HERODOTOS

IX

(KALLIOPE)
BATTLE OF PLATAEA.

A1^23 First Second, & Third positions of the Persians.
B1^23 do. do. Athenians.
C1^23 do. do. Spartans.
D1^23 do. do. Other Greeks.
P field of battle.
HERODOTOS IX
(KALLIOPE)

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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MY aim in this edition has been to supply readers with all information necessary for the right understanding of the story as a whole, and of particular incidents and references to general history; and also to give all needful help in the study of the language and the dialect of that language which Herodotos uses. Much of historical explanation and observation which is usually found in notes has been put together in the 'Historical and Geographical Index,' the design of which has been especially to bring before the reader the circumstances of the time, the mutual relations of the various states of Greece, some indication of the origin of those relations, and the influence and aims of the leading personages engaged.

Though only a few notes on the more important variations in the text have been appended, yet the text itself has been carefully revised by the help of the *apparat us criticus* in Dr Stein's earlier critical edition, as well
as by the emendations of Madvig, Cobet, Herwerden and the earlier editors. The explanatory notes also owe something to those of Stein (1882), and Dr Abicht. To the latter scholar especially belongs the greater part of the 'Appendix on the Ionic dialect,' which with slight additions is the same as that already printed in my edition of the eighth book. Other editions have also been consulted, among which I may mention the notes in Rawlinson's translation, which have always the merit of being full of learning and independent criticism on points of antiquities and history. The first ninety chapters were published in 1887.

Cambridge, 1891.
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INTRODUCTION.

When evening fell upon the strait of Salamis at the end of that September day the Greek sailors mustered their ships on the coast of the island, and busied themselves with collecting the wrecks of their own forty disabled vessels, as well as such of the Persian fleet as were within reach. The last blows at the enemy had been struck by the Æginetan squadron which was stationed at the entrance of the channel [8, 91]; and by Aristeides, who had landed on the small island of Psyttaleia with some Athenian hoplites and put the Persian troops occupying it to the sword [8, 95].

The Greeks scarcely understood the greatness of the victory they had achieved. The Persian army was still intact, and in occupation of Athens and the coast of Attica; their fleet had lost only between two or three hundred out of a total of 1200 ships; and the Greeks, remembering perhaps the three days of alternate success and failure at Artemisium, looked for a renewal of the engagement on the following morning [8, 96]. But though they had not annihilated the Persian forces, they had done what in the circumstances was quite as important,—they had thoroughly frightened Xerxes.
That 'handsomest man in the Persian army' was also one of the greatest cowards in it. He now pictured to himself the total destruction of his ships by the Greek fleet, which would then sail to the Hellespont and break the bridge of boats; and when that was done, he would be caught in Europe, unable to make his way into Asia, and be dependent for his life upon the victory of his land army, of which events had begun to fill him with profound distrust. He however for a time concealed his feelings from his Court: although they did not escape the eye of Mardonius who had been long used to watch and understand the humours of his master. The king at first pretended to press on the construction of a mole across to Salamis, which had apparently been commenced even before the battle, and to order a kind of a bridge to be formed by linking some Phoenikian vessels together [8, 97]. But in the council held after the battle he quickly resolved to accept the advice offered by Mardonius and Artemisia, which was conceived in the sense in which they knew that Xerxes had resolved to act, and supported by arguments intended to justify the king to himself and to save appearances. Mardonius argued that the fate of their expedition depended on their brave Persian troops, who had never been beaten, and was not affected by the loss of cowardly Phoenikians, Egyptians, and the like: that the king had better, having attained his object in taking Athens, return home himself, but leave these unconquered troops to wreak a safe and certain vengeance on the Peloponnese. This was supported by Queen Artemisia, who reminded the king also that he had already attained the aim of his expedition by burning Athens; and that the highest object on earth, the king's safety, should now be secured by his return,
while Mardonius should be left to fight the enemy: his success would be the king’s as being that of his own slave, and his failure would be but a poor triumph for the Greeks (8, 100—102). His fears and his vanity being thus at once satisfied, Xerxes sent immediate orders to his fleet, which had sought refuge at Phalerum, to land the best of the troops that were on board and to depart forthwith for the Hellespont. He himself was to move with his whole army out of Attica; and leaving 300,000 of the best troops to winter in Northern Greece, was to be guarded by the rest on his journey home; while Queen Artemisia took charge of such of his children as were with him, and conducted them by sea to Ephesus [8, 107].

The order to the fleet was immediately obeyed: and in the night which followed the council the Persian ships left their anchorage at Phalerum and sailed away for the Hellespont. This movement was not known to the Greek fleet until the middle of the next day; but when news of it was brought to them they at once determined to start in pursuit. The Persian fleet however had had too long a start of them; and when the Greeks got as far as the island of Andros, from which an uninterrupted view to the north could be obtained, without sighting the enemy, they gave up the pursuit as hopeless, and decided in council to return. Although Themistokles had been urgent that they should proceed to the Hellespont to break down the bridge, he gave in to the feeling of the majority, who agreed with Eurybiades that it was better to let the Barbarians get out of Europe by any means; and finding that he was overruled, took pains to secure the favour of the king by representing that the very measure which he had opposed was
taken by his instigation. For this season the Greek fleet did nothing more, except that under the influence of Themistokles they exacted from several islanders who had medized various sums of money, either as a composition for that offence, or as a contribution to the common defence [8, 108—112].

Meanwhile on land the preparations for the departure of the king and his army were pushed on; and not many days had elapsed after the battle when the start took place. The whole army accompanied the king through Boeotia and into Thessaly. There the choice of the 300,000 who were to remain with Mardonius was made, among which were all the 'Immortals' and the best men of the whole army. Of these, sixty thousand, under the command of Artabazus, escorted the king as far as the place at which he took ship, and then returned towards Greece: while Mardonius put the remainder of his army into winter quarters in Thessaly and Makedonia [8, 113].

The march of the retreating army had been disastrous. The country through which they were marching had been too lately pillaged to supply sufficient food, and the men were reduced at times to feed on grass, leaves, and the bark of trees. As a natural consequence disease, and especially dysentery, attacked the troops; and but a poor remnant accompanied Xerxes when after a march of forty-nine days he reached Sestos, to find the bridge broken by a storm, but his fleet ready to transport him across to Asia. As many more perished from the effects of a sudden change to plenty when they arrived at Abydos; and with these survivors from his grand army Xerxes at length reached Sardis [8, 115, 117].

Artabazus started on his return towards the army of
Mardonius when he had seen the king safely embarked. But instead of spending the winter in the same quarters as the rest, he employed it in endeavouring to punish the people of Potidaea who had just renounced their allegiance to the king. The town of Potidaea stood on the narrowest part of the peninsula of Pallene, and was strongly defended on the north by a wall stretching across the narrow neck of land, and on two sides by the sea. Artabazus first took the neighbouring town of Olynthos, and put its inhabitants to the sword, and then proceeded to lay regular siege to Potidaea. But in spite of all that he could do, and in spite of attempted treason from within, at the end of three months the town was still untaken. The harbour, which is now a marsh, was at that time formed and defended by a mole running out into the sea: and the barbarians, after their three months weary siege, were encouraged by an extraordinary low tide to endeavour to get round the end of this mole, and so make their way into the town. But when the van of the army was somewhat more than half-way across, the returning tide overtook them, and those who were not drowned at once were killed by the Potidaeans who put out in boats to attack them. As many as twenty thousand appear to have perished: and Artabazus with the remainder marched away to join Mardonius in Thessaly [8, 127—129].

Meanwhile the Persian fleet, after conducting the king to Abydos, had taken up its station for the winter at Kyme and Samos. At the approach of spring they mustered at Samos, and under the command of Mardontes kept a watch upon Ionia, which was known to be ready again to break
out into revolt. The number of the ships of war forming this fleet was 300; and though they did not venture to make another descent upon Greece they believed that they were safe from attack themselves, and that Mardonius was entirely certain of subduing Greece with his land forces [8, 130].

By the Greeks the approach of spring was felt to be a season of renewed labour and peril. Mardonius was in Thessaly, ready once more to descend upon Athens, where the inhabitants had partially returned to their homes: and no one knew whether the Persian fleet at Samos was preparing to make another attack or no. At any rate it behoved them to be on the alert. One hundred and ten triremes assembled early at Aegina under the command of the Spartan king Leotychides; and while there they received a deputation of commissioners from the Ionian cities, who had managed to run the Persian blockade, begging for help towards the recovery of their freedom. The fleet thereupon proceeded to Delos, but did not venture farther: "all beyond that seemed to the "Greeks full of danger: the places were quite unknown "to them, and to their fancy swarmed with Persian "troops: as for Samos it appeared to them as far off as "the Pillars of Hercules" [8, 132]. So novel was the idea, soon afterwards a commonplace of Greek politics, that a Greek fleet should be able to command the Aegean.

This, then, is the situation in the spring of 479. The Persian fleet watching Ionia from Samos; the Greek fleet at Delos. Mardonius in Thessaly on the point of breaking up his winter quarters and marching for Attica, and no Greek army as yet assembled.
INTRODUCTION.

But the object of Mardonius was now not the occupation of Athens, which he felt was a matter of no difficulty, but to penetrate into the Peloponnese and subdue the one part of Greece which had as yet never known the presence of the Persian enemy. To do this he was willing if possible to have the Athenians as coadjutors, or at least as neutral spectators. He had learnt that they were dangerous enemies at sea, and an alliance with them he imagined would make him irresistible. He therefore selected as his envoy Alexander of Makedonia, who, while he had Persian connexions, was also known at Athens as a ‘benefactor’ and ‘proxenos’. The desirability of such an arrangement was obvious; but it was also said to have been recommended to Mardonius by the oracles of Apollo Ptôus in Boeotia, and of Abae in Phokis, and of Trophonios at Lebedeia, and others, which he had caused to be consulted. Oracles were apt to take in politics the view which commended itself to practical statesmen who were in the ascendant. And as the Boeotians and Phokians were determined medizers the answers of these oracles may be easily understood, and at any rate they contained sound advice [8, 136].

The mission of Alexander however was unsuccessful. He seems not only to have delivered a formal message from Mardonius, but to have given confidential advice that the proposal should be accepted. It was no doubt a tempting one. The Athenians were not only to recover

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Thus arrived in the valley of the Asopos, he encamped
his army on both sides the river, and set about forming a large fortified enclosure, to secure his baggage and to be a place of retreat in a time of difficulty. Here he was in the midst of friends, and not far from the city of Thebes, which was not only strongly on the side of the Persians, but was also well fortified and capable of being defended in case of need. Another advantage of this position was that the medizing states of North Greece immediately sent their contingents to his army; and he soon had not only a formidable position, defended when he chose by the Asopos, but a considerable force of Greeks cooperating with his own troops [cc. 16—18]. These operations must have occupied a great part of the month of August. And meanwhile the Greek army had gradually got itself together and was at Eleusis, which was the natural starting place for crossing Kithaeeron from Attica into Boeotia by the pass of Dryoskephalae, and where they were joined by the Athenian contingent from Salamis under Aristeides. When they had made the pass, they did not venture to descend into the valley for fear of the Persian cavalry; but kept on the high ground round Erythrae, and refused to be provoked to descend by the constant skirmishing attacks of this force (cc. 19—21); and though encouraged by a rather marked success in one of these skirmishes (cc. 22—24), they determined to edge off along the hills nearer Plataea, principally for the sake of a better supply of water. They were now stationed near a fountain of good water (Gargaphia), on comparatively level ground, nearly opposite the main line of Mardonius’ army, from which they were separated by the Asopos (c. 25).
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their territory but to have such additional lands as they chose, and to retain their independence: and the Persians were to restore the temples that had been ruined. The one condition attached was that they were to make an alliance with the king. But this condition meant that they should help him to enslave the rest of Greece; and this was a condition which they were resolved never to accept. Their loyalty however was not fully relied upon by Sparta. No sooner was the intended mission of Alexander known there, than the Spartans hurriedly despatched envoys to counteract the impression that he seemed likely to make. The Athenians had expected such a measure, and had purposely delayed giving audience to Alexander for a few days until these Spartan envoys arrived, in order that both might appear together. Their object doubtless was to impress upon the Spartans the strong position in which such an offer placed Athens, and the suicidal folly of Sparta if she allowed any light causes to induce her to loiter, as she had done before, in the despatch of the necessary forces to resist the threatened invasion of Attica by Mardonius. The speech put into the mouth of the Spartan envoy by Herodotos (8, 142) is not very conciliatory towards Athens,—although the Spartans offered sustenance for their families during the war,—nor free from the charge of rather gross anachronisms. But the general statement of fact may be accepted, that the Athenians resolutely refused the offer, and determined to resist the Barbarian, if not on land, then at sea. At the same time they urged the Spartans to lose no time in collecting the forces of the Pelopon- nese, and marching out to meet Mardonius in Boeotia.

It is the failure of this negotiation which brings us to the point at which the Ninth Book of Herodotos opens.
No sooner was the rejection of his offer announced to Mardonius than he broke up his camp in Thessaly and marched south; and refusing to accept the advice of the Thebans to stay in Boeotia to meet the coming Greek army, made straight for Athens (cc. 1—2). The Athenians once more quitted their town and took refuge in Salamis; and Mardonius, after one more fruitless attempt at negotiation with them there, had to content himself with the occupation of an empty town (cc. 3—5). Meanwhile the Spartans had been acting with their usual dilatoriness if not with actual treachery. They felt comparatively safe now: for the wall which they had been building across the Isthmus of Korinth was nearly complete, and they believed that they were thus secure against immediate attack; while they did not feel much compunction at allowing the Athenians once more to depend upon their fleet and the hospitality of neighbouring towns. It was already late June, or July, and yet no force had been despatched, and the envoys from Athens sent to urge them to action, found them busily engaged with the feast of the Hyakinthia, and could get no answer for ten days from the Ephors. The Spartan troops however were slowly getting ready, and just when the Athenian envoys in despair were preparing to depart, with threats that the Athenians would consult for their own safety by coming to terms with Mardonius, the advanced guard started for the Isthmus. This step is represented by Herodotus as having been taken at the instigation of Chileos of Tegea, who pointed out that if the Athenian fleet joined the Persian, the wall across the Isthmus would at once lose all value as a defence for the Peloponnese. Whether this was so or not, this obvious

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consideration no doubt had its influence; and indeed the Spartans, without being intentionally treasonable to the Hellenic cause, may have thought that a hasty movement was unadvisable. Attica was in the hands of Mardonius, and a few weeks more or less would make little difference to the Athenians: while every day that Mardonius was kept there diminished his command of supplies, strengthened the resolution of the loyally inclined on his rear, and enabled them to collect larger forces from the States in the Peloponnese, who could not be reckoned on for prompt or rapid measures (cc. 6—11). Information was quickly sent to Mardonius of the movement of the Spartan troops; and it determined him at once to quit Attica. He had hoped to make his way into the Peloponnese. But Attica itself was by no means a favourable field for the decisive battle: there was no plain sufficient for the proper employment of his cavalry, and he had no certainty of supplies, and no easy means of retreat in case of defeat. He therefore started for Boeotia, after burning and dismantling as much of Athens as was possible in the time. But on his way he was told that there were only a thousand men arrived from the Peloponnese, and hoping to crush these at least, he turned and advanced to the Megarid, wasting the country as he went: but on entering the Megarid he learnt that these thousand men were only an advanced guard of a large army which was now collected in the Isthmus; he therefore resumed his original plan and marched by Dekeleia towards Boeotia. At Dekeleia he was met by guides sent by the Boeotarchs, who led him across the frontier at Sphendale to Tanagra, thus avoiding the better known but longer route by Oropos (cc. 12—15).

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In this position it seemed inevitable that a general battle must shortly ensue. But neither side would begin: the victims gave unfavourable omens, and for eight days the two armies faced each other, and nothing took place except desultory skirmishing. But these eight days had been unfavourable to the Greeks.

The Persian cavalry daily crossed the river (a mere brook in summer) and annoyed them; and worse still, cut off their convoys of provisions, and prevented fresh troops from coming to join them from the south over Kithaeron (cc. 38—40).

Weared out with delay Mardonius at length, on the eleventh day, determined to hazard a battle the next morning in spite of omens. At the risk of his life Alexander of Makedonia rode up to the Athenian lines after dark on that evening, and warned the Greek generals of the intended attack. When the twelfth day came however, it was occupied by some changes and counter changes in both armies, and a somewhat more determined assault by the Persian horse, in which they succeeded in entirely destroying the fountain Gargaphia for use, from which the Greeks drew their supply of water. Henceforth they would only be able to get water under the fire of the Persian cavalry’s arrows and javelins (c. 49).

After consultation therefore the Greek commanders resolved to shift their position once more to a place called the Island, about a mile nearer Plataea, which got its name from being almost enclosed by two mountain streams running into the Oeroe. The movement was to be effected simultaneously in the night; but it led practically to the dismemberment of the Greek army. In the first place all the
INTRODUCTION.

allies, except the Lakedaemonians, Aegeans and Athenians, had been so terrified by the severer attacks of the Persian cavalry, that instead of only marching to the spot assigned, they fled as fast as they could, and did not stop until they reached the Heraeum outside Plataea (c. 52). Again, there being two routes from their present to the new position,—one along the plain on a level with the road from Plataea to Thebes, and another more to the east over high ground,—the Lakedaemonians were to take the latter, and the Athenians the former, starting at the same time and meeting at the Island. But the obstinacy of one Spartan captain prevented for some hours the start of the Peloponnesians, and inspired so much distrust in the minds of the Athenians, that they did not start either. When this difficulty was at length got over, both the Athenians and Peloponnesians started too late to arrive at their destination before daybreak (c. 53). Thirteenth day.

And consequently when the Persian cavalry crossed the Asopos as usual, though they found the Greek position evacuated, they could also see the Spartan line crossing the elevated ground on their way to the Island. The Athenians indeed were not in view, for they had gone along the lower ground; but the Lakedaemonians had not only taken the hill route, but they had been delayed again by having to wait for the insubordinate Amompharetos. The Persian cavalry accordingly at once went in pursuit of the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans (cc. 56, 57). Upon learning the state of the case Mardonius at once ordered a general advance, and came up with the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans, close to a lonely temple of Demeter, about a mile to the east of Plataea (c. 59).

Pausanias the Spartan commander seeing the enemy
approaching, sent hastily to implore the Athenians to make every effort to join him. But they were prevented from doing so by finding themselves engaged with the Greek contingent of the Persian army, who kept them at play for almost as long as the Lakedaemonians were engaged with the Persians [cc. 60, 61].

The Lakedaemonians and Tegeans were therefore left to face the enemy by themselves. And thus brought to bay, they justified the reputation which they enjoyed in Greece. For some time the omens continued unsatisfactory, and the Lakedaemonians did not venture to charge; and meanwhile the Persians, fixing their long wicker shields in the ground, poured in volleys of arrows from behind this extemporary fortification. It is difficult for us to enter into the feelings which at last prompted the Greek attack. Pausanias is represented as lifting his eyes to the temple of Herè which he could see on the rising ground outside Plataea, and uttering a prayer to the Goddess. At that moment the omens suddenly became favourable; and without waiting for further orders, the Tegeans charged. Then the matter was a trial of strength and of superiority in arms and agility; and it was not long in being decided. The Persians made a valiant struggle until Mardonius fell; but when he was killed, with the flower of his army round him, the rout quickly became general. The panic-stricken crowd fled in the utmost disorder to the wooden enclosure and barricaded themselves there, leaving a large number of their best men on the field. The fugitives were protected in their retreat by their own cavalry and that of the Boeotians, and reached the fortified camp without much loss. Here they were quickly followed by the Spartans, who tried to storm the palisade with
their usual want of success in this kind of warfare [cc. 61—68].

Meanwhile the other Greeks, who had retreated to the Heraeum outside Plataea, got intelligence of the victory obtained over the enemy, and made all haste to join their successful comrades. The Korinthians kept on the high ground: and though they came too late to share the honour of the battle, they seemed to have arrived in safety at the site of it, and thence to have marched to the fortified camp. But the Megarians and Phliasians who went along the plain were cut to pieces by the Theban cavalry, who were keeping the road, and lost their lives without saving their honour [c. 69].

The Athenians by this time, after a severe engagement on the lower ground, had beaten the Boeotian infantry, which did not attempt to join the Persians in their camp of refuge, but fled along the road to Thebes [c. 67]. They now marched towards the Persian camp, which on their arrival quickly fell: and the miserable cowering crowd of orientals were slaughtered like sheep with hardly a show of resistance [c. 70].

The only portion of the Persian army which escaped in any numbers was the division of forty thousand led by Artabazus. That cautious commander seems to have felt certain of the result of the battle, and had therefore purposely loitered behind when Mardonius marched out of the camp on the fatal morning. Following him at some considerable interval, he was met by the first fugitives from the field. He promptly wheeled round, and without attempting to return to the camp, proceeded with all speed along the shortest road which led to the north; and by persuading the Thessalians and Macedonians that he was only leading an advanced guard of
the main army, obtained a safe and honourable passage through their country: and though he lost large numbers of men on this forced march, both from disease and the assaults of the Thracian barbarians, he arrived in safety with the remainder at Byzantium, from which place he crossed in ships to Asia [cc. 66, 89].

Thus the Persian invasion was at end, and the grand army annihilated. The immediate effect of the battle was to restore the medizing part of Greece to the side of Hellenic loyalty; and nothing was left for the victorious army to do but to punish the disloyal Thebans', divide the spoil, and disperse. To none of the States engaged had the issue been more momentous than to the Athenians. By it the inhabitants of Athens were enabled once more to return to their homes, and set about restoring their ruined walls in safety: one harvest had been lost, and most of the vines destroyed by the enemy; but no doubt here and there would be vineyards not wholly unfruitful; and at any rate it was time for the rural population of Attica to be busied on the preparations for the next year. The security obtained for them by this victory was confirmed by the defeat of the Persian fleet at Mycale, fought late on the same day as that at Plataea. Henceforth the fear of invasion is removed from Greece, and the Greeks assume the offensive: enforcing the freedom of the Ionian cities and islands, and keeping the Aegean as a Greek sea.

One monument of this famous battle remains in a mutilated condition to our day. It is the stand of three brazen serpents, on which stood the tripod of gold, dedicated by the victorious states to the God at Delphi. The three heads formed the resting places of the three 'legs of the tripod, and the names of the States engaged

1 By a fine of a tenth, 7, 132. Polyb. 9, 39.
The stand of three brazen serpents on which the golden tripod stood at Delphi. Now in the hippodrome at Constantinople.

[See c. 81, and note on p. 51, l. 9, where the list copied from the statue at Olympia by Pausanias is given. Pausanias (5, 23, 1) also saw and copied the names on this column but omitted four,—Thespians, Eretrians, Lenkadians, Siphnians.]
were engraved upon its coils. The gold tripod was removed by the Phokians during the sacred war (B.C. 357—346) but the stand remained, until it was removed by Constantine to the Hippodrome in his new city founded on the site of the ancient Byzantium. There it has remained, much damaged by neglect and even violence, and its inscription can still be read. The highest coil shows marks of having been filed down; and on that it is believed was the vainglorious inscription of Pausanias, which the Spartans caused to be erased [Thucyd. i, 132]. The three heads of the serpents have been broken off, but one of them was discovered in a broken state in 1848, and is now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople.1

But the victors of Plataea did not know for some time after the battle how complete was the check which had been given to Persian aggression in European Hellas.

We have seen that early in the spring of B.C. 479 the Greek fleet of 110 ships under the Spartan king Leotychides had mustered at Aegina, and thence had proceeded to Delos at the request of the Samian envoys.

1 A full description of this ancient monument, with a collection of ancient and modern references to and accounts of it, will be found in Inscriptiones Graecae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas by Hermann Roehl, Berlin, 1882; and a still more correct reading of the inscription is given by Dr Fabricius, from a recent examination, in the Jahrbuch des k. deutschen Arch. Instituts, 1886, i, p. 176. The number of states here named is 31, which according to Plutarch (Them. 20) was the number that actually took part in the war. The list in c. 81 seems to be of those only at Plataea, the islanders are omitted, whose services however are recorded in 8, 46, 7. The Thespians (omitted in the Olympian inscription, see p. 119) are here honoured in reward for the sufferings brought on them by their loyalty, see 8, 50.
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It is not unnatural that having had so lately to fight for their own country, and knowing that an army of the enemy was still in their land, they should not at once have grasped the notion of taking the offensive and carrying the war into a country which, though to a great extent inhabited by Hellenes, had for a number of years been under the almost undisputed sway of the great king. The Cyclades were still Greek, and had suffered only a passing visitation of the Persian fleet: but to attack the great islands on the shore of Asia, and Asia itself, was a work which they would hardly undertake without grave misgivings. The Persian fleet was equally kept back by dread of the Greeks, who had shattered them at Salamis, and was still loitering at Samos [8, 132]; and therefore the two forces, whose collision was to put a finishing stroke to the war, remained through the spring and early summer at a safe distance from each other.

But the Samians were resolved that if possible they would be delivered. They again sent ambassadors to Leotychides at Delos, begging that the fleet would come to their aid. This was a secret movement of the Samians themselves, and had to be concealed both from the Persians and from their own tyrant Theomester, who was under the influence and in the interest of the Persians. The leader of the ambassadors was a man named Hegesistratos, and Leotychides caught at the omen implied by his name [‘leader of an army’] and promised to come. It must not be supposed on the one hand that such a motive was the only one influencing so important a decision; for no doubt Leotychides and his officers had on mature consideration come to the conclusion that
they might make the movement with good hopes of success: nor on the other hand that the anecdote is purely fictitious. It is difficult for a modern to appreciate fully the significance which such a casual coincidence had for the mind of a Greek, and what spirit it might inspire in a Greek army [c. 90—2].

The proper sacrifices having been offered and the omens given by them being favourable, the Greek fleet started, and anchored off the Heraeum of the town of Samos, on the S. of the island, nearly opposite the promontory of Mykale, on which a band of the army of the Persians was already stationed. The action of the Persian fleet shewed that the Samians had been able to give other reasons besides the lucky name of their ambassador to induce the Greek fleet to come. The Persian admirals felt that they were not strong enough to risk a battle at sea. They therefore dismissed the Phoenikian ships to some place of safety and beached their remaining vessels at Mykale, where they might be under the protection of their land army. A regular naval entrenched camp was formed, the vessels being inclosed by an earthwork, behind which the men might find a refuge [c. 96].

The battle which ensued, when after a while the Greeks also disembarked, had many features in common with that at Plataea. In both there were two distinct struggles, one in the open, the other at the camp to which the beaten foe retreated. At Plataea however it was the Spartans who alone came into contact with the enemy in the first of these struggles. At Mykale the Spartans had to traverse rough ground and only arrived on the field to give the last
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blow in the fight. It was the Athenians, with the Sikyonian and Korinthian contingents, who both turned the enemy in the field,—as at Plataea near a temple of Demeter,—and were the first to storm the camp to which that enemy retreated. The victory was complete in both places. The Persians, as at Plataea, fought well behind their gerrhae, and, even when these were fallen, still resisted stoutly. But the enemy once broken and fleeing to the camp, the Greeks had little more resistance to encounter. Most of the fugitives were killed by the Greeks, who entered the camp with them, or abandoning the camp altogether fled into the country. Only some small isolated bodies of Persians still showed fight, and even they were before long destroyed and their ships fired. The destruction was rendered more complete by the failure of a precaution which the Persian commanders had taken in case of defeat. They had intended in such a contingency to secure a place of safety on the highest part of the promontory of Mykale, and had stationed some Milesians to secure the path thither. But these men proved false to them; guided the flying barbarians by wrong roads, so as to bring them into the presence of their enemies; and in fact shewed how much against their will it was that they were serving the Persian [cc. 98—106].

The curious question as to the sudden report that Mardonios had been conquered at Plataea, which ran through the Greek army, just as they were ready to attack, and the encouragement thereby given to the Greeks, has been discussed in the notes [c. 100]. The later Greek writers, as Diodorus Siculus [xi, 23], Polyainus [i, 33], assume it to have been a ruse of the Greek generals in order to inspire their men with enthusiasm. I think that the explanation rather lies in one of two alterna-
tives: either that the historians were mistaken in assigning the two battles to the same day; or that during the prolonged movements preceding the battle of Plataea, which occupied several weeks, some reports founded on skirmishes of no decisive importance found their way to the coast of Asia, and were in all probability utilised by Leotychides. That some such rumour did spread through the army need not be doubted.

The result of the battle was the immediate freedom of the islands from Persian control; but it does not seem to have made any difference in the position of the Greek towns on the mainland of Ionia. The towns in Karia and Lykia had to wait until the battle of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466), when Kimon's victory served to expel the Persians from several of them; but even this was only a temporary relief, and the result of nearly 80 years' struggle was after all to leave the Persian king supreme in Asia Minor by the peace of Antalkidas (B.C. 387), until Alexander the Great finally put an end to his dominion.

Still Herodotos fitly ends his history with this year, the events of which formed the catastrophe of the great drama which he undertook to represent,—the attempt of the mighty Asiatic power to extend itself to Europe. Herodotos could not foresee that it was but one act of that drama, of which another great act was to be performed by Alexander, another by the almost unknown republic growing up by the Tiber, another by the Saracen and Turk nearly two thousand years later, and the last who knows how soon in these later years?—Perhaps by the inhabitants of those Skythian regions of which Herodotos says that no man knows their northern frontier.

To complete the victory of Mykale and Plataea it
remained to expel the Persians from the cities of the Chersonese. With the fall of Sestos [cc. 117—121] the Athenian fleet might return home with the consciousness that its work was done. The confederacy of Delos, the first beginnings of which are indicated in c. 106 by the union of the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, was a measure of security, not primarily of combat, and does not fall within the scope of Herodotos' history.

The revolting story of Xerxes' passion for his niece and daughter-in-law and the cruel revenge of Amastris seems thrown in, almost accidentally, as an illustration of the blacker aspects of oriental despotism, and is thus far, and only thus far, germane to the subject of the history [108—113].

The last chapter points the moral of the tale. Luxury and wealth do not produce heroes. Victory is to the hardy and abstemious. Perhaps Herodotos in his sojourn on the shores of Magna Graecia in his later life saw there too this moral being illustrated by the steady intrusion of the hardy Sabellian races into the territories of the Greek towns that fringed the coast of Italy; for he lived at Thurii, the colony that had risen on the ashes of Sybaris, the richest and most luxurious of them all, which had perished as utterly as the Cities of the Plain.
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

p. 1, l. 12. καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ. Cobet would omit these words as superfluous.

p. 1, l. 15. καταστρέφονται. The MSS. have καταστρέφηται. But the former has been conclusively proved to be right; cf. 1, 8, 9; 3, 36, 135; 5, 109; 7, 181; 9, 91.

p. 3, ll. 9, 12. Δυκίδης the variation of Δυκίδεα is so frequent, that it seems probable that there was some variation in usage; or perhaps the scribes were misled by the false analogy of such names as Τρίδας (3rd decl.). See Δυκίδης c. 114, 'Αστυδάς c. 122.

p. 4, l. 22. ἕω is absent from some of the best MSS., but, as Baehr shows, τὸ ἕω ήμεν is a substantive: see 1, 159; 7, 101.


p. 8, l. 16. χώρη ἵππασίμη. The best MSS. have ἵππασίμη, and Stein proposes ἐν χώρῃ ἵππασίμη. But χώρη is more suited to the meaning than χώρος.

p. 11, l. 23. ἔστησαν. One good MS. has ἔστασαν. The historic tense is much more in place. Schweighaeuser however took ἔστασαν as ἐστήκεσαν. cp. 4, 79.

p. 14, l. 13. ἐπόθησαν. All the MSS. have ἐπόθησαν here and ἐπόθησε in 3, 36. It appears from Eustathius on Odysseus. 2, 375 that πόθεσα in Atticism. It was likely therefore to be introduced by later copyists. See J. E. Sandys on Isocrates Panegyr. § 122. As for the future, the MSS. give without variation ἐπιποθήσεως in 5, 93; but Rutherford, New Phrynichus p. 404 says, 'There is no authority better than Xenophon for the active ποθήσω, but ποθόσμαι occurs in authors of irreproachable purity.'

p. 22, l. 2. ὅς δὲ ἐπικάσατο. The best MSS., with one exception, have ἔστι. But in this phrase the omission of ἔστι is by far the prevailing construction. cp. p. 34, l. 2.

p. 22, l. 5. κατὰ τὴν θέα. Stein omits τε, but it is found in the best MS. (R), and another of the best has κατὰ τά, an easy
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

p. 22, l. 11. 

\[\text{Cobet rejects this as a monst pneum verb, and proposes poliwm sfetepov.} \]

Some considerations are suggested in my note on the passage to make us hesitate to eject the word so summarily. But if it must go, I would suggest, rather than repeat the poliwm from l. 24, that a variation in two of the best MSS. may possibly afford a clue. In these it appears as two words lew sfetepov. Might this be a mistake for lew sfetepov 

\[\text{epousanto 'adopted as one of their own people.'}\]

Cp. 1, 129 el 

\[\text{eiwetou poietai tō Kōrou érγou.}\]

p. 25, l. 3. 

\[\text{Synkekrmenon.} \]

Reiske altered this to synkekrmenon (keraνvum) and Abich supports the conjecture by 4, 152; 7, 151, where this word is used with φίλμα. But though in place there, it is hardly so with ἔχος. On the other hand no other instance of synkekrmenos is known.

p. 30, l. 8. 

\[\text{μὴ eπιπέσωτο ύμῖν ὁ βάρβαρος.} \]

I omit ἐξαλφῆς before ὁ βάρβαρος. It is not found in the excellent Roman MS. (R), and in another of the best the copyist wrote ὁ βάρβαρος ἐξαλφῆς, and then altered the order by putting β and α over βάρβαρος, and ἐξαλφῆς. This looks as if his copy had ἐξαλφῆς in the margin, or over the line, and that, missing it at first, he put it in afterwards: and thus its absence in R seems to be in a way justified.

p. 33, l. 14. 

\[\text{ποιεύμενοι.} \]

One of the best MSS. has μὴ ποιεύμενοι. In c. 45 uπερβαλεῖν has the acc. τὴν συμβαλήν after it: the participial construction may be compared with ἐπειρόντω κατιόντες cc. 26, 53.

p. 35, l. 28. 

\[\text{παρηγορέωτο.} \]

Stein with the MSS. παρηγόρεων, but the middle is invariably used by Herod. elsewhere.

p. 36, l. 5. 

\[\text{ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους.} \]

Cobet would omit these words as foisted in from c. 11. One of the best MSS. omits ξείνους. The words may well be a gloss, and I have bracketed them.

p. 51, l. 18. 

\[\text{τε καλ ἐδόθη.} \]

Cobet would omit these words as superfluous, and they are omitted in one of the best MSS. But the context supports them. Herod. says: 'whether anything special was given to the bravest is not stated, but there was at any rate a portion set apart and actually given to Pausanias.'

p. 57, l. 8. 

Cobet writes without capital letters, τὸν Ἑγισσστρατον. Some MSS. Ἑγισσστρατόν. Valknaer omits it.

p. 57, l. 24. 

Stein inserts Χώνα before ποταμὸν from Theognostus [Canon 794].

p. 58, l. 15. 

Stein obelises τοὺς προφήτας and ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖον ἔφρατον on the ground that there was only one προφήτης. Cp. 2, 55; 8, 36. But it seems to mean the προφήτης at Delphi and at Dodona.

S. H. IX.
NOTES ON THE TEXT.

p. 59, l. 17. ἐπὶ. Reiske conjectures ἐπῶν.

p. 59, l. 21. Καλάμωιει corrected from Athenaeus XIII. 572 f. The MSS. have καλάμωιαι [καλάμωια] and λαμιώιοι.

p. 62, l. 14. παρασκευάδατο. The emendation of Reiske, παρασκευάζατο, is accepted by Abicht. The plural is hard to justify; cp. p. 60, l. 19. There is however no variation in MSS. and I have thought it better to leave it. We may perhaps take τοὺς Ἐλληνικὲς in a local sense, 'when they had made their preparations on the Greek side'.

p. 62, l. 21. αὐτής, omitted by Krüger. συμπιεστοῦσας, Reiske συμπιετοῦντος.

p. 63, l. 9. τῶν Ἐλλήνων. Stein suggests τῶν ἑκεί Ἐλλήνων, Krüger τῶν ἄλλων ἕν. But neither is strictly necessary, the τῶν Ἐλλήνων is properly applied to the main body of the nation, the safety of which was at stake at Plataea.

p. 64, l. 7. συνεπιστομονοι. Cobet εὐσπόμενοι, objecting to the repetition of στόν.

p. 64, l. 21. οἱ στρατευόμενοι. Cobet συστρατευόμενοι.

p. 66, l. 15. Πελοποννησίων, Schweighauser, MSS. Πελοποννησίων. Stein suggests προσήκεον.

p. 67, l. 21. ἄρα Cobet omits ἄρα, some MSS. ἄρα, Stein ἄρα, but the imperfect is more forcible.

p. 67, l. 24. προσέφερε. Though many MSS. have προσέφερε, the almost constant usage of Herodotus favours the active, which appears in at least two good MSS. cp. c. 122.

p. 68, l. 19. αἰτήσεθαι, so MSS. R and S. (The aorist by a similar mistake is also in some MSS. in l. 1 λάμψασθαι). One group of MSS. has αἰτήσας, and Madvig proposes to read τῶν ἄν... αἰτήσας Advers. p. 182. cp. 8, 86 ἔσκεκα τε ἑκατὸσ ἐνυτῶν θησεθαί βασιλέα, where Madv. also would write ἄν θησεθαί.

p. 69, l. 28. Κελευνω μὲ, most MSS. have μοι, which Stein retains, though he admits that is the only instance of the dative with κελεύω.

p. 70, l. 14. οὐ δὴ καὶ μὲ ἀπωλέσας. Schaefer reads κὡ. Stein puts note of interrogation after ἀπωλέσας. It is rather an exclamatory than a question, 'surely you haven't done it!'

p. 71, l. 2. ἐστεργὸν τε. One MS. omits τε, and Stein follows it.

p. 71, l. 12. τοῦτων. Stein τούτων, but it seems doubtful whether Herodotus varies the feminine of the genitive plural of οὕτως. App. C II. (1).


p. 72, l. 25. ἀφύκτως καθ. All MSS. but two seem to have these words and not ἀφυλάκτῳ, which Gaisford retained, and which Abicht also gives. The latter is a tempting reading, but perhaps
is somewhat tautological after the preceding text. He has already said that Artayktes had to stand a siege without having time to make his preparations, he then explains by saying—'but the Greeks fell upon him in such a way that he had no time to escape.'

p. 74, l. 21. πρὸς σαβλᾶ. Schweighauser conjectured πρὸς from 7, 33, and it is evidently needed. There is however no necessity to read with a few MSS., as Stein does, σαβλας. The whole erection, cross or whatever it was, is called σαβλας in Aristophanes, Thesm. 940, as in the other passage in Herodotos (7, 33).

p. 74, l. 11. νῦν οὖν ἄροινα οἱ τὰδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι. An old emendation approved by Schweighauser is μοι. But though μοι would be better with ἐπιθεῖναι it would be worse with ἄροινα, 'ransom', 'satisfaction'. The corruption in the sentence seems rather in ἐπιθεῖναι. One class of MSS. has ἐπιχθήναι which is not a Greek word; Herwerden proposes καταθεῖναι. Perhaps nearer to the false word ἐπιχθήναι would be ἐπιθοῦναι.

p. 75, l. 17. μαλακοὺς ἀνδρας. Many MSS. omit ἀνδρας. Some have τι for τοι. But the latter word is properly used in such sententious utterances.
BOOK IX.

Mardonius breaks up his winter-quarters in Thessaly and marches towards Attica. [The Spring of B.C. 479.]

I. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἁλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἑσόμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκον δὲ ἐκάστοτε γύγνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖς δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἠγεμόνουσι οὕτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα 5 μετέμελε οὐδέν. πολλῷ τὲ μᾶλλον ἐπήγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροσεπεμψὲ τε Θώρης ὁ Δημιούργης Ξέρξην φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

The Thebans urge Mardonius to stop in Boeotia and gain over the Greek States by bribery. He refuses, and advances into Attica, but finds Athens deserted.

II. Ἐπεῖ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν τῷ Βοιωτοῖς, οἱ Θήβαιοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χώρος ἐπιτηδεύτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύσῃ ἐκεῖνον, οὐδὲ ἔσον ἦναι ἐκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον ποιεῖν ὡκος ἀμαχητὴ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέφεται. κατὰ 15 μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἵσχυρον Ἑλληνας ὀμοφρονεόντας, οἳ περ
καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγίνοσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπασί ἀνθρώπων. εἶ δὲ πούσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν, ἐφασαν λέγοντες, ἔξεις ἀπόνοιας ἀπαντᾶ τὰ ἐκείνων βουλεύματα. πέμπτε χρήματα ἐς 5 τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἀνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλις, πέμπτων ἡ τῇ ᾿Ελλάδα διαστήσεις. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ τοὺς μη τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηϊδίωσε μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι. III. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέίθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινοὶ ἐνεστακτο ἱμερος τὰς 10 ᾿Αθήνας δεύτερα ἐλείων, ἀμα μὲν ὑπ᾿ ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἃμα δὲ πυροσία διὰ νῆσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεύ ἀδηλώσεν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὧτι ἔχοι ᾿Αθήνας. ὡς οὔδε τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν ἐφετε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίον, ἀλλ᾿ ἐν τε Σαλαμίνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι 15 ἐν τῇ πόλις νησοί, αἱρέει τῇ ἐρίμοι τὸ ἀστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέως αἴρεσις ἐς τῇ ὑστέρῃ τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατήσῃ δεκάμην ἐγένετο.

Mardonius sends Murychides to Salamis to persuade the Athenians there to accept his terms. The Athenians not only refuse, but even stone Lykidas, with his wife and children, for proposing to accept the offer.

IV. ᾿Επεὶ δὲ ἐν ᾿Αθήνῃσι ἐγένετο Μαρδόνιος, πέμπτε ἐς Σαλαμίνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα ᾿Ελλη- 20 σπόντιον, φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών τοῦ ᾿Αθηναίοις διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίσας δὲ σφες ἐπίθεσεν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης 25 πάσης τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ἔδη ὑπ᾿ ἑωτυ. τοῦτον μὲν εἵνεκεν ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλα-
μίνα. V. Ὡς δὲ ἄπικόμενος ἔπι τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Δυκίδης εἶτε γνώμην, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκεε ἁμεινοῦν εἶναι, δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφὶ Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἕξενείκαι ἐς τὸν δήμου. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῖτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, 5 εἶτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἶτε καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἦνδαν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δενον πονησάμενοι, οὐ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπίθοντο, περιστάντες Δυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἐλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ιο ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖν περὶ τὸν Δυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γνώμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Δυκίδεως οἰκίην ἤισαν αὐτο- κελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα, 15 κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

The Athenians retire to Salamis on the approach of Mardonius. Then send for help to Sparta.

VI. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ὡδὲ ἔως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἦξεις τιμωρήσοντά σφί, οἱ δὲ ἐμενοῦν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔπετε δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερὰ τε καὶ σχολαίτερα 20 ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιών καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ύπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἑς-Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Δακεδαίμονα τε ἐπεμψαν ἀγγέλους, ἀμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῦσι Δακεδαίμονίουσι στὶ περιείδου ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν 25 ἀλλ’ οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἥςθασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἀμα δὲ υπομνήσθοντας ὡσα σφὶ υπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μετα- βαλοῦσι δῶσειν, προεῖπαι τε ὦτι εἰ μὴ ἁμνεύσι
'Αθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τίνα ἀλευρὴν εὐρήσονται.

VII. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφὶ ἢν 'Τακίνθια, περὶ πλεῖστον δὲ ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν. ἀμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφὶ, 5 τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ δὴ ἐπάλεξες ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμόνα οἱ ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἀμα ἀγόμενοι ἐκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἐλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

Speech of the Athenian Envoys.

10 Ἑπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναίοι λέγοντες, ὦτι ἡμῖν "βασιλεὺς ὁ Μῆδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδίδοι, "τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπὶ ἱσχὺ τε καὶ ὁμοία "ποιήσασθαι οὖν τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ "καὶ ἀλλήν χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἀν 15 'αυτὸν ἐλάμβας'. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἐλλήνων αἰδευθέν- "τες καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ "κατανέσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καὶ περ ἀδικεόμενοι "ὑπ' Ἐλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι ἐπιστάμενοι τε "ὅτι κερδαλεώτερὸν ἔστι ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλ- 20 "λον ἦπερ πολεμεέων' οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν "ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὐτω ἀκίβ-
"δηλον ἐδώ νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας. 2. Ἡμεῖς δὲ "ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίνην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογη- "σομεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἦπει τε ἔξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον
25 "φρόνημα σαφέως, ὦτι οὔδαμα προδώσαμεν τὴν "Ἐλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ύμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ "ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἔστιν, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα "τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιεσθε, συνῆξεμον, τε ἡμῖν τὸν "Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδωκατε, 30 "περιεῖδετε τε ἐςβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρ-
"βαρον. ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρέδων Ἀθηναίοι ύμῖν "μηνίοντι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπονήσατε ἐπιτηδεύως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι "τάχος στρατῆς ἂμα ύμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ύμεας ἐκπέμ- "πευν, ὡς ἃν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. "ἐπειδή γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῇ Βουναίῃ, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης 7 "ἐπιτηδεύσατον ἐστι ἐμαχαλεσθαί τὸ Ῥώσιον "πεδίον."

The Ephors still delay.

VIII. Ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἑφοροὶ ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραῖν ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα 10 ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, εἴ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὰς πάντας Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἂν πρὸς τέλει. οὖδὲ ἔχων εἶπα τὸ αὐτίων, διὸτι ἀπικο- μένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθῆνας 15 σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδέσαι Ἀθηναῖοι, τότε δὲ ὁρῆν ἐποιήσαντο οὔδεμιάν, ἀλλὰ γε ἡ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμὸς σφι ἐτείχει μετὰ καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἐτὶ δέσθαι οὐδέν. ὡτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὔκω ἀπετείχει στό, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως 20 καταρρωθηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

A timely warning. The Spartan troops start at last.

IX. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξὸδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιοῦτο. τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἐσοεβαί Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Δακεδαίμοι μέγιστα 25 ξείνων, τῶν ἑφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον, τῶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἔλεγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἐλεγε ἂρα σφι τάδε: "Οὕτω ἄχει, ἀνδρες ἑφοροι! Ἀθηναίων
"ήμιν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων, τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχῳ,
καίτερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐξαλείπησαν κρατεροῦ,
μεγάλαι κλῖσιάς ἀναπτετέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννη-
"σου τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθη-
νίκοισι δέξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι." Χ. Ὁ
μὲν σφί ταῦτα συνεβούλευε, οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν
λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τούσι ἀγγέλουσι τοῖσι
ἀπηγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολέων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι
πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἕπτα περὶ ἑκατον
tάξαντες τῶν εἰλότων, Παυσανίς τῷ Κλεόμβρότου
ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν νυν ἡ ἤγεμονὶ
Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Δεσπότης· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς,
ὁ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπίτρωπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος
γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίς μὲν πατὴρ, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ παῖς,
15 οὐκέτι περὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγόν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν
στρατηγὴν τὴν τὸ τείχος δεῖμασαν μετὰ ταύτα οὐ πολλὸν
χρόνον τινὰ βιώνας ἀπέθανε. ἀπήγα γὰρ τὴν στρατηγὴν
ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τὸ δὲ· θυμέθανοι οἱ
ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ο ἡλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ ὄμαλφῳ.
20 προσαειρέται δὲ ἐωτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τῶν
Δωρίων, ἀνδρὰ οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

The Athenian commissioners prepare to leave Sparta in
despair; but are informed that the Spartan troops are
already on their way.

XI. Οἱ μὲν δὲ σὺν Παυσανίης ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω
Σπάρτης, οἱ δὲ ἀγγέλου, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγγεγόνει, οὐδὲν
εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπήλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν
25 νῷ ὃς ἐκχουσεῖς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
ἔωτοῦ ἑκαστοῦ· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε: "Τμεῖς
μὲν, ὁ Δακεδαίμονι, αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲνοντες Ῥακόνθια
τε ἀγετε καὶ πιάζετε, καταπροδότες τοὺς συμμά-
"χούς· Ἀθήναιοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, χῆτι "τε συμμάχων, καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω, ὅκως "ἀν δύναται· κατάλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὦτι σύμ- "μαχοι βασιλέως γιώνουμεθα, συναρπατευομεθα ἔπὶ τὴν "ἀν ἑκείνοι ἐξηγεώται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτευν μαθῆ— 5 "σεσθε, δοκοῖν ἀν τὸ υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ." Ταύτα

λεγόντων τῶν ἄγγελων οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπὶ ὄρκου καὶ
dὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ, στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς
ξείνους· ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεσαν τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ
δὸς ὡς εἴδοτες ἐπειράτου τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι

dὲ ἐξέμαθον πάν τὸ ἔδω, ὅστε ἐν ὀθύματι γενόμενοι

ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δὲ σφί τῶν

περιολκῶν Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακικιλιον ὀπλίται
tῶντο τοῦτο ἐπολεον. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἔφη Μαρδόνιος

Mardonius is warned of the approach of the Peloponnesian

army by a messenger from Argos, and prepares to

quit Attica; but returns in the hope of meeting and

crushing an advanced guard of the main army in the

Megarid.

XII. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἔστι τῶν Ἰσθμοῦ ἡπείγοντο, 15

'Ἀργείοι δὲ ἔπει τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ

Παυσανίων ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπονσι

κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων (ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον) ἐς

τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι

σχῆσειν τῶν Σπαρτιητῶν μὴ ἐξίεναι. ὡς ἔπει τε 20

ἀπίκευτο ἐστὶ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Μαρδόνιε,

"ἐπεμψάν μὲ Ἀργείοι φράσσατο τοι, ὅτε ἐκ Δακεδαλ-

"μονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατόν αὐτὴν

"ἰσχεῖν εἰσὶ Ἀργείοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξίεναι. πρὸς ταύτα

"τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος." XIII. 'Ο μὲν δὴ ἐίπας 25
ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμὸς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ήκοισε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἦν πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖον τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε 5 ἐπήμαίνει οὔτε ἐσώτερο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθη, πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἡ τούς μετὰ Παυσανίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθῶν ἦν τῶν 10 τειχῶν ἡ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἡ τῶν ἱρών, πάντα καταβαλῶν καὶ συγχώσας. ἔξηλαυν δὲ τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἑπασίμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττικῇ, εἴ τε νυκτὸ συμβαλῶν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στειων, ἀστε καὶ οὐκ ὁλόγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἵσχεν. ἐβουλεύετο 15 οὖν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θῆβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλῆ καὶ χώρη ἑπασίμη. XIV. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἦδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἠλθεὶ ἀγγελία πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλ- 20 λεύετο, θέλων, εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑπο- στρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἦ δὲ ὑποστροφῆσα κατεππάσατο χῶρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταῦτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εύρωπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὐτῇ στρατῆ ἀπήκετο.

Finding however that the enemy were in greater force than he expected, he proceeded with his retreat to Boeotia by way of Deceleia, and encamped on the river Asopus.

25 XV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ὢκε ἀγγελία, ὡς ἄλλες εἶσαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ἐπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης. οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι
μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχόρους τῶν Ἀσωτίων, οὕτω δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὄδον ἦγεοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐς Τανάγρην. ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ύστεραιῇ ἐς Σκόλον ἐν γῇ τῇ ὸθβαίῳ ἦν, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν ὸθβαίων καὶ τέρ 5 μηδιζόντων ἐκείρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτω κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος, βουλό- 
μενος ἔρμα τῇ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσασθαι, καὶ ἢν 
συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοίν τι ἔθελοι, κρη- 
σφύγεστον τούτο ἐποίεστο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ 10 στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων, παρὰ 'Τσιάς, 
κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν 
ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τὸ γε τείχος τοσοῦτο 15 
ἐποίεστο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους ἑλιστά κη 
métωπον ἐκαστον.

Attagínus entertains Mardonius at dinner.

Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πάνω τούτων τῶν βαρβάρων 
Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύνων ἀνὴρ Θεβαῖος παρασκευα- 
sάμενος μεγάλως εκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν τε Μαρ-
δόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, 
κληθέντες δὲ οὕτω εἴποντο. ἢν δὲ τὸ δείπνον ποιεῦ- 
20 μενόν ἐν ὸθβησι. XVI. Τάδε δὲ ἦδη τὰ ἐπίλουτα 
ἐκοινοθέρσανδρον, ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου 
δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενίῳ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος 
κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνου 
τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θεβαῖον ἀνδρας πεντήκοντα 25 
καὶ σφεών οὐ χαρίς ἐκατέρους κλίναι, ἀλλ' Πέρσην 
τε καὶ Θεβαίαν ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου 
ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὀμόκλινον Ἐλλάδα 
γλώσσαν ἑντα εἴρεσθαι αὐτὸν ὀποδαπός ἔστι, αὐτὸς
δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἰς Ὄρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἶπείν· "Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁμοτράπεζός τε μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μην ἴσαται τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλήπτωσιν· πέσθαι ἐθέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδώς αὐτὸς περί σευντοῦ 5 βουλεύεσθαι ἐχθῆς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὅρας τούτοις τοὺς δαίμονες Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλάπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύομενον; τούτων πάντων ὡς εἶναι ὅλγοι τινὸς χρόνος διελθόντος ὁ Δάρες τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." Ταῦτα τε ἐμα 10 τὸν Πέρσην λέγει καὶ μετείναε πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θυμάσας τὸν λόγον εἶπείν πρὸς αὐτὸν· "Οὐκ ᾧν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεών ἔστι λέγει καὶ τοῦ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἐν αὐτῇ ἑυόσι Πέρσας;" Τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπείν. "Ἐξείν, ὅ τι δείκει γενέσθαι ἐκ 15 τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσιν ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδελείς. ταῦτα δὲ "Περσῶν συχνὸν ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαῖον "ἐνδεδεμένου. ἔχθισθη δὲ ὁδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώ- 20 ποισὶ αὐτῇ, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν." Ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας στρατο- 25 πεδευμένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρεῖχοντο ἀπαντεῖς στρατήν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐκμηδείζον Ἐλλήνων τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων, ὑμῖν δὲ Ἰοκάκες οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐκμηδείζου γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα
καὶ οὕτωι οὐκ ἔκοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίας. ἤμερησι δὲ οὐ πολλῆσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπίξειν τὴν ἐς Θῆβας ὑστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὑπλίται χάλυμι. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρμοκύδης ἀνήρ τῶν ἄστων δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὕτωι ἐς Θῆβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἑπτάεις ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἐωστῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἱζεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἡ ὑπόσ ἀπάσα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξήλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντίει σφέας, διεξήλθε δὲ δ' αὐτῶν Φωκέων ἑν τῶν σατυροτούτων. ἐνθα δὴ σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνει λέγων τοιάδε "Ω Φωκέως, πρόδηλα γὰρ, ὅτι ἡμέας οὕτωι οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ μέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν θανάτῳ δώσειν, διὰ βεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, νῦν ἄλλα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεοῦν ἑστι 15 γενέσθαι ἁγαθῶν. κρέσσουν γὰρ ποιεῖτας τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτήσαι τὸν αἰῶνα, ἦπερ παρέχουσα διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχρότων μόρφων. ἀλλὰ μαθέω τις "αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλληνικοῦ ἀνάρασι "φόνον ἔρρασαν." XVIII. Ὁ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα παραίνει, 20 οἱ δὲ ἑπτάεις ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας ἐκκολωσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετελοῦντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κοῦ τις καὶ ἀπήκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἐστησαν, πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωτοὺς καὶ πυκνούσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἑπτάεις ὑπεστρέφουν καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὑπίσω. 25 οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὕτε εἰ ἠλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεσθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρεον πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσας τις καὶ ἄφης γένηται τρόματα, οὔτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὑπίσω (ὡς γὰρ σφι ἐνετειλάτο Μαρδόνιος), οὔτε εἰ αὐτῶν 30 πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἰ τι ἀλκής μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ
ἀπῆλασαν οἱ ἰππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε: "Θαρσέτε, ὦ Φωκέες. ἀνδρεῖς γὰρ ἐφάνητε εόντες ἁγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὃς ἐγὼ ἐπυθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὔφραγεσθήση γὰρ οὐ μικῆστε οὔτε ὃν ἐμὲ οὔτε "βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

The Greeks arrive at Erythrae on the northern slopes of Kithaeron. First position of the Greek army.

XIX. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὃς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἤλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, τοῦτο τὰ ἁμέλην ἠνδανε, οἱ 10 δὲ καὶ ὧρεοντες ἤξιόντας Σπαρτῆτας, οὐκ ἔδικαλεν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Δακεδαιμόνιων. ἐκ δὴ ὃν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιεργησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες, καὶ ἀπικνέοντας ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· πονήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρᾶ, ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρρει, τῷ πρόσῳ ἐπορεύοντο, 15 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀμα αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῶν, συμμυγγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῳ. ὡς δὲ ἀρά ἀπίκουντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἑρυθρᾶς, ἔμαθον τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσσωπῷ στρατοπεδευμένους, φρασάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπορείας τοῦ 20 Κιθαιρώνος.

The Persian cavalry vainly attempt to provoke the Greeks to descend into the valley. The Athenians volunteer to occupy the post of danger.

XX. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὃς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ "Ελληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πάσαν τὴν ἱπποῦ, τῆς ἑπτάρχεις Μασιστίος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ Πέρσης, τὸν. "Ελληνες Μακιστίον καλέοντι, ἱπποῦ ἔχον Νισαιοῦ
The death of Masistius. The Persian manner of mourning.

XXII. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδέχαμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἐλλήνων ἐσ' Ἐρυθράς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελκύουσιν. μαχομένων 25 δὲ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιώνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης· προσβάλοντος τῆς ὑπον κατὰ τέλεα ὁ Μασιστίου προέχον τῶν ἄλλων ἔπος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρὰ, ἀληθαὶ δὲ ἵσταται τε ὅρθος καὶ ἀποσείεται.
τον Μασιστίου. πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι αὐτίκα ἑπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ Ἰππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ’ ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἰχε χρύσεων λεπίδωτον, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιβώνα φοινίκεοι εὐνεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἔποιευν οὐδὲν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθὼν τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μὲν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν. οὕτω δὴ ἐπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ γινόμενα ἔλελήθηε τοὺς ἄλλους ἰππέας· οὐτε γὰρ πεσόντα μὲν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰππον οὐτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιος τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἐμαθον τὸ γινομένου. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐστήσαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθησαν, ἢς σφας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων. μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς, διακελευσάμενοι ἠλαυνοῦν τοὺς Ἰπποὺς πάντες, ὡς ἀν τὸν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο. ΧΧΙΙ. Ἡδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνουντας τοὺς ἰππέας ἀλλ’ ἅμα πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιῶν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἁπας ἔβοηθε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὧδε περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἔως μὲν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσοῦντο τε πολλῶν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλιπον· ὡς δὲ σφὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐπεβοῆθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἰππόται ὑπέμενον, οὐδὲ σφὶ ἐξεγένετο τὸ νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνω ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἰππέων. ἀποστῆσαντες δὲν ὧςον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὁ τι χρεὼν εἰς ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δὲ σφὶ ἀναρχίας ἑούσης ἀπελαύνεις παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. ΧΧΧ. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς Ἰπποῦ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσα τε ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστος, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰπποὺς καὶ τὰ ὑποχύματα, οἰμωγῇ τε χρεόμενοι ἀπλέτω.
The Greeks are encouraged: but decide to move nearer Plataea, chiefly for the sake of water. Second position.

XXV. Οἱ μὲν νῦν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἔτιμων Μασίστιον, οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ὡς τὴν 5 ἑπτάοντα προσβαλοῦσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι οὐσαντο, ἐθάρσησαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἀμαξάν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἶνεκεν καὶ κάλλεος. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς 10 τάξις εὕρετος θησώμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξε σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χρῶρος εφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐως ἐπιτηθεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιωκὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἀλλα καὶ εὐνύροτερος. ἐς τούτον δὴ τὸν χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην 15 τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξε σφι χρεόν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἥσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπώρεις τοῦ Κιδαυρώνος παρὰ Ὁσίας ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα 20 πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεως τοῦ ἥρωος διὰ ὀξῖν τε οὐκ ψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

The Tegeans and Athenians dispute for the honour of occupying one wing of the army. 1. Speech of the Tegeans.

XXVI. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγον πολλὸς ὁ θυσιμός Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων. ἕδι- 25
καίεν εις τὸ ἄλλον ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἐπεροῦν κέρας, καὶ καὶν ἐκαίνα καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τὸ τοῦ μὲν οἱ Τεγεσθηνησίους τάδε: “Ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτὲ ἀξιέμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξεως ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὥσις 5 ἡ ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίους καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἔξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδας ἐπιρρώντο μετὰ τοῦ Εὐριπδέας θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὐρόμεθα τούτο διὰ πρήγμα τοιόνδε ἐπεί μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων 10 τῶν τότε ἔντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ εἰκοσικηθήσαντες ἔς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοὺς κατιόντες, τότε ἤν λόγος Ἄλλων ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρῆν εἶν τὸν μὲν στρατοῦ τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατού ἐκείνου τὸν 15 ἀν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνεται εἶναι ἀριστοτοι, τοῖς δὲ τοῖς οἱ μονομαχητές ἔπλος διακειμένους. ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐπεί τοῦτος εἶναι ποιητά, καὶ ἔταμον ὁρκία ἤπελόγῳ τοιώδε, ἢ μὲν Ἄλλως νικήη τὸν Ἐπεί 20 τὰ πατρῴα, ἢ δὲ νικηθῆ, τὰ ἐμπαλὶ Ἡρακλεῖδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκατον 25 τε ἐτέων μὴ ξητίσαι κἀκεῖνον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἠθελοῦσιν Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡρόπος τοῦ Φηιγέως στρατηγὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμονομαχητῆς τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ἄλλων. ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ἐργοῦ εὐρόμεθα ἐν Ἐπεί 30 τοῦτος Πελοποννησίους τοῦτος καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελεόμεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρας τοῦ ἐπεροῦν αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἔξοδου γινομένης. ὡμὴν μὲν ἐντοῦ 35 νυν, ὦ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἴρεσιν ὀκτέρου βούλευσθε κέρας ἀρχεῖν παρε-
“μὲν, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου, φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνεόσθαι ἡγεμονικώτεροι ἐτερητικωπτεροί εἰμεν· κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ, χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγγεμένου ἕργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν. Ἄθηναιων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ἡμέας ἡμῖν, ἀνδρεῖς Σπαρτηταί, 5 ἀγώνας ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὔτω δὲν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἑτερον κέρας ἑπερ Ἄθηναιοι. οὐ γὰρ σφὶ ἐστὶ ἔργα οἰά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ' οὐν καὶνα οὔτε χαλαία.”

The reply of the Athenians. After hearing both sides the Spartans decide in favour of Athens.

XXVII. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐλεγον, Ἄθηναιοι δὲ οἱ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἶνεκεν συλλεγήσαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καὶνὰ λέγειν, τὰ ἐκατέρωσεν εὖ τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστὰ, ἀναγκαλως 15 ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλώσαι πρὸς ἡμέας, ὥθεν ἡμῖν πατροῖόν ἐστιν ἐούς χρηστοῖς αἰεὶ πρώτοις εἶναί μᾶλλον ἡ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τὸν οὔτοι φασι ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τούτῳ μὲν τούτους πρότερον, ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἐλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπὶ 20 κολατοι φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὑβριν κατεδομεν, σὺν ἐκεῖνοις μάχη νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τούτῳ δὲ Ἀργελοὺς τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνεκεσ ἐπὶ Θῆβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν 25 αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμελοὺς ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον
"εὐ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμόδοντος "ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τῆς Ἀττικῆς. καὶ "ἐν τοῖς Τρωίκοις πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. "ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι· καὶ γὰρ 5 "ἀν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔόντες ὅντοι νῦν ἀν εἰεν φλαυρότεροι, "καὶ τότε ἔόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἀν εἰεν ἄμεινοι. πα- "λαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἁλὶς ἐστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηθέν "ἀλλο ἐστι ἀποδεδεγμένου, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εἰ "ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ 10 "τοῦ ἐν Μαραθών ἔργου αξιοὶ εἴμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας "ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτο, οὕτως μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων "δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ "ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἑνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα "ἐξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἄρ’ οὐ δίκαιοι εἴμεν ἔχειν 15 "ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνον τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ’ "οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εὖνεκεν στασιάζειν πρέπει, "ἀρτιοὶ εἴμεν πεῖθεσθαι ὑμῖν, οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι, ἦνα "δοκεῖ ἐπιτηδεύτατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἑστάναι καὶ κατ’ "οὔστινας. πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένου πειρησόμεθα εἶναι 20 "χρηστοῖ. ἐξηγήσεθε δὲ ὁς πεισομένων." XXVIII. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Δακεδαμόνιων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἀπὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίοις ἄξιοι κιστεροὺς εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

The numbers and order of the Greek army.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο δὲ οἱ ἐπιφοιτεύοντες τε καὶ οἱ ἁρχήν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἰχὼν Δακεδαμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἐόντας Σπαρτήτας ἐφύλασσον ψυλοί τῶν εἰλωτέων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα
ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφι εἴλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτηταὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας καὶ τιμῆς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀρετῆς. τούτων δὲ ἦσαν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφισὶ εὐρόντο παρὰ Παυσανίου 5 ἐστάναι Ποτίδαιτέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριήκοσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὁρχομένιοι ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο Ἑπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως Τροιζηνίων ἔτασσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ 10 ἐχόμενοι Δεσπρετέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τεινυθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτως ἐστησαν Ἐρμιονέες τριήκοσι. Ἐρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἑρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἐξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκίδες 15 τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιτέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτως Δευκάδων καὶ Ἀνακτόρων ὀκτακόσιοι ἐστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτως Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἔταχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτως ἐτάσσοντο 20 Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιές ἐξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναίοι ἐτάσσοντο κέρας ἐχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ἐστρατίζει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Δυσιμάχος.

