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HERODOTOS
VIII
URANIA

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MAP.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS  

To face Title
PREFACE.

THIS edition of the eighth book of Herodotos, expanded from a previous edition of the first ninety chapters, is designed to help students in all difficulties connected with the Greek language which it contains, and also to supply them with full information as to the historical facts which it includes, or to which it refers. I have hoped by the Historical and Geographical Index to help students to take a somewhat wider interest in Hellenic history, which is too apt to mean with most of us merely the history of Athens and Sparta. My chief obligations, acknowledged frequently in the notes, are, among others, to the editions of Dr K. Abicht, Leipzig, 1882; and Dr H. Stein, Berlin, 1882. Much illustrative matter, however, which I have found for myself, or which has long been the common property of scholars, I have not thought it necessary to put down to the credit of those editors, although it may be often found in their works.

CAMBRIDGE, 1890.

H. VIII.
INTRODUCTION.

When Darius died (b.c. 485) he left two tasks unfinished,—the subjugation of Greece for which he had made vast preparations, and on which his heart had been firmly set, and the reduction of a great revolt in Egypt.

The latter of these tasks engaged the attention of his successor first. It was thoroughly accomplished by b.c. 483; Egypt was brought to a state of still greater dependence than before, placed under the charge of Achaemenes one of the king's brothers, and forced to assist in the expedition against Greece [Her. 7, 1—7].

Xerxes now determined to carry out the other task, the subjugation of Greece. For this purpose preparations on a vast scale were made. All parts of the great empire were ordered to furnish men, provisions, money, and ships [7, 23—5]. Two expeditions had been attempted before; the first, under Mardonius, was conveyed by a fleet coasting down from the Thracian shore towards the south, but had been ruined by shipwreck while rounding the promontory of Athos [b.c. 492]: a second had crossed the Aegean by way of the islands and had been defeated at Marathon [b.c. 490]. But the present plan embraced a double method of attack. A fleet was to start from
the Hellespont and coast along the shore of Greece to the Peloponnese; while, keeping as nearly parallel with the fleet as possible, a grand army was to cross the Hellespont and march through Makedonia, Thessaly, and Boeotia into Attica, and thence to the Peloponnese. To secure the passage of these two armaments, a bridge of ships had, after one failure, been constructed across the Hellespont, while a canal had been dug across the neck of the peninsula of Athos.

These two works, constructed principally by the skilful engineers of Phoenikia, were well conceived and proved of the utmost service to the expedition. The shipment of so vast an army across the Hellespont would have occupied an inconveniently long time; while the canal enabled the fleet to avoid a headland which had already proved fatal to one Persian fleet, and was an object of terror to the sailors of the Levant.

By the Autumn of B.C. 481 both fleet and army were ready for starting in the following spring. The fleet consisted of 1207 ships of war, with innumerable other ships laden with provisions and material of war; the army, when numbered after crossing the Hellespont, amounted according to Herodotos to 517,610 men, without counting servants and camp-followers [7, 184]. Nor was the greatness of his army all that Xerxes could reckon upon in calculating his chances of success against Greece. A large part of the European country he was about to traverse already owned his authority. The parts of Thrace and Makedonia which bordered on the sea had submitted to Darius; and the suppression of the Ionian revolt had

---

1 Herodotos reckons the whole number of land and sea forces at 2,317,610, without counting servants, or the crews of provision-ships.
INTRODUCTION.

placed the Islands of the Aegean north of Crete in the power of Persia, even including the Cyclades with the exception of some few south of Delos. While in Greece itself nearly all states north of Attica from policy or fear medized. The powerful family of the Aleuadæ of Larissa had even invited the invasion, and though their action was not universally approved in Thessaly, the loyal party of Thessalians were too feeble to resist [7, 130, 172; 9, 1]. The Phokians were divided, but only a section of them ventured to offer a fitful resistance from their hiding-places on Parnassos [8, 32; 9, 17—8]; in Boeotia an overwhelming majority of states medized, only Plataea standing fast to its loyalty to Athens, while the Thespians abandoned their town and sought refuge in the Peloponnese. It was clear therefore that it was from Attica, and the states south of Attica, that resistance must come if it came at all. But even in the Peloponnese itself the important district of Argolis, with the insignificant exceptions of Mycenæ and Tiryns, was ready, in its hatred of Sparta, to welcome the Barbarian [7, 150—2]. Still the greater part of the Peloponnese was loyal, and preparations were being made in Southern Greece to meet the storm.

The first news of the impending invasion is said to have been conveyed to Sparta by the exiled Demaratus, who was living at the Persian court [7, 239]. The great army was in winter quarters at Sardis and its neighbourhood when the first step was taken by a Congress of representatives from various loyal States meeting on the Isthmos of Corinth [7, 145]. This Congress seems to have met late in the year 481, and, while sending spies to Sardis to learn the truth about the vast preparations which the king was re-
ported to be making, sent at the same time envoys to various distant states calling upon them to aid the cause of Hellenic liberty.

The spies sent to Sardis were captured, but by the king’s order were shown all the preparations of his camp, and allowed to return home in hopes that their report might deter the Greeks from venturing upon further resistance [7, 146].

Nor did the envoys sent to Greek states meet with success. The Argives absolutely refused all help, on the ground that the envoys did not bring authority to conclude a 30 years’ peace between them and the Lacedaemonians, nor were able to admit their claim to a joint command: though the real reason seems to have been that they had already made terms with Persia [7, 148—152]. The tyrant Gelo of Syracuse also refused aid on the pretext of the rejection of his claim to command by sea or land; really perhaps because he was himself threatened with an invasion from Carthage [7, 157—165]. The Kretans referred the matter to Delphi. But the Oracle was temporizing and gave an unfavourable reply, and they therefore declined to join in resistance [7, 169]. The Korkyreans indeed promised help and actually manned 60 triremes. But this squadron had secret orders to linger round the west and south of the Peloponnese, and wait to see which side would win; conduct which they afterwards tried to cover by alleging contrary winds as the cause of their absence from Salamis [7, 169]².

¹ See note on p. 21, l. 19.
² The selfish policy of the Korkyreans seems to have been characteristic. See Thucyd. 1, 31, 2 ὀδενὸς Ἐλλήνων ἐναπονδοι cp. c. 32 ibid.
INTRODUCTION.

The envoys therefore had met with nothing but coldness and rebuffs. The best report was brought by those sent to Thessaly. They brought word that the Thessalians had promised to help in guarding the defile of Tempe, between Olympus and Ossa [7, 175]. A certain number of ships were accordingly sent to Halos, where 10,000 soldiers were landed and proceeded on foot to Tempe; the Athenian contingent being under the command of Themistokles¹. But they remained there only a few days. Alexander of Makedonia warned them that the pass was too wide to be defended against the superior numbers of the enemy. This warning, backed by the knowledge that the pass of Tempe was not the only one into Thessaly, induced this force to withdraw to its ships and return home [7, 172—4]. This abortive expedition took place early in the spring of 480 B.C. just when the royal army was in the act of crossing the Hellespont.

The upshot of these transactions was that, Thessaly being definitely abandoned, the Thessalians were compelled to submit unconditionally to the Persians as well as much of the country south of Thessaly: and that it became necessary for the Congress of the Isthmos to reconsider their plan of campaign.

The Congress now decided on sending troops to guard the pass of Thermopylae, between Mount Oeta and the sea, both as being narrow enough to be defended, and as being a single one, for they knew nothing of the path which was afterwards treacherously pointed out to the Persians. At the same time messages were sent to the various states that could provide ships to muster them at Pōgōn the harbour of Troezen [8, 42], for

¹ Plutarch, Them. 7.
the purpose of proceeding to Artemisium, that the invaders might be met by sea and land at places nearly opposite each other.

But these arrangements seem to have taken a considerable time. For it was not until news came that Xerxes was in Pieria, the southern district of Makedonia, that the leaders assembled in the Isthmos hurried off to their respective posts at Thermopylae and Artemisium [7, 177].

The Spartans had taken the initiative in sending to Thermopylae a small force of 300 citizens with their helots under the king Leonidas, that the allies might be encouraged to do the same; and eventually there were mustered under his command 2700 men from various cities in the Peloponnese, with 400 from Thebes, 700 from Thespiae, and about 1500 Phokians and Opuntian Lokrians. The Spartans looked upon this force as a mere advanced guard. They were kept at home by the approach of the festival of the Karneia, which hardly any extremity of danger would induce them to neglect. They expected that Leonidas would be able to hold the pass long enough to enable the main army to come to his support [7, 206].

The Athenians were not represented in this army. Their whole energies and all their available men were devoted to strengthening the fleet, to which they contributed almost as many vessels as all other states put together.

Meanwhile the two arms of the Persian host were steadily approaching. Starting from Therma (Thessalonika), eleven days in advance of the navy, the land forces made their way unopposed through Thessaly and Phthiotis (Achaia). They kept the road by the sea coast
in order to pass most easily the range of Orthrys, and descended into Malis. There the chain of Oeta runs close down to the sea, leaving what was then an extremely narrow passage, but which now presents quite a different appearance. The sea has receded, and the Spercheios has brought down so much alluvial deposit that its course is changed, and a broad piece of marshy land covered with rice fields stretches between the mountains and the sea.

The pass at that time began after crossing from the north the mountain stream Asopos; and its narrowest point was a little further south still, where a small tributary of the Asopos, the Phoenix, flowed down from the hills. Behind this pass, 'where there is only a narrow causeway wide enough for a single carriage', there was a plain \(\frac{3}{8}\) miles long ending in the hot springs and the village round them, and containing another village called Anthela. At either end of this the two armies were stationed \([7, 200 - 1]\), while between them was the wall built by the Phokians as a protection against their Thessalian enemies \([7, 176]\).

Xerxes could not believe that such a puny force would venture to withstand his 'grand army'. But finding that there were no signs of giving in on the part of the Greeks, after waiting four days, on the fifth he sent some Medes and Kissians to clear the way. They were beaten back with considerable loss, and even the Persian 'Immortals' fared no better.

Similar attempts next day met with no better success. The narrowness of the ground made large numbers a disadvantage rather than an aid, and the Greeks were armed with longer spears than their
enemies, and with heavy serviceable shields, which here, as afterwards at Plataea, gave them a vast superiority in a charge and at close quarters [7, 212].

But in the evening of that day a Malian named Ephialtes demanded an audience of the king; and being admitted offered to discover a pathway over the height called Kallidromos, which would conduct troops to the rear of the Greeks. Xerxes, who had watched the failure of his troops with every sign of violent emotion and anxiety, gladly accepted the proposal. At nightfall, just as the watchfires were being lit, 10,000 of the Immortals led by Hydarnes started under the guidance of Ephialtes to cross this height. By day break they were approaching the summit. Just below the crest 1000 Phokians had been stationed to guard against the possibility of this danger¹. The hill was thickly covered with oak forest, and no sight of the coming enemy was possible even in the moonlight. But through the clear morning air the sound of their trampling through the brushwood was carried to the ears of the Phokian thousand. Yet their warning was brief: the Persians seemed to start suddenly into view, surprised no less than themselves to see a body of men hastily getting under arms where they had expected a bare mountain top. They fancied that they were the dreaded Spartans who had beaten them the day before: but reassured by Ephialtes, who told them the truth, they began pouring in volleys of arrows. The Phokians did not hold their ground, but fled hastily to the crest of the hill and there drew up. The Persians did not continue

¹ Her. 7, 217. For the existence of this path was well known in the Greek camp, although it had been unknown to the Congress, see 7, 175.
the attack, but following the path that wound round the slope avoided the hill top, and descended with all speed on the other side.

News had come early to the Greeks below at Thermopylae that they were betrayed. The sacrifices were unfavourable, and deserters came in bringing the intelligence; and these were soon followed by their own scouts, running down the hill with the fatal news. The allies immediately decided to depart, or, as some said, were dismissed by Leonidas that no more Hellenic lives should be lost. For him and his 300 the idea of retreat was intolerable. It was the duty of a Spartan to die at his post if necessary; it was an undying disgrace to quit it. With him the Thebans and Thespians alone remained; but with very different sentiments. The Thespians like the Spartans preferred death to deserting the post of danger: the Thebans, whose state was known to be medising, were retained by Leonidas as hostages, and took the first opportunity offered them in the battle of consummating the treason of their government.

At sunrise Xerxes poured libations to his god; and about 10 in the morning started once more for the pass. The Spartans, knowing themselves to be surrounded, were now grown desperate. They quitted the shelter of the Phokian wall and advanced into the wider part of the pass. A determined hand to hand fight followed: two of the king’s half-brothers fell, many of the Persians were thrust into the sea, while many more were trodden to death by the feet of their own men. Presently Leonidas fell, and an obstinate battle raged round his corpse. But while engaged in this fierce struggle the Spartans found that the ‘Immortals’ who had been led over the hill were on their rear. They made one more desperate charge;
forced their way back to the Phokian wall, and thence to a piece of elevated ground; and there for some time maintained a gallant defence, with swords and hands and even teeth; till, completely surrounded, they were overwhelmed with missiles and perished to a man¹ [7, 223—5].

Such was the famous battle of Thermopylae. Its result was to leave the way clear to Xerxes to advance on Attica, the chief object of his expedition. The whole army therefore moved forward to Panopeis on the frontier of Boeotia, and there divided into two columns; the one with the king continuing its advance steadily towards Athens,—the other taking guides marched towards Delphi wasting the country as they went. • The fortunes of the first column are recounted in cc. 51—55 of the text as far as their seizure of Athens, and capture of the Acropolis; while the proceedings of the column which was sent against Delphi are described in cc. 34—39.

The battle of Thermopylae was almost simultaneous with the three days' sea-fighting at Artemisium; and the proceedings of the Navy occupy the rest of the chapters of this book of Herodotus.

About the same time as Leonidas had started for Thermopylae, such of the ships as were ready proceeded to Artemisium, the rest being told to come to Pògôn as soon as possible, and thence to join the main fleet wherever it might be [c. 42]. In the earlier chapters the doings of this fleet are detailed; their retreat to Chalkis; their return to Artemisium; their three days' skirmishing fight with the Persian fleet; and their back-

¹ Only one man—Aristodemus—survived, who was not actually engaged. But his life was made such a burden to him that he courted and found death next year at Plataea, 9, 71.
ward movement on hearing of the disaster at Thermopylae [cc. 4—20]. Then comes the history of the bay of Salamis, and the divisions in the counsels of the fleet as to whether it were better to fight there or nearer the Isthmos where the army was mustering; the trick of Themistokles; and the final struggle and victory [cc. 40—90].

Though the combined fleet was commanded by the Spartan Eurybiades, yet it cannot be too clearly understood that Athens was the life and soul of this patriotic effort. Of the 268 ships which were serving at Artemisium Athens supplied and manned 127, and lent 20 to the Chalkidians; and when the fleet was subsequently reinforced in the bay of Salamis by ships from other states, this proportion was still maintained; Athens supplying 180 triremes out of a total of 378. And besides this superiority in numbers, it was the Athenian Themistokles who more than any other commander held the allies together, and by every means, persuasion, bribery, and threats, induced them to present a united front to the enemy.

The story of the decisive battle of Salamis is tolerably clear in Herodotos; but we have the good fortune to possess also the statement of an eye-witness, one actually engaged in the battle. And though this narrative is thrown into a poetical form, there seems every reason to suppose that it is meant to be a true and accurate account. The poet Aeschyllos has put into the mouth of a messenger to Queen Atossa a detailed description of the battle, and though that description tallies generally with the account of Herodotos there are two points in which there is some difficulty in reconciling the two.

1. The first as might be expected is a question of

1 Or 366. See notes on c. 48.
numbers. Herodotos (8, 48) reckons the numbers of the Greek triremes at 378: Aeschylos (Pers. 340—2) at 310. The difference may be accounted for I think by supposing Aeschylos to be speaking of the number of the ships actually engaged, while Herodotos takes the tale of ships originally supplied, which each state would afterwards take care to have set down as their contribution. It seems probable however that some managed to get away when the alarm caused by the capture of Athens first fell upon the fleet (8, 56); and we are told that the 40 Corinthian ships did in point of fact avoid engaging (8, 94). Thucydides represents the Athenian envoy in B.C. 432 as reckoning the number of the united fleet to be 400 [1, 74, 1]: but the orator is evidently speaking in round numbers, and is more intent on emphasizing the proportion which the Athenian ships bore to the whole than on accuracy of totals. Still wider differences are to be found in later writers. Ktesias, a contemporary of Xenophon, stated the number as 700 [Photios 72]; but his whole account of the campaign is so confused that not much weight is to be attached to his authority. Demosthenes [de Coron. 306] states the number as 300, in which he is nearly in agreement with Aeschylos. But the same criticism applies to him as to the speech in Thucydides. He is speaking in round numbers, and intent chiefly on showing that the Athenians contributed about two-thirds of the whole. I believe, then, that Herodotos gives the official list of ships supplied, Aeschylos the actual numbers engaged.

2. The second point in which there is some difficulty is connected with the movements of the Persian fleet the night before the battle. In c. 76 Herodotos says
that when the king had received as in good faith the message sent him by Themistokles three steps were taken in consequence. *First*, Psyttaleia was occupied; *secondly*, at midnight the right (or westernmost) wing was moved forward 'close to Salamis by way of surrounding [the enemy]'; *thirdly*, the left wing which lay off Keos and Kynosura\(^1\) filled all the strait between Salamis and Munychia. It is the second of these movements that seems inadequately described by Herodotos. Aeschylos says distinctly that the Persian fleet was divided into three, and that one of these divisions was sent round Salamis\(^2\); and Diodoros (II, 17) says that it was the Egyptians who were sent 'to barricade the strait between Salamis and the Megarid'. Rawlinson suggests that the second movement was not round

\(^1\) As to the position of these places see Historical and Geogr. Index. The three views regarding them are (1) Blakesley’s, who regards them as indicating the Kynosura near Marathon and the Island of Keos. The objection is that this extension of the Persian line is much too great, and the time assigned for such a movement (in that case) much too short. (2) Stein’s, who thinks these two names refer to the same tongue of land on the S. of Salamis, one of them being the ordinary, the other the less known name. See note on the passage. The objection to this is that the geography is entirely conjectural: while on the other hand its advantage is that it suits the words of Herod. better than any other, ‘the ships round K. and K. put to sea and occupied all the strait up to Munychia’ seems to imply that Herod. is conceiving them as starting from Salamis. (3) Grote’s, who looks upon these names as belonging to two unknown spots on the coast of Attica. This involves geography equally conjectural as the last, and does not explain the movement so satisfactorily.

\(^2\) Pers. 370 ἀλλας δὲ κύκλῳ ἔσον καταιτος πέριξ. Hence some would read in c. 76 κυκλούμενοι πέριξ τῆς Σαλαμίνα instead of πρός.
Salamis, but close along its northern shore so as to pass the Greek fleet. The object of blocking up the strait between Salamis and Megara would thus be equally secured. But I think the account of Aeschylus, as an eye-witness of the particular manner in which this object was secured, deserves the greater credence; and moreover, if the movement was as Rawlinson supposed, and as certainly seems deducible from Herodotos, on the inside between Salamis and Attica, the men of the Greek fleet would have seen it for themselves, and would not have required the information of the Tenian trierarch (c. 82), nor would Aristeides have been an ‘eye-witness’ of the movement on his voyage from Aegina (c. 78—79).

In order to enable the student to compare the two accounts, as well as to appreciate the feelings with which this great achievement was regarded, the following nearly literal translation of the speech of the Persian Messenger in the play of Aeschylus is appended:

Madam, the fountain-head of all our woe
was, sure, some vengeful sprite or baleful god.
Thus 'twas: to Xerxes from the Attic host
a man of Hellas came with words like these:
'Soon as the shade of black-browed night shall fall
'the Greeks will stay no more: the rowers' bench
'will they spring on, departing for dear life,
'one this way and one that, in secret flight'.
So spake he: and my Lord knew not his guile,
his true Greek guile, nor all the hate of heaven;
but bade his captains straight obey this word:
'Soon as the sun has ceased with rays t'illumine
'the earth, and darkness holds the court of heaven,
'range ye my ships in triple line, and guard
'the straits and outlets of the running tides:
'others send circling round the isle of Ajax.
'Nay! if the Hellenes 'scape the woe of death
'your heads shall answer it: this is my doom'.
Thus spake he with a heart bemused, and blind

1 Persae, 355—434.
to all the ill that fate and God had willed.

So they, in no disorder, but with minds attuned to discipline, begat them straight to their poor meal; and every sailor looped his oar upon the thole, and made all well. But when the light o’ the sun had paled and gone and night was drawing on, each man of them that plied an oar betook him to his ship, and every captain of the armed host: warship to warship passed a word of cheer: and on they float each keeping order due. So all night long the masters of the ships held all their folk to labour at the oar, thridding the narrow seas: and night waned fast, yet never did the Hellenes strive to make a secret way of flight, or raise a sail. But when the white car of the risen day held all the earth with the sweet rays of dawn, first rang there forth from the Hellenic host a loud clear note, like to some joyous hymn; and sharp and clear from rock and island came an answering echo. Cold on Persian hearts struck sudden fear: far other than we deemed the tale that pean told! Not as for flight this solemn strain issued from Grecian lips, but as of men with hearts of high resolve eager for battle. Then rang shrill and clear a clarion, filling all the bay with sound: and straight with even stroke of dashing oars, that fell responsive to the master’s voice, they smote the yielding bosom of the deep; and in brief space stood out before our eyes full plain to see. The right wing led the way in order fair; and following hard astern the whole long fleet streamed on, not silently, but with shouts manifold and plain to hear: ‘Sons of the Greeks arise! your country free! free home, and wife, and child, and grandsires’ tombs, ‘and all the seats loved of your fathers’ gods!’ Nor were we silent: Persian lips gave back challenge for challenge. And now the hour was come: and straightway ship on ship did dash its brazen beak: and first to strike a blow a Grecian ship brake all the forward gear of a Phoenician bark: then in wild war ship fell on ship, or charging drove its prow right on a foe. At first the Persian line held out and brake not: but whenas the host of myriad ships, cramped in the narrow bay,
crashed each on each, entangled in a maze, nor could yield mutual succour,—friend on friend struck with their brazen beaks, and oars were splintered in the rowers' hands; and all the Grecian ships not letting slip the chance rowed round them, and charged: and many a hull keel uppermost went drifting: the wide sea was hidden with the wreckage and men's limbs, and all the jutting headlands and the strands. Then every ship of ours as chance gave way sped off in flight disordered; and our foes like tunny-fishers speared the swimmers' backs with splintered spars and oars: a dolorous cry filled all the reaches of the open sea; until the closing eye of black-browed night stayed that fell work. But the full tale of woes, if I should count them through ten livelong days, I could not reckon; for be sure of this, one day has never seen such hosts of slain.

Though the Greeks had won a victory greater than they had dared to hope, they had no reason to think that its effect would be so decisive as turned out to be the case. A large number of the enemy's ships had been sunk or disabled, and the shores of Sálamis as well as Attica bore witness by the corpses that were washed up that the slaughter had been great. Still an immense fleet remained, and a vast army was in occupation of Attica. Their experience at Artemision had taught the Greeks that one day's fighting at sea with such great numbers was not necessarily decisive; and they were prepared to find that they still had some hard work to do. The Persian fleet had retired to Phalerum, harassed as they went by the ships of the Aeginetans and Athenians, and were well out of sight of the Greeks. But they might reappear the next morning; and at daybreak the Greeks began their preparations for renewing the fight [c. 108]. To their surprise no ship of the enemy hove in sight; and
they presently learned that the whole fleet had started in the night and was making for the Hellespont. This, then, was indeed a victory. They determined that the beaten foe should not thus escape them, and with all speed they set out in pursuit.

What had happened is told in cc. 97—107. Xerxes was thoroughly frightened; and, so far from thinking of renewing the engagement, was set upon returning to Asia with as little delay as possible. But even the master of the Persian Empire was obliged to have some regard for appearances; and a hasty retreat from an army that as yet had met with nothing but success, and from a fleet, which after all had scarcely lost a sixth of its whole tale of ships, was too barefaced a confession of selfish cowardice.

The battle had begun early in the morning, and must have been finished some hours before night; for Xerxes had time, not only to punish some of those who had shewn cowardice in the fight, but also to take some measures for the completion of the mole across to Salamis, which had apparently been determined upon, and probably begun before the battle. Some Phoenikian transports (γαυλοὶ) were lashed together to form a temporary bridge across the strait, apparently with a view of aiding the formation of a more permanent causeway. He then summoned a council of war, as though he were desirous of their advice as to the measures for continuing the struggle. Mardonios however was fully aware of what was passing in his master’s mind. He knew too that his own life depended on being able to redeem the disaster; and that his only chance of being allowed to attempt to

1 C. 90, Diodor. Sic. 11, 19 τῶν μὲν Φοινικῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν τῆς φυγῆς τῶν αἰτωτάτων ἀπέκτεινε.
2 Ktesias, Pers. 26; Strabo, 9, 1, 13.
do so was to get Xerxes out of the reach of personal danger. He therefore gave just the advice that he knew was desired. Xerxes must return to Asia, and he himself be left to renew the war in the next year. The proposal was supported by queen Artemisia, whose advice Xerxes had previously found to be good, and who had shewn great personal gallantry in the battle. This plan was accordingly adopted. Xerxes himself was to retire under the escort of his whole army as far as Boeotia, and thence with a body of sixty thousand men under Artabazos to the Hellespont. Mardonios was to select the flower of the army to winter with him in Thessaly, with which to attack Peloponnesos in the spring.

But Xerxes chiefly feared that the victorious Greeks would shut him out from Asia by proceeding at once to the Hellespont, and breaking the bridge of ships which had been made with such labour for the passage of the army in the spring. This bridge had in fact already been broken up by a storm, or was so broken before Xerxes reached it; but even if the bridge were not intact, he would have no difficulty in being conveyed across, provided that his fleet commanded the channel. The first thing therefore was to secure that. Immediate orders were accordingly given, and the fleet started under cover of night for the Hellespont, though the Phoenikian contingent appears for the most part to have deserted, and made the best of its way home. Having committed the care of some of his children who were with him to Artemisia, to be conveyed to Ephesos, whence they could easily reach Sardis, Xerxes,

1 c. 68.  
2 Diodor. Sic. 11, 19.  
3 Plutarch’s snee (de Malign. 38)—ἐπελέηστο γὰρ ἐκ Σοῦσων, ὃς ἦκεν, ἄγειν γυναῖκας, εἶ γυναικεῖας ἐξεντρο παραπομπῆς οἱ παῖδες
after a few days’ delay, set out on his march northward. Of this retreat and of the sufferings of the Persian army in the course of it, many tales were current among the Greeks; and naturally enough exaggerated stories were passed from mouth to mouth. One of these is related by Herodotos (c. 118), which he gives good reason for disbelieving. And others were embodied by Aeschylos in his tragedy of the Persae, first represented, it appears, seven years after the battle of Salamis, in B.C. 473. There the fleet is said to flee before the wind in great disorder (κατ’ οὖν ὄν κακοσμον αἰρονται φυγήν), while part of the army remained in Boeotia suffering from want of water and disease, and the rest marched painfully through Doris, and along the Malian gulf to Thessaly, where many died of want of food and drink, and thence to Magnesia and Makedonia. By this time it was late in the season, and their sufferings were increased by severe weather. The Strymon was frozen¹, though it

—is quite misplaced. It was not because she was a woman, but because she had proved her fidelity and courage, that Artemisia was selected for this service; and Herodotos would have good means of learning such a fact.

¹ Aeschylos. Pers. 484—516. Grote (iv. 489) objects ‘that a large river such as the Strymon near its mouth (180 yards broad and in a latitude about N. 40° 50′), at a period which could not have been later than the beginning of November, should have been frozen over in one night so hardly and firmly as to admit of a portion of the army marching over it at daybreak—before the sun became warm—is a statement which surely requires a more responsible witness than Aeschylus to avouch it’. But to assert that the frost was only of one night is, I think, pressing the poet’s words too closely. The frost was unusual at the time of year (θεῖος χειμών ἀλρον ὠράς); and Aeschylos’ words imply that there was one specially severe night, which was regarded as portentous, and the result of which induced the army to attempt to cross. Still the river may have been frozen
was at an unusually early time of the year for that (November), and the army attempting to cross lost a large number of men owing to a sudden thaw. Thence the remainder painfully struggled on to the Hellespont.

But whether the incident of the Strymon has or has not any foundation of fact, the account given by Herodotos of the retreat (c. 115) sufficiently indicates that it was accompanied by severe suffering to all concerned. The end of it was that Xerxes got safe to Sardis, and one act of the great drama which Herodotos undertakes to present is brought to a conclusion. Xerxes,—the type of Eastern pride, arrogance, and unrestricted power,—has been brought into conflict with Greek civilisation and Greek divinities, and has retired beaten and in disgrace. He does not appear again on the scene, except in that revolting tale of lust and cruelty (9, 108—113), with which Herodotos seems of set purpose to have concluded his History as far as the Persian monarchy was concerned.

Thus it was that the Greeks found no ships to fight on the day after the battle of Salamis. The Persian camp was still visible on the Attic shore, but no ships were in sight. Presently they learnt the truth, that the fleet had departed in the night; and they at once set off in pursuit. But when they had got as far as the island of Andros without sighting the enemy, they stopped to before. More serious perhaps was the objection that a bridge of boats had been thrown across the Strymon (7, 114), over which the army had marched in the spring, and which there is no reason to suppose had been broken up. It may perhaps have been temporarily open to allow passage for vessels up and down the stream, and the hard frost may have prevented it being joined again soon enough for the impatience of the suffering and demoralised army.
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consider what to do. Two courses appeared open to them. First, to make at once for the Hellespont, break the bridge of ships, and so guard the strait as to shut off the Persian army from Asia. The second was to give every facility for the enemy’s army to quit Greece as soon and as readily as possible. Themistokles was for the former course: Eurybiades, the commander in chief, for the latter, which was also supported by the other Peloponnesian commanders [c. 108]. Finding his energetic counsel rejected Themistokles took up the other line, and advised an immediate return home; a disbandment of the fleet until the spring; and that all should go to their own states, and employ themselves in restoring all that had been destroyed by the Persians, and in making preparations for the coming year. With characteristic cunning he took care that this advice should be reported to Xerxes, and should be represented to him as having been given in order to allow him time to secure his safety [109—110].

There were still some weeks left of the time during which Greek sailors ventured to stay out at sea; and instead of returning home, some at least of the fleet remained at Andros, apparently at the instigation of Themistokles, for another purpose: that namely, of exacting punishment on those of the Andrians or inhabitants of other islands, who had medized; and of levying contributions for the support of a fleet to keep the Aegean free of the Persians in the future. These proceedings perhaps

1 Plutarch Them. c. 16.

2 It seems probable that it was only the Athenian fleet which was engaged in this business: for Themistokles is spoken of exclusively as managing and directing it; whereas Eurybiades was the commander in chief, and would have been responsible if he had
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were so far damaging to Themistokles’ reputation at home as to prevent his being elected Strategus for the following year\(^1\); but we do not hear that the Athenians refused to avail themselves of the money thus collected or extorted; and in fact the measures of Themistokles seem to have been the forerunners of that confederacy of Delos, afterwards cemented by the vigour of Kimon and the integrity of Aristeides [B.C. 477]; the foundation of which was the idea that, as the islanders and other states were chiefly interested in the security of the Aegean, they were bound to contribute to the maintenance of a fleet whereby that security was to be guarded. The banishment of individuals also for Medism, though apparently accompanied by corrupt practices on the part of Themistokles, was the expression of the idea, also involved in the constitution of the Confederacy of Delos, that there was a Panhellenic authority capable of taking cognizance of offences against Hellenic safety. This principle was again, and with greater show of legality, exemplified in the following year by the fine of a tenth levied on Thebes for medizing, as well as the execution of the most guilty of her citizens\(^2\).

Before quitting the events of this year it may be well to consider another passage, which called for severe animadversion from our author’s critic Plutarch. This is his remained. Thus we find that it is Themistokles who is attacked afterwards for the proceedings of this autumn. Plut. Them. 21.

\(^1\) Jealousy was also roused by the honours he received at Sparta, see c. 124. Cp. Diodor. Sic. 11, c. 27 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰς δωρεὰς, οὐ δήμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας, καὶ παρέδωκε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀριστονοσ. But he was afterwards Strategus, apparently with the special command at sea (ναυαρχος), Plut. Them. c. 18.

\(^2\) Herod. 9, 86—88. Polyb. 9, 39.
statement as to the cowardice shewed by the Korinthian admiral Adeimantos at the battle of Salamis. It is true that he ends his chapter (c. 94) by acknowledging that the Korinthians deny the allegation, and are supported in their denial by the other Greeks. Still he tells the story first, without prefacing or concluding it with an expression of his own personal doubt, as he does when he is incredulous (cp. c. 119): and there does seem some unfairness in telling a story, confessedly grounded on the report of what was, at the time when he must have narrated it, a hostile state. And here Plutarch is more successful in his refutation than on most other points. He argued rather absurdly that it could not be true that the Greeks had determined to retreat from Artemisium before they heard of the death of Leonidas, because Pindar, a citizen of medizing Thebes, spoke of Artemisium as a place 'Where sons of Athenians laid a brilliant foundation-stone of Liberty.' But in regard to the conduct of the Korinthians, he was able to point to the fact that Korinthians who fell in the battle were buried in Salamis with a compliment inscription:

 washington, decided, however, having the support of the expensive "National League," and staff in uniform it was to be a difficult profession.  

Beside the Cenotaph on the Isthmus with the lines:

Tαυτ' ἀπ' δυσμενέων Μηδών ναῦται Διοδόρου
ὀπλ' ἀνέθεντο Δατοί, μνάματα ναυμαχίς.

The proverb 'as lying as an epitaph' is not wholly

1 de Malign. 34. ὅτι παῖδες ᾿Αθηναίων ἔβαλοντο
φαννὰν κρηπίδʹ ᾿Ελευθερίας.
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inapplicable to Greek inscriptions; and the Cenotaph on
the Isthmus may perhaps be held to be of no greater
worth as evidence than the epigram on Adeimantos’ tomb:

Οὗτος Ἀδειμάντων κείνον τάφος, δὴ δία πᾶσα
 Ἑλλας ἔλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

But the fact of the tomb with its inscription having been
set up at Salamis, without remonstrance from Athens, is
a strong if not conclusive proof that at the time, at any
rate, the Athenians did not hold the Korinthians guilty
of desertion or cowardice. On the contrary, as Plutarch
points out, they are always admitted to the place of
honour next the Spartans and Athenians, as on the
bronze serpents which supported the tripod offered after
Plataea, which are still extant.¹

From c. 130 to the end of the book Herodotos
relates the first movements of the following
spring, which prepared the way for the final
contests at Plataea and Mykalè. The Persian fleet,
which had wintered at Kymè, now mustered at Samos,
being intent on preventing any movement from Ionia,
while Mardonios was engaged in crushing the Greeks on
the mainland [c. 130]. The Greek fleet on the other
hand met at Aegina under the command of Leotychides,
king of Sparta. There they were visited by
envoys from Ionia begging for help: but though they
proceeded with some reluctance as far as Delos, nothing
could induce them to go any further [cc. 131—2].
There then we leave the two combatants for the present,
at Samos and Delos,—watching each other’s move-
ments, and neither being willing to strike the first blow.

¹ Plutarch, de Malign. 39. See also the bronze serpents
engraved in the introduction to the 9th book.
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Meanwhile Mardonios on land, having reassured himself by consultation of oracles [cc. 133—5], determined to utilise the feeling of jealousy, which he was assured existed between Athens and the Peloponnesians, by an attempt to detach the Athenians from alliance with the other Greeks\(^1\). He chose as his envoy that Alexander of Macedon, who on a former occasion had shewn that he was not prepared to submit to every indignity from his conquerors\(^2\); and who was connected by special ties with Athens. This man seems to have been only serving with Mardonios under compulsion, and though he gave his message, and added formal words of his own in support of it, there is an air of coldness on his part which betrays that his wishes were not with his tongue,—a fact more conclusively proved, later in the year, by his volunteering to warn the Greeks before the battle of Plataea\(^3\). Naturally enough news of this negotiation excited alarm among the Spartans: for though they meant once more to abandon Attica to the enemy, while they sheltered themselves behind the wall, which was being rapidly built across the Isthmus; yet they had learnt from the events of the past year that the only way to prevent an attack by sea, which would render the defence of the wall nugatory, was the maintenance of an effective fleet; and that to this end the Athenians were of

\(^1\) διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀλλοτρι-τητος ἦκον εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνας πρέσβεις παρὰ Περσῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Diodor. Sic. ii, 28. Though Herodotos does not distinctly say anything of the alienation of feeling between the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks, yet substituting 'Peloponnesians' for 'Greeks' his narrative implies it; and the offer which Alexander was instructed to make was an appeal to a separatist feeling, which it was presumed would be actuating them.

\(^2\) 5, 19.

\(^3\) 9, 44—6.
supreme importance. They therefore hurriedly sent off envoys to counteract the offers of Mardonios. The Athenians had felt sure that they would do so, and therefore waited for the arrival of these envoys from Sparta before giving their final answer to Alexander. The scene and the speeches which follow are of course partly dramatic, but there is no reason to doubt that they represent substantially what occurred. They bring into prominence, as they were meant to do, the contrast between the truly Hellenic spirit at that time animating the Athenians, who had dared and suffered so much in defence of Greece, and the selfish caution which chilled and retarded the efforts of the Spartans in the cause of Hellenic liberty.

The mention of a king of Makedonia leads Herodotos to a digression on the origin of the Makedonian dynasty. He could, of course, have no prescience of the great part which the Temenid kings were destined to play in Greek history; and preeminently in the final destruction of that vast empire, whose unwilling agent Alexander then was: but he may have felt even then the importance to Hellenism of a power which was ever struggling with the barbarian and piratic tribes of the West; and which formed a breakwater against attacks on that side, whilst it was fighting for its life on the East. It is the reward of a diligent observer, who lets nothing escape him as uninteresting, that what seemed his least important record should be fruitful in interest and importance to posterity.

The great drama is now approaching its final denouement. The two opposing forces, Barbarism and Hellenism, have been depicted by the aid of every kind of research which was open to a man of the time. Nothing that could throw the least light on any of the incidents of the great contest, or on the characters of the parties to
the struggle, has been omitted. They have met at sea and the fortune of the contest has been settled there: it remains only to see whether the god of battles will decide in the same sense on land; and, that having been put beyond question at Plataea, Mykalè will prove to be the beginning of a system of retaliation by the Greeks upon their enemy; which, after many vicissitudes, will reach its final consummation a century and a half later in the victories of Alexander.
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

[A, Medicean MS. in Laurentian Library, 10th Century.
B, Angelicanus, 11th Century.
R, Vatican, 14th Century.
V, Vindobonensis (Vienna), 10th Century.
S, Sandcroft, 14th Century.
C, Florentine, 11th Century.]

p. 2, l. 23. ἐβούλευον. One group of mss. has ἐβουλεύοντο. But this use of βουλεύονται with an accusative seems unexampled. 
Cp. cc. 18, 97, 100; 5, 124.
p. 12, l. 17. ἢλέξην. Here and at p. 36, l. 19, one group of mss. has ἢλέξη. See App. C. l. (4) n.
p. 13, l. 22. πάντες δὲ ἥπωστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας. Cobet πάντας δὲ ἥπωστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι.
p. 19, l. 18. ἢρ. Naber ἢρ. 
p. 19, l. 21. Προνήης. Two mss. (S and V) have Προνοῦης.
Cp. Pausan. 10, 8, 6 'Αθηνῆς Προνόλας.
p. 21, l. 19. ὑπεκάθοθαι. Gomperz would omit, Holder brackets. But it seems naturally implied by the ὑπεξεκέετω of p. 22, l. 2.
p. 21, l. 24. ἐστὶ, Kallenberg omits, and Holder brackets. The mss. vary the order, some giving ἐστὶ μελιτθεῖσα, others μελιτθησά ἐστὶ. This however, a very common occurrence, is not a sufficient reason for omitting a word which it is not the general manner of Herodotos to leave out.
p. 23, l. 22. ἀλλαί. Cobet proposes δέκα, for which the symbol was ι.
p. 30, l. 3. τὸ ἰκιστα. I have omitted the ἵσ of the mss.
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p. 35, l. 8. St. Valcknaer would omit this word; but it is much in Herodotos' manner to begin a speech with it. See cc. 137, 142 and 5, 33.

p. 36, l. 17. τῷ κρίσι. This is the reading of the Vatican ms. (R), and of the Vienna and Emmanuel ms. (V, S). Stein reads ἀνάκρισι with the Medicean and Augustinian (A and B) mss. He quotes two passages of Plato [176 c, 277 b] to prove the interpretation which he gives the word, 'remonstrance', 'contradiction' (Einrede, Widerspruch). But in both these passages the sense seems rather to be that of 'questioning' than of 'contradiction'; and so probably in Her. 3, 53, though there is there a variant ὑπόκρισις. On the other hand Herodotos elsewhere uses κρίσις as equivalent to 'quarrel', 'contention', not as here 'expression of opinion' [5, 5; 7, 26]. Stein supports his interpretation of ἀνάκρισι by referring to ἀνακρίνεσθαι in 9, 56. The two words were sometimes confounded. See Lysias 22, § 3.

p. 52, l. 11. κατά περ Ἐλλησι. Stein proposes παρά.

p. 53, l. 26. ἐν τοῖς Πέρσης. One group of mss. has ἐν Πέρσης τοῖς. Stein omits τοῖς. Valcknaer proposes τοι τι, which Holder adopts.

p. 55, l. 8. περὶ οἷκον τὸν σῶν. Abicht brackets: Stein connects the words with σύμφορη, Baehr (as I do) with πρηγματών. Wesseling conjectures εἰ τειμένων or έκείνων.

p. 55, l. 24 to p. 56, l. 4. οἱ δὲ Πεδαστίας—Ερμότιμος ἤ. Valcknaer with one ms. omits this passage. See 1, 175. Such a repetition however is not unexampled in Herodotos; and it is difficult to see why a copyist should have introduced it here.


p. 59, l. 8. βαλλόμενον. Some mss. have βαλόμενον. But I think the present is the right tense in such conventional phrases.

p. 59, l. 11. νεκτημένοις. Cobet omits. Holder brackets. But it is not a mere explanation of ἐς ἀναγκαλὴ ἄπειληθέντας,—'I have known many when brought to bay, though conquered, yet renew the fight etc.'

p. 67, l. 16. διενέμοντο. Two mss. [R and S] have ἡφετον. Cp. the parallel passage from the de Corona, § 229, quoted in the note, p. 177. The mss. A and B have διενέμον, which Stein adopts. The middle is explained by Abicht by saying that each general
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divided the voting pebbles among the soldiers of his own division. I think the middle is rather to be explained by the fact that the generals did not make the distribution with their own hands:—they caused it to be done. Nor can we imagine that all the soldiers voted; it must have been only the officers of the several divisions.

p. 67, l. 17. κρίνοντες. Valcknaer κρινέοντες, I think unnecessarily.

p. 68, l. 6. ἔδωσαν. Cobet would supply ἀνδραγαθίς or ἄνδρης from Plutarch Them. 17. But ἀριστηγία may be considered to include this idea.

p. 69, l. 28. ταῦτα τάς. Valcknaer, from Aeneas Tac. 31, would read περὶ.

p. 70, l. 11. καταπλήξαι. Some mss. have καταπλέξαι. In favour of the latter is the fact that Herodotos does not elsewhere use καταπλήξω, nor is it true that καταπλέξαι is only given by the schletere Handschriften, as Abicht says; for one of them is the excellent R.

p. 73, l. 21. χρησάμενον R. Other mss. have χρησάμενον.


p. 80, l. 5. πιεζομένωι BCZ. Stein with other mss. πιεζεμένωι. Cp. 3, 146; 6, 108. See Veitch.

p. 82, l. 11. προβοθήσαι. So mss. R and S. The other mss. have προβοθήσαι, which Stein adopts.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

BOOK VIII.

The States which contributed ships to the Greek fleet, under
the command of the Spartan Eurybiades.

I. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν
tαχθέντες ἦσαν οἶδε: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχό-
μενοι ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐπτὰ: ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετὴς τε
καὶ προσμέζης Πλαταιές, ἀπειροὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς
ἐόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοιοι τὰς νέας. Κο-5
ρίζθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρές
dὲ εἰκοσὶ. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἰκοσὶ Ἀθη-
ναίων σφί παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ ὀκτω-
καίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυόδεκα, Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ
δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἐπτὰ, Τροι-10
ζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο καὶ Κείοι δύο τε
νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Δοκρολ δὲ σφί οἱ
Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεοι πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἐπτὰ.

II. Ἡσαν μὲν ὁν ὅτου οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀρτε-
μίσιου, εἰρήται δὲ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκαστοῖ τῶν 15
νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν
νεῶν ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων,
διηκόσια καὶ ἔβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸ δὲ στρατη-
γὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο
Σπαρτητὴς Εὐρυβιάδην τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ 20

Η. VIII.
The unselphish patriotism of the Athenians.

III. 'Εγένετο γὰρ κατ’ ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἡ καὶ 5 ἐς Σικελίην πέμπτειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναῖοι χρεὸν εἶν ἔπιπλάπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γιόντες, εἰ στασιάσαντοι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὡς ἀπολέσαι ἢ Ἑλλάς, ὅρθα 10 νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὀμοφρονέων τοσοῦτο κάκιον ἐστι, ὡς πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι οὖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ’ εἶκον, μέχρι οὐκ κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν. ὡς γὰρ διωσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἑκείνου ἡδη 15 τὸν ἀγώνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίκεων ὑβρίν προισχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονία τῶν Δακεδαμοὺς. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον ἐγένετο.

The fleet arrives at Artemisium. Seeing the Persian armament at Aphetae the Greeks are minded to retreat southwards, but the people of Euboea induce Themistocles by a bribe to use his influence to keep them there.

IV. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἄρτεμισίου Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας 20 ἐς τὰς Ἀφετᾶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπεβαινε ἡ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδοκεῖαν, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρτεμισίου ἐσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γιόντες δὲ σφειας οἱ Εὔβοιες ταῦτα
βουλευομένους ἔδεοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρό

νον ὄλγου, ἐστ' ἀν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας

ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τῶν

Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ

μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντους, ἐπ' ὃ τε καταμείνατες 5

πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τῆν ναυμαχίην. V. Ὁ

δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπισχεῖν ὥς δοκεῖ Εὐρυβιάδη

τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδίδοι πεντε

τάλαντα ὥς παρ' ἔωσι τῇ δήθεν διδούσι. ὡς δὲ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειντο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὡκύτου Κο-

ρωθίας στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἡσπαιρε μούνοι, φά

μενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον καὶ οὐ

παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὴ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης

ἐπομόσας· "Ὅυ σὺ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπει τοι ἐγὼ

"μέξω δῶρα δόσω, ἡ βασίλευς ἀν τοι ὁ Μῆδον πέμ- 15

"ψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." Ταυτά τε ἀμα

ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδείμαντον

tάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὐτοὶ τε δὴ πάντες δόροις

ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἤσαν, καὶ τοῖς Εὐβοεῖσι ἐκεχάριστο,

αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδηκε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ 20

λουτα ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστεάτοι οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων

tῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνεῶν ἠλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ

tούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

The Persians send 200 ships round Euboea to entrap the Greek fleet.

VI. Οὗτώ δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοῖᾳ καὶ

ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὅπερ ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐς τὰς 25

Ἀφετῶς περὶ δείλην πρωτὴν γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ

βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἐτί καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ

Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε

I—2
δὲ αὐτὸι ἴδοντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἔλοιεν αὐτὰς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίς προσπλώειν οὗ καὶ σφί ἐδοκεε τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, μὴ καὶ ἴδοντες οἱ Ἐλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήσειαν, φεῦ-5 γοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ καὶ ἐμέλλον δὴθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἐδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. VII. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁν τάδε ἐμχανέοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρι-ναντες δηκοσιάς περιέπεμπτον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς 10 ἀν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώονται Εὐβοιαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ Γεραιστοῦν ἐς τὸν Εὐριποῦ, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιει, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικό-μενοι καὶ φράζαντες αὑτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὄτι, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔξ ἐναντίς. ταῦτα βου-15 λευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπτον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχυείας, αὐ-τοὶ όυκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖς Ἐλλησί ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημα σφί ἐμέλλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλώοντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταῦτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπτον, τῶν δὲ 20 λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ ἴσι Ἀφετῆσι ἐποιεῖντο ἀριθμόν.

The Persian design is betrayed to the Greeks by the diver Skyllias of Skione.

VIII. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὕτωι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῖντο τῶν νεῶν (ἡν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιώναίος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγηγῇ ἡ κατὰ 25 τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς Πέρσης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περεβάλετο), οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἰσε ἀρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσεων ἐς τούς Ἐλλήνας, ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ οἱ
παρέσχε οὐς τότε. ὣτεφ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνεδύτεν ἕτει ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως, θωμαξὸ δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἄλθεα. λέγεται γὰρ, οὕς ἕξ Ἀφετέων δύς ἐς τὴν βαλάσσαν οὖ πρὸ-τερον ἀνέσχε, πρὶν ἢ ἄπικετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον, 5 σταδίους μάλιστα κα τοῦτος ἢ ὁγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς βαλάσσης διεξελθὼν. λέγεται μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνη περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετέξετερα ἄλθεα. περὶ μέντοι τοῦτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδεχθῶν πλοῖῳ μιν ἄπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτέμισιον. ὡς δὲ τοι ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἔσήμηνε τοῦσι στρατηγοῦσι τὴν τε ναυηγίαν ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθέισας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

The Greeks resolve to remain at Artemisium during that day, and in the night to go southward to meet the 200 Persian ships that were sailing round Euboea.

IX. Τούτῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες λόγον σφίσει αὐτοῦ ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἕνεκα 15 τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκείνης αὐτοῦ μείναντας τε καὶ αὐλισθεν-τας, μετέπειτε νῦκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντῶν τῇ περιπλωοῦσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τούτο, ὡς οὐδὲς σφί ἐπέπλωε, διείλῃς ὑφὶς γνωμώ-μένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺ ἐπανέπλωσον ἐπὶ 20 τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀρπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βου-λόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλοῦν.

First Day’s Fighting. Thirty ships of the Persian fleet are captured, but night-fall finds the battle still undecided.

X. Ἐρέωντες δὲ σφεῖ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιῶται 25 οἱ Ἐρίξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῖ ἐπιπλώοντας νησί ὁλέγος, πάγχυ σφί μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνήγουν καὶ 25
αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐπίσαντες σφεᾶς εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, ὁμώτα κάρτα ἐπισάντες. τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὀρέουτες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ᾧμειων πλωούσας, καταφρονῆσαντες ταύτα ἐκκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν γνω τῶν 'Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὐνοοὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορῆν τε ἐποιεύντο μεγάλην, ὀρέουτες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδές αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει οὖτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένους ἦν τὸ γενόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεύντο, διὸς αὐτὸς ἐκαστος πρώτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλείας λάμψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖς λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα. XI. Τοῖς δὲ Ἐλλήσι ὡς ἑσόμηνε πρῶτα μὲν ἀντιπρωροὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημάναντος ἐργον εἰχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τρίκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργον τοῦ Σαλαμινῶν βασιλεός ἀδελφεὶς Φιλάονα τῶν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἐλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνήρ Ἀθηναίος Δυκαμήδης Αἰσχραῖος, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήριον ἔλαβε οὖτος τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχι ταύτῃ ἐτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζο-25 μένους υἱὸς ἐπεθρίσσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἐλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλωσιν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετᾶς, πολλῶν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχι Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν συν βασιλεῖ Ἐλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τούτῳ τὸ ἐργον ἐδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμιν. 
In the night there is a violent storm of rain and thunder, which terrifies and distresses the Persian fleet at Aphetae,

XII. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἢν μὲν τῆς ὄρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἀπλετον διὰ πᾶς τῆς νυκτός καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου. οἱ δὲ νεκροί καὶ τὰ ναυήματα ἔξεφορέωντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετᾶς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἑτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπεῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτη ἀκούοντες ταύτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἶα κακὰ ἵκουν. πρὶν γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφεας ἐκ τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου τοῦ Πηλίου, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχία καρτηρή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας ὑμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὀρμημένα βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ.

and entirely destroys the detachment which was sailing round Euboea, driving the ships upon ‘The Hollows.’

XIII. Καὶ τούτωσι μὲν τοιαύτη νῦς ἐγίνετο, τοῖς δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτὴ ἵν περ ἐοῦσα νῦς πολλοῦ ἦν ἐτὶ ἄγριωτερή, τοσοῦτῳ δῷ ἐν πελάγει φερομένους ἐπέπυπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφὶ ἐγένετο ἄχαρι: ὡς γὰρ ὅδε πλῶσι βοῦσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπέγενετο ἑοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοίλα τῆς Εὔβοιας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῷ ἔρθοντο, ἔξεπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιεῖτο τε πάν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἄν ἐξησωθεῖ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον ἐν. Οὕτω μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοίλα τῆς Εὔβοιας διεφθείροντο.
Second Day. The Persians at Aphetae after their terrible night attempt no movement. The Greeks are reinforced by 53 Athenian ships, and attack and destroy some Kilikian vessels.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ ἐν ᾿Αφετήσι βάρβαροι, ὡς σφι ἀσμένοις ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀπέσκεψας τὸν ταῖς νέας, καὶ σφι ἀπεχράτο κακῶς πρῆσοντος ἴσους ἀγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῦτο δὲ Ἔλλησι ἐπεβδομάδον 5 νεές τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. ἀνταλλαγεῖς τῇ σφαιρα προς ἐρμηνευτον ἀντικόμεναι, καὶ ἁμα ἀγγέλης ἐλθοῦσα ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώντες τῇ Εὐβοιαν πάντες εἰσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ πλώντες 10 ἐπέτεσον οὐσὶς Κιλίσσησι, ταυτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὁπίσω ἐπὶ τῷ ᾿Αρτεμίσιον.

Third Day (the day of the fall of Leonidas at Thermopylae). The Persians advance with their ships arranged in a crescent, far outnumbering the Greeks. There is severe fighting, and the Greeks suffer heavily, but the losses of the Persians are still greater.

XV. Τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὖτω σφι ὁλίγας 15 λυμαῖνεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἐρέχθης δειμαίνοντες οὐκ ἄνεμουν ἔτι τοῦς Ὁ Ἐλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἄνηγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὡστε τῇς αὐτῆς ἡμέρής τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς 20 ἐν Θερμοπύλης. ἷν δὲ πάσας ὁ ἄγων τούσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἑυρίσθου, ὡσπερ τούσι ἀμφὶ
Δεωνίδην τήν ἑσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πα-
ρεκελεύοντο ὡς κως μὴ παρῆσον εἰς τήν Ἑλλάδα τοῦς
βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα δια-
φθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσοντο. ΧV. Ὑς δὲ
tαξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλωσον, οί "Ἑλληνες ἀτρέμας 5
εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνο-
eιδὲς ποιῆσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλεόντο, ὡς περιλά-
βοιεν αὐτοὺς. ἐνθεύτεν οἱ "Ἑλληνες ἐπανέπλωον τε
καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι
ἀλλήλοιοι ἐγένοντο. ο γὰρ Ξέρξεω στράτος ὑπὸ 10
μεγάθεος τε καὶ πλήθος αὐτοῦ ὑπ’ ἐωτοῦ ἐπιτε,
ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπτυποεῖσκένων
περὶ ἀλλήλας: ὡς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀντεἰχε καὶ οὐκ ἐκε
δεινῶν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεύτο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς
φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 15
νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλοὶ δ’ ἔτι
πλεῖνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. Οὕτω
δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

The best in the fight.

ΧVII. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν
τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτῶν ἥριστευσαν, οἱ ἀλλὰ τε 20
ἐργα μεγάλα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι
εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ
tαύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἥριστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθη-
nαίων Κλεινίτης ὁ Ἀλκηβιάδης, δὲ δαπάνην οἰκήτων
παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύοντο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίους καὶ 25
οἰκήτη νητ.
The Greeks decide to retreat. Themistocles is the leading spirit. They first slaughter as much of the Euboan cattle as they can to prevent the enemy getting them.

XVIII. Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν ἄσμενοι ἐκάτεροι, ἐς ὄρμου ἥπειροντο. οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτευον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες 5 καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεωι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμοῦ δὴ ἐβούλευον ἐσω ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. XIX. Νῦν δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τὸ τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικὸν, ὅτι τε εἶσαν ἀν τῶν λοιπῶν 10 κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἔπι τὴν θάλασσαν, τάυτῃ συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐλεγές σφι, ὡς δοκέοι ἐχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίδοι τῶν βασιλείων συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἄριστους. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνων, 15 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατὰκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα εἰναί σφι ἐλεγεί: τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοῖκῶν ὡς τὰς ἐθέλοι καταθύει (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατηγὴν ἐχειν ἥ τοὺς πολεμίους) παραίνει τοὺς προεπείν τούτοι ἐωτῶν ἐκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν κομιδής δὲ πέρι τὴν 20 ὀργὴν αὐτῷ μελήσειν ὡστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσε σφι ποιέων καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράπουτο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

A neglected Oracle.

XX. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοῖες παραχρησάμενοι τῶν Βάκιδος χρησμῶν ὡς οὕδεν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομί- 25 σαντο οὕδεν οὔτε προεσάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετεία τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ
πρήγματα. Βάκιδε γὰρ ὥδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός:

Φράξεο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὦταν ξυγὸν εἰς ἄλα βάλλῃ βιβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἄπεχειν πολυμηκάδας αἴγας.

τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲν τοῦτι ἐπεσὶ χρησαμένουσι ἐν τοῖς 5 τότε παρευσὶ τε καὶ προσδοκήμοισι κακοὶσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χράσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

In the evening a scout arrives with news of the disaster at Thermopylae. The Greek fleet accordingly start on their retreat.

XXI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπρησοῦν, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῶνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ 'Αρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος 'Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέ-ιο τακτῷ, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατήρες ἑτοῖμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῦτι ἐν Θερμοπολίῃ ἐσόου· ὡς δ’ αὖτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέως Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Δεσπόδη ἑτοίμοις τοῦτι ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐσόου ἀγγέλλειν τρηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ 15 νεότερον τὸν πεζόν. οὔτος ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικό- μενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Δεσπονδήν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπιθύμου τοῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῖντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζουντο δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ἐπάληθαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὑστατοὶ 20 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

The plan of Themistocles for detaching the Ionian allies from Xerxes.

XXII. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἀριστὰ πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πόλι- μα ύδατα, ἐντάμων ἐν τοῖς λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

"Ἰωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστερα ἡμέρῃ ἔπλε τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τα δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγεν Ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καταδουλοῦμενοι. 5 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γινεσθε εἰ δὲ ύμῖν ἐστὶ τούτο μη δυνατὸν ποιήσαι, ύμεῖς δὲ ἐτί καὶ νῦν ἐκ τού μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοῖ, καὶ τῶν Καρών δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ύμῖν ποιεῖν εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶνον τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίας μέζονος κατέ-10 ἔσωντα ἡ ὅστε ἀπίστασθαι, ύμεῖς γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἔπεδν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμημένοι ὦτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθησον ἡ ἐχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ύμέων ἡμῖν γέγονεν. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταύτα ἔγραψε, δοκεῖν εἰμι, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοεῖν, 15 ἦνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλέιν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωντών, ἐν ἐπεὶ τε ἀνε-νειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ἑρέξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχείων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

Fourth Day. Next morning the Persians are informed of the retreat of the Greeks, and follow them as far as Histiaea, starting at noon.

XXIII. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταύτα ἐνέγραψε, τοῖς 20 δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα πλοὶς ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαεύς ἀγγέλλων τῶν δρησμῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὶ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἴχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέ-στειλαν προκατοψομένας. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων 25 τὰ ἡν, οὕτω δὲ ἡμα ἤλιῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ ἔπλωε ἀλής ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ημέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου
ἐπλων ἐς Ἰστιαίην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίς μοίρης, γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαίητιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας κόμας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

At Histiaea the men of the Persian fleet are invited by Xerxes to cross to the mainland to view the slaughtered Greeks at Thermopylae. Xerxes contrives to conceal the amount of his own loss.

XXIV. Ἐνθαύτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων Ἐρέξης ἐτοι-5 μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυ-
τικῶν στρατὸν κήρυκα· προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· δοσι-
toῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃ (ή-
σαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χίλιους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὅρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, τὸ
φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα
μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ
dιέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίῃν ο ἱππαζ, σύλλογον ποιησά-
μενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐλεγε τάδε· "Ἀνδρε-
ς σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ἐρέξης τῷ Βούλυμένῳ ὑμέων 15
παραδίδοι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θη-
"σασθαί, ὅκως μάχετα πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίχτους τῶν
"ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἠλπισάν τὴν βασιλείας δύναμιν ὑπερ-
"βαλέσθαι." XXV. Ταύτα ἐπαγγειλαμένον, μετὰ
tαύτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοῖων σπανιώτερον. οὕτω 20
πολλοὶ ἤθελον θησασθαί. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθη-
ευτὸ διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς· πάντες δὲ ἡπιστέατο
tοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Δακεδαμονίους καὶ
Θεσπίας, ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ἐκλωτα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ερέξης ταύτα πρήξας 25
περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐωτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ

The Olympic Games [July, B.C. 480].

XXVI. Ἡκὼν δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ’ Ἁρκαδίας ὄλγοι τινὲς, βιοὺς τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἑνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐσ ὅψιν τὴν 10 βασιλέας ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ποιέοις. ἐς δὲ τὶς πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοῦς ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον, ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιν καὶ θεωρέοιν ἅγωνα γυμνὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν. ὁ δὲ ἑπείρητο, ὅ τι τὸ ἄθλον εἶ ὁ σφι κείμενον, περὶ 15 ὅτεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι οἱ δ’ εἰ πον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γυνῷ γενναίοτάτην Τυγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δείλην ὁφλε πρὸς βασιλέας. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄθλον οὖν στέφανον, ἄλλ’ οὐ χρήματα, ὅτε ἦνεχτο συγὼν εἰπέ τε 20 ἐς πάντας τάδε. “Παπαί, Μαρδόνιε, κοίλους ἐπ’ ἄνδρας ἡγαγες μαχησμένους ἥμεας, οὐ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἅγωνα ποιεῖται, ἄλλα περὶ ἀρετῆς.”

The quarrels of the Phocians and Thessalians. A Thessalian invasion repelled.

XXVII. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰρητο, ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλησι τρόμα 25 ἐγεγόνει, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ὡς Φωκαί, ἀτε σφι ἐνέχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ...
υστάτου τράματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατεὶ ἀυτοὶ τε ὁ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ ὁ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας οὐ πολλοὶ σέ ἐπεσε πρότερον ταῦτας τῆς βασιλείας στρατηλασίας ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἤτει τε γὰρ 5 κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μᾶντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλείου, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖς τοιόνδε γυνώσας ἀνδρᾶς ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῦτοι ὁ Θεσσαλοῖς, προεῖπας αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἄν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἱδονται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους δὲν αἱ τι φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἱδούσαι ἐφοβῆθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι ἐναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴν ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω ὡστε τετρακισχίλιων 15 κρατήσας νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς "Ἀβασ ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς" ἢ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίτον δοὺς συνεπετέωτες ἐμπροσθε τὸν νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, καὶ ἔτεροι 20 τοιούτοι εἰς Ἀβασι ἀνακέαται. XXVIII. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες, πολιορκεῦσαν ἑωτοὺς, ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἱππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑσβολῇ, ἢ ἐστὶ κατὰ Τάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ 25 τάφρον μεγάλην ὄρεξαντες ἀμφορεὰς κεινοὺς ἐς αὐτῶν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορὴς καὶ ὀμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκουσα τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλουσαν. οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορεὰς. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ 30 ἱπποὶ τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.
The Thessalians offer for a large indemnity to avert a Persian invasion from Phocis.

XXIX. Τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἐγκοστον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευν τάδε. "Ὤ Φωκέες, ἢδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσμαχέετε μὴ "εἶναι ὁμοίων ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ Ἐλλησι, 5 ὡςον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἤνδανε, πλέον αἰεὶ κοτε "ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα, νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσότῳ "δυνάμεθα, ὡστε ἐπὶ ἡμῖν ἐστή τῆς γῆς τε ἐστερήθησαι "καὶ πρὸς ἱμηραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν "ἔχοντες οὐ μυησικακέομεν, ἀλλὰ ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' 10 "αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπο- "δεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψεων."

The Phocians refuse.

XXX. Ταῦτά σφι ἐπηγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιξον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὕδεν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλό- 15 μενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλῶν τὰ Ἐλλήνων αὐξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐμήδιξον ἀν οἱ Φωκεῖς. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν οὔτε δόσειν ἐφασαν χρῆματα παρέχειν τὲ σφίσι Θεσσαλοῦσι ὁμοίως μηδίξειν, εἰ ἄλλως βου- λοῖστο. ἀλλ' οὔκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἐλλάδος.

The Thessalians therefore guide the Persians into Phocis.

The inhabitants retreat, some to Parnassus, others to the country of the Ozolian Locrians. The Persians lay waste Locris with fire and sword.

XXXI. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνεῖχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τούτι Φωκεῖσι
ἐγένουτο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὀδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ
tῆς Τρηχυνῆς ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον. τῆς γὰρ
Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεῶν στεινὸς ταύτη κατατείχε, ὡς
τριήκοντα ὀστάλα χρόνος καὶ θεῖας με-
tαξίν τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρης, ἡ περ 5
hydrate παλαιῶν Δρυσίπης. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὐτὴ ἐστὶ μητρό-
πολίς Δωρίδον τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὅλ
τὴν Δωρίδα ἔγινο ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρ-
βαροι ἐμήδιξον τε γὰρ καὶ ὅλες ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖς.
XXXII. Ὅς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσ-
ἐβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκεάς ὅλες αἴρεον. οἱ
μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκεῶν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ
ἀνέβησαν (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτυθέν. δέξασθαι ὅμιλον
τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἡ κορυφή), κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη
ἐπ'. ἔωτῆς, Τιθορέα οὐνομα αὐτή, ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηψεί-
καντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν), οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐς
τοὺς Ὀξόλας Δοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισιάν
πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρησαίου πεδίου οἰκεμένην. οἱ
δὲ βάρβαροι τῆς χώρης πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα.
Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγουν τῶν στρατῶν ὁκόσα δὲ 20
ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἐκεῖρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς
πόλεις ἐνείνετε πῦρ καὶ ἐς τά ἱρά. XXXIII. Πο-
ρευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτη παρὰ τῶν Κηφισίων ποταμῶν
ἐδητῶν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἐκαινὶαν Δρυμῶν πόλιν,
κατὰ δὲ Χαράδρην καὶ 'Ερωχον καὶ Θερώνιον καὶ 25
Ἀμφικαίαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδεάς καὶ Τριτέας καὶ
Ἐλάτειαν καὶ 'Αμπτολίων καὶ Παραπταμίαος καὶ
Ἀβας, εἴθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυ-
ροίῳ τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοίς κατεσκευασμένον·
ἡ δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτοῦ 30
καὶ τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν συνήσαντες ἐνέπνησαν. καὶ τίνας

Η. VIII. 2
διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖς οὐρέσι, καὶ γυναικάς τινας διέφθειραν.

The Persian army arrives at Panopeis on the frontier of Boeotia. There it divided into two columns; the stronger of the two with Xerxes himself advanced into Boeotia; the other took guides and wound round Parnassus with the view of attacking the temple of Delphi, wasting the country as they went.

XXXIV. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκουσιν ἡς Πανοπεάς. ἑνθεύτεν δὲ ἦδη 5 διακρινόμενη ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατότατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄμα αὐτῷ Ἐρέξη πορεύόμενον ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ παῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅλλες Μακεδόνες διατιαγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇ δὲ, βουλόμενοι δὴλον ποιέειν Ἐρέξη, ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοῖ φρονέοιν. Οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτῃ ἐτράποντο. XXXV. ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν 15 Δελφοῖς, ἐν δεξιᾷ τῶν Παρνησίων ἀπέργαντες. ὡσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσμαμώρεον καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταῦτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, 20 ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς βασιλεῖ Ἐρέξη ἀποδέξαειν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ’ ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὡςα λόγον ἦν ἄξια Ἐρέξης, ὡς ἐνῶ πωλήμας ἄμειν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίοις ἐλπίς, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ 25 'Αλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.
The God will protect his own. The Delphians send their women and children across to Achaia.

XXXVI. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανώμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδήν ἀπίκατο, ἐν δελματί δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεώτες ἐμαυτύνοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἰτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἰτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἐὰν κινεῖν, φᾶς 5 αὐτῶς ἰκανὸς εἰναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἄκουσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν περὶ ἐφροντίζον. τέκνα μὲν νῦν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρηγοῦ τὰς κορφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κυρίκων οἱ ἀντρον ἄνηψαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Δοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ἄν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξελίπαν τὴν πόλιν πλὴν ἐξήκουσαν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεως.

The miraculous preservation of Delphi. The barbarians retreat towards Boeotia.

XXXVII. Ἅπελ δὲ ἄγχοι τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπῷρεον τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, 15 τῷ οὖν ὁμὸ ἐς Ἀκήρατος, ὅρα πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἐσώθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνυμένα ἵνα τῶν οὐκ ὄσιον ἢ ἀπέτεθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦν Ἰον Δελφῶν τοίς παρείνει σημανεόν τὸ τέρας, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπεὶ ἠγίνοντο ἐπενγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προνηθῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγινεταὶ σφι τέρεα ἐς μέξουν τοῦ πρὸν γενομένου τέρεος. θώμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐςτὶ, ὅπλα ἁρμία αὐτοῖς παντὶ ἐξο προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγένεσθαι καὶ διὰ πάντων 25 φασμάτων ἀξία θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ

2—2
ϊσαν ἐπιώντες οἱ βαρβαροὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προ-
νῆθες Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τοῦτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὖρανοῦ κε-
ραυνοὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ
ἀπορραγεῖσα δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ
5 ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνοὺς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
ἱροῦ τῆς Προνῆθης βοή τι καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.
XXXVIII. Συμμιμητῶν δὲ τούτων πάντων φόβος
τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεπεπτῶκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ
Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἄπεκτειναν
10 πλῆθος τῷ αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεύοντες ἵθ' Βοιωτῶν
ἐφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὕτω τῶν
βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τοῦτοι καὶ
ἀλλὰ ἱρεον θεία: δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζονας ἢ
κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἐχοντας ἐπεσθαλ σφι κτε-
15 νοντας καὶ διάκοιτας. XXXIX. Τούτων δὲ τοὺς
dύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἰναι ἐπιχωρλοῦσι ἁρώασι, Φυλά-
cόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ
ἱρὸν, Φυλάκον μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε
tοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνῆθης, Αὐτόνοον δὲ πέλας τῆς
20 Κασταλίας ὑπὸ τῆς 'Ταμπειῆς κορυφῆ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες
ἔπετ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἢμέας ἠσαν σῶοι,
ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνῆθης Ἀθηναίης κελμενοι, ἐς τὸ
ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. Τούτων
μὲν νων τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτή ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγῇ
25 γίνεται.

