε. οὕτω δὴ μονωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεήται, ἐόντες σὺν ψυλοῦσι ἀριθμῶν οὐ μὲν πεντακισιμύριοι Τεγεήται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὕτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παρεούσῃ, καὶ οὐ γὰρ σφὶ ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγα χρηστά, ἐπιτοιγμὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῦτῳ τῶν χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἔτρωματὶ ἐξουσίαν φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ θέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπέεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὡστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίῳ πρὸς τὸ Ἡραίον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεῶν, χρηιξοῦσα τὰ βαρβάρους σφέας Ψευδήναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

62. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἐπικαλεομένων προεξαναστάντες πρῶτοι οἱ Τεγεήται ἐχώρεσον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αὐτίκα
brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

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

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of
μετὰ τὴν εὐχήν τὴν Παυσανίεω εὐγένετο θυσμένοις τὰ σφάγια χριστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ εὐγένετο, ἐχώρεσοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. εὐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἦδη εὐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἱσχυρὴ παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν, ἡς ὁ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὁδισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματα μὲν νυν καὶ ρώμη οὐκ ἦσσουν ἥσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἕστε καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὁμοιοί τοῖς έναντίοις σφόνην, προεξαίσοντες δὲ κατ’ ἕινα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνεῖς τε καὶ ἕλισσουν συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας καὶ διε- φθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἔως Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ’ ὑπ’ τοὺς μαχόμενος λευκοὺς ἐχὼν τε περὶ ἑώτην λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἑναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περίην, οὗ δὲ ἀντείχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμο- νίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἑκείνων τεταγμένων ἑών ἱσχυρότατον ἐπέσε, οὐτώ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἑτράποντο καὶ εἵλαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμο- νίοις. πλείστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλεύετο ἡ ἐςθῆς ἔρημος ἕοῦσα ὑπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῖτες ἀγώνα ἐποιεῖντο.

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

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

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the
νων τὰ ὑπόματα εἰρήται ἐς Δεσποίνην· ὅποτε γὰρ
σφί τυγχάνουσι ἐώτες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδό
νιος ὑπὸ Αειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου,
ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἄχων ἀνδρᾶς
τριηκόσιοις συνέβαλε ἐν Στεφυκλήρῳ πολέμου
ἐώτος Μεσσηνίοις πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε
καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο
ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, ἐφευγόν οὐδένα κόσμον
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ
ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι.
θῶμα δὲ μοι ὠκος παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλος
μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφαίη ὑπὸ Περσέων οὔτε
ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανόν, περί τε
τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβηλῶ ἐπέσουσι. δοκέω
δὲ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἡ
θεὸς αὐτῆς σφεῖς οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν
τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνην ἀνάκτορον.

66. Αὐτὴ μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.
Ἄρταβαζός δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ
ἡρέσκετο κατ’ ἄρχας λειτομένου Μαρδούνιο ἀπὸ
βασιλείως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἦμε,
συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐών· ἐποίησε τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς
οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρ-
δούνιο ποιευμένοις. τῶν ἐστρατήγη ὁ Ἀρτάβα-
ζος (εἰχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἄλλα καὶ ἐς
tέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωτῶν), τούτος,
ὀκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγύμενο, εὑ ἐξεπιστάμενος
tὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβῆσεθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἵπτε
κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶν τῶν ἑν
πάντας τῇ ἃν αὐτὸς ἐξειρήσεται, οὐκ ἃν αὐτὸς
ὁρώσι σπουδὴς ἐχοῦτα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς
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rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of
Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for
Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan
of note; who long after the Persian business did in
time of war lead three hundred men to battle at
Stenyleme against the whole army of Messenia,
and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

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

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Arta-
bazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first
misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all
his counselling not to join battle had been of no
avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was
doing he himself did as I will show. He had with
him a great army, even as many as forty thousand
men; knowing well what would be the event of the
battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met
than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them
follow him all together whither he should lead them,
according to whatsoever they should see to be his
intent; and with that command he made pretence
ἐς μάχην ἵργε δῆδεν τῶν στρατῶν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὁρᾶ καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας: οὔτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχύτητι ἑτρόχαξε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐβέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησσοῦν ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὕτω μὲν ταύτῃ ἑτράποντο: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἕλληνων τῶν μετὰ Βασιλέως ἑθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοῦ Ἀθηναίοις ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδείσετε τῶν Θηβαίων, οὕτως εἴχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἑθελοκακέοντες, οὕτως ὡστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἑτράποντο καὶ οὕτως, ἐφευγόν ἐς τὰς Θῆβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὁμίλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενοι οὐδεὶς οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐφευγόν.

68. Δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τα πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἱρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὕτως πρὶν ἡ καὶ συμμιξῇ πολεμίσῃ ἐφευγόν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὑρων. οὕτως τε πάντες ἐφευγόν πλὴν τῆς ὑπον τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐνύσα ἀπέργουσί τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἕλληνων.