XXIX. Οὕτω, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ περὶ ἐκαστον τεταγ-25 μένων Σπαρτητῆσι, ἦσαν ὀπλῖται, συνάπταντες εόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἐκατοντάδες ἐπτά. ὀπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τῶν βάρβαρων ἦσαν τοσούτοι, ψυλῶν δὲ πλήθος ἦν τόδε: τῆς μὲν Σπαρτητικῆς τάξεις πεντα-30 κισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες ὡς ἐόντων ἐπτά περὶ
ήκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητη ὡς ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἕλληνων ψυλοι, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἑκαστὸν ἕων ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν. 5 ΧΧΧ. ψυλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλήθος ἐξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τού δὲ σύμπαντος Ἕλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιᾶς σὺν τε ὀπλίτης καὶ ψυλοίς τοῖς μαχίμοις ἐνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιᾶς χιλιάδος, 10 πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἄνδρῶν καταδέουσαν. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖς παρεούσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἐνδεκα μυριάδες. παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεύντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χίλιους. ὁπλα δὲ οὔτε οὔτε οἶχον. οὔτοι μὲν νῦν 15 ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσσωτῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

The nations composing the Persian army, and their order and number.

ΧΧΧΙ. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιᾷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσσωτὸν τὸν ταύτη ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσ- 20 σουτὸ ὡδὲ ὑπὸ Μαρδόνιον· κατὰ μὲν Δακεδαιμονίους ἦστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλῶν γὰρ περιήσαν πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τοὺς δὲ τάξις πλεύνας ἐκεκοσμεῖτο καὶ ἐπείχον τοὺς Τέγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω. οἱ μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ δυνατῶτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἦστησε ἀντίον 25 Δακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενεστέρον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τέγεήτας. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει φραζόντων τε καὶ διδακόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μῆδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτι-
δαιότας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδεν δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὕτω δὲ ἔπεσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιξηνίους καὶ Δεπρήτας τε καὶ Τερνύθους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἐστησὲ Ἰνδούς· οὕτω δὲ ἔπεσχον 5 Ἐρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετρίεας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἔχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οὐ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτόριους καὶ Δευκάδιους καὶ Παλέως καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Αθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων 10 καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Δοκρόους καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσσαλούς καὶ Φωκέων τους χιλίους. οὐ γὰρ ὃν ἀπαντεῖς οἱ Φωκέαις ἐμῆσαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων αὐξὸν περὶ τὸν Παρνησίον κατειλήμενοι, καὶ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεόμενοι ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἤγον τὴν τε 15 Μαρδονίου στρατηγὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἑόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. XXXII. ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἔθνων τὰ μέγιστα ὁμόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περὶ εἰς ἑπιφανέστατα τῇ Ἰν καὶ ἱππὸν πλείστου. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνων ἀνδρῶν ἀναμεμνημένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηκῶν καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Ἀιθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τε Ἐρμοσύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιρο- 25 φόροι, οὗτοι εἰς Ἀιγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτων δὲ ἐτὶ ἐδώ ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἑόντας ἑπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἄμα Ἑρέξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰγυπτίων. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τρίηκοντα μυρίας, ὡς 30 καὶ πρῶτον δεδήλωται, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν
Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οίδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμὸν (οὐ γὰρ ὤν ἤριθμήθησαν), ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσας, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας 
υλλεγήσαι εἰκάζω. οὕτω οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἤ δὲ ὕππος χωρὶς ἑτέτακτο.

The bargain made by Tisamenos for acting as soothsayer to the Spartans.

5 XXXIII. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ 
τε ἐθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρᾳ 
ἑθύνοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἕλθησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς 
Ἀντιόχους ἢν ὁ θυόμενος. οὕτως γὰρ δὴ εἴτετο τῷ 
στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντῳ τῶν ἑόντα Ἡλεῖου καὶ 
10 γένεως τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην Λακεδαίμονιον ἐποίη-
σαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενὸς γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν 
Δελφοῖς περὶ γόνου ἀγείλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγώνας τοὺς 
μεγίστους ἀναίρησεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄμαρτὼν 
τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε τοῖσι γυμνασίουσι ὃς 
15 ἀναίρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγώνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάε-
θλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἐδραμὲ νικὰν ὁλυμπιάδα, 
Ἰερώνυμῳ τῷ Ἁνδρίῳ ἑλθὼν ἐς ἑριν. Λακεδαίμονιοι 
δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ἀρηνίους ἀγώνας 
φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντῆιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρώντο 
20 πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέσθαι ἀμα Ἡρακλείδεων 
τοῖσι βασιλείσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὅρεων 
περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένος Σπαρτιῆτας φίλον αὕτων 
προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνέτιμα, σημαιώνοι σφί, ὡς 
ὣς ἦν μὲν πολιτὴν σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων 
25 μεταδίδοντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ᾽ οὐ. 
Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεύντο 
καὶ μετέσαι τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ 
δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου
στρατεύματος καταίνειν μετιόντες. ἃ δὲ γνώνα τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἐτί ἔφη ἀρκεέσθαι τούτους μούνοις, ἀλλὰ δέειν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἐωντοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτίτητιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγους τοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. XXXIV. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων 5 οὕτως ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλήν τε καὶ πολιτήν αἰτεόμενον. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἀργείς γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὡς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παύσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναικάς τῆς νοῦσου, μισθὸν προετείνετο τῆς βασιλῆς τὸ 10 ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνάσχομενων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαύνων πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ υποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνετο ἦσαν δῶσοντες οἱ ταύτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὅρεων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φῶς, ἡν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἄδελφῳ 15 Βίαντι μεταδόσαι τὸ τριτήμαριν τῆς βασιλῆς, οὐ ποιῆσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειλήθεντες ἐς στεινὸν καταίνεσθον καὶ ταύτα. XXXV. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτίται, ἐδέουντο γὰρ δεινῶς τὸν Τισαμενοῦ, πάντα συνεχώρεον οἱ τοῦς συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταύτα 20 τῶν Σπαρτιτέων, οὔτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντεύμενον ἀγώνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμένος ὁ Ἡλείος γενόμενος Σπαρτίτητις συγκαταρρέει. μονοὶ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὕτως Ἀργεῖται πολίται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγώνες οἴδε ἐγένοντο· εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος 25 οὕτως ὁ ἐν Πλαταῖσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαύεσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινεῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμη, ὡστάτος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος. 30 οὕτως δὲ ὡστάτους κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.
XXXVI. Οὕτος δὲ τότε τοῖς Ἐλλησι ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτητῶν ἐμαυτεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. Τοῖς μὲν νυν Ἐλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένου-σι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τοῦ 'Ασωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἀρχοῦσι οὔ.

Hegesistratos of Elis and his desperate escape.

5 XXXVII. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἀρχεῖν οὐκ ἐπιτήθεις ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰληνικοῦσι ἤρωσε ἔχρατο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἡλειόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἑόντα λογιμώτατον, 10 τὸν δὲ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτητῆς λαβόντες ἐδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὡστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸ τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργου ἐργάσατο μέξου λόγου. ὡς γὰρ 15 δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος καὶ σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανάτῳ ἀνδρητότατον ἐργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν. σταθμισάμενος γὰρ ὅκως εξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λουτῶν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡστε φυλασ- 20 σόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοίχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νῦκτας πορεύόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύων ἐς ὑλήν καὶ αὐλιξόμενος, οὕτω ὡστε Δακεδαιμονίων παυδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτη εὐφρόνη γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θόωματι μεγάλῳ 25 ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τολμής, ὀρέουτας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Δακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐουσαν οὐκ ἄρθρῳ Δακεδαιμονίους τούτων τῶν χρόνων. ἕγις δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος
καταστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰδέας Δακεδαιμονίους πολέμοις. οὐ μέντοι ἐσ γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἐχθὸς τὸ ἐς Δακεδαιμονίως συγκεκυρημένον· ἢ λο γὰρ μαντεύομενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἢπ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

The victims continue unfavourable, and Mardonius though eager to give battle procrastinates for eight days. Meanwhile the Greeks are daily reinforced. The Persian cavalry cut off a convoy.

Ως δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὡστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔτε Πέρσησι οὔτε τοίς μετ’ ἐκεῖνων ἐοῦτε Ἐλλήνων (εἰχον γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι ἐπ’ ἐωντῶν μάντων Ἰππόμαχον Δευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ γυνομένων πλεύσων Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἔρτυνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ 15 Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οὗ Ἐλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνα πάσαν ἕμερην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψατο συχνοῦσ.

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νήσου ἦς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους, δὴ εἴποντο
τοῖς ζεύγεσι. ἔλοντες δὲ ταῦτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ
Πέρσαι ἀφεδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φεδόμενοι οὔτε ύπο-
ζηνίου ὑδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον
5 κτελνοῦντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι
παρὰ τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἦς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Two more days of desultory skirmishing.

XL. Μετὰ δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔργον ἐτέρας δύο ἡμέρας
diétyran, oudêteroi bouλómenoi mákhis ἄρξαι. mékri
mēn γαρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ εὐθύσαν οἱ βάρβαροι, πειρώ-
10 μενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, diéβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι
Ηππος ἡ Μαρδονίον αἰεὶ προσεκέετο τε καὶ εἰλύπε
15 τους Ἑλλήνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἀτε μηδίζοντες
μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ
kατηγέοντο mékri mákhis, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον παρα-
Eleventh day. Mardonius is advised to retire into Thebes
and corrupt the Greek states with gold, but is de-
termined to fight.

XLI. Mékri mēn πιν νῦν τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐδὲν
ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων, ὥς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνει
ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοις ἐν Πλαταιᾷ, οἷς τε δὴ
20 Ἑλλήνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν, καὶ Μαρδόνιος
περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρᾳ. ἐνθαῦτα εἰς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρ-
δόνιος τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος,
ἂν ἐν ὀλίγοις Περσέων ἤν ἀνήρ δόκιμος παρὰ Πέρ-
15 δεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μᾶλα ἔσκον οἱ
απεδείκνυτο ἀρετάς.
Ἀρτάβαζος, ὃς χρεῶν εἴη ἀναξεύεταις τὴν ταχύστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἑναὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ᾿Οθηβαίων, ἐνθα σύτων τέ σφι ἐσεισείχθαί πολλὸν καὶ χῶρον τοῦτο ὑποζυγίοις, κατ᾽ ἥνυχίν τε ὑζομένους διαπρήσεσθαι ποιεύταις τάδε. ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν 5 πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον τε καὶ ἕκτωματα: τούτων φειδομένους μηδὲνος διαπέμπεις ἐς τοὺς ᾿Ελλήνας, ᾿Ελλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προστεώτας ἐν τῇ πόλις, καὶ ταχέως σφέξις παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, μηδὲ 10 ἀναικιδυνεύσεις συμβάλλουτας. τούτου μὲν ὡν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο καὶ ᾿Οθηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεύν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἵσχυρότερη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγνωμοσκομένη. δοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσοιν ἐναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὰν 15 τῆς ᾿Ελληνικῆς, συμβάλλεις τε τὴν ταχύστην μηδὲ περιοράν συλλεγομένους ἐτι πλεύνας τῶν συλλεγο-μένων, τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ ᾿Ηνησιστράτου εάν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσῶν χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

Mardonius interprets an oracle; and announces an engagement on the next (12th) day.

XLII. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεύντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὅστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ᾿Αρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὡν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ’ ἑωυτῶν ἑόντων ᾿Ελλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 25 εἴρωται, εἰ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσῶν ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ ᾿Ελλάδι. συγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπι-κλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμοὺς, τῶν δὲ
εἰδότων μὲν, ἐν ἄδειᾳ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε. "Ἔπει τούτων ὑμεῖς ἢ ἵστε "οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔρεω ὡς εὖ "ἐπιστάμενοι. ἔστι λόγιον ὃς χρέον ἔστι Πέρσας 5 "ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάζαι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν "Δελφοῖς, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. "ἡμεῖς τοῖς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἤμεν ἐπὶ τὸ "ἱρόν τούτῳ οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε "εἰνεκεν τῆς αἰτής ὦς ἀπολεόμεθα. ὡστε ὑμέων ὅσοι 10 "τυγχάνοντι εὐνοοὶ ἔόντες Πέρσας, ἔδεσθε τούτε "εἰνεκεν, ὃς περιεσμένους ἠμέας Ἑλλήνων." Ταύτα σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσάμηνε παρατέσσαρι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέσθαι ὃς ἀμα ἡμέρη τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης. XLIII. Τούτων δ' ἔγγυη τὸν 15 χρησμὸν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἱλλυρίους τε καὶ τὸν 'Εγχέλεων στρατὸν οἶδα πε- ποιημένων, ἀλλ' οὕκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἔστι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην πεποιημένα.

Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδουντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λαχανεῖ
20 Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἱγῆν,
Τῇ πολλοὶ πεσόνται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσων τε μόρον τε Τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἰσιμὸν ἤμαρ ἐπέλθη.

ταύτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἀλλὰ Μουσαῖφ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ἔρει 25 μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.
The Athenians are warned in the night by Alexander, son of Amyntas, king of the Macedonians, and informed of the cause of Persian delay and the determination to fight next (12th) day.

XLIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραλυσιὸν τῆς ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς φυλάκας ἔτασσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προ-ελήλατο, καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ ἐδόκεε ἐναι ἀνά τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα, οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ εἶναι ἐν ὑπνῷ, τηνικαίτα 5 προσελάσας ἦπερ πρὸς τὰς φυλάκας τὰς ᾍθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεως, στρατηγὸς τε ἐως καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἔδιδετο τούτω στρατηγοῦς ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες παρέμενον, οἱ δὲ ἐθεοῦν ἐπὶ τούς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλθόντες 10 δὲ ἐλεγοῦν, ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἥκοι ἐπὶ ἢππον ἐκ τοῦ στρα-τοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὅς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγωγοῦ ἔπος, στρατηγοῦς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. XLV. Οἱ δὲ ἔπει ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἴποντο ἐς τὰς φυλάκας. ἀπικομένοις δὲ ἔλεγε 15 Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε: "Ἀνδρές Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπεια τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενον πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἡ Παυσανίη, μὴ με "καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκθέδομην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ 20 Ἑλλῆν γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαίον, καὶ ἄντ' ἐλευθέρης δε-"δολωμένην οὔκ ἂν ἠθέλοιμι ὅραν τήν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω "δὲ ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ "δύναται καταθύμα γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσ-"θε· νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια εἶναι χαῖρειν, ἢμα 25 "ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέσθαι. καταρ- "ῥώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῖνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω.

S. H. IX.
"πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται "τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέται, λυπαρέετε "μένοντες· ὀλύγων γὰρ σφί ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. "ἤν δὲ ὦμιν ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, 5"μυσθήναι τινα χρῆ καὶ ἐμεῖς ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὅσ "Ελληνων εἰνεκεν οὐτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι "υπὸ προθυμίας, ἑθέλων ὦμιν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν "τὴν Μαρδονίου, ὃν μὴ ἐπιτέσωσι ὦμιν οἱ βαρ- "βαροι μὴ προσδεκμένοισι κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος 10"ὁ Μακεδών." Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε ὅπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐσωτοῦ τάξιν.

The Spartans change positions with the Athenians so that the latter should face the Persians, and they the Boeotians. Mardonius however makes a corresponding change, whereupon the Spartan commander Pausanias resumes his old place.

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔλθοντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας ἐλεγον Παυσανίῳ τὰ περ ἦκουσαν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας 15 τοὺς Πέρσας ἐλέγε τάδε. "Ἔσεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ὡς ἡ συμ- "βολὴ γίνεται, ὡμέας μὲν χρεῶν ἔστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους "στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς "Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ύμεας τεταγμένους Ἐλ- "ληνων, τῶνδε εἰνεκεν’ ύμείς ἐπιστασθε τοὺς Μή- 20 "δους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶν μαχεσάμε- "νοι, ἡμέας δὲ ἀπερεῖ τε εἴμεν καὶ ἀδάεις τούτων τῶν "ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων. "ἡμέας δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐμπειροὶ εἴμεν. "ἄλλα ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χρεῶν ἐστὶ ἴναι ύμέας 25 "μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." Πρὸς
δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε: ἴπτασι ἡμῖν ἂν αρχῆς ἔπει τε εἰδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, εἰ νῦν ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τὰ περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε ἄλλα γὰρ ἀρρωδέω μὲν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἥδεες γένονται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεῖ δὲ ὁ ὁ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεσθη ἂν ἔδομεν ημῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγονοῖς καὶ ἐστομοὶ εἴμεν ποιεῖν ταῦτα.” XLVII. Ὀς δὲ ἤρεσσε ἀμφοτέρους ταῦτα, ἡς τε διεφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γρόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεῖμεν ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδώνιος. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖ τε ἴπταμεν ἱκουσε, αὐτίκαι μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτῶς ἐπειράτο παραγὼν τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιους. ὁς δὲ ἐμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γενόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας, γνοὺς δι' οὗ λανθάνει, ὁπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπάρτητας ἤπι τὸ δεξίων κέρας. ὥσ δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ὁ Μαρδώνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ 15 εὐωνῦμου.

A challenge to the Spartans, which receives no answer.

XLVIII. Ἐπεῖ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἄρχαις τάξις, πέμψας οἱ Μαρδώνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπάρτητας, ἔλεγε τάδε: Ὡς Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἰναι ἄνδρας ἀριστῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀνθρώπων, 20 ἐκπαγχλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἡ ἀπόλλυτοι τῶν ἐναντίους ἡ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἂρ' ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμίξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ τάξιν ἀκ-25 λείποντας ὑμέας εἰδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίωι τῇ τὴν πρόπειραν ποιεμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἀντία δοῦλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα. ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν.
προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μοῦνοισιν Πέρσηςι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτοι έόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὖδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ἡμέας εὑρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας 5 μᾶλλον. νῦν ὃν ἐπειδῆ οὐκ ἡμεῖς ἥρξατε τούτον τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὗ πρὸ καὶ μὲν τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε διδόξωσθε εἶναι ἀριστοί, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς, ἵσοι πρὸς ἰσούς ἀριθμοῦ ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἢ μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 10 μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὃν μετέπειτεν μαχέσθων ὑστεροί· εἳ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκεῖοι, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μοῦνοις ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα· ὅκότεροι δ' ἢ ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἀπαντεί στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν.

The Persian cavalry annoy the Greeks and spoil their water.

XLIX. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχῶν 15 χρόνων, ὡς οἱ οὗδεὶς οὐδέν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὑπὸσώ, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. δ' δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενοι καὶ ἐπαρθεῖς ψυχῆς νίκη ἐπήκη τὴν ὑππο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἐπιτόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρα- 20 τὴν τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντες τε καὶ ἐστοξεύον- τες ὡς ἐπιποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι. τὴν τε κρῆνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἢς ὑδρεύετο πάν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν, συνετά- ραξαν καὶ συνέχομαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὃν κατὰ τὴν κρῆνην 25 Δακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῦτ' δὲ ἀλλοιοι Ἐλλησὶ ἢ μὲν κρῆνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρῆνην ἑφού-
τεων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφι οὐκ ἔξην ύδωρ
φορέονται ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

The Greeks resolve to shift their position to the ‘Island’,
a mile nearer Plataea, for the sake of water, for
greater safety from the Persian cavalry, and greater
facility in protecting convoys over Kithaeron. Third
position of the Greek Army. [cc. 19, 25.]

L. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
στρατηγοι, ἀτε τοῦ τε ὑδατος στερηθέςς τῆς στρατιῆς
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἱππος ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ 5
αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐδόθησαν παρὰ Παυσανίδην
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων
ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφεᾶς ἐλύπει· οὔτε γὰρ συτία εἰχον
ἐτι, οὐ τέ σφεων ὅπεώνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐσ Piele-
pόνυνησον ὅς ἐπιστητεύμενοι ἀποκεκλέατο ὑπὸ τῆς 10
ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

LI. βουλευμένους δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξε, ἣν
ὑπερβάλωντα ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν
ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔνει. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίδης, ἐπ’ ἃ 15
ἑστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ
tῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἄν εἶ σὲ ἡ
ἐπείρα· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνωθεὺ/ ἐκ τοῦ
Κιθαιρώνος βέει κάτω ὡς τὸ πέδιον, διέχων ἀπ’
ἀλλήλων τὰ ρέθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτεν 20
συμμίσχης ἐς τῶντό· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ὦροι. θυγατέρα
dὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἴναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς
τούτου δὴ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστήναι,
ἴνα καὶ ὑδατι ἔχωσι χράσθαι ἀφθόνῳ, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς
σφέας μὴ συνοιάτο, ὡσπερ κατὶδ’ ἐόντων. μετα- 25
κινέσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε, ἐπεάν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ
φυλακη, ὡς ἀν μὴ ἱδοιατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεομένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοικ, ὦι ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐσ τῶν χωρὸν τούτον, τῶν δὲ ἦ Ἀσωπῆς Ὠρόν περισχίζεται βέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, ὑπὸ 5 τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἔδοκες τοὺς ἡμίσειας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὑπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ συτί πολυμένους. ἢσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶν ἀπολελαμμένοι.

Twelfth Night. The main body of the Greek allies go further than is intended and occupy the Heraeum close to Plataea.

LIII. Ταύτα βουλευσάμενοι ἐκείνης μὲν τὴν 10 ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκεκεμένης τῆς ὑποῦ εἶχον πόλον ἀτρυτοῦν. ὡς δὲ ἦ τε ἡμέρη ἐληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν δὴ συνεκέεστο σφί ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τῶν χωρῶν 15 ἐς τὸν συνεκέεστο ὑπὶ ἐν νῷ ἑξοντες, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ὑποῦ πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιῶν πόλιν, φεῦγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιῶν, εἶκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τῆς κρῆνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον. ἀπικόμενοι 20 δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὑπλα.

Pausanias is hindered from starting in the same direction by the obstinacy of Amompharetus.

LIII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίς δὲ ὀρέων σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπεδου παρῆγγελλε καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὑπλα ἱέναι κατὰ
τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χώρον ἴναι, ἔς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιαρχῶν πείθεσθαι Παυσανί ς, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανήτεω λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι 5 οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχύνειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἑδώμαζε τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεῦμεν ἀτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίς τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποίεύντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι ἐκείνων ταῦτα νενωμένων ἀπολιπεῖν 10 τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἣν ἀπολίπησι ποιεύντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἐλλησι, ἀπολήται ὑπολειφθείς αὐτός τε Ἄμομφαρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Δακωικὸν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντες μιν ὡς οὐ χρεόν 15 εἰς ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Λ.Ι.Β. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγορεύοντο Ἄμομφαρετον μοῦνον Δακεδαίμονις τε καὶ Τεγεστέων λελειμένοιν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐποίεν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ένα ἔταχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Δακεδαίμονιν ἄφοιματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεύντων 20 καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐπεμπον σφέων ἵππα ὄψωμενον τε ἐν πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρείοις οἱ Σπαρτιηταῖ, εἰτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῖται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ Παυσανίς τὸ χρεόν εἰς ποιεῖν. Λ.Β. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ 25 κήρυξ ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαίμονις, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένος καὶ ἐς νεικεά ἀπηγμένος αὐτῶν τοὺς πρῶτος. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορεύοντο τὸν Ἄμομφαρετον ὁ τε Εὐρύναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίς μὴ κινδυνεύετεν μένοντες μοῦνος Δακεδαίμονι, οὐ κως ἐπείθον, ἐς 30 ὁ ἐς νεικεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν
Αθηναίοις παρίστατο σφι ἀπυγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῆς χερσὶ, καὶ τιθεῖ πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίων ταύτη τῇ ψῆφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἐφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, 5 [ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους]. ὁ δὲ μαυνόμενον καὶ οὗ φρενήρα καλέων ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτέουτα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἔχρηζε τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς έσωτοὺς καὶ 10 τοιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τὰ περ ἅν καὶ σφεῖς.

Thirteenth Morning. Pausanias starts at length and marches along the high ground harassed by the Persian cavalry; while the Athenians march by the lower road. Amompharetus follows after an interval.

LVI. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τοὺς δὲ ἐπεῖ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἐσωτοὺς ἡς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι 15 τῶν ἄλλων Δακεδαμώνιων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἄπηγε διὰ τῶν κολώνων τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εὐποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεηται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἐμπαλὶ τῇ Δακεδαμώνιοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὀχθῶν ἀντεῖχοντα καὶ τῆς ὤψωρέσι 20 τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ὑπνον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἔς τὸ πεδίον. LVII. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἄρχην τε οὖδ' αὐξεῖν Παυσανίην τολμήσεων σφέας ἀπολυπεῖν περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκ- λυπεῖν τὴν τάξιν. προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίη, 25 καταδόξας αὐτοῦς ίδεν τέχνη ἀπολυπεῖν αὐτοῦ, ἀνα- λαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἀλλο στίφος. τὸ δὲ ἀπελθόν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνεμένε
τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἔδρυμένων Ἀργοστίων τε χώρον καλεόμενου, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινῆς ἱρὸν ἤσται· ἀνέμενε δὲ τοὺς εἶνεκεν, ὡσ ἤν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ ἑτταχάτο τοῦ Ἀμομφάρετος τε καὶ τὸ λόχον, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μένωσι, 5 βοηθείαν ὁπίσω παρ’ ἐκεῖνους. καὶ οἱ τε ἁμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρογίνοντο σφι, καὶ ἡ ἐπιτος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσεκέτετο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἐπιτότα ἐποίευν οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ, ἱδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεῖνον ἐν τῷ ἑτταχάτο οἱ Ἐλληνες τῇς προτέρησι, 10 ἦλανυν τοὺς ἐπιτοὺς αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἁμὰ καταλαβόντες προσεκέτατο σφι.

In the morning Mardonius sees the Greek Position evacuated and orders a general pursuit. He directs it against the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans.

LVIII. Μαρδώνιος δὲ ὁφτὸ εὐφήμορος του Ἐλληνας ἀποκαλεμένος ὑπὸ νόκτα εἶδε τὸν χώρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Αρησαίον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς 15 αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυβδῆτον ἔλεγε. "Ὤ παιδέ, Ἀλευσχά, ἐτί τῇ λέξει τάδε ὁρέωντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς "γὰρ οἱ πλησίοντοι ἔλεγες Δακεδαιμώνίους οὐ "φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια "πρῶτος, τοὺς πρῶτον τε μετισταμένον ἐκ τῆς 20 "τάξιος εἶδε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα "καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρέωμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἔπει "σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἄγνωστοις ἄριστος ἀνθρώπων "μάχη διακριθήναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες ἐν οὐδα- "μοῦσι ἐσοβίσε Ἐλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύστατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν 25 "ἐσοβίσε Περσέων ἀπείρουσιν πολλὴ ἐκ γε ἐμεύ ἐγίνετο "συγγνώμην, ἐπαινεύοντων τοῦτος τούτος, τοῖς τί καὶ συνη- "δέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θώμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην
"τὸ καὶ καταρρωθῆσαι Δακεδαμονίους, καταρρωθή-
"σαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλωτάτην, ός χρεοῦν
"εἰς ἀναζεύζαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵναι εἰς τὸ Ὑπ-
"βαίων ἁστὺ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἐτὶ πρὸς ἐμεῦ
5 "βασιλεὺς πεῦσεται. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἐσται
"λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοις ταῦτα ποιεῦσι ὡς ἐπιτρεπτέα
"ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ διωκτείοι εἰςὶ ἐς ὁ καταλαμφθέντες δῶ-
"σουσὶ ἥμιν τὸν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας."

LIX. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας
10 τὸν Ἀσωτόν κατὰ στύβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀπο-
διδρησκόντων, ἐπείχε τε ἐπὶ Δακεδαμονίους τε καὶ
Τεγεήτας μοῦνος· Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ
πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὅρε-
ντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ λοιποὶ
15 τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες
ἡεραν τὰ σημεία, καὶ ἐδώκοιν ὡς ποδῶν ἐκαστος
εἴχον, οὕτε κόσμῳ οὔτε διακρίνετε οὕτε τάξι. Καὶ
οὕτωι μὲν βοή τε καὶ ὅμιλῳ ἐπηίσαν ὡς ἀναρπασό-
μενοι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας.

Pausanias, seeing the Persians approaching, sends hastily to
the Athenians to join him. The latter attempt to do so
at once, but are prevented by an attack of the Greek
contingent of the Persian army.
καλλιόπη

“ποιητέων ἡμῖν, ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει ἄριστα
περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ὑμεᾶς ἀρμήσῃ
ἀρχὴν ἡ ὑπόπτος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’
ἡμέων τὴν Ὑπάλαδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοη-
θέειν ὑμῖν νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἀπάσα κεχώρηκε, 5
δικαίως ἔστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν
μοιρέων ἀμυνόμενης ἑναί. εἰ δ’ ἀρα αὐτοῖς ὑμέας
καταλελάβηκεν ἀδύνατον τι βοηθεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν
τῶς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοί-
δαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεύοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἐσύσι ἰο
“πολλὸν προθυμοστάτοις, ὅστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.”

LXI. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπήθοντο, ὀρμεῶ τοιοῦτοι
βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔπαμφεν. καὶ σφι ήδη
στείχουσιν ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν
μετὰ βασιλέας γενομένων ὡστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοη-
θέσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκελμενὸν σφεας ἐλύπεε.

The Battle. The Lacedaemonians and Tegeans thus
isolated cannot get favourable omens for a charge,
until Pausanias utters a prayer to Herē. Then the
omens become suddenly favourable and the Tegeans begin
the charge. There is a violent hand to hand struggle.

οὕτω δὴ μονωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεήται,
ἔοντες σὺν ψιλούσι ἄριθμον οἱ μὲν πεντακισισίμῳ,
Τεγεήται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὕτω γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχιζόντο
ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνιων), ἑσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες 20
Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παρευσῇ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ
σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγα χρῆστα, ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ χρώμῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρω-
ματίζοντο· φράζοντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι
ἀπέσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε 25
τὴν Ἡραλίαν τὸ Πλαταίας ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεῶν, χρησάμενα μηδαμῶς σφας ψευσθήναι τῆς ἐπιλοί. 5 ΛXII. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξε- ἀναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεήται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαίμονοις αὐτῖκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίου ἐγίνετο θυμομένους τὰ σφάγια χρηστὰ. ὡς δὲ χρόνος κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον 10 καὶ οὕτω ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγίνετο μάχη ἴσχυρή παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἐς δ’ ἀπίκουτο ἐς οὕτω καὶ τὰ γάρ δοῦρα 15 ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μὲν νῦν καὶ ῥώμη ὡς ἐνοίκες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμους ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὡμοίοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις σοφῶν. προεξαίσσοντες δὲ κατ’ ἐνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλείνεσ τε καὶ ἐλάσσων 20 συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιτέσαι καὶ διεφθείρωτο.

Mardonius falls.

ΛXIII. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος ἀπ’ ὑπποῦ τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἐωντὸν λογάδας Περσέων τους ἁρίστους χιλίους, ταῦτῃ δὲ 25 καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίσεαν. ὡςον μὲν νῦν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιήγη, οἱ δὲ ἀντείχον καὶ ἀμυνό- μενοι κατέβαλλου πολλοὺς τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων, ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνου τεταγμένον ἐὼν ἴσχυρότατον ἐπέσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἰξαν τοῖς Δακεδαίμονιοις. πλεῖστον γὰρ
σφας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθήσ ἔρημος ἐνύσα ὑπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὄπλητας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγώνα ἐποιεύτο. LXIV. 'Ενθαύτα ἡ τῇ δίκῃ τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδου κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τούτῳ Σπαρτήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναφέρεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων τὸν ἥμεις ἵδιμεν Παυσανίκην ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω. τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε ὁι προγόνων τα ὁὐσόματα εἰρηταί ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὁυτοὶ γὰρ σφι τυγχάνουσα ἐόντες· ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήσιον ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ τοῦ ὑστεροῦ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἐχὼν ἄνδρας τριηκοσίων συνέβαλε εἰς Στενοκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίωι πᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

The Persians retreat to their entrenched camp.

LXV. Ἡ ἐν δὲ Πλαταῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἑτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων, ἐφευρων οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ 15 στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωντῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τείχος τὸ ξύλων, τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοιρῇ τῇ Θηβαίδ. θώμα δὲ μοι ὄκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἂνσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἑφαίνη τῶν Περσῶν οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανὼν, περὶ τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ 20 βεβήλω ἐπεσον. δοκεῖ δὲ, εἰ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκεῖν δει, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ ἀνάκτορον.

Artabazus at the head of forty thousand men seeing the other Persians in full retreat retired along the road to Phokis intending to make for the Hellespont.

LXVI. Αὐτή μὲν η ὡς μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο οὐκετε, Ἄρταβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο 25
κατ’ ἄρχας λειπομένου Μαρδονίου απὸ βασιλέως, καὶ
tὸτε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἦνε συμβάλλειν οὐκ
ἐὼν· ἐποίησε τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος
τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοις.
5 τῶν ἐστρατηγεῖε ο Ἀρτάβαζος (εἰχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ
ὁλίγην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων
περὶ ἐωτὸν), τούτους, ὅκας ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ
ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς
μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτιμένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ
10 ἱέναι πάντας τῇ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσει, ὅκας ἀν αὐτὸν
ὁρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὃς ἐς
μάχην ἦγε δὴθὲν τῶν στρατών. προτερέων δὲ τῆς
ὁδοῦ ὡρα καὶ δὴ φεύγουντα τοὺς Πέρσας. οὔτω δὴ
οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχισ-
15 τὴν ἐτράχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ἔλινον τεῖχος οὔτε
ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος, ἀλλ’ ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς
τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

Meanwhile the Athenians after prolonged fighting had
defeated the Boeotians who retreated into Thebes.

LXVII. Καὶ δὴ οὕτω μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο,
tῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως ἐθελοκα-
20 κόντων Βωιστοὶ Ἀθηναίοι συμβατα ὑγίῳ ἐπὶ
συγχών. τοὺς μεθηέζοντες τῶν Θηβαιών, οὕτω εἰχὼν
προθυμίην οὐκ ὅλιγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλο-
κακέοντες, οὔτω ὡστε τριηκόσιον αὐτῶν οἱ πρώτοι
καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὅς δὲ
25 ἐτράποντο καὶ οὕτω, ἐφευγὼν ἐς τὰς Θηβαίς, οὗ τῇ
περ οἱ Πέρσαι. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβακὼν ὁ πᾶς
ὁμίλος οὔτε διαμαχασάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξά-
μενος ἐφευγὼν.
The rout is general. The cavalry protect the fugitives.

LXVIII. Δηλοὶ τέ μοι, ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἦρτο τοῖς Πέρσεων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὕτωι πρὶν ἦ καὶ συμμέξαι τοῖσι πολεμίσοι ἐφενήν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὄρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἐφενήν πλὴν τῆς ἱπποῦ τῆς τὸ πολεμικὸν ἀγχιστα ἐοῦσα, ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺ ἐφιλίους ἐφενήν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων.

The rest of the Greeks, who had advanced further than they were ordered and were near the Heraeum close to Plataea, hearing that the Persians were in retreat, hasten to rejoin, but are cut to pieces by the Theban cavalry.

LXIX. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἰπόντο τοὺς Ἐρέχεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ Ἰο φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοιο Ἑλληνικοὶ τοῖσι τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἦραπον καὶ ἀπογενομένους τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε ἔγονε καὶ νικῶν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἄμφι Κορυνθίους ἔτραποντο διὰ τῆς ῾Ιππορέης καὶ τῶν κολωναῖν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰδώ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλισίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τῆς λειτουργίας τῶν ὀδών. ἔπειρε τε δὲ ἄγχος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέας καὶ Φλισίους, ἀπήδοντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων 20 ἱππόται ἐπευγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἱπποὺς, τῶν ἱππάρχος ὁ Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν
ἐξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διάκοντες ἕστ' τὸν Κιθαιρώνα.

The flying Persians manage to reach their entrenched camp. The Lakedaemonsians as usual fail in storming the fortification; but as soon as the Athenians come up the Greeks force the camp and obtain an immense booty.

LXX. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπόλοιπο τούς, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ὡς κατέφυγον ἔστι τὸ 5 ξύλινον τείχος, ἐφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπικέσθαι. ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφφάπτοντο ὡς ἐδυνάμενοι ἀριστα τὸ τείχος. προσέλθοντες δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκει σφὶ τειχωμαχὴν ἐρρωμενεστήρῃ. ἦσας μὲν γὰρ ἀπήγαγαν οἱ 10 Αθηναίοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἰχὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὑπεύθυνοι επισταμένων τειχωμαχεῖν, ὡς δὲ σφὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι προσήλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἵσχυρῇ ἐγίνετο τειχωμαχὴ καὶ χρὸνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρέτη τε καὶ λυταρίᾳ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναίοι τοῦ τείχους 15 καὶ ἡριπον, τῇ δὲ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ "Ελληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσήλθον Τεγεήται ἐς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὕτως ἦσαν οἱ διαρράσσαντες, τὰ τὸ ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐουσὰν χαλκέην πᾶν καὶ θέσας ἄξην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην 20 τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλέως Ἀθηναίῆς Τεγεήται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τῶν τὸν ὅσα περ ἐλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖς "Ελλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἐτὶ στῆφος ἐποίησαντο πεσοῦντο τοῦ τείχους ὡς τὸς αὐτῶν ἄλκης ἐμέμυστο, ἄλχεταζον τε ὅλα ἐν 25 ὀλύφω χόρῳ πεφοβημένωι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἀνθρώπων. παρῆν τε τοῖς "Ελλησι
φονεύειν οὖτω ὡστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ,
καταδεουσέων τεσσάρων, τάς ἔχων 'Αρτάβαζος ἔφευγε,
tῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι.
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ
πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεθέων δὲ
ἐκκαθέκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

Who showed the greatest valour on either side. The end of
Aristodemus the survivor of Thermopylae.

LXXI. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν
ὁ Περσέων, ἤππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται
Μαρδόνιος. Ἐλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ
Τεγεθέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερβάλοντο ἄρετῇ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδείς ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι
(ἀπαντεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ᾽ ἔως τοὺς ἐνίκους), ὅτι δὲ
κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρότατον προσηνέχθησαν καὶ τούτων
ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἔγενετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος
κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν 15
μοῦνα τῶν τριήκοσίων σωθεὶς εἰχε δυνείς καὶ ἀτιμίην.
μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Φιλο-
κύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι γενο-
μένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἐγνωσαν οἱ
παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλό-
20
μενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίς,
λυσοῦντα τε καὶ ἐκλειπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀπο-
δεξασθαί μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ ὃς βουλόμενον
ἀποθηνήκειν ἄνδρα γένεσθαι ἄγαθον· τοσοῦτος τούτων
εἶναι ἁμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἄν εἴποιεν, 25
οὕτω δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου,
tῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, τίμων ἐγένοντο,
Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προ-
S. H. IX.
ειρημένην αυτήν ούκ ἐτιμήθη. ΛXXII. Οὔτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιᾷς ὁνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνήρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ 5 μοῦνον αὐτῶν Δακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὃς, ἐπειδὴ ἑσφαγιάζοτο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος εὖ τῇ τάξι ἑτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, δὲ ἐξενηνειγμένος ἔδοσθανάτεε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον, ἀνδρα Πλαταιέα, οὐ 10 μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνῄσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἑωτὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωτοῦ ἄξιον προβαμεμένον ἀποδέξασθαι.

The ancient service of the demesmen of Dekeleia and their reward.

ΛXXIII. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμήσαι 15 Σωφάνης ὁ Ἐνυχιδεός, δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὃς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἔλενης κομιδῆν Τυνδαιθαί ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατῷ πληθεὶ καὶ 20 ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰσότες ἦν ὑπεξεκέειτο ἢ Ἐλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν Δέκελου ἄχρομον τε τῇ Θησέως ὑβρὶ καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάση τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ 25 Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδδοῖ Τυνδαιθῆς. τοῖς δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ ἔργου ἀτέλειά τε καὶ προεδρία διατελεῖ ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἐτι ἐνεύςα, οὔτω ὡστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ύστερον
πολλοίσι ἔτησι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι σιωμένων τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀττικῆν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀποσχέσθαι.

Sophanes and his anchor.

LXXIV. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐδώ σοφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων, δίδους λόγους λεγομένους 5 ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκῇ ἀλώτι δεδεμένην ἁγκυραν σιδηρεῖν, τὴν ὅκως πελάσεις ὀπίκυνδεμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις βαλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν ὅι πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναλοτε: γυνομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἑναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἁγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὕτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἔτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβητέων λέγεται, ὥς ἐπ' ἀσπίδοις αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημοι ἁγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ 15 θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρεῖν.

LXXV. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἔτερον Σοφάνει λαμπρῶν ἔργων ἔξοργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αὐγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τῶν Ἀργείων, ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον, ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σοφάνεια χρόνος 20 ὑστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἁγαθῶν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγεύοντα ἀμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Πλαύκωνος, ἀποδανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωρὼν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

A Greek woman, who had been captive to a Persian, rescued and restored to her friends.

LXXVI. Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἔλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇς 25 κατέστρωτο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαυτά σφί ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ ἀυτόμολος, ἢ ἐπειδὴ ἐμαθεὶ ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας.
καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἔοισα παλλακὴ Φαράγ- 
δάτεος τοῦ Τεασπίος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμημαμένη 
χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ αἱ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθίτω 
τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεοισών, καταβάσα τῇ ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρει ἐς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇ 
φονῇ ἐόντας, ὅρωσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα 
Παυσανίνη, προτέρον τῇ ὁμοφωνίᾳ ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ 
τὴν πάτρην ὅστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἤγνω τῇ 
Παυσανίνῃ καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονών ξέλγε οὖν 
τάδε:

"Ω βασίλει, Ἑπάτης, λύσαι με τὴν ἰκέτην αἰχμαλώ-
τοῦ δουλοσύνης. συ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸ ὅνημα τοῦ ὅπως 
ἀπολέσας τοὺς ὁμοῦ δαμόνων ὅστε θεῶν ὅπως ἔχω-
τας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Καῦ, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητο-
"ρίδω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου. βίθι δὲ με λαβῶν ἐν Κῷ
15 "εἴχε ὁ Πέρσης." Ὀ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοιοῦτο: "Γυναι,
"θάρσει καὶ ὧς ἰκέτης, καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτῳ τυχα-
νεις ἄληθεν λέγομεν καὶ εἰς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδω
"τοῦ Κώου, δὲ ἐμοὶ τεκνὸς μάλιστα τυχανεῖ ἐὼν 
τῶν "περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χόρους οἰκημένων." Ταῦτα εἰπα
20 τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψα τῶν ἕφορῶν τοὺς παρεοισώ, ὑσ-
τερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἰγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτῆ ἦθελε 
ἀπικέσθαι.

The Mantineans and Eleians too late for the fair.

LXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπέξω τῆς γυναικὸς 
αὐτῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντιναῖες ἐπὶ ἐξεργα-
25 μένοισι. μαθῶντες δὲ ὅτι ὑστεροί ἤκουσι τῆς 
συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεύντο μεγάλην ἀξίων 
τῇ ἐφασαν εἶναι σφέας ἡμῶν. πυθανόμενοι δὲ 
τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς 
μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τοὺς ἐδιώκον 
μέχρι Θεσσαλίας. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ συκ ἔσων 
φεύγοντας
διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατηγῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινεάς ἦκον Ἡλείοι, καὶ ὁσαντῶς οἱ Ἡλείοι τούσι Μαντινεύσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας 5 ἐδίωξαν.

Lampon suggests crucifying the body of Mardonius in revenge for the indignity offered to the corpse of Leonidas. The noble answer of Pausanias.

LXXVIII. Τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα· ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἴγυπτέων ἦν Δάμπων ὁ Πυθέω, Αἴγυπτέως τὰ πρῶτα, ὡς ἀνοσιότατον ἐχων λόγον ἔτοι πρὸς τὸν Παυσανίαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδὴ ἔλεγε τάδε· ὁ δὲ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργων ἐργασταὶ τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθος τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι τοὺς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενου τῆν Ἐλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι, μέγιστον Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ 15 ἑτὸ τούτης ποίησαν, ὡς λόγος τῇ σε ἐχὴ ἔτι μέ- ἔως καὶ τοῖς ὑστερον φυλάσσεται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. "Δεσπάδεω γὰρ ἀπωθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλης Μαρ-"δόνιος τε καὶ Ξέρβης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλήν 20 ἀνεσταύρωσαν. τῷ σὺ τῆν ὁμοίαν ἀποδίδοις ἔπαι- "νον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητῶν, αὐτὸς "δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων. Μαρδόνιου γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεια ἐς πάτρων τῶν σοῦ "Δεσπάδην." Ὅ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, 25 ὁ δὲ ἀνταμείβετο τοιοῦτο· LXXIX. "Ὡς ἔσχεν Αἰγι- "νητα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἁγαμαί σεν,
"γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς. ἔξαείρας γάρ
"με ύψου καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἡς τὸ μηδὲν
"κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρὺ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν
"ταῦτα ποιέω, φας ἀμεινὸν μὲ ἀκούσεσθαι. τὰ πρέπει
5 "μάλλον βαρβάροις ποιέων ἦπερ Ἐλλησι· καὶ ἔκει-
"νοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὅπ τοῦτο εἶνεκεν
"μήτε Αἰγυπτίσι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῦτα ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται,
"ἀποχρὰ δὲ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον θεὶα μὲν
"ποιέων, θεὶα δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Δεωνίδη δὲ, τῷ με
10 "κελευέοις τιμωρήσαι, φθεὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρήσασι,
"ψυχήσι τε τῆσι τῶν ἀναριθμοῦσι τετίμηται αὐ-
"τῶν τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλης τελευτή-
"σαντες. οὐ μὲντοι ἐτί ἐξαν λόγον τοιώνδε μήτε
"προσέλθῃς ἐμουγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάρων τε ἴσθι
15 "ἐων ἀπαθῆς."

The booty. After reserving a tenth for Apollo at Delphi,
Zeus at Olympia, Poseidon in the Isthmus, the rest is
divided. Ignorance and dishonesty of the Helots.

LXXX. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο,
Pausanί̂s δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἀπέτεθαι
τὴν ληθῆς, συγκομίζεις ἐκέλευσε τοὺς έλλωτας τὰ
χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι
20 εὐρίσκουσι σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἄργυρῳ,
κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητηρίας τε
χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα. σάκκους
τε ἐπ' ἄμαξέων εὐρίσκουν, ἐν τοῖς λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο
ἐνεόντες χρύσεωι τε καὶ ἄργυρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων
25 νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψελλά τε καὶ στρεπτευόταν καὶ τοὺς
ἀκινῶν ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθήτος γε ποικίλης
λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἶς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες
ἐπώλεου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀιγινήτας οἱ εἰλωτεῖς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶδα τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Ἀιγινήτης οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἄρχῃ ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οὐ τὸν χρυσῶν ἀτε ἑόντα χαλκὸν δήθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων ὄνεοντο. ΛXXXI. Συμφορή-5 σαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῷ, ἀπ’ ἂς ό τρίπως ὁ χρύσεως ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήμου ὀφίος τοῦ χαλκεοῦ ἐπεστεώς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὁλυμπίη θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ’ ἂς δεκάτην χάλκεου Δία ἄνεθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ισθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ’ ἂς ἐπτάτην χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο καὶ ἐλαβον ἐκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποξύγια. "Ὅσα μὲν νῦν ἔξαι-15 ρετα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇ ἔδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκεῖ δ’ ἐγωγε καὶ τούτοις δοθήναι. Παυσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἔδόθη, γυναῖκες, ὑποί, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα.

Pausanias gives a banquet in the Royal tent.

ΛXXXII. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ός Ἐρέξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς 'Ελλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατα-σκευὴν καταλίπως τὴν ἐωτοῦ. Παυσανίην ὃν ὑρέων τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι πουκλουζει κατεσκευαζομενὴν καλύτησαι 25 τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ψυχούς καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ Μαρδονίῳ δείπνου παρασκευάζειν. ός δὲ καλενό-μενοι οὕτως ἐποίειν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἱδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσάς καὶ ἀργυρέας εὐ ἐστρωμένας
καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευήν μεγαλωπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοὺς διηκόνους παρασκευάζαι Δακωνικὸν δείπνου. ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης 5 ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλῶν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίδαν γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίδαν, δεικνύντα ἐς ἐκατέρθην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν· Ἐνδρες Ἑλληνες, τώπδε εὐεκεν ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνή- 10 γαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦ Μήδου τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὅς τοι ἰδίαταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ὑμέας οὕτω ὁίξηρην ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος."

Extraordinary skulls and bones.

LXXXIII. Ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίδαν λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὑστέρω μέντοι 15 χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταίων εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἔφανε δὲ καὶ τόδε ὑστερον ἐτὶ τούτων. τῶν νεκρῶν περιψυλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας (συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἕνα χῶρον) εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ 20 ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμιᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐούσα ὀστέου· ἔφανε δὲ καὶ γνάθος, καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα ὀδύνας μουνοφυέας, ἐξ ἐνὸς ὀστέου πάντας, τοὺς τε ὀδύνας καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πειναπήχεος ἄνδρος ὀστέα ἔφανη.

The burial of Mardonius, and of the fallen Greeks.

LXXXIV. Ἐστεὶ τε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρη ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἡφάνιστο, ὑπ’ ὅτεν μὲν ἄνθρωπων, τὸ
ατρεκές ούκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινας ἦδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἦκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἴδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρά Ἄρτοντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅσιος μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενος τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν 5 Μαρδόνιον, οὐ δύναμαι ατρεκέως πυθέσθαι. ἔχει δὲ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνήρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. LXXXV. Ἄλλ’ ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τουούτῳ ἐτάφη, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇς τὴν ληθν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοῖς ἑωτῶν χωρίς ἑκαστοι. Δακε- 10 δαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξάς ἐποιήσαντο θῆκας. ἐνθα μὲν τοῖς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομ- φάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκίων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δ’ ἐν τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἅλλοι Σπαρτίται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες. 15 Οὕτως μὲν οὗτο ἔθαπτον, Τεγεήται δὲ χωρίς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναίοι τοὺς ἑωτῶν ὁμοῖο, καὶ Μεγαρεῖς τε καὶ Φλισίοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποῦ διαφαρέντας. Τούτων μὲν δ’ πάντων πηλῆς ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι, τῶν δὲ ἅλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιᾷς ἐόντες 20 τάφοι, τούτων δὲ, ὡς ἑγὼ πυθάνομαι, ἐπαυχυνο- μένους τῇ ἀπειτοῖ τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα χώσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἑπιγυμνών ἐνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἴγινθεών ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἑγὼ ἄκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσί ὑστερον μετὰ ταῦτα 25 δεσθέντων τῶν Αἴγινθεών χώσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτο- δίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξειν ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

Eleven days after the battle the Greeks attack Thebes and demand the surrender of the medizers, especially Timagenides and Attaginus. This is refused. Thebes is besieged for twenty days, when at the proposal of
Τιμαγήνιδες οἱ Θηβαῖοι, αὐτίκα βουλευόμενοι, σφι ἐδόκεες στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Θῆβας καὶ ἔκαστες αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδέσαντας, ἐν πρῶτοι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμή-γενίδην καὶ Ατταγίνου, οὐ ἄρχηγέται ἀνὴρ πρῶτος ἦσαν, ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδόσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρότερον ἢ ἔξελωσι. ὡς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκατὴ ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαῖοι, κελεύουσες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἀνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. LXXXVII. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύνοτο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖς Θηβαῖοις Τιμήγενίδης τάδε· "Ἀνδρεῖς Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκτε τούτι· Θηβαῖοι καὶ ἔλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστήναι πολιορκέοντας ἣ ἔξελωσι Θῆβας ἡ ἡμέας· αὐτοῖς παραδότη, νῦν ὡν ἡ ἡμέων εἰνεκέν γη ἡ Βοιωτία πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήρηση, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρησίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαίτεονται, χρήματά σφι δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμπίσαμεν, οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), "εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀλθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέοις, ἡμεῖς "ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀντιλογίῃν παρέξομεν." Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὗ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρὸν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκευόντο τρος Παυσανίην οἱ Θῆβαιοι βέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι 25 τοὺς ἀνδρας. LXXXVIII. Ὁς δὲ ομολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτους, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς κατή, φᾶς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μετατί-
ουσ. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἡξέδοσαν οἱ Θῆβαιοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίας τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήματι ἐπεποίθησαν διωθεθῆσαι· δὲ ὁ παρέλαβε, αὐτά ταῦτα ὑπονοεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῆς συμμάχων ἀπασαν ἀπήκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε.

Artabazus meanwhile with his 40,000 was making his way through Thessaly and Makedonia pretending to be only the advanced guard of the main army. He arrives at length at Byzantium after losing many of his men in Thrace.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιᾷ καὶ Θῆβαις γενόμενα, Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιῶν καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοί παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρότευν περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἀλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇς γενομένων. δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς, ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κυνδυνεύεις ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ στρατός (ἐπιθήσασθαι γὰρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυρθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα), 15 ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευεν οὐδὲν, πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγεν τάδε· "Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὅρατε, ἐπείγομαι τε "κατὰ τὴν ταχύτητιν ἐλών ἐς Θρήκην καὶ σπουδὴν "ἐχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου 20 "μετὰ τῶν δεὶ. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδώνιος καὶ ὁ στρατός "αὐτοῦ οὖσα κατὰ πόδας ἔμει ἐλαύνους προσδόκιμος "ἐστιν τοῦτον καὶ ἐξωλύζετε καὶ ἐς ποιεύτες φαίνεσθε. "οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσί μεταμελήσειν." Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδὴ τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ 25
Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἵθ᾽ ἡς Θρητίς, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπενογόμενος καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμων τῆς ὀδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέσθαι εἰς Βυζάντιον καταλιπών τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐωτοῦ συχνοῦς ὑπὸ Θρητίων τε κατα-5 κοπέντας καὶ ὄδον καὶ λυμφύς συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ ἐκ Βυζάντιον δὲ διέβη πλοίουσι.

Ambassadors from Thasos arrive at Delos urging the Greeks to come to the assistance of the Ionians. After a day's delay the ships start.

ΧC. Οὗτος μὲν οὖτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιᾷς τὸ τρόμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρυσε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς 10 Ἰωνίας. ἔπειδη γὰρ ἐν τῇ Δῆλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇ νυσί ἀμα Λευτυχίδη τῷ Δακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἤλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Δάμπουν τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγεσίστρατος Ἀρσεναγόρεω, πεμφθέντες υπὸ Σαμί-15 ὀν λάθρη τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομή-στόρος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τυράννων οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφεών ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ὁ Ἡγεσίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοτιά, ὡς ἦν μοῦνοι ἴδωντα αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἰωνεῖς, ἀποστῇσονται 20 ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οἳ υπομενέοντι· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τουατὸν εὑρεῖν ἀν αὐτοὺς. θεοὺς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέ-τραπε αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἑλληνες ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμώναι τὸν βάρβαρον. εὐπετές τε 25 αὐτοῦ εἴῃ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέοιν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνους εἰναι. αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι υποπτεύοντι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προ-
άγοιευ, ἐτοίμων εἶναι ἐν τῇ ση ἡμῶν τῇ ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὁμορροι εἶναι. ΧΣΙ. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Δευτερίης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἰνεκεν ἑθέλων πυθέομαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίαν θεοῦ ποιεύομαι. "Ὡς ξεῖνος Σάμιος, τί τοι τὸ οὖνομα;" 5 ὁ δὲ εἶπε: "Ἡγησίστρατος." ὁ δὲ ὑπαρτάσας τὸν ἐπίλουτον λόγον, εἶ τινα ὅρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε: "Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν [τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου], ὁ ξεῖνος Σάμιος. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν πολεῖ ὅκως αὐτὸς τε "δους πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοί ἐόντες οἶδε, 10 "ἡ μὲν Σάμιον ἡμῖν προβόμους ἔσεθαι συμμάχους." ΧΣΠ. Ταῦτα τε ἀμα ἠγόρασε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστων τε καὶ ὄρκων ἐποιεύοντο συμμαχίας πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε 15 πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὖνομα ποιεύομενος· οἱ δὲ Ἐλλήνες ἔπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑποτεραίῃ ἐκαλλιέντου, μαντεομένου σφι Δηήφωνον τοῦ Ἕηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνίτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε 20 Ἕηνιου πρῆγμα τοιόνδε.

How Euenius lost his eyes and was compensated by a grant of land and the gift of prophecy.

ΧΣΠΙ. ἑστὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἵλιον πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμῶν, ὡς ἐκ Δάκμωνος οὖρεος ρέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ ’ Ὠμικον λιμένα, τὰς 25 δὲ νύκτας ἀραιμμένοι ἀνδρὲς οἱ πλούτῳ τοῖς καὶ γένει δοκίμωται τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐναυτὸν ἐκαστός· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεύονται Ἀπολλωνί
ήται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπρόπιον τινὸς. ἐν δὲ ἀντρῷ αὐλίξονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς· ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὐτος ἀραίρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κὸτε αὐτοῦ κατακομῆςαντὸς τῆς φυλακῆς παρελθόντες 5 λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἀντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξῆκοντα. ὃ δὲ ὃς ἐπῆσε, ἔχει συγγ καὶ ἐφραζε οὐδενὶ, ἐν νῷ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριμένος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς 'Ἀπολλωνίτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἄλλ' ὃς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δι- 10 καστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τῆς φυλακῆς κατακομῆςαντα, τῆς ὅψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τῶν Εὐή- νιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίων καρπόν· πρόφαντα δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Δωδώγῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγίνετο. ἐπεὶ 15 τε ἐπειρώτεον τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αὐτων τοῦ παρεόντος κακῷ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφραζοῦν, ὅτι "ἀδίκως τῶν φύλακων "τῶν ἰρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὕψιος ἐστήρησαν· "αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερον τε "παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκεῖνο πρὶν ἡ δίκας δῶσι τῶν 20 "ἐπολήσαν ταῦτα, τὰς ἄν αὐτὸς ἔληται καὶ δικαιοί· "τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ ὅσειν Εὐηνίω δόσιν "τοιαύτῃ, τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαρίεσιν ἀνθρώπων "ἐχοντα." ΧΞIV. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήμα ταῦτα σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ 'Ἀπολλωνίται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι 25 προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδρᾶς διαπρήξαι. οἱ δὲ σφι διεπρήξαν ὅδε· κατημένον Εὐηνίου ἐν θοκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς τὸ κατε- βαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει. ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγουντες εἰρώτεον τίνα δίκην ἀν ἐξοίτο, εἰ ἐθέλουσιν 'Ἀπολλωνι- 30 ἡται δίκας ὑποστήναι δοσεῖν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἄκηκως τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἰλετο εἴπας, εἰ τίς οἱ
When the Greek fleet arrives at Samos the Persians retire to the continent, and make a fortification round their ships dragged up on the shore of Mykale.
σθαί· οὐ γὰρ ὤν ἐδόκεον ὁμοίοις εἶναι· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἦπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὡς κελεύσαντος Ξέρ-ξεω καταλειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίων 5 ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλήθος μὲν ἦν ἐξ μυριάδες, ἐστρα-τίγγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλετε κε καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερ-φέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατη-γολ ἄνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος, 10 ἔρυμα τῶν νεών καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

XCVII. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἄνήγοντο. ἀπικόμε-
νοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνίέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς 15 Παίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἔλευσι-
νίης ἐστὶ ἱρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἔδρυσατο
Neilef τῷ Κόδρου ἐπιστόμενος ἔπι Μιλήτου κτιστῶν, 20 ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαι καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος
καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δεύδρα ἐκκόψαντες ἱμερα,
καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν· καὶ παρε-
σκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσουτες·

The Greeks coast along under this fortification and try by a proclamation to detach the Ionians from the Persians.

XCVIII. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκό-
tas τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἦπειρον, ἤξθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφυγότων, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τε εἰχόντο ὡς τι ποιέωσι,
eite ἀπαλλάσσονται ὅπισω eite katanpléwsi en' 25 Ἐλλησπόντου. τέλος δ' ἐδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα
ποιεῖν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἦπειρον. παρασκευα-
σάμενοι ὡς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ τὰ
άλλα ὃσων ἔδεε ἐπελευ ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἔπει δὲ ἀγχού τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαινετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἄρων νέας ἁνειλκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὰν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐνθάυτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ 5 νῆπι παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης υπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἰωσί 10 λέγων. Ἀνδρέας Ἰωνες, ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπα- "κούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω. πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνή- "σουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγώ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεάν 15 "συμμīσωμεν, μεμψθαλ τινα χρή ἐλευθερίης μὲν "πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθῆματος Ἡβης. "καὶ τάδε ἱστω καὶ ὁ μή ἐπακοῦσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ "ἐπακούσαντος." ὠντὸς δὲ οὗτοι ἔως τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμι-. 20 σίφ. ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμελλε τοὺς Ἰωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἐπεετὰν ἀνενεχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖς Ἐλ- 25 λησι.

The Greeks then land. The Milesians, whose fidelity was suspected by the Persians, are sent to guard the pass to the summit of Mykale.

XCIX. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύ- 30 τερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ Ἑλληνες προσοχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὁς ἐλδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας πα- ρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖς Ἰωσί παρανε- σαντας, τούτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σάμιους τὰ 35 Ἑλληνων φρονεειν ἀπαρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οὶ γὰρ ὁν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν

S. H. IX.
τῆςι νησί τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τήν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Εέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς τᾶς Ἀθήνας τῶν εἰνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψὶν εἰχον, πεπακοσίας ἰκεφαλὰς τῶν Εέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τούτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φεροῦσας προστάσσοντο τοῖς Μιλησίοις φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοις δὴθεν μάλιστα τήν χώρην ἐποίεν δὲ τούτου εἰνεκεν, ὡς ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἵστε. τούτους μὲν Ἰάνων, τοῖς καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχύδην ἄν τι ποιεῖν δυνάμοις ἐπιλαβομένους, τρόπους τοιούτους προευφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφί.

An extraordinary rumour of the victory at Plataea runs through the army.

C. Ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ παρεσκευάδατο τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ, 15 προσηίσαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἴον δὲ σφί φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκηνίου ἔφανε ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον. ἦ δὲ φήμη δηλθέ σφι ὡδε, ὡς οἱ Ἑλληνες τήν Μαρδονίου στρατινὸν νικῶν ἐν Βοωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοὶσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεία τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπτυπούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιίσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἐσεσθαι τρόματος, φήμη τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἐσπάκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τήν στρατινὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ 25 ἔθελεν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. Μ. Καὶ τόδε ἔτερον συνέπεσε γεγομένου, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσίνης παρὰ ἀμφότερας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ’ αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ
πρότερον μοι εἰρήται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλη ἐμελλε ὡς αὑτῶς ἐσεσθαί. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίου Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνεβαίνε ἐλθοῦσα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῆς πρὸ τι ἡ ἡμέρης ἐγκέτο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλη περὶ δείλην. ὅτι δὲ 5 τῆς αὐτῆς ἡ ἡμέρης συνέβαλε γίνεσθαι μηνὸς τε τοῦ αὑτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὑστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγκέτο. ἦν δὲ ἀρραβδίῃ σφι πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσπειράσθαι, οὕτω περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω, ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ ᾿Ελλάς. ὡς τὸ μέντοι ἡ κληδῶν αὐτῇ σφι ἐσεπτάτο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεύτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾿Ελληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσπευδόν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὡς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ ᾿Ελλησπόντος ἄθλα προεκέτο.

The Athenians with one wing advance along the beach, the Lakedaemonians with the other up the bed of a torrent. The battle is begun by the Athenians, who force their way into the stockade.

CII. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ᾿Αθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτουσι τεταγμένοισι μέχρι κοι τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὀδὸς ἐγκέτη ἄγιοι τε καὶ ἀπέδου χώρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξής τούτουσι τεταγμένοισι κατὰ τε χαράδρην καὶ οὐρεα. ἐν τῇ δὲ 20 οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι περήψαν, οὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρει ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἔως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσης ὦρθια ἢν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντο τε καὶ οὔθεν ἐλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατὸς, ὠκὼς ἑωτῶν γένηται 25 τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι

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Το πρόσωπο του προθυμότερου, ένθετον Ἡδη ἑτερομούτο τὸ πρότυμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσπέπεσαν ἄλλες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἳ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγαν ἐς τὸ 5 τεῖχος. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἔπεξης τεταγμένοι) συνεπιστρέψαμεν συνεσπείπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἄλλην ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι, πρὸς φυγήν τε ὁμέλειον οἱ ἄλλοι 10 πλὴν Περσέων. οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῦτοι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπείπτουσι 'Ελληνων, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσιν, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι. Ἀρταύνης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσιν, 15 Μαρδόνης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τυγράνθης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

The Lakedaemonians come up; the Ionians desert the Persians; and the Milesians help to cut off the fugitives.

CIII. Ἑτὶ δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπόκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἳ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχειρίζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν 'Ελλήνων 20 συχνὸν ἐνθαῦτα, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγῶς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Ἱπποκό καὶ ἀπαραίημένοι τὰ ὅπλα ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχᾶς γινομένην ἐτεραλκεά τὴν μάχην, ἔρθουν ὅσον ἐδυνάμοτο, 25 προσωφελέειν ἐθέλουσε τοῖς Ἡλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἑόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς ἄρξαντας, οὗτοι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖς βαρβάροισι.
CVI. Μιλήσιοι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν, σωτηρίας εἶνεκά σφι, ὡς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἶλα περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἤγε-μόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης· ἐτά-χθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι 5 τούτου τε εἰνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ τι νεοχμῶν ποιέοιεν, οἱ δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἔναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἀλλὰς τε κατηγοροῦνεν σφι ὅδους φεύγουσι, αἰ δὴ ἐφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. ιο 10 οὔτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

The award of the prize of valour.

CV. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠριστευ-σαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἐρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοῖος, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμό-λυκον κατέλαβε ὑστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος 15 Ἀθηναίωσι τε καὶ Καρυστίωσι, ἐν Κύριῳ τῆς Κα-ρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κέεσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῇ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροι-ζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠριστευσαν.

Council at Samos. It is proposed to transfer the Ionians to Greece and abandon Ionia to the Persians. The Athenians successfully resist the proposition; and a league is formed for defence.

CVI. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες 20 τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπαν, τὴν ληθὴν προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν
αἰγαλῶν, καὶ θησαυροῦς τινὰς χρημάτων εὐρον. ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐσ Ὁμών οἱ Ἐλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας, καὶ ὥσε χρεῶν εἶν τῆς Ἐλλάδος κατοικίας τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ἠσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίαν ἀπείναν τοῖς βαρβάροις. ἀδύνατο γὰρ ἐφαίνετο σφι εἶναι ἐως τούς τὴ Ἰώνων προκατήσθαι φουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον· καὶ ἐως τῶν ἰσακοπατημένων Ἰωνας οὖδεμιαν ἐπιδία εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖς ἔν τελεί ἔοισι ἐδόκεε τῶν μετασάντων ἐθνῶν τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦνα τὴν χώρην Ἰωσὶ ἀνακήκησα, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ὅπι ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον, οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποκικέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννησίοι. καὶ οὐτός δὴ Σαμίων τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Δεσβίος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησίωτας, οἵ ἐπιχῶν συστρατευόμενοι τοῖς Ἐλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποίησαντο, πίστιν τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὅρκιοις ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι, τούτως δὲ καταλαβόντες ὅρκιοις ἐπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεου ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν.

An angry scene between the defeated general Artayntes and the king's brother Masistes at Sardis.
τόν στρατηγόν Ἀρταύνην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ γνωικὸς κακίων φῶς αὐτῶν εἶναι τοιούτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τούτῳ Πέρσῃ γνωικὸς κακίων ἀκούσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἔστι. ὥ δὲ 5 ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἦκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι σπᾶται ἐπὶ τοῦ Μασίστην τοῦ ἀκινάκεα ἀποκτείναι θέλων. καὶ μνὶ ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεως ἀνὴρ Ἀλκαρνησεύς, ὅπισθε ἐστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύν- τεω, ἀρπάξει μέσου καὶ ἔξαείρας παλεῖ ἐς τὴν γῆν· ἵο καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεως προετησάν. ὥ δὲ Ξειναγόρης τάυτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τοῦ Μασίστην τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξη, ἐκσαίζων τὸν ἀδελφεφυ τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τούτο τὸ ἐργοῦ Ξειναγόρης Κιλκικῆς πάσης ἦρξε δόντος βασιλέως. τῶν δὲ κατ’ ὅδον 15 πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων, ἀλλ’ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

The king's intrigue with Ariaynte the daughter of his brother Masistes.

CVIII. Ἐν δὲ τῆς Σάρδις ἐτύχανε ἐών βασιλεὺς ἔξι ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθη- νεών προσπαίας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ φυγῶν ἀπίκευτο. 20 τότε δὴ ἐν τῆς Σάρδις ἐὼν ἀρα ἡρὰ τῆς Μασί- στεως γνωικός, εὖσθης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὥς δὲ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βὴν προσέφερε προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεῖν Μασίστην (τῶν δὲ τούτω ἐθέ καὶ τῆς γυναίκας· εὐ 25 γὰρ ἡπιστάτῳ βής οὐ τευχομένη), ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσει τὸν γάμου τούτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἐσωτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναίκος ταύ-
ης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτήν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἀρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιή-
σας ἀπῆλαυνε ἔς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεὶ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ
ηγάγετο ἐς ἐωτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναίκα, οὔτω δὴ
5 τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμει-
ψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναι-
κὸς, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ
tαύτῃ ἢν 'Αρταύνη.

Queen Amestris discovers it.

CIX. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπτυστα γίνεται
10 τρόπῳ τοιώδες· ἐξυφήνασα 'Αμηστρίς ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ
φάρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θές αξιον διδοὶ
Ξέρξη. ὁ δὲ ἰσθεὶς περὶβάλλεται τε καὶ ἐρχεῖται
παρὰ τὴν 'Αρταύνην. ἰσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε
αὐτὴν αἰτήσαι ὁ τι βούλεται ὁ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν
15 αὐτῷ ύπουργημένων' πάντα γὰρ τευξεσθαι αἰτή-
σασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίᾳ γενέσθαι,
πρὸς ταύτα εἴπε Ξέρξη· 'Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε
αἰτήσω;' ὁ δὲ, πάν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτήσει-
θαι υπισχυέτο καὶ ὁμοσε. ἡ δὲ, ὡς ὁμοσε, ἀδεῶς
20 αἰτέει τὸ φάρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ
ουλόμενος δούναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεόμενος δὲ
'Αμηστρίν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζοῦσθ' τὰ γυνόμενα
ουτω ἐπευρηθ' πρήσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ
χρυσὸν ἀπλετον καὶ στρατὸν, τοῦ ἐμελλε οὔδεις
25 ἄρξεων ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκέινη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς
δῶρον· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοὶ τὸ φάρος. ἡ δὲ
περιχαρής ἐσύσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.
CIX. Καὶ ἡ 'Αμηστρίς πυθμένα μὴν ἔχουσαν·
μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὔκ
eiχε έγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζονσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταύτα ἐκείνην πρήσεσιν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναίκι ἔβούλευε ὀλθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄλλρα τὸν ἔωτῆς Ἐξέρξην βασιλῆιον δεῖπνον προτιθεμένων (τούτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρασκευάζεται ἀπαξ τοῦ 5 ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς· οὐνόμα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλληνων γλῶσσαν τέλεων· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν σμάται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρεῖται), ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμηστρίς χρηίζει τοῦ Ἐξέρξεω δοθήναι οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναίκα. ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἑποίητο τούτῳ μὲν ἀδελφεω γυναίκα παραδούναι, τούτῳ δὲ ἀναιτίην ἑδύσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνήκε γαρ τοῦ εἰνεκεν εἴδετο.

The queen's cruel revenge on the girl's mother.

CXI. Τέλος μέντοι εκείνης τε λιπαρεύσις καὶ 15 υπὸ τοῦ νόμον ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχήσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὐ σφι δυνατὸν ἐστὶ βασιληίον δείπνον προκειμένου, κἀρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδυσ ποιεῖ ὡδε τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεον λέγει τάδε· "Μασίστα, σὺ 20 "εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἐτί "τούτοις καὶ εἰς ἀνήρ ἀγαθός. γυναίκι δὴ ταύτη τῇ "νῦν συνοικεῖς μὴ συνοικέει, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ "δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμῆν. ταύτη συνοικεί· τὴν "δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖς ἐμὸι, μὴ ἔχε γυναίκα." 25 Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποδωσομάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε· "Ω δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, "κελεύων με γυναίκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παιδες νεηνίαι τέ "εἰς τρεῖς καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μιᾶν τῷ παιδὶ
"τῷ σειωτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τε μοι κατὰ νόον τιμιχάνει κάρτα ἑώσα, ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σειωτοῦ γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ, βασιλεῦ, μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἄξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦτοι δεόμενοι ἄλλα τῇ τῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἔσσων, ἐμὲ τε ἔσσα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτοις ἀμείβεται, Ἐρέξεις δὲ θυμώθης λέγει τάδε: "Οὐτώ τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοῖς δοληνθ ἃθυγάτερα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκεῖνη πλείων χρόνων συνοικίσεις, ὡς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." Ὁ δὲ ὃς ταῦτα ἡκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε δέξω. "Δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κοῦ με ἀπώλεσας."

15 CXII. Ἔν δὲ τούτω τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ἐρέξεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ἐρέξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ Μασίστεως τοὺς τε μαξους ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε, καὶ δίνα καὶ ὅτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλώσσαι ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἰκόν μν ἀποτέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

Death of Masistes.

CXIII. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν καὶ ἀκηκὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακῶν εἶναι, ἔστι τετεὶ δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἢδε ὃς δὲ διεφθαρμένη τὴν γυναίκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοὺς παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοῖς ἑωντοῦ νιὸντι καὶ δὴ κοῦ τισὶ καὶ ἀλλοιοί ὡς ἀποστῆσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριου καὶ ποίησων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα. τὰ περ ὃν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖν, εἶπεν ἐφη
καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων καὶ τῶν Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐστεργόν τε μιν καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχός τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἐρέξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνου πρήσοντα πέμψας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτειν αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆν 5 στρατηγὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ἐρέξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεωθ θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

The Greeks arrive at Abydos to find the bridge broken down. Leutychides and the Peloponnesians sail home. The Athenians blockade Sestos, in which many Persians had taken refuge.

CXIV. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἐλληνες ἐπὶ Ἐλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Δεκτὸν ὄρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ἱο Ἀβυδον, καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλειμένας, τὰς ἑδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἄτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τοῦτων ὦκ ἠκιστα εἶνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντου ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μὲν ὑπὸ ἅμφι Δεντυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ καὶ Ξαν-15 βίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τὴν Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβυδοῦ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσου Σηστόν ἐπολισσεῖν. CXV. Ἔσ δὲ τὴν Σηστόν ταύτην, ὥς ἔντος ἵσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτην, συνήθουν, ὥς 20 ἦκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἐλλησπόντον, ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιουκίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίς πόλιος Οἰόβαξος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, δς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὑπαλα ἐνθαῦτα ἧν κεκομικός. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολεῖς, συνήθουν δὲ Πέρσαι 25 τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συνχὸς ὅμιλος.
The government of the Satrap Artayktes, and his sacrilege upon the shrine of Protesilaus.

CXVI. Ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἔστι Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐνθα ἕν ἄρημα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσαι καὶ ἀργυρεῖ καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἑσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναβήματα, τὰ Ἀρταϊκτῆς ἐσύλησε βασιλεός δύντος.

After a weary blockade extending to the late autumn of B.C. 479 Sestos is surrendered.

CXVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένων σφὶ φθινό-
pωρον ἐπέγινετο, ἦσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἔωντῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελείν τὸ τεῖ-
χος, ἐδέοντο τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄκας ἀπάγοιεν σφειας ὀπίσω. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἡ ἐξέλωσι ἡ τὸ Ἀθη-
5 ναὸν κοινὸν σφεας μεταπέμψεται, οὔτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρέοντα. CXVIII. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐς πᾶν ἢδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν, οὔτω ὡστε τοὺς τόνους ἐψυντες τῶν κλινεῶν ἐσιτέοντο. ἔπει τε δὲ οὔδε ταῦ-
τα ἦτι ἔχον, οὔτω δὴ ὡπὸ νῦκτα οἴχονται ἀποδράντες τοῖς τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Ὄιβαζος, ὁπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὃς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ 
γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν 15 πλεὺνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔχον.

The fate of Artayktes.

CXIX. Ὅιβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Ὑβρήκην ὴμρίκες Ἀφινθι θαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλευ-
στῶρφ ἐπιχορίῳθεί τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνου ἅλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφύνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι τὸν 20 Ἀρταύκτην ὑπετεοὶ ὄμνηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατε-
λαμβάνοντο ὅλων ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αίγος Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, 
οἱ δὲ ἕωντες ἐλάμβησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφεας 
οἱ Ἐλληνες ἦγον ἕς Σηστοῦ, μετ’ αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ 25 Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένου, αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὸν παιδα αὐτοῦ.
ΣΧΧ. Καὶ τερ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὄπτωντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόν-" θε' οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρί κείμενοι ἐπάλλυντο τε καὶ ἱσπαρον ὁκως περ ἱχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἱπποκράτες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ἦν εἰς τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὄπτωντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἐφη· "Ἐϊνε ᾽Αθηναίε, μηδὲν φοβέεο τὸ τέρας τούτο· οὐ "γὰρ σοι πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὅ ἐν ᾽Ελαιούντι "Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεῖς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν 10 "δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἄδικοντα σίνεσθαι. "νῦν δὲν ἀποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθείναι, ἀντὶ μὲν "χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα "καταθείναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς "ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια ᾽Αθηναίοις περιγενόμε-15 "νος." Ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιπ- "πον οὐκ ἐπείθε. οἱ γὰρ ᾽Ελαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεω "τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντο μὲν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ "τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα ὅ νόσ τε ἐφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ "αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ἐρέχθης ἐξευξεὶ τὸν πόρον, "20 οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τῶν κολώνῳ τῶν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου "πόλεως, πρὸς σανίδα προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέ- "μασαν, τὸν δὲ παίδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ ᾽Αρταύκτεω "κατέλευσαν.

*Return of the Athenians at the beginning of winter*

**B.C. 479.**

ΣΧΧI. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέσπευσαν ἐς τὴν 25 Ἔλλαδα, τά τε ἀλλα χρήματα ἁγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ "τα ὀπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήματες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. "καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.
Artembares, grandfather of Artayktes, reproved by Kyros, the great. A rugged country, a brave people.

CXXII. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμμάρης ἦστι ο Πέρσης ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον, τὸν ἐκείνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρω προσήνεικαν, λέγουτα τάδε: "Ἐπει Ζεὺς Πέρσης "ήγεμονίην διδοί, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοι, Κῦρε, κατελῶν Ἂσσυρίων 5 τυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηκέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἀλλην ἔχωμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσι δὲ πολλαί μὲν ἀστυγείτονες, πολλά 10 δὲ καὶ ἕκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα "θωμαστότεροι. οίκος δὲ ἄνδρας ἁρχοντας τοιαῦτα τοι "ποιεῖν. κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ἄλλο γε "ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἁρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίῆς." Κῦρος δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταύτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοίσι παραίνει κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὑπὸ οὐκέτι ἁρχοντας, ἀλλ' 15 ἁρξομένους· φιλείν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἁνδρας γίνεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ τοι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἁνδρας ἁγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγκυνότες Πέρσαι οἰ-χούντα ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, 20 ἁρχεῖν τε εἰλοντο λυπηρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἡ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἀλλοισί δουλεύειν.

ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ
NOTES.

[For information as to persons and places see Historical and Geographical Index. References are by chapter and line of page. 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.

1. l. Μαρδόνιος Στ. The connecting particle δὲ continues the narrative from the last book, in which Herodotos had related how Mardonius having wintered in Thessaly (8, 133), early in the next year (B.C. 479) sent Alexander of Macedon to Athens, as being a friend and ‘benefactor’ of the Athenians (136), with an offer as from the king that, if they would make alliance with him, he would concede their independence; would allow them to possess their own territory and even add to it; and would restore such of the temples as he had burnt (140). This offer Alexander urged them to accept, while the Spartans in alarm sent an embassy to dissuade them (141, 2). The Athenians answered Alexander by bidding him tell Mardonius that ‘as long as the sun went its course they would make no terms with Xerxes’. Alexander therefore had nothing for it but to return with this uncompromising message to Mardonius.

3. ἐκ τῶν Αθηνῶν ‘to invade Attica’, cf. p. 10, l. 26 and p. 8, l. 15. θεῖον δὲ εἰκάστωτε γλυφοντο τούτων παρελάμβανε, ‘and in whatever place he arrived from time to time he compelled the people to join his army’. The imperf. παρελάμβανε expresses the repetition of the action. τούτως is the apodosis to θεῖον, which = els οἰκονομος. For the mood of γλυφοντο (answering to the imperf. indic.) in the conditional relative sentence, see G. § 233.

S. H. IX.
NOTES ON

5. οὕτε τὸ πρὸ τοῦ πεπραγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν ‘so far from repenting of their former proceedings actually exerted themselves all the more to egg the Persian on’. This refers to the action of Thorax of Larissa and his brothers, who had sent to invite Xerxes originally to the invasion of Greece (7,6), though their action had not been approved by the Thessalians generally (7, 172).

8. φεύγοντα ‘in his flight’, that is after Salamis, when Xerxes retreated to the bridge over the Hellespont.

CHAPTER II.

11. κατελάμβανον ‘tried to persuade Mardonius to stop’. The incomplete action expressed by the imperfect.

13. ἐπηθεδεστερος, App. A. III. (4). οὔτε ἦν ‘and they argued against his going’.

15. καταστρέψεται. This is Herodotos’ invariable construction after ποιεῖν δπος [see 1, 8; 5, 109 etc.] and the mood and tense remain the same though it is or. obliq. The mss. have καταστρέψῃ-

16. οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτα ἐγλυσωσκον ‘in such numbers as were united on the previous occasion’, i.e. at Salamis. For the relative οἵπερ =δοσι cp. a similar use of οἵνως in Xen. Oec. 4, 5 els ὀπόσους δεὶ διδόναι τροφὴν ἑπεάς...οἵνως...τῶν ἄρσωμαν εἰςοντα κρατεῖν. Though this is reported speech the indic. ἐγλυσωσκον is used on the dramatic principle often followed in Greek or. obliq. of employing the actual word which the speaker would have used, p. 3, l. 27.

2 1. περιγίνεσθαι in the sense of ‘to get the better of’ governs the genitive, cf. 1, 207 ἐκείνων περιγίνεσθαι. We must explain the construction in one of two ways.

(1) We must suppose an anacoluthon, or breach in the construction, and that the speaker meant to end with some such word as καταπολεμεῖν or νικᾶν, but shrunk from so strong an expression. To call Ἐλληνας ὰμοθροφέοντας an accusative absolute is only another way of saying that there is an anacoluthon.

(2) Or we must regard the accusative after περιγίνεσθαι as a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, according to the sense, as though περιγί-

γίνεσθαι being used for νικᾶν or καταπολεμεῖν took the construction of these verbs. L. and Sc. give two instances of an acc. with περι-

γίνεσθαι, but neither of them is quite parallel, cp. p. 52, l. 2.
The Second of these two explanations is that which I myself believe to be right.

3. ἔσεις 'you will control'. Stein however interprets comperta kæbebis 'you will discover'.

4. πέμπε χρήματα...καταστρέψατε. The advice of the Thebans gave only too true a picture of the state of things in Greece. Not only was it true that nearly all Greeks were open to a bribe, and that as in the later time of Philip any city could be taken into which an ass laden with gold could climb; but also in every city, even in Athens itself, there was a medizing party, consisting of those who hoped to get personal supremacy by means of the Persian support, or perhaps in some cases of those who, seeing the organization of the kingdom by Darius, believed that the unity so sorely wanted by Hellas could only be obtained by having recourse to an outside controlling power. And it is known from Plutarch (Arist. c. 13; cp. Aesch. in Ctes. § 258) that in the very hour of their country's extremity there was a meeting of Athenian men of high rank and straitened circumstances, at Plataea, who resolved to strike a blow at the democracy, and in case of failure to submit to Persia. From Diodorus (xi. 28) it appears that Mardonius did take this advice so far as to send bribes to certain leading men in the cities of the Peloponnese.


CHAPTER III.

9, 10. ἐνέστακτο 'had been instilled into him', a poetical word. Cp. Hom. Od. 2, 271 εἰ δή τοι συν πατρὸς ἐνέστακται μένος ἦ, II. 19, 39 Πατρόκλῳ δ' αὐτ' ἀμβροσίην καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρὸν στάξε κατὰ ῥυθῶν. ἀγνομοσύνη 'obstinate arrogance'.

11. πυρσοὶ διὰ νῆσων 'by a chain of torch signals on the islands'. For omission of article before νῆσων cp. 3, 96; 6, 95; 8, 103 'Island Greece' without defining the particular Islands.

The use of beacons and torches as signals was very ancient. We first hear of their being employed as a signal sent up from a beleaguered town at nightfall to the neighbours to come to the rescue—in Homer II. 18, 207—213. Definite intelligence could be conveyed by them, for the capture of the Greek out-look ships off Skiathos was conveyed to the Greeks at Artemisium by
this means (Her. 7, 182; Polyb. 12, 12); and it will occur at
once to us that Aeschylus, when he described the news of the fall
of Troy being brought by this means, had himself fought in the
Persian wars, and must often have watched the flash of the beacon
fire, conveying good news or warnings of danger [Ag. 273—300].
Later on, in B.C. 429, the Athenians are warned of the approach
of a hostile fleet from Megara by means of beacon fires [φυγκτολ
τολέων Thucyd. 2, 94, 1]; and in B.C. 428 we find that in order
to render unintelligible the besiegers' fire signals, the besieged
Plataeans purposely raised a number at the same time [Th. 3,
22, 9]. Information could be given to the enemy by this means
by a traitor in the camp, for we hear of a certain Athenian being
put to death by Lamachos during the Sicilian expedition for this
crime (παραφυγκτωρευόμενος ληφθείς), Lysias 13, § 67. But still
these fire signals had two disadvantages, (1) they could only be
used at night, (2) they could only convey certain definite pieces
of intelligence, as previously agreed upon between the parties; and
therefore news of unexpected events could not be distinctly con-
veyed. For the first difficulty we find traces of the practice of
flashing signals, of which the earliest recorded instance perhaps
is the polished shield, said to have been held up to inform the
Persians that the Athenian troops had left Athens (Her. 6, 121),
and later writers on Greek military affairs mention the use of
mirrors and broad blades (σφάντις συχνά κινούμενης) for this
purpose [see p. 6 of a fragment of a Greek military writer, pub-
2, 1, 27, Diodor. 20, 51]. To remedy the second inconvenience
we hear of two successive improvements [Polyb. 10, 43].
First, a contrivance by Aeneas Tacticus, supposed to have
been a contemporary of Xenophon. The parties to signal to
each other were to have each an earthenware vessel full of water,
in which floated a flat cork with a long stick marked off by broad
rings, in each of which were certain words such as 'cavalry',
'heavy-armed', 'ships', 'corn', etc. On the raising of a torch
on one side, the other side answered by a torch, and then both
sides set the water running (care being taken that all conditions
should be exactly the same). The corks with their sticks of course
gradually sunk in the vessels, and when the ring containing the
requisite word for the message reached the brim, the signaler
raised a torch, the water was immediately stopped by the recip-
ient, and he could thus read in his stick the message intended.
But this, though admitting more variety, was still open to the
objection that the number of possible messages was limited; for
all possible events could not be thought of before, and written on
the sticks. A system, however, was invented by Cleoxenos and
Democleitos, and improved by Polybios himself, for spelling
words much on the same principle as modern telegraphy. He
divided the alphabet into five groups:
If the signaller wanted to spell the word Κρήτης, he would raise two torches on the left, to show that the letter wanted (κ) was in the second group, and five torches on the right to show that it was the 5th of that group; ρ would want four on the left, and two on the right, and so on. Mardonius had apparently arranged a series of torch-signallers from island to island of the Cyclades (though Rawlinson thinks that it was more probably by Mt Athos, the route of the signal fires in the Agamemnon of Aeschyllos, for Delos was not in Persian hands 8, 132), having concerted beforehand the meaning to be attached to the signal as to the capture of Athens; but it does not appear that he sent the message when he took possession: the experience of the last year doubtless warned him that, while the people were still unconquered, the possession of the empty town was of little use.

12. οὖν τότε 'on this occasion neither', i.e. any more than Xerxes had done in the year before.


14. ἐν τῷ Σαλαμίνι. The people seem on this occasion to have been content to go to Salamis, as being safe now that the Greek fleet commanded the sea. The year before they had gone to Troezen and Aegina, as well as Salamis [8, 41. Plut. Them. 10].

15. τὸ ἄστυ 'the town', properly used of the town as composed of buildings, τὸλις being a town as composed of citizens, though the latter word is used in both senses. Later τὸ ἄστυ was used for the 'upper town' as distinguished from the Peiraeus [see Thucyd. 2, 94, 2; Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 1], and also in the sense in which we use the word Capital. It is designedly used here, for Mardonius took the bare walls with no one within them.

17. δικάμηνος. That is from Metageition i.e. Aug.—Sept. 480 B.C. to Skiaphorion i.e. June—July 479 B.C.

ἐπιστρατηγῆς, App. B. a. 1.

CHAPTER IV.

20. τούς αὐτοὺς λόγους 'the same proposals', namely that they should retain their autonomy and have increased territory if they would come to terms with Persia [8, 140].
22. προέχων οὖ θεῦ γνώμας 'though he knew beforehand that their feelings were hostile', ἄνευς δὲ 'but having conceived the hope'. The change of tense is to be observed. The hope was conceived once for all before the message was sent, his consciousness of the feelings of the Athenians was continuous. This meaning of προέχων is no doubt peculiar; it usually means (1) to be superior to anyone in anything, (2) to be eminent, (3) to project; but Mr Blakesley's translation 'putting forward' is equally contrary to usage, Thucydides always employing the middle in that sense (1, 140, 7; 3, 68, 2); and it is quite in keeping with Herodotos' style to use εἰχω in the sense more common in poetry of 'to know', and then to compound it with a preposition.


CHAPTER V.

2. Βουλευτῶν [App. C. i. 1st decl.] 'one of the members of the Boule'.

4. ἐθελεῖα 'to bring the proposal before the people', i.e. in an ecclesia. The proper function of the Boule was to prepare all measures for decision by the ecclesia; it had no power to decide such a matter itself; and though the whole people were in a kind of temporary exile in Salamis constitutional forms appear to be maintained.

σφί = αὐτοῖς, App. C. II. 1 (4).

6. εἰτε δὴ 'whether as was alleged' (δὴ). For the irregularity of a participle and verb being thus connected cp. 1, 19; 8, 116.

9. καθελεύειν 'stoned to death', κατὰ in sense of completion.


αὐτοκελέες 'spontaneously', though one woman urged another, the general effect was of a spontaneous action on the part of the women.

Some difficulty has been felt as to the occurrence itself, because Demosthenes [de Cor. 296] relates a similar anecdote, but places it before Salamis, and makes the name of the victim Kyrsilos; and Demosthenes is followed by Cicero [de Off. 3, 11].

Various explanations have been offered. Thirlwall supposed the two names to belong to the same person, a thing quite unusual at
Athens, while the explanation leaves unaccounted for the difference of times in the two stories: Valcknaer supposes both stories true, in which he is followed by Rawlinson: Grote rejects the idea of the two similar occurrences and elects to stand by Herodotos: Baehr, Abicht and Stein notice the coincidence but leave it unexplained. The period to which Herodotos assigns the incident seems much the more likely one, as we hear of no such negociation before Salamis; and such a confusion as to time was quite possible in an Orator speaking more than 100 years after the event. But it appears from Lykurgos, contra Leocr. 122, that a decree of the people condemning (to θρυλία) the relations of a man whom the Boulè had at once put to death in Salamis for this offence was in existence. Such a formal proceeding does not tally with the lynching of Lykidas and his family, and may therefore be supposed to refer to Kyrsilos, though Lykurgos mentions no name. In times of imminent risk it was natural and inevitable that some restraint should be put on individual freedom of speech; thus we find that when Lysander in B.C. 405 was beleaguering Athens, a senator called Archestratos was thrown into prison for proposing to surrender [Xen. HELL. 2, 2, 15], and we can understand the strong measure taken by the Boulè and confirmed by the people (ψήφωμα) in the case of Kyrsilos. The case of Lykidas was one of mere popular excitement, and death by stoning was generally the result in a camp, and Salamis was practically a camp at the time [see 5, 38, and comp. Soph. Aj. 254, where the chorus fear this fate for Ajax].


CHAPTER VI.

19. οἱ δὲ ‘they’, i.e. the Athenians. For the article used as a demonstrative see G. § 143. The δὲ which to the Greek ear is suitable after the ἐστὶ μὲν cannot be represented in English.
20. οἱ μὲν the Peloponnesians.
24. μεμφομένους τοῖς Δ. ‘to reproach the Lakedaemonians with the fact that’. The verb μεμφομαι is found in nearly every
possible construction, acc. and gen. of thing, dat. or gen. of person; with single acc. or dat. of pers.; or with gen. of the thing. Here the construction is dat. of pers., and for the acc. of the thing the clause ὅτι περειδήν κ.τ.λ. stands. Clyde § 75 E.


27. ἐπίσημα a dramatic indic. as usual in reported speech, see p. 1, l. 13 εὐνοοῦν.

28. προείπα an infin. of purpose correlative with the fut. part. μεμψομένου ‘and (they sent them) to openly state’. ἀμφαιεῖν fut. App. D. iii. 4.

4 1. ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς τινὰ ἀληφην εἰρ. ‘that they too would find some means of avoiding the danger’. This is the invariable meaning of this poetical word in Homer, and there is no need to translate it ‘defence’ here. The threat is made intentionally vague, and left to the Lakedaemonians to interpret it as referring to a possible acceptance of the terms offered by Mardonius, or to the old threat of Themistokles of placing all their people and goods on board their ships and seeking a new home in Italy, leaving the Spartans to defend themselves [8, 61—62]. For the duplication of the conjunction δὲ...ὡς Stein compares 3, 71 ὅτε δὲ ἢν ὑπερέτηση ἢ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὥς αὐτὸς ἕγω ταῦτα κατερέω.

CHAPTER VII.

2. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Δ. ‘Now the fact was that the Lakedaemonians were engaged in the celebration of the Hyakinthia (see Hist. Ind.), but at the same time they were building the wall across the Isthmus, and it was now so nearly completed as to be up to the battlements’. This wall, of which the remains are still traceable, was built at a point about seven miles E. of Corinth. For similar conduct of the Spartans before Marathon see 6, 106.

5. καὶ δὴ, see above p. 3, l. 21.

The clauses of this paragraph from οἱ γὰρ to ἐλάμβανε are woven together in a very intricate manner by the use of the particles. The changes of subject in ἄραξαν and ἤν, though joined by τε—καὶ, and of ἐτείχεον...ἐλάμβανε, are awkward, but lead to no confusion. The system is this, τε—καὶ (δὲ amplifying the second clause), δὲ introducing a third heading (amplified by καὶ δὴ).

7. ἅγομενοι ‘bringing with them’; the middle properly expresses the action of those ‘who cause to come’, and who only metaphori-
cally can be said ‘to bring’. ἀγοντες would be ‘forcing to come’, ‘dragging’.

8, 9. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ‘into the presence of the Ephors’. Cp. ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν c. 5. For ‘Ephors’ see Histor. Index.

§ 1. 11. βασιλεὺς ‘the king of Persia’ properly without definite article, the ὁ Μήδων is superfluous, but the messengers are delivering a formal speech.

τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ ‘in the first place’, ‘in the second place’. Cp. p. 17, l. 19.

12. ἐπὶ οὖν τε καὶ ὁμολη ‘on terms of complete equality and independence’, the phrase was usual in treaties between two states, see that between Sparta and Argos in Thucyd. 5, 79; and cf. id. 4, 105, 2; 2, 27, 1. The one word seems always to suggest the other, see id. 2, 89, 2; and they are used to describe the relations of fellow-citizens as well as those between states, Dem. Mid. 551.

13. ἀνευ τε δόλου καὶ διπάτης is a treaty clause also [1, 69; 8, 140] which in the treaties in Thucyd. appears as μὴ τεχνη μὴ μηχανή μηδεμία [5, 18, 4; 47, 2].

17. ἀπεκάθισαν ‘we refused’, elsewhere in Herod. this word has an accusative, see 1, 205; 4, 120; 6, 100. The middle form ἀπεκάθισαν is confined to Ionic and later Attic.

19. κερδαλεώτερον...μᾶλλον ἦπερ. This pleonasm, or repetition of a comparative word, is a common idiom in Greek, especially with temporal comparatives πρῶτερον, πρῶτον, etc.; Clyde § 91; cp. 7, 143 αρεταύτερα...μᾶλλον. On the other hand we find ἦ after words in which a comparative sense is only indirectly implied. See on p. 17, l. 7.

20. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ... ‘no! and we will not either etc.’

21. ἐκόντες εἶναι ‘at any rate with our own consent’, cp. 7, 104, 164; 8, 30. In all these cases (exc. 7, 164) the phrase is used in a negative sentence.


§ 2. 1. 25. φρόνημα ‘high resolution’. Cp. 8, 144. In Attic it usually means ‘pride’; for the meaning of ‘thought’ cf. p. 35, l. 15, Thuc. 2, 61, 3: and for a meaning very like the present cf.
Thuc. 5, 40, 3 ἐν προφήματι δυνεῖς τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγόμεναι, 'entertaining lofty ideas of becoming the leading state in the Peloponnesian. καὶ διὸ 'and because' is coordinate with ἐκεῖ τε ἐκε-μάθετε: the words ὅτι...Ἑλλάδα are explanatory of ἡμέτερον φόρνημα.

27. ὁλοκόμοιον 'which is being built'. ἐν τελεῖ ὅτι is in the act of being completed'. In c. 8 Herodotos says the wall is πρὸς τελεῖ. 'The first is the more general expression which without going into detail describes the wall as in an advanced stage; in the second Herodotos tells the exact fact that it was not finished, but was nearly so. καὶ δὴ 'of course', 'at once'.

29. τὸν Πόρον ἀντιλόγονται elsewhere in Herodotos this verb is constructed with dative [1, 76; 7, 102, 139; 8, 100, p. 4, l. 29]. On the other hand ἀντίλογον is constructed with the acc. [2, 141; 4, 118], and the sense is rather 'to meet' than simply 'to oppose', as in other places, and thus the motion implied justifies the accusative.

5 2. μηχανοσ. This is one of the words whose usage is confined to the poets and later prose, but which Herodotos employs several times [5, 84; 7, 229]. ὅτι τάχος 'with all speed', cp. ὡς τάχος, 5, 106. δοὺν τάχος, Soph.

ἐπιτηδέως 'properly', in other places it means 'carefully' (1, 108), but the adverb here follows the sense in which the adjective ἐπιτηδέως is used in other places, e.g. 4, 158, and just below.

4. ὡς ἄν...ἐκεῖμεθα 'with a view to our meeting him', the subj. construction dramatically after historical ἐκεῖνων...ἐκεῖμεν, which is treated as equivalent to direct imperative ἐκεῖμεν. ὡς ἄν is a combination more common in Homer, but still it does occur in Attic authors. Cp. 8, 7. This final ὡς might stand without ἄν, which seems to add little that is appreciable to its meaning beyond the feeling so frequently dictating Greek idiom, viz. the desire to put everything as hypothetically and as little positively as possible. G. § 216, 2. See on p. 34, l. 1.

5. ἑπεδή ἡμέρων οὖς Βοιωτίας 'since we missed holding Boeotia', the word implies that the loss of Boeotia was a result of a mistaken or backward policy.

6. ἡμαχισάσθαι. Note the aorist of single action, 'to fight the battle in'.

CHAPTER VIII.

10. ἐνὶ δέκα ἡμέρας 'for a space of ten days', cp. ἐνὶ δῶο ἡμέρας, ἐνὶ δέκα ἡμ在未来 [Thucyd. 2, 25; 3, 68]: see p. 40, l. 13.
12. ἔτείχεον 'they were carrying on the building of the wall across'.

14. ἀπικομήσου Ἀλεξάνδρου. The visit of Alexander to Athens had been early in the year, before Mardonius had broken up his winter quarters in Thessaly (c. 1). It was now June, for the Hyakinthia were coming to an end.

17. ὥρην 'care', 'regard', cf. Lat. cur-a; and the compounds πυλωρός, θυρωρός, ὀλιγωρεῖν: in an inscription (C. I. 2554) we find ὤρεῖν for a fort or guard-house.

20. ὀδω, App. A. 1. 3. ἀπετεῖχατο 'the line of the wall had not yet been completed right across the isthmus'. Cf. 6, 36 ἀποφείχον ἄνω χείλα τῆς Χερσονήσου.

CHAPTER IX.


26. ξέλων 'resident aliens', such as in Athens would be called μετοικοὶ. The presence of foreigners in Sparta was much less common than in Athens, and in c. 35 Herodotus says that he knew only one instance of such persons being admitted to citizenship, namely Tisamenos and his brother. Xen. Rep. Lac. 1414. Cf. p. 23, 1. 23.

1. μὴ ἄρθιλων, 'if the A. are not on good terms with you' [R. ἄρ-, cp. ἄρασκω, ἄρθρον, etc.], so ἄρθρια 'peaceful relations', 6, 83, cp. 7, 101.

3. ἔλειόνες [or as some would write ἕλειόνες from ἔλεω] 'folding gates' (the bipatentes of Vergil Aen. 2, 330) derived from the same root as ἕλεω. The word does not seem to be used by any other Greek author until the period of late Attic (Plutarch). The reference is no doubt to gates with folding wings, cf. Hom. II. 21, 531, where Priam orders the town gates to be held open for the flying Trojans, πεπταμένας ἐν χερσὶ πύλας ἔστε, cp. ib. 538. The metaphor has been exemplified by a reference to St Paul's language (1 Cor. xvi. 9) 'a great door has been opened to me'. We may also compare Vergil's patet isti janua leto [Aen. 2, 661]. For the form ἀναπεπτεῖται, see App. D. 11. a (2).

CHAPTER X.

8. ἀπηγμανοι, App. A. 1, 4, and C. i. 2nd decl. ἄνδι τῶν φόλων, for the Athenian envoys were accompanied by envoys from Megara and Plataea, c. 7.
notēs on 

νυκτός ἐπὶ 'before daybreak'. Gen. of the time within which a thing happens. G. § 179.

9, 10. καὶ ἐπὶ...ἐλώτων. These words are not found in some mss., and Wesseling therefore would remove them, as having been inserted to explain the statement in ch. 28, that there were 5000 Spartans and 35000 Helots at Plataea. But Plutarch (Aristid. 10), who was copying Herodotos, has almost the same words, and they probably ought to stand. The gen. ἐλώτων is from ἐλιός, cp. ὑλωτα, 7, 229, and ἐλωτας, 6, 81, ἐλωτες, 9, 80. But the other form also occurs, viz. ἐλωτης, -ου, or -εο, ἐλωτέων see p. 18, l. 29; 6, 58, 75, 80; 9, 28.

11. ἡ ᾽ηγεμονὴ 'the right of leading the army', i.e. as king. Since B.C. 506—5 it had been a law in Sparta that both kings should not go out with the army at the same time [Her. 5, 75]. Now that Pleistarchos, the king of the senior branch, was incapacitated by infancy from going out on a campaign, his position seems to have passed entirely to his cousin and guardian, Pausanias.

16. τὴν τὸ τέκχος δελμασαν 'that had built the wall', i.e. across the Isthmus, which is thus spoken of as completed.

18, 19. θυμένω οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρη 'as he was offering sacrifice in regard to the Persian invader'. For the kings at Sparta were especially the national priests: they were 'priests of Zeus Uranios and Zeus Lakedaemonios, and offered public sacrifices to Apollo on every new moon and seventh day'. In times of war the king sacrificed first at home, and again on the frontier. Such a sacrifice would be attended by a μάρτις to declare the omens as presented by the victim in regard to the measures to be taken against Persia [Xen. Hell. 3, 3, 4, de repub. Lac. 13].

19. ὁ ἡλίος ἀμαυρωθη 'the sun was darkened'. According to the calculation of astronomers the Solar eclipse of B.C. 479 was on Oct. 2. If this be so, the word ἀμαυρωθη must only refer to some sudden overclouding of the sun at the critical moment of sacrifice, which was interpreted as a bad omen.

When Herodotos described an eclipse of the sun before he did not use this word, but said, ὁ ἡλίος ἐκλιτων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρα-νον ἔδραν ἀρανης ἔν ὄνδ' ἐπιετέλων ἐντων ἁλρήσῃ τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντι ἰμέρης τε τὸ γενέωτο (7, 37), or as in 1, 64 τὴν ἰμέρην ἐξαπλυμεν οὔκα γενέσθαι, which eclipse he also calls a μεταλαγή ἰμέρης and a μεταβολή. An eclipse was looked upon as a bad omen, preventing any active operations for a time,—in the case of an eclipse of the moon, until the new moon, as in the famous
case of Nikias refusing to move his army in Sicily [Thucyd. 7, 51, 4]. Cf. Thucyd. 2, 28; 1, 23, 4 where the frequent occurrences of eclipses and earthquakes are mentioned as foretelling the troubles of the Peloponnesian war; and the phenomena which Aristophanes connects with the election of Kleon as strategus

20. προσωπικά...αὐτῆς. 'Pausanias selected as a colleague Euryanax, son of Dorieux, who was of the same family as himself', i.e. of the same branch of the Royal family. If this Dorieux was the second son of Anaxandridas, who fell in Sicily [5, 46] Euryanax was first cousin to Pausanias [see Index, DORIEUS]. So near a relationship seems likely to have been indicated by some less vague expression, but perhaps Herod. wishes mainly to emphasize the fact that Pausanias did not select from the other Royal branch. The other king, Leotychides, was at this time in command of the Greek fleet at Delos, whence it was to go to Mykale [9, 90; Thucyd. 1, 89]. Pausanias selecting his own colleague is in accordance with the rule in Sparta, where the king (whom Pausanias represented in all his prerogatives) though he could not proclaim war, had absolute authority in conducting it.

CHAPTER XI.


ἐν νῷ δὴ ἠξοντος 'intending as they imagined' (δὴ); the δὴ shews the writer's sense that the ambassadors were acting under a false impression. See Index s. v. δὴ.

25. καὶ αὐτοῖς 'they themselves too', i.e. as well as the Spartan army which had actually started.

27, 8. 'Υακυνθία τε ἀγέτε καὶ παλήτερε 'keep your Hyakinthia and indulge in all the amusements it brings'. The τε and καὶ indicate an hendiadys. Stein and Abicht both see in παλήτερε direct allusion to the dancing and singing in the festival. But the word seems used with more general reference, and is an expression of impatient contempt for the attention given to such a thing at an hour of such danger, and is not the way the religious Greek would describe a sacred festival in ordinary circumstances. For the Hyakinthia see Historical Index.

1. χῆρη, App. C. 1. 3rd decl. (1).
NOTES ON xi

6. ὑκολοι ἰν τι...κβαληγη for the ordinary fut. indic. ἐκβάσεται.
   This use of a subjunctive with ἰν and a relative in a dependent
   question is meant to express the vagueness and uncertainty of the
   result, and is an Epic use. Stein quotes Odyss. 23, 139 ἐνθα δὴ
   ἐπείτα φράσομεθ' ὁτι κε κέρδοις Ὕλυμπιοι ἐγγυαμβ.' But even in
   Epic Greek the presence of κε (ἰν) seems unusual, see Monro, Hom-
   eric Grammar, p. 201.

7. ἐκ δρκου 'with an oath'—ἐπομοσαντες, cp. 8, 5, Stein. It
   seems to arise from a confusion between the oath and that by which
   the oath is sworn,—the victim; cp. Dem. 642 δινοι...στας ἐπὶ τῶν
   τομιων.

   καὶ δη, see on p. 3, l. 21.

9. ξελνους γαρ...τους βαρβάρους 'for they (the Spartans) used
   to say "strangers" instead of "barbarians"'. Herodotos remarks
   this as a peculiarity of the Spartan mode of speech, which is further
   illustrated by the expression of Amompharētos in c. 53. It does
   not appear that this use of the word was prompted by any desire of
   avoiding offence; in fact the word βαρβάροι (=non-Greek) was of
   comparatively late introduction, [it only occurs once in Homer in
   the compound βαρβαρόφωνοι as an epithet of the Karians, II. 2,
   867, cp. Thucyd. 1, 3, 4] and the Spartans, in their dislike of
   strangers, made no distinction. See on p. 23, l. 23.

12. την ταχιστην sc. οδη.

13. τῶν περιοεκων...πεντακιοχιλω for the Perioeci see Index.
   In c. 28 the Lakadaemonian force is reckoned at 10,000 (i.e. 5000
   Spartans and 5000 Perioeci), together with 35,000 Helots attending
   the 5000 Spartans. But from c. 29 it appears that the 5000 Perioeci
   had also a Helot apiece attending on them; the whole force would
   therefore be 50,000. From 7,234 it appears that the whole number
   of Spartan citizens at this time was about 8000. The 5000 therefore
   represented two-thirds of the available force, which was the regular
   contingent sent out by a Greek state, see Thucyd. 2, 10, 2; 2, 47,
   2; 3, 54, 5.

CHAPTER XII.

16. Ἀργεῖοι. The hostility of the Argives to Sparta caused
   them to refrain from helping the Greeks, and, as was believed, to
   make an actual alliance with Xerxes. The real state of the case in
   regard to this alliance seems however to have been a matter of con-
siderable doubt, and Herodotos refuses to decide definitely about it, see 7, 148–152.

18. τῶν ἥμεροδρόμων. The _hemerodromi_ were professional runners, or couriers, as opposed to those who trained for the long races in the games _δολιχόδρομοι_ [Plato _Prot._ 335 ε]; one of these professional runners did the distance between Sparta and Athens [between 140 and 150 miles] in two days; see Her. 6, 105–6. Livy 31, 24 is quoted by various edd. _hemerodromos_ vocant _Gracci ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium_, where one is said to reach Athens from the Euripos (more than 50 miles) by midnight after the morning of his start. *autol sponte* ‘of their own accord’ (St.).

20–4. σκίσανεν μὴ ἔξων ‘that they would prevent their going out’, but below at l. 24 ἣχειν...μὴ ὑπὲρ ἔξων because of the negative οὐ δύνατοι, see G. § 263 and note. ἡ νέοται that is ‘the men of military age’, _οἱ νέοι_, as Thuc. uses _ἡ δουλεία_ for _οἱ δοῦλοι_.

25. τύχανες εἰς _bouleūmænos_ is more than merely _eü_ _bouleësthe_, it is ‘see that you succeed in taking proper measures’. Cp. Xen. _Oecon._ 7, 8 εὐόραμεν ἐμὲ τα τυχάνεις διδάσκοντα καὶ ἕκλεινη μανθάνουσαν τὰ βέλτιστα ‘that I might succeed in teaching and she in learning’. Stein tr. ‘möge es dir glücken einen guten Rat zu finden’, and compares 8, 101 _συμβολευσον ὥδετερα πολέων ἐπιτύχω_ εἰς _bouleūsámænos._

**CHAPTER XIII.**

3. ἀνεκόχεσα [ἀνακωχῆ, ἀνοχῆ] is properly a naval word, and 8 elsewhere in Her. is transitive ‘to make to ride at anchor’, 6, 116; 7, 100, 168. Cp. 7, 36. Here we must understand _ἐσωτέρων, ‘he was refraining himself’, ‘was pausing’._

7. τῶν πάντα λόγον ‘the whole state of the case’. Cp. 1, 116 ἔφασε τῶν ἐνταλμάτων λόγον ‘he declared the true state of the case’.

8. ὑπεξικόρει ‘he began to take measures for evacuating the country’.

9–11. καὶ εἰ κατ’ τι..._νυχώσας_ ‘after throwing down and reducing to a ruinous heap every piece of the town walls, or of private or sacred building that had been left standing’,—that is all that had been left after the occupation of Xerxes in the previous year [8, 109, 144]. Though Mardonius doubtless did as much mischief as he could in the time, it is not likely that he was able entirely to destroy the town, and Thucydides (1, 89) says that some few houses remained
and some short pieces of the wall. The wall itself was the one
anciently erected by Pelasgic builders round the Acropolis, than
which Athens seems to have possessed no other until that built after
the Persian war, see 5, 64; 6, 137.

The verb συγχών (χώ) means 'to heap up', and is used of any
operations involving the use of earth, cp. infr. c. 49 την κρήνην
ανετάραξαν καὶ συνέξωσαν.

12. ἵππασμη 'suited for cavalry'. The only plain of
importance in Attica is that in which Athens stands, and that too is
arid, dusty, and far from fruitful. We hear how in the Pelopon-
nesian war the cavalry horses got lamed on its hard soil [ὑπὸ
ἀπεχωλοῦτο ἐν γῇ ἀποκρήτῳ, Thuc. 7, 27, 5]; much more would
this have been the case with the far more numerous cavalry of
Mardonius.

13. δὴ μὴ κατὰ στενὸν 'except by defiles'. Of the passes
from Attica to Boeotia by Dryoskephale and Phyle, both of which
were steep and difficult, the former was approached from Eleusis
(see Index), the latter was the direct road from Athens. The third
pass was by Dekeleia and Oropos and was the easiest of the three,
but still involved a steep ascent of Parnes (see Index s. v. DEKELEA).
Mardonius knew that a defeat in Attica would be the signal for the
Northern Greeks, who only medized from fear, to block up these
passes.

15. ἔσ τὰς Θῆβας 'to the Thebaid' cf. p. 1, l. 3.

15, 16. πρὸς πόλιν τὴ φίλη...ἵππασμη 'near a friendly city
and a district suited for cavalry'; the sense would perhaps be im-
proved by adopting Schweigh.'s reading ἐν χώρη or Stein's ἐν χώρῳ,
but πρὸς indicates not the place of actual encampment, but the dis-
trict 'near' it. For πόλι see App. C. 1. 3rd Decl. (2).

CHAPTER XIV.

16. Μαρδώνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπέεχόρει 'so then M. began his
measures for evacuating Attica'. μὲν marks the apposition of the
clause with the next, ἕδη δὲ κ.τ.λ.: ὑποστρέψας δὲ (l. 20) resumes the
thread of the story from l. 11.

18. πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατηγὴν 'that another army consisting
of 1000 Spartans had arrived as an advanced guard as far as
Megara'. It is no doubt right to read πρόδρομον, instead of -ος,
with Schweigh., but the real difficulty of the sentence is ἄλλην.
A part of an army detached to go to the front can not be called 'another army'; and therefore the only meaning that can be attached to ἄλλην is that Mardonius having heard of the starting of the host from Sparta by means of the Argive message (c. 12) he or his messenger, thinking that they could not yet have got so far, thought these 1000 men were a separate and unsupported expeditionary force, which might safely be attacked.

20. θέλων, εἶ καὶ τοῦτος πρῶτον δολοί is a compressed sentence for θέλων τοῦτος ἐλείν εἶ καὶ κ.τ.λ. Cp. 6, 52 βουλομένων εἶ καὶ άμφότερον γενολατο βασιλέες.

21-2. ἡ ἵππως 'the cavalry', a collective noun, always with singular termination, cp. ἤππως χίλη 7, 41. καταπάσατο, 'over-ran'. Thus a verb can be formed from other kinds of troops, cp. Arist. Αἰχ. 160 καταπελτάσαται τῆς Βοιωτίας δλη 'they will over-run with their mercenary troops'.

23. ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης 'the farthest point in Europe', so ἐκαστήρω τῆς 'Ἀττικῆς 8, 60; ἐπροσ τῆς νυκτὸς p. 29, 1. 3.

τὸ πρὸς ἠλιοῦ δυσομοτος 'westward', cp. τὸ ἐνθετεν p. 7, 1. 5. πρὸς has the sense of 'on the side of', 'in the direction of', cp. πρὸς ἠλιοῦ δυσομέων 7, 115; τὸ πρὸς 'Εσπέρης 4, 38; καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ Χεν. Αἰ π. 4, 3, 26.

CHAPTER XV.


σύνω δὴ 'it was in these circumstances that'. Mardonius took the route through Dekeleia as the easiest and the most remote from the Greek forces. The Boeotarchs (see Index) had taken measures to have him guided by a shorter way than the main road which led through Oropos. After leaving Dekeleia he was guided to the left so as to cross the Asopus, without ascending to Oropos, opposite Tanagra and near a place called Sphendalê, which must have been close to the frontier of Boeotia, but is nowhere described [see Index].

6. ἐκεῖρσ τοὺς χώρους 'he cut down the trees on the land'. 9 

Cf. ἐκεῖρσ τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν 'he cut down the grove of the goddesses' 6, 75, cf. 8, 65. τοὺς χώρους refers to enclosures, such as farms, vineyards, olive-yards, plantations.

7. ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐκόμενος 'constrained by overwhelming necessity', cp. 7, 233. ὑπ' in such a phrase is not instrumental, but expresses some external determining cause or
consideration, like the Latin prae. Cp. Thuc. 2, 8 ἵπτετο τοῦ πολέμου.
8. ποιησασθαι ‘to have constructed’. The superior is said ποιεῖσθαι, the actual workers are said ποιεῖν. So the Strategi are said ναυπηγεῖσθαι ‘to have ships built’, whereas the workmen are said ναυπηγεῖν [1, 27, Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 25, cp. Aristoph. Plut. 513]; see also the meaning of ἀπογράφεως and ἀπογράφεσθαι, 7, 100.

There is some little difficulty in understanding the exact position of the Persian army. Tanagra is on the north and Skolos on the south bank of the Asopus; while Mardonius probably lived part of the time at Thebes itself. Herodotos seems to imply that after leaving Tanagra Mardonius recrossed the river to Skolos, and then built his fortified camp, which was intended for his baggage and as a place of refuge at a pinch. Stein accordingly places it south of the river near Skolos, explaining that the army itself was stationed on both sides of the stream. All other commentators, as far as I know, place the fortified camp on the north bank of the river, and it certainly seems most likely that for safety Mardonius would have had the river between it and the enemy. At the same time we may observe that when the Greeks arrived at Erythrae Mardonius had so completely the command of the valley of the Asopus that they did not venture to descend [c. 19]: it is true therefore that his troops occupied both banks of the river. The rapidity with which the Persians retreated to the fortified camp and were followed thither by the Spartans might seem perhaps a reason for agreeing with Stein in placing the camp on the south bank. Yet at this time of the year the Asopus is a mere beck easy to cross; and c. 40 seems decisive in favour of the north bank.

20. ἀποντο ‘came in response to the invitation’.
21. ἐν θῆσαν where Mardonius was probably living until his presence was actually required in the camp.

CHAPTER XVI.

22. λογίμου εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ‘of the highest consideration’. The sense of λόγιμος (for which Her. sometimes uses ἐλλογίμος, e.g. 2, 176) may be deduced from the meaning of ‘consideration’ or ‘honour’, in which λόγος is used in c. 69 οὔτε μὲν ἐν ἕν οὔδεν λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο ‘perished without honour’.

25. Ἐθῆσαν. Rawlinson notices that ‘Thebans’ is here used loosely for Boeotians, as Thersander, one of the guests, was not a Theban but an Orchomenian.
26. καλ. κλίναι 'and that he (Attaginos) placed them'; the oů goes closely with χωπλ, not with the infinitive: but see on p. 37, l. 18.

27. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δελπνοῦ ῥήσαν 'and when they had finished dinner', cf. 1, 126. II. 8, 54 ἀπὸ δ' αβτοῦ (sc. δελπνοῦ) θωρήσωντο.

28. διαπινόντων 'as they were drinking to each other'. The original meaning of διαπίνειν seems to be 'to drink against each other', like διατοξεύεσθαι, διακοντίζεσθαι (Theoph. Ch. xviii.), διαρχείσθαι (Ar. Vesp. 1499), διαιείδειν (Theocr. Id. 5, 22). For διαπίνω cf. 5, 18 and Arist. Ach. 751, διαπιναμῇς ἀέλ ποτὸ πῦρ where there is a pun between πεινάω (to be hungry) and πῦν. And Plat. Rep. iv. 421 εὐπέδεξα πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διαπινόντας. Aeschin. 2, § 47, Pollux 6, 19.

'Ελλάδα γλώσσαν 'Greek language', op. 6, 98, and 'Ελλάς πόλις 5, 93; 7, 22.

2. ὁμοράπεξός τε μοι καλ. ὁμόσπονδος 'since you have eaten at the same table and joined in the same libation with me'. Eating together was always looked upon as involving a certain mutual obligation; and still more the joining in the σπονδή, as being a religious rite. Stein quotes Plat. Symp. 176, where not only is a libation poured out after dinner, but a hymn to the god is sung before the guests begin drinking. Plutarch says that sometimes the ceremony was accompanied by the music of the flute [Becker's Charicles p. 330]. See also Demosth. Cor. § 287. Aeschines 3, § 224.

3. μημόσωνα...καταληπτόμαι 'to leave behind me a record of my opinion'. The middle indicates the personal object of the speaker, and is used elsewhere in this phrase: see 6, 169; 7, 226.

12. χρεόν, see App. D. III. (2) note.

13. ἐν αἰνῇ ὁυσι 'in high reputation', and so 'in authority'.

Cf. 3, 74; 8, 112. It is another poetical word used by Herod.

14. ὃ τι δέει...ἀνθρώπῳ 'what God decrees man cannot avert'.

This characteristic fatalism of the East was congenial also to the Greeks, and especially to Herodotos; see 1, 91; 3, 43.

17. ἐπομέθα sc. τοῖς ἡγομένοις, 'our leaders'.

ἀναγκαλῇ 'fate' belongs to ἐνδεδεμένοι, see 1, 11 ἱκέτευε μὴ νῦν ἀναγκαλῇ ἐνδείκνυται.

21. λέγον opt. in reported speech. G. § 242 (b).

22. πρὸς ἀνθρώπους 'publicly', 'before people'. Stein quotes 3, 40 τούτῳ ἀπεβαλε οὕτῳ δόκει μηκέτι ἤξει εἰς ἀνθρώπους, and 2, 46. So ὑποσχομένη πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς γενέσθαι 'having promised in the presence of the gods to become', Xen. Oecon. 7, 8. See on p. 36, l. 6.
CHAPTER XVII.

26. συνεσβαλον ης 'Αθήνας i.e. 'joined him in the invasion of Attica' p. 1. l. 3.

27. τον ταυτή οἰκημένων 'who lived in those parts', i.e. the Greeks north of Attica.

28. ἐμφασιόν γὰρ...ἐκόντες 'for in their case also, though they medized, it was decidedly against their will'. The Phokians were divided on the subject, some gave in to Mardonius, while others held out, and collecting on the outskirts of Parnassos rendered assistance to the Greeks, inf. c. 31. See also p. 55, l. 16.

11 2. μετὰ...ὑπερον, for the pleonasm see on p. 4, l. 17.

2, 5. ης Θῆβας i.e. into the Theban territory, as above p. 8, l. 15; and in p. 1, l. 3, 'Αθήνας stood for Attica.

5. διήκαστο see App. D. ii. (a).

6. επει ἐυνόην 'separately', 'by themselves'; cp. c. 38 and κορυφή...κειμένη ἐπει ἔωντως 8, 32; Thuc. 3, 63, 3 επει σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνων οἷαίη, and the phrases επει τριῶν, τεττάρων στῆναι (Thucyd. 2, 90 etc.). επει with gen. marks connexion with an object as distinct from all others: thus, after verbs of motion επει with a genitive defines the direction, as πλεῖον επει Σάμου: in temporal sentences it defines the period, as επει Κόρου 'in the time of Kyros', επει εἰρήνης 'during the peace'. Again in επει δείχσε 'wherefore' (Her. 4, 45) the cause is defined; and in the phrases εφε επει, επει νεώς, the manner of transport.

7. ἥ θανατος. See on c. 14 'the cavalry' opposed to ἱππότας 'certain horsemen'.

10. σφῆς = αὐτῶς i.e. the Phokians. κατακομβὴ [App. D. iii. note 2] 'shoot them down' with javelins (jereeds), for the Persian cavalry were armed with javelins as well as bows, see c. 49.

14. διαβεβλημένως ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν 'because we have been slandered by Thessalians'. For the enmity between these two peoples see Hist. Index s. v. Phokians. Herod. says (8, 31) that the reason of the Phokians being backward in medizing was their enmity to the Thessalians; and that the Thessalians retaliated by guiding the Persians into Phokis.


17. παρέχωντας sc. ἡμᾶς αὐτῶς 'tamely' 'without striking a blow'. So παραχθοῦ is used intransitively 'there being an
opportunity’ Thucyd. I, 120, 5; and often in Herod. e.g. 1, 93
5, 98; 9, 122.

18—20. ἀλάχιστος μόρφο and φόνον ἤρραψαν are both poetical
Odys. 16, 379 οὐκέκα od φόνον αἰτῶν ἐράττωμεν.

μαθὲν τις...ἐπ’ “Ελληνις αὐθάσι ‘let any and every one of
them learn that they are Greeks for whom they contrived destruc-
tion’. ἐπί is not simply ‘against’, but as usual with the dat. ex-
presses the accompanying circumstances, ‘that it is in the case of
Greeks’. τις is used in indefinite threats p. 30, I, 5; p. 72, I, 13;
cp. Arist. Ranac 628 ἄμυρεσ τινὶ ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζεων ἀθάνατον δυν’.
ἐλ ἐμὲ μὴ αἰτῶν σεαυτὸν αἰτῶ. ‘I warn each and every one of you
not to torture me who am a God,—if you do, blame yourself for
the consequences!’ cp. Her. 7, 5 καὶ τις ὑστερον φυλάσσῃ. Soph.
A]. 1138 τοῦτ’ εἰς ἀνιαν τοῦτος ἐρχεται τωι.

CHAPTER XVIII.


καὶ δὴ διετέλεστο τὰ βέλες ‘and they had their javelins actually
poised for throwing and their bows stretched for shooting’. δια-
etέλεσθαι = (1) to have oneself on the stretch cf. τὸ δὲ διατενάζουν
Theocr. Id. 22, 67 (2) to stretch for oneself, cp. διατεταμένον τὰς
μάστιγας (Polyb. 15, 28, 2). Stein and Abicht seem to refer it only
to bows, but the attitude indicated covers both, and from the last
chapter we see that it was the ἀκόντια the Greeks feared. For καὶ δὴ
see on c. 2.

ἀπήσισις (ἀφήμι), App. A. 1, 4.


μὴ γένηται ‘after words denoting fear the subj. may follow
secondary tenses to retain the mood in which the fear originally
occurred to the mind’ G. § 218.

29. οὕτω δὴ ‘when they saw this’, cf. c. 6.