Meanwhile the Greek fleet arrive at Salamis, where on the
entreaty of the Athenians they anchor.

XL. ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κα-
tίσχει τὰς νέας. τὸνδὲ δὲ εἶνεκεν προσεδεθήσαν
αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναίοι, ἵνα αὐτὸι παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγόγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλήν ἐμελλὼν ποιήσεσθαι ὡς ἐφευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέ-5 ous τεῖς γὰρ εὑρίσκειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεῖν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ὑποκατημένους τῶν βάρβαρον τῶν μὲν εὐρόν οὐδὲν ἐδο, οἶ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τείχεοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιεύμενους περείναι καὶ ταῦτην ἔχοντα ἐν φυλακῇ, 10 τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἀπίεναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὖν δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα.

The Athenian ships are employed in conveying their families to Trozen, Aegina and Salamis. The disappearance of the sacred serpent.

XLI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωτών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίεσιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τὶς δυνα-15 ται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα, οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζήνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Λήγωναν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔστευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἶνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα: λέγουσι Ἀθη-20 ναιοὶ ὁφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκρόπολιος ἐνδιατάσσονται ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσι τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντε ἐπιμῆνῃ ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες: τὰ δὲ ἐπιμῆνᾳ μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσά ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἐν ἀφαντός. 25 σημειώσῃς δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱερείας μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθη-ναιοὶ καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλισσαν τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ
τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῆς τῆς ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δὲ σφι πάντα ὑπεξεκέετο, ἐπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

The Greek fleet at Salamis reinforced by contingents which had mustered at Troezen.

XLII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυν-5 θανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος. ἐς γὰρ Πάγγωνα τὸν Τροίζηνων λιμένα προεληφτὸ συλλῆγεσθαι. συνελέξθησαν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχοι μὲν νυν ἐπὶ ὡντὸς δὲ 10 πέρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης Εὐρύκλειδω ἄνηρ Ἐπαρτήνης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος γε τοῦ βασιλῆου ἐὼν. νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλεύστας τε καὶ ἀριστα πλωώσας παρεῖχοντο Ἄθηναιοι.

The numbers of the ships contributed by each State.

XLIII. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ μὲν Πελο-15 ποννήσου Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντακαίδεκα παρεί-10 χοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροίζηνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἐρμινώνες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐντες οὕτω πλὴν Ἐρμινών 20 Δωρίκων τε καὶ Μακεδόνιν ἐθνός, ἐξ Ἑρμινοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυσίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἶ δὲ Ἐρμινώνες εἰσὶ Δρύστας, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.
[Why the Plataeans were absent. The names borne by the Athenians at different epochs.]

XLIV. Οὕτωι μὲν νῦν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὁγδώκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμίνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταίες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτέμισιον, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταίες ἀποβάντες ἐστὶ τὴν περαίην τῆς Βωιώτης χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομβὴν ἐστράφη τῶν οἰκετέων. οὕτωι μὲν νῦν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασ- γῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέως ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἔρεχθεώς τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀθηναίοι μετουνομάσθησαν, Ἰωνικὸς δὲ τοῦ Ξοῦθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθη- νάιοις ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἱωνες.

The contributions of the various States continued.

XLV. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ τὸντο πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισι, Ἀμπρακίωται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβώθησαν, Δευκάδωι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἐόντες οὕτωι Δωρικῶν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. XLVI. Νησι-ωτέων δὲ Ἀιγινηταὶ τρήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφί καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἀλλὰ τής μὲν τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἐφύλασσον, τρήκοντα δὲ τῆς ἀριστα πλαισάσθη ἐν Σαλαμίνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ εἰσὶ Δωρικὲς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νῆσῳ πρῶτον 25 οὖν ἦν ὁ Ἡλεύτης. μετὰ δὲ Ἀιγινητὰς Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπὶ Ἀρτέμισίῳ εἰκοσὶ παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἔρεμπρεές
τὰς ἑπτὰς οὕτως ὁμοίως ἔστει. μετὰ δὲ Κεῖοι τὰ αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἔδω Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναῖον. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἔστει τῶν Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτεῶν, κατὰ περὶ ὅλους 5 νυσσωτας, ἀλογησαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀπίκατο ἔστει τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἁμμοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἄστων δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριήμερον ἡμέρας. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἰωνεῖς ἀπ’ Ἀθηναῖων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέος τάς καὶ ἔπ᾽ Ἀρτεμισίον, Κύθη- 10νοι δὲ μίας καὶ πεντηκοντέρων, ἕντες συναμφότεροι οὕτως Δρύσπες. καὶ Σερίφιοι τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτεῖς τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. XLVII. Οὕτως μὲν ἀπαντάς ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ 15 Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ ὅμορφοις Ἀμπρακηνησί καὶ Δευκάδοισι, οὐ δὲ ἐσχατέων χωρεῶν ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἐβόθησαν τῇ Ἐλλάδι κινδυνευόντα. Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί. XLVIII. Οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι τρίτες 20 αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους. Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Δακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ 25 Σερίφιοι Ἰωνεῖς ἐόντες ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων μίας ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο δ’ πάς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πε- τηκοντέρων, τριήμερον καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὁκτώ. A council of war. The captains of the Peloponnesian ships wish to retire nearer the Isthmus.

XLIX. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο
προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γυμήν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκεῖ εἶναι ναυμαχίν ποιέσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν χωρέων ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσὶ· ἥ γὰρ Ἑρωδώ τῇ ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι προετίθεν. αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται 5 συνεξέπηπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχίν πρὸς τὴν Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τούτο, ὡς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμίνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσωσι τὴν νῆσος, ἦν σοφὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὐδείς ἐπιφανῆσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐσ τοὺς ἐωτῶν ἔξοισονται.

During the council news comes that Xerxes is in Attica wasting the land with fire and sword.

L. Ταύτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγόμενων ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν καὶ πάσαν αὐτήν πυρπολέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπὸ-15 μενος στρατὸς ἁμα Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπίων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκκλεοπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν Πλαταιῶν ὀσμῶτως, ἦκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηνό. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπιάδων τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον. 20

The occupation of Athens,—an empty city except for the treasurers of the temples and a few poor citizens.

LI. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλληστόντος, ἐνθεὶ πορεύεσθαι ἢρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτῶν διατρίψαντες μὴνα, ἐν τῷ διέβασιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρεῖς ἐτέροις μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἑρωδώ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίων. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἐρῆμον 25 τὸ ἁστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων
The siege of the Acropolis.

LII. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰξόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τὸν ἁκροπόλιμον όχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναίοις καλέοντι Ἀρή-
ιον πάγον, ἐπολιορκεον τρόπον τοιούτῳ ὅκως στυ-πεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖων οἱ πολιορκεό-
μενοι ὄρας ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τῇ ἐσχάτῳ κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι καὶ τῷ φράγματι προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ
λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιστῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὀμολογής ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἀλλὰ τε ἀντε-
μηχανέοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπέσαν ὡστε Ἐρῆμη
20 ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίσσῃ ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφεας ἐλεύν.

The Acropolis is stormed, the temples pillaged and burnt, and a triumphant message despatched to Susa.

LIII. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἐσόδος τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐδει γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεσπρό-
πιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἑν τῇ ἡπειρῷ γενέσθαι 25 ὑπὸ Πέρσης. ἐμπροσθεὶν δὲν πρὸ τῆς ἁκροπόλιμος,
ὅπως δὲ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τῆς ἁνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὕτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ’ ἄν ἥπισε μὴ κοτὲ τις κατὰ ταῦτα
άναβαίνει ἀνθρώπων, ταύτη ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτευσαν ἐωτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ 5 διεφθέρισαν, οἱ δὲ ἐσ τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτοι μὲν ἔτραποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἴκετας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφὶ πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πάσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. LIV. 10 Σχούν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθήνας Ἐρέχθεις ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σούσα ἀγγελον ἀπεία Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελεύοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφὶ εὐπρηξίαν.

The sacred olive shoots out afresh after its burning.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψεως τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρη ἡμέρη συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐωτυῖ δὲ ἐπο- 15 μένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῇ σφετέρῳ θύσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὁν ὄψιν τινᾶ ἵδου εἰσπτώσθῃ ἐνετέλλητο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιον οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. LV. Τοῦ δὲ 20 εἴνεκεν τοῦτων ἐπεμνήθησθαι, φράσω. ξέστι εἰ τῇ ἀκρό- πόλι ταύτη Ἐρέχθεος τοῦ γγενεός λεγομένου εἶναι νης, εἰν τῷ ἐλαίᾳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγοι παρ Ἀθηναίων Ποσείδέωνα τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν 25 ἐλαίην ἀμα τὰ ἄλλα ἵρῳ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων δευτέρη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελεύο- μενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ
στελέχως οσον τε περιαίων ἀναδεδραμηκότα. Οὕτωι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

The news of the fall of the Acropolis caused such terror in the fleet at Salamis that many of the captains hurried to their ships to set sail; and the council determine on the movement towards the Isthmus.

LV. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμίνι Ἕλληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξηγέλθη, ὡς ὦχε τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἄθηνας ἀκρόπολιν 5 ἐς τοσούτων θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὡστε ἐνιοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθήναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸς νεᾶς ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἵστα ἥξιοντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι. τούσι τε ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν, νῦς τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οἳ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαιον ἐς τὰς νεᾶς.

Themistocles is persuaded to make another attempt to induce the Greeks to stay at Salamis.

LVII. Ἕνθαυτα δή Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπέκομενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἰρετο Μυσίφιλος ἀνήρ Ἀθηναίος, ὁ τι σφι εἰς βεβοῦλεμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, 15 ὡς εἰς δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἰπε" Οὐ τοι "ἀρι, ἦν ἀπαλώσει τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὐ- "δεμῇς ἐτε πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλεις "ἐκαστοι τρέφονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὔρυβιάδης κατέ- 20 "χειν δυνῆσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὡστε μὴ "οὔ διασκεδασθήναι τὴν στρατηγίν, ἀπολέεται τε ἡ "Ἐλλὰς ἀβουλίης. ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, οἴκι καὶ "πειρὼ διαχέει τὰ βεβοῦλεμένα, ἢν κως δύνη ἀνα- "γνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὡστε αὐτοῦ
“μενέειν.” LVIII. Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεί ἦρεσε ἢ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦσε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινὸν τι πρήγμα συμμίξαι. ὁ δ' αὐτῶν ἐσ τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἰ τί ἐθέλοι. ἐν-5 θαῦτα. ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενος οἱ καταλέγει ἐκείνα τε πάντα, τὰ ἡκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἐωτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθέει· ἔσ δ' ἀνεγνώσε χρησίζων ἐκ τῆς νεοῦ ἐκβηναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

The council reassembled. A sharp debate.

LIX. Ὀς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τῶν Εὐρυβιάδεω προθείναι τῶν λόγων τῶν εἶνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ἡμίκτονος εἶπε· 15 "Ὡ Θεμιστόκλεας, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶνι οἱ προεξαμιστάς μενοι ῥατίζονται.” δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη: "Οι δὲ γε "ἑγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύτατον.” LIX. Τότε μὲν ἦπιοι πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείβετα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν 20 πρῶτον λειχθεῖτων, ὡς ἑπεὶ ἀπαίροντες ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, διαδρήθοσαν παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῦειν. δὲ ἅλλον λόγου εἰχετο, λέγων τάδε.

The speech of Themistocles.

1. "Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥν ἔμοι 25 "πείθη ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέσθαι, μηδὲ πει- "θόμενος τούτων τοις λέγουσι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν
"Ισθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. "πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀνα-
πέπταμένῳ ναυμαχῆσεις, τὸ ἡκιστα ἤμιν σύμφορον
"ἔστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἄριθμον ἑλάσσονας,
5 "τούτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνα τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ
"Αἴγιναν, ἢν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἀμα
"γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔφεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός.
"καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον,
"κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάση τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 2. "Ἡν δὲ τὰ ἐγώ
10 "λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖς χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις;
"πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νησὶ ὀλγήσει
"πρὸς πολλὰς, ἧν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ,
"πολλῶν κρατήσομεν,—τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχείσω
"πρὸς ἡμέων ἔστι, ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων,—
15 "αὕτως δὲ Σαλαμίς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκέεται
"τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸδε ἐν αὐτοῖς
"ἐνεστὶ, τού καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα: ὁμολογός αὐτοῦ
"τε μένων προναυμαχῆσεις Πελοπόννησον καὶ πρὸς
"τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὕτε σφέας, εἰ περ εὐ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ
20 "τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 3. "Ἡν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω
"γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῆς νησὶ, οὐτε ἡμῖν ἐς τὸν
"Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βαρβαροὶ οὕτε προβῆσονται
"ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπλασὶ τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,
"Μεγάροισι τε κερδάνεομεν περιεύσοι καὶ Ἀἰγίνῃ καὶ
25 "Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἔστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν
"κατύπερθι γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένουσι
"ἀνθρώποις ὡς τὸ ἐπίπταν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι, μὴ δὲ
"οἰκότα βουλευομένουσι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-
"χωρεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἄνθρωπης γνώμας."
A retort and a threat.

LXI. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὐτὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, συγκὰ τοις κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδα τὸν ἔων ἐπιψη-φίζειν ἀπὸλε ἀνδρὶ πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον ὡς ἄκελευεν γυνῶνας συμβάλλεσθαι. 5 ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὁτι ἤλωκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνον τε καὶ τοὺς Κορίνθιους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἐως τοῖς εἰς ἑόραμα γὰρ τὸν Ἐνυφῆνας αὐτοὺς ἐπιστέας ἀποκρύσσεσθαι. LXII. Σημαίνον δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα: "Σὺ εἰ μενεῖς αὐτὸς καὶ μένων ἔσει "ἀνήρ ἁγαθός: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἐνυφῆνας. τὸ 15 "πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἄλλ' "ἔμοι πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς "ἐχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκήτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς "Σιρίν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τῇ ἐστὶ ἐκ "παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμῶν αὐτὴν 20 "δέειν κτισθῆναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ συμμάχους τοιῶν μουνω-"θέντες μεμνησθείτε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων."

Eurybiades is persuaded.

LXIII. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνε-διδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκεῖν δὲ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεις 25 ἀπολύσοι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγη τὰς νέας. ἀπολύσοντος γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὑπετεί ἐγίνοντο ἄξιό-
μαχοι οι λοιποι. ταυτην δε αιρεται την γνωμην αυτου μενοντας διαναιμαχειν.

An earthquake. The Aeacidae, national heroes of Salamis, are sent for.

LXIV. Ουτω μεν οι περι Σαλαμινα έπεσι ακρο-βολισάμενοι, επει τε Ευρυβιάδη έδοξε, αυτού παρε-5 σκευάζοντο ως ναυμαχήσουντες. ήμερη τε εγινετο και άμα τω ήλιω ανιόντι σεισμός εγένετο εν τε τη γη και τη θαλάσση. έδοξε δε σφι ευξάσθαι τοις θεοίς και επικαλέσασθαι τους Αιακίδας συμμάχους. ώς δε σφι έδοξε, και εποίευν ταυτα· ευξάμενοι γαρ πάση 10 τοις θεοίς αυτόθεν μεν εκ Σαλαμίνος Αιαντά τε και Τελμάνων επικαλέοντο, επι δε Αιακῶν και των άλλων Αιακίδας νεα ἀπεστελλον ες Αἰγιναν.

The mystic procession is seen coming along the Sacred way from Eleusis, and the sacred Bacchic shout is heard.

LXV. "Εφη δε Δικαίος ο Θεοκύδεος ἀνὴρ ’Αθη- ναίος, φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοις λόγιμος γενόμενος 15 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, επει τε εκείρετο ἡ ’Αττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ του πεζοῦ στρατοῦ του Ερέχθεω ἐοὺσα ἐρήμος ’Αθηναίων, τυχείν τότε ἑων ἀμα Δημαρήτη τοῦ Δα- κεδαιμονίῳ εν τῷ Ὠρισσῷ πεδίῳ, ἰδειν δὲ κοινορτῶν χωρέοντα απὸ Ἑλευσῖνος ὡς ἄνδρῶν μαλιστά κη 20 τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν. τε σφεας τον κοινορτόν ὅτεων κοτε ειη ἄνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἄκουεν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι την φωνῆν εἶναι τον μυστικὸν ιακχον. εἶναι δ’ ἀδαήμων τῶν ιρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευ- σῖν γυνομένων τῶν Δημάρητον, εἱρεσθαὶ τε αὐτῶν, 25 ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἰη τούτο: αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι: "Δη- " μάρητε, οὐκ ἐστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ
"βασιλέως στρατηγός. τάδε γὰρ ἀρίθητα ἐρήμου ἐνύψε "τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θέου τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἂλευ-
"σίνος Ἰδών ἐς τιμωρίαν Ἀθηναίωι τε καὶ τοίς συμ-
"μάχοισι. καὶ ἂν μέν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελο-
"πόνησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τέ βασιλεί καὶ τῇ στρατηγῷ 5
"τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπεται "τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει
"βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτῆν ταυτήν ἀγοῦν 10
"Ἀθηναίοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ,
"καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ὀπολόμενον καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἵνα
"μενεῖται καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκουόεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ "ἰακχάζουσι." Πρὸς ταύτα εἰπὲῖν Δημάρχητος. "Ὡς ἂν
"τε καὶ μὴ δεῖ ἄλλο τὸν λόγον τούτον εἰπῆς. ἂν γὰρ "τοῦ ἐς βασιλεά ἀνενεχθῆ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλεῖν "τὴν κεφαλήν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνῆσομαι ρύσασθαι 15
"οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἰς. ἄλλ' ἔχ' ἰσχύος,
"περὶ δὲ στρατηγῆς τῆς ἰδεῖν μελῆσείς." Τὸν μὲν δὴ 
ταῦτα παραδείσου, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς 
γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρρυθμῆνεν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλα-
μίνως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὔτω 20
δὲ αὐτοῦς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἐρέχθων ἀπολεί-
σαθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεως ἔλεγε, 
Δημάρχητο τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

The Persian navy meanwhile had left Histiaeaea and in six 

days arrived at Phalerum.

LXVI. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἐρέχθων ναυτικὸν στρατὸν 

tαχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηκὺνος θησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα 25 

tὸ Δακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχότεν 

ημέραις τρεῖς ἐπλὼν δὲ Ἐυρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρης 

τρισὶ ἡμέρῃς ἐγένοτο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ 

H. VIII.
δοκεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἔστεις ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς 
τὰς ἀθήνας, κατὰ τε ἦπειρον καὶ τῆςι νησὶ ἀπικό-
μενοι, ἢ ἐπὶ τε Σηπτιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμο-
πύλας. ἀντιθέω γὰρ τοις τε ύπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος 
5 ἀυτῶν ἀπολομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃς καὶ 
tῆς ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίᾳ τούτῳ τούς τότε 
οὐκ ἐπομένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλιέας τε καὶ Δωρίας 
καὶ Δοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους 
πλὴν Θεσπίεως τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ μάλα Καρυ-
10 στίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς 
λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολιῶν, 
tῶν ἐπεμνήθην πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσον 
ἡ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἔλλαδος ὁ Πέρσης, το-
σοῦτῳ πλέω ἐθνεά οἱ εὐπετοῦ.

Xerxes holds a council of war with the naval commanders. 
Shall he fight or no?

15 LXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας 
pάντες οὕτωι πλὴν Παριῶν (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες 
en Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκειον τὸν πόλεμον κη ἀποβήσεται), 
oi δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα 
kατέβη αὐτὸς Ἐρέξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλον σφι 
20 συμμεῖα τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλωώντων τὸς 
γνώμας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προῆξε, παρῆσαν μετά-
πεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ 
tαξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ Ἠσυντο ὡς σφί βασιλεὺς 
ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδωκε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδόνιος βα-
25 σίλεως, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ 
ἐπεζης Ἡσυντο, πέμψας Ἐρέξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα, 
ἀποπειρώμειος ἐκάστου, εἰ ναυμαχίῃ ποιέοιτο.
LXVIII. 'Επεὶ δὲ περιών εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατὰ τῶντὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο, κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέσθαι, 'Αρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἐφη.

Speech of Artemisia. She counsels delay, and an advance rather of the land forces.

1. "Εἰπαί μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ 5 τάδε λέγω οὐτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇ σι μαμα- χήσι τῇ πρὸς Εὐβοίη οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδέξα- μένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐνδόχαν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέονσα ἁριστά ἐσ τρήματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεω τῶν 10 νεών μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέσσει. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν 50 ἵππων κρέσσους τοσοῦτο ἐστὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμα- χήσι ἵππαις ἰνακιδυνεύοις; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἐθήνας, 15 τῶν περ εἰνεκεν ὀρμήθης στρατευόμεθα, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δὲ τοι ἑσταται οὐδεὶς. οὐ 20 δὲ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπῆλθαν οὐτω, ὡς ἐκείνους ἔπτεσε. 2. Τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβησθεῖν τα τῶν ἀντιπολέμου πρήγματα, τούτῳ φράσων ἑνὶ μὲν μὴ 25 ἐπειδὴς ναυμαχίην ποιεύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχεις πρὸς γῆ μένου, ἡ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελο- πόννησον, εὔπετέως τοι, δέσποτα, χωρίσει τὰ νοεῖν ἐλήλυσας. οὐ γὰρ οἶοι τε πολλῶν χρόνων εἰσὶν, τοι 30 ἃντέχειν οἴον Ἐλλήνες, ἀλλὰ σφαες διασκεδάζως, κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἐκαστοὶ φεύγωνται. οὔτε γὰρ σύτος πάρα 35 σφίζει ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυρβάνομαι, οὔτε ἀυτοὺς οἶκος, ἡν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαῦνης 3—2
Xerxes, though agreeing with Artemisia, orders that the opinion of the majority should be followed.

LXIX. Ταύτα λεγοῦσι πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὃσιον μὲν ἦσαν εὐνοοῦ ἤ Ἀρτεμισί, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακὸν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέας, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ναυμαχίαν ποιεῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀγαλματικὸν τε καὶ φθειρόντες αὐτῆς, ἀτέ ἐν πρώτῳ τετειμμένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ κρίσιν ὡς ἀπολειμένης αὐτῆς. ἔπει δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οἱ γυναῖκαι ἔσεῖσθην καρτα τῇ ἡθοι τῇ γυναῖκι τῆς Ἀρτεμισί, καὶ νομίζουν ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαῖν εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἰνεῖς. ὄμως δὲ τοῖς πλέοσιν πείθεσθαι ἐκείλευν, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοῖας σφέας ἐθελοκακίες ὡς οὐ παρείστος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θησαυροῖς ναυμαχεῖται.

The day before the battle. The Persian ships are brought up gradually into position opposite Salamis.

LXX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆγγελλον ἀναπλῶσιν, ἀνήγγελον ταῖς νέαις ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν
διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίαν. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἔξεχροσε σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι, νῦξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν υστεραῖν. τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἄρρωδεον δὲ, 5 ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμίνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχείας μέλλοιεν, νυκθεῖτες τε ἐν νύσσῳ ἀπολαμβάνετε πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωτῶν ἀφύλακτον.

The Persian land forces advance in the night towards the Isthmus. The Skironian pass had been already occupied by a large force under the Spartan Cleombrotus, and a wall was being hastily built across the Isthmus.

LXXI. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰο παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, δκως κατ' ἡμέραν πολλοὶ καὶ ἐξαλοικεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι. ὃς γὰρ ἐπύθεντο πάραρτα Πελοποννήσου τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δεούνῃ ἐν Θερμοπύλης τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ 15 τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦξιον, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ ἐκάλον τὴν Σκηνομβροτος ἀναξιείδεω, Δεούνῃ δὲ ἀδελφοῖς. ἴζομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχωσάντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὄδον, μετὰ τοῦτο ἀς σφὶ ἐδοξε βουλευμένους, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τὸν Ἰσθμοῦ τείχος. 20 ἀτε δὲ ἐοουσεόι μερίαδων πολλῶν καὶ παντὸς ἄνδρος ἐργαζόμενον ἢμετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμων πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλίνουν οὐδὲνα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὕτε νυκτὸς οὗτε ἡμέρης. LXXII. Οἱ 25 δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παντὸς αὐτὸ ἁγασ
'Ελλήνων, Δακεδαμόνιοι τε καὶ 'Αρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ 'Επιδαύριοι καὶ Φλώσιοι καὶ Τροῖζηνιοι καὶ 'Ερμούνειες. οὕτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἰ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ 5 Ἐλλάδι κινδυνευόσῃ, τούτι δὲ ἀλλοι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐμελε ὦνδέν. Ὄλυμπη δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἦδη.

The nations inhabiting the Peloponnese.

LXXIII. Οἰκεῖοι δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἐπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ 10 χώρην ἤδρυται νῦν τῇ καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἶκεον, 'Αρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι. ἦν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ 'Αχαϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωτῶν, οἰκεῖε δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἐπτά τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἔστι, Δωρίες τε καὶ Αἰτωλόλ 15 καὶ Δρύστες καὶ Δήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἡλίας μοῦνη, Δρυστῶν δὲ Ἐρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλη τῇ Δακωνικῇ, Δημήνων δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἰναι 20 Ἰωνεῖς, ἐκδεδωρίσχθη τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ Ἀργεῖου ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ περίοικοι. Τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἔθνεων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἴπειν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

The movement of the Persian land forces renewed the determination of the Greek captains to retreat towards the Peloponnesus.

LXXIV. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἦδη δρόμον θέοντες
καὶ τῇσι νησὶ οὐκ ἐπλίξοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ομοὶ ταῦτα πυθανόμενοι ἄρρωσθον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίστι αὐτοῖς δειμαίνοντες, ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἄνδρι παρα-
στάς συγχ λόγον ἔποιεστο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν 5 Ἑὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογος τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεῖν εἰς ἀποπλῶσιν καὶ περὶ ἐξελήνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ 
χώρης δοριαλώτων μένοντας μάχεσθαι, 'Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἡ 
καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοὶ μένοντας ἀμύ-
νεσθαι.

The stratagem of Themistokles.

LXXV. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς ὦς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γυνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθῶν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 15 τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοίῳ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεῖν, τῷ οὖν μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδα-
γωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέως παῖδων, τὸν δὴ ὦστερον 
τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιάεα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιάες πολιήτας, καὶ 20 
χρήματι οἰκεῖοι. ὄς τότε πλοῖῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε 
πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε: ἧσεμ-
"ψε με στρατηγὸς ὃ Ἀθηναίων ἀθρῆ τῶν ἄλλων 25 
"Ελλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλεῖς καὶ 
"βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον τὰ ύμετέρα κατύπερθε γίνοσθαι τοῖς καὶ ἄλλων 
"нологφέ σοι καὶ λάθος καὶ λάθος, ἐργον ἀπάντῳ 
"ἐξεργάζασται, ἢν μὴ περὶ διάδρας αὐτοῦ. 30 
"οὔτε γὰρ ἄλληλοις ὁμοφρονεοῦσιν οὔτε ἐτὶ ἀντιστη-
“σουτα ύμιν, πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τε σφέας ὀψετε ναυμα-  
χέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμετέρα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ.”

The Persians, believing that the Greeks intend to escape,  
first occupy the island Psyttaleia, and at midnight move  
their right wing forward close to Salamis so as to  
enclose the Greek fleet, and their left wing so as to  
block up the Strait between Salamis and Munychia.

LXXVI. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σφι σημῆνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσετο, τούτο δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγέλια-  
5 θέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν,  
μεταξὺ Σαλαμίνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἱππείρου, πολ-  
lους τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τούτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγου μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἑσπέρης  
kέρας κυκλούμενον πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγου δὲ οἱ  
10 ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέων τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι,  
kατείχον τε μὲχρι Μουνυχίας πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν  
tῆς νυσί. τὸν δὲ εἶνεκεν ἀνήγουν τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ  
tοῖς Ἔλλησι μὴ δε φυγεῖν ἥξῃ, ἀλλ’ ἀπολαμβάνετε  
ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ’ Ἀρτέμισιν ἀγω-  
15 νισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεο-  
mένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τὸν δὲ εἶνεκεν, ὡς  
ἐπεάν γένηται ναυμαχία, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομέ-  
nων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγῶν (ἐν γὰρ δὴ  
πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς μελλούσης ἔσσεθαι ἐκεῖτο  
20 ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῆσα, τοὺς δὲ διαφθεί-  
rωσαί. ἔποιευν δὲ συγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυθανοιαίτο οἱ  
ἐναντίοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκο-  
mηθέντες παραρτέουσα.

An oracle fulfilled.

LXXVII. Χρησμοῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς  
25 οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθεῖς, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργεῖος λέγοντας
πειράσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας.

'Αλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρον ἠρδὼν ἄκτην νησιό γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίνην Κυνόσουραν, ἐπίδι χαλκώμενη λυπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, διὰ Δίκη σβέσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, Ἄθριος νῦν, δεινὸν μαμώνοντα, δοκεῖν' ἄνα πάντα πιθέσθαι. Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἴματι δ' Ἀργῆς πόντου φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἐλλάδος ἦμαρ εὐρύστα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότινα Νίκη. 10

ἐς τοιαύτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργεῖος λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίας χρησμῶν πέρι οὕτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμᾶρ οὕτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

_During the night the Greek captains, not knowing what had happened, were still angrily debating, when Aristeides arrived from Aegina, bringing word of the Persian movement which he had actually seen._

_LXXVIII. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ἄθριομος λόγων πολλός. ἤδεσαν δὲ οὕκω, ὅτι 15 σφέας περιεκκλεόντο τῆς νησίοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὁρεοὶ αὐτοῦς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. LXXIX. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξ Ἀιγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὕπο 20 τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νευόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἀριστον ἀνδρα γενέσθαι εἴν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὕτως οὕνης στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέτο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἐωτῷ ὀ λίθον, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα: ὕπο δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόν-25 τῶν κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέτο,
ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμετεῖχαι. προακηκόαε δὲ, ὅτι σπευδομεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν. ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθε οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε: Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὅκοτερος ἥμεν πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται.

λέγω δὲ τοι, ὅτι ἱσόν ἐστι πολλά τε καὶ ὅλγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλάον τοῦ ἐνθεύτευν Πελοποννησίους. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν οὐδὲ ἢν ἐθέλωσι Κόρνιθιοι τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυπλάδης οἰοὶ τε ἐχονται ἐκπλώσαι περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμην.

LXXX. Ὅ δ' ἀμείβετο τοιοῦτος "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελέεσαι καὶ εὖ ἡγειλαί. τὰ γὰρ ἔγω ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἥκεις. ἵσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἔμεν τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μηδῶν. ἔδει γὰρ, ὅτε συν ἐκόντες ἠθέλουν ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἐλληνες, ἀδεκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἄγγειλον. ἡ γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πεῖσω ὡς οὐ ποιεύμεν τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν, ὡς ἔχει. ἐπειδὸν δὲ σημεῖα νῦς, ἡν μὲν πείθουνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἡν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑκ τιστά γένηται, ὦμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἰ περὶ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

Aristeides fails to convince the captains;

LXXXI. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Αριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἥκειν καὶ μόνις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθῶν τους ἐπορμέουντας περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ
στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑρ-ξεων παρατέθειαν τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας μετεστήκει, τῶν δὲ αὐτίς ἐγινετο λόγον ἀμφισβασίη, οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα.

but his news is confirmed by the arrival of a Tenian trireme which had deserted from the Persian fleet.

LXXXII. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέσσα, τῆς ἤρξες ἀνήρ Παναῖτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἡ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείαν πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἑνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τούτῳ τὸν βάρβαρον ἱο κατελεύσαν. σὺν δὲ ὁν ταύτη τῇ νητί τῇ αὐτομολησά-σῃ ἐς Σαλαμίνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημηνίᾳ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τούτο Ἑλλησί εἰς τὰς ὁγδόκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδει ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

The Greeks therefore prepare to fight. Just as they are putting off to sea the Aeciad Heroes arrive.

LXXXIII. Τούτοι δὲ Ἑλληνὶς ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἤώς τε δὴ διέφανε, καὶ οὐ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὐ ἔχον-τα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐπεα' ἡν πάντα 20 κρέσσω τούτι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώ-πον φύσι καὶ καταστάσις ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥήσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. Καὶ οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσβαίνουν, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ὥστ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἡ κατὰ 25
τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἄνηγον τὰς νέας ἀπάσας οἱ "Ελληνες.

The fight. It is begun by the Athenian Ameinias charging and grappling a ship of the enemy. Both sides come to the rescue and the battle becomes general.

LXXXIV. Ἀναγομένουσι δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέ- 

ατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι "Ελληνες [ἐπὶ] 

5 πρύμνην ἀνεκρούντο καὶ ὁκελλοῦν τὰς νέας, Αμεινή 

δὲ Πάλληνες ἀνήρ 'Αθηναίος ἐξαναξθεῖς νη ἐμβάλ- 

λει. συμπλακείσθαι δὲ τῆς νεός καὶ οὐ δυναμένων 

ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Αμεινὴ βοηθοῦντες 

συνέμισσον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυ- 

10 μαχῆς γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ τὴν κατὰ 

tους Αἰακίδας ἀποδῆμησασαν ἐς Αἰγίναν, ταύτην 

eἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα 

σφι γυναῖκος ἑφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακелεύσασθαι 

ὡστε καὶ ἄπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἔλληνων στρατόπε- 

15 δον ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε: "Ω δαμόνοι, μέχρι 

"κάσου ἔτι πρῦμνην ἀνακρούėσθε;" LXXXV. Κατὰ 

μὲν δὴ 'Αθηναίους ἑτετάχατο Φοῖνικες (οὐτοὶ γὰρ 

eἶχον τὸ πρὸς 'Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας) κατὰ 

dὲ Δακεδαμονίους 'Ἰωνες' οὕτω δὲ eἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν 

20 ἡδὸ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιά. ἱδελοκάκεον μὲντοι αὐτῶν 

catat τὰς Θεμιστοκλέους ἐντολὰς ὀλγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες 

οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νῦν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων 

catalexa tōn νέως Ἕλληναίδας ἐλόντων, χρῆσομαι 

dὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν πλήν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδρο- 

25 δάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφο- 

terōn. τοῦτο δὲ eἰνεκεν μέμνημαι τούτων μοῦνων, 

ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυ-
ράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέας ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρη ὦι ἐδωρήθη πολλῆ. ὦι δὲ εὐεργέται βασιλέας ὤροσάγχυι καλέονται Περσιστῆ. LXXXVI. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν οὖν εἰδη, τὰ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι 5 ἐκεραύνετο, αἱ δὲ υπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθείρομεναι, αἱ δὲ υπὸ Λυγινητέων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὖ τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νῷ ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἐμελλε τοιούτῳ σφί συνοίσεσθαι, αἷον περὶ ἀπέβη. ιο καὶ τῶν ἥσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῶς ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωτυύν ἡ πρὸς Εὐβοϊκ. πᾶς τῶν προθυμομένων καὶ δείμαλων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἐκαστὸς ἐωτυύν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

A gallant feat of Queen Artemisia.

LXXXVII. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω 15 μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἐκαστοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίνην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' δὲ εὐθοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἐτὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλεῖας πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν οἷ ὑπὸ Ἀρτεμισίνης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεῶς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ὣς τοὺς έχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθεὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἥσαν ἀλλαὶ νέες φίλαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐούσα, ἐδοξε όι τόδε ποιήσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσθει διωκόμενη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Αττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε ὑπὸ φιλίην ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυπδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλῶντος τοῦ Καλυπδέων βασιλέας Δαμασιθύμου. εἴ μὲν καὶ τὶ νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐτὶ περὶ Ἑλλησποντού ἐούτων, οὐ
μέντοι ἐγὼν ἔχω εἴπεῖν, οὕτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὕτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νῆός. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐνυχίᾳ χρησαμένη διπλά ἐωτήν ἄγαθα 5 ἐργάσατο. ὣ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἰδὲ μὴν ἐμβάλλουσαν νητὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τῆς Ἀρτεμισίας ἡ Ἐλληνίδα εἶναι ἡ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἔτραπτεν. LXXXVIII. Τούτω 10 μὲν τοιούτῳ αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τούτῳ δὲ συνέβη ὡστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐθυκομῆσαι παρὰ Ἶερξη. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλουσαν καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεύτων 15 "Δέσποτα, ὅραμ Ἀρτεμισίαν, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα "τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;" Καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀλληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίας τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τής νεὸς ἐπισταμένου τὴν δὲ διαφθαρέσαν ἡπιστεάτο εἶναι πολεμίην. τὰ τε γὰρ 20 ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικεν ἐς εὐνυχίᾳ γενόμενα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ἶερξῆν δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα: "Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγό- "νασί μοι γυναίκες, αἱ δὲ γυναίκες ἄνδρες." Ταῦτα 25 μὲν Ἶερξῆν φασὶ εἶπαι.

The losses of either side.

LXXXIX. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόλει τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβλήγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ἶερξῆω ἐὼν ἀδελφεδος, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλου πολλοὶ τε καὶ οὐνόμαστοι Περσέων καὶ Μῆδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων,
διλήγοι δὲ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἀτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπι-
στάμενοι, τοίσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν
χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένευον.
τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθά-
ρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἔπει δὲ αἱ πρώται ἐς 5
φυγὴν ἔτραποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο.
οἱ γὰρ ὁπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι νυνὶ
παριέναι πειρόμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτὸι
ἔργον βασιλεῖ, τῆσι σφητέρησι νυνὶ φευγούσῃς
περιέπιπτον.

Certain Phoenicians accuse the Ionians of treason, but are
themselves executed. Xerxes watches the fight.

XC. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ:
tῶν τινὲς Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἔθοντες
παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνας, ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι
ἀπολοίατο αἱ νεῖς, ὡς προδότων. συνήνεικε δὲν οὕτω
ὅστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, Φοι-
νίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθῶν
ἀτι τούτων ταῦτα λαγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηθ Ἀττικῆ
Σαμοθρηκίης νῆσος. ἦ τε ἢ Ἀττικῆ κατεῦθετο, καὶ
ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγυπατὴ νῆσος κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρη-
κῶν τὴν νέα. ἀτε δὲ ἐδόντες ἀκονιστάτο οἱ Σαμο-
θρηκεῖς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεᾶς
βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησαν τε καὶ ἔσχον
αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἰωνας ἔρρυσατο· ὡς
γὰρ εἰδὲ σφεῖς Δέρβης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους,
ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοινικὰς οἰον ύπερλυπεόμενος 25
τε καὶ πάντας αὐτῶν ἔσχον, καὶ σφεῖν ἐκέλευσε ταῖς
κεφαλῶς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτῶι κακοὶ γενόμενοι
τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωςι. ὡς γὰρ τινά ἵδοι
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ

Πέρεξης τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οἴρει τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνος, τὸ καλέστα τοῖς Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τοῦν 5 τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ καὶ προσβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν 'Αριαράμμην ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεών τοῦτον τοῦ Φοινικῆτο πάθεος.

The Persian fleet retires to Phalerum, harassed by the Aeginetan and Athenian ships.

XCI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοινικὰς ἑτράποντο, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγήν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλειοντῶν πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον Αἰγινηταὶ ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέχαντο λόγου ἀξίαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'Αθηναίοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τὲ ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγοῦσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινηταὶ τὰς ἐκπλωοῦσας ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους 15 διαφύγοιον, φερόμενοι ἑσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινητας.

XCII. Ἐνθάντα συνεκύρουν νέες ἡ τὰ Θεμιστοκλέους διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινητεὼ νη ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίης, ἡ περ εἰπὲ τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναλῆ, ἐπ' ἦς 20 ἔπλεε Πυθέσης ὁ Ἰσχενόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπήντα ἄρετής εἶνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νη ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἀμα Πέρσης ἡλίῳ νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίη ὡστε Πυθένον ὦτω σωθῆναι εἰς Αἰγιναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσείδε τὴν νέα τὴν 'Αττικῆν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἐγνω 25 τὸ σημέριον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βῶσας τῶν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτὸμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τῶν μυθισμῶν ὄνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν τῶν νη ἐμβαλοῦν ἡ

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The Aeginetans gained the first, the Athenians the second reputation for bravery in the battle. Artemisia escaped.

The reported cowardice of the Corinthians.

The reported cowardice of the Corinthians.
φέρεσθαι τοίοι Κορινθίοις. τῇ δὲ σιμβάλλονται εἶναι θείον τὸ πρῆγμα· ὡς γὰρ ἄγχου γενέσθαι τῶν νεών, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε· "Ἀδείμαντε, "σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς· φυγὴν ὀρμησάι 5 "καταπροδούς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, "ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἧρωντο ἐπικρατήσαι τῶν ἔχθρῶν." ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστεῖν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὸς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἱ οἱ τέ ἐλευ ἄγωνοι δρόμοι ἀποθνῄσκευν, ἦν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένους ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτῃ φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μὲντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέωσοι, ἄλλ' ἐν πρώτοις 10 σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίας νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἕλλας.

Aristides in Psyttaleia.

XCV. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Δυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίος, τοὺς καὶ ὀλίγος τοιοῦτοιν τούτων ἐπεμὴσθην ὡς ἄνδρος ἄριστου, οὕτως ἐν τῷ θερύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίει· παραλαβὼν 20 πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οὐ παρατεῖχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτῆν τῆς Σαλαμῖνης χώρης, γένοις ἑόντες Ἀθηναίοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν ὑσσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οὐ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῷ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

The Greeks collect the wrecks at Salamis; but some drift upon the Attic coast.

25 XCVI. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελήλυτο, κατερύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὡς ταῦτῃ ἐπύγχανε ἐτὶ ἑόντα, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν ἐς
δινὴ ναυμαχίην, ἔπιξοντες τῇσι περιεύσῃσι νησὶ ἔτι χρῆσεθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγῶν πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἐφερε τῆσ Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν καλεμένην Κωλιάδα, ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τὲ ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς 5 ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκειδι καὶ Μούσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτη ἐξενεχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐπελήθη τῶν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, 10

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοίσα ἑφίξουσί τούτῳ δὲ ἐμελλὲ ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέας ἐσεθαί.

The terror of Xerxes. He orders a bridge of boats to be made to Salamis.

XCVII. Ἐρέξης δὲ ὁ ἐμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας, μὴ τῷ τῶν Ἰόνων ὑπόθηται τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοῆσαι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου λῦ-15 σοντες τὰς ψεύτας καὶ ἀπολαμβάνεις ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κυνυνεύσῃ, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευεν ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίθετος εἶναι μήτε τοῖς Ἐλλησι μήτε τοῖς ἑωτοῦ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχώρου, γαυλοὺς τὸς Φοινίκην συνέδεε, ἵνα ἄντι τοῖς ὕπσες καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέστῳ τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὥρεντες δὲ μνὶ πάντες οἴ ἄλλοι ταύτα πρῆσεσοντα εὐ ἡπιστέατο, ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόν παρεσκεύασται μένων πολέμησειν. Μαρδονίων δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα 25 ἐμπειροὺ ἐντα τῆς ἑκείνου διανόης. ταύτα τε ἅμα Ἐρέξης ἐποίει, καὶ ἐπεμπὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τῇ παρεούσαν σφι συμφορῆν.

4—2
The Persian Courier post. Dismay at Susa.

ΧCVIII. Τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδέν ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θυγτόν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖς Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται τούτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὅσοι ὁσίοι ἦν ἡμερέων ἢ ἡ πᾶσα ὅδος, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες 5 διεστάσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίαν ὅδον ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνήρ τεταγμένος, τοὺς οὕτε νυφεῖν, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἐωτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχύστην. ὃ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δράμων παραδίδει τῷ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δεύτερῳ, δὲ δεύτερος 10 τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτην ἢδη κατ' ἄλλου διεξέρχεται παραδίδομεν, κατὰ περ Ἑλλησὶ ἡ λαμπαδηφορία, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τούτῳ τὸ δρόμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἄγγαρηίου. ΧCIX. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἐσ Σοῦσα ἄγγελία ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχει 15' Αθήνας Ἐρέχθης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τέ οὐσίας μυρσίνησι πάσας ἐστορεσαν καὶ ἑθυμίων θυμιήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄσιν ἐν θυσίνῃ τε καὶ εὐπαθείσην· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη ἀγγελία ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχει οὕτω, ὡς τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερ- 20 ρίζαντο πάντες, βοῦ τε καὶ οἰμωγῆ ἐξέροιτο ἀπλέτω, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αὐτή τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀνθόμενοι ταύτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίειν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς Ἐρέχθη δειμαίνοντες.

Mardonius consoles Xerxes, and advises him to return home.

C. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἢν ταύτα τῶν πάντα 25 μεταξῦ χρόνων γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ἐρέχθης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικομένος ἔπαισε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὄρεων μὲν
Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέει μήτε συμφορήν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην 10 ποιεύτε τούδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἴνεκεν πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγων ο τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ήμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἰππῶν. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφι ἦδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβῆς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθηναι, οὔτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς οί τε ήμῖν ἠτιωθησαν, ἐδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκεῖ, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς "Πελοποννήσου εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖ ἐπίσχειν, παρέχει ποιεῖν ταύτα. μὴ δὲ δυσθύμες οὐ γὰρ ἐστί "Ελλησιον οὐδεμία ἐκδύσις μὴ οὐ, δύναται λόγον τῶν 20 ἑποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον, εἶναι σοῦς δούλους. "μάλιστα μέν νυν ταύτα ποίει εἰ δ’ ἀρα τοι βεβοῦ- λευτοι αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τῆς στρατινήν, ἄλλην ἐχω καὶ ἐκ τῶννδε βουλήν. οὐ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι 25 "Ελλησι. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τοίς Πέρσῃ δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὐδὲ ἐρέεις δικού ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες "κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φολικεῖς τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι καὶ Κύπριοι "τε καὶ Κλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἦδη δὲν ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι ζο "τοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεο εἰ τοι δέδοκται μὴ
"παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐσ ἥθεα τὰ σεωντοὺ ἀπέλαυσεν," 
"τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοι χρῆ" 
"τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα" 
"μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον."

A council of war. Artemisia gives the same advice as Mardonius.

5 CI. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἔχαρη 
τε καὶ ἡσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τοὺς βουλευσάμενοι ἐφη 
ὑποκρινεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ 
ἐβουλευτο ἀμα Περσέων τοῖς ἐπικλήτοις, ἔδοξε οἱ 
καὶ Ἄρτεμισι ἐσυμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὦτι 
πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μοῦνη νοεύσα τὰ ποιητέα ἰν. 
ὡς 
δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἄρτεμισι, μεταστηθησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, 
τοὺς τοὺς συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, 
ἐλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε: "Κελευει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα 
"αὐτὸ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὡς μοι 
10 "Πέρσαι τε καὶ οἱ πεζοῖ στρατὸς οὕδενος μεταίτιοι 
"πάθεος εἰσι, ἄλλα βουλομένουι σφι γένοντι" οὐ ἀπό- 
"δεξις. ἔμε ὡς ἡ ταῦτα κελευεὶ ποιεῖν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἔθελε 
"τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ 
"παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν 
20 "δὲ ἔμε κελευεὶ ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς 
"ἡθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὡς ἐμοὶ, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς 
"ναυμαχίης εὐ συνεβολεῦσα: τῆς γενομένης οὐκ 
"ἐώσα ποιέσθαι, ἕν τοὺς συμβούλουσιν ὁκότερα 
"ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὐ βουλευσάμενος." CII. Ὅ μὲν 
25 ταῦτα συνεβολεῦσε, ἦ δὲ λέγει τάδε: "Βασιλεῦ, 
"χαλεπὸν μὲν ἔστι συμβουλευομένης τυχεῖν τὰ 
"ἀριστα εὑπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦτο κατήκουσι πρήγ- 
"μασι δοκεῖει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω,
"Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἔθελει τε καὶ ὑποδεκεται ταύτα "ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἑθέλει. τούτο "μὲν γὰρ, ἢν καταστρέψηται τά φησι ἑθέλειν καὶ οἱ "προχωρήσῃ τά νοεών λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἕργον, ὥ δέσποτα, "γίνεται, οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο, τούτο δὲ, 5 "ἡν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, "οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σε το περιεύντος "καὶ ἑκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἴκων τὸν σοῦ. ἂν "γὰρ σὺ τε περιῆς καὶ οἴκως ὁ σὸς, πολλοὺς πολλάκις "ἀγώνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἶ "Ἐλληνες. 10 "Μαρδονίου δὲ, ἢν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται; "οὐδὲ τι νικῶντες οἱ "Ἐλληνες νικῶσι, δούλου σὸν "ἀπολέσαντες; σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἶνεκεν τὸν στόλον ἐποι- "ἡσαο, πυρῶσας τὰς Ἀθηνας ἀπελᾶς."

Xerxes commissions Artemisia to conduct his children to Ephesos under the charge of Hermotimos.

CIII. "Ἡσθῃ τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ἐρήμης· 15 λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύχχανε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευσον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἄν δοκεῖν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωθήκεε. ἐπαυνέ- σας δὲ τὴν 'Αρτεμισίην ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγωναν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παίδας ἐς 'Ἐφέσου νόθου γὰρ 20 τινες παῖδες οἱ συνείποντο. CIV. Συνέτεμπε δὴ τοῖς παισὶ φύλακον 'Ερμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνοίχων παρὰ βασιλεῖ. οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ 'Αλι- καρνησσοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πηδάσουσι τούτοις τοῖς 25 φέρεται πρήγμα γίνεσθαι· ἔπειν τοῖς ἀμφικτυόσι πασι τοῖς ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλεως μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεθαι χαλεπῶν, τότε ἡ ἱρεία αὐτόθι
τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφι δις ἦδη ἐγένετο.

The terrible revenge of Hermotimos.

CV. Ἠκ τοῦτον δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἔρμοτίμος ἦν, τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἦδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων 5 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἔδημεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὄνεεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστῆσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων. ὡς γὰρ κτήσαιτο παίδας εἰδεσ ἐπαρμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων 10 μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῦι βαρβάροις τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος εἰνεκεν τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλος τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἔξεταμε πολλοὺς, ἀτε πολεύμενος ἐκ τοῦτον τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ, οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχωε ο Ἔρμο- 15 τίμος, ἀπικνεῖται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δόρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνοῦχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ἑρξη. CVI. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὠρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἁθήνας ἔων ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβᾶς κατὰ 20 δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἔρμοτίμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίνην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέονται, Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὑρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἑπνυνός δὲ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίως λόγους, προέκυκα καὶ κατεξείγον ὃσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθᾶ, δεύτερα 25 δὲ οἱ ὑπερχενευμένοις ἀντὶ τοῦτον ὃσα μὲν ἀγαθᾶ ποιῆσει, ἤν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέτη ἐκεῖνη, ὡστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἀσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὡς δὲ ἀρα πανοικίᾳ μιν περιέλαβε, ἐλευθερίας ὁ Ἔρμοτίμος τάδε·
"Ω πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἢδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσίω-
"τὰ ὅτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τι σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ ἄντι
"ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν τις ἐργάσατο, ἢ σε ἡ τῶν σών τινά, ὅτι
"με ἄντι ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μήδεν εἶναι; ἐδόκεεσ τε
"θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἔμηχανό τότε. οἱ σε ποιήσαντα 5
"ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεόμενοι, ὑπῆγαγον ὡς χεῖρας
"τὰ ἐρμᾶς, ὅστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἔμεο τοῦ
"ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δὲ οἱ ταύτα ἀνέλισε, ἀχθέντων
τῶν παίδων ἐς ὕψιν ἡμαγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν
ἐσωτοῦ παίδων τεσσάρων ἐόντων τὰ αἴδοια ἀποτά- 10
μνείς, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἔποιε ταῦτα. ἀυτοῦ τε, ὥς
таύτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παίδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον.
Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιήλθε ἡ τε τίσις καὶ ὁ
Ἐρμότιμος.

The Persian fleet leaves Phalerum at night for the Helles-
pont.

CVII. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἄρτεμισίη 15
ἐπέτρεψε. ἀπάγεσιν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον
ἐκέλευσε μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται,
καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαύτα λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρόμενον ὁμοία.
ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, τῆς δὲ
νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέως τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ 20
ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγαγον ὑπίσθω ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον,
ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἐκαστος, διαφυλαξόμενας τὰς σχεδίας
πορευθῆναι βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχον ἦσαν Ζωστήρος
πλώντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ
τῆς ἑπείρου, ταύτα τὰ δοξὲν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευγον 25
ἐπὶ πολλῶν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶνε, ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.
The Greek fleet pursues as far as Andros. Eurybiades, against the opinion of Themistokles, refuses to go farther.

CVIII. Ὅσς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ὀρέοντες οἱ Ἐλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τῶν πεζῶν ἡλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρου, ἑδόκεον τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντο τε ὡς ἀλεξίης-5 σομενοὶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦν τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἑδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τῶν μὲν τῶν ναυτικῶν τὸν Ἐρέξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἑπείδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδροῦ, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδροῦ ἀπικόμενοι ἐβου-λεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν υπὸς γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο 10 διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλαώνια ἱθέως ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναυτὴν ταύτη γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων, ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τούτ' ἀν μέγιστον πάντων σφείς κακὸν τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐργα-15 σαιντο. εἴ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεῖη ἀπολαμβάνεις ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρᾶτο ἂν ἡσυχίαν μὴ ἀγεῖν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίας οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶον τε ἐσταὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομίδη τὸ ὁπλίσω φανήσεται, λυμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὰ διαφθαρεῖται, ἐπι-20 χειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργον ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὅλα τε ἐσταὶ προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιας τε καὶ κατὰ ἑθνα, ἦτοι ἀλείκομενων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὀμολογούντων. τροφὴν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καρποῦν. ἄλλα δοκεέειν γὰρ νική-25 θέντα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην, ἐστεόν ὅν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ, τὸ ἐνδεδειγμένον δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκέλεῡσθαι ἣ ἡ τὸν ἀγώνα ἐκέλεῡσθαι. ταύτης δὲ εἰχοντο
τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν άλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

The crafty speech of Themistokes.

CIX. Ὅς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὕτως 5 γὰρ μᾶλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεων, ὡρμέατο τε ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλολατό) ἔλεγε σφι τάδε: "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη πολλοίς παρεγεύμην, καὶ πολλῷ "πλέω ἀκίκου τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην 10 "ἀπειληθέντας γενικήμενος ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ "ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἦμεῖς δὲ "(εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν "Ἐλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι) μὴ "διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἦμεῖς 15 "κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἡρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνιαν ἄνδρα ἔνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Ἐυρώπης "βασιλεύσαι ἐστίν αὐτόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον, ὅσ τὰ "ἵρα καὶ τὰ ἱδία ἐν ὁμοῖῳ ἐποιέστο ἐμπιπτάς τε καὶ "καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα, ὅσ καὶ τὴν 20 "θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστήγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' "εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεῦρον ἡμῖν νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι "καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ "τῶν οἰκετῶν' καὶ τῆς οἰκίης τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ "στόρου ἀνακώς ἐχέτω, παντελέος ἀπελάσασ τῶν 25 "βάρβαρων ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἕρατι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἐλλησ- "πόντου καὶ Ἰωνίς." ταύτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων πονησθείς ἐς τῶν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τι μνη κατα- "λαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναιῶν πάθος, ἐχε ἀποστροφῆν' τά περ ὡν καὶ ἐγένετο.
Themistokles sends a message to Xerxes, asserting that he had restrained the Greeks from pursuit.

CX. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδομένοις εἶναι σοφὸς ἔφανη ἐών ἀληθέως σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐβουλος, πάντως ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. 5 ως δὲ οὕτωι οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνδρας ἀπέπεμπτε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖς ἐπίστευε σιγῶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένους, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὸς ἐγένετο. οἳ ἐπεὶ τε 10 ἑπίκουτο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἔπει τῷ πλοῖῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ἑράξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· "Επεμψὲ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρα- 
"τηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων "πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφῶτατος, φράσοντα τοι ὦτι 15 "Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουρ- "γέειν, ἐσχε τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους "διόκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἐλληνστῶν γεφύρας λύειν. "καὶ νῦν κατ' ἴσουχίν πολλὴν κομίζεο."

Exaction of contributions from Andros, Karystos, Paros, and other islands.

CXI. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημῆναντες ἀπέπλωον 20 ὅπισω· οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες, ἐπεὶ τε σφὶ ἀπέδοξε μήτ' ἐπιτιόκε ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, μήτε πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησποντοῦ λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέστο, ἔξελειν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδροι νησίωτες αἰτηθέντες πρὸς 25 Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα ὅπικ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προὶ- σχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὁς ἤκοιεν
'Ἄθηναιοι περὶ ἑωτοῦς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθὼ τε καὶ 'Αναγκαλήν, οὔτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἤσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἄθηναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἠκοιεν εὐ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους 5 γε εἶναι γεωπείνας ἐς τά μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νήσου, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, Πεινήν τε καὶ 'Αμηχαίνην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἔοντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δῶσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωτῶν ἄδυναμίης τὸ τῆς Ἄθηναλών δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. CXII. Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπτων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεσθαι χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν 15 ἀγγέλων, χρεόμενος λόγωι τοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρῆσατο, λέγων ὅσει μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τῇ στρατηγῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων δὲν ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἳ πυνθανό- 20 μενοὶ τῇ τε Ἀνδρὸν ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμῆδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εὐθείᾳ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δεῖσαντες ταῦτα ἐπεμπὼν χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπταί· δοκεῖ δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μοῦνους. 25 καίτας Καρυστίουσί περὶ οὔδεν τούτων εἶνεκεν τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ὑπερβολῆ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἰδασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν τοῖς ἐξ Ἀνδρὸς ὀρμεόμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιώτεων ἐκτητο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων 30 στρατηγῶν.
Retreat of Xerxes. Mardonius selects the troops who are to remain with him.

CXIII. Οἱ δ’ ἀμφὶ Ἐξέξα ἐπισχόντες ὀλγας ἥμερας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἔξηλαντον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτήν ὁδὸν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἂμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἂμα δὲ ἀνωρίην εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος 5 πολεμεῖν, χειμερίσαι δὲ ἄμενον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἂμα τῷ ἐκεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἄθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἄδρνεος τοῦ 10 στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ ὅλη ἠλπίζεθαι βασιλεός), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἱππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἱππον. ταύτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὀλα ἐλεῖρο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων 15 συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ’ ὄλγους, τοῦτο εἰδεά τῇ ὕπηρξε διαλέγων, καὶ εἰ τεόισι τῇ χρηστῷ συνηδεῖ πεποιημένου. ἐν δὲ πλείστων ἔθνων Πέρσας αἰρέστο, ἀνδρᾶς στρατηγοφόρους τε καὶ ψελμοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους: οὕτω δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάθον ήκαν 20 τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἔσσονες: ὡστε συμπαντὰς τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἑπεῦσθι.

The Spartans demand satisfaction for the death of Leonidas.

CXIV. 'Εν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδονίος τε τὴν στρατηγὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ἐξέξα ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐλπίσθη ἐκ Δελφῶν Δακεδαι-25 μονίσιοι, Ἐξέξα αἴτεει δῖκας τοῦ Δεσωλίδου φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπτουσι δὴ
κύρια τήν ταχύτητην Σπαρτῆτια, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατελαβε ἐνοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων, Δακεδαίμονιοι τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλείδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνον δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἐλλάδα." ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχῶν πολλῶν χρόνων, ὡς οἱ ἔτυγχανε παρεστώς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνύσ τε τούτων εἶπε· "Τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὁ δείκας δώσει τοιαύτας, οίας ἔκεινοι πρέπει." 10

Xerxes continues his retreat. His sacred chariot and horses are missing.

CXV. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ρηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ἑρεξῆς δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καταλυσάντων αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησ- ποντοῦν, καὶ ἀπεκνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἶπεν. ὅκεν δὲ πορευόμενοι γυνοίατο καὶ κατ' οὐσίνας ἀνθρώπους, τῶν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτεύοντο, εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εύροιν, οἱ δὲ τήν πολίν τῆν ἐκ τῆς χῆς ἀναφυμένην καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν φλοίων περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ 20 φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατῆσθιον, ὡμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἄγριῶν, καὶ ἔλευσον οὐδὲν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβῶν δὲ λοιμὸς τῷ δὲ τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερής κατ' ὅδον διέφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσεόντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσον τῇς 25 πόλισι, ὅνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μεσιδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σιρὶ τῆς Παιονίας καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀρμα
καταλιπών τοῦ Δίδο, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠλαινε, ἀπιηθὲν ὑπὲρ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Πάλους τοὺς Θρήξις ἀπαντέοντος Ἑρξέω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρ-
paσθήματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρήκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς 5 τοῦ Στρυμόνος ὁικημένων.

Cruelty of the Thracian king.

CXVI. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τῆς Κρηστωνίκης Ἐπινείς, ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο. ὃς οὐσὶν αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ηέρξῃ ἑκὼν ἐναι δουλεύσεων, ἀλλ' ὁχετὸν ἄνω ἐς τὸ οὐρος τῆς Ῥοδόπην, 10 τοῖς ἑ ο παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλλαγήσαντες, ἡ ἄλλας σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θησαυρεῖ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔστρατεύσαντο ἀμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινεῖς πάντες ἐξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ 15 τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην.

Xerxes arrives at the Hellespont, and, finding the bridge destroyed, crosses to Abydos by ship.

CXVII. Καὶ οὖτι μὲν τούτων τῶν μισθῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὅς ἐκ τῆς Ἐπινείς πορευόμενοι ἀπικόνω τοῖς πόροις, ἐπειγόμενοι τῶν Ἐλλης-
pοντών τῇ νυσί διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδόν τὰς γὰρ 20 σχεδίας ὅπως εὗρον ἕτενταμένας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλευμένας. ἐνθαύτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι στίς τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὄδον ἐπιγέγραμεν, οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπυπάμενοι καὶ ὧδε τα μεταβάλλουντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν περιοῦσος πολλοὶ. οἱ 25 δὲ λοιποὶ ἀμα Ηέρξῃ ἀπικυνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.
According to another story he crossed from Eion, and was
preserved by an act of wonderful devotion on the part
of the Persians.

CXVIII. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδὲ λόγος λεγό-
μενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἐρέξεως ἀπελαύνων ἐκ Ἄθηνεων
ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ Ἡιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεύτεν
οὐκέτι ὀδοιπορίζει διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν
Τοδάρνεῖ ἐπιτράπεζαι ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον, 5
αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ νεῖς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβάς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν
Ἀσίνην. πλώοντα δὲ μιᾶν ἀνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολα-
βείν μέγαν καὶ κυμαίνην. καὶ δὴ, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι
χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεῖς ὡστε ἐπὶ τοῦ κατα-
στρώματος ἐπεοῦς νυχῶν Περσέως τῶν σὺν Ἐρέξει 10
κομιζομένων, εὐθαύτα ἐς δείμα πεσόντα τῶν βασιλέων
ἐἰρεθεὶς βῶσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην, εἰ τις ἐστὶ σφί
σωτηρίαν. καὶ τὸν εἶπαί. "Δέσποτά, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία,
"合击 του τοῦ ἄπαλλαγῆ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν
"ἐπιβατέων." καὶ Ἐρέξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα 15
εἶπαί. "Ἀνδρεὶς Περσαί, γιὰ τὴν διαδεξατὼ ὑμέων
"βασιλέως κηδόμενοι, ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε ἐμοὶ εἶναι ἢ
"σωτηρίαν. τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγεων, τοὺς δὲ προσ-
κυνέοντας ἐκτηθῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέαν
ἐπικουφισθείσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην. 20
ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ἐρέξεα, ποιῆσαι
τούντε. ὅτι μὲν ἐσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχήν, δωρη-
σάσθαι χρυσή στεφάνη τοῦ κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ
Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖ ὑπὸν κεφαλὴν
αὐτὸν. CXIX. Οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ 25
τοῦ Ἐρέξεως νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἐμογενεῖ πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως
οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα
οὗτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεως πρὸς Ἑξέρζεα, ἐν μυρίσι ἤνωμησε μίαν οὐκ ἔχοι αὐτίξοιν, ἡς οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαι βασιλέα τοιόνυν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώµατος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ 5 Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δὲ ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων δόκως οὐκ ἂν ἤσον πλήθος τοῦσι Πέρσης ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν. ἀλλ’ ὅ μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι εὐρήται, διὸ χρεώμενος ἀμα τῷ ἀλλῷ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. CXX. Μέγα 10 δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον φανεται γὰρ Ἑξέρζης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα, καὶ ξειλήν τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τυρῆ χρυσοπάστῳ, καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, 15 πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ξώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἄδει ἑών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρά ἴδρυται πρὸς τοῦ Ἐλλησαντοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡιόνος, ὃθεν δὴ μὴν φασὶ ἐπιθήναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

The Greek fleet return to Salamis and proceed to divide the spoil.

20 CXXI. Οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες ἔπει τε οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἀνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηδώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μὲν νῦν τοῦς θεοῖς ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς 25 Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἱσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἡ περ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἕμε ἣν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούμιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἰαντὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τούτο διεδάδαντο τὴν λήθην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ
τῶν ἐγένετο ἄνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἕως μέγαθος δυνάμει πηχέων. ἔστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περὶ τὸ Μακεδόν' Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος. CXXII. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκρωτίνα οἱ Ἑλληνείς ἐσ Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτευον τὸν θεὸν κοίνῃ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ 5 τὰ ἀκρωτίνα. δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρ' Ἀγινητέων δὲ οὗ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτει αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστηθία τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖν ναυμαχίας. Αἰγινηταὶ δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οὗ ἐπὶ ἰστοῦ χαλκεόν ἑστάσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας, τοῖς ἀγχοτάτοις τοῦ Κροίου κρητήρως.

The chief prize of valour; all give their second votes to Themistokles.

CXXIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληθῆς ἐπλαυνοῦν οἱ Ἑλληνείς ἐσ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήθια δώσοντες τῷ ἄξιοτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τούτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγὸλ 15 διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἔως ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἐκαστός δοκεών ἀριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα ἐκ κρίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερεῖοις ὑπερβάλλετο πολλοί.

His visit to Sparta; the honours given him there provoke jealousy at Athens.

CXXIV. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ’ ἀποπλωόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε 25 5—2
καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλῶν Ἐλλήνων σοφῶτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἔλλαδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταύτα ἦν Δακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο ἐθέλων τιμηθῆναι. 5 καὶ μιν Δακεδαίμονοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήρα μὲν γὰρ ἐδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδη ἐλαιῆς στέφανον, σοφίας δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεί, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδωρήσαντο τε μιν ὄχρ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προεπεμψαν ἀπίστων τρικόσιοι Σπαρτιτεῖστων λογάδες, οὕτως οἱ περ ἵππεες καλέονται, μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Τεγεστικῶν, μοῦνον δὴ τούτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἴμεῖσ τίδευν Σπαρτὶται προεπεμψαν. CXXV. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος 15 ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέως ἐδώ, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανεῶν ἀνθρῶν, φθόνοι καταμαργέων ἐνείκε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἦν Δακεδαίμονα ἀπιξῆν προφέρων, ὅς διὰ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ 20 παρὰ Δακεδαίμονίοις, ἀλλ’ οὐ δέ ἐσωτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ ἐπαινετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, ἐπε: "Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὕτ’ ἄν ἐγώ ἐδώ Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην "οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιτεῖνων, οὕτ’ ἄν σὺ, ἀνθρώπε, ἐδώ "Αθηναῖος.

Artabazus on his return from escorting Xerxes takes Olynthos and lays siege to Potidaea.

25 CXXVI. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκες ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃ λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐδώ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτὶ γενόμενος, ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ
Μαρδώνος ἔξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὁ δὲ ὅπλω ροπεύσων κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἀτε Μαρδώνιον τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος ἥκειν ἐς τὸ 5 ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔδικαλον ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστε- ὧσι Ποτιδαιήτης μὴ οὐκ ἔξανδραποδίσασθαι σφεα. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιήται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοὺς Πέρσης οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱο 10 βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τῇ Παλλήνῃ ἔχοντες. CXXVII. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἑπολιόρκηε τῇ Ποτιδαιίᾳ. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὁλυνθίους ἀπίστασαν ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἑπολιόρκηε. εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοστίαιοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ 15 Θερμαίου κόλπου ἔξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας εἰλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγών ἐς λίμνην, τῇ δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναῖῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει, καὶ οὐτω Ὁλυνθόν Ἡλκιδέες ἔσχον.

The treason of Timoxenos discovered.