69. Οὐ μὲν δὴ νικώντες εἴποντο τοὺς Ἑρέμεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖς ἄλλοισιν Ἐλλησι τοῖς τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ "Ἡραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοις τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ
of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phoeis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

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

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

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a
νικῶν εἰς Παυσανίων· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνίων τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἵππο τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὠδῶν. ἔπειτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέας καὶ Φλειασίουι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵπποταί ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἑκαντον ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἵππαρχεε Ασωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάρδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἐξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατηράξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα.

70. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὦμιλος, ὅς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ἔξυλινον τείχος, ἐφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἐδυνάσται ἁριστά τὸ τείχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστῆκεν σφι τείχομαχία ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἦσεν μὲν γὰρ ἀπήσαν οἱ Ἄθηναιοι, οἱ δὲ ἥμυνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡστε ὅτι ἐπισταμένων τείχομαχεῖν· ὡς δὲ σφι Ἄθηναιοι προσήλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τείχομαχία καὶ χρόνου ἐπὶ πολλῶν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λυπαρᾷ ἐπέβησαν Ἄθηναιοι τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἥμιπον τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεήται ἐς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδούνιον οὕτω ὤσαν οἱ διαρράσαντες, τὰ τε ἅλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἑοῦσαν χαλκέῃν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἄξιην. τὴν μὲν ὑπ'
battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levellest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which on fall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated
φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν ἑρὸν τῆς Ἀλεξίης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεηταῖ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῶντο, ὁσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῦτο Ἐλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐπουρήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ πάλιν οἱ ὁδὸν χώρας πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλήμεναι ἄνθρωπον παρῆν τοῦτο Ἐλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὡστε τριήκοντα μυριάδον στρατοῦ, κατάδεουσέων τεσσερῶν τὰς ἔχον Ἀρτάβαζος ἐφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἡρώστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζῶς μὲν ὁ Περσῆων, ἵπποι δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος Ἐλλῆνων δὲ, ἁγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἄριτὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλος μὲν οὐδενὶ ἐχὼ ἀποστήμασθαι (ἀπαντες γὰρ οὕτοι τοὺς κατ’ ἐωτοὺς ἐνίκων), οὕτε δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρότερον προσημείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἀριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὡς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριήκοςίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὅνειδος καὶ ἀτιμοῖ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἑρώστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπάρτητης. καὶ τοῖς γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἀριστος, ἐγνωσαν

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

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

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

2 Cp. vii. 231.
οί παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρευσής
οί αἰτίς, λυσσώτα τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τῇ τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὗ
βουλόμενον ἀποθνῄσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθῶν
tοσοῦτω τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
καὶ φθόνῳ ἢν εἴποιεν οὕτως δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα
πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστόδημου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν
tαύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο Ἀριστόδημος δὲ
βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίνην
οὐκ ἐπιμένῃ.

72. Οὕτως μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταίησι ὀνομαστότατοι
ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης
ἀπέθανεν, ἔλθαν ἀνήρ κάλλιστος ἐστὶ στρατόπεδον
τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Δακεδαι-
μονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὡς,
ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγμαζέτο Παυσανίς, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ
τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματα τὰ πλευρᾶ. καὶ δὴ
οὐ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὃ δὲ ἔξεσθημεν ἐνυσθανότες
τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀριμνήστον ἄνδρα Πλαταίεα
οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὧτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνῄσκειν,
ἀλλ' ὧτι οὐκ ἠχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὔδεν ἐστὶ
οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένοι ἔργον ἐωτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμε-
μένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

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

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

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes—son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen¹ back and

¹ According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.
έσέβαλον ἔς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικῆν σὺν στρατοῦ πλῆθει καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δῆμους, οὐκ εἴδότες ὅνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἢ Ἐλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οὔ δὲ αὐτὸν Δεκελον ἀχόμενον τε τῇ Θησέως ὑβρί καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πώς τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαί ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, γὰς ὅτι Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδίδοι Τυνδαρίδησι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελεία τε καὶ προεδρία διατελεῖ εἰς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἐτὶ ἐούσα, οὕτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὑστερον πολλοίσι ἐτεσὶ τοῦτων γενόμενων Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σιωμένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Δακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τοῦτο τοῦ δῆμον ἔως ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ξωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέα ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέν, τὴν ὁκώς πελάσει ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοις βαλλέσκετο, ἢν δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινηθαί μὴ δυναίτο: γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναυτίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα ὡς διόκειν, οὕτως μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατῶν λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀστίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀπρεμιζοῦσης ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέν.
broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.\footnote{But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).}

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.
75. Ἡ Ἑστὶ δὲ καὶ ἑτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἐργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατηµένων Ἀθηναίων Αὔγουν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἀνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὑστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἀνδρα γενόµενον ἀγαθὸν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγεόντα ἁµα Λεώγρω τῷ Πλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν υπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόµενον.