31. el τι ἀλλικὸς μετέχον ταί ‘if they had any courage in them’.
Cp. 7, 16 el τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον ‘if it has anything divine in it’.
μετέχον ταί the present dramatically representing the actual thought
or words of Mardonius.

3. ἔφανης ὁπτομεν ‘you showed that you are’.


5. οὕτω δὴ ὦμ. The force of ὦ thus interposed is that of an
assured and ascertained fact ‘neither of course myself, nor the king’.
NOTES ON

CHAPTER XIX.

9. τοις τα ἀμέων ὑπαρκοι 'who entertained the better view', i.e. who were not Medizers.

cf. 8 ικαλ ὑπαρκεῖς 'and some too only when they actually saw'.

12. καλλιεργήσαντας see 8, 82.

13. ἐς Ελευσίνα. They came by the Eastern road from the Isthmus (the Skironian way) to Eleusis as the starting place for the pass of Dryoskephalae (see Index).

17. τῆς Βοιωτίας ἢς ''Ερυθρᾶς 'as far into Boeotia as Erythrae', cf. c. 14 ἡλαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης.

18. φρασθῆναι δὲ 'and with this knowledge before them', for δὲ following τη, St. compares 8, 108 οὔτε Δλοτέ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τιδε...φυλασσόμεθα δὲ.

19. εἰς τῆς ὑπορέης 'in the high-lands at the foot of Kithaeron'. Here too εἰς with gen. distinguishes, i.e. it distinguishes the hill district from the valley without indicating the exact spot on which the troops were. See on p. 11 l. 6. The object of course of keeping on the hills was to be secure from the enemy's cavalry.

CHAPTER XX.

21. σοφ. κατέβαινον, imperf. of continued action 'persisted in not descending'.

23. Μαστίτους...τὸν Ἔλληνας Μακιστίων καλώσων 'whom Greeks call Makistios'. The Greeks who thus altered the name followed the tendency, observed in both the Greek and Latin languages, to reject or alter the sound of s between two consonants, thus the Sansk. ushas = morning became ἡώς and aurora. (Peile's Philol. p. xiii.) The next step was to connect the word with μάκιστος the Doric form of μάκιστος 'very tall'.

13 3. κατὰ τὴν 'one squadron after another', so that the Greeks were kept continually engaged.

4. γυναῖκας...ἀπεκάλουν 'reproached them with being no better than women'. ἀποκαλεῖν is always used in a bad sense of 'to abuse', 'to call by an evil name', cp. Soph. Aj. 727 τὸν τὸν μακέτος κατάθυετον στρατοὶ ζύμαιον ἀποκαλοῦντες. [See many instances
given by Donaldson New Cratylus p. 347, and by Stallb. on Plat. Theaet. 168 c.] 'To be called worse than a woman (says Her. 9, 107) is the extremity of insult among the Persians'.

CHAPTER XXI.

6. τῇ τὸ ἐπιμαχότατον ἢν τοῦ χωρὸν παντὸς 'at that point in the whole position which was most open to attack', cp. 1, 84 τῇ ἢν ἐπιμαχὸν τὸ χωρὸν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. The Megarians, according to Plutarch [Aristid. 14], were on more level ground than the rest of the army. From c. 22 it appears that this was near Erythrae on which the left of the Persian army rested (c. 15).

12. διοικοῦ [App. A. I. 1] sustinere, 'to stand against'.

14. λυπαρῇ 'persistence', cp. infr. c. 70, cf. 8, 144 λεπαρησομεν 'we will persevere'.


18. ἀποδεικνύω τῶν Ἐλλήνων 'tried to ascertain by enquiry among the Greeks': for the distinction between ἐπισκόποι and ἀποδεικνύω 'to try', and 'to satisfy oneself by experiment', see 2, 73 ὅπως πλάσσει ὅσον τὸ δύνατον ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ ἐπισκόποι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπέαν δὲ ἀποδεικνύῃ κ.τ.λ. See also 6, 48; 7, 196.

22. ἔλοχηγε 'was in command'. The λόχος as a name for a definite division of the army is Spartan or Dorian; neither it, nor λοχαγός, is ever used by Thucydides in connexion with the Athenian army. The principal officers in the Athenian infantry were the Strategus and the Taxiarct for the quota supplied by each tribe, and these were the officers who met at a council of war (Thucyd. 7, 60). The λόχος in the Athenian army was apparently a subdivision made on the spot for the purposes of the field, and varied in number according to the exigencies of the occasion, as the two passages in Xenophon (An. 3, 4, 21; 4, 8, 15) shew; in the first of which the λόχος consists of 100 men, in the second of 80. In the present case the λόχος consists of 300 picked men, and the commander appears to be nominated by the Strategus.

CHAPTER XXII.

25. προσελέμενοι, cp. p. 6, 1. 20. τὸς τοξότας 'the proper proportion of bowmen' for the 300 hoplites. The numbers are not certain, but in Plutarch Them. 14 it is stated that of the eighteen fighters on deck at Salamis four are τοξότα. About a third of the number of the
hoplites would thus be the number of the bowmen. In Thuc. 2, 13, 10 Perikles reckons (b.c. 431) that the Athenians have 13,000 hoplites and 1600 bowmen; yet in b.c. 423 they send a force to the coasts of Makedonia, in which the proportion is 600 bowmen to 1000 hoplites, but then there was a large force of allies besides [Thucyd. 4, 129]. They were probably foreigners or men of the lowest rank; the bowman’s office being apparently always regarded as inferior. [See Soph. Aj. 1111 ὁ τοιότης ἐουκεν ὙΣ σμηκρὸν φρονεῖν.] This seems to have arisen from the fact of their not joining in the mêlée, and therefore not having the opportunity of distinguishing themselves by a display of gallantry or vigour. Cp. Eur. H. F. 159 ἀλλά τις ἔξων | κάκιστον ὁπλον τῇ ψυχῇ πρόξειρος ἤν. Arist. Ach. 707.

27. κατὰ τέλεα. See supra I. 3.

4—5. χρύσουν λεπιδωτόν ‘made of gold scales’, cp. the name of a Nile fish λεπίδωτος in 2, 72 [λεπίς ‘a fish scale’, 7, 61].

κυδώνα. App. A. 1. 2.


8. οὕτω δῆ, τον δεμον, ‘not till this was done’, see Index.

11. ἀναχαρήσωσις γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς, ‘as a retreat and reverse movement was going on’; the tactics of the Persian cavalry were to make frequent charges in squadrons and at once to retreat.

13. ἕπόθησαν, ‘they missed him’. For the form see notes on Text. The MSS. vary between ἕπόθεσαν and ἕπόθησαν, but the future mid. is always τοθέσομαι.

14. διακελευσάμενοι, ‘having passed the word round to each other’, for there was no one to command (οὔδεις ἢν ὁ τάσον). Cp. p. 3, l. 13.

15. ἡλαυνον τοὺς ἱππους πάντες opp. to κατὰ τέλεα. See I. 17.

16. ἀνελλοτο. App. D. II. c. ὡς ἄν...ἀνελλοτο, ‘that they might if they did that at least pick up the corpse’. When a final sentence expresses a conclusion in which another hypothesis is virtually contained ὡς and ὡς take ἄν and, after a past tense, an optat. See I, 75, 91. What is here implied is ‘as they would if they went with all the cavalry’, Donaldson’s Gk. Gr. § 608. Cp. p. 34, l. 1.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HERODOTOS. IX.


21. ἀποστὸν [App. D. 1, a] ‘were getting much the worst of it’.

22. οὖτω δή, cp. p. 3, l. 2 etc.

25. ἀποστῆσαντες sc. τῶν ἔτην ‘having halted their horses at a distance’. ἑσον τε ἕτη ‘about’. For the suffix τε, which has lost its original meaning, cp. the forms ὀλοσ τε, ἀτε, ἀστε, ἐφ’ φετε. Though in Attic usage this τε disappeared except in these cases, it was more commonly used in the earlier stages of the language. The ‘force of it is that of an undeclined τις’, Monro Homeric Gr. § 108.

26. -ἀναρχής ὑνάσης ‘as they had no commander’. See above, l. 14.

CHAPTER XXIV.

30. μέγιστον. Obs. the emphatic position of μέγιστον, which does not refer to the mourning of Mardonius alone, but to that of the whole army as well.

καθρευοντες. Cutting the hair as a sign of mourning was common to the Greeks with the Easterns generally, 6, 21; Rawl. quotes Job i. 20, and Herod. 2, 36, where Herodotos contrasts with the mourning customs of the rest of the world that of the Egyptians, who let their hair grow in such circumstances. For the cutting of the manes of horses he quotes Eurip. Alc. 429 τεθρίππα τ’ οἱ ζεύγηντο καὶ μονάντων πόλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνετ’ ἀδίκων φόβην, and Plutarch (Pelop. 33—4) who tells us how Alexander the Great on the death of Hephaestion not only cut the manes of horses and mules, but even took down the parapets of the walls as signs of mourning; while the Thessalians also cut their own hair and horses’ manes as a sign of mourning for Pelopidas.

1. ἀπασαν...κατείχε ἤχο ‘a rumour spread over all Boeotia’. 15

Another instance of poetical diction, cp. Aesch. Pers. 428 οἰμωγὴ δ’

CHAPTER XXV.

6. ὁς ἀδελφῶ...ἀδωτο ‘when they had not only stood the charge of the cavalry, but actually repelled it’.

7. πρῶτα μὲν ‘and the first thing they did was etc.’, answered by μετὰ δὲ in l. 11.

II. ῥᾷς, App. C. I. 3rd decl. (2). μετὰ δὲ 'subsequently', answering πρῶτα μὲν as in 1, 128.

12. ἐπικαταβήναι ‘to make a forward movement down into the plain’. The ἐπὶ indicates that this movement was an offensive one in respect to the enemy.

ἐς Πλαταιᾶς ‘into the territory of Plataea’, as in p. 11, l. 5 ἔστσας = ‘into the Thebaid’.

14. τὰ τε ἄλλα καλ... ‘in other respects, and particularly because it was better watered’. The τὰ ἄλλα refers to the fact of the district of Plataea being a plain.

17. σφί = adverb. App. C. ii. d.

ἰδιακαθέντας ‘arranged in their separate nationalities’, cf. l. 20.

21—2. τοῦ τεμένους... ἡμῶν ‘near the sacred precinct of the hero Androkrates’ p. 72, l. 6. For the position of the Chapel see *Historical Index*. Nothing is known of this hero.

Every Greek state had its heroes, i.e. certain of its citizens whose services in their lifetime had been such as to merit apotheosis, as Harmodios and Aristogeiton at Athens, where their worship was the special province of the Polemarch (Pollux 8, 91); and especially such men as the state regarded as its founders (*οικισταὶ*), as the people of Amphipolis chose to regard Brasidas [Thucyd. 5, 11; cp. Her. 6, 38]. The honours paid to them were different in kind to those paid to the gods; to the gods men are said θείων, to the heroes ἐναγίζων (‘to avert pollution’ ἔγος), see Pausan. 2, 11, 7 ὡς ἡρωί... Ἀλεξάνδρη ἐναγίζουσιν, ἔμαρτον ὡς θείῳ θύουσι. But the two kinds of worship had a tendency to be confounded, and Herod. uses θύουσι of a hero (6, 38); and in the case of Hercules both kinds of worship were paid ὡς ἄθανάτῳ θύουσι... ὡς ἡρωὶ ἐναγίζουν (Her. 2, 44). On the subject see Dr Arnold’s note to Thucyd. 5, 11, where he compares this peculiar worship to the adoration of saints. An instance of appeal to these heroes is given by Herod. [8, 64] in the case of the Aeakidae, the heroes of Aegina. In order to secure their aid at the battle of Salamis a ship was despatched from the fleet to bring their images. We might compare the ‘Battle of the Standard’ with the consecrated banners and relics of St Cuthbert, St Peter, St John of Beverley and St Wilfrid carried on to the field in a waggon (A.D. 1138).

23. ἀπέδου ‘level’. For the so-called *a* copulative, see Curtius 395. It is the remains of the Sanskrit *sa*, *sam*, to which *a*-ma is akin. *Cp. a-λοχ-ος, a-δελφ-ος, a-κόλουθ-ος.*
CHAPTER XXVI.

1. τὸ ἄτροπον κέρας, 'the other (i.e. the left) wing', the Spartans 16 being by common consent assigned to the right.
2. τοῦτο μὲν 'in the first place', should be answered by τοῦτο δὲ, but the length of the intervening paragraph puts it out of the writer's mind.

7, 8. ἐπειρώντο...κατιόντες 'they tried returning', cp. p. 35, l. 15 and 1, 84 ἐπειρᾶτο προσβάλλων, but it also takes infin. p. 22, l. 20. For κατιόναι 'to return home from exile', see Arist. Ran. 1165 φεύγων δ' ἄνηρ ἥκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. The corresponding substantive is κάτοδος. For the return of the Heraclidae, representing the invasion of the Doriens into the Peloponnesus, see Index s. vv. Heraclidae and Hylus.

8. τότε 'on this last named occasion'. εὑρόμεθα 'we obtained as our privilege', cp. c. 28 εὑρόντο ἔστάναι [p. 19, l. 5].
10. τὸν τότε ἔτοντων refers only to the Ionians [who once held the district of Aegialos, afterwards Achaia, on the N. coast of the Peloponnesse, see Her. I, 146], for the Achaean were still in the Peloponnesos: see Historical Index. ἐς τὸν Ἰοθμὸν. This single combat took place, according to Pausanias [1, 41, 2], in the Megarid, that is, on the frontier between it and Korinthos (id. I, 44, 10).
12—14. τὸν στράτον...μὴ ἀνακανθυεῖαν συμβάλλοντα 'that neither army should run any superfluous risk by engaging with the other', cp. p. 27, l. 11. The force of ἀνακανθυεῖαν is that of taking upon oneself a voluntary or unnecessary risk, beyond what has already been done. Cp. 8, 68, 100.

16. ἐπὶ διακεμένοιον 'on conditions to be mutually (διὰ) agreed upon'. This is the regular meaning of ἐπὶ with dat. participle or participle adj. Cp. the phrases ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμένοις, ἐπὶ ρητοῖς γέρασι, ἐπὶ ἀρρητοῖς τοῖς λόγοις, and ἐπὶ φιλο 'on condition that', cp. l. 18.

17. ἑταμον δροκα 'made a sworn agreement', lit. 'killed oath-victims', cp. 4, 70, where a similar custom among the Skythians is mentioned, and in the same book, c. 201, among the Persians. It was of great antiquity among the Greeks, see Iliad 2, 124; 3, 270.

18. ἐπὶ λόγον τοῦτο 'on terms to the following effect'.

21. ἐκατον τε ἕτερον 'and for a space of a hundred years'. The gen. expresses the length of time as it does dimension, cp. the phrase
teichos déka podów. So in 2, 115 τριών ἡμερῶν = 'within three days'. The space of 100 years thus agreed upon corresponds with the 'three generations' which, according to other authorities, Hyllus was informed by the Oracle must elapse before the Heraclidæ were restored [Apollodoros 2, 8, 2].

26. eýrómeba, see above, l. 8.

28. διατελέσας ἔχοντες 'we have ever held and still hold'. τοῦ κέρας τοῦ ἐτέρου 'one of the two wings'.

29. Κοινῆ 'combined', i.e. a combined expedition of the states of the Peloponnesse.


17 1. ἰκνεύσας 'that it comes to us', 'it is our right'. Herod. uses this word where an Attic writer would have used προοήκειον. Cp. 6, 57 διάζης εἰς τὸν ἰκνεύσαν ἔχειν αὐτὴ. Thus the participle τὸ ἰκνεύσανον = 'that which is right' or 'fitting' (6, 84), and the adverb ἰκνεύσης jure (6, 65).

3. ἀπηγγὴμένον, 'related', a pass. part. of deponent verb, cp. 1, 207.


7. δικαιον...ἡπερ 'Ἀθηναίους 'it is more just that we should occupy the other wing than that the Athenians should do'. For the use of a positive for a comparative word followed by ἡ cp. Thucyd. 6, 21, 1 αἰσχρον δὲ βιασθέντας ἀπελθεῖν ἡ ὄτερον ἐπιμετακέμπουσα. So with ὅστε cf. γέρων ὅστε σ' ὁφελεῖν 'too old to help' (Eur. Andr. 80). Her. 3, 40 βούλουσθεν ὄτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰώνα...ἡ εὐστάχεων τὰ πάντα. See on p. 4, l. 17. [Abicht however suspects that μᾶλλον has dropped out before ἡπερ.]

8. σφι dat. of agent, see l. 5.

9. οὔτ' ἄν καὶ να, see on p. 12, l. 5.

CHAPTER XXVII.

13. ἀλλ' οὖν λόγον. There is no reason to doubt the fact of the dispute or that the general drift of the arguments on both sides was what Herod. represents it to have been. The importance attached by Greek States to such legendary support of national claims was very great, as may be seen in the arguments advanced in defence of the claim of Athens on Salamis against Megara, which rested (1) on a verse of Homer (II. 2, 558) representing Ajax as
stationing his ships next those of Athens, (2) the supposed Attic citizenship of the sons of Ajax, (3) on the fact that the Salaminian method of burial agreed with the Athenian and not the Megarian custom, (4) on the fact that the Delphic oracle had spoken of Salamis as Ionian [Plut. Sol. 10]. The action of the Athenians in taking in the exiled sons of Hercules and refusing to give them up to Eury- stheus [Apollod. 2, 8] is quoted more than 100 years later than this by Isocrates, as a valid ground for a claim by Athens on the admiration and gratitude of other Hellenes [Panegyr. c. 15].

14. προθηκε, cp. 8, 49. ἐκατέρωσει, see on l. 5. ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ‘through all time’, i.e. from the earliest to the present time.

15—17. ἠ κρατοῦ...χρηστοῖς ‘brave’.

18—24. For the legend see above on l. 13, and the Historical Index s.vv. Heraclidae, Eurystheus.

22. κατέλαβον ‘we brought down’.

23. τῶν τότε ἔχοντας ‘who then inhabited the Peloponnese’, i.e. before the invasion of the Dorians.

25. τελευτησάντας τῶν αἵματος, a poetical or rhetorical expression for ‘dead’. Herod. often uses αἵματος in the sense of ‘term of life’, cp. c. 17; see 1, 32; 3, 40; 7, 46.

26. ἀπάθων. The refusal of burial to fallen enemies was held in especial horror by the Greeks; it involved penalties to the departed souls, and pollution to the living, and was against the Πανελλήνων νόμος [Eur. Suppl. 526]. See Becker, Charicles, p. 383.

28. τῆς ημετέρης, for this topographical genitive see p. 8, l. 23; p. 12, l. 17. The tombs, or what passed for them, were shown in the time of Pausanias on the road from Eleusis to Megara [1, 39, 2].


4. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ τῷ προέχει ‘but enough of this, for it is of no avail’; the ἀλλὰ dismisses the subject, the γὰρ gives the reason for so doing. For the impersonal use of προέχει see on p. 11, l. 17.

4—6. καὶ γὰρ ἄν...ἀξίων ‘for of course though brave in those days the same men may be less brave now, and vice versa’. The emphatic place of the first ἄν in the sentence and its repetition serve to mark the highly hypothetical nature of the sentence.

8. ἀποθευμάνων ‘performed’, cp. ἀποθεσασθαι στρατηγῷ ‘to perform a military exploit’ 2, 111; ἀποθεσασθαι μεγάλα ἑργα 1, 59.

9. τέσσερε, App. C. II. c.

10—14. τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶν...τεσσάρακοντα. The Athenians naturally put forward their conduct at Marathon (Sept. B.C. 490) as
their greatest claim to honour in the rest of Hellas, and thought
and spoke of themselves as having been there the sole champions
[μονομαχήσαντες, cp. Isocr. Panegyr. § 86 τόν κοινὸν τόλμημα ἰδιω
ποιησάμενοι...τῇ ὀκελαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὅλγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυρί-
άδας], in spite of the presence of the 1000 Plataeans [H. 6, 108].

13. ίθνας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα 'forty-six nations'. This is the
number which Herodotus reckons in the land army of Xerxes
[7, 60—81]; the speaker is here made to assume that the numbers of
the nations who supplied contingents to the army of Datis and
Artaphernes in B.C. 490 was the same; which can only be roughly
true, if true at all.

15. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, see on p. 17, l. 13.

20. ὅς παισομένων 'with the full understanding that we will
obey'.

CHAPTER XXVIII.


22, 23. Ἀθηναίοις...ἡπερ Ἀρκάδας 'that Athenians were more
worthy than Arkadians'; for absence of def. article cp. p. 12, l. 11;
8, 100: the Lakedaemonians put their decision on national grounds;
'mere Arkadians', as were the Tegeans, were to be held inferior
to Athenians. Arkadia we must remember was inhabited by the
descendants of the occupiers of the Peloponnese before the coming
of the Dorians.

23. σύντω δὴ ἔχον sc. τὸ κέρας 'it was on considerations such
as these that the Athenians actually occupied the wing'.

26. οἱ ἄρχην ἄθλοντες, 'those who originally joined the expedi-
tion', as opposed to those who joined after the army was in Boeotia,
(οἱ ἐπιφοιτώντεσ). See c. 38, ἐπιφοιτῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ γυναι-
κῶν πλεύσαν.

27—8. Δακεδαμονίων...Σπαρτῆτας. Notice the distinction
between 'Lakedaemonians', i.e. all inhabitants of Lakonia, and
'Spartans', i.e. full citizens or δῆμοι of Sparta; though as distin-
guished from other states the former word may be used at times for
the latter. ψιλοι τῶν ἑλλήνων [see for the form p. 6, l. 9] 'light-
armed troops consisting of the Helots'. The regular armies of the
Greek nations, consisting of the citizens of the several states, were
hoplites or men armed with the heavy shield (δίλων) and spear.
Light-armed troops were made up either from slaves like the Helots,
or of peltasts hired from other countries. The formation of regular
light-armed troops of citizens was subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, though a first step was made towards it, afterwards perfected by Iphikrates [Xen. Hellen. 4, 5, 13], by Thrasyllos in b.c. 409, who formed a kind of light-armed naval brigade at Athens [Xen. Hell. 1, 2, 1.]

2. τιμής εἶνεκεν καὶ ἄρετής. In this phrase εἶνεκεν has a some-what different meaning in combination with its two nouns 'for the sake of shewing them honour', and 'because of their valour'. Stein quotes for this double sense of εἶνεκεν, Odys. 15, 232 δεσμῷ ἐν ἄργαλέω δέδοτο...εἶνεκα Νηλῆος κούρης ἄτης τε βαρεῖς.

5. εὑροντο παρὰ Παυσανίων...Ποτιδαιοτέων 'they (the Corinthians) asked and obtained from Pausanias that the 300 from Potidæa in Pallene should stand next them'. Potidæa being a colony of Korinth this was a natural step for the mother city to take. For εὑροντο cp. p. 16, l. 9.

7. τοῦτων ἔχομενοι 'next to these'. ἔχεσθαι with gen. = 'to hold on to', thus to keep up an unbroken line with, hence προσ-εκτις in l. 1.

CHAPTER XXIX.

25. πλὴν τῶν ἔπτα περὶ ἔκαστον, see c. 10.
29. ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον 'for the battle against the barbarians'.
30. πεντακισχιλιοί καὶ τρισμύριοι, 35,000 Helots, i.e. 7 for each of the 5000 Spartans as above.

4. πεντακόσιοι καὶ πεντακισχιλιοί καὶ τρισμύριοι, 34,500; but the real number of the hoplites apart from the 5000 Spartans is 33,700 according to the list given above, and therefore the nos. of ψιλὸl should be 33,700 also; Herodotus has therefore counted wrong. For instances of similar miscalculations see 1, 130; 3, 90—5; 5, 52—4; 8, 43—8, and others [Rawlinson, vol. 1, p. 87].

CHAPTER XXX.

9. τοῖς μαχημοί 'combatant', 'on a war footing'. Thus in 8, 186 the effective combatants (τῶ μάχημοι) of the army of Xerxes is distinguished from the camp followers and servants.


σὸν δὲ Θεσπιδῶν...μυρίδεσ. The Thespian 1,800 are not counted either in the hoplites or the ψιλὸl, as not being combatant (μάχημοι); not because they were not fit for fighting, but because they were not armed. Herod. speaks of them as οἱ περι-
*the survivors*. This does not seem to refer to the *700* Thespians who fell at Thermopylae [7, 222 sq.] for he might have as well called the *5000* Spartans *survivors*, but to the fact of their town having been burned by Xerxes in *480* B.C., while its inhabitants escaped to the Peloponnese. They must in their hurried flight have resolved not to burden themselves with arms. Their *700* had perished at Thermopylae and their arms were lost, and in the state of universal preparation then going on in the Peloponnese they would not be able to procure others.

11. οἱ ἔνδοξαι μαχηταὶ, the *110,000* are thus made up:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hoplites</td>
<td>38,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helots</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other light-armed</td>
<td>34,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thespians</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδὲ σώτοι 'but neither had they (i.e. any more than the *ψιλοὶ* shields and spears'); and therefore, Herod. implies, they could not be called hoplites, and yet they were not technically *ψιλοὶ*, their *natural* position being that of hoplites.

CHAPTER XXXI.

16. ἀπὸ τεκνηστήσαν 'when they had finished the funeral ceremonies for', including the mourning mentioned in c. 24. Cp. τὸ κηδος = 'funeral' in 6, 58. For the sense of ἄτο in composition of 'completion' or 'finishing' cp. ἀποκεφαλάσθαι p. 13, l. 18; ἀποτύψασθαι 2, 40; ἀποτείνων 4, 70.

17—19. παρῆσαν...ἐν τὸν 'Δούμην 'moved down to the bank of the Asopus'.

21. καὶ δὴ...γάρ 'and in point of fact because', for this use of γάρ cp. p. 17, l. 13.

22. ἐπὶ τῇ τάξις πλινώσ 'many more deep', i.e. than the Spartans (not as Rawl. 'than usual'). There were two effects of the superiorit of the Persian numbers, says Herod., first their line was much deeper than that of the Spartans, and secondly even then their front was extended beyond that of the Spartans, so as to face the Tegeans also. ἐπὶ πλινώσ cf. 6, 111. With definite numbers in kindred phrases ἐπὶ takes the gen. ἐπὶ τρίῳ, τεττάρων τάσσε-ται, because the men are regarded as separate groups of three or
four. In phrases like the present ἔτι has that sense of extension which it has in such phrases as ἔτι πλέον, ἔτι πᾶν.

ἐκκοσμεῖτο, App. D. ii. (a).

23. ἐπέσχον 'covered', 'extended along the front of the Tegeans': cp. 1, 108 τὴν ἀμπελῶν ἔπισχειν τὴν Ἀθήνας πᾶσαν, 8, 35 δει ἐπέσχον τῆς Φοικίδος πάντα ἐσιμαμόρεον. So ἐπέσχον throughout this passage.

27. ἔχομένοις, as often in c. 28.

12. οὐ γὰρ ὅν explains why there were not more than 1000. 21 'For the fact of course is that etc.'

14. αἰθὼν 'were supporting', see 8, 30.

cαταλημένοι 'collected in bands', lit. 'rolled up' (κατειλέω). Elsewhere Herod. uses it with an idea of being 'shut in', cf. infr. c. 70; and 8, 27.

15. ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἡγοῦν 'pillaged', i.e. carried off the property and drove off the cattle: thus the phrase came to be used of general looting or destroying of persons as well as things, cf. 1, 88 φέρεων καὶ ἄγεων τὰ τὰν. 6, 42 ἵνα μὴ διλλήνουσ τάρα αὐτέων. cp. 3, 39. So the Latin phrase ferre ageraque (Liv. 22, 3 etc.) and Vergil's poetical variation rapiuntque feruntique [Aen. 2, 374].

17. τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους, 'the immediate neighbours of the Thessalians', such as the Dolopes, Achaeans of Phthiotis and Magnesians, see 7, 132. For περὶ with acc. cp. p. 40, l. 11.

CHAPTER XXXII.


21. λόγου πλεοντον 'of most account', cf. p. 44, l. 3.

28. ἑπιβάται 'marines', men at arms who went on board (ἐπιβάλλειν) ships: see 6, 12. It is used of the warrior crew of the Argo in 4, 145. Some armed crews are mentioned in 7, 89.

29. ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, into Attica, cp. p. 1, l. 3.

30. ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδιδέται, sc. in 8, 113, where Mardonius is represented as selecting 300,000 of the best of the grand army of Xerxes.

1. οὐ γὰρ ὅν 'for naturally they were not counted', cp. on 22 p. 12, l. 3. No doubt after the failure of the Persians all their Greek allies were anxious to conceal the fact that they had supported them; and this would make an estimate of their numbers difficult or impossible.

S. H. IX.
NOTES ON XXXII

2. ὡς δὲ ἑπικύρωσει 'but as far as one may guess on the subject'; for constr. see c. 34.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

5. ἕπεκάσατο, App. D. II. (a).

6. κατὰ τὰ ἠθνεά καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔλεον 'according to their nations and also the military divisions in those nations'. See above, cc. 20, 22. The τῆλεα seem to be the divisions according to arms, as shield-and-spearmen, bowmen, horsemen (1, 103); as well as subdivisions in them, as in c. 20.

9. μάντεις 'a seer' or 'diviner'. A Greek army was always accompanied by a μάντεις, whose duty seems to have been to be present at all sacrifices, and to declare the result to be deduced from them, as well as to interpret every omen for good or evil that events presented; and generally to advise the commander on all points touching upon the manifestation of the will of heaven. The art of divination was maintained as a 'mystery' in certain families, in which it was transmitted from father to son,—such families were the Clytiadæ, Iamidæ (see Index), and others. Of these μάντεις different men were skilled in different branches of the profession, some in the interpretation of oracles, some of dreams, some of the omens conveyed by the flight of birds or the entrails of victims. Their influence at this time was great, and Herodotos constantly mentions them and their art; but in the course of the Peloponnesian war there are signs of the decrease of their influence; just as the authority of the Delphic Oracle suffered at the same period. Thucydides rarely mentions them, and in 8, 1, tells us how incensed the people were with the χρησμολόγοι and μάντεις for having raised false hopes in them in regard to the Sicilian expedition [B.C. 413]. Euripides perhaps put this national sentiment into the mouth of Pentheus when he accused Teiresias of supporting the new worship of Dionysos for the sake of private gain [Bacch. 257. Cp. Helena 756].

10. ἐπουρήσαντο 'adopted', for the various meanings of the middle of ποιεῖται see passages in Index.

11. λευσφέτερον 'their fellow citizen', see notes on text. Though Cobet may be right in declaring this to be a monstrum verbi, yet it must be acknowledged that it has the advantage of being unmistakable in meaning. Stein thinks it probable that it was a word peculiar to the Doric dialect. Compounds of λεύς are rare; there is λευσφόρος
(1, 187), and Hesych. has λεωθάρος; but none or few besides. On the other hand it seems not uncommon in Doric names; we have 
Λεωθότης (7, 204), Λεωθήνη (6, 127), Λεωθήνη (6, 85), Λεωνύχη (6, 64, etc.), in Attic Λεωδάμας Dem. de Cor. § 73.

12. περιγόνου 'about having offspring'. One of the commonest subjects on which the Oracle was consulted was childlessness; but in this case the Oracle answers on quite a different subject, as was often its habit. Rawl. quotes 4, 151, 155; 5, 63, as instances.

15. αναρησόμενος γυμνικος ἀγώνας 'destined to win prizes in gymnastic contests'. So νικην αναρέεσθαι c. 64; 'Ολυμπιάδα ἀνελό-

16. παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα...'Ολυμπιάδα 'came within one contest of winning an Olympiad', i.e. of winning the Pentathlon prize at the Olympic games. For the meaning of παρὰ ἐν...θράμε, see Thucyd. 4, 106, 3 παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν. 7, 71, 4 παρὰ ὀλυγόν ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλεσαν. 8, 33, 3 παρὰ τοσούτων ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περισσευε στὸς Ἀθηναίος. Eurip. I. T. 87 παρὰ δ' ὀλυγόν ἀπέφυγε. Isocr. Panegy. 15 ὅπων παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν. It is doubtful still whether the 'one contest' means the 'wrestling',—one of the five contests of the Pentathlon (leaping, running, discus, javelin, wrestling),—or the odd bout in the wrestling. Practically the result would be the same, for the man who lost the odd bout in the wrestling would be beaten in the wrestling entirely.

The more difficult question remains as to what Tisamenos did win, and what it was necessary to do to win the Pentathlon. Besides many German treatises the English student will find the question fully discussed in Donaldson's Introduction to Pindar Nem. viii.; and more recently by Professor Gardner in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. i. No. i. p. 211. And by Dr Fennell in the introduction to his edition of the Nemean and Isthmian Odes of Pindar, pp. ix sq.

Opinions on this subject may be roughly divided into (1) those who think that the winner of a Pentathlon must be first in every event; as for instance Dr Abicht—nur im Ringkampf allein unterlag er seinem Gegner; der Sieg im Ringkampf allein fehlte ihm daran um den Siegpreis im pentathlou zu empfangen. To this view I cannot assent. (2) Those who think that victory in three out of the five events only was necessary for victory in the whole Pentathlon. To this opinion I strongly adhere, notwithstanding certain difficulties which some possible combinations of circumstances
offer. As for instance the case of all five events being won by different men, or four of the five, leaving no one with more than two victories. My belief is that in either of these cases no one won the Pentathlum at all. But in practice such an event seldom happened, especially at Olympia, where the picked gymnasts contended (see Polyb. 6, 47) and the trial would be practically between two or three known champions. Whatever view may be taken on this point of what might happen, I think the passage of Pausanias (3, 11, 6) in which he tells the story will shew conclusively what did happen in this case. His words are: 'He (Tisamenos) trained for the Pentathlum at Olympia, but was beaten. He was first indeed in two events; for he won the racing and the leaping against Hieronymos of Andros; but he was beaten by him in the wrestling, and missed the victory.' That is, Tisamenos won in the racing and leaping, Hieronymos the discus and javelin, and the final result therefore depended upon the wrestling, which accordingly settled the matter in favour of Hieronymos. Dr Abicht thinks it 'noteworthy' that Pausanias does not mention the two last contests. But the arrangements of the Pentathlum were in his time still so well known that to mention one man's winning two, and losing by wrestling, implied unmistakeably his having lost the other two, and did not need explanation. This account of the contest of Tisamenos also touches on another vexed question, as to the order of the events in the pentathlum, which used to be considered as settled by the line of Simonides (60) ἄλμα τοδακελήν δίσκον ἀκορτα πάλη, but not only must the necessities of metre deprive this line of decisive force, the nature of the case seems to point to the fact that a contest that was βαρός such as the δίσκος would not immediately precede one like the ἄκων which required a steady hand, or a fatiguing one like the πάλη. There is therefore some reason to accept the order proposed by Prof. Gardner and Dr Fennell, (1) leaping, (2) javelin-throwing, (3) discus, (4) running, (5) wrestling. And this order as far as the position of the running is concerned seems pretty well settled by Xenoph. Hellen. 7, 4, 29 where τὰ δρομικά are said to be just over and the wrestling to be begun.

19. φέρων 'having reference to'. τὸ...μαντηῖον 'the oracle given to Tisamenos' cp. 5, 43.

μεθὸς...ποιεῖται 'tried by the offer of pay to secure Tisamenos'. μεθὸς goes closely with πελατάρτες which often by itself is used to mean 'bribe'. See Lysias 7, § 18.

23. προσθέσαν 'to acquire', lit. 'to add to themselves'. ἀνεργία 'began to raise his terms'.
24. τῶν πάντων 'all civil rights'. τοῦτοι, the *dramatic* indicative in reported speech, see c. 2. ἐπὶ διλόρ. See index under ἐπὶ.
26. πρώτα μὲν...τέλος δέ 'at the first hearing'... 'finally'.

ὅσα ἔτεινόντο 'were indignant', cp. p. 3, l. 7, where the singular is used without appreciable difference in meaning.

27. μετέσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης 'abandoned their demand', μετέσαν is intransitive. Cp. Odyss. 21, 377 καὶ δὴ μεθεύειν χαλέποιο χέλαιον.

1. καταλύον μετόντες 'they went to fetch him and consented', 23 cp. 3, 28 οἱ μὲν δὴ μεθῆσαν ἐπίντετος.
4. λόγους 'terms', p. 2, l. 20.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

6. ὡς εἰκάσατε βασιλῆτιν...αἰτεόμενον 'as far as one may compare the demand (lit. one demanding) of kingship and citizenship'. St. compares 4, 99 ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοις συμβαλεῖν, and Thucyd. 4, 36 ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλω εἰκάσαι. See also p. 22, l. 2.

7. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ 'for the story goes, I must tell you (δὴ), that Melampus too'. The story was that the three daughters of Proetus king of Tiryns, Sthenoboea, Lysippe, and Iphianassa, were driven mad, according to one account, for having refused to accept the orgiastic rites of Dionysos, according to another for having treated the statue of Herè with contempt. In their madness they careered wildly over Argos, Arkadia, and other parts of the Peloponneseos, accompanied by other women, married as well as virgins, until they were driven from their haunts and eventually cured by Melampus. [Apollodoros 2, 2, 2.]

9. ἐμποθούντο 'were trying to hire him'.
10. προσελέγοντο 'demanded as his terms'. In 5, 24 it is used of the other party to a transaction, the maker of the offer, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προσελέγομαι.

11, 13. οὖκ ἀναχωρομένων 'when they did not submit to his demand'. ὑποστήναι p. 58, l. 30.
14. διώκοντες 'prepared to give'. ἐπορέγοντα 'raised his desires'.

CHAPTER XXXV.

20. συγχωρησάντων...ταῦτα 'having yielded this'. Cp. Thucyd. 5, 41, 2 τάδε συγχωρήσατε.
21—3. οὕτω δὴ...συγκαταράκτω 'it was thus that Tisamenos assisted them in the successful accomplishment of five most import-
ant contests'; i.e. he accompanied the army as Mantis in each case. The five contests which Herodotos mentions immediately below are

1. Battle of Plataea, against the Persians, B.C. 479.

2. Battle at Tegea, against the Tegeans and Argives. This battle is nowhere recorded, but the Argives and Tegeans are known to have formed an alliance in the period immediately following this (Strabo 377, quoted by Stein).

3. A battle at Dipaea (in Arkadia) against the Arkadians. Of the cause and time of this battle we are also ignorant.

4. The struggle at Ithome. That is against the revolted Messenian helots in what is sometimes called the Third Messenian war B.C. 461–455 [Thucyd. 1, 101–3].

5. The battle of Tanagra, B.C. 456, against the Athenians who were attempting to prevent the Lakedaemonians from returning home from Boeotia where they had staid on their way from Doris [Thucyd. 1, 107–8].

23. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ 'and they were absolutely the only men ever admitted to citizenship at Sparta'. δὴ here marks the emphasis of the preceding μοῦνοι. The jealousy of the presence of strangers in Sparta was in accordance with the spirit of the Lycurgean laws which aimed at isolating the Spartans and avoiding the corrupting influence of foreign manners. See Xen. rep. Lac. 14, who speaks of their ξενηλασίαι. Cp. p. 5, l. 26.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

24. άπνωνένοι 'acting on the defensive'. διάβασι 'if they crossed'. Stein remarks that there is a gap in the narrative from c. 19 leaving unrecorded a change of position of the Persian army which up to this time had been on the south side of the Asopos; and is now evidently on the north. All that Herodotos has before told us is that the Persian army was επὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ, which probably meant that they were on both banks. But this entire change of position being unrecorded is still more remarkable if Stein is right in putting the strong camp (c. 15) on the south of the river.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

10. ἄθησαν επὶ θανάτῳ 'threw him into prison with the intention of putting him to death'; for επὶ = 'with a view to', cp. p. 52, l. 3, and Lys. XII. § 24 επὶ τῷ τούτου ὃψελε ἀπαλέγεσθαι. Stein quotes
Xen. Met. 4, 4, 3 ἔπι θανάτῳ ἀγαγεῖν τινα. In 3, 119 the phrase is ἐδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, where some substantive such as δέσιν or ζημίαν must be supplied, cp. 5, 72. Herodotos does not tell us what the offence of Hegesistratos against the Spartans was: but as he is said to have fled to Tegea, it was perhaps connected with one of the often recurring quarrels between that town and Sparta.

11. τολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσα 'many acts of hostility'.

12. ἠστε, see l. 19. τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς 'in extreme danger of death', 'his life being the prize at stake', cp. for this metaphor from the race-course 8, 74 ἀτε περὶ τοῦ παυτοῦ ἥπῃ δρόμου θέουντες. c. 140 θεῖεν αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν. 7, 57 περὶ ἑωτῷ τρέχειν. Aristoph. Vesp. 376 ποιήσω...περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμου δραμεῖν. Plat. Theat. 172 εἰ πολλάκις δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ δρόμος.

13—4. πεσόμενος 'being certain to be submitted to'. μὴνον λόγον 'beyond belief'. λόγος in this phrase seems to mean 'credible account'. Cf. 2, 35.

15. ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ 'in wooden stocks with iron fastenings'. The stocks appear to have only fastened one leg, and left all the other limbs free; as in the case of the unhappy maniac Kleomenes, who was able to kill himself in a most horrible manner in spite of being ἐν ξύλῳ (6, 75). Another kind of stocks was that mentioned by Aristophanes with five holes, for feet, hands, and neck, πενταπρύγγον ξύλον, Equites 1479. οὐκειοδύνας κακο...εκράτησε 'for he got hold of an iron tool which had by some means or another been conveyed into the prison'. συνήμαν is not a specific word; in 7, 18 it is used of burning irons, in 3, 29 of a dagger.

19. ἠστε ἢ ἤτε 'seeing that'; cp. l. 12, and 8, 118, ἠστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐκείνων συνχών Περσῶν.

21. ἐς Τέγειν. The distance from Tegea to Sparta was about 30 miles and was in great part a steep ascent, a truly wonderful achievement for a man with a freshly amputated foot.

28. οὐκ ἀθρόμην p. 6, l. 1 'in a state of hostility'.

1. έκ τῆς θεός sc. ὁδὸν 'avowedly'.

2. συνήμείκε 'turned out well for', cf. 8, 87 τὸ καὶ συνήμεικε ποιόν.

3. συνεκκινημένον [see notes on the text] seems to be used here (though nowhere else) for συνεκκινημένος 'which he had from various events conceived'.

4. ἐν Ζακύνθῳ. Zakynthus was inhabited by Achaeans and was therefore naturally inclined to hostility to Sparta. Thither king
NOTES ON XXXVIII

Demaratos fled when deposed [6, 70]; and the Zakynthians were among the allies of Athens in the Peloponnesian war, and were accordingly invaded by Sparta in B.C. 430 [Thucyd. 2, 66].

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

7. οὐκ ὄλγον 'for high wages'.
12. ἐν ἑαυτῶ ὑπ’ 'to themselves', 'separately', cp. p. 11, l. 6.
15. τὰς ἐκβολὰς 'the approaches to the pass'. There would probably be more than one path leading from the pass of Cithaeron when it reached the lower grounds on the Boeotian side, and convoys of provisions might avail themselves of them for secrecy.
17. ἀπολάμψοντο the fut. opt. in reported speech for the fut. indic. in direct speech. G. § 203 note 3.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

21. τὴν ἱππ. p. 11, l. 7.
22. αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιῶν φέροντες 'which leads towards Plataea', the pass over Kithaeron from Eleusis to Plataea.
25. ἐβαλοντα 'as it was debouching' i.e. into the valley of the Asopos.
26. ηλαγενεν τερβαλάμενοι 'took possession of and drove'. For this meaning of περιβαλλομένοι cp. 3, 71 ἀληθεία περιβαλλόμενοι κέρδος, and 8, 8 πολλὰ τε καὶ αὕτως περιβαλέσα. The notion of 'surrounding' for the purpose of driving a number of animals is perhaps here the primary one, and Stein aptly quotes Odys. 9, 464 καρπαλλόων δὲ τὰ μήλα ταναῦθος πιὸνα δημὶοίς Πολλὰ περιτροπέαντες ἑλαγαίνει.
6. παρὰ τε Μ. καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 'to Mardonius and into the camp'. This does not imply that Mardonius was not in the camp; but παρὰ indicates that Mardonius was in command in the camp to receive them.
10. διέβαλεν δὲ σύντεχον 'but neither attempted to cross the river': that is, the main army on neither side. The Asopos as observed before would be shrunk at this time of the year to a very small stream, and the cavalry would have no difficulty in crossing it, and were shown the way by the Thebans, see l. 14 κατηγόντο 'guided them', sc. τῇ ἱππ.
13. ἱφερον, cp. p. 12, l. 4.
14—5. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον 'the subsequent proceedings', cp. τὸ ἀπ’ ἡμέρων p. 4, l. 21. παραδεκόμενοι...μάλα ἵππον 'took up and
carried out in their turn'. ἕκτων [= ἕσαν] is iterative, showing that the action was frequently renewed. μάλα in Herod. seems generally not to=‘very’, but to express repetition or addition, like πάλιν. See 1, 181 ἐκ τούτῳ τῷ πῦργῳ ἄλλος πῦργος ἐπιβρέθηκε καὶ ξετορομέτρων μάλα ἐκ τούτῳ ‘besides’; 7, 186 τοῖς ἐν τοῖσι σίταγωγοῖσι αὐτοῦ ἑυνοῦσα καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πλούσισι.

CHAPTER XLI.

17. τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν ‘the ten days’ are from the first arrival of the Greeks opposite the Persians (c. 19). In c. 39 eight days are said to have passed, and c. 40 accounts for two more.

19. ἐν Πλαταιᾳ ἐν τῷ τῆς Plataea’, cp. p. 10, l. 26, p. 11, l. 2. The Persians were in the Theban territory, c. 15.

21. ζηρομέτρετα ‘was exceedingly chafed’, cf. 1, 44. This verb seems entirely confined to Herodotos. Hesychios has ἤμεκτεί· δυσφορεί, but no example of the simple verb is known in any Greek author.


23. ἐν ἄλλοισι...δόκιμος ‘especially distinguished’, ‘distinguished as few were’, cp. ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐν πρώτοισι p. 54, l. 4, cp. 4, 53 τοπαμέν ἐν ἄλλοισι μέγαν.

1. ἀναζεέωσα...ἀνα ‘to break up their entire camp and go’. 27 ἀναζεευρύναι is properly ‘to harness again’: in 8, 60 it is used of ships; and infra c. 58 we have ἀναζεευρύσα ὅ το στρατότεθον.

3—5. ἓνα...ἐσενεχθαί ‘where (he said) corn and fodder for the beasts in abundance had been brought in’. διαπρέσσεσθαι ‘to complete the business’ i.e. of subjugating Southern Greece.

8. διαπέμπειν ‘to send in different directions’. From Demosthenes, Phil. 3, 42, we know that Arthmios of Zelea (Plut. Them. 6) was disfranchised, and declared an enemy of the Athenian people, for having conveyed Persian money into the Peloponnes; it is probable therefore that this plan was tried. See on p. 2, l. 4.

10—11. σφάς=αὐτός, App. C. II. d.

μηδὲ joins διαπέμπειν and ἀνακινδυνεύειν.

ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας, see p. 16, l. 13.

13. λοχυφότητα ‘more violent’ or ‘for more violent measures’. Cp. the meaning of κατὰ τὸ λοχυφῶν vi et armis p. 1, l. 16.

18. ἐὰν χαλαρων μηδὲ βιάζονται ‘to neglect (to say goodbye to) the omens altogether and not try to compel them to be favourable’,
that is, by continually sacrificing. Theokritos (Id. 22, 9) describes ships which put to sea in spite of signs of bad weather as ἀσπειραμέναι.

19. νόμος τῷ Περσῶν 'the Persian rule', i.e. of attacking an enemy without waiting for favourable sacrifices as the Greeks did; whereas they were at present employing a Greek Mantis and following his injunctions (c. 37).

CHAPTER XLII.

24. ταξιάρχοις. Herodotos uses the word in a general sense for captains of companies in the Persian army. In Athens the Taxiaruchs were tribal officers next in rank to the Strategi, and taking part in councils of war [Thucyd. 7, 60, 2]. τῶν τελέων, see p. 13, l. 3.

28 1. ἐν ἀθέλη ὀν ποιεύμενον 'not considering it safe to speak'. Cp. 1, 131 γραφεῖ ὁ δὲ ἐν νόμῳ ποιεύματα ἱδρύεσθαι 'they don't think it right to build temples'.

4. ἔστι λόγων......Δελφοῦς. The information possessed by Mardonius as to the oracle probably, as Stein points out, came from Onomakritos, a soothsayer who accompanied Hippias to Susa, and who brought with him oracular prophecies as to the Persian expedition (Her. 7, 6). See Hist. Ind. s. v. Musaeos. The attempt of a division of the army of Xerxes upon Delphi is related in 8, 35—9.

8. ταύτης εἶναι τῆς αὐτῆς 'as far as that reason is concerned': so in l. 10—11 τούθε εἶναι.

11. ὡς περισσομένοις 'with the full assurance that we shall get the better of the Greeks', depending on the idea of knowledge implied in ἴδεσθε 'be comforted by the assurance'. For this so-called 'accusative absolute' introduced by ὡς see Clyde's Greek Syntax, § 64 note d.

12. ἐστήμην 'gave the order', a commander in chief was thus called σταυρωτῷ (Odyss. 19, 314).

13. εὑρίσκει 'ready', lit. 'well separated', so that they could be easily handled, opposed to δυσλύτρος ἔχοντα, Xen. Oecon. 8, 13.

CHAPTER XLIII.

16. ἦς Ἑλληριόνος. For this legend see under 'Echeleans' in the Historical Index.

19. λεχετολή 'grassy', the valley of the Asopus being pleasantly
in contrast with the bleak mountains separating it from Attica. Cp. Hom. II. 4, 383 'Δωρών δ' ἱκανό βαθύσχον έλεγον.

20. Τύγχαν 'babel', used of the cry of the foreigner as being unintelligible to the Greek. Sophokles, Phil. 753, uses the word to express the inarticulate screams of Philoktetes in his agony. For βαρβαρόφωνον see on p. 7, l. 9.

24. ες Πέρσας 'referring to the Persians', cp. l. 15.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. τὴν ἐπερώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν 'his question as to the oracles', 29 p. 27, l. 26.

3—4. προελήλατο impers., 'when the night was far advanced'. For πρόσω see on p. 8, l. 23.

5—6. τηνακάντα 'at that hour'. πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἁθηναίων. The Makedonians were opposite the Athenians, p. 21, l. 17.

10. ἦσαν εἰπ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 'ran off to fetch the generals'. For this sense of εἰπ cp. Aristoph. Ran. 69 ἐθεῖν εἰπ' ἐκέλευς. Id. III ἠλθει εἰπ τὸν Κέρβερον. Id. 1418 ἐγὼ κατῆλθον εἰπ τοιητήν.

12. παραγγείλειν 'disclosed', cp. 8, 19 ταῦτα μὲνεν ἔστοτο ταρεγίμνου... 'whereas he (Themistokles) let out thus much and no more of his plan'.

CHAPTER XLV.

16. παραθήκῃ 'a pledge' of my good faith. Cp. 6, 73 παραθήκην αὐτοῦ παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθρούς. In the same sense he uses παρακαταθήκη 2, 156.

17. ἀπόρρητα sc. τὰ ἔσχα 'pledging you to silence'; p. 58, l. 24 Aristoph. Eq. 648 κάγῳ φρασα | αὐτοῖς ἀπόρρητον ποιήσαμεν ταχύ. 

21. Ἐλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῷρχαιον 'I am a born Greek by original descent. See Historical Index s. v. Alexander.

24—5. πάλαι γάρ ἄν 'for if they had been favourable you would long ago have been engaged'. νῦν ζή 'but as things are now'. ἄν χαίρειν, p. 27, l. 18.

27. μὴ πλένεις. See p. 26, l. 20; p. 27, l. 15.

1. οὐπερβιβαλλει τὴν συμβολὴν 'postpone', but see on p. 33, 30 l. 11—12.

2—3. λυπάτητε μένοντες 'persist in maintaining your present position'. Cp. 5, 19 ὃ πάτερ, εἰκε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ἀτυχῶν τε ἀναπαύει μηδὲ λυπάμει τῇ πόει, 'don't persist in remaining at the wine', p. 13, l. 14.
NOTES ON


6. παράβολον ‘hazardous’. Herod. does not elsewhere use this adjective, but he uses παραβάλλεσθαι in a kindred sense, see 7, 10 ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα.

7. ὑπὸ προθυμίας ‘from goodwill towards you’. G. § 191, 7 (c).

CHAPTER XLVI.

15. ἐς ηὕτω ‘at daybreak’. εἰς with acc. of time fixes a limit, so ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην (7, 155), ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα (1, 77).

22. πεπείρηται Μήδων. The prestige of the Persian soldiers is noticed by Herodotos in estimating the moral effect of the victory of the Athenians at Marathon. ‘They were the first’, he says, ‘to face the Medes; for hitherto the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks’ (6, 113). This feeling might be compared to that entertained by the Netherlanders in the 16th century in regard to the Spanish infantry. Stein notices in regard to the expression, οἱ δὲ τῶν Σταρτητέων, that Aristodemos, the sole survivor of the 300 at Thermopylae, was in the army (c. 71), but that he had not been actually in the fight (7, 229).

Pausanias’ remark must only refer to fighting on land; for some of the Spartans were probably engaged at Salamis.

25. ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον. See on p. 31, l. 15.

31 4—5. ἀρρωτέομεν...μὴ γέωνται. The verb ἀρρωτέομεν is imperfect [App. D. 1. (a)], and the subjunctive γέωνται is therefore dramatic, i.e. ‘it retains the mood in which the fear originally occurred to the mind’: G. § 218.

6. ἐθομένουσι...γεγόνας ‘we welcome the proposal’.

CHAPTER XLVII.

9, 10. διαλαλόσοντο τὰς τάξεις ‘they began effecting this interchange of positions’. τὸ ποιεύμενον ‘the meaning of the movement’.

12. παράγων...κατὰ τοῦς Δ. ‘bringing the Persians by a counter movement to face the Lakedaemonians’.

14—15. ἐντὸς δεξιῶν ‘back again to the right wing’, because the movement was complete, and the Spartans were on the extreme
right; but ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑωνόμου ‘towards the left’, because the position of the Persians on so extended a line was probably not absolutely on the extreme left. Cp. 8, 47.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

19. ὑμεῖς δὴ ‘you forsooth!’ δὴ expresses emphatic contempt.
23. ἀρα ‘it turns out’.
24. ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ‘to actual encounter’, ‘to close quarters’, cp. ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ‘in actual battle’ 8, 89.
29. πλείστον δὴ. Like adeo in Latin δὴ often serves merely to emphasize the word which it follows.
32. ὦς δὴ πέμψει ‘that you would (I imagined) send’. Here δὴ is rather like δὴδεν representing the irony of an unfulfilled idea.
32. μονοστὶ. Cobet proposes to read μονος μονοστι, which would certainly express the sense intended—‘in single combat’—better: cf. Soph. Aj. 467 οἷς ἐρωτα Τρώων ἐμπεσάτων μόνος μόνος. See also below 1. 8 ιςοι πρὸς ἰσοις.
11. δὴ ό...ἐμαχεσάμεθα ‘why do we not fight’? The aorist is used of a single action of undefined time. Cp. p. 5, 1. 6.
8. ιςοι πρὸς ἰσοις. See on 1. 2. This antithesis of the same adjective is particularly common in Sophokles, with whom Herodotos has so much in common; Stein quotes Soph. Antig. 142 ταχθέντες ιςοι πρὸς ἰσοις.
11. ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσάμεθα ‘then we will fight in single combat’. For δὲ in apodosis as in 1. 10 ὁ δ’ ὄν, see G. § 227, 2. Cp. p. 44, 1. 10. The meaning of δὲ in the verb is that of rivalry or contest between two combatants, see on διαπωντόνων p. 9, 1. 28.

CHAPTER XLIX.

16. τὰ καταλαβόντα ‘what had taken place’. Cp. 4, 161 πρὸς τὴν καταλαβούσαν συμφορήν. 9, 105 τῷ τοῦτον κατέλαβε κέεσθαι.
18. ψυχρὴ νίκη ‘profitless victory’, cp. 6, 108 ψυχρὴ ἐπικουρῆ.
NOTES ON

21. προσφέρονται ἄτοροι ‘impossible to get at close quarters with’, cf. 4, 46 ἄμαχοι τε καὶ ἄτοροι προσμέλησεν.
24. συνέχωσαν ‘filled up with earth’, cp. p. 8, l. 11.

CHAPTER L.

7—8. ἐν τῷ δεξιῶν κέρας. See on p. 31, l. 14.
ἀλλα...ἐξετεί ‘for there were other circumstances causing them anxiety at the same time as those which I have mentioned’.
9. ὀπέωνες ‘attendants’, not necessarily slaves, cp. 5, 111; the word had in the Iliad a more honourable meaning equivalent to squire, thus Meriones is ὀπάων to Idomeneus, II. 8, 263.

CHAPTER LI.

13. ὑπερβάλλονται...ποιμένοι. Cp. p. 30, l. 1, where ὑπερβάλλεσσα is transitive = ‘postpone’: here it seems to be used intransitively, ‘to be slow in engaging’. The double construction of περάσον with participle (p. 16, l. 7) and infinitive (p. 31, l. 11) presents the same variation.
16. πρὸ τῆς...τόλιον. That is on the N. or N.E. of Plataea, on the side of the town towards the armies.
17. νῆσος. See Historical Index s.v. Island. It does not at all militate against the naturalness of the name that the place is not absolutely enclosed by the rivers so as to form a real island. It was near enough to being one to give rise to the popular name.
18. σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρεῖ ‘the river divides into two branches and flows down’.

24—5. ἐνα...ῄσχου. For this dramatic subj. after a sentence in past time, see p. 31, l. 4. καὶ μὴ σινολατο ‘and might not (as they would if they had to go a long way for water) inflict losses upon them’. Cp. 8, 76 ἄνγηγον τὰς νέας ἐνα δή τοῖς Ἐλλησι ἰηδὲ φεύγειν ἐξή, ἀλλά ἀπολαμβάνετε ἐν τῇ Σαλαμίνι δοῦεν τισιν. Thucydides 3, 22, 9 παραγίχοχον φρυγκοῦν δηπο ἄσαφη τὰ σημεία τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἦ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν. Though in these cases there is a distinction between the first and the more remote contingency, yet the same change of mood occurs in other cases where the distinction cannot be so explained; see 8, 6. Both moods are admissible, and the change seems due to taste and a wish for variety. (Goodw. M. and T. p. 17.)
26. δευτέρη φυλακὴ. That is, between midnight and daybreak.

1. ὦς ἄν μὴ ἱδολατεῖ. See on p. 5, l. 6 where ὦς ἄν is followed by final subjunctive. For its sense with optative, implying a suppressed eventuality, 'that the Persians might not (as they would if they went by day) see them', cp. p. 4, l. 16. It is properly modal (=δημος), the ἄν belonging to the verb, as in Aesch. Ag. 353

Δίο τοι Ζένιον μέγαν αἴποιμαι
tὸν τάδ' πράξαντι, ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
τελοῦντα πάλαι τύχον, δημος ἄν
μὴ τρεῖρ καροῦ, μήδ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρων
βέλους ἡλίθιον σκῆψειν.

'In such a way that the shaft should not fall (as it would from a weaker hand) in vain.' See Goodw. M. and T. pp. 69—76.

4. περιωχήτερα βέλονα 'includes in its fork'.

6—7. ἀναλάβομεν 'recover'. See c. 50. ἐπὶ τὰ σύνα 'to fetch provisions', see p. 29, l. 10.

8. ἀπολελαμμένοι 'intercepted'. For the form of the word instead of the Attic ἀπελημμένοι, see App. E.

CHAPTER LII.

11. ἀπρυτων 'perpetual', another instance of the use of a word by Herodotos confined in Attic to poetry. Soph. Aj. 788 ἀπρυτα κακά.

Ὀθγε 'began to draw to a close'.

13. συνεκέπτε ὑφι 'they (the Greeks) had arranged'.


15—18. οἱ δὲ ὅσο ἐκκατηθησαν 'but when they had once started' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, see on p. 33, l. 16.

20. ἰθέντο τὰ δίπλα 'halted', lit. 'piled arms'.

CHAPTER LIII.

24. κατὰ τόυς ἄλλους 'in the same direction as the rest'.

3—4. ταξιαρχεῖσθαι...λοχηγεῖσθαι. See on p. 13, l. 22. Herodotos 35 seems to use τάξις and λόχος as synonymous terms here in reference to Spartans.

6. ἐκάνεν αἴνει 'with his consent at least'. See on p. 4, l. 21.

7. ἀπε ὑπὲρ παραγενόμενοι. The meeting (τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ) mentioned above [p. 33, l. 4 sq.] had been an informal council of the
Strategi, without the presence of the Taxarchs or Lochagi as was usual, see on p. 13, l. 22.

9—10. δεύνον ἑπούντο 'were much disturbed', p. 3, l. 7.

15. ἐπειρῶντο πελώντες 'were attempting to persuade him'.

Cp. ἐπειρῶντο κατώντες, p. 16, l. 8.

CHAPTER LIV.

16. παρηγορέοντο 'were trying to talk over',

20. φρονήματι 'dispositions', 'ways', cp. p. 4, l. 25.

18 ἀλλα φρονεῖν τοι κἀλλα λεγόντων. Stein aptly quotes the famous attack on the Spartans in the Andromache, 445 sq. . . . . .

λέγοντες ἀλλα μὲν γι' ἡλώσην, φρονεῖν τοι δ' ἀλλ' ἐφευρίσκεσθ' ἀδίκερα.

23—24. τι ἐπιχάρειν . . . ἐκεί μὴ διανοεύρθαι 'whether they were beginning to march or whether as a matter of fact they had no idea of moving'. The optat. is the natural mood for an indirect question, the indicative is dramatic, representing the exact words used, μὴ διανοεύρθαι; The change of mood seems to be suggested by the latter alternative appearing to the Athenian generals the more likely of the two.

25. τὸ quid, see p. 45, l. 9; cp. 1, 56; 4, 131; 5, 74, 80; 8, 40.

CHAPTER LV.


27—28. ἔστιν κεκεκαὶ ἀπιγείνοντες 'come to a downright wrangle'.

τοὺς πρῶτους 'their chief officers'.

31. ἔστιν κεκεκαὶ τε συμπεσόντες . . . καὶ ὁ κήρυξ παρεττατο 'they had just begun to absolutely quarrel when the Athenian herald came', p. 37, l. 6 and 8, 83.


5. ἀ φλ., Pausanias.

6. τρόπος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων κηρυκα 'and turning to the herald who asked him the question with which he was charged, Pausanias bade him report the position of their affairs'. This is the way in which Stein interprets this passage; and it seems preferable to that of Abicht, who would take it 'Pausanias ordered (one of his men) to tell the Athenian herald etc.'; to which it may be objected that λέγειν πρός τινα should mean to speak 'before' a person [see p. 10, l. 22] not 'tell to' him.
10. τά περ ἄν καὶ σφεῖς sc. ποιέως 'whatever they [the Spartans] should do'. For the nomin. plur. σφεῖς see G. § 79 note 2.

CHAPTER LVI.

12. πρὸς ἑωνύων = πρὸς ἀλλήλους, but with the notion of Spartan against Spartan, as opposed to the Athenians.

13. κατελάμβανε. Notice the imperf. 'began to overtake them'. ἐν τοῦτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος 'who in this interval had not moved', i.e. from the second watch [p. 33, l. 26] until the day began to break.

15—16. τά δὲ καὶ ἑγένετο 'and this was just what did happen'.

διὰ τῶν καλωνόν 'by the road which leads over the high ground'. Plataea is just at the mouth of the pass: the Spartans being on the extreme right of the Greek line could either descend into the flat ground and follow the Athenians, or could keep to the south over higher ground and meet the Athenians at the point of rendezvous. The latter was the route taken by them.

18. τά ἐμπαλιν 'the reverse way', i.e. to the north along the lower ground to meet the Spartans who would describe the other arc of the circle.

19. ἀντελέχοντο 'clung to'.

CHAPTER LVII.

23. περιέχεσθαι...τῆν τάξιν 'continued eager that they (his men and himself) should stay where they were [αὐτοῖ] and not abandon their post'. Elsewhere Herod. constructs περιέχεσθαι with a gen., cp. 7, 160 περιέχεσθε τῆς ἰγεμονίας.

25—26. καταδέξασ p. 62, l. 10. θέη τέχνη, τε νεα, cp. 1, 112 μηθεματα τέχνη 'on no account'. Cp. ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς p. 25, l. 1. βάδην 'slowly', that he might not appear to be flying from the enemy.

27. τὸ 61 sc. τὸ ἄλλο στῦφος.

2—3. τῷ...ἵσταται 'where a temple too of Eleusinian Demeter 37 had been placed'. This word [pass. perfect from the root ἵω] is used as appropriate to the founding of a temple. Cf. Pind. Pyth. 4, 364 ἀγνὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἔσσαν' εἰναλίου τέμενος. Thucyd. 3, 58, 6 ορᾷ τε θεῶν...καὶ δυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἔσσαμένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρῆσεθαι. The temple of Demeter was placed as usual in some lonely spot among the hills, see Hist. Index s. v. Demeter.

6. καὶ...καὶ 'and just as Amompharetos joined, the Persian horse began to attack them', see p. 35, l. 31.

S. H. IX.
9. οὖν καὶ ἐδείσατο, see c. 49.
11. οἷον τὸ πρῶτον 'further and further on', i.e. expecting to catch them up.

CHAPTER LVIII.