CXXVIII. 'Εξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαιίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσέπηχε, προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προδόμῳς συντίθεται προδοσίῃ Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιώναιων στρατηγός, ὄντως μὲν τρόπον ἄρχην. ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχοι εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγεται), τέλος 25 μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βιβλίον γράψει ὁ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς
γλυφίδας περιειλήσαντες καὶ πτερόσαντες τὸ βιβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάϊστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἀμαρτῶν τὸ χωρίον 5 τούτων βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτίδαιητεω τὸν ὁμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὄμιλος, οἱ παῖεις γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, ὥς αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βιβλίον, ἐφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναῖων συμμαχία. τοῖς δὲ 10 στρατηγοῦσι ἐπίλεξαμένουσι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἰτίον τῆς προδοσίας ἐδοξεῖ μὴ καταπλήκτως Τιμόξεινον προδοσία τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἴνεκεν, μὴ νομίζοις εἶναι Σκιωναίου εἶναι μετέπειταν χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ 15 ἐπάϊστος ἐγεγόνει.

Ἀρταβάζοσ loses two-fifths of his army in the sea while trying to get round the mole.

CXXIX. Ἀρτάβαζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμφοτερίς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὰν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήγαγαν ἐς τὴν 20 Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδουπορή-κεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν ἔσω εἰναι ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμύρις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλης, ὅση οὐδαμά καὶ, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγοντι, πολλάκις γενομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ 25 νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους Ποτίδαιηται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοις ἀπόλεσαν. αἰτίον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτίδαιηται τῆς τε
υρχής καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προστελθῆσθαι ἥσθησαν οὗτοί τῶν Περσέων, οἳ πέρ ἐς διεφθάρσαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης. αὗτοι δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὗ λέγειν ἔμουγε δοκέονσι. 5 τούς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαξος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

Β.Σ. 479. In the following spring the Persian fleet of 300 sail reassembles at Samos.
θυμῷ, πεζῷ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῶν κρατῆσειν τῶν Μαρ-
δόνιον. ἔντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο, εἶ
τι δυναλατο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ
ὁτακοῦστεον, ὅτι πεσέσται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

The Greek fleet assembles to the number of 110 at Aegina.

5 ΣΧΞΧΙ. Τοὺς δὲ Ἐλληνας τὸ τε ἔαρ γινόμενον
ἡγείρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἐὼν. ὃ μὲν δὴ
πεζὸς οὐκο συνελέγετο, ὃ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς
Ἄγιναν, νέες ἁριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἐκατὸν. στρατηγὸς
δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Δευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ
10 Ἡγαθίλεω τοῦ Ἰπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Δευτυχίδεω τοῦ
Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξιανδρίδεω τοῦ
Θεσπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλλου τοῦ Ἐυ-
νόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεος τοῦ Πρυτάνιος τοῦ Ἐυ-
ρυφώτου τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ
15 Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἐρᾶ-
κλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκῆς τῶν βασιλέων. οὐτοὶ
πάντες, πλὴν τῶν δυῶν τῶν μετὰ Δευτυχίδην πρότων
καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης.
Ὡθηναῖων δὲ ἐστρατήγηε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος.

Envoyes from the Ionians asking for help arrive at Sparta
and Aegina. The Greek ships go as far as Delos.

20 ΣΧΞΧΙ. Ὅσ δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀγιναν
πάσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκετο Ἰωάννων ἀγγελοῦ ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οἱ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην
ὁλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπίκομενοι ἐδέοντο Δακε-
dαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἡσυχὴν· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
25 ὁ Βασιλικίδεω ἦν. οἱ στασιωταί σφίσι γενόμενοι
ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβούλευοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξενεκαντος τήν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐόντες ὑπεξέσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου, καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκουντο καὶ δὴ καὶ 5 τότε ἐς τὴν Λαγίναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι κατα- πλώσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόνις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρῳ πᾶν δεινὸν ἢν τοὺς "Ελληνας οὕτως ἐσθήσετε ἐμπείροι, στρατηγὸς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι· τὴν δὲ Σάμου οἱ ἕπιστέατο δόξη καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἵσον ἀπέχειαν. συνέπιππε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὡστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλώσαι καταρρωθηκότας, τοὺς δὲ "Ελληνας χρηλάζοντος Χίων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥδυ κατωτέρω Δήλου. οὕτω δέος τὸ 15 μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφεων.

Mardonius, before breaking up his winter quarters in Thessaly, consults the oracles by means of a man named Mus.

CXXXIII. Οἱ μὲν δὴ "Ελληνες ἐπλωσον ἐς τὴν Δήλου, Μαρδόνιοι δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑθσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθευτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενος ἐπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἣνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὐνομᾳ ἦν Μῦς, ἐντειλά- 20 μενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἴα τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαί. ὡ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμα- θεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσει· οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγεται· δοκέω δὲ ἐγώνε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων προγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι 25 πέμψαι. CXXXIV. Οὕτως ὁ Μῦς ἐς τε Δεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθὸς πείσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
άνδρα καταβήναι παρά Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐσ ’Αβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐσ Ἡβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τούτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο (ἐστὶ δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὁλυμπίῃ 5 ἁρωσὶ αὐτοθί χρηστηριάζεσθαι), τούτο δὲ ξεινόν τινα καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων χρήμασι πεῖσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἁμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκελευσέ σφεας ὁ Ἁμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι 10 τοῦτων, ἐωτῷ ἢ ἀτε μάντη χρέεσθαι ἢ ἀτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένου· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι μὲν εἴλουτο εἶναι. διὰ τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθήναι. CXXXV. Τότε δὲ θώμα μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων, ἐθείν 15 ἁρὰ τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώον Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. 6 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεσθαι μὲν Πτώον, ἐστὶ δὲ Θηβαίων, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπάδος ἀμνης πρὸς οὔρει ἀγχο- τάτῳ Ἀκραφίης πόλιος. ἐς τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεὶ τε 20 παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἐπεσθαῖ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρέτους ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφόμενον τὰ θεσπίειν ἐμέλλε. καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντις βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας 25 βαρβάρου γλώσσῃς ἀντὶ Ἐλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν δὴ τι χρῆσθαι τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάζαντα παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτὴν, φάναι δὲ Καρλὴ μὲν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν, συγγραφάμενον 30 δὲ οἶχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.
Reassured by the answers he receives Mardonius sends Alexander of Makedon to Athens with a proposal of alliance.

CXXXVI. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπεμψε ἀγγελον ἐς Ἀθήνας Ἄλεξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεως ἀνδρὰ Μακεδόνα, ἀμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν (Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἀδελφὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεως 5 δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης άνηρ Πέρσης ἐσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τῆς Φρυγίης ἔδοθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι), ἀμα δὲ ὁ Μαρ- δόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενος τε εἶχα καὶ εὐεργέτης ιο ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέμπτε. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὔτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἀρά ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τὰ τα κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τοῦτων δὲ προσγενομένων κα- 15 τῆλπιζε εὐπτέτως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τὰ περ ἀν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλὸν εἶναι κρέσσων. οὔτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ᾽ ἀν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτα οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμ- 20 μαχον τῶν Ἀθηναίον ποιέσθαι τοῖς δὴ πειθόμενος ἐπέμπτε.

How Perdicas, the ancestor of Alexander, obtained the kingdom of Makedonia.

CXXXVII. Τού δὲ Ἀλέξανδρου τοῦτον ἔβδο- μος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἔστι ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ἐξ Ὕργεος 25
ὁ δὲ ἀπήψασαι τὸν ἠλιθιότατον τούτου, ὤμοιον ἡγίατος, οὐκ οὐδεὶς δὲ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι ἃνθρώπων ἀσθενείς, γινόμενον ὃς εὐθείαν ἔχει. οἱ δὲ θάνατος τούτου ἄμβλυτος ἀποκαλοῦσάμενος, οὐκ ἠπαθητής ἢ ἠθυπάθητος, ἀλλὰ ἀποκαλοῦσάμενος, ὃς ἠθυπάθητος ἢ ἠπαθητής, οὐκ ἦσαν ἀσθενεῖς, γινόμενοι ὃς εὐθείαν ἔχοις, ἢ ἠθυπάθητος ἢ ἠπαθητής, οὐκ ἦσαν ἀσθενεῖς, γινόμενοι ὃς εὐθείαν ἔχοις, ἢ ἠθυπάθητος ἢ ἠπαθητής.
The Speech of Alexander at Athens.

CXL. 'Ἐγεγόνει μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἄμιντεω, ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἁθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδόνου, ἔλεγε τάδε: "Ἀνδρέας Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἰορδανιός τάδε λέγει: "Εμοὶ ἀγγελία ἦκε παρὰ βασιλέως λέγουσα οὕτω: Ἀθηναίοισι ταῖς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐκείνων ἐς ἐμὲ γενομένας πᾶσαις μετέχει. νῦν 25 τε ὁ Ἁμρδόνω, ποιεῖ. τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἔλεσθων αὐτοί, ἡμείς ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι. ἢρά τε πάντα σφι, ἢν δὴ βουλωνται γε ἐμοὶ ὀμολογεῖσιν, ἄνορθω-
“σου, ὅσα ἔγω ἐνέπρησα. Τούτων δὲ ἀπαγομένων ἀναγκαλῶς ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἂν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντιλογίας γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε νῦν: "Τί μανεσθεῖς πόλεμον βασιλεία πολεμοῦ; οὔτε γὰρ ἀν ὑπερβάλοισθε, οὔτε οἷοι τέ ἐστε ἀντέχειšς τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἰδεῖτε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἐρέξεως στρατηγίας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἐσύσαν δύναμιν, ὡστε καὶ ἂν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικῆσθε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς εἰ περ εὐ φρονέετε, ἀλλὰ παρέσται πολλαπλῆσθη. μὴ δὲν βούλεσθε παρισοῦμενοι βασιλεῖς στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θεεὶ περί τῶν μέσων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε. παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι βασιλέοις ταῦτη ἀόρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν διαμιμηθήν συνθε- μενοι ἂνει τῇ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα, ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνετελεῖτο μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐσύσασθε εἰς ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξοι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθωσε), προσχρητίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρ- δονίῳ. ἐνορεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἴοσι τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμεῖοι Ἐρέξεως. εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τούτω ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἡλθον ἔχων λόγοις τούσδε καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωποῦ ἡ "βασιλείους ἐστὶ καὶ χειρ ὑπερμήκης. ἂν ὅμη αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσηστε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ’ οἷοι ὁμολογεῖσι ἐθέλουσι, δειμαῖνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβερ τε μάλιστα οἰκημέον τῶν συμμάχων πάντων, αἰεὶ τε φθειρομέον μοῦνοι, ἐξαρετών τι μεταλλιζον 30 τὴν γῆν ἑκτημέον. ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀξία ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύοις γε ὁ μέγας μοῦνοισι
"υμίν Ἐλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπείς ἐθέλει φίλος "γενέσθαι." Ἄλεξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε.

The Spartans send envoys to counteract Alexander's influence at Athens.

CXLII. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, πυθόμενοι ἦκειν Ἄλεξανδρον ἐς Ἄθηνας ἐς ὀμολογήσει ἀξοντα τῷ βαρ-βάρῳ Ἄθηναιοι, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς 5 σφέας χρεών ἐστὶ ἁμα τοῖς ἀλλοις Δωριεύσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μῆδων τε καὶ Ἄθηναιων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὀμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἄθηναιοι, αὐτίκα τῇ σφί ἔδοξε πέμπτειν ἄγγελους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὡςτε ὁμοί σφέων 10 γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν. ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἄθηναιοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὧτι ἔμελλον Δακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρ-βάρου ἄγγελου ὑπ’ ὀμολογήγη, πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἄγγελους. ἐπίτηδες ὡς ἐποίειν, ἐνδεὶ-15 κυνύμενοι τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἑωτῶν γνώμην.

Speech of the Spartan envoys.

CXLIII. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἄλεξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἐλεγον οἰ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι: "Ἡμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Δακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους "ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιεέων μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν 20 "Ἐλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρ-"βάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς, οὔτε κόσμον "φέρον οὐ τί γε ἀλλοισ Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοῦσιν, ὑμῖν "δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἴνεκεν: "ἤγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων 25 "βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς ὁ ἄγων
"ἐγένετο· νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐστὶ πάσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

άλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αὐτίος γενέσθαι δουλο-

"σὺνης τοῦτος Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετῶν,

"οὗτος αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἔλευ-

5 θερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζομένοις μέντοι ὑμῖν

"συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὃτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διὰ

"ηδῆ, καὶ ὃτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἡδῆ πολλῶν.

"ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Ῥακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ

"σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλουται γυναίκας τε καὶ τὰ ἐς

10 πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἥχομενα πάντα ἐπι-

"θρέψεων, ἔστι· ἀν ὁ πόλεμος ἔδε συνεστήκη· μηδὲ

"ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών ἀναγνώσῃ, λέναις

"τὸν Μαρκονίου λόγον· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα

"ποιητέα ἔστι, τύραννος γὰρ ἔδω τυράννως συγκα-

15 τεργάζεται, ὑμῖν δὲ γε οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εύ

"τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένουι ὡς βαρβά- 

"ροι; ἐστι οὕτε πιστῶν οὕτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν·

Answer of the Athenians: they will never make terms with Xerxes.

CXLIII. Ταῦτα ἔλεγαν οἱ ἄγγελοι. Ἀθηναῖοι
dὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε: "Καὶ
20 αὐτὸι τοῦτο γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλασιᾷ ἐστὶ
"τῷ Μῆδῳ δύναμις ἢπερ ὑμῖν, ὡστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό

"γε ονειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίας ἑλείμενοι

"ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω, ὃκοις ἀν καὶ δυνάμεθα. ὁμολο-

"γησάτε δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ

25 ἀναπέθεις οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν δὲ ἀπάγ-

"γελλε Μαρκονίῳ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἀν ὁ

"ἠλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ἄδων ἢ τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε

"ὅμολογησεῖν ἡμέας Ἑρέξη· ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε συμ-
“μάχοιση πίσυνοι μοι ἐπέξειμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἡρμοὶ, τῶν ἐκεῖνοι οὐδεμίαν ὅπως ἔχων ἐνέπτησεν τοὺς τε οἶκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σὺ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούτως μὴ ἐπιφαίνει Ἀθηναῖοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑποργεῖειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρειν 5 παράνεε. οὐ γὰρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν, ἐόντα πρόξειων τε καὶ φίλον.”

Athenian address to the Spartan envoys urging instant activity on the part of Sparta.

CXLIV. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρύναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους ταδαὶ: “Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Δακεδαιμονίους μη ὀμολογήσωμεν τῷ 10 βαρβάρῳ κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἂν. ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἰκατε ἔξεπιστάμενοι τῷ Ἀθηναίων φόνημα ἄρρωσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἦστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῆ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλουμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες 15 καταδουλώσωσι τῇ Ἑλλάδα. πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖειν, μηδὲ ἂν ἐθέλουμεν πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεών τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίοις ἔχει 20 τιμωρεῖσιν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἢ περ ὀμολογεῖν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὐτίς δὲ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐν 25 ὀμαιμόν τε καὶ ὅμογλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσία θεαὶ τε ὀμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν εἰ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθε τε 30 ὀφτω, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον ἑπιγιγνάντες ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστι ἀν καὶ εἰς περὶ Ἐλληναῖον, μηδαμά ὀμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ἑλλῆς. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν πρόνοιαν

H. VIII.
“τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθο-
ρημένων οὕτω οὕστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς
οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται,
ἡμεῖς μέντοι λυπαρήσωμεν οὕτω δικαὶ ἄν ἔχωμεν,
5 οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ἡμέας. νῦν δὲ, ὡς οὕτω ἔχοντων,
στρατηγὸν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπτετε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς
εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκάς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος
ἔσβαλον ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα
πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν
10 ἐκείνων ἡμέων προσεδέπτο. πρὶν δὲν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖ-
νον ἐς τὴν Ἁττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προβοθῆσαι
ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριμαμένων
Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.
NOTES.

[For persons and names of places see Historical and Geographical Index. G. refers to Goodwin’s Greek Grammar, 1882. App. to the Appendix on the Ionic Dialect. Clyde to Clyde’s Greek Syntax, 1870.]

CHAPTER I.

The last book (vii) had described the fate of the contingent appointed to serve on land and guard Thermopylae; Herodotus now turns to the fleet.

1, 2. ὁ δὲ...ταξιθέντες ‘those whose assigned duty it was to serve 1 afloat’, that is assigned by their several states: cp. 7, 21 ὁ δὲ ἐσ τῶν πεθαν ἔτεταχατο. The general movements both of land force and fleet were directed by the national congress assembled in the Isthmus (7, 175).

4. Πλαταῖοι. The Plataeans as an inland state without seaboard would have no ships; but they constantly followed and supported the Athenians as at Marathon (6, 108, 111). They were not however actually engaged at Salamis, see c. 44; though they afterwards pleaded their services at Artemisium as a proof of their Hellenic patriotism, see Thucyd. 3, 54, 3.

5. Κορίνθιοι. That the Corinthians should only send 40 ships when the Athenians sent 127 is a striking sign of the rapid advance of the latter. In b.c. 491 the Athenians had had to borrow, or rather purchase at a nominal price, 20 ships of Corinth wherewith to attack Aegina [6, 88, 89].

7. Χαλκίδες. The Chalcidians manned Athenian ships probably because they were Athenians settled as cleruchs in the territory of Chalcis in Euboea [see 5, 77].

6—2
II, 12. δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντήκοντάροις δύο 'two triremes and two penteconters'. By νέας unqualified by any descriptive epithet understand triremes, or ships of war, ταχεῖα: other triremes are called ὀπλιταγωγοί, ἵππαγωγοι etc. Penteconters were smaller vessels rowed by 50 men, 25 on each side sitting on the same level. The latter were the vessels almost universal in Greece until the decennium B.C. 490—80, when they were superseded by the triremes [Her. i, 163, 4, Thucyd. i, 14, 4]. The use of penteconters however still survived among more distant Greek states, as Rhodes [Thucyd. 6, 43, 1], as also among the Etruscans [id. 6, 103, 2]. The triremes carried an average of 200 men, see c. 17.

13. Ὄπωστον, see Hist. Ind. s. v. Locrians.

CHAPTER II.

15. εἴρηται δὲ μοι, that is in the preceding chapter. The numbers are:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athenians</td>
<td>127 ships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corinthians</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megarians</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalcidians</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeginetans</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Sicyonians</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lacedaemonians</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Epidaurians</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eretrians</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Troezenians</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Styrians</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceians</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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16. τῶν συλλεχθέοντων νεῶν, that is 'of triremes', as above, l. 11.

20. οἱ σύμμαχοι, the members of the congress of the Isthmus, see above, l. 2.

2 1, 2. οὖκ ἔφασαν...ἐπέστησαί 'refused to serve under Athenians but would only do so if the Spartan leader took the command'.
Two clauses are compressed into one, ὅπε ἐφασαν ἔσεσθαι Αθηναῖοι and ἐφασαν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον τῷ Δάκωι. Notice Αθηναῖοι without article 'Athenians' = 'an Athenian commander', not the particular one.

2. ἀλλὰ λόγον ἀλλὰ ἐφασαν λόγον.

tό μελέν ἔσεσθαι 'which was about to take place'. The verb μελέν is regularly followed by the future infinitive and sometimes by the present, but not by the aorist infinitive, G. § 202, 3. Yet exceptions to this rule occasionally occur [see Rutherford New Phrynichus p. 420 sq.].

CHAPTER III.

4. καὶ ἔρξας 'originally', 'at first', cp. 9, 22. λόγος 'common talk'. πρὶν ἦ πέμπτον 'before they (the Greeks) sent'.

5. ἐπὶ συμμαχίην 'with a view of securing an alliance'. This refers to the embassy sent by the congress of the Isthmus to Gela of Syracuse to induce him to join the alliance against the Persian invaders. In the discussion with Gela the Spartans claimed the lead on land, the Athenians at sea, and Gela refused help unless one or the other were conceded to him. Her. 7, 157—9.

7. μέγα πεποιημένοι 'because they regarded it as of first importance'. This use of ποιημένοι [of which πεποιημένος is used as middle perf. part.] is common in Herod. see p. 6, l. 7, and cp. 9, 4 δεῦν ποιησάμενοι. περιέλαι 'survive', 'be saved'. Cp. p. 30, l. 15.

9—11. ὅθα νοεότερα 'and their sentiments were entirely right'.

πολέμου διομορφονεῖτο 'unanimous war', i.e. 'the war of a united country', an expression only justifiable by considering war to be personified. τοσοῦτο...δοφ 'precisely as much worse as'.

12. οὐκ ἀντίτευκον 'they did not continue to make any counterclaim'.

13. μέχρι δου 'as long as they (the Athenians) wanted them', i.e. the other Greeks. Cp. μέχρι κόσων p. 44, l. 15.

14, 15. πρὶν τῆς ἐκείνου...ἐπολευντο 'they were going to attack the Persian's own territory'. Cp. p. 14, l. 14.

15, 16. τὴν Παυσανίας ὅπων 'the outrageous conduct of Pausanias'. Thucydides says he was χλαος and that his mode of behaviour was a τυραννίδος μυθησι rather than a στρατηγία [1, 95]. And Plutarch [Aristid. 23] gives details of the roughness of his manners, the severity of his punishments, and the offensiveness of his manner of asserting the Spartan primacy.
NOTES ON III

ἀπελοντὸ...Δακεδαμονίους 'deprived the Lacedaemonians of the command'; for the double acc. see G. § 164.

The event referred to is the deposition of Pausanias in B.C. 478—7, and the selection of Aristeides to take the command of the allied fleet in the Northern Aegean, which is recounted by Thucydides [I, 94 sq.], and which led to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos.

CHAPTER IV.

18. τότε δὲ 'but at this time', opp. to ὅστερον μὲν l. 17. καὶ 'actually'.

19. καταψηλαγα 'brought to land'.

21. παρὰ δόξαν...ἡ 'in an unexpectedly different manner than'. The phrase παρὰ δόξαν involves the idea of ἄλλος and is therefore followed by ἡ. Cp. 1, 79 ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἐσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἡ ὡς αὐτὸς κατέδοκεν.

22. Notice the imperfect ἀπέβαινε 'were turning out'. κατεδόκεον, see p. 36, l. 22.

23. ἐσώ, that is, South of the Euripus, towards the Peloponnesus, p. 10, l. 6.

2, 3. ηοτ' ἄν...ὑπεκθέωνται 'until they should have removed out of danger'. The construction represents the words used προσμεινον ηοτ' ἄν ὑπεκθεώμεθα, and is retained in Orat. Obliq. G. § 239, 2.

4. πελούσι 'bribe'.

5. ἐτ' ὃ τε 'on condition that'. For τε see on p. 10, l. 9.

6. πρὸ τῆς Εὔβολίας, that is, to the North of Euboea, in which direction the enemy were. Cp. p. 39, l. 9 and 9, δι πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. τούχονται, the infin. more commonly follows ἐπ' ὃ τε, but the future indic. is also used dramatically. G. § 236, note 2. τὴν ναυμαχίην 'the sea-fight', that is the fight which must inevitably come somewhere.

CHAPTER V.

9. ὡς παρ' ἐῳντοῦ δῆθεν 'as though out of his own pocket (de suo) as he pretended'. For παρ' ἐῳντοῦ cp. 2, 129 παρ' ἐῳντοῦ διδοντα. Cp. 7, 29 παρ' ἐῳντοῦ δοὺς τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ χιλιάδας. And for δῆθεν indicating the falseness of a pretext see 7, 211 φεύγεσκον δῆθεν 'they kept pretending to run away'; and combined with
ὁς, 9, 66 ὡς ἔσται ἵνα δῆθεν 'he made a feint of leading them to the field'.

11. ἤσπαρε 'struggled', properly 'panted', see I, i οἱ ὁδέω παιδιὼν προκελεύον ἀσπαρόν τε καὶ κραγγανόμενον. 9, 120 ἤσπαρον δὲν περ ἰχθύς νεόδωτοι. Very rarely found in Attic.

12. ἀποπλάσσεται from ἀποπλώω, Ionic and poetic form of πλέω. [This form is used by the mss. R and S, and I have retained it throughout, but in certain other mss. the form is πλέυσεσθαι, πλέουν, πλέομεν κ.τ.λ. and Stein has adopted the latter.]

13. πρὸς δὴ τούτων 'to him he said'; the reason for the speech has been previously given by the clause 'Αδελμάντως γὰρ. The logical order would be πρὸς 'Αδελμάντων εἰπε, οὗτος γὰρ ἤσπαρε.

15, 16. ἄν πέμπεις 'will be likely to send you'. The plan of sending bribes round to the leading men in each state by the king of Persia is alluded to again in 9, 2, and 41; and we know from later authorities (Demosth. Phil. 3, 42) that it was actually done.

16. τὰῦτα τε ἡμα ἠγορέσει καὶ πέμπει. The verb πέμπει is an historical present: 'He accompanied this speech by sending three talents to the ship of Adeimantus'. [For this use of τε—καὶ as expressing simultaneous action see on p. 28, l. 9.]

Plutarch, on the authority of the Lesbian Phanius, tells a story of Themistocles bribing an Athenian captain with one talent to stay at Artemisium [Themist. 7], but there is no reason why both stories may not be true.

18. πάντες 'both', cp. 5, 36; 6, 77 St. [Some few mss. have πληγαίνες with which Abicht compares Plutarch Demosth. 15 πληγαίνει ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας.]

19. ἐκεχάριστο is middle: 'And thus Themistocles had gratified the Euboeans while he secured a profit for himself at the same time'.

20—23. θάνατος δὲ...χρήματα 'and at the same time he was not suspected of having the balance of the money (the 30 talents, see c. 4), but the men who got their share of it believed that the money had been sent from Athens for this express purpose.

21. ἄποστειε ἡ [App. D. ι. a] 'believed', 'were given to understand'. Cp. p. 13, l. 22; p. 46, l. 19; p. 51, l. 20; p. 75, l. 15. We use the word to 'understand' in the same sense of 'belief'. 
CHAPTER VI.

24. οὕτω δὴ ‘it was thus’, ‘it was in these circumstances that’.

25. ἔγγεντο δὲ ἄδε ‘and how it came about was as follows’, i.e. how the battle began and how it was carried on.

26. πρὶν δὲλην πρωῠν ‘early in the afternoon’, opposed to δὲλην ὡφίην p. 5, l. 19.

27. ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον ‘already before this’, cp. p. 36, l. 20.

4 1. αὐτοῖς ‘with their own eyes’. ἐπιχαρεῖν sc. ἐλείν. Cp. 9, 14 θέλων εἰ κως τοῦτον πρῶτον ἔλοι.

2. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς αὐτής ‘straight down upon them’, ex adverso. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ (9, 1), ἐκ τῆς ἐθέλης (9, 37).

4 5. ὁρμήσαν...καταλαμβάνει. The coming down of night before they could get engaged is perhaps the contingency most present to their minds, but as the subj. after a past tense in the governing clause is as correct as the opt., on the dramatic principle of introducing the exact words of the person, the variation does not perhaps admit of any other explanation than the taste of the writer. For καταλαμβάνειν in this sense 9, 56 τοὺς δὲ ἑτελ ἡμεῖς κατελάμβανε.

5 6. καὶ ἐμελλὼν δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι ‘and then, as they thought, they were certain to escape’. For fut. inf. after ἐμελλὼν see above, p. 2, l. 2. The meaning of ἐμελλὼν here expressing certainty is found in common idiomatic phrases, such as, ἐμελλετ’ ἀρ’ ἀπαντεῖν ἀνασελεῖν βοή ‘I was certain you would shout’, Arist. Ach. 347 ἐμελλὼν σ’ ἀρα κινήσεων ἐγώ ‘I was certain I should send you packing’, id. Nub. 1301 ἀρ’ ἐμελλομέν ποθ’ ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσεν τῷ χρόνῳ ‘I was certain we should drive you off in time’, id. Vesp. 464.

δῆθεν indicates the thoughts of another, which the writer discredits, see above, p. 3, l. 9.

6. μηδὲ πυρφόρον ‘not even a sacred-fire bearer’, i.e. not anyone at all. The πυρφόρος would be defended as long as anyone survived. Hence the phrase for total extinction. From Xenophon (Rep. Lac. xiii. 3) we learn that a lamp of sacred fire was carried with a Spartan host never to be extinguished. The person intrusted with this would be most carefully guarded.

6, 7. τῷ ἑκλώνων λόγῳ ‘according to their expressed purpose’.
CHAPTER VII.

7. πρὸς ταῦτα 'with a view to these contingencies'.
9. ξεθεῖν Σκιάθου 'to the East of Skiathos'. So as to have Skiathos between them and the Greeks.
10—12. ἵνα δὴ περιλάβουν 'that, as they intended (δὴ), they might enclose them'. Here the main purpose is expressed by the optative, while a secondary or subordinate purpose is expressed by a subjunctive clause (ὡς ἄν μὴ ὑφέσωι 'in such a way that they might not be seen'), but see on L 4 and cp. p. 40, ll. 13—15, Goodw. M. and T. § 44. 2. For δὴ almost equivalent to δῆθεν, shewing that the writer is representing the thoughts of others, see 9, 11 ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἐχοντες. 9, 59 ἡγε...κατὰ στίβον τῶν 'Ελλήνων ως δὴ ἀποδι-

For the dramatic construction ὡς ἄν μὴ ὑφέσωι after the historical περιέχειν cp. 9, 7 ἐκέλευσαν ὑμᾶς ἐκτέμπειν ὡς ἄν τῶν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα. G. § 216, 2.

12—14. οἱ μὲν...σφεῖς τι. The party despatched round Euboea, and the main body remaining at Aphetae.
13. τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν δὲν 'their homeward course'.
14. ἐξ ἀνατύχης 'from the opposite side', cp. εξ ἀντίθης c. 6.
16. ταὐτῇ τῆς ἡμέρης 'that day', the gen. of time within which. G. § 179.
17. τὸ σύνθημα 'the signal agreed upon', used of a 'watch-word' in 9, 98. ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι 'could appear', referring to the time it must necessarily take to get round the island. For ἔμελλε see p. 2, l. 1.
20. ἐποιεύντο ἀριθμὸν 'held a muster of', cp. 7, 59. This was rendered necessary, as Stein observes, by the losses sustained by bad weather and attacks of enemies; see 7, 190, where 400 ships are said to have been lost on the coast of Magnesia.

CHAPTER VIII.

24, 25. τῇ ναυαγη ἡ κατὰ τὸ Πῆλιον γενομένη 'the ship-
wreck which had befallen them off Pelion', that mentioned in the last note.
26, 27. περιβάλετο 'possessed himself of', cp. 6, 25 πάλιν καλ-

κλετὴν Ζάγκλην περιβεβλητο, see 9, 39. ἄρα 'as it appears', i.e. from what he did afterwards, p. 61, l. 4.
NOTES ON VIII

28. αὐτομαλίσεαι: notice the fut. inf. after ἐν νῦν εἰχε on the analogy of the construction of μελλω. The futurity implied in ἐν νῦν εἰχε is expressed in the infinitive.

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ 'but he [didn’t do so then] for there was no opportunity', so we often find καὶ οὐ γὰρ 9, 61, 87 etc. The negative belongs to the prevented action, γὰρ introduces the cause of the prevention.

5 1. πάρεσι, impers. p. 39, l. 27. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 120, 5; 5, 14, 2.

ὡς τότε 'at that time'. The meaning of ὡς here is hard to give by any English equivalent; it defines and limits the time indicated by τότε.

ὅτε ὅτι τρόπῳ 'now in what manner it actually happened'. ὅτι here, like Lat. adeo, emphasizes and defines the word which it follows. ὅτι 'after all', that is after whatever attempts or exploits.

3, 4. λέγειν γὰρ. The feat here mentioned is of course an impossible one, and is naturally disbelieved by Herodotus. The distance from Aphetae to Artemision is about seven miles. It is possible perhaps that Skyllias made his way over this strait by swimming and diving at intervals. The natives of the Levant to this day are famous divers [Col. Leake quoted by Rawl.], and much greater distances have been swum in our own time.

5. ἀνέφορε 'came up to the surface'. ἔχω with its compounds is as often neuter as transitive. Abicht notices that in Odyss. 5, 320 ἄνακεφεθείνω used in this sense is explained by the Scholiast by ἄναδύειν.

8. μετέξετερα = ἐνια. A word confined to the Ionic dialect.

9. ἀποδεδίκηθω [δεικνυμι], App. E.

CHAPTER IX.

14, 15. λόγον σφύλακτοι αὐτοῖς ἔδίδοσαν 'took counsel among themselves', cp. 1, 97 συλλέξθησαν oi Μῆδοι ἐς τῶν καὶ ἔδίδοσαν σφύλακτοι λόγον. Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 27 ἐς δὲ ἐπικαλοῦτι τι αὐτοῖς λόγον ἐφασαν χρὴνα διδόναι 'to discuss the matter'. Arist. Plut. 467 περὶ τούτων σφύλακτοι ἐθέλω δοθῆναι λόγον 'to argue the matter with you'.
15. ἐνικά 'the decision was come to', 'the vote was passed'.
For this impersonal use of νικάν see Soph. Antig. 233 τέλος δὲ μὲν
τοι δεύρ' ἐνικησέν μολέιν: and again Her. 6, 101 ἐνικα μὴ ἐκλεπτεῖν
τὴν πόλιν. A commoner usage is νικάν γνώμην 'to get one's view
carried' [e.g. 1, 61].

16. αὐλισθεῖται 'having encamped for the night'. Stein rightly
explains that this refers to the camp on shore, where they were to
pass the night; that the enemy might not be led to expect any un-
usual movement by seeing them spend the night on board.

17. παρέντας 'letting pass'.

18, 19. μετὰ δὲ τούτο 'but subsequently', i.e. on the same
day as the Council. δελθην ὀψιν 'evening', opposed to δελθην
πρωτην 'afternoon' in c. 6.

20. αὐτὸι ultro 'without being attacked', 'on their own ac-
count'. ἰπανέπλωον, notice the imperf. 'began putting to sea to
attack'.

21, 22. ἀπόσειραν—διεκπέλον 'wishing to satisfy themselves
as to the nature of their fighting and naval tactics'. αὐτῶν depends
upon μάχης. The force of ἀπόσειρα as opposed to πείρα, like
that of ἀποσειρᾶσθαι, is that of completion or satisfaction. See
2, 73; 3, 128; 9, 91. The διεκπέλος was a manoeuvre in naval
warfare by which a single line of ships broke through the enemies'
line, turned swiftly, and charged as they pleased, opposed to the
ruder method of grappling and fighting from the decks. See
6, 12 where Dionysius is described as training the Ionian sailors,
δὲ ἁνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας ('in line') τὰς νέας, ὅκως τούτοι ἐρέτησι
χρήσατο διεκπελλον ποιεύμενον τῆς νησί δι’ ἀλληλεώς καὶ τοὺς
ἐπιθάτας ὀπλίσαει....

The manoeuvre required both swiftness and skill in working the
vessel, so as to avoid charging prow to prow, and being charged on
one's own broadside. See Thucyd. 1, 49, 3 διεκπλοὶ τ’ οὐκ ἦσαν,
ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ρώμῃ τὸ πλέον ἐναυμάχου ἡ ἐκπολτή. The
Athenians especially prided themselves on their skill in practising
this manoeuvre, as well as another called the περὶπλος, out-flanking
the enemies' ship and charging it as one pleased,—see Thucyd.
7, 36, 3 τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οίκ ἐσεθαί σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὗτε πε-
ρὶπλον οὔτε διεκπλον, ὀπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπιστευον.
CHAPTER X.


6 2. οἰκότα [Ion. for εἰκότα App. E. f] ‘what was reasonable and likely’.

3. πολλαπλησίας, App. A. II. (2).

4. 5. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ‘with these convictions’: καταφρονέω in the common meaning of ‘to despise’ takes a genitive and is used by Herod. in 4, 134 [and there only, Abicht]. In the sense in which it is here employed it is only a strengthened form of φρονήσαντες, cp. 1, 66, and καταδοκεῖν in c. 4.

5. ἐκπλοῦντο...μέσον [App. D. III. 3] ‘began a movement to outflank them and get them within the circle of their ships’. ἐσ μέσον is proleptic, ‘so as to get them in the middle’.

7. συμφορὴν τε...μεγάλην ‘were exceedingly sorry for them’, cp. p. 36, l. 13.


11. ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεύντο ‘raced with each other’, cp. 7, 196.

12. δῶρα. For the practice of giving rewards by the Persian king to those successful in war see Xen. Oecon. 4, 16.

For λαμβηταί see App. E. II. 2. For the tense after ἐκως see G. § 217.

13. λόγος ‘reputation’, see 9, 78.

CHAPTER XI.

15. ἑσῆμαι sc. ὁ σάλπιγκτης. For the use of the σάλπιγξ see Aeschyl. Persae 397 σάλπιγξ ὁ διήν μᾶς ἐκεῖν ἐπέφλεγεν, Thucyd. 6, 32, 1 τῇ σάλπιγγι σιωπῇ ὑπεσημάνθη. Cp. Polyb. 16, 4, 7.

16. έσ το μέσον τὰς πρόμας συνήγαγον ‘drew their sterns together at a central point’. This manoeuvre, by which the ships were arranged so as to resemble an open fan, was for the purpose of preventing the enemy from practising the diekplex. Thus it was done by the Peloponnesians in the Gulf of Corinth when preparing to receive the attack of the Athenians [B.C. 429], see Thucyd. 2, 83, 5 oi δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἔταξαν κύκλον τῶν νεών ὡς μέγιστον. οὐλ ἓκαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρόμας μὲν ἐκω εἰσώ δὲ τὰς πρόμας.
17. ἔργου εἰκόνοι τ＇ they set to work’, p. 58, l. 20. ἐν ὀλύντο... ἀπολαμβάνετε ‘though caught in a narrow part of the Strait’, cp. 9, 51 ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρώνι ἀπολελαμβάνοι.

18. καὶ κατὰ στῶμα, sc. ἐκβιμονὶ περ ἔργου (or some equivalent participle) ‘and though they were engaged prow to prow’, i.e. though they would have no opportunity in the narrow sea of practising the δικτηλός or περιπλός. Abich however understands εἰκόνοι after στῶμα ‘and they began the attack front to front’. I think the run of the sentence is conclusive in favour of the former construction, which is supported by Stein.

23. τὸ ἀριστήριον ‘the prize of valour’, the recipient of which was formally decided upon after a battle, the various achievements and circumstances being fully discussed. See for instance what was done after the battle of Plataea, 9, 71.

27. πολλὸν παρὰ δέξατι αἰγονισάμενοι ‘after a battle the result of which much surprised them’, for they had looked for an easy victory, see p. 5, l. 25. For παρὰ δέξαν cp. p. 2, l. 22.

31. χώρον ἐν Σαλαμίνι ‘a farm in Salamis’.

CHAPTER XII.

1. εὔφρονῃ ‘the kindly one’, a poetical word for νότι, both of which Herodotus uses with no apparent distinction. ἦν τῆς ὀρνής μέσον βέρος ‘it was midsummer’, the gen. τῆς ὀρνής is partitive, of the season it was full midsummer; which is meant to emphasize the unusual occurrence of such a storm. The time was probably about the beginning of July, for the Olympic festival was going on, see c. 26, cp. 7, 206.

3. ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου ‘from the direction of Mt Pelion’, that is from the North.


6. ἔλεγχοντες ‘expecting’. ἐς ολά... ἰκον ‘considering the amount of misfortunes into which they had fallen’; explained by the summary of their disasters in the next sentence.

10. τοῦ χειμῶνος... κατὰ Πηλίου, see 7, 188. A storm of East wind caught the Persian fleet when off the shore of Magnesia and drove a large number of ships ashore on the promontory called the Ovens (Ἰπποὶ) and other parts of the coast. ὑπέλαβε ‘succeeded’. ἐκ ‘after’. ρεύματα ‘swollen streams’ or ‘torrents’.
CHAPTER XIII.

15. τοίς ταχθείσι, see c. 7.
16. πολλῶν, App. C. 1, 2nd Decl. (4). τοσοῦτῳ διψ ‘insomuch as’.
17. ἐν πελάγει ‘in the open sea’, not under cover of headlands or bays.
18—20. ὡς γὰρ δὴ...Εὔβολης ‘for as the storm overtook them when actually sailing, just as they were opposite the Hollows of Euboea’. For the place see Hist. and Geogr. Index s.v. Hollows. τῆς Εὔβολης is a topographical genitive, cp. 9, 27 τῆς ἰμιτέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνη.
21. ἐξεπέσαν ‘were cast ashore’. ἐκπέπεσαν is used as a passive of ἑκδάλευν. Cp. its meaning of ‘to be banished’ ‘to be driven out’. See 6, 121 δικων Πεισιστράτου ἐκπέσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
22. δικων ὡς ἐξεπωθεῖ ‘that they might so be reduced to an equality’, cp. 9, 22 ὡς ἐν ἀναλατο. 9, 51 ὡς ἐν μὴ ἱδολατ. When a final sentence expresses a conclusion in which another hypothesis is virtually contained ὡς and ὅτος take ἀν, and, after a past tense, an optative. We find also the subjunctive used dramatically with ὡς ἄν after a past tense in 9, 7, see p. 4, l. 10. The hypothesis involved in the present case may be thus expressed, ‘That the Persian fleet might be reduced to an equality with the Greek fleet, as it would be if these ships were lost’.

CHAPTER XIV.

8 1. ὡς σφι ἀσμάνουσι...ἐπέλαμψη, cp. p. 6, l. 10 δοσοὶ ἰδομενοί ἤν.
3. σφι ἀπεχράτο impers. ‘it sufficed them’, ‘they were content to’.
6. ἐπέρρωσαν (ῥώνυμος) ‘encouraged them’. This verb is somewhat rare. It is used as the opposite of ἐξέπληξ ‘dismayed’ in Thucyd. 4, 36, 2.
9. τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρη ‘the same period of the day’, that is the afternoon, as in their former attack, see p. 5, l. 19. ὥρη is not used for a definite division of time like our ‘hour’, see above p. 7, l. 1 where it means ‘season of the year’. It is used here for the larger divisions of the day as morning, noon, afternoon. When Herodotus speaks of the hours he says τὰ δυόδεκα μέρες τῆς ἡμέρης 2, 109.
CHAPTER XV.

13. δεισήν το ποιησάμενοι 'ashamed', p. 2, l. 7. This phrase expresses any violent emotion of shame or anger or surprise. See 9, 5 and 7, the first of which refers to indignation, the second to shame.

15. τὸ ἀπὸ Ἴδρσεω 'what Xerxes would do', thus 9, 7 τὸ ἀπὸ ἱμέρον = 'our conduct'.

17. παρακελευσάμενοι 'having passed round words of mutual exhortation'. So διακελευσάμενη γυνῇ γυναικί (9, 5). ἀνήγον 'they began to launch'.

18. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὡστε 'and by a coincidence it so happened that'. Cp. p. 73, l. 12 συνέπιπτε τούτῳ ὡστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους... μὴ καταπλώσαι καταρρωσίκοτας, τοὺς δὲ 'Ελλήνας...κατωτέρῳ Δήλου (μὴ καταπλώσαι). Thucyd. 5, 15 συνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν μάχην... ὡστε πολέμου μηδὲν ἔτι ἄφασθαι μηδετέρους.

20. ἐν Θερμοπόλῃ, see 7, 207 sq. The fighting at Thermopylae also extended over three days. On the 1st some Medes and Cissians were beaten back from the pass; on the 2nd a similar attempt was made with no better success; and on the 3rd the path over the mountain having been betrayed to Xerxes, Leonidas and his 300 were surrounded and fell.

2. δικος μὴ παρήγουσι. G. § 217.

CHAPTER XVI.

6. μηνιοεἶδες τοιούτας 'having formed a crescent with their ships'. μηνιοεῖδες is used substantively for μηνιοεἶδες σχῆμα. The crescent of ships must have presented its concave to the enemy, the object being that when the Greek fleet was tempted out to attack the centre, the two Persian wings might close round them.

7. ἐκκλῆσιτο 'endeavoured to encircle them'. p. 6, l. 5.

8, 9. ἐπανείπτων [see p. 3, l. 11] 'began to sail out to sea to attack them'. The ἀνά has the same sense as in ἀνῆγον p. 8, l. 17, and ἔτι gives the idea of hostility. παραπλῆσιοι 'with no advantage on either side'.

11. αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐνυτοῦ ἐπιτυπε 'was self-destroyed'.

12. περιστιττουσένω...ἐλλῆλας 'fouling each other'.

15. τρέπεσθαι Ion. for τρέπεσθαι, App. A. II. 5. 
πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ 'now it is true that many, etc.'

18. ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Stein remarks on the strangeness of the present participle instead of ἀγωνιζόμενοι 'after contending', and compares ı, 76 τέλος ὁδήγεροι μικρὰς τις διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσας καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὗτω ἡγώνισατο. The present participle here may be explained by the consideration of the unfinished and undecided nature of the conflict, 'So they separated still fighting as I have described', i.e. without the affair being settled by a victory on either side.

CHAPTER XVII.

21. αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶι 'crews and all', i.e. not after being abandoned by their crew. This dative of accompanying circumstance, or, as it is sometimes called, dative absolute, is very common in Greek writers, especially in this particular phrase. G. § 188, 5. See below l. 25.

24. διηκόνην οἰκήθην παρεχόμενος 'defraying the expense out of his own resources'. This Clinias was father of the great Alcibiades, and was head of one of the richest families at Athens. This patriotic act of liberality in supplying a ship and crew was perfectly voluntary and must not be connected with the later trierarchies which the rich men were obliged to support; though this and similar acts may have suggested the system. The habit of keeping a private trireme however was maintained by Alcibiades, see Thucyd. 6, 61, 6.

25. ἀνδράς διηκόσιοι. This dative is similar to that commented upon on l. 21. For the number of 200 men, see on p. 1, l. 11, 12: and 7, 184 ὃς ἄνα διηκόσιοι ἀνδρᾶς λογίζομαι ἐν ἐκάστῃ νῆλ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

10 1. ἄσμενοι 'and glad to do so', 'to their great relief'. Cp. Odyss. 9, 62 ἐνθευ δὲ πρῶτῳ πλέομεν ἀκαχήμενοι ἤτορ ἄσμενοι ἐκ θανάτου.

5. οὖκ ἢκιστα 'especially'.

6. δρησμὸν δὴ 'absolutely now a retreat', the δὴ like tandem indicating the outcome or result of previous events. 'They began to consider (and indeed it was time to do so) about retreating'. ἐσώ, see p. 2, l. 23.
CHAPTER XIX.

9. οὗτος τε ἔσταν ἄν 'they would be able'. For this suffix τε see on 9, 23, and p. 3, l. 5 εἰς φυτευτε ὀτε. Compare δοσον τε, δεστε, δοστε. 'The force of it is that of an undeclined τις', Monro Homeric Gr. § 108. [ἄν is absent from the mss.]

10. ἐλαυνόντων...ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν 'as the Euboeans were driving their sheep down to the sea'; that is, in order to transport them to a place of safety in accordance with their agreement with Themistocles, see cc. 4, 5. They apparently had not yet been able to complete the removal.

11. ταῦτα 'at that place' i.e. where the flocks were collected. [St. reads ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, i.e. to the sea of Artemision where the fleet lay.]

12. παλάμψη 'a contrivance', so in Pindar Olymp. 9, 26 it means 'art': properly and primarily it is the 'palm of the hand'.

14. ἐστὶν τοσοῦτο παρεγόμενον 'he disclosed it so far', i.e. he didn't disclose it any further than this. Cp. 9, 44.

15. ἐπὶ δὲ...πρήγματι, p. 21, l. 4 'in the immediate circumstances which had arisen'. For this meaning of ἐπὶ cp. the phrases ἐπὶ ἔξεργασμένοις, ἐπὶ Εὐλησίαν ἀνδράσι (9, 17).

19. κοιμήση δὲ περὶ...μελησάν 'and as to their setting off, the proper season should be his own care'. That is the time in the night, see on p. 8, l. 9. τῷρ ἀνακαλέν to light the ordinary watch-fires in the camp, that the enemy might be deceived and believe that they were remaining at Artemision through the night.

22. ἐπέδαντο [App. A. II. 5] πρὸς τὸ προβάτῳ 'they set to work to slaughter the sheep'.

CHAPTER XX.

23, 4. παραχρήσαμενοι 'having slighted' or 'neglected'. The force of παρὰ is that of the English mis- in composition. ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα 'as being worthless', 'having nothing in it'. Cp. the phrase λέγεις τί 'there is something in what you say', the opposite would be οὐδέν λέγεις.

24. οὔτε τι ἕξεκυμπάντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προεσφάντο 'they neither conveyed their families out of the islands nor took any precautionary measures for collecting corn into their forts'. Cp. 1, 190 of the
Babylonians expecting the attack of Cyrus προεσάξατο σιτία ἑτέων κάρτα πολλῶν.

26. περιπετεία τε...πρήγματα 'and so they brought disasters upon themselves': they brought it about that the result was disastrous to themselves. περιπετησ conveys the notion of a change, especially from good to bad [cp. περιπέτεια for the catastrophe of a tragedy]. It is a rare word in this sense, cp. Eurip. Andr. 982 νῦν οὐν ἐπεδή περιπετεῖς ἔχεις τόχας 'since your circumstances have suffered so disastrous a change'.

CHAPTER XXI.

8. οί μὲν i.e. the Greeks; he is continuing the narrative from c. 19.

9. ἢ...κατάσκοπος the look-out man stationed at Trachis. Thus we hear of ἡμερόβατον being stationed along the heights of Euboea (7, 182) as opposed to φρυκτωρόλ or the signallers by fire at night.

11. κατηροῖς [Rt. ἄφ- apto] with oars all ready, fitted to start at any moment. παλήσει 'should be engaged' [from τάλη 'wrestling'].

15. τριήκοντερος a thirty-oared boat, cf. πεντεκόντερος p. i, l. 11. τι νεάτερον 'any disaster'; cp. 6, 2 καταγρωσθείς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήγματα ἐς ἐωνούς ἐκ Δαρείου.
18. οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἀναβολᾶς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν 'no longer procrastinated about their departure', ἐστὶν ἀναβολᾶς ποιεῖσθαι ἀναβολᾶς. Abicht quotes Thucyd. 7, 15 ὅτι δὲ μέλλετε ἀμα τῷ ἦρι εὐδίκα καὶ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀναβολᾶς πράσσειν.

CHAPTER XXII.

23. ἐπιλεξάμενος 'having selected for himself', i.e. to keep with him, waiting behind the others, which they could afterwards catch up by their superior speed.

2. ἐπελέξασθο 'read' from the notion of saying over to oneself, or perhaps of picking out for oneself the words, p. 70, l. 8.

3. ἐκ τῶν πατέρων 'against the authors of your race', i.e. against the Athenians who were regarded as the parent stock of all Ionians, although the Athenians themselves were said to repudiate the name of Ionian, and to claim rather to be Pelasgians [Her. i, 56, 103]. See however 7, 51, where Artabanus is represented as including the Athenians among the Ionians.

5. μάλιστα μὲν...εἰ δὲ μὴ 'if possible'... 'but if not'.

7. ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔσταθε 'remain out of the contest and take no part we beg of you'. ἡμῖν dativus ethicus.

τῶν Καρῶν. The Carians were not Hellenes, but they had before resisted the Persians and were therefore likely to be induced to desert. See 5, 117—120.

9. οἶνον τε, see p. 10, l. 9. ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαῖας...ἀπλασθαῖ 'but have fallen under constraint too powerful to allow of your deserting'. For ἀν' ἀναγκαῖας cp. 9, 17. This use of κατέσχεθε is poetical, cp. Soph. Aj. 124 ἀνὴρ συγκατέσχεται κακῷ (Ab.).

13. δὲ ὑμένων ἡμῖν γέγονε. An allusion to the fact of the Athenians having sent assistance to the revolting Ionians in B.C. 500, and having in their cause invaded Asia and burnt Sardis; see 5, 99—102.

14. δοκεῖσθαι ἡμῶν 'in my opinion'. G. § 268. ἔτε ἀμφότερα νολού 'with an eye to the two alternatives'.

16. πρὸς ἱστησίν 'on their side' p. 30, l. 14.

ἐπεὶ τε ἀνατεθῇ, for the subjunctive in a conditional relative sentence without ἦν see G. § 234. It is very rare except in Epic poetry: Ab. quotes c. 108 ἦν δὲ ἐλθ. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 137 μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται. διαβληθῇ 'represented in an invidious light'.

17. ἀπωτθόνος passive 'distrusted'.
CHAPTER XXIII.

25. ὅτως δὴ tum demum 'then at last', or 'when they had been satisfied about that'. See p. 65, l. 20; p. 71, l. 17.

ἀμα ἦλθε σκιδναμένη 'as soon as the rays of the sun were spread abroad'. A poetical expression for 'at sunrise'. Stein quotes Aeschylus Pers. 504 πρὸν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτίνας. And Hom. II. 7, 451 ὅσον τ' ἐπικιδναται ἡώς.

27. μέχρι μέσου, cp. p. 8, l. 17 κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης. τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο 'thereafter', 9, 40; cp. τὸ ἐνθετευ 9, 26.

CHAPTER XXIV.

13 9. καὶ δέκα μυριάδες 'as many as twenty thousand'. The καὶ is used to emphasize the contrast.

11. φυλλάδε έπεβαλὼν 'having thrown leaves upon them' i.e. upon the corpses. Stein thinks it probable that this was some funeral custom, though we know of none such. Others would refer the scattering of the foliage to the τάφρον explaining the object to be the concealment of the recent digging. γὴν ἐπαμησάμενος 'having heaped up earth upon them', the usual word for the making of a grave or barrow, see Theognis 426—27 φώνα δ' ὅπως ὠκιστα πόλας 'Αθηνα περήσαι, καὶ κείσατε πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον, as also other passages given by L. and Sc.

CHAPTER XXV.

20. οὕδεν πλοῖων σπανύτερον 'boats were the most difficult things to get in the world', i.e. there was such a rush for the shore that all the boats were in use.


22. ἐπιστάτη, see p. 3, l. 21.

24. καὶ τοὺς ἀλωτας 'the Helots as well'. We know that each Spartan at Thermopylae had his Helot, see 7, 229; but it is not stated whether there was the same proportion as in the Spartan army which went to Plataea, viz. 7 helots to each Spartan, see 9, 10 and 28.

οὐ μὴν οὖδ' ἡλάθει 'not that he even escaped detection by'.

καὶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ γελοίου ἦν 'for in point of fact it was absolutely ridiculous', explained by the next sentence, which might
be expected to have been introduced by γάρ, the omission of which Stein illustrates by 7, 6 where τούτο μεν and τούτο δὲ introduce explanatory clauses without this conjunction. For καὶ γάρ δὴ καὶ cp. 7, 236.

3. τέσσερες χιλιάδες. The numbers originally accompanying 14 Leonidas to Thermopylae were according to Herodotus [7, 202, 3] from the Peloponnesus (including the 300 Spartans) 3100, from Thespiae 700, from Thebes 400,—in all 4200. These were joined at Thermopylae by about 2000 Lokrians and Phokians,—making 6200. If we may reckon 7 helots for each of the 300 Spartans [p. 13, l. 24] the numbers will be raised to 8300. But Diodorus (11, 4) adds also 1000 Lakedaemonians [i.e. not Spartan citizens, probably Perioeci]:—the whole number will thus be 9300. But just before the final battle Leonidas sent away all the allies except the Thebans and Thespians [7, 219, 220]. The numbers engaged on the third day would therefore be

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<tr>
<td>Spartans</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helots</td>
<td>2100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lakedaemonians</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thespans</td>
<td>700</td>
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<td>Thebans</td>
<td>400</td>
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<td>4500</td>
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The Theban 400 deserted to the Persians, and therefore allowing for escapes, especially of Helots, and for any that fell on the two previous days, and adding 80 Mycenaeans [mentioned by Pausanias 2, 16, 5] the number of Greek corpses which Xerxes had to show may well have been about 4000. And this is the number mentioned in the Epitaph inscribed over them [7, 228],

Μυριάσων ποτὲ τῆδε τριηκοσίων ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννᾶσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

CHAPTER XXVI.

8. βλου δεόμενοι 'in want of a livelihood'.

ἐνεργοι 'in active employment'.

12. ὁς Ὀλυμπιάς ἄγων. The Olympic festival took place every fifth year, i.e. there were four clear years between each festival. It lasted five days and according to Böckh began on the
first full moon after the Summer solstice. It therefore varied by a few weeks, but may be considered to have usually taken place some time in the month Hecatombaeon (July).

14. κελμενον 'proposed for competition'.

15. τῆς διαλή the garland given to the victors at the Olympic games was of wild olive (κώτιον). Aristoph. Plut. 585 τοὺς νικώντας στεφάνωσας κοτίνῳ στεφάνῳ.

17. δελίην ἄφλα 'was held guilty of cowardice', properly a legal term ὀφλείν δίκην 'to be cast in a suit', 'to incur the damages'. Then it is transferred to the matter of the charge itself, as μωρλαν ὀφλησκάω 'I am held guilty of folly', Soph. Antig. 470.

19. οὔτε ἐνέχετο σιγῶν 'he could not refrain from speaking'.

22. περὶ ἄρετῆς 'for honour', the valour is used for the result of valour—honour. So in Pindar αἰτεὶ δ' ἀμφὶ ἀρεταισι πόνος δαπάνα τε μᾶρναι πρὸς ἔργον Olymp. 5, 15; τίμα—ἀνδρα πτιξ ἄρεταν εὐρύντα Ol. 7, 89; ξυναίσι δ' ἀμφὶ ἀρεταῖς τέταμαι Pyth. 11, 54. ἄρετάν γε μὲν ἐκ Δίως ἔξεσι Theocr. Id. 17, 137.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. καὶ τὸ κάρτα 'most especially', καὶ emphatic : p. 30, l. 7.

2. πανογρατῆ, p. 21, l. 6.

3. οὖ πολλοίσι ἔτεισι πρώτερον. Neither the exact time nor the occasion of this invasion of Phokis is known: but the constant border warfare between the two nations had induced the Phokians to build a wall across the pass of Thermopylae for their protection [7, 176].

8. σοφίζεται τοιώνδε 'contrives the following trick against them'. γυψώσας 'having smeared with chalk', cp. 7, 69; the object was to be able to distinguish each other from the enemy in the dim light without the necessity of shouting a pass-word, which was the cause of great confusion in night attacks, see Thucyd. 7, 44, 5.

14. ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας 'that it was something strange and supernatural'.

16. νεκρῶν καὶ δοπλῶν '4000 dead bodies and shields'. That is, they killed 4000 men on the field. For if the men had escaped, the number of shields would have exceeded that of the dead bodies, cf. Thucyd. 7, 45, 2 δολα μέντοι ἐτε πλείω ἵκαρ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθη, many having thrown away their shields.
19. *οι περὶ τὸν τρόπον* ‘which are arranged round the tripod’.

*περὶ* with acc. indicates a less close connexion than with gen. Cp. p. 20, l. 17: Stein quotes 9, 62 ἦγεντο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέφρα μάχη.

This seems to be the tripod described by Pausanius (10, 13, 4) as being the centre of a group of gods; Hercules and Apollo are contending for it, while Latona is trying to restrain Apollo, and Athenè Hercules. It was dedicated by the Phokians as a thank-offering for their victory mentioned above (l. 3) under Tellias over the Thessalians. The colossal figures (*οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες*) mentioned seem to have been placed round this work at some little distance, though grouped with some regularity (*συνεστεώτες*).

20. ἐμπροσθε τοῦ ναοῦ, that is, outside the temple, in the *τέμενος*.


CHAPTER XXVIII.

22, 23. τὸν πείδον......πολιορκέοντας ἐνυπός the land army which was besieging them. The plural participle with a singular noun of multitude. G. § 138, note 3.

24. τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ‘their cavalry’, in this meaning ἡ ἵππος is not used in the plural, but is a noun of multitude. Thessaly was full of rich plains, and was especially famous for its horses, and Thessalian cavalry were in request all through Greece.

26, 27. δμφορεις κανοὺς ‘empty wine-jars’. ἅξων is earth that has been moved. So συγχοῦν ‘to fill up with earth’ p. 37, l. 18.

29. ὡς ἀναπαύομενοι ‘believing that they were going to make short work of the Phokians’: cf. 9, 59 οὕτω μὲν βοῶ τε καὶ ὀμλυφ ἐπηίαν ὡς ἀναπαύομενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. τοῦτων δμφοτέρων viz. the night surprise c. 27, and the 16 stratagem which injured their horses c. 28.


3. γνωσιμακήσει ‘give way and confess’, from the notion of differing and fighting with a former opinion. See 3, 25; 7, 130 and Aristoph. Aves 555

*τὴν ἄρχην τὸν Δι’ ἀπαιτεῖν,*

καὶ μὲν μὴ φῇ μὴθ’ ἐθελήσῃ μηθ’ εὖθες γνωσιμακήσῃ

λεῖδαι πόλεμον πρωθμα αὐτῷ.
NOTES ON

5. 6. πλέον αιτ...ύμιν εφερόμεθα ‘we always came off better than you’, ‘we were always more influential than you’. Cp. 8, 104 φερόμενον ού τὰ δεύτερα παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί ‘being the most influential with the king’. εἴκειν ‘that side’ = τὰ εἴκεινον [Ἑλλήνων] πράγματα.

7. 8. ἐπ’ ἡμῖν ἔστι ‘it is in our hands’, ‘it depends solely on us’. πρὸς adverbial, ‘besides’, p. 26, l. 4.

8. 9. τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες ‘though we have the game absolutely in our hands’, ‘though we are all-powerful in the matter’. Cf. the use of εἴς ‘you will control’ in 9, 2.

10. ἀντ’ αὐτῶν sc. κακῶν ‘our wrongs’ implied in μηνοικακέομεν.

CHAPTER XXX.

16. αὐξόν ‘had been backing up’, cp. 9, 31 καὶ τινες αὐτῶν τὰ Ἑλλήνων αὐξόν. ὡς ἐμὸν δοκέων. See p. 12, l. 14.

18. παρέχειν τὰ σφέτων ‘that it was open to them to medize as well as to the Thessalians if they chose’. For παρέχειν = παρέϊναι, cp. 8, 106 παρέχει ταῦτα ποιεῖν. See p. 5, l. 1. For ως...τε cp. 6, 16.

19. ἄλλως ‘otherwise than they were’, or ‘otherwise than rightly’.

20. ἑκόντες ἀναί ‘with their own consent at least’. This phrase is generally used in a negative sentence. See 7, 104; 9, 7. An exception occurs in 7, 164.

CHAPTER XXXI.

23. οὐτὸ δὴ, p. 3, l. 24.

17. ποδαῖν properly ‘the neck of a wine-skin’, 2, 121; here it = ‘a narrow tongue of land’.

ταύτῃ κατατείναι ‘extends downwards in this direction’. It is the district ‘of the upper valleys of the Kephisos and its main tributary, the Pindus’. Rawl. It stretches from Mt Oeta in a south-westerly direction, following the course of the Kephisos.

6. μητρόπολις Δωρικῶν, see 1, 56 where the Dorians are said to have moved first from Phthiotis to Histiaeotis, then to Pindos in Doris, thence to Dryopis, and thence to the Peloponnese.
CHAPTER XXXII.

12. ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ. These Phokians collected in considerable force on Parnassus and did good service to the Greeks in this and the following years, see 9, 31.

14. κείμενη ἐπ' ἐσωτηρίς 'being quite isolated', for ἐπ' ἐσωτηρίς 'by itself' cp. 9, 17 ἐκέλευσε σφαῖρα ἐπ' ἐσωτηρίν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Ἴσσαθα, cp. 9, 38.

15. ἀνησυκαντο [App. E. 2. c. An Ionic form of ἅ αορ. mid. of ἀναφέρω, so in 1, 86 ἀνενεκάμενος] 'carried up their goods'. Stein refers to 9, 6 ὑπεξεκομισαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν. See also p. 19, l. 11.

18. ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου 'on the heights above the Krisaean plain'. Strabo (4, 9) describes it as ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις τοῦ Κρισαίου πέδου.

20. οὕτω 'by this route'.

21. ἔκειρον 'cut down its trees'. See 6, 75 ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος: 9, 15 ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους. See p. 32, l. 15. ἐπίθεσον 'extended over', p. 18, l. 16; cp. 1, 108 τῷ ἀμπελοῦ ἐπισχέειν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Cp. 9, 31.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

24. κατὰ μὲν ἱκανοῦν, for this tmesis cp. 9, 5 κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῖ τὴν γυναῖκα, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα. See p. 34, l. 23. G. § 191 note 3, p. 241.

28. θησαυροῦτοι τε καὶ ἀναθηματι. The former refers to treasures in gold and silver money or plate, the latter to statues, tripods and other thank-offerings.

1. πρὸς τοὺς οὐβρείς 'close to the hill country', that is, before 18 they could get high enough up to be safe.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

3. Παραποταμίουs the name of a town in the valley of the Kephisos, which reaches the Boeotian frontier at Panopeis, or, as it was afterwards called, Phanoteus.

8. πάν τὸ πλῆθος 'the people in a body'. Yet exceptions have to be made to this statement in the case of the Plateaens and Thespians, and even in Thebes itself there seems to have been a division of opinion [9, 96-7]. The measure of Alexander in put-
ting Macedonian governors in the Boeotian cities looks as if they were not considered quite to be relied upon for medism, though Herodotos says the primary object was to satisfy Xerxes that Boeotia could be trusted.

11. τὸν, ‘with this view’. βουλόμενοι, ‘because they wished’.
12. τὸ Μνημόσυνον, see p. 39, 1. 24 φροντὶν τὸ βασιλέα.

CHAPTER XXXV.

15. ἦν δὲ τὸν Παρνασσὸν ἀπεργοντες, ‘keeping Parnassus on their right’.
16. τιτέρχον, p. 17, l. 21.
21. ἀποδέξασθαι [App. E. 2. e] τὰ χρήματα, ‘that they might display to Xerxes the wealth of the temple’. Not only was the temple of Delphi rich in gold and silver ornaments and works of art, but it possessed also a large treasury of money, and was a kind of bank for all Greece.
24. τὰ Κρολσοῦ ‘the offerings of Kroesos’. Kroesos, king of Lydia, having tested the skill of the various oracles of Greece, decided that the supremacy in prophetic power belonged to Delphi. He therefore offered there elaborate sacrifices of 3000 animals; and having made a pile of valuable objects of extraordinary magnificence,—couches overlaid with gold and silver, gold cups, and purple robes,—he burnt them in honour of the god, and from the molten gold made 117 bricks of solid metal, weighing 1½ talents each, and a figure of a lion in gold weighing 10 talents, and sent them to Delphi. Besides these he sent two large bowls of gold and silver, and many other articles of value. 1, 47—52. This was in or about the year B.C. 555, when he was expecting the attack of Kyros.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

19 2. ἀπικάτο, App. D. ii. a.
σφέα, App. B. ii. i (d).
6. προκατηθεία, ‘to defend’. Cp. 9, 106 ἀδιόνατον γὰρ ἐφανερὸν σφι εἶναι ἐωνοῦν Ἡλίων προκατηθείαι φρουρεῖντας.
8. τὴν Ἀπρι τον Παρνασσὸν, see p. 39, 1. 24 φροντὶν τὸ βασιλέα.

3 (d), ‘across’ the gulf of Corinth into Achaia.
11. ἀνηρέκατο 'conveyed their goods', p. 17, l. 15.
13. τοῦ προφήτου the Priest, or Interpreter, in charge of the temple, whose duty was to note down and hand over to the applicant the oracles delivered by the Pythia, when under the divine influence, antistes templi, Livy 7, 111. In later times when the number of visitors increased there were a larger number of priests.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

15. ἀπόρειον 'saw from a distance'. Cp. 9, 69 ἀπίδηντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπιφερομένους οὐδένα κόρμον ἔλαβον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς.
17. ἔξωθεν αὐτόν, App. E. 2. c.
21. κατὰ τὸ ἱδὸν τῆς Προνητῆς Ἀθηνᾶς 'opposite the temple of Athenè Pronaia'. Pausanias (10, 8, 4) says that on entering the town of Delphi one passed several temples one after the other, the fourth of which was that of Athenè Pronaia.
25. καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων 'quite above all other prodigies'. For the sense of διὰ cp. p. 36, l. 17; and for the emphatic καὶ p. 30, l. 17.
3, 4. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ...ἐφέροντο. This phenomenon is by ἀπὸ means improbable, as the huge boulders scattered about on the site of Delphi testify. The frequency of earthquakes in the region of Parnassus is well described by Professor Mahaffy in his description of another town, Arachova, in the same district [Rambles and Studies in Greece, p. 261]:

'The town has a curious, scattered appearance, owing not 'only to the extraordinary nature of the site, but to the fact that 'huge boulders, I might say rocks, have been shaken loose by 'earthquakes from above, and have come tumbling into the 'middle of the town. They crush a house or two, and stand 'there in the middle of a street. Presently someone comes and 'builds a house up against the side of this rock; others venture 'in their turn, and so the town recovers itself, till another earth- 'quake makes another rent. Since 1870 these earthquakes have 'been very frequent. At first they were very severe, and ruined 'almost all the town; but now they are very slight, and so 'frequent that we were assured that they happened at some time 'every day.'

6. δαλαγμός a shouting of alalai, a war-cry. Aeschyl. Pers. 392 κέλαδος Ἑλληνων...δρθιον δ' ἄμα Ἀντηλάλαξε νησιῶτιδος πέτρας ἤκω.
CHAPTER XXXVIII.

7. τούτων πάντων 'all these wonders'. It is difficult to determine what foundation of truth there may be to such tales. The storm and the sudden detachment of the great boulders from the mountain are facts in themselves credible enough, see the passage quoted from Prof. Mahaffy above; and in a sudden panic among men, whose minds were already predisposed to superstitious awe, because attacking a place whose sanctity was so renowned, the appearance of superhuman warriors may easily have been imagined. So at Marathon the Athenian Epizelos fancied that he saw one[6, 117]; and at Salamis a form of a goddess was believed to have appeared to the Athenians as they backed out of the fight [c. 84]; and at the battle of Leuctra the national hero, Aristomenes, was said to have cheered on his Messenian countrymen [Paus. 4, 32, 4]; and Phylakos appeared again at Delphi on the attack of the Gauls [Paus. 10, 23, 2]. Mr Grote seems however to hold that this attack on Delphi was withdrawn on the news of the defeat at Salamis. 'On this occasion the real protectors of the treasures were the conquerors at Salamis and Plataea'. Hist. of Greece, vol. 4, p. 463.

10. ἵθ' Βοιωτῶν 'straight to Boeotia'. So ἵθ' τοῦ λεποῦ. ἵθ' τῆς Ἐρηνίστης, 9, 69, 89.