76. Ὡς δὲ τούτω Ἑλλησὶ ἐν Πλαταιήσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτα σφὶ ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόµολος· ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἐµαθε ἀπολολότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἔουσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Θεάστιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεως, κοσμηµατεῖν χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἀµφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθήτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρευσέων, καταβάςα ἐκ τῆς ἀρµαµάξης ἑχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐτὶ ἐν τῇσι φονῆσι ἐόντας, ὀρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερον τε τὸ οὐνοµα ἐξεπισταµενή καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὡστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἐγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβοµένη τῶν γονωτῶν ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ω βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαι µὲ τὴν ἵκετιν αἰχµαλώτων δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸ δὲ ὄνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς ὅυτε δαιµόνων ὧτε θεῶν ὅπων ἐχοντας. εἰµὶ δὲ γένος µὲν Κόρη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου. βιὴ δὲ µὲ λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἰχε ο Πέρσης." ὃ δὲ ἀµεῖβεται τοῖσιδε. "Γύναι, θάρσει καὶ ὡς ἴκετις καὶ εἴ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθεὰ λέγουσα καὶ εἰς 248
75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glauccon, he was slain at Datus ¹ by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

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

¹ In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.
θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κόνου, ὡς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἑών τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἶτας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖς παρεοῦσι, ὑστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἰγίναν, ἐσ τὴν αὐτή ἦθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξειν τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμένοις μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ύστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορῆν ἐποιεῦστο μεγάλην, ἀξιοὶ τε ἐφασαν εἶναι σφέας ξημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδώκοκν μέχρι Θεσσαλίης. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγοντας διόκειν. οὐ δὲ ἀναχαρῆσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν τοὺς ἑγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῶς ἐδώξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἤκουν Ἡλείοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖς Μαντινέασι συμφορῆν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτοι τοὺς ἑγεμόνας ἐδώξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἔν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγίνητέων ἦν Λάμπτων Πυθέω, Αἰγίνητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα. δὲ ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἱετο πρὸς Παισανίνην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ω παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἑργαστάν τι ὑπερφυεῖς μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοῦ θεὸς παρέδωκε ρυσάμενον τὴν Ἐλλάδα κλέος καταθέσαι μέγιστον Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὤδεν. οὐ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἑπὶ τούτοις ποίησον, οὐκ ὁμοίους τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέξων καὶ τις ύστερον φυλάσσεται τῶν βαρβάρων μη ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. Δεσωνίδεω 250
you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

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

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas
γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλησι Μαρδόνιος τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν, τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοῦσ ἐπαίνου ἐξεισηγήτεα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων. Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεις ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.

79. "Ο μὲν δοκεῖον χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὃ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Ω ἦν Αἰγινῆτα, ὁ μὲν εὐνοείων τε καὶ προορᾶν ἀγαμαί σεν, γυνώμης μετοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς. ἐξαείρας γὰρ μὲ ύψοι καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἴνα ταῦτα ποιέω, φᾶς ἄμεινόμε ἀκούσοεσθαι. τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροις ποιέειν ἢ ἐπερ Εἰλησι. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐπιφθονοέμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὁν τούτου εἶνεκα μήτε Αἰγινητησί ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἄρεσκεται, ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτηνητησί ἄρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδη δὲ, τὸ με κελεύεις τιμωρήσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρήσας, ψυχὴσί τε τῆσι τῶν ἀναρθμητοι τετίμηται αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοίοῦτο μήτε προσέλθης ἐμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χώριν τε ἰσθι ἐων ἀπαθῆς.""  

80. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκουσάς ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δὲ κηρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἀπτεσθαι τῆς ληηῆς, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οὐ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνήμεροι εὐρισκον ἁκηρῆς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἄργυρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ 252
was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

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

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls
51. The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists,
and cups and other drinking-vessels; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

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

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note ad loc.
82. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ἑρέξης 
φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τῇ κατα-
σκευῇ καταλήπτο τῇ ἐωτοῦ. Παυσανίῳ ὁν
ὀρῶντα τῇ Μαρδονίῳ κατασκευήν χρυσῷ τε καὶ 
ἀργυρῷ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλουσι κατε-
σκευασμένην, κελεύσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ 
τοὺς ψυποιοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ 
δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ώς δὲ κελεύσμενοι οὕτοι 
ἐπολευν ταῦτα, εὐθαύτα τῶν Παυσανίῳ ἱδόντα 
κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὑ ἐστρωμένας 
καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρα-
σκευήν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ 
προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἐωτοῦ 
διηκόνους παρασκευάζασι Δακωνίκον δείπνον. ώς 
δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείης ἢν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, 
τῶν Παυσανίῳ γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν 
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, συνεδροῦντων δὲ τού-
των εἰπείν τῶν Παυσανίῳ, δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρθη 
τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, 
τῶν ἐκεῖκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγω, βουλόμενος 
ὑμῖν τοὺς τοῦ Μῆδων ἡγεμόνος τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ 
δέξαι, ὅς τούτῳ διάιται ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας 
οὕτω ὀἰκυρίᾳ ἔχοντας ἀπαριθμόμενος." ταῦτα 
μὲν Παυσανίῳ λέγεται εἰπείν πρὸς τοὺς στρατη-
γοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. Ἱστέρω μείτοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν 
Πλαταιέων ἐδρον συχνὸι θύκας χρυσοῦ καὶ 
ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλών χρημάτων. ἐφανε ὅ 
δὲ καὶ τόδε ύστερον τούτων ἐτὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περι-
ψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρουν γὰρ τὰ 
ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἔνα χώρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ 
οὐκ ἔχουσα ραφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐνυγα 
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82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