15. Θώρηκα, cp. c. 1. The speech like others is either wholly dramatic, representing what Mardonius may be supposed to have felt, or may perhaps be founded on some report of his words afterwards set abroad by Thorax. But it is somewhat inartistic and inconsistent, for Mardonius is represented as speaking at the sight of the empty quarters lately occupied by the Greeks, whereas in c. 60 he appears not to have left the Persian quarters until after the discovery made by the Persian cavalry.

18. οὐ φεύγατε 'never fly'; "the infinitive in indirect discourse regularly has οὐ, to retain the negative of the direct discourse", G. p. 308.

22. καὶ οἱ πάντες δρομεῖ διαδράντας 'we all see that they have actually run right away'. The καὶ belongs to διαδράντας.

24. διακριθήναι, cp. p. 9, l. 28, p. 32, l. 12 for the sense of διὰ, 'to be matched against'.

οὔδενες ἢρα τόντες...ἐναπεδεικνύατο 'that being, as it turns out, mere ciphers, it was only because the other Greeks were as insignificant that they kept up a show among them'. Cp. 7. 14; and the bitterer term of reproach among the early English 'ni-thing'.


27. τὸσι τι καὶ συνήδετε [συνήδεω pluperf. with imperf. sense] 'who were the best you knew of', lit. 'in whom you did actually know that there was something'. Ab. quotes 8, 113 καὶ εἰ τέσσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεποιημένον.

28. θώμα ἐπολεύμην=ἐθωμαμαῖον governing the gen. of the person, but καταρμαθηματα is attracted into the acc. as subject of the infinitive ἀποδέεσθαι (δείκνυμι).

38 3—4. ἀναεὔφαντας, cp. p. 27, l. 1. τὸ δοστι, see on p. 2, l. 15. ἦν in threats, see on p. 50, l. 13.

5—6. ἐπέρωθα 'elsewhere', i.e. in the presence of the king. λόγος 'mention'.

6. οὖκ ἐπιτρέπτει 'we must not let them have their own way', cp. πολεμητέα Thucyd. 1, 79, 3; παριστήθηα ib. 72, 2; πλεωστέα ib. 6,
25, 2; βαδιστεά, ἐμπορευτεά Aristoph. Acharn. 395, 480. It does not seem in any way distinguishable from the singular.

8. τῶν δὴ πάντων τὰ δὴ 'for all they have done'. For the attraction of relative to the case of a suppressed antecedent, see G. § 153, 1.

CHAPTER LIX.

9—10. δρόμῳ 'at the double', opposed to βάδην p. 36, l. 26. κατὰ στίβον 'on the track of the Greeks', cp. ἐπάμενοι κατὰ στίβον 5, 102. διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσώπον, the Asopos at this time of the year (Aug.-Sept.) would be a small brook easily crossed. ὃς δὴ 'looking upon them as trying to run away'. For δὴ marking the thought of some one other than the writer see p. 6, l. 25, and Index.

11. ἔπειξε 'he covered only the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans', i.e. he concentrated his line of attack upon these only. For this sense of ἔπειξε cp. p. 20, l. 23.

13. ἵππο τῶν δξθῶν 'owing to the high ground between them'. The Athenians had taken the right or lower road, the Persians following the direction of the Spartan march were much to the left of them and were prevented by intervening high ground from seeing them. On the other hand the Athenian right would be near the road from Thebes to Plataea, and would naturally therefore fall in with the Theban cavalry.

15. τελέων p. 13, l. 3.

16. ὃς ποδῶν ἐκαστῶς ἐξον 'as fast as they could each of them walk', and they therefore straggled as their pace differed. For the phrase cp. 6, 116. Aeschyl. Suppl. 837 σοῦσθε, σοῦσθε ἐπὶ βῶρων ἐτοὺς ποδῶν.

18. δμλωρ tūmiltu. Cp. 3, 127 σοφία καὶ μη βη τε καὶ ὅμλωρ. ὃς ἀναρπασμένου 'thinking to snap up the Greeks as an easy prey', 'to make short work of the Greeks', cp. 8, 28.

CHAPTER LX.

20. προσεκίετο 'as soon as the cavalry began attacking', cp. p. 37, l. 8.

26. δέδοκατ 'it has become manifest'. τὸ ἀνθετεύν 'hence-forth', p. 7, l. 5.

3. χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας 'it would of course have been our duty'.

5. νῦν δὲ 'but as it is'.

6—7. τῶν μοιρῶν the divisions of the combined army.
NOTES ON

8. καταλαλάβηκε, for the form see App. E. (b). For the meaning of καταλαμβάνω 'to happen to', 'to overtake', see p. 47, l. 21.

ὑμεῖς δ' for δὲ in an apodosis cp. p. 45, l. 18.

9. τοὺς τοξότας...θέσθε 'send us your bowmen and thus lay us under a lasting obligation'. For the bowmen of the Athenians see on p. 13, l. 25. For θέσθαι χάρων 'to store up gratitude for oneself' cp. 6, 41 δοκεῖν τις χάριν μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι.

10. ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα πόλεμον 'in and through this present war', p. 37, l. 21.

CHAPTER LXI.

14. οἱ ἀντιαχάντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, that is, the Boeotians, c. 67. They would be likely to be in or near the well-known road from Thebes to Plataea, by which they eventually retreated.

18. πεντακιςμίριοι, see c. 28, where the numbers are:

Spartans and Helots .............. 40,000
Other Lakedaemonians ............ 5,000

45,000

The balance of 5,000 must have consisted of Perioeci, who had come in since the army was in Boeotia; similarly 1,500 Tegean light-armed must be added to the 1,500 Tegean hoplites mentioned in c. 28.

21. καὶ οὐ γὰρ 'and because the sacrifices did not etc.' Cp. p. 54, l. 12. οὐ γὰρ...χρηστά δ' gives the reason, καὶ εὐπτωτήν τε...καὶ ἑπταμαχίζοντα the effect: 'Many fell because they were compelled to stand inactive for a long time by the unfavourable nature of the sacrifices'.

24. φράξαντες τὰ γέφρα 'having fixed their long wicker shields into the ground to form a defence'. p. 63, l. 23. "The wicker shield seems to have been adopted from the Assyrians, on whose monuments it not unfrequently occurs". R. See 7, 61.


40. αὐτοπελέσαντα...πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον 'having fixed his eyes on the Heraeum', which was outside Platæa, about a quarter of a mile to his left, c. 52. αὐτοπελέσαμεν implies turning from other things to some particular object.

CHAPTER LXII.

9—11. χρόνῳ κοτὲ tandem aliquando (St.). μετέντες, App. A. 1. 6. περὶ with acc. indicates a less close connexion than with gen. See p. 41, l. 20.
12—13. ἐπετάξακε 'had been knocked down', by the charge of the Greeks. χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὰν p. 5, l. 10.
15. λήματι καὶ ὀδύμη 'in courage and bodily strength'. Cp. 5, 72.
17. ἀναπλοὶ 'without shields', which they had stuck in the ground, and which were now trampled down and useless; and also without body armour, p. 41, l. 1. Yet some of the Persians had coats of mail, see 8, 113.
καὶ πρὸς 'and besides', adverb. Cf. p. 20, l. 10.
19. καὶ ἕνα καὶ δέκα 'singly or in bodies of ten'.

CHAPTER LXIII.

24. τοὺς ἀριστοὺς χιλίους 'the picked thousand', cf. τὴν ἐπον τὴν χιλίην whom Mardonius had selected to stay with him when the greater part of the army returned with Xerxes, see 8, 113.
28. ἀπέθανε 'was killed'. ἄποθανεῖν is regularly used to serve as a passive of ἀποκτείνειν.
29. ἐπέγει, passive of κατέβαλλον l. 27. The whole 1000 are not said to be killed, but to be put hors de combat.
οὕτω δή, see Index.

CHAPTER LXIV.

3—5. ἐνθαῦτα, App. A. 1. 2. ἐπετελέστω 'was being accom-41 plished'.
6. τῶν, p. 38, l. 8, attraction of relative.
8. ἐπηρεάζει οὐ Δεονίδην 'have been mentioned with reference to Leonidas', see 7, 204. Cf. p. 28, l. 24.
9—10. ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ, p. 40, l. 28. λογίμου, p. 9, l. 22. χρόνῳ ὑπότερον 'some time afterwards' i.e. about B.C. 464 in the Third Messenian war, see Histor. Index. s.vv. Stenypleros, and, Messenian war.
15. οὐδένα κόσμον, see p. 42, l. 14; p. 43, l. 14.

CHAPTER LXV.

16. ἐς τὸ στρατότετον...ζύλινον, see on p. 9, l. 12, 'into their own camp and so into the wooden fortification which they made in the Theban territory'.

Stein thinks this passage decisive in favour of his view that the palisade was on the S. bank of the Asopus, for if not (1) there would be no need to distinguish between the στρατότετον and
the έγινον τείχος, (2) the words ἐν μοῖρῃ τῇ Ἑθαλῆι would be superfluous, which according to his explanation are introduced to distinguish between the camp in the Plataean territory and the τείχος in the Theban. I cannot accept this argument with confidence. It seems to me that the words of Herodotus mean that the Persians fled to their camp, and not only so but continued their flight until they reached the τείχος, which he adds [referring to his own words in c. 15 ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἑθαλῆι ἦν] was in the Theban territory.

20. οὖσ τοις ἀναπόθανον 'nor was killed in it'. See on p. 40, l. 28.

ἐν τῷ βεβηλῷ (βαίνω) 'unconsecrated', lit. 'which may be trodden on'. Thucyd. 4, 97, 2, and Pollux 1, 9 ὅ δὲ ἔξω (τόπος) βεβηλός.

περὶ τὸ 'but round the outside'; cf. p. 40, l. 11.

23. ἐμπρήσατας ἀνάκτορον. Cobet would omit ἀνάκτορον as unnecessary. It means the shrine, the inner part of the temple [lit. the house of the ἄναξ]. Herodotus has not related the burning of the temple of Eleusis, nor is it recorded elsewhere. Probably the attempt to do so was not entirely successful.

CHAPTER LXVI.

25. αὐτίκα 'at the time', κατ' ἄρχας 'originally'.

1. λευκόμανον ἀπὸ βασιλέως 'separating from the king and staying behind'. ἀπὸ is not quite = ὑπὸ of agency, for leaving Mardonius behind was not the king's doing entirely.

2—3. οὐκ ἔδω, see on p. 1, l. 13.

4. τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιουμένοις 'the tactics originated by Mardonius'.

7. δκως = ὡς 'when'. ἔγινεν 'was taking place'.

9. κατηρτημένωσ 'in good order', cp. 3, 80 κἂν ἐν εἰς χρήμα κατηρτημένον μοναρχία, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνη τοῖς ἐν τὸ βούλεται; κατὰ τῶν...τῇ ἄν 'exactly the same way as he did'.

10—11. δκως ἄν...σπουδής 'with the same amount of speed as'.

12—13. δῆθεν 'as he pretended', 'professedly'. See δῆ p. 6, l. 25; p. 38, l. 10. καὶ δῆ 'already', see p. 3, l. 20 and Index. οὖσα δῆ, see p. 3, l. 22 and Index.

14—15. τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον, cp. p. 41, l. 15. τὴν ταχιστὴν, sc. ὁδόν. ἔπραξα ἂς a frequentative of τρέχω, 'he made all speed'.

CHAPTER LXVII.

19. τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως 'those on the king's side', θελοκα-κεντων 'deliberately shirking the fight'.
24. ἐπεισόν, see on p. 40, l. 29.
27. οὑτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος 'and without having displayed any
valour'.

CHAPTER LXVIII.
1. δηλοῦ used impersonally 'it is evident', cp. 2, 117.
2. τοῦ καὶ siquidem p. 62, l. 20.
3. ὦτι καὶ...δρων 'at the mere sight of'. App. D. I. (e).
6. πρὸς τῶν πολεμῶν 'on the side nearest the enemy',
i.e. between their own men and the enemy: cp. p. 8, l. 23.

CHAPTER LXIX.
11—13. τοῖς...'Ἡραῖον, see c. 52. γέγονε...νυκέν cp. 8, 100.
15. οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους 'the Corinthians and those imme-
diately near them', that is the Potidaeans, Orchomenians, and
others, see p. 19, l. 4—6.
17. ίδο τοῦ ἱροῦ 'straight towards the temple', cp. p. 56, l. 1
and 8, 38 ίδο τῶν Βουωτῶν ἐφευγοῦν. Also ίδος ἐπὶ, 5, 64.
18. τὴν λειτάτην τῶν ὀδῶν 'the most level of the roads', that
is the road from Plataea to Thebes.
20. ἀπὸ τῶν 'having seen them from a distance', 'having
sighted them'. Cf. 8, 37 ἐπὶ ἄγχου τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπίωντες
καὶ ἀπάρειον τὸ ἱρὼν.
21. ἠλωνὸν ἐν' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπονοῦ 'rode their horses at them'.
Herod. often uses ἠλωνον without such accusative as = 'to ride', see
p. 55, l. 22.
1. κατήραξεν 'drove them in utter confusion'.

CHAPTER LXX.
3. εν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ 'without honour', 'with no account taken of
them', cf. 1, 1 § 3 τοὺς 'Ἰωάνναν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησόμενος. Cf. 7, 16.
8. ὁφι, i.e. the defenders.
9. τεχνομαχίᾳ 'assault and defence of the wall'. ἐρρομαν-
στήρῃ 'more severe than might have been expected from a beaten
army'.
10. οἱ 81, for this δὲ in apodosis see p. 39, l. 18.
11. οὑτε οὐκ ἐπισταμένον τεχνομαχίαν. The Spartans were
usually unsuccessful in storming walls or forts. Lykurgos was said
to have expressly discouraged the Spartans practising this particular
kind of warfare, on the ground that in it brave men might fall by
the hand of women or children or other feeble persons. Plutarch
Apophth. Lac. 25. For instances of their failure see Herod. 5, 65; Thucyd. 1, 102; 4, 8. The first of these passages relates how they besieged the Acropolis and gave it up in a very few days; the second recounts their long and unsuccessful attack upon the revolted Helots on Ithome, and the third their disastrous attempts upon Pylos. ἀφο = ὤ, p. 24, l. 12.

12. οὔτω δὴ 'it was only when this came about that a vigorous assault took place'.

14—15. λιπαρή, see on p. 13, l. 14. ἐπήσιν τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἔριτον 'they got a footing on the wall and made a breach in it'. τῇ δὴ 'by which entrance it was that'.

16. τὴν σκηνήν τὴν Μαρδονίου. This was the king's tent left behind for the use of Mardonius, see c. 82.

21. ἐς τῶντα 'into the common stock,' the distribution of which is recorded in c. 80.

24. ἀληθής ἐμέμνητο 'thought of showing fight'; another poetical expression. St. quotes Hom. II. 6, 112 ἀνέεσε ἐστε, φιλον, μνήμασθε δὲ θωράκιος ἀληθής.

24—5. διέκταζον...ἀνθρώπων, 'they were beside themselves with terror, as was natural to a panic-stricken crowd of many myriads huddled together in a narrow space'. διέκταζον, which only occurs here, seems to be a frequentative form from διέω 'to wander in mind', 'to be distracted', cp. ἐτρόμαξε p. 42, l. 15 from τρέχω.

45 1. τριήκοντα...περιγενέσθαι 'so that out of 360,000 (not counting the 40,000 who escaped with Mardonius) not 3000 survived'. This number of slain seems incredible, especially as many of the Persians were mounted and must have been able to effect an escape. Diodorus [11, 32] reckons the slain at a more moderate figure, somewhat over 100,000.

4. ἀπίθανον, see p. 40, l. 28.

CHAPTER LXXI.

7. πεῖδος ὁ Περσέως, see c. 68.

13. κατά τὸ λοχυρότατον, cp. p. 1, l. 16.

16. ἕχε δνείδος καὶ ἀτιμήν 'was labouring under reproach and the loss of all honour'. In 7, 231 Herodotus says that when Aristodemus returned to Sparta after Thermopylae no Spartan would give him a light or speak to him, and he was called contemptuously ὁ τρέσας ('the man who trembled'). The δνείδος refers us to verbal
insult, the ἀτυχή to other marks of dishonour; it is not used in the technical sense of ‘loss of civil rights’.

19. λέσχης ‘a discussion’, of an informal character, the Spartans meeting to talk over the event as they would in the λέσχη or club-house at home. See on 6, 4.

δς = τις, cp. p. 35, l. 25 and 8, 40 βουλεύσεται τὸ ποιητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐσται.

21, 24. ἀποθανεῖ...ἀποθνῄσκει. The shade of difference indicated by this change of tense seems difficult to convey or even to catch. Aristodemus wished to be killed and have done with it, Poseidonios had no wish to be among the dying—those that were falling round him.

τοσοῦτον ‘by so much’, ‘to that degree’. For the principle on which this decision was based cp. the words of Pericles [Thucyd. 2, 43, 5] οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἄφειδοιν ἃν τοῦ βλου, οῖς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστι’ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή ἐν τῷ ἕν ἔτι κυν-δυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἂν τὶ πταλωσον.

27. τίμων ‘honoured’, i.e. with special grave and monument, or with yearly offerings. See on p. 15, l. 21.

CHAPTER LXXII.

6. ἐπεδὶ ἔσφαγαξε, see p. 39, l. 20—3.

8. ἕσπερανάτει ‘he struggled against death’, ‘he was very loth to die’. Cp. Plat. Rep. 406 b Ἡροδίκος δυσθηνατῶν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἰς γῆς ἀφίκετο ‘Herodikos managed by means of medical skill to fight against death, and so arrived at old age’.

10. δὴ...ἀποθνῄσκα ‘that he was dying’.

11. οὐκ ἧχρησατο τῇ χειρὶ ‘had not had the opportunity of striking a blow’, cp. p. 31, l. 24.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

15. Δεκελεῖθεν. The locative termination -θεν of the deme name Δεκέλη [Att. Δεκέλεια] is in apposition to the genitive δήμου. The Attic form according to Stephanos Byz. was Δεκελείαθεν.

20. ἀνοιστασαν τοὺς δήμους ‘were desolating the cantons’. ἀνοιστημὲν in this phrase means to remove the inhabitants, cf. Thucyd. 6, 5, 3 ἀναστάτων τῶν Καρπαθίων γενομένων ὑπὸ Συράκουσίων. id. 1, 12, 3 Βοιωτίων ὑπὸ Θεσαλῶν ἀναστάτως τὴν ἐν τῷ Βοιωτίαν φίλοισαν.
NOTES ON

22. ῥεῖ Θησεύς ὕψρι 'at the high-handed proceedings of Theseus'; that is, probably, not only at his abduction of Helen, but, at his policy of concentrating all Attica under one government. See Hist. Index s.v. Theseus.

23. περί παρα τῆς Ἀθηναίων χώρης 'fearing that the whole Attic territory would be injured by the Dioscuri'.

27. διέλθα τι καὶ προεδρή 'freedom from all alien's tax, if residing at Sparta, and seats of honour at festivals'. Cp. i, 54. The Spartans, as we have seen p. 5, l. 26, were very chary of encouraging the residence of strangers at Sparta; but this sort of special arrangement with particular towns or cantons did not probably involve more than temporary and casual visits.

28. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ῥυστερον, that is the Peloponnesian war [b.c. 432—404]. Some have thought that the famous occupation of Dekeleia in b.c. 413 is alluded to. But this is much later than any event mentioned by Herodotos. The Spartan invasion meant is probably that of b.c. 430 under Archidamos, who ravaged some of the demes between Parnes and Brilessos, starting from Acharnæ [Thucyd. 2, 23, 1].

47. Δεκαλής ἀποσχέσθαι. It is suspicious that Thucydides should not have mentioned either the fact of the Spartans sparing Dekeleia or their motive. He probably regarded their not going so far as merely resulting from the remote and strong position of the place, and as not calling for any remark; while the antiquarian mind of Herodotos, hearing in Magna Graecia the report of what was going on, immediately fastened on this legendary incident as accounting for the abstinence of the Peloponnesians, which might as well have been explained by ordinary strategical reasons.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

5. διέδος λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει 'has two different stories told about him'. Cf. 3, 32 ἀμφὶ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διέδος λέγεται λόγος. [διέδος=διοςός App. A. i. 6.]

8. βαλόσκειο 'he used always to cast'. For the frequentative form without augment, see App. D. i. f.

9. τοι δή 'in order, as he said, that the enemy might not move him'. For this sense of δή see p. 6, l. 25; p. 38, l. 10.
11. ἔδοξε [for the form see App. D. 1. footnote 1] 'it was his plan'. Cp. p. 38, l. 26.

13. ἀμφισβητῶν 'giving a different version'.

14—16. ὅς ἐν δεῖπνοις...σφηκὴν 'a painted device of an anchor, and not a real one of iron'. The use of devices on shields was an ancient one in Greece; see the account of the devices on the shields of the assailants of Thebes in Aeschylus, Sept. c. Th. 382 sq. and the description of the shield of Achilles in II. 18, 477 sq.

CHAPTER LXXV.

18. ὅπερ περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀγινᾶν 'that when the Athenians were besieging Aegina he challenged and slew Eurybates'. This refers to the events of B.C. 491. The Aeginetans had given earth and water to the emissaries of Darius, whereupon the Athenians appealed to Sparta to force the islanders to give hostages for their loyalty to the Greek cause. These hostages were deposited at Athens, and the demand for their restoration led to a war of reprisals between Athens and Aegina, and eventually to an unsuccessful blockade of the latter by the former. [Herod. 6, 85—93.]

19. ἀνδρα πεντάθλου 'a victor in the Pentathlum', see on p. 22, l. 19. ἐκ προκλήσιον 'on a challenge'.

21. κατέλαβε 'it befell', impersonal, cp. p. 39, l. 8, and 6, 38 Στησαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεὶν άπαθεία.

23. ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων, cp. p. 40, l. 28, and Index. For the expedition, see Historical Index s. vv. Leagros, and Datum.

τετλ τῶν μετάλλων. The possession of this gold mine was not only disputed by the Edonian Thracians, but also by the inhabitants of the opposite island of Thasos. Thucyd. 1, 100. The mines continued for many years to be productive and were the origin of the wealth of Philip of Macedon. Cp. 5, 17; 6, 46.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

25—6. τοῖς Ἑλλήσ...κατστρέφετο 'had been utterly crushed and dispersed by the Greeks'; for the dat. of agent after perf. or pluperf. passive, see p. 17, l. 5.

27. αὔτόμολος 'coming voluntarily from the enemy'.

4. τῶν παρασυρόν 'of what she had with her'.

5—6. ἄρμαμαξῆς 'covered car', used especially for women, see
7, 83. ἔτι ἐν τῷ στ ηχνής δόντας ‘while still engaged in the slaughter’.

10. βασιλεύ. Pausanias was not king, see c. 10, but as representing the king might well be so addressed by a foreigner, and especially by a woman thus circumstanced.

11. ἐς τόδε ὄνησας sc. ἐμέ, ‘thank you for what you have already done’. For this use of ὄνησας see Aristoph. Lys. 1033 the old woman takes a mosquito off the old man, who replies, ὡς ΔιATES ὄνησάς γε μ’, ἔπε αὐλαὶ γε μ’ ἐφρεώρχει ‘Mon dieu, thanks! It has been digging great pits into me ever so long’. The aorist is used in such expressions indicating immediate acceptance or rejection on the part of the speaker, cp. the use of ἐπηνεσα ‘no thank you’!

12. δπων ‘reverence’, cp. 8, 143. It is a word used chiefly by the poets, and always in Homer in the sense of ‘vengeance from the gods’, cf. also Theocritus 25, 4 Ἐρμῶν ἀδὴμενος δεινή δπων ελνοδίου. In Pindar Olymp. 2, 9 it = ‘object of reverence’, and in Isth. 4, 58 ‘eager pursuit’; and the verb δπισεθαι = ‘to reverence’, see Pyth. 4, 86.

16. ἐδ σὰ ‘if as you say’, or, ‘if indeed’.

20. τῶν ἑφόρων τούτων παρεσύει. Two Ephors in later times always accompanied a Spartan king on an expedition. Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 13, 5, St. In everything touching on political or constitutional arrangements their authority would be supreme, but they were inferior to him in distinctly military matters; nor does it appear that, as early as this, their being with the king was the invariable rule. Rawlinson points out that Pausanias had no Ephor with him when he was recalled from Byzantium (Thucyd. 1, 131), nor Pleistoanax in B.C. 445, nor Agis until B.C. 418 [Thucyd. 5, 63].

CHAPTER LXXVII.

24. ἐν ἔργασμένων ‘when all was over’, see Index s.v. ἔτι, and p. 16, 1. 16.

26. ἐπείστη ‘regarded it as’, see Index s.v. τοιεσθαί.

ἄνειοι το εφάγαν εἰναὶ φόλαι ζημίωσαί ‘and they deserved, they said, to be fined’. The subject of ζημίωσαί is indefinite, ‘that they (the Greek commanders) should fine them’.

28. ἠθέκων ‘were for pursuing’.

29. ἠθέκαν ‘banished’.
CHAPTER LXXVIII.

14—16. καταθίσθαι 'to lay up for yourself', cp. on p. 39, l. 9. τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις 'the sequel of these achievements', 'what is necessary to complete them'. λόγος 'reputation'.

17. τις, see on p. 11, l. 18.

18. μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἄργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων 'not to set the example of arrogant outrage upon Greeks'. The word ἀτάσθαλα is again Homeric, and not used in Attic prose: see 8, 109; 7, 35.

19—21. Δεινὸν γὰρ...ἀνεσταύρωσαν, see 7, 238 where this outrage is said to have been by the special command of Xerxes.

24. ἀνασκολοπίσας 'impaled', σκόλοψ 'a pointed stake' 9, 97. τετυμωρήσατε mid. 'you will have exacted vengeance'. πάτρων 'uncle', see Histor. Index s.v. Pausanias, and c. 10.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

27. τὸ εὐνοεῖν ἀγαμαί σεν 'I admire your goodwill', lit. the goodwill in you, cp. 8, 144 χίλεω τὴν προνοὶν ἄγαμαί. Sometimes it governs the gen. of the thing or person admired, ἀγαθαί ἔγγο τοῦ Ἐρεσίου, 6, 76, sometimes followed by dat. ἀγάμενοι τῷ πυρῇ, 4, 75. For the present construction compare that of θανάμαξω τί, or τινός, or τι τινός.

2. ἐσ τὸ μηδὲν 'to utter nothingness'.

4. ἄμενον μὲ αἰκονίσθαι 'that I shall enjoy a better reputation'. Cf. εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἡκοναν 'Ελλήνων ἄμιστα Αλγήται, 8, 93.

5—6. καὶ ἔκλεψοι δὲ ἐπιφθονέμεν 'and even in their case we feel indignation', cp. the meaning of ἐπιφθονέως in 4, 205 ἀνθρώπωι αἱ λίπη ἰσχυρὰ τιμωρια πρὸς θεῶν ἐπιφθονοί γένονται 'excessively severe acts of vengeance invoke the jealous anger of the gods'. καὶ—δὲ 'and even', 'and too'. For this idiomatic use of καὶ...δὲ with the word to be qualified coming between them, see numerous examples in Dr Holden's Lexicon to Xen. Oecon. p. 63*. 8' ὃν 'be that as it may', dismissing the subject. τοῦτον ἐκείνην 'as far as such an action is concerned', 'on such terms'.

8. ὅστα 'consonant with piety'.

10. μεγάλως τετυμωρήσατε impersonal, 'great vengeance has been wrought for Leonidas'.

13—15. ἐτί see p. 38, l. 4. χάριν...ἀπαδής 'be thankful that you are not suffering for it as it is.'
CHAPTER LXXX.

21—3. κρητῆρες (κεράννυμι) are large mixing bowls; φιάλαι (φατεραί) are flat shallow cups, or what we should call saucers; λάβητες are larger vessels, kettles, basins, or pans.

25. ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοις 'bracelets and chains'; for the Persian habit of wearing these see Xenoph. Oecon. 4, 23, Lysander looked admiringly at Cyrus, ἵδων...τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψέλιων τὸ κάλλος. But the less exalted Persians also wore them, see Plutarch, Themist. 18, where the Persian corpses after Salamis are described as lying on the beach περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσὰ καὶ στρεπτοῖς. See also 7, 88; 8, 113.

26. τοὺς δακύδακας 'the scimitars with gold, or gilded, hilts and handles'. The scimitar was a short straight sword. The article is used to denote the well-known Persian weapon (St.). Cp. Hor. Od. 1, 27, 5. vino et lucernis Medus acinaces | immane quantum discrepat.

27. λόγος 'no account at all was taken'; cp. 8, 102 Μαρδονίου δὲ, ἥν τι πάθη, λόγος οὐδεὶς γινεται.

ἐνδαύτα 'in that business'.

51 1. ἐπώλεων πρὸς τοὺς Αλγυνήτας 'sold to the Aeginetans'. The Aeginetans were the great commercial people of Greece until the Dorian inhabitants were expelled by their successful rivals the Athenians in B.C. 431 [Thucyd. 2, 27; 7, 57, 2]. They were therefore well acquainted with the value of the goods, and ready to traffic on advantageous terms. Such hucksters usually attended a victorious army, see Polyb. 14, 7.

3. δῦτε...εὕροντο. It may have been a common rumour in the days of Herodotos, which the enemies of Aegina would take care to spread, that the Aeginetans laid the foundation of their wealth in this discreditable manner. But as a matter of fact the island had already in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. been the chief seat of commerce in Greece. The standard coinage introduced by Phidon of Argos about B.C. 750 was called Aeginetan, probably because of the extensive commercial connexions of the island; and it was the continual rivalry of the island in such matters that caused the enmity of Athens, and determined the Athenians to destroy the prosperity of its Dorian inhabitants.

4. ἢτι ἄντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν 'as though it were, as they pretended, mere brass'. For δῆθεν see p. 42, l. 12. The ignorance of a Helots is not incredible. Gold coins were little known at this
time in Greece, and the currency at Sparta, as apparently in Byzantium, was iron. Arist. *Nubes* 250.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

6. ἐκάτην...δόφος τοῦ χαλκίου. This stand of three twisted serpents with their heads projecting to receive the three feet of the tripod was seen by Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) and is now existing in Constantinople, whither it was taken by the Emperor Constantine; but the golden tripod which rested upon it had been taken away by the Phokians in the Sacred War of b.c. 363. Pausan. 10, 13, 9. On the tripod Pausanias caused a couplet to be inscribed assigning the honour of beating the Persians to himself—

'Ελληνων ἄρχηγος ἐπει στρατὸν ἔλεε Μῆδων
Παυσανίς Φοίβῳ μην' ἀπέθηκε τῶδε.

But the Spartans, considering this an act of presumption, caused the verse to be erased, and instead of it had the names of the states, which can still be partially read, engraved on the coils of the brazen serpents. [Thucyd. 1, 132.]

8. ἀγχωστα τοῦ βομοῦ 'very close to the altar', that is, the great altar standing in front of the temple.

9. καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὠλυμπίη θεῷ ἕξελόντες sc. ἐκάτην. The tenth was the usual proportion of the spoils dedicated, see 8, 27. But on this occasion it appears from Herodotos' words that three-tenths are dedicated to sacred purposes. The statue of Zeus at Olympia was seen by Pausanias, who gives a list of the states whose names were inscribed on its pedestal [5, 23]. These are the *Lakedaemonians, Athenians, Korinthians, Sikyonians, Aeginetans, Megarians, Epidaurians, Tegeans, Orchomenians* (of Arkadia), *Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plataeans, Mykeneans, Keians, Melians, Ambrakiots, Lepreatae (Triphylians), Tenians, Naxians, Kythnians, Styrians (Euobea), Eleans, Potidaetans, Anaktorians, Chalkidians (Euobea). See Introd. p. xxv.

This list should be compared with that given by Herodotos in c. 28—30. It will be seen that Herodotos omits the Eleans and the five island folk of Kos, Melos, Tenos, Naxos, and Kythnos; and mentions the Eretrians and Paleans, who do not appear in the list given by Pausanias. But that the Eleans were present he mentions in c. 77. The omission of the Mantineans in the inscription as well
as in the list in c. 28 seems to indicate that they had been absent from
the original levy, as well as failed to come on the ground until after
the camp was taken; for the Eleans who equally came late for the
fight were inscribed on the statue.

10. τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, that is 'to Poseidon', whose temple stood
about seven miles east of Korinth, close to the diolkos or ship
tramway.

18. πάντα δέκα 'ten of everything', see 4, 88 Δαρεῖος τῶν
ἀρχιτέκτονα τῆς σχεδίης ἐδώρησατο πᾶσι δέκα (St.).

CHAPTER LXXXII.

22. τὴν κατασκευὴν 'his war-tent and its fittings', see p. 44,
l. 16—20.

29. ἐδ ἐστρωμένα 'furnished with comfortable cushions'.

52 1. παρασκευὴν, paratum 'the laying out'. Compare this use
of παρασκευή of a temporary arrangement, with that of κατα-
σκευή for a more permanent construction, like that of the war-tent.

2. ἐκπλαγήντα τὰ προκείμενα 'struck with admiration of the
richness of the banquet set out'. ἐκπληκτεσθαι followed by the
accusative is an example of a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. It is
equivalent to θαυμάζειν, and is constructed accordingly. Cp. 3,
148 ὡς ἐρῶ τὰ ποιήμα τῆς ἀπεθανόμενος τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο. But some-
times it is followed by the dative, in the sense of 'terrified', see 4,
4; 7, 226.

3. ἔτι γελώντι 'by way of a joke', 'with a view of a jest', cp.
ἐτὶ θαυμάζω p. 24, 1. 11.

5. τὴν πολλὴν τὸ μέσον 'the difference was great'. Cp. 1, 126
ὅτι ἐτὸν πολλὴν ἐναι αὐτῶ πεῖ τὸ μέσον.

8. δεικνύτα ἐς 'pointing to', cp. 4, 150 ἡμα τέ θέλει ταῦτα καὶ
δεικνύει ἐς τῶν Βάττων. L. and Sc. quote Hom. Hymn Merc. 367
δείχατο θ' ἐν Κρονίωνα.

11. δέξαι, App. E. ὀξυρεῖα, this adjective is again wholly
confined to the poets [Il. 13, 560 etc.], though it survived in com-
mon language as a term of reproach, equivalent to the French mis-
<ble, φίδι, see Arist. N. 655; Vesp. 1504, 1514.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

14. πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 'in the presence of the generals',
see on p. 10, l. 22.
18. συνεφόρεων. The bodies of the Persians appear to have been roughly covered with earth where they fell, and when they had decayed their bones were collected into a single pit. The Greeks would perform no rites of sepulture over barbarians.

19—20. κεφαλὴ σῶκ ἵγουσα ῥαφὴν ‘a skull without a seam’. This is by no means an unknown phenomenon. Specimens may be seen in most museums of skulls that shew no trace of the post-infantile joining of the bone.

22. ὀδόντας μονοσφικῆς ‘teeth all in one piece’. This was also related of Pyrrhus (Plutarch Pyrrh. 3) and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia (Livy Ep. 50; Valer. Max. 1, 8; Plin. N. H. 7, § 60). The scientific explanation of this phenomenon is that the growth of tartar on the teeth in some cases causes them to present the appearance of being in one piece, though that is not really the case.

23. γομφίων ‘double teeth’ or ‘grinders’.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

25. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ‘but when the body of Mardonius had disappeared next day’,—the sentence expressing the apodosis or consequence to this clause is wanting. The writer is led away from completing his sentence by the necessity of explaining the difficulty of determining the question as to who really did bury Mardonius.

1—2. πολλοὶ τίνας ἡδη...ηκουσα ‘I have been told before now of a good many men as the buriers of Mardonius’. πολλοὺς τίνας ‘several different men’.

θάψαι Μαρδόνων. In after-ages a mound near Hysiae was pointed out as the tomb of Mardonius [Paus. 9, 2, 2].

5. ὑπελόμανον ‘took it secretly away’, from the heaps of slain.

6—7. ἡγα τινὰ φάτων ‘has the credit according to some’; also φάτων ἡγια τοὺσ 8, 94; but cp. 5, 66 Κλεισθένης λόγον ἡγεῖ τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναπείσα ‘has the credit of having bribed the Pythia’. [Ab.]. See also p. 47, l. 5.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

11. τριζών, cp. δίζων p. 47, l. 5. App. A. r. 6.

12. τοὺς ληφνας the title which distinguished the young men of Sparta from 20 to 30. In the first two years of this period the youth was called πρωτήρης, in the rest σφαιρεῖς, at 30 he was ἄνθρ. But the distinction between the different stages of the ληφν would not
always be observed in speaking of the class, who would be called in
general terms ἱπέτες or ἐλπίδες. The word is said by Hesychios to
mean ‘commander’. See Müller’s Dorians vol. 2 p. 309; Plutarch
Lycurg. 17.
16. πάντας ἄλλας all in one grave without distinction of ranks.
18. τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱπποῦ διαφθαρέντας, see c. 69.
22. ἀπεστοί (ἀπεστώ) = ἀποστιγ.
23. τῶν ἐπιγινόμενων αὐθρώπων ‘future generations’.
25. καὶ δέκα ‘as much as ten years after’.
27. πρόξενον. Not only did individuals in different states
stand to each other in the relation of ξένοι or ‘guest-friends’, but
whole states selected certain individuals in other states to hold this
relation of mutual benefit to them who were πρόξενοι. Thus Alex-
ander of Macedon was a πρόξενος of the Athenians (8, 143).
The position of such men was something of the nature of consuls resident
in foreign states, but bound to their states with which they were so
connected by only moral obligations. For instances see Thuc. 2,
29, 3; 70, 1; 5, 59, 5.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

5. ἀνὰ πρῶτος ‘principal’, is a mere variation of ἐν πρῶτοις
for the sake of avoiding repetition.

7. πρότερον ἢ ἐξελώσει=πρὶν ἢ ἐξελῶσε [see l. 15] ‘until they
had taken it’ (πόλων): this subjunctive is caused by the indirect ora-
tion, and answers to the future in direct speech, which would have
stood ὡς ἀναστηρομέθα πρότερον ἢ ἐξαιρηθομέθα οι πρὶν ἢ τοῖς
ἐξελῴσεις].
Cp. 7, 54 εἰσχετο πρὸς τὸν ἡλικόν: μεθελοῦν οἱ συντεχνία τιμήτης γενέσθαι
ἡ μὴ παύση...πρότερον ἢ ἔπι τέρματι γένεται. The same construction
occurs with πρὶν ἢ in 7, 10 in oratio recta: and in poetry ἢ is
omitted sometimes, as in Soph. Phil. 917 μὴ στέναξῃ πρὶν μάθης. See

11. προσβάλλον ‘kept making assaults upon’.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

12. καὶ οὐ γὰρ, see p. 39, l. 21.

15. πρότερον...ἢ ἐξελώσει, see on l. 7.

17. ἀναπλήσῃ ‘to endure’, ‘to fill up the measure of’, cp. 5, 4
δια μὲν δὴ, ἐτείτε ἐγένετο, ἀναπλήσαι κακά. 6, 12 πάνα δαμόνων
παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπλήσαμεν;
18. πρόσχημα ‘as a pretext’. It may be considered as accusa-
tive in apposition to ἡμέας, or to the clause. 6, 44, 133; 7, 157.
19. τοῦ κοινοῦ ‘the public treasury’, τῷ κοινῷ ‘the community’.
For the two meanings of τῷ κοινῷ see 6, 14 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Σαμίων,
and 7, 144 γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων εν τῷ κοινῷ.
22. ἐσ ἀντιλογίη ‘to plead our cause’, ‘to stand our trial’, see
p. 55, l. 2.
24. θέλοντες ‘expressing their readiness’.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

27. ἀπαχθέντας ‘arrested and brought before him’, cp. 6, 119
ἐπειτε δὲ εἰδὲ σφας ἀπαχθέντας παρ’ εὐωτόν καὶ ὑποχείρους ἑωτῷ
ἐόντας.
2. ἀντιλογίης p. 54, l. 22. The Spartans assume the right of 55
trying these men by a kind of international tribunal, as they did
afterwards in the case of the Plataeans [Thucyd. 3, 52—68]. καὶ
ἵπς χρήσεται ‘and by means of money as they calculated’. For ἦς
shewing the thought of a person other than the writer, see p. 6, l. 25
and index.
3. διωθεὼντως sc. τὴν αἵτιν ‘they should repel the charge’, cp.
Demosth. 555 διωθεὼντως ψευδὴ λόγων καὶ συκοφαντίων. αὐτὰ ταῦτα
i.e. the likelihood of bribery.
5. ἐς Κόρινθον, or rather to the Isthmus of Korinth, where the
πρόσοποι τῆς Ἑλλάδος (international councillors) met. See 7, 145
and 195.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

8. καὶ δὴ ‘already’, p. 3, l. 20 and Index.
12—16. γνώσ...ταῦτα ἐκλογίζομενος, the subject is picked up
again by the second participle, which renews and amplifies the
former.
16. πρὸς τοὺς Φωκίας, for the Phokians were in a great measure
already hostile, see p. 21, l. 12—14.
22. οὗτος ‘yonder’, pointing south towards Boeotia. κατὰ
πόδας ἐμεῦ ‘close behind me’.
23. καὶ ποιεῖτε φαίνεσθι ‘display your good offices’.
24. ἐς χρόνον ‘hereafter’, ‘eventually’, cf. οἱ ἐμενοῦ ἐς χρόνον
ἐσταί, 3, 72.
NOTES ON LXXXIX

56 1. Ἰδὼ τῆς Ὁρήκης, see p. 43, l. 16.
2. τὴν μεσόγαιαν τὰμνων τῆς δδῶν 'keeping the inland route', i.e. through Makedonia, not by the road which followed the coast, but by one which led from Therma to Akanthos through Paenonia and Krestonia, 7, 124. For the form of μεσόγαιαν see App. C, and decl. 3.

τὰμνων, cp. 4, 136 οὗ τετυμημένων τῶν δδῶν 'the roads not having been made'.

5. συστάντας 'overpowered by hunger and fatigue', cf. 7, 170 λίμψ συστεώτας. 8, 74 τοιοῦτῳ τῶν συνεστασαν: or 'having struggled with', cp. 6, 29 οἷς μὲν συνεστασαν τολὴν χρόνον.

CHAPTER XC.

8. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης 'in the course of the same day', genitive of the time within which. So νυκτὸς 'in the course of a night', 'by night', 6, 16. τὸ τραύμα 'the defeat' of the Persians, cp. 4, 160; 6, 132.

9. τῆς Ἰωνίας topographical genitive, p. 59, l. 21.

15. τοῦ τυράννου. In B.C. 492 Mardonios had been sent down to Ionia to conciliate the Ionians by abolishing the tyrannies, and establishing democratic governments: this measure appears not to have affected the Islands where Persian influence was weaker. Samos had not, at any rate for a long time, had a democratic government; and we may suppose that there was not the same wish for it there. Theomestor had only just been established tyrant of Samos, as a reward for endeavouring at Salamis to prevent the Samian ships fighting with energy [8, 85].

18. ἔλεγε...πολλα καὶ παντοτα 'began advancing arguments at great length and of every possible description'.

19. ἦσθαι, for the middle form of this verb cp. 5, 12 ἴδημενων. In prose and uncompounded it is peculiar to Herodotos.

21. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα 'and even if after all'. For a similar use of ἄρα in a second and unlikely alternative cp. 5, 106 ἄρχῃν δὲ ἔγνως οὐδὲ ἐνδεκαμαί τὸν λόγον δὲς τι οἱ Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπιτροπος νεώτερον πρὸσοψοι... εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖται κ.τ.λ.

22. θεοὺς κοινὸς 'gods worshipped by all Hellenes alike'. ἀνακαλέων 'appealing to', obtestans. Elsewhere Herodotos uses ἐπικαλέω in this sense. See 3, 65 καὶ δὴ ύμων τάδε ἐπικαλέσω θεος
τοὺς βασιλέως ἐπικαλέων. But the compound ἀνακαλέων denotes the frequency of the invocation, and so its earnestness, ‘appealing again and again to’. *Eur. Suppl.* 636

κεκλημένους μὲν ἀνακαλούμεθ’ αὖ θεοῖ·
δὲ, φόβων πίστις ἀδε πρώτα.

26. κακῶς πλέειν. This could not have been the case with the Phoenikian ships, which had been long renowned. For the expression cp. 8, 42 νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας καὶ ἀρίστα πλεοῦσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναίοι.

CHAPTER XCI.

2. πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ‘was very urgent’. 8, 69 πολλὸς ἦν 57 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοίς λόγοις ὃς κάρτα δεόμενος.

3. κληδόνος εἰνεκεν ‘for the sake of a (good) omen’. Used as equivalent to φήμη in p. 63, 1. 11; cp. 5, 72 τῇ κληδόνι οὖδὲν χρεώμενος.

A chance word, like a rumour of unknown origin, might be ominous for good or bad to the Greek mind. Thus among the things enumerated as ominous in Arist. *Av.* 719:

φήμη γ’ ὑμῖν δρωνις ἐστιν, πταρμών τ’ δρωνιδα καλεῖτε
ξύμβολον δρων, φωνήν δρων.

8. δέκομαι, ‘I accept the omen’. A common phrase to signify that the speaker claims the blessing indicated. So of an oracle i, 63 Πεισιστρατοὶ δὲ ςυλλαβῶν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν εἴη τὴν στρατιάν. Cp. 8, 137; Aristoph. *Plut.* 63 δέχον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦ θεοῦ.

9. πολεῖ δκως...ἀποπλεύσει ‘take heed that you do not sail away until you have given an oath etc.’ It was common in Attic to drop the imperative introducing such exhortations, δκως with future indicative standing for the whole injunction. Cp. Xen. *An.* 1, 7, 3 δκως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἔξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. But Herodotos only once uses the construction, 3, 142 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δκως λόγων δύσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων. Goodw. *M.* and *T.* § 271—4.

11. ἦ μὲν, the formula introducing a strong asseveration or oath, and used equally in direct or oblique oration. 6, 74 δρκοὺς προσάγων σφί ἦ μὲν ἐψεσθαι σφεας αὐτῆς.

προθόμονς. The Samians had been compelled to serve in the king’s army at Salamis, and under the influence of their leader
Theomestor had not, like most of the Ionians, deliberately favoured the Greeks in the battle. For this service Theomestor had been made tyrant of Samos, and there was therefore special reason for Leotychides demanding an assurance of loyalty to the Hellenic cause from Samians. See 8, 85.

CHAPTER XCII.

12. ἄμα ηγόρευ καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσήγε 'no sooner said than done', or giving the force of the imperfect 'and to these words he at once began to give effect'; cp. 3, 135 ταύτα εἴπε καὶ ἄμα ἔτος τε καὶ ἔργον ἔτολε. 8, 5 ταύτα δὲ ἄμα ἡγόρευ καὶ Πέμπει. A proverbial phrase slightly varied to suit the immediate circumstances. Homer, H. to Hermes 46 ὡς ἀμ ἔτος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμύθεστο κύδιμος Ἐρμῆς. Polyb. 8, 36, 11 ἄμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦργον εἰλήφει συντελείαν.

13. δροια 'oaths'. See p. 16, l. 17.

16. οἶων...πουθέμονον 'regarding as an omen'.

18. ἐκαλλιρέω 'were engaged in sacrificing for good omens'. The active is used impersonally as in 6, 76 καὶ ὁ γὰρ ἐκαλλιρέε σύδαμως διαβαινεις μν, or with τὰ ἱρὰ, cp. p. 12, l. 12 καλλιεργεντωι τῶν ἱρῶν. 7, 134 τοῖς Σπαρτιητοῖς καλλιεργῆσαι θυμένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο. See on 6, 82.

μαντευομένου σφ. 'acting as their official mantis'. See on p. 22, l. 9.

20. κατολαβε 'befell', used also impersonally. See Index.

CHAPTER XCIII.

22. ἱρὰ Ἑλίου πρόβατα, that is, sheep which were the property of the temple of Apollo, from which the town takes its name. The association of the worship of the Sun with the keeping of sacred flocks and herds is frequently found. Thus Trinacria (Sicily) was sacred to the Sun, and there he had seven flocks and seven herds which were always exactly 50 in number, Odyssey 12, 128, perhaps indicating the number of days in the year; and at Taenarum [Hymn Apoll. 412 Ταναρος, ἐνθα τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ ᾿Ηλίου ἄνακτος]; and in the Island of Erytheia [Theocr. 25, 129 ἄλλοι δ' αὖ μετὰ τοῖς δυνάκες βουκολέων | ιερὸι ᾿Ηλίου· χροῖν 3' ἔτοιν ἢτε κόκναι | ἀργησταί]. This is one point in the myths of the two gods which conduced to the identification of Helios and Apollo; for the latter
god is frequently connected with the care of flocks and herds. He was the keeper of the flocks of the gods [see Hymn to Hermes 70 sq.]; and was represented as performing the same office for mortals. Hom. II. 21, 448 Φοίβε, συ δ’ εἰλίποδας ἠλικας βοῦς βουκολεῖσκες Ἰδῆς ἐν κυνηγοίς. Pindar Pyth. 9, 114 θησωντα τε νιν ἄθανατον Ζηνα και ἄγων 'Ἀπόλλων', ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις, ἀγχιστον ὀπλῶν μῆλων.


25. παρ' Ὅμικον λιμένα 'past the harbour of Oricum'. For the geographical difficulty involved in this, see Historical Index.

26. οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει δοκιμῶτατοι. We learn from Aristotle (Pol. 4, 4) that an oligarchy ruled at Apollonia, determined by high birth and descent from the original founders.

27. οὕτω, in apposition on the one hand with ἄδρες, on the other with ἐκαστος, 'these men—each for a year'.

28. τει πολλοῦ γάρ δὴ ποιεύται 'for you must know (δὴ) the people of Apollonia regard as of great importance'. Cp. 6, 61 ὁρεοῦσαν δὲ τὴν γυναίκα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεμένην ἰδεῖναι. Observe the absence of the definite article with the name of a people, very frequent in Herodotos.

1. ἐκ 'in obedience to'. 6, 118 ἄλλα μὲν δ' ἐτέων ἐκοσι Θηβαίοι 58 αὕτω ἐκ θεοπροτέου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δῆλιον.

2. ἐνθα δὴ 'in which cave it was that on this occasion'. The δὴ not only adds definiteness to a locative word, but serves here to refer to a previous description.

4. κατακομίσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν 'having slept away his watch', i.e. having passed the period of his watch asleep. κατακομίσαντος is properly transitive, 'to cause to sleep', see 8, 134. The accusative here is in a manner cognate, 'to sleep a watch' is 'to keep a watch asleep'.

8. καὶ οὖ γάρ. For the use of γάρ by anticipation,—the reason being placed before the sentence stating the fact which it explains,—cp. p. 39, l. 21; p. 54, l. 20.

9. ὑπαγαγόντες μὲν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον 'having brought him before a court'. 6, 136 ὑπαγαγόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου Μιλιτάδεω ἐδίωκε.

12. ὄστε πρόβατα...καρπόν. For this sign of divine anger following a national crime, cp. 6, 139 ἀπηδευσαί δὲ τούτοι Πελασγοί τοὺς σφατέρους παιδὰς τε καὶ γυναίκας ὄστε γῇ καρπόν ἑφερε ὄστε γυναίκεσ τε καὶ ποίμναι ὄμολως ἐτίκτων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. Cp. 3, 65. ὄμολως 'as freely as before'.

13. πρόφαντα...ἐγίνετο 'oracles were obtained by them'. This
word (= προφανέτο) is used in the technical sense of the warnings of an oracle in 5, 63 ὃς σφι ἄελ τῷ θεῷ προφανέτω ἔγνετο. The imperfect is used because not one answer is referred to but several.

15. τοις προφήταις. The 'prophet' was properly the priest in charge of the temple, who delivered the answer given by the Pythia at Delphi [8, 36] or by the prophetic women [2, 55 ἀι προφάντεις] at Dodona.

16. οἱ δὲ...ἐφραζον 'they (the prophets) told them'. For δὲ in apodosis cp. 6, 52 ἦν μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα θεοῦται ἄελλοιεσια, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἔξειν δουν τι καὶ δείκνυται. It is very often used by Herodotos in sentences where the subjects of two clauses in close juxtaposition require to be sharply distinguished.

19. πρὶν ἦ δικα σώσι. For πρὶν, Herodotos, like the poets and occasionally even Attic prose writers, uses πρὶν ἦ Madv. § 167 R. With the indefinite subjunctive πρὶν regularly has ἦν, but this is omitted in the poets sometimes. Soph. Phil. 917 μὴ στεναξί πρὶν μάθησι. For instances in Herodotos see p. 73, l. 5 ; 1, 136 πρὶν δὲ ἦ πεπεζετήσει γένεται οὐκ ἀπεκενέσται ἐς ὅνα τῷ πατρι. 6, 82 ὅσ δικαιον πειράν τῆς πόλεως πρὶν γε δῇ ἱροῖς χρήσηται. For the frequent use of two words to express priority πρῶτον...πρὶν cp. p. 4, l. 19; 5, 118 ταῦτα ἐξηγεῖσθη πρῶτον πρὶν ἦ τῶν Δαυρίσης ἀπεκέθαναι. Madv. § 127. Goodw. M. and T. (ed. 1889) § 648.

22. τὴν πολλὰς μιν μακρίναν ἄνθρωπον ἤχοντα 'in the possession of which many men would hold him happy'. In oratio obliqua the infinitive is often retained even in relative or other subordinate clauses, cp. 5, 84 ἐπει δὲ ἐστερησθαῖ. 6, 137 ἐπειτε γὰρ ἰδεέν. 8, 111 ἐπεῖ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπείνας.

CHAPTER XCIV.

24. ἀπόρρητα p. 29, l. 17.

25. προθέται 'commissioned'. It is a word used of 'introducing' or 'proposing' a subject, p. 17, l. 14. Cp. 8, 59 προθέται τῶν λόγων. 8, 49 προθέταις Εὔρυβιδέω γυνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τῶν βουλόμενων.

26. ἐν θάκφ 'on a bench', probably in the agora or some public place, where he might converse with his friends, a θάκφ ἀμπαυστήρος (1, 181). Such seats were generally occupied by old men; Evenios would be sitting among them as being debarred by his loss
of sight from active life. We have many allusions to this habit. In Plutarch (Nic. c. 12) we are told that, when the Sicilian expedition was being talked of, 'young men in palaestrae and old men in workshops and when sitting together on semi-circular benches used to draw the outline of Sicily, the natural features of the sea round it, its harbours and its coast facing Libya'. So in Euripides (Med. 68) the Paedagogos goes for news to the old men sitting on the stone seats (or perhaps playing draughts),

πεσοῦσ προσέλθων, ἐνθα δὴ παλαίτατοι
θάσουσι σεμνῶν ἀμφι Πειρήνης ὕδωρ.

The custom is alluded to in the oldest literature of Greece: see Homer II. 18, 503,

οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἰς ἐπὶ ἔστοις λίθοις ἵππο ἐν κύκλῳ.

Odyss. 15, 468 (in the πρόδομος of the palace),

οὶ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς θώκον πρόδομον, δῆμοι τε φήμην.

For the θώκος used for a different purpose see 6, 63.

27. λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῖτο 'began conversing on other subjects'.

ἐς δὲ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι 'until they gradually came to expressing sympathy with his misfortune'. For the phrase cp. 1, 90 λέγων δὲ ταύτα κατέβαινε ἀπὸς παραπεθεμένος 'he once more came to the point of asking',—though there is no notion of 'descending' in the word: it is rather 'passing from one subject to another'. For the use of the participle with such a verb cp. the construction of περάσθαι, see Index.

28. ταύτη 'in this direction', i.e. to the point which they desired to introduce. There is a notion of subtlety conveyed by ὑπάγοντες 'leading him unconsciously on'.

30. ὑποστήμαι δῶσειν 'to undertake to give'. Cp. p. 23, l. 13. τῶν by attraction for ἐκείνων ἃ.

31. δόλεο 'made a choice', thus satisfying the letter of the oracle, see l. 20. It is a very characteristic specimen of the view entertained by the Greek of his relation with the divine power. The oracle often vindicated itself by a verbal quibble in dealing with men, why may not men safely treat it on the same principle? The oracle had ordered that Evenios should have 'a choice'; he had made one. That he had made it without full knowledge of the circumstances was immaterial.
2. κλήρους equivalent to ἄγρως ‘farms’ or ‘estates’. Originally no doubt the word properly applied to ‘allotments’ of lands such as were made in founding a colony: but it came to be used as simply equivalent to a ‘landed estate’ or ‘farm’ of whatever size. Cp. 1, 76 φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοῦς κλήρους.

5. δύνατος εἶναι ‘that he would be angry no more’. The vivid present for the future.

9. πρὸς ταύτα ‘in view of these things’. It must refer to what follows, unless we suppose that the mention of the oracles at once roused the suspicion of Evenios.


12. άμφωτον ‘natural’, implanted in him by Providence, not acquired by apprenticeship to other prophets.

CHAPTER XCV.

15. ἀγώνων Κορινθίων ‘being brought on the expedition by the Korinthians’. Apollonia was a colony of Korinth, and the intercourse between a mother city and her colony led frequently to such employment of the natives of one city in the service of the other.

ἡδή δὲ καὶ τὸῦ ἡκουσα ‘and moreover I did hear’, ‘I have been told’. ἡδή introduces a climax, or an emphatic comment on what has gone before. Cp. 7, 35 ἡδὴ δὲ ἡκουσα ὡς καὶ στίγματα ἁμα τοῦτοι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τῷ Ἐλλησατοντον. Thus too it is used to add emphasis to superlatives, see 8, 105 ἡδή μεγίστη. 8, 106 ἡδὴ ἄνωσισται.

16. ἐπιβατεύων...όνοματος ‘falsely adopting’ or ‘trading on the name of Evenios’. Cp. 3, 63 ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιως οὐνόματος. 3, 67.

17. ἐκλαμβάνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἔργα ‘was undertaking jobs in various parts of Greece’. ἐκλαμβάνεσ is ‘to take a contract for doing something’, redimere: the person who gives the contract being said ἐκδίδων, locare. Hence the word in ordinary use for taking such a contract is ἔργολαβειν. But the simple ἐκλαμβάνειν also survived, as in Plutarch Pelo. 25 ἐκλαβῶν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πίστακα γράψαν. For ἐπί of extension over cp. p. 4, l. 22. See also 2, 32; 8, 107. For such wandering soothsayers, inferior in credit to the
regular practitioners, who mostly belonged to accredited mantic families and held public appointments (see on p. 22, l. 9). The editors quote Plato de Rep. 364 áνγρατης δὲ καὶ μάντεις ἐπὶ πλουσίων θυρᾶς ἴνατες πειθοῦσιν ὃς ἔστι παρὰ σφίσι δύναμις ἐκ θεών πορίσομένη θυσίας τε καὶ ἐπιφδαί, εἴτε τὰ ἀδίκημα τοῦ γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ἡ προγόνων ἀκείσθαι.

CHAPTER XCVI.

19. ὡς ἰκάλλυρης sc. τὰ ἑρᾶ, ‘when a favourable omen was obtained from the sacrifices’. See on p. 57, l. 18.
21. τῆς Σαμίης, topographical genitive, cp. p. 56, l. 9. πρὸς Καλάμουσι ‘close to’, p. 5, l. 14. The Persian fleet had wintered at Samos, see 8, 130.
26. ναυμαχήν πολέσθαι ‘to venture on a seafight’, it is not much different in meaning from ναυμαχεῖν, except that the phrase seems to involve the idea of some choice or volition on the part of those engaged. Cp. 8, 49 δοκεῖν ἐπιτηθενταυτον εἶναι ναυμαχήν πολέσθαι τῶν αὐτοῦ χωρέων ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσι.
1. οὔ γὰρ ὡς ἔδοκεν ‘for they did not, doubtless, think’. The ὡς indicates a natural inference either from previous statements, or generally acknowledged facts.
2. ἀπέπλεον ‘they began to sail off’. δκως ἵσσι, for the dramatic subjunctive in final clause after historical tense, see G. § 216. Cp. p. 62, l. 9; 8, 7. ὅπο τῶν πεζῶν στρατὸν ‘under the protection of the land force’. Cp. 8, 92 ὃς ἐπὶ βάρβαροι...φεύγουτε ἀπὸ τοῦ Φάληρον ὅπο τῶν πεζῶν στρατοῦ. So Plutarch [Them. 7] says that the object of Eurybiades in sailing to the Peloponnese from Artemision was τῶν πεζῶν στρατοῦ ταῖς ναυιν προσπερβαλέσθαι, ‘to get the protection of the land army for his ships’.
4. καταλειμμάνος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ ‘that had been left behind by the rest of the army’. That is, a detachment of the Great Army which had been left in Asia when the main body went to Europe. For the genitive cp. p. 12, l. 11 λειτεσθαὶ τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. 8, 113 λείψεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως.
9. περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ‘to surround themselves with a fortification’.
10. κρησφύγετον ‘place of refuge’, cp. p. 9, l. 9; 8, 51. Its derivation is uncertain; it was believed to mean ‘a refuge from the Cretan’ [Κρῆς] recalling the old days of Cretan piracy.
CHAPTER XCVII.

12. τῶν Ποτνίων 'of the Eumenides'. See Index. The term is applied both to the Eumenides and to Demeter and Korè, and the places of worship of both seem to have been often near each other. Their designation of Ποτνίων seems to have arisen from a general feeling against mentioning the names of these venerable goddesses too freely. The word is common in Homer as a title of respect, and seems to mean 'lady' or 'mistress'. A town in Boeotia was named Potniae after them, cp. Pausan. 9, 8, δια-βεβηκότι δὲ ἤδη τὸν 'Ἀσωτόν...Ποτνίων ἔστιν ἔρειπτα καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλῶς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. So in the hymn to these goddesses in Aristoph. Thesm. 1149

̄κετ' εὐφρονες, θαλαι,
potnia, ἀλῶς ἐσ ὑμέτερον.

The celebration of the Thesmophoria by women in the neighbourhood has been already noticed in 6, 16. τῆς Μυκάλης 'in Mykale', a topographical genitive, p. 59, l. 21. The temple of Demeter was in a lonely place on the headland at a distance from the town.

17. δενδρεα ἐκκάψαντες ἡμέρα 'having felled some cultivated trees'. These (which are opposed to wild or forest trees 8, 115) were probably the trees planted in the sacred groves round the temple.

18. σκόλοται, stakes sharpened at the end, so as to form a spiked fence. Cp. Xen. Anab. 5, 2, 5 τάφρος ἦν περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἑδρεία ἀναβιβλημένη καὶ σκόλοται ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολής.

20. ἐπὶ ἁμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι παρεσκευάζατο 'they had made their preparations calculating on both contingencies'. If they won a battle in the open they would be able to drag down their ships to sea again; if they lost it they had a fortified camp capable of standing a siege. Cp. 7, 49 πάν ἐπιλεγόμενοι πείσεσθαι χρῆμα.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

23. ἕ τι ποιέωσι, the dramatic use of the deliberative subjunctive in oratio obliqua: they would have said ἕ τι ποιέωμεν; see on l. 2. Thus also the deliberative subjunctive is retained in spite of ἕτε,
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see 6, 77 ἐχθροτηριάζετοι el ἐκβάλλη τὸν Ἀδριστον. 1, 75 εἰς τὰ χρηστήρια ἔστη αἰς ἑπταθεῖται ἐπὶ Πέρσας.

24. ἐπὶ 'Ελλησπόντου 'in the direction of the Hellespont', p. 61, l. 1.

25. μηδέτερα the plural form, as οὐδέτερα 5, 39. The reason for the αὐτ instead of μὴ in this latter is that it is in oratio obliqua.

26. ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμέραν 'down to the mainland', so as to reach the mainland. 8, 108 ἐπιδιώξεις τὰς νέας πλέειν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ελλησ-

27. ἀποβάθρας 'landing ladders' or 'boarding planks'. It is in the former sense that Thucydides uses it (4, 10) τὸν ἐαυτὸν κυβερνήτην ἀνάγκασα δικαίως τὴν ναῦν ἐκβολεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν.

1. ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης 'they set sail towards Mykale', p. 60, 61 l. 24.

4. παρακεκριμένον 'drawn up in line along the shore', cp. 8, 70 ἄντι γον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ παρεκκληθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἱσχίνη.

7. ὠπὸ κήρυκος 'by the voice of a herald'. It would require a man with a strong and clear voice to make himself heard on shore from shipboard. The heralds were often members of a particular family or caste who exercised an hereditary craft: see 7, 134 of the Talthybiadæ at Sparta. So Darius was accompanied in Skythia by an Egyptian,—φωνεῶν μέγατον ἄνθρωπον (4, 141), who could make himself heard across the Danube. In Athens they were a sacred order connected with the Eumolpidae and the mysteries (Thucyd. 8, 53, 2; Andoc. de Myst. § 116), and were also an hereditary caste, handing down the craft from father to son, ib. § 127 τὸν παίδα Ἰδη μέγαν ὄντα εἰςάγει εἰς τοὺς κήρυκας.

8. ἑπακούοντες 'listening', 'within ear-shot'.

11. τινα = ἐκαστον, cp. 6, 9 νῦν τις ὑμέων οὐ ποιήσας φανήτω. 8, 109 καὶ τις οἰκίν τε ἄναπλασάσθω καὶ σποροῦ ἄνακως ἔχέτω.