13. μέγονας ἣ κατὰ δυνάμεων φύσιν 'of superhuman size'. φύσις is used of the outward form bestowed by nature, whether in regard to appearance or size. See Arist. Vesp. 1071 τὴν ἐμὴν ἰδὼν φύσιν. In Homer the more common word in this sense is φυή.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

16. ἐπιχαράραος ἤρως 'heroes of the place'. Every Greek state had its heroes, i.e. certain of its citizens whose public services had seemed to deserve apotheosis, either in founding the state or defending it. The worship paid to them was different in kind from that paid to the god [ὡς ἤρωι ἐναγιγονναὶ ὡς θεόθ θυονι Paus. 2, 11, 7], though the two were apt to be confounded. Instances of such national heroes are the Aeakidae of Aegina (8, 64); Harmodios and Aristogeiton at Athens; Androkrates at Plataea (9, 25). Dr Arnold [Thucyd. 5, 11] compares the worship paid to such heroes to the adoration of Saints.

17. τὰ τεµένα the sacred enclosures round the temples, cut off
(τέμνω) from the profane ground. περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν 'in the neighbourhood of the temple', i.e. of the great temple of Apollo, p. 15, l. 19.

18. παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δύνα 'abutting on the road itself', i.e. 'the sacred road' from Daulis up to the great temple, on which stood also the temple of Athenē Pronaia, see p. 19, l. 21.

'The road from Daulis to the S.-W. leads along a rugged valley to Delphi, and falls in with another from Ambryssus on the S., at a point halfway between the two. This place was called the σχιστὴ δύνα, or the Divided Way'. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 237.

21. ἐς ἡμέρας 'to my day'.

23. διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων 'through the ranks of the Barbarians'.

CHAPTER XL.

21. σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα 'to come to anchor near Salamis'.

The more usual construction is σχεῖν ἐς, see below l. 13 and above p. 20, l. 27. Thucyd. 3, 34, 1 ἑσχε ἐς Νότιον, 4, 3, 1 ἐς τὴν Πόλον σχόντας. Thucydides also uses the dative 7, 1, 2 σχίντας 'Ῥηγιό καὶ Μεσσήνην. But the use of πρὸς is to indicate not the actual putting on shore at Salamis, but near it, either on the island or the opposite coast.

3. πρὸς ἔτε adverbial 'and besides', see p. 16, l. 8. τὸ = τῇ quid, cp. 9, 54 ἐπέτρεσθαι τὸ χρεῖν εἰς τοιεῖν, 9, 71 γενομένης λέσχης δὲ γένοιτο ἀριστος.

4. ἐπὶ καὶ τοῦτοι κατήκουσι, p. 10, l. 15.

βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσωσθαι 'they had to reconsider their plans in view of the disappointment of their expectations'. For the construction of ἔμελλον see on p. 2, l. 3.

6. πανθημέλ 'with all their available forces', cp. 6, 108; 9, 37: whereas πανστρατηγ [p. 15, l. 2: p. 34, l. 8] seems properly to mean 'with a full levy of all arms'—hoplites, cavalry, light-armed; which would consist of two-thirds of all available. Cp. Thucyd. 4, 94.

8. οἱ δὲ, 'whereas on the contrary they learnt'.

τὸν 'Ἰσθμὸν ταχέοντας. This wall was built from sea to sea, about seven miles east of the town of Corinth, and can still be traced. It was completed early next year [B.C. 479]. See 9, 7—8.

9. περὶ πλείστου ποιμένος, 'regarding as the matter of first importance.' p. 8, l. 14.

CHAPTER XLI.

15. τῷ τις δόνατα, 'in whatever direction each found it possible', i.e. it was left to individuals to go where they pleased; the population was not moved en masse.

17. ἐς Τροεζίνα. According to Plutarch the people of Troezen received them with great kindness; voted a public provision of two obols a day for each adult, and gave a general permission to the children to pick fruit. Plutarch Themist. c. 10.

19. τῷ Χρηστῆρι, the two oracles which had been given to the Athenian envoys in the early part of the year. The first (7, 140) had announced utter destruction to Athens and other Greek towns, and had warned the Athenians to fly to the ends of the earth; the second (7, 141) had been less alarming, and had prophesied that when all else was lost 'a wooden wall alone' should be left uncaptured to Athenè. Some interpreted this of a wooden palisade round the Acropolis, but Themistocles had persuaded his fellow-citizens that it meant the fleet; and moreover encouraged them by the interpretation of the last two lines of the second oracle,

ὁ θεῖς Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σοὶ τέκνα γυναικῶν ἡ ποιν σκιδναμένης Δημήτρεος ἡ σωιοῦσις.

For he remarked that had the god meant to prophesy destruction to the Athenians at Salamis the epithet would not have been θεῖς but σχέτης. The people had therefore been fully persuaded to abandon their town and trust to their fleet. Professor Mahaffy takes the view that the priests of Delphi were playing a double game in view of what they thought was the certain success of Persia: 'I cannot but suspect', he says, 'that they hoped to gain the favour of Xerxes, and remain under him what they had hitherto been, a wealthy and protected corporation'. [Rambles and Studies in Greece p. 272.] Perhaps, without attributing to them feelings so unpatriotic, we may conclude that being usually under Spartan influence they took the Peloponnesian view,—that to save Northern Greece was impossible, and that the only hope was to abandon it and defend the Isthmus.

20. οὕκ ἡκιστα 'especially', p. 37, l. 4.

21. δῶν μέγαν. This serpent, emblem of the earthborn Erechtheus, was supposed to be kept in the Ancient Temple of Athenè Polias, which in its subsequently restored state formed the eastern
portion of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis. This temple also contained the old olive-wood statue of Athenè Polias to which the peplos was yearly brought; the sacred olive from which all the other sacred olives (μοπλαι) were taken; and the golden lamp always burning, from which emigrants lit the lamp which they took to their new home.

φόλακον. Ionic form of φόλακα, cp. i, 84. The serpent was sometimes called δός οἰκούρος, cf. Aristoph. Lys. 758 ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι 'γων' οὐδὲ κομᾶσθ' ἐν τόληε, ἕξ' οὐ τὸν δόσιν ἐλαθ' τὸν οἰκούρον τοτε.

22. ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ‘in the temple’ sc. of Athenè Polias, see above. καὶ δῆ καὶ ὅς ἐνεν ‘and moreover as though it actually existed’. Herodotos evidently doubts the existence of the serpent: and Plutarch [Themist. 10], though apparently believing in the existence of the serpent, looked upon the whole affair as a trick got up between the priests and Themistocles. Rawlinson well compares the story of the priests in Babylon contained in the book of Daniel ‘Bel and the Dragon’. See also the scene in the temple of Aesculapius Arist. Plut. 678 where the priest goes round with a bag collecting the catables from the altars. ἑτημήνα that is on the day of every new moon.

24. μέλιτόσσα ‘a honey-cake’, apparently the proper offering to subterranean powers. Thus Strepsiades before going in the den of the Sophists, as if he were going into the κάνε of Trophonius, says, ἐσ τῷ σχεδε νυν Δῶσ μοι μελιτόσσαν πρῶτον (Aristoph. Nub. 506). Thus too Aeneas gives Cerberus melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam (Aen. 6, 420).

25. ἄνασμοιμίνη ‘used up’. ἄνασμοι is a verb confined almost entirely to Herodotus, who uses it frequently for ἄναλλοκος or δαπανάω.

26. τῆς ἱερής ‘the priestess’. Plutarch Themist. 10 says ἄλτεῖς εἰς θηγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, but insinuates that it was by the instigation of Themistocles.

1. ὅς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπῆς τῆς ἀκρόπολις ‘because they believed that the goddess too had abandoned the Acropolis’. The gods were believed to abandon a conquered town. Cp. Vergil Aen. 2, 351 Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | Di quibus imperium hoc statuerat. Aeschyl. S. c. Th. 207 ἀλλ' οὐν θεοῦ | τοὺς τῆς ἀλοίψης πόλεως ἐκλείπειν λόγος. So Tacitus (Hist. 5, 13) says that when the temple at Jerusalem was on fire audita major humana vox,
excedere deos; simul ingens motus excedentium. A passage in Euripides [Troad. 23] gives a reason ἔρημα γὰρ πόλυν δειν λάβῃ κακὴν ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶται βέλει.

2. στρατόπεδον here = ‘the fleet’, cp. p. 43, l. 1. Plutarch (Them. c. 10) gives a full description of the scene of the departure, the tears, and touching adieus, not the least moving part being the leaving behind of domestic animals, especially the dogs. He also tells us that the Council of the Areopagus supplied each man fighting on board with 8 drachmae.

CHAPTER XLII.

7. προεστητο ‘they had been ordered beforehand’, i.e. by the congress at the Isthmus, see on p. 1, l. 1.

8. πλείους. App. B. i. c.

11. οὗ μέντοι...βασιλέων. The two kings at the time of the 3 days of Artemisium were Leonidas and Leotychides. Both kings could not go out with the army together, and as Leonidas was at Thermopylae the other king is kept at home. In the next year Leotychides took the command of the Spartan ships, while the son of Leonidas, Pleistarchus, was a child and kept at home, being represented by his cousin Pausanias.

CHAPTER XLIII.

16. τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα ‘the same complement of ships’, i.e. forty. See c. 2.

20. Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδὸν ‘Doric or Macedonian’ [old Macedonian], two names belonging to the same tribe, see on p. 40, l. 11.

23, 24. εἴ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος. See p. 17, l. 7. ἔξαπροτάτης ‘having been driven out’.

CHAPTER XLIV.

23. πρὸς πάντας...παρεχόμενοι sc. ἐστρατεύοντο ‘supplying the largest number in comparison with any of the other Greeks’, πλείοτας must be understood, its place being taken by the numerals. The numbers,—Athenians 180, total 378 (or 366 as it really is),—would almost justify the sense ‘as many as all the rest put together’. We must remember also that Athens supplied the 20 ships which the Chalkidians manned [c. 1]. For a preposition with acc. taking the place of a genitive after a comparative clause cp. Thuc. i, 23
μονοι 'by themselves', without the Plataeans, as is explained by the next sentence, see p. 1, l. 5.

8. ἐς περαίνην τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρης 'to the opposite shore, namely that of Boeotia'; a genitive in apposition, or of definition. περαίνην sc. γῆν. For the use of the word in the relation of one shore to another, cp. p. 19, l. 8.

ἐκκομίδην, cp. ἐξεκομίσαντο p. 10, l. 24. The Plataeans were in double danger, for their fidelity to the Hellenic cause and especially to the Athenians, and from the enmity of the Thebans.

9. τῶν οἰκετῶν 'of their families', includes all members of the household, women, children and slaves, p. 56, l. 26.

10. ἐπὶ...χόντων 'at the period of the occupation by the Pelasgi of what is now called Hellas'. C. § 191, vi. 1. For a discussion of these names see Historical Index, and cp. p. 1, 56.

14. Ἀθηναίοι μετονομάσθησαν 'changed their name to that of Athenians'.

15, 16. στρατάρχεων [-χης App. C. i. 4] 'general'. 'A designedly indefinite expression instead of the usual βασιλεὺς' (St.). Τῶν though the Athenians repudiated the term 1, 143. Cp. what is said in Ἀθ. πολ. 3 of the origin of the Polemarch.

CHAPTER XLV.

17. τῶντὸ πλήρωμα p. 22, l. 15, 'the same complement', i.e. twenty ships, see p. 1, l. 6. τῶντὸ καὶ 'the same as'; for καὶ introducing the second term of a comparison, cp. Thucyd. 7, 71 παραπληθεία οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπεπόθεσαν ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ ἑδρασαν αὐτοὶ ἐν Πύλῳ.


CHAPTER XLVI.

20. Νησιωτέων 'islanders', as opposed to people of the continent, and therefore without article. Cp. νῆσοι 6, 49; 9, 3.

23. τὴν ἔως τὸν γῆν.

25. Δωρίδες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου, see 5, 83, where to this connexion is traced the commencement of a war between Athens and Aegina.

4. ἐς τοὺς Μήδους. Plutarch [de malign. Herod. xxxvi] declares this statement to be false, and that the Naxians as a state supported the Hellenic side; and moreover that, according to Hellanicus, they
sent 6, according to Ephoros 5 ships. They appear on the Delphian Serpent stand and on the Olympic Column. Simonides records that their squadron sank 5 of the enemy’s ships, and rescued a Greek ship. 

Δημόκριτος τρίτοι ἠρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ Σαλαμίνα

"Ελληνες Μήδους σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει,

πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλευ δητῶν, Ἐκτῆν δ’ ὑπὸ χείρα

ῥύτατο βαρβαρικὴν Δωρίδ’ ἀλισκομένην.

κατὰ περ ἄλλοι νησιώται 'just as the other islanders had been'. Since the suppression of the Ionic revolt in the year b.c. 497—5 the Persian power had been supreme in the Cyclades, except in a few of the islands near the main-land; and as yet no Hellenic fleet held the Aegean.

5. ἀπίκατο, App. D. II. a.

6. στένοντος sc. αὐτῶν 'having urged them on'. Cp. l. 1, 38 τὸν γάμον τοι τούτον ἔστενα.

9. τός καὶ ἐπ᾽ 'Α. 'the same number as at Artemisium', that is των. See p. 1, l. 11. πεντηκόντερον, see on p. 1, l. 12.

13. νησιωτών, see on p. 23, l. 19. γῆν τι καὶ υδῶρ 'earth and water' as symbols of the ownership of the Great King over the entire country. This had been twice demanded: once in b.c. 492 by Dareios when all the Islanders had submitted (6, 49); a second time by Xerxes in the early part of this year [b.c. 480], which latter appears to be the occasion here alluded to, although when speaking of it [7, 133] Herodotus says nothing about the Islanders.

CHAPTER XLVII.

14. ἄντος οἰκημένωι Θεσπρωτῶν that is 'South and East of Thresprotia', which is the S.-W. part of Epirus.

16. ὀμορίντες 'coterminous', for ὀδρος = ὀδος see App. A.

17. ἄκτος to the west. The island of Leucas sent three ships, but no state west of that, except Krotona in Magna Graecia.

19. τῇ Ἑλλάδi. Herodotus does not mean to exclude Krotona from Hellas, rather to mark that her sending this ship was in consequence of a feeling that she belonged to Hellas.

20. τρίς πυθιονίκης 'who had thrice been victor at the Pythian games'; i.e. twice in the pentathlum and once in the stadium [Paus. to, 9, 1] see Hist. Ind. Phayllus. The Pythian games were celebrated, in the third year of each Olympiad, on the Cnossaeian plain near Delphi, in honour of Apollo, Artemis, and Latona.
CHAPTER XLVIII.

21. τριήρες...πεντηκοντέρους, see on p. 1, l. 12.
26. ἄριθμος...ό πᾶς τῶν ναυ...Herodotus gives a wrong total—by 12—of the items enumerated in cc. 43—48. He reckons 378; the true result being 366 triremes. The easiest explanation is that he has made a mistake, as is the case in several other places where he gives a series of numbers; or that some error has found its way among the symbols for numbers in the mss.

Some editors however have accounted for the 12 additional ships by supposing Herodotus to reckon in those ships of the Aeginetans which were ready and fully manned but left to guard the island [p. 23, l. 21]. It is impossible to say with certainty that this is so, but it may be noticed that at Artemision the Aeginetans supplied 18 ships [p. 1, l. 8] and at Salamis 30, an addition of 12; supposing then that at Salamis half their reserve fleet of 24 was sent, the 12 would be accounted for. But this must remain mere conjecture. Aeschylus, who was himself present, reckons the number as 310, Persae 342 ὁ πᾶς ἄριθμος ἐλς τριακάδας δέκα | ναῦν δεκάς δ' ῥ' τῶν χωρίς ἐκκριτος. And other authors have given different numbers, varying from 271 to 700. See Introduction.

πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων 'without counting the penteconters'. The number of penteconters is 7, viz. Keos 2, Kythnos, Seriphos and Siphnos 1 each, and Melos 2.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. προθέντος sc. ἀποφαινεσθαι, 'Eurybiades having proposed that any one that chose should express his opinion'. Cf. 9, 27 προ-έθηκε λέγειν. Demosth. 317 ἄει δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προθέτησι σκοπεῖν. See on p. 29, l. 12.

2. τὸν βουλόμενον 'whoever chose', the regular expression in public meetings and laws for unrestricted license of speech, or of freedom of action in prosecuting etc.

διὸν...ποιεσθαι 'where he thought was the most suitable place to fight the sea-fight'. Cp. 9, 2 οὐκ εἶναι χώρος ἐπιτηδεύτερος ἐντοτοτεδεσθαι. The construction is διὸν χωρέων 'in whichever of the localities' τῶν ἐγκατέστηκε εἶναι 'of which they had the command', i.e. whether in the gulf of Salamis or further south-west, and nearer the coast of the Isthmus.

8—2
4. Ἀττικῇ 'the coast of Attica'. ἀπετείχο [ἀπ' ἐμε], had been abandoned, 'was out of the question now'.

6. συνεβίβασις 'appeared to agree in recommending'. Stein notices the use of the imperfect here as referring to the fact that this decision was not final, and in fact was reversed. See l. 13.

7. ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε 'they urging the following arguments', the nominative masculine (nominativus pendens) is used as though ἂλ γιρώσα τῶν λέγουσιν were ἤλ λέγοντες τᾶς γρῶμας. ἐπιλέγοντες—'urge in addition to what has been said', 'to allege as an additional argument'. Cp. 7, l. 147 ἐπιλέγοντα τὸν λόγον τόνδε 'alleging the following argument' i.e. as an explanation.

9. ἵνα σφι τιμωρή οὕδεμα ἐπιφανέστησαι 'where no help could make its appearance'. Cp. 7, l. 169 ἕσχιστο τῆς τιμωρίας 'they abstained from giving help': Herod. does not use the word in the sense of 'vengeance'.

10. ἐς τοὺς ἱερατοὺς ἐξολοθρεῖται 'they could land and find themselves among their own men': cp. p. 40, l. 17.

CHAPTER L.

12. ταῦτα...ἐπιλεγομένων 'while they were engaged in these considerations'. Cp. with the use of the active ἐπιλέγοντας above in l. 7. The whole body are said ἐπιλέγοντας (mid.) to have said over to them and so to 'take into consideration', though individuals ἐπιλέγονται. Cp. the distinction between ἀπογράφειν and ἀπογράφεσθαι in 7, l. 100: cp. ποιησάθηκαί 9, l. 15.

14. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν continuing from c. 34.

17. αὐτῶν ἔκλεισθέντων ἐς Πελοπόννησον 'the inhabitants having abandoned it and fled to the Peloponnese', seven hundred of the Thespians were at Thermopylae and fell there, see c. 35 and 7, l. 222—6: the rest fled to the Peloponnese, and 1800 were at Platea in the following year, but were unable to procure ὀστα, l. 30.

18. ἐς τὰς Ἁθηνὰς i.e. 'into Attica'. Cp. p. 34, l. 15; 9, l. 17; so ἐς τὰς Θῆβας 'into the Thebaid' 9, l. 13.

CHAPTER LI.

21. ἀπὸ τῆς Λαμπάνως. The passage of the Persian army over the Hellespont took place at the beginning of spring, ἀμα τῷ ἐκρί, 7, l. 37: if we take this to mean the middle of April, the arrival of the
Persians in Attica will be dated as in the latter part of August. The battle itself took place in the Attic month Boedromion [Aug.—Sept.] for the time for the solemn procession to Eleusis had come, see c. 65.

24. Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος 'in the archonship of Kalliades'. The first of the nine archons (Ἀρχων έτώνυμοι) gave his name to the year.

25. ἔρημον [in Attic always ἔρημον] 'deserted by its inhabitants'. See c. 41.

26. τὸ ἀστυ properly used here of 'the town' as composed of buildings, πόλις being a town as composed of citizens (πολίται). So also when Mardonius took Athens next year αἰρέει ἔρημον τὸ ἀστυ, 9, 3. Stein however regards it as applying to the Acropolis. καὶ τινας ὀλίγους 'and only some few'.

1. ταμιὰς τοῦ Ἰρῶν 'the stewards of the treasury of the temple', 26 that is of the public money (τῆς κοινῆς προσώπου) kept in the temple of Athene Polias, whom Demosthenes (1075) calls ταμιάτα τῶν τῆς θεοῦ. Although no doubt all public money was withdrawn at this time for the exigencies of the fleet, there would be objects of religious reverence or artistic value still left in the temple, which these stewards declined to abandon. There were ten of them.

2. φραζάμενοι...θύρησι τε καὶ ἔλουσίν 'having barricaded the Acropolis with planks and boards': that is, on the west side of the Acropolis where it slopes down towards the Areopagus. The other sides of the Acropolis were either fortified by the Pelasgic wall [5, 64; 6, 137], or were looked upon as safe from the abruptness and steepness of the rock.

3. ἡμύην ου 'tried to keep off'. ὑπὸ ἄδειενης βλού 'from want of means', cp. 2, 88 τὸς χρήματι ἄδειενεστέρους. See also 2, 47.

4. πρὸς δὲ 'and besides', p. 16, 1. 8.

5. ἡξευρήκεναι 'that they had discovered the meaning of'.

τὸ μαντήθαι. See 7, 141,

τεῖχος Τρατόγενει ξύλων δίδω εὐρύσα. Ζεὺς
μοῦνον ἀκόρηθην τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀψίσεi.

This some interpreted of the fortifications of the Acropolis, others on the suggestion of Themistocles of the fleet, p. 21, l. 19.

7. καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἔλαι 'and that this was in their ideas [δὴ, cp. p. 4, l. 12] the actual refuge meant'. The infinitive εἰλαί depends on ἡξευρήκεναι or some word implied in it.
κρησφύγετων 'place of refuge', cp. 9, 15, 96. The derivation of the word is uncertain. The explanation accepted by the ancient Grammarians was 'a place of refuge from the Cretan' [Κρῆς].

CHAPTER LII.

9. ἔμεινοι εἰπ 'having gone up and stationed themselves upon'. Cp. p. 37, l. 16 ἐς τὸν Ἰπαθίῳ ζύνω. κατατέλον. The Areopagus is separated from the western end of the Acropolis by a dip in the ground only a few yards wide.

11, 12. ὁκω...ἀψεν 'as often as they had set a light to': the optative is iterative, or as it is sometimes called of indefinite frequency. Cp. 1, 17 ὁκω η ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρὸς τηρικαίτα ἐσβαλλε τὴν στρατιά, p. 56, l. 7; p. 63, l. 17.

15. προσδιορίζω 'had betrayed them', that is, had failed to withstand the assaults of the enemy and had fallen. The barricade therefore was in addition to whatever permanent fortification was already existing at this point, and which still admitted of defence.

16. λόγοις 'proposals', 9, 14.

17—19. ἀλλὰ τε...καὶ δὴ καὶ 'among other measures to which they had recourse they rolled down upon the Barbarians as they approached the gates huge masses of rock'. ἀλεοτροχὸς see Xenoph. Anab. 4, 2, 2. [ἐλω νολω, or according to others ὀλο τρέχω.] τὰς πύλας the gates in the Pelasgic ring wall facing the Areopagus in front of which the Propylaea afterwards stood.

20. ἐπὶ χρόνον συνᾶν, cp. 9, 62 χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν. Also with definite numbers, 9, 8 ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας.

ἀπορησον ἐνεχεσθαί 'was in perplexity', 'was at a stand'. Cp. 9, 98 ἐν ἀπορή εἰχοντο.

CHAPTER LIII.

22. χρόνω 'at length'. Cp. 9, 62 ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κατέ ἐγένετο τὰ σφαγία χρηστά. ἐκ τῶν ἀπορῶν 'in these difficulties', p. 53, l. 24.

23. δὴ tandem, p. 10, l. 6. 'and see it was fated'.

24. τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ 'Attica on the mainland' as opposed to the Islands, such as Salamis and others. He is again referring to the two oracles given in 7, 140—1.

25. ἐπιστροφε...προ, that is on the northern side, still called the front of the Acropolis.
26. ἐπισάει 'on the side remote from'. τῆς ἀνάβου 'the regular pathway up' the Acropolis.

27. μὴ ἄναβαλη. For the construction after ἄν ἐλπὶς, which is equivalent to a verb of fearing, see G. § 218. κατὰ ταύτα 'at that spot'. Ab. quotes 3, 64 ἐπρωματισθη κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτῶς πρό-

τερον τῷ θεῦν 'Ateiv ἐπιλήξε.

1. κατὰ τὸ ἱδίν 'by way of the temple of Aglauros', which was 27 on the northern side of the Acropolis near the cave of Pan.

4. ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Cobet would omit these words; but they indicate that the Barbarians had not only climbed up to the wall but were actually on the plateau of the Acropolis; see p. 26, l. 9.

5. κατὰ τοῦ τεῖχος 'down from the wall'.

6. τὸ μάγαρον 'the shrine of the temple'.

7. ἐπράγαντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, cp. p. 10, l. 22.

8. ταῦτα εἴποννυν 'and when they had opened these gates they then began slaughtering the suppliants' i.e. in the temple. The gates are those of the wall.

CHAPTER LIV.

12. Αρταβάνη. He sends to Artabanus because he had at first dissuaded the enterprise [see 7, 10—18] and had been sent back to Susa in charge of the realm in the absence of the king [7, 52–3.]

15. τῶν φυγάδων the family of the Peisistratidae and their ad-

herents; p. 26, l. 16.

18. ἐνθύμον 'a religious scruple'. Cp. 2, 175 ἐνθυμιοῦν τοι-

πόσμενον. Cp. Thucyd. 7, 50, 4 ἐνθύμον ποιοῦμενον. So also the verb ἐνθυμεῖσθαι: id. 7, 18, 2. Id. 5, 16 ἐς ἐνθυμίαιν 'by way of exciting a religious scruple'.

CHAPTER LV.

22. Ἑρεχθεός...νῆσ. See on p. 21, l. 22.

23. θάλη. The sacred olive from which the other sacred olives in Attica were supposed to be cuttings. θάλαισσα according to Pausanias [1, 26, 6; 8, 10, 3] was a salt well on the Acropolis which communicated with the Aegean and in which the roar of the ocean could be heard. λόγος 'story' or 'myth'. The story is thus given in Apollodorus [3, 14, 1—3]. "In the time of Cecrops the gods determined to select each a city in which to be separately and
specially honoured. Poseidon came first to Attica, struck the Acropolis with his trident and opened a well (θαλασσα) which is now called the well of Erechtheus. Afterwards came Athené and, calling Cecrops to witness that she took possession of the place, planted an olive. The god and goddess then disputed for the possession of the land. Zeus referred the question to a jury of 12 gods: Cecrops was summoned as a witness to prove that Athene had planted her olive first. The verdict was in her favour: she called the place after her Athens, while Poseidon in wrath flooded the Thriasian plain and submerged Attica.” Soph. O. C. 711.

25. μαρτύρια θεθαί ‘alleged as evidence’, see above.
26. κατέλαβε ‘it was the fate of this olive to be burnt’. Cp. 6, 103 τὸν Κίμωνα κατέλαβε φυγεῖν. Except in this passage Herodotus seems always to use it of persons.


The shooting out of the burnt stump of the Sacred Olive may well have seemed to the Athenians, when they heard of it, as an omen of their future restoration sent by the guardian goddess of the city. The length of the shoot may have grown with the telling, but there is nothing incredible in the main fact. The olive is a tree very tenacious of life and will survive burning in a wonderful manner. Thus Pliny [N. H. 7, 241] says oliva in totum ambusta revixit. Cp. Vergil Georg. 2, 303—313. Accordingly the sacred olives (μορπαι) standing in various parts of Attica were protected from destruction even when reduced to stumps by fire or lightning, and were then called σηκοῦ. See Lysias, Orat. 7 περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ.

CHAPTER LVI.

4. ὃς ἐκεῖ τὸ περὶ... ‘what had happened to the Acropolis’.
6. τὸ προκαλέσανυν πρῆγμα ‘the proposal before them’, i.e. that of abandoning Attica to its fate and removing the fleet close to the Isthmus, see c. 49.
7. ἤλεφντο ‘began hoisting their sails’.
9, 10. νῦξ τε ἐγήνετο, καὶ ὅ ἄδιψηντες...κοβαίνον ‘after leaving the council they were just going on board their ships as the night was falling’: or ‘night was just falling as those who had broken up from the council were going on board’. For τε and καὶ
thus indicating simultaneousness see p. 3, l. 16; p. 47, l. 17; 9, 55
ἐς νεκε& τε ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ παριστάτο. 9, 57 οἱ τε ἄμφι Ἀμού-
φάρετον παρεγύνοντό σφι καὶ ὁ ἢππος προσεκέετο πάσα.

CHAPTER LVII.

12. ἔνθαθτα δή ‘it was in that position of affairs’, p. 67, l. 18.
17. περὶ σύνεμις ἐτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις ‘you will not have
any longer a united country to fight for’, or ‘any country to
fight for in future which may be looked upon as one’. He means,
‘it will be no longer a question of defending Hellas as such, but
each squadron will have to fight separately for its own city’.
20. οὕτω μὴ ὁ διασκεδασθήναι ‘from being scattered in every
direction’. The double negative accompanies the infinitive after a
negative sentence. G. § 263, 2 note.
22. ἄβουλης a poetical use of the plural in abstract nouns,
cp. ἄπορης p. 26, l. 20. Abich also compares the frequent
Homeric ἀπαθαλήσι.
23. διαχέα ‘to rescind’, ‘to annul’, as opposed to ἐκυρώθη l. 9;
lit. ‘to pour different ways’, and thus ‘to obliterate’. In
Xenoph. Cyr. 5, 3 of the effect of wet upon the tracks of animals (τὰ
ἀρνη) opposed to συνιστήνω.
δυνανόςα ‘to persuade’, both this meaning of ἀναγνώσκειν
(7, 11) and this form of the 1st aorist are peculiar to the Ionic dialect.
This form only occurs in composition, see p. 29, l. 8; p. 53, l. 4.

CHAPTER LVIII.

2. ἡ ὑποθήκη ‘the suggestion’, cp. 1, 156 ὑποθέλει τῇ ὑποθήκῃ. 29
4. συμμίζαι ‘to communicate’, p. 34, l. 20. This rare mean-
ing is illustrated by various commentators from Theognis 64
άλλα δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι
χρήμα δὲ συμμίζης μηδενὶ μηδ’ ὅτιοπν
σπουδαίον.
7. εὐντὸς ποιεόμενος ‘pretending that they (the arguments)
were his own’, ‘adopting as his own’. Cp. 4, 180 τὸν Δία ἐωντὸν
μὲν ποιήσαθαι θυγατέρα.
8. ἀνέγγωσε, p. 28, l. 23.
CHAPTER LXI.

12. προθέειαν τῶν λόγων ‘introduced the discussion’, ‘explained for what he had summoned them’. The president of an assembly in opening a debate was said λόγον προθέειαν [Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 3 τῆς πόλεως λόγον περί τινος προσθελέσθη] or προσθέεια followed by infinitive [p. 25, l. i]: or προσθέεια γνώμας [Thucyd. 6, 14 καὶ σὺ, δὲ Προτάτε, γνώμας προσθείει αὕτης Ἀθηναίου]. Cobet therefore wishes to omit τὸν, Variae Lect. p. 353.

13. πολλὸς ἦν ‘was very urgent’, ‘said much’, cp. the Lat. creber fuisti ‘you often said’ Cic. pro Planc. § 83. Cp. 9, 91 ὥς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισόμενος, 1, 98 ἦν πολλὸς ὅπο τὰντὸ ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλ- λόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος. Cp. also 3, 46 ἔλεγον πολλὰ οὐ κάρτα δεδομένοι.

17. ἰππίζωται ‘are struck with the wands of the keepers of the course’ (ῥαβδούχοι or Ελλανοδίκαι Paus. 6, 2, 1). In Thucydides 5, 50 one Lichas ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων πληγᾶς ἔλαβε for some breach of the rules. See Holden’s note on Plutarch Themist. 11. This anecdote is repeated by Plutarch, as well as the still more celebrated answer to Eurybiades on his raising his stick, ‘Strike but hear me’, πάταξον μὲν ἄκουσον δὲ.

ἀπολυόμενος ‘by way of excusing himself’. Sometimes with an acc., Thucyd. 8, 87 βουλόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς ἀπολύεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς.

CHAPTER LXII.

20. ἐκείνων p. 28, l. 17.

23. οὐκ ἐφεξῆς οἷς κόσμον οὐδένα ‘it had not been becoming in him’. See on p. 31, l. 27. κατηγορεῖν sc. τῶν συμμάχων.

24. ἔχεσθο, see p. 6, l. 17.

§ 1.


27. ἀνακάτεψη...τὰς νάς ‘remove the ships to the Isthmus’. ἀνακάτεψην is properly ‘to harness again’. Elsewhere Herod. has τὸν στρατόν (9, 41) or τὸ στρατόκεφον (9, 58) as the object. Its use with ships shews that its original meaning was quite merged in that of ‘removal’.

30 i. ἀντίθεσ...ἀκούσας ‘listen to the alternative courses and contrast their advantages against each other’.
3. τὸ ἡκιστα ἡμῖν σῶμφορὸν ἐστὶ 'which is as far as possible from being to our advantage considering that the ships which we have are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy'. [The MSS. have ἐσ το. I have ventured to omit ἐσ which it seems difficult if not impossible to construe. Stein imagines that the copyist may have left out some such verb as ἀνέγει 'to put out into which open sea'.] 4. βαρυτέρας. According to Plutarch [Them. 14] the Persian ships were heavier and more cumbrous than those of the Greeks. It has been proposed to read βραχυτέρας.

δριθμῶν ἐλάσσονας. The number of the Greek fleet as given in c. 48 was 378, that of the Persian ships [7, 184] was originally 1207; and though that number had been reduced by shipwreck and losses in battle, they were still as vastly superior in numbers to the Greeks as before, owing to reinforcements. See c. 66.

5. τούτῳ δὲ 'and in the next place'. For the phrase τούτῳ μὲν ...τούτῳ δὲ see p. 40, l. 6 and 7, 6; 9, 7 and 27. Here the first antithetical sentence is introduced simply by μὲν in l. 2, cp. 5, 45.

6. αὐτὸς ἄξιος 'you yourself will be the instrument of bringing them against the Peloponnesian'.

7. κινδυνεύσας...Ἐλλάδι 'and what you will stake on the event will be the safety of the whole of Greece'. κινδυνεύειν 'to be in danger' may stand (1) with infin. κινδυνεύσει αποβαλεῖν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν p. 33, l. 7, (2) with prep. peri ἐκεῖνης κινδυνεύειν 8, 74, (3) as here with dat. of object risked, cp. 7, 209 κινδυνεύειν τῷ ψυχῷ.

§ 2.

10. τοσοῦτος χρήσιτα 'the advantages which I will enumerate'.

12. τὰ οἰκότα [οἰκός = εἰκός App. E. (f)] 'what we have a right to expect'.


15. περιγύνεται present for certain future, 'will be saved'. For the meaning cp. περεύεται p. 2, l. 8.

ὑπεκκίδεται [≡ ὑπ-εκ-κίδεται used as pass. of ὑπεκτίδεναι 'have been removed'] see c. 41.

16. καὶ μὲν 'again'. καὶ τὸδε 'even the point which you care most for', i.e. the safety of the Peloponnesus.

17. τὸῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε 'which you actually cleave to', 'which
you value'. Cp. 7, 160 τῆς ἡγεμονίας περιέχεσθε, but in 9, 57 it is used without any case following. kal emphatic, p. 19, l. 25.  

ομολογο...ὅσπερ 'if you stay where you are you will be quite as much fighting for the Peloponnesus as (kal) you would near the isthmus'. For kal cp. p. 23, l. 17.  

19. σφαίρα i.e. the Persians, cp. l. 8.  

§ 3.  

21. ὄμων ethic dative 'you won't have them coming to the isthmus'. For παρίσχει cp. 6, 24 παρῆν ἐστὶν 'Ἀδην, Arist. Plut. 411 κατακλίνειν αὐτῶν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ.  

23. ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς 'Ἀττικῆς may mean 'farther than Attica', or, 'farther into Attica', cp. 9, 14 ἐκαστάτῳ τῆς Ἑόρῶνης.  

24. κερδανόμοι 'we shall be the gainers by the survival of Megara, Salamis, and Aegina'. κερδανομείνει is the opposite of ἀμε- 

25. λόγον 'an oracle', referring again to the oracle given in 7, 141 and especially to the line ὅ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖσ δὲ σῷ τέκνα γυναικῶν. See on p. 21, l. 19.  

27. ὡς τὸ ἐπίσταν 'as a general rule'. The full sentence is ὅλοτα βουλευομένους ὅλοτα ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι 'to reasonable plans reasonable success usually comes'. ἐθέλει 'is wont', cp. 7, 157 τῷ ἐθ' βου- 

28. οὐδὲ ὁ θέλε...γνώμας 'but when men counsel ill heaven itself is not wont either to further human designs'. προσχωρέων πρὸς 'to join as an ally', cp. Thucyd. 1, 103, 4 προσεχῶρησαν καὶ Μεγαρῆς 'Ἀθηναίων ἐς συμμαχίαν. Id. 3, 61, 3 προσεχώρησαν πρὸς 'Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαστῶν.  

CHAPTER LXI.  

31 2. ἐπεφέρετο 'attacked', 'inveighed against'. In the literal sense of 'attack' cp. p. 47, l. 19, Thucyd. 4, 67, 4 τῶν τῶν 'Ἀθη- 

3. οὐκ ἐὰν 'forbidding', cp. 9, 2. ἐπιψηφίζειν 'to put the vote to', i.e. 'to allow a vote to a cityless man'. This word is applied to him who puts a subject to the vote, the president of an assembly, cp. Thucyd. 6, 14, 1 οὐ, ὃ πρῶτα, ταῦτα ἐπιψηφίζε καὶ γνώμας προ- 

τίθειν ἄθις 'Ἀθηναίων. There does not seem any example of its use
with dative of those to whom the vote is put earlier than Lucian. Many therefore interpret this ‘Don’t put this to the vote for a cityless man’, i.e. at his instance. This construction is quite as difficult as the other, and produces a less satisfactory sense.

4, 5. τόλη γάρ...συμβάλλεσθαι ‘for he bade Themistocles not deliver a vote with the rest unless he could show that he had a city’, i.e. unless he could show that he appeared for some existing city as its envoy. For οὕτω after a participle cp. p. 12, l. 25.

For γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι sententias dicere see 5, 92, 1 ἐξετε ἀν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμελενας συμβαλέσθαι ἤπειρ νῦν. (St.)

6. κατελχοντο ‘was actually in possession of the enemy’.

10. ἐστ’ ἄν διηκόμως νέε... ‘as long as they had 200 ships’.

The point of Themistocles’ retort is shown more at length by Plutarch. ‘If you go away and desert us a second time, it will soon be heard in Greece that the Athenians have possession of a free city and a territory as good as that which they lost.’ Plutarch however seems to combine the two councils of Herodotos into one meeting [Them. 11].

CHAPTER LXII.

14. ἕπεστραμμένα sc. ἐπη, ‘earnestly’, cp. 1, 30 εἵρετο ἐπιστρεφέως. Cf. 7, 160 ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἄπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Συλαγροῦ [where some read ἕπεστρ., but the analogy of ἀποβλέπειν ‘to look earnestly at’ from the notion of looking away from everything else will serve to justify the ἕπεστρ.]

σὲ...δὸς μή... ‘If you will remain and act like a brave man,—well and good, but if not’—for this ἀποσίσεσις followed by εἶ δὲ μή cf. Aristoph. Plut. 468

κἂν μὲν ἀποφθέγω μόνην
ἀγαθῶν ἀνατῶν οὖσαν αἰτιὰν ἐμὲ
ὑμῖν, δὲ ἐμὲ τε ἔγνωτας ὑμᾶς el δὲ μή ποιεῖτον ἤδη τοῦθ’ ὅτι ἰν υἱὸν δοκῇ.

‘If I prove to you that I am the author of all blessings to you, and that it is by me you live,—well: otherwise do what you please to me’. See Goodwin’s Moods and Tenses, p. 112, note 2.

15, 16. τὸ πᾶν τοῦ πολέμου ‘the whole fate of the war’. ἀλλά p. 78, l. 30.

18. τοὺς οἰκίτας ‘our families’, see p. 23, l. 9.
19. Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, for Siris see Historical Index. The idea of finding in the west a new home and new prosperity more than once reappeared in Athenian history. This perhaps influenced Pericles in promoting the colony of Thurii in b.c. 444, and caused the readiness of the Athenians to interfere in the quarrels of Syracuse and Leontini in Sicily in b.c. 427, which eventually led to such disasters. A reported migration of Ionians to Siris was probably the ground on which Themistocles based the claim of Athens to a hold upon Siris. The notion of a whole Hellenic community migrating *en masse* to the west was not a new one in Hellenic history, see the Story of the people of Phokaea 1, 163—7.

20. λόγα, another instance of the use made by Themistocles of the popular belief in oracles, noticed by Plutarch, when he was inducing the Athenians to leave their town: Them. 10 σημεῖα διαμόνια καὶ χρησμοὺς ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς. We cannot tell to what particular oracles he refers: but the collection which went by the name of Bakis contained oracular verses referring to a large number of different matters and in all probability some referring to Italy and Sicily.

CHAPTER LXIII.

23. ἀνεδιδάσκετο ‘began to be convinced’.


27. ἐγίνοντο. The words ἀπολιπόντων Ἀθηναίων ‘if the Athenians abandoned them’, form the protasis of a condition, the apodosis is ἐγίνοντο without ἄν. This omission of ἄν gives a more emphatic expression to the certainty of the result; just as in Latin the corresponding tenses of the indicative are used for the subjunctive as in Verg. Aen. 2, 54 si mens non laeva fuisset Impulerat (for impulisset); and just as we say, ‘I had done so’ for ‘I should have done so’. We must also note that although the sentence is in the form of a *past condition* it is so by anticipation: the contingency is really one of the future.

32 1, 2. ταύτην...διαναμαχέων ‘he decides upon (selects) this decision, namely, that he should remain there and fight the battle out’. Like διαμάχεσθαι [Xen. Oecon. 1, 23] διαναμαχέων means ‘to fight to the end’, and so is rightly used of the main battle as opposed to any skirmish.
CHAPTER LXIV.

3. ἔπεσε δικροβολιστάμενοι 'after this skirmish of words'. The meaning of δικροβολιστάμενοι is to skirmish as opposed to coming to close quarters, see Thucyd. 3, 73; the metaphor is similar to that in p. 41, l. 15 ὠθισμός λόγων.

5, 6. τε...καὶ see p. 3, l. 16. σεισμός. See on p. 20, l. 4.

8. ἐπικαλέσασθαι 'to summon the Aeakidae to come as allies to their aid'. For the worship of Heroes see on p. 20, l. 16.

9. ἔδωκε...ἐπολευν. Notice the tenses, the aorist of a single complete act, the imperfect of the beginning of a series: 'when they had once determined on these things they also set about doing them'. Ab. and St. compare 7, 128 ὡς δὲ ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἐπολευε ταῦτα.

11. έπι Αλακών 'to fetch Aeakos'. Cf. Arist. Ranae ἱνικ ἡλθες ἐπὶ τόν Κέρβερον. See on 9, 44.

CHAPTER LXV.

14. φυγώδης, of the Athenian exiles with Xerxes, see p. 27, l. 15.

15. ἱκέρεος. See p. 17, l. 21.

16. ἐφήμως ᾿Αθηναίων. See p. 25, l. 25.

19. ἀπὸ ᾿Ελευσινος...τρισμυριῶν. On the sixth day of the great Eleusinia a solemn procession went from Athens to Eleusis, carrying a statue of Iacchus (Bacchus) adorned with myrtle and torch in hand, along the sacred road which traversed the Thriasian plain, raising joyous shouts of Iacche! oh Iacche! [See Arist. Ran. 316.] Not only Athenians, but all other Greeks also might share in the ceremonies at these mysteries, and possibly a crowd of 30,000 persons might at times have been present at them. If the story is in any way true, it shews how important they were considered, if even at this time of danger and national disaster some worshippers were found to keep up the celebration as best they might; just as for several years during the Peloponnesian war, when the inroads of the Spartans made it dangerous or impossible to go along the sacred way as usual, the Athenians who wished to join in the initiations were conveyed by sea to Eleusis, until in B.C. 407 Alcibiades on his recall escorted the sacred pro-
cession once more by land at the head of an army [Xen. Hellen. 1, 4, 21]. We must regard the number (τρισμυχαίων) as not meant to be exact but to indicate a large crowd.

21. πρόκατε ‘forthwith’ [πρό], for the suffix τε see on p. 10, l. 9.

23. δυσμονα τῶν ιρων, that is, he had not been initiated, and did not know the sacred song which was sung only by the initiated.

For the discussion of the ceremonies at and meaning of the Eleusinian Mysteries a dictionary of antiquities must be consulted. It is enough to say that as they were probably connected with a more ancient form of religion than prevailed in Greece, so they were almost the last of all heathen ceremonies to die out before the advance of Christianity. They embraced a mystic worship of Nature-powers as represented by corn and wine [Demeter and Iacchus], and initiation in them was held not only in some way to purify the character, but to speak to the devout of another life of hope beyond the grave. This may be illustrated by two of the very numerous passages referring to them in ancient literature. ‘Blessed is he’ (says Pindar, fr. 102) ‘whoso shall not go beneath the hollow earth until he hath beheld them! He knoweth of the end of life that by God’s grace it is but a beginning’. ‘They who share in these initiations’ (says Isocrates, Panegyr. 6) ‘have sweeter hopes concerning life’s end and all time to come’.

33 2. θεὸν ‘supernatural’.

3. ἵς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίων ‘to protect the Athenians’, see on p. 25, l. 9.

4. κατασκήνη. Cf. ἐνέσκησαν p. 20, l. 23.

7. κινδυνεύσαν ἀποβάλειν. For constructions of κινδυνεύω see p. 30, l. 9.

9. τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ ‘to Demeter and Persephone’. [Cobet would read Δήμητρι in which he is supported by the best ms.] One of the objects of the Eleusinian mysteries was supposed to be that of celebrating the wanderings of Demeter in search of her daughter (ἡ κόρη).

10. ὁ βουλόμενος, see on p. 25, l. 2.


19, 20. ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ‘in the direction of Salamis, so as to rest over the camp of the Greeks’. For this
juxtaposition of ἐπὶ with different cases cp. 9, 47 ὀπλὼ ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίῳ κέρας. Ὅσε δ' ἄθρω καὶ ὁ Μαρδώνος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑωνύμου, where the distinction of meaning is the same ‘to the left wing’ and ‘towards the left wing’. The Greeks who were not on board were encamped in Salamis.

22. μέλλων ‘was destined’, p. 2, l. 3.
23. καταπτόμενος ‘appealing to’, cp. 6, 68 θεὸν καταπτόμενος.

CHAPTER LXVI.

25. θησάμενοι, see c. 24.
28. ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, p. 12, l. 14: For the numbers see on p. 30, l. 4.
2. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ‘into Attica’, p. 25, l. 18.
8. παντρατῆ. See p. 15, l. 2.
11. πλῆν τῶν πεντά...οὐνόματα [App. A. III. 7]. The five islands mentioned in c. 46, Naxos, Melos, Kythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos. Notice that Herod. speaks of these small islands as πόλεις ‘states’.
13. ἵσωτέρω ‘further south’, cp. ἕσω p. 2, l. 23. For the gen. τῆς Ἑλλάδος see on p. 30, l. 23.

CHAPTER LXVII.

15. ἄπτικατο, App. D. II. a. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας see p. 25, l. 18.
17. ἱκανοδόκεον ‘were watching’, cf. 7, 163 καρακήσουσα τὴν μάχην ὑπὲρτεται, cp. ib. 168; properly ‘to watch with outstretched head’, like a combatant looking out for his enemy’s blow, cp. Eurip. I. T. 133 καραδόκων ταξιόντα θραύματα.
19. κατέβη...ἐπὶ τὰς νῆς ‘went down to the shore (from the town) to where the ships lay’.
20. συμμίζει ‘to converse with’, p. 29, l. 4.
21. προθέτει ‘he sat down in state’, ‘in a conspicuous place’.
23. ταξιαρχός, used generally by Herodotus of officers in the land force, see 9, 42, 53: but in 7, 99 it is also used of naval officers. He uses a Greek title for a certain rank, though that may not have been the exact title used in the several fleets. In Athens the taxiaruchs were tribal officers next in rank to the Strategi.
33. σφι βασιλεὺς...θεῖοι τικ ‘according to the rank the king had assigned to each’. One of the special ways in which an
Eastern king rewarded his subjects was by assigning a place more or less near himself. Cf. Xen. Oecon. 4, 8 obis μέν ἄν αἰσθᾶνται τῶν ἀρχότων συνοικουμένην τε τὴν χώραν παρεχόμενος καὶ ἐνεργοῦν οὕτων τὴν γῆν...τούτως μὲν χώραν τε ἄλλην προστίθεισι...καὶ ἔδρασε ἐν τῇ μοις γεραίρει. Many references in the Old Testament to this custom will occur to the reader. The kings of Sidon and Tyre are in the place of honour here because the Phoenicians were the most important providers of ships. See 7, 96.

25. μετά...πλ adverbial, p. 17, l. 24; p. 62, l. 18. Herodotos very often uses μετά in this way. The different grades indicated by the two prepositions also should be noticed, ‘next’, and ‘following in order’.

27. ἀποπειρώμενος ‘by way of ascertaining the opinion of each’. See p. 5, l. 22 and 9, 21.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

35 2. κατὰ τῶντο γνώμην ἔξεφροντο ‘were unanimous in the opinion which they expressed’. The force of the middle in this phrase is that of producing as their own; cp. 5, 36 where the same expression is used under similar circumstances.

§ 1.

5. ἐσταί, App. E. 2. The infinitive for imperative, cp. p. 11, l. 4. [Stein reads εἶστείν with the mss.]

6. κακοτῇ ‘the most cowardly’, cp. ἐθελοκακείν p. 12, l. 11.

8. διστάσα, τήν ἄι ἐσταν ‘My lord, I on the other hand must declare my real opinion’. For the reading of this passage see notes on next. The δὲ at the beginning of such a speech implies a contrast with what has gone before. Stein shews its force by quoting 1, 32; 3, 82; 8, 137, 142, in which passages it as here introduces a similar speech, and comes immediately after the vocative of the person addressed.

For the meaning of ἐσταν ‘real’ cp. 1, 95 τῶν ἑώτα λόγον λέγειν. Artemisia hints that the others have not spoken their real opinion.

9. τῇ τυχάνω φρονέσσα δριστα in apposition to γνώμην, ‘namely the ideas which I actually entertain as being best calculated to promote your wishes’.
10. καὶ τοι τάδε ‘well then, this is what I say’.

11. πολεο (al. polee), see App. D. III. footnote 8.

13, 14. πάντως ‘at all’. ἀνακινδυνεῖν ‘to undergo a risk’, implying that such action is superfluous or at least voluntary. See 9, 26 χρεῶν...τὸν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεῖν συμβάλλων.


§ 2.

19. ἀντιπολέμων = πολεμίων, cp. 7, 236. It is a word not used by Attic writers.

20. τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἡχοὺς πρὸς γῆ. The policy of keeping the fleet entire and in close proximity to the army had been urged on Xerxes before by Achaemenes, see 7, 236.


25. πάρα = πάρεστι.

26. νῆσῳ, Salamis.

1. ἀπρεμέαν ‘that they will remain where they are’. App. D, 36

III. d, note 2.

ἐκείθεν that is from the Peloponnese.

§ 3.

5. προσεξηρήσαται ‘may damage the land forces besides’.

πρὸς adverb. See p. 16, l. 8. τοις ἐς θυμὸν βάλει ‘reflect upon this truth’, cp. 7, 51 ἐς θυμὸν βάλει τὸ παλαιὸν ἔτος. For βάλει see App. D, footnote 9.

8. σοι, note emphatic position of pronoun. ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ ‘in the category of allies’; 6, 19 ἐν ἀνδροπέδων λόγῳ. Artemisia does not venture to speak against the Persians, but has a real contempt for these other non-Hellenes; though the Egyptians are said to have borne off the prize of valour at Artemision [c. 17].

CHAPTER LXIX.

13. συμφορὴν ἐποιείτο. See p. 6, l. 7.

15. σοκ ὦ, ‘dissuades’, p. 31, l. 3. ἄγαλματι [ἄγαλμα] 9—2
NOTES ON LXIX

καὶ φθονέοντες 'who were ill disposed to and jealous of her'. Cf. 6, 61 φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῳ χρεόμενος.

16. ἄτε ἐν πρῶτοι τετιμημένης 'because she enjoyed the highest position in the king's esteem'. The introduction of the gen. abs. with ἄτε, instead of a participle agreeing with αὐτῆ, shows that the writer is giving his own explanation of their jealousy. Cp. p. 47, l. 14. ἐν πρῶτοι may be either masc. or neut. cp. Thuc. 4, 105 δύνασθαι ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν and id. 7, 27, 4 ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐκάκωσε τὰ πράγματα ['ἡ Δεκέλεια']. For omission of article in this idiom see instances in L. and Sc.

17. διὰ 'above', cp. p. 19, l. 25. τῆς κρισι 'this expression of opinion', sententia [but Stein reads ἀνάκριντε 'contradiction', 'opposition', quoting Plato 176 and 277. See note on text].

21. τοῖς πλέον 'the majority'.

22. καταδόξας seems only a strengthened δόξα, 'having made up his mind', cp. p. 2, l. 22 and 9, 57.

23. τότε ὅλα 'whereas on this occasion'. ἔθολοκακεῖν, p. 12, l. 11: the present is here used as an historical tense.

CHAPTER LXX.

25. παρήγγελλον 'when they (the leaders) passed the word round to put to sea'.

26. παρεκκλήσαν 'were ranged in line of battle', the forces of the two parts of the word are—ἐκκλήσαν 'they were separated', παρὰ 'in lateral order': so that it is a proleptic word,—'they were so separated as to be in line'.

37 3. ἰππόγεινο 'came down upon them while thus engaged', 'overtook them'.

4. οὐκ ἢκιστα, p. 21, l. 20.

5, 6. ἀνάραξεν ὅτι... ναυμαχεῖν μελλόνην... πολιορκήσονται 'But they were alarmed (at the thought) that they were going to fight for Attica while fixed at Salamis, and that if conquered they would be caught in the Island and subjected to a siege'. 'Verbs of fearing as they imply thought sometimes take the construction of ordinary indirect discourse', and with ὅτι introducing a causal sentence cp. Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 1 ἐφοβεῖτο ὅτι ὁφθάσεσθαι ἔμμελε τὰ βασιλεία οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχομενοι. Goodwin, Moods and Tenses, p. 85, 6. The expression ναυμαχεῖν μελλόνην is to be noted as equivalent to a future coordinate with πολιορκήσονται, the optative is used as representing
the thoughts of another, just as the future optative is used for the indic. fut. in oblique oration. The variation to the indicative in the second clause is a matter of idiom like the variation of the moods in two final clauses, both being grammatically admissible; see p. 4, l. 11; p. 40, l. 12.

8. ἀπολαμβάνειν 'cut off from retreat'.

CHAPTER LXXI.

11. ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον 'to invade the Peloponnese': but they got no farther than the Megarid, see 9, 14.

16. ἐς τὸν Ισθμὸν ήαντο. See p. 26, l. 9.

18. συνχώσαντες 'having blocked up with earthworks', see on p. 15, l. 27.

20. ὀικοδόμουν 'they began to build'. The wall which crossed the Isthmus at a point about seven miles east of Corinth was finished in the following spring, see 9, 8. The distance across is about five miles.

22. ἐκέρτο 'was being wrought to perfection'. The verb ἐκέρτο is nearly confined to poetry, the more common form ἔκτων being generally used by Attic prose writers.

23. φορμολ 'baskets' [Rt. φέρε, φέρω, φόρεω, φορά], it was also used as a measure of corn about equal to a medimnus. ψάμμον. The sand, as Stein remarks, was for the double purpose of making mortar and filling up the space left between the two sides of the wall to be made into a solid mass of rubble.

24, 25. ἐλύνον 'rested', cf. 1, 67. A verb confined to poetry and Ionic prose. νυκτός...ἡμέρης, p. 4, l. 16.

CHAPTER LXXII.

26. πανδημελ 'with every available man', see πανστρατηγo, p. 15, l. 2; p. 21, l. 6.

4. ὑπεραρρωδείνει τῇ Ἑλλάδι. Stein regards this dat. as anomalous quoting Eurip. Suppl. 344 ἦ τεκοῦσα χιεραρρωδείον ἐμοῦ, but it may be looked upon as a case of a dative of advantage, like the converse ἐλπίδα ἔχων σωτηρίας τῇ Ἑλλάδι. C. § 184, 3.

6. Κάρνεια. This Spartan festival [see Hist. Index] began on the 7th of the month Metageitnion [the Spartan Karneios] and
lasted to the 16th. It was therefore late in August. παροικῶντες ἡμὶ ‘had been concluded by this time’, and therefore—Herodotus means—the other Peloponnesian states had no excuse for not appearing. The Karneia had before been alleged at Sparta as an excuse for delay, see 7, 206.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

9. αὐτόχθωνα opposed to ἐπηλυθα in l. 14. Those people, of whose coming to a land no history or tradition existed, were considered to be αὐτόχθωνες ‘natives of the soil’, in this case the Pelasgi. Thus the Karians claimed to be autochthonous of Asia Minor (1, 171), and the Athenians of Attica, of which the symbol was the grasshopper formerly worn by them [Thucyd. 1, 6, 3]. So too the Sikani are said to be αὐτόχθωνες of Sicily [id. 6, 2, 2]. In 9, 73 αὐτόχθων is used just like our ‘native’.

12. οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀπειρηματικὸν did not quit the Peloponnesus, that is at the coming of the Dorians. See Historical Index s. v. Dorians.

13. τὴν ἄλλην ἑρμηνεία ‘the land of others’. The Achaioi, a name which in Homer is used often as a general appellation for Greeks, seem to have lived in southern Peloponnese, and retreating before the conquering Dorians settled in the district along the north coast of the Peloponnesse, hence called Achaia, anciently named Aegialos [Paus. 5, 1, 1].

14. ἐπηλυθα ‘subsequent immigrations’.

18. Παρορεῖται πάντες ‘to the Lemnians belong all the towns of the Paroreats’, that is the ‘mountain peoples’ of the district Triphylla in Elis. The word only means ‘dwellers by the mountains’, but came to be used as a geographical term for this district, cp. 4, 148.

οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι...Ἰωνεῖς ‘The Kynurii seem to be the only people who are at once Ionians and autochthonous’. As Stein says, two ideas are involved in the sentence: ‘the Kynurii seem to be Ionians, and in that case are the only ones still remaining in the Peloponnesse’.

30. ἐκδιδαχθέντοι...χρόνου ‘have been thoroughly Doricised both by being under the rule of Argives and by the lapse of time’. The difficulty of the sentence lies in the fact that ἐνδό has to be supplied before τοῦ χρόνου from the previous line, and yet is in a different sense; ἐνδό Ἀργείων is a genitive of the agent depending
upon ἄρχομενοι, while ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου is instrumental. Cobet [Variae Lect. p. 424] proposes therefore to omit ἄρχομενοι as having been a gloss explaining ὑπὸ 'Αργελῶν, [sc. ἄρχομενοι], which was then introduced into the text.

21. οὖντες 'Ορνεκται καὶ περιοικοί 'being in the position of Orneats or perioeki'. The inhabitants of Orneae resisting the Dorian conquerors were reduced to the position of the Spartan perioeci or unenfranchised farmers; and thence the name was applied to all others remaining in the country in the same position. Cp. the derivation given by some of the word Helotes, viz. from Helos on the Laconian gulf, and of Caerites in Roman polity. The Arcives seem to have destroyed Orneae in B.C. 416 [Thucyd. 6, 7, 2].

23. πάρεξ τῶν, by attraction for πάρεξ ἐκείνων ἀσ. ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατίσατο [App. D. II. a] 'held aloof from the war'. Cp. p. 12, l. 7.

24. κατήμνου 'by so holding aloof they were really medizing'.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

25. τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν 'were engrossed in the active labour I have described', i.e. in building the wall. Cp. 9, 89 λυμῷ συνέστας καὶ καμάτῳ. Cl. 7, 170.

26. ἀπε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἓθη δρόμων θὸντες 'seeing that their all was now at stake'. Herodotos is fond of this metaphor from the race-course, see 9, 37 ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. 7, 57 περὶ ἑωτου τρέχεων. Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 376 τοιήσω περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμων δραμέων. p. 55, l. 26; p. 78, l. 12.

1. ἔλλαµψθαι 'that they would distinguish themselves'. Cp. 39 1, 80 τὸν ἵππικῷ ἔλλαµπσθαι.

2. ταῦτα refers to the facts mentioned in cc. 71—3, viz. the advance of the Persians towards the Peloponnese, the abstention of many of the Peloponnesian states, and yet the comparative security of the peninsula by the rapid completion of the wall; in spite of this reassuring circumstance however the fleet were still (δύως) alarmed for the safety of the Peloponnese. [The comparative obscurity of this train of thought has suggested to some the reading δύως, while Abicht thinks that we should probably read ὅμοιως.]

5. συγγ γόγον ἐποὺ ἔπουσα 'began saying under his breath', or 'secretly', cp. 2, 140 συγγ τοῦ Αἰθιόπος 'without the knowledge
of Aethiops’, clam Aethiopa. The use of σιγῆ in this adverbial sense of ‘secretly’ accounts for its employment in what seems a kind of bull in such an expression as σιγῆ λόγον ποιεῖσθαι [=λέγειν].

7. θωμα ποιείσθαι = θωμάσω, ‘expressing their surprise at’, cp. p. 41, l. 25. For ποιεῖσθαι ‘regard’ see p. 2, l. 7.

6. ἔξερράγη ‘it (the discontent) burst out’. Cp. 6, 129 οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγήναι ἐστι αὐτῶν.

7. σύλλογος το δή ‘and a meeting for debate actually took place’.

8. οἱ μὲν sc. ἔλεγον. For this construction St. compares Soph. Ant. 259 λόγοι δ’ ἐν ἀλλήλων ἔρροθεν κακοὶ, [φύλακς ἐλέγχων φύλακα.

9. περὶ ἐκέλησι κινδυνεῖν ‘and to fight in defence of it’. This is not a construction of κινδυνεῖν with preposition = ‘to hazard’ [see p. 30, l. 9], but κινδυνεῖν here = μάχεσθαι and περὶ ‘in behalf of’, cp. Π. 12, 24; εἰς οἰκών άριστος ἀμώνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

πρό, p. 3, l. 6.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, sc. ἐκέλευσι.

CHAPTER LXXV.

13. ἐσούτο τῇ γυναικῇ ‘was outvoted’, for the opposite νικάν see on p. 5, l. 15.

19. Ἐσπαίδα ἑτοίμα ‘caused him to be admitted citizen of Thespiae’. ὡς ἑτεδέκοντο ‘when they were admitting new citizens’. Of the Thespians 700 had fallen at Thermopylae [7, 222], the Persians had burnt their town [c. 50], and we find afterwards that they were so reduced that they could not supply themselves with arms at Plataea [9, 30]: that they should enrol new citizens therefore when the troubles were over was natural; and Themistocles was so influential in Greece in the period immediately following, that his recommendation would be enough to obtain admission of his friend.

21. ἔλεγε...τάδε. The whole incident is graphically described in the Persae of Aeschylus, 351 sq. See Introduction.

24. φρονίσων τῷ βασιλέως ‘well disposed to the king’s interests’. p. 18, l. 12. Notice the omission of the article with βασιλέως. The king of Persia is spoken of as βασιλεύς.

27. παρέχει 'you have an opportunity', for this impersonal use see p. 5, l. 1.
1. το ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας. See above p. 39, l. 25 and 7, 102 40 το σα φρονέειν.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

4. ἀπαλλάσσετο 'departed', though the act. is used in p. 35, l. 17 in sense of 'came off'.
5. 7. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ 'in the first place', 'in the second place', see on p. 30, l. 5.
7. ἐπειδὴ ἕγινοντο μέσα νύκτες 'towards midnight'. According to Aeschylus [Pers. 366] the orders were to do this ἐδρ' ἀν φλέγων ἀκτίσιν ἦνος χθόνα λήξη. For νύκτες 'the night hours', cp. Arist. Nub. 2 το χρήμα των νυκτών δουν ἀπέρανταν. This particular phrase 'midnight' is always without the article, see Arist. Vesp. 218 ἄντω μέσων νυκτών γε παρακαλοῦσα' ἄει.
8. το ἀν' ἑστέρης κέρας 'the western or right wing'. The sense of ἀντω like that of ἐκ in p. 26, l. 22 is 'on the side of'.
9. κυκλούμενοι 'by way of encircling the Greeks or 'circling round towards Salamis', but Her. elsewhere always uses this word transitively, p. 6, l. 5; 3, 157. The Persian ships were stationed all along the Attic coast from Phalerum as well as on the S. coast of Salamis. This extreme left wing was now brought up the Saronic gulf so as to rest upon the east coast of Salamis, while, according to Aeschylus (Pers. 374), a detachment went to the west of the island to close up the passage between it and the Megarid, though Herod. does not mention this movement directly; the right wing was moved closer to the Peiraeus, and the islet (νῆσι) of Psyttaleia, between Salamis and the mainland, was occupied by 4000 troops (Paus. 1, 36, 2; Persae 439).
10. Κάνω τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσωραν. Stein suggests that these names apply to the same place, see Hist. Index. For this use of τε...καὶ cp. p. 22, l. 20 Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδόναν ἔθνος.
13. ἄνγγου...τα δὲ...εξ...δοιν. For the change of mood see on p. 4, ll. 4 and 10.
14. δούναι τίσιν 'to give satisfaction', on the analogy of δικην δούνα. Elsewhere τίσι is used in the sense of 'punishment inflicted': see 1, 86; 8, 106; or of 'revenge taken', 8, 105.
16-21. ὁς belongs to ἔνθαϊτα μᾶλλα ἐξουσιοῦν 'on the ground that, whenever the sea fight did take place, the men and wrecks would be sure to be washed ashore there more than anywhere', p. 42, l. 21. The final clause after ἀπεβιβάζον is ὡ... περιποιωσει, and for the subj. mood used dramatically (that is, as representing the actual thoughts of the person concerned) after historic tense see G. § 216, 2.

For the meaning of ἐξουσιοῦν see p. 25, l. 10.

22. τῆς νυκτὸς 'that night', the gen. of time within which, p. 37, l. 25, G. § 179. οὔδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες 'without taking any interval of sleep'. The meaning of the compound ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι seems to be that of sleeping as a relief from other employments, 'to get a snatch of sleep', and thus to be naturally used of the sleep taken in the midst of military duties. See Arist. Vesp. 211, where the old man's servants have been keeping watch for Philocleon when besieged by his son ("as though he were the town of Skione"),—Sosias says, 'since we have driven this enemy away' τι οὐκ ἀπεκοιμήθημεν δόσον δόσον στίλην; 'why shouldn't we snatch just a wee drop of sleep?' Stein, however, regards ἀπὸ as intensive, 'without getting any sound sleep'. Polyb. 3, 79, 10 βραχὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπεκοιμώμετο.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

41 1. καταβάλλειν 'to bring into contempt', used as the opp. of ἐξαιρεῖν 'to exalt' in 9, 79.

3. 'Αρτέμιδος...ἀκτήν. The coast of Salamis on which stood a temple of Artemis.

4. Κινόσουραν p. 40, l. 10, 'dog's-tail', seems a common name for a peninsula. The particular place here meant is uncertain. See Index and Introduction.

5. λυταρᾶς 'shining' [lit. oily], either from the clearness of its air, of which the Athenians were proud [Eur. Med. 829 ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαλυντες ἄβρως αἴθεροι], or from its groves of olives; though Aristophanes [Ach. 637] said it was an epithet better suited to sardines,

εἴ δὲ τὸν ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπνεύσας λυταρᾶς καλέσειν Ἀθήνας εὐρετο τῶν ἄν διὰ τὰς λυταρᾶς, ἀφὸς τιμήν περικάψας.

6. σβέσει = σβέσει, a form rarely if ever found elsewhere; for meaning, see 5, 77 ἐσβέσαν ὑμῖν. Κόρον 'Presumption' resulting
from over-great success or wealth. For the birth of κόρος from θβρυς 'unchecked impulse', cp. Pind. Ol. 13, 13 θβρυς κόρον μάτερα θρασο μυθον.

7. δοκεύντα ἀνα πάντα πιθήκαι 'expecting to be obeyed in everything', 'expecting to rule the world'. For δοκεύντα see App. D. footnote (9).

9. ἀλεύθερον ἦμαρ 'the day of freedom,' sc. 'freedom', cp. Hom. II. 22, 490 ἦμαρ ὄρφανον 'the day of orphanhood', = 'orphanhood'.

11—13. ὡς τοιαύτα...κινήσει. The syntax of this sentence is much dislocated, though the meaning is clear. The ὡς stands in the way as it did in p. 30, l. 3; and, if we understand ἐσβλέψας after ὡς τοιαύτα [see 1. 1], we are met with the difficulty of coupling two participles ἐσβλέψας and λέγοντι by the conjunction καί, which are in different cases and refer to different people. Of this latter anomaly however Abicht quotes another example in Herodotus (7, 9). All would be made easy by omitting ὡς; but if this is to stand we must understand ἐσβλέψας as above, and translate 'Looking at such facts and considering that Bakis speaks thus clearly I dare neither venture on an argument against oracles myself, nor can I admit any such from others'.

Or we might possibly combine ὡς τοιαύτα with οὖθω ἐναργεῖως and translate 'Now against Bakis when he speaks in regard to such facts and so clearly I dare neither' etc.

The dative Βάκιδι depends upon the verbal subst. ἀντιλογίς, which is itself a partitive gen. for ἀντιλογίς τις, if indeed this latter particle has not dropped from the text; finally ἀντιλογίς is followed by a preposition περὶ χρησμῶν as though it were a verb: for which Stein compares 7, 237 κακολογίς...ξείνου πέρι.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

15. ὀδυσμός λόγων 'a sharp combat of words', cp. p. 32, l. 3. ὀδυσμός (a pushing) = 'a hand to hand engagement', 'a personal encounter', see 9, 62.

16. περικυκλώντο 'were actually engaged in surrounding them'. See p. 40, l. 9.

18. κατά χώρην 'unmoved', 'in statu quo'.
CHAPTER LXXIX.

18. συνεστηκότων...τῶν στρατηγῶν 'while the generals were contending'. Cp. Thucyd. 1, 1, 1 τὸ ἄλλο Ἐλληνικὸν ὅριων συνιστάμενον πρὸς ἄλλους. Cf. Her. 7, 142 συνεστηκυία γρωμαί 'opposed', 1, 208 γρωμαί μὲν αὐτῷ συνεστασαν.

20. ἡσυστρακισμένος 'who had been banished by a sentence of ostracism' two years before; he was residing at Argos.

