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HERODOTUS

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HERODOTUS

BOOKS V-IX

BOOK V

BUT the Persians who were left behind in Europe by Darius, whose commander was Megabazus, first subdued the people of Perinthus in the Hellespont, because they refused to be subject to Darius. Now this people had formerly been roughly entreated by the Paeones also. For the Phones by the river Strymon were commanded by their god to war against the people of Perinthus; and if the people of Perinthus, when they camped against them, should cry unto them and call them by name, they were to attack, but if they cried not unto them, they must not attack. And the Phones did so. And the men of Perinthus camped against them before the city. Then by challenge they held a threefold combat of champions; for they set a man to fight with a man, and an horse to fight with an horse, and a dog to fight with a dog. And when the men of Perinthus were victorious in two of these combats, and raised the *pæan*¹ for joy, the Paeones concluded that this was what the oracle meant; and one said unto another: Lo, now, the prophecy is fulfilled, and we must do our part. So when the men of Perinthus raised the *pæan*, the Paeones attacked them. And they won a great victory, and left few alive. Such was the hurt done to them formerly by the Paeones. And at this time, notwithstanding the men of Perinthus fought valiantly for their freedom, the Persians and Megabazus prevailed over them by numbers. And when Perinthus was overcome, Megabazus led the army through Thrace, taming for the king every city and every race that dwelt thereabouts; for so Darius had charged him.

Now the Thracians are the most numerous nation in the world after the Indians; and if they should ever be ruled by one man or agree amongst themselves, none could withstand them, but they would be the strongest of all nations by far in my opinion. How-

¹ Cry of victory.

beit this is not possible for them, neither is there any means whereby it might come to pass; and therefore they are feeble. And they have many names in their different regions, but all use the same customs in all things, except the Getae, the Trausi, and those that dwell beyond the Crestonasi. Now I have already told how the Getae live, who hold themselves to be immortal.¹ But the Trausi have all the same customs as the other Thracians, except that at births and deaths they do thus. When a child is born, the kinsmen sit round him, and lament for all the woes he must endure, now that he is born; and they rehearse all the troubles of mankind. But him that is dead they bury with sport and gladness, recounting how many woes he is freed from, to live in perfect happiness. But those that dwell beyond the Crestonasi do thus. Each of them hath many wives. Therefore whensoever one of them dieth there is a great trial among his wives, and strong rivalry among their friends, to decide which of them was most beloved by her husband. And the wife that is chosen is extolled by all the men and women, and slain over the open grave by her nearest of kin. Then, when she is slain, she is buried with her husband; but the rest make much lamentation, for this is a very great reproach to them.

But the other Thracians have these customs. They sell their children into bondage abroad. They watch not over their damsels, but suffer them to lie with whatsoever men they please; but they watch jealously over their wives. They buy their wives from their parents for much money. It is judged noble to have marks printed on the skin, but ignoble to have none. To be idle is good, but to be a tiller of the soil is great dishonour; and the fairest thing of all is to live by war and rapine. These are their most notable customs. And the only gods they worship are Ares and Dionysus and Artemis. But their kings also worship Hermes especially, as

¹ 4, 93-6-

well as the gods that the rest of the people worship; and they swear by Hermes alone, and say that they themselves are descended from him. And the rich are buried thus. They expose the body for three days; and when they have done lamenting, they slaughter all manner of beasts and feast upon them. Then they bury the body, sometimes burning it and sometimes not; and having raised a mound, they hold all kinds of contests, in which the greatest prizes are given for single combat. Thus the Thracians are buried.

But no man can declare with certainty what people dwell to the northward of this land; but the country beyond the Ister seemeth to be a boundless desert. The only people that I am able to hear of that dwell beyond the Ister are those called Sigynnae. They wear Median apparel; and their horses, which have hair all over their bodies to a depth of five fingers' breadth, are small, and have flat noses, and are not able to carry men but are exceeding swift under yoke, so that the people of that country always ride in chariots. And their borders extend nearly to the Eneti on the Adriatic. And they say that they are colonists of the Medes, though how they can have been colonists of the Medes I cannot conceive; yet anything may come to pass in the length of time. But as the Thracians say, the parts beyond the Ister are possessed by bees, by reason whereof it is not possible to proceed farther. Now when they say thus, they seem to me to say that which is not reasonable; for it is manifest that those creatures are impatient of cold, whereas I think that cold is the reason why the lands beneath the Bear are not inhabited. Thus much is said about this land, whereof Megabazus made the seaward parts subject unto the Persians.

But as soon as Darius crossed over the Hellespont and came to Sardis, he remembered the benefit done by Histiaeus of Miletus and the admonition of Coëus of Mytilene; and he sent for them to

Sardis, and offered them their choice. Now Histiaeus, inasmuch as he was tyrant of Miletus, desired no second tyranny, but asked for Myrcinus in the land of the Edoni, wishing to build a city there. This was the choice of Histiseus; but Coës, not being a tyrant but a private man, asked for the tyranny of Mytilene. And when the wishes of both were performed, they departed unto the places of their choice. But it happened that Darius beheld a thing which made him desire to bid Megabazus take the Pseones and transport them out of Europe into Asia. There were two Paeones, Pigras and Mastyes, who, wishing to be tyrants over the Pseones, came to Sardis after Darius had crossed again into Asia. And they brought with them a tall sister, fair to look upon. And waiting until Darius was seated in state before the city of the Lydians, they did thus. They sent their sister, whom they had adorned as best they could, to fetch water, carrying a vessel on her head and leading a horse at her arm and spinning flax. And when the woman passed by, Darius noticed her, because what she did was neither a Persian nor a Lydian custom, nor was it the wont of any of the peoples of Asia. And when he had noticed her, he sent certain of his spearbearers to watch what the woman should do with the horse. So they followed after; but when the woman came to the river, she gave the horse to drink. And when she had given it to drink, and had filled the vessel with water, she returned the same way, carrying the water on her head and leading the horse at her arm and turning the spindle. Then Darius, marvelling at that which he heard from his messengers and saw for himself, bade them bring her into his presence. And when she was brought, her brethren, who had their station not far off to see what passed, were present also. And when Darius asked from what land she came, the young men said that they were Paeones and she was their sister. And he answered: But who are these Paeones, and in what part of the earth do they dwell?

And he asked what they wanted, that they had come to Sardis. And they declared that they had come to give themselves unto him, and that Paeonia was situated by the river Strymon, and the Strymon was not far from the Hellespont; and they said that they were colonists of the Teucrians from Troy. All this they told him; and he asked if all the women there were as industrious as this one. And they made haste to affirm that it was so; (for this was the reason why they had done this thing). Then Darius wrote a letter to Megabazus, whom he left as captain in Thrace, charging him to remove the Paeones from their home and bring them unto him, themselves and their wives and children. And straightway a horseman rode to the Hellespont with the message, and passed over and gave the paper to Megabazus. And when he had read it, he took guides and marched from Thrace against Paeonia. But when the Paeones heard that the Persians were coming against them, they assembled together and went forth along the seaward road, deeming that the Persians would seek to enter that way. But while the Paeones were ready to keep back the host of Megabazus which came against them, the Persians, hearing that the Paeones were assembled together and guarding the entry on the side towards the sea, took the upper road with their guides; and before the Paeones knew it, they fell upon their cities, which were void of men. And finding them empty, they easily possessed them. And when the Paeones heard that their cities were taken, they straightway parted asunder; and each went their own way and gave themselves over to the Persians. Thus the Siro-paeones and the Paeoplae and all the other Paeones as far as lake Prasias were removed from their homes and led into Asia. But those around mount Pangaeum and lake Prasias were not subdued by Megabazus at all. Yet he tried to capture even those that dwell on the lake itself, who dwell thereon after this fashion. In the midst of the lake stands scaffolding supported on tall posts, with

a narrow entrance from the mainland by one bridge. And in the beginning the posts beneath the scaffolding were set up by all the citizens together; but since then they have used this law in setting them up: every man that marrieth bringeth from the mountain called Orbelus three posts for each wife, to set up in the lake; and each man marrieth exceeding many wives. In this manner they dwell, each possessing a hut on the scaffolding, wherein he liveth, and a trap-door leading down through the scaffolding to the water. And they fasten their young children by the foot with a line, for fear lest they should slip down. And for provender they give their horses and beasts of burden fish, the multitude of which is so great that when they open the trap-door and let an empty basket down into the lake on a rope and wait a little while, they draw it up again full offish. And the fish there are of two kinds, which they call *papraces* and *tilones*. Howbeit, while the Paeones that had been conquered were being led into Asia, Megabazus, who had conquered them, sent the seven Persians who were of most reputation in the camp after himself unto Amyntas of Macedonia, to demand earth and water for king Darius. Now the way from lake Prasias to Macedonia is exceeding short: next to the lake is the mine from whence Alexander hereafter drew a talent of silver daily; and after the mine one crosseth a mountain called Dysorum, and is then in Macedonia. So when these Persians that were sent to Amyntas arrived, they came into the presence of Amyntas and demanded earth and water for king Darius. And he gave them what they asked and also bade them to dinner. And he prepared a magnificent feast and entertained the Persians hospitably. But when the dinner was over, as they went on drinking, the Persians said thus: Macedonian, it is our custom in Persia, when we have a great feast, to bring our concubines and wives in, to sit beside us. Now therefore, seeing thou hast received us kindly, and feasted us

magnificently, and givest king Darius earth and water, do thou follow our custom. Then said Amyntas: O Persians, we indeed have not this custom, but rather that the men be separated from the women; yet seeing ye our masters desire these things, ye shall have them also. So saying, Amyntas sent for the women. And when they came at his bidding, they sat down in a row opposite to the Persians. Then the Persians, finding the women comely, spake unto Amyntas and said that this which he had done was nothing wise; for it were better that the women had not come at all, than that they should come and sit opposite to them, to be a torment to their eyes. Then Amyntas was constrained to bid them sit by the side of the Persians; and when the women obeyed, the Persians, who were exceedingly drunk, straightway laid their hands on the breasts of the women, and some also tried to kiss them. Now Amyntas, when he saw this, held his peace, albeit he was displeased, because he greatly feared the Persians; but Amyntas' son, Alexander, who was present and saw these things, being young and having no experience of trouble, was not able to restrain himself any longer, but was wrathful and said to Amyntas: Father, do thou have respect unto thy years; go, take thy rest and tarry no longer at the drinking; but I will remain here and provide our guests with all things fit. Then Amyntas, perceiving that Alexander purposed some mischief, said: Almost, my son, I understand thy meaning, that thou wouldest send me away and then do some mischief; therefore I beg of thee to do no manner of mischief to these men, lest thou destroy us utterly, but to look on patiently. Howbeit, concerning my going I will obey thee. And when Amyntas, having made this request, was gone, Alexander said to the Persians: Friends, these women are gladly at your service, to lie with all of them, if ye will, or with as many of them as ye please. This ye yourselves shall decide. But now, seeing the time for bed is at hand, and I perceive ye are well served with

drink, suffer these women, if it is your pleasure, to go and bathe; and when they have bathed, ye may have them back. When he had so spoken, and the Persians consented, Alexander sent the women away to their own apartments when they came out. Then he dressed in the apparel of the women an equal number of men that had no beards, and gave them daggers, and led them within. And as he led them in, he said to the Persians: This is indeed, O Persians, a full and perfect banquet wherewith ye have been entertained; for all that we had and all that it was possible to seek out and procure, ye have received; and moreover, what is the greatest thing of all, we do freely bestow upon you our own mothers and sisters, that ye may be sure ye are honoured of us as ye deserve, and may bear word to the king who sent you that a Greek who governeth Macedonia for him received you well with board and bed. When Alexander had said this, he put one Macedonian by each Persian, as though they were women. But when the Persians tried to touch them, they slew them.

By such a death they perished, they and their servants; for they had with them wagons and servants and all their many belongings, and all these vanished at the same time. But a little while afterwards a great search for these men was made by the Persians. And Alexander concealed their death by subtilty; for he gave much money and his own sister, whose name was Gygaea, to a Persian called Bubares, who was the captain of them that sought the lost men. Thus the death of these Persians was covered over and hushed up. But I know, and in my later histories I will prove,¹ that these descendants of Perdicces are Greeks, as they say themselves; and so it was resolved also by the overseers of the contest at Olympia. For when Alexander wished to contend and entered the lists, the Greeks who were to have raced with him sought to exclude him, saying that the contest was not for barbarians but

¹ 8, 137-9-

Greeks. But after Alexander had shewn that he was an Argive, he was adjudged a Greek, and contended in the foot-race and * * *¹ Thus these things came to pass.

But Megabazus arrived at the Hellespont bringing the Phones, and passed over, and came from thence to Sardis. And Histiaeus of Miletus was already fortifying Myrcinus, which he had asked and obtained from Darius as his reward for preserving the bridge. And because this place is by the river Strymon, Mēgabazus marked what was done by Histiaeus; and as soon as he came to Sardis with the Paeones, he said to Darius: O king, what is this that thou hast done, to suffer a subtile and cunning Greek to build a city in Thrace, where there is wood in abundance for building ships, and many poles for oars, and mines of silver? A great multitude also of Greeks and a great multitude of barbarians dwell round about, who when they have gotten a leader will do whatsoever he proposeth unto them, both by day and by night. Therefore pray stop this man from doing thus, lest thou be involved in war with thine own subjects. Send for him in a gentle manner; but when thou hast caught him, see to it that he may never come to Greece again. So saying Megabazus easily persuaded Darius, because he foresaw the future well. And Darius sent a messenger to Myrcinus and spake thus: Histiaeus, thus saith king Darius: When I consider, I find that there is no man better disposed than thou art towards me and my kingdom; and this I have learned not by words but by deeds. Now therefore, seeing that I propose to accomplish great affairs, do thou by all means come unto me, that I may communicate them to thee. These sayings Histiaeus believed; and because he held it a great thing to be made the king's counsellor, he came to Sardis. And when he came, Darius said to him: Histiaeus, this is the reason why I sent for thee: as soon as I returned home from Scythia and thou wert

¹ The words indicating the result are unintelligible.

out of my sight, I have never yet yearned upon anything so much as to see thee and have word with thee, because I had learned that of all possessions the most precious is a prudent and generous friend; and from my own knowledge I can bear witness that thou art both of these to me. Now therefore, seeing thou hast been kind and art come, I make thee this proposal: leave Miletus and thy newly builded city in Thrace, and come with me to Susa and enjoy all that I enjoy, eating at my table and being my counsellor. When Darius had spoken thus and appointed Artaphernes, who was his brother by the same father, to be governor of Sardis, he rode away to Susa, taking Histiaeus with him. But to be ruler of the sea coast he appointed Otanes, whose father Sisamnes, one of the royal judges, was slain by king Cambyses, because he judged an unjust judgement for money. And Cambyses flayed off all his skin; and having cut it into thongs, he made therewith a seat for the chair on which he had been used to sit to give judgement; and after this Cambyses appointed Sisamnes' son to be judge, charging him to remember what chair he sat on to give judgement. But when this Otanes, who sat upon this seat, succeeded unto the command which Megabazus had, he took Byzantium and Calchedon, and also Antandrus in the Troad, and Lamponium. And having obtained ships from the Lesbians, he took Lemnos and Imbros, which at that time were both still inhabited by Pelasgians. Now the Lemnians and Imbrians fought well; but for all their resisting they were brought low at last. And the Persians took Lycaratus, the brother of Maeandrius who was king of Samos,¹ and made him governor of those that were left; and this Lycaratus died in office in Lemnos. So Otanes took captive and subdued all those peoples, accusing some that they joined not the army against the Scythians and others that they did harm to the host of Darius as it returned out of Scythia.

¹ 3. 143-

Thus much Otanes performed when he was made captain. But afterwards there was a respite from trouble for a little while, till it began a second time in Ionia from Naxos and Miletus. Now Naxos excelled all the other islands in prosperity, and about the same time Miletus also flourished more than ever before and was the glory of Ionia, albeit formerly it had been weakened unto the uttermost by strife during two generations of men, until the Parians reformed it; for the Milesians chose the Parians rather than any other Greeks to reform them. And the Parians reconciled them thus. Their best men came to Miletus; and seeing that the substance of the Milesians was fearfully wasted, they said that they desired to make a progress through the country. And they did so, and made a progress through all the land of Miletus; and whensoever in the desolated country they saw a well-tilled field, they caused the name of the lord of that field to be written down. And when they had ridden through all the country and found such men rare, then as soon as they came down to the town, they made a convocation and appointed to govern the city the men whose fields they had found well tilled, saying that they deemed that these men would care for the public good as they had cared for their own; and they commanded the other Milesians to obey them. Thus the Parians reformed the ways of the Milesians. But now trouble for Ionia began from those cities on this wise. Certain men of substance were banished from Naxos by the people and went to Miletus. Now Miletus had been committed to the charge of Aristagoras the son of Molpagoras, a son-in-law and nephew of Histiaeus the son of Lysagoras, whom Darius held in Susa; for Histiaeus, who was tyrant of Miletus, chanced to be in Susa at the time when the Naxians, who had formerly been friends of Histiaeus, came thither. And being arrived in Miletus, the Naxians besought Aristagoras by some means to furnish them troops, that they might return to their

own land. And Aristagoras, considering that if they returned to Naxos through him, he might be ruler thereof, but using their friendship with Histiaeus as a cloak, made them this offer: As for me, I am not able myself to furnish you so great a power as to restore you in despite of the Naxians in the city; for I learn that the Naxians have eight thousand warriors and many long ships. Howbeit I will do all diligence to contrive your return; and I purpose thus. I have a friend Artaphernes. Now Artaphernes is the son of Hystaspes and the brother of king Darius; and he beareth rule over all the sea coast of Asia, and hath a great host and many ships. This man, as I deem, will do whatsoever we ask. When the Naxians heard this, they gave Aristagoras authority to contrive as best he could, and to promise presents and the cost of the army, which they would pay themselves; for they had many hopes that when they appeared in Naxos, the Naxians would do all that they commanded them, and the people of the other isles likewise; (for none of these isles had yet been under Darius). Then Aristagoras went to Sardis and told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island fair and good, albeit of no great magnitude, and that it was near to Ionia and contained much wealth and many slaves. Therefore, said he, do thou make war against this country and restore the exiles; for if thou do so, thou shalt have much money that I have prepared for thee, besides the expenses for the army, which it is but right that we who bring you should pay; and thou shalt moreover gain for the king both the island of Naxos itself and those dependent thereon, to wit, Paros, Andros, and all the others that are called Cyclades. And setting forth from thence thou canst easily fall upon Euboea, a great and prosperous island no smaller than Cyprus and exceeding easy to take. An hundred ships are sufficient to conquer all these. And Artaphernes answered him with these words: Thou art a benefactor of the king's house by thy proposal, and in all these

things thou counsellest well, except the number of the ships. But instead of one hundred ships two hundred shall be ready for thee by the spring. Howbeit, the king himself must needs also give consent unto this. When Aristagoras heard this, he was exceeding glad and departed unto Miletus. But Artaphernes sent to Susa and referred unto the king all that Aristagoras had spoken; and when Darius also consented, he prepared two hundred galleys and an exceeding great host of Persians and their confederates; and he appointed to be captain a Persian called Megabates, one of the Achaemenidae, a cousin of himself and of king Darius, whose daughter, if the tale be true, was afterwards betrothed to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus the Lacedaemonian, when he set his heart on becoming tyrant of Greece. But after Artaphernes had appointed Megabates captain, he sent the army forth to Aristagoras. And Megabates took from Miletus Aristagoras and the Ionian army and the Naxians, and sailed as if to the Hellespont. But when he got to Chios, he touched at Caucasa, meaning to stand across to Naxos from thence with a north wind. But the Naxians were not to be destroyed by this host; and therefore this thing came to pass. When Megabates went the round of the watches upon the ships, it chanced that there was no man keeping watch on a ship of Myndus; and he was wroth, and commanded his spear bearers to find out the captain of that ship, whose name was Scylax, and thrust him through the lowest port-hole of the ship, and so bind him, with his head outside and his body inside. But when Scylax was bound, there came one and brought Aristagoras word that his friend from Myndus was bound and despitefully entreated by Megabates. And he went and pleaded with the Persian; and when he could obtain nothing of that which he requested, he went and loosed Scylax himself. But when Megabates heard thereof, he was wroth and reviled Aristagoras, who answered: What hast thou to do with such a matter? Did not

Artaphernes send thee to obey me, and to sail whithersoever I might command? Wherefore wilt thou meddle? So said Aristagoras; and Megabates was filled with indignation thereat, and when night came he sent men to Naxos in a boat, to tell the Naxians all their business. For the Naxians had no expectation that this host would turn against them. Howbeit, when they heard thereof, they straightway brought within the walls the things that were in the fields, and prepared meat and drink for a siege, and strengthened the wall. So they prepared them, because war was at hand; and when the enemy stood across with their ships from Chios to Naxos, they found them well defended. Then they besieged them for four months; but when the money that the Persians came with was all used up, and Aristagoras had also spent much of his own, but the siege still needed more, they builded strongholds for the Naxian exiles and departed unto the continent with ill success. So Aristagoras was not able to perform his promise to Artaphernes; and moreover he was distressed by the demand for the charges of the army, and feared because the army had ill success and he was at enmity with Megabates; and he deemed that the kingdom of Miletus would be taken from him. Therefore, fearing all this, he plotted rebellion. And it also happened that a slave with writing on his head came from Histiaeus at Susa, telling Aristagoras to rebel against the king; for Histiaeus, wishing to tell Aristagoras to rebel, had no way of telling him safely, because the roads were watched, except this: he shaved the head of his most trusty slave, and printed marks thereon, and waited till the hair was grown again; and as soon as it was grown, he sent him to Miletus with no other charge than this, that he should command Aristagoras to shave his hair off and look upon his head. (Now the writing, as I have said before, signified rebellion.) This Histiaeus did because he deemed it a great misfortune that he was held in Susa;

and whereas, if there were rebellion, he had many hopes of being released to go down to the coast, he reckoned that unless there were mischief at Miletus, he should never more come thither.

Of this mind was Histiaeus when he sent the messenger; and all these things happened to Aristagoras at the same time. Therefore he took counsel with the men of his part, and revealed to them his own thoughts and the message from Histiaeus. And they all gave the same judgement, advising him to rebel, except Hecataeus the chronicler; who at first would have dissuaded him from taking on himself a war against the king of Persia, rehearsing all the peoples that Darius ruled over and the power that he had; but when he could not persuade him, then secondly he counselled them so to do that they should have command of the sea. And because he knew how weak was the power of Miletus, he said that he saw but one way to bring this about: he had great hope that they might command the sea if the riches were taken from the temple at Branchidas, which Croesus the Lydian had dedicated; for so they would have the use of the riches themselves and their enemies would not plunder them.- (Now these riches, as I have shewn in the first of my histories,¹ were great.) Howbeit, this counsel prevailed not; but they resolved nevertheless to rebel, and that one of their number should sail to Myus, where the host was which had returned from Naxos, and try to seize the captains that sailed on the ships. On this errand Iatragoras was sent; and he seized by treachery Oliatus the son of Ibanolis of Mylasa, and Histiaeus the son of Tymnes of Termera, and Coes the son of Erxander on whom Darius had bestowed Mytilene, and Aristagoras the son of Heraclides of Cyme, and exceeding many others. Then Aristagoras openly rebelled, contriving all manner of despite against Darius. And firstly he pretended to lay aside his own tyranny and make the Milesians equal before

¹ 1,92,.

the law, in order that they might join in his rebellion willingly; and afterwards he did the same in the rest of Ionia. Some of the tyrants he drove out; but those that he took from the ships which had sailed with him against Naxos he gave over to their own cities, willing to do the people a kindness. And as soon as the people of Mytilene received Coës, they led him out and stoned him; but the men of Cyme let their own tyrant go, and most of the others likewise let theirs go. Thus were the tyrants put down throughout the cities. But when Aristagoras of Miletus had put down the tyrants, he commanded each people in their several cities to appoint generals. Then Aristagoras himself went in a galley on an embassy to Lacedasmon; for he had need to find some powerful confederate.

Now Anaxandrides the son of Leon no longer¹ lived and reigned in Sparta; but he was dead and the kingdom belonged to Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, who obtained it not by his virtue but by his birth. For Anaxandrides had to wife his own sister's daughter; and she was dearly beloved. Howbeit, no children were born to him; and because this was so, the ephors called him unto them and said: Lo, if thou wilt not provide for thyself, yet this we must not permit, that the race of Eurysthenes become extinct. Now therefore do thou put away the wife whom thou hast, because she beareth not, and marry another; and so doing thou shalt please the Spartans. But he answered and said that he would do neither of these things, and that they counselled not well in that they advised him to put away the wife that he had, in whom he found no fault, and take another; neither would he obey them. Then the ephors and the elders, when they had taken counsel, made Anaxandrides this proposal: Seeing then thou cleavest to the wife thou hast, do thou do thus and **demur** not, lest the Spartans take some harsh counsel concerning **thee**.

¹ 1, 67..

As for the wife whom thou hast, we require not of thee that thou shouldst put her away, and thou mayest continue to furnish her with all that now thou dost; but do thou take thee another wife besides her to bear children. When they spake in this wise, Anaxandrides consented; and thereafter he had two wives and kept two several homes, a thing unheard of in Sparta. And when no long time was past, his second wife, who was a daughter of Prinetales the son of Demarmenus, bare this same Cleomenes. But no sooner had she presented the Spartans with an heir to the kingdom, than by a marvellous chance the first wife, who thitherto was barren, conceived. And though she was with child in very truth, the kinsmen of the second wife, when they heard thereof, beset her, saying that it was a vain boast and that she intended to take a foster-child. And because they made much ado, therefore when her time drew near, the ephors in disbelief sat round the woman and kept watch while she bare. And she bare Dorieus; and when she had borne him, she straightway conceived Leonides, and after him Cleombrotus; (howbeit, some say that Cleombrotus and Leonides were twins). But the wife who had borne Cleomenes bare not a second time. Now Cleomenes, it is said, was not sound of mind but half mad, whereas Dorieus was the first among all his fellows, and thoroughly believed that he would receive the kingdom by reason of his virtues. Therefore being of this mind, Dorieus was wroth when Anaxandrides died and the Lacedaemonians followed their law and made the eldest son, Cleomenes, king. And he thought not fit to be ruled by Cleomenes, but asked the Spartans for followers and led them to a colony. Howbeit, he enquired not of the oracle at Delphi unto what land he should go to build his city, neither did he any of the customary observances; but being aggrieved he hastily took his ships to Libya, and men of Thera were his guides. And coming there, he settled in a fair place beside the river Cinyps,

which belonged to the Libyans; but in the second year thereafter he was driven forth from thence by the Libyans called Macse and by the Carthaginians, and returned to the Peloponnese. Then Antichares of Eleon counselled him out of the oracles of Laïus to settle in the land of Heracles in Sicily, saying that all the country of Eryx pertained to the sons of Heracles, because Heracles himself had gotten it. When Dorieus heard this, he departed to Delphi to enquire of the oracle whether he might gain the country whither he set forth; and the Pythia answered him that he might gain it. So Dorieus took with him the band which he had led to Libya and voyaged along the coast of Italy. But about this time, according to the men of Sybaris, they and their king Telys were about to make war against Croton; and the men of Croton in great dread requested Dorieus to succour them and obtained their request. So Dorieus warred with them against Sybaris, and with him they took Sybaris. Thus the men of Sybaris say that Dorieus and his followers did. But the men of Croton say that no stranger had part with them in the war against Sybaris, excepting only Callias, a seer of Elis, one of the Iamidas, who took part on this wise: he came to them after he ran away from Telys, the tyrant of Sybaris, because the omens were not favourable when he divined against Croton. So the men of Croton say. And each of them bring these testimonies. The men of Sybaris point to a precinct and a temple by the dry bed of the Crathis, which they say that Dorieus established unto Athena, surnamed the Crathian, when he had helped their enemies to take the city. Moreover they use the death of Dorieus himself as a strong testimony, arguing that he perished because he did more than the oracle commanded him; for if he had only done that which he set out to do, and nothing more, he would have taken the country of Eryx and held it, neither would he and his host have perished. But the men of Croton on their part argue that whereas many lots in the land

of Croton were set apart for Callias of Elis, which the descendants of Callias possessed even unto my day, Dorieus and the descendants of Dorieus have nothing; yet if Dorieus had taken part with them in the war against Sybaris, many times more had surely been given unto him than unto Callias. These are the testimonies that each people bring forward; and any man may agree with whichever of them he believeth. Now there sailed other Spartans with Dorieus, to help him to found the city, even Thessalus, Parabates, Celeas, and Euryleon. These came to Sicily, and they and their whole power were worsted in battle and slain by the Phoenicians¹ and the men of Egesta. And after this calamity Euryleon only was left of those that came with Dorieus. And he gathered together such of the army as remained, and took Minoa the colony of Selinus, and helped the people of Selinus to free themselves from their ruler Pithagoras. But afterwards, when he had put down Pithagoras, Euryleon assayed to be tyrant of Selinus himself. And he bare rule over it, but only for a little while; for the men of Selinus made head against him, and slew him, though he fled to the altar of Zeus Agoraeus. There also went with Dorieus and was slain with him Philippus the son of Butacides of Croton, who was banished from Croton after the daughter of Telys of Sybaris was betrothed to him; but he was defrauded of the marriage and departed and sailed to Cyrene, from whence he set forth and bare Dorieus company in his own galley with his own band of men. And he was an Olympic victor and the fairest of the Greeks of his time. And because of his beauty he obtained of the men of Egesta that which no other man did; for they have established the shrine of an hero over his grave and propitiate him with sacrifices. In this manner Dorieus died. But if he had endured to be ruled over by Cleomenes and had remained in Sparta, he would have been king of Lacedaemon, because Cleomenes was

¹ Carthaginians.

king for no great while and died without a son, leaving only a daughter, whose name was Gorgo.

Howsoever, Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus arrived in Sparta while Cleomenes bare rule. And he entered into conference with him. And the Lacedaemonians say that Aristagoras brought a brasen tablet with him, whereon was graven a map of the world, with every sea and all the rivers. And entering into speech with Cleomenes, Aristagoras said unto him thus: Marvel not, Cleomenes, that I have been at pains to come hither; for the times require it. That the children of Ionia are bond instead of free is a reproach and a sorrow to ourselves most of all; but of the rest it toucheth you most, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Greece. Now therefore, by the gods of Greece, deliver from bondage the Ionians, who are of your blood. And ye shall easily prosper in this; for the barbarians are not mighty warriors, whereas ye do excel greatly in the things of war. And their manner of fighting is this: they have bows and arrows and short spears, and go into battle wearing breeches, with turbans on their heads. So easy are they to overcome. Moreover all the rest of mankind together hath not so many good things as the inhabitants of that continent, from gold and silver and brass to broidered apparel and beasts of burden and bondservants. All these, if ye so desire, ye may have yourselves. And I will shew in what order the nations are situated. Next to the Ionians (here) are the Lydians (here), who dwell in a good country and are the richest of all men in silver. And as he said this, he pointed to the map of the earth which he had with him, graven on the tablet. Then he went on: But next to the Lydians to the east are the Phrygians (here), who of all men that I know of are the richest in flocks and the richest in the fruits of the earth. And next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; and upon the Cappadocians border the Cilicians, who extend to the sea (here), wherein this island of

Cyprus lieth; and the yearly tribute that they pay the king is five hundred talents. And next to the Cilicians are the Armenians (here), who are likewise rich in flocks; and next to the Armenians are the Matieni (possessing this country here). And next to them is Cissia (here), wherein is situated by this river Choaspes the city of Susa, where the great king hath his abode; and the treasures of his riches are therein. When ye have taken this city, ye may confidently vie with Zeus for wealth. Nay, ye think fit for a little country of no great excellence and for narrow confines to do battle with your equals the Messenians, the Arcadians, and the Argives, who have naught of the manner of gold or silver, for which men are willing to fight and die. Therefore, when ye might easily rule over all Asia, will ye choose otherwise? Thus said Aristagoras, and Cleomenes answered with these words: Milesian, I defer my reply till the day after to-morrow. Thus far they proceeded at that time; but when the day that was fixed for the reply came, and they were met in the appointed place, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the sea of Ionia to the king. Then Aristagoras, who in all else had been subtile and deluded him well, stumbled here; for whereas he ought not to have told the truth, if he meant to bring the Spartans to Asia, he nevertheless told it, saying that the journey lasted three months. Then Cleomenes would not hear the rest of that which Aristagoras had begun to tell him about the journey, but said: Milesian, depart from Sparta before set of sun; for this is no sound counsel that thou givest the Lacedaemonians, to persuade them to go a three months' journey from the sea. So saying Cleomenes went home. But Aristagoras took a suppliant's wand and went into the house of Cleomenes; and when he came in, he besought Cleomenes to hearken unto him as to a suppliant, and to send away the child; for Cleomenes' daughter, whose name was Gorgo, stood by him; (and it chanced that this was his only

child, and she was eight or nine years old). But Cleomenes bade him say what he would, and not forbear because of the child. Then Aristagoras began by promising ten talents if he would perform his request. And when Cleomenes shook his head, Aristagoras went on increasing the money until, when he offered fifty talents, the child broke silence, and said: Father, the stranger will corrupt thee, if thou arise not and go. And Cleomenes was pleased with the child's admonition and went into another room. And Aristagoras departed from Sparta altogether, neither found he the means to say any more about the journey up to the king.

Now this is the description of that road. There are royal lodges and fine posthouses everywhere along it; and the whole road lieth through safe and inhabited country. In Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty lodges, or four and ninety parasangs¹ and an half. And after Phrygia cometh the river Halys, whereat there are gates which men must needs pass through before they cross over the river; and there is a great fortress there. And from entering into Cappadocia as far as the borders of Cilicia there are eight and twenty lodges, or an hundred and four parasangs; and upon the borders of Cilicia thou must go through two gates and pass by two fortresses. And on the way through Cilicia after these are passed there are three lodges, or fifteen parasangs and an half. And the border between Cilicia and Armenia is a river crossed by ships, the name whereof is Euphrates. And in Armenia there are fifteen lodges, or fifty-six parasangs and an half. And through this land flow four rivers crossed by ships, which thou must pass over by ferry, with a fortress at each. The first is the Tigris; and the second and the third are called by the same name, to wit, Zabatus, albeit they are not the same river nor flow from the same place, for the former of them floweth from Armenia and the latter from Matiene; and the fourth, which Cyrus once divided into

¹ See 2, 6.

threescore and three hundred channels,¹ hath the name of Gyndes. And entering Matiene from Armenia there are four and thirty lodges, or an hundred and thirty-seven parasangs. And passing from thence into Cissia, there are eleven lodges, or forty-two parasangs and an half to the river Choaspes, which is likewise crossed by ships and whereon the city of Susa is builded. These are altogether an hundred and eleven lodges. So many are the posthouses on the journey from Sardis to Susa. But if the measurement of the royal road in parasangs is right, and a parasang is equal to thirty stades, as indeed it is, then from Sardis to the royal palace which is called Memnon's there are thirteen thousand and five hundred stades, inasmuch as there are four hundred and fifty parasangs. And those that travel an hundred and fifty stades every day spend full fourscore days and ten on the journey. Therefore when Aristagoras of Miletus told Cleomenes of Lacedaemon that the journey up to the king lasted three months, he told him rightly. But if any man seek yet greater exactitude than this, I will give it; for the road from Ephesus to Sardis must be added, and then I say that the whole number of stades from the sea of Greece as far as Susa, (which is the city called Memnon's,) is fourteen thousand and forty; for from Ephesus to Sardis are five hundred and forty stades. And so the journey of three months is made longer by three days.

But when Aristagoras was driven from Sparta, he went to Athens, which had been made free of tyrants on this wise. Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus and brother of the tyrant Hippias had a dream very easy to interpret and was slain by Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were originally Gephyraei. Yet for four years thereafter the Athenians were ruled not less tyrannously than formerly, but more so. Now the dream of Hipparchus was this: in the night before the Panathenaea Hipparchus dreamt

¹ 1,189.

that a tall and comely man appeared unto him and spake this riddle:

Endure, O lion, to suffer things beyond enduring with enduring heart;

There is no man that harmeth thee but shall make satisfaction.

This, as soon as day came, he was seen communicating to the interpreters of dreams; but afterwards he put the vision behind him, and took his part in the procession, in which he was slain.

Now the Gephyraei, of whom the slayers of Hipparchus came, say themselves that they arose in the beginning from Eretria; but I find by diligent enquiry that they were Phoenicians of those that came with Cadmus into the land now called Bceotia, whereof they received by lot the portion of Tanagra and dwelt therein. And when the Cadmeans had already been driven out by the Argives, thereafter these Gephyraei were driven out by the Boeotians and betook-themselves to Athens. And the Athenians received them as their own citizens on set conditions, ordaining that they should be excluded from a few things not worth recounting. These Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, among whom were the Gephyrasi, brought many accomplishments into Greece when they dwelt in that country, and especially writing, which the Greeks formerly had not, as I think. And at first they used the same as all the other Phoenicians; but then, in process of time, when they changed their tongue they changed also the form of the letters. And at that time the Greeks who dwelt around them were nearly all Ionians; and they were taught these letters by the Phoenicians, and used them after changing the form of a few. And they called them Phoenician, as was but right, seeing the Phoenicians brought them to Greece. *And the Ionians also speak of paper as hides by ancient custom, because in olden time for want of paper they used the hides of goats and sheep; and yet even in*

my Jay many of the barbarian peoples write upon such hides. And I myself have seen Cadmean letters chased upon cauldrons in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes in Bceotia; and the most part of them were like the Ionian letters. One of the cauldrons hath this inscription:

Amphitryon dedicated me from the spoils of the Teleboae. (Now this would be of the age of Laïus the son of Labdacus the son of Polydorus the son of Cadmus.) And another cauldron saith in hexameter measure:

Scaeus the boxer, when he had conquered, dedicated me here,
To be a fair ornament to Apollo the far-shooter.

(Now Scasus the son of Hippocoön, if indeed it be he that dedicated it and not another of the same name as Hippocoön's son, would be of the age of CEDipus the son of Laius.) And a third cauldron saith, likewise in hexameter measure:

Laodamas, while he reigned, dedicated this cauldron,
To be a fair ornament to Apollo the good marksman.

Now in the reign of this Laodamas the son of Eteocles the Cadmeans were driven out by the Argives and betook themselves to the Encheles; but the Gephyrasi were left behind, and afterwards withdrew to Athens because of the Boeotians. And they have temples established in Athens wherein the residue of the Athenians have no part; and among these is a temple of Demeter Achaëia, where they hold secret rites.

So I have recounted the dream of Hipparchus and whence arose the Gephyraei, of whom came the slayers of Hipparchus; but I must also take up again the story which I set out to tell, and relate how the Athenians became free of tyrants. While Hippias was yet tyrant and embittered against the Athenians because of **the death** of Hipparchus, the Alcmaeonidae, who are an Athenian

house and had been banished by the sons of Pisistratus, had no success but rather great failure when they and the other Athenian exiles fortified Lipsydrium above Paeonia and assayed to return by force and make Athens free. Then the Alcmeonidae, leaving no device untried against the sons of Pisistratus, contracted with the Amphictyons to build the shrine which now is at Delphi but then was not; for they were wealthy and had great reputation from of old. And they finished the shrine more fairly than the pattern required, more especially in that they made the front parts of it of Parian stone, whereas the agreement was to make the whole shrine of freestone. And the Athenians say that while these men abode in Delphi, they persuaded the Pythia with money to admonish all Spartans that came to enquire of the oracle, whether on private errand or on public, to set Athens free. And because the same admonition was always given them, the Lacedaemonians sent Anchimolius the son of Aster, a man of reputation among the citizens, with an host to drive the sons of Pisistratus out of Athens, albeit they were their very good friends; for they set the commands of God before the obligations of man. And the Spartans sent the army by sea in ships; and Anchimolius landed at Phalerum and put the host ashore there. But the sons of Pisistratus had heard thereof already, and summoned helpers from Thessaly; for they had a league with the Thessalians. And the Thessalians at their request with common accord sent them a thousand horsemen and their own king Cinias of Conda. And when they had gotten these confederates, the sons of Pisistratus contrived thus. They cut down the trees in the plain of Phalerum and so made the place fit for horses. Then they sent the horsemen against the camp; and they fell on them, and slew Anchimolius and many other Lacedaemonians also, and drove back to the ships those that remained alive. So fared the first army that came from Lacedaemon; and the sepulchre of Anchimolius is at Alopecae in Attica,

near the temple of Heracles in Cynosarges. But thereafter the Lacedaemonians prepared a greater host and sent it against Athens, appointing king Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides to be the captain of the army; and this time they sent it not by sea but by land. And when they invaded Attica, the Thessalian horsemen did battle with them first, but after a little while turned and fled. And above forty of them fell; but those that remained alive departed unto Thessaly straightway. Then Cleomenes arrived in the city, and together with the Athenians that desired to be free he besieged the tyrants within the Pelargic wall. Yet the Lacedaemonians would never have taken the sons of Pisistratus, (for they had not expected a siege, whereas the sons of Pisistratus were well provided with meat and drink,) but would have besieged them for a few days and then departed to Sparta, if a thing had not befallen which was at once an evil to the one part and an help to the other: the children of the sons of Pisistratus were taken as they were being conveyed forth from the land. When this came to pass, all their plans were confounded; and in order to have their children back, they yielded on what conditions the Athenians would, to wit, that they should depart out of Attica within five days. Then they departed to Sigeum by the Scamander, having ruled the Athenians for six and thirty years. (Now they also were originally descendants of Neleus from Pylus, being of the same house as Melanthus and Codrus, who ruled over Athens in olden time, though they were strangers. And it is said that in memory thereof Hippocrates named his son after Pisistratus the son of Nestor.) Thus the Athenians were rid of tyrants; but now I will set forth all that they did and suffered worthy of recounting after they had become free and before the Ionians rebelled against Darius and Aristagoras of Miletus arrived in Athens to desire them to give help.

Athens, which was great even before, waxed yet greater then,

after being rid of tyrants. And two men were powerful there, to wit, Clisthenes, one of the Alcmeonidae, the same of whom it is reported that he bribed the Pythia, and Isagoras the son of Tisander, who was of a noble house, though I cannot tell the history of it; howbeit, his kinsmen sacrifice to Carian Zeus. These men strove for the chief power; and when Clisthenes was put to the worse, he gained the common people to his part. Then he made the Athenians, who were four tribes, to be often tribes; and he made a riddance of the names of the sons of Ion, to wit, Geleon, Sgicores, Argades, and Hoples, and devised names taken from other heroes, all of them Athenian except Ajax, whom he added, albeit a stranger, because he had been a neighbour and a confederate.¹ Herein, as it seemeth me, this Clisthenes imitated his own mother's father, Clisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon. For after his war with the Argives Clisthenes firstly forbade minstrels to contend in Sicyon any more, because the Argives and Argos are extolled in wellnigh all the verses of Homer. And moreover, because in the very market-place of Sicyon there was and still is a temple of the hero Adrastus the son of Talaiis, Clisthenes resolved to cast him forth from the country as being an Argive. And he went to Delphi and enquired of the oracle whether he might cast Adrastus out; but the Pythia answered him and said that Adrastus was king of Sicyon and Clisthenes but a caster of stones. And as the god vouchsafed him not this, he returned again and sought in his mind for a device to make Adrastus depart of his own accord. And when he deemed that he had found it, he sent to Thebes in Bceotia and said that he wished to bring to Sicyon Melanippus the son of Astacus; and the Thebans granted his request. And when Clisthenes had brought Melanippus, he appointed a precinct for him in the very council-chamber of the city

¹ As the hero of Salamis (8, 64) and associated with the Athenians in the Iliad.

and established him there in the securest place. Now I must needs explain wherefor Clisthenes brought Melanippus; he did it because he was the worst enemy of Adrastus, as having slain both Mecisteus his brother and Tydeus his son-in-law. And after he had appointed the precinct for Melanippus, he took away the sacrifices and feasts of Adrastus and gave them to Melanippus. Now the men of Sicyon were wont to honour Adrastus exceedingly; for this was the country of Polybus, and Adrastus was the child of Polybus' daughter, and Polybus dying without a son gave the kingdom to Adrastus. So the men of Sicyon honoured Adrastus in many ways, and especially, because of his sufferings, they celebrated him with tragic quires, honouring not Dionysus but Adrastus. But Clisthenes rendered the quires to Dionysus, and the rest of the worship to Melanippus. Thus had Clisthenes done as touching Adrastus. But he also changed the names of the Dorian tribes, to the intent that the men of Sicyon might not have the same as the Argives. And herein he made great mock of the men of Sicyon; for he gave them the names of swine, ass, and pig, altering but the endings, except for his own tribe, which he named after his own power; for these were called Archelaï,¹ but the others Hyatae,² Oneatae,³ and Choereatae.⁴ These names of the tribes the men of Sicyon used during the time that Clisthenes ruled and for threescore years more after he was dead; but thereafter they conferred one with another and changed them to Hylles, Pamphyli, and Dymanatae and added fourthly the -Ægiales, whom they named after Ægialeus the son of Adrastus.

Thus had Clisthenes of Sicyon done. And now Clisthenes of Athens likewise, who was the son of this man's daughter and was named after him, despising the Ionians, as it seemeth unto me, imitated his namesake, that the Athenians might not have the

¹ i.e. Rulers of the People.

³ From *ottos*, ass.

² From *hys*, swine.

⁴ From *choiros*, pig.

same tribes as the Ionians. For when he had taken the part of the Athenian common people, who formerly had been rejected of all, he changed the names of the tribes and made more of them. And after he had adopted the common people, he was much stronger than his adversaries. But Isagoras, being put to the worse in his turn, contrived thus. He called upon Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, who was his friend since the siege of the sons of Pisistratus, and it was reported that Cleomenes had entered in unto the wife of Isagoras. And at first Cleomenes sent a messenger to Athens and commanded them to banish Clisthenes and many other Athenians with him, choosing those that were called the sacrilegious. And this proclamation he sent by the instruction of Isagoras. (Now the sacrilegious Athenians got their name thus. There was a certain Athenian Cylon, an Olympic victor. This man lifted up his heart to be tyrant; and having gotten a company among his fellows, he assayed to seize the citadel; and when he could not make himself master thereof, he sat at the image as a suppliant. And the chiefs of the *naucrari*,¹ who governed Athens at that time, persuaded them to leave the image and submit themselves to any penalty but death; but the Alcmeonidae, as it is reported, murdered them. This was before the time of Pisistratus.)

But when Cleomenes sent and commanded them to banish the sacrilegious, Clisthenes himself withdrew; but Cleomenes none the less came to Athens with a small company and banished as sacrilegious the seven hundred Athenian households that Isagoras advised him. And after he had done this, he next assayed to put down the council and place the offices in the hands of three hundred, who were of Isagoras' part. But the council withstood him and would not obey. Then Cleomenes and Isagoras and the men of his part seized the citadel. But the residue of the Athenians with one mind besieged them for two days, and on the third all

¹ Forty-eight early administrative districts of Attica.

the Lacedaemonians made a truce and departed from the land. And so the omen given to Cleomenes was accomplished; for after Cleomenes went up into the citadel, meaning to seize it, he would have entered into the sanctuary of the goddess¹ to pray. But the priestess rose up out of her seat ere he passed the doors and said: Lacedaemonian, go back; enter not the temple, for it is not lawful for Dorians to come in. But he said: Woman, I am not a Dorian but an Achaean. And he paid no heed to the omen, but set his hand to the work, and as I have said was cast forth again with the other Lacedaemonians. But the Athenians put the rest in bonds and slew them; and among them was Timesitheis of Delphi, of whom I could tell great deeds of strength and valour. So they were put in bonds and perished. But the Athenians having called back Clisthenes and the seven hundred households which were banished by Cleomenes, sent messengers to Sardis, desiring to make a league with the Persians, because they well knew that Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians were become their enemies. And when the messengers came to Sardis and said what they were charged withal, Artaphernes the son of Hystaspes, who was governor of Sardis, asked who the Athenians were and in what part of the world they dwelt, that they asked to become confederates of the Persians. And when he heard the answer of the messengers, he gave them the conclusion of the whole matter in these words: If the Athenians give king Darius earth and water, I will make a league with them; but if not, get you gone. Then the messengers on their own authority said that they would give earth and water; but when they returned home, they were much blamed.

But Cleomenes, considering that he was shamefully entreated of the Athenians in word and deed, gathered an army together from all the Peloponnese, not declaring for what purpose he gathered it, desiring to take vengeance on the Athenian people and set up

¹ Athena.

as tyrant Isagoras, who had escaped with him from the citadel. So Cleomenes with a great host invaded Eleusis and at the same time the Boeotians, as they had covenanted with him, took CEnoë and Hysiae, the outermost villages of Attica. Moreover the Chalcidians attacked Attica from the other side, and did harm to the country. But albeit the Athenians were between two fires, they resolved to look to the Boeotians and Chalcidians later, and encamped against the Peloponnesians in Eleusis. And as they were in act to join battle, the Corinthians first, considering with themselves that they were not doing right, changed their mind and departed; and thereafter Demaratus the son of Ariston did the same, who was likewise king of Sparta and had led the army from Lacedaemon with Cleomenes; and he had never been at difference with him before. And by reason of this dissension a law was made in Sparta that both the kings should not be permitted to go with an army to the war; (for thitherto both had been wont to go;) and that seeing the one king was left behind, one of the Tyndaridae¹ should also remain; (for until that day they also both went to war, as the helpers of Sparta). Howbeit, at that time, when the other confederates at Eleusis saw that the kings of Sparta agreed not and the Corinthians had left their place, they likewise departed. This was the fourth time that Dorians invaded Attica; twice they came for war, and twice for the good of the Athenian people. The first time was when they builded the city of Megara; and the second and third were when they came from Sparta to drive out the sons of Pisistratus; and the fourth was this, when Cleomenes invaded Eleusis with the Peloponnesian army. This was therefore the fourth time that Dorians had invaded Attica.

When this host was broken up in disgrace, the Athenians, wishing to be revenged, made war first upon the Chalcidians. And the Boeotians went to Euripus to help the Chalcidians. And

¹ See 4, 145.

when the Athenians saw that they did so, they thought it good to assault the Boeotians first rather than the Chalcidians. So the Athenians joined battle with the Boeotians and defeated them utterly. And they slaughtered a great number and took seven hundred of them alive. And that same day the Athenians crossed over into Euboea and joined battle also with the Chalcidians; and they conquered them also, and divided the land of the *hippobota* into plots for four thousand of their citizens. (Now *hippobotce* is the name whereby the Chalcidians of substance were called.) And all the Chalcidians that they took alive they held in bonds with the Boeotian prisoners. But after a while they let them go at a price of two minas apiece. And the fetters wherein they were bound they hung up in the citadel, where they remained even unto my day, hanging on the walls that were scorched with fire by the Mede, over against the western end of the temple. And they made a brasen chariot-and-four with the tithe of the ransom, and dedicated it in the citadel, where it standeth on the left hand as one first entereth; and this is written thereon:

The children of Athens overcame the peoples of Boeotia and
Chalcis in the deeds of war;

They extinguished their pride in dire bondage of iron, and
dedicated to Pallas these horses, a tithe of their ransom.

So the Athenians waxed mighty. And it is clear that equality is an excellent thing, not in one way only but in many; for while the Athenians were ruled by tyrants, they were no better in the things of war than any of those that dwelt round about them; but when they were rid of tyrants, they became the best by far. From this it is plain that while they were held under, they fought ill purposely, as men that work for a master, whereas when they were set free, each one was eager to accomplish somewhat for himself. Thus did the Athenians. But thereafter the Thebans, wishing to

take vengeance on the Athenians, sent to consult the god. And the Pythia said that they had no hope of vengeance by themselves, but commanded them to publish the matter unto the concourse of the people, and ask their nearest to help them. Therefore when the messengers returned, they made an assembly and published the oracle, that they must ask their nearest to help them. But when the Thebans heard it, they said: Are not the men of Tanagra, Coronea, and Thespia nearest unto us? But they have always fought zealously with us, and they do aid us in this war. What need to ask them? Nay, peradventure the oracle meaneth not this. Thus they considered of it; and someone at last comprehended the oracle, and said: I deem that I understand what this prophecy would say unto us. The daughters of Asopus are said to have been Thebe and ^Egina. Seeing these were sisters, I deem that the god hath commanded us to ask the men of iEgina to be our succourers. Then because no opinion seemed better than this, they straightway sent and asked the men of ^Egina to help them according to the oracle, as being their nearest kin. And when they asked for aid, the men of ^Egina said they would send the sons of ^Eacus with them.¹ But when the Thebans tried again with the alliance of the sons of ^Eacus, they were soundly beaten by the Athenians. Then the Thebans again sent, and gave the sons of ^Eacus back to them and asked for their men. And the people of ^Egina were lifted up by their great prosperity and remembered an ancient hatred against the Athenians. Therefore at the desire of the Thebans they made war on the Athenians unproclaimed; for while the Athenians were attending to the Boeotians, the men of ^Egina sailed to Attica in long ships, and pulled down Phalerum and many other villages along the coast; and so doing they harmed the Athenians greatly.

Now the debt of hatred which the men of ^Egina owed the

¹ See 8, 64.

Athenians arose from this beginning. The land of Epidaurus yielded not. Therefore the Epidaurians enquired at Delphi concerning this misfortune; and the Pythia commanded them to establish images of Damia and Auxesia, and said that better should befall them when they had established these. Then the Epidaurians asked whether they should make the images of brass or of stone; but the Pythia would have neither of these, but commanded them to make them of the wood of a garden olive. So the Epidaurians requested the Athenians to let them fell olive-trees, because they held the Attic olive the most holy or, as some say, because there were no olives anywhere else on the earth at that time. And the Athenians said they would grant them this, upon condition that they should bring offerings to Athena Polias and to Erechtheus every year. And when the Epidaurians consented unto this condition, they obtained their request; and they made images from those olive-trees, and set them up. Then their land yielded again, and they kept their promise to the Athenians. Now at that time and earlier still, the men of Ægina obeyed the Epidaurians in all things; and they crossed over to Epidaurus to give and to receive justice one of another. But thereafter they builded ships and hardened their hearts and revolted from the Epidaurians. And being at variance they did the Epidaurians much damage, because they had dominion over the sea; and one day they stole these images from them, and brought them and established them in the middle of their own country in a village called CEA which is about twenty stades distant from the city. And when they had established them in this place, they propitiated them with sacrifices and with mocking quires of women; and ten men were appointed for each goddess, to provide the quires. And in the quires they spake no evil of any man, but reviled the women of the place. (The Epidaurians likewise had the same ceremonies; and they have secret ceremonies also). But when these images

were stolen, the Epidaurians no longer performed what they had covenanted with the Athenians. Then the Athenians sent and rebuked the Epidaurians. But the Epidaurians proved that they did no wrong; for as long as they had the images in their country, they had performed what they covenanted, whereas now that they were deprived of them it was right that they should not pay this tribute, but the men of [^]Egina who had them. Therefore the Athenians sent to [^]Egina and demanded the tribute. But the men of [^]Egina said that they knew not the Athenians. Now the Athenians say that after this demand certain of their citizens were sent on the public behalf in one galley, and came to *JEgma*, and assayed to uproot those statues from their bases, meaning to take them home because they were made of their own wood. But when they could not get possession of them on this manner, they tied ropes round the statues and pulled; and as they pulled, there came thunder and with the thunder an earthquake. And the men from the galley that were pulling the statues were driven mad thereby, and in this state they slew one another as enemies, until but one of them was left, who got him back to Phalerum alone. Thus the Athenians say that it came to pass. But the men of ⁱEgina say that the Athenians came not with one ship; for even if they had not had ships themselves, they could easily have beaten off one ship and several more. But the Athenians sailed against their land with many ships; and they gave place to them and fought not by sea, albeit they cannot plainly declare whether they gave way because they acknowledged themselves weaker by sea or because they meant to do the thing they did. So the Athenians, finding no man join battle with them, landed from their ships and betook them to the images; and when they could not uproot them from the bases, then they tied ropes round them and pulled, until both the images did the same thing, which I believe not, though another may: they fell upon their knees before them, and so

continued ever after. Thus did the Athenians. But the men of ^Egina say that, knowing the Athenians purposed to war against them, they had the Argives in readiness; and as soon as the Athenians landed in -Ægina, the Argives came to their aid. And they crossed over to the island from Epidaurus privily and fell upon the Athenians before they knew of it, cutting off their road to the ships. And at the same time the thunder and the earthquake came to pass. This is the account of the men of Argos and -Ægina. And they agree with the Athenians that there was only one of them that came safe back to Attica, albeit the Argives say that this one man was left when they destroyed the Athenian camp, whereas the Athenians say that it was the act of God. Notwithstanding, even he was not saved, but perished on this wise. When he got to Athens and gave news of the calamity, the wives of the men that went against iEgina heard thereof and were indignant that he alone should be saved; and they caught him in their midst and pricked him with the brooches of their mantles, each asking where her own husband was. Thus he perished. And the Athenians thought the deed of their women even more terrible than the defeat. But they knew not how they should punish the women. Howbeit, they changed their apparel to the Ionian; for thitherto the Athenian women wore Dorian apparel like the Corinthian. So they changed it to the linen tunic, that they might not use brooches. But according to the true account, this apparel is not originally Ionian but Carian; for in olden time the apparel of all Greek women alike was the same which we now call Dorian. But the men of Argos and -^Egina * * * and besides this they also made a law that in both their countries the brooch-pins should be made half as long again as was customary thitherto, and their women should dedicate brooches especially in the temple of these goddesses, and nothing from Attica should be taken to the temple, not even a potter's vessel, but the law was thenceforth to

pour drink-offerings there from pitchers made in the country. And from that time even unto my own day the women of Argos and Ægina have worn longer brooch-pins than before, because of their strife with the Athenians.

So the enmity between the men of Ægina and the Athenians began as I have said. But now, when the Thebans called upon them, the men of Ægina were zealous to help the Boeotians, remembering the dispute about the statues. So the men of Ægina wasted the seaward parts of Attica; and when the Athenians were bent on making war against Ægina, an oracle came to them from Delphi, that they should wait thirty years after the wrong that the men of Ægina did them, and then in the thirty-first year dedicate a precinct to Æacus and begin the war with Ægina; thus they should have their desire, whereas if they made war straightway, they should subdue them in the end, but in the meantime suffer as much harm as they wrought. When this was reported and the Athenians heard it, they dedicated that precinct of Æacus which is now situated by the market-place; but they would not endure to be told that they must wait thirty years, after they had been so grievously entreated by the men of Ægina. But while they were preparing to take vengeance, trouble arose from Lacedaemon which prevented them. For when the Lacedaemonians learned what the Alcmeonidae had practised upon the Pythia, and the Pythia upon themselves and the sons of Pisistratus, they deemed it a twofold calamity that they had driven their friends from home and that the Athenians shewed them no gratitude for having done so. And moreover they were moved by the prophecies, which foretold that many and grievous things should befall them by the hand of the Athenians. Of these prophecies they were formerly ignorant; but now they learned them perfectly, when Cleomenes brought them to Sparta. And Cleomenes obtained them from the citadel of Athens; for the sons of Pisistratus possessed them

formerly, but left them in the temple when they were driven out; and as they lay there, Cleomenes picked them up. And when the Spartans had gotten the prophecies, and saw the Athenians waxing stronger and nowise ready to obey them, they conceived that if the people of Athens were free, they might become their equals, whereas if they were held under by tyranny they would be feeble and ready to obey. Perceiving all this, they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus from Sigeum in the Hellespont. And when Hippias came at their bidding, the Spartans called for ambassadors from their other confederates also, and spake thus to them: Confederates, we acknowledge that we have not done rightly; for stirred up by lying oracles, we have driven from the land of their fathers men that were our friends to the uttermost, who undertook to hold Athens subject; and then, when we had done this, we delivered the city to an ungrateful people, which, as soon as it became free and raised its head by our means, entreated us and our king shamefully, and cast us out; and it hath gotten a conceit and waxeth stronger, as its neighbours, the Boeotians and the Chalcidians, have learned already and others also shall learn soon. But now, seeing we have erred in doing thus, we will assay with your help to mend our fault. For this purpose we have summoned you from your cities, and have also sent for Hippias, as you see, that with common consent and a common host we may bring him back to Athens and restore to him all that we took from him. Thus said the Spartans. But the greater part of the confederates were displeased with their words; and the rest kept silence, but Socles of Corinth spake thus: Verily now the heavens shall be beneath the earth and the earth on high above the heavens, and men shall have their habitation in the sea and fishes where men were before, seeing that ye, O Spartans, are preparing to put down equality in the cities of Greece and to restore tyranny, than which nothing on earth is more unrighteous or more bloody.

Nay, if it seemeth good to you that the cities should be under tyrants, then set up a tyrant among yourselves first, before ye seek to set them up elsewhere; for now ye have no experience of tyrants yourselves and take great care that no such thing come to pass in Sparta, but are heedless about your confederates. If ye had experience thereof, as we have, ye could give better counsel about it than at present. Now at Corinth the condition of the city was this. A few men called the Bacchiada^s governed the city, giving and taking in marriage among themselves. And Amphion, who was one of these men, had a lame daughter, whose name was Labda. And as none of the Bacchiadse would marry this woman, she was given to Eëtion the son of Echebrates, who was a commoner but by origin a Lapith of the sons of Casneus. Howbeit he had no children either by this woman or by any other. Therefore he set forth to Delphi to ask for offspring; but as soon as he entered into the temple, the Pythia addressed him with these words:

Eëtion, no man honoureth thee, albeit thou art greatly honourable;

Labda hath conceived, and she shall bring forth a millstone,
And it shall fall on the rulers, and shall justify Corinth.

And haply word was brought to the Bacchiadse of this oracle which was given Eëtion. Now the Bacchiadse had not been able to comprehend the former oracle given to Corinth, which had the same burden as this of Eëtion and said thus:

An eagle in the rocks hath conceived, and shall bring forth a mighty, ravening lion,

And he shall loose the knees of many beneath them.

Take good heed now unto these things, O Corinthians,

Ye who dwell about fair Pirene and steep Corinth.

This oracle the Bacchiadas had formerly not been able to interpret. But now, when they heard the oracle that was given to

Eëtion, they straightway understood the former one also, because it accorded with that of Eëtion. And having understood the oracles, they kept silence, meaning to destroy the offspring that should be born to Eëtion. And as soon as his wife bare a child, they sent ten of their number to the village where Eëtion dwelt, to slay the babe. And when they came and entered into Eëtion's cottage, they asked for the babe; and Labda, knowing naught of the reason wherefor they came but deeming that they asked out of goodwill towards her father, brought the babe and put it into the arms of one of them. Now they had resolved on the way that whosoever of them received it first should dash it against the ground. But when Labda brought the babe and gave it to them, then the babe by God's will smiled upon the man that took it. And when he perceived the same, a certain compassion withheld him from slaying it; and having pity on the babe he delivered it to the second, and the second delivered it to the third; and so it passed around all the ten, and none was found to put it to death. So they gave back the babe to her that bare it, and went without. And as they stood at the door, they fell to reproaching one another and especially the man that received it first, because he had not done as they determined. Then after a space they resolved to enter in again and all take part in the murder. But trouble for Corinth was fated to arise from the offspring of Eëtion; for Labda was standing at the door and heard all these things. And fearing lest they should change their counsel and slay the babe when they received it a second time, she took it and hid it away in a chest, which was the place that seemed to her the least likely to be noticed; for she well knew that if they returned and set themselves to search, they would look everywhere. And this also came to pass; for they went in and sought the babe; but when they found it not, they resolved to depart and to say to those who sent them that they had done all they charged them to

do. So they went back and spake thus. But the son of Eëtion grew up; and because of his escape from that danger, he was named Cypselus after the chest.¹ And when Cypselus was come to man's estate and sought a prophecy at Delphi, there was given him a two-edged oracle, wherein trusting he set his hand to the work and possessed himself of Corinth. And the oracle was this:

Blessed is this man that entereth into mine house,
Cypselus the son of Eëtion, the king of famous Corinth,
Himself and his children, but not his grandchildren.

Such was the oracle; but when Cypselus became tyrant, he shewed himself this manner of man: many of the Corinthians he banished, and many he deprived of their possessions, but many more yet he deprived of their lives. And he ruled thirty years and ended the web of his life well; and his successor in the tyranny was his son Periander. Now in the beginning Periander was more gentle than his father; but after he had communication through messengers with Thrasybulus the tyrant of Miletus, he became even more bloody than Cypselus. For he sent an ambassador to Thrasybulus and asked him in what form he could govern the city most surely and well. And Thrasybulus led the man who came from Periander out of the town and entered into a field of corn; and as he passed through the corn, questioning the ambassador again and again as to his coming from Corinth, he cropped off every ear that he saw standing above the rest, and having cropped it off, he cast it away, until on this wise he had destroyed the tallest and best of the corn. But when he had passed through the field, he sent the ambassador away without offering a word of counsel. And when the ambassador returned to Corinth, Periander was eager to hear the counsel. But the fellow said that Thrasybulus had offered him no counsel, and that he marvelled

¹ *cypsele*.

that Periander had sent him to such a man, who was beside himself and a wanton destroyer of his own goods; and he recounted what he had seen Thrasybulus do. But Periander understood the meaning of the deed and perceived that Thrasybulus counselled him to murder the citizens who stood above the rest. Then did Periander put forth all manner of wickedness against the citizens; for what Cypselus had left undone in slaying and banishing, that Periander completed. And in one day he stripped all the Corinthian women naked for the sake of his own wife Melissa. For he sent messengers to the oracle of the dead among the Thesproti on the river Acheron, to ask where he put something that a friend had left in his charge; and Melissa appeared, and said that she would not tell him by sign or word where that thing lay, because she was cold and naked, as the garments that he buried with her were useless, not having been burnt; and it should be a testimony to him of the truth of this, that Periander put his loaves in the oven when it was cold. And when word of this was brought to Periander, the token convinced him, because he had lain with Melissa when she was dead; and immediately after the news, he made proclamation that all the Corinthian women should go forth to the temple of Hera. So they went, dressed in their fairest array, as to a festival; but Periander put his spearbearers in ambuscade and stripped them all naked, the free women and the handmaidens alike; and he collected the raiment in a pit and burned it, praying unto Melissa. And when he had done these things and sent a second time, the ghost of Melissa told him the place where he had put the thing that his friend left with him. Such, Lacedaemonians, is tyranny, and such are the deeds thereof. And we Corinthians marvelled greatly as soon as we saw you send for Hippias; but now we marvel even more to hear you speak thus, and we exhort you by the gods of Greece, not to set up tyranny in the cities. But if ye will not desist, but assay to

restore Hippias contrary to that which is right, then know that the Corinthians consent not thereunto.

Thus spake Socles, the ambassador from Corinth; and Hippias answered him by the same gods as he, that the Corinthians would long for the sons of Pisistratus most of all men, when the appointed days came for them to be vexed by the Athenians. Thus Hippias answered because he knew the oracles more thoroughly than any man. But the residue of the confederates, who thitherto had kept silence, when they heard Socles speak freely, did break forth into speech, and every man among them chose the opinion of the Corinthian, exhorting the Lacedaemonians to do no mischief in any Greek city. Thus was an end put to this design. But when Hippias was driven from thence, Amyntas of Macedon would have given him Anthemus, and the Thessalians Iolcus. Howbeit he accepted neither of these, but returned to Sigeum. This place Pisistratus had taken by the sword from the men of Mytilene; and when Pisistratus had gotten possession of it, he set up as tyrant Hegesistratus, a bastard son of his, begotten of an Argive woman. But Hegesistratus did not keep without battle what he received from Pisistratus; for the Athenians at Sigeum warred with the men of Mytilene in the city of Achilleum; for the men of Mytilene required that the place be restored to them, whereas the Athenians would not acknowledge their claim and declared that the Æolians had no greater right to the land of Ilium than they themselves and all the rest of the Greeks who had aided Menelaiis to exact satisfaction for the ravening of Helen. And among many other things that came to pass in the conflicts of this war, the poet Alcaeus escaped by flight from a battle in which the Athenians prevailed; but the Athenians got his arms and hanged them up in the temple of Athena at Sigeum; and Alcaeus wrote of this in a song, and sent it to Mytilene, to announce to his friend Melanippus what had befallen him. But the men of Mytilene

and the Athenians were reconciled by Periander the son of Cypselus, unto whom as mediator they committed their dispute. And he reconciled them on the condition that either part should possess what they held. Thus fell Sigeum to the Athenians. But Hippias, after he came from Lacedaemon to Asia, moved heaven and earth to bring the Athenians into enmity with Artaphernes, and all with the intent that Athens might fall under the power of himself and Darius. And while Hippias dealt thus, the Athenians, hearing thereof, sent messengers to Sardis, bidding the Persians not to hearken unto the Athenian exiles. But Artaphernes commanded them to receive Hippias back again, if they would have safety. But when his words were reported, the Athenians received them not; and in not receiving them, they were resolved to be open enemies of the Persians.

While the Athenians were of this mind and at enmity with the Persians, at that season Aristagoras of Miletus came to Athens, after he was driven from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian; for Athens was the most powerful of the other cities. And Aristagoras came before the people and said the same things as at Sparta about the wealth of Asia and the Persian manner of warfare, how that they used neither buckler nor spear but were easy to overcome. These things he said, and this moreover, that the Milesians were colonists of the Athenians and it was fit that they should deliver them, seeing they had great might. And there was nothing that he did not promise, because his need was very sore. And at last he persuaded them; for it seemeth to be easier to overreach many than one, seeing Aristagoras was not able to overreach Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian alone, but did so unto thirty thousand Athenians. So when the Athenians were persuaded, they gave their voice to send forth twenty ships to help the Ionians; and they appointed for captain over them Melanthius, who was a citizen of high reputation in every way. And these ships were

the beginning of trouble between Greeks and barbarians. But Aristagoras sailed on before and came to Miletus. And he devised a plan that was like to bring no advantage to the Ionians, (neither indeed was that his purpose, but rather to vex king Darius). He sent a man to Phrygia unto the Pæones who were brought captive by Megabazus from the river Strymon and dwelt in a village by themselves in Phrygia. And when he came to the Pæones, the man said this: Pæones, Aristagoras the tyrant of Miletus hath sent me to advise you of a means of deliverance, if ye will but hearken; for now all Ionia hath rebelled against the king, and ye have the opportunity to return safe to your own land. Now as far as the sea ye shall take thought for yourselves; but thereafter we will take thought for you. When the Pæones heard this, they rejoiced exceedingly thereat, and taking up their children and women, they ran away to the sea, albeit there were certain of them that remained behind for fear. And when the Pæones came to the coast, they crossed over from thence into Chios. And when they were already in Chios, straightway there came a multitude of Persian horsemen at their heels, that had pursued the Pæones; and when they overtook them not, they sent a message to the Pæones in Chios, commanding them to return again. But the Pæones received not their words; and the men of Chios took them from Chios to Lesbos, and the men of Lesbos brought them to Doriscus, from whence they journeyed afoot and came to Pæonia.

But the Athenians arrived with twenty ships, bringing five galleys of Eretria with them. Now the Eretrians came not for the sake of the Athenians, but for the Milesians themselves, repaying a debt which they owed them; for the Milesians formerly supported the Eretrians in their war with Chalcis, at the time when the Samians aided the men of Chalcis against the Eretrians and the Milesians. So when these arrived and the other confederates were present also, Aristagoras carried the war unto Sardis. He

himself went not to the war, but remained in Miletus and appointed other Milesians as captains, to wit, his brother Charopinus and another citizen, Hermophantus. And when the Ionians came to Ephesus with this array, they left the ships behind in Coresus in the land of Ephesus and went inland themselves in great force, taking Ephesians for guides. And they marched along the river Caŷtrius; and thereafter crossing Tmolus they arrived in Sardis and took it, all except the citadel, no man withstanding them. But the citadel was defended by Artaphernes himself with no small force of men. And from plundering the town after they had taken it they were withheld by this: the houses in Sardis were for the most part of reed, and even those that were of brick had roofs of reed; therefore when a soldier had set fire to one of these, straightway the fire went from house to house and spread over the whole town. And when the town was afire, the inhabitants and all the Persians in the city were taken on every side, because the fire devoured the outer edges thereof; and having no escape from the city, they all rushed to the market-place and the river Pactolus, which laden with gold-dust from Tmolus floweth through the midst of the market-place and then issueth into the river Hermus, which issueth into the sea. By this Pactolus and in the market-place the Lydians and the Persians gathered together and were constrained to resist. And when the Ionians saw some of their enemies resisting, and others drawing nigh in great multitude, they withdrew again in fear to the mountain called Tmolus, and departed thence by night unto the ships. So Sardis was burned, and in it a temple of Cybebe, a goddess of that land; which thing the Persians afterwards made an excuse to burn the Grecian temples in revenge. But at that time all the Persians who had provinces this side of the river Halys, having heard before what was afoot, assembled together and came to the aid of the Lydians. And haply they found the Ionians no longer in Sardis;

but they followed in their footsteps and caught them in Ephesus. And the Ionians set the battle in array against them, but were greatly worsted in the conflict. And the Persians slaughtered many, and among other men of note Evalcides, the captain of the Eretrians, who had won four of the contests in which the prize is a crown¹ and been highly praised by Simonides of Ceos. But those of them that escaped out of the battle were scattered to their several cities.

Thus they contended at that time; and after that the Athenians forsook the Ionians altogether, and though Aristagoras entreated them much by the hand of messengers, they would not help him. But such were the deeds which the Ionians had done to Darius that even after they were deprived of their Athenian confederates, they none the less prepared war against the king. And they sailed to the Hellespont and brought Byzantium and all the other cities of that region under their power; and they sailed out of the Hellespont, and gained the greater part of Caria for their confederate; for even Caunus, which would not be their confederate before, joined them now, when they had burnt Sardis. And the Cyprians joined them of their own accord, all except the men of Amathus, because the Cyprians also had revolted from the Medes on this wise. There was a certain Onesilus, who was a younger brother of Gorgus the king of Salamis and son of Chersis the son of Siromus the son of Evelthon. This man had oftentimes before exhorted Gorgus to rebel against the king; and now, when he heard that the Ionians had rebelled, he was exceeding instant and sought to move him. And when he persuaded him not, then Onesilus waited until he went out of the city of Salamis and then with his partisans shut the gates upon him. So Gorgus, being deprived of the city, fled to the Medes; but Onesilus ruled Salamis and sought to persuade all the Cyprians

¹ The principal games: Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean.

to rebel with him. And the rest he persuaded; but the men of Amathus would not hearken unto him. Therefore he sat down and besieged them.

But while Onesilus besieged Amathus, word was brought to king Darius that Sardis had been taken and burned by the Athenians and Ionians, and that the leader through whom all this had been contrived was Aristagoras of Miletus. Then it is said that Darius, when he heard this, first asked who the Athenians were, making no account of the Ionians, because he well knew that these would not be unpunished for their rebellion. And when he learned, he called for his bow; and having received it, he set an arrow to the string and shot it upward unto heaven; and as he shot the arrow into the air, he said: Zeus, be it given unto me to take vengeance on the Athenians. Having said thus, he ordained one of his servants, whensoever dinner was set before him, always to say unto him thrice: Master, remember the Athenians. And having thus ordained, he called into his presence Histiaeus of Miletus, and said: I learn, Histiaeus, that thy deputy, unto whom thou gavest charge of Miletus, hath wrought mischief against me; for he hath brought in men from the other continent and hath moreover seduced the Ionians, who shall pay me the penalty of their deeds, to follow him; and he hath deprived me of Sardis. Now therefore I ask thee how thou canst think that this is well. Yet how can any such thing have been wrought without thy counsel? I fear thou wilt blame thyself for this hereafter. Then said Histiaeus: O king, what words are these, to say that I could contrive a deed from whence thou wert like to have any vexation, great or small? What do I desire or what do I lack, that I should do thus? I have all things that thou hast, and am held worthy by thee to hear all thy counsels. Nay, if indeed my deputy doeth any such thing as thou hast said, know that he hath done it upon his own authority; Now as for me, I believe

not this report at all, that the Milesians and my deputy are doing thee mischief; but if indeed they do any such thing and this which thou hast heard is true, then see, O king, what thou hast done in bringing me away from the coast; for the Ionians, as soon as I was out of their sight, seem to have done what they longed for of old, whereas if I had been in Ionia, no city would have stirred. Now therefore make haste, and release me to go to Ionia, that I may set all these things right for thee and deliver into thy hand my deputy in Miletus who contrived them. And when I have done this to thy pleasure, I swear by the gods of thy house not to put off the tunic in which I go down to Ionia until I have made Sardinia, the greatest of all islands, tributary unto thee. With such words Histiaeus deceived Darius, who hearkened and let him go, charging him to return to him again in Susa, as soon as he should have performed what he promised.