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

84. Ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρη ἥμερη ὁ νεκρὸς ἕφαγε τοῦ ὑπὸ ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρέκες οὐκ ἔχο εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἦδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἦκουσα θάψαι Μαρδονίου, καὶ ὅρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ 'Αρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον: ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὕπελομενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρέκεως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτω καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐβέσιος θάψαι Μαρδονίου. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες ὦς ἐν Πλαταιῆς τὴν ληήν διεἶλοντο, ἐθαπτον τοὺς ἔωντῶν χωρὶς ἔκαστοι. Δικαίωμανοὶ μὲν τριξάς ἐποήσαντο δήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἐθαυσαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀρμομάρετος ἦναν καὶ Φιλοκύνων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἀλλοὶ Σπαρτίται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εὔλωτες. οὔτοι μὲν οὔτω ἐθαπτον, Τεγεήται δὲ χωρίς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀδηναῖοι τοὺς ἔωντῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαραίες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱπποῦ διαφθαρέας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῆσι ἔντεσ

1 MS. καὶ τὸ ἀνω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.

2 MS. Ἐπείτε δὲ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἐπεῖ γε δὴ (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.
one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits’ stature.

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

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

1 Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.
τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὃς ἐγὼ πυθώνομαι, ἔπαισχυνο-
μένοις τῇ ἀπεστοί τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χῶματα
χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἑπιγινομένων εἶνεκεν ἀνθρώπων,
ἐπεῖ καὶ Αἰγυπτέων ἑστὶ αὐτοῖς καλεόμενος τάφος,
τὸν ἐγὼ ἄκοιν καὶ δέκα ἐτεσὶ ὑστερον μετὰ ταῦτα
dεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγυπτέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τῶν
Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιᾶ, πρὸς εἰδών εὖντα
αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ' ἀρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλα-
ταιᾷ οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἀυτίκα βουλευομένοις σφι
ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐβηβας καὶ ἕξαπτείν
αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρῶτοις δὲ αὐτῶν
Τιμιγενίδῃ καὶ Ἀτταγίνου, οἱ ἄρχηγεται ἀνὰ
πρώτους ἔθαντ' ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανί-
στασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρῶτερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι.
ὡς δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα ἐδοξε, οὔτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτη ἡμέρῃ
ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιορκεῖον Ἐβη-
βαίοις, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ
βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Ἐβηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε
γῆν αὐτῶν ἐταμνον καὶ προσεβάλλον πρὸς τὸ
τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύνοντο σιωμένοι, εἰκοστῇ
ἡμέρῃ ἐλέξε τοῖς Ἐβηβαίοις Τιμιγενίδης τάδε.
"Ἀνδρεὶς Ἐβηβαίοι, ἐπειδὴ οὔτω δέδοκται τοῖς
Ἐλληνες, μὴ πρῶτερον ἀπαναστήναι πολιορκέοντας
ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θηβαὶς ἡ ἡμέας αὐτοῖς παραδώτε, νῦν
δὲν ἡμέων εἶνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτία πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ,
ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα
ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματα σφὶ δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ
κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ
μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἄληθέως δεόμενοι
πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην
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their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans’ desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

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

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

88. Ὦς δὲ ὠμολογήσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδίσμου παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μετατίθουσιν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἔδοκεν ἀντιλογίς τε κυρήσεως καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι ὦ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὕτα τάντα ὑπονοεῖν τῇν στρατιῆν τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἀπασᾶν ἄπηκε καὶ ἔκεινοις ἀγαγῶν ἐς Κόριουν διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταίῃ καὶ Θῆβηςι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταίων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἑκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περί τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἀλλης, οὐδὲν ἑπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταίῃ καὶ γενόμενοι. ὦ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἅληθείν τῶν ἀγώνων εἴπειν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὦ μετ’ αὐτοῦ στρατός ἐπιθῆσεθαι γὰρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶκε ξυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενοι οὐτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορευε οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Εγὼ μὲν ὁ ἀνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὅρατε, ἑπείγομαι τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλὼν ἐς Θρηκὴν καὶ σπουδὴν ἤχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶν δὲ ἀυτὸς δὲ ὧμιν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὦ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστὶ.
ourselves up to be tried by them.” This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

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

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: “I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching
τούτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὐ ποιεῖτες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ υἱῶν εἰς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῖσι μεταμελήσει. ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπήλαυνε σπονδὴ τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἵδι τῆς Θρηκίας, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπών τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἔωτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηκίων κατακοπέντας κατ’ ὀδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτω· ἐκ Βυζάντιον δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενώστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταίησι τὸ τρώμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίας. ἔσθε γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔματα Δευτεριμίδη τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθον σφι ἀναγελοῦ ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τοῖς Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεως καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεως, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σάμων Λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τῶν κατέστησιν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἑπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πόλλα καὶ παντοὶ, ὡς ἂν μονον ἰδοὺν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι; ἢν δὲ καὶ ἀρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἀγρην τοιαύτην εὔρειν ἀνατούς· θεοὺς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχει άνδρας Ἐλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμυναὶ τὸν βάρβαρον· ἐντετέθης δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐφή ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κεῖνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοὶ δὲ, εἰ τι ὑποπτεύουσι 264
close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it.” So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