[The institution of ostracism is explained by Grote, History of Greece pt. ii. ch. xxxii. It was peculiar to Athens and a few other states, though a somewhat similar process called petalism (from the votes being inscribed on leaves πέταλα) existed in Syracuse [Diod. i, 87]. It was instituted by Cleisthenes as a means of preventing civil disturbances (στάσεις) from the excessive power of one man, or the keen rivalry of two statesmen. The Ecclesia was first asked without mention of names whether there was occasion for such a proceeding: if the answer was in the affirmative, the agora was arranged for the voting of the ten tribes, and the ostracism was inflicted upon a man on the condition (1) that 6000 in all voted, (2) that the majority of such named him. The votes were written on bits of earthenware or shells [δοτρακα], hence the name. The sentence so passed consisted of an order to a man to reside for 10 years out of Attica; but it did not involve permanent loss of citizenship or any loss of property. The institution lasted until B.C. 420 when it seems to have been discredited by being employed against a mean person named Hyperbolos [Plut. Arist. 7; Nic. 11].

Ostracism prevailed also, it is said, in Argos, Miletos, and Megara. Some held—against Plutarch—that 6000 votes were required against a man before he could be banished.

23. ὅτι τὸ συνθρυμὼν 'appearing at the council', not entering it, in the sense of taking part in it, as the next word ἐξεκαλέσετο shows. Cp. 3, 46 καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥρας ἄρχοντας, 9, 5 ἀτικόμενος ὡς τὴν βουλήν. According to Plutarch [Them. 12, 3] the last council was held in the tent of Themistokles.

25. ἡμῖν see Plut.Themist. 3 'Themistokles early took up a position of hostility to the leading men, and especially towards Aristides, whose political course was diametrically opposite to his own. Various motives are assigned to this enmity; but the fact is that the difference of their habits and character accounts for it. For Aristides was by nature gentle and high minded; his political conduct was never inspired by the desire of popularity, nor could he refrain from opposing Themistokles in the wild
schemes to which for the sake of his own advancement he was continually inciting the people'.

υπὸ, cp. p. 1, l. 3. ληθῆν...ποιεύμενος 'forgetting', ἀπολανθάνομενος, cf. p. 39, l. 5 where θώμια ποιεύμενοι = δανάξοντες.

1. συμμιξαί 'to communicate with him'. p. 29, l. 4; p. 34, 42 l. 20.

5. καὶ δὴ καὶ 'and especially of course'. p. 26, l. 18.

7. δὴ λγὸν...λέγειν 'that it matters nothing whether they talked much or little'.

9. αὐτόπτης 'an eye-witness'. Aristides had seen and understood the movement of the Persian ships as he was himself coming from Aegina.

CHAPTER LXXX.

16. ἔξ ἐμὸ 'by my instigation'. ὅτε 'since'.

18. παραστήσασθαι 'to bring them over to our view'.

21. ὡς οὐ ποιεύτων 'from a belief that the Barbarians are not so acting', p. 47, l. 14.

23. δὴ 'of course'.

25. εἰ πέρ 'if, as is no doubt the case'.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

27. παρέλθαν 'having come before the council'.

1. στρατόπεδον 'fleece' p. 22, l. 2.

2. παραμεθεσθαι = παρασκευάζεσθαι (l. 17) 'to make the preparations for battle', 'to clear the decks for action'. One of these preparations appears to have been to unship if practicable the great sails, that the ships might be as light and convenient as possible. [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 13.]

5. οὐκ ἐπεθεσθοῦσα τὰ ἐγγεγεινθέντα 'did not credit the news'.

The natural construction of πελθεσθαί is (1) with the dat. whether of person or thing, or (2) with acc. of thing dat. of person ταυτά σου πελθόμαι. But Herodotus has two varieties of construction besides the ordinary one (1) with gen. of person—πελθεσθαί ἐμὸ 1, 126; cp. 5, 29, 33; (2) as here with a neuter accusative, cp. 2, 12 τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτῶν ὥν καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν αὐτὰ πελθόμαι.
CHAPTER LXXXII.

10. ἐς τὸν τρίποδα. That is on the tripod dedicated at Delphi from the spoils taken in the following year at the battle of Plataea. It stood on a stand made of three twisted serpents, the three heads affording places for the three legs of the tripod; which stand still exists at Constantinople, whither it was taken by the Emperor Constantine. The inscription was on the stand, not on the tripod, and can still be deciphered. See 9, 81; Thucyd. i, 132.

12. τῇ Δημοκρίτῃ, see p. 6, l. 28.
13. ἐς τὰς ὁδόκοντα καὶ τριήκοσιάς. See above p. 24, l. 26 where the total (a wrong one according to the items) is given as 378.
15. κατέθευς impersonal ‘there were wanting two ships to complete the number’.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

17. παρεσκευάζοντο. See on l. 2.
18. ἢμες τε δὴ διέφανε καὶ οἱ...ποιημένοι ‘and as soon as day began to break they (the commanders) summoned a meeting of the armed marines, and Themistokles made the best speech of all’. For τε...καὶ expressing simultaneous see p. 3, l. 16. The plural ποιημένοι refers to all the commanders of whom Themistokles is one, and the construction, though halting, is intelligible: ‘having assembled the men (they made speeches), Themistokles best of them all’. For a participle not followed by a verb see p. 23, l. 1. And for ἐκ πάντων cf. i, 134 τιμῶν δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄχριστα ἐωτῶν οἴκωντας, ‘especially’. Aeschylus also [Pers. 387] represents the start of the Greek fleet as being at daybreak.
20, 21. τὸ δὲ ἐπει—ἀντιστῆμεν ‘and his expressions were all a contrasting of things base with things noble’.
21—3. δοσα δὴ...ἀφίκοι ‘and advised them, to use his own words (δὴ), in all that the nature and constitution of a man admitted of, to choose the nobler. The participle παραποτασ agreeing with Θεμιστοκλής takes the place of a verb. For κατάστασις cp. 2, 173 οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις. For δὴ introducing the words as the thought of another see p. 4, l. 12.
23. καταπλέξαι ‘having thus finished’, a metaphor apparently from weaving, ‘to wind up’, cp. 4, 205 ὅκεν ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ κατέπλεξε.
CHAPTER LXXXIV.

3. ἀναγόμενοι 'as they were in the act of leaving land'.

5. εἰπὶ πρόμην ἀνακρούνετο 'began to back water', the preposition is omitted in l. 16. ἀνακρούσθαι 'to push oneself backwards', i.e. to row backward; cp. 6, 115 εἰςανακρούσαμενοι. ἄκλλον 'were nearly running aground'.

6. ἔνανακτᾶσα 'having got clear off shore'.

8. σταυρί ἦ 'it was in these circumstances', p. 3, l. 24. Aeschylus (Pers. 411) says that the enemy's ship thus attacked was a Phoenikian, and we see in the next chapter that the Athenians were opposed by the Phoenikians.

12. λέγει. Notice the double construction after this word, first an indirect clause introduced by ὅτε, and then an ordinary acc. and infin. φανείσαν διακελεύσασθαι. This is another instance of idiomatic variety in two clauses essentially coordinate.

13. διακελεύσασθαι...φανείσαν 'encouraged them to go on after first uttering the following taunt', cp. 9, 5 διακελευσάμενη γνωτή γνωσκέι.

14. στρατόπεδον 'fleet', p. . 2, l. 2.

15. ἄλλαριονοι. This form of address seems to be meant to express surprise and some angry contempt, see 7, 48: but like other kindred expressions its meaning would doubtless be modified by the tone in which it was uttered.

μέχρι κόσον 'how far?', or 'how long?', see p. 2, l. 13.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

16. κατά 'opposite', see 9, 46 etc. ἐπαραχατό, App. D. 11. a.

18. τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσίνον...κάρας 'the wing towards Eleusis and the west', p. 45, l. 23. There does not seem however any appreciable difference between the meaning of πρὸς with the gen. here and
with the accus. in l. 19, 20. The same variation occurs elsewhere, see 4, 37 τὸ πρὸς Ἑστέρης...τὰ πρὸς Βορέην. See the remark on l. 12, and cp. ἔτι used with gen. and acc. in 9, 47. See above, p. 33, l. 19. Stein observes that ἐστερὴ and ἦὼς here stand for North-West and South-East.

20. ἠθελοκάκου, p. 12, l. 11.

22. συχνῶν οὐνόματα ‘the names of several’, i.e. Ionians.

27. ἐτυράννευσε ‘became absolute ruler of’.

45 1. καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων ‘on the appointment of the Persians’. In b.c. 492 Mardonios had been sent down to Asia Minor by Darius to supersede Artaphernes, and with instructions to put down the tyranni in the Ionian towns, which seems to have been a measure intended to conciliate Hellenic feeling to the Persian over-lordship [Her. 6, 43]. But such a measure was much at variance with the interests of the Persians and was not likely to have been long maintained, and indeed Herodotos indicates that it would seem incredible in his day.

2. ἐβεργέτης...τολῆ ‘was entered in the records as a “benefactor” of the king and a large quantity of land was given him’. The custom of keeping a record of such as had done good service to the king is referred to in Esther c. vi. ‘On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king. And it was found written, that Mordecai had told of Bighdana and Teresh...who sought to lay hold on the king Ahasuerus’. The word ἐβεργέτης by which Herodotus here translates the Persian title was well known in Greek polity, and was bestowed by states on leading men in other states in return for good services received. See Thucyd. 1, 129, 2 where Xerxes tells Themistokles κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ὁλῷ ἐλεῖαλ ἀνάγραφος. Cp. id. 1, 137, 7. And for the practice among the Greeks of giving this title accompanied by fixed privileges see Xen. Vect. 3, 11; Demosth. Lept. 466; Fals. Leg. 446. Sometimes the title and certain privileges were given to all the citizens of a state, as to the Syracusans by the people of Antandros [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 26].

3. ὀροόσγεγ. ‘This word is interpreted by Photios and Hesychios as σωματοφύλακες βασιλέως “body-guards of the king”, and in this sense is used by Sophocles fr. 185’. Stein. Persian scholars seem divided as to its derivation.
CHAPTER LXXXVI.

6. ἐκεραίζετο ‘were entirely demolished’, used here and in c. 91 to indicate the breaking up of the ships by the charges of the enemy. Elsewhere Herodotos uses it of plundering a town or destroying persons or things, 1, 88 κ. ἀστυ. 7, 125 οἱ λέοντες τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραίζουν μούνας. [It is from the Rt. κερ, from which we have had κειρω p. 32, l. 15.]


8. κατὰ τάξιν ‘in regular order of naval war’. Cobet would omit these words as being merely equivalent to σὺν κόσμῳ. But the two clauses balance; σὺν κόσμῳ is opposite to οὐ τεταγμένων, κατὰ τάξιν to οὖτε σὺν νόθῃ.

10. ἐμελλέ. p. 2, l. 3.

11. ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγένετο, ‘were and showed themselves to be’.

12. ἀμελνοντες ἑωντῶν ἢ ‘their valour was even greater than at Euboea’, i.e. at Artemisium. The phrase ἀμελνοντες ἑωντῶν is regarded as making one comparative adjective. Cp. 2, 25 ὁ Νεῖλος ἑωντοι μέει πολλῷ ὑποδέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος.

Πώς τις προθυμοῦμενος. For the singular participle clause after plural verb cp. the construction of quisque: and for the converse see p. 43, l. 9.

13. δεμαλίσας Εὔβηθν. Cp. p. 8, l. 15. For ἔδοκε τι following participial clause cp. p. 75, l. 11.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

15. κατὰ ‘in regard to’, p. 43, l. 25.

16. μεταξέτεροι. See on p. 5, l. 8.

18. μᾶλλον ἐτ. p. 36, l. 20.

23. πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ‘on the side nearest the enemy’. See p. 44, l. 18; p. 66, l. 16.

25. συνήνεικε ‘turned out successful’. Cp. 9, 37 οὐ μέντοι ἐσ ἡ τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχοσ τὸ ἐσ Λακεδαιμονίου.

26. φέροντα ‘full till’, cp. Αἰσχ. in CTes. § 82 εἰς τοῦτο φέρων περιέστησε τὰ πράγματα ‘in his violent haste’.

29. έτ...ἐλόντων ‘while they (Artemisia and the king) were in the vicinity of the Hellespont’. ηπειλ with acc. cp. p. 15, l. 19.

1. ἐκ προνοίας ‘on purpose’, ‘of malice aforethought’, opposed 48 to κατὰ τάχη, cp. 3, 121.

H. VIII.
NOTES ON LXXXVII

8. αὐτοίς, sc. the Greeks, as is implied by the subject τριήραρχος, a Greek trierarch. This pursuing trierarch is said in c. 93 to have been Ameinius of Pallene.

9. πρὸς ἄλλας ἑταράτης ‘turned his attention to attacking other ships’. p. 10, l. 22.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

9, 10. τούτο μὲν...τούτο δὲ ‘in the first place’...‘in the second place’, p. 40, l. 6.

συνήνεικα ‘happened fortunately’, p. 45, l. 25.

13, 14. θεώμανον ‘surveying the battle’. See p. 47, l. 28 sq. kal δὴ ‘and thereupon’.

17, 18. φάναι ‘said yes’. τὸ έπισημον ‘her ensign’, that is the design on her ship’s prow. Such a design is mentioned in 3, 59 where certain ships are said to have had the figure of wild boars on their prows. The position of this figurehead would make it plain to a spectator from shore, but it would not be seen by the Athenian captain pursuing.


21. καὶ τὸ...κατῆγορον γενέθαι ‘and the fact that no one was saved from the Calyndian vessel to be her accuser’.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

26. πόνψ ‘engagement’.

26—8. ἀπὸ μὲν έθανε...ἀπὸ δὲ sc. έθανον, cp. p. 17, l. 24; p. 34, l. 23.

47 2. καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι ‘and if they did not perish in actual fighting’. Cf. 9, 48 ἐσ χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι. For μὴ with participle in conditional sense cp. 7, 101 οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι εἰς ἐρείπων προσμεῖται μὴ ἑντες ἀρχαίοι.

3. διέκνου, see on p. 5, l. 3, 4.

6. ἐνθαῦτα ‘it was at that point’.

CHAPTER XC.


14. ἐς προδότων ‘on the ground that they (the Ionians) had played traitors’. For the change of case cp. p. 36, l. 16.

18. κατεθάνετο ‘became water-logged’. That this does not mean entirely sunk is shown by the passage immediately following, and by
Thucyd. i, 50, οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη ὑπὸ εἶλκου ἀναδομένοι τῶν μεῶν ἰς καταδύσειν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβεῖν ἐτράποντο, 'The Corinthians did not set to work to tow off the hulls of such vessels as they had disabled (water-logged), but turned to slaughtering the men'.

19. ἐπιφερομένη 'charging'. See on p. 31, l. 2.

23. ἔρρύσαι sufficed to save the Ionians from the danger in which they stood from the accusation of the Phoenicians.

28. ἵνα...διαβάλλων dramatic subj. after a past tense in the main clause, 'that they may not (he said) after playing the coward themselves slander men better than themselves'. See p. 40, l. 17.

2. κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ 'sitting under the crest of the hill opposite Salamis which is called Aegaleos'. Rawlinson from a personal survey believes that he discovered the exact position of Xerxes' seat on a small eminence beneath the N.W. extremity of Aegaleos (Scaramagna), which commands a view of the narrowest part of the bay. Aeschylus (Persae 464) says that Xerxes was 'on a high hill near the beach, which commanded a view of the whole fleet'. And Plutarch (Them. 13) describes it as being 'above the Heracleum, where the channel is narrowest'.

3. ἀνενυθάντες 'he always asked the name of the man who did it'.

4. ἀνέγραφον 'entered it in the book'. See on p. 45, l. 2. And for the γραμματισταῖ 'king's secretaries' thus accompanying the king, see the account of the review of the army at the mouth of the Strymon, 7,100, διεξελεῖσθαι ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἔκαστον ἐπυπάθαι, καὶ ἀνέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταῖ.

πατρόθεν 'with the name of his father'. Cp. Xen. Oecon. 7, 3 ὁμοίας ὑπὸ Ἡσιόμαχον πατρόθεν προσκαλοῦνται.

5, 6. πρὸς δὲ τῷ καὶ προσεβάλετο...πάθεσι 'and what contributed also something to the punishment of the Phoenicians was the fact that Ariaramnes a Persian was there who was on friendly terms with the Ionians'. Cp. Thucyd. 3, 36, καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήκερον οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τής ὀρμῆς αὐτὸς Πελοποννησίων ἔρισε ἔν 'Ἰωνίαν ἑκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμῆσαι παρακυνδυνεύσαι. 'And what contributed more than anything to their passionate determination was the fact that the Peloponnesian ships had ventured boldly into Ionia to assist these men'.
CHAPTER XCII.

10. ὡποστάντες 'having thrown themselves in their way'. The Aeginetan ships were in the position of a reserve; but there is no need to translate here 'laid in wait for them', as if they had intentionally concealed themselves.

ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ seems to mean the narrowest point, that namely, between Psyttaleia and the Attic coast which is less than 4000 feet. Plut. Arist. c. 9.

12. ἐκεραίζον 'kept destroying', see p. 45, l. 6.


15. φερόμενοι ἐστίναιτον 'as they were running at full speed they fell in with the Aeginetans'. Notice the masculine participle referring to the crews instead of the ships. p. 45, l. 26. For the meaning of φερόμενοι indicating rapidity, cf. Aesch. in Ctes. 89 πάλιν ἢκε φερόμενος εἷς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φῶς. For ἐστίναιτον cp. 7, 210.

CHAPTER XCII.

16. συνεκόρυφον 'came alongside each other'.


20. κατακοπήντα 'cut to pieces'. He fought so determinedly that he was 'almost hacked to pieces' (κατεκρεουργήθη ἄρας, 7, 181), and yet was not killed.

22. τὸν δὴ...Σεδωνίνη 'and it was with this man still on board that the Sidonian vessel was captured'.

23. σωθήναι εἴς 'escaped to Aegina', 'got safe back to' p. 65, l. 20.

25. τὸν...μηδισυμον 'he shouted out to Themistokles in taunting terms as to the charge of medizing which had been brought against the Aeginetans'. In B.C. 491 the Aeginetans had been charged with medizing because of their having given earth and water to the king, and Krios, father of this Polykritos, had been one of the persons in Aegina who had put himself forward to resist the consequent demand of hostages by Kleomenes. See 6, 50, 73. Polykritos now asks Themistokles ironically whether he thinks the Aeginetans still medize?

49. ἀπέρρυψε 'threw out tauntingly', cp. 6, 69 ἐκείνοις τοῦτο ἀπέρρυψε ὑπὸ ἔκτο. 1, 153; 7, 13.

3. ὑπὸ τὸν πέλον στρατόν 'under cover of the land force', cp.
CHAPTER XCIII.

4. ἥκουσαν...ἄριστα 'gained the best renown', cp. 6, 86; 9, 79.
5. ἐτί δὲ 'but next to them'.
8. δὲς καλ...ἐπεθλώξε 'who, among other things, was the man who chased Artemisia', p. 45, l. 21. In mentioning the high credit gained by these men Herodotos cannot be referring to the formal ἀριστεία, which was a subject of vote afterwards, see c. 123. Yet Diodorus (11, 27) says that it was assigned to Aeminias.
10. ἢ καλ. The second of two alternative or conditional clauses is frequently accompanied by καλ. See p. 27, l. 18; p. 53, l. 17; 1, 19; 3, 33; 9, 5 etc.
11. πρὸς δὲ 'and besides', p. 16, l. 8; p. 48, l. 5.
12. ἔκειντο 'was publicly offered'. μὺραι δραχμαί about £400.
13. διιηὺ...ἐποιύντο 'they were indignant', p. 8, l. 13.
14. ἢ η sums up and dismisses the subject, cp. on 6, 52.

CHAPTER XCIV.

18. αὐτίκα κατ' ἄρχας 'at the very beginning of the battle'.
19. τὰ ἱστία δειράμενον 'having spread his sails'. The sails were furled for action, during which only the oars would be used; in fact the greater sails were if possible put ashore. See 6, 13.
22. τῆς Σαλαμινῆς sc. γῆς, topographical genitive 'in Salamis', p. 7, l. 20; p. 20, l. 27. γίνεσθαι see note p. 50, l. 2.
24. θείη πομπὴ 'by the guidance of Providence'.

τὸν relative. οὔτε...οὔτε These negatives are used instead of the simple οδ to mark the logical antithesis between the sender and the recipient, and yet the clauses are not grammatically co-ordinate. The first οὔτε qualifies strictly φανηκαί, the second belongs to εἴδοσι 'but there was no appearance of anyone having sent it, nor were the Korinthians to whom it came acquainted at all with what had happened to those actually engaged'. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγῆς 'of the state of affairs in the army',—a common way to speak of something distant, from which news must come to the speaker, cf. Aeschy. Agam. 531 κηρύξε Ἀχαιῶν, χαίρε, τῶν ἀπὸ στρατω. Eur. I. T. 540 τίς εἶ θυθ'; ὡς εἴ πυρὸνει ταφ' Ἑλλάδος.
NOTES ON

2. ὡς...γενόσθαι 'for when it got near'. The infinitive is often kept even in subordinate clauses of oratio obliqua. So above p. 49, l. 22: cp. 9, 41. See Clyde § 97. It is not confined to conjunctions of time or relative pronouns. In 9, 41 it is used after ἔσθα, in Thucyd. 4, 98, 4 after el, and in Xen. Cyrop. 1, 6, 18 after ἐς. See also Thucyd. 1, 92, 5; and note on Aeschines in Ctes. § 96. Goodwin M. and T. § 92, note 3.

3. τοὺς δὲ τὸ 'those on board the boat', see p. 49 l. 24.

5. καὶ δὴ 'already'. Cp. 9, 6 καὶ δὴ ἐν Ποιωτη ἐλέγετο εἶναι.

7. τάδε 'as follows'.

8—9. ὡς αὐτοῖ...αἰ...Ελληνες 'that the Corinthians might take them (the speakers) as hostages and put them to death if the Greeks should not turn out to be in the midst of victory'. For ἄγοσθαι in this sense see 6, 73, 85.

9. ἢν μὴ...φαίνονται. A subjunctive clause is dramatically used instead of the optative in oratio obliqua, as being the very words employed by the speakers oloth τε εἶμεν...ἢν μὴ φαίνονται.

οὕτω δὴ 'it was in these circumstances', i.e. after hearing these words. See on 6, 36.

11. ἐν εἰργασμένοις 'when all was over', i.e. when the battle was finished. Cp. 9, 77 αὔτικα μετὰ ταύτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντίνες ἐπ' εἰργασμένοις.

τοῦτος...φάτις ἡμῖν 'are credited with conduct of this kind', cp. the converse phrase with a similar meaning 9, 84 ἡμῖν τινὰ φάτιν...ἀνήρ 'Εφέσιος θάψα εἰργασμόν 'is credited by some'. Thus λόγος ἡμῖν τινὰ or ἡμῖν τινὰ λόγον, and αὐτήν τινὰ ἡμῖν, or αὐτήν ἡμῖν τινὰ λόγον in the same chapter 5, 70.

15. μαρτυρεῖ...Ἐλλάς. The epigram of Simonides is quoted in all editions in illustration of this statement (fr. 100):

οὗ ἐκεῖνον εὐνοῦρον ποτ' ἐναλομεν ἀστυ Κορίθουν·

νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Ἀλκηστος νάδος ἑχει Σᾶλαμοι·

ῥεῖα δὲ φωνίσσας νήσας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες

καὶ Μήδους λεπάν 'Ἐλλάδα μυσάμεθα.

And also an epitaph of the same poet (fr. 103) on Adeimantos:

οὗτος 'Αδειμάντου κεῖνον τάφος, οὗ διὰ βουλᾶς

'Ἐλλάς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθεθο στέφανον.

The enmity between Athens and Korinth which existed from B.C. 460 to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, and the efforts
made by the Korinthians to form a counterpoise to the growing naval power of Athens by an alliance with Epidaurus, would account for the attempt on the part of Athenian patriots to decry the services of the Korinthians at the time of the Persian invasion, and would explain the ease with which anything to their discredit would be believed at Athens and communicated to Herodotos. [Thucyd. i, 103—106.] Adeimantos is represented throughout as backward in the war, and as hostile to Themistokles, cf. 5, 59, 61. Plutarch accuses Herodotos of being influenced by a bribe from Athens; and Dion Chrysostom has a story that he asked for pay at Korinth and was refused.

CHAPTER XCV.

17. τοῦ καλ...έπειμησθην, see c. 79. ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἄριστου 'as a man of the highest character', including of course 'courage'; but Herodotos had no occasion in the previous mention of him to say anything of his prowess in the fight.

18. θορύβω, p. 47, l. 11.

20. παρατετάχατο, App. D. ii. a. They had been stationed on board ships along the coast of Psyttaeleia to prevent the Persian troops there [c. 76] from giving help to their comrades in difficulties. Aesch. Pers. 454.

22. ἀπίβησεν ἄγων 'took them with him and disembarked them'.

23. τῇ νησίδι: See p. 40, l. 5.

CHAPTER XCVI.

25. κατερύσαντες 'having dragged on shore'.

27. ταύτῃ 'in that direction', 'in that part of the bay'; for many of the ships were wrecked while trying to escape along the Attic coast towards Phalerum; and many more were drifted away by the W. wind mentioned in the next sentence.

3. τῆς Ἀττικῆς the topographical genitive, see p. 49, l. 22.

4. Κωλίαδα the Kolian beach was 20 stades (about 2½ miles) from Phalerum. Pausan. i, 1, 5. Col. Leake identified it with the point called now the 'Three towers' (τρεῖς πύργοι) and Stein accepts this without comment; but recent authorities have decided upon a point more S.E. Cape St Kosmas.
9. Δυσομήτητος dat. of agent after perfect pass. so Βάκιδι and Μουσαλή above. G. § 188. p. 62, l. 16.

11. φρέξωτες 'shall roast', the women are to use the driftwood from the wrecks, oars, spars and other fragments for firewood. The mss. have φρέξωτες 'shall shudder at'; and some have explained that there is an intentional ambiguity between the two words. The simple meaning is quite forcible enough.

12. άπελάσαντος βασιλέως 'after the king had marched away', i.e. when the inhabitants returned in the autumn of 480 after the Persian army had evacuated Attica.

ἐμέλλε ισεσθαι 'was destined to be'. Cp. p. 2, l. 2.

CHAPTER XCVII.

14—17. μη ἐπιθέται...κυνθεύτητας. For the subjunctive in a clause depending on a verb in a secondary tense (δελεσ...ἐβούλευν) see Goodw. M. and T. p. 80, 1. Cp. on p. 4, l. 10; p. 40, l. 17.

17. κυνθεύτητας 'lest he should be in danger'. For the change of subject of two verbs grammatically co-ordinate, see 6, 30. ἐβούλευν 'he began to think over'.

19. ἔπαιρετο 'he pretended to be proceeding with his attempt', 'he went on with it'.

20. διαχώνυ 'to make a causeway across'. This distance was nearly a mile at the narrowest part, where a service of ferry boats was afterwards established under strict supervision. See Aesch. in Ctes. § 158. The object of the causeway would be to enable the Persian land army to cross to Salamis and take the Athenian refugees prisoners, without fear of the terrible fleet by which theirs had just been conquered. Rawlinson notices that Alexander took the Island of Tyre by a similar construction, but there the distance was only half and the depth of water much less. Ktesias (Pers. 26) and Strabo (9, 1, 13) assign the formation of this plan and the beginning of the embankment to a period before the battle, as the various editors point out; but the words of Herodotus do not preclude this,—nay rather confirm it; the imperfect ἐπιράτω means 'he went on trying', as though nothing had happened.

γαλούν of Phenicikian transport vessels see 3, 136; 6, 17. The line of ships lashed together was independent of the χούν and meant to protect the men working at it, as well as to give a passage
to men crossing; and this may very well have been begun after the battle.

21. ἀρέστο, cp. 5, 120 οἱ δὲ αὖτις πολεμεέων ἀρέστο.  
23. εὖ ἡμιστέατο 'were fully persuaded'. See p. 3, l. 21.  
24. ἄσ...παρεσκεβασθαι 'that he was fully determined and prepared'. The perfect is used dramatically for the pluperfect. Xerxes would have said παρεσκεβασμα. For the future infinitive after a verb expressing intention, cp. the construction of μέλλω, p. 79, l. 12. ἐκ παντὸς νόου 'in real earnest'.

26. ἐμπνευστὸν...διανοής 'acquainted with his character'. διανοά opp. to the πανδηλια and λόγος of a statesman in Aesch. in Ctes. § 170. ἄμα...καὶ, cp. 4, 150 ἄμα τε ἔλεγε ταύτα καὶ ἐξελκνεῖ ἐς τὸν Βάττον: and 3, 65; 4, 67. (Abicht.)

27. ἔπεμπε ἡ Πέρσας i.e. to Susa, see p. 27, l. 12.

CHAPTER XC VIII.

2. ἃ τι παραγίγνεται 'which arrives at the destination', so 6, 95 52 παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἑπαγωγαλ νέες.  

θυμήτων ἐν 'I mean anything less than divine'. Herodotos uses θυμήτων as equivalent to ἱδὼν in 2, 68 πάντων τῶν ἱδεμν θυμήτων τοῦτο ἐξ ελαχίστον μέγιστον γίνεται (of the crocodile); 1, 216 πάντων τῶν θυμήτων τὸ τάχιστον (the horse). And Xenophon (Cyrop. 8, 6, 18) says of these ἄγγαρηι that some people declared that they went faster than cranes, but that at any rate they went faster than anything human on land (ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῶ). οὕτω without conjunction, see 6, 15, 21.

3. δινων...δοδε that is, as Xenophon explains, a day's journey of a horse. The American pony posts are made with shorter relays.

5. διεστάθη 'are posted at intervals'.

7. μη οὐ generally after a verb containing a negative idea, which is itself negativized, cp. 6, 88; 9, 18; G. § 283, 6—7 and § 263 note, cp. p. 28, l. 20; but also following any negativated verb, see p. 69, l. 7. τὸν προκείμενον 'the distance allotted to him'.

10. τὸ δὲ ἐνθέτων 'and thenceforth', cp. 9, 11.

11. κατά περ...λαμπαδηφορί. On the torch races see note on 6, 105, where they are mentioned as being used in the worship of Pan. Of the two kinds of torch racing the Persian courier-post is comparable to that in which the contest was between two or more lines of men stationed at intervals, each man carrying the
torch to the man in front of him,—and especially to those races which, as was sometimes the case, were run on horseback.

13. ἀγαρῆον n. ‘an express’. Rawlinson mentions two derivations of the word,—ἀγάρε ‘an account book’, and so ‘registered’; and ἥρκαρε ‘a common drudge’ or ‘workman’. The verb ἄγαρεσαι ‘to requisition’ is well-known from its use in St Matt. 5, 41; 27, 32 etc., cp. Esther 8, 10 ‘he...sent letters by posts on horseback.’

CHAPTER XCIX.

15. οὗτω δή τι. The δή has a certain sense of irony, ‘to such a strange degree!’, as though Herodotos were thinking of the groundlessness of their rejoicing.

16. ὡς for ὡστε.

μυρόλυπο...ἐστάφεσαν. For this custom of expressing gladness in connexion with religious rites see 7, 54. The scene on the entry of our Lord into Jerusalem will of course occur to our minds.

17. ἥψιςθαι ἑψιμήματα ‘and were burning incense’. ἑψιμήματα here has a cognate accusative. It is used with other words which indicate something used in the same way as incense. See 3, 107; 4, 75; 6, 97.

καὶ αὐτὸν...ἐπαθελησεν ‘and were universally engaging in sacrifices and feastings’. The αὐτὸν emphasises the distinction between the people at large and the special class who would conduct the religious services. For ἐν θυσίῃ κ.τ.λ. cp. 3, 27 ἧσαν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. 1, 24 ἠδών...τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἑπαθελησεν ἑώρασι.

19. εἰσεβελθοῦσα ‘which arrived on the heels of the first’.

συνέχει οὗτω ‘threw them into such consternation’. Cp. 7, 142 συνεχέοντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν φαμέων. It is more common in poetry.

τοῦς κιθάρας καταρρήξαντο. This sign of mourning, rendered familiar to us by the writers of the Old and New Testament, was common to all Eastern peoples. Thus Aeschyllos describes Xerxes as watching the fight at Salamis,—ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κάνακωκάσας λύγο (Pers. 470). Herodotos uses a very strong expression ‘they tore their inner garments to pieces’. Cp. 3, 66 τὰς ἐσθήτας ἐχόμενα ἑξέχων, ταῦτα κατηρήκοντο.

CHAPTER C.

1. συμπορήν...πολεμεῖον 'much distressed in consequence of the sea-fight'. Cp. 9, 77.

3—5. ὃς διώσι...καὶ οἱ κρίσον εἶπ. The future indicative is used in preference to the future optative, but in the second clause the ordinary optative of the oratio obliqua is used. The change of mood is perhaps only another instance of the taste for variety evidenced in the use of subj. and optative in final clauses [see on 9, 51]. But notice that here and at p. 56, l. 24—5, as well as in 9, 69 (ἀγγέλλεται...ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικήσαν ὁ μετὰ Παναστ. view) the time of the action is different. In p. 61, l. 3 the infinitive is used by a similar variation, and in ll. 4 and 5 of the same page the indicative and optative. Abich says that the optative 'gives the thought a more subjective colouring'; but in the instances before us, as in p. 56, l. 24, the reverse seems to be the case.

4. ἀναγνώσας 'for having overpersuaded', p. 28, l. 23; p. 80, l. 12: referring to his speech given in 8, 9.

5. ἀνακινδυνεύσας 'to stake everything again on the risk', see p. 35, l. 14; 9, 26. ἀνακινδυνεύσας is constructed with a participle in 9, 26, 41; but κινδυνεύσας is followed by an infinitive in p. 51, l. 17; p. 33, l. 7. See note on 6, 9. Cp. the double construction of πειρᾶσθαι.

7. ὑπὸ μεγάλων αἰωρὶάτων 'having played for high stakes', 'endangered himself for great objects'. Cp. Thucyd. 7, 77, 2 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς φανερότατοι αἰωρηθαί.

πλέον...ἐφέρε 'his opinion inclined more to'. Cp. 5, 118 τοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρός ἡ γνώμη ἐφέρε...συμβάλλειν. 6, 110 τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἐφέρε συμβάλλειν.

9. προσέφερε 'he propounded the following proposal'. Cp. 5, 40 προσέφερον αὐτῷ τάδε. Cp. 3, 74, 134; 5, 30.

12. ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων 'the decisive contest'. Cp. p. 31, l. 15 τὸ πᾶν τοῦ πολέμου.

15. πειράσται ἀντιωθήσεται 'will make the experiment of facing you'. πειράσται is constructed by Herodotos both with participle and infinitive: with the former it generally refers to an attempt actually made, see 6, 5, 50; 9, 26, 53; with the latter to a future possibility, cp. 6, 138. Yet in 6, 9 τοὺς ἑωνυτὸν ἔκαστος ὑμέων
NOTES ON

πολλατας πεφάσων ἀποσχίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ this distinction appears to be neglected. There is the same indefiniteness in our use of ‘to try’. The two phrases ‘I will try swimming’, and, ‘I will try to swim’, may sometimes approach each other so nearly as to be hardly distinguishable.

17. τῶν ‘then’, ‘accordingly’.
περικεφαλής Πελοποννήσου ‘let us make an attempt on’. In this sense περαν is used in 6, 82. The middle is elsewhere used with persons. See i, 76; 2, 163; 7, 125; 9, 46.

18. ἕι δὲ καὶ ‘and if also on the other hand’. For this use of καὶ with an alternative clause cp. p. 49, l. 10; 9, 91 εἴρητο εἴτε κληδόνος ἐνεκεν...ἐίτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην...

παρέχει impersonal = πάρεστι, cp. p. 5, l. 1; p. 16, l. 18.

20. "Ελληνις...δούλους ‘for the Greeks there can be no escape from becoming your slaves, after having given account for what they have done now and on former occasions’. οὐδεμια ἐκδυσε... 
...μή οὐ...ἐσαι. After an expression implying difficulty or impossibility μή οὐ is pretty frequently found with the infinitive, and οὐδεμια ἐκδυσε = ἄδυνατον ἐστιν ἐκδύω. Cp. i, 187 δεινὸν ἔδικε

21. πρότερον. Though the reference is to the Peloponnesians primarily, yet we may understand various events in previous Persian expeditions, such as the battle of Marathon, to be included. But the special reference is rather to the treatment of the Persian envoys at Sparta (7, 133).

22. εἰ Σ' ἄρα quodsi forte, see p. 59, l. 28.

24. καὶ εἰ τῶν 'in this case also', 'in these circumstances'. Cp. Dem. de Cor. § 256 εἰ τῶν ἐντόνων 'in the existing circumstances'. p. 26, l. 22.

25. καταγελάστοις sc. by causing them to give up the attempt to subjugate Greece.

26. ἐν τούτων Πέρσης 'as far as the Persians are concerned'.
οὐδὲν...πρηγμάτων 'it is not by the fault of the Persians that
any of your affairs have been brought to confusion'. There is a parallel use of εν in Eurip. Hippol. 324 εν σοι λεσθήσομαι 'it will be your fault if I fail'. Soph. Aj. 510 εν σοι πᾶσα εγγέω σώζομαι 'my salvation depends wholly on you'.

27. δικοῦ 'in what respect', 'at what point'.

28. Φοινικεσ...Αλγυπτοι...Κύπροι...Κλακεσ without definite article, 'mere Phoenicians, Egyptians etc.' Cp. 9, 28 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἀξιοικετέρους εἶναι ἵππην τὸ κέρας Ἡπείρον Ἀρκάδας.

30. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος 'this defeat', p. 51, l. 13. So τὸ τρῶμα 6, 132. ἡθῆ δὲ introduces a necessary consequence of what has been said before, as in 6, 53.

1. ἡθεία 'home'. Cp. 1, 15, 157; 4, 80; 5, 14.

2. δὲ δὲ emphatic and opp. to σὸ μὲν, 'but on me should fall the duty'.

CHAPTER CI.

5. ὡς ἐκ κακῶν a joy great in proportion to the distress which it followed, lit. 'considering that it was after misery'. Cp. Thucyd. 7, 42, 2 τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐκ κακῶν, ρώμη τίς εγεγένητο. ἐκ 'after', cp. Eurip. Hipp. 109 ἐκ κυναγίας 'after hunting'.

6. βουλευσάμενος goes with ἐποκρινόμενος 'he said that he would answer, after consideration, which of these two courses he would adopt'. The future indicative ποιήσει retained in oblique narration dramatically, by a very common idiom.

7. ὡς...βουλεύετο 'while he was consulting'.

8. ἐπικλήτοις 'those summoned to council', 9, 42.

10. πρότερον, see c. 68.

11. μεταστηθάμενος 'having caused to withdraw'. The middle, because (1) the action is done by the agency of others, cf. 6, 46 ναυπηγεία, ib. 48 πολέμεθα, and (2) because the action affects the subject, cp. 1, 8 [Κύρος] μεταστηθάμενος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐστεροὶ Κροίσον...

15. μετάλλος 'involved in a share of the blame for any disaster'.

16. βουλομένους σφι γένοιτ' ἄν 'they will be glad to have'.

ἀπόθεσις 'an opportunity of shewing it', i.e. that they were not to blame for the disaster.

21—23. καὶ...νῦν τε, in the former clause περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας, serving as a kind of date, is opposed to νῦν.
23. οὐκ ἐῶσα ποιέσθαι 'advising against my allowing it be fought'. For ποιέσθαι see note above l. 11.

24. εὐτύχω εὗ βουλευσάμενος 'I may succeed in taking the right decision'. 9, 12 τύχανε εὗ βουλευόμενος. Εὐτύχω is a deliberative subjunctive. Cp. p. 55, l. 16.

CHAPTER CII.

25. συνεβουλεύετο 'consulted her', notice the middle contrasted with συνεβούλευσας above l. 22. So συμβουλευομένη 'to one who consults me'.

27. ἐπὶ...πρῆμασι 'seeing, however, that matters have come to this pass', 'in the circumstances which have arisen'. Cp. p. 10, l. 15.

55 2. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ. See p. 40, l. 5.

4. τὰ νοέων λέγα 'what he speaks of as in his mind', lit. 'designing which he speaks'.

σὸν τὸ ἐργον 'the credit of the achievement is yours'. For this use of ἐργον cp. 6, 29 τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐργον τῆς ἑπταυ τοῦτο ἐγένετο. 9, 10 δικώ' εαυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἐργον καὶ μὴ Δακεδαμονίων.

8. έκεῖνον τῶν πρηγμάτων sc. περιεόντων 'while that empire which you have in Asia remains'. Stein joins περὶ οἶκον τῶν σοὶ to συμφορη, but the next sentence seems rather to point to its belonging to πρηγμάτων, 'there will be no great disaster as long as you and the power you possess in your native country survive' i.e. in Asia as opposed to Europe. περὶ is not local, but the έκεῖνον practically justifies the translation given. Baehr 'te quidem salvo salvisque tuae domus rebus'. The king's house and the kingdom are identical, l'état c'est moi. For the sense of πρῆματα 'power' or 'empire' cp. 6, 13 τὰ βασιλείας πρῆματα. ib. 39 καταλαμψάμενος τὰ πρῆματα. Abicht brackets περὶ οἶκον τῶν σοῦ.

10. ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν 'will at many times and in many ways find themselves in danger'. A metaphor from the race-course. Cp. p. 38, l. 26. 9, 37 ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. 7, 58 περὶ ένιου δραμεῖν.

11. ἢν τι πάθη i.e. 'if he is defeated and killed', a common euphemism.

λόγος 'account'. Cp. 4, 135 τῶν ἢν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος.
9, 70 οὖτοι ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο. Ib. 80 ἐσθῆτος ποικίλης λόγος ἵνα ὁ δὲ εἰς. See p. 6, l. 13.
14. τυράσσας, see c. 53. For his purpose see 7, 8, 2 μελλω ζεύγας τῶν Ἑλλήσαρτον ἐλαν στρατῶν δια τῆς Ἐωρώτης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναῖως τιμωρήσαμι.

CHAPTER CIII.

16. ἐπετύγχανε 'she succeeded in expressing exactly what he had in his own mind'. Cp. p. 54, l. 24.
18. δοκέων ἵμαθ, see p. 12, l. 14.
19. ταύτην μὲν corresponds to συνέπεμεν δὲ in c. 104. For this coupling of different parts of two clauses, cp. Aesch. in Ctes. 53 δοκεῖν μὲν ἄληθη λέγειν, ἀρχαία δὲ.
20. ἐς 'Εφεσον that they might be sent thence to Sardis and then up the country to Susa; for the road began from Ephesos, see p. 56, l. 9; 5, 54. νόθοι born of παλλακαλ.

CHAPTER CIV.

23. φερόμενον...οὐ τὰ δεύτερα sc. τὰ πρῶτα 'was the most influential of the eunuchs', or 'the highest in rank'. Cp. 7, 211 οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο 'they succeeded no better'. For the litotes cp. 1, 23 οὖδεν δεύτερος.
27. ἀμφὶ...πόλιος. The genitive of place after ἀμφὶ is very rare, if not unexampled.
28. τὰ χαλεπῶν 'a misfortune'. ἐντὸς χρόνου 'shortly', 'within a short time', opp. to ἐκὰς χρόνου, p. 83, l. 7.
1. πάγωνα, see 1, 175, where Herodotos says that it happened 58 three times. Stein and Abicht bracket the clause from οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες to 'Ερμύτιμος ἦν as an interpolation from the 1st book written by some scholar as an explanation on the margin, and thence taken into the text. It had long ago been condemned by Valknaer; but is defended by Baehr.
CHAPTER CV.

4. ἡ ἡ emphases μεγάλη like δὴ 'the very greatest ever known'. Cp. p. 57, l. 1.

6. τὴν ἠποκατοίκησα 'secured his livelihood' [Cobet would read κατεκτήσα, cp. p. 57, l. 1–2]. For ἀπὸ cp. 2, 36 κοινωνεῖος ἀπὸ τοῦτον τὴν ἠπόκ.

7. δῶρα...κτήσατο, the optative of repeated action, p. 26, l. 11; p. 48, l. 14.

8. εἰδώ τὸ παμπεριος 'that had reached their time of beauty', 'full-grown boys'. Cp. 1, 139 δοσὶ δὲ εἰδώ τὸ εἰδώντο εἰς κάλκα τῆς εἰς δ ο λος.

9. ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἑφεσον, that is, for export into Upper Asia: the road going through those places. See p. 55, l. 20.

11. πλατον...τῆς πάθης 'entire confidence'.


καὶ οὐ γάρ. The reason is given by anticipation. Cp. p. 57, l. 24; 9, 61, 87.

15. παρὰ βασιλεία to the king's palace at Susa.

CHAPTER CVI.

18. ὑπὲρ 'was engaged in starting'. ἐπὶ 'to attack'.

20. κατὰ δὴ τὰ πρήγμα, negotii nescio cujus causa, cp. the force of δὴ in δὴ ποτε, εἰ δὴ ποτε, ὅτι δὴ ποτε, ὅποϊ δὴ ποτε and the like. τὴν Χλιν νέονται 'which is inhabited by Chians'. See 1, 160. Note the absence of the definite article, cp. p. 53, l. 28.

24—26. ἧς...ποιήσει, for the variation of moods see p. 53, l. 3—5. In both cases the future indicative expresses a more certain result than would be conveyed by the optative.

26. ἠκάθη 'there' i.e. at Sardis. τοὺς ὀλεκταῖς 'his family', including wife, children and servants. Cp. p. 3, l. 2; p. 23, l. 9.

28. ἐπὶ 'accordingly,' 'as a natural result'. There is an ironic consciousness of the coming tragedy conveyed by the word.

29. πανοικίζῃ 'with his entire family', cp. 9, 109 τῇ δὲ κακῶς γάρ ἐδὲ πανοικίζῃ γενέσθαι.

περιλάβει 'got him into his hands'. Cp. 5, 23 ἐπεδὰν αὐτὸν περιλάβει.
HERODOTOS. VIII. 161

1. ἢδη μάλιστα...ἀνασκοπάτων. For the emphatic ἢδη see 57 on p. 56, l. 4. Thus we find it used to mark a climax, see 7, 35 ἢδη δὲ ἥκουσα 'and I have even heard'. Aeschines in Ctesiph. § 52 καὶ ταῦτα ἢδη τὰ περὶ Μειδιᾶν 'and, above all, there was the affair of Midias'.

4. ἔδοξες τε 'and you expected!'

7. ἔστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι 'that you may have no occasion to undervalue', 'to find fault with', or 'think insufficient'. The word is bitterly ironical. So μεμπτοῦ 'inadequate' Thucyd. 7, 15, 1 πέμψαμεν 'I spoke disparagingly of', id. 1, 143, 3. There is a similar ironical use of the verb in Xenophon Hell. 6, 2, 34 εἴ δὲ τις μὴ ἀκολουθῆσαι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν δίκην.

13. περιήλθε 'returned upon him', 'overtook him' as by a heaven-sent fate and vengeance which lay in wait for him; generally with the notion of 'outwitting', as in 3, 4 σοφή μὲν περιήλθε ὁ Φάνης. Sometimes it merely expresses a final result, 7, 88 εἰς φθίσον περιήλθε ἡ νοῦσος.

CHAPTER CVII.

17. διαλέγειν 'to select', the notion of comparison between the persons offered for selection is conveyed by δίδ. Cp. p. 62, l. 16.

18. ποιέων...πειρώμενον ὅμοια 'and to do his best to make his deeds tally with his professions'. Herodotos varies the construction of πειράσθαι with infinitive and participle (see p. 53, l. 15 compared with ἐπειράσθη κατὰ ὅμοια 6, 5); this is the third variation,—in which the word expressing 'the attempt' is put in the participle—'to make as far as trying was concerned'.

19. ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέρην 'during this day', i.e. of the fight. The battle had begun at daybreak. Aeschyl. Pers. 388.

τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς 'but in the course of the night', p. 37, l. 25; p. 40, l. 22.

21. ἐπήγον 'began to start their ships'.

22. οὕς ταχέως ἐξε ἐκατόσος 'as quickly as they each could', cp. 6, 116 ὡς ποδῶν ἐξευ. 9, 59 ὡς ποδῶν ἐκατόσος ἐξευ.

23. πορευθήσαι βασιλῆς 'for the king to go over on foot'. The purpose or epexegetical infinitive depending on διαφυλαξόμενος. Cp. § 265. Madv. § 148 Rem. 3.

H. VIII.
NOTES ON

24. γὰρ introducing the reason by anticipation, cp. p. 56, l. 14.

26. ἐπὶ πολλῶν 'for a long distance'. So ἐπὶ of extension of time 9, 62 χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν, p. 70, l. 18: of space 2, 32 νέμεται... 

τὴν πρὸς ἥδω χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλῶν.

27. ἐκομίζοντο 'they continued their voyage'.

CHAPTER CVIII.

58 2. κατὰ χώρην, cp. p. 38, l. 9.

3. περὶ Φάληρον, see c. 92 end.

7. διὰζαντες 'after chasing them', or, 'though they chased them'.

10. διά νῆσων 'from island to island', taking the island course instead of coasting along the shore of the mainland. In this technical sense the phrase is always without article, see 6, 95 παρὰ τε ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νῆσων τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖντο. 9, 3 ἀμα δὲ πύρσωσι διὰ νῆσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεία δηλώσεων κ.τ.λ.

11. ἐπὶ 'up to', p. 33, l. 19.

12. γνώμην ἐτίθετο 'gave an opinion'. The expression seems derived from the idea of actually depositing a voting pebble or tablet. Cp. 3, 81; 7, 82.

13. τοῦτ' ἂν. The ἂν is so placed to emphasise τοῦτο 'that this was the very worst thing they could do to Greece'.

16. ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγεν 'not to keep quiet', as we wish him to do. It is a litotes for ἐπιχειρεῖν τι (6, 20). Cp. 7, 11 τι ἦμεις ἡσυχίην ἄγομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν.

18. τὸ ὅπισω 'back home again', cp. 4, 134. The neuter article τὸ is frequently used in such adverbial phrases. Cp. τὸ ἐνθθευτερ, τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτο.

20. ἔργου ἐκομίσατο, cp. p. 6, l. 17.

22. ἡτοι...γε 'either, of course'.

25. οὐ μενέων. The infinitive in indirect discourse with ὅπως. See 9, 58; G. p. 308.

26. ἐσ ὡς εἶλα τιλ he shall have come'. Without ἂν, see on p. 12, l. 16.

27. ὡς belongs to τὸ ἐνθθευτερ and introduces a necessary
consequence, 'and so from that time forward'. Cp. p. 52, l. 10; ἡδη ᾧν p. 53, l. 30.

28. πορέσθαι...τὸν ἀγῶνα 'to take care that the fight is for his (the king's) territory'.

ἐχοντο 'they held to'.

CHAPTER CIX.

3. τοὺς γε πολλοὺς 'the main body at least' i.e. of the allies. 59
The Athenians were ready to follow his advice and commands.

5. μεταβαλών...Δῃναλοῦν 'turning from them to the Athenians'. The word is used intransitively meaning 'to change plans' or 'feelings'. Cp. 1, 65 μετέβαλον ἀδε ἐσ εὐνοή, ib. 66 μεταβαλόντες εὐνοήθησαν. 7, 170 μεταβαλόντας ἄπτε μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰτυγας. But the middle in 5, 75 of physical movement μεταβάλλοντο τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσαντο 'they faced round and marched off'.

6. 'ἐκπεφευγότων sc. τῶν βαρβάρων 'at their having escaped'.

7. ἐπὶ σφένυν αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι 'deliberating by themselves'.

Cf. 3, 155 ἐπ' ἐμεωντοί βαλλόμενοι. For ἐπί with gen. defining connexion with an object distinct from others cp. 9, 17 ἐπ' ἐωστὼν ἤσσαν and note.

9. πολλοῖς neuter 'many cases'.

10. ἐς ἀναγκαίην ὀπεληθέντας 'when brought to bay'.

12. ἀναλαμβάνων...κακότητα 'repair their former misfortune'.

Cp. 5, 141 τοῦτο τὸ τρόμων ἀνέπλαβον. For κακότητα cp. 6, 67 τοῦτο ἀρέσον...η μυρίης κακότητος η μυρίης εὐθαμονίης. The abstract word used for the concrete κακῶν.

13. εὐρήμα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν...ἀνασάμενοι 'we ourselves as well as Hellas have had an unexpected stroke of luck in having repelled so vast a cloud of men'. Grammatically ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα are in apposition with εὐρήμα 'we have been fortunate enough to save ourselves and Greece, a stroke of luck, by repelling'. Or we may regard εὐρήμα εὐρήκαμεν as a single compound verb governing an accusative 'we have fortunately managed'; cp. Aesch. in Ctes. 181 Μιλτιάδης μάχην τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας and other examples quoted by Madv. § 26, 6. For εὐρήμα see 7, 10; 7, 155 μετὰ τούτο τὸ εὐρήμα. Thucyd. 5, 46, 1 ἐκεῖνοι δὲ δυστυχοῦσιν οτι τάχιστα εὐρήμα εἶναι διακυνδυνεύσαι.
14. νέφος, cp. Polyb. 9, 37, 10 (of the threatened Roman invasion) λελήθασιν αυτούς ἐπιστασάμενοι τηλικοῦτο νέφος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας.

16. ἐφθάνησαν. The φόνος of the gods against everything too great or powerful is a doctrine frequently appearing in Herodotos. 1, 32 τὸ θείων πᾶν ἄν φόνοι περάν τε καὶ ταραχώδες. 3, 40 ἐπιστασάμενος τὸ θείον ὡς ἐστὶ φόνον. 7, 10 § 5 φίλης γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούει...οὐ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονεῖν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐσπέρα.

18. ἀτάσθαλον 'presumptuous', 'blindly impious'. The word is poetical. Cp. 7, 35 ἐνετέλεσε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγειν βάρβαρα ἔτι καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. 9, 18 μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιεῖν.

8ς τὰ ἡρα...ἀγάματα. The Persians burnt the Greek temples, says Herodotos, on the plea of revenge for the burning of the temple of Kybebe in Sardis in b.c. 500, see p. 77, l. 28 f.; 5, 102; 7, 8, 2. Aesch. Pers. 805

οἳ γὰρ μολὼνες 'Ελλάδι ὁ θείων βρέτη

ψυχικῇ συλάν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς.

βωμοὶ δ' ἄμυτοι, δαμόνων θ' ἱδρύματα

πρὸ χρόνον φόρδην ἐξανεστρατεύσεται βάθρων.

21. ἀπαντήσασθε, see 7, 35. The ἀπὸ is intensive, 'violently scourged'.

22. γὰρ anticipatory, cp. p. 57, l. 24. νῦν μὲν 'at this time of the year', answered by ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἐλαι in l. 26.

24. τῶν οἰκείων 'our families', see p. 56, l. 26. τοῖς 'let each man'. Cp. p. 65, l. 16; 6, 9 νῦν τοῖς ὑμέων ὡς τοιχάς φανήτω τῶν βασιλέως οἴκων. ἀναπλασάσθαι 'restore', 'rebuild'. στόρου ἀνακώς

ἐχέτω 'let him give his whole attention to sowing', cp. i, 24 ἀνακώς εἴχε τῶν πυρήμων.

25. παντελῶς ἀπελάσας 'as having entirely driven off the Persians', 'in the conviction that he has entirely driven off', i.e. as far as Attica was concerned, for the Persians were still in Greece.

26. ἐπὶ p. 33, l. 19.

27. ἀποθήκην sc. χάριτος 'a store of gratitude', 'with a view of securing for himself a claim on the gratitude of the Persians'. Cp. 6, 41 χάριτα μεγάλην καταθέσθαι. 7, 178 χάριν ἀδίκατον κατέθεντο, 9, 60, 78; Aeschin. in Ctes. § 42 πολλὴν χάριν καταθέμενοι.

30. τὰ περ ἅν καὶ ἐγένετο ‘just what in fact did actually happen’.

CHAPTER CX.

1. διέβαλλε ‘was using deceit’, or ‘was putting them off the scent’. Cp. 5, 107 λέγων ταύτα διέβαλλε. With an accusative 5, 50 διαβάλλων ἑκείνον ἦ. 9, 116 λέγων δὲ τοιάδε ζέρεια διεβάλετο. Arist. Thesm. 1214 διέβαλε μ’ ὡ γραῦς. See Thompson on Pheadr. 255 μὸ συμφωνήτων ἢ τινος ἄλλων διαβεβλημένος.

3. δεισογίμενος εἶναι σοφός, cp. p. 68, l. 1.

ἐφάνη ἕν ‘he had been proved to be’, i.e. by the result of his policy in regard to fighting the Persians at Salamis.

σοφός τε καὶ ἐβούλος. Cf. the estimate of Themistokles by Thucydides (1, 138) τῶν τε παραχρήμα δε’ ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γεγομένου ἄριστος εκάστης. σοφός is especially applicable to natural ability or genius.

6. ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε according to Plutarch (Them. c. 16) he sent Arnaces one of the king’s eunuchs who had been a prisoner of war. πλοῖον ‘a transport’, opp. to a ναῦς μακρὰ or τρηθός.

7. ἵν πάσαν βάσανον ἀπικνομένοι ‘no matter to what torture they might be put’. Spies and traitors when caught were put to the rack. See Demosth. de Cor. § 133.

9. ἀνέτις, see p. 39, l. 17.


18. κομίζει ‘proceed on your journey’, p. 11, l. 19; p. 57, l. 27.

CHAPTER CXI.

20. σφι ἀπέδοξε ‘they had decided against pursuing’. The negative ἀπέδοξε is followed by μη, as words containing negative ideas often are, though this μη cannot be translated in English. Goodw. § 283, 6. Cp. 1, 152 ἀπέδοξε σφι μη τιμωρέων ‘Iwei.
22. λύονται, the accusative after ἐδοκέω σφι is caused by the influence of the infinitive. See 6, 22 ἐδόκεε δὲ...βουλευομένως...ἐς ἄποικην ἐπιλέεν μὴδὲ μένοντας Μήδους δουλεύειν. p. 53, l. 20.


24. αἰτηθήντες...χρήματα. These demands upon the islanders for money Themistokles no doubt regarded as founded on natural equity. The combined Greek squadron had been and were fighting for their deliverance, and it was but fair, as they could not give help, that they should contribute in money. It may perhaps be regarded as the beginning of what became the organized exaction of φόρος instituted in B.C. 476 in virtue of the confederacy of Delos, and which (under this name or, in the new league, under that of συντάξις) was continually increased by special exactions of the ἀργυρολόγοι ἱέσ, whenever Athens was in need, or could find a decent pretext for doing so, down to the time of the battle of Chaeroneia (B.C. 338).

61 2. Πεθῶ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαλήν. In Plutarch (Them. 21) they are given as Πεθῶ and Βία, and the two gods in the reply of the Andrians as Πεθά καὶ Ἀποτλια. See the same chapter for the discontent and hostility roused by Themistokles in these proceedings.

4. κατὰ λόγον ἀρα 'naturally, as it appeared from what he said', p. 4, l. 27.

4—5. ἵσταν...ἵκουν for the change of mood, see 6, 3; 5, 97.

5. θεῶν χρηστῶν ἦκουν εἰ 'and were well off for beneficent gods'. Cp. 5, 62 ἄνδρες χρημάτων ἐφ ἥκουστε. 1, 31 τοῦ βίου ἐφ ἥκουστι. 1, 149 χώρην ὑρέων ἦκουσαν ὁκ ὁμολὼς. 7, 157 σῦ δὲ δυνάμως ἰείς μεγάλης. The genitive is one of respect, ἰείς is constructed like ἔχειν. Madv. § 49 b R. 2. Schweigh. sees an ironical allusion to the ruined state of Athens at the time.

ἐπελ...ἀναί 'for the Andrians were' said they. The infinitive is often preserved in the subordinate clauses of the oratio obliqua. Cp. p. 49, l. 22; 6, 137 ταύτην ὃς ἵδεις τὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην ἐφ. G. § 260 note 2.

6. γεωπεῖναι [πένομαι, πένης] 'poorly off for land', cp. 2, 6 δις μὲν γεωπεῖναι εἰς ἄνθρωπον...οὶ δὲ τολὴν ἔχουσι. Andros, in spite of this complaint, was and is a fertile island. ἐς τὰ μέγιστά
Ανήκονται takes the place of a superlative adverb, 'to the highest degree', p. 81, l. 21, cp. 7, 13 φρενῶν γὰρ ἐσ τὰ ἐμοιτού πρῶτα οὗ ἀνήκου.

7. αὐρήσους 'unkindly', cp. 9, 111 λόγος αὐρησσωτος.

8. Ἀμμαχανίαν 'inability', 'helplessness', a rare word, cp. an inscription apud Aesch. in Ctes. § 184 πρῶτι δυσμενέων εὖβοι ἀμμαχανίν (of starving out Eion). Alkaios Fr. 92 ἀργαλέων πενιαν, κακῶν ἄχουσαν, ἐ μέγα δάμνηι Λᾶν ἀμμαχανα σὺν ἀδελφέᾳ.

9. ἐπιβολοῦς 'being in possession of these gods'. 9, 94 τούτων ἐπίβολος γενόμενος, cp. Soph. Ant. 492 λευσώσαν οὐδ' ἐπήβολον φρενῶν. It is a poetical word, and a metrical variation of ἐπίβολος. For its active use, cp. Aeschyl. Ag. 528 τερπνὴ ἄρ' ἦτε τῆςδ' ἐπίβολοι νόσου.

10. οὐδέκατε...κρέσσων. That is, the Athenian power can never do impossibilities,—it cannot make them pay what they have not got. The present δίνω of what is existing at the time and will exist: 'Neither now nor ever can the Athenian power overcome their inability'. 7, 172 οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνατὴν ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφη (quoted by Stein).

11. ἰδι sums up and dismisses the subject. Cp. 6, 52 τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίαν ταῦτα σφι ἄνελείν κ.τ.λ.

CHAPTER CXII.

16. τοῦτο καλ 'in the same words as'. So τῶντο καλ p. 23, l. 16. ταῦτα καλ τὰ 6, 102.

19. ἐξαρθήσει see p. 60, l. 23. In this connexion the word probably refers to the notion of removing the inhabitants from a conquered place. Cp. 5, 16 τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαρέσατο. See on 6, 33. ἀγων δὲ...συνέλεγε 'by the use then of these threats he succeeded in collecting great sums'. The imperfect of continued action.

22. τῶν στρατηγῶν i.e. of the ten Athenian Strategi, who managed foreign affairs. Themistokles would, therefore, they thought, be able to wield the whole power of Athens against them. αἴνη 'reputation', 'respect', a poetical word. Cp. 3, 74; 9, 16.

23. εἰ δὲ δὴ 'but whether as a fact'. νησιωτῶν, see on p. 60, l. 24.

27. τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολή 'a postponement of misfortune'. That
is, apparently, they were punished all the same for medizing by being forced to submit to the presence of the fleet and the violence and extortion of the other commanders besides Themistokles.

28. διέφυγαν τῷ στρατῷμα 'avoided a visit from the fleet'.

29. μὴν νῦν 'so then', introducing the conclusion of a series of facts. Cp. 6, 22, 45, 47 etc.

ἔξοδῳ ὁμοίωμα 'starting from Andros', 'using Andros as his base of operations'. Cp. 5, 94 ἔστολεμον ὑπὲρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀχιλλῆϊ τὸν θόλον ἀμφοτέρου καὶ Σεγείου χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

30. τῷ ἡτοιμασθέντος, see p. 60, l. 24. λογοὶ 'without the knowledge of the other nine strategi'. See the violent attack upon Themistokles by the poet Timokreon of Rhodes quoted in Plutarch, Them. 2, who calls him ἄργυρων ὑπάλληλος, and asserts that he got large sums from individuals accused of medizing. It is certain that by some means Themistokles became possessed of great wealth. Plut. Them. 25; Aelian V. H. 10, 17. Grote, vol. v. p. 140.

CHAPTER CXIII.

1. οἱ 8' ἄμφι Ἐρέσσα 'Xerxes and his army'. Thucydides (8, 65, 1) uses ἄμφι in a similar phrase in one of the two places in which he has this preposition, οἱ ἄμφι τῶν Πελαγίδων. Elsewhere Thucydides uses τῷ: and though ἄμφι is fairly frequent in Herodotus, it soon disappeared in Attic prose. See on 6, 62.

3. τὴν αὐτὴν διὰν 'by the same route by which they had come'. See c. 50. The army seems to have come from Plataea over Dryoskephaiae.

4. ἀνωρίην τοῦ έτεος 'too late in the year', 'an unseasonable time'. It seems to be an ἄρ. λεγ. Aristophanes (Ach. 23) has ἄρωπαν σέρα. For the construction cp. ἄμφι τῶν νυκτῶν [Aelian ap. Suid. s. v. ἄμφοι]. p. 82, l. 7 ἔκας χρόνον.

6. περαίσθα, p. 53, l. 17.

7. ἄπλεκατο 'when they had arrived'. App. D. H. (a).

9. τῶν ἅθανάτους, cp. 7, 211 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Περσοῦ ἐκδικήμεροι ἐπικύραν, τῶν ἅθανάτους ἐκάλεσε βασιλεὺς. The explanation of their name is given in 7, 83. They were always exactly 10,000.

10. λειψεσθαι βασιλεὺς 'said that he would not be separated
from the king'. Cp. 9, 66 λειτουμένου Μαρδονίου καὶ βασιλέως. 9, 19
λειτυσθαι τῆς ἐξοδοῦ Δακεδαλίων.
11. τοὺς θυρηκοφόρους the Persians,—who wore περὶ τὸ σώμα
κιθώνας χειριδωτοῖς ποικίλους λεπιδοὺς σιδηρέους (7, 61), 'sleeved tunics
of various colours covered with iron scales'. In 9, 22 Masistius
wears a θύρνης χρώσεως λεπιδωτός under a purple tunic.
12—13. τὴν ἱππον τὴν χιλίην. The 1000 cavalry picked from
the whole army who headed the king's guard on the march (7, 40).
For ἡ ἱππος see 9, 14.
Μῆδους (7, 62). Σάκας (7, 64; 9, 31, 71). Βακτριανοί (7, 64;
9, 31). 'Ινδοὺς (7, 65; 9, 31; 3, 94).
15. κατ' ὄλγον 'in small groups', 'taking a few from each',
opp. to ἄθικα ὅλα.
εἰς ἡμεῖς see p. 56, l. 8.
16. διαλέγον, p. 57, l. 17. τένων (τιοί)...πεποιημένων, dat. of
agent, see p. 51, l. 16.
17. ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον ξῆνος Πέρσας αλφέτο 'but of a single race
the Persians were those from whom he selected the largest number'.
Lit. 'but one race he chose in greatest number,—Persians'. ἐν and
πλεῖστον are placed together to bring out the contrast more clearly:
grammatically ξῆνος and Πέρσας are in apposition [Abicht reads ἐν
δὲ]. The imperfect (αλφέτο) is used of a process that continued for
some time.
18. στρεπτοφόρους...ψελλοφόρους, see 7, 88; 9, 25. The
Persians commonly wore such chains and bracelets. Plutarch
Them. 18 describes the corpses on the shore after the battle of
Salamis as περικελμένοι ψελλὰ χρυσὰ καὶ στρεπτοβᾶς. Cp. also
Xenophon Oeconomic. 4, 23.
ἐπὶ δὲ 'and next to them', p. 34, l. 25.
20. ἰδέω δὲ ἵππους. For this view of the superiority of the
Persians as soldiers, see 9, 68.

CHAPTER CXIV.

24. Αἱλλίθει Ionic pluperf., 5, 98.
26. τὸ διδομένον 'whatever was offered'. For ἐκ instead of
ὑπὸ (common in Herodotos), see 5, 21 ζητησαι μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν
Περσῶν ἐγινετο. 6, 22 τὸ ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων
ποιηθέν.
NOTES ON

1. κατάλαβε 'overtook', p. 4, l. 5.

4. 'Ἡρακλείδαθα οἱ ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων 'the Heraclids of Sparta', that is, the kings, see c. 131. For ἄνδρες see p. 49, l. 25.

7. κατασκόπον 'after pausing', 'having remained silent', generally ἐπισκόπον in this sense, cp. p. 33, l. 26; p. 62, l. 1. But cp. 5, 19 οὐδαμῶς ἐτὶ κατέχειν οὕς τε ἢν 'he could by no means restrain himself any longer' (ὡστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἴπε πρὸς 'Αμώνταν τάδε). In the passive, see p. 64, l. 21.

8. διεγείρεις ἐς τούτον 'pointing to him'. δεικνυσθαι 'to stretch out the hand', Hom. Il. 9, 196 τῷ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη τόδες ὡς 'Αχιλλεύς. Herm. 367 δεικατο δ’ εἰς Κρονίωνα. But Herodotos uses the active in this sense, cp. 4, 150 ἐδεικνύει ἐς τὸν Βάττον. 5, 49 δεικνύεις ἐς τὴν γῆς περιοδον. 9, 82 δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρθην τοῦ δειπνον τὴν παρακεφήνη.

9. Μαρδώνιος...δίκας δώσε. For the fulfilment of this in the contrary sense to that intended by Xerxes, see 9, 64.

CHAPTER CXV.

11. δεξάμενος τῷ ῥήθαι 'having accepted the words' (as of good omen), cp. 9, 91 δεκαμοί τὸν οὐλομόν τὸν 'Ηγαστρατον. See p. 62, l. 26.

16. ὡς εἰπεῖν 'so to speak', modifying the preceding statement. G. § 268.

17. δικαίως...γυναίκατο 'wherever they come from time to time' optative of indefinite frequency, cp. p. 26, l. 12. So the indefinite εἰρομεν in l. 19.

19—21. οἱ δὲ...κατήσκουν. For δὲ in apodosis cp. 9, 70 εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέσχουν οἱ 'Ἀθηναίοι, οἱ δ’ ἡμῶνοντο.

19—24. οἱ δὲ...διάφθειρα. See Grote IV. p. 489. Aeschylus gives a dreadful picture of this retreat, which Grote criticises as exaggerated. Thirlwall (2, p. 316) seems to accept it as authentically supplementing the narrative of Herodotos. The passage of Aeschylus (Persae 485—513) seems to contain only the same statement, expressed in somewhat heightened language, as that of Herodotos, except in the particular of the disaster on the Strymon (456).

prikti δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεῶς
χειμῶν' ἄωρον ὀρᾶε, πῆγανων δὲ πᾶν
δέθησαν ἄγριον Στρυμόνος. Θεοὺς δὲ τις ὁ πρὸ χρόνον ὀνόματο, τὸν ἤχετο λιτασία γαῖαν ὀδρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν. ἔτει δὲ τολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο στρατὸς, περὶ κρυστάλλου ἕκχησα διὰ πόρον· χῶστις μὲν ἥμων πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεόν ἀκτίνας ὑμήθη σεσωσμένος κυρεί. φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρῶς ἡλιοῦ κόκλος μέσον πόρον διήκε θερμαίων φλογῆς τίπτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἄλληλοισι· ὑπήχει δὲ τοι ὅσις τάχιστα πνεύμ' ἀπέρρηζεν βλοῦ.