But while the message concerning Sardis was going up to the king, and Darius after the act with his bow was conferring with Histiasus, and Histiaeus, set free by Darius, was journeying to the coast, in all this time these things came to pass. As Onesilus of Salamis besieged Amathus, word was brought to him that Artymbius, a Persian, would arrive in Cyprus with a great Persian army in ships. And when he heard this, Onesilus sent ambassadors around Ionia and called upon them; and the Ionians took counsel and came in haste with a great host. And the Ionians were no sooner arrived in Cyprus than the Persians crossed over in their ships from Cilicia and went against Salamis on land, while the Phoenicians in the ships rounded the cape which is called the Keys of Cyprus. And while this was doing, the tyrants of Cyprus called together the captains of the Ionians and said: Men of Ionia, we Cyprians offer you the choice, which of our two enemies ye will face; for if ye will be arrayed on land and make trial of the Persians, now is the hour for you to get you down out of

the ships and array you on land, and for us to enter into your ships to contend with the Phoenicians; but peradventure ye will rather make trial of the Phoenicians. Howbeit, whichsoever ye choose, it behoveth you so to do that for your part Ionia and Cyprus may be free. Then said the Ionians: The council of the Ionians hath sent us to guard the sea and not to deliver our ships to the Cyprians and face the Persians ourselves on land. We therefore shall try to be of service in that station whereunto we were called; and it behoveth you also to be valiant, remembering what things ye suffered at the hand of the Mede, when ye were in bondage. With these words the Ionians made answer. And thereafter, when the Persians were come into the plain of Salamis, the kings of Cyprus put the battle in array; and they chose out the best of the men of Salamis and Soli, and arrayed them over against the Persians, and the other Cyprians they arrayed over against the other soldiers; but Onesilus of his own choice took his station opposite to the Persian captain Artybius. Now Artybius rode a horse that was taught to rise upright against a foot-soldier. And when Onesilus heard this, he said to his armour-bearer, who was a Carian by race and of exceeding high reputation in war and full of courage: I hear that the horse of Artybius standeth upright and destroyeth with his feet and his teeth whomsoever he cometh upon. Do thou therefore consider and say now which of these two thou wilt watch and smite, whether the horse or Artybius. Then said his attendant: O king, I am ready to do both these things or either, and in general whatsoever thou commandest. Notwithstanding, I will give thee the advice that seemeth me to be most advantageous to thee. I say that it behoveth a king and captain to do battle with another king or another captain; for if thou slay a captain, it is a great thing for thee; and if he slay thee, (which God forbid,) even to die by the hand of one worthy is half the calamity. But it behoveth me thy servitor to do battle

with other servitors and with this horse, whose devices do thou not fear; for I undertake that he shall not rise up against any man more. Thus he spake; and straightway the hosts joined battle, both on land and by sea. And by sea the Ionians were excellent that day, and surpassed the Phoenicians; and the Samians were the best of them all. But on land, when the hosts came nigh, they fell to and fought. And this is what befell the two generals. When Artybius, sitting upon his horse, came against Onesilus, then Onesilus, as he had covenanted with his armour-bearer, smote Artybius himself; but the Carian, when the horse planted its feet on the buckler of Onesilus, hewed them off with a blow of his sickle. So Artybius the Persian captain fell with his horse in that place. But whereas the rest fought well, Stesenor, the tyrant of Curium, turned traitor with no small force of men about him. (Now the men of Curium are said to be colonists of the Argives.) And when the men of Curium turned traitors, immediately the war-chariots of Salamis did the same as the men of Curium. And when this came to pass, the Persians were stronger than the Cyprians, and the host was put to flight. Then many fell, and among them Onesilus the son of Chersis, who had caused the rebellion of Cyprus, and Aristocyprus the king of Soli, who was the son of Philocyprus, the same Philocyprus that Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, praised in a poem above all tyrants. And the men of Amathus cut off the head of Onesilus, because he had besieged them, and brought it to Amathus and hanged it up over the gates. And while the head hung there, a swarm of bees entered into it, when it was already hollow, and filled it with honey-combs. And when this came to pass, the men of Amathus enquired of the oracle concerning the head; and it was prophesied them that they should take the head down and bury it and sacrifice every year to Onesilus as to an hero; and if they did this, it should be better for them. And the

men of Amathus did so even unto my day. But when the Ionians who fought by sea at Cyprus perceived that the cause of Onesilus was come to naught, and that the cities of Cyprus were besieged, all except Salamis, which the men of Salamis delivered unto the former king Gorgus, they straightway sailed back to Ionia. And Soli withstood the siege for the longest time of all the cities of Cyprus; but the Persians took it in the fifth month, by digging under the wall.

Thus were the Cyprians brought into bondage afresh, after they had been free for a year. But when Daurises, who had a daughter of Darius to wife, and Hymaeës and Otanes, who had likewise married daughters of Darius, had pursued the Ionians who marched to Sardis, and had prevailed in the battle and driven them into their ships, thereafter they divided the cities among themselves and took them one by one. And Daurises turned against the cities of the Hellespont and took Dardanus, Abydus, Per cote, Lampsacus, and Pæsus. These he took, one each day; but as he marched from Pæsus against Parium, word came to him that the Carians had made common cause with the Ionians and rebelled against Persia. Therefore he turned back from the Hellespont and led his army against Caria. And haply word thereof was brought to the Carians before Daurises arrived. And when the Carians heard thereof, they gathered together at a place called White Pillars on the river Marsyas, which floweth from the country of Idrias and falleth into the Maeander. And when the Carians were gathered together, then among other counsels the one which seemeth to me the best was given by Pixodarus the son of Mausolus, a man of Cindya, who had married a daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia. This man's judgement was, that the Carians should cross the Maeander and join the battle with the river at their backs, to the intent that, not being able to flee away but being constrained to remain where they

were, the Carians might be even more valiant than their nature was. Howbeit this judgement prevailed not; but they resolved that the Maeander should be at the backs of the Persians rather than their own, *considering that if the Persians were to flee, and be put to the worse in the conflict, they would not return home again hut fall into the river.* Then when the Persians arrived and crossed the Maeander, the Carians joined battle with them by the river Marsyas and fought a fierce fight for a great space; but in the end they were put to the worse because of their numbers. And about two thousand of the Persians fell, but about ten thousand of the Carians. And those that escaped from thence were shut up in the precinct of Zeus Stratius at Labraunda, a great and holy grove of plane-trees. (Now the Carians are the only people we know of that offer sacrifice to Zeus Stratius.) Howsoever, when these men were shut up there, they took counsel how they might be saved, whether it was better for them to give themselves up to the Persians or to forsake Asia altogether. But while they thus counselled, the Milesians and their confederates came with aid. Then the Carians threw over their former counsels and prepared to make war afresh. So when the Persians attacked them, they joined battle and fought; and they were defeated more heavily than before, and though many fell in all the army, the Milesians were smitten most. Yet after this calamity the Carians recovered and fought again; for when they heard that the Persians were marching against their cities, they set an ambuscade by the road at Pedasum. And the Persians fell therein by night and were destroyed with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; and Myrsus the son of Gyges was also slain with them. Now the leader of this ambuscade was Heracles the son of Ibanollis of Mylasa. Thus were these Persians destroyed. But Hymaees, who was also one of those who pursued the Ionians that marched on Sardis, turned to the Propontis and

took Cios in Mysia. And having taken the same, when he heard that Daurises had forsaken the Hellespont and was gone up to Caria, he left the Propontis and led his host against the Hellespont. And he took all the Trojians who inhabit the land of Troy, and also the Gergithes, who are the remnant of the ancient Teucrians. Howbeit, Hymæes himself died of a sickness in the land of Troy while he was taking these peoples. Thus he perished. But Artaphernes the governor of Sardis and Otanes the third captain, who had been appointed to war against Ionia and against the part of Æolis adjoining thereunto, took Clazomense in Ionia and Cyme in Æolis. And it plainly appeared that Aristagoras of Miletus had no great courage; for when he had set Ionia in a broil and stirred up great troubles, he counselled flight as soon as he saw these cities being taken, and perceived that it was impossible to overcome king Darius. Accordingly he called the men of his part together, and saying that it was better they should have some refuge ready if haply they were thrust forth from Miletus, he sought their counsel whether he should lead a colony to Sardinia or to Myrcinus in Edonia, which Histiaeus had fortified when he received it of Darius as a gift. This Aristagoras asked them. And the opinion of Hecataeus the son of Hegesander the chronicler was that he should set forth to neither of these two places but cause a fort to be builded on the island of Leros and lie quiet there if he were cast out of Miletus; for afterwards he might set forth from thence and return unto Miletus. Thus Hecataeus counselled him. But Aristagoras* own heart was most inclined to lead a colony to Myrcinus. Therefore he committed Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of repute, and himself took all that would go and sailed to Thrace. And he got the land that he set forth to take; but when he set out from thence and besieged a Thracian city, he was destroyed with his whole army by the Thracians who pretended to come out under a truce.

BOOK VI

THUS perished Aristagoras, who caused Ionia to rebel. But Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus, whom Darius had released, arrived in Sardis from Susa. And when he arrived, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis asked him wherefor he deemed the Ionians could have rebelled. And he said that he knew not, and pretended to marvel at that which was come to pass, as though he knew naught of the affair. But Artaphernes saw that he lied; and knowing the whole truth about the rebellion, he said: Lo, Histiaeus, thus it is with this affair: thou madest the shoe, and Aristagoras put it on. Thus spake Artaphernes as touching the rebellion; and Histiaeus fearing Artaphernes, because he knew the truth, ran away to the coast that very night. So he deceived king Darius; for having undertaken to subdue Sardinia, the greatest of all islands, instead of this he took upon himself to lead the Ionians in their war against Darius. And he crossed over to Chios, and was put in bonds by the men of Chios, who suspected that he was sent by Darius to work them mischief. Howbeit, they loosed him when they learned the whole story. Then Histiaeus, when he was asked by the Ionians wherefor he so earnestly enjoined Aristagoras to rebel against the king, and brought this great harm on the Ionians, would by no means reveal to them the true cause, but told them that king Darius counselled to remove the Phoenicians and put them in Ionia and the Ionians in Phoenicia, and that was why he enjoined rebellion, whereas the king never counselled any such thing at all. Then Histiaeus, using Hermippus of Atarneus as his messenger, sent letters to the Persians in Sardis, because they had already held conversation with him concerning rebellion. But Hermippus gave them not unto those to whom he was sent, but took the " Arta-
phernes. And when Dt, he

commanded Hermippus to take the letters of Histiaeus and deliver them to those unto whom they were addressed, but to deliver to him the replies which were sent to Histiaeus by the Persians. And thereupon, when their guilt was made manifest, Artaphernes put many of the Persians to death. So there was confusion at Sardis. But when Histiaeus was cheated of this hope, the men of Chios would have taken him back to Miletus at his own request. Howbeit, the Milesians, who were glad to be rid of Aristagoras, were in no wise desirous, when they had tasted freedom, to receive another tyrant into their land. And when Histiaeus assayed by night to enter into Miletus with violence, he was wounded in the thigh by a Milesian. So being thrust out of his own land, he arrived in Chios again; and because he could not persuade the men of Chios to give him ships, he crossed over from thence to Mytilene and persuaded the men of Lesbos. And they prepared eight galleys and sailed with Histiaeus to Byzantium. And there they sat down and seized all the ships which came out of the Pontus, unless they would say that they were ready to obey Histiaeus.

Thus did Histiasus and the men of Mytilene. But a great navy and army was about to come against Miletus itself; for the Persian captains banded themselves together and made one host, and then marched against Miletus, holding the other cities of less account. Now the foremost in the navy were the Phoenicians; but there also served therein the Cyprians who had lately been subdued, and the Cilicians and the Egyptians. And while this host was carrying the war against Miletus and the rest of Ionia, **the** Ionians, hearing thereof, chose counsellors and sent them to the Panionium.¹ And when they came to that place and took counsel, **they** resolved to gather no army to oppose the Persians and to **leave** the Milesians to defend their walls alone, but to prepare

¹ 1,143.

their navy, omitting not a single ship, and when they had prepared it, to gather together with all speed at Lade, to fight for Miletus on sea. (Now Lade is a little isle over against the city of Miletus.)

Accordingly the Ionians arrived there with their ships, and with them came also the iEolians who inhabit Lesbos. And they arrayed themselves thus: the eastern wing was held by the Milesians themselves, who furnished fourscore ships; and next to them were the men of Priene with twelve ships, and the men of Myus with three ships; and next to the men of Myus were the men of Teos with seventeen ships, and next to the men of Teos the men of Chios with an hundred ships; and beside the men of Chios were arrayed the men of Erythrae and of Phocaea, the former furnishing eight ships and the latter three; and next to the men of Phocaea were the Lesbians with threescore ships and ten; but last were arrayed the Samians, who held the western wing with threescore ships. And the whole number of all these galleys was three hundred and fifty-three. These were the Ionian ships; but the ships of the barbarians were six hundred in number. And when they also came to Miletus and all their foot-soldiers had arrived, then the Persian captains, learning the number of the Ionian ships, were afraid that they might not be able to overcome them, and so, not having dominion over the sea, might fail to take Miletus and be in danger of receiving some punishment from Darius. Thus considering they summoned the Ionian tyrants, who fled to the Medes after their rule was put down by Aristagoras of Miletus and at that time chanced to be making war against Miletus with them; and they spake thus unto them: Ionians, now let each one of you shew himself a benefactor of the king's house; for each of you must assay to separate from the other confederates the men of his own city. Send messages unto them and promise this, that they shall suffer no harsh thing because of

their rebellion, neither shall their temples or their houses be burned, nor shall they have any harder lot than they had before; but if they will not obey but must in any case do battle, then threaten them and tell them all that shall befall them, saying that when they are put to the worse in the battle they shall be brought into bondage, and we shall make their sons eunuchs and carry their maidens away to Bactria and give their land unto others. Thus they spake; and the Ionian tyrants each sent messages across by night to their own people. But the Ionians to whom these messages came hardened their hearts and would not hear of this treachery, each deeming that they alone had received this message from the Persians. These things came to pass directly after the Persians arrived at Miletus. And afterwards assemblies were held by the Ionians who were gathered together at Lade; and among many others who held speech before them was Dionysius the Phocæan captain, who spake thus: Ionians, our fortunes are set upon a razor's edge, whether we are to be freemen or bondmen, and that, as bondmen that have run away. Now therefore, if ye will submit yourselves to hardness, ye shall have toil for the present but shall be able to overcome your enemies and be free; but if ye continue soft and unruly, I have no hope of your not paying the king the penalty for your rebellion. Nay, do ye obey me and commit yourselves unto me, and I undertake that if the gods grant equal fortune, either our adversaries shall not join battle or, if they join it, they shall be greatly worsted. When the Ionians heard this, they committed themselves to Dionysius. Then every day he brought the ships out into line, and armed the soldiers on the decks and practised the rowers, making the ships sail in and out amongst their own array; and for the rest of the day he kept the ships at anchor, so that the Ionians had toil all **the** day long. And for seven days they obeyed him and did his commands; but on the eighth day the Ionians, being without

experience of such toil and worn out with the labour and the heat, said one unto another: What god have we offended, that we do this penance? Surely we were beside ourselves and had taken leave of our minds when we committed ourselves to a Phocæan boaster, who furnisheth but three ships? And now he hath taken us and tormenteth us with torments incurable; and many of us are fallen sick already, and many more are like to do so soon. It is better for us to suffer anything rather than these pains, and to endure our future bondage, however hard it be, rather than continue in our present servitude. Come, let us obey him no more. So they said; and thereafter straightway none would obey him, but as though there were no war, they pitched tents on the island and sought the shade, neither would they enter into the ships or practise any more. And when the Samian captains perceived that the Ionians did thus, then they received at the hand of ^ÆSaces the son of Syloson the proposals which he sent them before at the bidding of the Persians, beseeching them to forsake the confederacy of the Ionians; for they saw that there was much unruliness among the Ionians, and moreover it clearly appeared to them to be impossible to overcome the king, well understanding that even if they overcame the present navy, another would appear five times as great. Therefore, as soon as they saw the Ionians refuse to be valiant, they counted it gain to save their temples and their houses when they had the opportunity. Now ^ÆEaces the son of Syloson the son of ^ÆEaces, at whose hands they received the proposals, was tyrant of Samos but had been deprived of his rule, even as the other Ionian tyrants, by Aristagoras of Miletus. Howsoever, when the Phœnicians launched against the Ionians, they likewise brought their ships out into line. And they drew nigh and joined battle. But I am not able to write with certainty which of the Ionians were cowards or valiant in that fight; for they accuse one another. And it is said that the Samians

thereupon, according to their covenant with [^]Eaces, raised their sails and left their rank and sailed away to Samos, all except eleven ships, the masters whereof remained and fought and hearkened not unto the captains. And because of this deed the Samian state gave them the honour to be inscribed on a pillar with the names of their fathers, as having been valiant men; and this pillar is in the market-place. But the Lesbians also, when they saw their neighbours flee, did the same thing as the Samians; and so also did the greater part of the Ionians. But the men of Chios were the most hardly entreated of those that remained in the fight; for they performed glorious deeds and would not play the coward. They furnished, as I said before, an hundred ships, and forty chosen soldiers upon each of them; and when they saw the most part of the confederates turn traitors, they thought not fit to be found like their false allies, but although they were alone, with few confederates besides, they sailed in and out among the foes and fought until they had taken many of the enemy ships and lost the greater part of their own. Then the men of Chios fled away home with the residue of their ships. But those of them whose ships were useless by reason of damage took refuge at Mycale, when they were pursued. And they ran the ships aground and left them there, and journeyed overland on foot. But when the men of Chios entered the land of Ephesus, then because they arrived there on the night in which the women of the place were holding the feast of Demeter Thesmophorus, the Ephesians, not having yet heard what had befallen the men of Chios, but seeing an host enter into their land, supposed that they were robbers who came to ravish the women; and the whole people went forth to the rescue and slew the men of Chios. Such were the misfortunes that the men of Chios fell upon. But when Dionysius of Phocasa, who had taken three ships of the enemy, perceived that the Ionian cause was come to naught, he sailed not

back to Phocaea, well knowing that it would be brought into bondage with the rest of Ionia, but sailed straight to Phoenicia as he was. And there he sank ships of merchandise and took much treasure, and then sailed to Sicily, where he established himself as a spoiler of Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not of Greeks.

But after the Persians had conquered the Ionians in the sea-battle, they besieged Miletus by land and sea, digging under the walls and bringing up all manner of engines. And they took it by storm in the sixth year after the rebellion of Aristagoras, and brought the people thereof into bondage. [^xSo the end thereof accorded with the prophecy which was given to Miletus; for when the Argives enquired at Delphi how their city should be preserved, a twofold prophecy was given, whereof the one part related to the Argives themselves, but there was an addition as touching the Milesians. Now the part which concerned the Argives I will mention when I come to that place in my history;² but the prophecy which the Pythia gave to the absent Milesians was this:

Then shalt thou also, Miletus, imaginer of evil works,
 Be made a feast and pleasant gifts for many.
 Thy spouses shall wash the feet of many of the long-haired,
 And others shall care for our shrine at Didyma.

And now these things befell the Milesians; for the greater part of the men were slain by the long-haired Persians, and their women and children accounted of as bondservants, and the temple at Didyma spoiled and burned, both the shrine and the oracle. (Now of the riches in this temple I have often made mention elsewhere in my history.)³] Thereafter the Milesians that were taken alive were led to Susa; and king Darius did them no harm but made them dwell by the Red Sea in the city of Ampe, beside

¹ Later insertion. ² Chapter *JJ*. ³ Branchidae 1, 925 5, 36.

which the stream of the river Tigris entereth the sea. And as for the land of the Milesians, the Persians themselves took the city and the plain; but the hill-country they gave into the possession of the Carians of Pedasum. But the men of Sybaris, who dwelt in Laiis and Scidrus after the loss of their city,¹ did not repay the same honour to the Milesians, when this came upon them at the hand of the Persians, as the Milesians had done when Sybaris was taken by the men of Croton; for then all the Milesians that were grown up shaved their heads and went into deep mourning, because these two cities were the closest friends of all the cities that we know of. [²But the Athenians did otherwise; for they made manifest in many ways that they were exceedingly distressed at the taking of Miletus, and when Phrynichus wrote a play called the Taking of Miletus, and brought it on, the theatre fell into tears, and they mulcted him a thousand drachmae, because he had put them in mind of their own troubles; and they commanded that none should use that spectacle again.]

Thus Miletus was emptied of Milesians. But the Samians of substance were nowise pleased by that which their captains had covenanted with the Medes. And they took counsel straightway after the battle; and they resolved to sail forth to a colony before ever the tyrant iEaces came to their land, and not to remain and serve the Medes and ^Eaces; for at that same time the men of Zancle dwelling in Sicily sent messengers to Ionia and called upon the Ionians to come to Fair Shore, desiring to build an Ionian city there. (Now this place which is called Fair Shore belongeth to the Siceli and is on the side of Sicily towards Tyrrhenia.) Then the Samians and such Milesians as had escaped set forth at their call, but none of the other Ionians. And this is what came to pass. When the Samians came to Locri Epizephyrii on their journey to Sicily, the men of Zancle with their king, whose name was

¹ 5, 44.

² Later addition.

Scythes, were besieging a city of the Siceli, which they desired to take. And when Anaxilaüs the tyrant of Rhegium, who was then at difference with the men of Zancle, perceived it, he met with the Samians and persuaded them that they ought to think no more of Fair Shore, to which they were sailing, but take Zancle while it was void of men. And when the Samians hearkened and took Zancle, then the inhabitants thereof, hearing that their city was taken, returned to recover it, and summoned Hippocrates the tyrant of Gela, who was their confederate. But when Hippocrates came to their assistance with his army, he put Scythes, the ruler of Zancle, and his brother Pythogenes in fetters, because they had lost the city, and sent them to the city of Inyx. Then having communed with the Samians and given and received pledges, he betrayed the men of Zancle. And the price agreed by the Samians was that Hippocrates should receive half the chattels and bondservants in the city and that everything in the fields should fall to his lot. Then he kept the most part of the men of Zancle himself, accounting them slaves; but to the Samians he gave the three hundred chief persons among them, to be put to death. Howbeit, the Samians did not so. And Scythes the ruler of Zancle ran away from Inyx to Himera, and from thence arrived in Asia and went up to king Darius, And Darius held him to be the most righteous of all the men that ever came up to him from Greece, because he received the king's permission to go to Sicily, yet returned from Sicily to the king again, and so died of old age in Persia, blessed with great possessions. Thus the Samians escaped from the Medes and compassed the fair city of Zancle without labour. But after the sea-battle before Miletus, the Phoenicians at the command of the Persians brought ^EEaces the son of Syloson back to Samos, because he had been worth much to them and had achieved for them great things. And the Samians were the only people who rebelled against Darius whose

city and temples were not burned, because their ships deserted in the battle. But straightway after Miletus was taken, the Persians took Caria also; and some of the cities bent the knee of their own accord, but others they brought under by force.

While these things came to pass, tidings of that which had befallen Miletus were brought to Histiaeus the Milesian, as he tarried at Byzantium seizing the Ionian ships of burden which sailed out of the Pontus. Then he committed his affairs at the Hellespont to Bisaltes the son of Apollophanes of Abydus and sailed to Chios with certain Lesbians; and at a place in Chios called the Hollows he joined battle with a garrison of the men of Chios which would not admit him. And he slew exceeding many of them; and establishing himself with the Lesbians at Polichne in Chios, he overcame the residue of the men of Chios, because they were brought low by the sea-battle. Now there are wont, as it seemeth, to be signs and warnings whensoever great evils are about to befall a city or a people; for great signs had come to the men of Chios before this. Firstly, of a quire of an hundred young men which they sent to Delphi only two returned home and a pestilence carried off the other eight and ninety; and secondly, about the same time, which was a little before the sea-battle, the roof fell upon children at school in the city, so that of six score children only one child escaped. Such were the signs that God sent them. And after these signs the sea-battle came upon the city and brought it to its knees; and after the sea-battle came Histiaeus with the Lesbians and easily subjected them because they were brought low. Then Histiaeus took many Ionians and Æolians, and made war against Thasos. But as he was besieging Thasos, the report came to him that the Phoenicians were sailing forth from Miletus against the rest of Ionia. And when he heard it, he left Thasos untaken and hastened to Lesbos with all his host. And when the army hungered, he crossed over

from Lesbos to Atarneus, to reap the corn there and also that of the Mysians in the plain of the Caicus. But Harpagus, a Persian, who was captain of no small army, chanced to be in those parts; and when Histiaeus landed, he met with him and took him alive and destroyed the greater part of his host. Now Histiaeus was taken alive after this fashion. As the Greeks fought with the Persians at Malene in the land of Atarneus, the battle had lasted a great while, when the horsemen, who set out later, fell upon the Greeks. Then the battle was to the horsemen; but after the Greeks were put to flight, Histiaeus, not expecting that he should be put to death by the king for his present transgression, chose to save his life on this wise. When he was overtaken in flight by a Persian and about to be thrust through, then speaking Persian he revealed himself as Histiaeus of Miletus. Now if, when he was taken captive, he had been brought before king Darius, then he would have suffered no harm, as it seemeth me, but Darius would have forgiven him his fault. Howbeit, for that very reason, to the end that he might not escape and wax great in the king's sight again, Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who captured him, crucified his body at Sardis, when he was brought thither, and pickled his head, and took it up to Susa to Darius the king. But when Darius heard, he rebuked them that did it because they had not brought Histiaeus alive into his sight; and he charged them to wash the head of Histiaeus and adorn it well and so bury it, because he had been a great benefactor of himself and the Persians. Such was the end of Histiaeus. But the Persian navy wintered at Miletus; and when it sailed forth the next year, it easily took the islands which are situated near to the continent, to wit, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. And as they captured each island, the barbarians caught the people as in a drag-net, which they do on this wise. One man taketh hold of the hand of the next, so that they stretch from the sea on the

north to the sea on the south; then they go through all the island, hunting out the people. Likewise also they took the Ionian cities on the continent, save that they caught not the people as in a net, because it was not possible. Then the Persian captains belied not the threat wherewith they had threatened the Ionians, when they were encamped against them; for when they had power over the cities, they chose the youths that were fairest to look on and made them eunuchs instead of whole men, and caused the most beautiful of the maidens to be taken up to the king; and moreover they burned the cities together with the temples. Thus were the Ionians made bondmen the third time.

And departing from Ionia, the navy took everything upon the left hand of the Hellespont as one saileth in; for the parts upon the right hand had been conquered from the landward side by the Persians themselves. Now the parts of the Hellespont in Europe are these: the Chersonesus, wherein there are exceeding many cities, and Perinthus, and the strongholds on the coast of Thrace, and Selymbria and Byzantium. And the men of Byzantium and of Calchedon opposite did not so ijiuch as wait for the Phoenicians to sail against them, but arose and left their country and went within the Euxine sea, where they established themselves in the city of Mesembria. And when the Phoenicians had burned the said cities, they turned against Proconnesus and Artace; and when they had given these also to the flames, they sailed to the Chersonesus again, to destroy the residue of the cities, which they had not ruined when they touched there before. Howbeit, they sailed not against Cyzicus at all; for even before the Phoenicians sailed into the Hellespont, the men of Cyzicus came under the knig's hand of their own accord, making an agreement with CEbares the son of Megabazus, the governor at Dascylium. But all the cities of the Chersonesus except Cardia the Phoenicians conquered.

Now until that day Miltiades the son of Cimon the son of Stesagoras had been tyrant over these cities. And this power was formerly obtained by Miltiades the son of Cypsdus on this wise. The Dolonci, who are Thracians, possessed this Chersonesus; and when these Dolonci were sore smitten in war by the Apsinthians, they sent their princes to Delphi to enquire concerning the war. And the Pythia answered that they should take to their country for a new founder the first man who should bid them be his guests on their way from the temple. So the Dolonci went by the Holy Way through Phocis and Bceotia; and when no man took them in, they continued on towards Athens. Now at that season Pisistratus had the whole power at Athens, albeit Miltiades the son of Cypselus was also eminent. He was of a house that kept four-horse chariots, and was descended of old from Æacus of Ægina; but his later ancestors were Athenians, and Philæus the son of Ajax was the first of this house that became an Athenian. This Miltiades, as he sat in his own doorway, saw the Dolonci go by carrying spears and wearing apparel that was not Attic. And he called to them; and when they came nigh, he offered them entertainment and hospitality. And they accepted it and were entertained by him. Then they revealed the whole prophecy to him, and having revealed it besought him to obey the god. And their words persuaded Miltiades as soon as he heard them, because he was vexed by the rule of Pisistratus and wished to be elsewhere. And he straightway set forth to Delphi to ask the oracle if he should do as the Dolonci besought him. And when the Pythia also commanded him to do so, then Miltiades the son of Cypselus, who had won a victory before this at Olympia with a four-horse chariot, took with him every Athenian that would have part in the venture and sailed with the Dolonci and got the country. And they that brought him set him up to be tyrant. And firstly he closed the isthmus of the Chersonesus

with a wall from the city of Cardia unto Pactyë, that the Aspinthians might not be able to fall upon their country and harm them. (Now the isthmus here is six and thirty stades across, and the Chersonesus within this isthmus is altogether four hundred and twenty stades long.) And when Miltiades had closed the neck of the Chersonesus with a wall and in such wise kept out the Aspinthians, he next made war against the men of Lampsacus. And the men of Lampsacus set an ambuscade for him and took him alive. But Miltiades had come to the knowledge of Croesus the Lydian. Therefore when Croesus heard thereof, he sent and proclaimed to the men of Lampsacus that they should let him go; else he threatened that he would destroy them as a pine-tree. Then the men of Lampsacus were at a loss and could not understand what was the meaning of Croesus' words, when he threatened them that he would destroy them as a pine-tree; but at last one of the elder men perceived and declared the meaning, to wit, that the pine is the only tree that sendeth up no shoot when it is cut down but perisheth utterly. Therefore the men of Lampsacus fearing Croesus released Miltiades and let him go. So by the grace of Croesus he escaped. And afterwards he died childless, leaving his power and his possessions to Stesagoras the son of Cimon; for Cimon was his brother by the same mother. And since his death the men of the Chersonesus have sacrificed to him as is customary to a founder, and they hold in his name a contest of horses and of strength, wherein no man of Lampsacus may contend. And there was war with Lampsacus; and it befell Stesagoras also to perish childless, being smitten on the head with an axe in the council-chamber by a man that pretended to be a deserter but was in truth an enemy and incensed against him. And when Stesagoras also had died on this wise, then Miltiades, who was a son of Cimon and brother of the dead Stesagoras, was sent forth with a galley to possess himself of the affairs in the

Chersonesus by the sons of Pisistratus, who had also entreated him well at Athens, as though they were not guilty of his father's death, which came to pass in a manner that I will relate in another place.¹ But when Miltiades came to the Chersonesus, he kept himself in the house, as though he mourned for his brother Stesagoras. And when the men of the Chersonesus heard thereof, all that had power among them gathered together out of the several cities and came in one band to commiserate with him. But Miltiades put them in bonds and so got the Chersonesus; and he kept five hundred hirelings and married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus, the king of Thrace. This Miltiades the son of Cimon was but newly come to the Chersonesus when worse troubles befell him than those that he left at home; for in the second year after he came he fled before the Scythians. For the Scythian herdsmen, provoked by king Darius, banded themselves together and marched as far as this Chersonesus; and Miltiades awaited not their coming but stayed abroad until the Scythians departed and the Dolonci brought him back. This had been his first trouble; and now, when he heard that the Phoenicians were at Tenedos, he filled five galleys with his possessions and sailed away to Athens. And he set forth from Cardia and sailed down the gulf called Melas; and as he passed the end of the Chersonesus, the Phoenicians fell in with his ships. Then Miltiades himself escaped to Imbros with four of the ships; but the fifth ship the Phoenician pursuers took. And it chanced that the captain of this ship was Metiochus, the eldest of Miltiades* sons, though not by the daughter of Olorus the Thracian king but by another woman. Him the Phoenicians took with the ship; and when they heard that he was a son of Miltiades, they brought him before the king, deeming that they should find great favour, because Miltiades had counselled the Ionians to obey the Scythians when

¹ Chapter 103.

the Scythians besought them to break up the bridge and sail away to their own land. But when the Phoenicians brought Metiochus the son of Miltiades before Darius, he did him no evil and much good; for he gave him a house and possessions and a Persian wife, by whom were born unto him children that are counted as Persians. But Miltiades arrived at Athens from Imbros.

And for the rest of that year the Persians did nothing further that was hostile to the Ionians. But a thing of great advantage to the Ionians was done that year; for Artaphernes the governor of Sardis summoned ambassadors from the cities and constrained the Ionians to make covenants among themselves, to oblige them to render justice and not to rob and spoil one another. And he not only constrained them to do this, but also measured their land in parasangs, which is what the Persians call thirty stades; and having so measured it, he imposed on each of them tributes which have continued without alteration as they were imposed by Artaphernes from that time even unto my day. And Artaphernes imposed them nearly as they had been before. So these were deeds of peace; but when the spring came, the king recalled the other captains, and Mardonius the son of Gobryes came down to the coast bringing an exceeding great army and a great navy also. And he was young in years, and had lately married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. And when Mardonius came to Cilicia with this host, he entered into a ship and voyaged with the other ships, while other leaders brought the army to the Hellespont. And now I will tell that which is a great marvel to those Greeks who will not believe that Otanes gave his advice to the seven Persians that Persia ought to be ruled by the common people.¹ When Mardonius came to Ionia on his voyage around the coast, he put down all the Ionian tyrants and made the common people rulers of the cities. And when he had done this,

¹ 3,80.

he hastened to the Hellespont. And great was the multitude of the ships and of the land army which was gathered together there; and they crossed the Hellespont in the ships and marched through Europe, to come against Eretria and Athens. These cities were the professed occasion of the war; howbeit they had in mind to subdue as many of the Greek cities as they could. So with **the** ships they subdued the men of Thasos, who raised not a hand against them; and with the land army they added the Macedonians to the subjects that they had before; (for all the nations up to the Macedonians were already in their power). Then the navy stood across from Thasos to the mainland, and voyaged unto Acanthus. And from Acanthus they were rounding Athos when an irresistible mighty wind from the north fell upon them and served them exceeding ill, so that a great multitude of the ships were wrecked upon Athos. For it is said that there were about three hundred ships that perished and above twenty thousand men; for some were swallowed up by the sea beasts of which this sea around Athos is full, and others were dashed upon the rocks; and some perished because they knew not how to swim and others from the cold. Thus the navy fared. But as for Mardonius and the land army, the Brygi, who are Thracians, set upon them by night as they were camped in Macedonia; and they slaughtered many of them and wounded Mardonius himself. Nevertheless even they escaped not bondage at the hand of the Persians; for Mardonius arose not out of those parts ere he had made them subject. Howbeit, after he had subdued them, he led the host back again, because the Brygi had injured his land army, and the navy had met with great disaster at Athos. So this host returned to Asia in disgrace. But in the next year Darius firstly sent a messenger to the men of Thasos, who were falsely accused by the neighbouring cities of imagining rebellion, and commanded them to pull their walls down and take their ships to Abdera;

for the Thasians, because they had been besieged by Histiaeus the Milesian and had great revenues, were using the money to build ships of war and to defend themselves with a stronger wall. Now their revenue came from their lands on the continent and from the mines: from the gold-mines at Scapte Hyle came generally fourscore talents a year, and from the mines in Thasos itself came less than this but still so much that the men of Thasos, who paid no taxes on their own crops, drew generally two hundred talents a year from their lands on the continent and from the mines; but in the best years they drew three hundred. I myself have seen these mines; and by far the most marvellous of them were those found by the Phoenicians who came with Thasus and peopled this island which now is named after this Thasus the son of Phoenix. These Phoenician mines in Thasos are between two places called -Ænyra and Ccenyra over against Samothrace; and there a great mountain hath been overturned in the search for gold. Such is this mine. But the men of Thasos at the king's command pulled down their walls and took all their ships to Abdera.

And after this Darius made trial of the Greeks, to see whether they were minded to fight with him or to give themselves up. Therefore he sent ambassadors up and down Greece, one this way and one that, commanding them to ask earth and water for the king. These he sent to Greece; but he sent other ambassadors to the cities on the coast which were tributary unto him, commanding them to make ships of war and boats to carry horses. These they prepared; and as for the ambassadors who went to Greece, many nations on the mainland and all the nations of the isles unto whom they came with their request did give them what the Persian king demanded. And among the nations of the isles who gave king Darius earth and water were the men of ^Egina. But as soon as they had done so, the Athenians inveighed

against them, supposing that the men of [^]Egina had given earth and water from enmity to Athens, that they might make war against them with the Persians. And they gladly seized on this occasion, and resorted to Sparta, and charged the men of iEgina with what they had done to betray Greece. And when this charge was laid, Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, crossed over to -Ægina, meaning to seize the guiltiest of the men of Ægina. But when he assayed to seize them, many of the men of -Ægina opposed themselves unto him, and especially Crius¹ the son of Polycritus, who said that he should not take any man of Ægina away unpunished, seeing he did this without the consent of the Spartans, because the Athenians had bribed him; else he would have come with the other king to seize them. Thus said Crius at the instruction of Demaratus. And when Cleomenes was driven from -[^]Egina, he asked Crius what his name was. And he told him. Then said Cleomenes unto him: Cover now thy horns with brass, O ram; for thou shalt encounter great trouble.

But in the meantime Demaratus the son of Ariston, who remained at Sparta, was slandering Cleomenes. Now Demaratus was king of Sparta likewise, but of the lesser house, which, as they are both descended from the same man, is lesser for no other reason than that the house of Eurysthenes is honoured more by the right of the first-born. And the Lacedaemonians agree not with any of the poets, but say that when they came into the land which they now possess, Aristodemus the son of Aristomachus the son of Cleodaeus the son of Hyllus was king himself and not his sons. And no long time afterwards the wife of Aristodemus, whose name was Argia and who they say was the daughter of Autesion the son of Tisamenus the son of Thersander the son of Polynices, brought forth twins. And Aristodemus, when he had

¹ i.e. ram.

seen the babes, fell sick and died. And the Lacedaemonian magistrates of the time resolved to make the first-born son king according to the law. But as they knew not which to take, because the twain were equal and alike, therefore, not being able to distinguish between them, they asked their mother. And she said that she also could not distinguish between them; for though she knew very well, she hoped that both might be made kings. Then the Lacedaemonians knew not what to do; and not knowing what to do, they sent to Delphi to ask how they should deal in this matter. And the Pythia commanded them to make both the children kings, but honour the first-born more. Thus the Pythia answered them. But the Lacedaemonians knew no better than before how to find out which of them was the first-born. Then a Messenian, whose name was Panites, offered the Lacedaemonians this counsel, that they should watch the mother and see which of the children she washed and fed first; and if she were found to do this always in the same order, they would have all that they wanted, but if she also had no rule but took first one and then the other, it would be manifest to them that she knew no more than they, and so they must find another way. Then the Spartans took the advice of the man of Messene and watched the mother of Aristodemus' children. And they found that she always fed and washed one of them before the other, because she knew not wherefore they were watching her. And they took the child that was preferred by the mother, as being the elder, and brought him up at the public charge. And the name Eurysthenes was given to him and Procles to the other. And they say that when these kings came to man's estate, they quarrelled one with another all the days of their life, though they were brethren; and their descendants after them continued likewise. The Lacedaemonians are the only Greeks that give this account. But that which I write now followeth the report of all the Greeks: these Dorian kings, as far

as Perseus the son of ['Danaë, except for the god,] are rightly declared to have been Greeks; [²for at that time they were already accounted Greeks;] ['and I said, as far as Perseus the son of Danaë, and took the line no farther, because Perseus hath no surname of a mortal sire,³ as Heracles hath that of Amphityron, and therefore I rightly said, as far as Perseus;] but if one rehearse their male line upwards from Danaë the daughter of Acrisius, the Dorian kings will be found true-born Egyptians. [⁴This is the genealogy according to the Greeks. But according to the account of the Persians, Perseus was an Assyrian, and he himself and not his forefathers became Greek; and the fathers of Acrisius had no kinship with Perseus at all, but were Egyptians, as the Greeks also say. Now of these matters let thus much be said.] But seeing others have told wherefore they came to Greece, although Egyptians, and for what deeds they received the kingdoms of the Dorians, we will pass over this, and make mention of matters which others have not anticipated.

The rights that the Spartans have given to their kings are these: two priesthoods, of Zeus Lacedaemon and of Zeus Uranius, and the power to make war on whatsoever land they please. And no Spartan may hinder this; else he shall be accursed. And when they make war, the kings do go first and return last, and an hundred chosen men guard them in time of war. And when they fare forth to war, they may use as many cattle as they wish; and they receive the skins and the chins of all beasts that are slaughtered. These are their rights in war; but for the rest they are honoured in time of peace on this wise. Whenever public sacrifice is performed, the kings sit down first at the feast; and they serve them first, and

¹ Later additions, possibly not by Herodotus; compare 2, 51.

² Later addition.

³ Perseus, like Heracles, was reputed a son of Zeus.

⁴ Later addition.

apportion unto each of them twice as much of everything as to the other feasters. And they receive the first of the drink-offerings and the skins of the beasts that have been sacrificed. But if the kings come not to the feast, two chcenixes¹ of barley-meal and one cotyle² of wine are sent to the house of each; and they are also honoured in the same way when they are bidden to dinner by private persons. And on the day of the new moon and the seventh day of the month there is given to each of them from the public store a full-grown beast to offer in the house of Apollo, and a bushel of barley-meal, and a Laconian quart of wine. And solemn seats are reserved for them at all contests. And it is their duty to appoint whichever citizens they wish as protectors of strangers; and each of them chooseth two Pythii. (Now the Pythii are public messengers unto Delphi, who sit at meat with the kings at the charge of the state.) And the kings keep the prophecies which are given, but the Pythii also have knowledge of them. And the kings alone judge the following matters, and no more: concerning an heiress, to determine whose right it is to marry her if her father did not betroth her; and concerning the public highways. And if any man desireth to adopt a child, he doeth it before the kings. And they sit in council with the eight and twenty elders; but if they come not, the elders that are nearest akin to them have the rights of the kings and cast two votes. Such are the honours given to the kings in their lifetime by the Spartan state. But when they die they have these. Horsemen bear tidings around all Laconia of that which is come to pass, and women go about the city tabouring on cauldrons. And when this is done, two free persons out of each house, a man and a woman, must needs defile themselves for the dead; and great penalties are appointed if they do it not. And the Lacedaemonians

¹ One chcenix equals one quart, one-forty-eighth of a bushel.

² Half a pint.

have the same custom at the death of their kings as the barbarians of Asia, (for most of those barbarians have the same custom at the death of their kings): whensoever a Lacedaemonian king dieth, then besides the Spartans a certain number of *periasci*¹ from all Laconia are constrained to go to the burial; and when many thousands of these, and of the helots,² and of the Spartans themselves, are gathered in one place, then the men and the women together do eagerly cut their foreheads and continue in wailing insatiable, saying always that the last-departed king and no other was the best. And whenever a king perisheth in war, they prepare a likeness of him and take it to burial on a fair-strewn couch. And for ten days after the burial they hold no gathering, neither doth the senate meet together, but they continue in mourning during those days. And they resemble the Persians in this also, that when one king is dead and another established in his place, the king whose reign beginneth releaseth any Spartan that hath owed the king or the state any debt, even as in Persia the new king remitteth unto all the cities the tribute that they still owe. *Now the Lacedaemonians also resemble the Egyptians in this, that their criers and pipers and cooks follow their fathers' trades, and a piper is the son of a piper, a cook of a cook, and a crier of a crier; nor do others, however loud their voice, take up the trade and exclude the sons of criers, but they hold it by ancestral right.* Such are these customs.

Howbeit, as I said, when Cleomenes was in Ægina, working for the common good of Greece, Demaratus slandered him, not so much because he cared for the men of Ægina as because he was filled with jealousy and malice. And when Cleomenes returned from Ægina, he plotted to depose Demaratus from being king. And he got a footing against him through the following

¹ The free population of Laconia, other than the Spartans.

² The serfs.

affair. When Ariston was king in Sparta, no children were born unto him, albeit he married two wives. And he would not allow that he was the cause, but married a third wife; and he married her thus. Ariston had a Spartan friend, unto whom he was attached more than to any other of the citizens. This man chanced to have a wife who was by far the fairest of the women at Sparta, and had become the fairest after being the vilest. For as she was ugly of countenance, her nurse, considering that she was the daughter of wealthy persons, and seeing moreover that the parents were distressed because of her ugliness, devised this scheme, when she saw how matters were. She carried her every day to the temple of Helen in the place called Therapne, above the temple of Phoebus; and having brought her thither the nurse would set the child before the image and intreat the goddess to rid her of her ugliness. And behold, one day, as the nurse was leaving the temple, a woman is said to have appeared unto her and asked her what she bare in her arms; and she told her that it was a child she carried. Then she asked her to shew her the child. But the nurse would not, because she had been forbidden by the parents to shew it to any one. But the woman told the nurse by all means to shew her the child; and seeing the woman so eager to see the child, the nurse at last shewed it to her. And she stroked the child's head, and said that she should be the fairest of all the women in Sparta. And lo, from that day her countenance was altered; and when she came to the season of marriage, this friend of Ariston, to wit, Agetus the son of Alcides, married her. But Ariston was tormented with love of this woman, and therefore contrived thus. He promised his friend, whose wife she was, to give him for a present whichever one of his possessions he should choose, and he asked his friend to give him the like in return. And he, not fearing for his wife, because he saw that Ariston also had a wife, consented thereto; and they

took oaths accordingly. Then Ariston gave him that one of his precious possessions, whatsoever it was, which Agetus chose; and when it was his turn to receive the like from Agetus, then he assayed to take away his friend's wife. But Agetus said that he had consented to all else but this one thing. Howbeit he was constrained by his oath and by Ariston's trick to let him take her away. Thus Ariston took his third wife, having sent away the second. And in a brief space, before she had accomplished the ten months,¹ this wife bare him Demaratus. And as he sat upon his throne with the ephors, one of the manservants brought him word that a son was born unto him. Now he knew the time when he married the woman; and he counted up the months on his fingers and said with an oath: He cannot be mine. And the ephors heard it. Howbeit they took no account thereof for the present. And the boy grew up, and Ariston repented of what he had spoken; for he held Demaratus to be assuredly his son. And he gave him the name Demaratus² because the whole Spartan people had formerly offered a prayer on behalf of Ariston, seeing he was esteemed above all the kings that had ever been in Sparta, that a son might be born unto him. For this reason the name Demaratus was given him. And as time went on, Ariston died and Demaratus obtained the kingdom. But, as it seemeth, these things were destined to be bruited abroad and put Demaratus down; and it came to pass on this wise. There arose great enmity between Demaratus and Cleomenes, both formerly when Demaratus led the host back from Eleusis,³ and now when Cleomenes had crossed over to seize the men of Ægina that favoured the Mede. Therefore Cleomenes, purposing to be avenged, made a covenant with Leotychides the son of Menares the son of Agis, who was of the same house as Demaratus, that if he set him up to be king instead of Demaratus he would go with him against

¹ Lunar. ² i.e. 'prayed for by the people'. ³ 5, 75.

the men of iEgina. Now Leotychides had become a great enemy of Demaratus through this matter. Leotychides had betrothed Percalus the daughter of Chilon the son of Demarmenus, but Demaratus deprived Leotychides of the marriage by guile; for before he could marry Percalus, he seized her and took her to wife himself. For this reason enmity was arisen between Leotychides and Demaratus; and now, when Cleomenes desired him, Leotychides took an oath against Demaratus, saying that he reigned not rightfully over the Spartans, because he was not Ariston's son. And after swearing this oath, he prosecuted him, recalling the words that Ariston spake, when the manservant brought word that a son was born to him, and he counted up the months, and sware that it was not his. Taking occasion by this saying, Leotychides sought to shew that Demaratus was not born of Ariston nor the rightful king of Sparta; and he brought forward for witnesses the ephors who chanced to be in council at that time and heard**Ariston* say that thing. And at last, when dispute arose over this, the Spartans resolved to ask the oracle at Delphi whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston. And when the matter was referred unto the Pythia by the design of Cleomenes, then Cleomenes suborned Cobon the son of Aristophantus, who had the chief power at Delphi; and Cobon persuaded Perialla the prophetess to say what Cleomenes wished to be said. So when the messengers enquired of her, the Pythia gave judgement that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. (Howbeit, in later time these things were bruited abroad; and Cobon was banished from Delphi and Perialla the prophetess put down from her office.) Thus it came to pass that Demaratus was put down from being king. And he fled from Sparta to the Medes because of an insult. After he was put down from being king, Demaratus was elected to rule as a magistrate. And at the Feast of the Naked Boys, as Demaratus was watching the spectacle, Leotychides, that was now become

king in his room, sent his servant and asked Demaratus in jest, to insult him, what it was like to be a magistrate after being a king. And he was angered by the question; and he answered and **said** that he had now made trial of both, whereas Leotychides had not, but that his question should be the beginning of infinite good or infinite harm for Lacedaemon. And when he had said this, he covered his face and went from the theatre unto his own house. And straightway he made ready and sacrificed a bull to Zeus; and having sacrificed it, he called his mother. And when his mother came, he set the inwards in her hands and supplicated her, saying thus: Mother, I appeal unto Zeus of the Home and to the other gods, and supplicate thee to reveal to me the truth, and to tell me who is verily my father. For Leotychides in his contention said that thou wast with child by thy former husband when thou earnest unto Ariston; and others tell a more disgraceful tale, and say that thou wentest in unto a manservant, even the keeper of the asses, and that I am his son; and there are many in Sparta which say that Ariston had no seed to beget children at all, for else his former wives also had brought forth. Therefore I intreat thee by the gods to speak that which is true; for even if thou hast done aught of the things that are reported, verily thou art not the only woman that hath done it, but one of many. So said Demaratus; and she answered him thus: My son, seeing thou intreatest me with prayers to speak the truth, the whole truth shall be rehearsed unto thee. On the third night after Ariston brought me to his house, there came to me a form in the likeness of Ariston; and having lain with me, it put upon *my* head the garlands which it had, and so departed. And thereafter came Ariston, and seeing that I wore garlands, he asked who it was that gave me them; and I said that it was he; but he denied it. Then I swear an oath, saying that he did not well to deny it; for a little while before he had come and lain with me and given me

the garlands. And when Ariston saw me swear an oath, he perceived that the thing was of God. And not only were the garlands found to be from the temple of the hero called Astrabacus, that is established by the courtyard gate, but the prophets made answer that it was the hero himself. There, my son, thou hast all that thou wouldst learn; verily thou wast begotten of this hero and thy father is Astrabacus; for in that night I conceived thee. But as for the strongest proof that thy foes bring against thee, when they tell how Ariston himself, when word was brought him that thou wast born, said in the hearing of many that thou wert not his, because the time was not yet accomplished, he uttered that saying in ignorance of such matters; for women also bring forth both after nine months and after seven, and not all accomplish ten; and I bare thee, my son, after seven months. And Ariston himself soon learned that he had uttered that saying in ignorance. But as for other reports concerning thy birth, receive them not; for thou hast heard all that is most true. And may the wives of Leotychides himself and of the rest that say these things bear children by the keepers of asses. Thus she spake; and he, having learned what he wished, took provision for a journey and travelled unto Elis, giving out that he was journeying to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle. But the Lacedaemonians pursued after Demaratus, suspecting that he purposed to flee. And haply Demaratus went over before them from Elis to Zacynthus. And the Lacedaemonians went over after him, and laid hands upon him, and took from him his servants. Howbeit, as the men of Zacynthus would not yield him up, he afterwards passed over from thence into Asia to king Darius, who received him magnificently and gave him land and cities. So Demaratus came to Asia, and such were the chances that befell him. Now he had been greatly distinguished among the Lacedaemonians in deed and in counsel, and had moreover won for them a victory at Olympia

with a chariot of four horses, being the only one of all the kings of Sparta that ever did this thing.

But Leotychides the son of Menares received the kingdom after Demaratus was put down. And a son Zeuxidemus, whom certain of the Spartans called Cyniscus,¹ was born to him. This Zeuxidemus reigned not over Sparta; for he died before Leotychides, leaving a son Archidemus. But when Leotychides was bereft of Zeuxidemus, he married a second wife, Eurydame, who was sister of Menius and daughter of Diactorides. By her no male offspring was born unto him, but a daughter Lampito, whom Archidemus the son of Zeuxidemus married by the gift of Leotychides. Howbeit Leotychides also saw not old age in Sparta but made satisfaction to Demaratus after this wise. He was captain of the Lacedaemonians in a war against Thessaly. And when he might have gotten all things into their power, he received a bribe of much money. And he was taken in the camp with the evidence upon him, sitting on a glove full of money; and he was brought before the judgement seat and banished from Sparta, and his house was broken down. And he took refuge at Tegea and died there. Howbeit these things' came to pass some while later. But Cleomenes, when his intrigue against Demaratus had prospered, straightway took Leotychides with him and went unto *Ægina*, having a dreadful wrath against the people thereof, because they had so abused him. Then the men of *Ægina*, seeing both the kings were come against them, thought not fit to resist any more; and the kings chose out and led away the ten men of *Ægina* that were most eminent for wealth and birth; and among them were Crius the son of Polycritus and Casambus the son of Aristocrates, who were the men of greatest authority. And they took them to Attica, and gave them into the keeping of the Athenians, who were the greatest foes of the men of *Ægina*.

¹ i.e. puppy.

But thereafter it became known that Cleomenes had practised deceit upon Demaratus; and he fell into dread of the Spartans, and betook himself to Thessaly. And from thence he came to Arcadia, and there worked mischief, banding together the Arcadians against Sparta. And he made them swear many oaths, that they would go whithersoever he led them; and moreover he was desirous to gather the chief Arcadians to the city of Nonacris and take an oath of them by the water of Styx. For the water of Styx is said by the Arcadians to be in this city; and there is indeed somewhat of this fashion: a little water issueth out of a rock and droppeth into an hollow, and about the hollow runneth a circular stone wall. And Nonacris, where this spring is situated, is a city of Arcadia hard by Phenets. But when the Lacedaemonians heard that Cleomenes did thus, they were afraid, and brought him back and restored him to the same power that he had before. And as soon as he returned, a madness came upon him; (for he was already somewhat lunatick;) and he would thrust his staff into the face of any Spartan that he met with. And when he did thus and was raving mad, his kinsmen bound him in stocks. But when he was bound, then seeing his keeper left alone, he asked for a knife. And at first he would not give him one. But Cleomenes threatened what he would do to him when he should be loosed, until in fear of his threats the keeper, (who was an helot,) gave him a knife. And Cleomenes took the weapon and mutilated himself, cutting his flesh into strips from his shins upward. For from his shins he proceeded to his thighs, and from his thighs to his loins and sides, until he came to his belly; and as he was cutting his belly in slices, he died. And most of the Greeks say that this was because he seduced the Pythia to speak as she spake concerning Demaratus; but according to the Athenians it was because he laid waste the precinct of the Goddesses when he invaded Eleusis; and according to the Argives it was because, when certain Argives

took refuge after a battle in the temple of Argus, he persuaded them to come out of it, and hewed them in pieces, and held the grove itself in such contempt that he burned it. For when Cleomenes sought an oracle in Delphi, it was prophesied him that he should take Argos. And he brought Spartans, and came to the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the lake of Stymphalus; for this lake issueth into a bottomless cleft and appeareth again in the Argolid, and from thenceforth this water is called Erasinus by the Argives. And when Cleomenes came to this river, he offered sacrifices thereunto. And because the sacrifices were nowise favourable unto his crossing, he said that he admired the Erasinus, because it would not betray its countrymen, but even so the Argives should not go in peace. Then he departed thence, and led the army down to Thyreae; and having offered a bull to the sea, he conveyed them in ships to Nauplia in the land of Tiryns. And when the Argives heard of this, they went down to the coast with their army. And when they came near Tiryns to the place named Sepia, they sat down over against the Lacedaemonians, with no great space between the two hosts. Now the Argives feared not the open battle, but rather lest they be taken by subtilty. [¹ For with this was concerned that prophecy which the Pythia had prophesied to them and to the Milesians in common,² saying thus:

But whensoever the female shall overcome the male
And drive him out and win glory among the Argives,
Then she shall cause many Argive women to scratch their
cheeks,

And so shall many a man say, in the generations that are to
come:

The fearful thrice-twined serpent was conquered by the spear
and perished.

¹ Later addition.

² Chapter 19.

All these things coming together gave the Argives cause to fear.] And accordingly they resolved to obey the crier of the enemy. And they did as they resolved; for whensoever the Spartan crier gave a signal to the Lacedaemonians, the Argives obeyed it also. But when Cleomenes perceived that the Argives did whatsoever his own crier proclaimed, he gave the Spartans the command that when the crier should make them the signal to take supper, they should take up their arms and go against the Argives. This command the Lacedaemonians executed; for while the Argives were taking supper in obedience to the signal, they flew upon them and slaughtered many of them. But many more escaped to the grove of Argus. And the Spartans sat round about it and kept watch. Then Cleomenes did thus. He had with him certain deserters; and having enquired of these the names of the Argives who were shut up in the holy place, he sent a crier and summoned them to come forth, saying that he had their ransom. (Now the price appointed amongst the Peloponnesians to be paid as ransom for a captive is two minae.) So Cleomenes called forth about fifty of the Argives one by one, and slew them. And haply the residue that were in the precinct perceived not that these things came to pass; for inasmuch as the grove was thick, they that were within saw not what those without were doing, until one of them climbed a tree and saw everything that came to pass. And thereafter they would come out no more when they were called. Then Cleomenes commanded every helot to heap faggots round about the grove; and when they obeyed, he burned it. And when it was already burning, he asked one of the deserters, to what god the grove was sacred; and he said, To Argus. And when Cleomenes heard it, he groaned aloud and said: Verily thou hast greatly beguiled me, prophetic Apollo, when thou didst say that I should take Argos; for now I account the prophecy accomplished. Thereafter Cleomenes dismissed the greater part

of the army, to return unto Sparta, but took the thousand best men himself and went to sacrifice in the temple of Hera. And when he would have sacrificed on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying that it was not lawful for a stranger to sacrifice there. But Cleomenes commanded the helots to take the priest from the altar and scourge him; and he offered the sacrifice himself. And having done this, he returned unto Sparta. But when he came home, his foes brought him before the ephors, saying that he had received a bribe for not taking Argos, when he might easily have taken it. And whether he then lied to them or spake the truth, I am not able to say with certainty. Howsoever, he spake and said that he deemed the oracle of the god fulfilled after he took the temple of Argos, and accordingly thought not fit to make trial of the city before he had consulted the god through sacrifices and learned whether the god vouchsafed him this or stood in his way. But when he sacrificed for a fair omen in the temple of Hera, a flame of fire shone forth from the breasts of the image, and so he perceived the truth that he was not to take Argos; for if it had shone forth from the head of the image, he could have taken the city; but as it shone forth from the breasts, he saw that he had done all that the god desired should come to pass. When Cleomenes spake thus, he seemed to the Spartans to speak that which was credible and reasonable, and he easily discomfited his prosecutors.

But Argos was so bereft of men that their bondservants took in hand the whole government, holding office and managing affairs until the children of those that perished grew up. Then they possessed themselves of Argos again, and cast forth the bondmen, who when they were thrust out, took Tiryns by battle. And there was peace between them for a space; but thereafter a certain seer, Cleander, who by race was of Phigalia in Arcadia, came unto the bondmen, and persuaded them to fall upon their masters. And

by reason thereof there was war between them for an exceeding great space, until at last the Argives got the mastery.

For this reason the Argives say that Cleomenes became mad and perished ill. But the Spartans themselves say that Cleomenes was not driven mad by any act of God, but became a bibber of unmixed wine through having communication with the Scythians, and for that reason became mad. For after Darius invaded the land of the Scythian herdsmen, they longed to take vengeance on him, and sent to Sparta and sought to make a league, covenanting that the Scythians should assay to invade Media by way of the river Phasis, but the Spartans should go up from Ephesus, and so they should meet in the same place. And they say that when the Scythians came on this errand, Cleomenes had overmuch communication with them, and that having more communication with them than was meet, he learned from them the bibbing of unmixed wine, by reason whereof the Spartans hold that he became mad. And they say it is from that time that, whensoever they will drink their wine stronger, they say: Pour in like a Scythian. Thus say the Spartans concerning Cleomenes; but to me it seemeth that this was the satisfaction which Cleomenes paid Demaratus.

But after Cleomenes was dead, when the men of Ægina heard thereof, they sent ambassadors to Sparta to decry Leotychides in the matter of the men that were held at Athens as hostages. And the Lacedaemonians summoned a court of justice; and they determined that the men of Ægina had been shamefully entreated by Leotychides, and condemned him to be delivered up and taken to Ægina instead of the men that were held at Athens. But when the men of Ægina were in the act of taking Leotychides away, Theasides the son of Leoprepes, a man of reputation in Sparta, said unto them: What is this, men of Ægina, that ye purpose to do? Would ye take away the king of the Spartans, when

he is delivered up to you by his countrymen? Nay, though the Spartans now in their wrath have so determined, take heed lest haply afterwards, if ye do this, they bring upon your land the abomination of desolation. When they heard this, the men of Ægina desisted from taking Leotychides away, and made this agreement, that Leotychides should go with them to Athens and restore the hostages to the people of Ægina. But when Leotychides came to Athens and asked for the men that he left there in trust, the Athenians made excuses and delayed, not wishing to restore them; and they said that as two kings had put the men in their keeping, they thought not fit to restore them to one without the other. And when the Athenians said they would not restore them, Leotychides spake unto them thus: Ye may do which thing ye please, Athenians; either restore these men and do righteously, or restore them not and do contrariwise. Nevertheless I desire to tell you what thing came to pass in Sparta concerning a trust. We Spartans have a story that in Lacedaemon about two generations before mine there was a certain Glaucus the son of Epicycles. This man we say was in all things excellent, and more especially had the highest reputation for honesty of all who dwelt in Lacedaemon at that season. And our story goes that in the fullness of time he fared thus. A Milesian arrived in Sparta desiring to commune with him, and put forth these words: I am a Milesian, and have come hither, Glaucus, because I desired to profit by thy honesty; for throughout all Greece and in Ionia especially thy honesty is much spoken of. I have considered with myself that Ionia is evermore in danger, but the Peloponnese securely established, and also that the same persons are never seen to possess riches for long. As I thought on these things and took counsel, I resolved to turn half my whole substance into money and to put it in trust with thee, well knowing that if it be in thy care my money shall be safe. Therefore now, I pray thee, receive

this money and take also these tokens and keep them; and whosoever shall require it of thee by these tokens, unto him do thou deliver it. Thus said the man from Miletus, and Glaucus received the money in trust on the aforesaid conditions. But when much time was overpast, the sons of this man who laid up the money came to Sparta and communed with Glaucus, and shewed him the tokens and required the money. But he put them off and answered them thus: I remember not this matter, nor doth aught that ye say put me in mind thereof. Howbeit, when I recall it, I will do full justice: if I received the money, I will rightfully restore it, and if I received it not at all, I will deal with you according to the laws of Greece. Therefore I defer my decision on this thing until the third month from now. Then the Milesians departed sore displeased, considering themselves deprived of their money; but Glaucus journeyed to Delphi, to enquire at the oracle. And when he asked the oracle if he should swear a false oath and rob them of the money, the Pythia rebuked him in these verses:

Glaucus, thou son of Epicydes, for the present it is more profitable thus,
To prevail with an oath and rob them of the money;
Swear, then, for death awaiteth also him that sweareth truly.
Howbeit, an oath hath a child, a child without name,
Neither hath it hands or feet; yet it pursueth swiftly,
Until it gathereth up and destroyeth the whole house and race.
But if a man keepeth his oath, it is better for his race in time
to come.

When Glaucus heard this, he besought the god to have mercy on him for what he had said. But the Pythia answered that to tempt the god was as bad as to do the deed. Then Glaucus sent for the Milesians and restored the money to them. And now,

Athenians, I will tell you the thing for the sake of which I related this story unto you. There is at this day no descendant of Glaucus at all nor any household that is held to be his, but he is utterly blotted out from Sparta. So good is it, not so much as to think of doing aught with a trust but to restore it when it is required. When he had said this, Leotychides departed; for the Athenians would not hearken unto him even then. But the men of Ægina, before they had paid the penalty for their former spiteful usage of the Athenians at the request of the Thebans,¹ did thus. Being angry with the Athenians and deeming themselves wronged, they made ready to take vengeance on the Athenians. Now the Athenians had a feast on Sunium every fourth year. Therefore the men of Ægina set an ambuscade and captured the sacred vessel, which was full of the chief Athenians; and they took the men and put them in bonds. But when the Athenians were thus served by the men of Ægina, they delayed no more but contrived every manner of harm against them. Now there was a certain Nicodromus, called the son of Cncethus, a man of reputation in Ægina, who bare a grudge against the men of Ægina because they had formerly banished him from the island. And now when he heard that the Athenians were prepared to do them evil, he made a covenant with the Athenians to betray Ægina, telling them the day on which he would attack and they must come with help. Then Nicodromus, according to his covenant with the Athenians, took what is called the Old City. But the Athenians came not in time; for they chanced not to have enough ships to fight with those of Ægina. Therefore while they were asking the Corinthians to lend them ships, the cause was lost. But the Corinthians, who were at this season their firm friends, gave the Athenians twenty ships at their request. They gave them at a price of five drachmas apiece; for to give them freely was not permitted

¹ See 5, 89.

by their law. With these ships and their own the Athenians prepared in all threescore and ten ships; and they sailed with these against Ægina. But they came one day later than the appointed day. And when the Athenians came not in time, Nicodromus entered into a boat and fled away out of Ægina; and other men of Ægina also bare him company. And the Athenians gave them Sunium to dwell in, from whence they set forth and robbed and spoiled the people of Ægina on the island. These things came to pass afterwards; [¹but when the men of substance in Ægina had prevailed over the common people who rose against them with Nicodromus, they led them forth to execution. And at that time they incurred a pollution which they were not able, for all their devising, to purge away by sacrifices; but they were cast forth from the island² before the goddess was reconciled to them. They had taken captive seven hundred of the common people; and when they were leading them forth to execution, one of the men escaped from his bonds and fled to the doorway of DemeterThesmophorus, and took hold on the knobs and clave thereto. But when they were not able to drag him away by pulling, they cut his hands off and took him thus; but the hands remained there, sticking fast to the knobs. Thus the men of Ægina served their own people. But when the Athenians came, the men of Ægina fought with them in threescore ships and ten. And they were worsted in the battle, and called upon the same men as before, to wit, the Argives.³ But this time the Argives would not bring them help, being angry because ships of Ægina, taken by Cleomenes by force, had put in to the Argolid, and men in them had landed with the Lacedaemonians. Now in the same invasion men from ships of Sicyon also landed with the Spartans. And a mulct of a thousand talents was laid on them by the Argives,

¹ Chapters 91 and 92 are a later addition.

² By the Athenians in 431 B.C. ³ See 5, 86.

five hundred upon each people. And the men of Sicyon acknowledged that they had done wrong and agreed to be quit of the mulct by paying an hundred talents; but the men of iEgina acknowledged it not and stiffened their necks. Therefore at this time, when they asked for help, no Argive was sent by the state, Howbeit about a thousand men came of their own accord; and the captain who led them was Eurybates, a man that had practised the fivefold contest.¹ Most of these returned not home again, but perished in iEgina by the hand of the Athenians. And the captain Eurybates himself practised single combat, and slew three men on this wise, but was slain by the fourth, to wit, Sophanes of Decelea.²] But the Athenians were in disorder; and the men of Ægina joined battle with them in their ships and overcame them, and took four of their ships with the men in them.

So war was arisen between the Athenians and the men of Ægina. But the Persian king went about his work, forasmuch as his servant ever reminded him of the Athenians, and the sons of Pisistratus were instant in decrying them;³ and furthermore Darius wished to use this occasion to subdue all the peoples of Greece that would not give him earth and water. And he deposed Mardonius from being captain, because he had such ill success in his enterprise, and appointed other captains, and sent them against Eretria and Athens. These were Datis, who was a Mede by race, and Artaphernes the son of his own brother Artaphernes; and he sent them away with the charge to take Athens and Eretria captive, and bring the captives into his sight. So these captains, whom Darius had appointed, went out from his presence and journeyed unto Cilicia. And when they came to the Aleſtan plain with a great host of soldiers well furnished, then, as they camped there, all the navy that had been required

¹ Jumping, discus-throwing, javelin-throwing, running, wrestling.

² See 9, 75.

³ 5, 105 and 5, 96.

of the several peoples joined them; and the ships for the carrying of horses, which Darius had commanded his tributaries to prepare¹ *in the year before*, came thither also. And they put the horses thereon and set the foot-soldiers aboard and sailed with six hundred galleys unto Ionia. And thereafter they steered not along the coast towards the Hellespont and Thrace, but set forth from Samos and sailed past Icarus across the ^Egean, chiefly, as I think, because they feared the voyage around Athos, as having met with great disaster when they took their course that way the year before; and moreover it irked them that Naxos had not been taken the former time.² And when they had crossed the Icarian sea and came to Naxos, which was the first city whereon the Persians intended to make war, remembering how they served them before, the Naxians departed and fled to the mountains and would not remain to withstand them. And the Persians made captive such of them as they took, and burned the temples and the city. And when they had done this, they launched against the other islands. But while they were so doing, the Delians forsook Delos and fled to Tenos. And as the navy was coming to land there, Datis sailed on before and made the ships cast anchor not at Delos but at Rhenaea opposite. And when he heard where the Delians were, he sent a messenger and said thus to them: Holy men, why have ye departed and fled? What strange opinion have ye conceived of me? I myself have sufficient understanding, and the king moreover hath charged me, to do no harm to the land where the two gods³ were born, nor to the inhabitants thereof. Therefore now do ye return to your homes and possess your island. Thus he said to the Delians through a messenger; and afterwards he offered three hundred talents of frankincense on the altar, for a sweet smoke. [⁴And when Datis had done these

¹ Chapter 48.

³ Apollo and Artemis.

² 5, 34.

⁴ Later addition.

things, then firstly he sailed with his host against Eretria; and there were also Ionians and iEolians with him. And after he launched from Delos, the island was shaken by an earthquake, which according to the Delians was the first and last unto my day. And perchance this was sent by God as a sign unto men of the troubles to come; for in the days of Darius the son of Hystaspes, and of Xerxes the son of Darius, and of Artoxerxes the son of Xerxes, three successive generations, more evils came upon Greece than in the twenty generations before Darius, partly from the Persians and partly from their own chief cities warring for power. Therefore it was nothing strange that Delos should be shaken, which was unshaken before.] *And it was also written in a prophecy concerning Delos: I will shake Delos also, unshaken though it be. Now the meanings of these names in Greek are: Darius 'worker'⁹, Xerxes 'warrior', and Artoxerxes 'great warrior*'. Thus the Greeks would rightly call these kings in their own tongue.* But when the barbarians loosed from Delos, they touched at the other isles, and obtained soldiers from thence, and took children of the inhabitants for hostages. And as they sailed from isle to isle, they touched also at Carystus; and when the men of Carystus would not give them hostages, and refused to make war upon their neighbours, they besieged them and wasted their land, till at last the men of Carystus also yielded to the will of the Persians. But when the men of Eretria heard that the Persian host was sailing against them, they besought the Athenians to be their support. And the Athenians refused not this help, but gave them for allies the four thousand men who possessed lots on the land of the Chalcidian *hippobotæ*.¹ Yet the men of Eretria had no sound determination; for though they sent for the Athenians, they were of two minds, and some of them counselled to forsake the city and go to the high places of Eubœa, but others, who looked to receive some gain

¹ 5, 77-

for themselves from the Persians, prepared treachery. And when ^Eschines the son of Nothos, the chief man in Eretria, perceived how each thing stood, he told the whole business to the Athenians who had come, and besought them to depart unto their own land, lest they also be destroyed. And when ^Eschines thus counselled them, the Athenians obeyed him. So they went across to Oropus and saved themselves. But the Persians brought their ships to land in Eretria at Tamynas and Chcereae and Ægilia; and putting in there, they straightway unladed the horses and made ready to meet the foe. Howbeit the men of Eretria were resolved not to issue forth and fight; but their care was to defend the walls, seeing the opinion had prevailed that they should not forsake the city. Then there was a fierce assault upon the wall; and for six days many in both armies fell; but on the seventh Euphorbus the son of Alcimachus and Philagrus the son of Cyneas, who were citizens of reputation, betrayed the city to the Persians. Then the Persians entered into the city; and first they spoiled and burned the temples, taking their revenge for the temples which were burned down in Sardis,¹ and secondly they made captive the people, as Darius had charged them. And after they had overcome Eretria and tarried a few days, they sailed to Attica in high spirits, thinking to do the same to the Athenians as they did to the men of Eretria. And because Marathon was the part of Attica most convenient for riding horses in, and the nearest to Eretria, Hippias the son of Pisistratus guided them thither. But when the Athenians heard thereof, they also went forth to Marathon. And they were led by ten captains, of whom the tenth was Miltiades. This man's father, Cimon the son of Stesagoras, was banished from Athens by Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates. And it came to pass after he was banished that he won a victory at Olympia with a four-horse chariot. (Now in winning this

¹ 5,102.

victory he gained the same prize as Miltiades,¹ his brother by the same mother.) But when thereafter he was victorious with the same mares in the next contest at Olympia, he let Pisistratus be proclaimed victor; and for yielding him the victory, he was brought back home and promised safety. And he won yet another victory at Olympia with the same mares; and thereafter it befell that he was slain by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being no longer alive; for they set an ambush for him and slew him by night near the council-house. And Cimon is buried without the city; and over against him, across the road through the place which is called the Hollow, are buried those mares that won three victories at Olympia. And the same thing was also done by the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, but never a third time. Now at that season Stesagoras, the first-born of the sons of Cimon, was being brought up in the Chersonesus with his father's brother, Miltiades; but the younger, who was named Miltiades after Miltiades the founder of the Chersonesus, was with Cimon himself at Athens. This was the same Miltiades who was now a captain of the Athenians, having come from the Chersonesus and escaped death twice; for the Phoenicians² who pursued him as far as Imbros would have given much to take him and bring him before the king; and after he escaped from these and arrived in his own land, when he deemed that he was in safety at last, his foes, who had been waiting for him, brought him before the judgement seat and prosecuted him for being tyrant in the Chersonesus. But he escaped from these also, and was appointed a captain of the Athenians by the choice of the people.

And firstly, before they had yet left the city, the captains sent to Sparta as messenger Philippides an Athenian, who was a runner and had practised this trade. And as Philippides himself reported to the Athenians, Pan met him on mount Parthenium above

¹ Chapter 36.

² Chapter 4.1.