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

91. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἰρέτῳ Δεντυχίδης, εἰτε κληδόνος εἰνεκεῖν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἰτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίαν θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, ὡς ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τῷ τοῦ ὁὐνόμα ; ὦ δὲ εἴπε "Ἡγησίστρατος," ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλουπον λόγον, εἰ τινὰ ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἴπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, ὁ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἦμιν ποίεε ὁκὼς αὐτὸς τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσει καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἑόντες οἴδε, ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἦμιν προθύμους ἑσεσθαι συμμάχους." 92. Ταυτά τε ἀμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἑργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σαμίοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὁρκία ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταυτά δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ ὁὐνόμα ποιεῦμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τὴν υστεραίᾳ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφὶ Δηηφόνου τοῦ Ἑυνύου ἄνδρος Ἀπολλωνίτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰούων κόλπῳ. τούτου τοῦ πατέρα Ἑυνύου κατέλαβε πρήγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἤλιον πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χώνα ποταμόν, ὅσ ἐκ Δάκρυων ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ᾽ Ὄρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νυκτας ἁραιρημένου ἄνδρες οἱ πλοῦτω τε καὶ γένει δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὕτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκαστος: περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται
have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

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

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

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

1 Hegesistratus = Army-leader.
'Απολλωνιήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τιμὸς. ἐν δὲ ἀντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ένθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήμιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἀντρὸν διέφθειραν τῶν προβατῶν ὡς ἐξήκοντα. ὃ δὲ ὡς ἐπήμισε, εἰχε σιγὴ καὶ ἐφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νῷ ἐχον ἀντικαταστήσειν ἅλλα πριάμενοι. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβε τοὺς 'Απολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς όψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήμιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὕτε πρόβατα σφι ἔτικτε οὕτε γῆ ἐφερε ὃμοιος καρπὸν. πρόβαντα δὲ σφὶ ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγίνετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αὐτίκο τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οὐ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφραζον ὅτι ἄδικως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἴρων προβατῶν Εὐήμιον τῆς όψιος ἑστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαν τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκαιος ὃς τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἀν αὐτῶς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοῦ τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δόσειν Εὐήμιῳ δόσιν τοιαύτῃ τὴν πολλοῦς μιν μακαρεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. 94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτα σφὶ ἔχρησθη, οἶ δὲ 'Απολλωνιήται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι πρόθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἶ δὲ σφὶ διέπρηξαν ὅδε κατημένου Εὐήμιον ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἅλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὁ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει ταύτη δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιπο.
Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we ourselves" (said they) "sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy."

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would
εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνίται δίκας ὑποστήματι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. δὲ οὐκ ἂκακοὺς τὸθεοπρόπιον ἐπλέτο εἰπας εἰ τις ὁ δοῦχ ἀγγεῖος, τῶν ἀστῶν ὄνομάσας τούτα ἦπιστάτο εἶναι καλ-
λίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἁπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἰκήσαν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν ἦδεε καλλίστην ἐούσαν τῶν ἐν πόλι: τούτων δὲ ἐφὴ ἐπῆβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λαοῦ ἄμηντος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχράν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα ἔλεγε, οὗ
de πάρειδροι εἰπαν ὑπολαβόντες "Εὐήνε, ταύτην
dίκην Ἀπολλωνίται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί
tοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ
πρὸς ταύτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν πυθόμενος
tὸν πάντα λόγου, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς: οὗ δὲ πριάμενοι
παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ ἐπίλετο. καὶ
μετὰ ταύτα αὐτίκα ἐμφυτον μαυτικήν εἰχε, ὡστε
καὶ οὖνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηφώνος ἔων παῖς τοῦ Εὐήνου
ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιᾷ. ἦδη
dὲ καὶ τὸδε ἢκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηφώνος ἐπιβατεύων
τοῦ Εὐήνου οὖνοματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλ-
λάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἔων Εὐήνου παῖς.

96. Τοίσι δὲ ᾽Ελλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγον
τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπει
dὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσοις, οὗ
μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡραίον τὸ ταύτη
παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίαν, οὗ δὲ Πέρσαι
πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ
πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἀλλὰς, τὰς δὲ
Φωικῶν ἀπήκαν ἄποπλέειν. βουλευομένοι γὰρ
σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίαν μὴ ποιέσθαι: οὐ γὰρ ὅν

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

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

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Here that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea; for they
εδόκεον ὃμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεουν, ὡκὼς ἔωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν τῶν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεὐσαντος Ξέρξεως καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίων ἐφύλασσε τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἢν ἢς μιριάδες, ἐστρατίγησε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλει καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἔρυμα τὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγγειλο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου ἐπιστόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλητοῦ κτιστῶν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τὲ νέας ἀνειρύσαν καὶ περιβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ ξίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἦμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρασκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρασκευάζοντο.