To this Grote objects the impossibility of a sudden frost of one night in November freezing the Strymon sufficiently to induce the army to venture on the ice, and for a certain part to get over; and further observes that the army was not in so great a hurry, as no enemy was on their rear. Rawlinson agrees with Grote, and refers to the fact that a bridge of boats had been thrown across the Strymon for the downward march, which probably was used again (7, 24, 114). Some editors of Aeschylus doubt the genuineness of the passage altogether. Many rumours doubtless reached Athens of the king’s disastrous retreat; and some accident may have occurred on the Strymon of which it suited the purpose of Aeschylus to make the most. But it is evident that nothing certain was known at the time; for late in the next year, after the battle of Mykale, the Greeks had not heard of the destruction of the Hellespontine bridge, see 9, 106. See also on p. 65, 1. 1.

26. οὐκ...γίνοντο 'wherever he was', cp. supr. l. 17.

μελεθαλείν curare, a poetical word, cp. Theogn. 1129 ἐμπλήμαι πενῆς θυμοφόρου οὐ μελεθαλεῖν. Theocr. 10, 52 ἐνδυσάμος δὲ τῷ βατράχῳ, παιδίς, βλοὺ οὐ μελεθαλεῖν τὸν τὸ πιέω ἐγχεύετα, but apparently used in this medical sense in Ionic, as Hippocr. 598, 26 is quoted. Cauer Tit. Ion. p. 319. Roberts Epigr. p. 78.

28. τὸ ἱππὸν ἄρμα see 7, 40; drawn by the Nisaean mares, 9, 20.

2. ἀπελαβὲς 'got back', 1, 61 ἀπολαβῶν τῆς τυραννίδα. 64
3. νεομένας 'as they were grazing', only used again by Herod. in a metaphorical sense 5, 101 τὰ περισχατά νεομένου τοῦ πυρὸς.
4. τῶν ἀνὸς Ὄρηκων 'the up-land Thracians', i.e. those living inland. Cp. 1, 130 τῆς ἀνὸς Ἀλυσὸς Ἀσίας.
CHAPTER CXVI.

7. ὑπερφυές ‘of unnatural cruelty’. It is used in a good sense in 9, 78 ἐγγον ἐγρασταὶ τοι ὑπερφυές μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος. It is a neutral word meaning anything beyond the ordinary course of nature, whether for good or bad, and came to be used colloquially somewhat as are ‘awful’, ‘tremendous’ in modern conversational English. See Arist. Eq. 141 ὑπερφυή τέχνην ἔχων. Nub. 76 μὲν ἔδρον ἄραπτόν δαμονίως ὑπερφυά. Pax 229 ὑπερφυής τὸ μέγεθος. (Plut. 734). Plut. 750 ὑπερφυής δοσ. Thesm. 830 πώλλ' ἂν γυναῖκες... μεμψαμεθ' ἂν τούτον ἀνδράσιν δικαιώς. ἐν δ' ὑπερφυέστατον.

8—10. οὖτε...τε cp. 6, 16 οὖτε προακηκότες ώς εἴχε περὶ τῶν Χιων, ἑδότες τε στρατόν κτλ.; ib. 30; ib. 92 Διηνύηται δὲ οὖτε συνεγνώσκοντο, ἣνω τε αὐθαδέστεροι.

10. ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ‘forbade them to go on an expedition’. G. p. 308, § 6, cp. p. 60, l. 20.

11—12. οὐ δὲ ἀλαγησάντες ἢ...θυμὸς ἔγενετο ‘but they because they despised his command or because they had a longing to see the war’. For two coordinate clauses one with a participle and the other with the indicative, see p. 27, l. 17 οὖτε δὴ δύν τι να ἰδὼν...ουτε καὶ ἐνθάμον ἐγένετο. 9, 5 οὐτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρῆματα παρὰ Μαρδώνου, οὐτε καὶ ταύτα οὐ ἦδανε. 1, 19 οὐτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, οὐτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἑδότε. For θυμὸς ‘wish’, ‘longing’ cp. 1, 1 ὠνεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα.

CHAPTER CXVII.

18. ἐκ τῶν πόρων That is, to the channel between Sestos and Abydos.

19. τῆσιν ὕμων ‘on board the ships’. Herodotos seems certainly to mean the fleet which had been despatched immediately after the battle of Salamis, p. 57, l. 21—22. And, if that is so, there is no ground for the remark of Trogus (Justin. 2, 13, 10) ubi cum suolium pontem hibernis tempestatis offendisset, piscatoria scapha trajecit.

20. ἐντεταμένας lit. ‘tightly stretched’. The ships were lashed together with ropes to form a bridge. See 7, 34.

21. κατεξόμονοι ‘halting there’, and so having leisure to eat, as they had not when ἐνεργομένοι (l. 18). Herodotos does not seem
to use this passive or middle in this sense elsewhere; but cp. the use of καταγχῶν in 5, 19 and p. 63, l. 7. [Gebhardt wished to change it to καταγχόμενοι, and ἐλαγχανον to ἐλάμβανον].

22. συπα τε...Ελάγχανον ‘they began both to get more food than during their march’. For λαγχάνεω ‘to obtain’ with accusative cp. 1, 167 Ελαχν τούσ τελετικόν πολλόν πελουσ. 7, 53 θείασι, οτ Περσίδα γῆι λελάγχασι. 7, 144 Εμελλων λάξεσθαι ὀρχιδῶν ἐκαστὸς δέκα δραχμᾶς.

Οὐδὲνα τε...ἐμπιπλάμενοι ‘and because they gorged themselves unrestrainedly’, ‘without any care or order’. The phrase οὐδὲνα κόσμον is always applied by Herodotos to military matters (see 9, 59, 65, 69), here it seems to be used in opposition to the idea of an orderly distribution of rations.

23. καλ ἑθαὶα μεταβάλλοντες. The καλ connects this closely with ἐμπιπλάμενοι, the two main clauses being connected by τε...τε, ‘joined to the change in the water they had to drink’. One would have thought that the mere change of water (independently of any idea of excess) must have been for the better.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

1. Ἄλλος δὲ λόγος. The existence of such a widely different account among the Greeks, from whom Herodotos would get his information, may explain the story in Aeschyllos quoted above in the notes to c. 115. And the fact that it professed to give intelligence of what happened on the Strymon points to some difficulty or delay which had taken place there.

6. ἐπὶ νεόν...ἐπιβάς ‘having gone on board’. At p. 66, l. 18 we have ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα because there the act of embarkation is the principal one, here the fact of his being on board as opposed to being on foot.

8. κυματην here ‘tempestuous’, ‘raising billows’. In 2, 111 applied to a river. καλ 8η ‘and so’. For γάρ see p. 76, l. 18.

9. χαμαλνθαι the infinitive in a subordinate clause of oratio obliqua, see p. 61, l. 6. The word is here used impersonally, ‘the storm grew worse and worse’. Cp. 7, 191 ἡμέρας γάρ δὴ ἐχειμαστε τρεῖς. But χαμαλνθαι is translated by others ‘it (τὴν νέα) was tossed by the storm’. It is a very rare word. Pindar (P. 9, 57) uses it metaphorically φόβως κεχειμαντας φρένες.
éōste explains γεμοῦσης ‘the ship beginning to fill, as might be expected with so many of the Persians accompanying Xerxes on deck’. For γεμοῦσης = οὐν ὦν τε καὶ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος γεμοῦσης τρέχων ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς...ib. 70 πολλῷ πλέον εἰχὼν τῶν Δακεδαίμονων ἤστε ὦκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέων.

11. ἐνθαῦτα ‘thereupon’, ‘in these circumstances’. Cp. 9, 26 ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὦμοσμός κτλ.

16. τίς διαδεξάτω...κηδόμενος ‘let each of you show his care for the king’; τίς is here equivalent to ἕκαστος, but more indefinite. διαδεξάτω is constructed like φανήτω. [For such construction by analogy cp. πείθεσθαι with gen. 6, 12.] For τίς with imperative see also p. 59, l. 24. 9, 98 μυσθήναι τῷ κρή κτλ. 6, 9 Ἀνδρέας Ἰωνες, τόν τίς ὑμῶν εἴ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέα οἶκον.

17. ἐν ὑμῖν ‘on you depends my safety’, cp. 6, 109 ἐν σοι νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ὡστὶ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθηνᾶς κτλ. See also, p. 53, l. 26.

18. προσκυνεντα ‘salaaming’. See 7, 136; Plutarch Them. 27 ἡμῶν πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν οὐτων κάλλιστος οὗτος ἐστιν τιμᾶν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ πάντα σώζοντος.

20. οὗτο δὴ ‘when this had been done’, p. 12, l. 25.

21. ὡς δὲ ἴδοιναι see l. 9; p. 61, l. 6.

23. στεφάνη this feminine is rare for a ‘crown’. In Aristoph. Eq. 968, where it is used, the words profess to be part of an oracle. The compounds στεφανηφόρος (5, 102) which are used in Attic (Andoc. 29, 11 etc.), στεφανηπλωκεῖν (Arist. Thesm. 448) and others refer rather to ‘garlands’.

CHAPTER CXIX.

οὗτε ἀλλως...πάθος ‘neither in other respects nor in regard to what is said to have happened to the Persians’. So 4, 147 ἀλλως ‘for other reasons’.

27. ἐλ γὰρ δὴ ‘for if really’, ‘for if as is alleged’.


ἐν μυρίσι...ἀντίκοσαν ‘out of ten thousand opinions I don’t think one would be for denying’; or, as we should say, ‘not one man in ten thousand would deny’. ἀντίκοσαν used in Ionic for ἀντίκος. Cp. 6, 7 etc.

2. μὴ οὐκ...τοιοῦτο ‘that the king would have acted as follows’.
For μὴ οὐ after a verb expressing denial, especially when it is itself negated, see p. 28, l. 20; 6, 88 οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὖ ὁ τὸ πᾶν μηχανῆσασθαι. G. § 283, 6—7.


4. ἐσε κολην ναῦ ‘below deck’, i.e. to the part of the ship occupied by the rowers. Observe the absence of the article, κολῆ ναῦς being a technical term. Cp. Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 19 ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἄρστους ἔρετας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κολῆν ναῦς μεταβιβάσας. Thus ναῦς ἄκρα = ‘a prow’.

5. δόντων Φοινίκων ‘being mere Phoenikians’, cp. p. 53, l. 28. But in this case, as Rawlinson points out, skilled Phoenikian rowers would have been more valuable to the king than Persian nobles.

6. δκως οὐκ ἀν...ἐξῆβαλε the construction is varied, as so often in Herodotos, from the infinitive in apposition with καταβιβάσαι, to the subordinate phrase δκως οὐκ ἀν ἐξῆβαλε dependent on μᾶν γνώμην οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον. In this phrase δκως=δει, a use confined to poetry in Attic. Cp. 1, 37 ἢ λόγῳ ἀναπείσω δκως μοι ἀμείων ἐστὶν ταῦτα οὗτω ποιεόμενα. 3, 115 οὗ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτο μελετῶν δκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινը Εὐρώπης. Goodw. M. and T. § 78.

8. δδῆ...στρατῷ ‘using a road along with the rest of the army’ means ‘by the same mode of conveyance as the rest of the army’, i.e. marching on land to Sestos and thence by ship to Abydos.

CHAPTER CXX.

10. φαλεραὶ...Ἀβδηνα ‘for it is clear that he got as far as Abdera’ i.e. and therefore could not have embarked at Eion which is much west of Abdera. ξανίνην...συνθέμενος cp. 7, 116 ξανίνην τε ὁ Πέρσης τοῦτο Ἀκανθίους προείχε καὶ ἐδωρήσατο σφεᾶς ἐσθητί Μηδυκῆ.

12. ἀκυνάκη a short straight sword, see 9, 80.

13. τὴν κρυσταλλῆσε ἀττικ ‘a tiara sprinkled with gold’ (πάσσω). The tiara was a stiff cap or fez. That which Xerxes gave was apparently what Plutarch calls a κτραμας (Themist. 29) which was confined to the kings,—the tiara recta, stiffened and variously ornamented. See Rich, s.νν. Cidaris and tiara.

17. πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ‘in the direction of the Hellespont’, p. 44, l. 18; p. 45, l. 23.
18. ἔθεν δὴ...φασι 'the place from which the framers of this story pretend that he went on board the ship'. δὴ emphasises Herodotos' incredulity. ἐν τῇ νῦ 'the ship', i.e. the ship about which this story is told. For the case see on p. 65, l. 6.

CHAPTER CXXI.

20. οὐ δὲ Ἑλληνες resuming the narrative from c. 112.

21. ξελίν see p. 60, l. 23.

22. αὐτῶν i.e. of the Karystians. For the plural pronoun following the name of a country cp. 5, 63 ἄτεκαλέωντο ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἐπικούρην ἐκπολίτῳ γὰρ σφι συμμαχή πρὸς αὐτούς. For the reverse, τἀύτην after the mention of the people of a country, p. 69, l. 14; Soph. O. C. 942.

24. ξειλοῦν 'they set apart'. Cp. 9, 81 δεκάτην ἐξελίνης τῷ ἐν Δελφοίς θεῷ. ib. Παισιν ναὸς πάντα δεκα ἡγαίρηθη τη καὶ ἐδόθη.

25. Ἰσθμιὸν...Σωθινον on the former was a temple of Poseidon, on the latter of Athene. Stein quotes two instances of the dedication of a captured ship from Thucydides 2, 84; 92.

26. Ἀλαντι see c. 63. αὐτοῦ 'on the spot', i.e. near the scene of the battle.

27—8. διεδάσαντο...ἀνέπεμψαν notice the force of the middle and active voices, 'they divided among themselves', 'they despatched'.

67 1. ἄθρωπος sc. of Apollo, see Pausan. 10, 14, 3 ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ θρήνων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμισι καὶ ἐν Σαλαμίν. There seems also to have been at Olympia a statue of Salamis better answering to this description. See Pausan. 5, 11, 5 Σαλαμίς ἔχουσα ἐν τῷ χειρὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἄκραις ποιούμενοι κόσμων.

3. Ἀλέξανδρος see c. 34. For his wealth derived from gold mines, see 5, 17.

CHAPTER CXXII.

5. κοινῇ 'jointly', i.e. in the name of all the Greeks, not of any particular State.

8. τὰ ἄρτιτημα i.e. an offering on account of their having obtained the prize of valour, see c. 93. Plutarch Themist. 17.

9. ἀστέρας. These golden stars are presumed to represent the twin Dioskuri, the special patrons of sailors. Horace Od. 1, 12, 27
quorum simul alba nautis
stella refulsit,
defuit saxis agitatus humor,  
concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,  
et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto  
unda recumbit.

They were believed to have appeared on board the Lakedaemonian ships at Aegospotami (Plutarch Lys. 12) and the Spartans accordingly dedicated some stars at Delphi after the battle (Cic. de div. i, 75). Some difficulty has been felt at the number of the stars (πρὸς l. 10): but the third is generally supposed to have represented Ἀπόλλων Δελφίνος.

10. εἰς τὴς γωνίας ‘in the corner of the Pronaus’. Kroisos sent two great bowls, one gold and the other silver, which were originally placed on the right and left of the entrance to the ναός, but after the fire the gold bowl was removed to the treasury, and the silver one placed εἰς τοῦ προνήτου τῆς γωνίας (1, 51).

CHAPTER CXXIII.

16. εἰς τοῦ Ποσειδέων τῷ βωμῷ ‘on the altar of Poseidon’, that is, outside the temple of Poseidon, which stood near the stadium and the diolcos. The voting tickets were placed on the altar and taken from it by the voters, in order to add solemnity to their decision and to lay special obligation on them to vote honestly. Thus the βουλή at Athens, when electing a commissioner to decide a case of special importance as to the custody of the shrine at Delos, did so ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψήφον, Demosth. de Cor. § 134.

17. κρίνοντες ‘intending to decide upon’, ‘with a view to decide upon’. The present participle is used of a purpose in the immediate future.

18. ἐνθαύτα ‘thereupon’, ‘on this occasion’, p. 28, l. 12.  
ἐγέρτος τὴν ψήφον ‘gave his vote’, ‘placed it in the urn’. In legal language the juror was said φέρειν ψήφον, but we have also Lysias 24 § 23 μηδαμῶς ταύτη θέσθε τὴν ψήφον. τιθέναι ψήφους is used of calculating with pebbles Demosth. de Cor. § 229.

20. οἱ πολλοὶ ‘the majority’. Plutarch (Malg. Her. 40) says that the vote for the second place was unanimous. In the life of Themistokles c. 17 he repeats the statement, and also affirms that
they actually gave the first prize to Themistokles (καὶ περ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ φθόνου). See on p. 49, l. 8.

21. ἐμούνοντο 'were each in a minority of one'.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

23. ταῦτα κρίνειν 'to decide this point', i.e. who was to have the first prize.

25. ἄκριτων 'without having come to a decision', Plut. Malig. 40 τέλος τῆς κρίσεως οὐ λαβόντος. This active or rather middle sense of ἄκριτος does not appear to occur elsewhere. Stein quotes the active use of ἀξιόστοις 'distrustful of' in 9, 98. We may also cp. Anthol. 7, 439, 1 ἄκριτε Μοίρα 'Oh fate that dost make no distinctions!' and ἄκριτος τόλμη (Polyb. 3, 19, 9) 'undistinguishing boldness' i.e. rashness.

68 1. πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφότατος 'by far the cleverest man in Greece'. Obs. the absence of the article, in speaking of the Greek world generally. The cleverness or natural ability (σοφία) of Themistokles is what especially strikes Thucydides, though he does not use that word, but ἀκέλα νόεσις, see 1, 138.

2. νικῶν 'though successful in the ballot', 'though according to the votes he ought to have had the prize'.

6. μὲν νῦν a frequent collocation in Herodotos. The μὲν belongs to ἀριστήμα answered by σοφίς δὲ, the νῦν to the whole sentence 'then' or 'so then'.

ἀριστήμα Stein supposes the loss of some word such as ἀνδραγαθίς to answer to σοφίς, quoting Plutarch Them. 17 Δακεδαμόνιος δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὖτὸν καταγαγόντες Εὐρυμάδη μὲν ἄνδραλα, ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδωκαν. But Herodotos, probably using ἀριστήμα in the technical sense of 'first prize for valour', did not think any further definition necessary. p. 61, l. 13; p. 6, l. 23.

9: ἀνέστροφες sc. the Lakedaemonians, and as the 300 youths represent the Lakedaemonians the construction is carried on, without change. p. 23, l. 2 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡμεροῦ, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας κτλ.

11. οἱ περ ἱππίσις καλέονται. The three hundred picked youths in Sparta, selected by the ἰππαγρήται appointed by the Ephors. Though called 'horsemen' they consisted both of cavalry and hoplites, and acted as a body guard to the kings, see Dionys. Hal.
2, 13 παρ’ ἑκέντος (Δακεδαιμονίου) ὁ γενναῖοτάτος τῶν νέων τριακόσιων φίλακες ἦσαν τῶν βασιλέων, οἷς ἐχρώντο κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους παρασκυπταῖς, ἵππευσί τε οὕοι καὶ πεζοῖς. Μüller however seems to doubt whether they were ἵππευσι at all, as in the case of οἱ κατεστῶτες τριακόσιοι who were with Leonidas (7, 205); and the expression of Herodotos here of περ καλέονται shows that they were not in the ordinary sense cavalry. Müller’s Dorians, vol. 2 p. 252.

12. οὖρον τῶν Τεγεητικῶν i.e. to the frontier of Laconia and Arcadia, the road North leading through Tegea. Μοῦνον δὴ ‘absolutely the only man’. The Spartans were always chary of bestowing honours, and particularly averse from encouraging strangers in Sparta. See 9, 35.

CHAPTER CXXV.

16. ἄλλως δὲ ‘and besides’, see p. 65, l. 26. Herodotos seems to mean that, besides being personally hostile to Themistokles, he had a class prejudice against him as of a social rank above his own. ἐπιφανεῖς nobiles, cf. 7, 114 ἑπτά Περσῶν παιδας ἓντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν.

17. φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ‘stark mad with jealousy’. μαργάν is fairly common in the dramatists, but this compound is apparently ἀταξείς leg. We have ὑπομαργώτερος in 3, 29; 6, 75.

22. ἦν Βελβιντῆς that is, ‘if I were the inhabitant of the most insignificant place in Greece’, Belbina being a small island 10 miles off Sunium. In Plutarch Them. 18 the retort is made more telling by the reproach being addressed to him by an inhabitant of the little island of Seriphos, and thus giving Themistokles a handle for his reply ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ ἄν ἐγὼ Σερφίως ἄν ἐγενόμην ἐνδοξος, οὔτε οὔτε ‘Δημητραῖος. Plato Rep. 329 has Σερφίως in his version of the story too.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

25. νῦν l. 6. ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο ‘amounted to what I have said’, ‘this was the upshot of these proceedings’, p. 57, l. 19.

27. ἐκ τῶν Πλαταικών ‘by his subsequent conduct at the battle of Plataea’,—in which he showed great foresight, and contrived to escape with a large body of men. See 9, 66, 89.

69 1. προέπεμπτε 'was engaged in escorting'.

2. Thus μὲν p. 68, l. 25 and δὲ l. 26 express contemporaneous action. Cp. 6, 6 'Ιστιάδος μὲν νυν...ἐπολευν ταῦτα, ἐπὶ δὲ Μίλητον... ναυτικὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος.

5. καὶ οὐδὲν καὶ κατεπέλγοντος 'and there being as yet no hurry'. The absolute participle of κατεπέλγει used impersonally. Hippocr. de fract. 762 οὐδὲν κατεπέλγει, and perhaps Demosth. in Timocr. § 18 περὶ δὲν οὐδὲν λοις ἡμᾶς κατεπέλγει νῦν ἀκούσας. Others make it agree with Μαρτρονίου 'and as he was not yet pressing him at all to join the rest of the army'. Herodotos nowhere else uses the active ἐπέλγεω, though frequently in the middle.

6. οὐκ ἐδικαλοῦ 'he did not think proper', 'he could not make up his mind'. Cp. 9, 19 οὐκ ἐδικαλεῖν λείπεσαν τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων.

7. μὴ οὐκ ἑξανδραπόδισασθαι cp. p. 28, l. 20; p. 66, l. 2. G. § 283, 7. ... ἐδικαλοῦ μὴ ... ἑξανδραπόδισασθαι,

οὐκ " " " " "

This usually takes place after a negated verb containing itself some negative notion, such as forbidding or hindering, because it is after such verbs that μὴ with the infinitive usually occurs.

8. παρεξηληάκε 'had marched past them', i.e. on his return journey.

10. ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ 'openly'. 9, 1 καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρτρονίου ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα.

11. ὦς = οὖτω. Cp. 9, 18, 35.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

12. ἐνθαύς δὴ 'it was in these circumstances'. p. 65, l. 11.

13. ἐπολιόρκει 'began the siege of'.

14. ἔπλησασθαί 'that the Olynthians were on the point of revolting', the present expresses the intention in the immediate future. See on 6, 53 τἄδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ 'Ελλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω. 6, 82 μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὖτω τὴν ἀπεκείην ὧν οὐκ αἴρεε τὸ Ἁργος, 'that he is not to take', 'that he will not take'.

τούτην sc. 'Ολυνθων understood from 'Ολυνθίουs above, cp. p. 66, l. 22.
16. ἐξαναστάντες 'having been turned out', used both of the country and the people. Cp. p. 22, l. 24. 2, 171 ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωρίων...οὖκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνον.

17. κατέσφαξε...τὸ ἄλμυρον 'took them out of the town to a marsh and killed them'. Cp. the action of the Aeginetan nobles in a similar massacre, when they took their victims to a lonely spot outside the town. 6, 91.

20. ἔσχον 'got possession of', implying that they still had it when Herodotus wrote. Notice Χαλκίδες without the definite article,—'Chalkidians', not Bottiaeai who used to have it.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

21. ἔσχον, p. 61, l. 19.

22. ἐντεσάμενος...προθύμος, notice the variation of the words, in sense nearly identical, to avoid harsh repetition.

25. οὐ γὰρ ἄν λέγεται 'for in fact it is not told'.

26. δικαίως...γράφειε 'whenever he wrote a letter'. See p. 26, l. 11; p. 63, l. 17.

28. παρὰ τὰς γλυφιδάς 'close to the notched end'. γλυφίδες is used for the whole butt-end of the arrow, and consequently Aeneas Tact. 31, 26 quoting this story says περὶ τὰς γλυφιδὰς ἐλεύθερος τὸ βιβλίον.

1. περιστάντες 'having covered it with feathers'. The piece of bibulus or bark was wound round the arrow and then covered with the feathers (probably fixed in a piece of leather), partly for concealment and partly for the ordinary purpose of steadying the arrow.

8. παρὰν δὲ...συμμαχίη parenthetical, explaining the plural στρατηγοίς, 'now there were there allied troops from the other states in Pallene also'. For συμμαχίη = σύμμαχοι, the abstract for the concrete, cp. φυγαί for φυγάδες 3, 138; δούλεια for δούλων Thucyd. 5, 23, 4; ἡ ἀρχή for οἱ ἀρχοντες Lys. ix. § 16.

10. ἐπιλεξαμένοι, cp. p. 12, l. 2.

11. μὴ καταπλῆξαι 'not to confound him with the charge of treason'. Herodotus does not use this word elsewhere, and two mss. (R and S) have καταπλέξαι 'to involve in'.
CHAPTER CXXIX.

17. ἐγεγόνεσαν 'had elapsed'. Cp. 1, 113 ὃς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρᾳ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκείμενῳ ἐγένετο. 9, 39 ἡμέραι δὲ σφὶ ἀντικατημένους ἦδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὅκτω.

Δμπωτις 'ebb', cf. 7, 198 ἐν τῷ Δμπωτις καὶ ῥηχή ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν γίνεται.

18. χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν 'lasting a long time'. For ἐπὶ see p. 26, l. 20.

19. παρὶσσαν 'tried to pass it into Pallene'. The Persians were on the north of the town which stretched right across the neck of the Isthmus; they tried to take advantage of the unusually low tide to get past the town so as to be able to attack it on its south and less defensible side (Thucyd. 1, 64, 2). They would have to go somewhat far out to pass the end of a mole or breakwater (ϰηλή) which ran out into the sea (Thucyd. 1, 63, 1).

20. τὰς δύο μὲν μολαράς sc. ὄδοι or τὸν τενάγεος 'two-fifths of the way across the salt marsh'.

22. ἐςω ἐναί 'so as to be on Pallene south of the town'. Herodotus speaking as a Southern Greek means 'south' by ἐςω, cis. So ἐξω and ἐςω Πυλῶν Demosth. de Cor. 304.

24. πολλάκις γενομένη 'though it (a πλημμύρα of some kind) takes place frequently'. The variations of tide in the Mediterranean are as a rule slight; but at particular places, such as the Euripus, the Straits of Messina, and others, the peculiar configuration of the shore produces currents which, acted on by the tides, cause a violent ebb and flow at certain times of the year and under the influence of certain winds.

8η 'accordingly', continuing a narrative, cp. 6, 5 περὶ Σάρδις μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο ταραχῆ. 6, 26 ταυτὰ μὲν δὴ ὄβτω ἐγένετο.

71 1. ῥηχῆ opp. to Δμπωτις in 2, 11: while πλημμύρα indicates that it was not merely an ordinary flowing tide, but a high one, a flood tide.

2. Ποσειδέων ἐς τὸν νηόν. A temple of Poseidon was naturally erected on a narrow isthmus between two seas, just as in the case of the Isthmus of Corinth.

3. οὖτοι...οἱ πᾶρ, it was the very men in the Persian army that committed the impiety 'who also perished in the sea'.
CHAPTER CXXX.

9. ὃ ναυτικὸς sc. στρατὸς, cp. 7, 100 ἐς μὲν τοσοῦτο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἔρημα. For the omission of στρατὸς cp. p. 72, l. 7; 7, 97 τὸ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατήγεους οἴδε.

10. οὗ προσέμεζε ‘when it had reached Asia’. Cp. 6, 96 ἐπεὶ δὲ...προσέμεζαν τῇ Νάξῳ. 7, 168 μέγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσέμεζαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ.

13. ἐπιλάμψαντος, p. 8, l. 2. So 1, 190 τὸ δευτέρον ἔστω ὑπέ- λαμψε ‘began to appear’.

πρῶτος ‘early in the season’, cp. Thucyd. 4, 6, 1 ἄμα δὲ πρῶτος ἐβαλόντες καὶ τὸν οἰκίον ἐτὶ χλωρὸν ὄντος.

14. Περσέων...οἱ πλεῖνες ἐπεβάτευον ‘most of the epibatae were Persians and Medes’. It is expressed very oddly: lit. ‘but it was of Persians and Medes that the greater number went on board as marines’.

17. ἀδελφῶς ‘brother’s son’.

20. οὔδ’ ἐπηνάγκαζε ‘nor did anyone try to make them do so’.

23. ἐλεόσεθαι. This future of ἔρχομαι is Ionic. It was used in Attic poetry; but rarely if ever in Attic prose of the classical period; the only exception is Lysias 22 § 11 where Cobet reads τρέψεθαι.

25. σταθμεύμενοι οὐ ‘judging from the fact that’. Some word like τούτῳ or τῷ δὲ must be understood. Cp. 7, 214 τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ δὲ χρῆ σταθμώσασθαι οὐ οἱ τῶν Ελλήνων πυλαγόραι ἐπεκήρυξαν κτλ.

26. ἀσμανοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ‘were only too glad to get away from them’. Cp. 9, 52 ἐπειροῦν ἀσμανοὶ τὴν ἐπον.

27. ἐπισωμένοι ἔσαν τῷ θυμῷ ‘they had been cowed in spirit’, cp. 9, 122 ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γυνῇ πρὸς Κύρου. Thucyd. 4, 37, 1 ἐλ πως...ἐπικλαυθέντες τῇ γυναῖ...καὶ ἠσσωθέντες τοῦ παρόντος δειοῦ. 7, 71, 3 τὴν γυνήν ἐδουλοῦντο.

4. ὥστοισεν τοῦτον ‘they were trying to hear news’, ‘they listened anxiously for news’. Used of troops sent to reconnoitre in Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 56. Cp. Demosth. de fals. Leg. § 288 περιπρόμεθα... ὥστοισεν τοῦτον τὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυών...So of a man sent into Syria to see whether things were favourable for the

ἐκὴ πεσέται...πρήγματα 'whether Mardonius would be successful or no'. Cp. 7, 163 καραδοκήσαντα τὴν μάχην ὑπεσέται.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

7. οἴκω συνελέγετο 'was not beginning to muster'.

ὁ ναυτικός, p. 71, l. 9.

9. ναύαρχος, p. 22, l. 9. The title is altogether a Spartan one; but when the Spartans first instituted the office is not known. From the beginning of the Peloponnesian war there seems to have been a ναύαρχος with a second in command, called ἐπιστολευς, appointed every year, who was independent of the king. See Underhill on Xenoph. Hellen. i, 5, 1.

16. τῆς ἐπίρης οἰκῆς, of the junior royal family, the Eurypon- tidae. See Hist. and Geogr. Index, Heracleidae.

19. ἐπιστρατήγες, notice this word used of a commander of a naval force. The Athenians had no separate establishment of naval commanders.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

21. 'Ἰώνων ἀγγελοὶ 'some Ionians as envoys'. Stein remarks that 'Ιώνων is a partitive genitive. These messengers were not officially sent from the Ionians, but were certain Ionians who took upon themselves the task of attempting to get help for their country. The presence of the Persian fleet would probably prevent any open or public mission.

25. ὃς στασιῶτα τοίχοι γενόμενοι 'who having made a conspiracy with each other'. σφίζω=ἐπωνυμός=ἀλλήλοις. 1, 142 αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις...σφίζω ὑμοφωνέωσι. 6, 12 ἔλεον πρὸς ἐνωτοὺς τάδε. 6, 42 συνθήκας σφίζω αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ἰωναὶ ἑράγκασε ποιέσθαι.

73. ἐξενεκαντος 'having betrayed', 'made known'. Cp. 3, 74 πλατε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίσοντες ἵ μὲν ἔξειν παρ' ἐνωτῷ μηδ' ἐξολοθεὶς ἰδέων ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονοῦν.

4. οὐτω δὴ 'in these circumstances', or 'when this had taken
place'. See on 9, 15. ὑπεξῆχον 'removed secretly'. Cp. 6, 74 ὑπεξῆχε ἐς Θεσσαλίη.

5. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸτε 'and so finally came at this time to Aegina'.
   p. 21, l. 22; p. 56, l. 13.

7. οἵ 'they, however'.

9. οὗτε τῶν χώρων ἐδώκει ἑπτὰ περιφροις, ὀπταῖς τε...ἐδόκει ἐναὶ. For οὗτε...τε cp. 6, 16. For the change of subject (parataxis) cp. 6, 30, 123. Everything beyond Delos, i.e. to the north and east of Delos, was an object of terror to the Greeks; for they were unacquainted with the lie of the countries (i.e. the islands and the Aslatic coast), and they imagined every place to be full of armed men. The Greek sailors were not at this period familiar with the navigation of the Aegean, with the exception perhaps of the Aeginetans, Corinthians, Chalkidians, and possibly the Athenians, and this was a joint fleet. As far as Delos they were used to go for the yearly festival. Rawlinson thinks the idea of such ignorance on the part of the Greeks a gross exaggeration, and not accounted for by fifteen years' cessation of such voyages since the Ionian revolt. But though at this distance of time fifteen years seem insignificant, it is a considerable period in the lives of sailors, whose energies would have been engaged elsewhere; and we must remember that an appreciable part of the fleet consisted of ships sent from towns not used to such expeditions, and the movements of it were likely to be measured not by the boldness of the bravest, but by the fears of the most timid. Grote v. p. 298.

11. ἐπιστεύετο 'believed', p. 3, l. 21. δύνῃ 'as a matter of conjecture'.

καὶ 'Ἡρακλέας στήλας 'were as far off as the Pillars of Herakles'. The Pillars of Herakles were the end of all things westward to the Greek (ὠ' ὅ ποντομέδων πορφυρέας λίμνας ναῦται

12. σενέπιπτε δὲ τοιούτο ὡστε 'and by a coincidence it so happened that', p. 8, l. 18.

15. τὸ μέσον...σφεων 'all that lay between them'.

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CHAPTER CXXXIII.

17. δι', resuming the narrative from l. 8 μόνιμος μέχρι Δήλου Cp. p. 76, l. 28.

19. ἐνθεύτεν ὁμοιόμονος, p. 61, l. 30. κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια 'to the various oracles', 'from oracle to oracle'. I, 30 περίγγον τὸν Ἁλώνα κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς (Ab.).

20. Εὐρωπέα, of the town Europos in Karia.

21. τῶν, referring to χρηστήριοι understood after χρηστήριον 'to consult the oracles', though in this sense χράσθαι is often used absolutely without being followed by any case. οδά τε, for the suffix τε see on p. 10, l. 9.

22. ἀποτελήσασθαι, p. 34, l. 27.

24. οὐ γὰρ ὀν λέγεται, p. 69, l. 25.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

27. φαίνεται ἀποκόρων 'notoriously arrived at Lebedaeae'.

74. 1. καταβήναι παρά Τρόφωνιον 'to descend into the cavern of Trophonius'. Cp. Arist. Nub. 507 ὃς δέδοικ' ἐγὼ | ἐσιν καταβαίνων ὀπίσω εἰς Τρόφωνιον. See Biographical Index.

2. καὶ δὴ...ἀπέκειν 'and above all on arriving at Thebes, which he did first'. For another similar consultation of Greek oracles, see 1, 46.

3—5. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ, p. 40, l. 5.

4. ἦτο δὲ...χρηστήριδεσθαι 'now it is allowed, as at Olympia, to consult the oracle there by means of burnt sacrifices', i.e. in contradistinction to the method at Delphi and other places, where the inquirer entered the shrine and received the answers from the προφήτης, here on the other hand the oracle was declared by inspection of the victims offered on the altar. Cp. Pind. Olym. 13, 2 ὅπα μάντεις ἄνδρες ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι παραπεράνται Διὸς ἀρχικεράνου. To this πυρομαντεία Sophokles refers O. T. 21 εἴτ᾽ Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντεία στοιδώς.

6. κατακομβῆσθαι εἰς Ἀθηνάραω 'caused him to pass the night in the temple of Amphiaraos'. Cp. 9, 93. For the practice of passing the night in a temple see i, 31; Aristoph. Plut. 669—671. The object in this case was to obtain an oracle by a dream. Paus. 1, 3,
CHAPTER CXXXV.

13. θωμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται 'a thing is related by the Thebans to have happened which is a matter of the greatest surprise to me'. θωμά μοι—στὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐστὶ μοι.

14. ἂθεὶν ἀρα 'for (they say) that Mys came'. For ἀρα introducing the words of another, cf. Aeschin. in Ctes. § 137 τολμᾶ λέγειν βλέπων εἰς πρόσωπα τὰ υμετέρα, ὡς ἄρα Θηβαίοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμῖν ἐποιήσαντο κτλ. Herodotos often prefaces an anecdote with this word, see p. 4, l. 27.

15. περιστροφήμενον...κρηστήρια 'in the course of his series of visits to all the oracles'.

16. τὸ τέμενος, see p. 20, l. 17. It is here used for the temple and inclosure.

17. ἵστη Θηβαίων 'belongs to the Thebans', i.e. is in the Theban territory.

18. υπὲρ...οὐρά 'East of the lake Copais and close to the mountain', i.e. Mt. Ptoum.

21. ἄπο τοῦ κοινοῦ 'representing the (Theban) State'. 5, 109 ἡμέας ἀπέτεμεν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰάων.

22. ἀπογραψομένοι 'for the purpose of taking notes of'. For ἀπογράφειν and ἀπογράφεσθαι see 7, 100. The middle is used here
because Herodotus is thinking not of their actually writing down
the words, but of their purpose in coming to the temple.

Ἑραλε ἐς. τρόπας ‘forthwith’, ι, iii.

14. ἠχοθινεὶ, p. 26, l. 20. οὐδὲ ἤχου...πρῆται ‘and did not
know what to do about it’, i.e. they could not take down
the words, as they had been sent to do, as they did not understand
them. For βαρβάροπ, see p. 11, l. 3.

27. τὴν ἐφερότο ‘which they were carrying’, ‘which they had
in their hands’.

29. φάναι καὶ Καρή...γλᾶσε η χράν ‘that he was giving his
answer in the Karian language’. The Karians were βαρβαρόπ, Hom. II. 2, 867. What Herodotus is surprised at is that
the promantus should be able to speak Karian. It is possible that some
Karian sentence had been prepared on purpose to prevent the
Theban commissioners from knowing what the answer was, in
order that the medizing Thebans might not afterwards lay the
blame of their medizing on the oracle. Or, if the sentence of the
oracle contained any reference to the projected alliance of Athens
with the Persians (cc. 136, 141), it might be prudent that the
Thebans should be kept in the dark about it. Thirlwall 2, p. 323.
Grote 5, p. 4.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

75 1. ἐπιλέξαμεν, p. 70, l. 10. δι τι δή λόγον ἤν ‘what the
oracles said, whatever it was’. Herodotus does not know what
the oracles were, but he connects with them the step Mardonius
next took of trying to win over Athens. See last note.

4. προσκηθεὶς ‘relations by marriage’. Cp. κηδεσθής, κήδος
(7, 189).

8. τῷ δή ‘to whom, as is well known’. For δή referring to
known facts, cp. 6, 44, 45.

9. ἄμα δή...πυθόμενος ‘and at the same time because Mardonius
was informed’. The causal participle answers to the ἄμα μὲν δὴ
...ἡσαν in l. 4.

10. πρόβατος. Individuals were ἐνων to each other; when the
connexion was between a State and an individual he was called
πρόβατος, and the relationship προβατία. Cp. 9, 85. εὐεργήτης,
p. 45, l. 2.
12. ἄρα, p. 74, l. 15.
15. ἐπίστατο. For the irregularity of a verb connected by τε
with a participle (ἀκούων) cp. p. 45, l. 13; p. 73, l. 11. For
ἐπίστατο see p. 3, l. 21; p. 13, l. 22; p. 46, l. 19.
τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων ‘but if they joined him’,—if he could
get the Athenian fleet on his side.
κατήλησε ‘he quite expected’, κατα- intensive.
18. κατοπέρθε οἱ τὰ πρήγματα...τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν sc. πρήγματων
‘that his power would be superior to that of the Greeks’. For
πρήγματα ‘power’ cp. 6, 13 κατεφαλεύτο σφι ἐναι ἀδύνατα τὰ
βασιλεῖα πρήγματα ὑπερβαλλέσθαι.
19. τάχα δὲ ἄν...προλέγοι ‘and it may perhaps be the case
that the oracles also gave him a forewarning of this’. An
expression used in 1, 70 of a similar tentative and doubtful
explanation. Herodotos generally uses the present optative in
such contingent statements, even though referring to past events.
Cp. 5, 59 ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἄν ἐγὼ κατὰ Λάδιον τῶν Λασθάκου.
21. ποιεσθαι, notice the middle—‘to secure as his ally’. τοιοῦ
τῆς πειθόμενος ‘in obedience to which it was that he sent him’.
τῆ marks the clause as representing the thought of Mardonius, not
the writer, see 9, 11, 59.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

23. ἐβδομος, see Biogr. Index, s. vv. Alexander, Perdikkas.
Thucyd. 2, 99, 100; 5, 80.
3. ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην, cp. 7, 128 Μακεδόνων τῶν κατοπέρθε 76
οἰκημένων, i.e. Macedonia north of Pindus.
4. ἐθήτευν ‘acted as labourers’. The ἐθεῖς are not δοῦλοι
but hirelings, for originally slaves, properly so called, were said not
to have existed in Greece, see 6, 137.
6. τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων ‘the smaller cattle’, i.e. sheep and
goats. Cp. 1, 133. For the use of πρόβατα for cattle generally
cp. 2, 41 τᾶς βοῶς τὰς θηλέας σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα.
4, 61 θύουσι καὶ τάλα πρόβατα καὶ ἰπποὺς μάλιστα. [πρόβατων any
animal that walks—i.e. does not fly or swim.]
9. ἢ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως, cp. the description of the Princess
Nausikaa in the Odys. 6, 57 sqq. going to the river to wash
the clothes: and the harvest scene in the shield of Achilles (Il. 18, 559)

αι δὲ γνωαίκες
δεῖκτον ἐρήμωσιν λευκ' ἄλφατα πολλὰ πάλμου.

ἐπεσει 'used to knead'.

10. δκως δὲ ὀπτήω 'and whenever the loaf was being baked': for the frequentative optative with δκως see p. 26, l. 11; p. 63, l. 17; p. 69, l. 26.

11. διπλήσιος...αὐτὸς ἐστοῦ 'twice as great'. 1, 203 τῇ ἐστητῇ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐστητῆς. p. 45, l. 12.

13. ἐσήλθε 'it occurred to'. Cp. 7, 46 ἐσήλθε με λογισάμενον κατοκτείναι. 6, 125 ἔδωντα δὲ τὸν Κροίον γέλως ἐσήλθε. καὶ φέροι ἐς μέγα τί 'and had some important significance'. Cp. 4, 90 ἐς ἄκειν φέροντα. 6, 42 ἐς νεῖκος φέρον. 1, 120 ἐς τί ἕμων ταῦτα φανεται φέρειν;

17. οὖν, i.e. when they had received their pay. For οὖν expressing the completion of an action previously expressed, cp. p. 12, l. 25; p. 65, l. 20.

18. κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην 'by the smoke-vent'; apparently not like our chimney, but an aperture in the centre of the roof,—by which Philokleon endeavours to escape in the 'Wasps', Arist. Vesp. 139—143. See 4, 103; Becker's Charicles, p. 271; Gallus, p. 279. For γάρ anticipatory, see p. 3, l. 10.

ἠν...ἐσέχων 'was making its way in', cp. 2, 11 κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐς τὴν 'Ἀραβθὴν χώρην ἐκ τῆς 'Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης.

19. θεοβλάβης 'under an infatuation sent from heaven'. Cp. 1, 127 ὡστε θεοβλάβης. The notion contained in the sentence quæm deus vult perdere prius dementat is often expressed by Greek writers. See Lycurg. in Leocr. 92 οἱ γάρ θεοὶ οὐδὲν πρότερον ποιοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πτωσιῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δίκαιαν παράγοντων. Demosth. 3 Phil. 54; Aeschin. in Ctes. § 117; Polyb. 23, 10.

24. δικόμεθα, cp. p. 63, l. 11.

25. τὸν ἡλίου, i.e. the circle of sunlight admitted by the round smoke-vent.

27. του ἡλίου, partitive gen. 'a draught of the sunshine'. By this Perdikkas meant first to take possession of the hearth, and secondly of the whole land, the lordship of the Sun being symbolical of his claim. The German editors compare some German customs of taking possession of property by a symbolic reception from God
and the Sun (Sonnenlehen). 'On entering into possession the new lord rode forth in the morning in armour and with drawn sword towards the East, and as soon as the sun rose waved his sword three times crosswise in the air'. Stein.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

28. οἱ μὲν δὲ, the usual formula of Herodotos in dismissing a portion of a story and continuing, p. 77, l. 20 etc.

29. τις τῶν παρέθρων 'one of his council'. οἷν τι χρῆμα 'the significance of the action of the boy'.

30. σὺν νόφρ 'deliberately', *avec intention*: in p. 45, l. 9 it means *certa ratione* 'on deliberate plan'.

2. τῷ βόσκω. For sacrifice to rivers see 6, 76 (to the Erasinos 77 in Argos); 7, 113 (to the Strymon).

5. οἶνος τε, p. 10, l. 9.

9. ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. The genitive follows this verb on the analogy of all verbs implying comparison of excess or defect. In p. 81, l. 14 ὑπερφέρω is used without a case.

10. ήλω 'was caught by the country people sleeping in the garden'.

12. ὑπὸ χειμῶνος 'owing to the effects of winter', cp. p. 1, l. 3. 5, 10 ὑπὸ τοῖς (μελασών) οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖ τὸ προσωτέρω.

13. καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην 'the rest of Makedonia also', i.e. the country which, besides what he has already called 'upper Makedonia', was called generally Makedonia in the time of Herodotos, extending eastwards as far as the Strymon and south to the borders of Thessaly.

CHAPTER CXL.

25. μετίημι 'I remit', 'I forgive', 6, 59 τῶν προσοφειλόμενων φόρων μετίει ο ἡβασίλευς.

26. τούτο μὲν...τούτο δὲ, p. 40, l. 5.

τὴν γῆν σφι...θηλμον. This offer was long remembered. See Dem. de Cor. 202 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν Βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς
NOTES ON

χάριτος τοῦτ’ ἐν ἀσμένως ἐκδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅτι βούλεται λαβοῦσα καὶ τὰ δανής ἔχοσθ’ τὸ κελεύμενον τοιῶν καὶ ἡς ἕτερον τῶν 'Ελλήνων προστάται.

28. ἄντις αὐτόνομοι, that is, without having a tyrannus imposed upon them by Persian influence, or being included in a Satrapy under a Persian governor.

ὄρ. On the destruction of the temples at Athens, see c. 53.

78 1. τούτων δὲ ἀπειγμένων ‘such being the orders received by me from the king’.

2. τὸ ὑμετέρον ‘your action’, almost = ὑμεῖς, cp. 3, 155 ἡδη ὅν ἐν μη τῶν σῶν δεμαὶ αἱρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα.

3. τῶν τι μαλακότε; So Stein punctuates. Other editions have λέγω τάδε νῦν τι μαλακότε ktl. Stein’s arrangement seems the better. He quotes 1, 120; 5, 106.

5. ἐν ὑπερβάλλουσθε, p. 13, l. 18.

7. καὶ τὰ ἔργα ‘and the great things which it did’. Cp. prol. ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θυμιαστὰ τὰ μὲν Ἔλλην τὰ δὲ βαρβάρους ἀποδεχθέντα.

11. παρουσούμενοι βασιλεί ‘setting up to be equal to the king’. Cp. 4, 166 ὃ δὲ Ἀριστῆς τῆς Αλεξάνδρου ἱστορίας ὑπὸ Καμβίσου καταστεῖσ ὑπὸ χρόνῳ παρουσούμενοι Δαρείῳ διεθνῇ.

12. δείχνει δὲ...αὐτῶν ‘and continually risking your own safety’.


13. παρέχει = πάρεστι p. 5, l. 1.

14. βασιλείος ταύτῃ ὁρμημένου ‘the king being inclined in this direction’. Cp. 1, 158 οἱ Κυραίοι ὁρμεῖτο ἐκδιδόναι Παυκτὴν Πέρσην ὁρμεομένου δὲ ταύτῃ του πλήθεος ktl.

15. ὁμαχήμην = συμμαχήθην 7, 145. συνενεμον p. 66, l. 12. ἀνευ τοῦ δόλου καὶ στάτης, a regular treaty clause, see 1, 69; 9, 7; Thucyd. 5, 18, 4: 5, 47, 2.

19. εἰ ομι. For ἐκ with the genitive of the agent see p. 62, l. 26; 6, 13 τὰ γνώμην ἐκ τῶν Ἰδων. 9, 16 ὅτι δὲ γεννέθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

21. ἐνορέω...οὐκ ὀλοκλ. τε ἐσομένους ‘I see in you that you will not be able’. The construction is very loose and may be explained as an instance of a participle taking the place of accusative and infinitive, or better with Stein by regarding ἐνορέω as equivalent to συνοίδα and taking its construction as in 9, 60 συνοίδα-μεν δὲ ὁμιν ὑπὸ τῶν παρευτα τῶν πόλεμον ἐούσι πολλῶν προθυ-
μοτάτους. So Herod. constructs πείθεσθαι with genitive on the analogy of ὑπακούειν (6, 12), διαδεξάτω on that of φανήτω (p. 65, l. 16).

25. χεὺρ ὑπερμήκης 'a very long arm'. Cp. the English proverb 'Justice has a long arm'; and the Scriptural phrase 'with a stretched out arm'. Cp. 4, 155 τέω δυνάμει, κολπ χειρί; Abicht quotes Ovid Heroid. 17, 16 an nescis longas regibus esse manus.

26. μεγάλα προτεινόντων 'when they (the Persians) offer liberal terms'.

27. ἐν τριβερ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων 'seeing that you most of all the allied states lie right in the way'. Alexander seems to mean that Athens lies directly in the path of Mardonius on his march to the Peloponnesus; which is not wholly true: though it was true that the Athenians were likely to be attacked again first, before Mardonius ventured to proceed Southward.

29. ἔλατον...ἐκτημένων 'the land you possess being one specially marked out for a fighting ground' 'to be the scene of the contest between the two parties'. μεταίχμιον is properly 'a space between two armies', see 6, 77, 112. That Attica was not a good ground for actual fighting, especially for cavalry, Mardonius soon discovered, see 9, 13.

30. δλλὰ πείθεσθε, cp. p. 31, l. 16 δλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

5. τῶν λογίων. For these oracles see 5, 90 ἐτι τε πρὸς τοῦτοι 79 ἐνήγου σφεας οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγοντες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεθαι αὐτοῦς εἰς Ἀθηναίων, τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἥπαν ἀδαές, τότε δὲ Κλεο-

10. συνέπιπτε ἁπτε, p. 8, l. 18; p. 73, l. 12.

11. τὴν καταστασίαν 'their audience' before the people. Cp. 9, l. 3, 46 καταστάσεις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας. ἐπανέμεναι...διατρίβοντες 'for the Athenians had purposely delayed because they expected them to come'. The participle represents the main sentence. Cp. p. 57, l. 17.

14. ἐπ' ὁμολογή 'with a proposal for a composition', or,
NOTES ON CXLII.

18. διαδεξάμανοι sc. τόν λόγον 'taking up the discourse in their turn'.

19. ήμετας δέ. Notice the emphatic position of ήμετας 'us (as opposed to Alexander) the Spartans sent'. The speech is introduced by δέ because of this reference to the speech of Alexander. For a similar use of δέ cp. p. 35, l. 8; p. 76, l. 20; 5, 33.

20. κατά τὴν Ἑλλάδα 'in Greece'.

21. κόσμον φέρον, p. 29, l. 23.

22. ύμην δέ ἡ emphatic δέ 'but to you especially'.

23. καὶ διὰ πάντων 'and above all others', p. 19, l. 25; p. 36, l. 17.

24. ὠγνεῖρατε...ὑμεῖς. The Spartans mean to refer the origin of the war to the help given by Athens to the Ionians. Cp. 5, 97 αὐτοὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχῆς κακῶν ἐγένετο Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάρους. The Spartans had refused to help the Ionians, 5, 49.

25. περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς...ἐγένετο 'and it was in behalf of your own dominion that the contest arose'. This can hardly mean to refer to any claim of Athens to supremacy in Greece; for such a notion would have been absurd at this period. Nor does it mend matters to read ἀρχὴν with Schaeffer, which could hardly mean 'in defence of your territory'. We must suppose either that the Spartans mean to imply that the ships sent by Athens to Ionia were sent on the ground of some shadowy claim of the Athenians to a primacy among the Ionians; or, with Abich, that the reference is to the attempts of the Persians to force the Athenians to recall the Peisistratids (5, 96).


2. ἀλλος τε 'and besides', 'on other grounds', p. 65, l. 26.

3. καὶ τὸ πάλαι 'from time immemorial'. The reference is to mythical or heroic times. See Isocrates Panegyr. §§ 55, 56 (the Ἡρακλειδαι and Adrastos). Cp. §§ 64—67.

6. καρπῶν...διξὼν ὡδή 'of what was now two harvests'. The
harvest of B.C. 480 had been destroyed by the Persians (c. 50); and after Salamis probably the sowing for the next harvest had been partial and late, and was afterwards much damaged in the spring of B.C. 479 by Mardonius (9, 13).

7. οἰκοφόρησθε 'ye have lost your property', or, 'have had your property destroyed'. 1, 196 ἐλώνες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφόρησθαι. 5, 29 ὥρευν σφέας δεινῶς οἰκοφόρησθεν. οἴκος includes all a man's estate, not merely his house (οἰκία), cp. 7, 224 τὸν οἴκον πάντα τὸν ἐωσιοὺ ἐπέδωκε.

9. τὰ...οἰκετεῖν ἐχόμενα 'whatever you have pertaining to your families unfit for war'. For oἰκεταί cp. p. 56, l. 26. For ἐχόμενα cp. i, 120 τὰ τῶν ὀνειρᾶτων ἐχόμενα 'things in the way of dreams'. 3, 25 τὰ σιτίων ἐχόμενα εἰχον 'what they had in the way of food'. 5, 49 χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενον οὐδὲν.

10. ἐπιθρέψειν 'that they will provide for their support', just as the Troequenians did in the previous year, see on c. 41.

11. ἔστ' ἀν...συνεστήκῃ 'as long as the war lasts'. Cp. 7, 225 τοῦτο (this struggle) συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ Ἐπιάλτη παρεγένοτο. 1, 74 τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσες τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξανίσης νῦκτα γενέσθαι.

12. ἄναγνώσῃ, p. 28, l. 23. λέγεις 'by his softened version of the message of Mardonius'. Cp. 7, 9 ἐπιλεηθας τὴν Ζέρξεω γνώμην.

14. τύραννος γὰρ ἐστιν. The kings of Makedonia are not called 'tyrants', but βασιλεῖς. The term is used here ad invidadiam.

16. βαρβάροις. The Spartans at home called all other people whether Hellenic or barbarian ξένων (9, ii); but here, speaking to Athenians, they adopt an Hellenic attitude and employ the customary word.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

19. καὶ αὐτὸ 'we as well as you'. The author of the reply was Aristeides, according to Plutarch Arist. c. 10.

22. ὀνειδίσκαν 'to throw that in our teeth', 'to bring it up in a hostile spirit'. γλυκόμενος (γλυκόχρωμος 'sticky') 'eager for', 'clinging to'. A rare word in Attic, but several times used by Herodotos in three constructions: (i) with περὶ, 2, 102 δεινῶς γλυκόμενον περὶ
NOTES ON


CHAPTER CXLIV.

11. αἰσχρῶς...ἀρρώδησαι 'but you appear to your shame, though thoroughly knowing the Athenian spirit, to entertain a fear'. Cp. 9, 7 ὡμεῖς δὲ ἐσὶ πᾶσαι ἀρρώδησαν τὸτε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὑμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐγείρει δὲμάθητε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὥστε σώδαμα προδόσωμεν τῷ Ἑλλάδα, κτλ.

14. τοσοῦτος...τὰ... 'A relative in the neuter may refer to a number of inanimate antecedents, even when they are all mas-
culine or feminine': cp. Isocr. Panath. 217 ταῦτα εἶπον οὐ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν ἀποβλέψας ὃ ὑπὸ διῆθες. Madv. G. G. 97. μέγα·οὕτω μέγα from the influence of τοσοῦτος, which like τοῦτος is sometimes followed by an explanatory simple relative instead of the more precise οἷος or ὅσος. ἀρετῆ ‘excellence’ ‘fertility’, see 4, 198; 7, 5. ὑπερφέροντα, see p. 77, l. 9.

15. τὸ...Ἐλλάδα ‘on receiving which we shall be willing to enslave Greece by joining the Persians’.

17. διακολύουσα μή. See on p. 66, l. 2. And cp. p. 60, l. 20 ἐπεὶ τῇ σφί ἀπέδωξε μὴ’ ἐπιδίωκειν κτλ.

18. μὴδ’ ἦν ‘even if’, the negative arises from the previous μή.

21. εἰ τὰ μέγιστα ‘to the uttermost of our power’, cp. πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα p. 11, l. 7.

22. τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν...ὁμόγλωσσον ‘another motive is GREECE, allied as she is in blood and language’. It is difficult to express in a word all that is implied in τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν,—the feeling of a common tie, in spite of much difference and hostility, which after all distinguishes everything Greek from everything barbarian.

24. ἤθεα τὰ ὁμότροπα ‘community of habits’. The best commentary perhaps to these words will be furnished by Thucydides 1, 6. The distinguishing features common to all Greeks are here mentioned,—blood, language, religious worship, customs.

25. οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχωι ‘it cannot be right’, ‘it will never be right’. Ἀθηναῖοι, notice the absence of the definite article ‘that Athenians (of all people in the world) should betray’.

28. ὑμένων ἄγαμα τὴν πρόνοιαν ‘we thank you for your foresight on our behalf’. There is a slight irony in the words.

3. οἰκέτας, p. 80, l. 10. καὶ ὑμῖν...ἐκπελήρωται ‘and for 82 your part indeed you have done all that you are bound to do’: i.e. ‘any service you owe us has been fully paid by this generous offer’.

4. λιπαρῆσομεν οὕτω δικαίας ἐν ἐκμέναν ‘we will hold out as best we may’. Cp. 9, 45 λιπαρῆτε μένοντες. 5, 19 μηδὲ λιπαρὰς τῇ πόλι. For δικαίας ὁς cp. 5, 89.

5. νῦν οὖν ‘but as to our present duty’. ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων ‘seeing that things are as we say’, referring to their declared intention of maintaining their resistance.

7. οὐκ ἔδα χρόνον ‘at no distant date’. Herodotos every-
where else uses ἐκάς of space. For its use in regard to time cp. Aesch. Ag. 1638 εἰς δὴ φιλοι λοχῖται, τοῦργον οὐχ ἐκάς τόδε. For the genitive χρόνου cp. the analogous construction of πρὸς τῆς νυκτὸς 2, 121.

II. ἡμέας ‘we’ i.e. you and ourselves. προβοθήσατι ‘should advance to oppose him’. They afterwards found fault with the Lakedaemonians δι᾿ περιείδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ σφεών ἤντισαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην ‘that they tamely allowed the Barbarian to invade Attica, instead of accompany them into Bœotia to resist him there’ (9, 6).
HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

ABAE, cc. 27, 33, 134.

A city of Phokis on the frontier of Boeotia situated upon one of the tributaries of the Kephisos. It contained a rich temple and oracle of Apollo, and had been inhabited by a Thracian tribe who afterwards passed over to Euboea. It appears to have recovered from the damage done by the Persians, for it is mentioned as the only town in Phokis that did not share in the Sacred War (B.C. 357—346) and offered a refuge for fugitives: for which however it suffered by the burning of its temple [Paus. 10, 35, 2].

ABDERA, c. 120.

A city on the coast of Thrakia some ten miles east of the river Nestos, colonized first from Klazomenae and afterwards by the Teians [1, 168]. It was the birthplace of several famous men, Hekataeos the historian, and Protagoras, Demokritos and Anaxarchos the philosophers.

ABRONICHOS, c. 21.

An Athenian, son of Lysikles, employed by Leonidas to watch the fleet at Artemisium, and bring news of the result of the battle.

ABYDOS, cc. 117, 130.

In Mysia, situated on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, opposite Sestos, at the narrowest point in the strait. The head of Xerxes' bridge was at a point somewhat to the north of it, where the breadth of the strait is 7 stades (less than a mile): see 7, 34. It was founded by a colony from Miletos.

ACHAIA, c. 36.

ACHAIANS, cc. 47, 73.

The inhabitants of Achaia, the northern district of the Peloponnesse. The Achaioi in the time of Homer inhabited Argolis, Lakonia, and Messenia, but at some period subsequent to that they were expelled by the Dorians and driven into the northern district, from
which they expelled the Ionian inhabitants, and which afterwards retained their name. They were a confederacy of twelve chief cities, ten of which were on the sea coast [1, 145]. The name was also preserved in Northern Greece in the district of Achaea Phthiotis round Mt Orthrys [7, 132].

**Acheron, c. 47.**

A small river in Epeiros, which falls into the Ionian Sea at a place called the Sweet Haven [γλυκὸς λιμήρ], *Port Fanari*.

**Adeimantos, cc. 5, 59, 61, 94.**

A Corinthian, son of Okytos, commanding the Corinthian contingent in the allied fleet. He is accused of having played the coward at Salamis.