Tege[^]. And Pan called Philippides by name and commanded him to ask the Athenians wherefor they paid him no attention, though he was well disposed to them and had often helped them already and should do so again. And the Athenians believed it to be true; and when their affairs had prospered, they founded a temple to Pan beneath the citadel; and ever since this message they have propitiated him with sacrifices and with a torch-race every year. Howsoever, this Philippides, whom the captains had sent, arrived in Sparta the next day after he left Athens, on the same journey when he said that Pan appeared to him. And he came before the rulers, and said: Lacedaemonians, the Athenians ask you to bring them help and not to suffer the oldest city in Greece to fall into bondage at the hand of the barbarians. For already Eretria is taken captive and Greece become the lesser by one city of note. Thus he delivered unto them the message he was charged with. And they resolved to bring help to the Athenians. Howbeit, it was impossible for them to do so straightway, because they would not break their law; for it was the ninth day of the month, and they said that they would not go forth until the orb were full. But while they waited for the full moon, Hippias the son of Pisistratus guided the barbarians to Marathon. And he saw this dream the night before: he dreamed that he lay with his mother. And he interpreted the dream to mean that he should return to Athens and recover his power and die an old man in his own land. Thus he interpreted the dream; and thereafter, as he guided the Persians to land, he first put the captives from Eretria ashore on the island called *Ægilia* which pertaineth unto the men of Styra, and secondly brought the ships to anchor at Marathon and arrayed the barbarians when they landed. And while he was overseeing these things, it fell out that he sneezed and coughed more violently than was ordinary; and inasmuch as he was advanced in years, most of his teeth were loose; and he lost

one of them through the violence of his coughing. And when the tooth fell in the sand, he did much diligence to find it. But when he could not see the tooth, he groaned aloud and said to them that stood by: This land is not ours, neither shall we be able to make it subject. What part I had therein, my tooth posseseth. So Hippias concluded that his dream had been fulfilled after this fashion. But the Athenians set themselves in array in the precinct of Heracles; and the Plataeans came to their help with every man; for the Plataeans had given themselves to the Athenians, and the Athenians had already undertaken many labours for their sake. And this was how the Plataeans gave themselves to the Athenians. They were afflicted by the Thebans. And first they would have given themselves to Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides and to the Lacedaemonians, when they happened to be there. But the Lacedaemonians received them not, and spake thus unto them: We do dwell afar off, and such an alliance would be cold comfort unto you; for ye might be taken captive many times before any of us heard of it. We counsel you to give yourselves unto the Athenians your neighbours, who are no bad succour. Now the Lacedaemonians counselled them thus not so much from good will to the Plataeans as because they desired the Athenians to have trouble through being at strife with the Thebans. Howbeit, when the Lacedaemonians counselled the Plataeans thus, they disobeyed them not; and while the Athenians were sacrificing to the Twelve Gods, they sat down at the altar like suppliants and gave themselves to them. But when the Thebans heard thereof, they went forth against the Plataeans. And the Athenians came with help. But as they were in act to join battle, the Corinthians who happened to be there, prevented it. And when both parties committed the dispute unto them, they fixed the border and reconciled them upon these conditions: that the Thebans should not molest those Boeotians who desired not to be reckoned as

Boeotians. And when the Corinthians had thus decreed, they departed. But the Thebans fell upon the Athenians as they were going away, and were worsted in the battle. Then the Athenians crossed the borders which the Corinthians had fixed for Plataea, and made the Asopus itself the border between the Thebans and the men of Plataea and Hysiae. In such manner the Plataeans had given themselves to the Athenians; and now they came to help them at Marathon. And the counsels of the Athenian captains were divided, some not advising battle, because they were too few to join it with the Persian army, and others urging it. And when they were divided and the worse counsel was like to prevail, then, seeing there was an eleventh person having a vote, to wit, the Athenian chosen by lot to be polemarch, (for of old time the Athenians gave the polemarch an equal voice with the captains,) therefore Miltiades went to Callimachus of Aphidnas, who was then polemarch, and spake thus: Now it is in thy power, Callimachus, either to bring Athens into bondage, or to make her free and leave unto all future generations a memorial such as Harmodius and Aristogiton left not. For now the Athenians stand in greater danger than ever before in their history; and if they bend the knee to the Medes, it is manifest what they will suffer when they are delivered up to Hippias; but if this city prevaieth, it can be the first of the cities of Greece. And now I am going to shew how these things may come to pass, and how the decision of them appertaineth unto thee. We ten captains are divided in our counsels, some advising battle and others not. Now unless we join battle, I expect that some great dissension will fall among the Athenians and shake their purposes, so that they give themselves up to the Medes; but if we join battle before certain Athenians conceive any treachery, then, if the gods deal fairly, we may prevail in the battle. Therefore now all things look to thee and depend upon thee; for if thou assent unto my counsel,

thou shalt have a free country and a city the first in Greece, whereas if thou prefer the counsel of those that would have no battle, thou shalt get the contrary of the good things that I have rehearsed. So saying Miltiades won Callimachus; and when the polemarch's opinion had been gained, the battle was resolved upon. Then as the chief command for the day fell to each of the captains whose counsel had inclined to join battle, they surrendered it to Miltiades. And he accepted it, but would by no means give battle until his own day of command came. But when it came round, then the Athenians arrayed them for the battle thus. The polemarch led the right wing; for such was the Athenian custom at that time, that the polemarch should have the right wing. Then after him followed the other tribes, one after another in their order; and the Plataeans were arrayed last, holding the left wing. And ever since this battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices at the festival that is held every fourth year, the Athenian herald prayeth for blessings upon the Athenians and the Plataeans together. Howsoever, when the Athenians arrayed themselves at Marathon, this manner of thing came to pass: as their host sought to spread itself as wide as the host of the Medes, the midst thereof came to be but a few ranks deep, and the army was weakest there, whereas either wing was strong in multitude. And when they had put the battle in array and the sacrifices were fair, the Athenians set off and rushed upon the barbarians, the space between the armies being not less than eight stades. And the Persians, seeing them come running, made ready to receive them; and they imputed madness to the Athenians, when they saw that they were few and that even these few came on running, though they had neither horsemen nor archers. Thus the Persians surmised; but the Athenians closed with the barbarians all together and fought notably. Now they are the first Greeks that we know of who ran upon their enemies, and the

first who endured the sight of Median apparel and men clad in it, whereas theretofore among the Greeks even the name of the Medes was a terror to hear. But the battle at Marathon lasted a great space. And in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ were arrayed, the barbarians prevailed, and brake through, and pursued the Greeks inwards from the sea; but on either wing the Athenians and the Platseans prevailed. And having prevailed, they suffered the part of the barbarian host that was broken to flee, but drew together the two wings, and fought against those that had pierced their centre. And the Athenians prevailed; and they followed after the Persians and smote them, till coming to the shore they plunged into the sea and laid hands upon the ships. And in this conflict Callimachus the polemarch perished fighting bravely, and also Stesilaiis the son of Thrasylatts, one of the captains, was slain; and as Cynegirus the son of Euphorion was laying hands on the stern of a ship, his arm was cut off with an axe and he fell, and many other notable Athenians also. And of seven ships the Athenians possessed themselves in this wise; but with the remainder the barbarians launched from thence, and took up the Eretrian captives from the island where they left them, and sailed about Sunium, purposing to come to the city before the Athenians. And the charge was made at Athens that they had conceived this purpose by the contrivance of the Alcmeonidae, and that these had an agreement with the Persians and signalled to them with a shield when they were already in their ships. But while they sailed around Sunium, the Athenians ran to the town with all their might and arrived there before the barbarians appeared. And coming from the temple of Heracles at Marathon, they pitched in another temple of Heracles at Cynosarges. And the barbarians lay with their ships off Phalerum, which was the Athenian haven at that time; and when they had tarried there a while, they sailed back to Asia.

In this battle at Marathon about six thousand and four hundred barbarians were slain, and one hundred and ninety-two Athenians. Thus many fell on both sides; and this miracle came to pass there: Epizelus the son of Cuphagoras, an Athenian, was deprived of the sight of his eyes while he fought bravely in the battle, albeit he was not smitten upon any part of his body; and from that time he continued blind for the rest of his life. And I heard that he told this manner of tale concerning his calamity: he deemed that a tall warrior, whose chin quite overshadowed his shield, stood over against him; and this form passed him by, but slew his comrade. This, as I learned, was the tale that Epizelus told.

But as Datis journeyed to Asia with the host, he saw a dream when he was in Myconus. What the dream was, is not reported; but as soon as day dawned, he made a search through the ships; and finding in a Phoenician ship a gilded image of Apollo, he enquired from whence it had been spoiled; and when he learned what temple it came from, he sailed to Delos with his own ship. By then the Delians had returned to the island; therefore he deposited the image in the temple and charged the Delians to take it back to Delium in the Theban dominions, which is on the coast over against Chalcis. Then Datis, having so charged them, sailed away; howbeit, the Delians never took this statue back, but the Thebans themselves fetched it to Delium twenty years after by reason of an oracle. But when Datis and Artaphernes landed in Asia, they took up to Susa the men of Eretria whom they had made captive. Now before the men of Eretria were made prisoners, Darius the king cherished a terrible ire against them, because they first began the wrong; but when he saw them brought before him and under his hand, he did them no more harm, but planted them in the country of Cissia on a domain of his, the name whereof is Ardericca. This place is two hundred and ten stades distant from Susa, but forty from the well which

produceth three several substances; for they raise bitumen, salt, and oil therefrom on this wise. The liquid is drawn up with a beam, to which, instead of a bucket, half a wineskin is tied. With this they dip down and draw the liquid up, and thereafter pour it into a cistern, from which it floweth off into another and taketh three several forms; for the bitumen and the salt congeal straightway, but the oil * * *. This oil the Persians call *rhadinace* and it is black and sendeth forth a strong smell. In that place Darius planted the men of Eretria, who possessed this country even unto my day and kept their ancient tongue. Thus it was with the men of Eretria. But after the full moon two thousand Lacedaemonians came to Athens; and they did such great diligence to come in time that on the second day from Sparta they reached Attica. And albeit they arrived after the conflict, they longed notwithstanding to behold the Medes. And they went to Marathon and beheld them, and afterwards departed home having commended the Athenians and their deed.

Now it is a marvel to me, and I believe not the story, that the Alcmeonidae could ever have covenanted to signal to the Persians with a shield, or have desired the Athenians subject unto the barbarians and Hippias; [¹for they manifestly hated tyrants even more than Callias the son of Phasnippus and father of Hipponicus, who was the only Athenian who durst buy the possessions of Pisistratus whensoever he was banished from Athens and his goods cried by the public crier; and it was he who imagined all the other most hateful acts against Pisistratus. Yet the Alcmeonidae hated tyrants as much as he or more. Therefore it is a marvel to me, and I believe not the slander, that they could have signalled with a shield;] for they were exiles because of the tyrants the whole time, and it was by their device that the sons of Pisistratus quitted the tyranny at last. And so

¹ Later addition.

in my judgement it was they who set Athens free, much more than Harmodius and Aristogiton, who by slaying Hipparchus provoked the other sons of Pisistratus but made them not to cease from being tyrants, whereas the Alcmeonidae plainly set Athens free, if in very truth it was they who persuaded the Pythia to declare unto the Lacedaemonians that they must set Athens free, as I have recorded before.¹ Peradventure a man might say that they betrayed the land of their fathers because they bare the common people at Athens a grudge. But there were no others at Athens of greater reputation or more honoured than they. So reason argueth not that these men could have signalled with a shield for such a purpose. That a signal was made with a shield it is not possible to deny; for it was done. But who did it, I am not able to say further than this.

Now the Alcmeonidae were glorious at Athens from of old; but since Alcmeon and Megacles after him they became passing glorious. First, Alcmeon the son of Megacles did zealously assist and further the Lydians who came from Croesus at Sardis to the oracle at Delphi. And Croesus heard from the Lydians who repaired unto the oracle that Alcmeon was his benefactor, and he sent for him to Sardis. And when he came, Croesus bestowed upon him as much gold as he could bring out upon his own person at one time. Such being his reward, Alcmeon applied thereunto this device. He donned a great tunic, and let it fall in a deep fold in front, and put on the widest buskins he could find, and went thus into the treasure-house to which they led him. And he fell upon an heap of gold-dust; and first of all he pressed in round his legs as much gold as the buskins held, and then he filled with gold the lap of his tunic, and sprinkled the powder among the hairs of his head, and took more into his mouth, and so came out of the treasure-house, scarcely able to drag the buskins

along and more like anything than a man; for his mouth was swollen out and all parts of him puffed up. And when Croesus saw him, he fell a-laughing and not only gave him all that gold but also bestowed upon him as much again. So this house became exceeding rich, and the same Alcmeon was able to keep a four-horse chariot, with which he won a victory at Olympia. And thereafter in the next generation Clisthenes the tyrant of Sicyon so distinguished the house that it became much more famous in Greece than it was before. For Clisthenes the son of Aristonymus the son of Myron the son of Andreas had a daughter whose name was Agarista. And he resolved to find the best of all the Greeks and marry her to him. Therefore during the contest at Olympia, in which Clisthenes was victorious with a four-horse chariot, he made proclamation that any Greek who deemed himself worthy to be the son-in-law of Clisthenes should come to Sicyon on the sixtieth day or sooner, because Clisthenes would betroth his daughter in a year's time, reckoning from the sixtieth day. Then all the Greeks who were puffed up with themselves or their country resorted thither as wooers. And Clisthenes had made for them a race-course and a wrestling-place for this purpose. From Italy came Smindyrides the son of Hippocrates of Sybaris, who attained unto the greatest luxury of all men, (for Sybaris prospered most at that time,) and Damasus of Siris, the son of Amyris who was called the Wise. These came from Italy; but from the Ionian gulf came Amphimnestus the son of Epistrophus of Epidamnus. This man came from the Ionian gulf; but from Ætolia came Males the brother of Titormus, who surpassed all the Greeks in strength and fled from mankind to the uttermost parts of Ætolia. And from the Peloponnese came Leocedes the son of Phidon, the tyrant of Argos, who made the Peloponnesian measures and did the most outrageous deed of all the Greeks; for he removed the men of Elis that

governed the contest at Olympia and governed it himself. There came also Amiantus the son of Lycurgus, an Arcadian from Trapezus; and art Azenian from the city of Paeus, to wit, Laphanes the son of that Euphorion, who according to the tale told in Arcadia received the Dioscuri in his house and thereafter did hospitably entertain all men; and Onomastus the son of Agseus of Elis. These came from the Peloponnese; but from Athens arrived Megacles the son of Alcmeon who went to Croesus, and also Tisander's son Hippoclidides, who excelled all other Athenians in beauty and wealth. And from Eretria, which at that time was flourishing, came Lysanias. He alone came from Euboea; but from Thessaly came Diactorides of Crannon, one of the Scopadae, and from Molossia Alcon. These were the wooers; and when they came by the appointed day, Clisthenes first demanded of each of them his country and his birth. Then he kept them a year, and proved their virtue and their temper, their upbringing and their ways, entering into converse with each severally and with all together, and leading out those that were still young to places of exercise, and especially proving them at the banquet-table; for all the time that he kept them there, he cared for them in all ways and especially he feasted them magnificently. And haply the men from Athens pleased him most of all the wooers; and of these Hippoclidides the son of Tisander was preferred, both for his virtues and because he was akin from of old to the house of Cypselus in Corinth. But when the day came which had been fixed for the betrothal and the declaration by Clisthenes himself of whom he chose out of them all, Clisthenes slew an hundred oxen and made a feast for the wooers themselves and for all the men of Sicyon. And when the dinner was over, the wooers contended in music and social talk. And as the drinking went on, Hippoclidides, who much outdid the others, bade the piper pipe him a tune; and when the piper did so, he danced. And haply

he was pleased with his own dancing, but Clisthenes, who looked on, was disqueted with the whole matter. Then after a while Hippoclidides asked for a table to be brought in; and when the table was brought, he firstly danced Laconian dances thereon, and then again Attic dances, and thirdly he rested his head on the table and beat the air with his legs. Now Clisthenes, the first time that he danced and the second also, although he abhorred the thought of Hippoclidides being his son-in-law, because of his dancing and his immodesty, nevertheless restrained himself, not wishing to break forth against him. Howbeit, when he saw him beat the air with his legs, he was not able to restrain himself any longer, but said: Son of Tisander, thou hast lost this marriage by thy dancing. And Hippoclidides answered and said: Hippoclidides careth not. And thence this is become a proverb. But Clisthenes called for silence and addressed them all thus: Wooers of my daughter, I commend you all; and if it were possible, I would shew favour to all of you, and not distinguish any one of you before the rest nor reject the others; but seeing I dispose of but one damsel, it is not possible for me to do the pleasure of you all. Therefore unto those of you that must lose this marriage I give a talent of silver apiece, because ye honoured me by wishing to marry into my house and have been so long absent from home. But my child Agarista I betroth unto Megacles the son of Alcmeon, according to the laws of the Athenians. Then Megacles said that he accepted her, and so the betrothal was complete. Thus the trial of the suitors ended, and so the Alcmeonidae came to be heard of throughout Greece. And when Megacles and Agarista were married, there was born unto them Clisthenes, who established the Athenian tribes and the rule of the people, and was named after his mother's father, the tyrant of Sicyon; and there was also born Hippocrates. And of Hippocrates came another Megacles and another Agarista, named after

counselled him to do whatsoever she advised, if he set much store by taking Paros. Then she gave her advice; and he went to the hill before the city, and leaped over the fence of the precinct of Demeter Thesmophorus, not being able to open the gates. And having leaped over, he went towards the temple, meaning to do somewhat within, whether it was some sacrilege that he went to commit or whatsoever it may have been. But when he came near the doors, suddenly trembling came upon him and he rushed back the same way; and as he leaped down from the wall, his thigh was put out or, as some say, he struck his knee against a stone. So Miltiades sailed home in sorry case; and he neither brought money for the Athenians nor had he gained Paros, but he had besieged it six and twenty days and wasted the island. And when the men of Paros heard that Timo the deaconess of the Goddesses had advised Miltiades, then, wishing to punish her for this, they sent messengers to Delphi, when the siege was over, to enquire if they might put the deaconess of the Goddesses to death, because she had told the foe how to take her country and had revealed to Miltiades the mysteries which may not be made known to the male sex. But the Pythia forbade them, saying that Timo was not guilty of this, but had appeared unto Miltiades to lead him into temptation, because he must needs perish ill. Thus the Pythia answered the men of Paros. But when Miltiades returned home from Paros, the Athenians were loud against him, and especially Xanthippus the son of Ariphron, who brought Miltiades before the people and demanded that he should answer with his life for having deceived the Athenians. And Miltiades himself was present but answered not, for he was unable, because his thigh was putrefying; but he lay on a couch, and his friends answered for him, making much mention of the battle of Marathon, and relating how he took Lemnos and chastised the Pelasgians and gave the island to the Athenians. And

the people consented that his life should be spared, but mulcted him fifty talents for his offence. Then Miltiades' thigh mortified and he perished; but his son Cimon paid the fifty talents.

Now Miltiades the son of Cimon got Lemnos thus. The Pelasgians were cast forth from Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or unjustly I am not able to say, but only to repeat what is told. Hecataeus the son of Hegesander said in his histories that it was done unjustly, because when the Athenians saw that the country beneath Hymettus, which they themselves had given to the Pelasgians to dwell in, as a reward for the wall which they had once drawn around the citadel, was well tilled, whereas aforetime it was poor and worth nothing, they were taken with envy and with a desire to possess the land, and so the Athenians drove them out, with no cause shewn. Howbeit according to the Athenians they drove them out justly, because the Pelasgi, when they were established beneath Hymettus, used to set forth from thence and do them harm; for their own daughters resorted to Enneacrunus to fetch water, because at that season neither they nor the other Greeks had servants as yet, and when they came thither, the Pelasgians in despite and contempt would ravish them. Howsoever, they were not satisfied even with this, but in the end they were caught in the act of plotting to attack Athens. Then they shewed themselves insofar better men than the Pelasgians that, when they might have slain them after they had caught them plotting, they would not do so, but only commanded them to depart out of the land; and they departed and got Lemnos and other places. So said Hecataeus, and so say the Athenians. But these Pelasgians, who at that time inhabited Lemnos and wished to take vengeance on the Athenians, obtained fifty-oar vessels, and because they knew the Athenian festivals well, they set an ambush for the Athenian women when they were keeping the festival of Artemis at Brauron; and they seized many of them

there, and departed and sailed away, and took them to Lemnos and had them for concubines. But when these women had borne offspring plentifully, they taught their children the Attic tongue and Athenian ways. Then they would not mingle with the children of the Pelasgian women; and moreover they all brought help and succoured one another when one of them was smitten by a Pelasgian child; and they thought themselves the rightful rulers of the other children, and were greatly superior unto them. But when the Pelasgians perceived it, they conferred one with another; and as they took counsel, they began to be afraid what the children would do when they came to man's estate, if they were already determined to help one another against the children of the wedded wives and assayed to bear rule over them. Then they resolved to slay the children of the Attic women. And they did so, and moreover destroyed their mothers also. And because of this deed and the former one, when the women slew Thoas and the rest of their husbands, it is a custom throughout Greece to call all cruel deeds Lemnian. But when the Pelasgians had slain their own wives and children, the earth would not bear fruit neither would their wives and flocks bring forth as in former time. And being afflicted with famine and childlessness, they sent to Delphi to ask how they might be released from their troubles. And the Pythia commanded them to pay the Athenians whatsoever penalty they might decree. So the Pelasgians went to Athens and promised to pay the penalty for all their offences. And the Athenians adorned a couch in the council-house with the fairest coverings they had, and set a table full of all good things beside it; and they commanded the Pelasgians to give their land up to them in that condition. But the Pelasgians replied and said: Whensoever a ship from your land reacheth ours on the same day with a north wind, then we will give up our land. Now they were sure that this thing could never come to pass, because Attica

lieth much to the southward of Lemnos. So at that time no more was done; but exceeding many years after, when the Chersonesus in the Hellespont had fallen to the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon reached Lemnos on the same day in a ship from Elaeus in the Chersonesus when the seasonal winds were blowing, and commanded the Pelasgians to depart out of the island, putting them in mind of the prophecy which the Pelasgians had never expected to be fulfilled upon them. And the men of Hephsestia obeyed, but the men of Myrina hardened their hearts and were besieged until they also yielded. Thus the Athenians and Miltiades got Lemnos.

BOOK VII

BUT when tidings of the battle at Marathon came to king Darius the son of Hystaspes, then, whereas he was already sore vexed with the Athenians for invading Sardis, he raged much more and was the more resolved to war against Greece. And straightway he sent messengers unto the several cities and commanded them to make ready an army, requiring of each a much greater one than they furnished before, and warships and horses and victuals and boats. When these commands were delivered, Asia was in turmoil for three years, choosing the best men to war against Greece and making preparation. But in the fourth year the Egyptians, who had been brought into bondage by Cambyses, rebelled against the Persians. Then Darius was even more resolved to war against both of them. But as Darius was setting forth against Egypt and against Athens, great strife arose among his children concerning the sovereignty; for they said that he ought to ordain a king according to the law of the Persians before he made war. Now before Darius became king, he had three children by his former wife, the daughter of Gobryes; but after he became king, he had yet four more, by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus. And Artobazanes was the first-born of the former children, and Xerxes of the later. And being sons of different mothers, they quarrelled; for Artobazanes claimed that he was the first-born of the whole offspring and that it was the custom of all mankind that the first-born should inherit the power, but Xerxes claimed that he was the child of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who won the Persians their freedom. And before Darius had declared his mind, Demaratus the son of Ariston, who chanced to have come up to Susa at this very time, after he was deprived of the kingdom in Sparta and had condemned himself to banishment from Lace-

daemon,¹ went unto Xerxes, when he heard of the dissension between the sons of Darius; and as the report hath it, he counselled him to say, besides what he was saying already, that he was born when Darius was already king and holding power over the Persians, but that Artobazanes was born while Darius was yet a private person, wherefor it was neither reasonable nor just that any other but Xerxes should have the office; for that was the custom in Sparta also, that if some of the children were born before their father became king, and another was born later, when he was already king, the succession to the kingdom should pertain unto the latest-born. And Xerxes used the advice of Demaratus; and Darius perceived that he spake fair, and ordained him king. But I deem that Xerxes would have become king even without this advice; for Atossa was all-powerful. And when he had ordained Xerxes king of Persia, Darius turned his mind to the war. Howbeit, in the year after this, which was also the year after the rebellion of Egypt, it came to pass that in the midst of his preparations he died, having ruled six and thirty years in all; neither was it given unto him to chastise either the rebellious Egyptians or the Athenians. And when Darius was dead, the kingdom descended unto his son Xerxes. Now Xerxes in the beginning was nowise zealous to make war against Greece, but caused an army to be assembled against Egypt. Howbeit, Mardonius the son of Gobryes, who was cousin to Xerxes and son of Darius' sister, had more power with him than any other of the Persians; and Mardonius held speech after this manner: Master, it is not fitting that the Athenians, who have done much evil to the Persians, should pay no penalty for their deeds. Nay, for the present do thou finish what thou hast in hand; but having tamed unruly Egypt, do thou lead an host against Athens, that thou mayest have good report among men, and all may afterwards

¹ 6, 70.

beware of warring against thy land. Thus far his argument was of revenge; but he made this addition thereunto, that Europe was an exceeding fair country and brought forth all manner of garden trees, and was excellent in goodness, and that the king was the only mortal man that deserved to possess it. Thus he spake because he was a lover of mischief, and desired to be governor of Greece himself. And after a while he achieved his purpose, and persuaded Xerxes so to do; for other matters also fell out to his advantage and helped him to persuade Xerxes. Firstly there came messengers from the Aleuada*, in Thessaly, who were the kings of Thessaly, who bade the king come against Greece and shewed all manner of zeal; and secondly the sons of Pisistratus, who were gone up to Susa, did not only hold the same speech as the Aleuada* but also offered him somewhat more, with the aid of Onomacritus, an Athenian soothsayer, who had edited the oracles of Musæus.. (Now their enmity with this man they had already put away. For Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, because Lasus of Hermion caught him in the act of inserting among the sayings of Musæus a prophecy that the islands over against Lemnos were to vanish under the sea; wherefore he was banished by Hipparchus, who hitherto had been his close friend.) Howbeit he went to Susa with them; and now whensoever he came into the king's presence, the sons of Pisistratus spake high commendation of him and he rehearsed his prophecies. And whatsoever they contained that portended a fall for the barbarian, he spake not a word of that; but he chose the happiest omens to rehearse, expounding how the Hellespont must needs be spanned by a Persian and describing the march of the host. So Onomacritus beset Xerxes with his prophecies, and the sons of Pisistratus and the Aleuada* beset him with their advice. But after Xerxes was persuaded to make war against Greece, he first made war against the rebellious Egyptians

in the year after the death of Darius. And when he had subdued them, and had made all Egypt much more subject than it was in the days of Darius, he gave charge thereof to Achaemenes, his own brother and Darius' son. And while Achaemenes had charge over Egypt, he was slain a while afterwards by Inaros the son of Psammetichus, the Libyan. But after the taking of Egypt, when Xerxes was about to put in hand the war against Greece, he summoned a gathering of the chief Persians, that he might learn their counsels and declare his own wishes among them all. And when they were gathered together, Xerxes said: Persians, there is a custom which I shall not be the first to introduce among you but which I have inherited and shall follow: I learn from my elders that we have never yet kept peace since we received this our sovereignty from the Medes and Cyrus put down Astyages; but heaven so guideth us, and we ourselves fare better when we have much business. Now the deeds that Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Darius wrought, and the nations that they gained, ye know too well for me to tell you. But since ever I succeeded unto this throne, I have been considering how I might not fall below those that have been in this office before me and might gain for the Persians no less power than they. Thus considering, I have found a way to win both glory and a land as large as the land which we possess now, and that not poorer but more fertile, and moreover to get satisfaction and revenge. Therefore I gathered you together now, that I might communicate unto you what I am minded to do. I am about to span the Hellespont and lead an army through Europe against Greece, that I may chastise the Athenians for all that they did to the Persians and to my father. Ye saw how Darius also was determined upon making war against these men; but he is dead, and it was not permitted unto him to chastise them; and now for his sake and for that of the other Persians I will not cease till I take Athens and burn it with

fire, because the Athenians did the first wrong unto me and my father. First they went to Sardis with Aristagoras of Miletus, our bondservant, and burned the groves and the temples; and secondly ye all know how they served us when we had landed in their country, when Datis and Artaphernes were captains. For these reasons I have prepared to make war against them. And when I consider, I find many advantages therein. If we subdue these men and their neighbours who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the land of Persia contiguous with God's heaven; for there shall be no land seen by the sun that bordereth on our own, but I will pass throughout the whole of Europe and with your help make all lands one. For I learn that there is no city or nation on the earth left that can do battle against us, when these I spake of are removed. And so they that have wronged us and they that have not shall both bear the yoke of bondage. But ye will gain my favour by doing thus. When I command, every one of you must make haste and present himself. And whosoever cometh with his army best provided, unto him will I give the gifts that are held most precious in my house. Thus shall it be done. But now, lest I should seem to be self-willed, I put the matter before you and will suffer any that desire th to reveal his opinion. So saying he was silent. And after him spake Mardonius, saying: Master, thou art the best not only of the Persians that have been but also of those that shall be; for in all thy words thou hast said that which is best and truest, and thou wilt not suffer the Ionians that are established in Europe to make mock of us, who deserve it not. For when we have subdued and hold in bondage the Sacæ, the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Assyrians, and many other great nations, not because they had done the Persians any wrong but because we desired to gain power, it were a dreadful thing that we should not chastise the Greeks, who wronged us first. What should we

fear? What multitude can they assemble? What wealth have they to strengthen them? Their manner of fighting we know, and we know that their power is feeble. We have already subdued their children, who are established in our land and are called Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I myself tried leading an host against this people at the command of thy father, and I led it as far as Macedonia, and was but a little way off from Athens itself; yet no man came against me to do battle. [^x Howsoever, the Greeks are accustomed, as I hear, most rashly to set wars afoot because of their stiffness of neck and their folly. For whensoever they proclaim war one against another, they find out the fairest place and the plainest, and thereinto they go down and fight: so that those who conquer depart with great harm, and of those that are worsted, nay, I will say nothing; for, lo, they are utterly destroyed. Yet ought they, seeing they are of one tongue, to use ambassadors and messengers and everything rather than battles, and so cause their differences to cease. But if they must by all means war one against another, then they ought to find out the way by which they are each hardest to overcome and by that way make trial. And because the Greeks hold to this foolish custom, therefore, when I led an host as far as Macedonia, they did not so much as think to fight.] But against thee, O king, who is like to stand and offer battle, when thou bringest with thee the hosts of Asia and all thy ships? As I deem, the nature of the Greeks hath not so much boldness in it. But if I be deceived in my opinion, and they be lifted up in their folly and come against us to do battle, they will learn that we are the best of all men in war. Howsoever, let naught be unattempted; for nothing is wont to come to men of itself, but all things by attempting of them.

So Mardonius, after thus commending the advice of Xerxes,

¹ Later addition.

held his peace. And when the other Persians were silent and durst not declare advice contrary to that which was before them, Artabanus the son of Hystaspes, who was uncle to Xerxes, relying thereon, spake thus: O king, if opposite counsels be not given, it is not possible to choose the better, but one must needs follow the only counsel that hath been spoken, whereas, if opposite counsels be given, it is possible to choose. Even so we distinguish not fine gold by itself; but when we rub it upon other gold, then we distinguish that which is better. Now I also advised Darius thy father, who was my brother, not to make war against the Scythians, a people that have no inhabited town anywhere in their land. Yet he, supposing that he should subdue the Scythian herdsmen, took not my counsel but made war. And he lost many and good men out of his army ere he came thence. But thou, O king, art in act to war against a people yet much more valiant than the Scythians, a people that are said to be excellent both by sea and by land. Now it is right that I should shew thee why thou shouldest fear them. Thou sayest that thou wilt span the Hellespont and lead an army through Europe into Greece. Lo now, suppose that thou be worsted either by land or by sea, or even by both; (for this people are said to be valiant, and it is possible to infer the same, seeing the Athenians alone destroyed that great army that went with Datis and Artaphernes into the land of Attica). Howbeit, suppose that they prosper not in both elements, but nevertheless do set upon thy ships and conquer them in battle and thereafter sail to the Hellespont and break the bridge, then, O king, thou art in peril. I argue not thus from any special wisdom that I have; for such a calamity almost befell us once, when thy father spanned the Thracian Bosphorus and bridged the river Ister and passed over against the Scythians. Then the Scythians by every device besought the Ionians, to whom was committed the keeping of the bridges of the Ister,

that they would break the causeway. And at that time, if Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, had followed the advice of the other tyrants and had not withstood it, the affairs of the Persians had surely been put an end to. And verily it is a fearful thing even to hear the report of it, that the king's affairs have been in the hand of one man. Therefore do not thou desire to come into any such danger without necessity, but hearken unto me. Dissolve now this gathering; and hereafter, whensoever it pleaseth thee, having first considered of these things by thyself, do thou announce what seemeth unto thee to be best. For I find that to consider well is the greatest gain; for even though aught go against thee, thou art none the less well counselled, albeit thy counsel is discomfited by chance, whereas he that hath taken ill counsel, if chance favour him, hath found a treasure, but is none the less ill counselled. *Thou seest the living creatures that stand above the rest how God smiteth them with lightning, neither suffereth them to be proud, but the small vex him not at all; and thou seest how ever upon the highest habitations and upon the trees which be such he hurleth his bolts.* For God loveth to crop all things that stand above the rest. And so also a great host is destroyed by a small, on such wise: God groweth jealous and casteth terror among them or a thunder-bolt, and they are destroyed unworthily. For God suffereth not any other beside himself to imagine a great thing. To do any matter in haste begetteth errors, of which great damages are wont to come, but in holding back there are many advantages; though for the present they are not perceived, yet a man will find them out in time. Thee therefore, O king, I counsel thus. But as for thee, son of Gobryes, do thou cease to speak vain words concerning the Greeks, who deserve not to be meanly spoken of. For by thy slandering of the Greeks, thou stirrest up the king to go to war himself, for which very end thou seemest to use all thy zeal. Nay, let it not be so. *For slander is a most fearful thing;*

wherein there be two that do wrong and one that is wronged. For he that slandereth doeth wrong, in that he chargeth one not present; and the other doeth wrong, in that he is persuaded before he learn certainly. But he that is absent from their speech hath this wrong among them: he is slandered of the one, and held by the other to be evil. But if it is by all means necessary that war be made against these men, go to, let the king himself stay in the coasts of Persia; but we will both give our children as wagers, and thou shalt choose what men thou wilt and take how great an army soever thou desirest, and go up to the war thyself. And if the affair prospereth the king as thou sayest, let my sons be slain, and me also besides; but if it happeneth as I foretell, let the same be done unto thine, and unto thee also with them, if thou return home. Howbeit, if thou wilt not submit thyself to this trial, but nevertheless ledest an army against Greece, then I say that many an one that remaineth in this land shall hear tell, that Mardonius hath wrought the Persians a great evil and his carcase is rent by dogs and fowls of the air, either in the land of the Athenians, or haply in the land of the Lacedaemonians, if not before then upon the way thither. And so thou shalt learn what manner of men thou persuadest the king to make war against.

These things Artabanus said. But Xerxes was wroth, and answered with these words: Artabanus, thou art my father's brother; this shall preserve thee from receiving any fit reward of thy vain sayings. Howsoever, this dishonour I put upon thee, because thou art vile and faint-hearted, that thou go not with me to the war against Greece, but stay here with the women; and I will even perform without thee all that I have spoken. For let me not be born of Darius the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teiſpes, the son of Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the son of Teiſpes, the son of **Achsemenes, if I chastise not the Athenians, well understanding**

that if we keep peace, yet they will not. Nay, assuredly they will war against our land, if one may judge by what beginnings they have made, marching into Asia and burning Sardis. Therefore to withdraw is possible to neither part, but the choice before us is to do or to suffer, so that either all here shall come under the Greeks or all there under the Persians; for in our enmity there is naught between. Therefore it is right that we, who have already suffered, should now take vengeance. So shall I also learn what is this fearful thing that is to come upon me, if I lead an army against these men, whom even Pelops the Phrygian, who was a bondservant of my fathers, did so subdue that even unto this day the people themselves and their land are called after the name of their subduer.¹

Thus far were these things spoken. But afterwards, when it was night, the advice of Artabanus pricked Xerxes; and as he took counsel of the night, he found that assuredly it was not wisdom for him to make war against Greece. And when he had thus resolved anew, he fell asleep. And lo, in the night, so the Persians say, he saw a dream of this manner. Xerxes deemed that a man, tall and fair to look upon, stood over him and said: Dost thou change counsel, then, O Persian, resolving not to lead an army against Greece, whereas thou hadst made proclamation unto the Persians to assemble an army? Thou doest not well in changing counsel, and there is one here that will not consent with thee. Nay, but even as by day thou didst resolve, in that way walk. When he had said thus, Xerxes deemed that he flew away. Howbeit, when day dawned, he made no account of this dream, but assembled the same Persians as before, and spake unto them thus: Men of Persia, have forgiveness unto me, that my counsel is soon altered. For in powers of mind I have not yet attained unto my prime, and they also that exhorted me to do

¹ i.e. Peloponnesus, and Peloponnesians.

those former things are at no time absent from me. Howbeit, when I heard Artabanus' advice, though for the present my youth seethed up, so that I cast unseemly words at a man that is mine elder, nevertheless now I acknowledge the same to be right and will use his advice. Therefore, seeing my purpose of making war upon Greece is changed, be ye at peace. And when the Persians heard these things, they were joyful and did obeisance. But when it was night, again the same dream stood over Xerxes after he fell asleep, and it said: O son of Darius, art thou found, then, to have told the Persians that thou wilt renounce this enterprise, and to have held my sayings of no account, as though thou heardest them from no man? Know this well, that unless thou straightway lead the host, the consequence thereof shall be this, that as thou hast become great and mighty in a little while, so thou shalt speedily be made low again. And Xerxes was exceeding fearful because of the vision. And he leaped up from his couch and sent a messenger to call Artabanus. And when he came, Xerxes spake unto him thus: Artabanus, at the first I was not wise, and did speak vain words against thee for profitable advice; howbeit, after not a great while I repented and perceived that I ought to do as thou advisedst me. Yet I am not able to do so, though I would; for behold, now that I am changed and have repented, a dream continually appeareth unto me, not in any wise consenting that I should do so; and now it is departed with threatenings. Now if it be God that sendeth it, and his pleasure is that in any case an host be led against Greece, the selfsame dream will come to thee also, giving thee the same charge as it gave me. But I conclude that this will soonest come to pass if thou take all my array and put it on, and then sit on my throne, and afterwards fall asleep upon *my* couch. Thus spake Xerxes unto him. But Artabanus obeyed not at the first command, inasmuch as he thought not fit to sit upon the throne

royal. Howbeit, at last under constraint he did as he was commanded, having spoken thus: O king, to have wisdom oneself and to hearken unto one that speaketh wisely, are things judged equal in my sight; unto both of which thou dost attain. But communications of evil men lead thee astray, even as they say that the sea, which is the most profitable of all things unto men, is not suffered to shew its proper nature by the breath of the winds which blow thereon. As for me, when thou spakest ill of me, I was not grieved by the vexation of it so much as that, when two opinions were before the Persians, *whereof the one tended to increase frowardness and the other to lessen it, (shewing how evil it was to teach the heart to seek always to get more than it hath,)* thou shouldest choose the opinion which was more dangerous to thyself and to the Persians. Howbeit, now that thou hast changed to the better opinion and givest up the invasion of Greece, thou sayest that a dream visiteth thee by the sending of some god, and will not suffer thee to put the invasion aside. But these things, my child, are not of God; for the dreams which come to trouble men are such as I will teach thee, who am many years older than thou art: a man is most wont to see in his sleep visions of those things which he considereth by day. Now, as for us, we had the leading of this host very much in hand in the days past. Yet if this thing be verily not such as I conclude but hath somewhat to do with God, then thy words have comprehended all: for it ought to appear to me also, as to thee, with commands. Yet it should not appear unto me wearing thy apparel any more than wearing my own, nor reposing myself upon thy couch any more than on my own, if it will appear at all. For surely this thing, whatsoever it be, which appeareth to thee in thy sleep, hath not so much simpleness as when it seeth me to think I am thou, judging by the apparel. *But if it hold me of no account, neither think fit to appear, whether I wear mine own apparel or thine, but*

visit thee instead, that shall be a thing to take note of; for behold if it visit thee constantly, I myself would say that it is of God.* Howsoever, if thou art resolved that this be done, and I am not able to avoid it but must sleep upon thy couch, go to, I will perform these things accordingly, and see if it will appear unto me also. But till then I will keep mine own opinion. So saying, Artabanus did as Xerxes commanded, thinking to prove him mistaken. And he put on the apparel of Xerxes and sat upon the throne royal and thereafter laid him down to sleep. And when he was fallen on sleep, there came unto him the same dream which had visited Xerxes. And it stood over him, and spake thus: Art thou the man that urgeth Xerxes not to make war against Greece, as though thou caredst for him? Nay, thou shalt not go unpunished either hereafter or at this present for seeking to avert that which must needs come to pass. But as for Xerxes, he himself hath heard what he shall suffer if he will not hearken. Thus Artabanus thought that the dream threatened him and went to burn out his eyes with red-hot irons. And he sprang up with a great cry, and went and sat beside Xerxes. And when he had rehearsed unto him all his dream, thereafter he said to him: O king, because I have seen ere now many a great power that fell before a lesser, therefore I besought thee not to yield to thy youth in all things, knowing that great desires are an evil, and remembering how the invasion of the Massagetæ by Cyrus fared, and the invasion of the Ethiopians by Cambyses, and having made war myself with Darius against the Scythians. Knowing all this, I held the opinion that all men should call thee blessed if thou shouldst keep the peace. But since God is at work herein, and heaven-sent destruction is to come, as it seemeth, upon the Greeks, I for my part change *my* mind; and now do thou tell the Persians of God's word, and command them to obey thy former edict touching preparation for the war, and see to it that, when God delivereth

the enemy into thine hand, thou thyself be not found wanting. Thus said Artabanus; and as soon as it was day, Xerxes relying on the dream communicated this to the Persians; and Artabanus, who alone dissented before, was now found openly consenting.

But after Xerxes had resolved to make war, he had a third dream, which the magi, when they heard it, considered to portend dominion over all the earth, and that all mankind should serve him. And the dream was this: Xerxes thought that he was crowned with an olive-branch, and the boughs of the olive extended over all the earth, and then the crown vanished from upon his head. When the magi had interpreted the dream thus, straightway every one of the Persians that were assembled rode away to his own province, and shewed great zeal because of Xerxes' promise, each desiring to win the prize himself; and Xerxes in the gathering together of his host left no part of Asia in peace. Four whole years after the taking of Egypt he was preparing an army and all things that were needful for the army; but in the fifth year he set forth to war with a great and mighty host. For of all the armies that we know of, this was by far the greatest, so that in comparison of it men would think nothing of that which Darius led against the Scythians, or of the Scythian army, when the Scythians in pursuing the Cimmerians fell upon Media and subdued and governed wellnigh all upper Asia, (for the which Darius afterwards sought to chastise them,) nor yet of the army which according to report the sons of Atreus led to Troy, nor of the Mysian and Teucric army which before the Trojan war went over into Europe by the Bosphorus and subdued all the Thracians and descended to the Ionian sea and drove southward as far as the river Penius. All these hosts together and more yet were not as great as this one. For what people did not Xerxes bring out of Asia against Greece? What waters, except the great rivers, did not fail when they drank

thereof? Some nations furnished ships, and others were appointed to send foot-soldiers; and some were commanded to furnish horsemen, and others to send ships for carrying horses and to serve in them; and some were commanded to furnish long ships for the bridges, and others to send food and vessels. And because the first army was wrecked when it sailed round Athos, there had been preparations at Athos for about three years before. Galleys were anchored at Elaeus in the Chersonesus; and from thence all the nations in the army went forth, going and coming by turns, and digged a canal under the whip; and the people that dwelt about Athos digged also. Bubares the son of Megabazus and Artachasas the son of Artasus were the Persians in charge of the work. Now Athos is a great and famous mountain, stretching into the sea and inhabited of men. The mountain is a peninsula; and where it endeth in the continent there is an isthmus about twelve stades wide from the coast near Acanthus to the coast over against Torone, consisting of plain country and low hills. And on the isthmus wherein mount Athos endeth is established the Greek city of Sane; but the cities established on Athos itself beyond Sane, cities which the Persian king now purposed to make island cities instead of mainland cities, are these: Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, Cleonas. These are the cities that possess mount Athos. But by the city of Sane the barbarians drew a line and parcelled the land among the several nations; and they digged the canal thus. When the channel got to be deep, those that stood lowest digged, while others took the soil which they digged out and delivered it unto others again who stood upon steps, and they in turn unto others, till it came to those at the top, who carried it away and cast it forth. And everywhere except where the Phoenicians were digging, the banks broke down and caused twofold labour; for they made the channel of the same width above and below, so that this thing was sure to

befall. But the Phoenicians, who shew subtilty in all their works, did so in this; for in digging the portion that fell to them by lot, they made the top of the channel twice as wide as the channel itself was to be; and as the work proceeded they continually brought the sides closer, till, when they got to the bottom, their portion was of the same width as the rest. And there is a meadow in that place, where their market and their meeting-place was; and much corn came to them from Asia ready ground. Now I find, when I consider, that Xerxes commanded the canal to be digged because of pride, desiring to shew forth his power and leave a memorial behind; for whereas they might have drawn the ships across the isthmus with no trouble, he commanded them to dig a channel for the sea so broad that two galleys with their oars out could sail through it together. And the same men who were commanded to dig the canal were also commanded to span the river Strymon with a bridge of boats. And while Xerxes did thus, he also commanded the Phoenicians and Egyptians to prepare ropes of paper reeds and of white flax for the bridges. And he stored victuals for the army, so that the army and the beasts of burden might not hunger as they marched against Greece. For he found out how the land lay, and commanded them to store the victuals in all the most convenient places, some carrying it hither and others thither from all parts of Asia in ships and boats of burden. They took most of all to the place in Thrace which is called White Shore; but others collected it at Tyrodiza which pertaineth unto Perinthus, and others at Doriscus, and others at Eon by the Strymon, and others at various places in Macedonia.

But while these men did their appointed task, all the land army was assembled; and they marched with Xerxes to Sardis, setting forth from Critalla in Cappadocia; for there the whole host that was to march on the continent with Xerxes himself was

commanded to assemble. Howbeit I am not able to say which governor brought the best arrayed host and received the promised prize from the king; neither do I know that any decision was taken in this matter at all. But after they crossed the river Halys and gained the border of Phrygia, they marched through it and arrived at Celaenae, wherein rise the springs of the river Maeander and of another river no smaller than the Maeander, the name whereof chanceth to be Cataract; and it springeth in the very market-place of Celaenae and issueth into the Maeander. There also hangeth the bag made from the skin of Marsyas the Silenus, which according to the report of the Phrygians was flayed off and hung up by Apollo. In this city Pythius the son of Atys, a Lydian, was awaiting the king's army; and he feasted the king himself and all the host with a great feast, and promised to furnish money for the war. And when Pythius promised money, Xerxes demanded of the Persians who were with him who Pythius was and how much money he possessed, that he promised this. And they said: O king, this is he that bestowed upon thy father Darius the golden plane-tree and the golden vine; and even now he is the wealthiest of all men that we know of, except thee. And Xerxes, marvelling at the conclusion of their words, thereupon demanded of Pythius himself how much money he had. And he said: O king, I will not hide this from thee, nor pretend that I know not mine own wealth; for I know it and will tell thee exactly. As soon as I heard that thou wert coming down to the sea of Greece, then, desiring to give thee money for the war, I examined my wealth and found when I counted it that I had two thousand talents of silver and four thousand thousand Daric staters¹ of gold, all but seven thousand. These I would bestow upon thee; but as for myself I have sufficient sustenance from my bondservants and my fields. Thus he spake, and Xerxes was

¹ One stater equals one three-thousandth of a talent.

pleased with his speech, and answered: Lydian, since I departed from Persia, I have met with no man until now except thee who desired to offer my host a feast or who stood in my presence and promised of his own accord to contribute money for my war. But thou hast feasted my host magnificently and promisest much money. Therefore I give thee in return these honours: I make thee my friend, and I will complete thy four thousand thousand staters, giving seven thousand of mine own, that thy four thousand thousands may not be seven thousand short but thou mayest have the perfect sum, completed by me. Possess therefore what thou hast gotten, and remember to be always thus; for neither at present nor in time to come shall it repent thee so to do.

When Xerxes had said this and accomplished it, he marched onwards again. And he passed by a Phrygian city called Anava and by a lake from whence salt cometh, and arrived at Colossae, a great city of Phrygia, where the river Lycus casteth its waters into a cleft in the earth and vanisheth, and then appeareth again after about five stades, and issueth likewise in to the Maeander. And setting forth from Colossae, the host came to the city of Cydrara on the borders of Phrygia and Lydia, where is established a pillar which was reared by Croesus and which declareth the boundaries in writing. But at the entrance into Lydia from Phrygia the road parteth asunder, and one way leadeth to the left towards Caria and the other to the right unto Sardis. He that goeth this way must needs cross the river Maeander and pass the city of Callatebus, where artificers make honey from tamarisk and wheat.¹ By this way went Xerxes; and he found a plane-tree, whereon he bestowed golden adornments because of its beauty, and gave it in charge to one of the Immortals² to keep. And the next day he came to the capital city of Lydia. And when he came to Sardis,

¹ By thickening tamarisk syrup with wheat flour.

² See Chapter 83.

he first sent ambassadors to Greece to ask for earth and water and to instruct them to prepare feasts for the king; and he sent them everywhere else to ask for earth and water, except to Athens and Lacedæmon. And he sent for earth and water a second time for this reason: he deemed that those who gave not before, when Darius sent, would assuredly give now because of fear. It was to prove this that he sent his messengers.

And thereafter he prepared to march to Abydus. But in the meantime they were spanning the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. Now between the cities of Sestus and Madytus in the Chersonesus upon the Hellespont there is a rough headland which cometh down into the sea over against Abydus. *Here, not a great while later, when Xanthippus the son of Aripnon was captain, the Athenians nailed alive to a board Artayctes, the Persian governor of Sestus, who gathered women in the temple of Protesilaiis at Elaus and wrought unlawful deeds there.* To this headland from Abydus they whose duty it was made two bridges, one with ropes of white flax and the other with ropes of paper reeds. (Now from Abydus to the land opposite is seven stades.) But when the strait had been spanned, a great storm arose and broke up and dissolved all their work. And when Xerxes heard thereof, he was wroth and commanded to lay three hundred stripes on the Hellespont with a scourge and cast down a pair of fetters into the deep. And I have heard ere now that he also sent branders with the other officers, to brand the Hellespont. Howsoever, he charged them, as they whipped the Hellespont, to say these barbarous, froward words: Bitter water, this punishment thy master layeth upon thee, because thou hast wronged him albeit he did no wrong to thee. King Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or whether thou wilt not; but it is right that no men sacrifice to thee, because thou art a salt and turbid river. Thus he charged them to punish the sea; and he

cut off the heads of the men that had charge of the spanning of the Hellespont. And those to whom this unseemly office was given performed it. But other builders joined the bridges again; and they joined them thus. They set together galleys and vessels of fifty oars, threescore and three hundred under the bridge towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and fourteen under the other. And having set them together, they cast exceeding long anchors, *to ease the strain upon the ropes*, casting them crosswise to the direction of the passage but lengthwise to the current of the Hellespont: towards the Pontus they cast the anchors because of the winds that blow out of it, and towards the west and the Ægean because of the west and south winds. And they left a gap between the vessels in three places, that he who would might sail with light boats into the Pontus and out of the Pontus again. And when they had done so, they drew the bridges taut, winding the ropes on wooden engines from the land. And this time they did not keep the two sorts of rope separate but assigned unto either bridge two ropes of white linen and four of paper reeds. Now the thickness and goodliness of the two sorts was the same, but those of white linen were heavier in proportion, a cubit weighing one talent. And when the strait was bridged, they sawed up logs of wood as long as the breadth of the bridge and put them in a row upon the taut ropes; and having put these in a row, they laid other ropes over them. And having done this, they strewed faggots on top; and having set the faggots in order, they strewed earth over them; and having stamped the earth flat, they erected a fence along one side and along the other, to the intent that the beasts of burden might not look over into the sea and be frightened. But when the bridges were ready and tidings came from Athos that the canal itself was finished and also the breakwaters at the ends thereof, which were made because of the tide, **lest the** ends of the channel should be **choked, then** the host,

having wintered and made ready, set forth from Sardis in the spring to march unto Abydus. And as they set forth, the sun left his place in the heavens and was invisible, the sky not being cloudy but as clear as could be; and instead of day it was night. And when Xerxes perceived this, he was troubled and asked the magi what this wonder portended. And they said that God foreshewed that the Greeks must leave their cities, saying that the sun was the sign of the Greeks but the moon of the Persians. When Xerxes heard this, he was exceeding glad and led the host on. But as he was leading the army forth, Pythius the Lydian, dreading the sign from heaven and encouraged by the presents, came to Xerxes and spake thus: Master, there is a favour that I would obtain of thee, which is a trifle for thee to perform, but a great thing for me if it be granted. And Xerxes, expecting that he would make any request rather than that which he did make, said that he would grant it and told him to say what he wanted. When Pythius heard this, he took courage and said: O master, I have five sons, and all of them, so it happeneth, are going with thee to the war against Greece. Now therefore, O king, have compassion upon my years, and release from the army my eldest son, to take care of me myself and of my possessions. But let the other four sons go with thee; and mayest thou accomplish thy purpose and return home again. But Xerxes was exceeding wroth, and answered him thus: Wretch, how dardest thou mention thy son, when I am making war against Greece myself, and taking *my* sons, my brethren, my kinsmen, and my friends? Thou art my bondservant, and thou and thy wife and thy whole house ought to have gone with me. Know this now, that the temper of men resideth in their ears; and when it heareth good, it filleth the whole body with pleasure, but hearing the contrary it is enraged. Therefore when thou hadst done good deeds and promised more, thou canst not boast that thou surpassedst the

king in favours. Howbeit, now that thou art turned impudent, thou shalt receive not thy desert, but less. Thy hospitality hath saved thyself and four of thy sons, but thou shalt pay with the life of this one that thou cleavest unto most. Ajjid when Xerxes had answered thus, straightway he commanded those whose office it was to go seek the eldest son of Pythius and cut him through the middle, and having cut him through the middle to put out one of the severed halves on the right side of the road, and the other upon the left side, that the host might pass between. And they did so, and thereafter the host passed between. And in the van came those that carried the stuff and the beasts of burden, and after them the army, all manner of nations mingled together. But after more than half the army a space was left, and none of these came nigh the king. For he was preceded by a thousand horsemen, chosen from all the Persians, and then by a thousand spear-bearers, likewise chosen from them all, with the points of their spears turned downwards to the ground, and then by ten sacred Nesaeian horses, adorned exceeding richly. (Now they are called Nesaeian for this reason: there is a great plain in Media named Nesaeian, and this plain produceth these great horses.) And behind these ten horses came a chariot sacred to Zeus, drawn by eight white horses; and behind the horses the driver followed on foot, holding the reins; for no man mounteth upon that seat. And behind this chariot was Xerxes himself, in a chariot drawn by Nesaeian horses; and the driver, whose name was Patiramphes the son of Otanes, a Persian, stood beside him. So Xerxes rode out of Sardis; but whenever he was so minded, he got down out of the chariot and rode in a carriage. And behind him were a thousand spear-bearers, the best and noblest of the Persians, with their spears pointing the usual way, and then another thousand horsemen chosen from the Persians. And after the horse came ten thousand men chosen from the rest of the Persians, who went

on foot; and a thousand of them, who were before and behind the remainder, had golden pomegranates on their spear-butts instead of spikes; but the other nine thousand, who were in the midst of these, had silver pomegranates. (Now the men with the points of their spears towards the ground had golden pomegranates also, and those who followed next after Xerxes had apples.) And after the ten thousand came ten thousand Persian horsemen. And after the horsemen a space of two stades was left, after which came the rest of the host all mingled together.

And the army took the road from Lydia to the river Caïcus and the land of Mysia, and from the Caïcus through Atarneus to the city of Carene, keeping Mount Cane on the left hand. From thence they journeyed through the plain of Thebe past the city of Atramyttium, and Antandrus which pertaineth unto the Pelasgi; and they entered the Troad with mount Ida upon the left hand. And thunder and lightning fell upon them by night beneath mount Ida and destroyed a very great multitude in that place. And when the host came to the Scamander, which was the first river since they began their journey from Sardis whose waters failed and sufficed not for the men and beasts that drank thereof, Xerxes went up into Priam's Pergamum,¹ longing to view it. And when he had viewed it and had heard the whole story, he sacrificed a thousand kine to Athena of Troy and the magi poured drink-offerings to the heroes. But when they had done so, terror fell upon the camp by night. And at daybreak they journeyed from thence, with the cities of Rhcetium, Ophrynum, and Dardanus, which bordereth on Abydus, upon the left hand, and the Gergithes upon the right hand.

And when they came to Abydus, Xerxes desired to view the whole host. Now a lofty seat of white stone had already been made especially for him upon a hill in that place; it was made by

¹ i.e. Troy.

the men of Abydus, at the previous command of the king. There he sat, and viewed both the land army and the ships upon the beach; and as he viewed them, he desired to see the ships run a race. And the race was held, and the Phoenicians of Sidon won it. And Xerxes was pleased with the race, and with the host. And as he beheld the Hellespont covered with his ships and the shores and plains of Abydus all filled with men, Xerxes called himself blessed; and thereafter he wept. And his uncle Artabanus, who in the beginning had given his opinion openly and counselled Xerxes not to make war against Greece, perceived that Xerxes wept, and said: O king, how different is the thing that thou doest now from that thou didst a moment ago! For thou calledst thyself blessed, and now thou weepest. And he answered: Yea, when I considered, I began to pity the shortness of all human life, seeing that of this whole multitude not one shall be alive in an hundred years. And he answered and said: Other things more pitiful than this are our portion in life; for though life is so short, none of human kind, either of these or of the rest, is so fortunate as not to desire, not once but many times, to be dead rather than alive, because the calamities which come upon us and the sicknesses which afflict us make even this short life seem long. And so, because life is wretched, death is found a most acceptable refuge for man; and God, who giveth us to taste of the sweetness of life, is seen to be jealous thereof. And Xerxes answered and said: Enough now, Artabanus, of human life, which is even such as thou describest it. But let us not remember evil when we have good in hand. But tell me this: if the dream had not appeared to thee so plainly, wouldst thou have held to thine old opinion and counselled me not to make war against Greece, or wouldst thou have altered? Come, tell me truly. And he answered, saying: O king, may the dream which appeared to us be fulfilled as we both wish; but even to this day I am full of

dread and cannot be calm, when I see the two greatest things in the world thy enemies, and think also upon many other matters. Then Xerxes answered with these words: And what, in heaven's name, are these two things that thou sayest are my worst enemies? Findest thou fault with the size of the land army, thinking that the Greek host will be many times as great as ours? Or thinkest thou that our navy will be less than theirs? Or is it both these things together? If thou deemest our power to be thus deficient, then another host shall be gathered together in all haste. And he answered, saying: O king, no man that hath understanding would find fault with the size of the host or with the number of the ships; and if thou gather together more, the two things that I speak of will be even worse enemies yet. These two are earth and sea. As I suppose, there is no haven anywhere great enough to receive this thy navy and to preserve the ships if a storm ariseth, whereas there had need to be not only one such but many, all along the coast by which thou voyagest. See therefore, as there are no havens to receive thee, that circumstances govern men, and not men circumstances. One of thy two enemies I have now mentioned; henceforth I will speak of the other. It is earth, which becometh thine enemy on this wise: if nothing should stand in thy way, then earth shall be a worse and worse enemy unto thee the farther thou goest on, coveting always what lieth beyond, because men are never tired of success. Therefore I say that, if it happen that no man standeth against thee, the distance growing greater with the time will engender famine. Now the best thing for a man is that in counsel he should be timid and consider everything, but in deed he should be bold. Then Xerxes answered him with these words: Artabanus, thou conjecturest all these things reasonably. Yet thou oughtest not always to be fearful nor to consider all chances alike; for if, whenever a scheme is **propounded**, thou wert to consider every single **chance**, thou

wouldst never do anything. It is better to be bold in **all** things and suffer half the terrors than to dread every matter and never do anything. But if thou disputest all that is said but canst shew no proof, thou wilt surely be mistaken as often as he that saith the contrary. So the balance is even; and how should a man shew the proof? I think, not in any wise. Therefore gains come oftenest unto those that will act, and seldom unto those who consider everything and waver. Thou seest to what great power the Persian kingdom is advanced. Now if the kings before me had been of thy mind, or else, though not themselves of thy mind, had had counsellors like thee, thou wouldst never have seen the kingdom thus prosper; for they brought it thus far by hazard, because great power is oftenest won by great danger. Therefore I do imitate them. And I go forth in the best season of the year, and I shall subdue all Europe and return home again without anywhere falling upon famine or suffering any other untoward thing, because we carry much victual ourselves, and shall moreover possess the corn of every people into whose land we enter; for our warfare is against tillers of the soil and not against herdsmen. Then said Artabanus: O king, though thou wouldst not have me fearful of anything, yet do thou receive my advice; (for manifold matters require many words). Cyrus the son of Cambyses subdued all Ionia except Athens, and made it tributary to the Persians. Therefore I counsel thee by no means to lead these Ionians against their fathers; for even without them we are enough to overcome the foes, and if they go with thee, they must either be unrighteous and bring their mother-city into bondage, or be righteous and help to make her free. Now if they be unrighteous, they bring us no great gain; but if they be righteous, they are able to harm thy army greatly. *Therefore bear in mind how well said is the ancient proverb, that the end is not always discerned at the beginning.* Then answered Xerxes: Artabanus,

of all the opinions which thou hast declared, thou art most mistaken in this, that thou fearest lest the Ionians go over. We have a great proof of their faith, whereunto thou and all the others who made war with Darius against the Scythians are witnesses; for when it was in their hand to destroy or to save the whole Persian army, they shewed honesty and good faith, and did no wrong. And besides this, seeing they have left behind their women and children and possessions in our land, we need not so much as apprehend their doing any mischief. Therefore fear not this either, but be of good cheer and keep my house and my dominions; for into thy charge alone I give my sceptre.

Thus saying, he sent Artabanus back to Susa. But thereafter Xerxes summoned all the Persians of most reputation; and when they came, he spake thus: Persians, I have gathered you together to beseech you to be valiant men and not to disgrace the former great and worthy deeds of the Persians. Let us each and all shew zeal; for the good that we strive for is common to all. And the reason why I charge you to wage this war vigorously is this, that, as I learn, the men against whom we go forth are valiant, and if we overcome them, assuredly no other host will ever withstand us. And now let us pray to the gods who have Persia in their care, and cross over.

So that day they prepared for the crossing. But on the morrow, while they waited for the sun to rise, they burned all manner of incense on the bridges and strewed the way with boughs of myrtle. Then, as the sun rose up, Xerxes poured a drink-offering into the sea from a golden cup and prayed to the sun that no chance might befall to stay him from conquering Europe until he came to the limits thereof. And having prayed he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and also a golden bowl and a Persian sword of the kind that they call a fauchion. (Now I cannot determine with certainty whether he threw these into the sea to

dedicate them to the sun, or whether, repenting of having scourged the Hellespont, he bestowed them on the sea for recompense.) But when he had done these things, they passed over; and all the footmen and horsemen went over the bridge towards the Pontus, but the beasts of burden and the servants went over by the other bridge towards the Ægean. And the ten thousand Persians, all with garlands on, led the way; and after them went the mingled host of all nations. These passed over on the first day; but on the morrow came first the thousand horsemen and the men with their spear-points turned downward, all garlanded likewise. Then came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot; and after them Xerxes himself, and the spear-bearers, and the thousand horsemen; and after these came the rest of the host. And at the same time the ships set sail for the opposite shore. But I have also heard ere now that the king went over last of all. And after Xerxes had crossed into Europe, he watched his army crossing under the whip. And the army was seven days and seven nights crossing over without ceasing a moment. Then, when Xerxes had already crossed the Hellespont, it is said that a man of Hellespont cried: Zeus, why hast thou taken the likeness of a Persian, and given thyself the name Xerxes instead of Zeus, to make Greece desolate with an army of all mankind, when thou mightest have done so without them?

But when all had crossed, as they set forth on the way, there appeared a great sign, which Xerxes held of no account, though it was easy to interpret; for a mare brought forth a hare. Now it was easy to interpret thus: that Xerxes was to lead an army against Greece most haughtily and magnificently, but to return to the same place again, running for his life. And another sign also had come to him in Sardis; for a mule brought forth a mule with two genitals, the one male and the other female, the male being above. Of both these he made no account, but marched

forward, and the land army with him. And the navy sailed out of the Hellespont, voyaging along the coast in the contrary direction to the land army. For the navy sailed towards the west, making their way to the headland of Sarpedon, where they had orders to go and wait; but the land army took the road through the Chersonesus towards the east and the sunrise, with the sepulchre of Helle the daughter of Athamas on the right hand and the city of Cardia on the left hand. And they marched through the midst of a city which chanceth to be named Agora. And thereafter they fetched a compass around the gulf which is called Melas, and crossed the river Melas, from which this gulf hath its name and whose waters at that time sufficed not for the army but failed. Then they went towards the west, past the *ÆoMan* city of *-Ænus* and lake Stentoris, till they came to Doriscus. Now Doriscus is a beach and a great plain in Thrace, through which a great river Hebrus floweth; and a royal fort, which is called Doriscus, had been builded there and a garrison of Persians established in it by Darius at the time when he made war against the Scythians. This place seemed to Xerxes convenient for arraying the host and numbering it; and he did so. And when all the ships were come to Doriscus, the rulers of them at Xerxes' command brought them to the beach adjacent unto Doriscus, by which is builded Sale, a Samothracian city, and also Zone, and it endeth in Serrium, a notable headland. (Now these parts pertained of old to the Cicones.) At this beach they put in with the ships, and drew them up and dried them. But Xerxes meanwhile was at Doriscus taking the number of the army. Now how great a number of men each nation provided, I cannot say; for the detail is not reported by any; but the multitude of all the foot-soldiers was found to be an hundred and seventy tens of thousands. And they numbered them on this wise. They brought ten thousand men together in one place, and pressed them as

close as they were able. Then they drew a circle round about them; and having drawn it and let the ten thousand go, they cast up a stone wall along the line of the circle, high enough to reach a man's navel. And having prepared this, they made others enter into the space which was enclosed, and others again, until they had numbered them all in this fashion. And when they had numbered them, they arrayed them nation by nation.

And these were the peoples that came to the war. The *Persians*, who were furnished thus: on their heads they had hats called tiaras, which are of felt not stiffened, and on their bodies they had embroidered tunics with sleeves, and coats of mail like the scales of a fish to look upon, and breeches on their legs; and instead of bucklers they had wicker shields, and their quivers hung below; and they had short spears, and long bows, and arrows of reed, and also daggers suspended from the girdle beside the right thigh. And the captain whom they brought was Otanes the father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes. Now of old the Persians were called Cephenees by the Greeks, but Artad by themselves and by those that dwelt round about them. But when Perseus the son of Danaë and of Zeus came unto Cepheus the son of Belus, and took to wife his daughter Andromeda, there was born unto him a son to whom he gave the name Perses. And he left him behind there; for it chanced that Cepheus was childless as touching male offspring. From this man the Persians took their name. And the *Medes* came to war furnished in like manner; (for in truth this fashion is Median, and not Persian;) and the ruler whom they brought was Tigranes, an Achasmenid. Now of old the Medes were called Arians by all men; but after Medea the Colchian came from Athens to these Arians, they likewise altered their name. Thus say the Medes themselves. And the *Cissians* came to war furnished as the Persians, save that instead of felt caps they wore headbands. The captain of the Cissians

was Anaphes the son of Otanes. And the *Hyrceanians* were harnessed even as the Persians were, and the captain whom they brought was Megapanus, who hereafter had charge over Babylon. And the *Assyrians* came to war wearing on their heads helmets of brass or woven in a strange barbarian fashion not easy to explain; and they had bucklers and spears and daggers like to Egyptian knives; and also clubs of wood studded with iron, and corselets of flax. Now these men were formerly called Syrians by the Greeks and * * * by the barbarians, but * * * they came to be called Assyrians. And the captain of them was Otaspes the son of Artachaeas. And the *Bactrians* came to war wearing on their heads caps very like unto the Median, and carrying peculiar bows of reed and short spears. And the *Sacæ* wore on their heads turbans brought to a sharp point, fixed upright; and they were clad in breeches, and had their own peculiar bows, and daggers and also battle-axes. These men, who are Amyrgian Scythians, they called *Sacæ*; for the Persians call all Scythians *Sacæ*. And the captain of the Bactrians and of the *Sacæ* was Hystaspes the son of Darius and of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus. And the *Indians* were clad in garments made of cotton thread;¹ and they had bows of reed and arrows of reed, but the tip thereof was iron. Thus were the Indians harnessed; and they were joined together for war with the Ethiopians, and Pharnazathres the son of Artabates was captain over both. And the *Arians* were furnished with Median bows; but in all other things they were even as the Bactrians. And Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes was captain of the Arians. And the *Parthi* and *Chorasmians*, the *Sogdians* also and the *Gandarians* and the *Dadictæ* came to war in the same apparel as the Bactrians. And as for their captains, Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was captain of the Parthians and the Chorasmians, and Azanes the son of Artaeus was captain of the Sogdians, and Arty-

¹ See 3, 47.

phius the son of Artabanus was captain of the Gandarians and the Dadicae. And the *Caspians* came to war clad in leathern jerkins, with their own peculiar bows of reed and fauchions. Thus were they furnished; and the captain whom they brought was Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius. And the *Sarangce* made a fair show with dyed raiment, and boots that reached up to the knee, and Median bows and spears. The captain of the Sarangae was Pherendates the son of Megabazus. And the *Pactyans* wore leathern jerkins; and they had their own peculiar bows, and daggers. And for captain the Pactyans brought Artaÿntes the son of Ithamitras. And the *Utians*, the *Myci*, and the *Paricanians* were furnished even as the Pactyans. And the captain of the Utians and the Myci was Arsamenes the son of Darius, and of the Paricanians, Siromitras the son of Œobazus. And the *Arabians* wore mantles girt up about them; and they had twisted bows, and also long swords. And the *Ethiopians that dwell above Egypt* came to war wearing leopards' skins and lions' skins fastened about them, and they had bows made of the branch of a palm-tree, in length not less than four cubits, and short arrows of reed, and on the tip thereof instead of iron a pointed stone, which they also engrave seals withal. Also they had spears, and a sharpened roebuck's horn fixed upon the end thereof for a spearhead. They also had studded clubs; and when they went into battle they daubed half their body with chalk, and half with ochre. The captain of the Arabians and of the Ethiopians that dwell above Egypt was Arsames the son of Darius and Artystone, the daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius cherished most of all his wives and caused a statue of her to be made of beaten gold. So Arsames was captain of the Ethiopians from above Egypt and of the Arabians. But the *Ethiopians from the land of the sunrise*, (for there were two several sorts of Ethiopians in that host,) were joined together with the Indians. And these in no wise differ from the others in form, but

only in speech and in hair; for the Ethiopians from the land of the sunrise are straight-haired, but those from Libya have the curliest hair of all men. Howbeit these Ethiopians from Asia wore harness for the most part like the Indians; and on their heads they had the skins of horses' heads, flayed off with the ears and the mane; and the mane sufficed for a crest, and the ears they wore fixed upright. And for bucklers they held before them the hides of cranes. And the *Libyans* came in leathern gear, using javelins hardened with fire. And the captain whom they brought was Massages the son of Oarizus. And the *Papklagonians* came to war with wicker helmets on their heads, and little bucklers and spears of no great length, and javelins also and daggers; and on their feet they wore their own peculiar boots, that reach to the middle of the shin. And the *Ligyans* and the *Matieni*, the *Mariandynians* also and the *Syrians*, (which Syrians be called Cappadocians by the Persians,) wore the same gear as the Paphlagonians. And the captain of the Paphlagonians and of the Matienians was Dotus the son of Megasidrus; and the captain of the Mariandynians and the Ligyans and the Syrians was Gobryes the son of Darius and of Artystone. And the *Phrygians* wore gear very like unto that of the Paphlagonians, or differing but a little. Now the Macedonians say that so long a time as the Phrygians dwelt in Europe with the Macedonians, they were called Brigians; but when they went over into Asia, then along with their habitation they altered their name also. And the *Armenians*, who are colonists of the Phrygians, were harnessed even as they. The captain of both these together was Artochmes, who had a daughter of Darius to wife. And the *Lydians* bare arms very like unto those of the Greeks. Now of old the Lydians were called Masonians; but they altered their name and were called after Lydus the son of Atys. And the *Mysians* wore on their heads their own peculiar helmets, and they had little bucklers,

and used javelins hardened with fire. These men are colonists of the Lydians, and are called Olympieni after mount Olympus. And the captain of the Lydians and the Mysians was Artaphernes the son of Artaphernes, the same that made the descent upon ¹ Marathon together with Datis. And the *Thracians* came to war with the skins of foxes on their heads, and tunics about their bodies; and over these they wore mantles of many colours. And they had boots of fawns' skin on their feet and legs; and they bare javelins and targets, and little daggers. Now this people after their coming over into Asia took the name of Bithynians, but in former time, as they say themselves, they were called Strymonians, because they lived by the Strymon; and they say that they were driven out of the land where they sojourned by the Teucrians and the Mysians. And the captain of these Thracians of Asia was Bassaces the son of Artabanus. And the *Pisidce* came to war with * * * on their heads, and they had little bucklers of raw ox-hide, and each one had two javelins of Lycian work; and upon their heads were helmets of brass, and on their helmets were fashioned in brass the ears and horns of a bull, and there were also crests upon them; and their legs were wrapped in crimson rags. Among this people there is an oracle of Ares. And the *Cabaes*, who are Maeonians, but are called Lasonians, wore the same gear as the Cilicians, which I will signify when I arrive at the station of the Cilicians in due course. And the *Mi/yæ* had short spears and fastened their garments about them with brooches; and sundry of them had Lycian bows, and wore casques made of hide on their heads. The captain of all these was Badras the son of Hystanes. And the *Moschians* wore casques of wood on their heads, and had bucklers and little spears with great spearheads. And the *Tibareni* and the *Macrones* and the *Mossynasci* came to war furnished as the Moschians. And the captain that arrayed the Moschians and the Tibareni was Ariomardus

the son of Darius and of Parmys, the daughter of Smerdis the son of Cyrus; and he that arrayed the Macrones and the Mossynoeci was Artajfctes the son of Cherasmis, who had charge of Sestus in the Hellespont. And the *Marians* had their own peculiar woven helmets on their heads; and they bare little bucklers of skin, and javelins. And the *Colchians* wore casques of wood on their heads, and little bucklers of raw hide, and short spears; and they had knives also. And the captain of the *Marians* and the *Colchians* was Pharandates the son of Teaspis. And the *Alarodians* and the *Saspire*s came to war in like armour as the *Colchians*. And their captain was Masistius the son of Siromitras. And the *people of the isles in the Red Sea*, wherein the king planteth the nations that are carried into bondage, had apparel and arms very like the *Medes*. And the captain of these men of the isles was Mardontes the son of Bagaeus, the same who was commander at Mycale in the next year after and perished in the battle.

These were the peoples that made war by land, and provided the foot-soldiers. Of this host the captains were as hath been said, and the same did array and number them; and they appointed the captains of thousands and the captains of tens of thousands; but as for the captains of hundreds and of tens, the captains of tens of thousands appointed them. And the several cities and tribes had also their commanders. But these that have been said were the captains; howbeit, above them the rulers of the whole host of foot were Mardonius the son of Gobryes, and Tritantachmes the son of Artabanus (the same who gave his advice not to make war against Greece), and Smerdomenes the son of Otanes, (both these were sons of brothers of Darius, and cousins to Xerxes,) and Masistes the son of Darius and of Atossa, and Gergis the son of Ariazus, and Megabyxus the son of Zopyrus. These were the captains of all the host of foot excepting the Ten Thousand. But the captain of these ten thousand elect Persians

was Hydarnes the son of Hydarnes. These Persians were called Immortals, because if any of them fell out from the number by force of death or sickness, another man was taken, and they were never more than ten thousand nor less. And they shewed the best discipline of all and were the bravest. Now their gear was such as hath been said; but for multitude of gold and abundance of silver they were eminent. And they brought with them carriages, and concubines therein, and a great train of servants well furnished; and camels and oxen carried victuals for them separately from the rest of the army.

And the same peoples sent horsemen also; howbeit, not all furnished horsemen, but thus many only. The *Persians*^ who wore the same gear as their foot-soldiers, excepting that sundry of them had on their heads helmets of beaten brass or iron. And there are certain herdsmen called *Sagartians*, a people Persian in speech but having gear made in a manner half Persian and half Pactyan. The same furnished eight thousand horsemen. They are not accustomed to have arms either of brass or of iron, save daggers, but they use cords of plaited thongs. In these they put their trust when they go to war; and the manner of their fighting is this: whensoever they meet with the enemies, they throw the cords, which have nooses at the end. And whatsoever a man catcheth, whether horse or man, he draweth unto him and slayeth entangled in the coils. This is the manner of fighting of these men, and they were arrayed with the Persians. And the *Medes* came wearing the same gear which their foot-soldiers wore, and the *Cissians* likewise. And the *Indians* were harnessed with the same harness as their foot-soldiers, and they rode both on coursers and in chariots; and to their chariots were yoked both horses and wild asses. And the *Bactrians* came furnished in like manner as their foot-soldiers, and the *Caspians* even so, and **the Libyans** also; and all these did likewise ride in chariots. Likewise **the Sacæ and the**

Paricanians came harnessed like their foot-soldiers. And the *Arabians* had the same gear as their foot-soldiers, and all rode on camels, which in swiftness are not inferior to horses. These peoples only sent horsemen; and the number of the horsemen * was eighty thousand, besides the camels and the chariots. And the *Arabians* were arrayed behind all the several ranks of the other horsemen, inasmuch as the horses could in no wise endure the camels. And the captains of the horsemen were *Harmamithras* and *Tithasus*, sons of *Datis*. But a third, their fellow captain, *Pharnuches*, was left behind in *Sardis* ailing. For when they were setting forth from *Sardis*, he fell upon an evil chance. For as he rode, a dog ran under the feet of his horse, and the horse not seeing it took fright and reared upright and shook *Pharnuches* off; and he fell and spat blood, and his sickness ended in a consumption. But straightway after it came to pass, his servants dealt with the horse as he commanded them; they brought him to the place where he cast off his master, and there they cut off his legs at the knees. Thus did *Pharnuches* lose his command.