12. μετὰ δὲ, adverbial, p. 15, l. 11.

tοῦ συνθήματος Ἡβῆς "the watchword 'Hebe'". The Ionians were to know the Greek watchword in order that in the actual battle they might be able to ascertain whether they were meeting friends or foes, and might avoid being themselves slain by Greeks who wished to befriend them. This was particularly necessary in a battle in which men of so many nationalities were engaged who were strangers to each other; or where men of the same nationality and language were on opposite sides. The word σύνθημα is used
elsewhere for an ‘agreement’ or ‘signal agreed upon’, 5, 74; 6, 121; 8, 7. For the meaning of ‘watchword’, cp. Thucyd. 7, 44, 5 τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι τοῦ εὐνόμημας πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι. For the use of the name of a god for such a watchword cp. Xen. Hellen. 2, 4, 17 ὅταν δὲ Ἑυνάλλος παρακαλέσωμεν τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδῶν ἄνθ᾽ ἄν ὑβρισθήμεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας. Xen. An. 1, 8, 16 καὶ ἤπετο δι' ἐκ τοῦ σύνθεμα ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνετο δι' ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩΘΡ καὶ ΝΙΚΗ. id. 6, 5, 25 ἐκ τοῦτου σύνθεμα παρῆκε Ζεῦς Σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμόν. id. 7, 3, 39 σύνθεμα ἐκ τοῦ 'Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν συγγενείαν. Cyrop. 3, 3, 58. [It has been proposed to read Ἡρῆς here because of its local appropriateness: the fleet having cast anchor near the Heraeum in Samos, p. 59, l. 22. But in the cases quoted above it is rather the circumstances of the fight than its locality which seem to suggest the word selected.] For the method of giving out the watchword among the Romans by means of wooden tickets or tesserae, see Polyb. 6, 36.

13. ὃ μὴ ἐκκούσας ‘whoever has not caught the word’. The participle with indefinite μὴ.

14. νόος ‘intention’. For Themistokles trying to implicate the Greeks along the coast in treason to Xerxes, or to induce them to join by leaving written invitations to them cut in stones, see 8, 22; Plutarch Them. 9. ὁντὸς καὶ ‘the same as’, 8, 4 τοῦτο πλήρωμα παρείχετο καὶ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

16. δὴ introducing an obvious result. ‘For of course either the words would not be noticed by the barbarians and would be sure to persuade the Ionians, or etc.’ For the fut. infinitive after μέλλω see on 8, 2; G. § 202. 2.

18. ἀπιστοὺς in an active sense, ‘mistrustful of’. In the parallel passage 8, 22 it is passive, ἵνα...ἀπιστοὺς ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας ‘objects of suspicion’. 1, 8 ὅτα τυχόνει ἄνθρωποι ἐνατα ἀπιστοτέρα ὁθαλμῶν ‘less believing than eyes’. So ἀπιστοὺς ‘distrustfully’, Thucyd. 2, 83, 1.

CHAPTER XCIX.

23. παρασκευαζόμενος...παρασκευάζωντας. Notice the difference of the tenses, ‘when they saw them engaged in getting into line of battle, and that the commanders had already delivered their exhortation’,—which was the preliminary to immediate action.
25. τοῦτο μὲν 'in the first place', answered by τοῦτο δὲ in p. 62, l. 5. τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέων 'were inclined to take part with the Greeks'. 8, 34 δὴλον ποιεῖν ὅτι τὰ Μῆδων Βοιωτικὸν φρονέων. 74. φρονέων τὰ βασιλεῖς. 75 τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας.

1. ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λαλεμέμενος. In 8, 51 we are told that 62 when he took Athens Xerxes found only a few inhabitants there, the rest having crossed to Salamis, those left being principally stewards of the temple or very poor people; but there must have been many countrymen caught by the army in its march through Attica, who had been unable to escape to various retreats in hills and fastnesses.

2. λυσάμενοι. This ransoming prisoners by a friendly people was the more common, because it was not the custom for the state to which the unfortunate persons belonged to do so. Appeals were frequently sent to various towns with which they were in any way connected, see on 6, 89; Polyb. 9, 42.

3. ἐποδισάςαντες 'having furnished them with money or provisions for the journey'. Cp. 4, 203 οὶ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναῖοι δεήθεντες ἐποδία σὺν δοῦναι ἐτυχὼν.

8. δὴλον 'as they pretended',—which was not their real motive for giving the Ionians this post. See p. 42, l. 12; p. 51, l. 4.

9. ἐποίησαν...ἰνα...κοι, the dramatic subj. after historical tense, see p. 60, l. 3 and 23. G. § 216, 2, § 248 note.

10. τοῖς...κατεδόκεοι 'of whom they had grave suspicions'. For the particular use of the word in this sense of suspicion cp. 3, 27 πάγχυ σφέας καταδίσας ἑαυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρίζωνα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. 6, 16 πάγχυ σφέας καταδίσαντες εἶναι κλωπὰς καὶ λέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναίκας. See 8, 4. Though sometimes it seems merely a strengthened form of δοκέω as p. 36, l. 25; 8, 96. κατεδόκεος is followed by the dative τοῖς on the analogy of συνειδέων.

11. νεοχύδον...ποιεῖν=νέον ποιεῖν 'to revolt', p. 65, l. 7. Cp. νεοχυδοῦν=νεωτρέξειν 4, 201; 5, 19.


CHAPTER C.

14. παρεσκευαζότο is taken to mean 'when their preparations had been made by the Greeks'. The plural in this sense is not the most usual form of expression. St. compares ἔτομα ἤν, common
in Thucydides (2, 3, 4); and in the same chapter of Thucydides we
have an example of the verbal adjective plural (ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι),
which is also common; still the plural of an impersonal verb, such as
παρεσκευάδατο is here, seems peculiar. [Reiske proposed παρε-
σκευάστο πάντα. If ol "Ελληνες were written for τοίοι Ἑλλησι it would
remove all difficulty, cp. p. 60, l. 19; 3, 150; 5, 34; 7, 218, 219.
For another suggestion see Notes on the Text.]

16. φήμη...κηρυκήνων. For the personification of φήμη as a
mysterious influence from heaven, see on p. 57, l. 3.

It is an interesting subject of speculation, but one which does
not admit of any certain solution, as to how such a sudden rumour
should have spread through the Greek army. Diodorus (11, 34—
35) gives a rationalistic explanation: he says that the herald sent by
Leotychides to invite the Ionians to revolt from the Persians was
instructed by him to proclaim that the Greeks had conquered at
Plataea. That this was done the day before the battle. That when
the Greeks disembarked next day the sudden report of the victory
at Plataea spread among them, not at the moment of the charge,
but long enough before to enable the generals to summon a meeting
and encourage the men by repeating it. He therefore concludes
that it was a deliberate ruse of the commanders to inspire spirit
into the troops. Grote (5, p. 47) would seem to explain it as a sudden
popular impulse spreading, no one knows how, through a crowd, like
the extraordinary fury which suddenly inspired the mob of Paris on
the 14th July 1789, and impelled them to the capture of the Bastille.
This last however, which can be represented by skillful use of literary
art as a sudden and mysterious inspiration, admits of sober explana-
tion from the events of the previous day. In the case before us there are
but three explanations possible:—either it was a report deliberately
spread by the commanders; or it was a real instance of the divine
φήμη [ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτόματον ἐκ μηδεμῶν προφάσεως
λέγῃ τινὰ ὃς γεγενημένην πράξιν, Aeschin. F. L. § 145]; or lastly
we must conclude that the battles were not exactly on the same day,
and that some report was transmitted to the fleet in Asia, perhaps
by means of the chain of beacon fires arranged by Xerxes across
the islands, see p. 2, l. 11. κηρυκήνων. The sacredness of the
herald’s staff, which took the place of a white flag, brought with it

17. κυματωγῇ ‘beach’,—where the waves are broken (ἀγριμμ). 20. τὰ θεα τῶν πρηγμάτων ‘the divine element in affairs’, the
interposition of Providence in the affairs of men’. Herodotos at any rate had no doubts; and looking upon the victory of Greek over Persian as part of a great providential scheme, would have little difficulty in recognising such display of the divine care. Instances of Herodotos’ faith in the interference of divine Providence in human affairs will be found in 1, 174; 2, 66; 3, 42; 7, 137; 8, 65, 94 [St.].

el kal tote ‘since on this occasion’, for el kal cp. p. 43, l. 2; 5, 78 δηλοὶ δὲ οὐ κατ’ ἐν μοῦνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῶ καὶ λαγγορή ὡς ἔστι χρήμα σπουδαῖον, el kal’Αθηναίου τυραννεύουσιν κ.τ.λ.

23. τρόματος ‘defeat’, p. 56, l. 8.

CHAPTER CI.

26. Δήμητρος τεμένεα. The temples of Demeter in both cases are in solitary places away from the town, see c. 65 and 5, 91. For her worship in Asia Minor see p. 60, l. 13. παρὰ ‘close by’.

1. πρότερον p. 41, l. 18. ήμαλλα ‘it was fated’, ‘it was to be’. 63 4, 5. πρῶτο...περὶ δείκην. Herodotos seems to divide the day into four parts (1) πρῶτο, (2) δείκη πρῶτη [8, 6], (3) δείκη, (4) δείκη ὄψις [8, 9], answering roughly to morning, midday, afternoon and evening.

6. ήμέρης...μηνός, for the case see on p. 56, l. 8. Plutarch (Arist. c. 19) says that the date was the 4th of Boedromion (= 19 September), or the 3rd [Camill. c. 19].

7. δήλα, for the plural see on p. 62, l. 14.

ἀναμανθάνοντι ‘upon going into a calculation of the days’.

10. μὴ περὶ Μαρδοκηφ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς ‘lest Greece should suffer disaster in the contest with Mardonios’, lit. ‘have a fall upon Mardonios’; the metaphor seems to be from wrecking a ship upon a rock, cf. 6, 45 προσπαίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρούνοις καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλῳ περὶ “Δθων.

11. κληθῶν = φήμη in p. 62, l. 16.


13, 14. ὡς σφὶ...προεκέπτο. The possession of the Cyclades had long been an object of desire to the Persian government. These islands had not shared in the original subjection of the Ionians [5, 30], nor had they fallen with the islands near the Asiatic coast.
such as Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos after the revolt [6, 31]. On their way to Marathon the Persians subdued Naxos and touched at Delos and others of the Cyclades, forcing them in many instances to furnish contingents of ships [6, 97], as also did Xerxes in 480 B.C. [8, 46, 66, III—IIII]; but the Persian hold on them never appears to have been secure, and some of their ships, though sent to aid the Persians, either did nothing or took the Greek side.

CHAPTER CII.

17. μέχρι κοι τῶν ἡμερῶν 'to about half', that is, half the whole Greek force were on level ground, half were marching up a ravine, or the bed of a winter torrent.

22. ητι καὶ δὴ έμάχοντο 'were meanwhile actually engaged with the enemy'. For καὶ δὴ see p. 3, l. 21; p. 11, l. 22.


24. Θασσόν εἴχον opp. to πλέον εἴχον p. 44, l. 10.

26. τὸ έργον 'the credit of the achievement'. Cp. 6, 29 τὸ δὲ έργον τῆς ίππου τούτου ἐγένετο. 8, 102 σὸν τὸ έργον, ὂ δέσποτα, γίνεται.

64 1. έργον εἴχοντο προθυμότερον 'they threw themselves with even greater enthusiasm into the work'. Cp. 8, 11 δεύτερα δὲ σμήναντος έργον εἴχοντο. The middle ἔχονται with genitive is 'to stick to', 'to hang on to'. ἐνθεύτεν ἢδη 'from that very moment'. ἢδη emphasises the temporal adverb, see on p. 59, l. 15.

2. φερόμενοι 'at full speed', 'with a rush', cp. 8, 91 φερόμενοι ἐσπείροντο ἐς τοὺς Δλτιόντας. So also the active, 8, 87 'Ἀρτεμισία φέρουσα ἐνέβαλεν ἐν φιλίᾳ.

4. ἐλευθυνόν 'began to retreat'. τὸ τείχος, the fortification raised by the Persians round their ships, p. 60, ll. 9, 10.

5. 'Ἀθηναίοι. The Athenians were always better at this kind of fighting than the Lakedaemonians, see c. 70.

8. οὔτε καὶ πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράπαντο...πρὸς φυγήν τε... 'the barbarians not only showed no more fight, but all except the Persians took to headlong flight'. For οὔτε...τε cp. 6, 16 οὔτε προακήκοατε ὡς εἴχε, ἠδότες τε στρατίων. For ἀλκήν cp. p. 44, l. 24.


10. κατ' ὀλλον καὶ νομίμων 'in small detached parties', 8, 62
CHAPTER CIII.

20. Ἀλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι 'and especially some Sikyonians and their general Perileos'. Stein would read Σικυώνιον which would mean 'and among other Sikyonians notably their general'. But it seems that Herodotos intends to indicate that among the Hellenes the loss of the Sikyonians was the most conspicuous.

24. ἐτεραλκεά 'doubtful', cp. 8, 11 ἐτεραλκέως ἀγωνίζεσθαι. In Homer it means 'inclining to one of two sides', see II. 7, 26 ὅτα δὴ Δαναώι μάχης ἐτεραλκεά νίκην δοθ. 17, 627 ὅτα δὴ Τρώεσσι δίδου ἐτεραλκεά νίκην.

25. προσωφελέων...τοιοῦτον Ἑλληνι. This verb is followed by accus. in p. 43, l. 6. The dative construction is poetical, see Eur. Αἰκ. 42 τοιοῦτο γ' οἰκον ἐκδικω κροικων προσωφελεῖαι.


CHAPTER CIV.

1. τῶν Περσῶν 'of the Persian army'. Abicht suggests a 65 loss of a preposition ἐκ or πρὸς, but this is hardly necessary. τῶν Περσῶν may stand for the whole barbarian army, and be regarded as a partitive genitive. If the alteration were made σφι in the next line should be σφί.

2. ἧν ἄρα...καταλαμβάνῃ...κατάλαβε 'if it eventually turned out that that happened to them, which as a fact did befall them'. For ἄρα in such eventual suppositions cp. 5, 106 εἰ μὴ ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖται. ὦτ. 124 ὃς ἄμενος σφι σφί κρησοφύγετον τῷ ἅπαρχον εἶναι, ἦν ἄρα ἐξωθεῖται ἐκ τῆς Μιλησίου.


9. ἀν δὴ...πολεμόον 'which in fact brought them into the midst of the enemy'.

11. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον...ἀπέστη 'this was the way in which Ionia for the second time revolted from the Persians'. The first was twenty-two years before (B.C. 501). For οὕτω δὴ see p. 8, l. 26.
CHAPTER CV.

14. παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας 'who had trained for and engaged in the pancratium'. So 6, 92 πεντάθλου ἐπασκήσας. For the connexion of success in athletic contests with prowess in war, see also p. 47, l. 19. The pancratium consisted of boxing and wrestling (πυγμή καὶ πάλη), and was one of the 'heavy' contests requiring great strength and much training.

15. κατέλαβα 'it befell', p. 1, l. 11.

17. κέσθαι 'to be buried', cf. 1, 67 ἐπειρησομένου τῶν χωρῶν ἐν ὧ κέσθαι Ὑρέστης. 4, 11 ἐν τῷ ἑωτόν κέσθαι ἀποθανήται. The war between the Athenians and Karystians is recorded in Thucydides 1, 98 πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτῶς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοῶν πόλεως ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνῳ ἐξελήφθειν καὶ ὅμολογὶς. It was some time between B.C. 476 and 466, and was one of the incidents in the growing discontent at the administration of Athens under the confederacy of Delos. See Grote 5, p. 159. The Karystians had suffered from the exactions of Themistokles, see 8, 112.

ἐπὶ Γεραιστῆ 'on the promontory of Geraistos'.

CHAPTER CVI.

23. προδεαγαγόντες 'having removed the booty previously from the camp', i.e. before setting fire to it.

66 1. θησαυροῦς 'collections of money': not as the word usually means 'money buried or hidden away', but as in 8, 190 'money chests' or 'bags'.

4. περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίας 'about removing the inhabitants of Ionia'. The word is not used by Herodotos elsewhere; but the adjective ἀναστάτος is employed in a similar sense, infr. l. 15; 7, 118 ἀναστάτοις ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγένοτο. ὅπως...τῆς Ἑλλάδος 'in what part of Greece', a topographical genitive, p. 17, l. 28.

9. χαίροντας 'without damage'.

11. τοῖς ἐν τελεί οὖν 'the commanders', 'those in office', 3, 18 τοῦ ἐν τελεί ἐκκάθος ἑόντας τῶν ἀστῶν.

12. τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας 'having removed the inhabitants of the mercantile towns'. For the meaning of ἐξαναστάναι see on l. 4. For the accusative after τοῖς...ἐδόκεε, from the influence of the infinitive cp. 5, 109 ὅτι ἐν ἑλή υἱῶν ἐκκάθος ἐκ τῶν
νεών τάσσεσθαι πείγ. 6, 22 τοιοί τι έχουσι...έδοκε...έσ άποικίην
έκπλωσι μηδέ μέρονπας δουλεύσι. The Ionians were a mercantile
and seafaring folk, and the proposal seems to be that they should be
placed in the various islands that had medised (see 8, 111), as well
perhaps as in the coast towns of Thebes, Argos and Lokris.

14. ἄρχῆν 'at all' 6, 33 ἐτὶ δὲ Κύζικον οὔτ' ἐπιλωσάν ἄρχην.
ἐπ. 86 εἷ γε ἄρχην μὴ θλαβον.

15. ἀνάσσατον 'depopulated' 'removed', see l. 4.
περὶ τῶν σφητέρων άποικίων. The connexion of Athens
with the Ionian towns was somewhat loose. The Athenians did
not always care to be considered Ionians (see 1, 143; 5, 66, 69),
yet Ion the name-hero of the Ionians was the son of the Athenian
Creusa, according to the received myth, while Miletos was believed to
have been founded by a son of the Athenian Kodros (p. 60, l. 15); and
the capture of that town was regarded at Athens as a domestic sorrow
(6, 21). In a certain sense therefore Athens was regarded as the
Mother city (μητρότολιο) of the Ionians, and it is not surprising that
the Athenian generals should show some jealousy of an interference
in their concerns on the part of Peloponnesian Dorians.

17. οὖν δὴ 'and it was in these circumstances'. This seems
the beginning of the movement afterwards completed by Aristeides
in forming what is called the confederacy of Delos. Aristotle (de
Rep. Alth. 23) says that the oaths which confirmed the confederacy
were taken 'in the third year after the battle of Salamis in the
archonship of Timosthenes' i.e. B.C. 478. The oaths mentioned
by Herodotus as being taken after Mycale may be regarded as
suggesting the later treaty; for which see also Thucyd. 1, 95.
This later treaty was confirmed with additional solemnity by
dropping plates of metal into the sea (καὶ τοὺς μύδρους ἐν τῷ πελάγει
καθείλαν).

20. πιστὶ τι καταλαβόντες 'having bound them both by a
pledge of honour and by oaths'. Thucyd. 8, 63, 3 τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
στρατεύματι ἐτί βεβαιώτερον κατέλαβον. Herodotus uses καταλαμ-
βάνειν in a great variety of meanings. The sense here is derived
from the idea of restraint often implied by the word: cp. 5, 21 καὶ
σφέας 'Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε 'suppressed them'. See p. 1, l. 11.
Notice the two pairs of clauses connected by τε...καὶ,—the parties
to the alliance are bound in two ways, by honour and by oaths,
to two things—to be loyal to their pledges and not to quit the
confederacy.
22. τὰς γεφόρας λύσοντες 'to break the bridge of boats across the Hellespont.' The bridge had been broken by a storm some months before, see 8, 117. It is remarkable that the Greek commanders should have been still unacquainted with the fact. But apparently little certain news as to the state of things in North Greece and the Hellespont had reached Athens during the preceding winter, and rumours of the most contradictory character had been current. See notes on 8, 115.

CHAPTER CVII.

26. ἐγκέρα κομιδή 'a return was being accomplished.' Cp. 7, 170 οὐδεμίην σφί έτι κομιδήν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι. 8, 19 κομιδής πέρι αυτῆς μελήσεως ὡστε ἀνείκεις ἀσκεύτεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

28. παρατυχὼν 'who had been present at.' Masistès appears not to have been in command, in spite of his close connexion with the sovereign.

67 4. βασιλέως οἰκον the king's house or family is the main object to be regarded: it is in fact the state. See 8, 102 οὐδεμίη συμφορή μεγάλη ἐσται σέο τε περιεύροντο καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ οἰκον τῶν οὖν.

5. γυναίκος κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι 'to be called more cowardly than a woman.' Cp. 1, 155 ταχέως σφέας γυναίκας ἀντ' ἄνδρων ὄφει γεγονότας. 8, 88 οἷ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγονότας μοι γυναίκες, αἶ δὲ γυναίκες ἄνδρες. For οἰκον cp. p. 50, l. 4.

δέννος 'reproach' is a rare word, but the verb δεννάζεω is used several times in the tragedians, e.g. Soph. Aj. 243. An adjective δέννως 'abusive' is also given by Hesychios.


10. ἀρτάζει μέσον 'catches him round the middle', like a wrestler, whence the phrase ἔχομαι μέσον frequent in Aristophanes, see Eq. 387; Ach. 571; Nub. 1047 εὔθες γάρ σε μέσον ἔχω λαβὼν ἀφικτον. A translation of some similar Greek phrase is quoted also from Terence Adelph. 316 sublimen medium raperem et capite pronum in terram statuerem.

12. χάριτα πιθέμενον 'by way of putting both Masistès himself
and Xerxes under an obligation. For χάριτα τίθεσθαι 'to lay up a store of gratitude' see p. 39, l. 9.

CHAPTER CVIII.

20. προσπηπτήσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ 'after his defeat at Salamis'. See on p. 63, l. 10.

21. ἐὰν resumptive 'as I say'. ἐδω ἄρα 'being accordingly at Sardis'. ἤρα 'he fell in love with'.

22. οἰ...οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι 'she could not be induced to yield to him', cp. 7, 6 χρόνῳ κατεργάσατο τε καὶ ἀνέπεσε Σέρβεα. This aorist is always passive, cp. 4, 179 ἐπείτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πηλίων ἦ 'Ἀργὼ.

24. προμηθεύομενος 'from respect for'. 2, 172 τιμῶν τε καὶ προμηθεύομαι ἐσωτήρι ἐκέλευ. 25. εἶχε 'was restraining', 'was preventing her consent', cp. p. 7, l. 20; 1, 158 Ἀριστόδικος ἑσχε μὴ ποιήσαι ταῦτα Κυμαλοῦσ. 28. θυγατέρα must be taken in apposition to the clause πρὸς εἰς τὸν γάμον τοῦτον, 'he arranges this marriage, namely, the daughter of this woman and Masistes to his own son Dareios'. For the accusative in apposition with a sentence see G. § 137 n. 3.

2. τὰ νομίζόμενα 'the usual rites of marriage'; so of other 68 established forms and ceremonies, (1) of cleansing after murder 1, 35 ἐπέλευ χεῖ τὰ νομίζόμενα ἐποίησεν ὁ Κροῖς. (2) Of burial, Lysias 32 § 8 ἑδύνασε τοὺς δάνατον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν τὰ νομίζόμενα.

4. ηγάγετο ἐς ἐσωτήρι 'brought into his own house'. The bridegroom is said ἐγάγεθαι, see 5, 16 ἔγεται ἐκαστὸς συγγάλ γυναίκας. 6, 69 ὅσ μὲν ἡγάγετο Ἀριστῶν ἐς ἐσωτήρι. But here the same expression is used of the father of the bridegroom. So of Kroisos 1, 34 ἔγεται τῷ παῖδι γυναίκα.

6. ἐνθύχανε...γυναίκος not=τοῦ τῆς γυναίκος ἔρωτος as Stein says. Abicht aptly quotes Plutarch Mar. 14 καὶ ποιλάκις πειρῶν οὐκ ἐνθύχανε.

CHAPTER CIX.

9. ἀνάπνοτα γίνεται 'became notorious', from the sense of ἀνακυνθάνεσθαι 'to ascertain by enquiry', 5, 57. Cp. 6, 64 ἀνάπνοτα γενόμενα. 6, 66 ἀνακύνθου γενομένου.

10. ἔξυπναστα 'having finished the weaving of a mantle'. By
**NOTES ON**

φάρος Herodotus seems to mean a loose mantle worn over the χιτών as in Homer II. 2, 42

ἔξετο δ’ ὁρθωθεῖς, μαλακὸν δ’ ἐνδυτο χιτώνα,
καλὸν νηγάτεον, περὶ δὲ μέγα βάλλετο φάρος.

It seems however to have been small, and of the nature of a scarf rather than a cloak, for the Egyptian priests are said (2, 122) to weave one in a single day (αὐτήμερον).

14. αἰτήσαι δὲ βουλεταὶ...ἀμοῖνα. The parallelism of the story with that of Herod and the daughter of Herodias is striking. In both the underlying principle is the oriental notion that the ‘king’s pleasure’ is the highest object of the subject, and worthy of almost any reward.

16. γὰρ anticipatory, see p. 58, l. 8. έδει ‘it was fated’. Cp. 5, 93, 4 έδει οὖν τὸν Ἱππίωνον γόνου Κορίθω διὰ ἀναβλάστην.
5, 33 καὶ οὖ γὰρ έδει τοῦτο τῷ στόλῳ τῆν Νάξου ἀπολέσαι. 6, 64 έδει δὲ, οἷς οἷς, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαύσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιλέης.

18. δοκῶν...αἰτήσεσθαι ‘expecting that she would ask anything rather than what she did’. Cp. l. 1 δοκῶν...ἀμφιθεῖται. One class of MSS. has αἰτήσαι. The aorist infinitive after words of promising, threatening, expecting etc. is rejected by Madvig, but yet seems undoubtedly to occur. Goodwin M. and T. §136.

20. παντοῖος ἐγνέτο ‘tried every possible argument’, used especially with a reference to verbal persuasion; so the daughter of Polycrates (3, 124) παντοῖο ἐγνέτο μὴ ἀπεδημῆσαι τῶν Πολυκράτεα ‘used every possible argument to dissuade Polycrates from going’. 7, 10 §3 παντοῖο ἐγένοτο Σκύθαι δεσμενον Ἰώνων λύσαι τῶν πόρων.

23. πόλις ἔδιδον ‘he offered her cities’, i.e. the revenue raised from cities, as to Themistokles were assigned ‘Magnesia for his bread, bringing in 50 talents a year, Lampsakos for his wine, Myus for his meat’, Thucyd. 1, 138.

26. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ p. 18, l. 15. διδότ the historic present ‘he gave her’. Observe the distinction in meaning between it and the imperfect ἔδιδον.

**CHAPTER CX.**

69 1. οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκοτον ‘had no grudge against’ 8, 29; 3, 59.

ἐφιλοῦσα ‘supposing’, 1, 27 Κροίσον δὲ ἐλπίζωντα λέγειν ἕκινου ἀληθέα.
4. βασιλείαν δείπνον προτιθέμενον 'giving a royal public banquet', the middle is employed as usual to express what a man does by the means of others, contrast προθείναι δαίται in 1, 207. The keeping of the king's birthday throughout Asia is noticed by Plato Alkib. 1, 121. Cp. 1, 133 ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μᾶλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι, τῇ ἐκαστῷ ἑγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαίτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιεῖν προτιθεσθαῖ.

9. σμάται μοῦν. The special sanctity of the head was a notion widely spread in various forms of superstition. See J. G. Fraser Golden Bough i, p. 188 'Nor does the guardian spirit of the head like to have the hair washed too often; it might injure or incommode him. It was a grand solemnity when the king of Burmah's head was washed with water taken from the middle of the River'.

12. δεινῶν... ἐποιεῖτο p. 3, l. 7; p. 35, l. 9. τούτο μὲν... τούτο ἐπὶ p. 61, l. 25.

CHAPTER CXI.

16. ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος 'being compelled by the law', i.e. prevented from doing what he wished: yet Herodotos uses the word simply to mean 'compelled', without the notion of being 'prevented' from any action; 7, 139 ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκαῖον ἐξεργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι.

17. σφι 'among them'.

21. δερεῖος whole brother, by the same father and mother.

7, 82 Μασίτης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Αττασίω ταῖς.

27. ἀχρηστὸν 'unkindly', 'unfeeling', 8, 111 θεοῦ δῶ ἄχρηστος.

1. ηγάγεο see on p. 68, l. 4. κατὰ νόον p. 30, l. 4.

4. μεγάλα ποιεῖμεν 'regard it as a high honour', 1, 119 μεγάλα ποιοδόμους ὅτι ἡ ἀμαρτάς οἶ δέον ἐγγεγόνε. μηδαμῶς βιῶ 'do not use violence' βιῶμαι = βιάζομαι. 4, 139 ἵνα οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ περίφατο βιώμενοι. 6, 137 βιασθαῖ σφεις.

14. δευτερα, οὐ δὴ κοῦ με ἀπέλευς 'My Lord, surely you haven't already done me deadly harm!' Some editors print a note of interrogation. It is rather an exclamation, wrung from Masistes by a sudden conviction that his wife has already been attacked.
NOTES ON

Δωλεσσα is an 'instantaneous' aorist, which can only be represented by our perfect. It is used, as often in tragedy, as a general word expressing a particular misfortune well understood from the context and circumstances. For δη = 'already' 'actually' p. 3, l. 21.

CHAPTER CXII.

15. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ 'at the very time', cp. 8, 27 ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ 'while this was going on'.
17. διαλυμαίνεται 'caused to be thoroughly mutilated', a strengthened form of λυμαίνεσθαι p. 50, l. 3.

CHAPTER CXIII.

23. ὑπόμενος 'expecting', p. 69, l. 1.
26. ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ Βάκτρα 'he set out for Baktra', because Bactriana was his own province and one distant from the central government, and he might hope to raise a revolt there. It was the 12th province (νομός) and contributed 360 talents to the Royal revenue, 3, 93.
26. καὶ δὴ κου...καὶ 'and no doubt with certain others besides'. For the combination of particles see p. 23, l. 7. ΚΟΥ gives a greater indefiniteness to the phrase.
29. ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο 'would have actually come to pass'. Cp. 8, 109 τάτερ ὃν καὶ ἐγένετο. 5, 92 § 3 ὡς...πάντα ἐρευνήσεως μέλλονεν, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο.
6, 95 διὰ νὴσων τόν πλῆθον ἐπορεύετο ὡς μὲν ἕμοι δοκέειν δεισάντες... Sometimes without ὡς, 5, 67 ταῦτα δὲ, δοκέων ἕμοι, ἐμμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἐωτοῦ μητροπάτορα.

CHAPTER CXIV.

71 9. ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου 'in the direction of the Hellespont'.
12. ἐντεταμένας p. 66, l. 23.
13. τοῖοι...ἄμφι Δαυτυχίδην 'those with Leotychides' either his personal staff, or perhaps his whole contingent may be included. Thucyd. 8, 65, 1 ἵλ ἄμφι τὸν Πελασιάδρον includes a whole squadron. Herodotus uses ἄμφι freely, but it is rare in Attic prose, and was entirely supplanted by περὶ. It is not used in the Attic orators or by Polybious.
16. περιωκίδων τῆς Χερσονήσου. It was natural for the Athenians
to wish to secure the Chersonese and turn out the Persians, since it
had been in the time of Miltiades in a sense a dependency of
Athens, for the family of Miltiades who ruled in it before B.C. 493
seem never to have ceased to be Athenians. Several of the towns
in it were colonies from Athens, and to late times the Athenians
regarded it as an important possession, especially as helping to secure
the export of corn from the Pontus, as well as supplying a good deal
itself.

CHAPTER CXV.

22. περιωκίδων sc. πολλῶν 'from the towns in its neighbour-
hood' cp. i, 76 εἰς δὲ τὰς περιωκίδας αὐτῆς πάσας. καὶ δὴ καὶ
p. 70, l. 26.

23, 24. δὴ...κεκομικός 'who had brought there the ropes of the
bridge'. τὰ δὴ πλα Her. uses the same word in 7, 25, Cp. p. 74, l.
26. δῆλα is used for the cordage of a ship in the Odyssey (2, 390
cetc.) and we have ἵης τὰ ὑπηρετοῖ (Odys. 17, 288), and this bridge
consisted of ships lashed together.

ἡν κεκομικός a periphrastic pluperfect, cp. ἰν γεγονότα in 6, 33.

CHAPTER CXVI.

1. τοῦτον τοῦ νομοῦ 'of this district', it was not one of the 72
original Satrapies of Dareios, as it had only been occupied by the
Persians since about B.C. 493.

3. ἀνάσαλος 'impious', a poetical word, often used in Homer
expressing blind presumption or impiety. See 8, 109 ἄνδρα...
ἀνάσαλον τε καὶ ἀνάσαλον. 7, 35 ἐνετέλεσά δὴ ἢ ὑπίστιονα λέγειν
βάρβαρα τε καὶ ἀνάσαλον.

6. τάφος τε καὶ τίμειον περὶ αὐτὸν 'a tomb and a sacred
enclosure round it', that is, there was a Chapel or Heroum in honour
of Protesilaos. Thucydides calls it τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου (8, 102,
3). For the worship of such heroes, see on p. 15, l. 21.

10. διεβάλετο 'took him in', 'deceived him', cp. 6, 50 ἐὼν
σοφὸς καὶ διεβάλλων ἐκείνον ἐω. The active is used also, see 5,
107; 8, 110. The middle seems to infer the advantage gained
by the deceiver,—'he gained his object in deceiving him'. Herodotus uses διεβάλλω in various connexions and with several shades
of meaning. There are always however involved the ideas of deception, and of anger or suspicion excited in the person affected.

13. ἤνα καὶ τις. See on p. 11, l. 18; p. 30, l. 5.

14. ἔμελλε 'he was certain to', 8, 6 καὶ ἔμελλον δὴν ἕκφεδρον ἔξεσθαι. Ar. Vesp. 464 ἄρ' ἐμέλλομεν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσώβησεν χρόνω.

19. τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλείους 'of whoever is king for the time being'. Yet the Persians had had nothing to do with Asia Minor until the conquest of the Lydian kingdom, about B.C. 546. Still such ideas soon grew up and assume the appearance of natural laws. Cp. 1, 4 ἀπὸ τοῦτοῦ (the Trojan war) αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφαῖρα εἶναι πολέμουν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖον καὶ τὰ ἐνυκέφαλα ἔθεε τῇ βάρβαρᾳ οἰκεῖεται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Ἐθρώτην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγήσαται κεχωρίσατο. The Persians soon found antiquaries who suggested to them such arguments, which were not without their influence on the Greek mind, as is shown in such cases as the grounds alleged by Solon for the Athenian claim on Salamis; and much later when the Orators, as Isocrates, thought it worth while to allege, as the ground on which to rest the claim of Athens to the gratitude of Hellas, her reception of the banished Heraklids. Thus we find a story that Dareios tried to secure an alliance with Argos on the ground that Perses, son of Perseus (an Argive), was the name-hero of the Persian race [7, 150]. For αἰεὶ cp. p. 64, l. 11.

21. ὑπερεῖ καὶ ἑνίμμητο 'sowed and was taking the fruits of it'. νέμουσα γὰρ is to 'occupy and enjoy the soil' in any way, either by taking the crops or by pasturing sheep or cattle on it. The temenos was consecrated and always sacred from such uses.

21. δικονοὶ 'whenever he came', the iterative optative, see on 6, 29, 63. G. § 213, 3. Madv. § 133.

25. ἄφθυκτος καὶ 'in a manner which made it impossible to avoid the attack'. Artayktes finally escaped (c. 118), therefore the word must apply to the siege,—he hadn't time to get away before the Athenians began to blockade Sestos. One MS. has ἄφλακτῳ, see notes on text.

CHAPTER CXVII.

73 2. ἑσχάλλων 'began to grow impatient', 3, 152 ἥδη ἦ Ἐαρές κε ἑσχάλλε καὶ η ἐστασι κάσα αὐ ἐννα ἐστὰ ἔλεων τοῦ Βασιλείων. It is a word little used except by poets. Homer has always
the form ἀσχαλῶ, and the ἀσχάλλω used in Attic poetry is confined to the present and imperfect. Xenophon Re Eq. 10, 6 uses it of a horse rendered uneasy by a sharp bit. The later writers, Polybios, Plutarch, Dio use it more freely; so that it is one of the words, of which many are to be found in Herodotos, ancienly employed in early poetry, fallen into desuetude in Attic of the classical period, but reappearing in later usage.

4. ἐδόμοτο...δικαὶ δίσαγον G. M. and T. § 355, ‘they began begging the generals to lead them back’.

5. πρὶν ἢ ξέλωσί ἡ...μεταπέμψηται ‘until they shall have taken the place or until the Athenian government shall have recalled them’. For πρὶν without ἄν followed by subjunctive, see 6, 82 πρὶν...χρῆσται καὶ μάθη, and on p. 58, l. 19. But it must be carefully observed that this is not a case of πρὶν ἢ with subjunctive, the ἡ...ἡ=‘either...or’. For τὸ...κοινὸν cp. 6, 50 Σπαρτιτέων τὸ κοινὸν.

6. οὖσα δὴ ‘it was with this understanding that they submitted to continue their task’, i.e. when they found the commanders determined not to abandon the siege. p. 8, l. 26.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

8. τῶνυς (τείνω) ‘leather straps’, upon the frames supporting the bedding. Properly in singular=‘tension’, as in 7, 36 κατόπερθε τῶν δίλων τοῦ τῶνυ ‘above the extended cables’.

12. ἄπισθε τοῦ τεῖχους on the part of the wall remote from that which was being attacked and defended by castles. So of the Akropolis ἄπισθε τῶν τυλίχων καὶ τῆς ἀνέδου means ‘on the side remote from the gate and ordinary approach’, 8, 53.

14. ἐσημηναν...τὸ γεγονὸς ‘informed the Athenians by signals of what had happened’. See on p. 2, l. 11.

CHAPTER CXIX.

18. Πλευστόρρ. We know nothing of this god. Human sacrifices are mentioned as being performed by Persians 7, 114; by the Tauri 4, 103. They were not unknown to the Greeks or the Romans, and indeed were widely spread among many tribes in all parts of the world, generally connected with the propitiation of an
earth goddess (see 7, 114), used with a view to secure fertility and abundance of crops. See Fraser's Golden Bough vol. i. p. 382 sq.

20. οι δέ δραὶ τῶν Δραταύκτην. See on p. 71, l. 13.

22. υπὲρ 'beyond'. They were it appears also trying to escape into Thrakia.

24. συνδήσαντες 'having manacled them', as applied to persons συνδεῖσθαι means 'to bind hand and foot', Arist. Rhet. 605 συνδεῖσθαι ταξιών τουτοι τῶν κυνοκλότον. In 8, 97 γαύλους συνεδεῖ it means 'to lash together in a row'.

CHAPTER CXX.

74 2. ταρίχων 'salt fish'. In Arist. Ach. 967 it is neuter ταρίχη. See 2, 77 ἵχθος ἐκ ἄλλης τεταρχευμένης.

3. ἑπάλληλον τε καὶ ἑπιστειρόν. For this marvel we must compare Homer Odyssey 12, 394

τούσιν δ' αὑτὰ ἔπειτα θεοῖ τέραα προδραμοῦν
εἴρπον μὲν ρηνα, κρέα δ' ἅμφ' ὤβελοις ἐμεμῦκει,
ὅπταλα τε καὶ ὡμά· βοῶν δ' ὡς γένητο φωνή.

4. δόκιμος ἑρῴ 'exactly as though they were fresh caught fish'.

9. ταρίχων λὼν 'being mummied'. For the ταρίχευσις of corpses in Egypt see 2, 86—90.

12. τῶν, for attraction of relative see p. 38, l. 8.

14. περιγενόμενος 'if I am allowed to live'.

18. ταύτη...ἐφέρε 'was inclined that way', i.e. καταχρήσασθαι.

Cp. 5, 118, 125 ἡ γνώμη ἐφέρε. It is usually followed by infinitive 8, 100 πλέον μένοι ἐφέρε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι ὑπ' Ἑλλάδα.

6, 110 τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἐφέρε συμβάλλειν.

21. πρὸς σανίδα προσπασασαλέσαντες 'having nailed him to a wooden cross'. This seems a genuine case of crucifixion as opposed to the impaling usual in the East. Some MSS. read σανίδας, but from 7, 33 the whole erection, whatever it was, seems to be called σανίς, distinguished from σταυρὸν or σκόλοψ, properly a 'stake' (ἀνασταυρὸν 7, 194, 238, 6, 30: ἀνασκολοσίζεων p. 49, l. 24).

The word used in 7, 33 is expressive of the position of a crucified body (ὑπέσασασαλέσαν), cp. the Latin directus (Plaut. Poen. 1, 2, 134). The use of nails in a crucifixion was an additional torture, not generally inflicted.
For σαλις cp. Arist. *Thesm.* 939

γυμνον ἀποδύσατα με
κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σαλίδι δείν τὸν τοξίτην.

ινά μὴ ἴν κροκοτοῖς καὶ μισοῖς γέρων ἀνήρ
γέλωτα παρέχω τοῖς κόραξιν ἔστιν.

23. κατέλευσαν 'stoned to death’. This method of execution is common in times of popular excitement, and seems to be generally connected with some notion of *impious* conduct on the part of the victim, see on p. 3, l. 14, and the passages referred to there. We may also compare the customs of the Jewish Law.

CHAPTER CXXI.


27. κατά τὸ ἐτος τοῦτο ‘in this season’, i.e. the part of the year during which military operations went on. This is the sense in which Thucydides uses the word generally. It has been a matter of dispute as to whether Sestos fell in 479 or the spring of 478. Thucydides in speaking of the siege (i, 89) says that they took it ἐπιχειμάσαντες (a word not found elsewhere), which some translate ‘after having passed the winter there’. It rather means however ‘after having trenched upon the winter’ (cp. the meaning of ἑπενέμησαν): the Athenians stayed out later in the season than was usual. The besieged were reduced almost to starvation in the autumn (c. 117—118), and would not have been likely therefore to hold out through the winter months.

CHAPTER CXXII.


5. ἡγεμονίη ‘supremacy’ i.e. among the nations of Asia.

6. γὰρ anticipatory. See Index.

11. παρέξει ‘will it be possible’. Cp. i, 9 παρέξει σοι θέσασθαι. 5, 98 ὑμῖν παρέξει σώζεσθαι.

14. οὕτω δὲ ‘but in that case’, i.e. if they did do so.

15. παρασκευάζεσθαι ‘to lay their account on being ruled rather than rulers’, ‘to prepare themselves with the certainty that they would no longer rule, but would be ruled’.
16. φιλέννυν 'it usually happens', 8, 128 αδα φιλέννυ γίνεσθαι εν πολέμῳ.

19. συγγνώμης sc. Κύρω 'being convinced by Kyros', 4, 43 Ἐρέχθης ὁ οἱ συγγνώμοις λέγεις ἀληθέα 'being convinced that he was not speaking the truth'.

21. λυπρὴν ὀικέουτες μᾶλλον ἡ πεδιάδα. Yet the Persians, a mountain race, descended under the leadership of Kyros upon the plains, and formed the new Medo-Persian Empire. The question of the influence of climate on national character, which is here assumed to be decisive, has been often discussed and differently settled. Strabo (2, 4, 7) thinks that custom and training (θος and ἀσκήσεις) or even mere chance (ἐπιτυχεῖς and συντυχεῖ) are answerable for national differences rather than climate: and Hume (Essay in National Characters) supports much the same view. It is perhaps true that climate does not immediately affect nations in a conspicuous degree. It requires generations to elapse, in which the peculiarities owing their origin to climatic influences are gradually developed to such a degree as, finally to change the general characteristics of a nation. So that in a sense both views are correct.

The end of the history of Herodotos has often been criticised as abrupt and unfinished. It is a characteristic of most works in Greek literature that they stop without any obvious rounding off, or deliberate catastrophe. But in a sense Herodotos has brought his work to a natural conclusion. His object was to tell the story of the struggle between the East and West. At the end of 479, as far as he lived to see, that struggle was settled. Between that date and the Peloponnesian war Persia remained a purely Asiatic power, interfering indeed on the fringe of Hellenism, but continually being beaten back, and having little influence on Hellenic life, until the suicidal struggle between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians gave an opening for the more effective interposition of the Satraps of Asia Minor. The heroic period in the contest was at an end, the period of detail—military or diplomatic—was beginning. That was a subject for a different kind of history and for another historian.
HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

ABYDOS, C. 114.

A town in Mysia, on the Asiatic coast of the Hellespont opposite Sestos. It was a colony from Miletos [Thucyd. 8, 61]. It was now in the hands of the Persians, having been captured by Daurises in B.C. 498 [5, 117].

ACHAEANS, C. 26.

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 this they expelled the Ionian inhabitants, and it still retained their name. They were a confederacy of twelve chief cities, ten of which are on the sea coast [1, 145]. The name was also preserved in Northern Greece in the district of Achaia Phthiotis round Mt Orthrys [7, 132].

AEGINA, CC. 28, 75—6, 78—80, 85.

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 Epidauros, from which the island had been peopled [5, 83; 8, 46]. The Aeginetans had however long ago thrown off the control of Epidauros, 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 (Peleus and Telamon). 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

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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], and to carry it out Themistokles persuaded the Athenians to build a fleet. The threatened invasion of Xerxes however forced Athens and Aegina to make peace, and Aeginetan ships served at Salamis with the greatest distinction [8, 46, 93, 122], and as we see in this book Aeginetan 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]. In B.C. 431 the Athenians expelled the Dorian inhabitants and placed Attic settlers in their lands [Thuc. 2, 27; 7, 57], who were in their turn expelled by Lysander in B.C. 404 [Xen. Hell. 2, 2, 5].

AEGOSPOTAMI, c. 119.

'The goat's rivers' was the name given to a roadstead in the Hellespont on the European side nearly opposite Lambsakos. There does not appear to have been a town or even a village as late as 405 B.C. when the Athenian fleet was caught there by Lysander [Xen. Hell. 2, 1, 25: Plutarch Alcib. c. 36]. A town was built there in later times.

AEIMNESTOS, see ARIMNESTOS.

AEOLIANS, the, c. 115.

One of the four great branches into which the Hellenic race was divided, descended according to the legend from Aeolos, son of Hellen. The Aeolians are found in various parts of Greece, and were apparently at one time the most numerous and enterprising of all the Hellenes, preferring for the most part positions of maritime importance, in Thessaly, Boeotia, Korinth and Elis. Their most celebrated settlements however were those in Lesbos,—which became the seat of a school of poets who made the Aeolic dialect at one time the literary language of Greece,—Troas and Mysia. From these went out colonies to various places on the Hellespont, among them Abydos and Sestos.

AETHIOPIANS, the, c. 32.

Aethiopia was the name given to the district south of Egypt, including the north of Abyssinia. Cambyses (B.C. 425—1) sent an expedition into this country across the Nubian desert, which perished miserably [3, 25]; but he conquered those Aethiopians who lived near Egypt, and compelled them to become tributary to Persia [3, 97]; it was some of these who seem now to be serving in the Persian army.
ALEA, see ATHENA.

ALEUADAE, the, c. 58.

A royal family reigning at Larissa in Thessaly, where they seem to have made themselves famous in Greece as patrons of learning and art; and where they remained in power until the time of Philip II. of Makedon. They imagined themselves to be descended from Perseus, one of the ancestors of Hercules [Pind. Pyth. x.], which has been suggested as one reason for their joining Persia,—cf. the case of the Argives [7, 149]. The reigning prince at this time was Thorax, who had from the first warmly espoused the Persian side, had invited Xerxes to invade Greece (7, 6), had helped to cover the flight of the king after Salamis (c. i), and was now, with his two brothers Eurypylos and Thrasideios, in the camp of Mardonius. The Aleuadae were, says Herodotos, the first Greeks to surrender themselves to the king (7, 130), at which the Thessalians generally were displeased (ib. 172).

ALEXANDER, the Makedonian, cc. 1, 8, 44—6.

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 Tēmenos [8, 137; Thucyd. 2, 90], whose grandson Perdiccas, according to one tradition, first established the dynasty. Alexander, though he appears as acting under Mardonius in the year B.C. 479, had thirty years before shown that he was a man of courage and address, and not likely to submit tamely to the Persian yoke. At that time (abt. B.C. 507) the Persian general Megabazus, who had been commissioned by Darius, after his unfortunate Skythian 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 [7, 173]; and though he seems in 479 B.C. to have been on friendly terms with Mardonius and to have been really anxious that the Athenians, of whom he was a benefactor (ἐυπρεπῆς) and proxenos, should accept the terms offered by the Persians, of which he was the bearer [8, 140], yet his action before the battle of Plataea as detailed in this book [c. 45] shows on which side his wishes really lay, and that the submission he had been constrained to make was odious to him. He had great wealth derived from the product of gold and silver mines [5, 17], which he commemorated by presenting a gold statue of himself to the god at Delphi [8, 121]. He was succeeded by his
son Perdiccas II. about B.C. 454 [Thucyd. 1, 57; 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].

**AMAZONS**, the, c. 27.

A mythical nation of female warriors living on the banks of the Themödon, a river in Pontus. One legend makes Hercules attack them, another Theseus. In revenge for the latter attack, they were said to have invaded Attica, where they remained four months, and were at length conquered by Theseus. The battle of the Amazons was represented on the metopes of the Parthenon, and on the south wall of the Acropolis; was painted in the Stoa Poecile and in the Theseum; as well as carved in relief on the pedestal of Zeus at Olympia and on the shield of Athenè by Pheidias: in fact no subject was a more favourite one with Greek artists [Paus. 1, 17].

**AMBRAKIKIANS**, the, cc. 28, 31.

Ambarkia was a town and district on the river Arachthos, seven miles from the shore of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a colony from Korinth [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 Pyrrhos (circ. B.C. 290) it was the capital of Epeiros.

**AMESTRIS**, cc. 109, 110, 112.

The wife of Xerxes, daughter of Otanes [7, 61]. Her wealth is alluded to in Plato *Alcib. 123*, c. But she was also infamous for her superstition, which led her to the cruel sacrifice of 12 Persian youths to the god of the lower world, apparently to save her own life [7, 114; Plut. *de superst. 13*].

**AMOMPHARÈTOS**, cc. 53—7, 71, 85.

The commander of a Spartan *lochos* or company, a fourth part of a *mora*, the numbers of which varied from 400 to 600. The *lochos* therefore would vary from 100 to 150 [Thuc. 5, 68]. If the reading is right in c. 85 he was an *öpmu*, that is, according to Plutarch [Lyc. 17], a citizen between the ages of 30 and 60, during which years a Spartan was capable of holding military command. Amompharetos commanded the *lochos* of Pitana, a hamlet of Sparta, for which see *Pitanëtan lochos*. Beyond this tale of him, repeated by Plutarch [Arist. 17], we know nothing more.

**AMYNTAS**, c. 44.

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 Hippias 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].

ANAKTORIUM, cc. 28, 31.

A town in Akarnania on the S. coast of the mouth of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a joint colony of Korinth and Korkyra [Thucyd. i, 55]. It was taken by the Korinthians in 432 B.C. and filled with Korinthian settlers, who however were driven out by the Athenians in B.C. 425, and the old inhabitants were restored [Thucyd. i, 55; 4, 49]. Finally its inhabitants were removed by Augusus to the new town of Nikopolis, built in honour of his victory of Aktium, B.C. 31 [Paus. 5, 23, 2]. Its ruins are believed to be those at Aios Petros, two miles west of the modern town of Veniza.

ANAXANDRIDAS, cc. 10, 64.

Son of Leon, king of Sparta of the elder house. He died shortly before B.C. 502. Herodotos [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 therefore—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, Dorius, Leonidas, Kleombrotos. Kleomenes succeeded his father and died leaving only a daughter, Gorgo, about 491 B.C. Dorius had meanwhile, after an adventurous life, died in Sicily [7, 205], and Leonidas succeeded. Kleombrotos was the father of Pausanias (q.v.).

ANDROMADAMAS, c. 90.

The father of Theomestos, tyrant of Samos [8, 85].

ANDROKRATES, c. 25.

One of the national heroes (or deified ancestors) of the Plataeans, whose chapel or Heroum was on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes [Thuc. 3, 24, 1]. He does not appear to be mentioned by any other ancient author except Plutarch, who (Arist. 11) numbers him among the ἄρχωνεσται of Plataea.

ANDROS, c. 53.

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 The-
mistokles 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'. [Plut. Them. 21.]

ANTAGORAS, c. 76.

A native of the island of Cos, and apparently in a good position, as his son Hegetoridas was a close friend of Pausanias.

ANTIQUOS, c. 33.

A native of Elis, a member of the mantic or augural family called Klytiadai, and father of Tisamenos. See Klytiadai and Tisamenos.

APHIDNAE, c. 73.

A fortified town in Attica some few miles beyond Dekeleia, on the road from Athens to Oropus. 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. Aphidnae also was the birthplace of the poet Tyrtaceos, 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 Kotroni mark its situation.

APOLLONIA, cc. 92—4. APOLLONIANS, cc. 93—4.

A town on the coast of Illyricum, a mile and a half north of the river Aous. It was a joint colony of Korinth and Korkyra [Thucyd. 1, 26; Strabo 7, 5, 8]. It was founded during the tyranny of Peisander at Korinth [Plut. de ser. num. vind. c. 7]. In Roman times it became a place of some importance as the starting point of the great Via Egnatia, the great road across Macedonia: and also apparently as a conveniently near place where education could be got from Greek Professors. Thus the young Augustus was sent there for the double purpose of military training with the legions stationed near and of completing his education. [Suet. Aug. 8. App. Bell. C. 3, 9].

APSYTHIANS, c. 119.

A Thracian tribe living East of the Hebros, bordering on the Thracian Chersonesos [6, 34, 36—7].

ARGIOPIOS, c. 57.

A mountain village or enclosure (χωρός) in which a temple of Demeter stood, on the slopes of Kithaeron, near which the actual battle of Plataea took place. It may have been connected with the nymph Argiope, mother of Thamyris [Apollod. 1, 3, 3].
ARGIVES, the, cc. 12, 27, 34, 35.

The inhabitants of Argos, the chief town of Argolis, the north-eastern province of the Peloponnese. Their dispute 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. As stated in c. 12, they showed their friendship by warning Mardonius of the approach of the army of the Peloponnese. This alliance with Persia was maintained for many years afterwards [vid. Her. 7, 151; Thucyd. 2, 67]. The policy of Argos was not shared in by all the other cities of Argolis, for we find Tiryns and Mykenae (q. v.) supplying a contingent to the Greek army at Plataea.

ARIMNESTOS (or Aeimnestos).

Two men of this name are mentioned.

(1) c. 64. A Spartan from whose hand the stone came which killed Mardonius, and who afterwards distinguished himself in the war with the Helots [B.C. 464—455].

(2) c. 72. The leader of the Plataeans at the battle of Plataea as he had been at Marathon; and of whom accordingly there was a statue at Plataea in a temple to Athene Aria built from the spoils of Marathon [Paus. 9, 4]. Plutarch [Arístid. ii] says that it was Arimnestos who, being instructed in a dream as to the real meaning of an oracle which promised victory to the Athenians ‘on the plain of Eleusinian Demeter’, pointed out the temple of Demeter at the foot of Kithaeron, where the battle actually took place, and prevented the Greeks from retiring into Attica. His good services in the war seem to have established a connexion of friendship with Sparta, for we find his son a proxenus of Sparta, and chosen to plead the cause of the Plataean prisoners before the Spartan commissioners after the siege in B.C. 427 [Thucyd. 3, 52].

ARISTAGORAS, c. 90.

A Samian, father of Hegesistratos.

ARISTEIDES, c. 28.

Aristeides, son of Lysimachos, of the deme Alopekeae, commanded the Athenian contingent at Plataea. He had already served the state for some years with great distinction. 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 power during the ten years from B.C. 490 to B.C. 480. The political rivalry between the two statesmen had been 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, just in time to assist Themistokles in inducing the Greek commanders to stay in the bay of Salamis and give the Persians battle there. After Salamis, Themistokles rather lost favour at Athens owing to the honours given him at Sparta [Diodor. xi. 27], and 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 organized the Confederacy of Delos [B.C. 478—7], 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 489 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 pentacosio-madimni, the richest class of citizens according to the assessment of Solon [Aristot. Rep. Athen. 41]; while his frequent absence from Athens 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.

ARISTODEMOS, c. 71.

One of the three Spartans who were said to have survived the slaughter of Leonidas and his three hundred at Thermopylae. Two different accounts were given of this. One, that being along with Eurytros invalided with ophthalmia, he was lying at Alpeni, a little
lower down the pass; that Eurytos hearing of the battle forced his helot to lead him to the thick of the fray and perished, while Aristodemus staid behind 'faint of heart': another, that he was absent on a message and loitered purposely on the road. The third survivor, Paulites, who had also been on a message, hanged himself at Sparta when he found himself regarded as disgraced. Aristodemus lived, but in such odium, that no one would give him a light to kindle his fire, or address a word to him; and although at Plataea he endeavoured to wipe out his disgrace by a display of reckless courage, the uncompromising Spartans refused to recognize such contempt of a miserable life as true courage [7, 229—231].

ARKADIA, cc. 27, 28.

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 inhabitants therefore were Pelasgians (using that word to represent the inhabitants of Greece earlier than the Hellenes) 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. cc. 27—8].

ARTABAZUS, cc. 41—2, 58, 66, 77, 89.

Artabazus, 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—479 in trying to reduce the towns of Potidaea and Olynthos. 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 [χαλκή Thucyd. i, 63]. Artabazus 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. i, 129]. From that time we hear no more of him.

ARTAYKTES, cc. 116—120, 122.

Satrap of the Chersonese, or as he is called in 7, 33 'Governor
He held also a command in the great army of Xerxes [7, 78].


Daughter of Masistes, the brother of Xerxes, and married to a son of Xerxes.

ARTAYNTES, cc. 102, 107.

A Persian, one of the commanders of the Persian fleet at Mykale. He had been sent to take the command of the ships which mustered at Samos in the spring of 479 B.C. [8, 130].

ARTEMBARES, c. 122.

A Persian, grandfather of Artayktes. A Mede of the same name is mentioned in 1, 114—6.

ARTEMISIUM, c. 98.

The name of the coast of the north of Euboea, given it by a temple of Artemis built on the extreme point. For the action of Themistokles at Artemisium here referred to, see 8, 22.

ARTONTES, c. 84.

A son of Mardonius.

ASIA, cc. 90, 122.

By ‘all Asia’ Herodotos means the Persian Empire, which really was less than a third of the whole continent. The earliest application of the name is to the district afterwards called Lydia [Hom. II. 2, 461].

ASOPIANS, the, c. 15.

The inhabitants of the valley of the Asopos lying between the mountain chains of Kithaeron and Parnes and the river, thus being immediately over the Attic frontier.

ASOPODOROS, c. 69.

A Theban cavalry commander, son of Timander, of whom nothing certain is known beyond what is stated in the text. A man of his name is mentioned in Pindar, Isth. 1, 34, as the father of one Herodotos, a victor in a four-horse chariot. It is inferred by some from the words of Pindar that Asopodoros had been at one time banished, which would have been after this war.

ASOPOS, cc. 31, 36, 38, 40, 43, 49, 51.

A river rising in Mt Kithaeron, and flowing eastward into the Euboean Sea. Its valley, which is about forty miles long, is divided by hills (Teumessos) into three plains, (1) Parasopia, in the N. and S. extremities of which stood Thebes and Plataea, (2) the plain of Tanagra, (3) the plain of Oropos at its mouth. In this last part of its course it forms the natural boundary between Attica and Boeotia. It was in Parasopia that this campaign took place. It was
generally a sluggish stream ['Ἀσούπις ὤς ἱκώτα βαθὺς ἄλμη, Λεχετοῖν, 'Asopus with deep beds of rushes and grassy meadows,' II. 4, 383], and where the road from Thebes to Plataea crossed it was usually fordable, and in the summer shrank to a mere brook [Thucyd. 2, 5, 2], but was apt to become difficult or impossible after heavy rains. [There were at least three other rivers in Greece called by the same name, (1) at Sikyon in the N. Peloponnese, (2) at Heraklea Trachinia in Malis, (3) in the island of Paros.]

**ASTYAGES, c. 122.**

The king of the Medes, grandfather of Kyros, whom he delivered to Harpagos as an infant to be exposed [1, 108 sqq.]. He was finally deposed by Kyros but treated kindly [1, 127—130].

**ATHENAGORAS, c. 90.**

A Samian, one of the three legates from Samos to the Greek fleet.

**ATHENE ALEA, c. 70.**

Athene, the Protectress [ἀλέγη, II. 22, 30, cp. ἀλέγω]. Under this title Athene was worshipped in Arkadia, where she had temples at Mantinea, Manthryrea, Alea, and Tegea. The last was the most famous and splendid, and being destroyed by fire in B.C. 395 was restored by Scopas of Ephesos, the architect of the Mausoleum. The old statue was preserved and eventually taken to Rome by Augustus as the Arkadians had sided with Antony [1, 66; Pausan. 8, 45].

**ATHENS, cc. 3, 4, 8, 13, 99, 116.** **ATHENIANS, the, cc. 4, 6, 7, 8, 21, 23, 28, 39, 45—6, 54—8, 102, 105, 107, 114, 116—8, 120.**

During the summer of B.C. 480 Athens was in the hands of the Persians, and though the inhabitants had partially returned after the battle of Salamis (September), they quitted the town again in the spring of 479 B.C. at the approach of Mardonius, and were for the most part housed in the island of Salamis, while Athens itself was for a time again occupied by Mardonius. 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. 485—480 to repel Xerxes; at Artemisium 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 Akropolis 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 Akropolis was devoted to sacred buildings, while the town itself was defended by a ring wall of about 7 miles in circumference.

**Attaginos, cc. 15, 86—8.**

A rich Theban, son of Phrynon, one of the two chief leaders of the medizing party at Thebes, whose surrender was especially demanded by the Greek army after Plataea. He however managed to effect his escape, and his children falling into the hands of Pausanias were spared.

**Attica, cc. 6, 12, 13, 27, 73, 99.**

Our book describes the second invasion of Attica in this Persian war. 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, and their city as the μνημόνευμα of the Ionians. 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. [Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, cp. Xenophon, *de Vect.* 1, 5. Plutarch, *Solon* 22.] The name has been generally derived from ἄκτη, ‘headland’ or ‘coastland’, but Curtius suggests that it is rather ἄστυκ from ἄστυ.

**Autodikos, c. 85.**

A man of Plataea, father of Kleades.

**Bakis, c. 43.**

Nothing is known of this personage beyond the fact that a number of oracles were extant attributed to him, which were consulted somewhat like the Sibylline books at Rome. Herodotus quotes them in 8, 20, 77 and 96, and professes to be profoundly impressed by the clearness with which the troubles of the Persian invasion are foretold by him. 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. βακέω), one
of Boeotia, who is the one quoted by Herodotos, another of Attica, and a third of Kaphya in Arkadia.

Baktrians, the, cc. 31, 113.

An Aryan people inhabiting a country still called Balk (Baklidi), a mountainous district bounded on the north by the river Oxus, but with fertile valleys varied by steppes and sandy tracts. They were included in the twelfth Satrapy by Darius [3, 92] and served in the army of Xerxes under the command of Sisamnes [7, 66].

Bias, c. 34.

A man of Pylos in Elis, brother of the seer Melampus, and son of Amythaon. For the service rendered by Melampus to the Argives he obtained for himself and his brother Bias a share in the royal power. Argos thus, according to the legend, had three kings at once, Anaxagoras, Melampus, and Bias, an arrangement which lasted for several generations [Pausan. 2, 6, 6; 4, 34, 4].

Boeotarchae, the, c. 15.

The members of the council of the Boeotian league, which met at Koronea at the annual national festival, the Panboeotia. The Boeotarchs, whose numbers apparently varied according to those of the free towns which at different periods make up the league, met also at other times, and with the advice of four senates (of the constitution of which we know nothing, see Thucyd. 5, 37—8) decided on matters of national importance, such as that of peace or war. These commissioners also at times served actively in the field when there was a question affecting the interests of the league, as for instance when Plataea in B.C. 431 was to be punished for deserting the league and joining Athens [Thucyd. 2, 2, 1], and at the battle of Delium, where all the Boeotian towns were represented, and where their numbers are said to have been eleven [Thucyd. 4, 91]. See also Grote, Hist. of Greece, part ii. ch. 7; and Hermann's Political Antiquities, §§ 179—180; and Boeckh in C. I. G. vol. i. p. 726 sq.

Boeotia, cc. 6, 7, 17, 24.

Boeotia in which most of the events recorded in this book took place, was the district immediately to the north of Attica, bounded on the south-west by that part of the Korinthian 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 Dryoskephalae (q. v.), leading from Eleusis by Eleutherae and Hysiae to Plataea, and another from Athens by Phylê (on Mt Parnes) into the valley of the Asopos 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. It was this latter district which Mardonius chose for his fighting ground, both because the valley was suitable for cavalry, and because the city of Thebes offered him safe and convenient quarters. 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, Koronea, Kopae, Haliartos, Thespiae, Tanagra, Anhedon. 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 (see Boeotarchs) elected by each state, who were again controlled by consultative senates.

BOEOTIANS, the, cc. 2, 31, 39, 46—7, 67—8, 100.