**Aeakidae, cc. 64, 83—4. Aeakos, c. 64.**

The descendants of Aeakos, son of Zeus and Aegina. Gaining great reputation for his justice as ruler of Aegina, Aeakos became one of the three judges in Hades. His descendants were the national heroes of Aegina, Thessaly and Salamis:

```
       Aeakos
       |     |
     Peleus  Telamon   Phokos
       |     |     |
    (of Phthia in Thessaly)  (of Salamis)
       |     |     |
   Achilles  Ajax  Teukros
       |     |     |     |
              (of Salamis in Kypros)
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The myth was that Peleus and Telamon joined in killing Phokos, and that therefore Peleus was driven to exile in Phthia, Telamon in Salamis. See 5, 80.

**Aegaleos, c. 90.**

A mountain chain in Attica extending from Parnes to the east of the bay of Eleusis. Its southern slope overlooks the gulf and island of Salamis.

**Aegina, cc. 41, 60, 63, 79, 81, 83—4, 131, 132.**

**Aeginetans, the, cc. 1, 45, 74, 84, 86, 91—3, 122.**

An island in the Saronic gulf, about eight miles due south of Salamis and about double that distance east of the coast of Argolis. At the time of the Persian invasion it was an independent state, though it had formerly been subject to the people of the opposite Dorian town of Epidaurous, from which the island had been peopled.
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

[5, 83; 8, 46]. The Aeginetans had however long ago thrown off the control of Epidaurus, and had become possessed of a powerful navy and considerable wealth. They had from very ancient times been at enmity with Athens, which is described by Herodotos [5, 82 sq.] as beginning with an attempt on the part of the latter to carry off the olive-wood images of the national heroes of Aegina, the Aeakidae. But a more likely account is that which represents the Aeginetans as making frequent attacks upon the Attic coast, and using their power at sea, on which they were supreme before B.C. 500, to annoy and injure Athenian commerce. The quarrel was further embittered by help given to the Boeotians against Athens a few years earlier [5, 81], and when Darius about 493—2 B.C. sent round to the Greek states for earth and water, Aegina was one of the states which complied, actuated perhaps as much by jealousy of Athens as by fear of Persia. This led to a formal complaint against them by Athens to Sparta. The Spartans took hostages for their fidelity whom they entrusted to the Athenians, and whom the Athenians before and after Marathon refused to return. The war which followed continued after B.C. 489 [7, 144], to carry out which Themistokles persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet. The threatened invasion of Xerxes however forced Athens and Aegina to make peace, and thus Aeginetan ships served at Salamis, and next year their soldiers served at Plataea. Aegina finally became entirely subject to Athens during the administration of Perikles, who always regarded its independence as a standing menace to Athens and was wont to call it 'the eyesore of the Peiraeus' [Plut. Peric. 8]. And in B.C. 431 the Athenians expelled the Dorian inhabitants and placed Attic settlers in their room [Thucyd. 2, 27; 7, 57].

Aeolidae, the, c. 35.

The inhabitants of a town and district at the foot of Parnassos in Phokis. The exact site seems uncertain.

Aeropos.

(1) c. 137.

An Argive, one of the brothers of Perdikkas the ancestor of the kings of Makedonia.

(2) c. 139.

A descendant of Perdikkas, and father of Alketas.

Aeschreas, c. 11.

An Athenian, father of Lykomedes.

Aetolians, the, c. 73.

According to one myth Aetolos, king of Elis, son of Endymion, having slain Apis fled to the district of the Achelous which was called Aetolia after him. According to another the Aetolians helped to convey the Dorian invaders from Antirrhium to Rhium in the
Peloponnese, and received the district of Elis as their reward [Paus. 5, 3, 5]. The Aetolians living north of the Corinthian Gulf were a peculiar people little known in the rest of Hellas. They lived in open towns or hamlets and used only light armour; but were warlike and brave. In B.C. 426 the Athenian general Demosthenes invaded Aetolia, but was defeated by a combined army of all the Aetolian states [Thucyd. 3, 94—8]. The Aetolians showed the same determination in resisting the Gallic invasion B.C. 279; and the Aetolian League from about B.C. 220 was the rival of the Achaean League in Greece, until reduced by the Romans in B.C. 189.

AGLAUROS, c. 53.

Daughter of Kekrops. She had a temple, or rather sacred grotto on the north side of the Acropolis, from which tradition said that she had cast herself, as a sacrifice for her country.

AJAX, c. 63.

Son of Telamon, and one of the heroes of Salamis. See Aekidae. In the Iliad he is the greatest warrior next to Achilles, but has no special authority in council.

AKERATOS, c. 37.

The prophet in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

ALABANDA, c. 136.

A town in Karia, mod. Arab-Hissar on the Marsyas (Tchinar Aksa), about 20 miles S. of Tralles. It was afterwards in Roman times a place of great wealth, the seat of a district court, and the birthplace of many famous orators.

ALEXANDER, cc. 34, 121, 126—7, 136—7, 139—143.

Alexander, son of Amyntas I., king of Lower Makedonia, the chief cities of which were Edessa and Pella. His family claimed to be Greek as descended from an Argive named Têmenus [Her. 8, 137; Thucyd. 2, 90], whose grandson Perdikkas first established the dynasty. Alexander, though he appears as acting with Xerxes under compulsion, had thirty years before shown that he was a man of courage and address. At that time (B.C. 510) the Persian general Megabazus, who had been commissioned by Darius, after his unfortunate Scythian expedition, to obtain the submission of Makedonia, sent seven ambassadors of high rank to the court of Amyntas. They obtained the symbols of submission from the aged king and were royally entertained by him, but an insult offered by them to some ladies of the court so enraged the young Prince Alexander, that he had them assassinated, and all their rich equipments dispersed [5, 19—21]. Though when king he had been unable to resist submitting to Xerxes, he had still shown his interest in the Greek cause by taking the trouble to send envoys to the
army despatched to guard the pass between Ossa and Olympus urging them not to attempt to hold so dangerous a position [Her. 7, 173]; and in the following year he showed, by coming to warn the Greeks before Plataea, on which side his wishes really lay [9, 45]. He had great wealth derived from the product of gold and silver mines [5, 17], which he commemorated by presenting a gold statue or statuette of himself to the god at Delphi. He was succeeded by his son Perdikkas II. some time before 432 B.C. [Thucyd. 1, 57] and after B.C. 463 [Plut. Cim. 14]. His Argive descent was admitted by the managers of the Olympic games, who allowed him to enter for the foot-race [5, 22].

ALKETAS, c. 139.

One of the early kings of Makedonia, father of Amyntas.

ALKIBIADES, c. 17.

The father of Kleiniás, and grandfather of the great Alkibiades. He was the head of one of the richest and noblest families at Athens, which traced its descent from Eurysakes, son of Ajax.

ALYATTES, c. 35.

King of Lydia, and father of Kroisos. In his reign [B.C. 625—560] the Kimmerians, a horde of Scythian barbarians who had forced their way into Asia, were expelled from Lydia; and the encroachment upon Karia and Ephesos was begun which was consummated by his son Kroisos (q. v.).

AMBRAKIOTS, the, c. 45.

Ambrakia was a town and district on the river Arachthos, seven miles from the shore of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a colony from Korinthos [Thucyd. 2, 80], and though it only contributed the moderate contingent of 500 men to the Greek army of defence, it played an important part afterwards in the Peloponnesian war on the side of the Peloponnesians; and in the time of Pyrrhus (circ. B.C. 290) was the capital of Epeiros.

AMEINIÀS, cc. 84, 93.

An Athenian, of the deme Pallene.

AMPHIARAOΣ, c. 134.

According to some legends a son of Apollo and Hypermnestra, according to others of Oikles and Hypermnestra, and descended from the seer Melampus. He was joint king of Argos with Adrastos, was one of the heroes engaged in the expedition of the Argo, the Kalydonian boar-hunt, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. In the last, as he fled from Periklymenos, the earth opened and swallowed him up, and he was made immortal by Zeus. Besides sanctuaries at Argos and Sparta, he had a temple and oracle near Oropos [1, 46].
AMPHIKAIA, c. 33.

A town of Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos. Pausanias says [9, 33, 9] that its right name, as evidenced by the decree of the Amphiktyonic Council for its destruction, was Amphikleia. There was a story connected with it exactly like that of Bethgellert, in which the child is defended from a wolf, not by a dog, but by a serpent, which was accordingly worshipped, and the town called by some 'Ophrela [ὄφρελα].'

AMPHISSA, c. 32.

A town in the territory of the Ozolian Lokrians, situated on the heights above the Krissian plain (mod. Salona). It was afterwards destroyed by order of the Amphiktyonic Council for cultivating the parts of the territory of Krissa, which had been consecrated, and for levying severe tolls upon the worshippers coming from Sicily and Italy to the shrine of Delphi, but was afterwards restored [Strab. 9, 3, 4]. The people of Amphissa reckoned themselves to be Aetolians (q. v.) not Lokrians.

AMYNTAS.

(1) cc. 136, 139—140.

King of Makedonia, son of Alketas and father of Alexander (q. v.). He was an aged man in B.C. 510, and much terrified by the ambition and aggressiveness of Darius, to whose envoys he gave the required symbols of submission. When his son Alexander planned his bloody revenge against these envoys the old king was first induced to retire, in spite of his alarm at his son's evident anger and dangerous temper [5, 17—20]. He was on terms of friendship with the Peisistratids, and offered Hippas the town of Anthemos when he was expelled from Athens [5, 94]. Besides his son Alexander, he had a daughter Gygaea married to a Persian named Bubares [8, 136].

(2) c. 136.

A son of the Persian Bubares and Gygaea sister of Alexander of Makedon. He is called 'Amyntas of Asia', to distinguish him from the father of Alexander.

ANAGYRASIOS, c. 93.

Of the deme Anagyros, which was on the coast of Attica between the Piraeus and Sunium.

ANAXANDRIDAS, c. 71.

Son of Leon, king of Sparta of the elder house. He died shortly before B.C. 502. Herodotes [5, 39—41] tells us that his first wife, who was also his niece, had no children; and that therefore the Ephors urged him to put her away and marry another.
He refused to do so from love to his wife. The Ephors accordingly, as a compromise, suggested that without divorcing his first wife he should take another. He accordingly—a thing hitherto unheard of at Sparta—married a second wife, a daughter of Prinetadas, and had by her a son Kleomenes. Soon afterwards his first wife, to the surprise of all, became the mother of three sons in quick succession, Dorieus, Leonidas, Kleombrotos. Kleomenes succeeded his father and died leaving only a daughter, Gorgo, about 495 B.C. Dorieus had meanwhile, after an adventurous life, died in Sicily [7, 205], and Leonidas succeeded. Kleombrotos was the father of Pausanias (q. v.).

ANDRIANS, the, c. 66. ANDROS, cc. 108, 111, 112, 121.

Andros was the most northern and, next to Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, being 21 m. long by 8 m. broad. It was fertile and rich in vines; but its inhabitants pleaded poverty when Themistokles demanded a contribution in B.C. 480 after the battle of Salamis [8, 111]. ‘The Athenians’, said Themistokles, ‘have brought two strong gods, Persuasion and Necessity’. ‘But we’, answered the Andrians, ‘have two unprofitable gods who never quit our island, Poverty and Helplessness’.

ANDROMADAS, c. 85.

A Samian, father of Theomestor (q. v.).

ANTIDORUS, c. 11.

A native of Lemnos.

ANTIKYRA, c. 21.

Thère were two towns of this name, one in Phokis on the gulf of Corinth; the other in Malis. The latter seems to be the one referred to here [and in 7, 198]. It was near the modern town of Zitini. Both towns were noted for the cultivation of hellebore.

APHETAE, cc. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14.

A town and roadstead on the coast of Magnesia in the Pagasaean gulf. Strabo says that it was so named as the place from which the Argo started, just as Pagase was called as the place at which the Argo was built (πήγαρομ). He says that Aphetae was near (πλαγιον) Pagase; but this cannot be taken very literally. Pagase is at the very head of the gulf, and the whole story shows that the Persian fleet could not have been so far removed from Artemisium [Strab. 9, 5, 15].

APHIDNAIOS, c. 125.

Of Aphidna, a fortified town in Attica, some few miles beyond Dekeleia on the road from Athens to Oropos. It was a very
ancient town, one of the original twelve which Theseus was believed to have united into one Athenian State. It was celebrated in mythology as the place in which Theseus concealed Helen, when he carried her off as a child of seven years old; and accordingly her brothers Castor and Pollux took the town when they invaded Attica in search of her. Aphidna also was the birthplace of the poet Tyrtaeos, and of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Its exact site seems uncertain, but it has been supposed that some remains of fortifications on a hill now called Hôtroni mark its situation.

APOLLO, c. 134. See Isemios and Pious.

AREIOPAGOS, the, c. 52.

A hill at Athens, sacred to Ares, and separated from the western side of the Akropolis by a depression of some few yards breadth. It was chiefly noted for being the place at which the Council met in the open air for trials in cases of murder and sacrilege.

ARES, c. 77.

God of war, son of Zeus and Hêrê.

ARGAIOS, c. 139.

Son of Perdikkas the first Greek sovereign of Makedonia (q. v.).

ARGIVES, the, c. 73. ARGOS, cc. 137–8.

Argos was the chief town of Argolis, the north-eastern province of Peloponnese. The dispute of the Argives with Sparta for possession of the narrow district along the coast immediately south of Argos, called Kynuria, had kept them in constant hostility with the Spartans. And their sufferings from the invasion of the Spartan king Kleomenes in B.C. 495–3, and the consequent rebellion of their own slaves [6, 72–83], had not only crippled them, but made them more than indifferent, positively hostile to the cause of the Greeks against the Persians; they are said to have even sent to Persia inviting the invasion [7, 150–2], and certainly took no part in resisting it. In the following year they showed their friendship by warning Mardonius of the approach of the army of the Peloponnese [9, 12]. This alliance with Persia was maintained for many years afterwards [7, 151; Thucyd. 2, 67].

ARIABIGNES, c. 89.

A son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. He was commander in chief of the Persian fleet [7, 97].

ARIARAMNES, c. 90.

A Persian. His friendship to the Ionians had probably been conceived during some official employment in Asia Minor.

ARIIPHERON, c. 131. Father of Xanthippos (q.v.)
ARISTEIDES, cc. 79, 91, 95.

The son of Lysimachos, of the deme Alopekeae. In his youth he had been a friend of the reformer Kleisthenes, and when in after years he came to hold various offices in the state he so distinguished himself for his strict integrity, that he received by general consent the title of the Just. He was one of the ten Strategi at Marathon, and, after the battle, was left with the men of his tribe to guard the captives and collect the spoil, while the rest of the army hurried back to Athens to confront the Persians who had sailed thither round Sunium. His great rival, Themistokles, who had also been one of the Strategi at Marathon, rose to great power and influence during the ten years from B.C. 490 to B.C. 480, owing principally to his energetic measures in inducing the Athenians to equip a powerful fleet for the prosecution of the Aeginetan war, which ships, as Herodotos says, 'saved Hellas' by crushing the invasion of Xerxes at Salamis. The political rivalry between the two statesmen had stopped in the way peculiar to Athens by a vote of ostracism, in which the majority voted against Aristeides [B.C. 483]; but when the invasion of Xerxes was actually approaching, the Athenians recalled Aristeides, and he joined the fleet at Salamis. After Salamis, though the reputation of Themistokles was enormous, the confidence of the people seems to have rested most upon Aristeides. He was elected sole commander (στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ) of the 8000 hoplites sent to join the Greek army against Mardonius; and in the period which followed he was almost continually in command in the Aegean. It was his high character which induced the allies, irritated by the folly and arrogance of Pausanias, to transfer the command of the allied fleet to Athens; and it was he who organised the Confederacy of Delos [B.C. 477—6], and arranged the assessment of the φόρος on a footing of equity always looked back upon by the allies themselves with satisfaction. As a statesman he had been connected with the more aristocratic party in opposition to Themistokles. But after 479 B.C. their positions seem to have been reversed to some extent. It was Aristeides who carried a measure throwing open to all citizens the archonship formerly confined to the pentacosiomedimnai, the richest class of citizens according to the assessment of Solon; while his frequent absence in command of the fleet separated him from the reactionary party at home, and kept him in sympathy with the class of citizens engaged in foreign service, who were observed to be more distinctly democratic than those who remained at home. The year of his death is variously stated as B.C. 469—8; and the place according to some was Pontus, according to others, Athens. But all agree that he retained the affection and respect of his fellow-citizens to the last; and that he showed by the smallness of the means which he left behind him, that he had made no personal gains in the public service. His tomb was long shown at Phalerum, and his daughters were portioned at the public cost, while his son Lysimachos had a grant of land and a pension.

Life by Plutarch.
ARKADIA, c. 26. ARKADIANS, the, cc. 72—3.

The central district of the Peloponnese. Its natural strength, being walled in on every side by considerable mountain ranges, preserved it from invasion, and its Pelasgan inhabitants therefore were not displaced by the Dorians who overran and settled most of the rest of the Peloponnese. This fact is to be remembered in studying Peloponnesian politics. Its mountainous scenery, and the antiquity of its inhabitants, caused it to be regarded as the natural home of primitive simplicity and pastoral life. It consisted of a number of independent townships, the most notable of which were Tegea and Mantinea, the only Arkadian towns mentioned as furnishing troops at Plataea [vid. 9, 27—8].

ARTABANOS, c. 26.

Son of Hystaspes, brother of Darius, and uncle of Xerxes. He had dissuaded Xerxes from his expedition against Greece [7, 10—17], had warned him of the insecurity of the loyalty of the Ionians [7, 46—52], and had been sent to Susa in charge of the kingdom when Xerxes was starting [7, 52—3].

ARTABAZOS, cc. 126, 128—9.

Artabazos, son of Pharmaces, commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians [Her. 7, 6], and was held in high estimation among the Persians. He escorted king Xerxes back to the Hellespont after Salamis, at the head of 60,000 picked troops, and spent the winter of 480—8 in trying to reduce the towns of Potidaea and Olynthus. He killed all the inhabitants of the latter city and handed it over to certain Chalkidian settlers in the neighbourhood. But he was not so successful with Potidaea. The citizens of this town offered a stout resistance for three months: and finally he lost a large number of his men in trying to enter the town at an ebb tide round the breakwater, or mole, which protected the harbour [ὑλὴ Thucyd. 1, 63]. Artabazos then raised the siege, retired to join Mardonius in Macedonia, and marched with him southward in the spring. His force however was now reduced to 40,000 men, with which he escaped after Plataea, and with part of which at any rate he arrived safely in Asia; where he still retained the confidence of the king, who sent him in B.C. 478—7 as Satrap to Sardis, in place of Megabates, when Pausanias offered to negotiate with the Persian monarch [Thucyd. 1, 129]. From that time we hear no more of him.

ARTACHAESOS, c. 130.

A Persian, father of Artayntes.

ARTAYNTES, c. 130.

A Persian left by Xerxes in command of his fleet, and conquered in the following year at Mykale (9, 102, 107).
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

ARTEMIS, c. 77.

The virgin Goddess, daughter of Zeus and Leto.

ARTEMISIA, cc. 66—8, 68—9, 93, 101, 107.

Queen of Halikarnassos in Karia, daughter of Lygdamis. She was married to the king of Halikarnassos, and on his death succeeded to the royal power, though she had a grown-up son, Pisindelis, who was the father of another Lygdamis, king of Halikarnassos at the time that Herodotos left his native city. Besides Halikarnassos her dominions included Kos, Nisyros and Kalydna. She furnished five triremes to the fleet of Xerxes [7, 99]; and was so much trusted by him, that, when he retreated after Salamis to the Hellespont, he committed his children to her care to convey to Ephesos [8, 101—2]. Photios [Biblioth. 492] says that she committed suicide by throwing herself off the Leucadian rock (‘the lover’s leap’) in remorse for having put out the eyes of a youth called Dardanos of Abydos, whom she had loved in vain. Her portrait was among the paintings on the ‘Persian Stoa’ in the agora of Sparta [Pausan. 3, 11, 3].

ARTEMISIUM, cc. 4, 6, 8, 40, 42—5, 66, 76, 81.

A name applied to the line of coast on the north of Euboea. It was so called from a temple of Artemis situated on the extreme point of the island. The name was also especially applied to the extreme northern promontory of Euboea, and probably to the town which had gathered round the haven. But of this town we know nothing. The name is common to other places, as for instance a promontory in Karia.

ASIA, cc. 109, 118—9, 130, 136.

Herodotos knew somewhat less than a third of Asia, that part, namely, which was included in the Persian Empire. Earlier still the name was sometimes used merely of the district afterwards called Lydia [Homer, Il. 2, 461].

ASINE, c. 73.

A town in Messenia on the west coast of the Koronačan gulf (Sinus Messeniacus), on the opposite coast of which stood Kardamyle. It is called ‘near Kardamyle’ to distinguish it from Asine in Argos, from which the Dryopians (q. v.) had come, when expelled by the Argives from their three towns of Hermione, Asine, and Halice.

ATARNEUS, c. 106.

A tract of Mysia opposite Lesbos [1, 160], near the river Kaikos (6, 28); it had been given up to the Chians by the Persians in return for the surrender of the Lydian tyrant Pactyas, who had taken refuge at Mytilene, after his revolt against Kyros.

H. VIII.

I4
ATHENÉ, cc. 55, 104. ATHENÉ PRONAIA, cc. 37—9. ATHENÉ SKIRAS, c. 94.

The goddess Athené was fabled to have sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus. She was guardian deity of Athens, which was named after her. The most venerable temple on the Acropolis was hers; her sacred bird was stamped on the Attic coins; and in every respect she represented the Athenian nationality.

The temple of ATHENÉ PRONAIA at Delphi abutted on the road from Phokis, and was the last of four temples standing thus at the entrance of the town. Pronaia means 'living in front', i.e. at the entrance of the town: but Pausanias (10, 8, 6) calls it the temple 'Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας 'of Athenè the goddess of forethought'.

The position of the temple of ATHENÉ SKIRAS in Salamis is doubtful. It has generally been believed to be near the northern promontory the Skiradion; but Stein places it in the South close to the old town of Salamis [quoting Plut. Solon 10]. The objection to this is that it supposes the Korinthians to be escaping round the S. of the Island, which seems unlikely. The title Skiras is connected with two temples of Athenè in Attica, and from it the month Skirophorion and the festival Skirophoria were named.

ATHENIANS, the, cc. 1, 2, 5, 10, 17—8, 21—2, 40—2, 44, 51—5, 68, 70, 74—5, 84, 86, 91, 93—4, 109—111, 136, 140—4.

ATHENS, cc. 34, 46, 48, 50, 56, 66—8, 102, 106, 118, 125, 136, 141.

During the summer of B.C. 480 Athens was in the hands of the Persians, and though the inhabitants partially returned after the battle of Salamis, they quitted the town again in the spring of 479 B.C. at the approach of Mardonios, and were for the most part housed in the island of Salamis, while Athens itself was for a time again occupied by Mardonios. The Athenians were all along the life and soul of the resistance to Persia. They, with the help of 1000 Plataeans only, had conquered at Marathon in B.C. 490; they had organized the confederacy of the southern states formed in B.C. 481—480 to repel Xerxes; at Artemision and at Salamis their ships numbered nearly as many as those of all the other allies together; and though at Plataea it was the Spartans and Tegeans who alone were engaged with the Persians, the Athenians were meanwhile employed in what was probably a more serious encounter with the Boeotians; and in the consequent attack upon the Persian fortified camp the Spartans could not succeed without their help. It was her patriotism and valour in this war which among other causes led to the subsequent supremacy of Athens in Hellas. Until after the Persian wars Athens was practically an open town; the Acropolis had been fortified by a wall constructed by Pelasgan builders, but any other defences it may have possessed must have been of the very slightest. After the Persian wars the Acropolis
was devoted to sacred buildings, while the town itself was defended by a ring wall of about 7 miles in circumference.

ATTICA, cc. 10, 40, 49, 51, 60, 65, 96, 144.

Thucydides (1, 2) observes that Attica, partly because it lay out of the road from the north to southern Greece, and partly because its soil was not very fruitful, had in former times seldom been invaded, and therefore had not undergone those frequent changes of inhabitants which had befallen the rest of Greece. The people therefore regarded themselves as Autochthonous, or native to the soil. It is a peninsula of which the greatest length is 50 miles and breadth 30 miles; its whole contents 700 square miles. Its geological formation is primitive limestone; and it is so mountainous that only half its square contents is available for cultivation. The hills are generally bare and rugged, giving a meagre sustenance to sheep and goats, and but scantily sprinkled with pines, dwarf-oaks, lentisk, arbutus and bay trees. The plains in the country, and there is none of importance except that of Athens itself, have but a light soil thinly covering the rock, not generally fitted for corn-growing, and not fruitful in anything except olives and vines. It is badly supplied with water; its streams are mountain torrents nearly dry in the summer, and there is no lake or natural reservoir. The name has been generally derived from ἀκτή, 'headland' or 'coastland', but Curtius suggests that it is rather ἀστική from ἀστύ.

AUTONOOS, c. 39.

One of the deified men or heroes worshipped at Delphi.

BAGAEOS, c. 130.

The father of Mardontes (q. v.).

BAKIS, cc. 20, 77, 96.

Nothing is known of this personage beyond the fact that a number of oracles were extant, the collection of which was attributed to him. These were consulted by individuals and states in times of danger and uncertainty: Herodotos quotes them in 9, 43: and Aristophanes parodied the style of these prophecies in the Equites and elsewhere [see Eq. 123 sq., Av. 899, Pax 1009]; which does not at all prove that he was wholly incredulous in respect to them. We are told that there were three prophets of this name (which means 'the Speaker', cp. βδέκευ), one of Boeotia, who is the one quoted by Herodotos, another of Attica, and a third of Kaphyae in Arkadia.

BAKTRIANS, c. 113.

Inhabitants of Baktria (Balk) separated from Ariana and from the Sakae by Mt Paromisos (Hindū-Kūsh) on the south and east, and from Sogdiana on the north-east by the river Oxus, and from Morgiana (Khorassān) on the west. Their contingent in the grand
army under Sisamnes carried bows of cane [7, 64—6], some on foot
and some on horseback [ib. 86]. They were included in the twelfth
Satrapy by Darius [3, 92].

Basileides, c. 132.

The father of an Herodotos, an Ionian, who is supposed by
some to have been a relation of our historian.

Belbine, c. 175.

An island in the Saronic gulf, not far from Sunium, mod.
Island of St George. There was however another place of the same
name in Lakonia, on the borders of Arkadia, which may possibly be
meant here [Steph. Byz., Pausan. 8, 35, 3].

Bermios, c. 138.

The range of mountains in lower Makedonia extending north to
the R. Lydias and south to the R. Haliakmon, and enclosing large
plains between it and the sea.

Bisaltae, c. 116.

A Thracian people inhabiting a district west of the Strymon, in
which were the Andrian colonies of Argilus and Arethusa [7, 115].
They were a warlike race, who, though afterwards conquered by the
Makedonians, long retained their name and nationality.

Boeotia, cc. 45, 144.

Boeotia was the district immediately to the north of Attica,
bounded on the south-west by that part of the Corinthian Gulf
called the mare Alkyonium, on the north and north-east by the
territory of the Opuntian Lokrians and the Euripos, and on the west
by Phokis. Between it and Attica lay the mountain range of
Kithaeron and Parnes, which was crossed by two passes, one called
Dryoskephalaë leading from Eleusis by Eleutheræa and Hysiae to
Plataea, and another from Athens by Phylæ (on Mt Parnes) into the
valley of the Asopus and direct to Thebes. Extending from sea to
sea it barred the way into Attica and the Peloponnese, and being
also suited by its plains for military evolutions was often the scene
of campaigns. It is divided geographically into two districts, the
northern one containing two wide plains, those of Orchomenos
and Thebes, but completely surrounded by mountains; the other, or
southern Boeotia, containing the long and sometimes wide valley of
the Asopus. Politically Boeotia was a somewhat loose confederacy
of free towns, which varied in number at different times. Nine
towns are known as belonging to the confederacy, viz. Thebes,
Orchomenos, Lebadea, Coronea, Copæ, Haliartos, Thespiae, Tan-
agra, Anthedon. Of these Orchomenos in Homeric times seems
to have been far the most important, but for a long while before the
Persian war Thebes had been the leading state. These states were
free, according to the Hellenic custom, but for certain purposes they were under the control of deputies or Boeotarchs elected by each state, who were again controlled by consultative senates.

Boeotians, the, cc. 34, 38, 50, 66, 113.

The Boeotians were a mixed race. Aeolian Hellenes had emigrated from Thessaly and settled there, partly absorbing the earlier Pelasgic inhabitants; and in Thebes there had also been a Phoenician colony called Kadmeians, whose name still survived in the citadel of Thebes, the Kadmeia. Not only, therefore, were they divided in race from the people of Attica and the Peloponnesse, but against the former they were embittered by the feuds which always sprung up between conterminous Greek states, the especial object of contest in their case being generally the possession of Oropos, which commanded the eastern and easiest road from Attica to the north, as well as Oenoe and Hysiae commanding the pass of Dryoskeptalae. They and the Chalkidians of Euboea had in B.C. 506 joined Kleomenes of Sparta in ravaging Attica, in the interest of the expelled Hippias [Her. 5, 74]; and had subsequently helped to protect the Chalkidians against the consequent Athenian vengeance [ib. 77]; and this enmity to Athens in a great measure accounted for the eagerness with which they as a nation mediated. Yet there seems to have been a considerable party of loyalists even at Thebes; and at Thermopylae there were 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans serving in the army of Leonidas, though the latter soon deserted [7, 202].

Bottiae, c. 127.

Originally the inhabitants of the district between the rivers Haliakmon and Axios, the original seat of the Makedonian kingdom, and containing Pella, which was afterwards the capital of the kingdom [7, 123]. The Bottiae were afterwards driven by the Makedonians eastward to the neighbourhood of Pallene [Thucyd. 2, 99].

Bubares, c. 136.

A Persian who married Gygaea sister of Alexander of Makedon. He had been despatched to investigate the fate of the Persian ambassadors who had been assassinated at the Makedonian court in B.C. 510, but had apparently been induced by a bribe of money, and the hand of Gygaea, to hush the matter up [5, 21].

Chalkidians, the, cc. 1, 44—5.

The inhabitants of Chalkis in Euboea. Chalkis (mod. Egripo) on the Euripos, where the channel is divided by a rock—which now forms a central pier for the bridge uniting Euboea with the continent,—was a flourishing commercial town which had sent colonies in very ancient times to Sicily and Italy and the north of Greece. The oldest Hellenic colony in Italy, Kumae, was from Chalkis (perhaps in conjunction with the Asiatic Kymaeans), and
the Chalkidian colonies in Sicily, Naxos and Zancle (Messina), had in their turn been the source of four other flourishing Sicilian towns. It was early a rival and opponent of Athens; and in B.C. 506, after it had taken part in the confederacy formed by Kleomenes against Athens, the Athenians conquered it and divided part of its territory among 4000 lot-holders or kleruchs [5, 77].

CHERSIS, c. 11.

Father of Gorgos, king of Salamis in Kypros (q. v.). He was the son of Siromos s. of Euelthon, and appears to have been a Phoenikian. See 5, 104.

CHERSONESOS, c. 130.

The Thrakian Chersonese [mod. Peninsula of Gallipoli] forms the northern shore of the Hellespont. It was fertile, and contained eleven or twelve cities, of which the most important were Kardia, Elaes, Sestos, Pactya, and Madytos [7, 33; Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 10]. Its length is about 50 miles, and the breadth of the Isthmus about 5. It had formerly been under the government of Miltiades, but all its cities except Kardia were taken at the end of the Ionian revolt, by the Phoenikians in the interest of Persia [6, 33].

CHIOS, cc. 105—6, 132.

The island of Chios [mod. Ceos] lies about 5 miles from the coast of Lydia, its length being about 32 miles, and its width varying from 8 to 18 miles. It is a rocky (πασαλόβασα) island, and chiefly productive of wine and gum-mastic from the lentiscus growing in it. Settlers from Krete, Euβoea, and Karia had replaced or amalgamated with its ancient inhabitants who were Leleges with a mixture of Pelasgians from Thessaly. Its inhabitants were very wealthy [Thucyd. 8, 24, 3—4].

DAMASITHYMOS, c. 87.

Son of Candaules, and king of the Kalyndians (q. v.) in Karia.

DARIO, c. 89.

Darius of the clan of the Achaemenidae, the son of Hystaspes. He served under Kambyses in Egypt in B.C. 525 [3, 39]; after whose death he joined the other nobles in a plot to kill the Magus who pretended to be Smerdis son of Kyros [3, 70], and when this man was killed he secured the throne for himself [3, 84—7]: the other Persians submitting on condition that he should marry Atossa the daughter of Kyros. He was the organiser of the huge dominions thus acquired; dividing them into twenty satrapies, and appointing to each the amount of tribute to be paid by it to the royal exchequer. In his reign (from B.C. 521 to 485) occurred the Ionian revolt, and, arising from the help rendered by Athens to the rebels, the expedition led by Dates and Artaphernes which failed at Marathon.
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He was making preparations for a renewal of the struggle when he died.

DAULII, the, c. 35.

The inhabitants of Daulis a town of Phokis. The town was destroyed during the Sacred War [B.C. 357—346], but seems to have revived, and was remarkable for the size and courage of its inhabitants, as well as for the abundance and density of its forests [Paus. 10, 41]. See Drymos.

DELOS, cc. 132—3.

The Cyclades were so called because they were regarded as being in a circle (κύκλος) round Delos, which was familiar to all Greeks from the fame and sanctity of its temple of Apollo, for a long time the meeting-place of the Ionian Congress. This had been removed since about B.C. 530—20 by Polykrates of Samos to Ephesos; but its yearly festival was still largely attended, and the Ionian cities sent splendid θεουπλασ to do honour to the god. Hence the voyage as far as Delos was, as we learn here, familiar to the Greek sailors, though all beyond was strange and alarming. It is the smallest of the Cyclades, lying close to the larger island Rheneia, which was properly the place of residence of the Delians, Delos itself being reserved for sacred purposes.

DELPHI, cc. 27, 35, 81, 114, 121—2.

DELPHIANS, the, cc. 37—9.

Delphi, the seat of the famous oracle of Apollo, was in a religious sense the centre of Greece. To it men from all parts of Greece, and indeed of the known world, came to consult the Oracle on every imaginable difficulty, great or small. The answers of the Pythian priestess were regarded with the greatest respect, and often decided the policy of a state, and the question of peace or war. The care of the temple was the joint business of the Phokian league, and the claim of the Delphians to the exclusive custody of it, supported as they were in that claim by Sparta, led to a war in which the Athenians finally restored the privilege to the Phokian league [Thucyd. 1, 112]. This was about B.C. 449: but more than a hundred years before (B.C. 595—585) there had been a more serious 'Sacred War' brought on by the greed of the people of Kirrha, the port of Delphi, in levying heavy exactions on visitors to the shrine, and which ended in the destruction of Kirrha [Plut. Sol. xi.]. So important did the Greeks consider free access to this sacred place. Its freedom and inviolability was the special business of the Amphiktyonic League which met there and at Thermopylae alternately. The splendid temple standing at the time of the Persian invasion was a comparatively recent erection; the more ancient building, which yet was the fourth that had been built, was burnt in B.C. 548, and the new one was built by the Alkmaeonidae,
who went beyond their contract in facing the pronaos with Parian marble. The town of Delphi stood in a kind of natural amphitheatre to the S. of the sloping foot of a precipitous two-headed cliff which terminates the range of Parnassos. The valley is watered by the river Pleistos flowing to the S.W. into the Krissaean gulf. The name of the town in the Homeric poem is Pytho (Πυθώ), hence the 'Pythian games', and the 'Pythia', i.e. the priestess who delivered the oracles.

Demaratos, c. 65.

Son of Ariston, whom he succeeded as king of Sparta. He incurred the enmity of the other king Kleomenes by thwarting him in his attack upon Athens [5, 75]; and in Aegina [6, 59 sq.]. Accordingly Kleomenes resolved to get rid of him, and the Delphian oracle was induced to declare that he was not the true son of Ariston. After a while he was deposed and went into exile. He lived in various places in Greece, finally crossing over to Persia where Darius received him with honour. He accompanied Xerxes in his expedition into Greece; though he had evinced the remains of patriotic feelings by previously warning his countrymen of the coming danger [7, 239]. For his conversations with Xerxes see 7, 101—4, 109. His family long occupied the places in Asia which were given him as a reward [Xen. Hell. 3, 1, 6].

Demokritos, c. 65.

A commander of a trireme of Naxos, who according to Plutarch (de malig. Her. 36) greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Salamis, taking five of the enemy’s ships, and rescuing a Greek vessel that had been captured.

Dikaeus, c. 65. An Athenian exile in the Persian army.

Dorians, the, cc. 31, 43, 45, 66, 73, 141.

The Dorians, according to the myth, were descended from Doros the eldest son of Hellen, and gradually migrated step by step southward, under different appellations, until they finally settled in the Peloponnesos [1, 56]. The main fact, that the Dorians were a migration from the North, pushed away by the encroachments of northern barbarians, may be regarded as historical. They occupied Korinthos, Lakonia, Argos and Messenia; and presently sent out a considerable number of colonies; the principal of which were in Korkyra and Sicily to the west, and in Karia in the east.

Doris, cc. 31—2, 43.

A small district between the Mounts Oeta and Parnassos, consisting of the valley of the Pindos. The Lakedaemonians regarded this place as their metropolis, and in B.C. 456 sent an expedition to assist the inhabitants against an attack of the Phokians [Thucyd. 1, 107, 2].
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Drymos, c. 32.
A town of Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos. There was a town of the same name, which means an 'Oak forest,' in Euboea. For the woody nature of the district, see under Daulii. Pausanias calls it Δρυμαλά [10, 3, 2], and tells us of an ancient temple of Demeter Thesmophoros existing there [10, 39, 12].

Dryopians, cc. 46, 73.

Dryopis, cc. 31, 43.
Dryopis bordered on Malis, extending from the Sperkheios to some way beyond Mt Oeta. The Dryopes were probably a Pelasgic race, and when expelled from their native country scattered in various directions; into Argolis, where they built the towns of Hermione, Asine and Eion; into Euboea, where they had Styra and Karystos; and into the islands of Kythnos, Mykonos, and Kypros. See under Asine. Müller’s Dorians, vol. i. p. 45—7. Her. i, 56, 146.

Egyptians, the, cc. 17, 68.

The Egyptians, whose civil, religious, and military organisation was the most ancient of any known to the Greeks, and from whom many of the institutions of Greece were traced, had been conquered by the Persians under Kambyses B.C. 525 [3, 10 sq.]; had rebelled against the Persians in the reign of Darius B.C. 486 [7, 1—19], and had thus prevented him from renewing his attack upon Greece. Being again subdued by Xerxes they, like the rest of the subject states, furnished a contingent to the Grand Army [7, 25, 89], and their 200 ships did conspicuous service at Artemision.

Eion, cc. 118, 120.

A Thracian town on the mouth of the Strymon, serving as the harbour town of Amphipolis, from which it was about 3 miles distant. It was at this time under the command of a Persian named Boges [7, 113], and remained in Persian hands till B.C. 476 when it was captured by Kimon son of Miltiades [Thucyd. i, 98].

Elateia, c. 33.
The largest and, next to Delphi, most important city of Phokis. It stood on a gentle elevation in the midst of a large plain in the valley of the Kephisos. The Elateians professed to be of Arkadian [i.e. Pelasgic] origin; and long remained a powerful state, holding out successfully against Kassander the Makedonian, and later on against Mithridates. For this latter exploit they were made a free city by the Romans [Paus. 10, 34, 1—6].

Eleans, the, c. 72. Elis, cc. 27, 73.

Elis was the north-western province of the Peloponnesos. The
Eleans, who were of kin to the Aetolians, are chiefly prominent in Greek history from the fact of their having the management of the Olympic games, held within their borders in the valley of the Alpheios.

**Eleusis, cc. 65, 85.**

Eleusis, situated on a bay called by the same name, was about 11 miles from Athens, from which it was approached by the Sacred Way. It is opposite Salamis and at the mouth of the western branch of the Attic Kephisos. It was famous throughout Greece, and a place of especial sanctity in the eyes of the Athenians, from the celebration of the mysteries in its great temple of Demeter, to which the citizens of Athens yearly went in solemn procession, and which were attended by the pious from all parts of Greece.

**Ellopia, c. 23.**

A district in the N.-West angle of Euboea lying round Mt Telethinos. It formed a part of a district called Oria (Ὄρα or Ὄρητα) belonging to the town of Histiaea. Some time after the battle of Leuktra (B.C. 371) the Ellopians were removed to Histiaea, which by that time had come to be called Oreos. The mythological derivation of Ellopia was from Ellops son of Ion; which means that the Ellopians were Ionians. Herodotos calls it μοῖρα 'an allotment', Strabo χωρίων 'a small district' [Strab. 10, 1, 3].

**Ephesos, cc. 103, 105, 107.**

A town on the coast of Asia at the mouth of the Kayster, with a harbour called Panormos which is now silted up. It was one of the twelve Ionian towns [1, 142, 148], and in the time of Polykrates was regarded as religiously the centre of the Ionians, their yearly festival being called the Ephesia [Thucyd. 3, 104]. It was now in the hands of the Persians, who apparently guarded it carefully, so that it had taken no part in the Ionian revolt. The reason of this was that it was the starting-point of the great road through Sardis into central Asia. Hence we find in this book that Xerxes sends his children to Ephesos, that they may go safely up the country. And hence it is that Panionios sends the unfortunate boys for sale to Ephesos and to Sardis [c. 105]. It was said to have been founded by Androklos, son of the Athenian Kodros.

**Epidaurians, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.**

**Epidauros, c. 46.**

Epidauros was a town on the coast of Argolis, opposite the island of Aegina, which it had originally colonised and retained more closely under its power than was usually the case with colonies [Her. 5, 83]. The inhabitants were Dorians, and it was noted for its temple and worship of Aesculapios, and for the celebration of
certain orgies or mysteries of which Herodotos says ‘it is not lawful to speak’.

ERECHTHEUS, cc. 44, 55.

A mythical king of Athens, son of Hephaestos and Atthis d. of Kranaos. To him were attributed the establishment at Athens (1) of the worship of Athené, (2) the Panathenaeas, (3) the building of the temple of Athené Polias, which in historical times formed part of the Erechtheum. Herodotos calls him earth-born [γεγενής] as his mother 'Ατθίς is an earth-nymph, 'Ατθίς Γη. Cp. Hom. II. 2, 546,

οί δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνᾶς εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον πτολεμέρον,
δήμῳ Ἐρεχθείος μεγαλητροσ, δὲ ποτ' Ἀθηνῆ
θρέψε Δίὸς θυγάτηρ—téke δὲ ζειδώρος ἄρω—
καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθηνῆς εἰσαν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πλοῖοι νηῷ.

ERETRIANS, the, cc. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Eretria in Euboea. They had assisted Miletos in the Ionic revolt [B.C. 501] with 5 triremes, in return for assistance received from Miletos in some quarrel with Chalkis [Her. 5, 99]: for this they were made a special object of attack byDates and Artaphernes in B.C. 490. They took the town and carried off all the inhabitants they could catch to Susa; where they were received kindly by Darius and settled in a district called Ardericca, about 35 miles from Susa; where they remained for some generations. But though the town was thus depopulated, a considerable number of the inhabitants escaped falling into the hands of the Persians by taking refuge in the mountains in the centre of Euboea [id. 6, 100—120]. These people must have returned after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, and have restored the prosperity of their town; for they supplied 600 hoplites at Plataea, besides sending these seven triremes to Artemisia and Salamis [id. 9, 21].

ERINEOS, c. 43.

A town of Doris on the R. Pindos, a tributary of the Kephisos. It was one of the four cities—the Tetrapolis—which were regarded as the original home of the Dorians. [Strab. 914, 10.]

ETRÓCHUS, c. 32.

A town in Phokis. It appears not to have been an important place, and remained a mere open village after the destructive attack of the Persians [Paus. 10, 3, 2].

EUBOEA, cc. 8, 13, 20, 68—9, 86.
EUBOEANS, the, cc. 5, 6, 7, 13, 19, 20.

Euboea is a long narrow island extending from the Malian gulf as far south as about half the length of Attica. Where it
approaches nearest the coast of the mainland it was believed to have been separated by an earthquake. The channel (the Euripos) is narrow enough to admit of a bridge, which was first made by the Boeotians in B.C. 410. Its natural formation divides it in three; each part being marked by a range of mountains, Mt Telethios in the north, Mt Dorphys in the centre, Mt Ocha in the south. The chief towns in these divisions were, Histiaea (Oreos) in the north, Chalkis and Eretria in the centre, Styra and Karysost in the south; and these three divisions were also inhabited by three different races respectively, Ellopians (Ionians), Abantes (see Abae), Dryopians (q. v.). For the interference of Athens in Euboea see Chalkidians.

EUMENES, c. 93.

An Athenian of the deme Anagyros, who distinguished himself at Salamis.

EURIPUS, c. 15.

The channel between Euboea and the mainland—whence the modern name of Negropont [i.e. Egripo (Euripos) Ponte=bridge]. It was the natural course for ships to take coming from the north, and has been called by some historians the sea-Thermopylae, being the key to the south of Greece by sea, as Thermopylae by land: at its narrowest point opposite Chalkis it is only 40 yards across.


Herodotos conceived of Europe as a large continent of unknown extent towards the west and north, no man being able to say whether the sea bounded it in those two directions. The whole world was divided into Asia and Europe; in Asia was included Libya as far as the valley of the Nile, which bounded Europe in one direction while the Kolchian Phasis bounded it on the other [4, 45].

EUROPION, cc. 133, 135.

An inhabitant of the Karian town Europus, or as some write it Euromus [see Steph. Byz. s. vv. Ἐδρωμός, Ἐδρωμύς]. There were other towns of the same name in Makedonia and Syria. That the Karian one is meant here is shown by the story in c. 135, and by Pansanias 9, 23, 6, who recounts this same anecdote. Its site seems uncertain; Colonel Leake placed it near the modern Takii.


Son of Eurykleides, the commander of the Spartan ships, and therefore of the combined fleet. Though the account of his proceedings does not give a very lively idea of firmness or capacity, his countrymen honoured him with the prize for valour after Salamis, while they gave the prize for wisdom to Themistokles [8, 124].
EURYKLEIDES, cc. 2, 42, 62.

A Spartan, father of Eurybiades.

GAUANES, c. 137.

One of the Argive youths, descendants of Temenos, who fled from Argos to Illyria and thence to upper Makedonia; the younger of the three, Perdikkas, founding the dynasty of Makedonia. He appears not to be mentioned elsewhere.

GERAI stos, c. 7.

A town and promontory (Cape Mandili) at the extreme south of Euboea. It possessed a great temple of Poseidon. The town does not seem to have been important except as a place of call for ships sailing from Attica to the Islands or Asia Minor. See Hom. Odys. 3, 177 ἐς τε Γεραιωτῶν ἐννύχιαι κατάγοντο (in Nestor’s account of the Greek return from Troy).

GORDIAS, c. 138.

Father of Midas (q. v.). He is called Gordias by Aelian, V. H. 4, 17, and by Strabo (12, 5, 3), who places his home in Phrygia on the river Sangarios.

GORGOS, c. 11.

King of Salamis in Kypros. He had been shut out of his own town by a trick of his brother Onesilos, because he refused to join the Ionian revolt from Persia: but flying for safety to the Persians he had been reinstated [5, 104, 115].

GYGAEA, c. 136.

A sister of Alexander of Makedonia (q. v.) married, as a peace-offering, to a Persian named Bubares [5, 21].

HALIKARNASSOS, c. 104.

Though his own birthplace, Herodotos says very little of Halikarnassos. He tells us that it was one of the Dorian Hexapolis in Asia Minor, of which the other members were Lindos, Telysos and Kamisos in Rhodes, and Kos and Knidos in the mainland, but was expelled from the Union, which thus became a Pentapolis [1, 144]. Halikarnassos, thus separated from the other Dorian states, appears to have become very rapidly Ionicised. It was the largest and strongest city in Karia, a colony from Troezen in Argolis, standing on the slope of a precipitous rock and an isthmus called Zephyrium. It shared the fate of the other Asiatic Greek cities in becoming subject to Persia; and, like the others, fell under the rule of a dynasty of tyrants founded by Lygdamis, who remaining loyal to the Persians gradually became lords of all Karia. It continued to be important until its destruction by Alexander the Great, from which it never entirely recovered [Diod. xvii. 23. Curtius 2, 9].
Hellas, cc. 3, 4, 18, 22, 44, 57, 60 § 1, 62, 66, 68 § 1, 76, 100—1, 108—9, 114—5, 142, 144.

Hellenes, cc. 4—11, 14—18, 23, 30, 44, 46, 56, 65, 68 § 2, 70, 72, 75—6, 80, 82—4, 87, 89, 94, 96—8, 102, 107—8, 110—2, 121—2, 124, 130—3, 142.

Hellenic, cc. 6, 17, 81, 85, 87, 144.

Hellas and Hellenes are in the widest sense; the latter including all united by a common descent from Hellen, common language, and, in the main, common religion; and the former indicating all lands inhabited by them. It is also used in the more restricted sense of continental and island Greece.

Hellespontos, cc. 51, 87, 97, 107—110, 115, 117—8, 120.

The narrow strait (varying from 1 to 3 miles in breadth) between the Thracian Chersonese and Asia. There were numerous Greek colonies on its shores attracted there by the trade, especially in corn, with the peoples round the Black Sea [6, 26, 33].

Hephaestos, c. 98.

The god of fire, and of the metallic arts which required fire. In the Iliad he is represented as lame (κολλησιούβαν 18, 37), but as a skilful artificer (II. 1, 571 καλυτρέχης, 15, 311 χαλκεύς), and the maker of the brazen starry palace in which he lived (II. 18, 370). Herodotes found his worship well known in Egypt [2, 2, 3, 99, 101]. At Athens the Lampadephoriae were held in his honour, but also in honour of Pan [6, 105].

Herakleidae, cc. 114, 131.

The ‘Herakleidae of Sparta’ are the two royal families of Sparta, the representatives of which both claimed descent from Herakles. They were not Dorians [5, 72], but were supposed to have returned under Hyllas son of Herakles to the Peloponnese with the Dorian invaders, from which they had been expelled by Eurystheus. The two families branched off from Aristodemus fourth in descent from Herakles [see c. 131].

Aristodemus

- Eurystheus
  - Agis (hence the Agidae).
  - Siris (hence the Eurypon (hence the Euryponidae).
- Prokles
  - Euryphon or Eurypon

Herakles, cc. 43, 131.

The worship of Herakles, according to the common legend son
of Zeus and Alkmene, was the most widely spread in Greece of any god. Herodotos found a deity worshipped in Egypt under the same name [2, 43, 145], at Tyre [2, 44], and in Skythia [4, 59]; though the Greek legends concerning him were unknown to the Egyptians [2, 43]. The peculiarity of the worship of Herakles was that it combined the two kinds, that paid to a hero and that to a God [2, 44]. He is the mythical ancestor of the royal families of Sparta and of Lydia [1, 7; 7, 204], and his temples were found in innumerable places. He represented to the Greek mind the highest idea of human strength and triumphant manhood, to which heaven itself was open.

Hermione, c. 73. Hermonians, the, cc. 43, 72.

A town on the S.E. coast of Argolis, on a gulf to which it gives a name. It was one of the three Argive towns (the others being Halice and Asine) inhabited by Dryopians (q. v.).

Hermotimos, cc. 104, 106.

One of the eunuchs in the service of Xerxes, a native of Pedasus (q. v.).

Herodotos, c. 132.

A son of Basileides (q. v.) and perhaps a relation of the historian; he appears to have been a native of Chios.

Histiaeae, cc. 23, 25, 66, 85.

A town on the north of Euboea. It was afterwards called Oreos, from the general name of the district in which it stood. After the Persian war it was subject to Athens and revolting in B.C. 445 was taken by Perikles, its inhabitants removed, and Athenian citizens put in [Thuc. i, 114]. See Ellopia.

Hollows of Euboea, the, c. 13.

By τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὔβολης was meant, says Strabo, all the part between Aulis and the district of Geraestos; for the shore there bends into a deep bay, but towards Chalkis approaches the mainland again [Strab. 10, 1, 15]. The Persian ships therefore had rounded Geraestos when they were caught by the storm. This was a dangerous coast from its broken and abrupt nature and its variety of currents. Cp. Livy 31, 47 est sinus Euboicus, quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis. And Eurip. Troad. 84 πλῆσαν δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὔβολος μυγὸν. This last quotation is in favour of the geographical description given above; for it refers to the return of the Greeks from Troy, the natural course being that which they took when going out, viz. by Aulis and the Euripos, in which case they would necessarily pass through the sinus Euboicus, but not past Cape Kaphareos, between which and Geraestos some would place 'the Hollows'.
Hyampeia, c. 39.

One of the two peaks of Parnassos immediately above the fountain of Kastalia at Delphi.

Hyampolis, c. 34.

A city in Phokis on the Kephisos and a short distance north of Abae (q. v.), on the road leading from the latter town to Opos. The town was said to have been colonised by natives of Thebes driven out by Kadmos. It was again destroyed by Philip of Makedon; but many of its ancient buildings were standing in the time of Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.) and Hadrian built a covered walk (στοά) there [Paus. 10, 35, 4].

Hydarnes, cc. 113, 118.

Son of the Hydarnes who was one of the assassins of the false Smerdis [3, 70]. He was the leader of the Immortals, the 10,000 picked men of the Persian army [7, 83, 211]. His descendants became kings in Armenia [Strabo 11, 14, 15].

Illyrians, c. 137.

The inhabitants of the country including the modern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, with parts of Croatia, Bosnia, and Albania. Herodotos appears to have known little about them; and only mentions one tribe by name, the Eneti, who are probably the ancestors of the Veneti of Italy [1, 196].

Indi, c. 113.

For the Indians serving in the army of Xerxes see 7, 65; 9, 31. They were the inhabitants of Punjaub and the valley of the Indus, beyond which Herodotos’ knowledge of India did not go [3, 98; 4, 40]. They had been partially subdued by Darius [4, 44].

Ion, c. 44.

Ion, son of Xuthos, son of Hellen, the mythical ancestor of the Ionians.

Ionia, cc. 109, 132.

Ionians, the, cc. 10, 19, 22, 46, 48, 85, 90 [f. Jas, 130], 132.

Those of the Hellenic settlers in Greece who according to the myth were descended from Ion, son of Xuthos, the third son of Hellen. They appear first to have settled in the northern district of the Peloponnese, afterwards called Achaia [Her. 7, 94] and in Attica and Euboea. Athens was regarded (though without any certain historical basis) as the μητρότολοι of the Ionian states established in various parts of Greece. The most numerous and flourishing were those in Asia Minor, such as Ephesos and Miletos, and when Herodotos speaks of ‘the Ionians’ he usually means
the Asiatc states between the river Hermos on the north and
the district of Miletos on the south. They consisted of twelve
states, viz. Miletos, Myos, Priene, in Caria; Ephesos, Kolophon,
Lebedos, Teos, Kizakomenae, Phocaea, Erythra, in Lydia; and
two islands, Samos and Chios. These states signalled their con-
nexion by a yearly meeting at the Pan-Ionium, near the temple of
Poseidon on the promontory of Mykalè, or at a later period at
Ephesos [see Her. i, 142; Thucyd. 3, 104].

Ischneos, c. 92.

A man of Aegina, father of Pytheas (q. v.).

Ismenios, c. 134.

Ismenian Apollo means the temple of Apollo at Thebes, built on
a hill, at the foot of which flowed the river Ismenos [1, 52, 92; 5,
60—1; Pausanias 9, 10, 2].

Isthmus, the, cc. 40, 49, 56—7, 60, 71—6, 79, 121, 123.

The Isthmus of Corinth is called the Isthmus by Herodotos
and Thucydides; when any other is meant it is distinguished by
some explanatory word as Παλλάνης, Χερσονήσου, or the like. At
the time of the Persian war the Greeks of the Peloponnese looked
to the Isthmus as their chief protection, because it could be passed
only by two difficult roads, and admitted of being effectually
blocked by artificial means.

Italia, c. 62.

By Italy Herodotos seems to mean what was afterwards Lucania,
and especially the Greek colonies planted on its coast [see note ad
loc.]. Calabria he calls Iapygia [3, 138; 4, 99], and it does not seem
clear whether Tarentum is conceived as being in Italy proper [1, 24;
3, 138; 7, 170]. The most northerly Greek towns on the W. coast
mentioned by him are Velia and Posidonium, the former of which is
said to be in Oenotria [1, 167]. He seems to have known nothing
of central Italy; but the Tyrrenians on the N. of the Tiber are
mentioned several times [1, 163, 166—7; 6, 17, 22]; and he seems to
have some confused notion of the Kelts living north of Umbria:
though he appears to place both further west than Italy, while he
thinks that 'Alpis' is the name of a river [4, 49].

Ithamitros, c. 130.

A Persian commander, nephew of Artayntes. Both shared in
the defeat at Mykalè, but escaped with their lives [9, 102].

Kalliaed, c. 51.

Archon Eponymos at Athens for the year B.C. 480—479.

I. VIII. 15
KALYNDIANS, the, c. 87—8.

The inhabitants of Kalynda a town in Karia on the borders of Lykia.

KAPHAREOS, c. 7.

The northern of the promontories at the southern extremity of Euboea (mod. Xylohpago).

KARDAMYLE, c. 73.

A town of Messenia on the eastern shore of the Sinus Messeniacus, subject from ancient times to the Lakedaemonians; though in Homer (II. 9, 150) it is spoken of as belonging to Agamemnon.

KARIANS, the, cc. 19, 22. KARIA, c. 135.

The inhabitants of Karia, a district to the S.-West of Asia Minor. Herodotos, who was born in Halikarnassos an Hellenic town in Karia, asserts that the Karians came thither from the Islands, and that, while in the Islands, they were called Leleges, a sister people of the Pelasgians. Thucydides also says that the occupation of the islands by Karians was proved by the tombs opened by the Athenians in B.C. 425, in order to purify the island by removing the corpses. His theory is that, being great smugglers, they were driven from the Islands by Minos of Crete [Thucyd. 1, 8; 3, 104]. Their language though not Hellenic had a large admixture of Hellenic words [Her. 1, 171], and when Homer (II. 2, 867) calls them βαρβαροφύτου he may be indicating (as Rawlinson remarks) not so much their separation from the Greeks, as the fact that they attempted an intercourse from which others shrank.

KARNEIA, the, c. 72.

A national festival held at Sparta (as also in other cities of the Peloponnese, as well as Dorian cities elsewhere) in honour of Apollo Karneios. It lasted nine days, beginning on the 7th day of the Spartan month Karneios [August].

KARYSTIANS, the, c. 66. KARYSTOS, 112, 141.

The inhabitants of Karystos in the S. of Euboea near Mt Ocha. The neighbourhood was celebrated for its marble quarries. The people were Dryopes (q. v.).

KASTALIA, c. 39.

A fountain at Delphi at the foot of Parnassos, at the entrance of the ravine which separates the two peaks. It is identified with a spring of remarkably pure water now called Aio Jānni.

KEIANS, cc. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Keos, an island lying off the promontory of Sunium, 12 m. long by 8 broad. They were a colony from Athens.
KEKROPIDAE, the, c. 44.
KEKROPS, cc. 44; 53.

Kekrops, father of Erechtheus (q. v.), the mythical first king of Athens: hence the Athenians are called in poetry Kekropidae [compare Romulidae, Aeneaidea as the name for Romans]. Herodotos seems to assert that it was once a real national appellation.

KEOS, c. 76.

Some have thought that the Island of Keos opposite the promontory of Sunium is meant: but the distance is too great from Phalerum to allow us to suppose that the Persian left would rest on the Island of Keos. It appears possible that both Keos and Kynosoura are places (though unknown) on the coast of Attica between Phalerum and Sunium. This is the view of Grote: but Col. Leake places them in Salamis, and with him other commentators agree—Rawlinson, Abicht; while Stein seems to think that both names Keos and Kynosoura belong to the narrow tongue of land in Salamis opposite Pyttaleia, and that Keos was the ordinary name of it, Kynosoura a less known one.

KEPHISOS, c. 33.

The only considerable river in Central Greece. It rises in the range of Oeta, and flows through Doris, Phokis, and Boeotia into the Kopaic lake, a reservoir which is relieved by subterranean channels. It receives a considerable number of affluents on both sides in its course. There is another river of the same name in Attica.

KILIKIA, cc. 14, 100.
KILIKIANS, the, c. 68.

Kilikia is the south-eastern district of Asia Minor bordering on the Mare Internum opposite Kypros. On the east it is bounded by Mt Amanos, though Herodotos extends it to the Euphrates [50, 51]; and on the north it is separated from Kappadokia and Lykaonia by the range of Taurus. It was an important province, because of the length of its seaboard, the fertility of its soil, and its position in regard to Syria.

KLEINIAS, c. 17.

The father of the great Alkibiades, and a son of a man also named Alkibiades (q. v.). He was killed at the battle of Koroneia, in the war between Athens and the Boeotians b.c. 447 [Plutarch, Alkibiad. 1].

KLEOMBROTOS, c. 71.

Kleombrotos, the father of Pausanias, was son of Anaxandridas and twin brother of Leonidas. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ
leaving one son Pleistarchos, a minor, Kleombrotos became regent, but died in the autumn of 479 or spring of 478, and was succeeded in the regency by his son Pausanias.

**KOLIAS, c. 96 [Κωλίας ἄκρα].**

The name of a promontory in Attica about 2½ miles from Phalerum (Pausan. 1, 1, 5), modern Cape St Kosmas. There was a temple of Aphrodite in it (Arist. Nub. 52).

**KOPAIS, c. 134.**

A lake in Boetia surrounded by mountains, from which it received abundant drainage. The water thus collected found its way out by hidden passages in the limestone rock called now Katavdthræ, principally at the east end (Mt Ptoum); besides some artificial tunnels constructed to prevent the waters flooding the district. Though large it is shallow, except at the east end. In summer it nearly dries up, in the winter it covers an area of about 90 miles. Attempts are now being made to drain it off altogether. In the Iliad (5, 709) it is called Κηφωεις.

**KORINTHOS, cc. 45, 94.**

**KORINTHIANS, the, cc. 1, 5, 21, 43, 59, 61, 72, 79.**

The territory of Korinthos was separated from the Megarid on the north by the range of Geraneia, and from Argolis on the south by that of Oneum, 'the Ass's back'. The isthmus averages about 3½ miles in breadth, and very little of it is fertile. Korinthos itself consisted of an acropolis, the Acrokorinthos (1900 ft), with a town round it enclosed with walls, and joined to its harbour on the western coast, Lechaæum, by long walls, like those of Athens, extending a little more than a mile. Its port on the east coast, Kenchreæa, was more than eight miles distant. The position of Korinthos made it naturally the seat of commerce from early times, and in it the art of building ships of war or triremes was first practised. Holding also the pass between northern Greece and the Peloponnese, it had a greater influence in Hellenic politics than the character of its rich and luxuriant citizens seems to warrant. The prevailing element in its population was Dorian, and its inclination was therefore generally to side with Sparta rather than Athens. In the Persian war it did not play a very dignified or conspicuous part. At Salamis its ships were said, perhaps untruly (see Introduction), to have been turned to flight (8, 94), and at Platea its soldiers were among those who retreated to the Heraeum and returned too late for the battle (9, 69). Its ships and men however did some good service at Mykalè (9, 102). The wall which the Peloponnesians built across the isthmus, about eight miles east of the town, was often reconstructed afterwards, and remains of one of uncertain date can still be traced. Korinthos was the mother city of many flourishing colonies, Syracuse, Korkyra, Potidæa and others.
KORYKIAN CAVE, the, c. 36.

This cave is at a considerable elevation in Mt Parnassos, above the broad upland plain lying high above the modern village of Delphi. It is a wide chamber 300 feet long by 200 feet broad, with fine stalactites hanging from the top; from this a narrow passage leads into another chamber 100 feet long. It is an excellent place of refuge, and was used for that purpose in the last Greek revolutionary war. It was dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs.

Κοβρη, ἡ, c. 65.

'The daughter', that is Persephone, daughter of Demeter. It was a name under which she was specially worshipped in Attica. See Eleusis.

KRANAOS, the, c. 44.

An ancient Pelasgic name for the inhabitants of Attica, which seems to mean the 'craggy', i.e. the inhabitants of the craggy land. As usual however it was derived from Kranaos a king of Attica.

KRESTONIKE, c. 116.

The country of Krestonia, a district in Makedonia (originally Thrakia) with a town called Kreston, north of Mygdonia, inhabited for the most part by Pelasgi [1, 57; 7, 127. Thucyd. 4, 109].

KRIOΣ, c. 92.

An Aeginetan, father of Polykrites. He was a man of influence at Aegina, and resisted the action of the Spartan king there in demanding hostages from the Aeginetans [6, 50, 73]. He was known as an athlete [Arist. Nubes 1356].

KRITOBULOS, c. 127.

A man of Torone appointed governor of Olynthos by Artabazos.

KROIΣOS, cc. 35, 122.

King of Lydia from B.C. 650 to B.C. 546. He completed the conquest of the Asiatic Greeks begun by his father Alyattes (q. v.). When the Persians under Kyros were threatening to subdue all Asia he tried to strengthen himself by alliances with the Babylonian Belshazzar, with Amasis of Egypt, and with Sparta (1, 69). He consulted also all the Greek oracles he could hear of and made magnificent offerings to Delphi [1, 51—3]; and thus strengthened he advanced to meet Kyros near Sinope. The battle was not decisive, but Kroisos returning home with a view of renewing the war in the following year, and disbanding his army, was surprised by a rapid movement of Kyros, his capital Sardis taken, and himself made prisoner [1, 76 sq.]. The romantic story of his preservation when on the point of being burnt will be found in 1, 86 sq.
KRONIDES, c. 77.
Son of Kronos, i.e. Zeus.

KROTONIANS, the, c. 47.
The inhabitants of a Greek town—Krotona—in Bruttium in the south of Italy. It was a colony of Achaians established in B.C. 710, and at this time was very powerful. The chief events in its history up to this time had been the establishment of Pythagoras and his School there about B.C. 540, and its destruction of Sybaris B.C. 510.

KYME, c. 130.
A town in Aeolis, sometimes called Kyme Phrikonis [1, 149], and Amazonia, from a supposed foundress Kyme, an Amazon, was situated N. of the River Hermos near a place now called Sanderli. In conjunction with the Chalkidians of Euboea it is said by some to have founded the colony of Cumae in Italy [Strabo 5, 4, 4].

KYNOSOURA, cc. 76—7.
'The dog's tail' was the name of a long strip of land near Marathon, but this cannot be the place meant here. In all probability it means a long tongue of land in Salamis. See Keos.

KYNURII, the, c. 73.
The inhabitants of a district to south-east of Argolis. It was the possession of this strip of territory lying between Lakonia and the Mare Myrtoum that was the cause of the constant enmity between the Argives and Spartans. See Argos. The same (praef-Hellenic) people are also found in the west of Arkadia, where their principal city is Gortys.

KYPRIANS, the, cc. 68, 100.
The inhabitants of Kypros, an island opposite the coast of Kilikia. It was especially valuable as connecting Asia Minor with Syria, and especially with the Phoenikian navy. It had been under the power of Amasis of Egypt (2, 184), but had been with the rest of Asia and Egypt made tributary to Persia (3, 91): and though it had joined in the Ionic revolt it was reduced by the Persian arms (5, 116). The island was inhabited by a mixed race; some cities having been colonised from Salamis and Athens, some from Arkadia and Kynthos, and others by Phoenikians and Aethiopians [7, 90], the earliest settlers being Phoenikians. The island is 150 miles long, and its greatest breadth is about 40 miles.

KYTHNOS, c. 67. KYTHNIANS, the, c. 46.
One of the Cyclades, between Keos and Seriphos, mod. Thermia. Its inhabitants were Dryopian (q. v.) and the island was at one time called Dryopis.
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LAKEDAEMON, cc. 48, 124, 125.

LAKEDAEMONIANS, the, cc. 1, 2, 25, 43, 72, 85, 114, 124—5, 141, 144.

The inhabitants of the whole district, Lakedaemon or Lakonia, over which the city of Sparta (which contained 8000 men, Her. 7, 234) was supreme. Sometimes the word is used as equivalent to 'Spartans'; sometimes the two are distinguished; and sometimes it is applied to other than the full Spartan citizens, as to the Perioeci in 9, 11; sometimes to all the inhabitants or soldiers of Lakonia. The Lakedaemonians exercised supreme influence in the Peloponnese, though not actual government except in Lakonia and Messenia; and though they were not as yet powerful at sea, the habit of regarding them as the natural leaders of a joint expedition prevailed even against the claims of Athens, which were founded on her superior fleet.

LEBADEIA, c. 134.

A town on the western frontier of Boeotia, between Mt Helicon and Chaeroneia, the seat of the oracle of Trophonios [1, 46]. Mod. Livadhia.

LEBAIA, c. 137.

This town in Upper Makedonia is not mentioned by any other writer. It appears to have been the seat of the old kingdom of Makedonia.

LEMNOS, cc. II, 81. LEMNIANS, the, c. 73.

Lemnos (mod. Stalimene = els τὰν Λήμυρον) is off the coast of Thrakia about half way between Athos and the Hellespont. It is a rocky island with many signs of volcanic action and possessing two towns Hephaestia and Murina. Its inhabitants were said to have been first a Thracian tribe, the Simies, who were expelled by the Minyae, the descendants of the Argonauts; these were succeeded by Pelasgians, who in their turn became Atticised, and the island was in the power of Athens from about B.C. 500. For the stories connected with this event, see 6, 137—140.

LEONIDAS, cc. 15, 21, 71.

King of Sparta from B.C. 491 to B.C. 480. He was a younger son of Anaxandridas and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of his brother Kleomenes, whose daughter Gorgo he married, and by whom when he fell at Thermopylae he left a young son, Pleistarchos, under the guardianship of his brother Kleombrotos. Kleombrotos died in the same year and was succeeded in the regency and guardianship of Pleistarchos by his son Pausanias (q. v.). Leonidas seems to have been fully aware of the hopelessness of his position at Thermopylae, and to have done his best to prevent more Greeks being involved in his disaster than could be helped; this unselfish-
ness, joined to his singular gallantry, has secured him the first rank among the patriots of Greece [Her. 7. 204—222].

Leukadians, the, cc. 45, 47.

The inhabitants of Leukadia (Santa Maura), a considerable island off the coast of Akarnania, about 20 miles long. Its chief town was Leukas, a colony from Corinth, at the extreme north of the island, separated from the mainland by a narrow strait.

Leuctychedes, c. 131.

A king of Sparta and commander of the joint fleet in B.C. 479.

Lokrians, the.

There were two districts called Lokris, (1) that of the Opuntian Lokrians, (2) that of the Ozolian Lokrians.

(1) Opuntian Lokrians, cc. 1, 66.

They inhabited the eastern half of a district lying on the coast of the Malian Gulf separated from Thessaly by the range of Mt Oeta. Their principal town was Opus. They had given earth and water to the Persian emissaries [7, 132] but were now serving the Persians unwillingly, having taken the Greek side at Thermopylae [7, 23].