And the number of the galleys was a thousand and two hundred and seven.¹ And the nations that furnished them were these. The *Phoenicians*, with the *Syrians* of *Palestine*, brought three hundred. And they were thus arrayed: on their heads they had casques made nearly in the *Grecian* fashion; and they were clad in flaxen corselets, and carried bucklers which had no rims, and also javelins. Now these *Phoenicians*, as they say themselves, dwelt of old by the *Red Sea*; but they passed over from thence into *Syria*, and dwell there beside the sea. Now this part of *Syria* and all as far as *Egypt* is called *Palestine*. And the *Egyptians* furnished two hundred ships. They had knitted helmets on their

¹ Author's note: And the vessels of thirty oars and of fifty oars, and the brigandines, and the ships that carried horses were found, when they were all numbered together, to be three thousand.

heads, and hollow bucklers with great rims, and boarding-spears, and great hatchets. And the greatest part of them wore corselets, and had great knives. Thus were they arrayed. And the *Cyprians* furnished an hundred and fifty ships, and were arrayed thus: their princes wore headbands wound about their heads, and the rest had caps, but in all other things they were as Greeks. Now, as the Cyprians themselves say, their origins are these: some come from Salamis and Athens, and some from Arcadia, and some from Cythnus, and some from Phoenicia, and some from Ethiopia. And the *Cilicians* furnished an hundred ships. And they wore on their heads their own peculiar helmets, and for bucklers they had targets made of raw hide, and they were clad in woollen tunics, and had each two javelins and a sword, fashioned very like an Egyptian knife. Of old they were called Hypachsei, but afterwards they took their name from Cilix the son of Agenor, a Phoenician. And the *Pamphylians* furnished thirty ships, and were arrayed in Grecian armour. These Pamphylians are the children of those that followed Amphilochus and Calchas when the Greeks were scattered after Troy. And the *Lycians* furnished fifty ships. They wore corselets and greaves, and had bows of cornel-wood, and arrows of reed without feathers, and javelins. And they wore goats' skins hanging about their shoulders, and felt caps encircled with feathers upon their heads; and they carried daggers and hooks. Now the Lycians arose in Crete and used to be called Termibe; but afterwards they took their name from Lycus the son of Pandion, an Athenian. And the *Dorians* of Asia furnished thirty ships. They had Grecian arms and their origin is from the Peloponnese. And the *Carians* furnished seventy ships. They were appalled as the Greeks in all things save that they carried hooks and daggers. What they were called formerly hath been declared in the first part of my history.¹ And the

¹ 1,171.

Ionians furnished an hundred ships, and were armed as the Greeks. Now according to the Greeks the *Ionians* were called *Pelasgians* so long as they dwelt in the Peloponnese, in that part which is now called Achæia, and before *Danaïis* and *Xuthus* came to Peloponnesus; but thereafter they were called *Ægiales* after *Ægialus* * * *, and lastly *Ionians* after *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*. And *the men of the isles* furnished seventeen ships, and they were armed as Greeks. They also are a *Pelasgian* people, *but afterwards it fell out that they were called Ionians in the same manner as the Ionians of the twelve cities who came from Athens*} And the *JÆolians* furnished threescore ships, and they were armed as Greeks; and the Greeks say that of old they were called *Pelasgi*. And the *He/lespontians*, save the men of *Abydus*, (for the men of *Abydus* were commanded by the king to abide in their place and keep the bridges,) howbeit all the residue that went to war from the *Hellespont* furnished an hundred ships, and they were armed as Greeks. These men are colonists of the *Ionians* and *Dorians*. And the soldiers on all the ships were *Persians* and *Medes* and *Sacæ*. And the swiftest vessels were furnished by the *Phoenicians*, and especially by the men of *Sidon*. [²All these, and those that were appointed unto the host of the footmen, had their own peculiar commanders, whereof, because no necessity constraineth me to rehearse them, I make no mention. For each of the several nations had their own commanders, and again within each nation there were as many commanders as there were cities. These came not as captains, but were bondsmen even as the rest of the host. But as for the commanders of the entire power, and so many of the captains of the several nations as were *Persians*, them I have named.] And the captains of the navy were *Ariabignes* the son of *Darius*, *Prexaspes* the son of *Aspathines*, *Megabazus* the son of *Megabates*, and *Achasmenes* the son of *Darius*. *Aria-*

¹ Sec 1, 146.

² Later addition.

bignes, the son of Darius by Gobryes' daughter, was captain of the ships of Ionia and Caria; Achaemenes, a brother of Xerxes by both parents, was captain of the Egyptians; and the two others were captains over the rest of the navy. And after the commanders the most notable of the sea-captains were Tetramnestus of Sidon, the son of Anysus; Matten of Tyre, the son of Siromus; Merbalus of Aradus, the son of Agbalus; Syennesis of Cilicia, the son of Oromedon; Cyberniscus of Lycia, the son of Sicas; Gorgus the son of Chersis and Timonax the son of Timagoras, both of Cyprus; and Histiaeus the son of Tymnes, Pigras the son of Hysseldomus, and Damasithymus the son of Candaules, all Carians. Now of the inferior captains I make no mention, because I am not under necessity so to do, excepting only of Artemisia, at whom I do greatly marvel because, although she was a woman, she came to war against Greece; for her husband being dead, she held the chief power, and notwithstanding she had a son that was grown up, she came to the war herself, albeit there was no need, because of her spirit and courage. [*Her name was Artemisia, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, and by race a Halicarnassian on her father's side and a Cretan on her mother's side.] And she was captain of the men of Halicarnassus and of Cos, of Nisyru and of Calydna, furnishing five ships. And the ships that she furnished were the most renowned of all the host after the ships of Sidon, and she declared unto the king the best counsels of all the confederates. And I affirm that the people of the cities which I mentioned are all Dorians, the men of Halicarnassus from Trcezen, and the rest from Epidaurus.

Thus far concerning the navy. But after the host had been numbered and arrayed, Xerxes desired to ride by them all and view them himself. And he did so; and as he rode by each several nation in his chariot, he enquired their name and the

¹ Later addition, possibly not by Herodotus.

scribes recorded it; and so he went from one end to the other of both the horse and the foot. And when he had done so, the ships were drawn down into the sea, and Xerxes changed his chariot for a ship of Sidon; and he sat therein beneath a golden tent, and sailed by the prows of the ships, demanding of each, as he had demanded of the army, and causing the names to be recorded. And the captains of the ships brought them out nigh four hundred feet from the shore, and stayed them there; and all turned the prows to the land in line, and caused the soldiers that went upon the ships to be fully armed as it were for war. And Xerxes sailed between the prows and the shore, and viewed them.

And after he had sailed by all his navy, and had got down out of the ship, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who went with him to the war against Greece; and having called him, he asked this of him: Demaratus, now it is my pleasure to ask of thee certain things that I would. Thou art a Greek, and of no mean or feeble city, as I learn from thee and from the other Greeks that have communed with me. Now therefore, declare unto me whether the Greeks will abide my coming and lift up their hands against me. For, as I deem, though all the Greeks and the residue that dwell to the westward were gathered together, they should not be sufficient to abide my oncoming. How much less, if they be not united. Howbeit, I desire to know thy answer also, what manner of thing thou wilt say concerning them. Thus Xerxes asked; and Demaratus answered and said: O king, shall I observe the truth to thewards, or thy pleasure? And he bade him observe the truth, saying that it should be naught the worse for him. And when Demaratus heard this, he spake thus: O king, forasmuch as thou biddest me in any case to observe the truth, speaking that wherein a man shall never afterwards be found by thee a liar, [^XI say that poverty is Greece's inheritance from of

¹ Later addition, possibly not by Herodotus.

old, but her virtue hath she gotten for herself, acquired by wisdom and the might of law. And by means of this virtue Greece hath ever defended herself from poverty and from bondage.] I do commend all the Greeks that dwell in those Dorian lands; but this that I shall speak I say not of all of them but of the Lacedaemonians alone: first, there is no means whereby they shall ever admit words of thine importing bondage unto Greece; and again, though all the other Greeks were of thy mind, they would come up to do battle against thee. But as touching their number, ask not how many they be, that they are able to do these things; for whether it chance that a thousand go forth to war, or whether fewer, or whether more, they will fight against thee. When Xerxes heard this, he laughed and said: Demaratus, what manner of speech hast thou uttered, to say that a thousand men will fight with so great an army. Come, tell me; thou sayest that thou thyself wast king of these men. Wilt thou, then, for example, fight against ten men? Nay, if the polity of Sparta be in all things as thou hast declared, then according to their laws it befitteth thee, who art their king, to array thee against twice so many. For if each of them be the match of ten men of mine army, I should require thee to be the match of twenty. So might the words which thou hast spoken be confirmed. But if ye that vaunt yourselves so much be men of like manner and of like stature as thou and the other Greeks who resort unto me and commune with me, lo, surely these words which thou hast spoken are a vain boast. For, go to, I will consider in all reasonableness: how should a thousand, or yet ten thousand, or yet fifty thousand, if they are free all alike and not ruled under one man, be able to stand against this great host? For behold, if they be five thousand, we are more than a thousand for each one. Now, if they were ruled by one man after our fashion, they might for dread of him be valiant even beyond their nature, and compelled by the whip, might go

against more when they were fewer; but seeing they are free and not constrained, how should they do either of these things? For my part, I deem that though the Greeks were equal in multitude to the Persians, they would hardly fight with them alone. Howbeit this thing that thou speakest of is found among us, not abundantly but rarely; for some there be among the Persians my spear-bearers, that will fight with three men of Greece together. But thou art without experience in these matters, and speakest great folly. Then Demaratus said: O king, even from the beginning I knew, that if I observed the truth, what I should speak would not be pleasing unto thee. But seeing thou constrainedst me to speak the very words of truth, I told thee how it is with the Spartans. Yet thou knowest full well what little affection I now have towards them, who took from me the honour and the rights of my fathers, and have made me a man of no city and an exile, whereas thy father received me and gave me sustenance and an house; and it is not natural that a man who is wise should thrust away goodwill, when it is shewn unto him, but should cherish it exceedingly. For my part, I undertake not to be able to fight either with ten men or with two, and willingly I would not so much as do single combat. But if there were necessity or some great contest that stirred me up, I would soonest of all fight with one of those men who say that they are each the match of three Greeks. So also the Lacedaemonians, fighting singly, are worse than no men; but fighting together, they are of all men the best. For being free, they are not free in all things, but the law is over them for a master, which they dread in their hearts yet much more than thy people dread thee. Assuredly they do whatsoever it biddeth; and it biddeth the same thing ever, not suffering them in battle to flee before any multitude of men, but commanding them to stand fast in their ranks and prevail or perish. Now if I appear unto thee to speak folly in saying this, for the future

I would be silent; and for the present I spake under constraint. Howbeit, let the event, O king, be according to thy heart's desire.

Thus he answered. And Xerxes turned the matter to laughter, and was in nowise enangered, but sent him away kindly. And When Xerxes had communed with this man, he established Mascames the son of Megadostes to be governor there in Doriscus, and put down the governor that was set up by Darius. Then he led the host on through Thrace towards Greece. And Mascames, whom he left behind, so behaved himself that Xerxes sent presents unto him alone of all the governors that he himself or Darius had established, as being the best of them; and he sent them year by year; and after him Artoxerxes the son of Xerxes sent likewise unto the descendants of Mascames. For whereas even before this expedition there were governors established in Thrace and throughout the Hellespont, all were driven out by the Greeks thereafter, both the governors in Thrace and those in the Hellespont, saving the governor of Doriscus, whom no man hath yet been able to take, albeit many have assayed it. Therefore the gifts are sent by whosoever is king in Persia. But of the governors that were driven out by the Greeks king Xerxes held none to be valiant but Boges the governor of Eon. This man he ceased not to praise; and he did highly honour his surviving sons in Persia. And Boges was indeed deserving of great praise; for after he was besieged by the Athenians and by Cimon the son of Miltiades, then, when he might have made a truce, and come out, and returned home into Asia, he would not, lest the king should think that through faintheartedness he had chosen to live; but he endured unto the end. And when there were no victuals remaining in the fort, he heaped up a great funeral pile, and slew his children and his wife and his concubines and his servants, and cast them into the fire. Then he took all the gold and silver that was in the city, and strewed it from the wall into the river

Strymon. And when he had done these things, he cast himself into the fire. So this man is justly praised by the Persians even unto this day. And Xerxes from Doriscus marched against Greece. And he constrained all peoples that came in his way to go with him to the war. For the whole land as far as Thessaly had been brought into bondage, as hath been related by me already, and was tributary to the king, Megabazus having subdued it and Mardonius after him. And Xerxes, as he marched from Doriscus, passed first by the forts of Samothrace. Of these a city named Mesembria standeth furthest to the west; and next thereto is Stryme, a city of the Thasians; and betwixt them floweth the river Lisus, which at that time sufficed not to provide water for Xerxes' host, but failed. This land was of old called Gallatice, but now is called Briantice; howbeit this also pertaineth unto the Cicones, if the truth were told. And when Xerxes had crossed the bed of the river Lisus all dried up, he passed by the Grecian cities Maronia, Dicaea, and Abdera. And in passing by these, he passed also by certain notable lakes, which are nigh unto them: Ismaris, which lieth between Maronia and Stryme; and Bistonis, hard by Diccea, whereinto the two rivers Travus and Compsatus discharge their waters. And at Abdera Xerxes passed not by any lake that is notable, but he crossed the river Nestus, where it floweth into the sea. And after these lands, he came by the cities which the Thasians possess on the continent. In one of the same there chanceth to be a lake of thirty stades in circuit nigh about, full offish and exceeding salty. This was dried up in giving drink to the oxen alone. And the name of this city is Pistyrus. These Grecian cities of the seaboard he passed upon the left hand. And these are the Thracian tribes through whose land he made his way: the Paeti, the Cicones, the Bis tones, the Sapaei, the Dersaei, the Edoni, the Satrse. And the Greeks that were established by the sea went with him in their ships; but the Thracians who

dwelt in the midland parts and whose names I have rehearsed were compelled to go with him on foot, all save the Satrae. But the Satrse were never yet subject unto any man, so far as we know, and are the only Thracians that have continued free even unto my day; for they dwell on high mountains that are covered over with forests of every kind and with snow, and they are excellent in war. These are they which possess the oracle of Dionysus. And this oracle is upon the highest of the mountains, and the service of the temple pertaineth unto the Bessi, who are of the tribe of the Satrse; and there is a prophetess who answereth, even as at Delphi, and that is all their art.

Now when Xerxes had passed through the said country, thereafter he passed by the forts of the Pierians, whereof one hath the name Phages, and another Pergamus. By these he made his way, keeping upon the right hand the great and high mountain Pangæum, wherein are gold and silver mines worked by the Pierians and by the Odomanti, and most of all by the Satrae. And Xerxes, passing by the Pæones that dwell beyond Pangæum towards the north wind, who are the Doberes and Pasopse, went on westward until he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eon, over which Boges (the same I spake of a little while before) yet lived and bare rule. Now this country about mount Pangæum is called Phyllis; and it stretcheth westward to the river Angites, that issueth into the Strymon, and southwards it stretcheth to the Strymon itself, whereunto the magi sacrificed white horses, seeking fair omens. And when they had done these sorceries unto the river, and many others beside, they crossed by the bridge at Nine Ways in Edonia, where they found the Strymon bridged. And when they heard that the place was called Nine Ways, they took even so many boys and maids of the men of that country, and buried them there alive. (Now it is a Persian custom to bury persons alive, inasmuch as I learn that Amestris also, the wife of

Xerxes, when she grew old, took twice seven children of eminent Persians and made them a present in her own stead to the god that is said to be beneath the earth, by burying them.) And as the host marched away from the Strymon, there on the side thereof towards the going down of the sun they passed a shore wherein Argilus, a Greek city, is built; and this land and the land above it is called Bisaltia. And from thence, having the gulf of Posidium on the left hand, Xerxes went through the plain called the plain of Syleus and passed by Stagirus, a Greek city, and came unto Acanthus. And he took along with him each of these nations and of the nations that dwell about mount Pangæum, in like manner as those that I spake of before; for those that dwelt by the sea he took to the war in ships, and those that dwelt away from the sea he took in the army. And this path by which king Xerxes led the host, the Thracians disturb not, neither do they sow therein, but they hold it in great reverence even unto my day. And when Xerxes came to Acanthus, he proclaimed himself a friend unto the men of Acanthus and presented them with a suit of Median apparel, and commended them, because he saw them diligent in the war and the digging of the channel. And while Xerxes was in Acanthus, it came to pass that Artachæas, who had charge of the channel, died of a sickness. He was a man of reputation with Xerxes and an Achaemenid by race and in stature the tallest of all the Persians, (for he came but four fingers short of five royal¹ cubits,) and he had the loudest voice of all men. Therefore Xerxes made great lamentation, and carried him out with pomp and buried him; and all the army heaped his tomb. And by reason of an oracle the men of Acanthus sacrifice to this Artachæas as an hero, and call upon his name. So king Xerxes made lamentation for Artachæas that was dead. But those of the Greeks that entertained the army and feasted

¹ See 1, 178.

it were brought to utter ruin, and their houses were made desolate; for example, when the Thasians on behalf of their cities on the continent received Xerxes' army and feasted it, Antipater the son of Orgeus, who was chosen for that office and was a man of reputation not less than any of the citizens, reported that four hundred talents of silver had been expended upon the dinner. And in the other cities also the officers shewed a like reckoning. For the feast being proclaimed a long time before, and they holding the matter of great account, this was the manner of it. As soon as they had word from the messengers who brought the tidings round, the townsmen in each city divided corn among themselves and for many months together made wheaten flour and barley flour. Moreover they procured for a price the fairest cattle and fattened them; and they reared up fowls of the dry land and of the lake in pens and in cisterns, to feast the army withal. Moreover they caused cups and basons of gold and of silver to be made, and all things else for setting upon the table. All this was done for the king himself and for those that sat at meat with him; but for the rest of the army was prepared but coarse food. And when the army arrived, there was ever a pavilion ready pitched, wherein Xerxes himself had his lodging; but the rest of the army lodged in the open air. And when it was the hour of dinner, they that were receiving the army did serve them. And when the army had eaten their fill and had spent the night there, on the next day they pulled up the pavilion and took all the furniture and so departed, leaving nothing but carrying all with them. Then was a good saying of Megacreon of Abdera, who counselled the men of Abdera that the whole people, men and women, should go to their temples, and sit there and make supplication of the gods, praying that in future also they would defend them from the half of every evil that came upon them; and as for the past, to give great thanks to the gods that king Xerxes was not wont to take

meat twice each day; else, if it had been commanded the people of Abdera to prepare supper in like manner as the dinner, needs must they either have fled before Xerxes* coming or been wasted the most cruelly of all men, if they had remained.

So the Greeks with pains and hardship performed the thing which was enjoined upon them. But at Acanthus Xerxes sent the ships away from him, to go on alone, and gave his captains charge that the navy should wait for him in Therma that is situate in the gulf of Therma, from whence also the said gulf hath its name. But he himself purposed to go with the army by the inland road, because he learned that this way was the nearest. For from Doriscus to Acanthus the host had made the journey in this order. Xerxes divided all the land army into three divisions. And one of these he appointed to go along the sea and keep with the navy; and the captains of this division were Mardonius and Masistes. And another third part of the host was appointed to go by the inland road; and the captains thereof were Tritantachmes and Gergis. And the third of the divisions, with which Xerxes himself journeyed, went betwixt the others, and had for captains Smerdomenes and Megabyxus.

So when the navy was sent away by Xerxes, it sailed through the channel made in Athos, which leadeth into the gulf wherein are situate the cities Assa and Pilorus and Singus and Sarte. And they took with them soldiers from those towns also, and cast off, and sailed for the gulf of Therma round the foreland of Ampelus in Torone. And they passed by the Grecian cities of Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, and took with them ships and soldiers from thence. And this whole country is called Sithonia. But from the foreland of Ampelus the navy of Xerxes went directly to the foreland of Canastraeum, which is the extreme point of all Pallene. And there they took with them **ships** and soldiers out of Potidaea and Aphytis and Neapolis and

Æge and Therambos and Scione and Mende and Sane; for these are the cities which possess the land that now is called Pallene but aforetime was called Phlegra. And when they had passed by this land also, they sailed unto the appointed place. And they took with them soldiers from those cities also which are adjacent to Pallene and border on the gulf of Therma, whereof the names are Lipaxus, Combria, Lisas, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and *Ænia*; and the land of these cities is called *Crossaea* even unto this day. And from *Ænia*, which is the last of those cities that I recited, the navy sailed into the gulf of Therma itself and the land of Mygdonia. And they came to Therma, the appointed place, and to the cities Sindus and Chalestra, and to the river Axius, which is the border between Mygdonia and Bottiaeis, of which the seaboard, a narrow space, is possessed by the cities of Ichnae and Pella.

So the navy encamped there about the river Axius and Therma and the cities betwixt, awaiting the king. But Xerxes and the land army, marching from Acanthus, took the inland road to Therma. And he marched through Paeonia and Crestonice to the river Echidorus, which beginneth among the Crestonsei and floweth through the land of Mygdonia and issueth by the marsh that is at the mouth of the river Axius. And as he marched by this way, lions set upon the camels which carried his victuals: night by night the lions came down from out of their haunts and preyed upon the camels but touched not ox or man. And I wonder what the cause was that constrained the lions to leave the rest and set upon the camels, a beast which they had not seen before neither had they any experience thereof. Now there are many lions in these parts, and also wild oxen that have those exceeding great horns which are brought into Greece. And the limits of the lion country are the river Nestus, which floweth through Abdera, and the Acheloiis, which floweth through Acarnania. For a man will never see a lion in all the parts of Europe

that lie beyond the Nestus to the eastward, nor in all the rest of the continent to the westward of the Acheloiis, but they are found only in the part between these rivers. And when Xerxes came to Therma, he established his army there. And the encampment of the host extended over the land beside the sea from the city of Therma in Mygdonia to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which mingle their waters in the same channel and are the border between Bottiseis and Macedonia. In these parts the barbarians were encamped. And of the rivers here mentioned only the Echidorus, which riseth among the Crestonaei, sufficed not for the army to drink thereof but failed.

And when Xerxes saw from Therma the mountains of Thessaly, Olympus and Ossa, exceeding great and lofty mountains, and learned that there was a narrow vale through the midst of them, wherein floweth the Penius, and when moreover he heard that a road leadeth into Thessaly that way, he determined to sail and view the estuary of the Penius, because his purpose was to lead the host by the upper road which goeth through the inland parts of Macedonia into Perrhasbia by the city Gonnus; (for he heard that this way was the most secure). And as he desired, so he did. He went upon a ship of Sidon, the same whereon he did always go when he would do anything of this manner: and he shewed a signal to the rest, that they also should launch; but the land army he left behind there. And when Xerxes came and viewed the estuary of the Penius, he was filled with great wonder; and he called his guides, and asked if it were possible to turn the river aside and bring it out into the sea another way. Now there is a story that of old Thessaly was a lake, seeing it is shut in on every side by exceeding high mountains. For it is shut in on the side of the east by mount Pelium and mount Ossa, the skirts whereof are joined together; and to the northward by Olympus; and towards the west by Pindus; and on the side towards the midday

and the south wind by Othrys. In the midst of these said mountains is Thessaly, an hollow land. Thereinto many rivers discharge themselves, whereof the five most famous are Penius and Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, and Pamisus. These are collected together in this plain out of the mountains which enclose Thessaly round about; and they have their outflow into the sea through one vale, and that a narrow one. But first they mingle their waters together in one stream; and as soon as they are mingled together, thenceforth Penius prevaileth over the rest with his name and maketh the others to be nameless. And it is said that of old this valley and this outflow existed not, and these rivers, *and lake Baebeis besides*, (albeit they were not named as now,) flowed not a whit less than now, and with their waters made all Thessaly a great sea. Now the Thessalians themselves say that Posidon made the vale through which Penius floweth, and they speak reasonably. For whoso holdeth that Posidon shaketh the earth, and that the places which are cleft asunder by earthquake are the works of this god, would say, if he saw it, that Posidon made it; for it appeared to me that the cleft in the mountains is the work of an earthquake.

And when Xerxes asked if there were any other way for the Penius to come out into the sea, then his guides, who well knew the truth of the matter, said: O king, there is no means for this river to come down into the sea, excepting this; for all Thessaly is ringed about with mountains as with a crown. And it is said that Xerxes answered: The Thessalians are wise men. It was against this that they guarded themselves betimes by making their submission. For the only thing needful had been to flood their country with the river, by turning it aside from the valley and diverting it with a bank from the channel wherein it floweth now; so should all Thessaly except the mountains have been overflowed. (Now this saying concerned the sons of Aleues,

because they were Thessalians and the first Greeks that gave themselves to the king; and Xerxes deemed that they offered friendship in the name of the whole people.) And when Xerxes had spoken thus and had viewed the place, he sailed back to Therma.

And he tarried many days in Pieria while one of the three parts of his army was cutting a road through the mountains of Macedonia, so that the whole army might pass this way into Perrhsebia. And the ambassadors that had been sent into Greece to ask earth and water returned; and some were empty-handed, but others brought earth and water. And among those that gave earth and water were these peoples: the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Ænians, the Perrhaebi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Malians, the Achasans of Phthia, the Thebans, and all the other Boeotians, save the Thespians and the Platasans. And against these the Greeks took an oath, so many of them as were resolved upon war with the barbarian; and the oath stood thus, that of all that gave themselves to the Persian, being Greeks and unconstrained, of the same, when their own affairs should have prospered, they would take a tith for the god in Delphi. Thus stood the oath of the Greeks. [^xBut to Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent not ambassadors to ask earth and water, because when Darius sent aforetime for the selfsame purpose, the one people cast the askers into the Pit,² and the other cast them into a well; and they bade them take earth and water to the king from thence. Because of this Xerxes sent not thither. Now what untoward thing befell the Athenians. because they served the ambassadors thus, I am not able to say, save that their land and their city were wasted, though this I deem not to have been for that cause. But the Lacedae-

¹ Chapters 133-71 consist of later additions; Chapters 138 and 145-71 were inserted first, and then subsequently 133-7 and 139-4.4.

² Condemned criminals were hurled to death in this.

monians were smitten with the wrath of Talthybius, the ambassador of Agamemnon. (For in Sparta is a temple of Talthybius, and there are descendants of his, called Talthybiadae, unto whom all the embassies, from Sparta are given as their privilege.) And thereafter, when the Spartans did sacrifice, the sacrifices would not be found favourable. And this continued an exceeding long space. And the Lacedaemonians were vexed and in affliction; and oftentimes an assembly was gathered together, and they made proclamation on this wise: whether any of the Lacedaemonians would die for Sparta. Then Sperthias the son of Aneristus and Bulis the son of Nicolas, who were Spartans well descended and of the first order in wealth, undertook of their own accord to make satisfaction to Xerxes for the ambassadors of Darius who perished in Sparta. And the Spartans sent these men away unto the Medes, to be put to death. Now not only the courage of these men is worthy of marvel, but also this besides. As they journeyed unto Susa, they came before Hydarnes. Now Hydarnes was a Persian by race, and captain of the peoples of the sea coast of Asia. The same did offer them entertainment, and feasted them; and as he entertained them, he asked them this question: Men of Lacedaemon, why do ye refuse to become the king's friends? For when ye regard me and mine affairs, ye see that the king knoweth how to honour valiant men. Ye also likewise, if ye would give yourselves unto the king, because ye are esteemed of him to be valiant men, might each of you rule over land in Greece, which the king should give you. Then they answered him thus: Hydarnes, thy counsel as touching us is not evenly weighed. For of the one thing thou hast made trial, but of the other thou art without experience: what it is to be a bondservant thou knowest full well, but of freedom thou hast never yet made trial, to know whether it be a sweet thing or not. For if ever thou hadst experience thereof, thou wouldest counsel us to fight for it not with

spears only but with axes. Thus they answered Hydarnes. And after they were gone from thence up to Susa, and came into the king's presence, then first, when the spear-bearers commanded and put constraint upon them to fall down and worship the king, they said that they would never do so, though they were thrust upon their heads by them; for it was contrary to their laws to worship a man, nor were they come for that. And when they had resisted this, then secondly they spake thus or to this effect: O king of the Medes, the Lacedaemonians have sent us in the stead of the ambassadors who perished in Sparta, that we might make satisfaction for them. When they spake thus, Xerxes out of the greatness of his heart said that he would not do like the Lacedaemonians; for they had confounded the customs of all men by slaying ambassadors, but he would not himself do the same that he reproached them withal, nor acquit the Lacedaemonians from their fault by slaying those men in revenge. Now the wrath of Talthybius ceased for the present, when the Spartans had done these things, albeit Sperthias and Bulis returned home to Sparta. But a long while afterwards it arose again, as the Lacedaemonians say, about the time of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. For Nicolas the son of Bulis and Aneristus the son of Sperthias, (who put in to Haliæ the colony of Tiryns with a merchant ship full of armed men, and took it,) and with them also Aristeas the son of Adimantus, a man of Corinth, were sent by the Lacedaemonians as messengers into Asia; and they were betrayed by Si takes the son of Teres, king of the Thracians, and by Nymphodorus the son of Pytheas, a man of Abdera; and they were taken captive near Bisanthe in the Hellespont and fetched away to Attica, where they died by the hand of the Athenians. And this to me is a clear proof of the hand of God. For whereas it was but just that the wrath of Talthybius should smite messengers and cease not until it was appeased,

yet inasmuch as it fell upon the sons of those very men that had gone up to the king because of it, therefore it is manifest to me that the thing was of God.

Howbeit these things came to pass many years after the expedition of the king; and now I will return to my history.] Now the pretence was that the king's expedition was against Athens; but indeed it was aimed at all Greece. But the Greeks, hearing thereof long before, regarded it not all alike. For such of them as had given earth and water to the Persian, were of good cheer, thinking they should suffer no harm at the hand of the barbarian; but such of them as had not given stood in great dread, forasmuch as there were not ships in Greece sufficient in number to meet the invader, and the greater part of the Greeks were not willing to put their hand to the war but readily gave themselves up to the Mede. [Here I am constrained by necessity to declare an opinion that is hateful to most men; howbeit, I will not refrain myself from speaking as seemeth to me to be true. If the Athenians, in terror of the approaching danger, had forsaken their land, or else had not forsaken it but stayed and given themselves to Xerxes, then had no man assayed to withstand the king by sea. But if no man had withstood Xerxes by sea, then these things must have come to pass on the dry land: however many protecting walls had been drawn across the Isthmus by the Peloponnesians, yet would the Lacedaemonians have been deserted by their confederates, not voluntarily but perforce, because the navy of the barbarians would have taken one city of them after another. So the Lacedaemonians must have been left alone; and being left alone, they would have put forth mighty deeds and died nobly. Either, I say, they would have fared thus, or else before that, when they saw the other Greeks giving themselves up to the Mede, they would have made an agreement with Xerxes. And so in either case Greece would have been under the Persians;

for I am not able to find out what would have been the use of the walls which were drawn across the Isthmus, if the king had dominion over the sea. So if one should say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, he would not fail of the truth; for whichever part they favoured, the same was like to prevail. And when they had resolved that Greece should live and be free, it was also this people that stirred up all the other Greeks who had not given themselves to the Mede; and after the gods it was they who drove the king back. Neither¹ did the fearful oracles which came from Delphi and cast them into terror persuade them to forsake Greece; but they remained and suffered the invader to come into their land.

For the Athenians sent holy messengers to Delphi and prepared to seek an oracle. And after they had done all things customary in the holy place, they entered into the temple and sat down. Then the Pythia, whose name was Aristonice, prophesied thus unto them:

Unhappy men, why sit ye there ? Flee to the uttermost parts of
the earth;

Leave your homes and the high places of the city that is in
shape like a wheel;

For neither the head shall remain in his place, nor the body,
Neither shall aught remain of the hands, or the feet, or the
middle parts; but all shall utterly vanish;

For fire and rash Ares, driving a chariot of Syrian fashion, shall
work the ruin thereof.

Many other strongholds also shall he destroy, and not thine
alone,

And many shrines of the immortals shall he give to ravening fire:
Who now stand running with sweat and quivering with fear,

¹ From here to the end of Chapter 144 is probably later than the preceding part of Chapter 139.

And over the roof-tops dark blood is poured out,
 Prophesying the evil that must needs be.

Nay, go ye forth from the sanctuary, and bow your hearts to
 trouble.

When they heard this, the holy messengers of the Athenians made great lamentation. And as they were in despair because of the evil which was prophesied them, Timon the son of Androbulus, a man of as great reputation as any among the Delphians, counselled them to take boughs of supplication and go again a second time to enquire of the oracle as suppliants. And the Athenians did even so, and said: Lord, give unto us a better answer concerning the land of our fathers, and regard these boughs of supplication with which we come before thee; else will we not depart out of thy sanctuary, but will remain here even until we perish. And when they had said this, the prophetess answered them a second time thus:

Pallas is not able wholly to propitiate Olympian Zeus,
 Albeit she entreateth him with many words and with deep
 cunning.

But to thee I will speak this second saying, and establish it as
 adamant:

When all else shall be taken, so much as the border of Cecrops
 containeth

And the fold of Cithaeron, that holy mount,

Zeus who seeth afar granteth to her that is born of Triton¹

That the wall of wood alone shall not be taken but shall profit
 thee and thy children.

But abide not thou the coming of the horsemen, neither the
 great host of foot-soldiers from the continent;

Neither be thou still, but turn thy back and withdraw thee:

For assuredly one day thou shalt turn thy face again.

¹ **Athena.**

O divine Salamis, thou shalt destroy the children of women,
Either when Demeter¹ is scattered abroad, or when she cometh
together.

These sayings were more gentle than the former sayings; and so they seemed to them to be. Therefore they caused them to be written down, and departed unto Athens. And when the holy messengers returned and gave the people tidings thereof, then, as they applied themselves to find out the meaning of the prophecy, many opinions were given, whereof the most opposed were these. Divers of the elder men said that they deemed the god's answer meant that the citadel should be safe, because of old time the citadel of Athens was fenced with thorns and briers. This they computed to be the wall of wood. But others again said that the god signified the ships, and bade them look to these and let the rest go. But they who said that the ships were the wall of wood were troubled by the two last verses which the Pythia had spoken:

O divine Salamis, thou shalt destroy the children of women,
Either when Demeter is scattered abroad, or when she cometh
together.

Because of these verses the opinions of those were confounded who said that the ships were the wall of wood; for the interpreters of oracles understood it to signify that they should contrive a sea battle at Salamis and be put to the worse. Now there was a certain Athenian lately received among the chief men, whose name was Themistocles, and he was called the son of Neocles. This man asserted that the interpreters of oracles argued not altogether rightly, saying that he deemed, if the words had pertained unto the Athenians, that the oracle would not have spoken so, but had rather said: O cruel Salamis, instead of, O divine Salamis, if

¹ Com.

the inhabitants thereof were to perish there. But verily, the god had spoken that oracle concerning their enemies, if they would comprehend it aright, and not concerning the Athenians. Therefore he counselled them to make ready to fight by sea, inasmuch as this was the wall of wood. When Themistocles had thus declared his mind, the Athenians perceived that this meaning ought rather to be received by them than the opinion of the interpreters of oracles, who would have persuaded them not to prepare for a sea battle, neither to lift up their hands at all, but forsake the land of Attica and go and dwell in some other. *And before this another opinion of Themistocles had also prevailed to good purpose: for when there was much money collected in the public treasury of Athens, which came in from the mines at Laurium, and they would have shared it among them, one man receiving ten drachma and another man ten drachma, then did Themistocles persuade the Athenians to resolve against this division of the money, and to make therewith two hundred ships for the war, meaning the war against JEgina. This war arising at that time saved Greece, inasmuch as it compelled the Athenians to become seamen. So the ships were not used to the end for which they were made; but they served Greece in the hour of need. Now these ships, which were already built, the Athenians possessed; and there was need to build others besides. And they resolved to obey the god, and to withstand in their ships with all their might the barbarian that invaded Greece, together with such of the Greeks as would do likewise.*

These were the oracles which had come to the Athenians.] And the Greeks that were of the better mind concerning Greece were gathered together in one place; and they took advice and gave pledges. Then it seemed good to them, as they took counsel, that first of all things they should put away the hatreds and wars which they had one with another; (now there were wars on foot between divers nations, but the greatest of them was between the

Athenians and the man of ^Egina;) and thereafter, when they heard that Xerxes with the host was in Sardis, they resolved to send spies into Asia to spy out the king's affairs, and messengers to Argos to compound a league of arms against the Persian, and others to Sicily unto Gelon the son of Dinomenes, and to Corcyra also, to bid them bring help to Greece, and yet others again to Crete, if haply the Greek people might be united and all do the same thing together with one accord, seeing the danger was coming to all Greeks alike. *Now the affairs of Gelon were said to be great', so that there were none in Greece that they did not much surpass.* And after they had so determined, they put an end to their hatreds. And first they sent three men into Asia for spies. And these came to Sardis and sought to get knowledge of the king's army. And they were discovered, and having been examined before the captains of the land army, were taken away that they might perish. But when their death had been ordained, Xerxes learned thereof; and he found fault with the judgement of his captains, and sent certain of his spear-bearers with charge, if they found the spies yet living, to bring them before him. And when they found them yet alive, and brought them into the presence of the king, then he commanded the spear-bearers to lead them round about and display unto them the whole host of the foot-soldiers, and the horsemen also, for which purpose they came; and when they should be satisfied with seeing, to send them away without hurt to whatsoever country they desired. And when he had given this charge, he spake also and said, that if the spies had perished, the Greeks would not have learned betimes that his power was beyond words, and yet the Persians would have done their enemies no great harm by destroying three men, whereas when these men returned home to Greece, then, said he, I deem that after the Greeks hear of my power, they will deliver up their liberty before the invasion which cometh upon them,

and so it shall not be necessary so much as to be at pains to lead this host against them. (Now this saying of his resembleth another; for when Xerxes was in Abydus, he saw ships that brought corn from the Pontus sailing through the Hellespont on their way to [^]Egina and the Peloponnese. And when they who sat by him learned that the ships were enemy ships, they would have taken them; and they looked to see when the king would give the command. But Xerxes asked whither they sailed. And they said, To thine enemies, O master, and they take them corn. And he answered and said, Do not we also sail whither these men sail? And are we also not furnished with corn and with much besides? Therefore what wrong do these men, that they carry our victuals for us ?)

So the spies, when they had viewed the army, were sent away and returned home to Europe. But the Greeks that were in league against the Persian, after they had sent forth the spies, did next send messengers to Argos. And the men of Argos say that it came to pass concerning them after this fashion. They heard in the beginning what the barbarian designed against Greece. And when they heard it, and knew that the Greeks would seek their aid against the Persian, they sent holy messengers to Delphi to enquire of the god what they should do, that it might be best for them. For there had lately died six thousand of them by the hand of the Lacedaemonians and of Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides. Therefore they did send; and the Pythia, when they enquired of her, made answer thus:

O hated of thy neighbours but dear to the immortal gods,
 Hold thy javelin within, and sit upon thy guard.
 Keep safe the head; and the head shall save the body.

This prophecy the Pythia had given already, when the messengers came to Argos and appeared before the council and spake what

things they were charged withal. Then the men of Argos, when they heard what was spoken, made reply that they were ready to do so, if they could make a truce with the Lacedaemonians for thirty years and bear half the command of all the league; for although, according to justice, the whole command was theirs, yet would they be satisfied to have half. Thus they say that the council replied, albeit the oracle forbade them to make this league with the Greeks. (Now they were desirous to get, a truce for thirty years in order that their children might grow to men in those years, whereas if there were no truce, they feared that if any calamity should befall them in war against the Persian, besides the evil which they had already suffered, then they might be subject unto the Lacedaemonians ever afterwards.) And the messengers that were Spartans made answer to the speech of the council, saying that as for the truce they would refer it to the state, but concerning the command they had been given charge what to reply, to wit, that the Spartans had two kings and the men of Argos but one, and therefore it was not possible to deprive either of the kings of Sparta of the command, but there was no impediment why beside their two kings the king of Argos should not have a voice. Then, as the men of Argos say, they would not endure the presumption of the Spartans, but chose rather to be ruled by the barbarians than to yield to the Lacedaemonians in anything. And they warned the messengers to be gone from the land of Argos before sunset; else they would serve them as enemies. Thus much the Argives themselves say of this matter. But there is another report told up and down Greece, that Xerxes sent an ambassador to Argos before he set forth to war against Greece. And it is reported that this man came and said: Men of Argos, king Xerxes saith thus unto you. We do consider that Perses, the child of Perseus the son of Danaë by Cepheus' daughter Andromeda, is he from whom we are sprung. There-

fore we must needs be your descendants. Now it is not reasonable either that we should make war against our forefathers or that ye should be our adversaries by succouring others, but rather sit at home in peace. For if I accomplish my purpose, I will hold none of more account than you. When the Argives heard this, it is said that they made much of it; and though for the present they neither promised nor demanded anything, yet when the Greeks sought their aid, then knowing that the Lacedaemonians would not give them a share in the command, they did demand it, that they might have an excuse to remain at peace. And certain of the Greeks also say, that words which were spoken many years afterwards agree herewith; for messengers of the Athenians, even Callias the son of Hipponicus and those that went up with him, chanced to be in Susa the city of Memnon because of some other business; and at that same time the Argives also had sent messengers to Susa and were enquiring of Artoxerxes the son of Xerxes whether the friendship which they knit with Xerxes yet remained, or whether they were deemed of him to be enemies. And king Artoxerxes said that assuredly the friendship abode, and he held no city more beloved than Argos. Now whether Xerxes sent an ambassador with this message to Argos and Argive messengers went up to Susa and enquired of Artoxerxes concerning friendship, I am not able certainly to say; neither do I declare any opinion concerning these things. But I know thus much, that if all men should bring together into one place their own ill deeds, desiring to exchange with their neighbours, yet when they beheld the ill deeds of their neighbours, they would each of them gladly take back again what they brought thither. And as for me, I am bound to tell what is told, but to believe it I am by no means bound; and let this saying extend to every part of my history. And this also is reported, that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Greece, because their own warfare with the

Lacedaemonians stood ill and they preferred any state to their present vexation.

So much concerning the Argives. But other messengers went from the confederates to Sicily, to commune with Gelon; and among them was Syagrus from Lacedasmon. Now this Gelon's forefather, who settled first in Gela, was from the island of Telos, that lieth by Triopium; who, when Gela was established by the men of Lindus in Rhodes and by Antiphemus, remained not behind. And after a time his descendants became priests of the mysteries of the Earth Goddesses, and so continued, Telines having got the office in this manner. Divers of the people of Gela, being worsted in faction, had fled to the city Mactorium, which is situate above Gela. And Telines brought them back to Gela again, not with any force of armed men, but with the holy symbols of these goddesses. Whence he got them I am not able to say; but in them he put his trust, and brought the people back again, upon condition that his descendants should be priests of the mysteries. Now because of what I hear, it is a marvel to me that Telines accomplished so great a deed; for I deem such deeds to be not every man's to do, but to need a firm spirit and a manly courage, whereas he is said by the inhabitants of Sicily to have been contrariwise of a soft and womanish nature. So Telines obtained this office. But when Cleander the son of Pantares, who was tyrant of Gela seven years and died by the hand of Sabyllus a man of Gela, was deceased, then Hippocrates, who was Oleander's brother, succeeded to the rule. And while Hippocrates held the tyranny, Gelon, who was a descendant of Telines the priest, was a spear-bearer unto Hippocrates, together with Ænesidemus the son of Patsecus and many others. And after no great while he was appointed to be ruler of all the horsemen because of his valour; for when Hippocrates made war against the men of Callipolis and of Naxos, of Zancle and of Leontini, and against the Syra-

cusans and many of the barbarians, Gelon was found eminent in all these wars. And none of the cities which I mentioned except Syracuse escaped bondage at the hand of Hippocrates. But as for the Syracusans, the men of Corinth and of Corcyra delivered them, after they were worsted in battle at the river Helorus, by making peace between them on condition that the Syracusans should render up Camarina to Hippocrates; for of old the Syracusans possessed Camarina. And when Hippocrates had been tyrant as many years as his brother Cleander, it befell him also to die near the city of Hybla, whither he went to make war against the Siceli. Then Gelon feignedly supported the sons of Hippocrates, Euclides and Cleander, against the citizens who would no longer remain in their obedience. But after he had overcome the men of Gela in battle, he defrauded the sons of Hippocrates and became ruler himself. And after this gain, Gelon brought back again to Syracuse from the city of Casmene those of the Syracusans who are called *gamori*, who had been cast forth by the common people and by their own bondmen, called *cylllyrii*. And so he got Syracuse also; for the common people of Syracuse, when Gelon came against them, gave up to him the city and themselves. And after he had gained Syracuse, though he still kept Gela, yet he made less account thereof and committed it to his brother Hieron; but Syracuse he strengthened, and Syracuse was unto him all in all. And straightway it sprang up and flourished; for firstly, he brought all the men of Camarina to Syracuse and made them citizens thereof, and broke down the town of Camarina; and secondly, he served above half the townspeople of Gela in like manner as the men of Camarina. And the men of Megara in Sicily, when they were besieged by him, made an agreement and yielded themselves up. Then as for the persons of substance among them, who had raised up the war against him, and looked to perish by reason thereof, he brought them to

Syracuse and made them citizens; but the common people of Megara, that had no part in the guilt of this war and expected to suffer no evil, he brought likewise to Syracuse, and sold them to be carried out of Sicily as slaves. And in the same manner also he served the men of Euboea in Sicily, separating the one sort from the other. And he served them both thus because he held that the common people is a villainous neighbour to live with. In such fashion Gelon had become a great tyrant. And at that season, when the messengers of the Greeks came to Syracuse, they entered into converse with him and spake thus: The Lacedaemonians and their confederates have sent us to seek thy help also against the barbarian; for of the evils that hang over Greece thou hast surely heard, how a man of Persia is in act to span the Hellespont and lead all the host of the east out of Asia and make war against Greece; and in pretence he marcheth against Athens, but his intent is to bring all Greece under him. Do thou, therefore, seeing thou art come to great power and no small part of Greece belongeth unto thee, as being ruler of Sicily, bring succour to those that would keep Greece free, and help them so to keep it. For if all Greece be united, a great band may be gathered together and we shall be sufficient to fight against them that come upon us; but if some of us shall play the traitor, and others will not succour, and the sound portion of Greece be small, then is there danger that all Greece may perish. For think not, if the Persian overcome us in battle and subdue us, that he will not come up against thee. Nay, do thou guard thyself in good time; for in bringing help to us, thou succourest thyself. And when a matter is well devised, the conclusion thereof is commonly wont to be profitable. Thus they spake. But Gelon inveighed against them, saying: Men of Greece, durst ye come with presumptuous **words** to call on me to be your confederate against the barbarian? Yet beforetime I besought you to lift up your hand with me

against a barbarian host when there was strife afoot between me and the Carthaginians; and I also adjured you to take satisfaction for the death of Dorieus the son of Anaxandrides at the hand of the men of Egesta,¹ and requested you to help me to set free the ports from which great advantages and profits have arisen unto you. Howbeit ye came not with help, either for my sake or to take satisfaction for the death of Dorieus; but so far as lieth in you, all these parts might now be governed by the barbarians. Notwithstanding, it fared well with us and for the best. But now that the war is turned against you, remembrance is had of Gelon. Yet though I received contempt at your hands, I will not imitate you; and I am ready to bring help, furnishing two hundred galleys, and twenty thousand warriors, and two thousand horsemen, and two thousand archers, and two thousand men with slings, and two thousand skirmishers; and I undertake to furnish meat for the whole army of the Greeks until we finish the war. These things I promise upon condition that I shall be captain and commander of the Greeks against the barbarian; but upon no other condition will I either come myself or send others. Now Syagrus, when he heard this, contained not himself but said: Surely Agamemnon the son of Pelops would cry aloud for woe, if he learned that the command was taken from the Spartans by Gelon and the Syracusans. Nay, of this condition, that we should deliver thee the command, make no more mention. But if thou wilt bring help to Greece, know that thou shalt be ruled by the Lacedaemonians; and if haply thou thinkest not fit to be ruled by them, then do thou bring us no help. Thereupon Gelon, when he saw that the speech of Syagrus was adverse, declared unto them this last offer: O Spartan, when a man hath swallowed revilings, he is wont to vomit up wrath; yet albeit thou hast shewn thyself insulting in thy words, thou hast not persuaded me to be

¹ 5, 46.

unseemly in my reply. But when ye are so zealous for the command, it is natural that I should be yet more zealous than you, seeing I am commander of an army many times as great and of far more ships. Howbeit, since your words are found thus adverse, I will abate somewhat of my former conditions. Do ye command the army, and I will command the navy; or if it is your pleasure to be the commanders by sea, then I will command the army. And ye must either content yourselves with this, or else go hence lacking good confederates. Thus much Gelon proposed. But the messenger of the Athenians, before the messenger of the Lacedaemonians could speak, answered him with these words: O king of Syracuse, Greece sent us unto thee because she needed an army, not a commander. Yet thou givest no sign that thou wilt send an army unless thou command Greece, but seekest only to be captain over it. And so long as thou didst ask to be commander of the whole Greek host, it contented us Athenians to hold our peace, knowing that the Lacedaemonian would be sufficient to answer thee on the part of both. But now, when thou art refused the whole, thou askest to bear rule over the navy. Lo, thus it is: though the Lacedaemonians should suffer thee to bear rule over the navy, yet will we not suffer it. For this is ours, if the Lacedaemonians themselves will not have it. If they will command it, we resist them not; but we will suffer none other to have charge over the ships, (for else we had possessed in vain the greatest navy in Greece,) neither will we, who are Athenians, yield to Syracusans, seeing our stock is the most ancient, and we alone of the Greeks have not changed our abode; and Homer also the poet hath said that the best man at ordering and arraying an host that came to Ilium was an Athenian. Therefore it is naught unseemly in us to say these things. Then Gelon answered with these words: O Athenian, it seemeth ye have commanders, but will have none to be commanded. Therefore,

because ye will yield nothing but keep all, ye cannot too soon depart back in haste and bring Greece word that the spring is taken out of her year. *Now this is the meaning of this saying, which it would signify, to wit, that in the year the spring is most estimable, and in the army of the Greeks his own army. Therefore Greece deprived of his aid he likened as though the spring were taken out of the year.*

After these dealings with Gelon the messengers of the Greeks sailed away. But Gelon, fearing for the Greeks, lest they be not able to prevail over the barbarian, yet deeming it a dreadful thing and unendurable to go to the Peloponnese and be ruled by the Lacedaemonians when he was tyrant of Sicily, did therefore eschew this course and embrace another; for as soon as he heard that the Persian was passed over the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus the son of Scythes, a man of Cos, with three vessels of fifty oars unto Delphi, bearing much money and friendly words, to watch the war narrowly and see how it should issue; and if the barbarian should conquer, to give him the money and moreover earth and water as from them that Gelon ruled over; but if the Greeks conquered, then to bring it back again. Now this Cadmus had formerly received from his father the tyranny of Cos well established. And of his own free will, not because danger threatened but for righteousness¹ sake, he laid down his rule and set the men of Cos free, and departed to Sicily. There he got the city of Zancle from the men of Samos,¹ and dwelt therein; and the name of it was altered to Messene. This Cadmus, who came to Sicily after this fashion, was sent to Delphi by Gelon because of that righteousness whereof he himself knew other evidences. And besides the other righteous works that he did, he is remembered for this, which is not less than any of them: that when he had charge of the great moneys which Gelon committed unto him,

¹ 6, 23.

though he might have possessed them, yet he would not; but when the Greeks had prevailed in the sea battle and Xerxes was departed again, he also returned to Sicily with all the money. And this also is reported by the dwellers in Sicily, that Gelon, even though he expected to be ruled by the Lacedaemonians, would have brought help to the Greeks, if it had not been that at that same time Terillus the son of Crinippus, who was tyrant of Himera and had been driven forth from thence by Theron the son of Ænesidemus, ruler of Acragas, brought against him Phoenicians¹ and Libyans and Iberians and Ligyans and Elisyci and Sardinians and Corsicans to the number of three hundred thousand, and their captain Hamilcar the son of Hanno, who was king of Carthage. And Terillus had persuaded Hamilcar both by reason of his own friendship and especially by the urgency of Anaxilatus son of Cratines, the tyrant of Rhegium, who by giving Hamilcar his own children for hostages, brought him over to Sicily, to succour his father-in-law; for Anaxilatus had to wife Terillus' daughter, whose name was Cydippe. Therefore Gelon was not able to bring help to Greece, but sent that money to Delphi. And they say this besides, that it came to pass on the same day that Gelon and Theron conquered Hamilcar the Carthaginian in Sicily, and the Greeks conquered the Persian at Salamis. And I learn that Hamilcar, who was a Carthaginian on his father's side but a Syracusan on his mother's side, and who had become king of Carthage by his valour, did vanish away in the battle when he began to be worsted. For in no place was he found, either living or dead, though Gelon searched high and low after him. But the Carthaginians themselves report in all reasonableness that while the barbarians fought with the Greeks from dawn until late afternoon, (for so long it is said that the struggle drew on,) Hamilcar all that time abode in the camp and sacri-

¹ Carthaginians.

ficed for victory, offering up whole carcasses upon a great pile. And when he saw his own men put to flight, as he chanced to be pouring a drink-offering over the sacrifices, he cast himself into the fire; and so he vanished, because his body was consumed. But whether Hamilcar vanished in this wise, as the Carthaginians say, or in some other, they do sacrifice to him, and have also made monuments to him in all their colonies, and the greatest of all in Carthage itself. Thus much concerning Sicily.

But the men of Corcyra replied to the messengers after one fashion and dealt after another. For the same men that went to Sicily sought help from them also, speaking the same words which they had spoken to Gelon. And at that time they promised to send help and to aid them, declaring that they must not suffer Greece to be destroyed, (for if she should fall, they themselves must surely be in bondage the very first day,) but rather they must succour Greece with all their might. Thus they made a fair-seeming reply; but when the time came to bring help, they purposed otherwise. For they put crews in threescore ships, and launching late reached the Peloponnese; and there they stayed the ships about Pylus and Taenarum in the land of the Lacedaemonians, watching the war narrowly like Cadmus, to see how it would fall out. For they expected not that the Greeks would prevail, but deemed that the Persian would overcome them and rule over all Greece. Therefore they did thus of purpose, that they might be able to say to the Persian: O king, as for us, when the Greeks would have joined us unto them in this war, because we have no little power and should have furnished no small fleet, but the largest after the Athenians, we would not stand against thee nor do thee any displeasure. Saying thus they expected that they should fare better than the rest; and so (as I deem) it would have come to pass. But they had an excuse ready for the Greeks also, and this they did use; for when the Greeks charged them

that they brought no help, they said that they had put crews in sixty galleys but by reason of the seasonal winds were not able to pass by Malea; and therefore it was by no evil intent that they came not to Salamis but were absent from the battle. Thus they excused themselves to the Greeks.

But the Cretans, when the Greeks who were appointed to do so demanded help from them, did thus: they sent with one accord holy messengers to Delphi and enquired of the god whether it were better for them to succour Greece. And the Pythia replied: O foolish people, find ye fault with all the tears which Minos in his wrath sent upon you after ye succoured Menelaüs, because ye aided the Greeks to get back the woman who was seized from Sparta by a barbarian, whereas they had taken no part with you in avenging Minos' death in Camicus? When the Cretans heard these tidings, they refrained themselves from aiding the Greeks. For it is said that Minos came to Sicania, which now is called Sicily, in search of Daedalus, and died there by a violent death. And after a while, because God stirred them up, all the Cretans except the men of Polichna and of Praesus came with a great array to Sicania and for five years besieged Camicus, which in my day the men of Acragas possessed. But at last, when they were not able either to take it or to continue longer, being afflicted with famine, they left it and departed. And when in their voyage they were come nigh to Iapygia, a great tempest overtook them and cast them upon the land; and the ships being broken in pieces, because they no longer found any means of conveyance unto Crete, they built the city of Hyria and remained there. And they were changed from Cretans into Iapygians of Messapia and from islanders into men of the mainland. And from Hyria they founded the other cities which the men of Tarentum sought to destroy a great while afterward; and when they did so, they had so great a fall that it was the greatest slaughter among Greeks

that we know of, not only of the men of Tarentum themselves but of the men of Rhegium, who were constrained by Micythus the son of Chcerus to bring succour to the men of Tarentum and so perished to the number of three thousand. But the men of Tarentum who died could not be numbered. Now Micythus was a servant of Anaxilaüs, and was left by him deputy over Rhegium. The same man, when he was cast forth from Rhegium and came and dwelt in Tegea in Arcadia, set up the many statues in Olympia. Howbeit this of the men of Tarentum and of Rhegium hath been an appendage to my story. But when Crete was deserted, then, as the men of Prsesus say, certain Greeks and other men came and dwelt therein. And in the third generation after Minos perished, there came to pass the affair of Troy, in which the Cretans were found not the feeblest succourers of Menelaiis; by reason whereof, when they returned home from Troy, famine and pestilence came upon them, both on themselves and upon their beasts, until Crete was deserted a second time; and so, with the remnant of them, the present Cretans are the third people that have inhabited it. Of these things the Pythia put them in mind, and so restrained them when they were desirous of succouring the Greeks.]

But the Thessalians at first gave themselves to the Mede under constraint, as they plainly shewed. For as soon as they heard that the Persian was about to pass over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus, where were assembled deputies chosen from the Greek cities which were of the right intent concerning Greece. And the messengers of the Thessalians came before them and said: Men of Greece, it is needful to defend the passage by Olympus, that Thessaly and the whole of Greece may be shielded from the war. And we are ready to defend it with you, but ye also must needs send a great army; for know that, if ye will not send, we shall agree with the Persian; for we, who sit thus

in the forefront of Greece, ought not to perish alone for your sakes. And if ye will not send help, there is no constraint that ye can put upon us; (for never yet could constraint prevail over impotence;) and we shall seek to devise some means of deliverance for ourselves. Thus said the Thessalians. And the Greeks accordingly resolved to send by sea into Thessaly an army to guard the passage. And when the host was assembled, they sailed through Euripus, and coming to Alus in Achaïa, they landed, and left the ships there, and journeyed into Thessaly. And they came to Tempe, to the passage that leadeth from lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the river Penius betwixt mount Olympus and mount Ossa. In that place the levies of the Greeks encamped, about ten thousand warriors; and the horsemen of the Thessalians joined themselves unto them. And the commander of the Lacedaemonians was Euaenetus the son of Carenus, chosen out of the captains, albeit he was not of the blood royal; and the commander of the Athenians was Themistocles the son of Neocles. Howbeit they abode but a few days in that place; for messengers came from Alexander son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, and counselled them to depart and not to abide there at the pass, to be trodden down by the host that came on. And when these men thus counselled them, then, because the counsel seemed profitable and the Macedonian appeared well disposed unto them, they followed it. But as it seemeth me, that which persuaded them was prudence, when they heard that there was also another passage into Thessaly by way of upper Macedonia and through Perrhaebia, past the city of Gonnus, by which way the army of Xerxes did in truth enter. And the Greeks went down to their ships, and travelled back to the Isthmus. Thus was this expedition made into Thessaly when the king was in act to pass over to Europe from Asia, and when he was already at Abydus. And the Thessalians therefore, being deserted and without con-

federates, did give themselves to the Mede zealously and with no more hesitation, so that they were found most serviceable unto the king in this business.

But the Greeks, when they came to the Isthmus, took counsel as touching the place wherein they should prepare to do battle, in consideration of the words of Alexander. And the opinion which prevailed was that they should guard the passage at Thermopylae; for it was found to be narrower than the passage into Thessaly, and moreover nearer to their own land. But as for the pathway, by means of which the Greeks who perished at Thermopylae were cut off, they knew not that it was there until they came to Thermopylae and heard of it from the people of Trachis. Therefore they resolved to guard this passage, and not to let the barbarian pass by into Greece. And they resolved that the navy should sail to Artemisium in the coasts of Hestiaea; for the two places are so nigh together that each host might learn how it was with the other. And this is the nature of these places. The broad waters of the Thracian main are contracted into the narrow strait between the island of Sciathus and the mainland, which is Magnesia; and next after this strait cometh a beach in Eubcea, where there is a temple of Artemis. And as for the pass through Trachis into Greece, it is fifty feet wide at the place where the battle was fought. Howbeit the straitest place thereabouts is not there, but in front of Thermopylae and also behind it; for at Alpeni, which is behind it, there is room for a carriage-way only; and in front, at the river Phoenix, there is also room for a carriage-way only. And on the west of Thermopylae is a steep and impassable mountain, lofty, stretching up unto (Eta; and to the eastward of the road, a shoaling sea. And there are hot springs in this pass, which the people of the place call the Basons; and an altar is established at them in the name of Heracles. And there was a wall built across this passage, and of old there were gates

therein. (Now the Phocians had built the wall; for when the Thessalians came from among the Thesproti and dwelt in that ^Eolian land which they now possess, the Phocians were afraid lest the Thessalians might seek to conquer them; and the Phocians were on their guard against it. And at that time they also made the hot waters to flow across the pass, that the place might be furrowed; for they imagined every manner of device, that the Thessalians might not enter into their country.) So the wall was built of old time, and the greater part thereof was already fallen with age; and it seemed them good to raise it again, and here to beat off the barbarian from Greece. And there is a village very nigh unto the road, by name Alpeni; and from this the Greeks expected that they should get their victuals. So these places appeared to the Greeks to be convenient; for when they had considered all things, and had reckoned that the barbarians would be able to use neither their great multitude nor their horsemen in those places, it seemed them good to meet the invader of Greece there. And when they heard that the Persian was in Pieria, they departed from the Isthmus and went forth to war, some by land to Thermopylae, and others by sea to Artemisium.

So the Greeks in haste went to their several stations; and in the meantime the men of Delphi sought an oracle from their god, because they were in sore dread for themselves and for Greece. And it was answered them that they should pray to the winds; for these should be great helpers unto Greece. And the men of Delphi received the prophecy. And first they sent tidings of the oracle which was given them to those Greeks who desired to be free, and by sending these tidings to them, when they stood in sore dread of the barbarian, they laid up for themselves a store of gratitude everlasting. And secondly the men of Delphi appointed an altar to the winds in Thyia, where is the precinct of Cephisus* daughter Thyia, after whom also this place is named; and they

suppllicated them with sacrifices. And even to this day the men of Delphi propitiate the winds according to the oracle.

But Xerxes' navy setting forth from Therma, stood directly towards Sciathus with the ten ships that sailed best. Now there were three Grecian ships keeping watch there, one of Troezen and one of Ægina and one of Athens. And when these men saw the ships of the barbarians afar, they set off in flight. And the barbarians straightway pursuing took the ship of Troezen, over which Praxinus bare rule; and thereafter they laid hands on the comeliest of the warriors that went therein, and led him to the prow of the ship, and slaughtered him, offering him for a kind of first-fruits, because he was the first comely Greek that they took. And the name of this man who was made a sacrifice was Leon;¹ and peradventure he owed somewhat to his name also. But the galley of Ægina, whereof Asonides was ruler, put them to no little trouble. And Pytheas the son of Ischenotts, who went thereon, was a most valiant man that day; for while the ship was being taken, he resisted and fought till he was hewn all in pieces. And when he fell and died not, but there was breath in him, the Persians who went on those ships were at great pains to preserve him because of his valour; and they healed his wounds with myrrh and swaddled him with bandages of finelinen cloth. And when they were come again to their own camp, they displayed him with admiration to the whole army, and entreated him well; but the rest that they took in that ship they served as slaves. Thus were two of the ships overwhelmed. But the third galley, whereof Phormus a man of Athens was the ruler, ran aground in flight at the mouth of the Penius. And the barbarians got possession of the vessel, but not of the men; for as soon as they ran the ship aground, the Athenians leaped out and journeyed through Thessaly and so arrived at Athens. These things the Greeks who

¹ i.e. Hon.

were encamped at Artemisium learned from Sciathus by beacons. And when they learned thereof, they were dismayed, and moved their anchorage from Artemisium to Chalcis, purposing to guard Euripus but leaving watchers on the high places of Eubœa. And three of the ten ships of the barbarians ran upon the reef betwixt Sciathus and Magnesia, which is called the Ant. And the barbarians fetched a pillar of stone to the reef and reared it thereon. And Pammon of Scyros was he that guided them to the reef, which is directly in the passage. Then they launched from Therma with all the ships, when that which hindered them was made clear and when eleven days were passed after the king's marching forth from Therma. And sailing all the day long, they attained unto Sepias in the land of Magnesia and to the shore which is betwixt the headland of Sepias and the city of Casthanaea.

Now as far as this place and Thermopylae the host had suffered no loss; and as I find when I compute, the number thereof at that season was this. The original multitude in the ships which came from Asia, being one thousand and two hundred and seven, was four and twenty tens of thousands, and one thousand and four hundred, reckoning at two hundred men in each ship. And upon each of these ships there went, besides the men of their several countries, thirty warriors of the Persians or Medes or Sacas; and this other multitude is found to be six and thirty thousand, and two hundred and ten. And to this and to the former number I will add also the men from the vessels of fifty oars, reckoning at eighty men apiece and regarding not whatsoever was more or less. Now, as I said before,¹ three thousand of these boats were gathered together. Therefore there would be four and twenty tens of thousands of men in them. So in the navy which came from Asia there were in all one and fifty tens of thousands, and seven thousand and six hundred and ten. But the foot-soldiers

¹ Chapter 89 note.

were an hundred and seventy tens of thousands,¹ and the horse-men were eight tens of thousands.² And I will also add unto these the Arabians who rode on the camels and the Libyans who rode in the chariots, taking the multitude of them to be twenty thousand men. And so the multitude of the navy and of the land army together is found to be two hundred and thirty-one tens of thousands, and seven thousand and six hundred and ten. This whereof I have spoken is the host which came out of Asia itself, apart from the train of servants, and the ships that carried victuals, and the men that sailed thereon. But unto all this host that hath been numbered there must yet be added the army which was gathered in Europe. Now, to speak at a venture, the Greeks from Thrace and the islands which lie over against Thrace furnished an hundred and twenty ships. And in these ships would be four and twenty thousand men. But in the land army that was furnished by the Thracians, the Paeones, the Eordi, the Bottiasi, the people of Chalcidice, the Brygi, the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Per-rhaebi, the Ænians, the Dolopes, the Magnetes, the Achaeans, and all that inhabit the sea coast of Thrace, I deem that there were thirty tens of thousands. And when these tens of thousands are added unto those that were from Asia, the whole number of fighting men cometh unto two hundred and threescore and four tens of thousands, and sixteen hundred and ten besides. And whereas these fighting men were thus many in number, their train of servants and the men in the barks that carried victuals, and yet again in the other vessels that sailed with the army, I deem to have been not fewer than the men who fought, but rather more. Yet I will suppose them neither more nor fewer, but exactly as many. If then these men were equal to those that fought, they fill up as many tens of thousands. And so Xerxes the son of Darius brought to Sepias and Thermopylae five hundred

¹ Chapter 60.

² Chapter 87.

and twenty-eight tens of thousands, and three thousand and two hundred and twenty men. This was the number of the whole army of Xerxes; but of the women, both cooks and concubines, and of the eunuchs no man could say the true number; neither could any man tell the multitude of the oxen and the other beasts of burden or of the Indian dogs that were in his train, because there were so many. Therefore it is no marvel unto me that the streams of sundry rivers failed; but rather I marvel how the victuals sufficed for so many tens of thousands. For I find, when I compute, that if each man received a chcenix¹ of wheat a day and no more, an hundred and ten thousand and sixty bushels were consumed each day, and moreover three hundred and forty choenixes, reckoning nothing for the women and the eunuchs and the beasts of burden and the Indian dogs. But of all these tens of thousands of men there was none that for comeliness and stature was worthier than Xerxes to bear rule over them.

Now when the navy had set forth, and touched at the shore of Magnesia which is betwixt the city of Casthana^a and the headland of Sepias, then the first ships that arrived were moored to the land, but the rest lay at anchor behind them in rows, eight ships deep toward the sea, because the shore was not long enough. Thus they passed that night; but when the day-spring came, then, albeit the sky was clear and the air still, the sea boiled and there fell upon them a mighty tempest and a great wind from the east, which they that dwell about these places call the Hellespontian. And as many of them as perceived the wind rising and were able to do so because of their mooring, drew their ships out of the water before the storm came; and they themselves were saved, and their ships also. But as many of the ships as it caught afloat, were cast away, some at the place in Pelium called the Ovens, and others upon that very shore; and some fell upon Sepias itself,

¹ See 6, 57.

and others were cast up at the city of Melibcea, and others at Casthanaea. And the might of the tempest was not to be withstood. [^xNow there is a report that the Athenians had called upon Boreas by reason of an oracle. For another prophecy came unto them, that they should call to their son-in-law to help them. Now Boreas, according to the report of the Greeks, hath an Attic wife, Orithyia the daughter of Erechtheus; and because of this kinship the Athenians, so the tale hath it, computed that Boreas was their son-in-law. And as they lay with the ships at Chalcis in Eubcea, when they saw the tempest arising, or peradventure even before, they sacrificed and called upon Boreas and Orithyia to succour them and destroy the ships of the barbarians, as formerly at Athos. And whether Boreas because of this fell upon the barbarians at their moorings, I am not able to say; howbeit, the Athenians say that Boreas had helped them before, and performed this also at that time. And when they returned, they reared a temple to Boreas by the river Ilissus.] In that travail they who say fewest say that not less than four hundred ships were destroyed, and men without number, and store of riches in abundance. (And this shipwreck was very profitable to Aminocles the son of Cratines, a Magnesian, who possessed land about Sepias; for in aftertime he gathered many drinking-cups of gold, and many of silver, that were cast up out of the sea, and found treasure-chests of the Persians, and compassed other riches unspeakable. So he became exceeding rich by his findings, though in other things he was not blest; for there was a certain grievous calamity touching the murder of a son, which afflicted him.) But as for the merchant ships carrying victuals that were destroyed, and the other vessels, there was no numbering them. Therefore the captains of the navy, fearing lest the Thessalians should set upon them when they were in evil case, cast up a high fence round about them out

¹ Later addition.

of the broken pieces of the ships. And the tempest continued three days; but at last, by making meat-offerings and casting spells upon the wind, and moreover by sacrificing to Thetis and to the other daughters of Nereus, the magi caused it to cease on the fourth day; or peradventure it was stilled of its own accord. (Now they sacrificed to Thetis because they learned from the Ionians the story that she was seized in this place by Peleus, and that the whole headland of Sepias pertained to her and to the other daughters of Nereus.) So on the fourth day the storm was over. But on the day after the tempest first began, the watchers ran down from the high places of Eubcea and signified unto the Greeks all that was come to pass touching the shipwreck. And they, when they learned thereof, gave thanks to Posidon the Saviour, and poured drink-offerings, and hasted back with all speed to Artemisium; for they expected that some few ships only should remain to be their adversaries. So they came and lay a second time with the ships at Artemisium. [*And because of this they preserve the title of Posidon the Saviour even unto this day.] But the barbarians, when the wind ceased to blow and the wave became smooth, launched and sailed along the mainland; and after they had turned the foreland of Magnesia, they sailed into the gulf which leadeth unto Pagasas. Now there is a place in this gulf of Magnesia where it is said that Heracles was left behind by Jason and his companions in the Argo, when he was sent to get water, what time they sailed unto *Ma.* for the fleece; and because they purposed, when they had drawn water from thence, to loose into the deep, therefore the name Aphetæ² is given to this place. And there the people of Xerxes cast anchor. But it chanced that fifteen of the ships had launched a long while after the rest. And haply these barbarians espied the ships of the Greeks at Artemisium; and deeming that they were their own

¹ Later addition.

² i.e. place of loosing.

ships, they went and fell among the enemy. Now their captain was Sandoces the son of Thamasius, governor of Cyme in [^]Eolis. This man king Darius had formerly taken and crucified for this fault, that being one of the royal judges he gave an unjust judgement for money. Howbeit, after he was hung up, Darius considered and found that more benefits had been done by him toward the house of the king than the number of his transgressions. And when Darius found that this was so, he perceived that what he had done was more hasty than wise; and he loosed him. Thus he escaped from the hands of king Darius, and perished not but was saved. But at that season, when he fell among the Greeks, he was not to escape a second time and live; for when they saw them come sailing on, the Greeks perceived the error that they were in, and launched and easily took them. In one of these ships was taken Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, and in another the Paphian captain, Penthylus the son of Demonou's, who brought twelve ships from Paphus but lost eleven of them in the tempest at Sepias and with the one which was saved sailed into Artemisium and was taken. These men the Greeks questioned concerning all that they desired to know of the army of Xerxes; and thereafter they sent them away in bonds to the Isthmus of Corinth.

So the navy of the barbarians, excepting the fifteen ships whereof I have spoken, was come to Aphetae. But Xerxes and the land host, having journeyed through Thessaly and Achaia, had entered into the land of the Malians two days before. And in Thessaly he had held a race between his own horsemen and the horsemen of Thessaly, because he heard that they were the best in Greece; and lo, the Greek mares were left far behind in the race. And of the rivers of Thessaly, the waters of the Onochonus alone sufficed not for the army when they drank thereof; but of the rivers which flow in Achaia, even Apidanus, which is the greatest

of them, did scarcely suffice. And when Xerxes came to Alus in Achaia, his guides, desiring to expound unto him all things, told the story of that place, how Athamas the son of Æolus had taken counsel with Ino and devised the destruction of Phrixus, but Phrixus escaped to *MB.* in Colchis on the ram with the golden fleece, and there begat besides other sons Cytissorus; and how thereafter the Achaeans by reason of an oracle have appointed these pains to that man's descendants, ordaining that whosoever is the eldest in that family shall be excluded from the town hall, and themselves keeping watch; and if he entereth in, he may by no means depart until he is to be sacrificed. Moreover they told him that many of this house before now have departed for fear and fled away to another land, but in process of time have returned again and been taken entering into the town hall. And they described how the man is sacrificed, all decked with garlands and led forth in procession. Now these things are done to the descendants of Cytissorus the son of Phrixus, because when the Achaeans by reason of an oracle would have made Athamas the son of Æolus a sin-offering for their land and were in act to sacrifice him, this Cytissorus came from *Ma.* in Colchis and delivered him; and by doing so he brought the wrath of the god upon his offspring for ever. And after Xerxes heard these things, when he came nigh unto Alus, he avoided it himself and gave command unto all his army to do likewise; and he revered the house of the descendants of Athamas and their precinct.

Thus did he in Thessaly and in Achaia. But after Xerxes left those parts he journeyed beside a gulf of the sea wherein there is ebb and flow every day. And about this gulf there is a plain, broad in some parts and exceeding narrow in other parts; and this plain is shut in by high and steep mountains, which are called the Rocks of Trachis. And the first city on the gulf, coming from Achaia, is Anticyra, nigh whereunto the river Sperchius, which floweth

from among the ÆEnianes, issueth into the sea. And at a distance of about twenty stades from this is another river, to which is given the name Dyras; and the story is that it appeared to give help to Heracles when he burned.¹ And at a distance of another twenty stades from this is another river, which is called Melas. And the city of Trachis is distant five stades from this river Melas. And here also is the widest space in all this land between the mountains and the sea; for the plain is two and twenty thousand plethra broad. And to the south of Trachis there is a cleft in the mountain which encloseth the land of Trachis, and through the cleft the river Asopus issueth and floweth along the skirts of the mountain. And to the south of the Asopus there is another river, the Phoenix, of no great size, which floweth from the same mountains and issueth into the Asopus. And near the river Phcenix is the narrowest place; for there is only room for a carriage-way. And from the river Phcenix it is fifteen stades to Thermopylae. And betwixt the river Phcenix and Thermopylae is a village whereunto the name Anthela is given, by which the Asopus floweth and issueth into the sea; and there is a broad space around it, wherein is established the temple of Demeter of the Amphictyons;² and there are seats for the Amphictyons and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

So king Xerxes encamped at Trachis in the land of Malis. And the Greeks were encamped in the place which is called Thermopylae by the most part of the Greeks but Pylae by the people of the place and by their neighbours. In these places they were each encamped; and the barbarian had power as far as Trachis over all that lieth to the northward thereof, and the Greeks had power over all on this continent that lieth to the southward thereof. And the Greeks who waited in that place for the Persian were these. From Sparta there were three hundred

¹ In the shirt of Nessus.