The Boeotians were a mixed race. Aeolian Hellenes had emigrated from Thessaly and settled in Boeotia, partly absorbing the earlier Pelasgic inhabitants; and in Thebes there had also been a Phoenikian 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 Peloponnesian, but against the former they were embittered by the feuds which always sprang 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 Dryosophalae. 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 [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 medized. 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 [7, 202]. Observe that Herodotos means by 'Boeotians' not the inhabitants of any one town, but generally either the army or commissioners acting under the authority of the central committee of Boeotarchs. At a later period of history Thebes attempted to arrogate to herself the entire authority of Boeotia, and to describe her citizens not as Thebans but as Boeotians [see Hicks, Greek Inscriptions, p. 123].

BYZANTIUM, c. 8q.

A colony of Megara on the site of the modern Constantinople, founded in b.c. 657 [4, 144]. It was reduced to submission by the Ionian confederates about b.c. 501 [5, 103], and shared in their reduction to Persian dependence when the Ionian revolt was put down. It was therefore now in Persian hands, and remained so
until it was besieged and taken by Pausanias in 478 B.C. [Thucyd. 1, 94]. On the formation of the confederacy of Delos it was among the subject allies, and especially valuable to Athens as commanding the passage of the corn ships from the Pontus. It revolted during the Samian war B.C. 440, but submitted on the fall of Samos [id. 1, 115—7]. In B.C. 410 it was closed to the Athenians by a fleet of Peloponnesian ships [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 36], and received a Spartan garrison and Harmost; but it was in the second year from that again restored to Athens by Alkibiades after his brilliant victory of Kyzikus, being betrayed to him after a long and painful siege [id. 1, 3, 14—20]. Again in B.C. 405 it was surrendered to the Spartans under Lysander [id. 2, 21]; and after suffering from Philip of Macedon, the Gauls, the Rhodians, and the Emperor Severus, it was finally refounded as New Rome by Constantine in A.D. 330, and remained an imperial city until its capture by the Turks in A.D. 1453.

CHALKIDIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

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 was from Chalkis, viz. Kumae, 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 taking 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].

CHERSONESOS, cc. 114, 116. CHERSONESIANS, the, cc. 118, 122.

The Thracian or Hellespontine Chersonese, extending along the W. side of the Hellespont, had been early colonised by the Greeks, especially by the Athenians. The principal Greek cities in it were Kardia, Paktya, Kallipolis, Alopeconnesos, Sestos, Medytos, Elaeos. The Persians had occupied it since B.C. 493, when Miltiades had been forced to fly. After the expulsion of the Persians it remained nominally independent until absorbed in the Makedonian kingdom.

CHIANS, the, c. 106.

The inhabitants of the Island of Chios (mod. Scio), about five miles from the coast of Lydia. A rocky island chiefly celebrated for its wine and gum-mastic made from the lentiscus. Its inhabitants were a mixture of Kretans, Euboeans and Carians who had replaced its old people, who were Leleges and Thessalians. The Chians were renowned for their wealth [Thucyd. 8, 24].

CHILEOS, c. 9.

A man of Tegea, who appears to have resided at Sparta and to have had great influence there.
Dareios, cc. 107, 111.

Son of Hystaspes and father of Xerxes. He became king after the deposition and death of the Magus who pretended to be Smerdis son of Kyros about B.C. 521. He organised the great Medo-Persian kingdom, dividing it into twenty Satrapies and settling the amount of tribute to be paid by each. He died in B.C. 485 in the midst of the preparations for the invasion of Greece.

Datum, or Datos, c. 75.

A town in Thrace on the eastern arm of the Strymonic gulf, opposite the island of Thasos, the port of Krenides, afterwards Philippi. It was situated in a rich agricultural district which contained productive gold-mines also; and was possessed of a good harbour and dockyards. It was so wealthy that Δατοις άγαθων became a proverb for prosperity—like el Dorado. See Leagros.

Deiphonos, cc. 92, 95.

A mantis or soothsayer from Apollonia.

Dekeleia, cc. 15, 73.

A strongly situated village and deme, 12 miles to the N.E. of Athens, commanding the eastern pass over Parnes, as Phyle commanded the western. It was therefore of great importance to Athens as controlling the road from Oropos, by which much of the imports from the north were brought to avoid the risky voyage round Sunium. The site is occupied by the northern village of Tatoi, and from it a view of Athens and the harbour of the Peiraetes is commanded; for when in 411—10 Agis, king of Sparta, occupied it he could see the corn ships sailing into the harbour [Xen. Hell. 1, 1, 35]. It was one of the 12 original cantons believed to have been united under one government by Theseus.

Dekeles, c. 73.

The mythical founder of Dekeleia.

Delos, cc. 90, 96.

The island which forms roughly the centre of the Cyclades, of which it is the smallest. Its sacred character as the early seat of the worship of Apollo secured it from many of the attacks and injuries to which other islands were exposed [6, 9]. The Delians for the most part lived at Rheneia, the larger island close to which Delos lies, separated by a strait less than half a mile wide, the small rocky islet of Delos itself being given up almost entirely to the temple and the persons connected with it, though there was a small town on the western side of it. It is in the harbour of Rheneia that the ships spent the spring of 479. Both islands now are counted as one and called Dhiles.

Delphi, cc. 33, 42, 81, 193.

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 a matter of dispute between the people of Delphi
and the Phokian League. The Spartans supported the former, the
Athenians the latter by armed interference about B.C. 449 [Thucyd.
1, 112]. The Delphians appear to have recovered their rights during
the Peloponnesian war. 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, which ended
in the destruction of Kirrha [Plut. Sol. xl.]: so important did the
Greeks consider free access to this sacred place. Its freedom and
inviolability were the special business of the Ampliction League,
which met there and at Thermopylae alternately. The splendid
temple standing at the time of the Persian invasion was a compara-
tively recent erection and was believed to be the fifth that had been
built; the last was burnt in B.C. 548, and the new one was built by the
Alkmeneidae, who went beyond their contract in facing the front
with Parian marble. After the victory of Thermopylae one of the
columns of the Persian army advanced upon Delphi. The inhabit-
ants sent their wives and children over to Achaia, while the men
took refuge on the heights of Parnassos or in the Korykian cave;
and according to the story in Herodotos [8, 36—7] the god himself
preserved his temple by various prodigies. The Persian army was
terror-stricken by a storm of thunder and lightning, and by huge
masses of rock which rolled down upon them from the mountain, a
frequent occurrence in that volcanic district. 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.

DEMETER, cc. 57, 65, 69, 97, 101.

The most venerable of the goddesses in the Greek mythology.
She was the daughter of Kronos and represented mystically the
secret powers and operations of nature. She had temples—always
of a peculiarly sacred and inviolable character—in many places in
Greece; but the chief seat of her worship and the most frequented
of the mysteries celebrated in her honour were at Eleusis, the spot
where according to the legend she first tasted food in her sorrowful
search for her daughter Persephone. Her temples were usually
built in a solitary place at some distance from a town [templum
vetustum desertae Ceneris, Verg. Aen. 2, 714]. Thus the scene of
the battle of Plataea is near her sacred enclosure, about a mile from

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Plataea itself, and the battle of Mykale fought on the same day was near a temple of Demeter also, on a lonely part of the promontory of Mykale [Her. 9, 97, 101]. See also 6, 91.

DIONYSOPHANES, c. 84.

A man of Ephesos, who buried, or claimed to have buried, the body of Mardonius after the battle of Plataea. The tomb believed to be that of Mardonius was seen by the traveller Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.), but the actual person who buried Mardonius seems to have been uncertain, and his son Artontes rewarded other Ionians besides Dionysophanes [Paus. 9, 2, 2].

DIPAEA, c. 35.

A town in the district of Maenalia in Arkadia; it was one of the 40 townships which in 370 B.C. were deserted to supply inhabitants for Megalopolis, the new capital of the Arkadian confederation [Paus. 8, 27, 3; 3, 11, 7].

DODONA, c. 93.

By the researches of Constantine Cypranos the site of Dodona, which had long been a subject of doubt, has been fixed at Dramisos, about 7 miles from the modern Phanina. It was the most ancient of the oracles of Greece and at one time the only one [2, 52; Hom. Odys. 14, 327; 19, 396]; and it was believed to have arisen either from two wise-women being transported thither by the Phoenicians from the Egyptian Thebes, or from a black dove flying from the oracle of Ammon and alighting on an oak at Dodona [2, 34—6]. Zeus Dodonaeus is called ‘Pelasic’ by Homer [II. 17, 233], which at least indicates the great antiquity of the temple, whatever meaning may be given to ‘Pelasic.’ It seems at any rate to have begun by certain persons asserting that they could interpret the rustling sounds of the leaves of a certain holm oak (φύγω) which grew in what was then a solitary plain, and was even older than the sacred Olive at Athens [Paus. 8, 22, 6]; by this afterwards a temple of Zeus and Dione was built, and round the temple a town grew up. It was the central shrine and place of pilgrimage for the Greeks of north-western Greece, the Aetolians, Epirotes, Molossi and others, and long retained a great position in spite of the rivalry of Delphi and other oracles, until in B.C. 219 the temple was plundered and destroyed by the Aetolians. The oracles were delivered by three priestesses called ‘doves’ [περιστεραί 2, 55]; but had ceased to be given when Strabo wrote, about the time of the Christian era.

DORIEUS, c. 10.

The father of Euryanax, the joint commander with Pausanias of the Peloponnesian army, and a member of the Royal family. Leonidas had an elder brother of this name [see Anaxandridas and Pausanias], whose son, if legitimate, would have succeeded to the throne at Sparta at the death of Kleomenes before his uncle Leonidas. We must therefore suppose either that Euryanax
was not legitimate, or that this Dorieus is some other more distant relative, which the expression 'of the same family' seems to favour. Stein supposes that Dorieus son of Anaxandridas was meant, and that he had forfeited the right of succession for his son by his residence abroad, or had surrendered it [5, 46.]

Dryoskephalae, c. 39.

'The Oak-heads', a pass also called the 'Three Heads' over Mt Kithaeron, from Attica to Boeotia. Through it went two roads, one from Eleusis to Plataea, passing by Oenoe and Eleutherae; another, to the west of this, from Megara by Aegosthenae (where it joined the road from Korinth) to Plataea and Thebes.

Echemos, c. 26.

A king of Tegea who according to the legend stood forth as champion of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese against Hyllus, the leader of the Dorian invaders, and killed him. In other versions of the legend he is called son of Aëropos and grandson of Kepheus [Paus. 8, 5, 1].

Edonians, the, c. 75.

A Thracian tribe inhabiting a district of Makedonia between the rivers Strymon and Nestos, into which they had been driven from the more westerly province of Mygdonia [Thucyd. 2, 99, 3].

Ereépos or Aëropos, c. 26.

Father of Echemos (q. v.). According to the legends of Tegea he was the son of Aërope, daughter of Kepheus and the god Ares [Paus. 8, 44, 6].

Egyptians, the, c. 32.

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 Cambyses B.C. 525 [Her. 3, *10 sq.]; had rebelled against the Persians in the reign of Dareios B.C. 486 [id. 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 Artemisium [id. 7, 17].

Elæus, c. 120.

On the southern extremity of the Chersonese. A colony from Teos in Ionia, where was the temple of Protesilaos in a conspicuous position on the headland, and much visited by the Greeks of the islands and Asia Minor.

Eleans, the, c. 77.

The inhabitants of Elis, the north-western province of the Peloponnese. The Eleans 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 Alpheus. As they are not mentioned in ch. 28 among the nations forming part of the Greek army as drawn up near the fountain Gargaphia, it seems probable that they had been prevented from descending from Kithaeron into the valley of the Asopos by the Persian cavalry [see chs. 38—40], and were not among those who retreated contrary to orders to the Heraeum (52): for they were amongst those who started for Boeotia in full force (7, 72), and their name was inscribed on the pedestal of Zeus at Olympia and on the serpent-stand at Delphi. [Pausan. 5, 23, 2.]

**Eleusis, cc. 19, 27, 57, 97, 101.**

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 Kephissos. It is moreover on the road leading from the Peloponnesian by Megara into Attica, and was accordingly a natural rendezvous for the Peloponnesian troops and the Athenians who crossed to it from their retreat in Salamis, as the natural starting place for the pass of Dryoskephalae into Boeotia. 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 (q. v.), to which the citizens of Athens yearly went in solemn procession.

**Encheleans, the, c. 43.**

A people of Illyria, north of Epidamnos, who, according to the legend, invited Kadmos to lead them in battle against the other Illyrians. Kadmos conquered, and became king of Illyria; and afterwards led them against Delphi and plundered the temple, but was overwhelmed with disasters on his return.

**Ephesos, c. 84.**

On the coast of Lydia at the mouth of the river Cayster. It was the most important of the twelve Ionian cities which joined in the yearly festival at the Panionium, a place and temple on the promontory of Mykale. The feast was called the Panionium, and the temple was dedicated to Poseidon [1, 142, 148], but was afterwards transferred to Ephesos and called the Ephesia [Thucyd. 3, 104, 6]. Ephesos at the time of the battle of Plataea was, like the rest of Ionia, under the power of Persia and specially valued as the starting place of the road to Sardis and upper Asia.

**Ephors, the, c. 76.**

Five magistrates at Sparta, instituted according to Herodotos (1, 65) and Xenophon (Rep. Lac. 8 § 3) by Lykurgos, were originally intended, as their name imports, to watch over (ἐφορὰ) the laws and see that they were observed by the Kings and people alike or originally perhaps only to oversee the markets. Every month the Kings swore to govern according to the laws, and the Ephors to
support the royal authority as long as they did so. Gradually these
five magistrates got all political power into their hands, could
summon the Kings before their Court, censure and fine them, and
in fact were the real governors of the State. They were elected
annually by the whole body of full citizens.

**EPIDAURIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.**

The inhabitants of Epidauros, a town on the coast of Argolis
opposite the island of Aegina, which it had originally colonised
[8, 46] and retained more closely under its power than was usually
the case with colonies [5, 83]. Epidauros, the inhabitants of which
were Dorians, was noted for its temple and worship of Asklepios,
and for the celebration of certain orgies or mysteries of which
Herodotos says ‘it is not lawful to speak.’ It sent 8 ships to
Artemision [8, 1].

**ERETRIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.**

The inhabitants of Eretria in Euboea. They had assisted Miletos
in the Ionic revolt [B.C. 501] with 5 triremes in return for assist-
ance received from Miletos in some quarrel with Chalkis [5, 99];
for this they were made a special object of attack by Dates and
Artaphernes in B.C. 400, who took the town and carried off all the
inhabitants they could catch to Susa, where they were received
kindly by Dareios and settled in a district called Arderica, about 35
miles from Susa; and there they remained for some generations. But
though the town was thus apparently depopulated, a considerable
number of the inhabitants escaped falling into the hands of the Per-
sians by taking refuge in the mountains in the centre of Euboea [6,
100—120]. These people must have returned after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon and restored the prosperity of their town.
For besides supplying 600 hoplites at Plataea, they had sent seven
triremes to Artemision and Salamis [8, 46].

**ERYTHRAE, cc. 15, 19, 25.**

A village lying on the lower slopes of Mt Kithaeron and on the
southern or right bank of the Asopus. It is generally mentioned
in connexion with Hysiae [Eur. Bacch. 751], but c. 25 shews that
it was to the east of Hysiae and on somewhat higher ground. It was
some distance to the right of the direct road from Eleusis to Plataea
(by the pass of Dryoskephalaes) by which the Greeks had come, but
they apparently diverged from that route in order to keep on the high
ground. It was in a very fertile district, and especially noted for its
bread,—good reasons for making it head-quarters.

**EURYANAX, cc. 10, 53, 55.**

A son of Dorieus (q. v.) and connexion of Pausanias, with whom
he had the joint command of the Peloponnesian army.

**EURYBATES, c. 75.**

A famous athlete of Argos, who won the Pentathlon at the
Nemean games, and who volunteered to serve in the defence of Aegina when attacked by the Athenians in B.C. 491. In the course of the campaign he challenged several of the enemy to single combat, and after killing them, was finally killed by Sophanes [6, 92].

EURYPYLUS, c. 58.
A prince of Larissa, brother of Thorax (q. v.).

EURYSTHEUS, cc. 26, 27.
King of Tiryns, son of Sthenelos, and grandson of Perseus, whom Hercules in accordance with the order of the Oracle served for twelve years.

EUTYCHIDES, c. 73.
A man of the deme Dekelea, father of Sophanes (q. v.).

EVENIUS, cc. 92—5.
A mantis of Apollonia, father of Deiphonos (q. v.).

GAESON, c. 97.
Either a stream or lake, perhaps both, on the south coast of the promontory of Mykale. Herodotos always uses a word for a river with its proper name, he probably therefore means the lake. No town of the name is known.

GARGAPHIA, cc. 25, 49, 52.
A fountain on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes, about a mile to the east of Plataea, near which was the Second position of the Greek army at Plataea. According to Pausanias, the traveller, after its destruction by the Persians, it was subsequently restored by the Plataeans [Paus. 9, 4, 3]. See Ovid Met. 3, 155.

GERAISTOS, c. 105.
A town and promontory at the extreme S. of Euboea, where there was a great temple of Poseidon. See 8, 7.

GLAUCON, c. 75.
An Athenian, father of Leagros. This Leagros also had a son called Glaucon, whom we hear of as in command of an Athenian squadron about B.C. 433 [Thucyd. 1, 51, 4].

GLISAS, c. 43.
An ancient town of Boeotia, of which the exact site is now uncertain. It is mentioned in the catalogue of those Boeotian towns which contributed together 50 ships against Troy (II. 2, 504), and Pausanias describes what were even in his time its ruins, as about seven furlongs from Teumesos, on the left of the road from Thebes to Chalkis at the foot of Mt Hypatos [Paus. 9, 19, 2].

GOBRYAS, c. 41.
The father of Mardonius. He was one of the three original
conspirators who put the false Smerdis (pretending to be Smerdis, son of Kyros) to death, and eventually gave the kingdom to Dareios (3, 70, 71, 78, 87). Dareios, before he became king, had married a daughter of Gobryas, and Gobryas had married a sister of Dareios, by whom he was father of Mardonius (7, 5). He accompanied Dareios on his expedition to Skythia, and advised the retreat which he was compelled to make [7, 133-4].

HAGIAS, c. 33.
A brother of Tisamenos of Elis (q. v.) and a member of the Mantic family of the Klytiadai (q. v.). Both brothers were admitted to citizenship at Sparta, and remained there practising their art, for a grandson of Tisamenos was acting as Mantis in the Spartan army at the time of the battle of Aegospotami [Paus. 3, 11, 5].

HALIKARNASSIAE, c. 107.
Halikarnassos, the birthplace of Herodotos, was a colony of Troezen in Argos, situated on the coast of Karia, and was one of the six towns of the Doric hexapolis of Asia Minor [1, 144]. It was a large and strong city, with two citadels, Salmakis and Arkonnesos, and a fine harbour. It had fallen with the other Greek cities under the dominion of Persia, and Lygdamis became its tyrant under the Persian king, whose widow and successor Artemisia fought at Salamis in the Persian fleet. It was afterwards burnt by Alexander the Great, but restored. Its temples and other buildings were very famous, especially the monument of one of its princes, Mausolos.

HARMOKYDES, c. 17.
The leader of the thousand Phokian troops who joined Mardonius at Thebes before the battle of Plataea.

HEBE, c. 98.
The goddess of youth, the heavenly wife of Herakles.

HEGESISTRATOS, cc. 37, 41.
A Seer of Elis, one of the Mantic family of Telliades (q. v.), who served as Mantis in the army of Mardonius. He appears to have escaped after Plataea to the island of Zakynthos, which being inhabited by Achaeans was hostile to Sparta. The occasion on which he was then caught and put to death we do not learn; the first Spartan expedition to Zakynthos of which we know was 49 years after this in B.C. 430 [Thucyd. 2, 66].

HEGESISTRATOS, cc. 90-2.
A Samian, one of the ambassadors to the Greek fleet at Delos.

HEGETORIDAS, c. 76.
A native of the island of Kos, and son of Antagoras (q. v.). He was a man of high position in the island (ἀνὴρ ὁ ὅξι ἄδοξος, Paus. 3, 4, 7).
HELEN, c. 73.

Daughter of Tyndareus and Leda, sister of Clytemnestra, and of Kastor and Pollux. The legend of her early abduction from Sparta by Peirithoos and Theseus, her concealment at Aphidnae in Attica, and her recovery by her brothers, was among the marvels in the history of the life of Theseus, but is not mentioned in Homer, nor by any writers earlier than Herodotus.

HELLAS. HELLENES, the, cc. 1, 2, 7, etc.

Herodotus uses Hellas in the widest sense of all places occupied by Hellenes, i.e. those who are united by a common descent and language as opposed to Barbari; thus Ephesos in Asia Minor is with Herodotos in Hellas [1, 94]; and the Greek cities in Sicily are no less included [7, 157].

HELLESPIONT, the, cc. 5, 66, 98, 101, 107, 114—5.

The narrow strait (varying from 1 to 3 miles) now called the Dardanelles, between the Thracian Chersonese and the coast of Asia. It was lined with Greek colonies, at this time wholly in the hands of Persia. Xerxes had crossed it by a double bridge of boats, which the Greeks found broken down, when after the battle of Mykale (fought on the same day as that at Plataea) they proceeded to the Hellespont. It was of great importance to the Greeks to have the Hellespont open, as there was a large corn trade with the coasts of the Black Sea, and it is principally at the Hellespont and its neighbourhood that what remained of the Persian war went on.

HELOTS, the, [Ἑλώτες] cc. 10, 28—9, 80, 85.

The Helots occupied in Laconia a position in several respects like that of the villeins in England. They were praedial slaves attached to certain 'lots' of land, each paying a large proportion of the produce (according to some authorities half) to the Spartan who owned the lot. Certain of them also rendered personal service, both in the city and on military expeditions, to their master. Still they were also in a sense public and not personal slaves: they could not be sold out of the country, nor probably even transferred from one 'lot' of land to another; and in certain circumstances they could obtain freedom, freedom that is to live where they chose (which was what Parliament attempted to control in the Statute of Labourers in the time of Edward III.), though they did not at once become citizens. In the army they served as light armed troops, and one or more was attached to each Spartan hoplite. In the army of Plataea each hoplite had seven allotted to him (or perhaps Herodotos only means that they served in that proportion); at Thermopylae it seems that each Spartan had at least one Helot as his squire or ἑπάκων [7, 249]. The origin of the name according to some was from the town Helos on the Laconic gulf, the Achaean inhabitants of which had offered a desperate resistance to the conquering Dorians and were therefore reduced to this condition. Another and more probable account is that which
derives the word from the root ἔλ- [which appears in ἔλαυν] and gives the general meaning of ‘the Captives.’ (See Müller’s Doriāns, vol. 2, ch. 3.)

HERAEM, the, at Plataea, cc. 52, 61, 69; at Samos, c. 96.

The temple of Herē, of which there were many in Greece, especially among Dorian tribes. The temple of Herē at Plataea seems to have been built on an elevated platform to the north of the town, which was itself built at the foot of a steep and rugged slope of the chain of Kithaeron. It was apparently close to the road to Thebes, for when the Thebans destroyed the town in B.C. 427 they built an inn (καταγώγιον) with the materials close to the Heraeum, which would be for the convenience of travellers over the mountain pass to Thebes [Thucyd. 3, 68, 4]. The temple in Samos stood on a headland south of the town [1, 70; 2, 148; 4, 88].

HERAKLEIDAE, the, cc. 26, 33.