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωσότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἕχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίη τε εἰχοντο ὃ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὑπὸσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἐδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέων, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὃν ὡς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὁσῶν ἐδει, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς
deemed themselves overmatched; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

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

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

¹ Demeter and Persephone.
² The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale; Scolopoïs, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).
Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχοι τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὃρον νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νυν παραπλέων, ἐνχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῶ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἰωσι λέγων "Ἄνδρεσ Ἰωνεὶς, οἱ υμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούστες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω: πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνῆσοντες Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγώ ύμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεάν συμμόσιωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβης. καὶ τάδε ἵστω καὶ ὁ μή ἀκούσας υμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὁμώς δὲ οὕτως ἐων τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιῳ ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ρήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμελλέ τοὺς Ἰωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἐπείτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖς Ἔλλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ Ἔλληνες προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἡς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἔτασσον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἴδον τοὺς Ἔλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖς Ἰωσὶ παρανεστανταῖς, τούτῳ μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἐλλήνων φρονεῖν ἀπαίρεονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὅν Σάμιοι ἀτικομένων Ἄθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων εἰς τῆς νυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἐλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ἐρέξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἄθηνας: τῶν εἶνεκαν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἴχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλᾶς τῶν Ἐρέξεω 274
held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry ‘Hebe’: and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears.” The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles’ purpose at Artemision\(^1\); either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

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

\(^1\) Cp. viii. 22.
πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τούτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐσ τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖς Μιλησίοις φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένουσι δήθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώριν. ἐποίευν δὲ τούτο τοῦδε εἶνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔφοι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖς καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμοῦν ἂν τὶ ποιέειν δυνάμοις ἐπιλαβομένοις, τρόποις τοιούτοις προεφύλασσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἐρκος εἶναi σφίσi.

100. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖς Ἑλλησι, προσήμασαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἴονις δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατοπέδον πάν καὶ κηρυκήνων εφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενον· ἢ δὲ φήμη δεῖλθε σφι ὠδε, ὡς ὁ Ἑλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατὴν νικήθην εν Βοιωτοῖς μαχό- μενοι. δὴλα δὴ πολλοῦσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεία τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπτιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇ καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλη μέλλοντος ἔσεθαι τρώματοι, φήμη τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοῖς ταύτη ἐστάπικετο, ὡστε θαρσήσαι τε τὴν στρατηγὸν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἔθελεν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενοι, Δήμητρος· τεμένεσι Ὁλευσινῆς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιάδι παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, ἢ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἑμελλε ψαύτως ἔσεθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίου Ἐλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέ- βαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇ πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ ἑδίλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε 276
Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

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

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same
γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τού αυτοῦ, χρόνων οὐ πολλοὶ σφι ύστερον δήλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἢν δὲ ἀρρωδήσῃ σφὶ, πρὶν τὴν φύμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτε περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω ὡς τῶν Ἰδρήμων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἰδρῆ. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὸν αὕτη σφὶ ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῖντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἡλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσπευδὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφὶ καὶ αἱ νήσοι καὶ ὁ Ἰδρῆσποντος ἀεθλὰ προεκέιτο.

102. Τοίοι μὲν νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοίοι προσεχέστι τούτοις τεταγμένοις, μέχρι κοιν τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὄδος ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ἀπεδον χῶρον, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπεξής τούτοις τεταγμένοις κατὰ τε χαράδραν καὶ ὅρεα. ἐν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι περῆσαν, οὕτως οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐτέρω κέρει ἐτὶ καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἐώς μὲν νῦν τοῖς Πέρσησι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὔδεν ἐλασσὸν εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἐωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἐργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἐργον εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, εὐθεὺς ἦν ἑτεροῦντο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὕτως φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἄλλες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνου συχνῶν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἐφευγὼν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Κορинфοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροίζνηιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἠσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπιστόμενοι συνεστίπτοτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὕτ' ἐτὶ πρὸς ἄλκην ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλῆν Περσέων· οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὁλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-
month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

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

103. Ἔτη δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως: τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἔόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὀπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἐτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρθουν ὅσον ἐδυνάτο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλουντες τοῖς ᾿Ελλησι. Σαμίων δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι ᾿Ιωνεῖς ἀρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.

104. Μιλήσιοι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρεέων σωτηρίας εἴνεκά σφι, ὡς ἢν ἀρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἶᾳ περ κατέλαβε, ἐχοντες ἠγεμόνας σώζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτων τε εἴνεκεν καὶ ᾿ϊνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὶ νεόχυμον ποιότειν' οὗ δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγορομενοί σφί ὀδοὺς φεύγουσιν, αἳ δὴ ἐφερον ὡς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφί ἐγινοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ᾿Ιωνίῃ ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.
with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artayntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

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

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

1 ἔπεραικὴς here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side or other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one as opposed to the other.
105. Ἔν δὲ ταύτη τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοῖνος, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκῆσας. τούτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὑστερον τούτων, πολέμοιν ἕοντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα εὐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῶ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνους καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἡρίστευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἳ Ἑλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἄπαν, τὴν ληφνυ προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὐρωπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀποκόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἳ Ἑλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὅκη χρεοῦ εἰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναν τοῖσι βαρβάροις ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἐωτοὺς τε Ἰώνων προκατήθοσαί φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἐωτῶν μὴ προκατηκένων Ἰωνίας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταύτα Πελοπονησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τελεῖ ἐούσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἑθνῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαιστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἰωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἄρχῃ Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὔδὲ Πελοπονησίοις περὶ τῶν σφετερεώς ὑποκιεῖσιν βουλεύειν ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἰςαν οἳ Πελοπονησίοι. 282
105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancratium, Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrnus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

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

1 The "pancratium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.
καὶ οὖτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους
cαὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρα-
teuόμενοι τοῖς "Ελληνι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικοῦ ἐποιή-
sαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίσσετο ἐμ-
μενεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ
καταλαβόντες ὀρκίσσετο ἐπλεον τας ἱεροῦρας λύ-
σοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν.
οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπ' "Ελλησπόντου ἐπλεον.