² See 2, 180 note.

warriors, and from Tegea and Mantinea, a thousand, (from either city half,) and from the Arcadian Orchomenus, an hundred and twenty, and from the rest of Arcadia, a thousand; thus many were from Arcadia, and from Corinth there were four hundred, and from Phlius two hundred, and from Mycense fourscore. These came from the Peloponnese; and out of Bceotia there were seven hundred from Thespia and four hundred from Thebes. Besides these, the Locrians of Opus with all their army, and the Phocians with a thousand men, came at the summons. For the Greeks summoned them, saying by messengers that they themselves were come as forerunners of the rest, and the residue of the confederates were expected every day; and moreover, that they had the sea in their keeping, guarded by the Athenians and the men of ^Egina and the rest that were appointed unto the navy; and moreover, that they had naught to fear, because he that came against Greece was a man and not a god, and there never was any mortal from the beginning whom evil had not befallen, and the greatest evils had befallen the greatest men; wherefore the invader also, seeing he was mortal, must assuredly be disappointed. And when the Locrians and the Phocians heard this, they came with help. Now these peoples had each their own captains, city by city; but he that was in most estimation and had command over the whole army was a Lacedaemonian, Leonides the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Leon, the son of Eurycratides, the son of Anaxander, the son of Eurycrates, the son of Polydorus, the son of Alcamenes, the son of Teleclus, the son of Archelaiis, the son of Hegesilaus, the son of Doryssus, the son of Leobotes, the son of Echestratus, the son of Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, the son of Aristodemus, the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. This man had obtained the kingdom of Sparta beyond expectation; for having two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he was far from thinking that

he should ever be king. But Cleomenes died without male offspring, and Dorieus was then no more, but had perished also, in Sicily; and so the kingdom came down to Leonides, because he was born before Cleombrotus, who was the youngest son of Anaxandrides, and moreover had Cleomenes' daughter to wife. The same went to Thermopylae at this time with three hundred men whom he had chosen, being men of ripe years who possessed sons. And he brought with him also the Thebans that I spake of, whose captain was Leontiades the son of Eurymachus. And the reason why Leonides was desirous of bringing with him these and no other Greeks, was that the charge was loud against them that they had given themselves to the Mede. Therefore he summoned them to the war, desiring to know whether they would send or whether they would openly renounce the confederacy of the Greeks. And they did send; but their hearts were not with him. Now the Spartans sent out these men with Leonides first, that the other confederates might see them and come to the war, whereas, if they heard that the Spartans delayed, they also might give themselves to the Mede. But they intended thereafter, when they had kept the feast, (for it was the Carneia,) to make haste and bring help, every man of them, leaving but a watch in Sparta. And the residue of the confederates also were minded to do likewise; for the festival at Olympia fell in the same days as this business. Therefore they sent these forerunners, not deeming that the conflict at Thermopylae would be decided so speedily.

Thus they were minded. But at Thermopylae, when the Persian drew nigh unto the pass, the Greeks were dismayed, and took counsel whether they should depart. And to the other Peloponnesians it seemed good to go to the Peloponnese and keep the Isthmus; but the Phocians and the Locrians found fault with this opinion, and Leonides gave his voice for remaining there and sending messengers to the cities, to bid them send more help,

because they were too few to withstand the host of the Medes. And while they took counsel thus, Xerxes sent an horseman to spy them out, to see how many they were and what they did. For when he was yet in Thessaly, he had heard that a little army • was assembled in this place, and that the leaders thereof were the Lacedaemonians, and Leonides of the house of Heracles. And the horseman rode up to the camp, and viewed and surveyed not indeed all the camp, (for it was not possible to see such as were arrayed within the wall, which they had raised up and were guarding,) but he marked those without, whose station was before the wall. And by chance at that time it was the Lacedaemonians who were arrayed without. And he saw some of them exercising themselves, and others combing their hair. And he viewed these things marvelling, and marked their number. And when he had marked all things perfectly, he rode back again in peace; for no man pursued, but he was held in much contempt. And when he came again, he told Xerxes all that he had seen. And when Xerxes heard it, he was not able to conjecture the truth, that they were preparing themselves to perish and to cause to perish according to their ability; but that which they did seemed to him cause for laughter, and he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who was in the camp. And when he came, Xerxes questioned with him concerning each of these matters, desiring to learn what it was that the Lacedaemonians did. And he said: Thou didst hear me concerning these men once before, when we set forth against Greece; and when thou hadst heard, thou didst laugh me to scorn, when I told thee how I foresaw that this business would issue, because my greatest striving, O king, is to walk in the truth before thee. Howbeit, hear me now. These men are come to fight with us for the pass, and for this they make ready; for their custom standeth thus, that whensoever they are about to endanger their lives, they anoint their heads. But know that if thou subdue

these men, and the remainder which tarrieth in Sparta, there is no other nation of mankind that shall abide thy coming, O king, or lift up their hands against thee; for now thou art to contend with the fairest kingdom and the bravest men that are in Greece. But these sayings were found by Xerxes utterly incredible; and he asked how they, that were but so many, could fight with his army. And Demaratus said, O king, deal with me as with a liar, if these things come not to pass in the way that I say. So he spake; but Xerxes believed him not. And he let four days pass over, expecting all the time that they would flee; but on the fifth, when they departed not, but seemed to him to persevere in their impudence and folly, he was wroth and sent against them the Medes and the Cissians, giving charge to take them alive and bring them into his sight. Then the Medes rushed and fell among the Greeks; and many of them were slain, but others came on; and they turned not back, albeit they were in a great strait. And they made it plain to every man, and not least unto the king himself, that there were many men but few soldiers. And the conflict lasted throughout the day. But when the Medes were shamefully handled, they retired; and the Persians whom the king called Immortals, over whom Hydarnes bare rule, took their place and came on, thinking to make an end easily. And when they met with the Greeks, they fared no better than the army of the Medes, but even as they, because they fought in a strait passage and had shorter spears than the Greeks and were not able to use their numbers. And the Lacedemonians fought worthily of report. And as men that understood war, fighting with men that understood it not, they used many devices; and especially they would often all turn their backs together and make as though they fled, and the barbarians, seeing them flee, would come on with shouting and tumult; then, as they were overtaken, they would turn again to face the barbarians, and so slay multitudes of the Persians

without number. And a few of the Spartans themselves also fell at that time. But when the Persians, assaulting the pass both by companies and in every manner, were not able to get any advantage, they turned back again. In these assaults it is said that the king, as he watched, leaped up from his throne three times, in his fear for the army. Thus they contended that day. And on the morrow the barbarians fared no better in the contest; for inasmuch as the Greeks were few, they expected that they would be sorely wounded and not able any more to lift up their hands against them; and therefore they joined battle. But the Greeks ordered themselves in ranks, one nation behind another nation, and each nation fought in turn, except the Phocians, who were appointed to watch the pathway over the mountain. And when the Persians found no greater advantage than they had the day before, they turned back. But when the king was perplexed to know how he should deal with the business, Ephialtes the son of Eurydemus, a man of Malis, thinking to obtain some great thing of the king, entered into speech with him, and told him of the pathway that led through the mountain to Thermopylae. And so he destroyed the Greeks who resisted there. But afterwards he fled to Thessaly for fear of the Lacedaemonians; and after he fled, a price was set upon his head by the Pylagori.¹ And after a time he came again to Anticyra and died by the hand of Athenades, a man of Trachis. Now this Athenades slew Ephialtes for another cause, which I will signify hereafter in my history; howbeit he was honoured of the Lacedaemonians none the less. Thus died Ephialtes afterwards. But there is another report, to the effect that Onetes the son of Phanagoras, a man of Carystus, and Corydallus of Anticyra were they that spake those words to the king and told the Persians the way over the mountain. Yet I do in no wise believe it. For first, a man may judge by this, that the

¹ i.e. the Amphietyons.

Pylagori, who must surely have learned the whole truth, set a price not upon Onetes and Corydallus, but on Ephialtes the man of Trachis; and secondly, we know that Ephialtes fled because of this accusation. For though Onetes, albeit not a Malian, might have known this path, if he had sojourned much in the country, yet in truth Ephialtes was he that shewed the way over the mountain, and therefore I write him guilty. But Xerxes was pleased with that which Ephialtes promised to perform; and straightway rejoicing he sent Hydarnes and those over whom Hydarnes was captain. And they set forth from the camp about the hour of the lighting of lamps. Now this path was found out by the inhabitants of the place, who, when they had found it out, guided the Thessalians by it against the Phocians at the season when the Phocians had closed the passage with a wall, to shelter themselves from the war. So long ago was it discovered, and there never came any good of it. And the path is after this fashion. It beginneth from the river Asopus, which floweth through the cleft in the mountain; (and the mountain and the path have the same name, to wit, Anopsea;) and it stretcheth along the ridge of the mountain, and endeth at Alpenus, which is the first city of Locris coming from the side of Malis, and at the stone which is called the stone of Melampygos,¹ and at the seats of the Cercopes; and thereabouts also is the narrowest part of the pass. Such is the fashion of this path; and the Persians, having passed over the Asopus, marched thereby all night, with the mountains of Ceta on their right hand and the mountains of Trachis on their left hand. And as the dawn began to spring, they were upon a pinnacle of the mountain. Now in this part of the mountain, as I have before declared,² a thousand warriors of the Phocians kept guard, protecting their own country and watching the path. For the pass below was guarded by those that I have spoken of;

¹ i.e. Black Buttocks (a name of Heracles).

² **Chapter 212.**

but the Phocians of their own free will had undertaken to Leonides that they would keep watch over the path. And no man marked the Persians as they ascended, because the whole mountain is covered with oaks. But after they came to the top, the Phocians were ware of it; for albeit there was no wind, a great rushing was heard, as was natural because of the leaves that were strewn underfoot. And the Phocians leaped up, and began to put on their armour; and straightway the barbarians were upon them. And when they saw men putting on armour, the barbarians were astonished; for whereas they had expected that nothing should be found in their way, they lighted upon an army. Then Hydarnes, fearing lest they be Lacedaemonians, demanded of Ephialtes whence that army was. And when he learned the truth, he arrayed the Persians for battle. But the Phocians, when the arrows fell in showers upon them, departed and fled to the top of the mountain, supposing it was themselves against whom the Persians had set forth; and they made ready as though to perish. Thus were the Phocians minded; howbeit the Persians with Ephialtes and Hydarnes made no account of the Phocians, but descended from the mountain in haste. And as for the Greeks at Thermopylae, the diviner Megistias looked into the sacrifices and first made known to them the death which was to come upon them; and moreover, there were deserters who brought them word how the Persians were fetching a compass. These signified the thing unto them while it was yet night; and thirdly came the watchers, who ran down from the high places when day was already beginning to spring. Then the Greeks took counsel, and their opinions were divided; for some would not have them forsake their station, but others were of the opposite mind. And thereafter they separated; and the one part went away, and were scattered asunder, and turned each unto their several cities; **but the other part** made ready to remain there with Leonides. Now

there is also another report, that Leonides sent them away himself, because he cared for them, that they might not be destroyed, whereas it was not seemly for himself and for the Spartans that were with him to forsake the station which they set forth to keep[«] and I also do most incline this way in my opinion, [that when Leonides perceived the confederates without zeal and not desirous of continuing with him in jeopardy, he commanded them to be gone, whereas for himself to depart was not well; for by abiding he left behind a great name and the prosperity of Sparta was not extinguished. For it had been prophesied by the Pythia to the Spartans, when they enquired concerning this war in the very beginning, when it was yet arising, that needs must either Lacedaemon be laid waste by the barbarians or their king destroyed. This she prophesied unto them in hexameter verses, running thus:

But as for you, dwellers in Sparta of the broad spaces,
 Either your famous great city shall be wasted by Perseus' sons,
 Or else this shall not be, but the bounds of Lacedaemon
 Shall mourn a king of the house of Heracles that hath perished.
 For neither the strength of lions nor of bulls shall hold him,
 Might against might; for he hath the power of Zeus,
 And I say he shall not be stayed till he utterly consume one of
 these two.

And I do deem that Leonides, pondering on this and also desiring to lay up glory for the Spartans alone, sent the confederates away, rather than that they quarrelled and those that departed went without commands.] And hereof no mean evidence to me is this, that it is plain Leonides sought to send away the diviner who went with this army, that he might not also be destroyed, even Megistias the Acarnanian, who was said to be descended from

¹ Later addition.

Melampus, the same that foretold from the sacrifices what was to befall them. But when Leonides would have sent him away, Megistias himself would not leave him, but sent away his only-begotten son, who was with him at the war. Howsoever, the confederates that were sent away departed and obeyed Leonides; and only the men of Thebes and Thespia remained with the Lacedaemonians. Now the Thebans remained perforce and unwillingly, (for Leonides kept them, accounting of them as hostages); but the men of Thespia remained of their own free will, saying that they would not depart nor leave Leonides and those that were with him; and they remained and died with him. And their captain was Demophilus the son of Diadromes.

But Xerxes, after the sun was risen and he had made a drink-offering, forbore a while until about the time that the market-place is full, and then made the assault; for thus Ephialtes had enjoined, because the descent from the mountain was speedier and the distance much shorter than the ascent and the way round. So the barbarians with Xerxes made the assault; and the Greeks that were with Leonides, inasmuch as they were going to their death, issued forth into the wider part of the pass much farther than formerly. For throughout the former days they held the wall as a bulwark, and issued forth and fought before it; but now they joined the battle without the narrow part. And multitudes of the barbarians fell; for the commanders of the companies whipped every man with scourges from behind, driving them continually onwards. And many fell into the sea and were destroyed, and yet many more were trodden down alive, one by another; and there was no reckoning how many perished. For the Greeks, knowing that they should surely die by the hand of them that came round the mountain, put forth their utmost courage against the barbarians, raging furiously and recking naught. And it happened that by that time most of their spears were already broken; and

therefore they slew the Persians with their swords. And in that conflict fell Leonides, having quitted himself as a brave man, and other notable Spartans with him, whose names I learned, as of men that quitted themselves worthily; nay, I did also learn the names of all the three hundred. And many notable Persians fell in that place, and among them two sons of Darius, Habrocomes and Hyperanthes, that were born to Darius by Artanes' daughter Phrtagune. (Now Artanes was brother to Darius the king, and son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames; and in giving his daughter to Darius, he gave him the whole of his estate also, because she was his only child.) And besides the two brethren of Xerxes that fell in that place fighting, * * * there was a great press of Persians and Lacedaemonians over the dead body of Leonides, until the Greeks by their valour pulled it back. And they put the Persians to flight four times. And so they continued until the men with Ephialtes drew nigh. But when the Greeks heard that they were come, thenceforth the form of the battle was changed; for they went back into the narrow part of the road, and passed by the wall, and came and established themselves together, all except the Thebans, upon the hill in the pass, where the lion of stone now standeth over Leonides. In this place, as they defended themselves with their swords (as many as yet had them) and with their hands and teeth, the barbarians overwhelmed them, shooting from every side upon them; for the barbarians that were in front followed after them and rased the bulwark of the wall, and those that had gone around came upon them from behind.

And of the Lacedaemonians and the men of Thespia, who so behaved themselves, the bravest man is said to have been Diëneces a Spartan, who, as it is reported, said this saying before they joined battle with the Medes: when he heard a certain man of Trachis say that when the barbarians shoot their shafts they hide the sun by the multitude of the arrows, he was not dismayed

thereat but held the great number of the Medes in contempt and said: The stranger from Trachis bringeth good news, if we are to fight the Medes in the shade and not in the heat of the sun. This saying, and others of like manner, they say that Diënces the Lacedaemonian left for memorials. And the bravest after him are said to have been two Lacedaemonian brethren, Alphetis and Maron, the sons of Orsiphantus. And of the men of Thespia one whose name was Dithyrambus the son of Harmatides had best repute. And they were buried in the same place where they fell, and with them were buried those who perished before the *men* sent away by Leonides had departed. And inscribed over them are writings to this effect:

Against three hundred tens of thousands once fought here
Four thousands from out of the Peloponnese.



This is written over all of them; but over the Spartans peculiarly is written:

O stranger, bring tidings to the Lacedaemonians
That we lie here obedient to their decrees.

This is over the Lacedaemonians; and over the diviner is this:

Here is the monument of Megistias the famous diviner,
Whom the Medes slew when they passed the river Sperchius;
He knew of a surety that the Angel of Death drew nigh,
Yet would he not consent to forsake the leaders of Sparta.

Now they that honoured them with inscriptions and with pillars **were** the Amphictyons; but the inscription over the diviner Megistias was set there by Simonides the son of Leoprepes, because he was his friend.

And it is said that two of these three hundred, to wit, Eurytus

and Aristodemus, were sent away out of the camp by Leonides and lay in Alpeni, their eyes being exceedingly diseased. And they might, by taking common counsel, have either come safe back to Sparta together, or else both died along with the rest, if they desired not to return home; yet, when they might have done either of these things, they could not agree together but quarrelled. And Eurytus, when he heard how the Persians had encompassed them about, called for his arms and put them on, and commanded his servant to lead him to where they were fighting. And when he had led him thither, the servant departed and fled; and Eurytus rushed into the tumult, and was destroyed. But Aristodemus loved his life and went not with him. Now if Aristodemus alone had been afflicted and so returned home to Sparta, or if both of them together had found their way back, then the Spartans, as I think, would not have been wroth with them; but seeing one of them had perished, wher[^]s the other had taken advantage of the excuse and not been willing to die, needs were they greatly wroth with Aristodemus. So some say it was by this occasion that Aristodemus came safe to Sparta. But others say that he was sent from the camp on an errand; and when he could have reached the battle before it ended, he would not, but tarried in the way and was saved, whereas his fellow messenger joined in the battle and died. And when he returned home to Lacedsmon, Aristodemus had reproach and disgrace; and his disgrace consisted in this, that no Spartan would either kindle fire for him or hold speech with him; and his reproach was that he was called Aristodemus the Trembler. Howbeit, in the battle at Plataea he made amends for all the fault that was imputed to him. And there is also a report that another of these three hundred, whose name was Pantites, was saved through being sent on an errand into Thesaly. And when this man returned home to Sparta, then, because he was in dishonour, he hanged himself. But the Thebans, of

whom Leontiades was captain, remained with the Greeks for a while, and fought against the king's army under constraint. But after they saw that the affairs of the Persians began to prevail, then, while the Greeks with Leonides hasted to the hill, they parted from them and stretched forth their hands and approached the barbarians, saying nothing but the truth, that they were among the first to submit themselves to the Mede and give the king earth and water, and that they came to Thermopylae under constraint and were guiltless of the injury which was done the king. So saying they were saved; for they had the Thessalians also for witnesses unto the truth of their words. Howbeit they prospered not in all points; for when they approached and the barbarians took them, they did slay a few of them, and the rest by Xerxes' command they branded with the brand royal, beginning with the captain Leontiades, whose son Eurymachus was killed by the Plataeans in the latter times, when he was captain of four hundred Thebans that seized the town of Plataea.

Thus the Greeks at Thermopylae acquitted themselves. And Xerxes called Demaratus and began to enquire of him, saying: Demaratus, thou art a good man. Thy truth beareth me witness thereof; for all is come to pass even as thou spakest. Now therefore tell me, how many might be the residue of the Lacedaemonians, and how many of them are as these in the things of war; or are they all such? And he said: O king, the multitude of all the Lacedaemonians is great and their cities are many; but as for the thing that thou wouldst know, there is in Lacedaemon a city called Sparta, of nigh about eight thousand men. These are all equal to those that fought here; but the other Lacedaemonians, though they are not equal to them, are valiant nevertheless. Then said Xerxes: Demaratus, in what manner shall we prevail over these man with least pains? Go to, expound it; for thou knowest the comings in and the goings out of their counsels, inasmuch as

thou hast been their king. And he replied: Behold, O king, if thou desirest my counsel in earnest, it is right that I should show thee what is best; to wit, that thou shouldest send forth three hundred ships of thy navy to the land of Laconia. Now there is an island that lieth over against it, the name whereof is Cythera, concerning which Chilon, who was the wisest man among us, said that if it had been sunk under the sea, it were more profitable to the Spartans than that it should be above the waters; for he was always in expectation that some such thing as I now advise thee should happen because of it, not foreseeing thine invasion but fearing any invasion alike. From this island let them set forth and affright the Lacedaemonians. And when they shall have a war of their own at home, thou needest not fear that they will bring help to the rest of Greece when thy land army conquereth it. And when the rest of Greece hath been brought into bondage, Laconia shall then be left solitary and helpless. Howbeit, if thou do not so, be sure that thou shalt fare thus: there is a narrow neck to the Peloponnese, where all the Peloponnesians have taken an oath together against thee; there thou mayest expect to have more battles, harder than those that have been. But if thou do the former thing, then this neck of land and all the cities shall be given up to thee without fighting. After him spake Achasmenes, who was Xerxes' brother and captain of the navy, because it happened that he was present at these words and feared lest Xerxes be persuaded so to do: O king, I see that thou receivest the words of a man that envieth thee because thou prosperest, or is even a traitor to thy cause. For lo, such are the ways wherein the Greeks delight to walk: they envy prosperity, and abhor that which is mightier than they. But if in thy present fortunes, when four hundred ships have been cast away, thou send another three hundred from the host to sail around the Peloponnese, thy adversaries shall be strong enough to fight with thee, whereas, while

the navy is united, it is hard for them to make head against it, and they shall by no means be strong enough to fight with thee. Moreover, the whole navy shall succour the army, and the army shall succour the navy, if they journey together; but if thou part them in sunder, neither shalt thou be of use unto them, nor they to thee. Nay, do thou order thine own affairs well, and be not minded to consider the affairs of them that war against thee, where they will set the war afoot, or what they will do, or how great their multitude is; for surely they are sufficient to take thought for themselves, and likewise we for ourselves. And as for the Lacedaemonians, if they come to battle against the Persians, they shall nowise repair their present injury. Then Xerxes replied with these words: Achaemenes, thou seemest unto me to speak well, and so I will do. But Demaratus, though he is put to the worse by thee in counsel, speaketh that which he deemeth to be best for me; for never will I receive it of thee that he is not well disposed to my affairs, judging by his former sayings, and also by this, that one citizen envieth another citizen in his prosperity, and is malevolent towards him, and when he seeketh counsel will not advise what seemeth him best, (unless he be excellent in virtue, and such are rare;) but one foreigner is exceeding benevolent unto another foreigner that prospereth, and if he seek his counsel, will advise him for the best. Therefore, from evil speech against Demaratus, who is a foreigner and my guest, I command every one to refrain himself henceforward. When he had spoken thus, Xerxes passed among the dead bodies; and he commanded to cut off the head of Leonides, (for he had heard that he was king and captain of the Lacedaemonians,) and to set it upon a stake. Now by many other testimonies, and by this not least, it is plain to me that king Xerxes was wroth with Leonides in his lifetime more than with any other man; for else he had never transgressed thus against the dead body, seeing the

Persians are more wont to honour men valiant in war than all other peoples that I know. So they to whom it was appointed did his Ridding! [¹But I will return to where I omitted something in my story before. The Lacedaemonians were the first who learned that the king was setting forth against Greece, and therefore sent to the oracle at Delphi, where that answer was given to them whereof I spake a little before. But they learned of it in a wondrous manner. For Demaratus the son of Ariston, who fled to the Medes, was not well disposed unto the Lacedaemonians. So I deem, and reason is my ally; howbeit, one may conjecture whether he did this thing for benevolence, or for malicious delight. After it seemed good to Xerxes to lead an host against Greece, Demaratus, being in Susa and learning thereof, desired to send word to the Lacedaemonians. And there was no other way in which he could signify it, because of the danger lest he be discovered, except this which he devised. He took a folding tablet, and scraped off the wax thereof, and thereafter wrote the king's intent upon the wood of the tablet. And when he had done it, he spread the wax over the letters again, that the tablet being carried empty might make no trouble with the guards upon the road. But when at last it came to Lacedaemon, the Lacedaemonians were not able to comprehend the matter, until, as I learn, Cleomenes' daughter, who was the wife of Leonides, to wit, Gorgo, perceived it and advised them to scrape off the wax, and they should find writing upon the wood. And they did so, and found the writing and read it, and thereafter sent tidings to the other Greeks. Thus it is said that this thing came to pass.]

¹ Later addition; compare Chapter 220.

BOOK VIII

BUT the Greeks appointed unto the navy were these. The Athenians provided an hundred and twenty-seven ships; and the Plataeans, by reason of their valour and their zeal, did help the Athenians to fill the ships, although they were without experience of seafaring. And the Corinthians provided forty ships, and the men of Megara twenty. And the men of Chalcis filled twenty, the Athenians providing them the ships; and the men of Sgina furnished eighteen, and the men of Sicyon twelve, and the Lacedaemonians ten, and the Epidaurians eight, and the men of Eretria seven, and the men of Troezen five, and the men of Styra two, and the men of Ceos two ships and two vessels of fifty oars. And the Locrians of Opus came to help with seven vessels of fifty oars. These were they that went to Artemisium to the war, and I have also told what multitude of ships each nation provided; and the whole number of ships that were gathered together at Artemisium, not counting the vessels of fifty oars, was two hundred and seventy-one. And the Spartans provided the captain that had most authority, to wit, Eurybiades the son of Euryclides; for the confederates said that they would not follow Athenian commanders but would dissolve the intended expedition unless the Lacedaemonian commanded them. For in the beginning, even before they sent to Sicily for allies, it was said that they ought to commit the navy to the Athenians. But when the confederates resisted, the Athenians yielded, because they thought it a great matter that Greece be saved, and they perceived that Greece should be lost if they should quarrel about the command. *Now they thought rightly; for domestic strife is an evil as much greater than unanimous war as war is than peace.* And because they understood this, they resisted not, but yielded for as long a time as the Greeks had sore need of

them. And this they plainly shewed; for when they had cast forth the Persian and were contending thenceforward for his land, they took away the command from the Lacedaemonians, using the violence of Pausanias for their occasion. Howbeit these things came to pass afterwards; but at this time the Greeks who came to Artemisium, when they saw that many ships had run into Aphetæ and all places were filled with armed men, were sore afraid, because the state of the barbarians was found contrary to their expectation and not as they had deemed. But when the Eubceans learned that they were counselling thus, they besought Eurybiades to remain with them a little while, till they might put their children and their households in a strong place. And when they could not persuade him, they applied themselves to the Athenian captain, Themistocles, and persuaded him for a price of thirty talents that the Greeks should remain before Eubœa and fight the battle there. And Themistocles caused the Greeks to stay after this fashion. To Eurybiades he gave five talents of that money, giving it as of his own. And when he had persuaded him, then, because of the rest only Adimantus the son of Ocytus, the Corinthian captain, murmured, saying that he would sail away from Artemisium and not abide with them, Themistocles swore an oath and said unto him: Verily thou shalt not forsake us; for I will give thee greater gifts than the king of the Medes would send thee, if thou shouldst forsake thy friends. Thus he spake; and he sent three talents of silver to the ship of Adimantus. So they received bribes and were persuaded, and the Eubœans* pleasure was done, and Themistocles himself gained withal; for they knew not that he had the rest, but those who shared in that money said in their heart that it was come for that purpose from Athens.

Thus they tarried in Eubœa and fought by sea. And it came to pass after this fashion. When they were come to Aphetas in the

early afternoon, then the barbarians, who had already heard that a few Grecian ships lay in covert at Artemisium, did see for themselves; and they were zealous to assail them, if haply they might take them. Now they resolved not to sail against them openly at the first, lest haply the Greeks, when they saw them coming, should set off in flight and darkness should cover them; then were they like to escape, whereas needs must not even a fire-bearer (as they said¹) escape and be saved. Accordingly they devised thus: from the whole number of the ships they separated off two hundred, and sent them around the other side of Sciathus, that they might not be seen of the enemy, to sail round Eubœa by Caphereus and past Geraestus unto Euripus; to the end that they might take the Greeks in a trap, these coming this way and barring the road backward, and themselves pressing on from in front. So counselling, they sent forth the ships appointed; but as for themselves, they were not minded to set upon the Greeks that day, nor until they should see the signal of those that sailed round, that they were come. And they took the number of the residue of the ships at Aphetæ. Now in that camp there was a certain Scyllias, a man of Scione, the best diver of all men then alive, who in the shipwreck at Pelium had saved many goods for the Persians, and compassed many also for himself. This Scyllias, as it seemeth, had long been minded to pass over unto the Greeks; howbeit, he had found no opportunity till then. But in the space of time that they were numbering the ships he came unto the Greeks, though I cannot say with certainty after what fashion; for I doubt if the tale be true that he dived into the sea at Aphetæ and came not up again before he arrived at Artemisium, having passed through the sea nigh about fourscore stades. And other things in the likeness of falsehoods are told concerning this man,

¹ In a Persian army the bearer of the sacred fire was the most closely protected.

and sundry also which be true; howbeit, in this matter let mine own opinion be declared, that he came unto Artemisium by boat. But when he was come, straightway he told the captains both of the shipwreck, and how it came to pass, and also of the ships which had been sent around Euboea. And when the Greeks heard it, they consulted one with another. And after many things had been spoken, the opinion prevailed that they should abide there that day and pitch for the night, but that afterwards, when midnight was gone by, they should depart and encounter the ships that were sailing round. And thereafter, when no man sailed against them, they waited until the day was drawn to eventide and then sailed against the barbarians themselves, wishing to prove their manner of fighting and their stratagems. And when the captains of Xerxes and the rest of the soldiers saw the Greeks sailing against them with few ships, they laid certain madness to their charge and did likewise launch, expecting to take them easily. And their expectation was exceeding reasonable, seeing the ships of the Greeks were few and their own many times more in multitude and better sailers. And being so assured, they sought to encompass the Greeks in their midst. Then as many of the Ionians as were well disposed to the Greeks and made this war perforce, were sore grieved, when they saw the Greeks like to be compassed about and were sure that not one of them should return home; so feeble did the Greek power seem to them. But as many as were glad of the thing, did each contend to be the first to take an Athenian ship and get rewards from the king; for the Athenians were highest accounted of in their camp. But the Greeks, at the first signal, turned the fore parts of their ships towards the barbarians, and drew the hinder parts together in the midst; and when the second signal was given, they set to work, albeit they were caught in little room and prow to prow. And they took thirty ships and Philaon the son of Chersis, who

was brother to Gorgus the king of Salamis, a man of account in the camp. And the first of the Greeks that took an enemy ship was an Athenian, to wit, Lycomedes the son of ¹/Eschreus; and the same received the prize of valour. But at last the coming on of night put an end to the unequal contest; and the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the barbarians to Aphetse, having fared much contrary to their expectation. In this battle Antidorus of Lemnos, alone of all the Greeks with the king, passed over to the Greek side; and because of this deed the Athenians gave him a piece of land in Salamis. But when night was come, though the season was midsummer, yet did rain fall in abundance all through the night and there were heavy thunderclaps. And the dead bodies and broken pieces of ships were borne ashore at Aphetse; and they twined themselves about the foreparts of the ships, and struck off the blades of the oars. And the soldiers in that place stood in great fear, expecting that they should surely perish, seeing what evils they were fallen into; for before they had taken breath from the shipwreck and the tempest at Pelium, a hard battle had followed, and after the battle a vehement storm of rain, with mighty torrents rushing into the sea and heavy thunders. And so they passed that night. But those that were appointed to sail around Euboea found the selfsame night much rougher yet, inasmuch as it came upon them when they were borne upon the deep. And their end was bitter; for the tempest and rain fell upon them when they were come in their voyage near to the Hollows of Euboea; and being driven by the wind, and not knowing whither they were driven, they were cast away upon the rocks. And all was done by God, that the Persian power might be made equal to the Greek, and not by far exceed it. So they were destroyed at the Hollows of Euboea; but the barbarians at Aphetae, when day shone upon them to their comfort, **kept their ships** still, and it contented **them** in their evil plight

to be at peace for the present. But the Greeks were strengthened by three and fifty Athenian ships; and they took courage from the arrival of these, and likewise from the tidings which came, that the barbarians who sailed around Euboea were all destroyed by the late storm. And they waited for the same time of day, and hunched and fell upon certain ships of Cilicia; and they destroyed them; and when night came, they sailed back to Artemisium again. But on the second day the barbarian captains, deeming it exceedingly shameful that so few ships should despitefully entreat them, and being in dread of that which Xerxes should do, waited no more upon the Greeks to begin battle but made ready and brought out their ships about the middle of the day. Now it fell out that these battles by sea and the battles by land at Thermopylae came to pass on the same days. And the whole intent of those at sea, even as of those with Leonides, was to guard the entry. So the exhortation of the Greeks was not to suffer the barbarians to pass by into Greece, and of the barbarians to destroy the Greek host and get possession of the passage. But while the host of Xerxes sailed towards them in array, the Greeks stayed still at Artemisium. Then the barbarians drew their ships into the form of a moon, that they might encompass the Greeks, whereupon the Greeks launched and met with them. And in this battle they were evenly matched one with another. For by reason of their great multitude the host of Xerxes wrought their own downfall, the ships being disordered and running foul one of another. Notwithstanding, they held fast and yielded not; for they deemed it a shameful thing to be put to flight by so few ships. And many Greek ships were destroyed and many men also, and yet more ships and men of the barbarians. And when they had thus contended, they parted asunder.

In this battle the bravest of Xerxes* soldiers were the Egyptians, who took five Greek ships with the shipmen and put forth

other great deeds. But the bravest of the Greeks that day were the Athenians, and of the Athenians Clinias the son of Alcibiades, who made war with two hundred men and his own proper ship, at his own charges.

And when they were parted, they both hastened gladly to their moorings. But the Greeks, when the battle was over, though they got possession of the dead bodies and of the broken pieces of the ships, did yet, because they were roughly handled, (and the Athenians not least, of whose ships the half were damaged,) take counsel to flee back into Greece. Then Themistocles, taking thought that if the Ionians and the Carians were parted in sunder *from* the barbarians, they should be able to prevail over the residue, gathered the captains together, while the Eubceans drove their flocks and herds to the sea; and he said unto them that he deemed he had a device wherewith he hoped to cause the best of the king's confederates to fall away. This matter he revealed no further; but he said that in their present affairs they should all slay as many of the Eubcean flocks and herds as they would, because it was better that the army should have them than their enemies. And he advised them each to command their own men to kindle fires; but as for their voyage, he said that himself would take thought in season how they should come to Greece without hurt. These things it pleased them to do; and straightway they kindled fires and turned their hand upon the beasts. *For the Eubceans, paying no heed to the prophecy of Bacis, as though it signified nothing, had neither conveyed aught forth nor made any provision beforehand in expectation of war; and so they brought their own affairs to ruin. For the oracle of Bacis concerning these things runneth thus:*

*Whenso one of barbarian speech casteth a yoke into the sea, even
a yoke of paper reeds,*

Then be thou sure to have forth of Eubaea the bleating goats.

These verses they heeded not at all. Therefore, in the present troubles and those that were looked for, they suffered the uttermost afflictions.

But while they did thus, the watcher from Trachis came. Now there was a watcher at Artemisium, to wit, Polyas, a man of Anticyra, unto whom charge was given, (and he had a boat in readiness,) that, if the navy should come to grief, he should signify it to those at Thermopylae; and likewise Habronichus the son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonides, ready to bring word in a vessel of thirty oars to those at Artemisium, if any mischief should befall the land host. This Habronichus, then, arrived among them and signified what things were come to pass touching Leonides and his host. And when they heard it, they made no more delay in their departure but set off one after the other, the Corinthians first and the Athenians last. But Themistocles took with him such of the Athenian ships as sailed best, and went around all the drinking waters, inscribing upon the rocks writings which the Ionians read the next day when they came to Artemisium. And the writings said thus: Men of Ionia, ye do unrighteously in warring against your fathers and bringing Greeks into bondage. Nay, best of all, be ye of our part; but if it is not possible for you to do so, then, we pray you, desist even now from this war yourselves, and beseech the Carians also to do likewise. Howbeit, if neither of these things may come to pass, but the constraint of your yoke is too great for rebelling, even so do ye fight ill of purpose when we meet together in the action, remembering that from us ye are descended, and that the hatred between the barbarian and us arose because of you in the beginning. These things Themistocles wrote, as it seemeth me, with double intent; that either the writings, being hid from the king, should cause the Ionians to change and be of their own part, or else, being reported unto Xerxes, should make the Ionians distrusted and withhold them from the sea battles. So Themistocles engraved

these writings. And straightway afterward there came a man of Hestiaea to the barbarians in a boat, with tidings of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. And they for disbelief held him that brought the tidings captive, and sent forth swift ships to find out the truth. And when they reported how it was, then, as the sun's light was spread abroad, all the host sailed to Artemisium together. And they tarried in that place until the middle of the day, and thereafter sailed to Hestiaea. And they came and took the city of Hestiaea, and overran all the villages by the sea in the parcel of Ellopia which belongeth to the land of Hestiaea. And while they were there, Xerxes sent an herald to the navy, when he had made his preparation concerning the dead bodies. And his preparation was after this wise: of all the dead bodies of his own host at Thermopylae, (which were not less than twenty thousand,) he left about a thousand; and the remainder he buried in trenches, which he caused to be digged, and cast leaves and scraped earth over them, that they might not be seen of the navy. And the herald went over to Hestiaea, and caused all the camp to be gathered together, and said thus: O confederates, king Xerxes vouchsafeth unto each of you that will, to leave his place in the ranks and to go and behold how he fighteth against those foolish men that thought to prevail over the king's might. When he had so proclaimed, straightway there was nothing scarcer than boats; for they were many that wished to behold. And they crossed over and passed among the dead bodies and viewed them; and they supposed that all who lay there were Lacedaemonians, whereas they saw the Thespians and the helots also. Howbeit, they that passed over failed not to perceive that Xerxes had done what he did touching his own dead; for it was a matter for laughter. So that day they applied themselves to seeing the sights; but on the morrow they sailed back to Hestiaea to the ships, and those that were with Xerxes set forth on their way. And there

came into them some few deserters out of Arcadia, men that lacked sustenance and would be employed. And the Persians brought them into the king's presence, and enquired concerning the Greeks, to know what they did. And there was one Persian before all the rest who so demanded of them. And they told him that the Greeks kept the festival at Olympia and beheld contests of strong men and of horses. And he asked what the prize was for which they contended; and they told him of the crown which is given from the olive-tree. Then Tritantaechmes the son of Artabanus spake a most noble judgement, yet was esteemed base in the king's sight; for when he heard that the prize was a crown and not money, he could not endure to hold his peace but said openly: Alas, Mardonius, what manner of men hast thou brought us to fight against, who contend not for money, but for honour. Such was his saying. But in the meantime, immediately after the calamity was come to pass at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a messenger to the Phocians. Now the Thessalians were ever at enmity with the Phocians, and more especially since the latest blow which they struck them. For not many years before this expedition of the king, the Thessalians fell upon the Phocians with all their host, themselves and their confederates; and they were put to the worse by the Phocians and roughly handled. For after the Phocians had been driven back unto Parnassus, having with them Tellias of Elis the diviner, the said Tellias contrived for them this device: he took the six hundred bravest of the Phocians and covered them with chalk, both themselves and their arms; and having instructed them to slay whomsoever they should see that was not whited, he set upon the Thessalians by night. And the watches of the Thessalians saw them first and were affrighted, deeming it some wonder; and after the watches the whole army was affrighted, even so that the Phocians got possession of four thousand shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae

and half at Delphi. And out of the tenth part of the booties from this battle were made the great statues which stand fighting for the cauldron before the temple which is in Delphi; and there be other such dedicated at Abas. Thus did the Phocians serve the Thessalian foot-soldiers who besieged them. And to the horsemen that fell upon their land they did incurable hurt. For in the pass by Hyampolis they digged a great trench and put empty jars therein and laid earth over them, and made it level with the rest of that place. Then they waited for the Thessalian invaders to attack them. And when they rushed on, thinking to make havoc of the Phocians, they fell among the jars, and the legs of their horses were broken. For both these actions the Thessalians bare them a grudge; and at this time they sent a messenger and spake thus: Now, O Phocians, must ye confess at last that ye are not equal to us; for formerly, as long as it pleased us to be with the Greeks, we were ever more esteemed of them than you, and now we have so great power with the barbarian that it is in our hands to cause you to be deprived of your land and brought into bondage withal. Howbeit, though we have all things in our power, we will not remember evil. Nay, but let fifty talents of silver be given unto us in atonement, and we undertake to you that we will turn away the evils that are like to come upon your country. This the Thessalians proclaimed unto them, because the Phocians were the only people in those parts that gave not themselves to the Mede, (which, as I find when I consider, was by reason of naught else but their hatred of the Thessalians, whereas if the Thessalians had taken part with the Greeks, the Phocians, as it seemeth me, would have given themselves to the Mede.) But when the Thessalians so proclaimed unto them, the Phocians said that they would pay them no money, and that they could have given themselves to the Mede no less than the Thessalians, if they had in any case desired it; but they would not of

their own free will be traitors to Greece. When these words were reported, the Thessalians were wroth with the Phocians; and they undertook to shew the barbarian the way. And from the land of Trachis they entered into Doris; for a narrow ribband of Doris, about thirty stades broad, stretcheth down in that place, situate between Malis and Phocis. *This country of old time was Dryopis, and is the homeland of the Dorians in the Peloponnese.* This part of Doris the barbarians, when they entered therein, harmed not; for they had given themselves to the Mede, and the Thessalians thought not fit. But when they passed out of Doris into Phocis, they found not the Phocians themselves; for some of the Phocians were ascended into the high places of Parnassus, whereof the solitary peak over against the city of Neon, named Tithorea, is suitable to contain a great multitude, and thereinto they carried up their goods and ascended themselves; but the more part of them had conveyed their chattels forth among the Locri Ozolae, to the city of Amphissa, which is builded above the plain of Crisa. Then the barbarians overran all the land of Phocis; for so the Thessalians led the host; and throughout all the country over which they extended they burned and wasted everything, setting fire both to the cities and to the temples. For as they went they wasted all the land along the river Cephisus, and consumed with fire the cities of Drymus and of Charadra, of Erochus and Tethronium and Amphicaea, of Neon and Pedies and Trites and Elatia and Hyampolis and Parapotamii and Abas, where was a rich temple of Apollo, furnished with many treasures and offerings, and having then, as it hath now, an oracle also; and they spoiled and burned this temple. And certain Phocians they pursued and took nigh to the mountains; and sundry women they did so abuse that they died thereof. And when they had passed by Parapotamii, the barbarians came to Panopes. From thenceforward their army was parted asunder; and the greater and

mightier part thereof went against Athens together with Xerxes himself. And these entered into the land of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole nation of the Boeotians gave themselves to the Medes; and there were Macedonians sent forth by Alexander, who were distributed among the cities of Boeotia, to preserve them. And they preserved them thus: they * * *, meaning to make plain to Xerxes that the Boeotians took the part of the Medes. So the one part of the barbarians turned this way; but the rest set forth with guides unto the temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus upon their right hand. And as much of Phocis as they spread themselves over, they likewise wasted grievously; for they burned the cities of Panopes and Daulis and [^]Eolids. And they were parted asunder from the rest of the army and journeyed by this road, to the end that they might spoil the temple at Delphi and display the riches thereof to king Xerxes. Howbeit, Xerxes, as I am told, knew all that was notable in the temple better than the treasures which he left at home, because so many men continually spake with him thereof, and especially of the offerings of Croesus the son of Alyattes. And the Delphians, when they knew this, were in great extremity. And standing in much dread, they enquired of the oracle touching the holy treasures, whether they should bury them in the earth or convey them forth into another country. But the god suffered them not to touch them, saying that he was sufficient himself to keep watch over his own. So the Delphians, when they heard this, took thought for themselves. And they sent their women and children across into Achaia; and of the men the more part ascended into the crags of Parnassus and carried up their goods to the Corycian cave, but some got them forth to Amphissa of the Locrians. Howsoever, all the Delphians forsook the city, except threescore men and the priest of the oracle. And when the barbarians drew nigh in the way, and saw the temple afar off, in that hour the priest, whose

name was Aceratus, saw arms lying before the shrine, brought forth from the hall within, even the sacred arms which it was not lawful for any man to touch. And he went to signify the marvel unto the Delphians that were present. But when the barbarians, hastening, were gotten nigh the temple of Athena Pronaea, there came upon them marvels yet greater than the marvel which had been. For though it is surely a wonder that weapons of war should spontaneously appear, lying without before the temple, yet that which next came to pass is worthy before all signs to be wondered at. For when the barbarians approaching were nigh the temple of Pronaea, in that hour thunderbolts fell upon them from out of heaven, and from Parnassus two mountain tops were broken off and rolled down upon them with a great crashing and overthrew exceeding many of them; and out of the temple of Pronaea came a cry and an alarm. And when all these things came to pass together, dismay fell upon the barbarians. And when the Delphians perceived that they fled, they descended and pursued after them and slew no small number of them. And those that were left fled directly to Boeotia. And, as I learn, these barbarians who returned again said that beside these miracles they saw others, namely, that two warriors of greater than human stature followed after them slaying them. And the Delphians say that those twain were heroes of the place, by name Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts are near the temple, the precinct of Phylacus hard by the road above the temple of Pronaea, and the precinct of Autonus nigh to the Castalian fountain beneath the mountain top called Hyampia. But the stones which fell from Parnassus were preserved yet unto our day, lying in the precinct of Pronaea, where they came to rest after they had rolled through the barbarians. Such was the manner of these men's departure from the holy place.

But the Greek navy from Artemisium touched at Salamis, the

Athenians so desiring them. Now the Athenians besought the Greeks to put in at Salamis to the end that they might convey their women and their children forth from Attica, [and might moreover consider what they ought to do. For they were minded to take counsel in their present affairs, because they found themselves deceived in their expectation; for whereas they had looked to find the Peloponnesians, every man of them, established in Boeotia to await the barbarian, they found nothing of this but heard that they were building a wall at the Isthmus, doing diligence to preserve the Peloponnese and to keep it safe, but letting the rest go. So when they heard this, they besought them to put in at Salamis.] So the rest put into Salamis, and the Athenians to their own land. And after their arrival they made proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and his household as best he could. Then the greater number sent their families away to Troezen; but some sent them to [^]Egina, and some to Salamis. [^{*}Now they hastened to convey them to safety because they desired to do the will of the oracle, and also more especially for this cause: the Athenians say that a great snake, the keeper of the citadel, hath his lodging in the temple, and so saying they do continually lay offerings there as though for him. And the offerings are a honey cake. Now this honey cake, which in former time was always consumed, did then remain untouched. And when the priestess signified the same, the Athenians were yet much more zealous to forsake the city, considering that the goddess also had left the citadel.] And when they had conveyed all things forth, they sailed to the camp. And when the men from Artemisium touched at Salamis, there was joined with them the residue of the Greek navy, which came from Troezen when they **heard** of it; for it had been commanded them to assemble at Pogon, the haven of Troezen. And lo, many more ships than

¹ Later additions.

fought at Artemisium were gathered together, and from many more cities. And the captain of the fleet was the same as at Artemisium, to wit, Eurybiades the son of Euryclides, who was a Spartan but not of the royal house. But the Athenians provided by far the most ships and the swiftest. And these were they who came to the war: from the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians, who provided sixteen ships, and the Corinthians, who provided the same complement as at Artemisium; the men of Sicyon also provided fifteen ships, and the Epidaurians ten, and the men of Troezen five, and the men of Hermion three. (Now, saving the men of Hermion, these are all a Dorian and Macedonian nation, whereof the latest origin was from Erineus and Pindus and Dryopis; but the men of Hermion are Dryopes, who were driven forth by Heracles and the Melians from the country which is now called Doris.) These were they that came to the war from the Peloponnese. And from the continent without came the Athenians, who provided ships far beyond all the rest, even an hundred and fourscore. And they were alone; for at Salamis the Plataeans were not with the Athenians in the battle, for this cause: when the Greeks, departing from Artemisium, were come nigh Chalcis, the Plataeans landed in Boeotia opposite and took thought to convey their households to safety; and so they stayed behind to save them. (Now the Athenians, in the days when the Pelasgians possessed what now is called Greece, were Pelasgians and were named Cranai. But in the days of king Cecrops they were called also Cecropidae; and when Erechtheus received the kingdom, they began to be named Athenians; and when Ion the son of Xuthus became ruler of the Athenian host, they were called after him Ionians.) And the Megarians provided the same complement as at Artemisium. And the men of Ambracia came to aid them with seven ships, and the men of Leucas with three. (Now these last are Dorians and from Corinth.) And from the islands the men

of-Ægina provided thirty ships; for they put crews in yet more, but kept watch with some over their own land and fought at Salamis with the thirty that sailed best. (Now the men of Ægina are Dorians from Epidaurus, and the name of the island aforesaid was (Enone.) And after the men of Ægina came the men of Chalcis, providing the same twenty ships as at Artemisium, and the men of Eretria, providing the same seven. (Now these are Ionians.) Then came the men of Ceos, (an Ionian people sprung from Athens,) providing likewise the same ships. [^xAnd the men of Naxos provided four; who, like the rest of the people of the isles, were sent by the citizens to go to the Medes, but set their commands at naught and joined themselves to the Greeks, by the urgency of Democritus, a man of reputation among the citizens, who at that time was captain of a galley. (Now the men of Naxos are Ionians sprung from Athens.)] And the men of Styra provided the same ships as at Artemisium, and the men of Cythnos one ship and a vessel of fifty oars. (Both these are Dryopes.) And the men of Seriphus, of Siphnos, and of Melos came to the war also. These alone of the people of the isles gave not earth and water to the barbarian. [*Now all these who came to the war dwell on the nearer side of the Thesproti and of the river Acheron; for the Thesproti border on the men of Ambracia and of Leucas, who came from farthest. But of the peoples that dwell on the further side thereof, the men of Croton alone brought help to Greece in her jeopardy with one ship, over which Phayllus, a man thrice victorious at Pytho,² bare rule. (Now the men of Croton are Achaians by race.)] And all came to the war with galleys, except the men of Melos, of Siphnos, and of Seriphus, who came only with vessels of fifty oars, whereof the men of Melos, (who by race are Dorians from Lacedæmon,) provided two, and the men of Siphnos and of Seriphus, (who are

¹ Later additions.

² The Delphic games.

Ionians from Athens,) one each. And the whole number of the ships, except the vessels of fifty oars, was found three hundred and seventy-eight.¹

And when the captains from the said cities were met together at Salamis, they took counsel, Eurybiades proposing that whosoever would might declare his opinion and say where he deemed it most fit to fight a battle in all those regions that they themselves had power over. (Now Attica was given up already, but the question was concerning the rest of Greece.) And the most part of those that spake were agreed in the opinion that they should sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, alleging this reason, that if they be conquered in the battle, then at Salamis they should be besieged in an island, where no succour could come to them, whereas at the Isthmus they should find refuge among their own people. And while the captains were considering of these things, there came a man of Athens with tidings that the barbarian was entered into Attica and it was all laid waste with fire. For the host which took the way through Boeotia with Xerxes, when they had burned the city of Thespia, the people having forsaken it and departed to the Peloponnese, and likewise the city of Plataea, entered into Attica and laid all things waste therein. (Now Thespia and Plataea they burned because they heard from the Thebans that those people had not given themselves to the Medes.) And from the crossing of the Hellespont, that is to say, from the time when the barbarians began their march after they had tarried there a month while they crossed into Europe, they reached Attica in three months more, in the magistracy of Calliades. And they took the town empty. And they found certain few Athenians, both stewards of the temple and

¹ The items total 366; the two in Chapter 82 may have been counted twice, and the absent i^ginetan ships (Chapter 46) may have numbered 10 and been included.

needy persons, who had barred the gateway of the citadel with planks and beams, and defended themselves against the invaders. These men departed not to Salamis by reason of their lack of means; and moreover they deemed that they alone had interpreted the prophecy which the Pythia gave,¹ to the effect that the wall of wood should not be taken, and that this was to be the refuge according to the prophecy, and not the ships. And the Persians sat down on the hill that is over against the citadel, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, and besieged them after this fashion: they put tow about their arrows, and kindled them, and shot them against the fence. * * * Then the Athenians who were besieged defended themselves, albeit they were in a great strait and the fence had betrayed them; nor when the sons of Pisistratus brought them offers if they would submit themselves did they receive them. And besides many other devices which they imagined to defend themselves, they let slip mighty stones whensoever the barbarians approached the gates; so that Xerxes for a long time was perplexed, because he could not take them. But at last, in their perplexity, a means of entering in was found by the barbarians; for according to the oracle all the Athenian lands upon the continent must needs fall under the Persian. And albeit the place was steep, certain persons contrived to get up at the front of the citadel but behind the gateway and the ascent, by the temple of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, where none kept watch, neither would any have expected that a man could ever ascend thereabouts. And when the Athenians saw that they were got up, then some of them cast themselves down from the wall and were destroyed, and others took refuge in the temple. Then **the** Persians that were got up turned first towards the gates; and **when** they had opened them, they slaughtered the men in **the** sanctuary. And when all had been brought low, they spoiled

¹ 7, 141-3-

the temple and burned the whole citadel. And when he had gotten Athens completely, Xerxes sent a messenger on horseback to Susa, to take word to Artabanus of their present prospering. And on the next day after the sending of the messenger he called together the Athenian exiles who followed him, and commanded them to go up into the citadel and offer the sacrifices after their own manner, whether because he had seen some dream or because his conscience smote him that he had burned the temple. And the Athenian exiles did what they were charged withal. But wherefor I made mention hereof I will now shew. There is in this citadel a place dedicated to Erechtheus, who is called the Earth-born, wherein are an olive-tree and a salt spring. Of these it is said by the Athenians that Posidon and Athena established them as testimonies when they contended for this land. Now it befell that this olive was burned by the barbarians with the rest of the holy place; but on the next day after the burning, when the Athenians that were commanded by the king to do sacrifice went up into the holy place, they saw that a shoot about a cubit long had sprung up from the stump. And they declared it unto the king.

But when word was brought to the Greeks in Salamis how it stood touching the citadel of Athens, they fell into so great tumult that sundry of the captains did not so much as wait for the question that had been proposed unto them to be decided, but rushed to their ships and raised sail to flee away. And by those that remained behind it was decided to fight at the Isthmus. So night came; and the council was dissolved, and they entered into their ships. Then, lo, when Themistocles was come to his ship, Mnesiphilus, a man of Athens, asked him what was determined of them. And when he learned from him how it was decreed to take the ships to the Isthmus and fight a sea battle in defence of the Peloponnese, he said: Surely not, if they remove

from Salamis; for they will repair each to their own cities, and neither Eurybiades nor any other man shall have power to restrain them, that the host be not scattered; but Greece shall perish by ill counsels. Nay, if thou hast any device, go now and seek to overturn that which is determined, if haply thou be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his mind and remain here. And the advice pleased Themistocles exceedingly; and he made no reply thereto, but went to the ship of Eurybiades. And being come, he said that he desired to communicate unto him a certain matter of public concern. And Eurybiades bade him enter into the ship and speak whatsoever he would. Then Themistocles sat down beside him and rehearsed all those things which he heard from Mnesiphilus, giving them for his own and adding much else thereto, until by his prayers he persuaded him to get down out of the ship and gather the captains together in council. And when they were gathered together, before ever Eurybiades propounded the question wherefor he had assembled the captains, Themistocles was instant in speech, because his desire was vehement. And as he spake, the Corinthian captain, Adimantus the son of Ocytus, said: O Themistocles, in the races they that set off too soon are whipped. But he, excusing himself, said: Yea, but they that remain behind are not crowned. So at that time he answered the Corinthian gently. And to Eurybiades he said none of those things which he had spoken before, how they would flee this way and that, if they should remove from Salamis; (for when the confederates were present, it had been unseemly in him to charge them;) but he embraced another argument, and said: Now is it in thy power to save Greece if, as I advise, thou wilt abide and give battle here, and be not persuaded by these men's words to move camp to the Isthmus. Hear both cases, and weigh them in the balance. If thou join battle at the Isthmus, thou shalt fight in the open deep, which profiteth us but little, because

our ships are slower and fewer in number; and moreover, even though we prosper in all else, thou wilt cast away Salamis and Megara and ^Egina. And besides, their land army will follow their navy, and so thou shalt bring them upon the Peloponnese thyself, and jeopardy all Greece. But if thou do what things I say, thou shalt find these advantages therein: first, we shall join battle in a strait place, with few ships against many, and if the issue be according to reason, we shall greatly prevail; for to fight in a strait is to our advantage, but to fight in an open place to theirs. Yet again, Salamis, whereunto we have conveyed our women and children, shall be preserved, and Megara and ^Egina. Nay, there is this advantage also therein: thou shalt fight for the Peloponnese, (which is thy chief care,) not less if thou abide here than at the Isthmus; and, if thou art wise, thou wilt not bring them upon the Peloponnese. For if that which I expect cometh to pass and we conquer with our ships, the barbarians will neither go up against you to the Isthmus nor proceed farther than Attica, but will depart in no order. [*And we shall gain by the preserving of Megara and Ægina and Salamis, where an oracle also saith that we shall surely prevail over our foes.] Now when men counsel reasonably, God is wont to prosper them; but when they counsel not reasonably, neither is God wont to be favourable unto the designs of men. When Themistocles spake thus, the Corinthian captain rebuked him again, bidding him be silent, as one that had no country, and suffering not Eurybiades to grant a voice to a man of no city; for he said that Themistocles ought not to give advice unless he stood for a city. And this taunt he cast at him because Athens had been taken and was held of the enemy. Then did Themistocles revile him and the Corinthians, and make plain that the Athenians had a city and a country greater than they, as long as there were two hundred Athenian

¹ **Later addition.**

ships manned. *For none of the Greeks could beat them off, if they came against them.* And when he had signified thus much, he turned to Eurybiades with words more vehement than before: As for thee, if thou wilt abide here and play the man, well; but if not, thou shalt overthrow Greece: for the ships are the be-all and the end-all of this war. Nay, do thou hearken unto me. But if thou wilt not do so, then we straightway will take up our families and voyage to Siris in Italy, which is ours even from of old, and the oracles say that it must needs be inhabited by us. And ye shall remember my words, when ye are bereaved of our succour. Now when Themistocles spake thus, Eurybiades was persuaded. And, so it seemeth me, he was chiefly persuaded for dread lest the Athenians should forsake them if he launched to go to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians had forsaken them, then the residue had not been sufficient to do battle. This counsel, therefore, he chose, to stay and fight the battle there. Thus did they that were at Salamis, after their wordy skirmish, make ready to fight there, since Eurybiades so resolved. And day came; and at the rising of the sun there was an earthquake on the land and in the sea. And it seemed them good to make vows to the gods, and to call upon the sons of Æacus to be their confederates. And as it seemed them good, so did they; for they made vows to all the gods, and they called upon Ajax and upon Telamon there in Salamis, and sent a ship to Ægina for Æacus and his other sons.

And Dicaeus the son of Theocydes, a man of Athens, who was a fugitive with the Medes and had reputation among them at that time, said that while the land of Attica, whence the Athenians had fled, was laid waste by the army of Xerxes, he chanced to be with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian in the plain of Thria. And they saw a cloud of dust proceeding from Eleusis, as of nigh about thirty thousand men; and they marvelled exceedingly what men they should be that made the dust. And straightway they

heard a voice, and it seemed to him that the voice was Iacchus, which they cry in the mysteries. But Demaratus was ignorant of the rites that are done in Eleusis, and enquired of him what this might be that uttered the sound. And he said: Demaratus, of a surety there shall come some great damage to the king's host. For thus much is manifest, that, Attica being empty, the thing which uttereth the sound is of God, and goeth from Eleusis to succour the Athenians and their confederates. And if it light upon the Peloponnese, there shall be danger to the king himself and to his army upon the continent; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king shall be in danger of losing his navy. Now the Athenians keep a feast every year to the Mother and the Damsel,¹ and such of them and of the other Greeks who so desire are taught the mysteries; and the voice thou hearest is the cry Iacchus which they raise at that feast. Then said Demaratus: Hold thy peace, and tell this saying unto no man else. For if these words be reported unto the king, thou shalt lose thy head, and neither I nor any other man shall be able to deliver thee. Therefore do thou keep silence; and as for this army, the gods shall have charge over it. And while Demaratus admonished him thus, the dust became a cloud, which was lifted on high and borne towards Salamis to the camp of the Greeks. And so they perceived that the navy of Xerxes was to be destroyed. Thus said Dicseus the son of Theocydes, appealing unto Demaratus and others for witnesses.

But as for those that were appointed to Xerxes' navy, when they had viewed the field where the Lacedaemonians were defeated, and had passed over again from Trachis to Hestiasa, they tarried there three days and then sailed through Euripus; and in three days more they were at Phalerum. Now, as it seemeth me, they were not fewer in number, either by land or in respect

¹ Demeter and Persephone.

of the ships, when they entered into Attica than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae. For against those that perished through the storm and at Thermopylae and in the battles at Artemisium I will lay in the balance all those who at that time were not yet in the king's train, to wit, the men of Malis and of Doris and the Locrians and the Boeotians, who followed him with all their army, saving the men of Thespia and Plataea, and moreover the men of Carystus and of Andros and of Tenos and the rest of the people of the isles, all except the five¹ cities whereof I mentioned the names before. For the farther the Persian proceeded into Greece, the more nations followed after him. All these therefore came to Attica, save the men of Paros, who stayed behind in Cythnos, watching how the war should issue. Howbeit, when the residue were come to Phalerum, then Xerxes himself went down to the ships, because he desired to commune with them that sailed therein and to hear their opinions. And when he was come and had taken his seat, then the tyrants of the several nations and the commanders of the divisions were present from the ships at his summons, and seated themselves according to the honour which the king had bestowed upon each, the king of Sidon first, and the king of Tyre next, and so forth. And when they were seated in due order, Xerxes sent Mardonius and sought the advice of each, whether he should do battle by sea. And Mardonius went about and enquired of them, beginning with the king of Sidon; and all the rest with one accord declared their opinion that he should do battle by sea; but Artemisia said thus: Pray tell the king, Mardonius, that I, who have neither been the worst in the battles at sea by Eubcea nor shewn forth the fewest deeds, say thus: Master, the opinion which I have it is right that I should declare, even the best advice that I know for thine affairs. And thus I say unto thee: Have a care for thy ships, and give not

¹ Ccos, Cythnos, Seriphus, Siphnos, Melos; see Chapter 46.

battle by sea; for their men surpass thy men by sea as much as men surpass women. Wherefore hast thou any need to hazard sea battles again? Hast thou not Athens, for the sake whereof thou didst set forth to this war? And hast thou not the rest of Greece also? No man opposeth; and those that stood against thee have fared as befitted them. And I will shew thee how I deem that our adversaries' affairs shall issue. If thou haste not to do battle by sea, but keep the ships here by the shore, then, master, whether thou tarry or proceed toward the Peloponnese, thy purpose wherefor thou art come shall be easily accomplished; for the Greeks will not long be able to resist thee, but thou shalt cause them to be scattered asunder, and they shall flee away every one to his own city. For they have no store of victuals in this island, as I learn, nor is it reasonable that, if thou lead the army against the Peloponnese, such of them as are come from thence will remain steadfast or care to fight by sea for Athens. But if thou be hasty and fight by sea forthwith, I fear lest the navy be discomfited and bring harm to the land host also. Moreover, O king, lay this to thy heart: that good men are wont to have bad servants, and bad men good servants. And thou, who art the best of all men, hast bad servants, who are counted in the number of thy confederates, to wit, Egyptians and Cilicians, Cyprians and Pamphylians, in whom is no profit. When she spake these things to Mardonius, then as many as were well disposed to Artemisia were dismayed at her words, thinking that she should receive some evil at the hand of the king, for that she advised him not to do battle by sea; but they that had malice and envy against her, because she was held in honour among the foremost of all the confederates, rejoiced at her reply, supposing that she should perish. But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes, he was exceedingly pleased with Artemisia's opinion; and whereas even before that day he had held her excellent, he did now esteem her

much more. Notwithstanding, he commanded to follow the advice of the greater number, supposing that they had fought ill on purpose by Euboea, because he was not present, whereas at this time he had made preparation to view the battle himself..

And when the command was given to launch, they drew out the ships against Salamis, and formed their line and arrayed themselves in peace. And for the present there was not sufficient of the day left to begin the battle; (for night was coming on;) but their preparation was for the morrow. But the Greeks stood in fear and dread, and especially those that were from the Peloponnese; for while they sat in Salamis ready to fight for the land of the Athenians, (where, if they were conquered, they should be caught and besieged in an island, leaving their own land without protection,) the host of the barbarians during that very night was marching against the Peloponnese. Howbeit all things possible had been devised that the barbarians should not enter in by the continent. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that those that were with Leonides had perished at Thermopylae, they hastened together from their cities to the Isthmus and sat them down there; and Cleombrotus the son of Anaxandrides, the brother of Leonides, was captain over them. And when they had camped at the Isthmus and broken up the Scironian Way, thereafter, having so resolved in council, they began to build a wall across the Isthmus. And forasmuch as many tens of thousands were present and every man laboured, the work grew apace; for stones and bricks and beams and baskets full of sand were heaped thereon, and they ceased not from their labours a moment, either by night or by day. And these were the Greeks that came to defend the Isthmus with all their might: the Lacedaemonians, and all the tribes of the Arcadians, the Elians and the Corinthians, the men of Sicyon and the Epidaurians, and the men of Phlius, of Troezen, and of Hermion. These were they that came thither in exceeding great dread; but

the other Peloponnesians took no heed. And the festival at Olympia and the Carnean feast were overpast already.

Now seven peoples dwell in the Peloponnese. And two of them are children of the soil and established now in the same place wherein they dwelt of old, namely, the Arcadians and the Cynurians; and one people, the Achaians, have not departed out of the Peloponnese, but have left their own country and dwell in the land of others. But the four remaining peoples of the seven are sojourners, to wit, the Dorians, the [^]Etolians, the Dryopes, and the Lemnians. And the Dorians have many notable cities, but the -Italians Elis alone; and the Dryopes have Hermion, and Asine which is over against Cardamyle in Laconia; and all the Paroreatas are Lemnians. And the Cynurians, who are children of the soil, seem to me to be Ionians; howbeit, they are become wholly Dorian in the time that they have been ruled by the men of Argos. Of these seven peoples all the cities except those that I have rehearsed stood apart from the war; and if a man may speak freely, in that they stood apart from the war, they gave themselves to the Mede.

So they who were at the Isthmus were wrestling with these toils, because they considered that their all was now at stake and expected no salvation from the ships. But they who were at Salamis, though they heard thereof, were nevertheless dismayed, fearing not so much for themselves as for the Peloponnese. And for a while they murmured among themselves, each man saying to his neighbour that he marvelled at the folly of Eurybiades; but at last it broke forth publicly. Then was an assembly held, and many things spoken touching these matters. And the one part contended that they ought to sail away to the Peloponnese and endanger themselves for that, rather than abide there and fight for a land already fallen to the enemy; but the men of Athens and of Megara and of [^]Egina were for remaining and defending

themselves **there**. Then Themistocles, when he was like to be worsted in counsel by the Peloponnesians, went out from the meeting privily, and when he was without sent a man by boat to the camp of the Medes, giving him charge what things he must say. This man's name was Sicinnus, and he was Themistocles' slave and attended upon his children; and after these affairs Themistocles caused him to be made a citizen of Thespia, when the Thespians increased their number; and he also enriched him with possessions. Howsoever, at that time he came by boat and spake thus to the captains of the barbarians: The Athenian captain hath sent me without knowledge of the other Greeks, (for in truth he is of the king's mind and wisheth rather that your cause should prevail than that of the Greeks,) to reveal that the Greeks are dismayed and purpose flight; and now ye have the opportunity to accomplish the fairest of all deeds, if ye suffer them not to slip away. For they are not agreed one with another, neither shall they stand against you, but ye shall see them fight among themselves, those that be of your mind with those that be not. And when he had declared this unto them, he departed and went his way. And the tidings were found credible by them. And first they set many Persians ashore on the isle Psyttalia which is situate betwixt Salamis and the continent; and secondly, after it was midnight, the Phoenicians launched and fetched a compass toward Salamis, and the rest of the navy launched also, each in their appointed order, and closed with the ships the whole passage even unto Munichia. And they launched to the end that the Greeks might not be able to flee away, but might be caught in Salamis and give satisfaction for what they wrought at Artemisium. And they put Persians ashore in the isle which is called Psyttalia, because when the battle should come to pass, most of **the** wrecks and the shipwrecked men would surely be cast **up there**, seeing the island lay in the path of the battle which was to

be; and these Persians were to save those that were friends and destroy those that were enemies. And they did all this secretly, that their adversaries might not be ware thereof. So in these preparations they slumbered not the whole night.

Now I cannot gainsay the truth of prophecies; for I would not seek to reject them when they speak plainly, having regard unto these matters:

*Howbeit, whenso they shall span with ships the sacred shore of
Artemis,*

*Even Artemis of the golden sword, and Cynosura which lieth in
the sea,*

*And with mad hope shall have laid waste shining Athens,
Bright Justice shall quench mighty Satiety, the son of Pride,
Dreadful and furious, which thinketh to swallow all things up.*

*For brass shall be joined with brass, and Ares with blood
Shall make the sea to be scarlet. Then shall Cronus' far-seeing
son*

And gracious Victory bring the day of freedom for Greece.

Now I dare not myself gainsay Bacis' prophecies when he speaketh thus distinctly, neither will I hearken unto any other that gainsay et h them.

But among the captains in Salamis there continued much disputation; and as yet they knew not that the barbarians were encompassing them with the ships, but deemed that they were in the same place wherein they had seen them arrayed by day. But while the captains struggled together, there passed over from Ægina Aristides the son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been banished by the people; whom, when I learn of his ways, I do hold to have been the best man that hath ever been in Athens and the most righteous. This man repaired unto the council and called forth Themistocles, who was no friend to him

but his greatest foe. Howbeit, because of the greatness of the present perils he had the past in oblivion and called him forth, desiring to commune with him. And he had heard already that the Peloponnesians were urgent to withdraw the ships to the Isthmus. And when Themistocles came out to him, Aristides spake thus: At this season, if ever, thou and I ought to be rivals, to see which of us shall work the more good for the land of our fathers. Now I tell thee that whether the Peloponnesians speak much or speak little touching their sailing hence, it is all the same; for I that have seen it with mine own eyes tell thee that now they shall not be able to sail away, though the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire it; for we are encompassed all around by the enemy. Nay, but go thou within, and signify these things unto them. And Themistocles answered and said: Very profitable is thy exhortation, and good tidings hast thou brought; for that which I desired should come to pass, thou hast seen it with thine own eyes. For know that these things were done by the Medes through my instruction; for when the Greeks would not willingly stand fast and do battle, it was necessary to compel them against their will. But seeing thou art come with profitable tidings, do thou report the same unto them thyself; for if I tell them, it shall seem my invention, and I shall not be believed. Nay, but enter and signify unto them thyself how it standeth. And if, when thou shalt have signified it, they believe thee, well; but if the report be not credible unto them, it shall be all alike for us, because they can no longer flee away, if indeed we are encompassed on every hand, as thou sayest. Then Aristides went within and spake, saying that he was come from *Ægina* and had scarce gotten through unperceived of those that were anchored against them; for the Greek camp was encompassed on every hand by the ships of Xerxes. And he bade them gird their loins to defend themselves. And when he had said these things, he

went his way. But contention arose again among them; for the more part of the captains believed not the report. But while they disbelieved, there came over from the enemy a galley of Tenos, the captain whereof was Panaetius the son of Sosimenes, a man of Tenos; and the same did bring the whole truth. And for this deed the men of Tenos were inscribed upon the cauldron at Delphi among those that discomfited the barbarian. Now with this ship which came over at Salamis and that of Lemnos which came over before at Artemisium the Greek navy was made up to full fourscore and three hundred ships; for thitherto there wanted yet two ships to make up the tale.

And forasmuch as the words of the men of Tenos were believed by the Greeks, they made ready to fight by sea. And when the dawn began to spring, they assembled the crews of the ships. And Themistocles was chosen to pronounce the exhortation; and his words were all a comparison of the better parts of man's nature with the worse, and an admonition to choose the better. And when he had rounded off his speech, he commanded them to enter into the ships. And lo, as they were entering in, there came the galley from Ægina which went forth for Æacus and his sons. Then all the Greek ships put out; and they had scarce put out, when the barbarians were upon them. And the other Greeks drew back and would have grounded the ships; but Aminias an Athenian drove his ship forward and ran upon an enemy. And when the ships were entangled and not able to be parted, the rest succoured Aminias and so joined battle. Thus the Athenians say that the beginning of the battle came to pass. But the men of Ægina say that the ship which began it was that which went forth to Ægina for Æacus and his sons. And there is told this story also, that the apparition of a woman appeared unto them, and in a voice that all the Greek camp heard rebuked them, saying: In heaven's name, how long will ye draw back?

Now against the Athenians were arrayed the Phoenicians, who held the west wing towards Salamis, and against the Lacedaemonians were arrayed the Ionians, who held the east wing towards Piraeus. And a few among them fought ill of purpose according as Themistocles had charged them,¹ but the more part did not so. And I could rehearse the names of exceeding many captains of galleys who took Grecian ships; yet will I not mention them, save Theomestor the son of Androdamas, and Phylacus the son of Histiaus, Samians both. And I have made mention of these alone for this cause, that Theomestor became tyrant of Samos for this deed, the Persians establishing him, and Phylacus was inscribed a benefactor of the king and much land bestowed upon him. (Now the benefactors of the king are called *orosangce* in the Persian tongue.) So these men fared thus; but at Salamis the greater part of the ships were made havoc of, some being destroyed by the Athenians and some by the men of-Ægina. For inasmuch as the Greeks did battle in order and good array, whereas the barbarians fell into disarray and did nothing with understanding, the thing which befell them was sure to come to pass. Notwithstanding, they fought well, and behaved themselves far better that day than formerly by Euboea, every man being zealous for dread of Xerxes, because each one deemed that the king's eye was upon him. Now as touching the rest, I have no particular knowledge; but touching Artemisia these things came to pass, by reason whereof she was held in yet fairer repute by the king. After the king's power was fallen into utter confusion, Artemisia's ship was chased by a ship of Athens. And when she was not able to escape, because in front of her were other friendly ships, and her own chanced to be nearest the enemy, she resolved upon an act which turned to her advantage; for as she was chased by the Athenian ship, she struck with all her might a friendly ship of

¹ Chapter 22.

Calynda, whereon sailed Damasithymus the king of Calynda himself. Now there had some quarrel arisen between him and her while they were yet at the Hellespont; nevertheless I am not able to say whether she did the same by design or whether by chance the ship of Calynda happened to fall in her path. Howbeit she struck the ship and sank it. And by good fortune she did herself a twofold benefit. For when the captain of the Athenian ship saw her strike a barbarian vessel, he deemed that the ship of Artemisia was either Greek or else came over from the barbarians and fought for them; and he turned aside against others. And so this profited her; and it happened also that whereas she had wrought evil, she came to be held in high repute by Xerxes because thereof. For it is said that the king watching perceived the ship strike another, and one that stood by said: Master, seest thou how Artemisia contendeth famously and hath sunk a ship of the enemy? And he asked if the deed were truly Artemisia's; and they said that it was, because they were perfectly acquainted with the ensign of her ship and supposed that it was an enemy ship which was destroyed. For all things else turned to her advantage, as hath been said, and this moreover, that no man was saved alive out of the ship of Calynda to be her accuser. And it is said that Xerxes, when they told him, replied: My men are become women, and my women men. Thus they say that Xerxes spake. And in that travail was slain the captain Ariabignes the son of Darius, who was brother to Xerxes; and there also died many other notable men of the Medes and Persians and the other confederates. But few of the Greeks were slain; for inasmuch as they knew how to swim, those whose ships were destroyed, so many as perished not in combat, swam over unto Salamis. **But** the most part of the barbarians perished in the sea, because they knew not how to swim. And the greatest number of ships were destroyed after the first rank turned to flee; for those that were

arrayed behind them, striving to get to the fore with their ships and perform the king some service, ran foul of their own ships which fled. And this also came to pass in that tumult: divers of the Phoenicians, whose ships had been destroyed, came before the king and slandered the Ionians, saying that the ships were lost because of them. Then it befell that the Ionian captains perished not but the Phoenicians who slandered them received this recompense. While they yet spake, a ship of Samothrace struck an Athenian ship; and while the Athenian ship was sinking, a ship of Ægina bore down upon the ship of Samothrace and sank it. Then the men of Samothrace, who were armed with javelins, did by their missiles sweep clear the crew from off the ship which sank them; and they entered therein and took it. These things coming to pass worked deliverance for the Ionians; for when Xerxes saw that they had wrought a valiant deed, then, being exceeding vexed and ready to blame all men, he turned upon the Phoenicians and commanded to cut off their heads, that they might not, when they had been cowards themselves, slander those that were better. [¹For whensoever Xerxes, sitting beneath the mountain over against Salamis, which is called Ægaleos, saw any of his own people perform some service in the battle, he enquired who it was that did it; and the scribes wrote down the name of the captain of that galley, and his father's name, and his city.] And some thanks also for this downfall of the Phoenicians were due to Ariaramnes, a Persian and a friend of the Ionians, who was present.

So they took the Phoenicians to execution. But when the barbarians were put to flight and were sailing out towards Phalerum, the men of *Mgma*. withstood them in the straits and performed notable deeds; for in the tumult, while the Athenians made havoc of the ships that resisted and of those that fled, the men of Ægina

¹ Sentence out of place; belongs probably in Chapter 85.

made havoc of those that were sailing out; and as often as any escaped from the Athenians, they fell into the hand of the men of Ægina. Then it chanced that the ship of Themistocles, chasing another ship, fell in with that of Polycritus the son of Crius, a man of Ægina, which had that moment struck a ship of Sidon. Now this was the same ship that took the vessel of Ægina which kept watch at Sciathus, wherein went Pytheas the son of Ischenoiis, whom, when he was cut in pieces, the Persians kept in their ship for admiration of his valour.¹ And now the ship of Sidon was taken with this man and all the Persians on board of it, so that Pytheas came safe back to Ægina. But when Polycritus beheld the Athenian ship, he recognized the captain-general's vessel by the standard. And he cried out and mocked at Themistocles asking him if the men of Ægina took the part of the Mede now.² This taunt did Polycritus, when he had smitten the ship of Sidon, cast against Themistocles. But the barbarians whose ships remained came fleeing to the shelter of the land host at Phalerum. And in this battle the men of Ægina gained the highest praise of all the Greeks, and the Athenians the next highest; and the persons most praised were Polycritus the man of Ægina, and two men of Athens, to wit, Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, which latter was he that pursued Artemisia. And if he had perceived that Artemisia sailed in that vessel, he would never have desisted before he either took her or was taken himself; for so it was ordained unto the captains of the Athenian galleys, and moreover a prize of ten thousand drachmae was appointed for whosoever should take her alive. For they deemed it a matter of great shame that a woman should make war against Athens. Howbeit she escaped, as hath been told already; and the rest also, whose ships were saved, lay at Phalerum.