The descendants of Herakles. The legend (much varied in different accounts) was that on the death of Herakles his sons were expelled from Argos by the usurper Eurystheus. They took refuge with the Dorians living near Parnassos, and induced them to invade the Peloponnese under the leadership of Hyllos the son of Herakles. Thus the ‘return of the Herakleidæ’ was the legendary name for the incursion of the Dorian tribes which at some period before 800 B.C. overran and conquered the Peloponnese, with the exception of Arkadia and Achāia. The two royal families of Sparta traced their descent from Herakles thus:

```
| Herakles               |
|                        |
| Hyllos                 |
|                        |
| Kleodaeos              |
|                        |
| Aristomachos           |
|                        |
| Aristodemos           |
|                        |
| Eurysthenes            |
| Procles                |
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The two last being twins, both ruled, and their respective heirs after them. [8, 131].

HERMIONE, cc. 28, 31.

A town on the S.-E. coast of Argolis, on a gulf to which it gives a name. It was one of the three towns (the others being Halice and Asine) inhabited by Dryopians, that is by a Pelasgic race formerly living in the valley of the Spercheios N. of Mt Aeta, and who being expelled by their neighbours the Dorians migrated into the Peloponnese [1, 56; 8, 31. 73], while some of them also joined
the Ionian emigration into Asia [1, 146]. Hermione furnished three triremes at Salamis [8, 43].

Hermolykos, c. 105.

An Athenian, who had won victories in the Pancratium, and of whom there was a statue on the Akropolis [Paus. 1, 23, 12].

Hermotybiants, the, c. 32.

A division of one of the seven castes or classes of the Egyptians, that of the warriors. Those which came from certain 7 cantons were called Hermotybiants, those from 12 other cantons Kalasirians (q.v.). ‘Their number, when most numerous, is a hundred and sixty thousand. None of them ever practises a trade, but all are given wholly to war’ [Her. 2, 165].

Herpyx, c. 38.

A Theban, father of Timagenidas, who was one of the Medizing faction of Thebes.

Hieronymos, c. 33.

An athlete of Andros, who beat Tisamenos in three out of the five contests of the Pentathlum at the Olympic games. Tisamenos won the running and leaping, but lost the discus, javelin throwing and wrestling. There was a statue of Hieronymos at Olympia in the time of Pausanias [Paus. 3, 11, 6; 6, 14, 13]. See note on παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα for the different accounts of this contest.

Hippomachos, c. 38.

A native of the island of Leukas, who acted as Mantis or seer to those Greeks who served in the army of Mardonius, though his own countrymen sent a contingent to the Greek army (vid. c. 28).

Hyakinthia, the, cc. 7, 10.

A festival celebrated at Amyklae, on the Eurotas, a few miles S. of Sparta. It took place in the Spartan month Hekatombeus (June—July), and was originally a mournful rite, a lamentation over the youth Hyakinthos accidentally killed by Apollo; and thence, from the idea of mourning for the death of the spring flowers, it became a general mourning for death. The Spartans as well as the actual inhabitants of Amyklæ made the greatest point of being present whatever they were doing or wherever they happened to be, "whether they are on a warlike expedition, or for whatever reason abroad, they always go to it" [Xen. Hell. 4, 5, 17]. The temple of Apollo at Amyklæ round which this festival centred was to Sparta what the temple of Athene was to Athens, and the Hyakinthia to the Spartans what the Dionysia were to the Athenians [Thucyd. 5, 23, 5].

Hyllus, cc. 2, 6.

Son of Herakles, who led the Herakleidae (q. v.) back to the
Peloponnese. He was killed by Echemos of Tegea. His mother was said by some to be Melite (Apollon. Rhod. 4, 538), by others Omphale (Paus. 1, 35, 8), and by others Deianeira (Sophocles Trach. 56; Apollod. 2, 7, 7, 11).

HYSIAE, c. 15, 25.

A village on the N. slopes of Kithaeron nearer Plataea than Erythrae (q. v.), through which a road from Thebes to Athens passed which joined the pass over Kithaeron from Plataea to Eleusis (see Thucyd. 3, 24, 2).

IAMIDAE, the, c. 33.

A family of Elis in which the Mantic or Augural art was hereditary. They were descended from a common ancestor Iamos, said to be a son of Apollo by the nymph Evadne [Paus. 6, 2, 3; Pind. Olym. vi. 30—5]. One member of the family had accompanied the colonists from Korinth to found Syracuse, and his descendant Agesias won the mule-chariot race at Olympia in B.C. 468, and was celebrated by Pindar in his sixth Olympian ode. This family had the especial direction of the worship of Zeus at Olympia, and many of its members are found practising the Mantic art in Doric states in various parts of Greece, Hellenic Sicily, and Italy [5, 44]. In Sparta they were held in particular honour, and had there a family tomb [Paus. 3, 12, 8].

ILLYRIANS, the, c. 43.

The inhabitants of Iliýris [Lat. Illýricum], a large tract of country lying along the east coast of the Adriatic between Istria in the N. and Epeiros on the S., comprehending the modern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, with parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Albania. Its inhabitants were barbarians of a race different from the people of Thrace or Epiros, and were little known at the time of Herodotos. They are supposed to be the ancestors of the modern Albanians, and a tribe of them called Eneti (Her. i. 196) were the origin of the Veneti. See also ENCHELEANS.

INDIANS, the, c. 31.

"The Indians included within the Empire of Darius were probably the inhabitants of the Punjab, together with those of the lower valley of the Indus, the country known now as Scinde." Rawlinson. They were made into a Satrapy—the twentieth—by Dareios, and paid a tribute of 360 talents in gold-dust [3, 94].

IONIANS, the, cc. 26, 90, 98—9, 106. IONIA, cc. 90, 104, 106.

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. vii. 94] and in Attica and Euboea. Athens was regarded (though without any certain historical basis) as the μητρόπολις of the Ionian states, which
were 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 these Asiatic 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, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klagomenae, Phokaea, Erythra, in Lydia; and two islands, Samos and Chios, who signalled their connexion by a yearly meeting at the Pan-Ionium, near the temple of Poseidon on the promontory of Mykale, or at a later period at Ephesos [see Her. 1, 142; Thucyd. 3, 104].

'Ionios kolygos, c. 92.

Herodotos uses this expression to mean the Adriatic gulf [6, 127], as does Thucydides [1, 24]. The name is not found earlier than Aeschylus [P. V. 840 μυχός 'Iōnios], and is not distinguished from the Adriatic by any writer before Polybios [2, 14; 5, 110]. It seems that the name must have arisen at a time when the Ionians were so prominent that to the Western people, 'Ionian' and 'Greek' were the same.

Iphiklos, c. 116.

Father of Protesilaos. He was of Phylake, in Thessalian Phthiotis, a famous runner [Paus. 5, 17, 10] and rich in the possession of flocks and herds [Il. 2, 705. Paus. 4, 56, 3]. A story of his being dosed with iron by the seer Melampus is told in Apollodorus 1, 9, 12.

Island, the, c. 51.

A spot so called, though really a peninsula, formed by the confluence of some small streams flowing from the slope of Kithaerion into the Oëroë, about a mile to the west (i.e. nearer to the town of Plataea) of the second position of the Greeks.

Isthmos, the, cc. 7, 8, 12—3, 13, 15, 19, 27.

The Isthmos of Korinth is called the Isthmos by Herodotos and Thucydides; when any other is meant it is distinguished by some explanatory word as Παλλήνης, Χερσονήσου, or the like. It is about 5 miles broad. We hear of ships being dragged across it [Thucyd. 3, 15], and in later times a regular tramway was made for this purpose called a diolos [diolos, Strab. 8. 2; Polyb. 4, 19; Dio Cass. 51, 5]. Julius Caesar planned, and Nero even began a canal (Lucian, Nero). At the time of the Persian war the Greeks of the Peloponnese looked to the Isthmos as their chief protection because it was passed by difficult roads, and it admitted of being effectually blocked by artificial means.

Ithome, c. 35.

A high and abrupt mountain in the centre of Messenia, on which 1 revolted Helots encamped in B.C. 461. About a hundred years
later it became the Acropolis of the new town Messene. It was so strong that Demetrios of Pharos said that to possess it and Korinth was like holding the two horns of a bull,—such complete control would it give over the Peloponnese (Strab. 8, 4).

KADMEIANS, the, c. 27.

The poetical or mythical name for the Thebans, deduced from the legend of an immigration of Phoenikians or Egyptians under Kadmos, who was said to have brought with him the alphabet, the worship of Dionysos, and other arts. According to Thucydides [1, 12] the whole of Boeotia was ancienly called Kadmeis.

KALAMI, c. 96.

The name (lit. 'reeds') of a place on the shore of Samos. It probably indicates some marshy ground which lay between the Heraeum and the town, near the mouth of the Imbrasos.

KALASIRIES, the, c. 32.

A division of one of the seven castes or classes of the Egyptians, that of the warriors. Those which came from certain 12 cantons were called Kalasiries, those from 7 other cantons Hermotybian. The Kalasirians [Klashi] were mostly archers, and were 250,000 in number [Her. 2, 164—6].

KALLICRATES, cc. 72, 85.

A Spartan officer who fell by an arrow just before the battle of Plataea. We only know of him from these passages of Herodotos.

KARDIA, c. 115.

On the northern part of the Thrakian Chersonese, at the head of the Black Gulf. Originally a joint colony from Miletos and Klazomenae it was afterwards strengthened by new colonists from Athens. It was (about B.C. 300) destroyed by Lysimachos, and partially restored under the name of Lysimacheia.

KARYSTIANS, c. 105.

The inhabitants of Karystos in the south of Euboea near Mt Ocha, celebrated for its marble quarries. Its inhabitants were Dryopians from near Malis [4, 33; 8, 66]. The war with the Athenians here mentioned [about B.C. 469] was the result of the Athenian administration of the confederacy of Delos, and one of the earliest acts of revolt. Though not joined by the other cities of Euboea they made a gallant resistance [Thucyd. 1, 98].

KEPHALLENIA, c. 23.

The largest island in the Ionian sea, still called Cefallonía [31 m. by 8 to 16 m.]. It was a tetrapolis, that is, it was divided between four city states, Pale, Kranii, Pronessos, Same. The whole island was in Homer's time called by the last of these names. It was the only island on the west of Greece that contributed
a contingent to the Greek army on this occasion; as the island
north of it—Leukas—was the only one that contributed ships to the
fleet at Salamis. The Paleans however, were not recorded on the
Delphic tripod stand, nor, according to Pausanias, on the Olympic
statue.

KILIKIANS, c. 107.

Kilikia in Herodotos is somewhat more extensive than as
defined in later times, when Mt Tauros was regarded as its northern
frontier. Herodotos extends it northwards over a district called
Katarnia so as to be coterminal with Kappadokia, and to east
so as to be bounded by the Euphrates [5, 52]. Its inhabitants were
once called Hypachaei [7, 91].

KITHAERON, cc. 19, 25, 38—9, 51, 56.

A range of mountains separating the Megarid and Attica from
Boeotia. It forms the southern wall of the valley of the Asopos,
and is skirted by a road from Megara to Thespiae leading by Kreusis
and Aegosthenae round its western foot, forming a narrow ledge
between it and the sea. It is crossed by the pass of Dryoskephala leading
from Eleusis to Hysiae down into the valley of the Asopos;
and by another from the Athenian plain which passes over Mount
Parnes at Phyle and then down the slopes of Kithaeron and across
the Asopos to Thebes. The range of Kithaeron is 'savage, cold,
gloomy and inhospitable', its precipitous cliffs are crowned with
dark forests of pine and silver firs, and their sides are hollowed by
numerous caves.

KLEADES, c. 85.

A Plataean, proxenus of Aegina.

KLEOMBROTOS, cc. 10, 64, 78.

Kleombrotos, the father of Pausanias, was son of Anaxandridas
(q.v.) and twin brother of Leonidas. When Leonidas fell at
Thermopylae leaving one son Pleistarchos, a minor, Kleombrotos
became regent, but died in the autumn of 480 or spring of 479,
and was succeeded in the regency by his son Pausanias.

KLYTIADAE, the c. 33.

A family in Elis in which the art of a Mantis or Soothsayer was
hereditary. Herodotos regards them as a branch of the famous
Mantic family of the Iamidae (q.v.), but other writers speak of
them as distinct (Cic. de Div. 1, 41), and as descendants of
Melampus (q.v.).

KODROS, c. 97.

The son of Melanthos, according to the legend, the last King of
Athens; who sacrificed himself for his country by adopting a
disguise and provoking one of the Dorian invaders to kill him; for
oracle had declared that they would conquer Athens if they
spared its king. Hence Horace's *Codrus pro patria non timidus mori* [Od. 3, 19, 2]. See 1, 147; 5, 65, 76.

**KORINTHOS, c. 88.** **KORINTHIANS, the, cc. 28, 31, 69, 95, 102.**

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. Korinth itself consisted of an acropolis, the Akrokorinthos (1900 ft.), with a town round it enclosed with walls, and joined to its harbour on the western coast, Lechaean, by long walls, like those of Athens, extending a little more than a mile. Its port on the east coast, Kenchreae, was more than eight miles distant. The position of Korinth 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 its military reputation warranted. 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 to have been turned to flight, though this was perhaps a later calumny (8, 94), and at Plataea its soldiers were among those who retreated to the Heraeum and returned too late for the battle. Its ships and men however did some good service at Mykale (id. 9, 102). The wall which the Peloponnesians built across the isthmus, about 8 miles east of the town, was often reconstructed afterwards, and remains of one of uncertain date can still be traced. Korinth was the mother city of many flourishing colonies, Syracuse, Korkyra, Potidaea and others.

**Kos, c. 76.**

An island, about 23 m. long, off the coast of Karia, and opposite the peninsula of Halikarnassos. It was rich in vines, and celebrated for the manufacture of a fine gauze, and for a school of physicians which was settled round its temple of Asklepios. It was a member of the Doric Pentapolis, and like the other Greek states on and near the coast of Asia Minor had become tributary to the king of Persia, and for some time was ruled by a tyrannus; but had before the period of the invasion of Greece obtained a democratic form of government by the voluntary resignation of its tyrannus Kadmos [7, 154].

**Kyrnos, c. 105.**

A place in the south of Euboea, the exact site of which is unknown.

**KyroS, c. 122.**

The founder of the Medo-Persian Empire. He is said to have been the son of Kambyses and Mandane the daughter of Astyages
(q.v.), king of the Medes. About B.C. 560 he led down the Persians
from the hills and conquered the Medes, and dethroned Astyages,
who had endeavoured to secure his death by causing him to be
exposed as an infant [1, 107 sq.] In B.C. 546 he conquered the
Lybian kingdom; in B.C. 530 took Babylon [1, 190]; and in B.C.
528 was slain in battle with queen Tomyris [1, 214].

LACHESIS, c. 43.

The three fates (Μαίαμα), Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, were
the daughters of the Night. Lachesis is she who assigns men their
lot (ἀγγείω).

LAKEDAEMON, c. 6.

LAKEDAEMONIANS, the, cc. 7, 11, 14, 19, 28—9, 31, 33, 37, 47—9,
52, 58—60, 70—1, 73, 90, 102.

The inhabitants of the whole district, Lakedaemon or Lakonia,
over which the city of Sparta (which contained 8000 men of mili-
tary age, 7, 234) was supreme. Sometimes the word is used as
equivalent to ‘Spartans’ as in c. 11, sometimes the two are distin-
guished as in c. 28 [cp. 6, 80], and sometimes it is applied to other
than the full Spartan citizens, as to the Perioeci in c. 11 ad fin.; some-
times to all the inhabitants or soldiers of Lakonia as in c. 31, etc.
The Lakedaemonians exercised supreme influence in the Pelopon-
nese, though not actual government except in Lakonia and Messenia;
and it will be seen that when they determined to act against the
Persians they were followed by most of the principal states in the
Peloponnesian, except Argos, which had been long at enmity with
them.

LAKMON, c. 93.

An ancient name for Mt Pindos, and afterwards restricted to the
central peak or ridge of Pindos, now called Ζυγός Μέσαρο.

LAMPON,

(1) c. 21. An Athenian, father of Olympiodoros.

(2) cc. 78—9. An Aeginetan, son of Pytheas, who distinguished
himself in an engagement with the Persians just before the three
days at Artemisium [7, 181].

(3) c. 90. A Samian, son of Thrasykles.

LARISSA, cc. 1, 58.

One of the most important cities of Thessaly, situated on the
right bank of the R. Peneus. It was the residence of the powerful
family of the Aeluanidae (q.v.). It is still an important town.

LEAGRUS, c. 75.

An Athenian, son of Glaucos, and father again of a son named
Glaucos who commanded in a naval battle against Korinth [Thucyd.
1, 51]. Leagros was in chief command of the expedition to Datum
(q. v.) mentioned in the text, and apparently fell with the others near Drabeskos [Pausan. 1, 29, 4—5]. This took place about B.C. 465, and was connected with the first settlement of Amphipolis by Kimon. The settlers were almost entirely destroyed at Drabeskos by the Edonian Thrakians. See Thucyd. 1, 100; 4, 102, 2.

LEKTON, the. i. 114.

The extreme S.-western point of the Troad, mod. Cape Baba.

LEONIDAS, cc. 10, 64, 78—9.

King of Sparta from B.C. 491 to B.C. 480. He was a younger son of ánaxandridas (q. v.), and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of his half-brother Kleomenes, whose daughter Gorgo he married. By her when he fell at Thermopylae he left a young son, Pleistarchos, under the guardianship of his brother Kleombrotos. Kleombrotos died in the same, or early in the next 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 unselfishness joined to his singular gallantry has secured him the first rank among the patriots of Greece [7, 204—222].

LEOTYCHIDES (Leutychides), cc. 90—1, 98—9, 114.

The sixteenth king of Sparta of the junior branch (the Eurypon-tidae). He had been made king in the place of his cousin Demaratos, who about B.C. 491 was declared to be illegitimate owing to the intrigues of the other king Kleomenes [6, 63—5]. He joined Kleomenes in taking the hostages from Aegina in that year, for which the Spartans afterwards voted that he should be himself handed over to the Aeginetans. The matter however was compromised by his going in person to Athens and demanding their return [6, 85—6]. His descent from Herakles is given in 8, 131. See HERAKLEIDAE. After the Persian war he led an expedition into Thessaly against the Medizing Aleuadea; he seems to have been partially successful, but was eventually bribed by them to retire. For this he was prosecuted and condemned on his return to Sparta, and spent the rest of his life in exile at Tegea [8, 72; Pausan. 3, 7, 9. Plut. malign. 21].

LEPREATS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Lepreum (or Lepreos), a town in Elis, in the district called Triphylia. They appear to have been Minyan colonists from Orchomenos in Arkadia, and they maintained their independence for many years after this time, feeling strongly against being included in a confederacy of Elis, and preferring to be reckoned as Arkadians [Thucyd. 5, 21: Paus. 5, 5, 3].

LESBIANS, the, c. 106.

The inhabitants of the island of Lesbos, about 7 miles from the

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coast of Mysia. The inhabitants were principally Aeolians, and the island was regarded as the central seal or μητρόπωλος of the Aeolians (q.v.). It had not been under the kings of Lydia, but had submitted to the Persians [1, 169]. It now joined in the general movements among the islanders for confederation against Persia. In the early years of the Peloponnesian war it broke off from the confederation [Thucyd. 3, 15], and was punished by the division of the territory of Mytilene among Athenian cleruchs [Thucyd. 3, 50]. The whole island was afterwards called Mytilene from the chief town Mytilene, which, with Methymna, shared the dominion of the whole island, formerly divided into six territories.

Leukadians, cc. 28, 31, 38.

The inhabitants of Leukadia (Santa Maura), a considerable island off the coast of Akarnania, about 20 miles long. Its chief town was Leukas, which was a colony from Korinth, and was at the extreme north of the island, where it is separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait. The Leukadians had in the previous year sent three ships to Artemision and were accordingly honoured by being mentioned on the Delphic snake-stand [8, 45–7].

Lokrians, the, c. 31.

The inhabitants of Lokris, a district on the coast of the Malian gulf, separated from Thessaly by the range of Æta, over which is the pass of Thermopylae, and abutting on the west upon Doris and Phokis and on the south upon Boeotia. The Lokrians had complied with the Persian demand for earth and water [7, 132], but still had fought on the Greek side at Artemision [8, 1] and Thermopylae [7, 23]; but after the disaster of Thermopylae they had been compelled unwillingly to serve in the Persian army.

Lykidas, c. 5.

An Athenian, and a member of the Boulè in the year B.C. 481–480, of whom nothing is known beyond the story told in the text.

Lysimachos, c. 28.

An Athenian, father of Aristeides (q.v.). He belonged to the deme Alopeke, and appears to have been a poor man [Plut. Ar. 1].

Madytos, c. 120.

A town of the Thrakian Chersonesos (mod. Maîte). Half way between it and Sestos was the tongue of land on which the European end of the bridge of Xerxes was secured [7, 33].

Makedonia, c. 89. Makedonians, the, c. 31. Makedonian, a, c. 45.

Makedonia, the most northern district of Greece, was separated from Thessaly by the Cambunian range of mountains, and was divided from Illyricum and Epeiros on the west by Mts Scardos and Lingon. Though it afterwards, under Philip II. 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].

MALIANS, the, c. 31.

The inhabitants of Malis, 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].

MANTINEA, cc. 35, 77.

A town of Arkadia. Its situation led to its being the scene of more important battles than any other town in Greece. In the first place it stood in a plain convenient for military evolutions between two mountains, Maenalos and Artemisium, and just at the narrowest part of the plain; and in the second place it was at the junction of four roads leading to Orchomenos, Tegea, Pallantium and Argos. The five important battles named from it are (1) between the Lakedaemonians under Agis and the Athenians and Argives B.C. 418, (2) between the Thebans under Epaminondas and the Spartans B.C. 362, (3) between the Spartans and Demetrios Poliorcetes B.C. 295, (4) between the Spartans and Aratus B.C. 242, (5) between the Lakedaemonians and Achaeans under Philopoemen B.C. 207. Besides these great battles there were many minor ones fought near it, and the town itself was on several occasions taken, destroyed, and restored.

MARATHON, c. 46.

A plain extending for about six miles along the north-east coast of Attica, about 26 miles from Athens, from which it is approached by two hilly roads. The plain, which varies from three to five miles in breadth, was nearly closed at either extremity by salt marshes, and was fringed by a broad sandy beach. It was the scene of the famous battle between the Persians under Dates and Artaphernes and the Athenians under Miltiades in B.C. 490.

MARDONIOS, cc. 1, 2, 4, 12, 14—5, 17—20, 24, 31—2, 37—45, 49, 63—4, 70, 82, 84, 100—1.

Son of Gobryas by a sister of Dareios, whose daughter Artazostra he married. He first appears in Greek history as the agent of Dareios 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, when pushing on his conquests into Europe sustained reverses at the hands of the Thrakians 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. This was now a matter of life and death to him, seeing that the attempt had been made by his advice [8, 102—6]. He escorted Xerxes on his way to the Hellespont as far as Thessaly, B.C. 480—479 [8, 113]. He wintered there and, after consulting the oracles, endeavoured to win over Athens by the agency of Alexander of Makedon [8, 133—141], and on the failure of this negotiation marched once more into Attica and occupied Athens. His subsequent proceedings and death are narrated in the text.

MARDONTES, c. 102.

A Persian, son of Bagaeos, commander of the navy at Mykale. He had been appointed to command what was left of the ships after the battle of Salamis [8, 130] in the spring of 479 B.C.; having originally in the grand army had the command of the islanders from the Erythraean sea [7, 80].

MASISTES, cc. 107—8, 110—13.

Son of Dareios and Atossa, and therefore whole brother of Xerxes. He was one of the six generals who were over the whole of the infantry of the grand army [7, 82].

MASISTIOS, cc. 20, 22, 24—5.

A Persian cavalry officer, whose name the Greeks altered to Makistios, as though from μῆκος (‘tallest’), because of his gigantic height.

MEDES, the, cc. 31, 40, 43—4, 67, 87.

The Medes were an Aryan people [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 by Kyaxares. This monarch, about B.C. 624, attacked and took Nineveh. From this period the great Assyrian monarchy was divided into two independent kingdoms—Medes and Babylonians. The Medes, under Kyaxares, subdued the part of Asia ‘beyond the river Halys’ [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, and 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 people, giving the palm of valour to the Persians.

Megara, c. 14. Megarians, the, c. 69. Megarid, the, c. 14.

Megara stood on the Saronic gulf, a mile inland, with a harbour town of Nisaea to which it had been joined by long walls. It was on the road from Athens and Eleusis through the isthmus, and therefore its friendship or neutrality was of great importance to Athens and 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 Corinth. At this time however Megara was independent. Geographically it belongs rather to Attica, for the range of Gereneia shuts it off from Corinth 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 [5, 76].

Melampus, c. 34.

A seer, or Mantis, of Pylos, in Elis, who according to the legend obtained a third of the royal power of Argos for himself, and another third for his brother Bias [q. v.], the remaining third being retained by the existing king Anaxagoras. Pausanias [1, 44, 5] mentions a temple to Melampus at Aegosthenia in Megaris; and he is referred to in the Odyssey as a wealthy inhabitant of Pylos who emigrated to Argos and became its king; but he is there represented as driven from Pylos by the tyranny of Neleus [Od. 15, 225—255].

Messenians, the, c. 64.

The Messenians were the inhabitants of the S. W. province of the Peloponnese, a mountainous district, whose people had for long years been at constant feud with their neighbours the Lakedaemonians until they were reduced to subjection in the second Messenian war (B.C. 685—668). The Messenian war alluded to in the text was the war of Sparta against the revolted Helots [B.C. 464—455], chiefly consisting of Messenians, who, having been reduced to the state of unenfranchised inhabitants of their own country, were always ready to strike a blow at their masters. They held out for nine years in a stronghold on Mt Ithome, and when they at length had to surrender, they were able to stipulate for the safety of their lives, and were settled by the Athenians in Naupaktos [Thucyd. 1, 105].
MILETOS, c. 97. MILESIANS, cc. 99, 104.

An Ionian city of Karia, on a peninsula on the south-west of the Latmian bay, which in modern times has been so silted up by the deposits of the Maeander that the ancient site of the city has all but disappeared. The Ionian settlers under Neileus (q.v.) massacred or expelled the male part of the original Karian inhabitants [1, 146; Hom. II. 2, 867], and took the women as wives or slaves. Between that time and the Persian capture in B.C. 494 it had risen to considerable prosperity, chiefly owing to its excellent harbours, and had maintained its practical independence both against the Lydian kings and Kyros [1, 17, 22, 143, 169]. At the end of the Ionic revolt its inhabitants are said to have been removed, and its territories divided among Persians and Karians of Pedasos [5, 20]; but the presence of Milesians, evidently Greeks, at Mykale [cc. 99, 104] seems to prove that this depopulation had not been complete.

MOLOEIS, the, c. 57.

A small stream running down a slope of Mt Kithaeron into the Oeroë (q. v.). On its banks or near them was the third position occupied by the Spartans, and the scene of the actual fighting in the battle of Plataea.

MURYCHIDES, cc. 4, 5.

A Greek of some town on the Hellespont, employed as messenger by Mardonios to convey his proposals to Athens.

MUSAROS, c. 43.

Musaeos, who is generally coupled with Orpheus, was the author, or reputed so, of a number of poems, chiefly oraculair, current as early as B.C. 520. He was said by some to have been a Thrakian, and by others an Eleusinian; and Pausanias [1, 22, 7] mentions a hymn to Demeter as a genuine composition of his. He is thus, like Orpheus, connected with the mysteries or secret rites of Demeter. Herodotos [7, 6] says that his oracular poems were edited by Onomakritos of Athens, who foisted in certain verses as to the islands near Lemnos; and also that his poems contained clear prophecies of the battle of Salamis [8, 96].

MYKALE, cc. 90, 96—8, 100, 104, 107, 114.

The termination of a high ridge of mountains (Mt Mesogis) in Lydia, forming a promontory called Trogylium [mod. S. Maria], separated from Samos by a strait less than a mile broad. The district is described in Homer [II. 2, 867].

Νάστης αἳ Καρών ἕμησατο βαρβαροφῶνον
οἱ Μιλητῖν ήχον Φθειρῶν τ᾽ ἄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον
Μαυάνδρου τε ἐρῶς Μυκάλης τ᾽ αἰτεῖνά κάρηνα.

MYKENAE, cc. 27, 28—31.

Mykenae is reckoned in Homer [II. 2, 569] as the chief city of Argolis. But since the heroic times it had fallen in importance; and
after the Persian war both it and Tiryns were punished for taking sides against Persia, contrary to the policy of the rest of Argolis, by being left to fall into ruins while their inhabitants were transferred to Argos [Paus. 5, 23, 2]. It was built round a hill, on which was the Acropolis surrounded by a Cyclopian wall,—i.e. a wall built of huge stones, sometimes 15 feet high, which the Greeks, being equally puzzled as ourselves to account for the means of moving them, declared to be the work of the giant Cyclopes. Within the last few years the ruins of Mykenae have been explored by Dr Schliemann, the so-called treasure-house of Atreus and tomb of Agamemnon opened, and many articles of interest discovered.

MYSIANS, the, c. 32.

The people of Mysia, the N.W. district of Asia Minor bordering on the Propontis and Aegean. The part bordering on the Propontis and Hellespont was called Mysia Minor, the interior with the capital Pergamos was called Mysia Major, while the N.W. was called Troas, and in the Persian times Phrygia Minor; the S.W. coast district was called Aeolis, and the southern district on the frontier of Lydia was called Teuthranta. The inhabitants were a mixed race which had emigrated at various times from Thrace, while a large number of Hellenic colonies had settled along the coasts. The Mysians (as distinct from these Hellenic settlers) seem to have considered themselves of the same race as the Karians [1, 171; 7, 74]; they were first subdued by Kroesos [1, 28], and after his fall they became tributary to the Persians and were included by Dareios in the Second Satrapy [id. 3, 90].

NEILEUS [Νείλευς and Νελλεύς], c. 97.


χαίρε Χιτώνη
Μελήνῳ ἐπίδημος ἄρ’ γὰρ πονήσατο Νείλευς
Ἠγεμόνιν, διὸ ηὐσίν ἀνήγετο Κεκρασίθεν.

His grave was shewn at Didymoi in Arkadia [Pausan. 7, 2, 6].

NISAEAN HORSES, c. 20.

The Nisaean horses were long famous. The sacred horses of the Persian king’s chariot were of this breed, and they were of unusual size [Her. 7, 40]. Their name is taken from a plain in Media which Rawlinson identifies with that of Khawar and Alistan near Behistun, in which there is excellent pasture. [Polyb. 5, 44; 10, 37; 31, 3; Plut. Pyrrh. c. 11.]

OÉROE, the, c. 51.

A small river in Boeotia flowing into the Korinthian gulf, formed by the confluence of two smaller streams descending from Mt Kithaeron. The land lying between these two streams is that
which Herodotos calls 'the Island,' and to which Pausanias intended to remove from the 2nd Greek position.

OIOBAZOS, cc. 115, 118—19.

A Persian resident at Kardia, who joined in the defence of Sestos.

OLYMPIA, c. 81.

Situated on a plain three miles long and one broad in Elis, on the N. bank of the Alpheios at its junction with the R. Kladeos. On this plain was the stadium, where the contests of the Olympic games took place, and many temples, the largest and most important being that of Zeus Olympios founded in 572 B.C. and decorated by Pheidias in B.C. 435—3, in which was his colossal statue of Zeus made of ivory and gold.

OLYMPIODOROS, c. 21.

An Athenian, son of Lampon, an officer in the Athenian contingent at Plataca.

ORCHOMENIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Orchomenos in Arkadia, a town a short distance N. of Mantinea (q.v.). In the time of Pausanias the site of the city had been changed from the top of the hill on which it formerly stood to lower ground, though the ancient agora and walls could still be traced [Paus. 8, 13, 2]. They had in the previous year sent a contingent of 120 men to Thermopylae [7, 202].

ORESTEIUM, c. 11.

A town in a district of Arkadia called Moenalia, sometimes written Orestheium [Thucyd. 5, 64, 3], sometimes Oresthasium [Paus. 8, 3, 2, etc.], on the right of the road from Megalopolis to Tegea, and apparently to the left of the road from Sparta which passed through Tegea to the isthmus [Paus. 8, 44, 2]. Whether the name was really connected with Orestes or no, the poets assumed that it was so [Eur. Orest. 1647], and the remains of Orestes were said to have been found in the neighbouring town of Tegea [1, 68].

ORICUS [also Oricum], c. 93.

A town of Illyricum near the mouth of the Aδus, serving as a port for Apollonia [mod. Ῥαχύ]. Its harbour was also called Panormus [mod. Porto Raguso].

PAEONIANS, the, c. 32.

The inhabitants of a district on the river Strymon, said to have been colonists from Troy [5, 13], were an industrious quiet people, who having the misfortune to attract the notice of Dareios were by his orders transported bodily into Asia [5, 15], but enabled by Aristagoras during the Ionic revolt to return to Europe [5, 98]. They remained however subject to Persia and duly supplied a
contingent to the army of Xerxes [7, 113]. The name is first heard of in the neighbourhood of the river Axios [Hom. II. 2, 848; 16, 287], and in later times spread again westward over a large part of Makedonia [Livy 40, 2].

Paleans, the, cc. 28, 31.
The inhabitants of Pale, or Palus, one of the four cities of Kephallenia (q. v.), and the most important of the four, situated on the S.W. extremity of the island.

Pallene, c. 28.
The most western of the three projecting headlands which terminate the Chalkidic peninsula; see Potidaea.

Parnassos, c. 31.
A range of mountains in Phokis, rising at its highest point (Lykorea) 8000 feet. The range terminates in a double peak above Delphi.

Pasikles, c. 97.
Father of Philistos (q. v.).

Pausanias, cc. 10, 13, 21, 28, 45—6, 50, 53, 64, 76, 87, 88, 101.
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 Hercules [see Heracleidae]—and was a nephew of Leonidas, as will be seen from the accompanying pedigree [5, 39—41; 7, 204; 9, 64]:—

(his niece) = Anaxandridas = a d. of Prinetidos.


2. Dorieus.

3. Leonidas = Gorgo, ob. before B.C. 495.


Euryanax (?) = Pleistarchos.


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 late in B.C. 480 or 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 Thucydides [1, 94 sq.] and by Diodorus Siculus [11, 44—6], and Cornelius Nepos has written a life of him founded on what he found in Thucydides.

The fact seems to have been that the sight of Persian luxury, which he at first seemed or pretended to despise [9, 81], presented too enticing a contrast to the absurd rigidity of Spartan habits to be resisted. This was an influence to which the Spartans yielded more easily than the inhabitants of any Greek state. Added to this his elation at the victory of Plataea set his thoughts upon securing the royal position, which he only held temporarily as guardian of his nephew, and extending it into something like a tyranny or despotism over all Greek states. The first indication which he gave of this vanity was a sentence in the inscription upon the stand of the thanksgiving tripod at Delphi ascribing the victory at Plataea to himself, which the Spartans caused to be erased (an erasure which it is said can now be traced in the stand of twisted serpents existing at Constantinople). Still he was sent out in command of the Spartan ships to Byzantium in B.C. 478; from which place however enough complaints of his conduct and treasonable correspondence with Persia reached Sparta to induce the Ephors to recall him. He was not on this occasion convicted of treason, but merely censured for overbearing behaviour, and superseded by Dorkis. At the end of the year the Spartans ceased to take part in the naval resistance to Persia, leaving it to the newly-founded confederacy of Delos. Pausanias however (B.C. 477) joined the confederate fleet with a single ship. There he behaved in an extraordinary manner: he assumed the Persian dress, was attended by a body-guard, refused to admit Greeks to his presence, dined with eastern magnificence, and finally, retiring to Kolonae in the Troad, entered into a directly treasonable correspondence with the Persian court. He was said also to have married the daughter of the king's cousin, but Herodotos [5, 32] seems to have some doubt of the truth of the story. He did not venture, however, to refuse obedience when an official despatch arrived from the Ephors ordering him to return home. Arrived in Sparta he was thrown into prison, but by some means obtained permission to be at large while the Ephors were collecting evidence. He employed this interval in tampering with the helots, and in keeping up his correspondence with Persia by means of slaves, who, he requested, should on arrival be put to death. He was at last betrayed by one Argilios, who, feeling suspicious of the non-return of other messengers, opened a letter which he was to carry and found a request for his own death. Argilios, after communicating with the Ephors, took sanctuary at the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum. Thither Pausanias came to see what was wrong; the Ephors were so concealed as to enable them to overhear the conversation which ensued, and thus obtained evidence. As Pausanias was returning he met the Ephors, and suspecting what had happened from their looks, or from a hint conveyed by one of them, he too took sanctuary in the temple of
Athene of the Brazen-house. Not being willing directly to violate the sanctuary the Ephors built up the door, the mother of Pausanias bringing the first stone, and left him there to perish by hunger. When he was on the point of death he was carried out and immediately expired. Such was the end of the victor of Plataea.

PELOPONNESE, the, cc. 6, 9, 26, 39, 50. PELOPONNESIANS, the, cc. 8, 19, 26, 73, 106, 114.

The Peloponnesse (‘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 Ephyra in Elis is spoken of as being ἐν ἑωρῷ "Ἀργεῖος ἰπποβότοιν Il. 6, 152; cf. Odys. 4, 173 where ‘Argos’ refers to Lakonia, and 3, 251 where the Peloponnesse is called "Ἀργος Ἀχαιῶν. And, finally, some have regarded ἄτιν in Il. 1, 270, ‘the distant land’, as a territorial name for the Peloponnesse. The name Peloponnesse was certainly subsequent to the settlement of the Dorian, and was referred by the Greeks to the wealth and power of Pelops son of Tantalos. It contains about 1870 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 inhabitants before the invading Dorians, and Arkadia owing to its mountain barriers having been able to resist their attack. [For a different account of ἄτιν or ἄτια see Paus. 5, 25; and F. A. Paley on Aesch. Supp. 256. Theocr. 25, 183 has ἄτιαs.] By ‘Peloponnesians’ Herodotos means in this book usually the body of men composed of contingents from the various cities in the Peloponnesse, including of course the Spartans, who are also when combined with their helots and perioeci styled ‘Lacedaemonians’.

PERIOEKOI, c. 11.

The inhabitants of Lakonia, who though holding land and being personally free, had not political rights in common with the Spartans. See Sparta.

PERSIANS, the, cc. 8, 10, 15—6, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38—42, 45, 51, 58—61, 68, 70—1, 82, 90, 96, 98—9, 102, 106—7, 110, 115, 121—2.

The Persians, an Aryan race like the Medes, were a mountain tribe led down about B.C. 559 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 still traced their descent from Kyros,—Dareios having married his daughter,—and the Persians still were a distinct race, and in the view of Herodotos the best soldiers, and indeed the centre and mainstay, of the royal army [c. 68; 8, 113]. 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, 147, 141; 6, 1; 8, 88]. 'but vain, weak, impulsive, and hopelessly servile to their lords' [3, 25; 7, 56, 223; 9, 113]. Rawl.

**Phalerum, c. 32.**

The old harbour town of Athens on the east side of the bay of Phalerum, on the W. of which was the Peiraecus. It was afterwards (about B.C. 456) joined to Athens by a long wall between three and four miles long. At the time of the Persian invasion it was the regular harbour of Athens; the adoption of the more convenient harbour of the Peiraecus and its fortification were due to Themistokles shortly after the Persian war.

**Pharandates, c. 76.**

A Persian, son of Teaspis, who commanded the Mares and Kolchians in the grand army [7, 79].

**Pharnaces, cc. 41, 66.**

A Persian, father of Artabazus (q. v.).

**Phageus, c. 26.**

A king of Phageia in Arkadia before the period of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. The city before his time was called Erymanthus, and his sons Temenos and Axion are said to have been reigning at the time of the Trojan war [Paus. 8, 24, 2—10].

**Phalistos, c. 97.**

An Athenian, apparently, who accompanied Neicleus in leading out the colony to Miletos.

**Philekynon, cc. 71, 85.**

A Spartan youth (ἐπηψ) who fell at Plataea.

**Phliasians, the, cc. 28, 31, 85.**

The inhabitants of Phlios, 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 watered by the river Asopos and surrounded by mountains. Phlios sent 200 men to Thermopylae [Her. 7, 202].

**Phoenikes, c. 96.**

The Phoenikians here spoken of are those settled in the N. of Palestine, whither they had come from the shores of the Persian gulf [1, 1]. They were very early the chief sailors and traders in the Mediterranean, and supplied the Persian king with the greater part of his naval forces [5, 108—112; 6, 14, 40—1; Thucyd. 1, 16, 100; 8, 46, 81]. Their skill as miners and engineers was also eminent [6, 47; 7, 23, 34].

**Phokis, c. 66. Phokians, the, cc. 17—8, 31, 85.**

Phokis was a considerable district bounded on the S. by the Gulf of Corinth, and by Doris and eastern Lokris on the N. It con-
tained the range of Parnassos and the sacred city of Delphi, which however was inhabited by a different race,—probably Doriens. The Phokians were a confederacy of towns mostly situated in the valley of the Kephissos, and were looked upon as people of mixed Aeolian and 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 Herodotus their chief motive for not joining the Persians earlier was hatred of the Thessalians [8, 30]. Even when some of them did join Mardonios, a large number refused to do so, and, entrenching themselves about Parnassos assisted the Greeks [c. 31].

Phrygians, the, c. 32.

The people of Phrygia, the central district of Asia Minor, a mountainous and well-watered country inhabited by tribes connected with the Thracians. They had been once a warlike people, but when they became part of the Persian Empire they devoted themselves entirely to agriculture.

Pitanetan Lochos, the, c. 53.

A division of the Spartan army composed of men of the hamlet Pitana, which according to the best evidence was on the west of the town of Sparta. Thucydides [1, 20] denied that the ‘Pitanetan lochos’ had any existence; but this seems only to mean that no ‘lochos’ was particularly called by that name in his time as different from others; and if the Spartan army was enrolled by the several pagi or hamlets which went to make up Sparta, Herodotus might still call it the ‘lochos of Pitana’, when he was speaking of it and its commander taking separate action from the main body, in which it would generally be absorbed; just as at times all the men of a certain tribe with their commander in an Athenian army would be told off for a separate and special duty. See the case of Aristeides and his tribe after Marathon [Plut. Arist. 5].

Plataea, cc. 7, 15—6, 25, 28, 30—1, 34, 36—7, 41, 51—2, 72, 76—7, 85—6, 88, 90, 100—1.

" district of, c. 25
" people of, cc. 83, 101.

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 Asopos. Toward the east, along the valley of the Asopos, 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’—Oéroé flows west to the Korinthian gulf, Asopos 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 [Her. 3, 108; Thucyd. 3, 68]. This union had been cemented by the fact of 1000 men being sent by Plataea, alone of the Greek states, to help the Athenians at Marathon; and they were now warmly cooperating with the Greek patriotic army. 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. The actual site of the battle in 479 B.C. was somewhat less than a mile from the town.

PLEISTARCHOS, c. 10.

Son of Leonidas, whom he succeeded after the latter's fall at Thermopylae as king of Sparta. He was at this time a minor (probably about 8 years old) and he died without issue not many years after becoming full king, in B.C. 458,—for his successor Pleistonax, son of Pausanias, died in B.C. 408, after a reign of 50 years [Diod. 13, 75].

PLEISTOROS, c. 119.

A god of the Thrakians, supposed to be identical with Ares [5, 7], but the name does not occur elsewhere.

POLIADÈS, c. 53.

A Spartan of the hamlet Pitana, father of Amompharētos (q. v.).

POLYNEIKES, c. 27.

Son of Oedipus and Iocaste, and one of the seven heroes who fell in their attack upon Thebes, killing, and being killed by, his brother Eteocles. Polyneikes had been driven from Thebes by his brother, and was trying to regain his country by the help of his father-in-law Adrastos, king of Argos. This heroic legend is the subject of the play of Aeschylus 'The Seven against Thebes', the 'Herakleidae' of Euripides, as also indirectly of the 'Antigone' of Sophocles.

POSEIDON, c. 81.

Brother of Zeus, and god of the Sea. There were many temples to Poseidon in various parts of Greece, usually of course near the sea; the one referred to in the text was that on the isthmus of Korinth, standing, along with one to Palaemon, in a sacred enclosure where the Isthmian games were held, about 7 miles to the east of the town, and close to the wall which was built across the isthmus.

POSEIDONIOS, cc. 71, 85.

A Spartan eirenu, or youth, who distinguished himself at Plataea.
GEOREPHICAL INDEX.

POTIDAEAS, c. 28. POTIDAEANS, c. 31.

Potidaea, a colony of Korinth, was situated on the narrowest part of the peninsula of Pallene (q. v.). Xerxes seems to have occupied it with his fleet on its way down in the spring of 480 B.C. [7, 123]. But after the battle of Salamis, the inhabitants declared their hostility to the Persians and stood a three months' siege at the hands of Artabazus [8, 124], who lost the greater part of his army by trying to get round the χηλή or sea wall [8, 129, cp. Thucyd. 1, 63]. Thus saved, the Potidaeans sent a contingent of 300 to assist the patriotic army.

Πθηνα, c. 97.

The 'holy goddesses', that is, either Demeter and Korè (see DEMETER), or the Eumenides, the euphemism by which the Erinyes, or goddesses of curses and punishment, were known.

PRAXILAOS, c. 107.

A Halikarnassian, father of Xenagoras (q. v.).

PROTESILAOS, cc. 116, 120.

An oracle foretold that the first man of the Grecian host that landed on the soil of Troy would be killed. Protesilaos of Phylake in Thessaly led the warriors of several Thessalian towns, and in spite of this oracle was the first to leap on the shore, and was killed by Hector, Ov. Met. 12, 67 Hectora primus fataliter hastâ, Protesilae cadis. The reference to this in Homer is in Il. 2, 698

tὸν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος Ἀρηὸς ἡγεµόνευν
ζωὸς ἐὼν ἀπήκοα κατὰ θαι γαία μέλαια.
tοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφὴς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλευθερὸν καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελὴς τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἄνήρ
νῆσος ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρῶτοτον Ἀχαίων.

His heroism on the southernmost point of the Chersonese was opposite Sigeium and was called the Πρωτεσίλαεων.

PYLOS, c. 34.

A town of Elis, about 10 miles to the east of the town of Elis, on a tributary of the Peneus called Ladon [Paus. 6, 22, 3]. It must not be confused with Pylos in Messenia, celebrated in Homer as the home of Nestor, and in the Peloponnesian war as the scene of a Spartan defeat.

PYTHEAS, c. 78.

An Aeginetan, father of Lampon, and whose father's name also was Lampon. He won a victory at the Nemean games in the boys' Pancratium somewhere between B.C. 490 and 480, which is celebrated by Pindar, Nem. V.

PYTHIA, the, c. 33.

The prophetic priestess of the temple of Apollo at Delphi
(προφήτις). She was a young girl, generally of the lower class, who was selected for the office by the members of certain noble families at Delphi. She remained in her office for life and was not allowed to marry. When required to give forth oracles, she was seated on a tripod placed over a hole, from which rose a subterranean gas, and the words she uttered when under the influence of this fume were noted down and delivered as an oracle by the attendant priest (προφητης), as being from the direct inspiration of the god, though they were usually first reduced to a poetical form. Great care was taken to secure the integrity and impartiality of the Pythia, and yet on more than one occasion she was found to have been bribed and was deprived of her office [5, 63, 90; 6, 66]. There was originally only one Pythia, but in the most flourishing time of the Oracle it was found necessary to have three.

Sakae, the, cc. 31, 71, 113.
A people who lived on the steppes of what is now called Kirghiz Khosacks in Tibet.

Salamis, cc. 3, 4, 19.
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. 90, 96, 106. Samians, the, cc. 90—I, 99, 103, 105.
A considerable island off the coast of Karia. Under Polykrates [B.C. 535—522] it attained great naval power, and became the centre of an incipient Ionian confederacy. But after his death it became tributary to Persia and was ruled by tyrants who were under Persian control [3, 120—5]. However its navy was still powerful, and rendered good service in the Ionic revolt [6, 112], and it was natural that the present anti-Persian movement should begin there. It afterwards was one of the earliest states to revolt against the Athenian supremacy in the confederacy of Delos—B.C. 445 [Thucyd. 1, 115—6].

Sardis, cc. 3, 107—8.
The capital of the Lydian kingdom. When Kyros annexed Lydia, Sardis became the seat of the Persian government for Asia Minor, and the great king himself at times resided there. It was on the northern slope of Mt Tmolos which stretches down to the broad plains of the valley of the R. Hermos. The city, which was built on either bank of the Pactolos, a tributary of the Hermos, was not itself strongly defended, but its citadel was very strongly situated and all but impregnable.

Sestos, cc. 114—6, 119.
The chief town of the Chersonese [q. v.] opposite Abydos. It
had fallen into the hands of the Persians with the rest of the Chersonese in B.C. 493, and was now governed by Artayktes [7, 33]. Polybius has an elaborate disquisition on the advantageous nature of the situation of Sestos and Abydos as commanding the entrance to the Hellespont [16, 29].

**Sikyonians**, the, cc. 28, 31, 102, 105.

The inhabitants of Sikyon, a town and district usually classed as part of Corinthia, though it was independent of Corinth. It lay in the valley of the Peloponnesian 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 £24,000) for joining Kleomenes in his invasion of Argos about B.C. 510.

**Skolopoeis**, c. 97.

Near Mykale; but like Gaeson (q. v.) it is uncertain whether a stream or a town is meant. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

**Skolos**, c. 15.

A place on the south bank of the Asopus five miles to the east of the spot where the road from Plataea to Thebes crosses the river. Xenophon (Hell. 5, 4, 49) speaks of it as a fortified place ἄπειρα Σκώλων σταθμεύ, adding ὡς τάφρον [Ages. 2, 22]. The town lay on so rugged and difficult a position as to give rise to a proverb—ἐξ Σκώλων μὴν αὐτὸς τινι, μὴν ἀλλῳ ἑπεσθαί—'To Skolos go not of your accord or at another's beck' [Strabo 9, 2, 23]. It was in ruins, with an unfinished temple of Demeter, in the second century A.D. [Paus. 9, 4, 3].

**Sophanes**, cc. 73—5.

An Athenian of the deme Dekelea, who on a former occasion had slain in single combat the Argive athlete Eurybates (q. v.).

**Sparta**, cc. 55, 73. **Spartan**, a, c. 35. **Spartans**, the, cc. 9—10, 26, 28, 47—8, 54—6, 60, 63—4.

The town of Sparta differed from other important towns in Greece in having no fortifications or walls. The passes which led down from the north into the valley of the Eurotas were sufficiently difficult to admit of adequate defence, and the citizens being all trained soldiers, always ready for service, no defences were thought necessary. The town itself was a rather loose combination of a number of hamlets located at various distances down the valley; and though the central part, containing the agora and public buildings, was fairly rich in temples, monuments, and other constructions in the time of Pausanias (second century A.D.), yet Thucydides remarked that in his time such buildings were so few and insignificant,
compared with those of Athens, that if ever Sparta was deserted the meanness of her remains would be thought to refute the history of her greatness [Thucyd. 1, 10]. 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 (Periocki) or praedial slaves (Helots). They were comparatively few in number [about 8000 at this period, see 7, 234], and their peculiar institutions tended to check any increase. They were looked upon as the head of the Dorians, and the natural leader of all Greece in the field; they actually ruled two-thirds of the Peloponnese, and exercised an informal hegemony in the rest, except in Argolis. Of Argolis most of the cities joined the chief state in the hostility to Sparta, which had originated, perhaps, in disputes about frontiers, especially as to the possession of Kynuria, and had more recently been embittered by the cruelties of Kleomenes [5, 76—80]. We must distinguish between 'Lakedaemonians' and 'Spartans', the former Herodotos generally uses as including all the inhabitants of Lakonia; the latter term refers simply to the ruling class as full citizens. So in c. 28, 'Ten thousand Lakedaemonian troops were on the right wing, five thousand of whom were Spartans'.

Sphendale or -es, c. 15.

Sphendale is said by Hesychios to be a deme of Attica, and by Stephanos Byz. to have been of the tribe of Hippothoontes [see also C. I. G. 2155]. It must have been on the frontier of Boeotia, for the Boeotian guides would hardly have come far into Attica. Probably it was at the point where Mardonios crossed the Asopus. If he had followed the regular road from Dekeleia to Boeotia, that namely by Oropos, he would not have wanted guides.

Stenykleros, c. 64.

A town and plain among the mountains on the north-east of Messenia. It was established as the seat of government by the Dorian conquerors of Messenia instead of Andania [Paus. 4, 3, 7]. The later capital, Messene, was built about B.C. 369 by Epaminondas. The plain of Stenykleros had been before the scene of war between Sparta and Messenia, especially at a spot called the 'Boar's Grave' (κατρον σόμα) in the second Messenian war. The war which Herodotos is alluding to here is that which followed the earthquake and the revolt of the Helots B.C. 464. See Messenians.

Styreans, c. 28.

The inhabitants of Styra, a town in Euboea, near Karystos [8, 1, 46].

Tanagra, cc. 15, 35, 43.

A town in Boeotia on the left or north bank of the Asopus. It stood on a round hill commanding the road from Oropos to Thebes, and was accordingly on several occasions the scene of a battle.
between Athenians and Boeotians in B.C. 456 and 426, as also between the Spartans when occupying Boeotia and the Athenians in B.C. 457.

TEASPIS, c. 76.

A Persian, father of Pharandates (q.v.).

TEGEA, cc. 27—8, 35, 37. TEGEANS, the, cc. 26, 31, 35, 54, 56, 61—2, 70, 85.

Tegea stood in a plain surrounded by mountains in the southeastern corner of Arkadia, 10 miles south of Mantinea, through both which towns the road from the north to Sparta passed. It was a very ancient town, being mentioned with Mantinea in Homer [Iliad 2, 607]. It long resisted Sparta [1, 65], but at length about B.C. 500 submitted, and from that time remained in close alliance with it, though retaining its autonomy.

THEBAID, the, c. 65. THEBANS, the, cc. 2, 15, 31, 40—1, 67.

THEBES, cc. 13, 16—7, 27, 38, 58, 67, 87—8.

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, was divided from that of Plataea by the river Asopos. The town was built on an elevation of 150 feet above the plain on a spur of Mount Teumessos. The citadel, or Kadmeia, probably stood at the southern end of the town. The plain of Thebes in the valley of the Asopos was a rich corn land. 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]. They were punished by a fine of a tenth of their goods [7, 132; Polyb. 9, 39].

THEMISTOKLES, c. 98.

The son of Neokles. It was he who did most to make Athens a powerful naval state by persuading the Athenians to devote the produce of the Silver mines at Laurium to the building of ships for the Aegianetan war, which proved the salvation of Greece at Salamis [7, 144]. He commanded his tribesmen at Marathon, and was the moving spirit in the whole campaign of B.C. 480 [8, 4—79]. After this his chief services were the building of the town-walls, and the fortification of the Peiraeus, and in generally beautifying the town: while the management abroad of the formation of the Confederacy of Delos fell to Aristeides and Kimon. In Athens, though enjoying an immense reputation throughout Greece, he seems soon to have incurred the suspicions of his fellow citizens; and was threatened with an accusation of medism. The treacherous intrigue by which in conjunction with Ephialtes he deprived the
Council of the Areopagos of much of their ancient powers may have also contributed to the feeling of hostility to him. At any rate he was ostracised about 461, and while he was living abroad the charge of medism was renewed, owing to discoveries made in the papers of Pausanius [q.v.]. Hearing of this he fled first to Admetos, king of the Molossians, and then to Persia, where he was kindly received by Artaxerxes, and died between 460 and 450 B.C.

The dates here given are later than those that have been usually assigned to the ostracism and flight of Themistokles: they seem however to follow from the narrative of Aristotle in the recently discovered Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, c. 25. For Themistokles see also Plutarch's Life, and Thucyd. i, 74—138.

Thermestor, c. 90.

Tyrant of Samos. The Persians established him in that post in succession to Aeakes, who had been restored after the suppression of the Ionic revolt. He did good service to the Persians at Salamis [8, 85].

Thermōdon.

(1) c. 27. A river of Pontos, mod. Thermeh, which flows northward into the Euxine at the town of Themiskyra, about 100 miles E. of Sinope. The Amazons or female warriors were said to have come from this country. Et tu femineae, Thermodon, cognite turmac, Ovid, Pont. 4, 10, 15.

(2) c. 43. A small river or torrent in Boeotia identified by Col. Leake with the Platanaki which flows from Mt Hypatos into the Euripos; while Rawlinson believes that by it is meant a winter torrent (of which there are several) flowing down the S. slope of Hypatos into the Asopos. The description of Pausanias of the objects on the road from Thebes to Chalkis seems to favour the latter view [9, 19, 3].

Thermopylae, cc. 71, 78—9.

The scene of the famous resistance and 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 flow into the Spercheios, but then flowed into the sea: 'There there was only a narrow causeway sufficient for a single carriage' [7, 190]. 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.

Thersander, c. 16.

A man of rank, of Orchomenos (q.v.), with whom Herodotos
was personally acquainted. He was no doubt serving in the army of Mardonios: for Orchomenos had shared the fate of the other Boeotian towns; it had, that is, been occupied by a Makedonian garrison in the interest of the king of Persia [8, 34].

**Theseus, c. 73.**

The national hero of Athens, son of Aigeus and Aethra. To him were attributed (1) the clearing of the road through the Isthmos from robbers, (2) the deliverance of Athens from the tax to the Minotaur of Crete, (3) the amalgamation of the 12 cantons of Attica into one government with Athens as capital, (4) the first constitutional division of the inhabitants, that namely into Eupatriidae, Demiurgi, Gemori. He was also believed to have established a form of limited monarchy. Thus the Athenians regarded him as in a true sense their founder. He was said to have been at last forced to retire from Athens and to have been murdered in Skyros, from which island his bones were brought to Athens in B.C. 469, and the temple known as the Theseum was built over them.

**Thespians, the, c. 30.**

The inhabitants of Thespiae, a town of Boeotia about six miles W. of Thebes, which possessed a harbour at Kreusis in the Korinthian gulf. It had suffered much the year before, the Persians having burnt the town [8, 50]. The Thespians had been as loyal as Plataea to the Greek side, partly no doubt from enmity to Thebes. At Thermopylae their six hundred were the only ones who refused to quit Leonidas in his extremity, and all perished with him [7, 222, 226].

**Thessalians, the, cc. 17, 31, 46, 89. Thessaly, cc. 77, 89.**

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. This district 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 (q.v.); but there was no one central government, though for certain purposes a military commander or τάγος was appointed. The Thessalians had joined Xerxes under compulsion [7, 172—4], except in the case of the Aleuadæ [7, 6], and as we see in c. 89 were ready to turn against them at the first sign of failure.

**Thorax, cc. 1, 58.**

The head of the royal family of Larissa, the Aleuadæ (q.v.). He and his brothers are called 'kings' [Θεσσαλής βασιλεύς 7, 6] and appear to have held a joint sovereignty.

**Thrake, c. 89. Thrakians, the, cc. 89, 119.**

The district N. of Makedonia, and bordering on the Euxine, was
called Thrake, without originally any clear definition of a border to the north, though in the Roman period it was divided from Moesia on the N. by Mt Haemos; and Herodotos considers it to be separated from Skythia by the Danube. The Thrakians were divided into many tribes, of which Herodotos in various places names 18, while Strabo calculated 22. "The Thrakians", says Herodotos, "are the most powerful people in the world except of course the Indians; and if they had one head, and would cooperate, I believe that their match could not be found anywhere" [3, 3]. The Thrakians had been subdued by Dareios [4, 93] and Megabazus [5, 2], were serving with Xerxes [7, 185], but were not at all to be relied upon in case of his failure, and some of their chieftains still refused to submit to him [8, 115—6].

Thrasydeios, c. 58.
A prince of Larissa in Thessaly, brother of Thorax (q.v.).

Thrasykles, c. 90.
A Samian, one of the emissaries to the Greek fleet at Delos.

Three Heads, the, c. 39.
The name given by the Boeotians to the pass over Mt Kithae-ron which the Athenians called Dryoskephalae (Oak Heads), q.v.

Thriasian Plain, the, c. 7.
The Thriasian plain skirted the bay of Eleusis, was divided from the plain of 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 was stony and barren. Its name was derived from a hamlet close to Eleusis, but of which the exact position is not known.

Tigranes, cc. 96, 105.
A Persian of the royal clan of the Achaemenids. He commanded the Medes in the grand Army [7, 62]; and was commander-in-chief of the Persian forces at Mykale.

Timander, c. 69.
Father of Asopodoros (q.v.), a Theban commander.

Timogenides, cc. 38, 86—7.
A Theban, son of Herpys, a leader of the medizing faction.

Tirynthians, the, cc. 28, 31.
The inhabitants of Tiryns, a strongly fortified town on an isolated hill a few miles to S.E. of Argos. Like Mykenae (q.v.) it was acting against the wishes of the Argives in furnishing a contingent to the Greek army, and was in a similar way after the Persian
war punished by the removal of its inhabitants to Argos. Remains of the Cyclopian walls still exist, and by recent excavations Dr Schliemann has unearthed the remains of a house which some believe to belong to the heroic age, others to be a house of post-classical times in which ancient materials have been used.

TISAMENOS, cc. 33, 35—6.

An Elean Mantis or soothsayer, son of Antiochos of the Mantic family of the Klytiadai (q.v.). When, in consequence of his mistaken interpretation of the Oracle, he trained for the Pentathlum at the Olympic games he was beaten in wrestling by an Andrian named Hieronymos (q.v.).

TITAKOS, c. 73.

A man of Aphidnae (q.v.) who was said to have guided the Tyndaridae to the hiding place of Helen in that town.

TROEZENIANS, the, cc. 28—31, 102, 105.

The inhabitants of Troezen, a town in the S.E. corner of Argolis. 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 the 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]; for though occupied by Dorians it had a large admixture of Ionians who had come from Karia, and it was connected with Athens by belonging in former times to the same Amphictyony. Troezen was the mother-town of Herodotos' native place, Halikarnassos.

TROJAN WAR, the, c. 27.

The siege of Troy by the Greeks, in revenge for Paris carrying off Helen, the wife of Menelaos of Sparta, was regarded as an historical fact by all Greeks, nor had it as yet occurred to any to doubt that the poems of Homer contained real history.

TYNDARIDAE, c. 73.

The twin sons of Leda and Zeus, Kastor and Pollux, and therefore the half-brothers of Klytemnestra and Helen.

XANTHIPPOS, c. 114.

Son of Arisphron and father of Perikles. He married Agaristad of Hippocrates [6, 131]. He impeached Miltiades for his Parian expedition [6, 136], and at some time probably previous to this [about B.C. 502] he had been himself ostracised, being the first man unconnected with the party of the Peisistratids against whom that measure of precaution was taken [Aristot. Rep. Ath. c. 22].

XENAGORAS, c. 107.

A Halikarnassian, who saved the life of the king's brother Masistes.
XERXES, cc. 1, 32, 78, 82, 96, 99, 108—113, 120.

Though a younger son of Dareios, he yet succeeded to the crown, because his mother Atossa was a daughter of the great Kyros, and the Persians made it a condition that, by his marrying a daughter of Kyros, the royal line should be traced to the great Persian conqueror [7, 3—4]. Xerxes had retired to Sardis after the battle of Salamis, and was residing there at this time. He was the handsomest man in his army [7, 187] but apparently a coward; and the stories told of him by Herodotos seem meant to point him out as the type of Eastern tyranny and luxury, against which the φθινός of the gods is surely roused. He died B.C. 465.

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An island 8 miles from the W. coast of the Peloponnese, and immediately S. of Kephallenia. It is about 23 miles long, and was celebrated for its fertility. Its chief town was a colony of Achaeans. Hegesistratos fled there for safety from Sparta, because as being Achaeans the Zakynthians were hostile to Sparta and would protect its enemy.

ZEUS, cc. 81, 122. ZEUS HELLENIUS, c. 7.

Zeus, son of Kronos, father of gods and men, is the acknowledged chief of the Olympian deities. He is not absolute, for he cannot alter fate, but he is the president of the divine council, and pronounces finally on all matters. He is the author and controller of all the natural phenomena—rain, snow and thunder; and the other gods are his agents and mouthpieces. Greek theology, however, admitted of apparently limiting epithets according to the connexion in which he was addressed or conceived, as, Zeus Xenios 'god of hospitable rights', Zeus prostrapanos 'god of the rights of suppliants'. So Zeus Hellenius means 'god of the whole Greek race', to whom all Hellenes alike look and in whom all are united. To 'reverence Zeus Hellenius' therefore is to take a patriotic interest in and care for Panhellenism as against all the rest of the world.
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.

(4) α (Attic) into ω, as παννίζω, θυξος.
(5) ε (Attic) into ά, as τάμνω, τράπω [but we find τρέψω, έτρεψα], μεγαθος.
(6) ε (Attic) into ι, as ιστιή (ιστία), έπιστος = ἐφέστος.
(7) η (Attic) into ά, as μεσαμβρίη, ἀμφισβατέω, πεντακόσιοι.
(8) η (Attic) into ω, as πτόσω.
(9) ο (Attic) into η, as Θενθής, Θεσσαλήτης, Ἰστιαίης, and the derivatives Θητής, Ἀμπρακήτης etc.
(10) ο into α as ὄρρωδεω [Att. ὄρρωδέω].

III. DIPHTHONGS.

(1) α into αι, as αιετός, αεί.
(2) αυ into ω, as θώμα [but θώμα, θωμάζω, also see ι, ιι], τρώμα.
(3) ε into ει, as εἰρομαι, εἰρωτέω, εἰρών, εἰλίσσω, εἰνατος, εἰνακόσιοι, εὑρεκέν, κεινός, ξείνος, στεινός.
(4) ει into ε, as εί, έσω, μέξων, κρέσσων, πλέων, fem. of adj. in -να as βαθέα, ἡσιά, and in the tenses of δείκνυμι, as δείξω, δείξαν, δείχνη, δείδεκτο, also ἔρω, ἐσκα, and in all proparoxytons in -εις, -εια, -ειων, as ἐπιτήθεος, ἐπέτεος.
(5) ει into ι, as ικέλος, προσικέλος, ἦλη.
(6) ευ into i, as ἰδύς, ἰδέα, ἰδύ, ἰδύω [Att. εύθύς].
(7) ο into ου, as μούνος, νοῦς, νουσέω, οἷλυμπος, οὖνομα, οὖνομάζω, οὐρος (ὁρος a boundary), τὸ οὖρος (τὸ ὄρος), οὐδός (threshold), but ἡ ὄδος (way) : in trisyllable forms γούνατα, δυσάτα, from γόνι, δόρυ.
(8) ου into ω, as δῶν (οῦν), τοιγαρῶν, οὐκών, γῶν (γούν).

2 Still the comp. and superl. of ἐπιτήθεος seem to be in ὀτέρος, ὀταρός as though the word were ἐπιτήθεος.
B. Syllables.

(1) Solution and Contraction.

(a) ὦ into ο, as ἀγαθόργος, δημοέργος.

(b) οη into ο, as ὀγδάκοντα, and in the following forms of βοῶν and νοεῖν,—βῶσαι, βῶσασθαι, ἐβωσε, ἐβωσθην, ἐννώσας, ἐννέκασι, ἐννέκωντο, νεωμένος, ἐπενώθη, also βωθέω (Βοθέω).

(2) Diaeresis.

(a) ει into η, (1) in substantives in -εια as βασιλη; =regnum [but βασιλεία=regina], ἐπιστρατη; (2) in subst. in -ειον, as χαλκῆον, ἀριστῆον [the forms προάστευον and προαστῆον are both found, see 1, 78; 3, 142]; (3) adjunct. in -ειος, as οἰκῆος, βασιλῆος

(b) η into η, as δηϊώ, κλης, χρητζ, Ἐρηκίη.

(c) θ into ο, as πατροίος, προί [except ζφον, φόν, Τρόας, Κόφος, Ἀχέλφος].

(3) Elision.

(a) ν ἐφελκυστίκον is not used in the Ionic of Herodotos. οντω does not become oντω before a vowel (9, 82).

(b) Elision (comparatively rare) takes place in (1) the prepositions ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά, υπό; (2) in most cases where ἀμα stands before a vowel; (3) most frequently in ἀλλά, δέ; (4) often in μηδέ, ουδε, τε, γε.

(4) Crasis.

(a) Like Attic, τάλλα, ταυτά, τάγαλματα, ταυθρώπου, τάληθος.

* Exceptions are the proper names Δαρείον, Ἄργειον, Ἡλείος, Καδμείος.

* In some MSS. however, the ν ἐφελκυστίκον 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.

(β) o, ο, and ω with a, ὄψηρ, ὄνθρεσις, ὄνθρεσις, οὔ-
teros, τοὐτερον, τάτερα, ἀλλοι, τοῖρχαιοι, ταληθῆς, τέλος, ὄνθρωπος, ἐναῖ.

(γ) In the reflexive pronouns ἑαυτός, ἔμαυτον, σεαυτόν, which in Ionic would be ἐο αὐτόν, ἐμε αὐτοῦ, σε ἄυτο, we have ἑωτόν, ἔμεωτον, σεωτόν. From ἄ αυτός, ἄωτός, ἄντι, τάτο.

(δ) Four with καί, καλὸς κάγαδος, κακεῖθε, κακείως, κῆμοι (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 γνωμέων, τιμέων, γενεέων (γενεη), πασέων, μελανέων, αὐτέων (f.) [but we must ex-
cept from this rule adjectives, pronouns and participles in
-ος, -η, -ον which have their gen. plur. fem. paroxyton, as
αλλων, φιλων, ἐκείνων, ἀλισκομένων, τοῦτων].

(2) Dat. pl., universally in ὅσι or ὅσι, as γνώμησι, αὐτῆσι.

(3) ἂ in all cases of the sing. becomes -η as χώρη,
-ης, -η: ἵσχυρῆ, -ῆς, -ῆ. The ἂ is retained in nom. and acc.
but becomes η in gen. and dat. as

αλήθεια, -ἀν, -ης, -η
μοιρα, -ἀν, -ης, -η
μια, -ἀν, -ης, -η.

(4) Words in -ης make the gen. sing. in -εω and are
proparoxyton, as

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{πολύτης} & \\
- & \text{ητῆς} & \text{sing.} \\
- & \text{ητέω} & \\
- & \text{ητη} & \\
- & \text{ητας} & \\
- & \text{ητέων} & \text{plur.} \\
- & \text{ητσι} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Like this are declined proper names Μίδης, Δεωνίδης, Πέρσης, Ξέρχης: also δεσπότης, except that the acc. δεσπότευ occurs I, II; 91.

(5) Words that in Attic are contracted are written in the uncontracted form in Herodotos, as μνᾶ, ουκή, in Herodotos

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[μνέα]} & \text{ουκή} \\
\text{μνέαι} & \text{-ής} \\
\text{μνέων} & \text{-έν} \\
\text{μνέας} & \text{ουκέαι} \\
\text{ουκέων} & \\
\text{χρυσέος}, & \text{-ή}, \text{-έν} \\
\text{— -έον, -έν}, & \text{-έν} \\
\text{— -έον, -ής}, & \text{-έν} \\
\text{— -έφ, -ή}, & \text{-έφ}
\end{array}
\]

Second Declension.

(1) The only peculiarity in case-ending is the dat. plur., which always ends in -οις or -οίσ, as λόγοις, θεοίς, καλοίς.

(2) Words in -οος, -ος, -ου or -εος, -ες, -εον are not contracted, as πλοος, ἀπλοος, -ος, -ου, ὀστεον, χρύσεος, -ές, -εον.

(3) The so-called 'Attic Declension' in -ως is confined to proper names in Herodotos, as Ἀρκεσίλεως, Μενέλεως (from λεως), as also Μίνως, Ἀθώς, Ἀμφιάρεως. Instead of λεώς, νεώς, κάλως, λαγώς Herod. uses ηψ, ηψ, κάλως, λαγώς. So also instead of πλέως, ἄλεως, ἄξιόχρεως Herod. uses πλέως, -η, -ον, ἄλεως, -ον, ἄξιοχρεως, -ον. Thus too the words compounded of γῆ, as βασάγεως, μελάγγεως, μεσόγεως, ὑπόγεως, are represented in Herod. by βαθύγαιος, μελάγγαιος, μεσόγαιος, ὑπόγαιος.

(4) Herod. generally uses πολλός, -ή, -όν, though he also uses the commoner πολύς, πολλή, πολύ.

But the accusative Ξέφεα in 8, 69; 9, 1 is supported by some good MSS., as also Λυκίδεα in 9, 5.
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>νῆός</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-λεός</td>
<td>πόλιος</td>
<td>νέός</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέι</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νής</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέα</td>
<td>πόλιων</td>
<td>νέα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεύ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέες</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νέες</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέων</td>
<td>πόλιων</td>
<td>νέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέοςι</td>
<td>πόλισι</td>
<td>νυσί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέας</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νέας</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like πόλις are declined ὄβρις, ὄψις, φύσις, κρίσις, πίσις, παίδευσις, κατάστασις, χήτις, etc., and the proper names Τόμυρις, Μούρις, Σμέρδις, Σάις, Ἀτίς, Ἀμασίς, Δάτις, Μέμφις, Θέτις, Πάρις, Ἰσίς and the plural Σάρδιες, -ιῶν, -ιοί, -ιας.

But Ἀρτεμίς, -ιός, -ιδά
     ἔρις, -ιός, -ιν
     χάρις, -ιτός, -ιν

(3) Neuters in -os, substantives and adjectives in -ης, subs. in -υς and -υ, and adjects. in -υς resolve all contractions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>γένος</th>
<th>Ἀστυγής</th>
<th>ἄληθης -ές</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>γένεος</td>
<td>-γεος</td>
<td>ἄληθέος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένει</td>
<td>-γεῖ</td>
<td>ἄληθει</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένεα</td>
<td>-γεα</td>
<td>ἄληθεα -ές</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένεων</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἄληθεσι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γένεσι</td>
<td></td>
<td>ἄληθεια -έα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Proper names contracted to -κλῆς are thus declined:

Θεμπότοκλῆς voc. -κλῆς
-κλέος
-κλεῖ
-κλέα

Thus Περικλῆς and Ἰρακλῆς.

(4) Substantives in -ως and -ῶ, such as αἰθώς, ἡφᾶς, ἐνεστῶ, πειθῶ, are declined as in Attic, except that some proper names as Ἰος, Λητῶ make the accus. sing. in -ο ún.

(5) Neuters in -ας, as γῆρας, κέρας, τέρας, have their genitives and datives sing. and plur., and acc. plur., in -εος, -εῖ, -εων, -εσι, -εα [not -αος, etc.] with the single exception of γῆρας, -αος, -αῖ.

II. PRONOUNS.

(1) Personal Pronouns [ἐγώ, σύ, ἐ].

(a) Herod. uses the uncontracted forms of the gen. sing. εμός, σέ, ἐ, and rarely εμεῦ, σεῦ, εῦ.

(b) Dat. σοι, but in enclisis τοι.

(c) For the dat. m. and f. αὐτῷ, -ῇ Herod. uses οἱ. Acc. μν = αὐτῶν, -ήν and ἑαυτῶν, -ήν, and also for αὐτῷ.

(d) The nom. and dat. plur. of the three personal pronouns are the same as in Attic. The third person plural is

N. σφίς,
A. σφίας,
G. σφίαν,
D. σφίσι, σφι

but σφίσι and σφι differ in usage; σφι (enclitic) = αὐτοῖς or αὐταῖς, σφίας = αὐτούς, -άς, but σφίσι = ἑαυτοῖς or ἑαυταῖς.

The gen. and acc. plur. are not contracted

ἡμέων ὑμέων σφέων (σφεων)
ἡμέας ὑμέας σφέας (σφεας)

Herodotus also uses σφε as acc. 3rd pers. of all genders and numbers, and σφέα = αὐτά (n. pl.).

S. H. IX.
(2) Relative Pronouns.

(a) ὤς, ὦς ἐπερ, in nom. sing. and plur.

ТЬ, ὤς, ὢς
οῖ, αῖ, ὀὰ

but in oblique cases the consonantal form is used, as
G. τῶ, τῆς, τοῦ
τῶν, τῶν, τῶν, etc.

Note 1. Of the prepositions not admitting of elision ἐν, ἐκ, ἔς, περὶ, πρὸ, πρὸς, σὺν, ὑπὲρ,
πρὸ and ὑπὲρ seldom occur with simple relative.

περὶ usually follows its case, as τῆς πέρι.

ἐν, ἐκ, ἔς, πρὸς, σὺν, take the consonantal form, as ἐν τῷ, σὺν τῶι etc. Except where ἐν, ἔς, ἔς form with the relative an expression of time, as

ἐν ὤς = quo tempore
ἔς δὲ = usque ad id tempus
ἔς οἷ = ex quo tempore.

So also ἄχρι οὗ, μέχρι οὗ.

Note 2. On the other hand the prepositions which admit of elision—ἀντὶ, ἀπὸ, διὰ, ἐπὶ, κατὰ, μετὰ, παρὰ, ὑπὸ—take only the aspirated form of the relative, δι’ ἡς, ἐπ’ ὦ etc., except when they follow their case, as, τῷ πάρᾳ [but παρ’ ὦ].

(b) ὄντις, ὢ τί do not take the consonantal form. In place of the Attic ὄντις, ὄνθω, ὄνοις: Herod. uses ὄνευ, ὄντω, ὄντους, and for ἄνω he has ἄνα (not ἄντα).

(c) Interrogative and indefinite Pronoun τίς

τίς τίνες
τέο (τέω) τέων
τέφ τέους
τίνα τίνας
THE IONIC DIALECT.

D. CONJUGATION.

I. The Augment.

The usage of Herodotos with regard to the temporal and syllabic augment is the same as in Attic with the following exceptions:

(a) The temporal augment is omitted in purely Ionic forms, such as, ἀγνέω (ἀγω), ἀμείβομαι, ἀναισμύω, ἄρρωδέω, ἄρτεόμαι (ἄρταω), ἐσσώ (ῄσσαω), ἄρταξο (ῄσραξο), οὐρίζω [but ὄνομασται 9, 32, though the Ionic form οὐνόμαξω is given in some MSS.; in 9, 44 however they all have οὐνόμαξω], ἔργω (εἴργω)⁷.

(b) Also in the poetical verbs, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυτάξω, ἀλυνύω.

(c) Also in all verbs beginning with the diphthongs ai, en, ei, ev, oi, as, αἰδέομαι, αἰνέω, αἰρέω, αἰτέω, αὐξέω, εἰρωτέω, εὔδω, εὐτυχέω, εὐρίσκω, οἰκέω, ἀνοίγω, οἶχομαι.

(d) Also in the verbs ἐάω, ἔργαζομαι, ἔωθα [pluperf. ἕωθεα], while on the other hand the augmented forms ἤςαν, εἰχον, ἥλθον, ἥλασα are always found.

(e) In cases of double augment the syllabic is omitted as ὧρεω [Att. ἐώρων].

(f) Neither temporal nor syllabic augment occurs in verbs with frequentative termination, as ἄγεσκον, ποιέσκον, βαλεσκόμην.

II. Change of ν into α, when -τα or -το comes immediately after the stem.

(a) In the 3rd pers. plur. of perf. and pluperf. pass.: FIRST in impure forms, as ἀπίκατο, ἑτετάχατο, τετύφαται, ἀγωνί- δυται, ἐσκενάδαται, δεδέχαται, ἀπίκαται, διεφθάρατο; in these

⁶ The augment, as in Attic, is often omitted in the pluperf., as τετελευτήκε, δέδοκτο, ἐνδεδύκε, etc. And when πρό is compounded with an augmented word there is no contraction, as προέβανε, προέβαλε (not προβανε etc.).

⁷ Under this head may come the fact that the MSS. seem to favour ὄρμηται (see 4, 16), but ὄρμετα (1, 158; 9, 61).
XERXES, cc. 1, 32, 78, 82, 96, 99, 108—113, 120.

Though a younger son of Dareios, he yet succeeded to the crown, because his mother Atossa was a daughter of the great Kyros, and the Persians made it a condition that, by his marrying a daughter of Kyros, the royal line should be traced to the great Persian conqueror [7, 3—4]. Xerxes had retired to Sardis after the battle of Salamis, and was residing there at this time. He was the handsomest man in his army [7, 187] but apparently a coward; and the stories told of him by Herodotus seem meant to point him out as the type of Eastern tyranny and luxury, against which the φθένος of the gods is surely roused. He died B.C. 465.

ZAKYNTHOS, c. 37.

An island 8 miles from the W. coast of the Peloponnese, and immediately S. of Kephallenia. It is about 23 miles long, and was celebrated for its fertility. Its chief town was a colony of Achaeans. Hegesistratos fled there for safety from Sparta, because as being Achaeans the Zakynthians were hostile to Sparta and would protect its enemy.

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Zeus, son of Kronos, father of gods and men, is the acknowledged chief of the Olympian deities. He is not absolute, for he cannot alter fate, but he is the president of the divine council, and pronounces finally on all matters. He is the author and controller of all the natural phenomena—rain, snow and thunder; and the other gods are his agents and mouthpieces. Greek theology, however, admitted of apparently limiting epithets according to the connexion in which he was addressed or conceived, as, Zeus Xenios 'god of hospitable rights', Zeus prostropaios 'god of the rights of suppliants'. So Zeus Hellenius means 'god of the whole Greek race', to whom all Hellenes alike look and in whom all are united. To 'reverence Zeus Hellenius' therefore is to take a patriotic interest in and care for Panhellenism as against all the rest of the world.
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, then, men of the same stock, if divided by place and circumstance, will develop 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 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, δέκομαι, αὐτίς, οὐκί (Att. δέχομαι, αἴδις, οὐχί).

(2) In three words the positions of the aspirate and tenuis are reversed, ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεύτεν, κεικόν (Att. ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, χιτῶν).

(3) κ is found in the place of π in the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, κοιός, κόσος, κότερος, κῆ, κοί, κοῦ, κως, κόδεν, κότε [Att. ποίος, πόσος etc.]; in the relatives, ὁκώκασος, ὁκότερος [Att. ὁποίος etc.]; and in the adverbs οὖκοτε, οὐδέκοτε, οὐκω [Att. οὖποτε 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 οὖ, μετά ἀ, κατά [=καθά], κατ’ ἑνα, ὑπιστάναι, ἀπικέμαι, ὑπιήμι, μετέντες. In the same way οὖκ does not become οὐχ before an aspirate.

(5) σσ is not changed into ττ, e.g. θάλασσα, γλώσσα, τάσσω, ἐλάσσων, are the invariable forms in Ionic.

(6) σσ becomes ξ, e.g. διξός, τριξός.

II. VOWELS.

(1) α (Attic) into ε, as ἔρηπον 'male', τέσσερες, ὄπειών (ὀπάων).

(2) á (Attic) into η, as διπλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος.

(3) á (Attic) into η,

(a) In root syllables, as ῥηίδιες, ἰηρ, κρήτηρ, νηός, τρήκοντα, πρῆγμα, πέρρηγμα.

(b) In derivatives, as θε-ητρον, νε-ηνής, ἱρ-ηξ, Αἰγυ-ητα, ἱ-ητρός, ἀν-ηρός.

(c) In compounds, as γενη-λογέα, διή-κονος.

(d) In the adverbs λάθρη, λίνη, πέρην.
THE IONIC DIALECT.

(4) ἄ (Attic) into ω, as παιωνίζω, θῶκος.

(5) ε (Attic) into ἄ, as τάμων, τράπω [but we find τρέψω, ἔτρεψα], μέγαθος.

(6) ε (Attic) into ς, as ἱστῖ (ἐστία), ἐπίστος=ἔφεστος.

(7) η (Attic) into ἄ, as μεσαμβρίη, ἀμφισβατίω, σεπακόσιω.

(8) η (Attic) into ω, as πτώσσω.

(9) ω (Attic) into η, as Πθυτής, Θεσσαλίτης, Ἰστιαίτης, and the derivatives Πθυτής, Λμπρακίτης etc.

(10) ο into a as ὀρρωδέω [Att. ὀρρωδέω].

III. DIPHTHONGS.

(1) α into αι, as αἱρότος, αἱεί.

(2) αυ into ω, as θῶμα [but θόνμα, θωμάζω, also see 1, 11], τρῶμα.

(3) ε into ε, as εἰρώμαι, εἰρωτέω, εἰρυώ, εἰλίσσω, εἰκατος, εἰνακόσιοι, εἰνεκεν, κενώος, εἰνος, στεινός.

(4) ει into е, as εῖ, ἐσω, μέξων, κρέσσων, πλέων, fem. of adj. in -ν as βαθέα, ὀξεά, and in the tenses of δείκνυμι, as δείξω, δεξία, δέξαι, δεξίθη, δεξίθετο, also ἵγω, ἱβα, and in all proparoxytons in -ειως, -εια, -ειον, as ἐπιτήδεος, ἐπίτεος.

(5) ει into ε, as ἵκελος, προσίκελος, ἱλη.

(6) eu into ε, as ἱδύς, ἱδέα, ἱδύ, ἱδύω [Att. εὐθύς].

(7) ο into ου, as μοῦνος, νοῦσος, νοσεῖω, Οὐλυμπος, οὐνομάζω, οὐσιος (οὶρος a boundary), το οὐρος (το ὄρος), οὐδός (threshold), but ἦ ὁδός (way): in trisyllable forms γοῦνατα, δυφάτα, from γόνης, δόρυ.

(8) ου into ω, as ὁν (οῦν), τοιγαρῶν, οὐκων, γοῦν (γούν).

2 Still the comp. and superl. of ἐπιτήδεος seem to be in -ότερος, -ότατος as though the word were ἐπιτήδειος.
B. SYLLABLES.

(1) Solution and Contraction.

(a) όν into οε, as ὄγαθοργος, δημοεργος.

(b) οη into ω, as ὄγδωκοντα, and in the following forms of βοᾶν and νοεῖν,—βῶσαι, βώσασθαι, ἔβωσε, ἐβωσθην, ἐννώσας, ἐννεώκασι, ἐννέωντο, νενωμένος, ἑπενώθη, also βωδέω (βοηθέω).

(2) Diaeresis.

(a) ς into η̣, (1) in substantives in -εία as βασιλη̣ =regnum [but βασιλεία=regina], ἐπιστράτη̣; (2) in subst. in -ειον, as κάλκη̣ον, ἀριστη̣ον [the forms πρὸστείον and προ-αστη̣ον are both found, see 1, 78; 3, 142]; (3) adj ect. in -είος, as οἰκή̣ον, βασιλη̣ος.3

(b) η̣ into η̣, as δη̣ι̣ω, κλη̣ς, χρη̣ζω, Θη̣κη̣ς.

(c) φ into ω̣, as πατρω̣ος, πρω̣ [except ἡ̣φων, φῶν, Τρω̣άς, Κόρος, Ἀχελω̣ος].

(3) Elision.

(a) υ̣ ἔφελκυστικόν is not used in the Ionic of Herodotos4. οὐτω does not become οὕτως before a vowel (9, 82).

(b) Elision (comparatively rare) takes place in (1) the prepositions ἀμφὶ, ἀνά, ἀντὶ, ἀπό, διά, κατὰ, μετὰ, παρὰ, υπό; (2) in most cases where ἀμα stands before a vowel; (3) most frequently in ἀλλά, δέ; (4) often in μηδέ, οὐδέ, τε, γε.

(4) Crasis.

(a) Like Attic, τάλλα, ταυτά, τάγαλματα, τάνθρωπον, τάλη̣θεος.

3 Exceptions are the proper names Δαρείος, Ἀργείος, Ἡλεῖος, Καδμείος.

4 In some MSS. however, the υ̣ ἔφελκυστικόν 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) o, oι, and o with α, ἀνήρ, ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωποι, οὖ-
terος, τοῦτερον, τάτερα, ἄλλος, τέρψατομ, τέληθες, τεπό, ἄνθρωπε, ἄναξ.

(c) In the reflexive pronouns ἕαυτος, ἐμαυτη, σεαυτοῦ, which in Ionic would be ἐο αὐτοῦ, ἐμει αὐτοῦ, σει αὐτοῦ, we have ἐωτοῦ, ἐμεωτοῦ, σεωτοῦ. From ο αυτος, οι αυτοι, οι τινοι, τινος.

(d) Four with καί, καλός καγαθός, κακειβε, κακεινος, 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 γρωμενον, τιμεν, γενεενον (γενεη), πασενον, μελαιενον, αυτενον (f.) [but we must ex-
cept from this rule adjectives, pronouns and participles in
-ος, -η, -ον which have their gen. plur. fem. paroxyton, as
ἄλλον, φίλον, ἐκεῖνον, ἀλισκομένων, τούτον].

(2) Dat. pl., universally in ἤςι or ἤςι, as γρωμησι, αυτησι.

(3) α in all cases of the sing. becomes -η as χαρη, -ης, -η: ἰσχυρη, ἤς, -η. The α is retained in nom. and acc.
but becomes η in gen. and dat. as

ἄλθεα, -ἂν, -ῆς, -η
μοῖρα, -ἂν, -ῆς, -η
μία, -ἂν, -ῆς, -η.

(4) Words in -ης make the gen. sing. in -εω and are proparoxyton, as


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{πολυής} & \quad \text{sing.} \\
\text{— ἡπνυ} & \\
\text{— ἡπεω} & \\
\text{— ἡπό} \\
\text{— ἡπας} & \quad \text{plur.} \\
\text{— ἡπεων} & \\
\text{— ἡποι}
\end{align*}
\]
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Like this are declined proper names Μίδης, Λεωνίδης, Πέρσης, Σέρπης: also δεσπότης, except that the acc. δεσπότευ α occurs ἰ, ιι, ἱ.

(5) Words that in Attic are contracted are written in the uncontracted form in Herodotus, as μνη, συκη, in Herodotos

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[\text{μνέα}] & \text{συκή} \\
\text{μνει} & -\epsilon \\
\text{μνέων} & -\epsilonν \\
\text{μνέας} & \text{συκέαι} \\
\text{συκέων} & \\
\text{χρυσεσ}, & -\epsilon, -\epsilonν \\
- & -\epsilonν, -\epsilonν, -\epsilonν \\
- & -\epsilonυ, -\epsilonσ, -\epsilonυ \\
- & -\epsilonφ, -\epsilon, -\epsilonφ
\end{array}
\]

Second Declension.

(1) The only peculiarity in case-ending is the dat. plur., which always ends in -οιν or -οις, as λόγοις, θεοῖς, καλοῖς.

(2) Words in -οος, -ον, -ον or -εος, -εν, -εν are not contracted, as πλοος, ἀπλοος, -ον, -ον, ὄστεον, χρύσεος, -εν, -εον.

(3) The so-called 'Attic Declension' in -ος is confined to proper names in Herodotus, as 'Ἀρκεσίλεως, Μενελεως (from λεως), as also Μίνως, 'Αθως, 'Αμφιώρεως. Instead of λεως, νεως, κάλως, λαγώς Herod. uses λης, νης, κάλως, λαγός. So also instead of πλεως, ἀλεως, ἀξιωρεως Herod. uses πλεως, -η, -ον, ἄλεος, -ον, ἀξιώρεος, -ον. Thus too the words compounded of γη, as βαθύγεως, μελάγγεως, μεσόγεως, ὑπόγεως, are represented in Herod. by βαθύγαιος, μελάγγαιος, μεσόγαιος, ὑπόγαιος.

(4) Herod. generally uses πολλος, -η, -ον, though he also uses the commoner πολυς, πολλή, πολυ.

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5 But the accusative Σέρπηα in 8, 69; 9, 1 is supported by some good MSS., as also Λυκίδεα in 9, 5.
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>νῆς</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-λέος</td>
<td>πόλιος</td>
<td>νέος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεῖ</td>
<td>πολι</td>
<td>νή</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέα</td>
<td>πόλιν</td>
<td>νέα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεύ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέες</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νέες</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέων</td>
<td>πολίων</td>
<td>νέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λεύσι</td>
<td>πόλισι</td>
<td>νυσί</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-λέας</td>
<td>πόλις</td>
<td>νέας</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like πόλις are declined ὅβρις, ὅψις, φύσις, κρίσις, πίσις, παιδευσις, κατάστασις, χήτις, etc., and the proper names Τόμυρις, Μοῦρις, Σμέρδης, Σώις, Ἀπις, Ἀμασις, Δάτις, Μέμφης, Θέτις, Πάρις, Ἰσις and the plural Σάρδις, -ών, -οι, -ιας.

But Ἄρτεμις, -ίδος, -ίδα
ερις,    -ίδος, -ιν
χάρις,   -ιτος, -ιν

(3) Neuters in -ος, substantives and adjectives in -ης, subs. in -υς and -ν, and adjects. in -υς resolve all contractions:

γένος    Ἀστυνάγης     ἄληθής -ές
γένεος    -γεος      ἄληθέος
γένει    -γεί      ἄληθεί
γένεαι    -γεα      ἄληθέα -ές
γένεων    ἄληθεις -ια
γένεσι
THE IONIC DIALECT.

Proper names contracted to -κλῆς are thus declined:

Θεμιστοκλῆς voc. -κλες
-κλέος
-κλέι
-κλέα

Thus Περικλῆς and Ἡρακλῆς.

(4) Substantives in -ος and -ώ, such as αἰδώς, ἡώς, εὔεστώ, πειθώ, are declined as in Attic, except that some proper names as Ἰω, Δητώ make the accus. sing. in -οῦν.

(5) Neuters in -ας, as γέρας, κέρας, τέρας, have their genitives and datives sing. and plur., and acc. plur., in -εος, -ει, -εων, -εοι, -εα [not -αος, etc.] with the single exception of γῆρας, -αος, -αι.

II. PRONOUNS.

(1) Personal Pronouns [ἐγώ, σύ, ἦ].

(a) Herod. uses the uncontracted forms of the gen. sing. ἐμέο, σέο, ἐο, and rarely ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, εῦ.

(b) Dat. σοι, but in enclisis τοι.

(c) For the dat. m. and f. αὐτῷ, ἦν, ἦν, Herod. uses οἱ. Acc. μν = αὐτῶν, -ήν and ἕαυτῶν, -ήν, 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

N. σφέις,
A. σφέας,
G. σφέων,
D. σφίσι, σφί

but σφίσι and σφί differ in usage; σφί (enclitic) = αὐτοῖς or αὐταῖς, σφέας = αὐτοῦς, -άς, but σφίσι = ἑαυτοῖς or ἑαυταῖς.

The gen. and acc. plur. are not contracted

ἡμέον υμέον σφέον (σφέων)
ἡμέας υμέας σφέας (σφέας)

Herodotus also uses σφε as acc. 3rd pers. of all genders and numbers, and σφεα = αὐτά (n. pl.).

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THE IONIC DIALECT.

(2) Relative Pronouns.

(a) ὅς, ὅσπερ, in nom. sing. and plur.

ὅς, ἥ, τὸ
οἶ, αἶ, τὰ

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, περὶ, πρὸ, πρὸς, σὺν, ὑπὲρ,

πρὸ and ὑπὲρ seldom occur with simple relative.

περὶ usually follows its case, as τῆς πέρα.

ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, πρὸς, σὺν, take the consonantal form, as ἐν τῷ, σὺν τοῖς etc. Except where ἐν, ἐς, ἐς form with the relative an expression of time, as

ἐν φίλῳ tempore
ἐς δόσει usque ad id tempus
ἐς ὑπὸ tempore.

So also ἄχρι οὖ, μέχρι οὖ.

Note 2. On the other hand the prepositions which admit of elision—ἀν, ἀπὸ, διὰ, ἐκ, κατὰ, μετὰ, παρὰ, ὑπὸ—take only the aspirated form of the relative, ὅτι ἦς, ἐπί φίλῳ etc., except when they follow their case, as, τῷ ἐν θάρα [but παρὰ φίλῳ].

(b) ὅστις, ὅ τι do not take the consonantal form. In place of the Attic ὅτιν, ὅ τι, ὅτινι, Herod. uses ὅτεν, ὅ τι, ὅ τινι, and for ἄτινα he has ἄσσα (not ἄτα).

(c) Interrogative and indefinite Pronoun τίς

τίς τίνες
τέο (τεῦ) τέων
τέω τέοις
τίνα τίνες
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D. Conjugation.

I. The Augment.

The usage of Herodotos with regard to the temporal and syllabic augments is the same as in Attic⁶ with the following exceptions:

(a) The temporal augment is omitted in purely Ionic forms, such as, ἀγινέω (ἀγω), ἀμείβομαι, ἀναισμώ, ἄρρωδέω, ἄρτεομαι (ἄρταω), ἕσσω (ἕσσαω), ὀρτάξω (ἐορτάξω), οὐρίζω [but ὀνόμασται 9, 32, though the Ionic form ὀνομάζω is given in some MSS.; in 9, 44 however they all have ὀνομάζω], ἔργω (ἐγραφή)⁷.

(b) Also in the poetical verbs, ἀδθέλω, ἀλυκτάξω, ἔλινυ.

(c) Also in all verbs beginning with the diphthongs αἰ, αὐ, εἰ, εῦ, οἰ, as, αἰδέομαι, αἰνέω, αἰρέω, αἰτέω, αὔξω, εἰρωτέω, εὔδω, εὐτυχέω, εὔρισκω, οἰκέω, ἀνοίγω; οἴχομαι.

(d') Also in the verbs εᾶω, ἔργαζομαι, ὠθᾶ [pluperf. ἐώθεα], while on the other hand the augmented forms ἤσαν, εἴχον, ἢλθον, ἥλασα are always found.

(e) In cases of double augment the syllabic is omitted as ὄρεον [Att. ἐόρων].

(f) Neither temporal nor syllabic augment occurs in verbs with frequentative termination, as ἀγεσκοῦν, ποιέσκον, βαλεσκόμην.

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, ἑτετάχατο, τετύφατα, ἀγνώ- 
duται, ἐσκενάδαται, δεδέχαται, ἀπίκαται, δυεφθάρτα; in these

⁶ The augment, as in Attic, is often omitted in the pluperf., as τετελευτήκεε, δεδοκτο, ἐνδεδύκεε, etc. And when πρό is compounded with an augmented word there is no contraction, as προεβαμε, προδειπνέ (not προδειπνε etc.).

⁷ Under this head may come the fact that the MSS. seem to favour ὧρμηται (see 4, 16), but ὄρμεατο (1, 158; 9, 61).
forms the root consonant is aspirated except when it is δ, and in the word ἀπίκασται -ο; SECOND in pure roots, the preceding vowel being shortened, as ἡπιστέατο, ἡγέαται, ἡρέαται, οἰκέαται, κέαται, ὅρμεαται, βεβλέαται, ἀναπετέαται, ἀποκεκλέατο, ἐνεπιδεικνύατο, ἐκεκοσμέατο.

(b) In the 3rd pers. plur. pres. and imperf. pass. of verbs in -μ, as τιθέαται, ἑτιθέατο, ιστέαται, δυνέαται, ἔται, κατέατο, ἐκδιδόαιται.

(c) In optative endings pres. or aor., as ἁγοίατο, βουλοίατο, γενσαίατο, τισαίατο, ἀνελοίατο.

III. Resolution of Contractions:

(a) pluperf. -εα, -εας, -εε, -εσαν, as ἐόθεα, ἐόθεαις, ἐόθεε, ἐόθεσαν, ἐληφθεε, ἐόργεε.

(b) 2nd pers. indic. midd. and pass.
   primary tenses -εα, as ἀιχει, ἐσεα.
   historic " -εο, as ἀγέεο, ἐπίκεο.

So also the present imperat. midd., as ἔπεο, πείπεο, ἀπαλλάσσεο. But the 2nd pers. sing. of the subj. midd. is always contracted, as ὀληθη, γέθη, δέζη, ὑποθήκη. Also 2nd aor. infin. act., as μαθεῖν, ἐλθεῖν, σχεῖν.

(c) ὅ resolved into ὐ in the aorist subj. pass. of all verbs, in the 2nd aor. subj. of verbs in -μ or verbs formed on the analogy of verbs in -μ, as αἰρεθώ, ἐσοφθέωμεν, ἐξαναστέωμεν, προσθέω, βέωσι (ἐθνήν), βέω (ἐθήν), but the 2nd and 3rd persons are contracted, as νικηθῆς, φανῆ, ἐκβη, ἠθη.

(d) In verbs in -εω, -αω, -σω, the uncontracted forms are used:

(i) -εω, as
pr. καλέω -έομαι subj. καλέω -έωμαι opt. καλέομαι -ειμην
καλέεις -ἐη καλέης -ἐη καλέοις -έου
καλέει -έεται καλέη -έεται καλέοι -έετο
imperat. καλε
   imperf. εκαλεον -εόμην infin. καλεειν
   εκαλεες -εο part. καλεων
   εκαλεε -έετο part. mid. & p. καλεομενον
Note 1. The only exception is δεί, δείω, the imperfect of which however is ἤδει. In five verbs ἄγγον, διανόομαι, θέομαι, νοεῖ, ποιεῖ, in which the termination -εω or -εμαι is preceded by a vowel, εο or ου becomes ευ, as ἄγγευτε, ἑθεύτο (ἕθευτο), θηεύμενοι.

The imperfect of θέομαι has the Attic contraction, as θηεύτο (1, 10).

ποιεῖ has ευ throughout, ποιεύσι, ποιεύτε, ἐπολευν, ποιεύμα, ποιεύμενος, ἐπολεύμην, ἐποιεύτο.

εω remains uncontracted, as νοεων, but ον becomes ω, as νεω-μένων.

Note 2. This rule of resolving contractions applies also to liquid futures, as ἐρέω, κερδανέεις, ὑπομενέουσι, κατακοινιέ, κομειεί, ἀτραμέλειν, κομεῖαι (mid.), χαρίεσθαι, ἀσπλέουσ, but when a vowel precedes εο or ου they become ευ, as ἀνταγωνιεύμενος, κομέομεθα, ἀπωρεύται, ἐπιστεύμενοι.9

(2) Verbs in -αο

(a) With exception of the disyllable verbs κλάω, ψάω, σμάω [also εδώ, βιώμαι, λώμαι] all contractions are resolved not into -αο -αο -αον, but into -εο -εο -εου, as ὀρέω, ὀρέουσι, ὀρέων, ὀρέομαι, ὀρέομενος. On the other hand -αι, -αε become -α and -α as ὀρέω, ὀράς, ὀρᾶ

[though in 8, 36 the best MSS. have ἀπώρων].

(b) And as in verbs in -εο, when a vowel precedes -εο or -εου they become ευ, as ἄνευται, βοεύτε.

(c) The future of ἐλαύνω is ἐλέω, ἐλέον.

(d) χράω, χράομαι, contract in a [Attic η], as χρέομαι, χράται, χράσθαι, χρεώμενος.10

8 ἐπολευν 8, 64; 9, 25 etc., but also ἐπολευν 9, 8 and 11; ποιεῖο 8, 68.

9 In 9, 6 we have ἀμενεται for ἀμενέουσι although -εου is not preceded by a vowel; cp. βάλευ for βάλον [εο] 8, 68; δοξεύτα 9, 77.

10 In 9, 24 as in 4, 151; 7, 34; 9, 41, etc. one MS. (P) gives χρεώμενοι, but the greater authority in all cases seems to be for χρεώμενοι, while the best MSS. give χρεών (not χρεών) as the neut. part.; see 9, 46 etc.
(c) But in tenses of verbs in -ωω where the Attic has ἄ, the Ionic has η, as βιηθήναι, βιηθάσθαι, πειρηθήναι, πειρηθάσθαι.

(3) Verbs in -ωω.

The verbs in -ωω are contracted as in Attic, except that when -ωο or -ουω are preceded by a vowel they become ευ, as ἀντιεύμενος, δικαεύσθαι, οἰκηεύται, ἀξειεύμεθα, ἐξομοεύντες, δι-καεύστι. Thus ἀξεύω is conjugated in Herodotos

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<td>ἡξεύμην</td>
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<td>ἡξεύμεθα</td>
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<td>ἡξεύσθε</td>
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Thus also, ἀντιεύνται, ἐτεροεύντο, ἐδικαεύντο.

IV. Verbs in -μυ.

(a) τίθημι, τίθεις τίθει...τίθεισι
    ἴτημι, ἴτεις ἴτει... ἴτείσι
    like a verb in -ωω.

    ἴστημι, ἴστας ἴστα... ἴστασι
    like a verb in -ωω.

    διδωμι, διδοῖς διδοῖ... διδοῦσι
    like a verb in -ουω.

Note 1. Perf. pass. part. of μετήμι, μεμετίμενος (Attic μεθει-μένος).

Note 2. Imperf. ind. act. of τίθημι,

    ἐτίθεα, ἐτίθεες, ἐτίθεε
    ἐτίθημεν, ἐτίθετε, ἐτίθεσαν.
(b) ἵστημι.
The 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. perf. are ἔστατε and ἔστασι. Partic. perf. ἐστεῶς.

(c) δείκνυμι.

(d) εἰμί sum.
Part. εἰῶν εἰῶν εὐν. Imperf. ἤν, ἤσθα, ἦ [ἔσκε 1, 196; 6, 133, and ἢ ἦ 1, 181, and ἦν 7, 143]. ἤσαν [ἔσκων 4, 129; 1, 196]. Another form less frequent is τα (2, 19), τας (1, 187),...τατε (5, 92).

(e) εἰμι ibi.
Imperf. indic. ἤια, ἤα, ἤσαν [Att. ἤα, ἤς, ἤσαν].

(f) οἶδα, οἶδας, οἶδε, ἵδμεν, ἵστε, οἶδασι.
For ἕδμεν is found οἴδαμεν [2, 17; 4, 46; 7, 214], συνοίδαμεν [9, 60].
Pluperf. (=imperf.) ὑπελα, ὑπεί, ὑπέτε, ὑπείλασι.

E.

(1) ὁς is often used for οὖτω.
(2) The following Ionic verb forms also are to be noted:
  (a) 1st aor. for εἶπον
        εἶπας, 9, 45,
        εἶπαν, 9, 11,
        ἀπειπάμεθα, 9, 7,
        εἶπας, 8, 68.

  (b) From λαμβάνω
       λάμψομαι, 9, 31,

  ἦ In 7, 6 we have ἐνέω as though from ἐνέομι.
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(c) From φέρω

ἐσενειχθαι (ἐτυνείγμαι), 9, 41,
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(d) αἴρειν (ἀείρειν)

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(e) δείκνυμι

fut. δεῖξω,
1st aor. δείξα, δείξαι,
ἐδεξάμην, ἐδεχθην,
perf. pass. δεδεγμαι,
plup. pass. ἐδεδεκτο,
imper. pass. δεδεχθω, 8, 8.

(f) εἰκω

perf. οἶκα, 4, 82; part. οἰκός, -ός, 8, 9.

(g) ἀξάμην, ἀξάντο [ἄγω], 8, 20.

(h) ἀναγνώσαι, 8, 57—8.

(3) Some poetical words and expressions employed in this book:

ἀλεωρή (c. 6), ἀλκής ἐμέμνητο (c. 70), ἀγαθαλα (c. 78), ἄτρυτον (c. 52), ἐν αἴνῃ ἐόντες (c. 13), ἐκπαγλοῦμαι (c. 48), ἐνέστακτο (c. 1), κατείχε ἡχώ (c. 24), λιπαρή (21, 70), μηνίω (c. 7 § 2), διζυρός (c. 82), ὀπίς (c. 76), τελευτῆσαντες τὸν αἰῶνα (c. 27), κυματώγη (c. 100), ἰχθαλλον (c. 117).

(4) Words not found elsewhere: ἀλευτάζω (c. 70), ἀπεσταύ (c. 85), λεοσφέτερον (c. 33), περιμεκτε (c. 41), συγκεκρυμένος (c. 37), τροχάζω (c. 66).

(5) Variation in accent ἐρῆμος (c. 3), cp. ὁμοῖος (5, 58), ἐτοίμος (5, 31, 91).
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