(2) Ozolian Lokrians, the, c. 32.

They inhabited a narrow district on the coast of the Gulf of Korinth, bounded on the north by Aetolia and on the east by Phokis. It was a mountainous and unproductive country and never played a great part in Hellenic history. The only towns of importance in it were Amphissa (Salina) and Naupaktos (Lepanto).

Lykomedes, c. II.

A brave Athenian, son of Aeschreas, who gained the prize of valour at Artemision.

Lysimachos, cc. 79, 95.

An Athenian, father of Aristeides (q. v.), of the deme Alopeke. He seems to have been a man of small fortune, although Plutarch (Arist. 1) says that there was some doubt as to his having had absolutely nothing to leave his son.

Makedon or Εθνος, c. 43.

The ‘Makedni’ was the name which according to Herodotos (1, 56) was borne by the Dorians (q. v.) when settled in Pindos, i.e. Doris. According to the myth Makednos is a grandson of Pelasgos, and son of Lykaon of Arkadia. Thus by this term Herodotos seems to trace a connexion between the old Makedonians and the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Peloponnese.

Makedon, ἡ ἀνω, c. 137.

Makedonians, the, cc. 34, 126—7, 138, 142.

Makedonia, the most northern district of Greece, was separated
from Thessaly by the Cambunian range of mountains, and was divided from Illyricum and Epirus on the west by Mts Scardus and Lingon. Though it afterwards, under Philip and his son Alexander, became supreme over Greece, it possessed no influence there at present, and was scarcely regarded as Hellenic at all. It was in a semi-barbaric state, and was being slowly organised by its kings, who were, or claimed to be, of Argive descent (see Alexander). They had been reduced to subjection to Persia in B.C. 493—2 [Her. 6, 44].


Son of Gobryas by a sister of Darius, whose daughter Artazostra he married. He first appears in Greek history as the agent of Darius in B.C. 493 in carrying out a new policy in regard to the Ionian states. The Persian government had insisted on the maintenance of the Tyrants in these cities, but Mardonios now established democracies in them, apparently with the idea of conciliating Greek feeling in favour of the Persian supremacy,—a policy so unlike that which had generally been pursued by Persia, that Herodotos seems to expect that his assertion will be disbelieved [6, 43]. Mardonios, however, while pushing on his conquests into Europe, sustained reverses at the hands of the Thracians and was removed from his command [6, 45, 94]. We next hear of him as urging the reluctant Xerxes to his great expedition against Greece [7, 5, 9], in which he was one of two commanders-in-chief of the land forces [7, 82]. After Salamis he persuaded Xerxes to return home, and was left behind with 300,000 men to complete the subjugation of Greece. He fell next year at Plataea.

MARDONTES, c. 130.

Son of Bagaeos, leader of the contingents in the Persian army that came from the islands in the Erythraean Sea [7, 80]. He fell at Mycale in B.C. 479 [9, 102].

MEDES, the, cc. 31, 40, 43—4, 67, 87, 113—4, 141—3.

The Medes were an Aryan people [Her. 7, 62], who when first heard of inhabited a district south of the Caspian, now called Khorassan. Thence they emigrated, and by the middle of the 7th century B.C. were settled in the country known as Media Magna. For a while they were partially or wholly subject to the Assyrian monarchy, but after a time they shook off this subjection and became the dominant power in Asia, a Median monarchy being probably first established about B.C. 635—630 by Kyaxares. This monarch, about B.C. 624, attacked and took Nineveh. From this period the great Assyrian monarchy is divided into two independent kingdoms—Medes and Babylonians. The Medes, under Kyaxares, subdued the part of Asia 'beyond the river Halys' [Her. 1, 103], and
even threatened Asia Minor. The successor of Kyaxares, Astyages, was conquered by Kyros at the head of the mountain tribe of the Persians. The result was a new combination, and a new monarchy overrunning the whole of Asia, conquering Babylon and Lydia. This is sometimes called the Persian empire, sometimes the Medo-Persian. We read in Daniel of the ‘laws of the Medes and Persians’, as though that were the official designation; and the Greeks spoke of their great enemies as ‘Medes’ or ‘Persians’ indifferently, and of those Greeks who joined them as ‘medizing’; but Herodotos clearly distinguished the two peoples, giving the palm of valour to the Persians.

**Megara, c. 60.** The Megarians, cc. 43, 46, 48, 66.

Megara stood on the Saronic Gulf, a mile inland, with a harbour town of Nisaea, to which it was joined by long walls. It was on the road from Athens and Eleusis to the Peloponnese through the isthmus, and its friendship or neutrality was therefore of great importance to Athens and to the Peloponnesians. The district belonging to it—the Megarid—extended right across the N. of the isthmus and contained a port on the Corinthian Gulf called Pagae. The Megarians were Ionians, but had been at one time under the dominion of the Dorians of Korinthos. At this time however Megara was independent. Geographically it belongs rather to Attica, for the range of Gereneia shuts it off from Korinthos and was crossed by three difficult passes, whereas it was open towards Attica; and indeed the greater part of it seems once to have been united with Attica politically [Her. 5, 76].

**Melians, the [Μηλιαίοι], cc. 43, 66. Melis, c. 31 [Malis].**

The inhabitants of Malis [Melis], a district of Thessaly between the R. Spercheios and Mt Oeta. They had given earth and water to the Persian king [Her. 7, 132], and were now serving in the army of Mardonios. Malis was surrounded by mountains, but contained wide plains, in which the Persian cavalry had been matched successfully with the Thessalian [id. 7, 196—8].

**Melians, the [Μηλίαιοι], cc. 46, 48.**

The inhabitants of the island of Melos, one of the Cyclades, south of Siphnos. It is about 15 miles by 8. It was inhabited by Dorians from Sparta, who displaced the earlier Phoenikian settlers: these in their turn were displaced by Athenians in B.C. 416.

**Μηγήρη, Ἔ, c. 65.**

‘The Mother’, that is, Demeter, the most venerable of the goddesses; daughter of Kronos. She represented mystically the secret powers of nature, and it was in her name that the most solemn mysteries were celebrated, especially at Eleusis. See *Eleusis*, and *Kôrê*. 
MIDAS, c. 138.

King of Phrygia [1, 14], notorious for his wealth and effeminacy. According to one legend he was originally king of the Briges in Makedonia, whence he migrated to Phrygia. It was in this Makedonian kingdom that the 'gardens' here mentioned were supposed to be, near Mt Bromion.

MNESIPHILOS, cc. 57—8.

A philosophic statesman of the same deme (Phrearroi) as Themistokles, and one whom Themistokles is said by some to have especially imitated [Plut. Themist. 2], as Mnesiphilos himself imitated Solon.

MOUSAIOS, c. 96.

A number of oracular poems were current under the name of Mousaios, who is often coupled with Orpheus, as early as b.c. 520. Both his country and age were uncertain, but he seems to have written in connexion with the Mysteries. His poems were said to have been edited by Onomakritos of Athens, who foisted in various verses. These poems were also said to contain a clear prophecy of the battle of Salamis [8, 96; 9, 43].

MUNYCHIA, c. 76.

A lofty elevation on the east of the peninsula of the Peiraeus. It had on the summit a sacred enclosure called Bendideion round a temple of the Thrakian Artemis.

MYS, cc. 133—5.

A Karian of Europus serving in the army of Mardonios.

MYSIA, c. 106.

A district in Asia Minor extending from the shores of the Propontis to Lydia. At this time it included part of the country afterwards reckoned in Bithynia, see 6, 122. It had formerly been conquered by Kroisos [1, 28], and was afterwards included in the Persian empire, being ranked in the 2nd Satrapy by Darius [3, 90].

NAXIANS, the, c. 46.

The inhabitants of the island of Naxos one of the Cyclades; of which it was the largest and most wealthy [5, 28]. They had resisted the attempt of Arístogoras to force back the exiled oligarchs, which gave rise to the Ionian revolt [5, 30 sq.]; and were afterwards subdued by the Persians and treated with great cruelty [6, 96]. The inhabitants were Ionians, and in b.c. 466 were made subject to Athens [Thucyd. 1, 98].

NEOKLES, c. 110.

The father of Themistokles [q. v.].
A town in Phokis at the foot of a peak of Parnassos called Tithorea. Pausanias says that in the verses of Bakis the inhabitants are called Tithoreis, and he supposes that the latter name supplanted the former in course of time [Paus. 10, 32, 9].

OENONE, c. 46.
An ancient name of the island Aegina (q. v.).

OKYTOPS, cc. 5, 59.
A Corinthian, father of Adeimantos (q. v.).

OLYMPIA, the, cc. 26, 72.
The Olympic festival held every fifth year at Olympia in Elis. At this festival every Hellene had a right to take part in the sacrifice to Zeus Olympios, and to compete in the various contests. While they were going on, the Eleans as managers sent notice to the various Greeks that a truce was to be observed, and a state violating this truce would be excluded from the sacrifice and the games [see Thucyd. 5, 49].

OLYNTHERUS, OLYNTHIANS, c. 127.
A town at the head of the Toronaic Gulf, between the two peninsulas of Pallene and Sithonia, which afterwards became the chief town of the Chalkidic Greeks [Thucyd. 458], and was very prominent in the controversies of the Athenians and Makedonians. It had been visited by the Persian fleet on its way down south, and like other towns had been forced to supply a quota of men and ships [7, 122]; at this time it was inhabited by Bottiaeis (q. v.).

ORCHOMENIANS, the, c. 34.
The inhabitants at Orchomenos in Boeotia. Orchomenos was once the largest and most important town in Boeotia. In the catalogue of ships in the 2nd Iliad 29 towns of Boeotia are mentioned as supplying 50 ships in all, of which Orchomenos sends 30. But in historical times it was surpassed and supplanted by Thebes. It was twice destroyed by Thebes, in B.C. 368 and 346, and though restored by the Makedonians never recovered its former importance. It stands in a rich and fertile plain, and was inhabited by the Minyaes, whence it is often called the 'Minyan Orchomenos' to distinguish it from the towns of the same name in Arkadia, Euboea, and Thessaly. Its modern name is Skripa.

ORNEATES, the, c. 73.
A general name for the perioeci—unentranchised farmers—of Argos. The name arose from the inhabitants of Orneae, probably Achaeeans, who about B.C. 580 were conquered by Argos and re-
duced to this position, just as were the perioekoi of Sparta. Compare for the title given to a class from a particular town the Italian Caer-rites, and perhaps the Spartan Helots (q. v.) from Helos, which was the derivation accepted by some. In B.C. 418 we find the Orneatae serving in the Argive army (Thucyd. 5, 72), but in B.C. 416 the Spartans seem to have established at Orneae a settlement of men hostile to the Argive government, and in retaliation the Argives utterly destroyed the town (Thucyd. 6, 7).

Orneae was north-west of Argos on the frontier of Mantincia.

PAEONIA, c. 115.

A district in the centre of upper and lower Makedonia. Its inhabitants were of different blood from the surrounding Macedonians, and claimed to be descended from the Teukri [5, 13, 24, 98].

PALLENE, cc. 126—9.

The westernmost of three projecting headlands of the Chalkidic peninsula, mod. Kassandhra. On the narrowest part of it stood the town of Potidaea.

PALLENEUS, c. 84.

A man of the deme Pallene in Attica, of the tribe Antiochis.

PAMPHYLIANS, the, c. 68.

Pamphylia was a narrow tract of country bordering on the Mare Lykium, immediately west of Kilikia, and bounded on the north by Pisidia. Its chief towns were Attalia and Perga.

PANAETIOS, c. 82.

A man of the island of Tenos (q. v.).

PANIONIOS, cc. 105—6.

A slave-dealer of Chios.

PANOPEIS or PANOPE, cc. 34—5.

This town, which was afterwards called Phanoteus, was on the frontier between Boeotia and Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos, on the right bank of the river, about two miles from Chaeroneia. It was a mere collection of mountain huts without agora or public buildings. [Paus. 10, 4, 1.]

PARAPOTAMII, or PARAPOTAMIA (Steph. Byz.), cc. 33—4.

A town in the fertile part of the valley of the Kephisos. Pausanias seems to think that the name belonged rather to a district than a πόλις; and at any rate the town was not restored after the destruction by the Persians.
PARIANS, the, c. 67. PAROS, c. 112.

The inhabitants of the island of Paros, the third largest of the Cyclades. The Parians seem to have been a people much respected by other Greek communities [5, 28], and to have been of a peculiarly cautious nature, as evinced in their conduct here recorded, and in their readiness (to avoid farther committing themselves) to pay a sum of money on the demand of Themistokles (8, 112). The only remarkable event in their history up to this time had been the unprovoked and unsuccessful attack upon them by Miltiades [6, 132—8] in the year after the battle of Marathon. The island was celebrated for its marble, and for its figs.

PARNASSOS, cc. 27, 32, 35, 37.

A range of mountains in Phokis, rising at its highest point (Lykorea) 8000 feet. The range terminates in a double peak above Delphi.

PAROREATAE, c. 73.

‘Dwellers by the mountains’, a term applied by Herodotos to the inhabitants of a district of Elis south of the Alphaeos. They were according to him descendants of the Minyae who were expelled from Lemnos by the Spartans [4, 101].

PAUSANIAS, c. 3.

Pausanias, the Spartan commander in the campaign of 479 B.C. and commander-in-chief of the Greek forces at Plataea, was of the elder royal family—that is of the branch which was descended from the elder son of Aristodemos, who was fourth in descent from Herakles [see Heracles]—and was a cousin of Leonidas, as will be seen from the accompanying pedigree [Her. 5, 39—41; 7, 204; 9, 64]:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{LEON, ob. B.C. 502.} \\
\underline{(his niece)} = \text{ANAXANDRIDAS = a d. of Prinetidos.} \\
\text{I. KLEOMENES, ob. B.C. 495.} \\
\underline{\text{Gorgo.}} \\
\text{2. DORIEUS, 3. LEONIDAS = Gorgo, 4. KLEOMBROTOS,} \\
\text{ob. before B.C. 495.} \quad \text{ob. B.C. 480.} \quad \text{ob. 479 B.C.} \\
\underline{\text{EURYANAX (?)}.} \quad \text{PLEISTARCHOS.} \quad \text{PAUSANIAS,} \\
\text{ob. B.C. 467—6.}
\end{align*}
\]

Upon his death at Thermopylae Leonidas was succeeded by his son Pleistarchos, a minor, and his brother Kleombrotos became guardian of the young king and regent. Kleombrotos died early in the year 479 B.C., and his son Pausanias then became regent in his
place and guardian of Pleistarchos. This was his position when the
Peloponnesian army collected to oppose Mardonios. We have no
particulars of the life of Pausanias before this date, and his sub-
sequent history is only casually alluded to by Herodotos [5, 32; 8,
3]. But fuller details are given by Thucydidês [I, 94, sq.] and by
Diodorus Siculus [II, 44—6], and Cornelius Nepos has written a life
of him founded on what he found in Thucydidês.

The event in his life referred to in the text was his conduct in
B.C. 478 when in command of the allied fleet at Byzantium. His
haughty and violent conduct caused many complaints to be sent home
to Sparta, and he was recalled, and superseded by Dorkis. He
was subsequently convicted of treasonable correspondence with
Persia and starved to death in the temple of Athenê, in which he
had taken sanctuary.

Pedieis, the, cc. 35, 102.

A town in Phokis, in the valley of the Kephisos.

Peisistratidae, c. 52.

The descendants of Peisistratos, who was tyrannus in Athens
from B.C. 560 to 527 with intervals of banishment. His son Hippias
was expelled in B.C. 510: and after living for a time in the Troad, had
been received at the Persian court (5, 96), and had accompanied the
Persian forces at Marathon (6, 107). At the time of the battle of
Salamis Hippias was dead, but his descendants and their partizans
still seem to have been with the Persian king.

Pelasgi, the, c. 44.

The ancient inhabitants of Greece, who, like the Hellenic immi-
grations which superseded or absorbed them, were an Aryan race.
Herodotos imagines that they spoke a barbarous (non-Hellenic)
language, but we have no certain means of deciding whether this
be so. They were great builders and reclaimers of land, and settled
especially in the rich plains of Thessaly and Argos [I, 57; 2, 51;
6, 137—140]. A reminiscence of their building at Athens was the
‘Pelasgic wall’ of the Akropolis, and the place called τὸ Πελασγι-
κὸν beneath it [5, 64; Thucyd. 2, 16; Paus. 1, 28, 2. C.I.G. 2374].
Pelion, c. 12.

A long ridge of mountains in Thessaly, extending from Ossa
to the promontory of Sepias. For a considerable distance it de-
scends precipitously to the sea, and prevents any inlet or harbours
for ships.

Peloponnesse, the, cc. 40, 43, 49, 50, 57, 60, 65, 68, 70—2, 100—
1, 141.

Peloponnesians, the, Peloponnesia, c. 70.

The Peloponnese (‘Island of Pelops’) is not a name known in
Homeric times. In the Iliad the only name given to the whole
seems to be Argos, for Ephra in Elis is spoken of as being in μυχή
Ἀργεῖος ἡπτοσίτων Ι. 6, 152; cf. Odys. 4, 173 where ‘Argos’
refers to Laconia, and 3, 251 where the Peloponnese is called Αργος
Ἀχαϊῶν. And, finally, some have regarded ἄπιθ in Η. 1, 269, ‘the
distant land’, as a territorial name for the Peloponnese. The name
Peloponnese was certainly subsequent to the settlement of the Dorians
and was referred by the Greeks to the wealth and power of Pelops,
son of Tantalos. It contains about 1780 square miles, and at the
time of the Persian war was divided into six provinces, Elis, Messenia,
Lakonia, Argolis, Achaia, Arkadia—of which the two last were
much less Hellenised than the others. Achaia, as its name imports,
having served as a place of retreat for the ancient Achaean inhabit-
ants before the invading Dorians, and Arkadia from its strong
mountain barriers having been able almost entirely to resist their
attack, retained its Pelasgic inhabitants.


derikkas, cc. 137—8.

Founder of the Makedonian dynasty, which lasted until the death
of Alexander III., son of Alexander the Great [B.C. 311]. The
descent of Perdikkas from Temenos of Argos [whence the family
was called Temenidae, q. v.] is given also by Thucydides [2, 99;
5, 80]. But the legend varied, some writers counting two kings of
Makedonia before Perdikkas, Karanos and Kaenos; and although
the Hellenic descent of these kings was admitted by the managers
of the Olympic games, Demosthenes [3 Phil. § 40] denied it.

Persians, the, cc. 10, 15—6, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38—42, 45, 51, 58—
61, 68, 70—1, 82, 95—8, 100—1, 108—8, 113, 116—9, 126,
129, 141.

The Persians, an Aryan race like the Medes, were a mountain
tribe led down about B.C. 550 by Kyros against the Median king
Astyages in his capital Ecbatana. The overthrow of Astyages was
followed in B.C. 546 by the conquest of Lydia, and by that of
Babylon in B.C. 538. From the overthrow of Astyages the Median
Empire became the Empire of the Medes and Persians; but the
royal family were Persian, and the Persians still were a distinct
race, and in the opinion of Herodotos [9, 68] the best soldiers, and
indeed the centre and mainstay of the royal army. A very distinct
character of the Persians may be traced in Herodotos; he represents
them as ‘brave, lively, spirited, capable of witty and keen repartees’
[1, 127, 141; 6, 1; 8, 81], ‘but vain, weak, impulsive, and hopelessly
servile to their lords’ [3, 25; 7, 56, 223; 9, 113]. Rawl.

Phalerum, cc. 66—7, 92—3, 108.

A town on the eastern point of the Bay of Phalerum, of which
the Peiraeus forms the western point. Before, and at the time of, the
Persian war it was the principal harbour of Athens. After that time
though joined by a wall to Athens it was superseded by the much safer harbour on the west of the Peiraeus.

Pharnaces, c. 126.

A Persian, father of Artabazos [7, 66].

Phayllos, c. 47.

A famous athlete of Krotona, who won the Pentathlon twice and the long race once at the Pythian games [Paus. 10, 9, 2]. He is referred to in Aristophanes [Acharn. 215; Vesp. 1206] as a kind of type of speed. The Scholiast on the former passage seems to confound him with another Phayllos who won a victory at Olympia (in leaping and running in armour), which Pausanias says expressly this Phayllos did not do.

Philaon, c. 11.

A brother of Gorgos, king of Salamis, in Kypros [q. v.].

Phliasians, the, c. 72.

The inhabitants of Phlias, a town and small territory to the N. of Argolis and S. of Sikyonia. The people were Dorians and generally in close alliance with Sparta. The territory consisted of a high valley surrounded by mountains. Phlias sent 200 men to Thermopylae [7, 202].

Philippos, c. 139.

A Makedonian king, son of Argaeos, and grandson of Perdikkas [q. v.].

Phoenikians, the, cc. 85, 90, 97, 100, 118—9, 121.

The Phoenikians inhabited the north of Palestine, from which they had sent out numerous colonies to Kypros, Africa, and Europe. Herodotos says that they came to Palestine from the borders of the Red Sea (1, 1). They had been from very ancient times a great sea-faring people, and had had the great bulk of the mercantile business of the Mediterranean. It was they who supplied the greater and most powerful part of the fleet of Xerxes (7, 89), it was they who constructed the bridge of ships across the Hellespont (7, 34), and were the most skilful engineers of the canal across Athos (7, 23). See Tyre and Sidon.

Phokis, cc. 31—2, 35.

Phokians, the, cc. 27—33, 134.

Phokis was a considerable district bounded on the S. by the Gulf of Corinth, and by Doris and eastern Lokris on the N. It contained the range of Parnassos and the sacred city of Delphi, which however was inhabited by a different race,—probably Dorians.
Phokis politically was a confederacy of towns mostly situated in the valley of the Kephisos, and the Phokians were looked upon as a people of Aeolian or Achaean race. They were almost perpetually at enmity with the Thessalians and indeed had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylae to check their raids [7, 176]; and, according to Herodotos, their chief motive for not joining the Persians earlier was hatred of the Thessalians. Even when some of them did in the following year join Mardonios, a large number refused, and mustering round Parnassos assisted the Greeks [9, 31].

**Phrygia, c. 136.**

**Phylakos,**

(1) c. 39.

One of the national heroes of Delphi. His phantom is said to have again appeared to protect the Delphians when in B.C. 280 the Gauls under Brennus were attacking Delphi [Paus. 10, 23, 3].

(2) c. 85.

A man of Samos, son of Histiaeos.

**Pindos, c. 43.**

A town in Doris, on a river of the same name running into the Kephisos. It was one of the Doric tetrapolis, see Erineos.

**Plataea, c. 52.**

**Plataeans, the, cc. 1, 44, 50, 66; τὰ Πλαταϊκὰ, c. 126.**

The territory of Plataea was separated from Attica on the S. by Kithaeron,—Eleutherae which came between having voluntarily enrolled itself with Attica [Paus. 1, 38, 8],—and from the territory of Thebes on the N. by the river Asopus. Toward the east, along the valley of the Asopus, it was limited by the village of Hysiae. The town stood ‘on the steep and rugged slopes which fall from the heights of Kithaeron into the valley on the north. In this lower ground, and near the walls of the city, two small rivers take their rise, and flow in opposite directions’—Oëroe flowing west to the Corinthian Gulf, Asopus to the east into the Euboic Gulf. Plataea is 7 miles from Thespiae, 6½ miles from Thebes. The Plataeans had long been disinclined to share the policy of the Boeotian league, and having been accordingly persecuted by the Thebans they had put themselves under the protection of Athens about B.C. 501 [3, 108. Thucyd. 3, 68]. This union had been cemented by the fact of the 1000 men sent by Plataea alone of the Greek states to help the Athenians at Marathon. The subsequent history of the town includes its siege and destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 429—7, its partial restoration in B.C. 387, a second destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 374, and its final restoration in B.C. 338. At its destruction in B.C. 427 the bulk of its inhabitants were admitted to Athenian citizenship.
POGON, c. 42.

The harbour of Troezen, in Argolis; so named from the shape of the bay, 'the Beard'.

POLYAS, c. 21.

A man of Antikyra (q. v.) employed as an outlook man on the coast of Trachis.

POLYKRITOS, cc. 92—3.

Son of Krios, one of the chief men of Aegina [6, 73].

POSEIDON, cc. 55, 123, 129.

Son of Kronos, brother of Zeus, and God of the Sea.

POTIDAEA, cc. 127—9.

A city placed in the isthmus which joined Pallene to the mainland. It was a colony from Korinthos [Thucyd. 1, 56], and had already submitted to the Persians [7, 123]. After the repulse of Artabazos narrated in this book it sent a contingent to the Greek army which fought at Plataea [9, 28, 31]. In B.C. 432 Potidaea broke off from the Athenian alliance formed after the Persian wars, and was consequently besieged and after a long resistance taken by the Athenians [Thucyd. 2, 70]. After various vicissitudes it was taken and its inhabitants destroyed and removed by Philip of Makedon [B.C. 341—340]; and it was afterwards refounded by Cassander, after whom it was called Cassandra, and having passed from the Makedonian to the Roman Empire, in the time of Augustus it received a Roman colony. It was finally destroyed by the Huns.

PSYTTALEIA, cc. 76, 95.

A small island lying between Salamis and the Peiraeus, now called Lipsokutali. Aeschylus describes it as 'small and offering ill harbourage for ships’ [Pers. 450]. It is about a mile long, 300 yards broad, and very rocky and low.

PTOUM. APOLLO PTOUS, c. 135.

Mt Ptoum was on the S. E. of the Lake Kopais extending to the Eubocean Sea [Mod. Palek and Strutzina]. The temple and oracle of Apollo Ptous was in the slope of the mountain about 2 miles from the town of Akraiphia.

PYTHEAS, c. 92.

An Aeginetan, who was captured by the Persians when serving in B.C. 480 as a soldier on board an Aeginetan vessel, which was one of three vessels keeping watch at Skiathos. He fought with such gallantry that his captors in admiration gave him his life, and took pains to cure his numerous wounds [7, 181].

16—2
RHODOPE, c. 116.

A range of mountains in Thrakia separating the valley of the Nestos from that of the Hebros, mod. Despoto Dagh (with a part of the Balkan).

SAKAE, c. 113.

A powerful Asiatic tribe [whose name by some has been connected with that of the Saxons, by others with that of the Skyths] which was conquered by Kyros [1, 153], and seems to have furnished one of the most trustworthy contingents to the Persian army [6, 113]. They appear to have inhabited the steppe of what is now called Kirghiz Khosacks in Tibet.

SALAMIS,

(i) c. 11.

A town in Kypros, supposed to be a colony from the island of Salamis led out by Teukros. It was destroyed in Trajan's reign by an earthquake, and restored subsequently under the name of Constantia.

(ii) 11, 40—2, 44—5, 49, 51, 56, 60, 65, 70, 74, 76, 81, 86, 89, 90—6, 121—2, 124, 126, 130.

An island about 10 miles long off the coast of Attica, between which and the mainland the channel at its narrowest is about 1 mile across. It had belonged to Athens since about B.C. 600, when according to the common statement the claim of the Athenians as against the Megarians was confirmed by five Spartan arbitrators owing to the skilful pleading of Solon [Plutarch, Solon, c. 10].

SAMOS, cc. 85, 130, 132. SAMIANS, c. 85.

A considerable island off the coast of Karia, rich from its great pottery manufactories. From about B.C. 535 to B.C. 522 it was under the rule of Polykrates, who acquired a powerful navy, extended his dominion over several of the neighbouring islands, warred against Miletos, and wished to form a great confederacy of Ionian states with Samos as the central power. After the fall of Polykrates, in the course of the disputes as to his successor, the Persian force in the island inflicted a cruel massacre on the inhabitants; and then handed the island over to a brother of Polykrates, Sylosôn, whose son Aeakes continued to hold the tyranny, although tributary to Persia, until the deposition of the Ionian tyrants by Aristagoras in B.C. 500. When the Persians subsequently restored Aeakes, a number of the Samians accepted the invitation of the people of Zankle (Messene) to go to Sicily and occupy Calacta. Aeakes however appears to have died or been deposed about the time of the battle of Salamis, and Theomestor (q. v.) put in his place [3, 39—47, 54—6, 120—5; 6, 13, 22, 25].
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

SAMOTHRAKE, c. 90.

A small island opposite the coast of Thrakia consisting of a huge volcanic crater Mt Saōke [5,500 feet]. The inhabitants were originally Pelasgi, and practised a mystic worship called ῥὰ Καβελ-ρων (=Corybantes, Strab.) ὤργια [2, 51]. The islanders possessed a tract of land on the continent, from Doriskos to Lissos, which was protected by a line of fortresses [7, 59, 108]. It was called 'Thrakian Samos' to distinguish it from the larger island near Karia. See II. 13, 12 ἕν' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑλήσωσις Θηρικῆς. It was said in still earlier times to have been called Δαρδανία [Steph. Byz.], and still earlier Μὲλτη [Strabo].

SARDIS, cc. 105, 117.

The capital of Lydia, situated on the slope of Mt Tmolos, and on either bank of the Pactolos. It seems to have been but slenderly furnished with defences, but its citadel was all but impregnable [see Polyb. 7, 15—17; 8, 17—18]. After its capture by Kyros [1, 84] it became the chief seat of the Persian government in Asia Minor, and the residence of the satrap and sometimes of the king.

SEILENOS, c. 138.

A satyr, always represented as the attendant of Dionysos. He invented a flute, which he is constantly depicted as playing. It was a tradition that he could be captured and bound with flowers, and could then be compelled to prophesy: it is some capture of this sort to which Herodotos refers. For the moral Apologue which went by the name of the discourse of Seilenos to Midas, see Aelian V. H. 3, 18.

SEPIAS, c. 66.

A promontory in Magnesia opposite the island of Skiathos.

SERIPHANS, the, cc. 46, 48.

The inhabitants of Seriphos, one of the Cyclades immediately south of Kythnos. It possessed iron and copper mines, but was poor and insignificant, and used in later times by the Romans as a place of exile.

SICILY, c. 3.

At the time of the Persian war the coasts of Sicily were studded with Hellenic colonies. The earliest was Naxos (Tauromenium) settled in B.C. 735 by the Ionians from Chalkis. Naxos in its turn had settled Catana and Leontini. Besides this Chalkis had also settled Zankle (Messenē); and Megara had sent a colony to Thapsos (circ. B.C. 700). But the most famous and powerful of all was the Corinthian colony of Syracuse [B.C. 734], which in its turn sent out at least five other colonies in Sicily, and was possessed of a decisive hegemony among the other states. These colonies were
naturally for the most part on the eastern and south-eastern coast: on the western the Carthaginians were making settlements, and the Hellenic colonies in Sicily were engaged in a contest with them at the same time as the eastern Greeks were fighting for life with the Persians.

SIDON, c. 67. SIDONIANS, the, cc. 78, 92.

An ancient city of Phoenikia, celebrated as a great mercantile and naval centre, and for its manufactures in embroidery, dyes, and glass. The skill of Sidonian women in embroidery is alluded to in the Iliad [6, 292; see Her. 2, 116], as also of its workers in metal [Il. 23, 741]; it was however outstripped in prosperity by Tyre.

SIKINNOS, cc. 75, 110.

A Persian by birth, who having been captured and enslaved became the paidagogos of the children of Themistokles, and was employed by him to take his message to Xerxes. Plutarch, Themist. 12, 82.

SIKYONIANS, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.

The inhabitants of Sikyon, a town and district usually classed as part of Korinthia, though it was independent of Korinthos. It lay in the valley of the Pelopennesian river Asopus. It had formerly been governed by tyranni, of whom we hear of Kleisthenes, the maternal grandfather of the Athenian reformer [5, 67]. The inhabitants were Dorians and were accustomed to act in war under the direction of Sparta [6, 92]; they appear from the same passage to have been wealthy, for they submitted to pay Argos a war indemnity of 500 talents (about £2,000) for joining Kleomenes in his invasion of Argos about B.C. 510.

SIPHNNIANS, the, cc. 46, 48.

The inhabitants of Siphnos, one of the Cyclades immediately south of Seriphos. The island once possessed gold and silver mines, but when these were worked out it became exceedingly poor and unimportant.

SIRIS, cc. 62, 115.

A town in Italy, in the district of Lucania, on the shore of the Gulf of Tarentum and at the mouth of a river of the same name. It was a very ancient town, believed to have been colonised by Trojans,—but between 700 and 600 B.C. Ionians from Kolophon had settled in it. About 430 B.C. it seems to have fallen under the power of Tarentum, and its inhabitants afterwards were transferred to Heraclea. The Ionian colonisation seems the only conceivable ground for the claim of Themistokles for the Athenians of having any rights there.
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Skiathos, cc. 7, 92.

A small island opposite the promontory of Sepias. A colony of Chalkidians has displaced the former Pelasgic inhabitants.

Skeone, cc. 8, 128.

A city on the peninsula of Pallene. The inhabitants considered themselves to be Achaeans from the Peloponnese [Thucyd. 4, 130, 1]. The town revolted from Athens to the Spartans under Brasidas in B.C. 423, was besieged by the Athenians, and very cruelly treated when taken [id. 5, 32].

Skiras, c. 94.

An epithet of Athené (q. v.) of uncertain meaning. There was a temple of Athené Skiras at Phalerum [Paus. 1, 1, 4; 36, 3]; there was also a festival called Skirophoria or Skira [Arist. Eccl. 16]; and one of the Attic months was called Skirophorion.

Skironian Way, the, c. 71.

The coast road,—the most easterly of the three which passed the Isthmus of Corinth. It owes its name to the fact that for several miles it is carried along a cornice cut in the face of the rocks called the Skironian Rocks, from the name of a mythical robber who haunted the place and was slain by Theseus.

Skyllias, c. 8.

A man of Skione, a famous diver. He taught his daughter Hydna the same art. And for their good services on this occasion,—in the course of which they lost their lives,—the Amphictyonic Council honoured them by dedicating statues of both father and daughter at Delphi [Paus. 10, 19, 1—2].

Sosimenes, c. 81.

A man of Tenos, father of Panaetios.

Spartans, the, cc. 2, 42, 125. Sparta, cc. 114, 124, 132, 142—4.

The Spartans, properly so called, were only those who possessed full citizenship. They were the descendants of the conquering Dorians who had seized the land and reduced the population either to the state of unenfranchised farmers (perioecoi) or praedial slaves (Helots). They were comparatively few in number [about 8000 at this period, 7, 234], and their peculiar institutions tended to check any increase. They were looked upon as the head of the Dorians, and the natural leaders of all Greece in the field; they actually ruled two-thirds of the Peloponnese, and exercised an informal hegemony in the rest, except in Argos. We must distinguish between 'Lakedaemonians' and 'Spartans', the former Her. generally uses as including all the inhabitants of Lakonia; the latter
refers simply to the ruling class as full citizens. See for instance 9, 28, 'Ten thousand Lakedaemonian troops were on the right wing, five thousand of whom were Spartans.'

STRATTIS, c. 132.

A tyrant of Chios, who had accompanied Darius on the Skythian expedition, as far as the Danube [4, 138], and was probably a nominee or partisan of the Persian supremacy, which would help to account for this plot against his life.

STRYMON, cc. 115, 118. STRYMONIAN WIND, c. 118.

The modern Strumia (or in Turkish Karasu) a river which forms the boundary between Makedonia and Thrakia. The sources of it mentioned in c. 115 are in Mt Skemios, from whence it flows into the Strymonic Gulf, being navigable a few miles above Amphipolis. The 'Strymonian wind' seems to mean a wind blowing from its mouth.

STYREANS, the, cc. 1, 46.

The inhabitants of Styra, a town in Euboea, near Karystos, inhabited originally by Dryopians (q. v.).

SUSA, cc. 54, 59.

Susa on the Choaspes (Kerkhah) was the capital of the province of Susiana, which lies at the head of the Persian Gulf, and is bounded on the east by Persis, and the west by Assyria, and on the north by Media. From the time of Kyros it was one of the chief royal residences [1, 188; 4, 85].

TEGEAN FRONTIERS, c. 124.

Tegaea was a town in the south-east of Arkadia about 10 miles S. of Mantinea. It was on the road from Sparta to Attica and North Greece. It had been in close alliance with Sparta since about B.C. 500.

TELAMON, c. 63.

King of Salamis, father of Ajax and Teukros. See Aeakidae.

TELLIAS, c. 27.

A mantis or seer of Elis. Another member of the mantic family of Telliadae is mentioned in 9, 37 as serving Mardonios as seer.

TEMENOS, c. 137. TEMENIDAE, c. 138.

Temenos, of Argos, was the reputed ancestor of the Makedonian kings, hence called Temenidae. Temenos was an Herakleid, son of Aristomachos, and returned to the Peloponnesos with the other Herakleidae [Apoll. 2, 8, 5; Paus. 2, 18, 7].
Tenians, the, cc. 66, 82, 83.

Inhabitants of Tenos, one of the Cyclades, separated by a very narrow channel from the southern point of Andros. It was also called 'Τηρώτσα (well-watered), and 'Οφιώσσα (isle of snakes), whence the word Tenos is derived from the Phoenician Tanôth = a snake; and a snake often appears on its coins. The island is about 60 miles in circumference and is famous for its vines.

Tethronium, c. 33.

A city of Phokis, built on a plain in the valley of the Kephisos.

Thebans, the, cc. 50, 134—5. Thebes, c. 134.

Thebes subsequent to the Homeric age became the most powerful city in Boeotia, that position being occupied in the Homeric times by Orchomenos. The district of Thebes, the Thebais, a rich corn land, was divided from that of Plataea by the river Asopus. The city was built on an elevation of 150 feet above the plain on a spur of Mount Teumèsos, and the citadel or Kadmeia probably stood at the southern end of the town. The Thebans were believed to be a colony from Phoenikia led by Kadmos. Perhaps this difference of blood may partly account for their zealous medizing; but a long-standing enmity to Athens was the immediate motive. They sent 400 men indeed to support Leonidas at Thermopylae, but these men took the earliest opportunity of deserting to the Persian side [7, 203, 233].


Themistokles was the son of Neokles, an Athenian of moderate position. His mother according to some was Abrotonon, a Thracian woman, according to others Euterpe of Karia. He was therefore only a half-blood Athenian. But before the age of Perikles the father's citizenship was sufficient to give a man his full rights. His abilities shewed themselves early, and he came forward in public life as an opponent of Aristides, and an advocate of a forward and ambitious policy for Athens. He commanded the levy of his tribe at Marathon; but it was between that event and B.C. 480 that he began to exercise a decisive influence in the state. It was on his advice that the profits of the mines at Laurium were devoted to the building a fleet, which, as Herodotos says, proved the salvation of Hellas, though their primary object was the prosecution of the Aeginetan war. We see in this book how powerfully he contributed to the successful resistance to Persia in B.C. 480. In the next year the command of the troops at Plataea was committed to Aristides [9, 28], and that of the fleet to Xanthippos, Diodorus says, from the prejudice excited against Them. by the honours given him at Sparta [11, 27]. In fact although the reputation acquired by Themistokles in 480 made him the most famous man in Greece, the
Athenians seem to have preferred to entrust their most important interests abroad to others, especially to Aristides. Meanwhile Themistokles at home was busied in carrying out the great works of the town walls, and the fortification of the Peiraeus, which he saw offered a harbour far superior to the old one at Phalerum. This latter work was probably not finished at the time of his ostracism. But these things were not done without opposition and the loss of popularity. The Athenians liked being told that the Peiraeus would enable them if their town were taken ‘to fight the world at sea’; but the expenses and self-sacrifice required brought odium on the author of the plans. And his opponents Kimon and Alkmaeon managed about 471 B.C. to secure his ostracism. He retired to Argos, and in B.C. 467 was accused of having been in correspondence with Pausanias, who had been condemned and starved to death at Sparta for treasnable dealings with the Persian court. Orders were given to arrest him; but getting warning he fled to Korkyra, thence to Admetos king of the Molossians, thence to Ephesos. From that town he opened communication with Artaxerxes, was received honourably at the Persian court, and provided with handsome pensions and a residence at Magnesia. There he died, some say by his own hand, because he despaired of giving the king the help he had promised against Athens, or, as the story which Thucydides believed asserted, by a natural death, B.C. 460. Mr Grote seems to assume the guilt of Themistokles in regard to the correspondence with Persia; but not so the authorities used by Plutarch, or Thucydides, who speaks of him with the warmest admiration.

_Theokydes_, c. 65.

An Athenian, father of Dikaeos (q. v.).

_Theomestor_, c. 85.

Son of Androdamas, made Tyrant of Samos in succession to Aeakes, who had been restored after the suppression of the Ionic revolt [9, 90]. See Samos.

_Thermic Gulf_, the, c. 127.

That portion of the Aegean Sea which is enclosed by the coasts of Thessaly and Makedonia on the W. and N., and by the Chalkidic peninsula on the E. It takes its name from the city of Thessalonika, anciently called Therma, situated at its head.

_Thermopylae_, cc. 15, 24, 27, 66, 71.

The scene of the famous resistance to the Persian invasion, and of the death of Leonidas, was a narrow pass between the extremity of Mt Oeta and the sea. The range of Oeta stretches right across Greece, and the passes were few and difficult. It was necessary that so large an army as that of Xerxes should go by this as
the shortest and easiest. The narrowest point was that between two mountain streams, the Asopos and Phoenix, which now fall into the Spercheios, but then into the sea: 'there there was only a narrow causeway sufficient for a single carriage' [7, 199]. Its name was given it on account of some hot sulphur springs. The nature of the pass is now quite altered, the sea has receded, the Spercheios has brought down so much alluvial deposit that its course is changed, and there is now a broad marshy plain covered by rice-fields between the mountain and the sea.

**Thespians, the, cc. 50, 66, 75. Thespieae, cc. 25, 50.**

The inhabitants of Thespiae, a town of Boeotia about six miles W. of Thebes, which possessed a harbour at Kreusis in the Korinthian Gulf. The Thespians had been as loyal as Plataea to the Greek side, partly no doubt from enmity with Thebes. At Thermopylae they were the only men who refused to quit Leonidas in his extremity, and all their 700 perished with him [id. 7, 222, 226]; the rest of the citizens took refuge in the Peloponnese; and 800 of them were with the army at Plataea [9, 30].

**Thesprotians, the, c. 47.**

The inhabitants of a district in the south-west portion of Epiros opposite the islands of Korkyra and Paxos. Their chief town was Ephyra (Kichyros) on the Kokytos. At one time they had the control of the oracle of Dodona, which was at Dramisos.

**Thessalians, the, cc. 27—32, 113—5, 126, 129, 131—3, 135.**

Thessaly is the province between Makedonia on the N., Epeiros on the W., and Phthiotis on the S. It is a great alluvial plain surrounded by mountains and drained by one river system, that of the Peneus and its tributaries. The plain was exceedingly rich and fertile, and particularly famous for its breed of horses, and accordingly Thessalian cavalry were the most renowned in all Greece. There were several leagues or combinations of towns in Thessaly, the most powerful being that of which the centre was Larissa, but there was no one central government. The Thessalians had joined Xerxes under compulsion [7, 172—4], except in the case of the Aleuadæ [7, 6], and were ready to turn against him at the first sign of failure [9, 89].

**Thracia, c. 117. The Thrakians, c. 116.**

The district N. of Makedonia bounded on the E. by the Euxine. Towards the N.W. the frontier between it and the Keltic tribes was undetermined; but Herodotos regards the Danube as separating it from Skythia [4, 99]. For the number and warlike nature of the tribes, see 5, 3. The Persians had extended their power along its coast, but had not penetrated far inland [4, 93; 5, 2].
HISTORICAL AND

THRIASIAN PLAIN, the, c. 65.

The Thriasian Plain, skirting the Bay of Eleusis, was divided from Athens by the hills of Aegaleos, and was bounded on the north by Mt Parnes. Through it, close to the coast, went the Sacred Way to Eleusis. The greatest length of the plain is nine miles. It was in parts so low and marshy that the Sacred Way had to be raised like a causeway, while the northern and western part of the plain is stony and barren. Its name was derived from a hamlet close to Eleusis, of which the exact position is not known.

TIGRANES, c. 26.

A Persian, one of the family or clan of the Achaemenidae, to which the royal family of the Persians belonged [1, 125; 3, 65].

TIMODEMOS, c. 128.

A man of the Attic deme of Aphidnae, who was a political opponent of Themistokles.

TIMOXENOS, c. 128.

A man of Skione (q. v.) who commanded a contingent of his countrymen in Potidæa.

TITHOREA, c. 32.

One of the peaks of Parnassos. The name seems to have also been applied to the district at the foot of the mountain, and to the town of Neon (q. v.). The natives supposed it to have been derived from a mountain nymph, Tithorea. [Paus. 10, 32, 9.]

TORONAÉANS, c. 127.

An inhabitant of Torone, a town situated on the S.W. of the peninsula of Sithonia, the central one of the three Chalkidic peninsulas. It was a colony from Chalkis in Euboea, and was originally the chief Greek city in those parts. Like the other Chalkidic towns it had been forced to supply a contingent to the Persian army and navy [7, 122]. From it the gulf between Pallene and Sithonia was called the Toronaic Gulf.

TRACHINIA, c. 31.

TRACHIS, cc. 21, 66.

A town and district at the foot of Mt Oeta in Thessaly. The name (=rugged) is derived from the nature of the rocks surrounding the plain. In B.C. 426 the Lakedaemonians built Herakleia in its territory as a centre of Lakedaemonian influence.

TRITEEIS, c. 33.

Triteeis or Tritea was a town in Phokis in the valley of the Kephisos.

TROEZENIANS, the, cc. 1, 43, 72.

The inhabitants of Troezen, a town in the S.E. corner of Ar-
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Golis. It was a very ancient town and had long been in alliance with Athens; and when the Athenians quitted their town before the battle of Salamis, a large number of their women, children, and old men were received at Troezen and honourably entertained, a daily allowance being voted from the treasury, and free leave being given to the children to pluck fruit [Plut. Them. 10]. The reason of this was that Troezen, though occupied by the Dorians, retained a large admixture of its original Ionic inhabitants who came from Karia; and there had been from old times a religious connexion between it and Athens as belonging to the same Amphiktyony, the centre of which had been the temple of Poseidon at Kaluria (Poros) in the Troezenian domain. Troezen was the mother-town of Herodotos' native place, Halikarnassos.

Trophonios, c. 134.

According to one story Trophonios was the son of Erginos, according to another of Apollo. He and his brother Agamedes built the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as well as a treasure-house for king Hyrieus [Paus. 9, 37, 5]. After his death he was worshipped as a hero, and his cavern near Lebadia (q. v.) was visited as an oracle. An elaborate account of the mode of descending into this cavern, apparently artificially constructed, is given by Pausanias, 39, 5—12. Cp. Aristoph. Nub. 597. The oracle of Trophonios was one of those consulted by Kroisos before the invasion of Kyros [1, 46].

Tyre, c. 67.

An ancient city of the Phoenikians in the north of Palestine. The priests of the great temple of Herakles told Herodotos that the city had been founded 2300 years before his visit, i.e. circ. B.C. 2755 [2, 44]. It consisted of two towns, one on the mainland, the other on two islands half a mile from the coast. Alexander the Great when besieging it made a causeway across this strait, round which sand has accumulated; and the islands are thus connected with the mainland by a sandy neck half a mile broad. At the time of the Persian wars it was still rich and prosperous, with a great mercantile navy, though it was with the rest of Phoinikia subject to Persia. Alexander the Great entirely destroyed its inhabitants, and put in some Karian colonists; and after being a subject of contest between the Egyptian and Syrian kings, who attained those dominions after Alexander's death, it finally became part of the Roman province of Syria. For an account of its former glories, and its 13 years' siege by Nebuchadnezzar, see Ezekiel cc. 26, 27. How completely Tyre fell from its old position may be gathered from the fact that the geographer Stephanos [circ. A.D. 500] under the head of Týpos merely says νῆσος εἰς Φωική, not noticing a town at all.

Xanthippos, c. 131.

Father of Pericles, Strategus at Athens B.C. 479 and commander of the Athenian contingent at Mycale.

Though a younger son of Darius he succeeded to the crown because his mother Atossa was a daughter of the great Kyros, and the Persians had only submitted to have Darius as king on the condition that by marrying a daughter of Kyros the royal line should be traced to the great Persian conqueror [7, 3—4]. Xerxes had been very doubtful as to the policy of invading Greece, but had been persuaded to do so principally by Mardonios. Though he was the handsomest and most stately man in his whole great army [7, 187], he presents all the worst features of an Eastern monarch, without the personal courage that did something to excuse them in the eyes of his people. If now and then (see 7, 146; 8, 69) some traits of more liberal sentiment or greater insight into justice are related of him, they can do little to relieve the dark colours in which Herodotus portrays this man, whose character may be said to point the moral of the whole of his history. He is the embodiment of swollen pride and unchecked tyranny and luxury, against which the θυσίας of the gods is inevitably wakened.

XUTHOS, c. 44.

Son of Hellen, and father of Ion and Achaeos, and therefore the mythical ancestor of the Ionians and Achaeans [7, 93].

ZEUS, c. 116.

Herodotus represents here by the name of the supreme deity of the Greeks the Persian supreme god Ormuzd, as in 1, 131; 2, 55; 5, 105.

ZOSTER, c. 107.

A promontory in Attica formed by the termination of Mount Hymettos, mod. Cape Lumbardhas. Opposite to it is the island Phaura, mod. Fleva.
APPENDIX.

THE IONIC DIALECT.

The dialect in which Herodotos wrote is called the New Ionic, that is, the language of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor in the fifth century B.C., and those islands of the Aegean colonised by Ionians. By the 'Old Ionic' is meant the language of the Iliad and Odyssey (though it seems probable that the foundation of the language of these poems was Achaean or Aeolic, and that they were Ionicised subsequently), the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod. The oldest Greek literature therefore known to us was written in various developments of the Ionic dialect. The Attic, such as we find it in Thucydides and the Tragedians, is a still later development; but as the Athenian literature (from about B.C. 450 onwards) is best known to us, and has survived in much larger quantity than any other, we for convenience compare the forms of the Ionic dialect with those of the Attic as a standard, although in most cases the Ionic forms are the older. Herodotos [b. B.C. 484], a contemporary of Sophocles, lived just at the parting of the ways when the Attic literature was beginning to supplant all others, yet he deliberately adopted the Ionic dialect as still the best for prose composition, though he was by birth a Dorian. He was, then, writing in an acquired dialect, and was moreover a wanderer and scholar who had conversed with men of all dialects, and studied their writings; it was likely therefore that his style should show signs of modification in word-forms, as well as in idiom, from the standard Ionic; but still the Ionic as we find it in his writings shows decisively how it had developed, sometimes less, and sometimes in a different way, than the other dialects.

Many words are used by him in a sense different from that in which Attic writers of his own time would have used
THE IONIC DIALECT.

them, but yet in the same sense in which they are used in Homer; or again, words which had become obsolete, or used only by poets in Athens, are still employed by him in their primitive sense as the natural and prosaic terms. The same phenomenon may be seen in our own and other languages. A Yorkshireman, or an Eastern Counties man, may often be heard using words that are almost or entirely unknown to the Londoner, but which were the ordinary terms in use in the days of Chaucer or even of Shakespear. Even with a printed literature men of the same stock, if divided by place and circumstance, will develope the same language in widely different ways. Take for example the many idioms used by Americans differing from our usage in England, yet of which we may often find the counterpart in our older writers. What was likely then to be the case between two and three thousand years ago, with means of intercourse infinitely less efficacious, and a literature often not written at all, and of course when written infinitely confined in circulation? They did what was natural: each community gradually adopted peculiar terms and idioms; sometimes one retained a more archaic form than another, sometimes the same community would diverge much more than the other from the primitive form. They did not always alter in the same way, and no one division of the Hellenic race could claim a monopoly of archaic forms or a distinct supremacy in primitive correctness. The laws which such phonetic changes follow help us to track the original form through the maze of divergent modification, but they cannot always tell us why one set of people modified less or more than another, or in this way or that. The most marked features of the Ionic as compared with the Attic dialect are (1) that the contraction of two vowels is generally resolved into its component vowels, (2) that the η sound (Etacism) is generally preferred to the α, though the reverse change is not infrequent.

The following is a conspectus of the variations of the Ionic dialect of Herodotos from that of the Attic.

1 Taken with modifications and additions from that of Dr K. Abicht, Uebersicht über den Herodotischen Dialect. Leipzig, 1869.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

A. LETTERS.

I. CONSONANTS.

(1) In three words the tenuis takes the place of the aspirated consonant, δέκωμαι, ἀδίς, οὐκί (Att. δέχομαι, ἀδίς, οὐχί).

(2) In three words the positions of the aspirate and tenuis are reversed, ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεύτεν, κιθάν (Att. ἑνταῦθα, ἑντεύθεν, χιτῶν).

(3) κ is found in the place of π in the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, κοῖος, κόσος, κότερος, κῆ, κοῖ, κοῦ, κῶς, κίθεν, κότε [Att. ποῖος, πόσος etc.]; in the relatives, ὁκόιος, ὁκόσος, ὁκότερος [Att. ὅπουός etc.]; and in the adverbs οὐκοτε, οὐδέκοτε, οὐκω [Att. οὐσοτε etc.].

(4) The prepositions ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό, neither in elision nor composition, take the aspirated consonant before an aspirate, e.g. ἀντί οὗ, μετά 'α, κατά [= καθ' α], κατα ἑνα, ὑποστάναι, ἀπυκνόμαι, ὑπήμα, μετέντες. In the same way οὐκ does not become οὐχ before an aspirate.

(5) σσ is not changed into ττ, e.g. θάλασσα, γλώσσα, τάσσω, ἔλασσων, are the invariable forms in Ionic.

(6) σσ becomes ξ, e.g. διξός, τριξός.

II. VOWELS.

(1) a (Attic) into e, as ἔροσ 'male', τέσσερες, ὑπέων (ὑπάων).

(2) á (Attic) into η, as δυσλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος.

(3) á (Attic) into η,

(a) In root syllables, as ἰηθίδωσ, ή Ἱρ, κρήτηρ, νηός, τριή-κοντα, πρήγμα, πέργημα.

(b) In derivatives, as θε-ητρον, νε-νής, ἵρ-ηξ, Λίγω- ήται, ι-ητρός, ἀν-ηρός.

(c) In compounds, as γενη-λογέω, διή-κονος.

(d') In the adverbs λάθρη, λίην, πέρην.

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(4) ἄ (Attic) into ω, as παυωνιζω, θῶκος.
(5) ε (Attic) into ἄ, as τάμω, τράπω [but we find τρέψω, ἐτρέψα], μέγαδος.
(6) ε (Attic) into ι, as ἱστι (ἴστια), ἑστίως=ἑφέστιος.
(7) η (Attic) into ἄ, as μεσαμβρίη, ἀμφισβατέω, πεντακόσιοι.
(8) η (Attic) into ω, as πτώσω.
(9) ω (Attic) into η, as θητής, Θεσαλίτις, Ἰστιαιής, and the derivatives θητής, Ἀμπρακίης etc.
(10) ο into a as ἄρρωδέω [Att. ἄρρωδέω].

III. DIPHTHONGS.

(1) a into ai, as αλετός, αἱεί.
(2) αυ into ω, as θῶμα [but θώμα, θωὐμάζω, also see ι. ι1], τρώμα.
(3) ε into ει, as εἱρομαί, εἰρωτέω, εἰρύω, εἰλίσσω, εἰνατος, εἰπακόσιοι, εἰνεκεν, κεινός, κεῖνος, στεινός.
(4) ει into ε, as εἰς, ἐσω, μέζων, κρέσσων, πλέων, fem. of adj. in -ς as βαθεῖα, ὑξέα, and in the tenses of δείκνυμι, as δέξω, ἔδεξα, δέξαί, ἔδέχθη, ἐδέξεκτο, also ἔργω, ἔσθα, and in all proparoxytons in -ειος, -εια, -ειων, as ἐπιτήδεος2, ἐπέτεος.
(5) ει into ε, as ἵκελος, προσικελος, ἦλη.
(6) ευ into ε, as ιδος, ιδέα, ιδὺ, ιδύω [Att. εὐδίς].
(7) ο into ου, as μοῦνος, νοῦς, νοοτέω, Ωλυμπός, οὖνομα, οὐνομάξω, οὐρος (ὀρος a boundary), τὸ οὐρος (τὸ ὄρος), ὁ οὐδός (threshold), but ἡ ὁδός (way) : in trisyllable forms γοῦνατα, δοῦρατα, from γόνυ, δόρυ.
(8) ου into ω, as δυ (δύν), τοιγαρών, οὐκων, γῶν (γοῦν).

2 Still the comp. and superl. of ἐπιτήδεος seem to be in ὁτερος, ὁτατος as though the word were ἐπιτήδειος.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

B. SYLLABLES.

(1) Solution and Contraction.

(a) ou into oe, as ὄγαθοέργος, δημοέργος.

(b) οη into ω, as όγδώκοντα, and in the following forms of βοῦν and νοεῖν,—βώσαι, βώσασθαι, ἔβωσε, ἔβώσθην, ἐννώισας, ἐννεωκασι, ἐννέωντο, νεωμένος, ἐπενώθη, also βωθεώ (Βοηθεώ)*.

(2) Diaeresis.

(a) ei into η, (1) in substantives in -ειά as βασιληί = regnum [but βασιλεία = regina], ἐπιστατηή; (2) in subst. in -ειον, as χαλκηίον, ἀριστηήιον [the forms προάστειον and προαστηήιον are both found, see i, 78; 3, 142]; (3) adjec. in -ειος, as οἰκηίον, βασιληίος.3

(b) η into η, as δηίω, κληίς, χρηίζω, θηηείη.

(c) φ into ω, as πατρωίος, πρωί [except ζφων, φόν, Τράσας, Κφως, Ἀχελφως].

(3) Elision.

(a) ν ἕφελκυστικόν is not used in the Ionic of He-rodotos4. οὔτω does not become οὔτως before a vowel (9, 82).

(b) Elision (comparatively rare) takes place in (1) the prepositions δμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό; (2) in most cases where ἀμα stands before a vowel; (3) most fre- quently in ἀλλά, δέ; (4) often in μηδέ, οὐδέ, τε, γε.

(4) Crasis.

(a) Like Attic, τάλλα, ταύτα, τάγαλματα, τάνθραποι, τάλθεσος.

* Exceptions are the proper names Δαρείος, Ἀργείος, Ἑλείος, Καδμείος. * In 7, 144 most MSS. have προβοηθησα, but not R or S.

4 In some MSS. however, the ν ἕφελκυστικόν is used throughout. It appears also in the oldest MS. of the treatise written by Lucian in imitation of the dialect and style of Herodotos. In the oldest Ionic we possess, that of the Iliad, it of course frequently occurs.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

(b) ο, α, and ω with α, ωνηρ, ανθρωπος, ανθρωποι, αύτερος, τούτερον, τάτερα, ἄλλοι, τώρχαιον, τώληθες, τωπό, ἄνθρωπε, ὃναξ. [The MSS. mostly have οί ἄλλοι.]

(c) In the reflexive pronouns έαυτοῦ, ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ, which in Ionic would be ἐο αὐτοῦ, ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, we have ἐωτοῦ, ἐμεωτοῦ, σεωτοῦ. From ὁ αὐτός, ὡτός, ὡτοῖ, τεωτό.

(d) Four with καὶ, καλὸς κάγαθος, κάκειθε, κάκεινος, κάμοι (as in Attic).

C. DECLENSION.

[The dual forms are not used in Herodotos.]

I. SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES.

First Declension.

(1) The gen. plur. ends in -εων, as γνωμεων, τιμεων, γενεεων (γενεη), πασεων, μελαιεων, αυτεων (f.) [but we must except from this rule adjectives, pronouns and participles in -ος, -η, -ον which have their gen. plur. fem. paroxyton, as ἀλλων, φιλων, έκεινων, δισεκομενων, τούτων*].

(2) Dat. pl., universally in -οι or -οι, as γνωμηοι, αυτηοι.

(3) a in all cases of the sing. becomes -η as χωρη, -ης, -η: λαχυρη, -ης, -η. The α is retained in nom. and acc. but becomes η in gen. and dat. as

άληθεω, -άν, -ής, -ή
μοιρα, -άν, -ής, -ή
μία, -άν, -ής, -ή.

(4) -ης makes the gen. sing. in -εω, proparoxyton,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>πολυπτης</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ητην</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ητεω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ητη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ητας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ητεων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ητησοι</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Stein gives τουτεων f. 5, 31; 9, 115 and elsewhere; also ἀλλεων 9, 115.
Like this are declined proper names Μίδης, Λεονύδης, Πέρσης, Ξέρξης: also δεσπότης, except that the acc. δεσπότεα occurs 1, 11; 91.

(5) Words that in Attic are contracted are written in the uncontracted form in Herodotos, as μνᾶ, συκῆ, in Herodotos

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{[μνέα]} & \text{συκῆ} \\
\text{μνέαι} & \text{−έης} \\
\text{μνέων} & \text{−έην} \\
\text{μνέας} & \text{συκέαι} \\
& \text{συκέων} \\
\text{χρυσός, −η, −έον} \\
& \text{−έον, −έην, −έον} \\
& \text{−έον, −έης, −έου} \\
& \text{−έω, −έη, −έφ} \\
\end{array}
\]

Second Declension.

(1) The only peculiarity in case-ending is the dat. plur., which always ends in -οις or -οίης, as λόγοις, θεοίς, καλοίς.

(2) Words in -ος, -η, -ον or -εως, -η, -εων are not contracted, as πλόως, ἀπλόως, -οή, -ον, ὄστεον, χρύσεος, -η, -εων.

(3) The so-called ‘Attic Declension’ in -ος is confined to proper names in Herodotos, as 'Ἀρκεσίλεως, Μενελέως (from λεως), as also Μίνως, 'Ἀθώς, 'Ἀμφίσφεως. Instead of λεως, νεώς, κάλως, λαγώς Herod. uses ληνός, νηός, κάλος, λαγός. So also instead of πλέως, ἑλώς, ἀξίοχρεως Herod. uses πλέως, -η, -ον, ἑλεος, -ον, ἀξίοχρεως, -ον. Thus too the words compounded of γη, as βαθύγεως, μελάγγεως, μεσύγεως, υπόγεως, are represented in Herod. by βαθύγαιος, μελάγγαιος, μεσύγαιος, υπόγαιος.

(4) Herod. generally uses πολλός, -η, -ον, though he also uses the commoner πολύς, πολλή, πολύ.

But the accusative Ξέρξηα in 8, 22, 69; 9, 1 is supported by some good MSS., as also Δυκίδεα in 9, 5. But see Bähr on 5, 42.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Third Declension.

(1) In the uncontracted and imparisyllabic words the forms used by Herod. are the same as those used by Attic writers.

(2) The contracted declensions are declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>βασιλεύς</th>
<th>πόλις</th>
<th>νηύς</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-λέος</td>
<td>πόλιος</td>
<td>νεός</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεῖ</td>
<td>πόλι</td>
<td>νη</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέα</td>
<td>πόλιν</td>
<td>νέα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεύ</td>
<td>πόλιες</td>
<td>νέες</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέες</td>
<td>πολίων</td>
<td>νέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέων</td>
<td>πολίσι</td>
<td>νησί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λευσι</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νέας</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like πόλις are declined ἱβρις, ὄψις, φύσις, κρίσις, πίσις, παίδευσις, κατάστασις, χήτις, etc., and the proper names Τόμυρος, Μοῖρος, Σμέρδες, Ζάëς, Ἀτις, Ἀμασίς, Δάτις, Μέμφες, Θέτις, Πάρις, Ἰοίς and the plural Σάρδιες, -ιών, -ισι, -ιας.

But

"Ἀρτεμίς, -ιδος, -ιδα
ἔρις, -ιδος, -ιν
χάρις, -ιτος, -ιν

(3) Neuters in -ος, substantives and adjectives in ης, substs. in -υς and -υ, and adjects. in -υς resolve all contractions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>γένος</th>
<th>'Αστυάγης</th>
<th>ἄληθής -ές</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γένεος</td>
<td>-γεός</td>
<td>ἄληθεός</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένει</td>
<td>-γεί</td>
<td>ἄληθεί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένεα</td>
<td>-γεα</td>
<td>ἄληθεα -ές</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γενέων</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἄληθες -έα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένεσι</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἄληθεσι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ἄληθεα -έα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Proper names contracted to \( -κλῆς \) are thus declined:

\[ \text{Θεμιστοκλῆς voc. -κλες} \]
\[-κλέος\]
\[-κλεῖ\]
\[-κλεά\]

Thus \( \text{Περικλῆς} \) and \( '\text{Ηρακλῆς} \).

(4) Substantives in \(-ως \) and \(-ω \), such as \( \text{αιδῶς}, \text{ηῖς}, \text{εὐερτῶ}, \text{πειδῶ}, \) are declined as in Attic, except that some proper names as \( '\text{ιω}, \text{Δητό} \) make the accus. sing. in \(-οῖν\).

(5) Neuters in \(-ας \), as \( \text{γῆρας}, \text{κῖρας}, \text{τῆρας} \), have their genitives and datives sing. and plur., and acc. plur., in \(-εος, -εῖ, -εων, -εοι, -εα \) [not \(-αος, \text{etc.} \) with the single exception of \( γῆρας, -αος, -αῖ \).

II. PRONOUNS.

(1) Personal Pronouns \[ [\text{ἐγὼ, σὺ, ἐither}] \]

(a) Herod. uses the uncontracted forms of the gen. sing. \( \text{ἐμέο, σεό, ἐο, and rarely ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, ἐῦ} \).

(b) Dat. \( σοῖ \), but in enclisis \( τοι \).

(c) For the dat. m. and f. \( \text{αὐτῷ and αὐτῇ} \) Herod. uses \( σοι \). Acc. \( \text{μοῦ=αυτὸν -ηῡ and ἐαυτὸν -ηῡ, and also for αὐτό.} \)

(d) The nom. and dat. plur. of the three personal pronouns are the same as in Attic. The third person plural is \( \text{Ν. σφεῖς, A. σφέας, G. σφέων, D. σφίσι, σφι, \) but σφίσι and σφι differ in usage; σφι (enclitic)=αυτοῖς or αυταῖς, σφέας=αυτοῦς, -ας, but σφίσι=ἐαυτοῖς or ἐαυταῖς. [There is frequent confusion in the MSS. between σφίσι and σφι.]

The gen. and acc. plur. are not contracted

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ἡμέων} & \quad \text{ὑμέων} & \quad \text{σφέων (σφέων)} \\
\text{ἡμέας} & \quad \text{ὑμέας} & \quad \text{σφέας (σφέας)} 
\end{align*} \]

Herodotos also uses σφι as acc. 3rd per. of all genders and numbers, and σφέα=αυτά (n. pl.).
(2) Relative Pronouns.

(a) ὦς, ὀσπερ, in nom. sing. and plur.

ὸς, ἦ, τό
οῖ, αἰ, τά

but in oblique cases the consonantal form is used, as

G. τοῦ, τῆς, τοῦ
τῶν, τῶν, τῶν, etc.

Note 1. Of the prepositions not admitting of elision ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, περί, πρό, πρός, σῶν, ὑπέρ,

πρό and ὑπέρ seldom occur with simple relative.

περί usually follows its case, as τῆς πέρι.

ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, πρός, σῶν, take the consonantal form, as ἐν τῷ, σῶν τοῖσι etc. Except where ἐν, ἐς, ἐς form with the relative an expression of time, as

ἐν ᾧ = quo tempore
ἐς ὅ = usque ad id tempus
ἐς ὅ = ex quo tempore.

So also ἀχρι ὅ, μέχρι ὅ.

Note 2. On the other hand the prepositions which admit of elision—ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό—take only the aspirated form of the relative, δι’ ᾧ, ἐπ’ ᾧ etc., except when they follow their case, as, τῷ πάρα [but παρ’ ᾧ].

(b) ὅστις, ὅ τι do not take the consonantal form. In place of the Attic ὅτου, ὅτι, ὅτωσι Herod. uses ὅτευ, ὅτεφ, ὅτειοσι, and for ἄτινα he has ἄσσα (not ἄττα).

(c) Interrogative and indefinite Pronoun τίς

τίς
τίνες
τέο (τεῦ)
tέων
τέφ
τέοισι
τίνα
τίνασ
D. CONJUGATION.

I. The Augment.

The usage of Herodotus with regard to the temporal and syllabic augments is the same as in Attic with the following exceptions:

(a) The temporal augment is omitted in purely Ionic forms, such as ἄγινεό (ἄγω), ἀμείβομαι, ἀνασμίω, ἀρρωδέω, ἀγείρομαι (ἀγείρω), ἔσσω (ἕσσω), ὁρτάζω (ὁρτάζω), οὐρίζω [but ὁμόμασται 9, 32, though the Ionic form οὐνομάζω is given in some MSS.; in 9, 44 however they all have ὁμομάζω], ἔργω (ἐργω)7.

(b) Also in the poetical verbs, ἄθλεω, ἄλυκταζω, ἀλινόω.

(c) Also in all verbs beginning with the diphthongs αι, αυ, ει, eu, οι, ασ, αἰδέομαι, αἰνέω, αἰρέω, αἰτέω, ἀθέω, εἰρωτέω, εὑδω, εὐτυχέω, εὔρισκω, οἰκέω, ἀνοίγω, οἶχομαι.

(d) Also in the verbs ἔδω, ἔργαζομαι, ἔωθα [pluperf. ἔωθεα], while on the other hand the augmented forms ἔσαν, εἰχον, ἠλθον, ἠλάσαν are always found.

(c) In cases of double augment the syllabic is omitted as ὁρεον [Att. ὠρων].

(f) Neither temporal nor syllabic augment occurs in verbs with frequentative termination, as ἀγεσκον, ποιέοςκον, βαλεσκόμην, ἵσχον, ἰχεσκον.

II. Change of ν into α, when -ται or -το comes immediately after the stem.

(a) In the 3rd pers. plur. of perf. and pluperf. pass.: FIRST in impure forms, as ἀπίκατο, ἐτετάκατο, τεταφάται, ἀγωνίδαται, ἐσκενάδαται, δεδέχαται, ἀπίκαται, διεφθάρατο; in these

6 The augment, as in Attic, is often omitted in the pluperf., as τετελευθεκε, δεδοκτο, ἐνδεδύκε, etc. And when προ is compounded with an augmented word there is no contraction, as προέβαινε, προδβαλε (not προδβανε etc.).

7 Under this head may come the fact that the MSS. seem to favour ὠρμέτατο (see 4, 16), but ὠρμέτατο (1, 168; 9, 61).
forms the Root consonant is aspirated except when it is δ, and in the word ἀπίκατος -ος; SECOND in pure Roots, the preceding vowel being shortened, as ἣπιστέατο, ἥγεται, ἥρτειάς, οἰκέαται, κέαται, ἰφρέαται, βεβλέαται, ἀναπεπτέαται, ἀποκεκλέατο, ἐνεπιδεικνύετο, ἐκεκοσμεῖτο.

(b) In the 3rd pers. plur. pres. and imperf. pass. of verbs in -μι, as τιθέαται, ἐτιθέατο, ἰστέαται, δυνέαται, ἔσται, κατέατο, ἐνεπιδεικνύετο, ἐκεκοσμεῖτο, ἐπέκλειτο.

(c) in optative endings pres. or aor., as ἀγοίατο, βουλοῖατο, γενσαλάτο, τυσαλάτο, ἀνελοῖατο.

III. Resolution of Contractions:

(a) pluperf. -εα, -εας, -εε, -εσαν, as ἑδεα, ἑδεας, ἑδεε, ἑδεσαν, ἑδελυδεε, ἑργεε.

(b) 2nd pers. indic. midd. and pass.
    primary tenses -εα, as ὦχεα, ἐσεα.
    historic „ -εο, as ἐγενεο, ἐπικεο.

So also the present imperat. midd., as ἐπεο, πείθεο, ἀπαλλάσσεο. But the 2nd pers. sing. of the subj. midd. is always contracted, as οἰχη, γένη, δέξη, ὑποθήκη. Also 2nd aor. infin. act., as μαθεόν, ἑλθείν, σχείν.

(c) ὥ resolved into -έω in the Aorist subj. pass. of all verbs, in the 2 aor. subj. of verbs in -μι or verbs formed on the analogy of verbs in -μι, as αἰρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, ἐξαναστέωμεν, προσθέω, θέωσι (ἐθην), βέω (ἔβην), but the 2nd and 3rd persons are contracted, as νικήθης, φανή, ἐκβη, θήται.

(d) In Verbs in -εω, -αω, -ωω, the uncontracted forms are used:

(1) -εω, as
pr. καλέω -έομαι subj. καλέω -έωμαι opt. καλέομι -ειμιν
καλέεις -ή καλέης -ή καλέοις -έοι
καλέει -έει καλέη -έηται καλέω -έιτο
imperat. κάλε
imperf. ἐκαλεον -ειμην infin. καλέων
ἐκάλεες -εο part. καλέων
ἐκάλεε -έετο part. mid. ap. καλεόμενος
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Note 1. The only exception is δει, δειν, the imperfect of which however is ἔδεε. In five verbs ἀγνοέω, διανοέωμαι, θηλομαι, νοεω, ποιέω, in which the termination -ω or -ομαι is preceded by a vowel, εο or εου becomes ευ, as ἀγνοεύντες, ἔθηευτο (ἔθηευτο), θηλομένα.

The imperfect of θηλομαι has the Attic contraction, as ἔθηετο (1, 10).

ποιέω has ευ throughout, ποιεύσον, ποιεύστες, ἐπολευθ, ποιεύμαι, ποιεύμενος, ἐποιεύμην, ἐποιεύτο.

εο remains uncontracted, as νοεων, but ον becomes ω, as νεωμένον.

Note 2. This rule of resolving contractions applies also to liquid futures, as ἔρεω, κερδανείς, ὑπομείνουσι, κατακοντιέει, κομέει, ἀπρεμέω, κομέει (mid.), χαριέσθαι, ἀπολέοντες, but when a vowel precedes εο or εου they become ευ, as ἀνταγωνίσεμενος, κομεύμεθα, ὀπωριέυναι, ἐποτιεύμενοι 8.

(2) verbs in -άω

(a) With exception of the dissyllable verbs κλάω, ψάω, σμάω [also ἐάω, βιωμαί, ἱώμαι] all contractions are resolved not into -άω -αο -αον, but into -αω -αι -αου, as ἀρεώ, ἀρέουσι, ἀρέων, ἀρέομαι, ἀρέομενος. On the other hand -αι, -αε become -α and -α as ἀρεώ, ἀρᾶς, ἀρᾶ ἀρεόν, ἀρᾶς, ἀρᾶ

[though in 8, 36 the best MSS. have ἀπάρων].

(b) And as in verbs in -εω, when a vowel precedes -εο or -εου they become ευ, as ἀμεύνται, βοεύτες.

(c) The future of ἐλαύνω is ἐλέω, ἐλέων.

(d') χράω, χράομαι, contract in α [Attic η], as χρέομαι, χράται, χράσθαι, χρεώμενος 9.

8 ἐπολευθ 8, 64; 9, 25 etc., but also ἐπολευθ 9, 8 and ii; ποιεύσον 8, 68.
9 In 9, 6 we have ἀμυνέοις for ἀμυνέοντα although -ου is not preceded by a vowel; cp. βδλευν for βδλιου [εο] 8, 68; δοκεύντα 9, 77.
10 In 9, 24 as in 4, 151; 7, 34; 9, 41, etc. one MS. (P) gives χρεώμενον, but the greater authority in all cases seems to be for χρεώμενος, while the best MSS. give χρεῶν (not χρεών) as the neut. part.; see 9, 46 etc.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

(e) But in tenses of verbs in -ωω where the Attic has ἃ, the Ionic has η, as βιοθήναι, βιοθάσθαι, πειρηθήναι, πειρηθάσθαι.

(3) Verbs in -ώω.

The verbs in -ώω are contracted as in Attic, except that when -oo or -oov are preceded by a vowel they become eu, as ἄντιεύμενος, δικαίευσθαι, ἔκπειρεντα, ἄγιεύμεθα, ἔξοροιεντες, δικαίευσα. Thus ἄξιοω is conjugated in Herodotos

Pres. ἄξιοω ἄξιεύμεν ἡξίουν ἡξίευμεν
ἄξιοις ἄξιούτε ἡξίουσ ἡξίουτε
ἄξιοὶ ἄξιεύσι ἡξίου ἡξίευν

Imperf. ἄξιοῦσθαι Part. Mid. ἄξιεύμενος

Imperf. M.
ἡξίευμη
ἡξιε
ἡξιούτο
ἡξιεύμεθα
ἡξιοῦσθε
ἡξιεύντο

Mid. Inf. ἄξιοῦσθαι

Thus also, ἀντιεύνται, ἔτεροιεύντο, ἐδικαίευντο.

IV. Verbs in -μ.μ.

(a) τίθημ, τιθεῖσ τιθεῖ...τιθείσι
ημ, ηείς ηεί... ηείς
like a verb in -ωω.

ιστημ, ἱστάς ἱστα...ἱστάσι
like a verb in -ωω.

διδομ, δίδοις δίδοι...δίδουσι
like a verb in -οω.

Note 1. Perf. pass. part. of μετίημ, μεμετιμένος (Attic μεδαμ-μένος).

Note 2. Imperf. ind. act. of τίθημ,

ἐτίθεα, ἐτίθεες, ἐτίθεε
ἐτίθημεν, ἐτίθετε, ἐτίθεσαν.

(b) ἱστημ.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

The 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. perf. are ἔσται and ἔστασι.
Partic. perf. ἔστεώς.
(c) ἰδικῳμι.
The 3rd pers. plur. pres. indic. is ἰδικῳς (Attic ἰδικώϊς).
Pres. partic. ἰδικὼν. Imperf. indic. ἰδικὼν -ες -ε.
(d) εἰμί sum.
2nd pers. sing. εἰς [Attic εἰ]. 1st pers. plur. εἰμέν [Attic ἐσμέν].
3rd p. plur. εἰσί [but ἐσι in an oracle 1, 66].
Subjunct. ἐω. 3rd p. plur. ἐωσι.
Opt. εἰην. 3rd p. plur. εἰησαν (εἰέν)  
Part. ἐῶν ἐωσα ἐόν.
Imperf. ἤν, ἤσθα, ἦ [ἐσκε 1, 196: 6, 133, and ἦ ε 1, 181, and ἦν 7, 143]. ἤσαν [ἐσκον 4, 129; 1, 196. ἤσαν MSS. 6, 5].
Another form less frequent is ἤν (2, 19), ἤσ (1, 187),...ἔσται (5, 92).
(e) εἰμί ἰδο.
Imperf. indic. ἤνα, ἤνε, ἤσαν [Att. ἥα, ἥε, ἥσαν].
(f) ἰδα, ἰδας, ἰδε, ἰδεν, ἰδενε, ἰδασι.
For ἰδεν is found ἰδαμεν [2, 17; 4, 46; 7, 214], συνοίδαμεν [9, 60].
Pluperf. (=imperf.) ἤδεα, ἤδεε, ἤδεάτε, ἤδεσαν.

E.

(1) ἦς is often used for οὐτο.
(2) The following Ionic Verb forms also are to be noted:
(a) 1st aor. for εἰπον
εἶπας, 9, 45,
εἶπαν, 9, 11,
ἀπειπάμεθα, 9, 7,
eἶπαι, 8, 68.
(b) From λαμβάνω
λάμψομαι, 9, 31, καταλαμψόμενος, 6, 39.

11 In 7, 6 we have ἐνεόω as though from ἐνέομι.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

καταλαμφέντες, 9, 58,
katalambhke, 9, 60,
* ἀπολελαμμένοι, 9, 51.

(c) From φέρω

ἐσενεϊχθαι (ἐνενεγμαι), 9, 41,
ἐσενεγμένος, 9, 72,
ἐπενείκας, 8, 10,
ἀνεϊκαντο, 8, 32.

(d) αἴρειν (ἀείρειν)

ἀερθέντες, 9, 52.

(e) δείκνυμι

fut. δέξω,
1st aor. ἐδεξα, δέξατ,
ἐδεξάμην, ἐδέχθην,
perf. pass. δέδεγμαι,
plup. pass. ἐδέδεκτο,
imper. pass. δεδέχθω, 8, 8.

(f) εἶκω

perf. οἶκα, 4, 82; part. οἰκώς, -ος, 8, 9.

(g) πλῶειν and πλέειν are both found in good MSS.

(h) ἀξάμην, ἄξαντο [ἀγω], 8, 20.

(i) ἀναγνώσαι, 8, 57—8.

(j) Variations in accent ἔρημος 9, 3; ὁμοίως 5, 58;

* οὐκείμος 5, 31, 91.
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