And the Athenians say that straightway in the beginning, when

¹ 7, 179-81.

² See 6, 49.

the ships were joining battle, Adimantus the Corinthian captain, in exceeding great fear and dread, raised his sails and departed in flight. And when the Corinthians saw their captain's vessel flee, they set off likewise. And haply as they fled, when they were come nigh the temple of Athena Sciras in Salamis, there fell in with them a brigantine sent of God; for no man was found that sent it, neither knew the Corinthians aught that had befallen the host when it drew nigh unto them. Wherefore it is inferred that the thing was of God; for when they came near, the men in the brigantine said: Whilst thou, Adimantus, turnest back and art in headlong flight, betraying the Greeks, even now they conquer, and have so prevailed over the foe that their prayers are answered. And because, when they spake thus, Adimantus disbelieved, they spake again and said that they were ready to be taken for hostages and put to death if the Greeks were not found conquerors. Then did Adimantus put about; and he and the rest came to the camp again after all was accomplished. Such report they have from the Athenians; but the Corinthians themselves acknowledge it not, but believe that they were among the foremost in the battle, and the rest of Greece beareth them witness. And in this tumult at Salamis Aristides the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, of whom I made mention a little before as an excellent man, did thus: he took with him many of the warriors that were drawn up along the coast of Salamis, who were Athenians, and he put them ashore on the island of Psyttalia; and they slaughtered all the Persians that were on that isle.

And when the battle was over, the Greeks drew ashore to Salamis all the broken pieces of ships that were still thereabouts. And they were ready for another battle, expecting that the king would use the ships that were yet left to him. But a west wind arose and bore many of the broken pieces to the beach in Attica which is called Colias; so that *besides the other prophecies which*

were spoken by Bacis and Musceus concerning this battle the thing was fulfilled which had been spoken many years before in a prophecy by the seer Lysistratus of Athens, but none of the Greeks had comprehended it:

And the women of Colias shall roast their meat with oars; which thing was to come to pass after the king's departure.

And when Xerxes perceived the calamity which had befallen him, he was afraid lest some Ionian should advise the Greeks, or they themselves should bethink them, to sail to the Hellespont and break the bridges, so that he be taken in Europe and go in jeopardy of his life. And he counselled flight. But because he would not that either the Greeks or his own people should be ware thereof, he began to build a causeway across to Salamis, binding Phoenician ships of merchandise together that they might serve for a bridge and a bulwark. And he made ready for war, as though he would fight another battle by sea. And all the rest, when they saw him doing so, said in their heart that assuredly he was minded to stay and make war with all his might; but Mardonius was deceived by none of those things, because he had perfect experience of the king's mind. And while he did thus, Xerxes sent a messenger to Persia, to bring tidings of their present affliction. Now there is nothing mortal which travelleth swifter than these messengers; for so the Persians have devised it. They say that however many are the days of the journey, that same number of horses and of men are stationed along the road, one horse and one man for each day's journey, whom neither snow nor rain, burning heat nor night keepeth from accomplishing with all speed their appointed course. So the first runneth and delivereth what he is charged withal unto the second; and the second unto the third; and so the tidings pass on, delivered from hand to hand in the like fashion, *even as the torch race of the Greeks, which they celebrate for Hephastus*. This post the Persians

call *angarium*. Now the first tidings which arrived in Susa, that Xerxes had taken Athens, rejoiced the Persians that were left behind so exceedingly that they strewed all the ways with myrtle, and burned incense, and gave themselves up to pleasures and delights. But the second tidings coming on the heels thereof so confounded them that they all rent their clothes and continued in weeping and wailing insatiable, crying out upon Mardonius. And the Persians did thus not so much because they were grieved for the ships as because they were fearful for Xerxes himself.

And so it continued in Persia during the whole time that passed until Xerxes himself returned and put an end thereto. But when Mardonius saw that Xerxes was sore distressed by reason of the battle, and suspected that he was resolved to flee from Athens, he considered within himself that he must surely pay the penalty because he persuaded the king to go up against Greece, and that it was better for him to renew the fight and either subdue Greece or end his own life nobly for a great cause, albeit his opinion rather was that he should subdue Greece. And when he had reckoned so, he put forward these words unto Xerxes: Grieve not, master, neither be in any great affliction because of this thing which is come to pass. For the contest which shall decide all is not a contest of timbers, but of men and of horses. And of these who deem that all is now accomplished not one will venture to come down out of the ships and stand against thee, neither will any man from this continent; and they that stood against us have paid the penalty.¹ Now therefore, if it seemeth thee good, let us straightway assault the Peloponnese; but if it seemeth thee good to tarry, thou may est do so. Be not cast down then; for there is no means whereby the Greeks shall avoid being thy bondservants and rendering account for what they have done now and formerly. Best of all, therefore, do thus; but if thou art

¹ i.e. at Thermopylae.

resolved to march away thyself and lead the army back, in that case I have another plan. Make not the Persians, O king, to be a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for none of thine affairs hath come to harm through the Persians, nor canst thou say that we have anywhere played the cowards. If Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians were found base, this calamity concerneth not the Persians. Now therefore, seeing the Persians are not at fault, hearken unto me: if thou art resolved not to abide here, do thou return home and take back the greater part of the army; and it shall be my duty to deliver thee Greece in bondage, with three hundred thousand men chosen from the host. When Xerxes heard this, he took heart again after his troubles, and was glad. And to Mardonius he said that he would take counsel and then make answer, which of these things he would do. And as he consulted with the Persians that were summoned, it seemed him good to call Artemisia also to counsel, because on the former occasion she alone was found to have understood what ought to be done. And when Artemisia was come, Xerxes caused the rest to withdraw, both his Persian counsellors and his spear-bearers; and he spake thus: Mardonius adviseth me to remain here and assault the Peloponnese, saying that the Persians and the land host have no part in the guilt of this calamity but would gladly perform me some service. Either thus he adviseth me to do, or else to return home with the rest of the host, while he undertaketh with three hundred thousand men chosen out of the army to deliver me Greece in bondage. Therefore, seeing thou didst counsel me well concerning the late battle by sea, in that thou advisedst me not to fight it, do thou counsel me now, which thing I must do if I would be well advised. Thus he sought her counsel; and she answered and said: O king, it is a hard thing to succeed in giving thee the best counsel; howbeit, in thy present affairs it seemeth good to me that thou thyself return and leave Mardonius behind

here with what men he will, if he undertaketh voluntarily to do these things. For on the one hand, if he accomplish what he saith he will, and prosper in his purpose, the deed, O master, is thine; for thy bondservants accomplished it; but on the other hand, if the contrary of his intention come to pass, there shall be no great damage, because thou art safe and all that concerneth thy house. For if thou and thy house be safe, the Greeks shall many times run many races for their lives. And if aught befall Mardonius, it shall not be accounted of, neither shall the Greeks have any joy of their victory, in that they do but slay thy bondservant. But as for thee, thou hast burned Athens with fire, wherefor thou didst make this expedition; and now thou mayest march away. And Xerxes was pleased with her counsel; for it chanced that she spake his thought. For, as it seemeth me, he would not have remained, though all the men and all the women had counselled him to stay; so utterly was he affrighted. And he commended Artemisia, and dispatched her to Ephesus with his sons; for there were sundry bastard sons that accompanied him. And with his sons, to be their keeper, he sent Hermotimus, whose origin was from Pedasum, and who was second unto none among the eunuchs in the king's sight. This man took the greatest vengeance for a wrong of all men that we know of. For he was taken captive by enemies and sold; and he was purchased by Panionius, a man of Chios, who got his living at the vilest work; for his custom was to procure boys possessed of comeliness, and make them eunuchs, and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for much money, because among the barbarians eunuchs are more esteemed as servants than men, by reason of their faithfulness in all things. And inasmuch as Panionius earned his livelihood thereby, he made eunuchs of many and of this boy among them. And forasmuch as he was not wholly unfortunate, Hermotimus was sent with other gifts from Sardis to the king **and**

in process of time came to be honoured most of all the eunuchs in the sight of Xerxes. And when the king was in Sardis, furnishing forth the Persian army against Athens, Hermotimus went down on such and such a business to a parcel of land in Mysia which the men of Chios possess, and it is called Atarneus. And he found Panionius there. And when he knew him, he spake many friendly words unto him; and first, he rehearsed to him all the benefits which he had received through him, and secondly he promised to recompense him with equal benefits, if he would bring his household and dwell there. And Panionius received his words with gladness, and brought his wife and his children. And when Hermotimus had caught him with all his house, he spake thus: O thou, that of all men hast gotten thy livelihood from the most unrighteous works, what wrong had I or any of mine done thee or any of thine that thou madest me instead of a man to be as nothing? Didst thou think that what thou then contrivedst should be hidden from the gods? Nay, because thou hast wrought unrighteousness, therefore they have observed the law of justice and brought thee into my hands, so that thou shalt find no fault with the retribution which thou shalt receive of me. And after he had reviled him thus, his sons, of whom there were four, were brought into their presence; and Panionius was constrained to make his own sons eunuchs, and when he had performed it, his sons were constrained to do so unto him. Thus did Hermotimus and his vengeance overtake Panionius.

But when Xerxes had committed his sons to Artemisia, to take them to Ephesus, he called Mardonius and commanded him to choose from the army such as he would and see to it that his deeds should match his words. And thus much came to pass that day. But at night the king gave the word, and the commanders set off back to the Hellespont again from Phalerum with the ships, each as speedily as he could, to preserve the bridges for the

passage of the king. And when the barbarians in their voyage were come to Zoster, where little headlands run out from the continent, they deemed them ships and fled a great way off'. But after a while, when they perceived that they were not ships but headlands, they gathered themselves together and voyaged on. And when it was day, the Greeks saw the land host abiding in its place and supposed that the ships also were at Phalerum. And they deemed that they would fight again, and prepared to defend themselves. But after they heard that the ships were gone, then straightway they resolved to pursue them. But albeit they pursued as far as Andros, they came not within sight of Xerxes* navy. And being come to Andros they took counsel. And Themistocles declared his advice that they should take their way through the isles and sail directly to the Hellespont, to break the bridges. But Eurybiades gave the contrary advice, saying that if they were to break the bridges, it should be the greatest evil for Greece that they could contrive; for if the Persian were caught and constrained to remain in Europe, he would surely not be still, because, if he were still, he could neither gain any success nor find the means of returning home, but his army must perish of hunger, whereas, if he set to work and exerted himself, he might gain all Europe, city by city and nation by nation, some being vanquished and some making their peace betimes; and for their victuals the Persians should have the harvests of Greece year by year. Therefore, because it seemed that the Persian would not stay in Europe after his defeat in the sea battle, they ought not to hinder him from fleeing until he should come to his own continent, and then make that the object of their war. And the captains from the other cities of Peloponnesus also embraced this advice. And when Themistocles perceived that he should not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians, who especially were vexed because the

Persians had escaped, and were ready to sail to the Hellespont by themselves, if the rest would not; and he said unto them: I myself have oftentimes witnessed, and have yet more often heard from others, how it hath come to pass, that men driven into straits have fought again and made amends for their former baseness. Therefore let not us, who are greatly blessed, in that we have driven away so great a cloud of men, pursue after those that flee; for it is not we that wrought these things, but the gods and heroes, who were jealous of one man being king over both Asia and Europe, an impious and froward man who esteemed alike things sacred and profane, burning and overthrowing the images of the gods; who also scourged the sea, and cast fetters therein. Nay, since it is well w^rith us at present, do ye abide now in Greece and care for yourselves and for your households; and let each man repair his house and give his mind to the sowing, and dismiss the barbarian from his thoughts. But when the spring cometh, we will sail to the Hellespont and Ionia. Now Themistocles said thus because he purposed to lay up favour with the barbarian, to the end that he might have a refuge if haply some calamity should befall him at the hand of the Athenians; the which did also come to pass. So Themistocles spake thus with deceitful intent. But the Athenians hearkened unto him; for he was formerly reputed wise and of good counsel, and now that they had found him truly so, they were ready to obey him whatsoever he said. And when he had persuaded them, straightway Themistocles sent forth in a boat certain men in whom he had confidence that whatsoever torment they were put to, they would keep silence; and one of them was his servant Sicinnus, as before. And when they came to Attica, the rest stayed by the boat, but Sicinnus went up and stood before Xerxes, and spake thus: Themistocles the son of Neocles, the Athenian captain, the best man and the wisest of all the confederates, hath sent me to declare

unto thee this: Themistocles the Athenian, desiring to serve thee, hath restrained the Greeks, when they would have pursued after thy ships and broken the bridges at the Hellespont; and now thou mayest go thy ways in perfect peace. So when the men had delivered this message, they sailed back again. But the Greeks, after they had resolved neither to pursue the ships of the barbarians any longer, nor to sail to the Hellespont to break up the causeway, besieged Andros, to take it. For the men of Andros were the first of the people of the isles who would not give money when Themistocles demanded it. For when Themistocles expounded to them that the Athenians had brought with them two mighty gods, to wit, Persuasion and Constraint, and that therefore they must assuredly give them money, they answered and said that Athens was not without reason great and prosperous, if the Athenians had such store of profitable gods, but as for the men of Andros, their land was poor in the extreme, and two unprofitable gods never left the isle but always haunted it, to wit, Poverty and Impotence, and being possessed of these gods they would give no money; for the power of the Athenians could never prevail over their own powerlessness. So because they answered thus and gave no money, they were besieged. And Themistocles ceased not from coveting; and he sent threatening words to the other isles and required money, by the hand of the same messengers that he sent to the king, saying that unless they gave what he asked he would bring the Greek army against them and would besiege and take them. So saying he collected much money from the people of Carystus and of Paros, who when they heard that Andros was besieged because the people thereof had given themselves to the Mede, and that Themistocles was in the greatest estimation of all the captains, were afraid and sent him money. And I am not able to say whether any of the other isles gave him money; but I believe that divers others and not these

alone did so. Howbeit the men of Carystus obtained no respite thereby, whereas the men of Paros escaped the visitation of the army because they propitiated Themistocles with money. Thus did Themistocles in Andros acquire money from the people of the isles without the knowledge of the other captains.

But they that were with Xerxes tarried a few days after the sea battle, and then marched away by the same road that they came; for Mardonius resolved to bear the king company on his way, and moreover it was the wrong season of the year for making war. And he thought it better to winter in Thessaly and then assault Peloponnesus when spring came. And after he came to Thessaly, there Mardonius chose his army; and first he chose the Persians that are named Immortals, all of them except Hydarnes their captain, who said that he would not leave the king's side; and next he elected the Persians who bare spears, and the thousand Persian horsemen, and the Medes and the Sacæ, the Bactrians also and the Indians, both foot and horse. Now of each of these he chose the whole nation; but from among the rest of the confederates he chose here a few, there a few, selecting those who were possessed of beauty and those by whom he knew that some good service had been done, until the whole number, together with the horsemen, was three hundred thousand. And while Mardonius was making his choice of the army and Xerxes was yet in Thessaly, an oracle from Delphi came to the Lacedaemonians, commanding them to require satisfaction of Xerxes for the murder of Leonides, and to accept whatsoever he should give them. Then the Spartans sent an ambassador with all speed; who found the whole army yet in Thessaly, and entered into the presence of Xerxes, and spake thus: O king of the Medes, the Lacedaemonians and the sons of Heracles in Sparta require satisfaction of thee for murder, because thou didst slay their king when he sought to protect Greece. And he laughed, and was

silent for a while, and thereafter pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said: Mardonius here shall give them such satisfaction as they deserve. And the ambassador accepted the saying and went his way; but Xerxes left Mardonius behind in Thessaly, and himself journeyed with speed to the Hellespont. And he arrived at the passage in five and forty days, with scarcely any part of his army. And to whatsoever place and whatsoever people they came in their journey, they seized and ate the crops of the same; and if they found no crops, they devoured the grass of the field, and peeled the bark and plucked the leaves of trees both garden and wild, and ate them, and left nothing. And sickness and a bloody flux fell upon the host, and destroyed many of them by the way. And others he left behind sick, giving charge to whatsoever city they were come to, that they should feed and cure them; and some he left in Thessaly, and some in Macedonia and some in Siris in Paeonia, where also he received not again on his return the sacred chariot of Zeus which he had left behind there when he marched against Greece; for the Paeones gave it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes required it again, they said that while the horses grazed it had been seized by the inland Thracians, who dwell about the springs of the Strymon. Also the king of the Bisalta* wrought an unnatural deed. This man had said that he would not willingly serve Xerxes, and had gone away inland to the mountain Rhodope, and had also forbidden his sons to go to the war against Greece. But they, because they regarded him not, or haply because it was their heart's desire to view the war, had gone to the war with the Persian. And when they returned all of them without hurt, (for they were six,) their father tore out their eyes for this fault. So this was their reward. But the Persians journeyed on from Thrace and came to the crossing, and in haste passed over the Hellespont to Abydus in the ships; for the bridges they found no longer fast,

but broken in sunder by a storm. And there obtaining more victuals than they got on the road, they filled themselves without restraint; and because of the change of water also, many died of the host that yet remained. But the residue came with Xerxes to Sardis. And there is also this other story told, that when Xerxes was marching back from Athens and came to Eon by the Strymon, thereafter he no longer continued to journey by road but committed the army to Hydarnes to lead back to the Hellespont, and himself entered into a Phoenician ship and voyaged unto Asia. And lo, as he sailed, a great and tempestuous wind blowing from the Strymon caught him up. And they were sorely tossed; for the ship was heavy laden, because exceeding many Persians that voyaged with Xerxes were upon the decks. Then fell terror upon the king, and he cried out and asked the pilot, whether there was any means whereby they could be saved. And he said: Master, there is none, except there be some riddance found of these many persons upon the decks. And it is said that when Xerxes heard this, he said: Men of Persia, now let each one of you shew that he careth for his king; for in your hand, as it seemeth, is my salvation. So he spake, and they bowed down before him and leaped out into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, got safe to Asia. And as soon as Xerxes came out on shore, he did thus: because the pilot had saved the king's life, he presented him with a golden crown; but because he had caused many Persians to perish, he cut off his head. So this is the other story which is told concerning Xerxes' return. Howbeit, I believe it not at all, and especially not as touching that which befell the Persians. For behold, if the pilot had so spoken to Xerxes, then not one in ten thousand will deny that the king would have done thus: he would have made the men on the decks descend into the hold of the ship, seeing they were Persians, and that, the chief Persians; and he would have cast out into the sea an equal number

of the rowers, who were Phoenicians. Howbeit, as I have before said, he journeyed by road with the rest of the host, and so returned again into Asia. [^xAnd another great testimony thereunto is this: it is known that Xerxes came to Abdera on his journey back, and made a covenant of friendship with the people thereof, and presented them with a golden fauchion and a headband spangled with gold; and they themselves say, though I believe it not, that he there first loosed his girdle since he fled away from Athens, thinking to be now secure. But Abdera lieth nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eon, where they say that he entered into the ship.]

But the Greeks were not able to take Andros. And they betook themselves to Carystus, and wasted the country thereof, and returned to Salamis. [¹Then first they set aside as thank-offerings for the gods both other things and three Phoenician galleys, one for the Isthmus, which was yet there in my day, and another for Sunium, and another for Ajax in Salamis itself.] Then they divided the spoil and sent to Delphi thank-offerings, out of which was made a statue twelve cubits in height, holding the forepart of a ship in his hand; and the same standeth where the golden statue of Alexander of Macedon standeth also. And when they had sent thank-offerings to Delphi, the Greeks with one accord enquired of the god, whether he was well pleased and satisfied with the thank-offerings which he had received. And he said that he had received enough from the other Greeks, but not from the men of Ægina; for he demanded of them a special reward, because they were judged the bravest in the sea battle at Salamis. And when the men of Ægina heard it, they dedicated three stars of gold, which stand upon a pole of bronze next to the bowl of Croesus. And after the dividing of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, that they might give the prize to the Greek that

¹ Later additions.

had been most worthy thereof throughout this war. And the captains came, and cast their votes, sanctified upon the altar of Posidon. Then every one of them voted for himself, each deeming that he and no other had been the best. So the Greeks, because of their jealousy, would not determine this matter, but sailed away each to their own land without judging it. Notwithstanding, the name of Themistocles was bruited abroad throughout Greece and he was esteemed by far the wisest of the Greeks. And because he had received no honour of them that fought at Salamis, straightway afterwards he came to Lacedaemon, desiring to be honoured. And the Lacedaemonians received him fairly, and honoured him greatly. And the prize for courage they gave to Eurybiades, even a crown of olive; but the prize for wisdom and for subtilty they gave to Themistocles, a crown of olive likewise, and they presented him with the fairest carriage in all Sparta, and commended him much. And when he departed, the three hundred chosen Spartans that are called the Horsemen gave him escort to the coasts of Tegea. And of all men whereof we know he is the only one to whom the Spartans ever gave an escort. But when he came to Athens from Lacedaemon, then Timodemus of Aphidnae, one of the foes of Themistocles, but a man not otherwise of eminence, did rage with jealousy, and chid Themistocles, reproaching him that he went to Lacedaemon, and saying that he had the honours which were given him by the Lacedaemonians because of Athens, and not because of himself. And he, seeing Timodemus ceased not to speak these things, said: Lo, now, thus it is. Neither had I been thus honoured of the Spartans, if I had been a man of Belbina, neither hast thou, fellow, though a man of Athens.

Thus far these affairs came to pass. [*But Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, who was already a famous man among the Persians

¹ Later addition ; see 9, 66.

and became yet more famous after the battle of Plataea, had given the king escort as far as the crossing-place with threescore thousand men of the host which Mardonius had chosen. And when Xerxes was in Asia, and Artabazus returning drew nigh to Pallene, then, because Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and there was as yet no haste for him to come to the main camp, he thought not fit, finding the men of Potidsea in rebellion, to neglect to bring them into bondage. For the men of Potidaea, when the king had marched by and the navy of the Persians departed and fled from Salamis, did openly revolt from the barbarians; and so also did the rest that inhabited Pallene. So Artabazus besieged Potidaea. And he suspected that the men of Olynthus also would rebel against the king; and he besieged it also. Now it was inhabited by the Bottiaei who were driven by the Macedonians from about the gulf of Therma. And after he had besieged and taken them, he led them forth and slaughtered them and cast their bodies into a lake, and he gave the city in charge to Critobulus of Torone and to the Chalcidian nation. And so the Chalcidians got Olynthus. But when he had taken Olynthus, Artabazus earnestly applied himself to take Potidaea; and as he applied himself thereunto, Timoxenus, the captain of the men of Scione, (for confederates were present from the other cities of Pallene also,) made a covenant of treachery with him. Now in what manner it was done at first, I am not able to say; for this is not reported; but in the end their practice was this. Whosoever Timoxenus wrote a letter, desiring to send it to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they wrapped it round the grooves at the end of an arrow, and put the feathers over it, and shot the arrow at an appointed place. But the betrayal of Potidasa by Timoxenus was discovered; for one day as Artabazus aimed at the **place** appointed, he missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidasa; and when he was hit, a multitude ran and gathered

about him, as is wont to happen in war; who straightway took the arrow, and when they perceived the paper, bare it to the captains. And when the captains read the paper, and perceived the author of the treachery, it seemed them good not to tax Timoxenus openly with treachery, for the sake of the city of Scione, lest the men of Scione be deemed traitors for ever afterward. So in this wise he was discovered. But after Artabazus had besieged them three months, there was a mighty ebb of the sea for a great while. And when the barbarians saw that the sea was become shallow, they sought to pass by Potidaea into Pallene. And when they had traversed two-fifths of the way, and there were yet three-fifths remaining which they must pass through before they could enter into Pallene, there came upon them a great flood-tide, such as there never was before, (so the people of the place say,) albeit the sea oftentimes floodeth. Then such of them as knew not how to swim were destroyed; and as for such of them as could, the men of Potidasa sailed out in boats and put them to death. And the men of Potidaea say that the cause of the flood-tide and of that which befell the Persians was this, that the Persians who were destroyed by the sea had committed impiety against the shrine of Posidon and against his image which was in their suburb. And when they say that this was the cause, they seem to me to speak well. But Artabazus led back to Mardonius in Thessaly those that were left.

So they that gave the king escort fared thus.] But the navy of Xerxes which remained, when it fled from Salamis and reached Asia and had conveyed the king and the army from the Chersonesus over to Abydus, wintered at Cyme, But when spring shone abroad, they assembled early at Samos, where some of the ships had also wintered; and the greater part of the Medes and Persians went on board the ships as fighting men. And there came to be captains over them Mardontes the son of Bagasus and

Artañntes the son of Artachaeas; and with them Artañntes' nephew, Ithamitras, bare rule also, by the choice of Artañntes himself. But forasmuch as they had received a great blow, they proceeded no farther to the west, neither did any seek to compel them; but they tarried in Samos and kept watch over Ionia, lest it rebel; and they had three hundred ships with those of Ionia. Howsoever they looked not that the Greeks should come to Ionia, but deemed that they would be content to keep watch over their own land, considering how they pursued not after them when they fled from Salamis but were glad to be left in peace. So by sea they were quelled in spirit; but they deemed that on land Mardonius should easily prevail. And they abode in Samos, and took counsel what mischief they might do to their enemies, and also listened to hear how Mardonius' affairs should fall out. But the Greeks were aroused by the coming of spring and the presence of Mardonius in Thessaly. And before the land host was yet gathered together, the navy came to ^Egina, to the number of an hundred and ten ships. And the captain and admiral was Leotychides the son of Menares, the son of Hegesilaiis, the son of Hippocratides, the son of Leotychides, the son of Anaxilaiis, the son of Archidemus, the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Theopompus, the son of Nicander, the son of Charilaus, the son of Eunomus, the son of Polydectes, the son of Prytanis, the son of Euryphon, the son of Procles, the son of Aristodemus, the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodasus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles; and he was of the second house of kings. All these, save the seven that are mentioned first after Leotychides, were kings of Sparta. And the captain of the Athenians was Xanthippus the son of Ariphron. And when all the ships were present at ^Egina, there came to the camp of the Greeks Ionian messengers who had also gone to Sparta a little while before, and had besought the Lacedaemonians to make Ionia free. And Herodotus

the son of Basilides was one of them. These men had conspired together and plotted the death of Strattis the tyrant of Chios, being at first seven in number; but their plot was discovered, because one of the conspirators revealed the design, wherefor the remaining six got them forth from Chios, and went first to Sparta and then to [^]Egina, to pray the Greeks to land in Ionia. But they could scarce draw them forth as far as Delos; for all beyond was dreadful unto the Greeks, because they had no knowledge of those parts, but deemed that everywhere was full of armed men; and in their imagination they thought Samos to be as far away as the Pillars of Heracles. And so it fell out that the barbarians for fear and trembling durst not sail farther west than Samos, nor the Greeks farther east than Delos, albeit the men of Chios besought them; and so dread kept watch over the space betwixt. Thus the Greeks sailed to Delos. But while Mardonius wintered in Thessaly, he sent forth from thence a man of Euro-mus, whose name was Mys, to go round about the oracles; and he charged him to go unto all whereof it was possible to enquire, that he might consult them. Now I cannot tell what thing he desired to learn of the oracles, that he gave this charge; (for this is not reported;) but I deem that it was concerning his present affairs and none other that he sent. And it is known that the said Mys came to Lebadia and hired a man of the place to descend unto Trophonius, and came also to the oracle at Abas in Phocis. And moreover he came to Thebes, and enquired of Apollo Ismenius, in whose temple oracles are sought by sacrifices, even as at Olympia. And furthermore he hired some stranger and not a Theban to sleep in the house of Amphiaraus; for to no Theban is it permitted to seek divination there, because Amphiaraus, communing with them by oracles, commanded them to choose which they desired, and have him either for a prophet or for an helper in war, abstaining from the other; and they chose

to have him for an helper, wherefor it is not permitted unto any Theban to sleep there. And it is related by the Thebans that a thing came to pass, which is to me a very great marvel. As Mys of Euromus went up and down to all the oracles, he came also to the precinct of Apollo Ptois. Now this temple is called Ptoim, and pertaineth unto the Thebans, and is situate beneath a mountain above the lake Copals hard by the city of Acraephia. And when Mys entered into this temple, three men appointed from among the citizens accompanied him on the public behalf, to record what things the god should prophesy. And straightway the seer answered in a barbarian tongue. And the Thebans that went with him were struck with marvel, when they heard a barbarian tongue instead of Greek, neither knew they how they should proceed in this matter; but Mys, the man of Euromus, seized from them the tablet which they bare, and wrote therein what things were spoken of the prophet, saying that he answered in the Carian tongue; and when he had written them down, he departed and returned to Thessaly. But when Mardonius had read whatsoever it was that the oracles said, thereupon he sent Alexander the son of Amyntas, of Macedonia, to Athens with a message, first, because the Persians were his kindred, (for Bubares a Persian had to wife Alexander's sister, Gygasa, the daughter of Amyntas, of whom was born to him in Asia a son Amyntas, bearing his grandfather's name, to whom the great city of Alabanda in Phrygia was given by the king to inhabit,) and secondly because Mardonius learned that Alexander was their friend and benefactor. For it seemed good unto him by all means to gain the Athenians unto him, because he heard that they were a great people and a valiant, and knew that they had chiefly brought to pass the calamities which befell the Persians by sea; and he expected that if they were joined unto him, he should easily get the mastery of the sea, (which in truth had been so,) whereas on

land he deemed that he was much the stronger; and so he considered that his might should prevail over the might of the Greeks. And peradventure also the oracles had prophesied unto him thus, counselling him to take the Athenians for his confederates; in obedience whereto he sent Alexander.

Now the seventh forefather of this Alexander was Perdicces, who obtained dominion over the Macedonians in this wise. Three brethren of the descendants of Temenus, to wit, Gavanés and Aëropus and Perdicces, fled from Argos unto Ulyria, and from Illyria crossed over into upper Macedonia and came to the city of Lebasa. And there they served the king for a wage; and one tended the horses, and another the oxen, and the youngest of them, Perdicces, tended the smaller beasts. And the wife of the king cooked them their victuals herself; for in olden time even the reigning houses were of slender means, and not the common people only. And whensoever she baked, the lad's loaf waxed double. And when this same thing always came to pass, she told her husband. And when he heard it, straightway the thought came to him that it was a sign and foreshewed some great thing. And he called the servants and commanded them to depart out of his land. But they said that it was their right to receive their wages before they went. Now the sun was shining into the house by the hole in the roof; and when the king heard them speak of wages, he was smitten of God and said: I will give you the wages which ye deserve; lo, here they are. And he pointed to the sun. Then Gavanés and Aëropus stood astonished when they heard it; but the lad, who chanced to have a knife, said: O king, we accept what thou givest. And he cut round the sunlight with his knife, and when he had so cut, gathered the sunlight thrice into his bosom, and departed, both he and those that were with him. So they went away. But one of the king's companions shewed him what manner of thing he had done, and how it had a meaning

that the youngest of them had accepted what he gave. And when he heard it, he was wroth and sent horsemen after them, to destroy them. Now there is a river in that country, whereunto the descendants of these men make sacrifice as to their saviour. This river, when the children of Temenus had passed over, swelled so high that the horsemen were not able to cross it. And they came to another part of Macedonia, and dwelt near the gardens which are said to be those of Midas the son of Gordias, wherein roses grow wild which have each threescore petals and surpass all others in smell. In these gardens Silenus also was taken, as is reported by the Macedonians; and above the gardens lieth a mountain named Bermium, not to be crossed because of the snow. And when they had got this land, they set forth from thence and subdued the rest of Macedonia also. From this Perdicces Alexander was descended thus: Alexander was the son of Amyntes, and Amyntes of Alcetes, and Alcetes' father was Aëropus, and his was Philippus, and Philippus' father was Argasus, and his father was Perdicces, who obtained the kingdom.

Such was the descent of Alexander the son of Amyntes. But when he came to Athens, whither he was sent by Mardonius, he spake thus: Men of Athens, thus saith Mardonius. A message from the king is come to me, saying: All the transgressions of the Athenians, which they have wrought against me, I do forgive. Now therefore, Mardonius, do thus: first restore to them their land, and secondly let them choose for themselves whatsoever land they desire besides, and let them have their liberty, and do thou raise up again all their temples which I burned down, provided only that they will be agreed with me. Seeing these commands are come, I must needs perform them, if ye oppose it not. And now I say unto you: Why are ye so mad, to take up arms against the king? For ye can neither overcome him, nor are ye able to resist for all time. For ye saw the multi-

tude and the deeds of the host which Xerxes brought, and ye hear of the power which is with me now; and be sure that even though ye should overcome us, (whereof, if ye be wise, ye can have no hope,) another power many times as great shall come against you. Seek not therefore, by vaunting of yourselves against the king, to be deprived of your country and go continually in peril of your lives. Nay, rather be reconciled, (for ye have now the fairest opportunity, the king being that way inclined,) and live in freedom, covenanting with us a league of arms without guile or deceit. Thus much, O Athenians, Mardonius charged me to say unto you. But for my own part, I will say nothing of the goodwill towards you which I have, (for this would not be your first knowledge of it,) but I do beseech you to hearken unto Mardonius; for I perceive that ye will not be able to war against Xerxes for all time to come, (else I had never come to you with these words,) because the power of the king is above man's power, and his arm is exceeding long. If therefore ye be not straightway agreed with the Persians, while they yet offer profitable conditions whereon they will agree, I am fearful for you, because of all the confederates ye dwell most in the path of war, and are continually wasted alone, and the land which ye possess is, as it were, set apart to be a battlefield. Nay, but hearken; for it is much worth unto you, that the great king will forgive you your transgressions alone of all the Greeks, and desireth to be your friend. Thus spake Alexander. But when the Lacedaemonians heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians into agreement with the barbarian, they called to mind the prophecies, how they and the other Dorians were to be cast forth from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians; and they were sore afraid lest the Athenians agree with the Persian. And they resolved to send messengers straightway. And it fell out that their audience was on the same day; for the Athenians tarried

for them, because they well knew that the Lacedaemonians would hear that a messenger was come from the barbarian to make an agreement, and that when they heard it they would send messengers with speed. Therefore they delayed on purpose, desiring that the Lacedaemonians should hear their determination publicly. And when Alexander ceased speaking, the messengers from Sparta followed after, and said: The Lacedaemonians sent us to beseech you to do Greece no mischief nor to receive conditions from the barbarian. For it is in no wise right or seemly for any of the Greeks, and least of all for you, for many reasons; for ye stirred up this war, when we desired it not at all, and this contention, which now concerneth all Greece, was for land of yours in the beginning. Moreover, it is in nowise to be endured that the Athenians should be the cause of bondage for Greece, when your glory from of old is to have set many men free. Howbeit we are grieved with you in your affliction, because ye are now deprived of two harvests and your substance has also been wasted a long time. And for this the Lacedaemonians and their confederates promise you that so long as this war continueth they will support your women and all those of your households who are useless for war. But let not Alexander the Macedonian seduce you, commending the words of Mardonius. To do so befltteth him; for being a tyrant, he aideth a tyrant's purpose; but you it befltteth not, if ye are wise. And remember, that in barbarians is neither faith nor truth. Thus said the messengers. And the Athenians replied to Alexander thus: We also know that the Mede hath manifold greater power than we have, so that there is no need to teach us this. Notwithstanding, we do cling to freedom, and we will defend ourselves in whatsoever manner we are able. And as for being agreed with the barbarian, seek not thou to persuade us; for we will not hearken. Now therefore bear tidings to Mardonius that the Athenians say this: So long as the sun goeth the

same way as now, we will never be agreed with Xerxes; and we will go forth and defend ourselves against him, putting our trust in those gods and heroes for our confederates, whom he despised and whose houses and images he burnt. And do thou never more come before the Athenians with such words as these, nor deem that thou performest a profitable service in admonishing us to do unlawful deeds; for we would not have thee suffer aught unseemly at the hand of the Athenians, seeing thou art our benefactor and our friend. Thus they replied to Alexander. And to the messengers from Sparta they replied thus: It was but human that the Lacedaemonians should fear lest we agree with the barbarian. But your dread declareth that ye ill understand the spirit of the Athenians; for there is no store of gold on earth so great, and no land so surpassing in beauty and excellence, that we would receive it for giving ourselves to the Mede and bringing Greece into bondage. Many and great are the reasons which hinder us from doing this, even though we would: first and chiefest, the images of the gods and their habitations, that are burnt with fire and made ruinous heaps, which we must needs avenge to the uttermost, rather than be agreed with him that wrought it; and again it were not well that the Athenians should be traitors to the Greek nation, which is of like blood and like tongue, and hath common edifices to the gods and common sacrifices, and manners of the same fashion. This therefore understand, if indeed ye understood it not already, that as long as one Athenian remaineth, we will never be agreed with Xerxes. Howbeit we thank you for your kindness as touching us, that ye have so far taken thought for us, because our substance is wasted, as to be willing to support our families. And thereby your good office is fully performed. Howbeit we will persist as best we can, not being burdensome unto you in any matter. But seeing it standeth thus, do ye now send forth an army with all speed. For as we suppose, the time

when the barbarian will appear and enter into our land is not far off, but shall be as soon as he heareth the tidings that we will do none of those things which he required of us. Therefore this is the time for you to send succours unto Boeotia, before he appeareth in Attica. Thus the Athenians made answer; and the messengers departed to Sparta.

BOOK IX

BUT Mardonius, when Alexander returned to him and signified the answer of the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led the army in haste against Athens. And to whatever place he came, he compelled the men thereof to go with him. And the lords of Thessaly repented not of their former deeds but incited the Persian yet much more; and Thorax of Larisa was among them that bare Xerxes company when he fled, and did now openly speed Mardonius on his way against Greece. But when, as they journeyed, the host came to Boeotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, and counselled him, saying that there was no place more convenient than that to encamp in; neither suffered they him to proceed farther, but bade him sit down in that place and seek to subdue all Greece without a battle. For to prevail by force against the Greeks, if those should still agree who were of one mind before, was a hard thing, even for all mankind together; but, said they, if thou wilt do that which we propound, thou shalt without trouble put an end to all their schemes. Send money unto the men that are with power in the cities, and if thou do so, thou shalt divide Greece; and thereafter, with the men of thy part, thou canst easily subdue those that are not of thy mind. Thus they counselled him. Howbeit he obeyed not, but some dire longing had possessed him to take Athens a second time, both because of his stiffness of neck and also because he purposed to signal to the king in Sardis with beacon-fires across the islands, that he had taken Athens. And he arrived in Attica; but again he found not the Athenians, but heard that the most part were in Salamis and in the ships. And he took the city void. And from the king's taking thereof until the second coming of the host with Mardonius was a space of ten months. But after Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis Murychides, a man of the

Hellespont, bearing the same words which Alexander the Macedonian had conveyed to the Athenians before. And this message he sent a second time albeit he knew already that the mind of the Athenians was not friendly, because he hoped that they would abate somewhat of their stiffness of neck when all the land of Attica was taken by arms and under his hand. Because of this he sent forth Murychides to Salamis. And he came before the council and delivered the message of Mardonius. And Lycides, one of the councillors, spake his mind, that it seemed unto him better to receive the words which Murychides had brought and to commend them to the people. This opinion he declared, either because he had received money from Mardonius or peradventure because in truth he thought it better so to do. But the Athenians were wroth, both the councillors and those that were without, when they heard it; and they straightway surrounded Lycides and stoned him. But the man of the Hellespont they sent away without hurt. And when tumult arose in Salamis over Lycides, the women of the Athenians heard what was done. Then one woman exhorted another, and took her along; and they went of their own accord to the house of Lycides, and stoned his wife, and stoned also his children. Now the Athenians had crossed over to Salamis for this reason: as long as they expected that an army would come from the Peloponnese to succour them, they stayed in Attica; but when the Peloponnesians tarried and were slow, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, then they brought away all that they had and went over to Salamis themselves. And to Lacedaemon they sent messengers, to rebuke the Lacedaemonians, because they had suffered the barbarian to enter into Attica and did not go with them to meet him in Boeotia, and moreover to put them in mind of all that the Persian had promised to give them if they would change, and to declare that unless they would defend the Athenians, then the Athenians

would find some protection for themselves. For the Lacedaemonians were at that time keeping holiday, and it was their Hyacinthia; and they held that to do the god's pleasure was their chief duty. Their wall, moreover, which they were building at the Isthmus, was even now receiving battlements. And when the messengers from Athens arrived in Lacedaemon, bringing with them messengers from Megara also and from Plataea, they came before the ephors and said: We were sent by the Athenians, who say thus. The king of the Medes will restore to us our country, and desireth moreover to make us his confederates in fairness and equity without guile or deceit, and also to give us another country besides our own, whichever we ourselves may choose. But we, reverencing Zeus Hellenius and scorning to betray Greece, consented not but refused, albeit we were wronged and utterly betrayed by the Greeks, and knew that it was more profitable to make peace with the Persian than to fight against him. Howbeit, of our own free choice we will not make peace. Thus unfeignedly have we done our duty to the Greeks. But you who at that time fell into the utmost terror lest we should make peace with the Persian, now that ye have learnt our mind perfectly, that we shall never betray Greece, and because your wall across the Isthmus is finishing, do make no account of the Athenians; and having covenanted with us to meet the barbarian in Boeotia, ye have betrayed us and suffered him to enter into Attica. Therefore at this present time the Athenians are angry with you; for ye have not done fitly. But now they bid you send out an army with us in all haste, that we may face the barbarian in Attica; for seeing we have lost Boeotia, the place in our own land most convenient to fight in is the plain of Thria. And when the ephors heard this, they deferred to reply till the morrow, and on the morrow till the next day; and so they did for ten days, deferring from day to day. But during that time all the

Peloponnesians were building the wall at the Isthmus with great diligence, and it was nigh finished. Nor am I able to shew any reason why, when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens, they did great diligence that the Athenians might not give themselves to the Persian, but at that time took no heed, other than that the Isthmus was fortified and they deemed that they had no longer any need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica, the Isthmus was not yet wholly fortified but they were labouring there in great dread of the Persians. But at last the reply of the Spartans and their going forth to war came to pass in this manner. On the day before the audience which was to be the last, Chiletis, a man of Tegea, who had the greatest authority of all foreigners at Lacedaemon, heard from the ephors all the words that the Athenians had spoken. And when he had heard them, he said unto them: O ye ephors, thus it is: if the Athenians be at enmity with us and confederates to the barbarian, then, though a stout wall be drawn across the Isthmus, wide entrances into the Peloponnesians are thrown open to the Persian. Nay, but give ear unto them, before the Athenians take some new resolve, which may bring destruction upon Greece. Thus he counselled them; and they laid his words to heart, and straightway, saying naught to the messengers that were come from those cities, they sent forth, while it was yet night, five thousand of the Spartans and seven helots with each of them; and they committed them to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, to lead forth. Now the kingdom pertained unto Plistarchus, the son of Leonides; howbeit he was yet a child, and this man was his guardian and his cousin. For Cleombrotus, the father of Pausanias and the son of Anaxandrides, was no more; but after he had led back from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall,¹ he lived not a great while **longer** but died. (Now Cleombrotus had led the army back from

¹ 8,71.

the Isthmus because, when he sacrificed to go against the Persian, the sun was darkened in the heavens.) And Pausanias chose Euryanax the son of Dorieus, a man of the same house, to go with him. So Pausanias and these men were gone forth from Sparta. But the messengers, knowing naught of their departure, went before the ephors when day came, having in mind to depart each man unto his own land. And they went before them and spake thus: Stay at home, Lacedaemonians, and keep your Hyacinthia and disport yourselves; for ye have betrayed your confederates. But the Athenians, because they are wronged by you, will for lack of confederates be reconciled with the Persian as best they may. Howbeit, when we are reconciled, then it is plain that we shall be the king's confederates, and shall make war with the Persians against whatsoever land they lead us. Then ye shall see what manner of thing will come of it. When the messengers said this, the ephors answered upon oath that even now they deemed the army was at Oresthium proceeding against the strangers; (for they called the barbarians strangers). And the messengers not understanding asked what was meant; and when they asked, they were told the whole truth; so that they were in astonishment, and journeyed with all speed to overtake the army. And with them five thousand chosen warriors of the *periasci* did the same.

So they hastened toward the Isthmus. But as soon as the Argives heard that the men with Pausanias were gone forth from Sparta, they sought out the best runner and sent him with a message to Attica; for before this they had undertaken to Mar-donius that they would prevent the Spartans from going forth. But when the messenger arrived at Athens, he spake thus: Mar-donius, the Argives sent me to tell thee that the young men are gone forth from Lacedasmon, and that the Argives are not able to prevent them from going forth. See therefore that thou take good counsel. When the messenger had said this, he departed

back. But Mardonius was no longer anywise desirous to remain in Attica, when he heard it. For until he learned it, he tarried, wishing to know what the Athenians would do; and he did neither hurt nor damage to the land of Attica, because he ever hoped that they would make peace. But when he persuaded them not but learnt how the whole matter stood, then he retired, before the men with Pausanias reached the Isthmus. And he burned Athens; and wheresoever there was aught standing of the walls or the buildings or the temples, he cast it down and made heaps of it. And he led the host away for this reason, that the country of Attica was not fit for horses, and also because, if he should be conquered in battle, there was no departure save by a narrow way, so that even a few men might stop them. Therefore he was minded to return unto Thebes and to join battle by a friendly city in a country fit for horses. So Mardonius retired. And when he was already on the way, there came tidings to Mardonius that another army was come to Megara as forerunner of the rest, even a thousand Lacedemonians. And when he heard it, he took counsel, whether haply he might first destroy these. And he turned about and led the army against Megara; and the horsemen went before and overran the land of Megara. This was the farthest place in Europe toward the setting sun unto which this Persian army came. But thereafter came tidings to Mardonius that the Greeks were assembled at the Isthmus. Then he journeyed back through Decelea; for the chief men of the Boeotians sent for the Asopians that dwelt near, and they led him along the road to Sphendales, and from thence to Tanagra. But in Tanagra he pitched for a night, and betook himself on the morrow to Scolus, and so came to the land of the Thebans. Then, albeit the Thebans had given themselves to the Medes, he cut down the trees in their fields, not for hatred of them but under great necessity, because he desired to make a bulwark about

the camp, that it might be for a refuge, if the **battle** should **not** end as he wished. And his camp, which was **arrayed along the** river Asopus, began at Erythrs and passed by Hysiae and stretched as far as the land of Platasa. Howbeit, the fence was not made so great; but each side thereof was about ten stades long.

And while the barbarians laboured thus, Attaginus **the** son of Phrynon, a man of Thebes, made great preparations and bade to a feast Mardonius himself and fifty of the Persians that were of most reputation. And they that were bidden came; and the feast was held in Thebes. And that which now followeth I heard of Thersander, a man of Orchomenus, that had high reputation in his city. Thersander said that he too was bidden by Attaginus to this feast, and fifty men of Thebes were bidden also. And he seated not the two nations apart, but a Persian and a Theban on each couch. And when the feast was over, then as they drank together the Persian that sat with him spake in the Greek language and asked him what city he came from; and he replied that he was of Orchomenus. Then said he: Now seeing thou hast eaten with me at the same table and poured the same drink-offering, I desire to leave thee a memorial of my wisdom, that thou mayest know the future and take counsel to thine advantage. Thou seest these Persians who feast here and the host that we left encamped by the river. Yet a little while, and of all these thou shalt see very few left alive. And while he said this, the Persian shed many tears. But Thersander was astonished at his words, and said unto him: Then is it not right to tell this to Mardonius and to the Persians that are next unto him in estimation? And he said: Friend, whatsoever must come to pass by the will of God it is impossible for man to turn aside. Many of us Persians do know these things, and yet we follow, being fast bound by necessity; for no man will believe us, though we speak the truth. And the most hateful torment in the world is this, to be wise in much

and have power over naught. Thus far I heard of Thersander, the man of Orchomenus, and this besides, that he straightway told it to others, before ever the battle came to pass at Plataea.

So Mardonius was encamped in Bceotia. And all the Greeks that dwelt round about and had given themselves to the Mede furnished men. They also went up with him against Athens, except only the Phocians. *For these also had given themselves to the Mede, albeit not of their own accord but under constraint.* But not many days after Mardonius arrived in Thebes, a thousand warriors of the Phocians came thither; and Harmocydes led them, a man of great reputation among the citizens. And when they also arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent, and commanded them to sit down by themselves in the plain. And when they had done it, straightway all the horsemen appeared. Then a rumour passed through all the Greek camp that was with the Medes, that the Phocians were to be slain with javelins; and the same rumour passed also through the Phocians themselves. Therefore their captain Harmocydes exhorted them, saying thus: Phocians, forasmuch as it is manifest that these men purpose to put us to certain death, because (as I suppose) we have been falsely charged by the Thessalians, therefore every one of you must needs play the man. For it is better to do somewhat and defend ourselves and so to end our lives, than submitting to perish by the most shameful death. Let them learn that they are barbarians but we, whom they have plotted to murder, are Greeks. Thus he exhorted them. But the horsemen, when they had encompassed the Phocians, rode against them as if to slay them. And they poised their weapons for throwing, and one or two threw. And the Phocians stood face to face with them, drawing themselves together and making their ranks as thick as they could on every side. Then suddenly the horsemen turned about and rode away again. And I am not able to say with certainty whether they came to slay the Phocians at

the request of the Thessalians, but were afraid lest harm befall them when they saw them prepared to resist, and therefore rode back again, (Mardonius having charged them thus), or whether he desired to try the Phocians, to see if they had any valour. But when the horsemen had ridden back again, Mardonius sent a messenger and said thus: Be of good cheer, Phocians; for ye are found to be brave men, and not as I had heard. And now be ye zealous in the conduct of this war; for in benefits ye shall surpass neither me nor the king. Thus it came to pass concerning the Phocians. But the Lacedaemonians, when they came to the Isthmus, encamped there. And when the other Peloponnesians that chose the better part heard of it, and when some of them also saw the Spartans going forth, then they thought not fit to remain behind when the Lacedaemonians went to war. And from the Isthmus after favourable sacrifices they marched all together and came to Eleusis; and when they had done sacrifice there also, then, the sacrifices being favourable, they marched onward, and with them the Athenians, who came across from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. And when at length they came to Erythrae in Boeotia, they perceived that the barbarians were encamped by the Asopus; and being ware of it, they arrayed themselves against them along the skirts of Cithasron. And because the Greeks descended not into the plain, Mardonius sent against them all the horsemen, of whom the captain was Masistius, a man of good repute among the Persians, whom the Greeks call Macistius. And he had a Nesaeon horse, bridled with a golden curb and richly harnessed besides. Then the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and attacked them, one troop after another; and in the attacks they wrought them great harm, and they called them women. Now by chance the Megarians happened to be arrayed in the most open part of that whole place, where the horsemen could most easily approach. Therefore when the

horsemen attacked, the Megarians were hard pressed. And they sent a messenger to the Greek captains; and the messenger came unto them and said: The Megarians say thus. Confederates, we are not able alone to withstand the Persian horsemen, nor to remain in the station which at first we took. Only by perseverance and by valour have we resisted thus far, albeit hard pressed; and now, except ye send some others to relieve us of our post, be sure that we shall forsake our place. These tidings he brought them; and Pausanias proved the Greeks, to see if any would offer of their own free will to go to that place and take the post of the Megarians. And when the others would not, the Athenians consented, even the three hundred chosen Athenians whose captain was Olympiodorus the son of Lampon. These were they that consented and took their station in front of all the other Greeks who were present at Erythrae. And they chose the bowmen to go with them. And they fought for a space, and at last the battle ended thus. As the horsemen attacked troop by troop, the horse of Masistius, who was before the rest, was smitten in the side with a shaft, and reared in pain, and shook Masistius off. And when he was fallen, straightway the Athenians attacked him; and his horse they took, and himself they killed resisting. Howbeit at first they were not able to do so. For he was harnessed thus: he had a corselet of golden scales underneath, and over the corselet he wore a purple tunic. And smiting upon the corselet, they accomplished nothing, until at length one of them perceived how it was and smote him in the eye. Thus did Masistius fall, and thus was he slain. But by chance the other horsemen knew not that these things were so; for they saw not when he fell from his horse and was slain, but they withdrew and turned back, not perceiving that which was come to pass. But when they stood still, they straightway felt the lack of him, because there was none to array them. And when they perceived what had come to pass,

they exhorted one another and drove their horses forward all together, that they might at least take up the body. And when the Athenians saw that the horsemen no longer attacked troop by troop but all together, they cried to the rest of the army. And while all the footmen were coming to their aid, a sharp fight was fought over the body. And as long as the three hundred were alone, they were much worsted and drew back from the body; but when the greater number came to their aid, then the horsemen persisted no longer, neither were they able to take up the body, but they lost other horsemen besides. Therefore they retired about two stades and took counsel what they ought to do; and it seemed them good, seeing they had no captain, to ride back to Mardonius. And when the horsemen were come to the camp, all the army made mourning for Masistius, and Mardonius most of all. And they shaved themselves and their horses and their beasts of burden, and continued in wailing insatiable; for the whole of Boeotia was filled with the sound, because a man had perished that next after Mardonius had most reputation with the Persians and with the king.

So the barbarians after their fashion honoured Masistius that was dead. But the Greeks, because they had withstood the attack of the horsemen, and had repelled them, were mightily encouraged. And first of all they laid the dead body on a wagon and bare it along the ranks. Now the body was worthy to behold for the height and beauty of it; wherefor also this thing was done, that they might not leave their ranks to go and look upon Masistius. And after that it seemed good to them to go farther down to Plataea; for the land of Plataea appeared to them much more convenient to encamp in than the land of Erythrae, and also better watered. To that place, therefore, and to the fountain Gargaphia which is in that place, it seemed good to them to go, and there to camp in their array. And they took up their arms, and went along

the slope of Cithaeron by Hysias into the land of Plataea. And when they were come, they arrayed themselves according to their nations hard by the fountain Gargaphia and the precinct of Androcrates the hero, among low hills and in flat country. And while they arrayed themselves, there arose great contention and dispute between the men of Tegea and the Athenians; for each of them thought it their own right to keep the left wing, and brought forward deeds both new and old. And first the men of Tegea spake thus: We have always been held worthy of this place by all the confederates in every common enterprise of the Peloponnesians hitherto, both of old and of late, from the time when the sons of Heracles assayed to return to the Peloponnese after the death of Eurystheus. Then did we obtain our place through this deed. When we went forth to the Isthmus with the Achaeans and the Ionians that then were in Peloponnesus, and encamped over against the exiles, then Hyllus, it is said, made proclamation that it was not right for the one host to join battle with the other to their jeopardy, but that whomsoever they judged to be best among them in the Peloponnesian camp, the same should fight with him in single combat upon fixed conditions. And it seemed good to the Peloponnesians so to do; and they swore oaths upon this condition, that if Hyllus could vanquish the chief of the Peloponnesians, the sons of Heracles should return into their father's right; but contrariwise, if he were vanquished, the sons of Heracles should get them gone and lead away the army and not seek to return into Peloponnesus for an hundred years. Then from among all the confederates was chosen of his own free will Echemus the son of Aeropus the son of Phegeus, who was our captain and our king. And he fought with Hyllus in single combat and slew him. Because of this deed we obtained great honours among the Peloponnesians of that time, which we continue to possess, and also the right to lead one of the wings

whenever there is a common enterprise. And now unto you, Lacedaemonians, we oppose not ourselves, but do yield and suffer you to choose which wing ye will lead; but as for the other, we say that it is ours to lead, as in former time. And besides this deed which we have rehearsed, we are worthy to be preferred before the Athenians and to have this place, because of many famous fights which have we fought against you, O men of Sparta, and against others. Therefore it is right that we should have the other wing, rather than the Athenians; for there be not deeds wrought by them such as by us, neither new nor old. So they said. But the Athenians replied thereunto thus: We do understand that this assembly was gathered together for battle against the barbarian, and not for words; but seeing the men of Tegea have made it a contest to talk of the brave deeds, old and new, which have been done by each of us throughout all time, we are constrained to tell you wherefor it is our heritage, as men that are ever valiant, to be first rather than the Arcadians. When the sons of Heracles, whose chief these men say that they slew at the Isthmus, were formerly driven away by all the Greeks unto whom they came to escape from bondage at the hands of the men of Mycenae, we alone did receive them; and we abased the pride of Eurystheus, when with them we vanquished in battle those that then possessed Peloponnesus. Moreover when the Argives that marched with Polynices against Thebes had perished and lay unburied, we made war against the Cadmeans, and took up the corpses, and buried them in our own land at Eleusis. There is also a famous deed of ours against the Amazons from the river Thermodon, when once they fell upon the land of Attica. And in the battles at Troy we fell short of none. Notwithstanding, it advantageth nothing to make mention of these things; for the same men which then were valiant, might now be feeble, and they that were feeble then, valiant now. Therefore of ancient deeds enough;

but though we had put forth no other deeds, as in truth we have done as many and famous as any other Greeks, yet from our deed at Marathon alone we are worthy to have this honour and others besides; for alone of the Greeks we fought in single combat with the Persian, and having set our hand to this great work, we overcame and vanquished six and forty nations. Is it not right that we should have this place because of that deed alone? Yet seeing it befitteth not to contend for places in such a case, we are prepared to obey you, Lacedaemonians, wheresoever it seemeth you most convenient that we should stand and against whatsoever nation; for wherever we are arrayed, we will assay to be valiant. Do but command us, and we will obey. Thus they answered. And all the camp of the Lacedaemonians cried out that the Athenians were more worthy to prevail and to keep that wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians got it, and prevailed over the men of Tegea.

And thereafter the Greeks arrayed them on this wise, both those that came at first and those that arrived afterward. Ten thousand Lacedaemonians held the right wing; and five thousand of these, that were Spartans, were guarded by five and thirty thousand helot skirmishers, seven to each man. And the Spartans chose the men of Tegea to stand by them, both to do them honour and because of their valour; and they were one thousand and five hundred men-at-arms. And after them stood five thousand of the Corinthians; and they persuaded Pausanias to put beside them the three hundred men of Potidaea in Pallene that were present. And next to them stood six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus, and next to these three thousand of the men of Sicyon. And next to these were eight hundred of the men of Epidaurus. And beside these arrayed them a thousand of the men of Trcezen, and next to the men of Troezen two hundred of the men of Lepreum, and next to them four hundred of the

men of Mycenae and of Tiryns; and next unto these a thousand men of Phlius; and beside these stood three hundred men of Hermion. And next to the men of Hermion stood six hundred of the men of Eretria and of Styra, and next to these four hundred men of Chalcis, and next to these five hundred of the men of Ambracia. And after these stood eight hundred of Leucas and of Anactorium, and next unto them the Pales from Cephallenia, two hundred. And after these were arrayed five hundred of the men of ^gina. And beside these arrayed them three thousand of the Megarians. And next to these were six hundred men of Plataea. But last and first the Athenians arrayed them, holding the left wing, even eight thousand men; and the captain over them was Aristides the son of Lysimachus. All these were men-at-arms, except the seven helots that were with each of the Spartans; and altogether they were eight and thirty thousand and seven hundred in number. Thus many were all the men-at-arms that were gathered together against the barbarians. And the multitude of the skirmishers was this: five and thirty thousand in the Spartan ranks, being seven to each man, (and every one of these was harnessed for war); but the residue of the Lacedaemonians and the other Greeks had four and thirty thousand and five hundred skirmishers, being one to each man. So the number of all the skirmishers was nine and sixty thousand and five hundred. And the whole Grecian host which came together to Plataea, both men-at-arms and skirmishers, was eleven tens of thousands, lacking yet one thousand and eight hundred men. But with the men of Thespia that were present the eleven tens of thousands were complete; for there were also present in the camp the men of Thespia that remained, to the number of a thousand and eight hundred. Howbeit they had not arms.

All these arrayed themselves by the Asopus and encamped. But the barbarians that were with Mardonius, after they had

finished mourning for Masistius, came likewise unto the Asopus, when they learned that the Greeks were at Plataea. And when they arrived, they were arrayed against them by Mardonius on this wise. Over against the Lacedaemonians he set the Persians; and because the Persians greatly exceeded them in number, they were ranged in more ranks and covered the men of Tegea also. And he arrayed them thus: all the mightiest of them he chose and set in front of the Lacedaemonians, but the feebler part he put over against the men of Tegea. This he did by the advice and instruction of the Thebans. But next to the Persians he arrayed the Medes; and these covered the Corinthians and the men of Potidaea and of Orchomenus and of Sicyon. And next to the Medes he arrayed the Bactrians; and these covered the men of Epidaurus and of Trcezen, of Lepreum and of Tiryns, of Mycenae also and of Phlius. And after the Bactrians he set the Indians; and these covered the men of Hermion and of Eretria, of Styra also and of Chalcis. And next to the Indians he arrayed the Sacae, who covered the men of Ambracia, of Anactorium and of Leucas, the Pales and the men of iEgina. And next to the Sacae, in front of the Athenians and the men of Plataea and of Megara, he arrayed the Boeotians and the Locrians and the men of Malis and the thousand Phocians¹; for not all the Phocians gave themselves to the Mede, but certain of them that were confined upon Parnassus took the part of the Greeks, and setting forth from thence did rob and spoil the army of Mardonius and the Greeks that were with him. And over against the Athenians he arrayed also the Macedonians and those that dwelt in Thessaly. These that I have named were the most eminent and notable of the nations which Mardonius arrayed. But mingled with them were men of other nations also, to wit, Phrygians and Mysians, and Paeones and other Thracians, and moreover

¹ See Chapter 18.

Ethiopians and the Egyptians that are called Hermotybies and Calasiries, who wear knives and alone of the Egyptians are warriors, whom Mardonius had already landed in Phalerum from the ships whereon they sailed; for there were no Egyptians in the land-army which came to Athens with Xerxes. Now there were three hundred thousand barbarians, as hath been said before¹; but no man knoweth the number of the Greeks that were Mardonius* confederates; for they were not counted. Howbeit at a venture I do suppose that about fifty thousand were gathered together. And all these that were so arrayed were footmen; but the horsemen were arrayed apart.

And when Mardonius had arrayed them all by nations and by companies, then on the morrow both the armies sacrificed. For the Greeks it was Tisamenus the son of Antiochus that sacrificed; for he went with the army as a diviner. The same, though he was a man of Elis and of the tribe of the Iamidae, the Lacedaemonians had made one of themselves. For when Tisamenus asked the oracle at Delphi about offspring, the Pythia answered that he should win the five greatest contests. And he mistook the oracle and applied himself to bodily exercises, thinking that he should win contests of strength; and he practised the fivefold contest² and entered the lists at Olympia and lost the victory to Hieronymus of Andros by a single bout. But the Lacedaemonians perceived that the oracle of Tisamenus bare not upon contests of strength but on martial contests; and they sought to hire Tisamenus and make him the leader of their wars together with the children of Heracles, their kings. And when he saw that the Spartans made much of getting him for a friend, then perceiving it he raised the price and gave them to understand that if they would make him their citizen and give him a part in all things, he would do it, but not for any other wage. And the Spartans at

¹ 8, 100; 8, 113.

² See 6, 92 note.

first were wroth when they heard it, and gave up their request altogether. But at last, when the great dread of this Persian host hung over them, they sought him out and consented. Howbeit when he perceived that they had changed their mind, he said that now he was not satisfied with that wage alone, but his brother Hegias must also be made a Spartan upon the same conditions as himself. Now in saying thus, this man did the same as Melampus, if one may liken those that ask for kingdom and for citizenship. For when the women in Argos went mad, Melampus also, when the Argives would have hired him from Pylus to cure their women of the malady, demanded the half of the kingdom for his wages. And the Argives would not brook it, but went away; howbeit, when more of the women became mad, then they did consent unto that which Melampus had demanded and went to offer him the same. But thereupon he grasped after more, when he saw that they had changed their mind, saying that, except they also gave the third part of the kingdom to his brother Bias, he would not do that which they desired. And the Argives, being caught in a strait, consented unto this also. Likewise the Spartans, because they sorely needed Tisamenus, were ready to grant him anything. And when they had granted this also, then by his divining Tisamenus of Elis, after he was made a Spartan, won the five greatest contests with them. And these were the only men that ever became Spartan citizens. Now the five contests were these: firstly, this at Plataea; and secondly, at Tegea against the men of Tegea and of Argos; and thirdly, at Dipaeēs against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans; and fourthly, against the Messenians at Ithome; and fifthly, at Tanagra against the Athenians and the Argives, which was the last of the five contests that he fought.

But at this time Tisamenus was brought by the Spartans and divined for the Greeks in the land of Plataea. And the sacrifices

were favourable for the Greeks if they defended themselves, but not if they crossed the Asopus and began the battle. And likewise for Mardonius the sacrifices were not favourable if he set his heart on beginning the battle, but fair if he defended himself. For he also used Greek sacrifices, and had for his diviner Hegesistratus of Elis, the most famous of the Telliadae. This man the Spartans in former time took and put in bonds, that he might die, because they had received many grievous wrongs from him. And when he was caught in this plight, then because his life was at stake and he was to suffer many torments before death, he did a deed greater than words can tell. For when he was made fast in wooden stocks bound with iron, haply he got possession of a knife that was brought in, and straightway contrived the most courageous of all deeds that we know; for he cut off the flat of his own foot, so calculating that the rest should be able to come out. And when he had done this, because he was guarded by warders, he dug through the wall and ran away to Tegea, journeying at night but in the daytime creeping into thickets and lodging there, so that, albeit the whole people of Lacedaemon made search for him, he was in Tegea the second night. And they were filled with great wonder at his stoutness of heart, when they saw the severed half of his foot lying there and were not able to find him. Thus at that time he escaped from the Lacedaemonians and fled to Tegea, which was not at peace with the Lacedaemonians in those days. And he became whole again, and made a wooden foot for himself, and was openly an enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Howbeit, the enmity which he had borne against the Lacedaemonians profited him not at the last; for he was taken by them divining in Zacynthus, and was slain. Now the death of Hegesistratus came to pass after the battle at Plataea. But at that time he offered sacrifice for Mardonius by the Asopus, being hired for no small wage; and he was zealous to help him,

both because of his hatred of the Lacedaemonians and also for profit. But when the sacrifices were not favourable for fighting, either for the Persians themselves or for the Greeks that were with them, (for they also had a diviner of their own, to wit, Hippomachus, a man of Leucas,) yet when the Greeks flowed in and waxed more and more, then Timegenides the son of Herpys, a man of Thebes, counselled Mardonius to stop the passes of Cithaeron, saying that the Greeks were flowing in continually day by day and that he should cut many off*. (Now at the time when this man counselled Mardonius thus, they had already sat eight days over against one another.) And Mardonius saw that the advice was good; and when night came, he sent the horsemen to the passes of Cithaeron that lead to Plataea, which the Boeotians call Three Heads, and the Athenians call Oak Heads. And the horsemen which he sent came not in vain; for five hundred oxen, that brought victuals from the Peloponnese to the camp, were descending into the plain; and they took them, and also the men that went with the carts. And when they had taken this booty, the Persians slaughtered without sparing: they spared neither beast nor man. But after they had enough of killing, they compassed the residue thereof about, and drove them to the camp unto Mardonius. And after this deed they suffered two days more to pass, and neither army would begin the battle; for the barbarians advanced as far as the Asopus, tempting the Greeks, but neither army crossed over. Howbeit the horsemen of Mardonius continually pressed upon the Greeks and vexed them. For the Thebans, being firm friends of the Medes, were zealous in the conduct of the war and ever led them as far as the battle; but thenceforth it was the Persians and the Medes that took their place and did deeds of valour.

And in those ten days nothing more happened than this; but when the eleventh day came that they had sat face to face

at Plataea, and the Greeks were waxen many more, and Mardonius was incensed with the delay, then Mardonius the son of Gobryes and Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, a man of reputation before Xerxes as few of the Persians besides, entered into conference. And they took counsel, and these were their opinions. The opinion of Artabazus was, that they ought to cause the whole host to strike camp with all speed and go within the wall of Thebes, where they had stored much food, and provender for the beasts of burden, and there sit down unmolested and achieve their purpose by doing thus. They had much coined gold, and also much uncoined, and much silver and plate; these they ought, without sparing anything, to send to the Greeks and especially to those Greeks that were foremost in their cities; and so they would speedily give up their freedom. But they ought not to endanger themselves by joining battle. This man's opinion was the same as the opinion of the Thebans,¹ because he also had foresight. But the opinion of Mardonius was sterner and more stiff-necked and nowise compliant; for he deemed that their army was far mightier than the Greek army, and that they ought to join battle with all speed and not suffer more Greeks to gather together than were gathered already, neither ought they to heed the sacrifices of Hegesistratus *nor to force them, but follow the Persian custom and join battle*. And when Mardonius thus proposed, no man gainsaid him, and so his opinion prevailed; for authority over the army was given by the king to him and not to Artabazus. Then he sent for the commanders of companies and for the captains of the Greeks that were with him, and asked whether they knew any oracle concerning the Persians, that they should be destroyed in Greece. And when the council held their peace, some not knowing the prophecies and others, who knew, not holding it safe to speak, Mardonius himself said: Then since

¹ Chapter 2.

ye either know naught or dare not speak, I, even I, will tell you; for I know well. There is an oracle, that the Persians must come into Greece and despoil the temple at Delphi, and after despoiling it must all perish. Therefore, knowing this thing, we shall neither go against this temple nor assay to despoil it; and for this cause we shall not perish. Wherefore let so many of you as are well disposed to the Persians be glad because of this, and be sure that we shall prevail over the Greeks. When he had said thus to them, he next commanded them to prepare all things, and to make ready for battle on the morrow. But I know that this prophecy which Mardonius said pertained unto the Persians was spoken touching the Illyrians and the host of the Encheles, and not touching the Persians. *But that which Bacis spake touching this battle, to wit,*

*But by Thermodon and Asopus with his grasses soft shall be
A gathering of the Greeks and clamour of barbarian speech.*

Wherein shall many fall past lot and portion

Of the Medes that carry bows, when the day appointed cometh, this I know pertaineth unto the Persians, and others of Musaus like thereto. {Now the river Thermodon floweth betwixt Tanagra and Glisas.} But after the question about the prophecies and the exhortation from Mardonius, night came and they arrayed them in watches. And when the night was far spent and there seemed to be peace throughout the camps and the men were deepest asleep, then Alexander the son of Amyntas, who was captain and king of the Macedonians, rode on a horse to the watches of the Athenians and sought to enter into converse with the captains. And the more part of the watchers stayed where they were; but some ran to the captains, and came and said that a fellow was come on horseback from the camp of the Medes, who would reveal nothing else, but named the captains and said that he desired to have converse with them. And when they heard it,

straightway they went with them to the watches. And when they were come, Alexander spake unto them thus: Men of Athens, I leave these sayings with you as a trust, making them a secret, that ye speak them unto no man but Pausanias, lest ye destroy me. For I had not said them, except I greatly cared for the whole of Greece. (For I myself am a Greek by race from of old, and I should not wish to see Greece bond instead of free.) Howsoever, that which I say is this. Mardonius and the army cannot get sacrifices according to their desire; (else ye had fought long ago;) but now he hath resolved not to heed the sacrifices, and to do battle when day dawneth, because he dreadeth, as I suppose, lest more of you gather together. Accordingly, get you ready. But if Mardonius defer the conflict and make it not, do ye persist and abide; for but a few days' victuals are left them. And if this war endeth according to your hearts' desire, then ought ye to remember me also, to deliver me, who for the sake of the Greeks have wrought a deed thus hazardous, in my zeal to shew you the purpose of Mardonius, lest the barbarians should fall upon you when as yet ye looked not for it. I am Alexander the Macedonian. When he had said this, he rode back again to the camp and his own place; and the captains of the Athenians went to the right wing, and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. And thereupon he fell into terror of the Persians, and spake thus: Seeing now the battle shall be at dawn, ye that are Athenians ought to stand over against the Persians, and we over against the Boeotians and the rest of the Greeks who are now arrayed against you, for this reason: ye know the Medes and the manner of their fighting, because ye fought at Marathon, whereas we are without experience and ignorant of these men, (for none of the Spartans hath made trial of the Medes,) but of the Boeotians and the Thessalians we have experience. Therefore ye must take up your arms and come to this wing, and we will go to the left wing.

Then said the Athenians: We, for our part, ever since we saw the Persians array themselves over against you, have long had in mind to say that which now ye have propounded first; but we feared that our words might be displeasing unto you. Howbeit, seeing ye have made mention thereof yourselves, we are pleased with your words and ready to do these things. And so it pleased them both; and when dawn began to spring, they exchanged their stations. But the Boeotians perceived what was done and reported it to Mardonius. And when he heard it, straightway he assayed to change likewise, and brought the Persians along over against the Lacedaemonians. And when Pausanias perceived that he did so, and knew that he was discovered, he led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius likewise led the Persians back to the left. And when they had returned to their old stations, Mardonius sent an ambassador to the Spartans and spake thus: Lacedaemonians, ye are said by the people here to be valiant men; and they boasted that ye neither flee from war nor leave your station, but stay and destroy your adversaries or perish yourselves. But verily none of these things was true; for ere we joined battle and came into conflict, lo, we saw you flee and leave your place, to hazard the Athenians in your stead and array yourselves against our bondservants. These are nowise the deeds of valiant men, but we are greatly deceived in you. For according to your fame we expected that ye would send an ambassador unto us, challenging us and desiring to fight with the Persians alone. And we were prepared so to do, but found you saying no such thing but rather cowering. Now therefore, seeing ye have not proposed this thing, yet will we propose it. Why should we not fight together, an equal number against an equal number, ye for the Greeks, (since ye are deemed most valiant,) and we for the barbarians? And if it seem good that the rest also should fight, nevertheless let them fight afterward; and if it seem good that

they should not fight, but that we alone suffice, then let us fight alone; and whichever of us shall be victorious, the same shall be victorious with their whole army. When the ambassador had said this and tarried awhile, then because no man answered him aught, he departed and returned and came to Mardonius and signified unto him what had befallen. And Mardonius was exceeding glad and was lifted up by his empty victory; and he sent the horsemen against the Greeks. And when the horsemen came on, they vexed the whole Greek army, throwing javelins and shooting arrows among them; (for they were bowmen on horseback, and hard to come at); and the fountain Gargaphia, from whence all the Greek host drew water, they confounded and choked up. Now the Lacedaemonians were arrayed by the fountain, but the other Greeks were farther from the fountain and nearer to the Asopus, according as they were severally stationed. Howbeit they resorted unto the fountain, because they were kept away from the river; for it was not possible for them to fetch water from the river because of the horsemen and the arrows.