107. Τὸν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ
ἀκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἔοντων οὐ
πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων
δὲ κατ' ὅδον Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ
πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ἀρταύντην
ἐλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς
κακῶς φᾶς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαύτα στρατηγῆσαντα,
cαὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τῶν βασιλέως οἴκων
κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσησι γυναικὸς
κακῶς ἀκούσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἔστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ
πολλὰ ἦκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τῶν
Μασίστης τῶν ἀκινάκης, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ
μὲν ἐπιθέουνται φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πηθείλεω
ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεύς ὁπισθὲ ἑστῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρ-
tαύντεω ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἕξαείρας παίει ἐς
τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω
προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο
χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξη,
ἐκσώζων τῶν ἄδελφων τὸν ἐκείνου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
tὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἤρξε δύντος
βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὅδον πορευομένων οὐδὲν
ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικυνήσαται ἐς
Σάρδις.

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

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

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at
λευς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ 'Ἄθηνεων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε ἐν τῇ Σάρδιτι ἐδών ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεως γυναικός, ἑούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δὲ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἄδελφεον Μασίστην τῶν τοῦτο δὲ τούτο ἔχε καὶ τῇ γυναίκα καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἵνα ταύτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νυμιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπῆλανε ἐς Σοῦσας· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰ ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἓν ἐνυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τῆς γυναίκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεως μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυσε, ὅ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἑτύγχαιε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω, δὲ θυγατρὸς· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικῇ ταύτῃ ἦν Ὁρταύνη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προιόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπω τοιῷδε. ἐξυφήμασα Ἁμηντρίς ἔρξεος γυνὴ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοὶ ἔρξη. ὅ δὲ ἥσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν 'Αρταύνη τῆς θεβίς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτήσαι ὅ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τὼν αὐτῶν ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεῦξεσθαι αἰτήσασαι. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδει πανοικία γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἔρξη "Δόσις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω" ὅ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτήσαι ὑπισχύετο καὶ ὀμοσε. ἢ δὲ ὡς ὀμοσε ἄδειας αἰτεῖ τὸ φάρος. ἔρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἔγινετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο.
Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaýnte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaýnte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save
μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἦμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζοῦσθα τὰ γινόμενα οὔτω ἐπευρεθῆ πρήσων. ἢ ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδον καὶ χρυσὸν ἀπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὔδεις ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκεῖνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δώρον. ἢ ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοὶ τὸ φάρος. ἢ δὲ περιχαρῆς ἔσοσα τῷ δῶρῳ ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

110. Καὶ Ἦμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὖκ εἰχε ἐγκοτον, ἢ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τῇ μητέρᾳ αὐτῆς εἰναι αἰτίη καὶ ταύτα ἐκείνην πρήσεσεν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικα ἐβούλευε ὀλέθρου. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐωτητῶν Ἑρέξεων βασιλῆιον δείπνου προτιθέμενον τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρασκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρη τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὕνωμα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνῶν γλώσσαν τέλειον τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεῖς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται ταύτῃ δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα Ἦμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ἑρέξεω δοθήναι οἱ τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικα. δὲ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦτο μὲν ἄδελφεον γυναικα παραδόναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἄουσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου. συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἶνεκεν ἐδέετο.

111. Τέλος μεντοὶ ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεύσοις καὶ υπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχήσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατὸν ἐστι βασιληίῳ δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιεῖι ὦδε; τῇ μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖιν τὰ βουλεῖται, δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἄδελφεον λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παις καὶ ἐμὸς ἄδελφεος, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτους καὶ εἰς
that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

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

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;
ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτη τῇ νῦν συνοικεῖσις μὴ συνοικείς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀντὶ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ διδώμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἔμην. ταύτη συνοικείς· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ εἳμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.” ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμᾶσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. “Ω δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων μὲ γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοί παίδες τε νευρίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυχὲνει κάρτα ένοσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαί; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῖμαι ἄξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω λέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶν πρήγματος τοιοῦτοι δέομενοι· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεύ οὐδὲν ἔσων, ἐμὲ τε ἐὰ γυναίκι τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικεῖιν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτους ἀμείβεται, Ἐρέξης δὲ θυμοθεῖς λέγει τάδε. “Οὔτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκει· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἔμην γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλείνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ώς ταῦτα ἡκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε ἔχωρε ἐξῳ “Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κἂν μὲ ἀπόλεσας.”

112. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ἐρέξης τῷ ἀδελφῷ διελέγετο, ἢ Ἀμνηστρις μεταπεμφαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ἐρέξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζὸς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ρίνα καὶ ὄτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ γλώσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἰκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμαμένην.

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

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

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the
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tà oίκια. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖς παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοῖς ἕως τοῦ νύμφη καί δὴ κού τισὶ καὶ ἀλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα: τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔμοι δοκέειν, εἰ περ ἐφθη ἄναβας ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας καὶ γὰρ ἐστεργόν μν καὶ ἤν ὑπαρχός τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἐρέξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσοντα, πέμψας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν στρατηγῆν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτειν αὐτῶν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τήν στρατηγὴν τὴν ἐκεῖνον. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ἐρέξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὄρμηθέντες "Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Δεκτῶν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὔροι διαλευμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεοι εὐρίσειν ἐτὶ ἑπταμένας, καὶ τούτων ὁὐκ ἥκιστα εὑνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδῃ Πελοποννησίοις ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα, ᾿Αθηναίοις δὲ καὶ ᾿Ενθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευον, ᾿Αθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἔσ ὡς δὲ τὴν Σηστοῦ ταύτην, ὡς ἐώς τοῦ ἵσχυρότατον τείχεω τῶν ταύτης, συνηθοῦν, ὡς ἡκουσαν παρεῖναι τούς ᾿Ελληνας ἐς τῶν ᾿Ελλησπόντου, ἐκ τοῦ ἀλλεών τῶν περιοικιδῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὡς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρεῶν ὀπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικῶς. εἶχον 292
havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

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

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

1 At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.
δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἴολες, συνήσαν δὲ Πέρσαι
tε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὀμίλος.

116. Ἐπιρράνευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ἑρέξεων ὑπαρχος Ἀρταϊκτῆς, ἀνήρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἔπει Ἀθηναῖος ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ιφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιόυντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιόυντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσαι καὶ ἀργυραὶ καὶ χαλκοὶ καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταϊκτῆς ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ἑρέξην διεβιλετο. "Δέσποτα, ἐστὶ οίκος ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευ-

σάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανεν τούτου μοι δὸς τοῦ οίκου, ἵνα καὶ τίς μάθη ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι." ταὐτά λέγων ἐνπετέως ἐμελλὲ ἀναπέσειν Ἑρέξην δουναὶ ἀνδρὸς οἰκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκείνω ἔφροιε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλεός στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἐλεγε νοεών τοιάδε τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐσωτὸν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἔπει δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιόμοντος ἐς Σιυτοῦν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔστειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὡς ἀτίκοιο ἐς Ἐλαιόμοντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκεῖτο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορ-

κήν οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τούς Ἑλλήνας, ἀφύκτως δὲ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκομένοις ἱππι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγύνετο, καὶ ῥήχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῇ
by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

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

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

1 The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, νης ἄποθράσκων (Hom. II. ii. 701).
118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔσεν πάν ἡ γαῖα κακοῦ ἀπιγμένου ἤσαν, οὕτω ὡστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέως. ἔπειτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐτέ εἴχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἱ ὕπαρξεν ἀποδράντες οἱ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὁπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἤν ἐρημώτατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησιται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεύνες ἠδίωκον, οὐ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἴχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νῦν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηκῖν Θρήκης Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἑβυσσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῶν Ἀρταύκτην ὑστεροὶ ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἔωντες ὑπὲρ Ἀιγὸς ποταμοῦ, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οὐ δὲ ἐξώντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἑλληνες ἤγουν ἐς Σηστοῦ, μετ᾽ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένου αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

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

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

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

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

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1 A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).
τοίονδε: οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντο τε καὶ ἦσσαρον ὅκως περ ἱχθύες ἵεολᾶτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἑθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἴδε τῷ τέρασ, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς τάριχους ἔφη "Ἐεῖνε Ἀθηναίε, μηδέν φοβέο τὸ τέρασ τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοί σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεώς καὶ τάριχος ἔων δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνέσθαι. νῦν δὲν ἀποινά μοι τάδε ἑθέλω ἐπιδεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἐλαβόν ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατόν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωστοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδῶσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγεγομένους." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε: οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρεόντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτη νόσος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν ξέρξης ἐξευβεῖ τὸν πόρον, οὐ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολοῦν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλευσάντας ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παιδὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεως κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἀγόντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὀπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσαντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ὀυδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

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

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

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

\footnote{There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.}

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Κύρω προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. "Επει Ζευς Πέρσαι ἡγεμονίην διδοί, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοι Κύρη, κατελών 'Αστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἁμείνῳ. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσώμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἀρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἀρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς 'Ασίῆς;" Κύρως δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμίσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταύτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖς παραίνεε κελεύουν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἀρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπῶν τε θωμαστῶν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὡστε συγγυνοίτες Πέρσαι οἶχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γυνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρον, ἀρχειν τε εἰλοῦτο λυπρὴν οἴκεοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἀλλοισι δουλεύειν.
before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.
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("Xerxes' march" and "Xerxes' army" refer always to the invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.)

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London - WILLIAM HEINEMANN
New York - G. PUTNAM'S SONS