And when this happened so, the captains of the Greeks, forasmuch as the army was deprived of water and alarmed by the horsemen, came unto the right wing to Pausanias and gathered together to take counsel concerning this and other matters. For there were other things that vexed them even more than this; for they no longer had victuals, and their servants who had been sent to the Peloponnese to get victuals were kept away by the horsemen and could not come into the camp. And when the captains took counsel, it seemed them good, if the Persians should let that day pass without doing battle, to go to the Island, which is ten stades distant from the Asopus and from the fountain Gargaphia, where they were then encamped, *and is in front of the city of Plat&a*. (Now thus may there be an island in the continent: a

river is divided near its source on Cithaeron, and floweth down into the plain with its channels as much as three stades apart one from another; but thereafter they mingle together in one: and the name thereof is Oëroë. And the people of the place say that it is the daughter of Asopus.) Unto this place they counselled to remove, to the end that they might have water to use in abundance and the horsemen might not hurt them, as when they were by the Asopus. And they resolved to remove at the second watch of the night, so that the Persians might not see them setting forth and the horsemen follow after and confound them. And they resolved that when they came to that place around which Oëroë, Asopus' daughter, is divided in its course from Cithaeron, the same night they would send half the host to Cithaeron, to meet with their followers who were gone to fetch victuals; for these were stopped upon Cithaeron. After they had counselled thus, they had travail all that day without ceasing, because the horsemen lay heavy upon them. But after the day grew to an end and the horsemen were gone away, then, when night came and the hour wherein they had covenanted to depart, the most part rose up and departed. Howbeit they were not minded to go to the place whither they covenanted to go; for when they had once bestirred them, they fled gladly for fear of the horsemen unto the city of Plataea, and so came to the temple of Hera. The same is before the city of Plataea, distant twenty stades from the fountain Gargaphia. And being come thither, they set down their arms before the temple. So they encamped by the temple of Hera. But Pausanias, when he saw them departing from the camp, commanded the Lacedaemonians also to take up their arms and follow the others who went before, supposing that they went to the place that they had covenanted. Then all the captains of companies were prepared to obey Pausanias, except Amompharetus the son of Poliades, who led the band of Pitane; but this man

said that he would not flee from the strangers nor of his own free will bring shame upon Sparta; for he marvelled to see what was done, because he had not been present at the conference. And Pausanias and Euryanax were wroth that he should not obey them, but notwithstanding were not willing to leave the band of Pitane behind, because he was thus minded; for they feared lest, if they left them and did as they had covenanted with the other Greeks, both Amompharetus himself and those that were with him should remain behind and perish. Thus considering, they kept the Laconian camp still and sought to persuade Amompharetus that he ought not to do as he did. And while they exhorted Amompharetus, and the Lacedaemonians and the men of Tegea alone remained behind, the Athenians did thus. When the camp began to move, they held themselves still where they were stationed, knowing the mind of the Lacedaemonians, that they thought one thing and said another; and they sent one of their horsemen to see whether the Spartans began to march, or whether they purposed not to depart at all, and to ask Pausanias what they ought to do. And when the messenger came to the Lacedaemonians, he saw that they were yet in their place and the chief men among them were quarrelling. For when Euryanax and Pausanias exhorted Amompharetus not to cause the Lacedaemonians to come into jeopardy by remaining, haply they persuaded him not; and at last they fell out and began to quarrel, when the Athenian messenger arrived and stood nigh. And Amompharetus in the quarrel took a rock with both his hands and set it before the feet of Pausanias and said that with that vote he voted not to flee from the strangers. But Pausanias called him a madman and out of his mind. And when the Athenian messenger enquired as he was bidden, Pausanias commanded him to tell the Athenians of their present state; and he besought the Athenians to approach unto them, and to do as they did

concerning their departure. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found them still in that place disputing among themselves, then Pausanias deeming that Amompharetus would not remain behind if the other Lacedaemonians marched away, (the which also came to pass,) gave the signal and led away all the rest through the hills; and the men of Tegea followed also. But the Athenians, as they were stationed, went contrariwise to the Lacedaemonians; for these kept to the hills and to the skirts of Cithaeron, for fear of the horsemen, but the Athenians took the lower road and kept to the plain. And Amompharetus at first, not supposing that Pausanias would dare to leave them, maintained that they should abide in that place and not forsake their station; but when those with Pausanias were already afar off, he concluded that they were leaving him outright, and his band took up their arms, and he led them at a walking pace towards the rest of the division. And these latter, when they were gone four stades, waited for the band of Amompharetus, taking their station by the river Moloïs and a place called Argiopium, where there is also a temple of Demeter of Eleusis. And they waited for this purpose, that if Amompharetus and his band should not leave the place where they were stationed, but abide there, they might go back to their aid. And when those that were with Amompharetus arrived, straightway all the horsemen of the barbarians fell upon them. For when the horsemen did as they were always wont to do, and saw the place empty where the Greeks had been arrayed in the former days, they rode onward until they overtook the Greeks, and then fell upon them straightway.

But Mardonius, when he learned that the Greeks were gone away by night and saw the place void, called Thorax, the man of Larisa, and his brethren Eurypylus and Thrasydaiis, and said: Sons of Aleues, what will ye say now, when ye see this place void ?

For ye, their neighbours, said that the Lacedaemonians flee not from battle but are men excellent in war. Yet ye saw them yesterday seek to remove from their station, and now we all see that in the night which is past they have run away; and so, when they had to decide the issue in battle against those that are unfeignedly the best of men, they shewed plainly that they were good for nothing, both they and the Greeks among whom they vaunted themselves. Now you, that were without experience of the Persians, I easily forgave for commending those of whom ye had some knowledge; but at Artabazus I marvelled more, that he should fall into dread of the Lacedaemonians, and in his dread put forth an opinion most vile, that we ought to strike camp and go within the town of Thebes, to be besieged; which opinion the king shall yet hear from me. Howbeit of this we will speak at another season. But now we must not suffer the Greeks to do thus; rather they must be pursued till they be overtaken and give us satisfaction for all that they did unto the Persians until now. After he said this, the Persians crossed the Asopus and he led them running in the footsteps of the Greeks, supposing that they fled. And he bore down upon the Lacedaemonians and the men of Tegea only; for the Athenians, who took the way of the plain, he espied not because of the hills. And when the residue who were captains of barbarian companies saw the Persians set forth to pursue the Greeks, straightway they all lifted their ensigns and pursued, each as fast as his feet were able, not being disposed in any order or array. And so they came on with shouting and tumult, thinking to make short work of the Greeks. But Pausanias, when the horsemen fell upon them, sent a man on horseback to the Athenians, and spake thus: Men of Athens, the greatest issue is now to be decided, whether Greece shall be free or bond; yet are we, both Lacedaemonians and Athenians, betrayed by our confederates, who fled away in the night that is

past. Now therefore it is plain what we must do henceforth; to wit, defend ourselves and protect each other in what way we are best able. Now if the horsemen had attacked you first, then we and the men of Tegea, that are resolved with us not to betray Greece, should have brought you help. But now, seeing they are all come against us, ye ought to come to defend that part of the army which is hardest pressed. Howbeit, if aught hath overtaken you, so that it is not possible for you to come to our aid, then send us your bowmen and we will be thankful unto you. We do acknowledge that in this present war ye are by much the most zealous; surely therefore ye will hearken unto this also. When the Athenians heard this, they set forth to bring help and to defend them with all their might. But while they were already marching thither, the Greeks that aided the king, who were arrayed opposite, attacked them; so that they were no longer able to bring help, because their attackers were heavy upon them. So the Lacedaemonians and the men of Tegea were left alone, the Lacedaemonians being in all fifty thousand with the skirmishers, and the men of Tegea three thousand; for these latter were never parted from the Lacedaemonians. And they sacrificed for battle against Mardonius and the army which was upon them. Howbeit the sacrifices were not favourable; and in the meantime many of them fell and many more were wounded; for the Persians made a fence of their plaited shields and shot their shafts unsparingly. Therefore, when the Spartans were hard pressed and the sacrifices were not favourable, Pausanias lifted up his eyes unto the temple of Hera which was at Plataea, and cried to the goddess, beseeching her not to let them be deceived of their hope. And while he yet thus cried unto her, the men of Tegea started up first and went against the barbarians. And straightway after the prayer of Pausanias the Lacedaemonians obtained favourable sacrifices; and when they had obtained them, then at last they also

went forward against the Persians. And the Persians cast aside their bows and came to meet them face to face. And first the battle was for the fence of shields; but after these had fallen, they came to grips and the battle waxed fierce by the temple of Demeter itself, and continued for a great while, the barbarians laying hold upon the Greek spears and breaking them off. Now the Persians were not inferior in courage or strength, but they were without armour and had moreover no experience of their adversaries and were not equal to them in subtilty. And they gathered together, here ten, there ten, or more or fewer, and darting forth rushed among the Spartans and were destroyed. And where Mardonius himself, who fought from a white horse and had with him a chosen band of the thousand best Persians, was stationed, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. And so long as Mardonius lived, they resisted and defended themselves, and laid low many of the Lacedaemonians; but after Mardonius was dead and the mightiest, who were arrayed about him, fallen, then the rest turned their backs and gave way before the Lacedaemonians. And so was satisfaction done to the Spartans by Mardonius for the murder of Leonides, according to the oracle,¹ and Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus won the fairest of all victories that we know. (Now Cleombrotus was the son of Anaxandrides; and the names of his fathers before him I have already² recounted down to Leonides; for they are the same.) And Mardonius was slain by the hand of Arimnestus, a man of reputation in Sparta, who in later time, after the Persian troubles, when the Messenians rebelled and there was war, joined battle against them in Stenyclerus with three hundred men, and was slain, both he and the three hundred that were with him. But when at Plataea the Persians were worsted by the Lacedaemonians, they fled in disorder to their own camp and to the wall of wood which they

¹ 8, 114.²

7, 204.

had made for themselves in the territory of Thebes. [*Now it is a marvel unto me, that albeit they fought by the precinct of Demeter, not one of the Persians was found to have entered into the holy place or died therein, whereas the greatest number fell on profane ground round about the temple. And my opinion, if it be right to have opinion concerning things divine, is that the goddess herself would not receive them, because they burned the sanctuary at Eleusis.]

[¹So far this battle came to pass. But Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, who in the very beginning had not been pleased that Mardonius was left behind by the king, and who with all his pleading accomplished naught when he would have persuaded Mardonius not to join battle, did then do thus, because he was displeased with the deeds of Mardonius. Because he well understood what the issue of the battle should be, therefore, when the conflict was being joined, he commanded those whereof he was captain, (and he had no small power about him, but as many as forty thousand men,) that they should all with one accord go whatsoever way he should lead them, according as they saw him do diligence. And when he had commanded thus, he led his host as it were unto battle. But as he drew onward, he saw the Persians already fleeing. Then he no longer led them in the same order, but ran with all speed, and fled neither to the wooden wall nor to the walls of Thebes, but into Phocis, determining to arrive at the Hellespont as soon as he could.] So the Persians betook themselves this way. But whereas the other Greeks that were with the king played the coward, the Boeotians fought against the Athenians for a great while; for the Thebans that had given themselves to the Mede displayed no small zeal, fighting and not playing the coward, even so that the three hundred chiefest and bravest of them fell there by the hand of the Athenians. But

¹ Later insertions \$ for the second, compare 8, 126.

when they also were worsted, they fled to Thebes, and not whither the Persians had fled. But the whole multitude of the other confederates fled without doing battle against any man or performing any service; and it is plain to me that the whole of the affairs of the barbarians depended on the Persians, seeing that the rest fled before ever they had joined battle with the enemy, because they saw the Persians do so. And now they were all fleeing save the horsemen, and especially the Boeotian horsemen, who greatly helped the fugitives, keeping continually on the side towards the enemy and separating their friends from the Greeks. And so the Greeks prevailed, and pursued after the people of Xerxes, and slaughtered them. And during the time of this turmoil, the rest of the Greeks, who were arrayed near to the temple of Hera and had been absent from the battle, received tidings that a battle was come to pass and that Pausanias and his men were victors. And when they heard it, they set off in disorder; and they that were with the Corinthians took the road which led by the skirts of Cithaeron and the foothills directly to the temple of Demeter, but they that were with the men of Megara and of Phlius took the smoothest road through the plain. And as the men of Megara and of Phlius drew nigh unto the enemy, the Theban horsemen, whose ruler was Asopodorus the son of Timander, espied them hasting on in disorder, and rode against them. And they fell upon them, and laid low six hundred; and they pursued the residue and swept them back to Cithaeron. So they perished, and no account was had of them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had taken refuge in the wall of wood, then, so long as the Athenians were absent, they defended themselves and had much the better of the Lacedaemonians, forasmuch as they understood not how to assault a wall. But after the Athenians were joined unto them, there was a mighty assault made upon the wall for a great while. And at

length by courage and by perseverance the Athenians mounted upon the wall and tore it down; and at that place the Greeks poured in. And the men of Tegea entered within first, and it was they that despoiled the tent of Mardonius, and took from thence all that was therein, and especially the manger of his horses, which was all of brass and a wonder to behold. This manger of Mardonius the men of Tegea dedicated in the temple of Athena Alea; but all the other things that they took, they shared with the rest of the Greeks. And the barbarians, after the wall was fallen, no longer formed their ranks, neither did any of them think to defend himself, but they struggled together because they were stricken afraid and many tens of thousands were shut up together in a little space. And the Greeks were able to slaughter so many that of three hundred thousand men in the host, all but forty thousand wherewith Artabazus had fled, not three thousand were left, whereas of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain altogether in the conflict ninety-one, and of the men of Tegea sixteen, and of the Athenians fifty-two.

Now the most valiant of the barbarian footmen were the Persians, and of their horsemen the Sacae; and it is said that Mardonius was the most valiant man. But as for the Greeks, though the men of Tegea and the Athenians were valiant also, the Lacedaemonians excelled in courage. And this I do discern by no other sign, (for they all prevailed against those that were set over against them,) but by this alone, that the Lacedaemonians attacked the strongest part of the enemy and prevailed. And the most valiant man by far in my opinion was that Aristodemus who lived in reproach and dishonour because he alone was saved of the three hundred at Thermopylae.¹ And after him the most valiant were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus, men of Sparta. But when there was talk as touching which had been the

¹ 7,231-

most valiant of them, the Spartans that were present resolved that whereas Aristodemus had rushed forward in rage from his place and performed great deeds, because he wished to die publicly for the shame that was upon him, yet was Posidonius the better man, inasmuch as he also behaved himself valiantly, though he desired not to die. Howbeit, they may have said this for envy; but all those men that I mentioned save Aristodemus were held in honour. [*But Callicrates, who was the fairest not only of the Lacedaemonians but of all the other Greeks of that time and was present in the army, died not in the battle; for he was wounded with a shaft in the side, as he sat in his place while Pausanias was sacrificing. And the battle began, but Callicrates was borne forth and died a hard death. And he said to Arimnestus, a man of Platsea, that he cared not that he died for Greece but grieved that he had not used his arm nor performed any deed worthy of himself such as he was zealous to perform.] [^xBut as for the Athenians, it is said that Sophanes the son of Eutyichides, from the village of Decelea, got the best repute. Now the men of Decelea once wrought a deed which, as the Athenians themselves relate, was profitable for all time. For when of old the sons of Tyndareus entered into Attica with a mighty host to fetch Helen home, and were laying waste the villages, because they knew not where Helen was bestowed, then it is said that the men of Decelea, or Decelus himself, being angry at the outrageous deed of Theseus and fearful for all the land of Attica, revealed unto them the whole truth of the matter and conducted them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, who was a native of the place, betrayed to the sons of Tyndareus. And ever since that deed the men of Decelea have continued to this day to enjoy freedom of tax and special seats in Sparta, so that in the war which came to pass between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians many years after these

¹ Later additions.

things the Lacedaemonians spared Decelea when they wasted the rest of Attica. Of this village came Sophanes, who at that time was the most valiant of the Athenians. And twofold report is given of this man. The one report saith that he carried an anchor of iron fastened by a brasen chain to the girdle of his corselet, and that his wont was, whensoever he drew nigh to the enemy, to cast this anchor, that the assaults of the enemy might not cause him to move from his place, but when his adversaries were put to flight, he took up the anchor and pursued them. This is the one report. But the second report conflicteth with that which hath been related and saith that he carried the anchor on his shield, and not tied to his corselet. And there is another famous deed also which Sophanes accomplished; for when the Athenians besieged -Ægina, he slew in single combat the Argive captain Eurybates, who had won the five contests.¹ And in after time it befell Sophanes himself, when he was captain of the Athenians together with Leagrus the son of Glaucon, to be slain at Datum by the hand of the Edoni, fighting bravely for the gold-mines.]

But after the Greeks at Plataea had laid the barbarians low, there came to them a woman from the enemy camp. She was a concubine of Pharandates the son of Teaspis, a Persian; and when she perceived that the Persians were lost and the Greeks conquering, she adorned herself and her handmaidens with much gold and with the fairest raiment that she had, and got down out of her covered wagon and went unto the Lacedaemonians, who were yet among the slain. And when she saw Pausanias overseeing all things, she knew him, being already well acquainted with his name and country, because she had oftentimes heard of him; and she laid hands on his knees, and spake thus: King of Sparta, deliver me, thy suppliant, from being a captive of war. For thou hast profited me thus far, in destroying these men, who

¹ 6,92.

have reverence neither for gods nor angels. My country is Cos, and I am the daughter of Hegetorides the son of Antagoras. And the Persian took me by force from Cos and married me. And he answered her thus: Be of good cheer, woman, both because thou art a suppliant, and also because, if thou speakest true, thou art the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, who is verily my best friend of all that dwell in those parts. So he spake; and at that time he committed her unto the charge of the ephors who were present; but afterwards he sent her to Ægina, as she herself desired. And straightway after the coming of this woman the men of Mantinea arrived when all was accomplished. And when they perceived that they were too late for the conflict, they were greatly distressed, and said that they were fit to be punished. But when they heard of the Medes that fled with Artabazus,¹ they were ready to pursue them even unto Thessaly; but the Lacedaemonians suffered them not. Therefore when they returned to their own country, they banished the captains that had led the army. And after the men of Mantinea came the men of Elis; and they likewise were distressed and departed. And when they returned home, they also banished their leaders. Thus it was with the men of Mantinea and Elis. But at Plataea in the camp was a certain Lampon the son of Pytheas, the chief among the men of Ægina, who hastened to Pausanias with most unholy counsel, and being come in haste spake thus: Son of Cleombrotus, thou hast wrought a deed of surpassing greatness and glory, and God hath granted thee to deliver Greece and to gain for thyself the greatest fame of all Greeks that we know. And now, in what remaineth, do thou so deal that thou mayest have yet greater fame, and all barbarians may hereafter beware of beginning froward deeds against the Greeks. When Leonides died at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it upon

¹ Chapter 70.

a stake. Do thou repay him the like, and thou shalt have praise first from all the Spartans, and secondly from the rest of the Greeks also. Thus he spake, deeming that he did Pausanias a favour; but he answered him with these words: Man of [^]Egina, for thy goodwill and for thy forethought I thank thee; howbeit from right counsel thou art far astray. For when thou hadst exalted me and my country and my deed, thou wouldst have brought me down again to naught, admonishing me to insult a dead body and saying that I shall be better spoken of if I do those things which it becometh barbarians rather than Greeks to do; and even in barbarians we think them sin. Nay, in this matter let me please neither the men of [^]Egina nor any that delight in such deeds; but it shall suffice me to do reverently and to speak reverently, and so find favour in the sight of the Spartans. And as for Leonides, whom thou biddest me avenge, I say that he is avenged fully. And do thou never more come before me or speak to me with such counsel but be glad that no harm is done thee.

So he, being thus rebuked, departed. But Pausanias made proclamation that no man should lay hands on the spoil; and he commanded the helots to garner in the stuff. And they went up and down through the camp, and found pavilions furnished with gold and with silver, and couches covered with gold and couches covered with silver, and bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels of gold, and waggons loaded with sacks wherein were seen to be gold and silver basons; and they spoiled from the dead their anklets and chains and their fauchions, which were of gold; and as for embroidered raiment, there was no account made thereof. And much the helots stole and sold, and much also, which it was not possible for them to conceal, they declared. And there the men of ⁱEgina got their great riches in the beginning, because they bought the gold from the helots as brass. But when the Greeks had collected the stuff and set apart a tithe thereof for the god at

Delphi, (from which was made the golden cauldron that standeth upon the brasen three-headed serpent next to the altar,) [^xand for the god at Olympia, (from which they made a brasen Zeus ten cubits high,) and for the god at the Isthmus, (from which was fashioned a brasen Posidon seven cubits high,) then, having set apart the tithe,] they divided the residue and received each their due, both the concubines of the Persians and the gold and the silver, the gear also and the beasts of burden. And as for rewards for those that were most valiant at Plataea, I deem that these were given to them, though it is not reported of any man; but to Pausanias were given ten of everything, women and horses, chariots and camels, and all the rest likewise. And it is said that this also came to pass, that when Xerxes fled from Greece he left his own tent behind with Mardonius; and Pausanias, seeing it furnished with gold and silver and with embroidered hangings, commanded the bakers and cooks to prepare supper in like manner as they were wont to do for Mardonius. And they did as they were bidden. And when Pausanias saw couches of gold and of silver with beautiful coverings, and gold and silver tables, and magnificent fare, he was astonished; and for a jest he commanded his own servants to prepare a Spartan supper. And when the meal was made ready and the difference was great, Pausanias laughed and sent for the Greek captains; and when they came together, he pointed to the one supper and to the other, and said: Men of Greece, I brought you together for this reason, to shew you the foolishness of the Mede, who, though he lived in this fashion, came against us, whose fare is so poor, to take it from us. Thus it is said that Pausanias spake unto the Greek captains. And in after time divers of the people of Plataea found coffers of gold and silver, and other stuff. And this thing also came to light afterwards: when the corpses were laid bare of flesh, the men of Plataea were

¹ Later addition; compare 8, 121,

collecting the bones in one place, and they came upon a skull which had no seam but was of one bone, and they also found a jaw which had all the teeth, both the front teeth and the grinders, of a single piece; and the bones of a man five cubits in height were found. But the corpse of Mardonius vanished the next day, by what man's hand I cannot say with certainty, albeit I have heard it said ere now of many persons of all sorts, that they buried Mardonius; and I know that many received great gifts from Artontes the son of Mardonius because of that deed. Yet which of them it was that stole away and buried the corpse of Mardonius I cannot learn with certainty, albeit Dionysophanes of Ephesus hath some repute of having buried Mardonius. But in this wise he vanished. And the Greeks at Plataea, after they had divided the spoil, did each bury their own dead separately. And the Lacedaemonians made three several graves; and in one tomb were buried the youths, and in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus they buried them. But the men of Tegea buried theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians also buried their dead in one tomb; and the men of Megara and of Phlius buried those that perished at the hand of the horsemen. So the tombs of all these nations contained the bodies of the dead. But as for the other nations that have tombs to be seen at Plataea, I find that they all heaped empty mounds, for the sake of posterity, because they were ashamed of their absence from the battle; insomuch that there is a tomb there, called the tomb of the men of Ægina, which I hear was heaped ten years afterwards at the request of the men of Ægina by Cleades the son of Autodicus of Platasa, who was the guardian of their affairs in that city.

Howbeit, after the Greeks at Platasa had buried their dead, they straightway took counsel and resolved to go against Thebes and demand that those men be rendered up who had given

themselves to the Mede and especially Timegenides and Attaginus, who were among the foremost ringleaders; and if the Thebans would not deliver them up, they resolved not to depart from the city until they took it. And according as they had resolved, so they came on the eleventh day after the conflict and besieged the Thebans, bidding them deliver the men up. And because the Thebans would not deliver them up, they wasted their land and made assaults upon the wall. And on the twentieth day, because the Greeks ceased not to do them harm, Timegenides spake thus unto the Thebans: Men of Thebes, inasmuch as the Greeks are resolved not to desist from their siege until they take Thebes or ye render us up, now therefore let the land of Bceotia suffer no more for our sake; but if they want money and demand as a pretext that we be delivered up, then money let us give them out of the public treasury; (for it was with the public consent that we gave ourselves to the Mede); but if in truth they besiege the city because they would have us, we will yield ourselves up to answer their charges. And he seemed to speak exceeding well and in season; and straightway the Thebans sent messages to Pausanias that they were willing to deliver the men up. And after they were agreed upon these conditions, Attaginus escaped from the town; and when his children were brought before Pausanias, he acquitted them of blame, saying that children had no part in the guilt of favouring the Mede. But as for the rest of the men whom the Thebans delivered up, they looked to have opportunity to answer the charges, and were confident that by bribery they should go free. But when Pausanias had laid hands on them, then, because he suspected the same, he dismissed all the army of the confederates, and took the men to Corinth, and put them to death.

Such were the actions at Platasa and Thebes. But Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, who fled from Plata-a, was by now afar off.

And when he came to Thessaly, the Thessalians bade him to a feast and enquired after the rest of the army, because they knew naught of that which was come to pass at Platea. And Artabazus perceived that if he should tell them the whole truth, both himself and the host that was with him should be in danger of destruction, because every man would fall upon him if they learned what was come to pass. And so considering, he disclosed nothing but said to the Thessalians: O Thessalians, as ye see, I am hastening with all speed to Thrace, and cannot stay; for I was sent from the camp with these men upon a certain business; and lo, Mardonius himself and his host march at my heels, and ye may expect them even now. Him do ye feast, and unto him let your good works be shewn; for it shall not repent you hereafter if ye do so. And when he had spoken thus, then in truth he led the host with speed directly to Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, hastening and taking the midland road. And so he came to Byzantium; but he lost many of his host by the way, hewn in pieces by the Thracians or overcome with hunger and toil. And from Byzantium he passed over in boats.

And so he returned home to Asia. But on the same day that the Persians were discomfited at Platarn, there came to pass their discomfiture at Mycale in Ionia also. For as the Greeks that came in the ships with Leotychides the Lacedaemonian waited in Delos, messengers came to them from Samos, to wit, Lampon the son of Thrasyclyf s, and Athenagoras the son of Arcestratides, and Hegesistratus the son of Aristagoras, who were sent by the people of Samos without the knowledge of the Persians or of the tyrant Theomestor the son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had established tyrant in Samos. And they came before the captains; and Hegesistratus used every manner of argument, saying that if the Ionians did but see them, they would rebel against the Persians, and that the barbarians would not withstand them, or if

indeed they withstood them, it should be such a booty as they were never like to find again. And he called on their common gods, and exhorted them to deliver a Greek people from bondage and drive away the barbarian. And he said that it was easy for them to do this, because the ships of the barbarians sailed not well and were not sufficient to do battle with them; and that if perchance the Greeks suspected treachery in their invitation, they were ready to be taken in the Greek ships for hostages. And when Hegesistratus was importunate, then Leotychides, whether by chance or because he desired to know it for an omen, asked him: Samian stranger, what is thy name? And he said: Hegesistratus.¹ Then Leotychides cut short what further speech Hegesistratus was purposing to hold, saying: Samian stranger, I accept the sign. And now, I pray thee, do thou and these that are with thee give us pledges, ere ye sail away, that the men of Samos will be our confederates with all their might. Thus he spake, and administered the oath; for straightway the Samians took oaths and made pledges of confederacy with the Greeks.

And when they had done so, they sailed away. And the Greeks tarried that day, and on the morrow consulted the sacrifices; and their diviner was Delphonus the son of Evenius, of Apollonia in the Ionian gulf, whose father the following chance had befallen. In this Apollonia there are flocks sacred to the sun. In the day-time they feed beside a river which floweth from mount Lacmon through the country of Apollonia and falleth into the sea by the haven Oricus; but at night men chosen from the citizens that have most reputation for wealth and family keep watch over them, each man for one year; for the men of Apollonia make much of these flocks by reason of a certain oracle. And they are lodged in a cave afar off from the city. Now it came to pass that this Evenius was chosen to keep watch. And one night, he fell

¹ i.e., 'leader of the host'.

asleep on his watch, and wolves entered into the cave and destroyed about threescore of the sheep. And when he was aware thereof, he held his peace and told no man, purposing to buy others in their place. Howsoever, it was not hid from the men of Apollonia that this thing had come to pass; but when they learned thereof, they brought him to judgement, and condemned him, because he fell asleep on his watch, to be deprived of his sight. And when they had put out the eyes of Evenius, straightway their flocks bare no young, neither did the earth bring forth as before. And it was declared unto them both at Dodona and at Delphi that they had wrongfully deprived of sight the keeper of the sacred flocks, because the gods themselves had set the wolves on, and that they would not cease from avenging him until the men of Apollonia made him whatsoever amends he should himself choose for the wrong which they had done; and when these were paid, then they themselves would give Evenius such a gift that many men should call him blessed for the having of it. Such were the prophecies that were given them. And the men of Apollonia kept them secret, and charged certain of the citizens to perform the business. And they performed it for them thus. As Evenius sat upon a bench, they came and sat down beside him, and held speech of other things, until at last they began to commiserate with him in his affliction. And thus drawing him on, they enquired what amends he would choose, if the men of Apollonia should offer to make him satisfaction for the wrong which they had done. And because he had not heard of the oracle, he did choose, and said that if they would give him the fields of such and such citizens, (naming those whom he knew to have the two fairest lots in the land of Apollonia,) and beside these the dwelling which he knew to be the fairest in the city, then, being possessed thereof, he would bear no more malice for the future but would be satisfied with these amends. Thus he spake;

and they that sat by him answered and said: These amends, Evenius, will the men of Apollonia pay to thee for the putting out of thine eyes, according to the oracles which are come. Then, when he learned the whole story, he was wroth because he had been deceived. But the people bought those things which he had chosen from the owners thereof, and gave them unto him. And straightway afterward he received the gift of natural divination, so that he became famous thereby. And the son of this Evenius was Deïphonus, whom the Corinthians brought with them to be the diviner for the host. (But ere now I have also heard that Deïphonus received employment throughout Greece by virtue of the name of Evenius, albeit he was not Evenius* son.)

And when the Greeks found the sacrifices favourable, they launched from Delos to sail unto Samos. And when they drew nigh unto Calami in the land of Samos, they cast anchor there over against the temple of Hera in that place, and prepared themselves for a sea battle. But when the Persians heard that they were approaching, they also launched and sailed to the mainland, all except the Phoenician ships; and those they dismissed. For when they had taken counsel, the captains of the navy resolved not to fight a sea battle, because they thought themselves not equal to the Greeks; but they determined to go to the mainland, and take refuge with their own land host at Mycale, which at Xerxes' command was left behind by the rest of the army and kept ward over Ionia, and the multitude thereof was threescore thousand, and the captain Tigranes, who surpassed all other Persians in comeliness and stature. And they resolved to draw the ships up on land there and to surround them with a fence, both to protect the ships and to be a refuge for themselves. So resolving they launched. And when they came to Gseson and Scolopoës in Mycale, where there is a temple of Demeter of Eleusis which Philistus the son of Pasicles established when he went with

Nilaius the son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus, then they drew the ships up there, and surrounded them with a fence of stones and of timbers from garden trees which they hewed down; and they planted sharp stakes round about the fence. And so they were ready for a siege.

But when the Greeks heard that the barbarians were gone to the mainland, they were vexed, as though they had escaped. And they were in doubt what to do, whether to return home or to sail to the Hellespont. But at length they resolved to do neither of these things, but to sail to the mainland. Therefore having prepared gangways and all else that was needful, they sailed toward Mycale. And after they drew nigh to the camp, and found no man launching against them, but saw the ships of the barbarians drawn up within the wall and a great army ranged along the shore, then first Leotychides sailed along in his ship, as close to the shore as he could keep, and made proclamation to the Ionians by the mouth of a crier, saying: Men of Ionia, so many of you as chance to hear me, mark that which I say; for in any case the Persians will comprehend naught of what I charge you withal. When we join battle, let each of you remember freedom first, and secondly the password, which is Hera. And he that hath not heard this, let it be told to him by his fellow that hath heard it. And when Leotychides had so advised the Ionians, thereafter the Greeks brought their ships to land, and went forth upon the shore, and set themselves in array. And when the Persians saw the Greeks preparing themselves for battle, then first they took from the Samians their weapons, because they suspected that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed, when Athenian captives, whom Xerxes' men had taken straying in Attica, were brought in the ships of the barbarians, the Samians ransomed them all, and gave them provision for the journey, and sent them back to Athens, and for this cause especially they were suspected, because they

had ransomed five hundred head of Xerxes' enemies. Moreover, they appointed the men of Miletus to keep the passes which led into the mountain tops of Mycale, alleging that they knew the country best; but in truth they did so that they might be out of the camp. So by these means the Persians guarded themselves against those Ionians who they deemed would surely do some mischief if they got the power; but as for themselves, they joined their plaited shields together to make a fence. And when the Greeks were ready, they went against the barbarians. [^xAnd as they were going, a rumour flew among all the camp, and a messenger's staff* was found lying on the edge of the waves; and the rumour which passed among them was that the Greeks had conquered the army of Mardonius in a battle in Bceotia. And the hand of God in affairs is manifest by many testimonies, seeing that here, when the discomfiture at Plataea and that which was to be at Mycale fell out on the same day, a rumour reached the Greeks at Mycale, so that the army took courage and were the more zealous to do battle. And this was another strange chance, that precincts of Demeter of Eleusis were on both battlefields; for at Plataea, as I have told already,² the battle came to pass by the very temple of Demeter, and at Mycale also it was to be even so. And the rumour which came to them, that the Greeks with Pausanias had conquered, was right; for the discomfiture at Plataea came to pass while the day was yet young, but the discomfiture at Mycale was in the afternoon; and when they reckoned back a little while afterwards, it was plain to them that it happened on the same day *of the same month*. And before the rumour came, they were in dread, not so much for themselves, as for the other Greeks, fearing lest Greece should come to grief through Mardonius; but after this news was bruited abroad, they made the assault the more willingly and swiftly. So the Greeks

¹ Later addition.

² Chapter 65.

and the barbarians were eager for battle, seeing the isles and the Hellespont were as prizes offered.]

And the way of the Athenians and of those that were arrayed beside them, unto about the middle of the host, lay over shore and plain; but the way of the Lacedaemonians and of those that were arrayed next to them lay over a torrent and through mountains; and while they yet went about, those upon the other wing were already fighting. And as long as the plaited shields of the Persians yet stood, they defended themselves and had nowise the worst of the battle; but at length the Athenians and their neighbours, exhorting one another to make the deed their own and not leave it to the Lacedaemonians, set to work more zealously. Then the aspect of the battle was altered; for they thrust asunder the plaited shields, and rushed all together upon the Persians, who withstood them and for a great while defended themselves, but in the end fled within the wall. And the Athenians and the Corinthians and the men of Sicyon and of Trcezen, (for these were the neighbours of the Athenians,) followed after and entered with the Persians. And when the wall was taken also, the barbarians thought no more of resistance, but turned to flight, all except the Persians, who yet fought, here a few and there a few. And two of the Persian captains escaped, and two perished: Artayntes and Ithamitras, who were the captains of the navy, escaped; but Mardontes and Tigranes, who was the captain of the army, perished fighting. And while the Persians yet fought, the Lacedaemonians and those that were with them arrived and accomplished the remainder of the work. And sundry also of the Greeks themselves fell there, to wit, Perilaiis, the captain of the men of Sicyon, and others. But the Samian soldiers in the Median camp, whose weapons had been taken from them, when at the outset they saw the battle doubtful, did all that they **were able to help the** Greeks. And when the other Ionians saw

that the Samians had made a beginning, then they also rebelled against the Persians and fell upon the barbarians. And the men of Miletus had been appointed by the Persians to keep the passes for the sake of their escape, so that, if they should fare as indeed they did fare, they might have guides and get safe to the mountain tops of Mycale. But they did the very contrary of that which was appointed them; for they guided them in their flight by other roads, which led among the enemy, and were found in the end to be their bitterest foes. And thus Ionia rebelled for the second time against the Persians. And the most valiant of the Greeks in this battle were the Athenians, and the most valiant of the Athenians was Hermolycus the son of Euthcenus, a champion wrestler and fighter. And afterwards it came to pass that this Hermolycus died in battle at Cyrnus in the land of Carystus, when there was war between the Athenians and the men of Carystus; and he was buried upon Geraestus. And after the Athenians, the most valiant were the men of Corinth, of Trcezen, and of Sicyon.

And after the Greeks had slain the greater part of the barbarians, some fighting and some fleeing, they burned the ships and the wall, having first brought all the spoil forth to the shore. And they also found sundry hoards of treasure. And when they had burned the wall and the ships, they sailed away. And the Greeks came to Samos and took counsel to remove the Ionians, saying that they ought to plant them somewhere in those parts of Greece that they themselves had power over, and leave Ionia to the barbarians; for it seemed impossible to them to remain continually protecting the Ionians, and yet they had no hope that if they protected them not, the Ionians could escape punishment at the hand of the Persians. Accordingly, it seemed good to those of the Peloponnesians that were in authority to dispossess the Greek nations which had favoured the Mede and to give their land to the Ionians to dwell in. Howbeit, the Athenians would

by no means consent that Ionia should be made desolate, nor that the Peloponnesians should deliberate touching their own colonies; and because they resisted strongly, the Peloponnesians yielded. And so they brought into the confederacy the men of Samos and of Chios, of Lesbos and of the other isles who were then in the Greek host, and bound them with a pledge and with oaths to stand firm and not to fall away. And when they had bound them with oaths, they sailed to break the bridges; for they thought that they should yet find them whole. So they sailed toward the Hellespont. But the barbarians who had escaped and taken refuge in the high places of Mycale, being no great number, betook themselves to Sardis. And as they journeyed by the way, Masistes the son of Darius, who chanced to have been present at the calamity which was come to pass, reviled Artañtes the captain, saying that he was baser than a woman, to be captain thus, and deserved all manner of evil, because he had done hurt to the king's house. (Now among the Persians to be called baser than a woman is the greatest taunt.) And when he heard it, he waxed wroth and drew his fauchion against Masistes. And Xenagoras the son of Praxilatis of Halicarnassus, who stood behind him, marked it; and he caught him by the middle, and lifted him up, and cast him to the ground; and in the meantime the spear-bearers stepped in front of Masistes. And so doing Xenagoras found favour in the sight of Masistes himself and of Xerxes; and because of this deed Xenagoras became ruler of all Cilicia by the gift of the king. Howbeit at that time nothing further came to pass by the way, but they arrived in Sardis. And it chanced that the king was in Sardis, having been there since the day that he fled thither from Athens after the defeat in the sea battle.

And at that time, being in Sardis, he loved Masistes* wife; for she also was there. And because, when he sent unto her, he could not accomplish his purpose, and yet would not use violence, for

respect unto his brother Masistes, (which same thing also sustained the woman, who well knew that she should not suffer violence), then Xerxes, desisting from all other devices, did betroth to his own son Darius a daughter of this woman and of Masistes, deeming that he should the rather entice her if he did so. And when he had betrothed them and done all that is customary, he rode away to Susa. And after he was come thither, and had brought the woman into his house for Darius, thereupon he ceased from loving the wife of Masistes, and loved instead the daughter of Masistes, who was wife to Darius; and he did obtain her. Now this woman's name was Artañte. And in process of time it was discovered in this manner. Amestris the wife of Xerxes wove a wondrous great robe of many colours, and gave it to Xerxes. And he was pleased, and put it on, and went in unto Artañte. And being pleased with her also, he bade her ask what reward she would have for the favours which she had shewn him. And forasmuch as evil was prepared for her and for all her house, she answered and said unto Xerxes: Wilt thou give me whatsoever I ask of thee? And he, supposing that she would ask anything rather than the thing which she purposed, did promise and swear it. And when he had sworn it, then without fear she demanded to have the robe. Then Xerxes sought every way not to give it to her, for no other reason than that he feared lest Amestris, who already guessed what was done, should thus be sure of it; and he offered cities, and gold in abundance, and an army whereof none should bear rule but her. (Now an army is a common gift among the Persians.) Howbeit, he persuaded her not. Therefore he gave her the robe; and she was exceeding joyful, and wore it and gloried therein. And Amestris learned that she had it. Yet when she perceived what was done, she bare no grudge against this woman, but supposing that her mother was guilty and that it was her doing, she plotted

the destruction of Masistes' wife. And she waited until her husband Xerxes held the royal banquet. (Now this banquet is prepared once a year, on the day whereon the king was born; and the name of the banquet in Persian is Tycta, which according to the Greek tongue signifieth Perfect. Then also the king washeth his head, which he doeth at no other season; and he giveth presents to the Persians.) Therefore, when this day was come, Amestris demanded of Xerxes that Masistes' wife be given to her. But he held it grievous and shameful to deliver her one that was his brother's wife and moreover guiltless in this matter; for he comprehended the reason of her request. Nevertheless she persisted, and he was constrained by the law, because it is impossible for any man to be refused who maketh any request when the royal banquet is held. Therefore at last he consented much against his will. And when he had delivered her up, he did thus. Amestris he bade do what she would, but he sent for his brother and spake thus: Masistes, thou art Darius' son and *my* brother, and moreover art thyself excellent. Therefore dwell no more with this woman with whom thou dwellest now; and I will give thee my daughter in her stead. With her do thou dwell, and put away the wife whom thou hast now; for so I think it fit. But Masistes marvelled at his speech, and spake thus: Master, what unprofitable words are these which thou speakest, to bid me marry thy daughter and put away a wife by whom I have grown sons and daughters, (whereof thou hast also taken one to be wife to thy son,) and who herself is altogether after mine own heart. Nay, O king, though I account it much that I am held worthy of thy daughter, nevertheless I will do neither of these things. And do thou by no means force this request upon me, but suffer me to dwell with mine own wife; and for thy daughter another husband shall be found as good as I. With these words he answered him. But Xerxes was wroth, and said: Lo, now, Masistes, thus thou hast done: I will no

more give thee my daughter to marry; yet thou shalt dwell no longer with that woman. And so thou mayest learn to receive a gift. And when Masistes heard it, he went his way, saying: Surely, master, thou hast not undone me? But in the meantime, while Xerxes communed with his brother, Amestris sent for die spear-bearers of Xerxes and did despitefully entreat the wife of Masistes. She cut off her breasts and cast them to the dogs, her nose also and her ears and her lips; and she cut out her tongue, and sent her home again in evil case. And Masistes, who had yet heard nothing thereof, but suspected some mischief, ran and burst into the house. And when he saw his wife despitefully entreated, straightway he took counsel with his sons and journeyed unto Bactra with his own people and peradventure with sundry others also, meaning to cause the Bactrian province to rebel, and to work the king great harm; which things, as it seemeth me, would have come to pass, if he had escaped and gotten to the Bactrians and the Sacæ; for they were well affected unto him, and he was the governor of the Bactrians. Howbeit, when Xerxes learned what he did, he sent an army after him and slew him by the way, both himself and his sons and his army.

Thus far touching Xerxes' passion and the death of Masistes. But the Greeks that set forth from Mycale to the Hellespont moored first at Lectum, because they were hindered by winds; and from thence they came to Abydus. And they found that the bridges were broken, which they had looked to find yet whole; for it was because of the bridges especially that they came to the Hellespont. And the Peloponnesians that were with Leoty-chides resolved to sail back to Greece; but the Athenians and their captain Xanthippus determined to abide there and assault the Chersonesus. So the former sailed away; and the Athenians passed over from Abydus into the Chersonesus and besieged Sestus. Now this city was possessed by the ⁻Eolians of those

parts, but there were also Persians therein and a great multitude of their confederates; for when they heard that the Greeks were come to the Hellespont, they gathered together in Sestus from all the cities round about, because it was the mightiest fortress in that region. And from the city of Cardia came (Eobazus, a Persian, who had conveyed there the gear of the bridges. And the ruler of this province was Xerxes' governor, Artayctes, a Persian and a dreadful and froward man, who practised a deceit upon the king when he marched against Athens, and thereby stole from Elasmus the riches of Protesilaiis the son of Iphiclus. For at Elaëus in the Chersonesus is the tomb of Protesilaiis and a precinct round about it, wherein was much money, and bowls of gold and silver, brass also and raiment and other offerings, which the king gave to Artayctes to despoil. For he deceived Xerxes by saying thus: Master, there is in this place the house of a Greek who made war against thy land but received his deserts and was slain. This man's house do thou give me, that all may learn not to make war against thy land. With these words it was nothing wonderful that he easily persuaded Xerxes, who suspected nothing of that which he had in mind. *Now he said that Protesilaiis made war against the kings land with this meaning, that the Persians holdall Asia to pertain unto themselves and to him that is king over them.* And when that which he asked was given, he conveyed the treasures from Elasmus to Sestus, and sowed the precinct and enjoyed the fruits thereof; and whensoever he came to Ebæus, he lay with women in the sanctuary. But at this time, when he was besieged by the Athenians, he had made no preparation for a siege neither expected he the Greeks, but they fell upon him when he looked not for it. And when the siege continued and autumn came, the Athenians were impatient, because they had been long absent from their own land and could not take the fortress. And they besought their captains to lead them home. But they said that

they would not do so until either they had taken Sestus or the Athenian state recalled them. So they contented themselves with their present lot. But those within the fortress were by now come into great extremity, so that they did even seethe the cords of their beds and eat them. And after they had no longer even such food as this, then the Persians and Artayctes and CEobazus departed by night and fled away, descending at the rear of the fortress, where fewest of the enemy were. But when it was day, the men of the Chersonesus from their towers signified unto the Athenians what was come to pass, and opened the gates. Then the greater part of them went in pursuit, but the rest occupied the city. And CEobazus escaped into Thrace; and the Apsinthian Thracians took him and sacrificed him after their own fashion to Plistorus, a god of those parts; and they slew those that were with him. But Artayctes and his company set forth in flight later, and when they were a little above ^Egospotami, they were overtaken, and defended themselves for a great space. And some were killed and others taken alive. And the Greeks bound them together and brought them to Sestus; and among them was Artayctes himself, and his son also. And it is related by the men of the Chersonesus that, as one of the guard was roasting salt fishes, this miracle came to pass: the salt fishes, as they lay upon the fire, quivered and shook themselves, like fishes newly taken. And the multitude thronged about and marvelled; but Artayctes, when he saw the miracle, called unto him that roasted the fishes, and said: Athenian stranger, have no fear because of this sign; for it is not shewn unto thee, but unto me; for Protesilaus of Elaeus signifieth that, though he be as dead as these salt fishes, yet hath he power of the gods to chastise the man that wrongeth him. Now therefore I am willing to pay to him an hundred talents, to make amends for the riches that I took from the temple; but to the Athenians, if I live, I will give two hundred talents, for

the lives of myself and my son. So he promised; but he persuaded not the captain Xanthippus; for the men of Elseus requested that he be put to death to avenge Protesilaüs, and the captain's own mind also was that way inclined. And they brought him to the headland whereunto Xerxes had built the causeway, (but some say, to the hill above the city of Madytus,) and nailed him fast to a plank, and hung him up. And the son of Artaÿctes they stoned before his eyes. And when they had done these things, they sailed back to Greece, taking with them among the other stuff the gear of the bridges, to dedicate in their temples. *And in that year naught further came to pass.*

Now the forefather of this Artaÿctes, who was crucified, is that Artembares who expounded unto the Persians advice which they took up and brought before Cyrus, to this effect: Forasmuch as the sovereignty is given to the Persians by Zeus, and after him, by thee, O Cyrus, who hast put down Astyages, come now, seeing the land which we possess is little, and that stony, let us remove from it and take a better; for there are many such neighbouring, and many farther off. Let us take one of them, and so shall we be the more eminent for riches. And it is but right that rulers should so do; for when shall there be a fairer opportunity than now, when we rule over many nations and all Asia? But when Cyrus heard it, he admired not the advice; and he bade them do even so, but admonished them to prepare themselves to rule no more but to be ruled over. For from soft lands come soft people, because it is not the property of one soil to bring forth wondrous fruits and warlike men. Then the Persians acknowledged that the counsel of Cyrus was better than their own; and they withdrew and went their ways, and chose rather to dwell in a stony land and rule, than to till a plain and be the bondsmen of others.

CRITICAL APPENDIX

THE following notes show the text which has been translated, wherever that differs significantly from the text of C. Hude (*Oxford Classical Texts*). Where no authority for a reading is given, it is a conjectural emendation by the translator. References are to the pages and lines of the translation, with chapters and paragraphs of the Greek in brackets.

BOOK I

- 1, 12 (1, 2) the other cities] τῶν <ἄλλων πολιῶν τῶν> ἐν.
 2, 23 (4, 2) take no heed] [ἀρπασθεισέων] Cobet.
 2, 25 (4, 3) they made no account] [τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας].
 5, 20 (10, 3) all other barbarians] παρ' <ἅπασι> τοῖσι Naber.
 6, 27 (13, 2) that he was king] χρηστήριον οὕτω καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Γύγης.
 6, 28 (13, 2) added] <ἐπ>εἶπε Naber.
 8, 7 (17, 1) And he invaded] ἐπελαύνων δὲ ἐπολιόρκει Hude.
 8, 25 (18, 2) it was Sadyattes who invaded] ἦρχε, καὶ ὁ ἐσβάλλον . . .
 στρατιὴν <ἦν> Σαδυάττης· οὗτος.
 9, 25 (21, 1) the messenger went on his way] Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύ-
 βουλος MSS.
 10, 23 (24, 1) he sailed] [ἐπιθυμήσαι] Naber.
 13, 13 (29, 1) all the wise men] πλούτῳ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες.
 13, 21 (30, 1) For this cause] [καὶ τῆς θεωρίας].
 13, 31 (30, 2) who] [εἶ] τίνα.
 14, 5 (30, 4) was fortunate] εὖ ἤκοντι παῖδες.
 14, 14 (31, 1) all that he spoke] [εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια].
 16, 6 (32, 6) without knowledge of sickness] ἀπερύκει, ἀπειρος δὲ ἐστὶ
 νοσήσων, ἀπαθής.
 16, 12 (32, 8) *But even as . . . all things herself . . . so also*] ἐστὶ,
 <ἀλλ'> ὡσπερ . . . πάντα αὐτῆ παρέχουσα . . . ἀρίστη, ὡς δὲ καὶ.
 17, 7 (35, 1) he had in hand] ἔχοντι Hude.
 18, 32 (38, 2) mute] τὴν ἀκοήν MSS.
 19, 3 (39, 1) a thing . . . which is hid] [τὸ δνείρον] Wesseling.
 19, 8 (39, 2) pertaineth] τούτῳ προσήκει.
 19, 21 (41, 2) evil-doers] [κλώπες].
 20, 16 (44, 2) Zeus of the Hearth] δὲ <Δία> ἐπίστιον . . . [τὸν αὐτὸν
 . . . θεόν] Naber.

- 21, 22 (46, 3) if the oracles] *μαντηῶν εἰ τι φρονέουσιν.*
- 22, 2 (47, 2) before they asked] *καὶ (πρὶν) ἐπειρωτῶν.*
- 23, 27 (51, 3) writing which saith . . . the writing saith not truly]
ἐπιγράμματα (γράμματα) Λακεδαιμονίων φάμενα . . . λέγοντα.
- 24, 11 (52) of solid gold] *[πάσαν].*
- 24, 15 (53, 1) whether Cræsus should make war] *ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος*
MSS.
- 26, 1 (57, 1) who established the city] *πόλιν οἰκησάντων οἷ.*
- 26, 16 (58) as it seemeth unto me . . . as I think, the Pelasgians
καταφαίνεται [εἶναι . . . ἀσθενές], ἀπὸ μικροῦ (τέ) τεο . . . ἠύξη-
ται ἐς πλῆθος [τῶν ἐθνέων (Matthiä)] πολλόν (Dobree), [μάλιστα]
προσσεχωρηκότων . . . συχνῶν, πρὸς δέ, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκέει, καὶ τοῦ
Πελασγικοῦ ἔθνεος [ἔόν . . . ἀξήθηται].
- 27, 5 (59, 3) of the other party] *[ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου].*
- 27, 15 (59, 5) to choose three hundred] *καταλέξασθαι Legrand . . .*
τριηκοσίους Naber.
- 28, 7 (60, 4) to appear most comely] *ἐνπρεπεστάτη Cobet.*
- 28, 27 (61, 2) the other party] *ἀντιστασιώται Stein.*
- 29, 16 (62, 3) setting forth from Marathon . . . and they met] *ὡς*
ὀρμήθησαν ἐκ . . . ἐς τὸ αὐτό (τε) συνιόντες.
- 32, 19 (67, 4) on counter-die] *ἀντιτύπῳ Earle.*
- 32, 25 (67, 5) that quit the cavalry] *τῶν ἐξιόντων ἐκ τῶν Stein.*
- 34, 14 (70, 1) ready to help him] *ἔτοιμοι (βοηθεῖν).*
- 35, 16 (71, 4) persuaded not Cræsus] *[Πέρσῃσι . . . οὐδέν] Heilmann.*
- 36, 28 (74, 1) worsted the Medes. But in the sixth year] *[ἐν δὲ καὶ*
. . . ἐποίησαντο] Herold.
- 37, 9 (74, 4) and * * *] *παιδί (* * *)· ἀνευ Cobet.*
covenants] [ἰσχυραί] Cobet.
- 39, 4 (77, 4) even so many of them] *Πέρσῃσι ὅσος ἦν van*
Herwerden.
- 39, 29 (79, 2) into Lydia apace] *ἐποίηε· κατὰ τάχος ἐλάσας τὸν d.*
- 44, 31 (86, 5) there once came to him] *†ἀρχήν†.*
- 45, 11 (86, 6) the burning] *[πῦρ] Stein.*
- 47, 6 (90, 2) wherefore he asked this favour] *†ἐπηγορεύων†.*
- 49, 12 (93, 1) hath no marvels to describe, excepting] *οὐδὲν τε καὶ ἄλλη*
χώρα desperate.
- 50, 23 (94, 6) all their furniture] *[χρησά] ἔπιπλα (van Herwerden),*
ἀποπλέειν.

- 5¹, 4 (95, 2) upper Asia; and the Medes] [ἐπ' ἔτερα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια].
- 52, 31 (98, 6) of five of the rings] τῶν πέντε κύκλων Stein.
- 53, 5 (99, 0) use messengers] μηδένα, διαγγέλοις δὲ πάντα.
- 53, 6 (99, 0) of any man. With this state] [πρὸς τε . . . αἰσχροῦ].
- 54, 6 (103, 1) nation by nation] κατὰ γένηα τοῦς.
- 54, 16 (103, 3) in expelling] ἐκβάλλοντες.
- 55, " (105, 4) as the Scythians say . . . may see how it is] †ῶστε . . . νοσέειν† καὶ ὄραν πάρεστι τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι Pingel.
- 55, 15 (106, 1) the tribute which] ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοισι Reiske.
- 56, 14 (108, 3) a Mede] ἄνδρα <Μῆδον> οἰκίον καὶ πιστότατόν τε καί.
- 57, 9 (110, 1) near to mountains] νομάς [τε] ἐπιτηδεοτάτας κατ' ὄρεα.
- 59, 25 (114, 1) where the herds were kept] [αὐται] Legrand.
- 59, 28 (114, 2) palace] οἰκία[ς] Tournier.
- 61, 1 (116, 3) was left behind alone] μούνος, μουνωθέντα δὴ τάδε.
- 63, 13 (120, 1) the former time] οἱ τότε ἔκριναν Tournier.
- 63, 26 (120, 3) they are often fulfilled] †ἐχόμενα τελέως†.
- 64, 1 (120, 5) if it pass to aliens] ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριῶται.
- 64, 20 (122, 1) learned who he was] ἐπύθοντο <τίς ἦν> van Herwerden.
- 65, 12 (123, 3) made this preparation] [καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου].
- 66, 15 (125, 2) on the morrow] <ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην> after Naber.
- 66, 19 (125, 3) are these] ἐστὶ [δὲ] τάδε Sitzler.
- 67, 3 (126, 2) with these] δεξόμενος <τούτοις> τὸν.
- 67, 8 (126, 4) they had nothing but trouble] πάντα σφεῖς κακά.
- 67, 16 (126, 6) I was saved] τύχη <περι>γεγονῶς.
- 68, 12 (129, 1) by his present bondage] [ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης].
- 69, 15 (131, 2) They sacrifice also] δὲ <καὶ> ἤλιψ Stein.
- 69, 27 (132, 2) him to pray . . . on himself alone] [τῷ θύοντι] . . . [μούνῳ].
- 70, 1 (132, 2) limb from limb] μέλεα Scheer.
- 70, 3 (132, 2) disposeth] ταύτης δι' ὧν ἔθηκε πάντα.
- 70, 4 (132, 3) some manner . . . wont to use] [θεογονίην] οἶν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαιδὴν after Madvig.
- 70, 16 (133, 2) after the meal. Unto wine] [εἰ δὲ . . . πάνεσθαι].
- 71, 6 (134, 3) after the same fashion as] κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον Stein.
- 71, 9 (134, 3) ruled] ἀρχόμενον Stein.
- 72, 12 (138, 2) they drive out] [πολλοί].
- 73, 14 (141, 3) come forth] [ἀρχεόμενοι].

- 74, 12 (143, 0) with Cyrus] ὄρκιον (πρὸς Κύρον) ποιησάμενοι.
 75, 19 (145) the little river] ποταμὸς (οὐ) μέγας.
 76, 1 (146, 2) menfolk] γονέας (τε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας) Plut. mor.
 858 E.
 76, 4 (147, 3) by name] [τὸν ἐωνυῆς ἄνδρα] van Herwerden.
 76,6 047, 3) married them. And some] ταῦτα . . . Μιλήτω misplaced.
 76, 19 (148, 1) into the sea . . . over against Samos] (ἐς θάλασσαν)
 Σάμω (καταρτίον) Stein.
 There] ἐς τὸν.
 76, 21 (148, 2) But this] [πεπόνθασι . . . οὐνόματα] Stein.
 77,23 (152,1) as many as possible] πυνθανόμενοι (ὅτι) πλείστοι.
 77, 32 (152, 3) to declare] Λακρίνης, ἀγγελέοντα Κύρω Stein.
 78, 13 (153, 2) to traffick] ἀγοράσι.
 78, 17 (153, 3) making no account of the Ionians] τὴν πρώτην εἶναι
 desperate.
 78,28 (155, 1) to cause me trouble] τούτων; ἐμοὶ οὐ Holder.
 79, 15 055,4) they may no more] μήτε (ἔτι) ἀποστέωσι.
 81, 27 (160, 4) Now this Atarneus] ὁ δὲ Ἀταρνεὺς οὗτος Krüger.
 82, 1 (160, 5) of that place] [ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνεὸς τούτου].
 everything that came forth] ἱρῶν πάντα τὰ ἐκ.
 83, 30 (165, 3) their homes] [τῆς χώρας] van Herwerden.
 84, 16 (167, 1) distributed them by the lot etc.] Τυρσηνοὶ (διέλαχον
 σηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι) ἔλαχόν Stein.
 84, 17 (167, 1) the most] πλείστους Stein.
 84, 27 (167, 3) founded] ἔκτισαν Schweighäuser.
 85,9(169,0) each for their own country] ἐωνυῶν ἕκαστοι Stein-
 Schweighäuser.
 86,18(171,4) slung] περικειμένοισι Cobet.
 87, 6 (172, 2) they resolved] ὡς σοφὶ μετέδοξε [ἔδοξε δὲ] τοῖσι Cobet.
 88, 7 (174, a) whose land runneth out into the sea] τεταμένης ἐς
 πόντον [τὸ δὴ . . . καλέεται] ἀρχομένης ἐκ . . . πάσης [τῆς Κυδίας].
 89, 13 (176, 2) all died fighting] [Ξάνθιοι] Cobet.
 89, 14 (176, 3) they are Lycians] [Ξανθίων].
 89, 23 (178, 1) the rest of the continent] τὰ (ἄλλα) πάντα Stein.
 90, 21 (180, 1) at Babylon. Now this wall] ἐκομίσθη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ
 (181, 1) . . . ἐτέρου τείχεος, [στενιότερον δέ]. ἐτερείχιστο
 μὲν.
 from there] [αἱ ἐπικαμπαι] van Herwerden.
 90, 28 (180, 2)

- 91, 1 (180, 4) of brass. And in either region] [φέρουσαι . . . ποταμόν] van Herwerden.
- 92, 13 (184) furnished] [ἐπ]εκόσμησαν.
- 92, 17 (184) turn the whole plain into a sea] [ἀνά].
- 92, 26 (185, 2) the name of the village] [ἐς . . . Εὐφρήτης] van Herwerden.
- 92, 31 (185, 4) not far] δὲ (οὐ) πολλῶν.
- 93, 7 (185, 6) she did, that the river] [τόν τε . . . ἔλος] Gomperz.
- 93, 9 (185, 6) lengthier] σχολαῖοι.
- 93, 13 (186, 1) These defences . . . made thereto.] †ἐκ βάθεος† . . . [ἐξ].
- 93, 18 (186, 1) provided for that] τούτου.
- 93, 31 (186, 4) the basin had been filled] [λίμνη].
- 94, 2 (186, 4) was made to serve her purpose] [ἔλος γινόμενον].
- 95, 27 (191, 1) the main part of his army] τὴν (καθαρὴν) στρατιήν.
- 95, 28 (191, 2) and also on the other side] [τάξας ἑτέρους] Legrand.
- 97, 13 (193, 2) winter sunrise] χειμερινὸν (ἀνιόντα), ἔσχει.
- 97, 17 (193, 2) and also dates] ἐκφέρειν (< . . .) τὰ γὰρ δὴ Stein.
- 97, 25 (193, 4) that which I have said already] [καρπῶν ἐχόμενα].
- 98, 13 (194, 2) cruses of palm-tree wine] φοινικηίου Valla.
- 99, 8 (196, 1) they gathered together in one place, etc.] [ἐκάστας] . . .
δοσαι αἰεὶ παρθένου γενόλατο (Stein, Aldus) . . . [ἐσάγεσκον] . . .
ἀμιστὰς [δέ].
- 99, 15 (196, 2) as were prosperous] [ἐπίγαμοι] . . . [ἐπίγαμοι].
- 99, 32 (196, 5) continueth] διατελεῖ Cobet.
- 100, 8 (197) touching his malady. And it is not] [ταῦτα . . . ἐκφυγόντα] Stein.
- 100, 20 (199, 1) in covered wagons] [ἐπὶ ζευγέων].
- 100, 23 (199, 2) And there are always many] θάμυγγος (< . . .) πολλὰ.
- 100, 25 (199, 2) in every direction] [ὁδῶν] Schweighäuser.
- 100, 28 (199, 3) inside] ἔσω Legrand.
- 102, 27 (204, 1) boundless magnitude] †ἐς ἀποψιν†.
- 102, 30 (204, 2) first, that he thought] [ἦ γένεσις] van Herwerden.
- 103, 30 (207, 1) mean disaster] σφάλμα φέρον οἴκω.
- 104, 12 (207, 4) couldst pursue] [νικῶν Μασσαγάτας] Cobet.
- 104, 14 (207, 4) I will set this] φεύγουσι τοῦτο γὰρ Dobree.
- 107, 8 (214, 1) it came to pass thus] [τοῦτο].
- 107, 28 (215, 1) they use brass] [τὰ πάντα] van Herwerden.

BOOK II

- 109, 4 (1, 1) the same] [πένθος ποιέεσθαι] Naber.
- 109, 6 (1, 2) despised] [παρ' οὐδέν] ἐνόμιζε Cobet.
- 109, 15 (2, 2) to learn the answer from any man] πυνθανόμενος πρὸς οὐδενὸς τοῦτο μαθεῖν, [οἱ . . . ἀνθρώπων Cobet].
- 110, 3 (2, 4) by this name] εὕρισκε (τοῦτο) Φρύγας after van Herwerden.
- 110, 13 (3, 1) the learned men] τοῖσι λογιόισι τοῖσι.
- 110, 22 (4, 1) into twelve parts] [τῶν ὠρέων ἐς].
- 111, 8 (5, 1) below the lake of Mæris] † Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται†.
- 113, 17 (11, 4) Nay, for my part, I believe, etc.] ἐτέων, (ἐγὼ . . . ἄν.) (ἦ) κού γε δὴ . . . γενέσθαι; [οὐκ . . . ἐργατικῶν.] ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον . . . γενέσθαι κού, [τὸν μὲν . . . τῆς χώρης.]
- 113, 24 (12, 1) these things] (τ)αῦτα.
- 113, 30 (12, 2) the soil of Egypt] [τῆς χώρας] Stein.
- 114, 9 (13, 1) rose eight cubits] [τὸ ἐλάχιστον].
- 114, 14 (13, 2) increase thus in height] [καὶ . . . αὐξήσῃ] Valckenār.
- 114, 16 (13, 2) shall suffer] [Αἰγύπτιοι].
- 115, 26 (15, 3) called Egypt] Ἰώνων (Αἰγύπτῳ) καλεομένων.
- 116, 6 (16, 2) it is the Nile] ἦ γὰρ δὴ Gomperz.
- 117, 2 (18, 1) of my opinion] [ὅτι τοσαύτη . . . τῷ λόγῳ].
- 117, 3 (18, 1) my own opinion] [περὶ Αἰγυπτου] Stein.
- 118, 10 (20, 3) many such rivers] ποταμοὶ (τοιοῦτοι), πολλοὶ.
- 118, 21 (22, 2) that are colder? There are many proofs] ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; (τεκμήρια) γῶν πολλὰ Legrand.
- 118, 25 (22, 3) without rain] [καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος].
- 118, 29 (22, 4) leave not that country] [εἰόντες] Gomperz.
- 119, 1 (22, 4) refuteth this opinion] οὐδέν. (τοῦτον μὲν) ὧν ἡ ἀνάγκη.
- 120, 10 (26, 2) the south wind] [καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας].
- 120, 15 (26, 2) in his passage] [διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης].
- 120, 18 (27) hot things] θερμῶν [χώρων].
- 121, 5 (28, 5) happened] γινόμενα d.
- 121, 8 (28, 5) and so] οἷα ἐμβάλλοντος d . . . ὄρεσι (ὥστε) μὴ Legrand.
- 121, 24 (29, 4) in four days more and comest again] διεκπλώσας (ἐν τέσσαρασι ἄλλῃσι ἡμέρησι, αὐτίς) ἐς τοῦ Νείλου.
- 122, 17 (30, 3) in my day] [καὶ Περσέων].
- 122, 24 (30, 4) to stay] ἐδέετο (μένειν ἄλλα τε) πολλὰ.

- 123,22(32,3) if haply] *Λιβύης* [καὶ] εἶ.
 124, 5 (32, 5) the south wind] [ξέφυρον] ἀνεμον (νότον).
 124, 9 (32, 6) men smaller] [σμικροῦς].
 124, 27 (33, 3) *Cynetes*] *Κύνησι*[οῖσι].
 124, 29 (33, 4) the people of Istria] τῇ Ἰστριηνοὶ Μιλησίων.
 127, 10 (38, 2) thus. One of the priests] ὠδε (τρέχα <δ'> ἦν . . .
 νομίζει after πεφυκίας) διζήται [δὲ ταῦτα]. ἐπὶ.
 127, 12 (38,, 2) if it be clean] καθαρὸν.
 127, 17 (38, 3) he windeth a paper] [σημαίνεται] βύβλον.
 127, 28 (39, 2) many curses, and those] [φέρουσι].
 127,31 (399 3) on the head] τῇ κεφαλῇ.
 128, 15(40,3) with loaves] †καθαρῶν†.
 128, 18 (40, 4) in abundance. And as the offering] [προνηστεύσαντες
 δὲ θύουσι] Cobet.
 129, 3 (41, 5) In this isle] [*Προσωπίτιδι*] Cobet.
 129, 10 (41, 6) concerning them all] [κτείνουσι . . . ταῦτα].
 129, 13 (42,2) all worship] [ὁμοίως].
 129, 21 (42, 3) procured a ram] μηχανήσασθαι κριόν, ἐκδείραντα (<δὲ>
 130, 3 (43, 0) .
 concerning whom they tell] [δὲ <τοῦ> πέρι τόνδε τὸν
 λόγον <λέγουσι> ἤκουσα.
¹30, 9(43,2) these] τάδε.
 the parents] [*Ἀμφιτρύων* καὶ *Ἀλκμήνη*].
 130, 14(43,3) have taken these] [μνήμην ἔξεν].
 130,27(44,2) with a great light] †μέγας†.
 131,20(45,2) and goats] ἔωσι καὶ αἰγῶν, κῶς ἄν.
 132, 5 (46, 3) the male] [τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι].
 132, 10(46,4) publicly. But the swine] †τοῦτο . . . ἀπέκετο†.
 132, 20 (47, 2) time, and eat of the flesh] [τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνω] Cobet;
 [τοὺς θεῖς] Gomperz.
 133, 16 (49, 1) he comprehended not] [ἔφηνε].
 133, 22 (49, 2) which he learnt] συστήσαι [καὶ] πυθόμενον.
 133, 25 (49, 2) by chance, neither will I] [ὁμότροπα . . . ἐσηγμένα].
 134, 10 (50, 3) Libyans, who have] *Λίβυες*, οἱ τιμῶσι.
 134, 20 (51, 2) they themselves also] καὶ (αὐτοὶ) Ἕλληνες after
 Legrand.
 134, 25(51,3) Samothrace.] And formerly] [καὶ παρὰ . . . δεδήλωται].
 135, 1 (52, 0) distributed] νομάς <νείμαντες> εἶχον.

- 135, 3 (52, 2) they consulted] [και μετὰ χρόνον].
- 135,22(54,1) of Zeus] πέρι <Διός> τοῦ τε.
- 135,23(54,1) in Libya the priests] [τόνδε . . . λέγουσι].
- 135, 24 (54, 1) two holy women] ἱράς.
- 136, 17 (56, 2) oak-tree] [ἡφεκυκλή].
- 137, 19 (60, 1) others pipe] κροταλίξουσι, αἱ δὲ ἀλλέουσι.
- 138,7(62,1) on the night of the sacrifice] τῆς θυσίης (Schweighäuser) ἐν τῇ (d) νυκτί.
- 138, 10 (62, 1) these lamps] ταῦτα . . . παννύχια.
- 138, 27 (63, 2) they that stand in the porch] οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες οὐκ ἔωσι εἰσέναι.
- 139, 1(63,4) affray] πληγῆν.
- 139, 22 (65, 2) all held sacred] †και τὰ μὲν . . . οὐ†; perhaps και (οὐ) τὰ μὲν, [σύντροφα . . . ἀνθρώποισι] τὰ δὲ οὐ.
- 139,30(65,4) reverence a different beast] ἕκαστοι (<. . .) εὐχὰς †τάσδε†.
- 140, 8 (66^ 1) the domestic beasts] ἐόντων τῶν ἄμοτρόφων early conjecture.
- 140, 24 (67, 1) to the city of Bubastis] ἀποθανόντες ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐνθα . . . ταριχευθέντες τὰς δὲ.
- 141, 19 (68, 5) now it is wont] ἔωθε δὲ τοῦτο.
- 142, 9 (70, 2) swalloweth it down] [οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι] d.
- 142, 14 (71) their nature] [ιδέης].
- 142, 15 (71) cloven hoofs like an ox] διέχληλον ὡσπερ βοῦς after Diels.
- 142, 19 (71) of spears] ἀκοντιοῖν Legrand.
- 143, 18 (75, 1) serpents' backbones] [όστέα] φφίων [και].
- 143, 21 (75, 2) narrow pass] στενή Stein.
- 143,25 (75,3) ^{this pass} ταύτην ^{Stein}.
- 144, 9 (76, 3) like those of a bat] [πτεροῖσι].
- 144, 30 (78) long] [πάντη] Stein.
- 145, 4 (79, 0 ^{the y sing of}) και δὴ και ἀείδουσι τοῦτον ὄσπερ.
- 145, 13 (79, 3) and this was unto them their first song] [και] αἰοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην [και μούνην].
- 146, 4 (82, 2) the same will issue] [κατὰ] τῶντο.
- 146,11(84) one part] μῆς †νουσου†.
- 146, 26 (86, 2) embalmed in three ways] νεκρῶν <κατὰ τρεῖς ταριχεύσεις ἐσκευασμένων> ξύλινα.
- 147, 1 (86, 3) behind] †ἐν οἰκήμασι†.

- 147, 20 (86, 7) chamber] [θηκαίω].
- 148, 1 (88) wherewith they prepare] ἤδε, τῆ . . . σκευάζουσι.
- 149, 29 (92, 4) the fruit whereof, etc.] [ἐξ] ὧν ὁ καρπὸς . . . ἐκ τῆς
(αὐτῆς) ρίζης.
- 150, 5 (92, 5) eat the lower parts] [καὶ πωλέουσι] Stein.
- 150, 19 (93, 2) they sprinkle the roe] ἔρανευες ἀπορραίνουσι γὰρ κατ'
ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων after Blakesley.
- 150, 20 (93, 2) swallow it up; but from the roe] [εἰσὶ δὲ . . . ἰχθύες]
van Herwerden.
- 151, 11 (94, 1) grow wild] [ἄγρια] Valckenār.
- 152, 9 (96, 4) whereunto is sewn] †κατερραμμένη†.
- 152, 24 (97, 2) the ordinary way] οὗτος <ὁ ἐώθως> Stein.
- 153, 2(98, 2) Achaeus. It might] [καλέεται . . . πόλις] van Herwerden.
- 153, 8 (99, 2) made Memphis with a dam] †ἀπογεφυρωῶσαι τὴν
Μέμφιν†.
of old] ποταμὸν πάλαι ῥέειν Stein.
- 153, 10 (99, 2) hundred stades south] [ἀνωθεν] . . . [τὸν d] πρὸς με-
σαμβρίας.
- 153, 13 (99, 3) whereby it is diverted] Νεῖλου ᾧ ἀπεργμῆνος ῥέει.
- 153, 17 (99, 4) the ancient river-bed] †ἀπεργμῆνον†.
- 153, 18 (99, 4) Memphis; and around it] [ἔστι . . . Αἴγυπτον] Ἀβicht.
- 153, 25 (100, 1) generations of men; whereof] οὐνόματα, ἐν τοσαύτῃσι
γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων <τῶν> ὀκτωκαίδεκα.
- 154, 8 (101, 2) no works] [κατ' οὐδὲν . . . λαμπρότητος].
- 154, 19 (102, 2) as he sailed] [πρόσω].
- 155, 10 (103, 2) there by the river Phasis] ἀχθεσθέντες αὐτοῦ.
- 155, 22 (104, 4) the Egyptians; (and this is to me] ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμε-
νοι . . . αἰδοῖα after μεμαθηκέναι, after Legrand.
- 155, 30 (104, 3) circumcise themselves. But of the Egyptians] [καὶ
οἱ . . . ταῦτά].
- 156, 20 (106, 5) Howbeit] δεδῆλωκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ.
- 157, 4 (108, 1) multitude that he had brought back] [τῶν . . . κατε-
στρέφατο] Wesseling.
στρέφατο] τούτου τῆς προσόδου [ποιήσασθαι]
- 157, 4(108, 1) from the produce] τούτου τῆς προσόδου [ποιήσασθαι]
ἐπιτάξαντα. [τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς]
- 157, 21 (109, 2) proportion of his tax] [τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς]
Kruger. ἐστάναι
- 158, 2(110, 3) his statue should stand] ἐστάναι Bekker.

- *58, 8 (in, 1) than ever before; and a wind] **μεγίστου** (Kriiiger) **δή**
 {ές} τότε [έπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα . . . ἀρούρας].
 {ές} τότε [έπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα . . . ἀρούρας] **ξείνον γάρ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ**
- 159, 30 (114, 2) He robbed his own household] **ξείνον γάρ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ**
 ἐξαπατρῶσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἀγων ἦκει.
 εἰσεπαμπν. τὸν. ὦ κακίστε.
- 160, 19 (115, 4) against whom] **ἐτεισάμην, τὸν, ὦ κακίστε. . . ἀπίκετο.**
- 161, 3 (116, 2) this story also. He mentioned it] [**δῆλον . . . ἀπίκετο**]
- 161, 13 (117) this also] [**TO γεοπί'ον.** **καὶ οὐκ ἂν . . . ἔχει.**]
- 162, 3 (118, 3) in Egypt. But [the Greeks] [**καὶ οὐκ ἂν . . . ἔχει**]
 [τῷ λόγῳ τῷ . . .]
- 162, 7 (118, 4) believed them] [**καὶ οὐκ ἂν . . . ἔχει**]
 [τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεγούμεντι.]
- 162, 23 (120, 1) their report] [**τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ**] van Herwerden.
- 162, 26 (120, 2) as to bring] [**ἐβούλοντο**] Stein.
- 164, 28 (121y, 1) not harmed. . . And being] [**καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον . . .**
 ἔχον.] **Αἰδὼν ὀνομάζουσι κακεῖθε**
- 167, 2 (122, 1) call] **Αἰδὼν ὀνομάζουσι κακεῖθε** van Herwerden.
 ἡμετέρας καὶ πάλιν ἀπίξιός ὄρθην.
- 167, 5 (122, 2) and return] **καταβάσιος καὶ πάλιν ἀπίξιός ὄρθην.** τὰς μετ-
- 168, 19 (125, 1) They made it first in the shape of stairs] [**τὰς μετ-**
εξέτεροι . . . τοιαύτην]. **μηχανῆς** (δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον)
- 168, 24 (125, 3) to the third] **μηχανῆς** (δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον) Schenkl.
- 169, [δὲ] **μέγαν** through a conduit of masonry] **ρέουσα δι' οἰκοδομημένου**
 [δὲ] **αὐλάωνος.** [**τεσσαράκοντα . . .**
- 169, **μέγαν** (3) of many colours. And it adjoineth] [**τεσσαράκοντα . . .**
μέγαν]. **συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν**
- 171, 23 (133, 3) his life was being shortened] **συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν**
 early conjecture. **ταύτας [ἦν] λιπομένων**
- 172, 34 (134, 3) Rhodopis, who lived, etc.] **ταύτας [ἦν] λιπομένων**
Ροδάπις (γένετο), γενεῆν. [**οὐδὲν . . . ἀνα-**
- 172, 28 (135, 3) by anyone that will; for Rhodopis] [**οὐδὲν . . . ἀνα-**
θεῖναι]. J Gomperz. [**τοῦτο ἑωυτῆς**
- θεῖναι**]. **τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων.**
- 172, 31 (135, 3) in a temple. Therefore] [**τοῦτο ἑωυτῆς**] Stein.
τοῦκ οἰοῖ τε.
- 173, 17 (136, 1) adornments] **τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων** **ἔσθαι.**
- 175, 31 (140, 2) it was lost] **τοῦκ οἰοῖ τε . . . Ἀμυρταίου.**
- 177, 7 (142, 3) had been king] **οὐδένα** (βασιλέα) **γενέσθαι.** [**παῖδα**
- 177, 10 (142, 4) risen . . . and set] [**dis**] . . . [**dis**]
- 177, 21 (143, 3) shewed me the statues] [**καὶ δεικνύντες**] . . . [**παῖδα**—
εἶντα]. **ἀπο θεοῦ γε**
- 177, 26 (143, 4) receive it] [**ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον.**]
- 177, 27 (143, 4) of each statue] **φάμενοι ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δ. . . εἶναι.**
- 178, 3 (144, 2) mankind. And the last] [**καὶ τούτων . . . εἶναι**]

- 178, 9 (145, 1) the first gods, which are called the eight gods] τῶν πρώτων τῶν ὀκτώ.
- 178, 23 (146, 1) concerning these two gods] <πέρι> πάρεστι Stein.
- 178, 27 (146, 1) of Amphitryon, then] [καὶ δὴ καὶ . . . γενόμενος].
they were also men] τούτους ἀνθρώπους γενομένους [ἄνδρας].
- 179, 26 (148, 1) the most notable work of all that I have ever seen] τῶν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον ἔργων πολλῶ μέγιστον.
- 180, 15 (148, 6) passages] <δι>έξοδοι Stein.
- 180, 27 (149, 1) The circuit thereof] [τῆς περιόδου] van Herwerden.
- 180, 31 (149, 2) made with hands] [καὶ ἄρκτη].
- 183, 12 (152, 5) the Egyptians of his part] τοῖσι τε τὰ ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίων Stein.
- 183, 26 (154, 2) that learned] τούτων <τῶν> ἐκμαθόντων.
- 183, 29 (154, 3) to the seaward of] [ἐνερθε].
- 184, 3 (154, 4) all that came to pass, etc.] γερόμενα (Stein)... πάντα [καὶ] τὰ ὕστερον.
- 184, 11 (155, 1) on the right hand] <ἐν δεξιῇ> ἀναπλέοντι after Blakesley.
- 184, 18 (155, 3) each side whereof is forty cubits in height and length] τεσσαράκοντα πηχέων τὸ μέτωπον ἕκαστον [ἔστι] after Stein.
- 184, 19 (155, 3) for a roof] [τῆς ὀροφῆς].
- 184, 20 (156, 1) This shrine] τετράπηχυν οὗτος μὲν νυν Bekker.
- 184, 21 (156, 1) those that are not visible] τῶν δὲ μὴ φανερῶν νήσος.
- 184, 25 (156, 2) that it doth so] [εἰ . . . πλωτῆ].
- 185, 9 (156, 6) he is the only poet] ἐποίησε [γὰρ] Ἄρτεμν.
- 190, 6 (169, 2) But at this time] {καὶ δὴ} τότε <δὲ>.
- 190, 27 (170, 2) circular stone border] [καὶ ἐργασμένη] εὐκύκλω papyrus.
- 190, 29 (171, 1) the revelation of his passion] [τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια].
- 193, 25 (176, 1) made of the same stone] ἐστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔοντες α.
- 193, 27 (176, 2) There is another such] [λίθινος] ἕτερος τοιούτος.
- 194, 7 (177, 2) still] ἐς <τόδε> αἰεὶ Stein.
- 194, n (178, 1) but made voyages] αὐτοῦ, ναυτιλλομένοισι δέ, ἔδωκε.

BOOK III

- 198, 16 (3, 2) the eldest] τὸν πρεσβύτατον d.
- 199, 1 (4, 3) knew not how he should pass] [τὴν ἔλασι] Cobet.
- 199, 6 (5, 1) from the borders of Phoenicia as far as] Φοινίκης οὐρανὸν
μέχρι Καδύτιος.
- 199, 11 (5, 2) stretcheth] [is SdXaaaav].
- 199, 13 (5, 3) By this way only is there an entry] μόνῃ δὲ ταύτῃ . . .
ἐς Αἴγυπτον after ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος.
- 200, 5 (8, 1) of their hands] [τῶν ποιουμένων τὰς πίστις] Q ^ ^
- 201, 5 (10, 3) after P. . . had become king] [ἐπὶ] Ψαμμηνήτου . . .
βασιλεύσαντος (a).
- 203, 22 (14, 8) as each procession passed] <παρ>εξ᾽ ὁδοῦ van Herwerden.
- 203, 31 (14, 10) trouble] πάθος E.
- 204, 1 (14, 10) Cambyses and all his court] ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν
οἱ περὶ Ἰαμβύση εὐδοκίειν after Schenkl.
- 205, 9 (16, 4) decay] μὴ σηπόμενος ὑπὸ εὐλείων.
- 206, 2 (18) at the time] ἐκάδρε Gomperz . . . ἀναδιδόνα [ἐκάστοτε].
- 207, 21 (22, 2) about the gold] [τὸν στροπτόν . . . ψέλιδ].
- 207, 32 (22, 4) for a Persian] ἀνδρὶ <Πέρση> μακρότατον.
- 208, 3 (22, 4) this drink, (and here he pointed) [τῷδε Ε] ἀνέφερον . . .
[τοῖσι] Ἰχθυοφάγοις Krüger.
- 208, 11 (23, 2) whosoever washed became sleeker than] ἦς <οἱ> λουόμενοι . . . ἐγίνοντο <ῆ> κατάπερ.
- 208, 14 (23, 3) nor any of the things] μήτε <τι> τῶν.
- 208, 18 (23, 4) into a prison] [ἀνδρῶν] van Herwerden.
- 208, 30 (24, 3) all parts thereof are visible] [αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυσ].
- 210, 22 (27, 2) had returned] ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη van Herwerden.
- 210, 32 (28, 2) this Apis] [ὁ Ἐπαφος] Naber.
- 212, 23 (31, 5) but for fear of C. and lest] δέισαντές τε Ἰαμβύση,
ἵνα μὴ.
- 212, 24 (31, 5) to aid him] σύμμαχον <αὐ> τῷ θέλοντι.
- 213, 11 (32, 4) shalt thou one day be like] μιμήσειαι.
- 213, 31 (34, 4) certain Persians who were sitting with him] Περσέων
<τέων> οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων [καὶ Κροίσου].
- 214, 18 (35, 3) in the middle of the heart] ἐν <μέσῃ> τῇ.
- 214, 21 (35, 4) tell me, whether] εἰπέ, <εἴ> τινα.
- 216, 3 (38, 1) many ways] πολλαχῆ d.

- 216, 5 (38, 1) were bidden to choose] [κελεύων] Kriiger.
- 216, 26 (39, 2) two of the portions] πόλιν (τὰ δύο μέρη) τοῖσι Cobet.
- 217, 19 (40, 2) and ill by turns] [ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα].
- 219, 13 (45, 2) Howbeit] καταπλέουσι δὲ (ᾧν) ἐς τὴν Stein.
- 219, 25 (45, 4) was ready] ἐτοίμως Cobet.
- 220, 8 (47, 1) desiring not so much] δεόμενοι d . . . [βουλόμενοι] Cobet.
- 220, 12 (47, 2) this corselet] γὰρ (τὸν) θώρηκα.
having sundry figures worked on it in gold] ζῶα ἐνυφασμένον συχνὰ [καὶ κεκοσμημένον d] χρυσοῦ.
- 220, 13 (47, 3) the marvel thereof is that each thread] τοῦ δὲ εἶνεκα θαμάσαι ἄξιός, ἀρπεδόνη . . . [ποιέει] εἶοῦσα [γὰρ] λεπτή after Kriiger.
- 220, 17 (48, 1) took part zealously] [wäre yeveóOcu] van Herwerden.
- 220, 23 (48, 2) learned the truth] [cV otaí. . . HdρBis].
- 221, 2 (48, 4) the keepers of the boys] [οἱ Κοπιῖδιος] Cobet.
- 222, 20 (52, 3) to disobey and continue in thy present state] ἄπειθέων ἔχεις ἦ.
- 222, 26 (52, 4) hath befallen me also] κα(ῖ) ἐμοί τοι.
- 223, 11 (53, 2) to answer the messenger] ὑποκρίσιος Abicht.
- 224, 5 (54, 1) towards the sea] θαλάσσης.
- 224, 11 (55, 1) if all the Lacedaemonians] ἐγίνοντο (πάντες) ταύτην Legrand.
- 224, 28 (57, 2) of the Dorians in Asia] [Λακεδαιμόνιοι] Cobet.
- 225, 12 (57, 4) This prophecy they were not able] τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι . . . ἠσκημένα after ἐρυθρόν 58².
- 226, 3 (59, 2) all the other temples] τὰ (τε ἄλλα πάντα) ἱρά.
- 226, 7 (59, 3) Aphaea] ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀφαιῆς ἐν Furtwängler.
- 226, 20 (60, 2) by this channel the water is brought] [διὰ σωλήνῳ] . . . [ἀγόμενον] [ἀγόμενον].
- 226, 32 (61, 1) called Patizithes] ἕτερον (Πατιζειθεα) κατελελοιπέε.
- 227, 8 (61, 2) the same name] [Σμέρδων] van Herwerden.
(61, 3) persuaded this man . . . saying] [ὁ μάγος] Πατιζειθης (εἴπας) ᾧς.
- 227, 22 (62, 3) it is not possible that] [ταῦτα ἀληθέα] Cobet
- 227, 24 (62, 3) or that thou canst ever] κοτε after δκως τί.
- 230, 13 (66, 2) as soon as the thigh mortified] ἐσφακέλισε [τὸ ὀστέον καί] ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα [ἐσάπη] after Cobet.

- 230, 25 (6j, 2) usurping the name] ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ οὐνόματος τοῦ Σμέρδιος.
- 231, 20 (68, 5) that sleep with him] κοιμωμένων Naber.
- 233, 11(71, 5) turn accuser before me] συγφθῆς ἐμὲ κατήγορος Cobet.
- 234, 7 (73, 0 by a Mede) [μάγου].
- 236, 28 (78, 5) made a thrust] [τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον].
- 238, 22 (81, 2) nor have learned aught right or proper] ἔνι, (κῶς γὰρ . . . οὔτε οἶδε (Aldine) καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' †οἰκίμιον†;) ὠθέει δέ.
- 242, 3 (88, 2) first married] [Ἰέρρησι].
- 242, 20 (89, 2) for in the days of Cyrus the king, etc.] ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ . . . διεῖλε after ἐμχανήσατο at end of Chapter 89; τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον . . . ἐβδομήκοντα μνῆας at end of Chapter 94.
- 244, 6 (92, 2) and their neighbours] Βακτριανῶν (καὶ τῶν προσεχέων) μέχρι.
- 245, 22 (97, 2) and their neighbours] κατεστρέψατο, (καὶ οἱ πλήσιόχωροι τούτοις), οἱ Naber
- 245, 24 (97, 2) of Dionysus, both brought] [οἱ τοῖ οἱ Αἰθίοπες . . . κατάγαια] Naber.
κατάγαια [ετάξαντο
- 245, 28 (97, 2) and their neighbours as far as the Caucasus] [ετάξαντο
] Schenkl and Gompertz. γὰρ δὴ . . . ἀπικνεύονται
ἐς τὴν δωρεήν] [πρὸ γὰρ . . . κτείνουσι]
- 246, 21 (99, 2) for they kill and γὰρ τὸν γὰρ δὴ . . . ἀπικνεύονται after διαφθεῖρειν (d): [πρὸ γὰρ . . . κτείνουσι] Κρίστηρ ἄλκειν
- 247, 13 (102, 1) their country] γὰρ τούτους ἐστὶν . . . ἔλαχε].
- 247, 21 (102, 3) in the περὶ τῶν δένδρων other side] [παρέλκειν] Legrand.
- 248, 24 (106, 1) the fairest possessions] [κατὰ περ . . . ἔλαχε] [λαμ-
248, 24 (106, 3) of it] [τῶν δένδρων].
- 249, 5 (107, 2) raise a smoke with that (ἐστασάν) μῦθουμιῶντες] . . . [λαμ-
J Stein. ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις ἀθρόοι
βάνουσι]
- 249, 21 (108, 3) some still fashioning] [ἐν τῆσι μήτρησι] ποζυγίων κατὰ
- 250, 10 (111, 1) all together] ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις ἀθρόοι
Cobet. πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον
- 250, 28 (in, 3) divide them lim[ὸ Ἡρακλῆος], etc.] ὑπόζυγιον κατὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας τὰ μέγιστα. ὦν (χρυσοφυλάκων) γρυπῶν.
- 251, 19 (114) towards the south [πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον].
- 251, 30 (115, 2) the very name] [ὁ Ἡρακλῆος] Cobet.
- 252, 6(116, 1) which guard it] τῶν (χρυσοφυλάκων) γρυπῶν.
- 252, 10 (116, 3) all those things] ἔχειν πάντα.
- 255, 30(123, 1) And firstly] καὶ κως after μεγάλως

- 256, 21 (125, 2) in a way unworthy] [κακῶς] Cobet.
 257, 1 (126, 1) in the reign] θάνατον κατὰ τῶν Valckenār.
 257, 27 (127, 3) that are sent by me to summon him] αὐτόν [καὶ τοὺς] ἐκπεμπομένους Cobet, after d.
 261, 5 (134, 5) let the Scythians alone] [ἐπὶ] Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι after Bekker.
 262, 2(135,3) thus] ταῦτα d.
 263, 20 (138, 4) into Greece] [καὶ οὗτοι . . . ἐγένοντο].
 264, 12 (140, 2) I cannot think of any debt] χρέος [ὡς] εἰπεῖν a E.
 265, 28 (143, 1) of the chief citizens] ἕκαστον <τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν> ὡς δῆ.
 266, 1 (143, 2) lacuna Sitzler.
 267, 31 (148, 2) depart] [ἐκ τῆς Ἰελοποννήσου].
 268, 2 (149) with all its men slain] [σαγηνεύσαστες] Stein.
 269, 13 (154, 1) exceeding highly] †ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος†.
 270, 20 (155, 6) will see to it] [τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν] Cobet.
 272, 7 (159, 2) have other wives] [ἔνα σφί γένη ὑπογίγηται,] [τὰδε] . . . [ἐποίησε].

BOOK IV

- 273, 1 (1, 1) Darius went] Σκύθας τοῦ Δαρείου Cobet.
 273, 2 (1, 1) flourishing] [ἀνδράσι].
 273, 7 (1, 2) twenty years, having put down] [Κιμμερίους . . . Ἀσίην], καταπαύσαντες.
 273, 15 (2, 1) And they milk the mares thus] πίνουσι <τοῦ τῶν ἵπων ἀμέλγουσι δέ> ποιεῦντες Schenkli.
 275, 6 (6, 1) called Auchatae] [γένος] van Herwerden.
 275, 10 (6, 2) after king Scolotus] Σκολότους <Σκολότου> βασιλέος Abicht.
 275, 12 (7, 1) years from the first king] [ἐπεῖτε γεγόνασι].
 275, 16 (7, 2) falleth asleep] †ὑπαίθριος†.
 275, 20 (7, 2) three several kingdoms for his three sons] [τὰς] βασιληαῖς τοῖσι <τρισι> παισὶ.
 275, 22 (7, 3) to the northward of this land, etc.] τῶν ὑπεροίκων] . . . [προσωτέρω] . . . [καὶ ταῦτα . . . τὴν ὄψιν]. [τῶν ὑπεροίκων] . . . [προσωτέρω] [καὶ ταῦτα . . . τὴν ὄψιν] κατοικημένον].
 275, 29 (8, 2) dwelt on the ~~israēl~~ ἐν αὐτῇ πεπόνθασι, [ἔξω . . . κατοικημένον]
 278, 1 (11, 3) known there] ἀγαθὰ (ἐν αὐτῇ) πεπόνθασι.

- 2j\$, 8 (12, i) even to this day] *καὶ* (ἔτι καὶ) *νῦν*.
- 279, 19 (15, 1) (as I found by computation)] [*ἐν Προκονήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ*].
- 279, 21 (15, 2) that Aristeanas p p e a [*Ἀριστέην*] h l e r .
- 280, 3 (16, 1) I cannot with certainty say] *λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι ἀρᾶκεῖς*.
- 281, 6 (20, 1) the Royal Scythians, who] *Σκύθαι οἱ* (βασιλῆιοι, ἔόντες) *ἄριστοι* van Herwerden.
- 281, 10 (20, 1) and to the river Tanals] *τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν*†.
- 282, 13 (23, 3) from the lees thereof] [*τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ*] Kriiger.
- 283, 14 (26, 2) sacrifices to it every year] [*παῖς δὲ . . . γενέσια*].
- 283, 19 (27) we again from the Scythians] [*μενομίκκαμεν*].
- 283, 26 (28, 1) without the trench] *οἱ ἐκτὸς* (τῆς) *τάφρου* Legrand.
- 283, 29 (28, 2) from the winters in all other countries] *τρόπους* (τῶν ἐν) *πᾶσι τοῖσι ἄλλοισι* van Herwerden.
- 284, 3 (28, 3) or in winter] [*ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ τέρας νερόμισται*].
- 284,7(29) by reason of the cold] *διὰ τὰ ψύχρα οὐ φύειν*.
- 284, 11 (29) So in Scythia] [*ὀρθῶς . . . μόγης*].
- 284, 22 (31, 1) regions beyond their country] [*τῆς ἠπειροῦ*].
- 286, 29 (36, 2) who shew the earth] [*καὶ οὐδένα . . . ἐξηγησάμενον*].
- 286, 30 (36, 2) Asia and Libya and Europe] *Εὐρώπη* [*ποιούντων*] (καὶ τῇ *Λιβύῃ*) *Ἰσην* after Herold.
- 287, 1 (37, 1) In Asia] (*Ἀσίην*) *Πέρσαι* Schweighäuser.
- 287, 12 (39, 1) on the south] *παρατέταται τὸ* (πρὸς νότου) *παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν*.
- 287, 13 (39, 1) Red Sea, and endeth] [*ἢ τε Περσική . . . Ἀραβίῃ*].
- 287, 15 (39, 2) But on the north side, etc.] [*μέχρι μὲν νῦν . . . πολὺς ἐστι*], *τὸ δὲ* (πρὸς βορέην) *ἀπὸ Φοινίκης*.
- 287, 18 (40, 1) These are the parts of Asia] [*ἀπὸ Περσέων*].
- 288, 8 (42, 2) back into the northern sea] [*εἴως*].
- 288, 19 (43, 1) discovered] *εἰσὶ οἱ γνόντες, ἐπεὶ* van Herwerden.
- 289, 13 (43, 6) would not pardon him] [*λέγειν ἀληθέα*].
- 289, 19 (44, 1) that the greater part is surrounded by sea] *ἐξευρέθη* (ὅτι *περίρρητά ἐστι*), *ὅς*.
- 290, 4 (45, 2) names, neither] [*ἐπωνυμίας . . . Κιμμέρια λέγουσι*].
- 290, 5 (45,2) nor] *πυθέσθαι οὐδ' ὄθεν*.
- 290,8 (45,3) *ἡσθεῖ*] *καλ*(τοι) *τούτου*.
- 290, 19 (45, 5) the customary names] *αὐτῶν* (οὐνόμασι) *χρησόμεθα*.

- 291,20(48,3) farthest of them towards the east] ἡὼ (μάλιστα) ^{ρέων.}
- 293, 9 (52, 4) draw close together] δὲ τὰ ρεύματα ὁ τε Τύρης.
- 294, 20 (57) and it is the border] Μαιῆτιν, ρέων δὲ οὐρίζει.
- 295, 18 (61, 1) Then if they chance to have] ἔπειτα [δὲ ἐσβάλλουσι], ἦν . . . ἔχοντες λέβητας Cobet.
- 295, 19 (61, 1) which greatly resemble] προσεικέλους (έόντας) χωρίς.
- 295, 21 (61, 1) and add water thereto] καὶ παραμείζαντες ὕδωρ after ἐμβalόντες.
- 295, 31 (62, 1) In each province] [ἐκάστοιαι τῶν ἀρχαίων].
- 296, 2 (62, 1) of three stades] [ὕψος δὲ ἑλασσον].
[ὕψος δὲ ἑλασσον]
- 296, 9 (62, 2) to these swords] †τοισίδ†. ἄνω μὲν δὴ ποιεῖσαι ταῦτα·
- 296, 10 (62, 2) [καὶ ἄνω μὲν δὴ ποιεῖσαι ταῦτα·] ἄνω μὲν δὴ ποιεῖσαι ταῦτα·
κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἰρόν [ποιεῖσαι] οὗτοι Stein.
- 296, 22 (63) they also] δὲ (οὐδ') οὗτοι Stein. ἐπὶ μίαν† ἐκάστην ἀβάβδον
- 297, 31 (67, 1) having set each rod apart] †ἐπὶ μίαν† ἐκάστην ἀβάβδον
[†] θέντες.
- 298, 1 (67, 1) up again] καὶ αὐτίς . . . συντιθεῖσι.
[καὶ αὐτίς . . . συντιθεῖσι].
- 298,3(67,2) howsoever] φιλόρησ {δ'} ὧν Stein.
- 299, 12 (71, 1) in the land of the Gerrhi] [ἐς ὅ . . . προσπλωτός] Stein.
[ἐς ὅ . . . προσπλωτός]
- 306, 17,(85, 1), in the temple at the mouth] ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ
στόματι ἰρόν ἐθήετο.
- 307, 8 (86, 4) Thus hath the Pontus been measured, etc.] ὁ μὲν νυν
οὗτος . . . Ἑλλησποντός οὕτω τε [μοι] μεμέτρηται καὶ
Πόντος οὗτος . . . Ἑλλησποντός οὕτω τε [μοι] μεμέτρηται καὶ
κατὰ . . . πέφυκε, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην [ὁ Πόντος οὗτος].
- 308,11(89,1) furnished his fleet] ναυτικὸν παρέχον Ἰωνες.
- 309, 23 (94, 2) stand holding spears] [περὶ μὲν τοῦ καταγαίου α
[ἔστι ἀποδο[τρία]ν]
- 310,22(96,1) concerning the dwelling] [περὶ μὲν τοῦ καταγαίου α.
- 311, 9 (97, 4) or whether] [ἔστι ἀποδος ἡμῶν] van Herwerden. [τῆς
- 311, 9 (97, 4) [ἔστι ἀποδος ἡμῶν] van Herwerden. [τῆς
- 311, 9 (97, 4) [ἔστι ἀποδος ἡμῶν] van Herwerden. [τῆς
- 312, 22(100,2) [κατὸν ἰρόν] ἐς τὴν. [τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαϊαν φέροντα].
- 312, 22(100,2) [κατὸν ἰρόν] ἐς τὴν. [τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαϊαν φέροντα].
- 312, 31 (101, 3) and the length thereof] [τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαϊαν φέροντα].

- 313, 17 (103, 3) They cut off] [ἑκατος] Nitzsch.
- 316, 10 (113, 1) when she was alone] *μουνωθείση*.
- 317, 12 (115, 3) hearken unto us once more] *ποιέετε ἄλλα ἡμῖν*.
- 318, 10 (118, 3) be satisfied when he hath subdued us] [*ὕμῶν ἀπέχεσθαι*].
- 319, 7 (120, 1) to make no pitched battle] [*ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος*] van Herwerden.
- 319, 13 (120, 2) towards them . . . but if the Persians] *τούτους μὲν δὴ (ἡμέρης ὁδῶ προέχοντας) ὑπάγειν, ἦν ἐπὶ τούτους τράπηται . . . [ὑποφεύγοντας], ἀπελαύνοντος δέ*.
- 319, 15 (120, 2) This was the one division] [*τῆς βασιλείης*].
- 319, 29 (121) all the wagons] *πάσας* a renaissance scholar.
- 320, 23 (123, 3) Hyrgis] **Υργις* Schäfer.
- 322, 21 (128, 1) the word master] *ἀκούσαντες τῆς δεσποσύνης τὸ οὔνομα*.
- 323, 2 (129, 1) that I will tell of] [*τῶν τε ὄνων . . . τὸ εἶδος*] Stein.
- 323, 10 (129, 3) gave the Persians some advantage] [*ἐπέφέροντο*].
- 323, 29 (132, 1) in swiftmess] *ὄρις δὲ ταχυτήτα οἴκε*.
- 324, 7 C¹33,0] *nee*] *λίμνην φεύγειν, τότε δέ*.
- 325, 20 (136, 1) all three divisions] *καὶ ἡ μία Σαυρομάται (τε) καὶ*.
- 326, 32 (139, 2) in season with good tidings] [*εἰπίγεσθε*].
- 328, 7 (143, 2) that number of Megabazuses] [*μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον*].
χώρη (τῆ) Ἑλλησποντίων.
-]• *ἐς (τὰς) φυλάς*
- 328, 17 (144, 3) in the land of Hellespont] [*ἐπὶ τῆς χώρῃ (τῆ) Ἑλλησποντίων*].
- 329, 10 (145, 5) among the tribes] *ἐς (τὰς) φυλάς* van Herwerden.
- 332, 31 (153) an hundred men] *ἄνδρας (ἑκατόν), εἶναι* Cobet.
- 335, 21 (159, 2) they so computed the time] [*ὡς τῆς ἡμέρης*].
- 338, 12 (163, 3) if thou bake them] [*τὴν κάμνονου*] Schweighauser.
- 338, 28 (164, 3) was the land encircled by water] [*ὡς οἰκιστῶν τὴν ἀμφίρροντον Κύρηνην*] Schweighauser. [*ὡς οἰκιστῶν*]
- 339, 18 (166, 2) struck the purest gold coins] [*νόμισμα*].
- 339, 21 (166, 2) brought a charge against him] [*ὡς οἰκιστῶν ἐπανοστήατο*] [*τὴν ἐξαγωγήν*].
- 341, 22 (173) were] [*προσ*] *ὄμουροι ἦσαν* van Herwerden. *Ψύλλοι*
- 343, 2 (179, 2) in his perplexity] [*τὴν ἐξαγωγήν*] *ἐβόηθη* *θηριώδεις*
- 344, 2 (180, 6) meet together] [*τρίτου μηνός*].
- 344, 11 (181, 2) towards the wilderness] [*καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδους*].

- 345, 20 (184, 2) the rising sun] ἥλιος ὑπερτέλλοντι καταρῶνται after Strabo p. 822 ἀνίσχοντα.
- 346, 3 (185, 2) hills of salt] εἰσὶ δὲ ἄλος τε κολωναὶ ἐν αὐτῇ.
- 346, 10 (185, 3) without beasts or trees, etc.] ἔρημος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄφυλλος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄνομβρος van Herwerden.
- 347, 4 (188) their right shoulder] τὸν δεξιὸν ὄμιον Reiske-Maas.
- 347, 6 (188) to the sun and the moon] [μούνουσι].
- 347, 14 (189, 2) fringed about the edge] †περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα†.
- 347, 31 (191, 1) descendants] οὗτοι (ἀπόγονοι) εἶναι after van Herwerden.
- 348, 10 (191, 4) fabulous] [ἄ]κατάψευστα Reiz.
- 348, 23 (192, 3) another zegeries] [τὸ δὲ οὖνομα . . . βουνοί] Krtiger.
- 349, 8 (195, 2) true they may be] [πᾶν].
- 350, 21 (198, 3) when it yieldeth best] [ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ . . . τριηκόσια].
- 350, 23 (199, 1) three harvests] τρεῖς (ὄπ)ώρας.
- 350, 25 (199, 1) those above the coast] [*τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι].
[τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι] δὴ ἄλλη
- 351, 8 (200, 3) And the ground above us is called τῇ μὲν δὴ ἄλλη
ἔσκε κωφά . . . [ὁ χαλκός τῆς ἀσπίδος] after Aeneas Tacticus 37, 7.
- 352, 29 (204) the farthest towards the west] ἐκαστάτω πρὸς ἐσπέρην
ἦλθε.
- 353, 6 (205) And thereby she shewed] ἐξέλεσε (καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε)
ὡς Maas after Cobet.

BOOK V

- 354, 25 (2, 2) so Darius had charged him] [Θρηίκην καταστρέφεσθαι]
Cobet.
- 355, 17 (5) ^{that is} chosen] [[καὶ τιμηθῆ] van Herwerden.
- 355, 22 (6, 1) have these customs] εἰσὶ οἷδε νόμοι.
- 356, 1 (7) that the rest of the people worship] τῶν ἄλλοι πολυθεῖται.
- 356, 8 (8) for single combat] †κατὰ λόγον†.
- 356, 10 (9, 1) what people dwell] [αὐτῆν] van Herwerden.
- 356, 21 (9, 3) in the length of time] [σιγύνας . . . δόρατα] Reiske.
- 358, 31 (16, 1) who dwell thereon] Μεγαβάζου. (. . .) ἐπειρήθη . . .
ἐξαιρέειν (. . .) ὦδε.
- 360, 23 (19, 2) I understand thy meaning] †ἀνακαιομένον†.
- 361, 29 (22, 2) wished to contend] βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθ-
λεύειν α.

- 362, 6 (23, 1) fortifying Myrcinus] *Μιλησίου* (*Μύρκινον*) τὴν . . .
[δωρεὴν Dobree] . . . [τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι *Μύρκινος*].
- 363, 1 (24, 3) so much] [ἐν βραχεί].
- 363, 2 (24, 3) with thee] λόγους σοι ἀπικέσθαι after Stein.
- 363, 17 (25, 2) Sisamnes' son to be judge] [ἀντι τοῦ Σισάμνεω . . .
ἀπέδειρε].
- 363, 24 (27, 1) and Imbrians fought well; but] καὶ (*Ἰμβριοι*) ἐμαχέ-
σαντο εὖ, [καὶ] ἀμυνόμενοι (δ') ἀνά.
- 363, 28 (27, 2) So Otanes] ταίτη . . . ἤδε†.
- 364, 21 (29, 2) the other Milesians] [τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας] Gomperz.
- 366, 24 (33, 2) thrust him through] θαλαμῆς διέχοντα τῆς νεός.
- 370, 7 (41, 1) wife, who was etc.] γυνή, (ἐοῦσα . . . *Δημαρμένου*),
πίπτει from below where [καὶ τὸ δεύτερον . . . γυνή] Maas.
- 370, 9 (41, 1) by a marvellous chance] συντυχίῃ θεῆι χρησαμένη.
- 370, 32 (42, 2) the river Cinyps] [ἐς *Κίνυπα*] . . . παρὰ (*Κίνυπα*) ποταμόν.
- 372, 25 (47, 1) band of men] ἀνδρῶν δυνάμι, ἐών τε.
- 373, 28 (49, 5) to the east] Φρύγες [οἱ] πρὸς.
- 374, 2 (49, 6) next to the Cilicians] *Κιλικίαν* δὲ [τῶνδε] ἔχονται.
- 374, 26 (50, 3) no sound counsel] λόγον ὑγίεια λέγεις.
- 375, 13 (52, 1) In Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty lodges, etc.]
Φρυγίης ἰόντι σταθμοὶ εἴκοσὶ εἰσι.
- 375, 25 (52, 3) fifteen lodges] [καταγωγέων].
- 375, 27 (52, 3) with a fortress at each] [καὶ φυλακτῆριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι]
. . . ἐστι, (καὶ φυλακτῆρια τέσσαρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι), πρῶτος.
- 376, 2 (52, 5) entering Matiene from Armenia] [τῆς *Ἀρμενίης* Stein]
ἐσβαλόντι.
- 376, 4 (52, 6) passing] μεταβάντι.
- 376, 8 (52, 6) posthouses] [σταθμῶν].
- 377, 27 (58, 2) nearly all Ionians] [τῶν χώρων] Krüger.
- 378, 2 (59) upon cauldrons] τρίποσὶ [τισι].
- 378, 6 (59) from the spoils of the Teleboæ] [ἐών].
- 378, 16 (61, 1) this cauldron] †τρίποδ' αὐτόν†.
- 378, 23 (61, 2) and among these] [κεχωρισμένα . . . ἱρῶν].
- 379, 1 (62, 2) had no success] [πειρωμένοισι].
- 379, 7 (62, 2) for they were wealthy] ἐξοικοδομηῆσαι, οἶά τε . . . ἐτι τὸν
τε νηόν.
- 380, 26 (65, 4) named his son] †ἀπεμνημόνευσέ† . . . [τὸν *Πεισιστρατον*
van Herwerden].

- 380, 28 (65, 5) I will set forth all] ταῦτα πάντα φράσω.
- 382, 25 (68, 2) added fourthly the Ægiales] [κεκληῆσθαι].
- 382, 30 (69, 1) his namesake] [Κλεισθέnea] Cobet.
- 383, 2 (69, 2) rejected of all] ἀπωσμένον ὑπὸ πάντων.
- 383, 3 (69, 2) and made more of them] [δέκα τε δὴ . . . τὰς φυλάς].
- 383, 13 (70, 2) (Now the sacrilegious] [οἱ μὲν γὰρ . . . φίλοι αὐτοῦ].
- 384, 20 (73, 2) who the Athenians were] ἀνθρώπων (Ἀθηναῖοι) καί.
- 385, 22 (76) This was the fourth time] δὴ τότε ἐπὶ.
- 385, 25 (76) and the second and third] [οὗτος . . . καλέοιτο].
- 386, 14 (77, 3) the walls that were scorched] τειχέων (τῶν) περιπεφλ.
- 386, 17 (77, 4) as one first entereth] [ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ].
- 387, 6 (79, 2) that they must ask] ἐπυνθάνοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀγχιστα
or the like.
- 388, 9-(82, 2) olive-trees] ἐλαίας.
- 388, 11 (82, 2) anywhere else] [ἢ Ἀθήνησι] Cobet.
- 388, 22 (83, 2) much damage] ἄλλα τε δὴ εὐόντες διάφοροι Cobet.
- 388, 24 (83, 2) these images] [τῆς τε Δαμῆς καὶ τῆς Αὐξήσεως] Cobet.
- 388, 25 (83, 2) in a village] μεσόγαιαν (ἐν κώμῃ) τῆ.
- 389, 1 (84, 1) no longer] οὐκ(έτι) ἐπετέλεον Palm.
- 389, 7 (84, 1) who had them] [πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον] Cobet.
- 389, 8 (84, 2) the tribute] [τὰ ἀγάλματα].
- 390, 9 (87, 1) they agree with the Athenians[^] ὑπὸ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοισι ἕνα.
] ὑπὸ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοισι ἕνα.
- 390, 13. (87, 2) ^W [δὲ] he got to Athens, etc.] Ἀθήνας (ὡς) ἀπήγγελλε
... πυθόμενας [δὲ] Αἰγινήτησι (. . .) καὶ πρὸς τού-
390, 27 (88, 2) * * * and besides this] Αἰγινήτησι (. . .) καὶ πρὸς τού-
τοῖσι ἐτι.
391, 1 (88, 2) pour drink-offerings] σπένδειν. ὡς νε . . . [ἀμαρ-
392, 18 (91, 2) as its neighbours . . . have learned] ὡς γε . . . [ἀμαρ-
τῶν Abicht and van Herwerden
τῶν καταγαγόντες.
- 392, 23 (91, 3) bring him back] καταγαγόντες.
- 393, 12 (92t, 1) a commoner] [ἐκ Πέτρης] [Blakesley].
- 393, 3¹ (92y, 0) had formerly not been able] [γενόμενον].
- 394, 6 (92v, 2) when they came] ἐπὶ
ἐπιπυμῆ Κυβελος [οὐνομα] ἐτέθη [ἐς τὴν Πέτρην]
- 395, 2 (92e, 1) he was named C. after the chest] ἀναραιοκότα (τέσσερος) καὶ κίνδυνον ἐπὶ τῆς κ.
ἐπιπυμῆ Κυβελος [οὐνομα] ἐτέθη. [τῆς συλλογῆς]
- 401, 5(102, 3) four] ἀναραιοκότα (τέσσερας) καί.
- 402, 6 (105, 1) the leader through whom] [τῆς συλλογῆς] van Her-
werden.

- 402, 18 (106, 1) Histiaeus of Miletus] [τὸν Δαρείου . . . πολλόν] Stein.
 405, 13 (113, 1) well] ἄλλων (εἰδ), Στησιήνωρ Gomperz.
 406, 11 (116) and Otanes, who had] [ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί] van Herwerden.
 406, 17(117) one] ταύ τας μίαν ἐπ'.
 408, 6 (122, 2) Howbeit] αὐτός ἴτε† Ὑμαίης.
 408, 30 (126, 2) and besieged a Thracian city] †πόλιν . . . ἐξιέναι† Maas.

BOOK VI

- 409, 18 (2, 2) the whole story] [ὡς πολέμος εἶη βασιλεί] Cobet.
 409, 24 (3) whereas the king never counselled] [ἐδειμάτου τοῦς Ἴωνας] Dobree.
 410, 15 (5, 2) persuaded the men of Lesbos] [[δοῦναί οἱ νέας] van Herwerden.
 413, 12 (12, 4) as though there were no war] ἀλλ' ὡς εἰ ἀστρατηγῆς εὐούσης after Dobree.
 419, 1 (28, 2) to Atarneus] διαβαίνει ἐς τὸν Ἀταρνεά ὡς.
 419, 29(31, 1) as they captured each island] [ὅκως . . . νήσων] ὡς ἐκάστην (δ') αἰρέοντες [ὅκως . . . νήσων] ὡς ἐκάστην (δ') αἰρέοντες van Her[εξέταμον καί]
 420, 8 (32) made them eunu[εξέταμον καί] van Herwerden.
 420, 11 (32) the third time] [πρῶτον . . . Περσέων].
 421, 11 (34, 2) continued on] [[ἐκ]τράπονται ἵσθι. Ηεξωρεθε θέλει.
 422, 13 (37, 2) and could [ἐκ]τράπονται ἵσθι. Ηεξωρεθε θέλει.
 423, 5 (39, 2) mourned] δηλαδὴ πενθέων. οἱ δὲ Χλαβέων κατέλιπε οἴκοι
 423, 17(40, 1) those that he left at home] ἄλλα τῶν κατέλιπε οἴκοι πρηγμάτων.
 423, 14 (40, 1) fled before] Σκύθας ἔφυγε after δ[τρίτω ἔτει] . . . [τῶν
 423, 18 (40, 2) This had been his first trouble] [τρίτω ἔτει] . . . [τῶν
 τότε μιν κατεχόντων] (ἀπ)δόξασε.
 τότε μιν κατεχόντων] τότε (ἐν τέλει) εὐοντας
 427, 11 (50, 2) away] (ἀπ)άξειν van Herwerden. δυναμένους
 428, 4(52, 2) therefore, not being able to distinguish] τότε (ἐν τέλει) εὐοντας Stein.
 428, 4 (52, 3) therefore, not being able to distinguish] δυναμένους
 (δία) γινῶναι [ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου van Herwerden].
 428, 10(52, 5) make both the children, kings] παιδία στήσασθαι βασιλέας Cobet. τιμῶσαν τὸν ἕτερον καὶ σίτοισι.
 428, 17 (52, 6) that they wanted] [καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν] Stein.
 428, 22 (52, 7) one of them] τιμῶσαν τὸν ἕτερον καὶ σίτοισι.

- 428, 25 (52, 7) the elder] *ἔδν πρεσβύτερον τρέφειν*.
- 429, 1 (53, 1) rightly declared] [*καταλεγόμενους*] *ὀρθῶς [ὕπ' Ἑλλήνων καί]*.
- 429, 14 (55) they came to Greece] *Αἰγύπτιοι, (<. . .) καὶ ὁ τι*.
- 430, 3 (57, 1) But if the kings come not, etc.] *δέρματα. <μὴ ἔλθοῦσι δὲ . . . § 3 . . . ἐπὶ δείκνον τιμᾶσθαι> νεομηρίας δὲ Macan*.
- 430, 5 (57, 3) are sent to the house of each] [*παρευοῦσι δὲ . . . δίδωσθαι*].
- 430, 23 (57, 8) cast two votes] [*τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑνωτῶν*].
- 431, 13 (58, 3) the senate] *οὐδὲ γεροσύη συνίξει* after van Herwerden.
- 432, 9 (61, 3) and seeing moreover] [*καὶ δυσειδέα*].
τῆς καὶ δυσειδέα].
- 433 3? 6 (62, 2) by Ariston's trick] |
πολλὸς . . . τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας τῆς ἀπάτης].
- 435) 17 (68, 3) and there are many] [*ἄλλοι πολλὰ παῖδα, ὁ τε λόγος πολλὸς . . . τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας. ἐγὼ σε ὦν . . . τῶληθές. οὐδὲ γάρ.*
- 435, 25 (69, 3) *ἄστροβακος* *ὁ ἦρωσ τῆς Ἀρίστης*] [*ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης*] van Herwerden.
- 436, 6 (69, 4) verily thou wast begotten] [*ἠγάρ ἐκ τοῦ ἦρωσ . . . Ἀστροβάκος [ὁ ἦρωσ ἢ Ἀρίστης]*].
- 438, 8 (74, 2) For the water] *ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ* Stein.
[*κελεύειν*]
- 439) 7 (76) 0 bottomless] *ἀχανές* Cobet.
- 442, 11 (87, 2) the Spartans should go up] [*κελεύειν*] [*εἰδέναι*].
- 444, 8 (86β, 2) nor doth aught, . . put me in mind] [*εἰδέναι*].
- 445) *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρῃ αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἦκειν δεήσει* must come] [*ἐν τῇ ἡμέρῃ αὐτῆς οὐδὲ ἐπιχειρήσει καὶ ἐκείνους ἦκειν δεήσει*].
- 448, 10 (95, 2) it irked them] *σφέας ἔκνιξε πρότερον* (*. . .*), *οἱ Νάξιο*
- 448, 13 (96) how they served them before] *πρότερον* (*. . .*), *οἱ Νάξιο*
Stein.
τάλαντα καταγίσας ἐπὶ.
- 448, 29 (97, 2) he offered] *τάλαντα καταγίσας ἐπὶ ν χρησμοῦ . . . περ*
- 449, 1 (99) 3; [*δύναται*] [*ἀλλοιόκειν*] also] [*καὶ ἐν χρησμοῦ . . . περ*
εἶσαν] a; [*δύναται . . . καλέειν*] [*ἀλλοιόκειν*].
- 449) '7 (99) '1) *foe other isles*] *τὰς ἄλλας νήσους. ἄστεος καταγίον*
- 451, 10 (103, 3) over against him, across the road] *ἀστεος καταγίον*
δ' αὐτοῦ πέρην τῆς διὰ Κολίης καλεομένης οδοῦ αἱ ἵπποι.
- 452, 19 (106, 3) and they said] *μηνός εἰνάτη, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι.*
- 454, 10 (109, 1) and others urging] [*καὶ Μιλτιάδω*].
- 455) 27 (112, 2) ^{the} y imputed madness] [*ὀλεθρίην*].
- 456, 12 (113, 2) plunged into the sea] [*πρὸς τὸ αἰετοῦ*].
- 458, 7 (119, 3) This oil] *ἱραπαυῦα, <τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον . . . >* τῆ δὲ ἔλαιον
after Cobet.
- 458, 29 (123, 1) could have signalled] *γε <ἂν> ἀναδέξαι.*

- 459) 24(125, 3) let it fall] *βαθὺν κατέμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος.*
 461, 7 (127, 4) from the Peloponnese] *μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου.*
 461, 26 (129, 1) the betrothal] *τῆς τε κυρώσιος τοῦ γάμου.*
 465, 2 (136, 3) thigh mortified] *σφακέλισαντος τοῦ μηροῦ [καὶ σαπέντος]*
 Cobet.
 467,4(140)1) on the same day] *Ἀήμενον <αὐτημερὸν> προηγόρευε.*
 467, 9 (140, 2) hardened their hearts] [*εἶναι τὴν Χερσόνησον Ἀττικὴν*].

BOOK VII

- 469, 7 (3, 3) for that was the custom] [*ἔφη . . . ὑποτιθέμενος*].
 470, 14 (6, 3) with the aid of] *οἱ, ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον . . . [ἀνεβεβή-
 κεσαν].*
 471, 22 (8a, 2) I have found a way] *εὐρίσκω <ᾧδε> ἄμα.*
 472, 5 (8y, 1) For these reasons] *τούτων μὲν δὴ εἶνεκα* Bekker.
 472,16(88,1) When I command] [*τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἦκειν δεῖ*].
 473) 31 (10) commending] *τοσαῦτα ἐπαιέσας τὴν Σέρξου.*
 478, 3 (13, 2) unseemly words] [*ἧ χρεόν*] Naber.
 480, 14 (17, 2) at this present] [*νῦν*] Cobet.
 481, 18 (20, 1) in the fifth year] *†ἀνομένω†.*
 482, 32 (23, 2) above and below] [*στόματος*] Stein.
 483? 3 (23, 3) the top] [*στόμα*] Stein.
 483,19(25,1) he stored victuals] *στρατιῇ κατέβαλλε, ἵνα μὴ.*
 484, 22 (28, 1) Pythius himself] *Σέρξης αὐτὸν δεύτερα* Tournier.
 486, 18 (34) one with ropes of white flax] [*<Poivikēs>*] . . . [*Αἰγύπτιοι*].
 487, 7 (36, 1) And having set them together, etc.] *καὶ τριηκοσίας συν-
 θέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεις, τοῦ μὲν πόρου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ
 δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, [ἵνα ἀνακωχεύῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν σπλων,] τὰς
 μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου [τῆς ἐτέρης] . . . ἐκπνεόντων, τὰς δὲ [ἐτέρης]
 πρὸς.*
 487, 22 (36, 4) sawed up logs of wood] [*καὶ ποιήσαντες*].
 489, 12 (40, 1) mingled together] [*οὐ διακεκρμμένοι*] Valckenär.
 489, 19 (40, 3) Nessean] [*ἱπποῖ*].
 490, 28 (43, 2) the Gergithes] [*Τευκρούς*].
 491, 11 (46, 1) said] *†εἶρετο†.*
 492,11(49,1) the size of the host] *οὔτε στρατοῦ τούτου ὄστις* Stein.
 492, 28 (49, 5) consider everything] [*πείσεσθαι*].
 493, 3(50)0 do] *μηδὲν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ* Krüger.

- 493,18(50,4) every people into whose land] γῆν †καὶ ἔθνος†, τούτων.
 494, 24 (54, 1) waited for the sun to rise] [ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι] Krüger
 and van Herwerden.
 495, 13 (55, 2) thousand] οἱ τε (χίλιοι) ἱππότες.
 496, 24 (59, 2) it endeth] Ζώνη, τελευτᾷ δὲ Stein.
 498, 7 (63) knives] Αἰγυπτῖοι (μαχαίρησι) εἶχον Stein.
 498, 13 (64, 2) the *Saca*] [οἱ Σκύθαι] Blakesley.
 498, 23 (65) with the Ethiopians] προσετετάχατο δὲ (Αἰθίοψι) συστρα-
 τευόμενοι.
 499, 16 (69, 1) and also long swords] πρὸς δὲ ξίφια μακρά.
Ethiopiāns that dwell above Egypt] Αἰθίοπες δὲ (οἱ ὑπὲρ
 Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένοι) παρδαλέας.
 501, 15 (76) And the *Pisida* came to war, etc.] (Πισίδα δὲ * * * ἐπι
 τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο,) ἀσπίδας δὲ.
 502, 22 (81) the several cities] μυριάρχαι. πολίων δὲ καὶ.
 503, 5 (83, 2) of all] [ἸἸέρσαι] Dobree.
 503, 6 (83, 2) abundance of silver] καὶ (ἄργυρον) ἄφθονον.
 503, 11 (84) the same peoples sent] *l-mrm** (Stein) δὲ (ταῦτά) ταῦτα
 [τᾶ] ἔθνεα.
 503, 32 (86, 2) the *Saca*] ὡς δ' αὐτως Σάκαι καὶ Παρικάνιοι.
 504, 7 (87) inasmuch as the horses could in no wise endure] ἐπετε-
 τάχατο, ἅτε [γὰρ] τῶν ἵππων . . . καμήλους [ὑστεροὶ . . . τὸ ἱππικόν].
 504, 30 (89, 1) Author's note] From end of Chapter 97.
 504, 31 (97) the ships that carried horses] [σμηκρά].
 505, 6 (90) caps] εἶχον κιτάριας, τὰ δὲ de Pauw.
 506, 5 (94) but thereafter they were called *JEgialcs*] Πελασγοί, (ἀπὸ δὲ
 . . . ἐκλήθησαν) Αἰγυαλέες.
 506, 23 (96, 2) For each of the several nations] (τ)οῦ τε γὰρ ἔθνεος
 ἐκάστου τ'ἀπάξιοι† ἦσαν [οἱ] ἡγεμόνες.
 506, 27 (96, 2) and so many of the captains] κρότος καὶ (οἱ) ἄρχοντες.
 507, 26 (99, 3) which I mentioned] [ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν].
 508, 18 (101, 1) have communed] λόγους ἀπικομένων, πόλιος δ.
 508, 22 (101, 2) How much less] ὑπομείναι, (μήτι γέ) μὴ εὐόντες Böckh.
 508, 27 (101, 3) it should be naught the worse for him] [ἦ πρότερον
 ἦν] van Herwerden.
 513, 8 (111, 2) the highest of the mountains] ὀρέων τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου,
 Βησσοί.
 513,14(112) By these] [παρὰ τὰ τεῖχεα].

- 513, 27 (114, 1) they crossed] <δι>επορεύοντο.
- 514, 20 (x 16) and the digging of the channel] [ἀκούων] Kriiger.
- 515, 1(118) it] [Ξέρξην].
- 516, 10(121, 1) But he himself purposed, etc.] ἔχει· <αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ μεσογαίης τὴν ὁδὸν ποιέεσθαι ἐμελλε·> ταύτη γὰρ Macan.
- 519, 6(129, 2) and they have their outflow] [ὀνομαζόμενοι].
- 519, 27 (130, 2) by making their submission] [καὶ τὰλλα . . . ταχύνων].
- 521, 16(135, 1) this besides] [[τὰ ἔπεια] Macan.
- 522, 21 (137, 1) For Nicolas the son of Bulis, etc.] Λακεδαιμόνιοι, <καὶ κατέσκηψε> ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος . . . πλήρει ἀνδρῶν· οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων . . . Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειώτατον . . . ἀναβάντων διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, δηλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα. ταῦτα.
- 526, 30 (143, 1) would not have spoken so] [ἤπιως].
- 527, 22 (144, 3) And they resolved] ἔδοξε τε σφί [μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευόμενοι] ἐπιόντα.
- 528, 23 (146, 3) for which purpose they came] [πυθόμενοι].
- 530, 8 (149, 1) for thirty years in order] [καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεομένων] [καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεομένων] [ἀλλην γε . . . Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι].
- 531, 23 (152, 1) any opinion concerning these things] [ἀλλην γε . . . Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι].
- 531, 28 (152, 3) what they brought thither] [οὕτω οὐδ' Ἀργεῖοι . . . πεποιήται]
- 532, 10 (153, 2) Telines having got the office] [ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων] δέτησάτο].
- 532, 15 (153, 3) Whence he says that he will say] [ἢ αὐτὸς Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπι κρατέων λόγον.
- 532, 22(154, 1) So Telines] ἀνὴρ· οὗτος μὲν νυν Stein. βαβαρον· τὰ γὰρ
- 533, 22(156, 1) still kept]" [Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπι κρατέων λόγον. [ἀπικται]
- 534, 12 (157, 1) the evils that hang over Greece] βάρβαρον· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιόντα Stein. ἐκτῆμένοι,
- 535, 9(158, 3) now that the war is turned against you] [ἀπικται] οὐδὲ Συρηκοσίοισι . . . [τῆς ἡγεμονίης]. Cobet. συνεπρήξαντο
- 536, 25 (161, 3) neither will we, who are Athenians, etc.] ἐκτῆμένοι, οὐδὲ Συρηκοσίοισι . . . [τῆς ἡγεμονίης].
- 540, 13 (169, 2) with you in avenging Minos* death] συνεπρήξαντο αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐν.

- 541, 18 (171, 2) the present Cretans] αὐτῶν <τοὺς> νῦν.
- 541, 23 (172, 1) as they plainly shewed] [ὅτι οὐ σφι . . . ἐμνηχανῶντο].
- 542, 10 (173, 1) leadeth . . . betwixt mount Olympus] [ἔόντα] Stein.
- 542, 12 (173, 2) the levies of the Greeks] ὀπλίτας <οἱ> συλλεγέστες.
- 542, 21 (173, 3) by the host that came on] [σημαίνοντες . . . καὶ τὰς νέας] Naber.
τὰς νέας
- 543, 16 (176, 1) [ἀγγότερη γῆς πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς nearer to their own land] KOX ἀρα ἀγγότερη γῆς τῆς ἑωυτῶν Stein. [τὸ Ἄρτεμισιον].
- 543, 17 (176, 1) The broad waters] [τὸ Ἄρτεμισιον].
- 543, 20 (176, 1) a beach in Euboea] [τὸ Ἄρτεμισιον] Stein. ἔστι τῆ
- 543, 26 (176, 2) [ἀγγὸς Ἰνθίλης πόλιος] where the battle was fought] ἐστι τῆ ἐγένετο ἡ μάχη ἡμίπλευρον. τῆς ἄλλης].
- 543, 23. (176, 2) thereabouts] [τῆς ἄλλης] χού Ἀνθίλης πόλιος].
- 543, 26 (176, 2) at the river Phoenix] [ἀγγού Ἀνθίλης πόλιος]
- 544, 4 (176, 4) [ἐκτάται, μὴ πειράνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καταστρέφειν αὐτοὺς, conquer them] ἐκτάται, μὴ πειράνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καταστρέφειν αὐτοὺς.
- 544, 8 (176, 5) the wall] [τὸ ἀρχαῖον] τὸ δὲ ἔρμα . . . Σκύριος after ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα.
- 546, 8 (183, 2) And Pammon of Scyrus] τὸ δὲ ἔρμα . . . Σκύριος after ὑρμηθέντες αὐτὸς ἐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα.
- 546, 9 (183, 2) Then they launched from Therma] ὄρμηθέντες αὐτὸς ἐκ Θέρμης . . . καθαρὸν, [ἐπ']έπλεον. [ἐκαυτῶν τῶν εὐνέων].
- 546, 17 (184, 1) The original multitude in the ships] ^{ἐξηριθμημένῳ} [ἐκαστῶν τῶν δὲ εὐνέων] νέας μὲν [νῦν] οἱ ἐκ. ^{ἐξ} μυριάδας (καὶ ἐξ δεκάδας) μεδίμων Sitzler.
- 547, 12 (185, 1) Now, to speak at a venture] ^{ἐξηριθμημένῳ} δόκησον δὲ δὴ λέγειν, νέας μὲν [νῦν] οἱ ἐκ. ^{ἡμῶν} καὶ τεσσαράκοντα (χοϊνίκας). γῆ, (αἱ) ἄλλαι.
- 548, 11 (187, 2) and sixty] ^{ἑξήκοντα} μυριάδας (καὶ ἐξ δεκάδας) μεδίμων Sitzler.
- 548, 12 (187, 2) and moreover three hundred and forty choenixes] ^{τρεῖς} καὶ πρὸς τρηκοσίας τε [ἄλλους μεδίμους] καὶ τεσσαράκοντα (χοϊνίκας). ν
- 548, 20 (188, 1) The rest] γῆ, (αἱ) ἄλλαι, κης after
- 550, 2 (191, 2) casting spells upon the ^{ἑσπέρῳ} [γῶσι] [ἑσπέρῳ].
- 550, 21 (193, 1) they sailed into the gulf] [τῆς αἰθέρης].
- 551, 4 (194, 1) that being one of the royal judges] ἀνεσταύρωσε· εἰὼν γὰρ τῶν βασιλευσίων δικαστῶν ὁ Σανδώκης after [ἑσπέρῳ].
- 551, 24 (196) whereof I have spoken] [Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν]. τέπειτα.
- 551, 27 (196) between his own horsemen and] ἵππων, τῶν τε ἑωυτοῦ ἀποπειρώμενος Stein.
- 552, 3 (197, 1) Nain Athens] [ἐκ τῆς] Λαφουρίου Διός] Macan.

- 552, 9 (197, 2) from the town hall] *ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανηίου* (MSS.)
αὐτοὶ . . . ἔχουσι [λήϊτον δὲ . . . Ἀχαιοί].
- 552, 12 (197, 2) many of this house] *ἤδη τούτων [τῶν μελλόντων
θύσεσθαι]* van Herwerden.
- 552, 14 (197, 2) and been taken] *κατελθόντες ἂν ἠλίσκοντο ἐσελθόντες.*
- 552, 16 (197, 2) and led forth in procession] *καὶ [ὡς] σὺν.*
- 552, 23 (197, 4) nigh unto Alus] *κατὰ τὸν Ἄλον ἐγίνετο.*
- 552, 27 (198, 1) he journeyed beside a gulf] *[ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα].*
- 552, 29 (198, 1) this plain is shut in] *[πάσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν].*
- 553) 7 (199) between the mountains and the sea] *[κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς
πεπόλισται].*
- 553,23(201) at Trachis] *ἐν τῇ Τρηχίνι, οἱ δέ.*
- 554, 16 (203, 2) there never was any mortal from the beginning] *[οὐδέ
ἔσεσθαι] . . . ἀρχῆς [γυνομένῳ] οὐ συνηείχθη* (Kriiger).
- 554, 20 (203, 2) they came with help] *[ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα].*
- 555, 7 (205, 2) being men of ripe years] *τε [τούς] κατεστεῶτας* Gomperz.
- 555, 8 (205, 2) I spake of] *[ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος]* after van Herwerden.
- 555, 20 (206, 1) (for it was the Carneia)] *[ἐμποδῶν].*
- 556, 32 (209, 3) anoint] *κεφαλὰς σμῶνται. ἐπίστασο* Valckenār.
- 557,32(211,3) and so slay] *μετὰ [στροφέμενοι] δέ.*
- 558, 4 (212, 1) In these assaults] *[τῆς μάχης]* van Herwerden.
- 558,22(213,2) the Pylagori] *[τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων . . . συλλεγομένων].*
- 559, 3 (214, 2) *φιφυόντα* Stein.
- 559, 6 (214, 3) the way over the mountain] *[καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν].*
- 559,11(215) the inhabitants of the place] *[Μηλιέες]* van Herwerden.
- 559, 15 (215) there never came any good of it] *[Μηλιεῦσι].*
- 559, 17 (216) in the mountain] *ρέοντος (τοῦ ὄρους) οἶνομα.*
- 560, 12 (218, 2) lest they be Lacedaemonians] *[οἱ Φωκέες]* Naber.
- 560, 22 (219, 1) which was to come upon them] *ἄμα ἦοι].*
ἦσαν οἱ ἄμα ἦοι] γ[τες] τῶν.
- 560, 23 (219, 1) who brought them word] *ἦσαν οἱ ἐξήγγειλαν[τες] τῶν.*
- 562 (*γὰρ*) *τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας τὸ μὲν ἔρυμα . . . ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ
ὑπεξιδόντες [ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα] ἐμάχοντο.*
- 563, 24 (225, 3) from every side upon them, etc.] *βάλλοντες πάντοθεν
περισταδόν, οἱ μὲν ἐξ . . . συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες (κατὰ
νώτου ἐπιγενόμενοι).*

- 563, 32 (226, 1) by the multitude of the arrows] [τοσοῦτο . . . εἶναι]
van Herwerden.
- 564, 2 (226, 2) if we are to fight] [ἀποκρυπτόντων . . . τὸν ἥλιον].
- 564, 28 (228, 4) with inscriptions and with pillars] [ἔξω ἤ τὸ τοῦ
μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα] Krüger.
μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα] Ἀριστόδημον δὲ φιλοψυχέοντα λειψθῆναι
- 565, 11 (229, 1) loved his life] Ἀριστόδημον δὲ φιλοψυχέοντα λειψθῆναι
Valckenar.
- 566, 12 (232, 1) thev. [κατακόμας], and the barbarians took them]
(προσ)ελθόντας . . . [προσιόντας]. ἀληθείη ὡς γὰρ εἶπας
- 566, 21 (234, 1) even as thou spakest] ἀληθείη ὡς γὰρ εἶπας [εἰδήσεις].
- 566, 25 (234, 2) as for the thing that thou wouldst [την οὐ γῆ] [εἰδήσεις].;
- 568, 19 (237, 1) [καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολίτην ἀνὴρ] malevolent towards him] [τῆ σιγῆ] . . . [τοῦ
~ van Herwerden.
ἀστοῦ πολίτην ἀνὴρ]

BOOK VII Ἡθος

- 570, 14 (2, 1) what multitude] καὶ ὄσον πλήθος] Reiske.
- 572, 11 (7, 1) to sail round Euboea] περιηλεῦσαι τίπρωροι.
- 573, 28 (11, 1) at the first signal] πρῶτα [μὲν] ἀντίπρωροι
- 574, 12 (12, 1) And the de] ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου].
- 574, 15 (12, 1) struck off] ἀπάρασσον ἑκόντες ταῦτα].
- 574, 16 (12, 2) stood in great fear] ἰσχυροῦντες ταῦτα]. οὐ Εὐρίπου].
- 575, 15 (15, 2) even as of [πρὸς τῆ] [with Leonides] [περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου].
- 576, 14 (19, 1) to the sea] [ταύτῃ] γὰρ Εὐβοίαν . . . πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα]
- 576, 24 (20) For the Euboeans] [οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοίαι . . . πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα]
Macan.
[ἔτοιμον]
- 577, 5 (21, 1) in readiness] [ἔτοιμον] [ἐτάχθησαν].
- 577, 13 (21, 2) one after the other] [καὶ [ἐτάχθησαν]
- 577, 30 (22, 3) being reported] [καὶ διαβληθῆ] δὲ ἠπιστέατο . . . εἶναι
- 578, 25 (25, 1) lay there] πάντας δὲ ἠπιστέατο . . . εἶναι
[πάντας] Λακεδαιμονίου Col. καὶ (τοῦς) Θεσπίας.
- 578, 27 (25, 1) the Thespians] καὶ (τοῦς) Θεσπίας . . . μὲν χίλιοι . . .
- 578, 29 (25, 2) [τέσσαρες χιλιάδες] is a matter for laughter] [τῶν μὲν χίλιοι . . .
τέσσαρες χιλιάδες].
- 579, 32 (27, 4) four thousand shields] [νεκρῶν καὶ]. ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ]
- 581, 6 (31) This country of old time] [ἤπερ ἦν . . . ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ]
after Macan.
- 518, 22 (33) all the land along the river Cephissus] πορευόμενοι γὰρ
τὰ τε παρὰ πορευόμενοι γὰρ
τὰ τε παρὰ Stein.

- 583,14(37,3) overthrew] *καὶ κατέβαλον συχνοὺς* Reiske.
- 584, 21 (41, 2) continually] *ἐπιμήνια (?) διατελέουσι προτιθέντες*.
- 586,30(48) by race] *έόντες (Δαιριέες) ἀπό*.
- 587, 15 (50, 1) while the captains were considering] *[τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν]*.
- 587, 28 (51, 2) they found certain few Athenians] *Ἀθηναίων, [ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ] έόντας ταμίαις*.
- 589,11(55) a place dedicated] *εἶναι σηκὸς ἐν τῷ*.
- 589,19(55) unto the king] *ταῦτα (βασιλεῖ) ἔφρασαν* Stein.
- 5890 32 (57, 2) Surely not] *[τάς νέας] (Stein) . . . [οὐδὲ περὶ . . . ναυμαχήσεις]*.
- 591, 7 (60/?) if the issue] *[ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου]* Stein.
- 591, 11 (60b) and Megara and *Mgina*] *γυναῖκες, (καὶ Μέγαρά τε καὶ Αἴγινα)*.
- 591, 21 (60y) God is wont to prosper them] *ἐπίπαν (* * *) ἐθέλει*.
- 591, 23 (61, 1) the Corinthian captain] *[Ἀδείμαντος]* Stein.
- 593) 20 (65, 6) the dust] *[καὶ τῆς φωνῆς]*.
- 596, 5 (70, 1) the command was given] *ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρηγγέλθη ἀναπλέειν*.
- 596, 8 (70, 1) was coming on] *ἐπεγίνετο*.
- 596, 26 (71, 2) they ceased not from their labours] *[οἱ βοηθήσαντες]*.
- 596, 32 (72) in exceeding great dread] *[τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ]*.
- 597) H (73? 3) seem to me] *δοκέουσι μὲν εἶναι* after Reiske.
- 597) 15 (73) 3) in *the* time that they have been ruled] *χρόνου (προϊόντος) (Stein), [έόντες . . . περιόικοι]* after Stein.
- 598, 23 (j6, 1) the Phoenicians launched, etc.] *ἀνήγον μὲν οἱ Φοῖνικες κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτύγγαζον τεταγμένοι*.
- 599) 5 (77) *Now I cannot gainsay, etc.*] *[χρησιμοῦμαι . . . ἐνδέκομαι]* Krüger.
- 599, 14 (77, 1) swallow] *ἀνὰ πάντα πλεσθαί* Diintzer.
- 599) 19 (77,2*) gainsay] *Βάκιδι (δι') ἀντιλογίης . . . αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν τολμέω* Wesseling.
- 599) 3° (79) 2) repaired] *ἠνῆρ βὰς ἐπί*.
- 600, 6 (79, 3) At this season, if ever] *έστι εἰ ἔν τειω ἄλλω* Stein.
- 600, 22 (80, 2) I shall not be believed] *[ὡς οὐ ποιούντων . . . ταῦτα]* van Herwerden.
- 600, 24 (80, 2) well] *[ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα]* Krüger.

- 600,27(81) Then] *λέγεις. ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε Κριΐγερ.*
- 600, 30 (81) on every hand] *περιέχεσθαι γὰρ παν(ταχόθεν) τὸ.*
- 601, 10 (82, 2) thitherto] *νεῶν (ἐς) τότε Hude.*
- 601, 15 (83, 1) was chosen to pronounce the exhortation] *προηγόρευε μὲν πρὸ πάντων.*
- 601, 24 (84, 1) Aminias an Athenian] [*Παλληνεύς*] Cobet.
- 602, 2 (85, 1) Salamis] *πρὸς Σαλαμῖνός τε Lösschke.*
- 602, 20 (86) they fought well] *(ἐναυμάχ)ησάν γε εὖ καί.*
- 602, 23 (86) was upon him] *ἔνωτὸν θεῖσθαι βασιλέα.*
- (87, 1) I have no particular knowledge] *ἀτρεκέως (τὰ γενόμενα) [ὡς ἕκαστοι . . . ἠγωνίζοντο].*
- 603, ~~27~~ ⁷ *αὐτὸν γενομένη* some quarrel arisen] *ἦν μὲν νῦν οἱ καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν γενοτός. συνήθεικε γενόμενον | διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι*
- 603,11(88,1) this profited her] [*συνήθεικε γενόμενον | διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι*]
J. *ἠρώντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν Stein.*
- 604, 6 (90, 1) because of them] [*ὡς προδόντων*] *τὸν λόγον διεξέρχεται.*
- 605, 15 (92, 2) the ship ^{ἐν θαλίῳ} *νηι (τῇ Σιδωνίῃ) ἐμβαλῶν.*
- 606, 12 (94, 3) have so prevailed] *ἠρώντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν Stein. ὅς*
- 607, ~~31~~ ²⁷ *σφρα ἀπικόμενος* in the like fashion] *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διεξέρχεται.*
- 608, 4 (99, 1) pleasures] *ἐν θαλίῳι τε Valckenār, ἱνακιδυνεύσαντα*
- 608, 10 (100, 1) it continued] *χρόνον γινόμενα μέχρι Stein . . . αὐτὸς σφρα ἀπικόμενος* after van Herwerden [*οἱ*] *τὸν λόγον Stein.*
- 608, 16 (100, 1) renew the fight and ^{στρατῶν} *ἠνακιδυνεύσαντα τοῦ πῆθος* werden. *γένοιτ' ἂν (ἔργων) ἀπόδεξις.*
- 608, 19 (100, 1) unto Xerxes] *προσέφερε (οἱ) τὸν λόγον Stein. ἴσεν.*
- 609, 21 (101, 2) have no part, ^{ταῦτα μὲν} *στρατὸς οὐδὲν μεταίτιοι (τοῦ) πάθους . . . γένοιτ' ἂν (ἔργων) ἀπόδεξις. ὃν ὅπισω.*
- 611, 9 (106, 2) with equal benefits] *τούτων ἴσα μὲν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσειν.*
- 611, 29 (107, 1) thus much] *ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρης.*
- 611,31(107,1) set off back] *Φαλήρου ἀνήγον ὀπίσω.*
- 612, 13 (108, 2) should sail directly] [*καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας*] *τὴν Ἑλλάδα]*
- 612, ~~18~~ ¹⁸ *Ελλάδα]* 8, 3) he would surely not] *ἴπειρωτό.*
- 613, 4 (109, 2) driven into sea] *καταμεῖναντες [νεκικημένους] πελάτων.*
- 613, 6 (109, 2) in that we ^{εἶναι [σοφὸς] ἐφάνη} *ἔφαμε* *ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα]*
[τὰ αὐτὸς . . . φράσαι].
- 613,14(109,4) yourselves] *καταμεῖναντας ὑμέων τε αὐτῶν.*
- 613,24 (no, 1) truly so] *εἶναι [σοφὸς] ἐφάνη* van Herwerden.
- 613, 27 (no, 2) keep silence] [*τὰ αὐτὸς . . . φράσαι*].

- 614, 16 (i n, 3) in the extreme] [ἀνήκοντας].
- 615, 7 (113, 1) marched away by the same road] [ἐς Βοιωτοῦς].
- 615, 15 (113, 2) who bare spears] Περσέων τοὺς αἰχμοφόρους.
- 615, 21 (113, 3) until the whole number, etc.] [ἐν δὲ πλεῖστον . . .
ῥώμῃ δὲ ἤσσορες].
- 615, 24 (114, 1) yet] Ἐέρξεῖς (ἔτι) ἦν.
- 616, 6 (115, 1) at the passage] [τῆς διαβάσιος].
- 616, 11 (115, 2) and left nothing] [ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίηον ὑπὸ λῆμοῦ] Nāber.
- 616, 22 (116, 1) the king of the Bisaltae] [γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς
Θρηξί].
- 618, 8 (120) there] ἐλύσατο (αὐτοῦ) τὴν ξάνην van Herwerden.
- 618, 29 (122) next to the bowl of Croesus] [ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης].
- 619, 2 (123, 2) cast their votes, sanctified, etc.] στρατηγοὶ ἔφερον (d)
τὰς ψήφους ἀπὸ τοῦ Πισειδέωνος τοῦ βωμοῦ [τὸν πρῶτον . . . πάντων],
ἐθαῦτα . . . γενέσθαι, [δεύτερα . . . ὑπερεβιάλλετο πολλόν] . . .
[νικῶν].
- 619, 12 (124, 2) for courage] Εὐρυβιάδῃ (ἀνδρείης) Cobet.
- 619, 28 (125, 2) neither hast thou] οὔτε σύ, ὠνθρωπε δ.
- 620, 5 (126, 2) in Thessaly] [τε καὶ Μακεδονίῃ].
- 620, 22 (128, 1) (for confederates were present] στρατηγός· (παρῆν
γάρ . . . συμμαχίῃ) ὄντινα from below.
- 623, 16 (133) Euromus] .ἀνδρα Εὐρωμεία γένος Stein.
- 623, 25 (134, 1) he came to Thebes] Θήβας [πρῶτα] ὡς ἀπύκετο.
- 624, 27 (136, 2) it seemed good unto him] Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἐδόκεε μάλιστα
προσκτήσασθαι
- 625, 14 (137, 2) for in olden time, etc.] προβάτων ἢ δὲ γυνῆ . .
ἔπεσσε· (ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι . . . ὁ δῆμος) ὅκως δὲ Μασαπ.
- 625, 16 (137, 3) the lad's loaf] [τοῦ θητὸς τοῦ Περδίκκεω] Valckenär.
- 625, 26 (137, 5) Gavanus and Aëropus] [οἱ πρεσβύτεροι] van Her-
werden.
- 625, 28 (137, 5) cut round the sunlight] [ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου].
- 625, 32 (138, 1) he had done] [ὁ παῖς] Stein.
- 626, 4 (138, 1) of these men] [ἀπ' Ἄργεος] van Herwerden.
- 626, 13 (138, 3) the snow] ἄβατον ὑπὸ χιόνος Koen.
- 626, 30 (140a, 2) oppose] ὑμέτερον ἀντίον γένηται Valckenär.
- 627, 2 (140a, 3) and be sure that] δύναμιν, ἴστε δ' ὡς καὶ ἦν.
- 627, 3 (140a, 3) overcome us] [καὶ νικήσητε] Cobet.
- 627, 8 (140a, 4) the fairest opportunity] [καταλύσασθαι] Stein.

- 628, 13 (142, 3) Moreover] [τούτων ἀπάντων] van Herwerden.
 628, 21 (142, 4) commending] ἀναγνώση ἐπαινέσας τὸν Μαρδονίου.
 628, 28 (143, 1) to teach us this] τοῦτό γε διδάσκειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως.

BOOK IX

- 635, 22 (n, 3) periceci] [Λακεδαιμονίων] van Herwerden.
 637, 31 (16, 5) for no man will believe us, etc.] ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα δὲ
 Περσέων . . . ἐνδεδεμένοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ . . . οὐδεῖς. ἐχθίστη.
 641, 25 (25, 1) wherefor also this thing was done] τῶν δὴ (Krtiger)
 εἵνεκα . . . ἐποίουν (ἵνα μὴ) ἐκλιπόντες . . . φοιτῶεν.
 646, 1 (31, 1) unto the Asopus] [τὸν ταύτη ῥέοντα] Kallenberg.
 646, 22 (31, 5) of Malis and the thousand] [καὶ Θεσσαλοῦς].
 646, 28 (32, 1) were the most eminent] [τὰ μέγιστα].
 646, 31 (32, 1) Paeones and other Thracians]
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Θρηίκων, ἐν δὲ καὶ.
 647, 1 (32, 1) Ethiopians] Αἰθίοπες.
 648, 28 (35, 2) and fifthly] Ἰθώμη, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ.
 655, 13 (49, 3) the Lacedaemonians] [μοῖνοι].
 656, 8 (51, 3) by the Asopus] †κατιῶ†.
 657, 13 (54, 1) alone remained behind] μόνων . . . λειψιμένων.
 the Athenians did thus, etc.] τοιάδε ὡς [δὲ] ἐκινήθη τὸ
 στρατόπεδον, εἶχον ἀτρέμας . . . ἐπιστάμενοι δὲ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων . . .
 καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων, ἐπεμπον.
 658, 2 (56, 1) still in that place] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κατημένους.
 658, 10 (56, 2) kept to the plain] πεδίον (* * *) Ἀμομφάρετος.
 661, 3 (62, 2) but after these had fallen, etc.] ἐπεπτώκεε καὶ ἀπίκοντο
 ἐς ὠθισμόν, ἤδη ἐγίνετο . . . ἐπὶ πολλόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα.
 προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ (καὶ) κατὰ [ἕνα
 661, 16] 62, 3) here ten, there ten] προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ (καὶ) κατὰ [ἕνα
 καί]. [πλείστον . . .
 ἐποιεῖντο].
 661, 18 (63, 2) gave way] Μεσοπηρία ἀποστῆσαι καὶ τὰ [πλείστον . . .
 ἐποιεῖντο]. [ἄγχιστα] . . . [φεύγοντας].
 γινόμενῳ θορύβῳ ἀγγέλλεται.
 661, 27 (64, 2) rebelled] Μεσοπηρίασι ἀποστῆσαι καὶ Naber.
 663, 9 (68) on the side towards the enemy] [ἄγχιστα] . . . [φεύγοντας].
 663, 13 (69) ἀποστῆσαι] γινόμενῳ θορύβῳ ἀγγέλλεται.
 663, 16 (69, 1) in disorder] [ταχθέντες]. οἰοσάμενος δὲ . . . οὐκ ἐτιμήθη].
 663, 28 (70, 1) then, so long as the Athenians, etc.] τεῖχος [ἔφθησαν
 . . . ἔρρωμενιστέρῃ], ἕως μὲν [γὰρ] ἀπήσαν.
 665, 7 (71, 4) were held in honour] [Ἀριστοδάμῳ δὲ . . . οὐκ ἐτιμήθη].

- 666, 7 (74, 1) the assaults of the enemy] ἐμπύπτοντες Richards.
- 666, 9 (74, 1) he took up the anchor] [ἐδέδοκτο].
- 666, 11 (74, 2) he carried the anchor on his shield] [αἰεὶ περιθειούσης
... ἀτρεμιζούσης] ... [συδηρέην].
- 667, 16 (jjj 2) suffered them not] [φείνοντας διώκειν].
- 667, 19 (jy, 3) likewise] [οἱ Ἕλαιοὶ τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι].
- 667, 21 (78, 1) in the camp] [τῶν Αἰγυνητέων] ἦν Α. ὁ ΙΙ. Αἰγυνητέων
τὰ πρόδια.
- 66j, 27 (78, 2) in what remaineth] [τὰ λοιπὰ] Cobet.
- 668, 2 (78, 3) from the rest of the Greeks also] [Μαρδόνιον γὰρ . . .
Λεωνίδην].
- 668, 15 (79, 2) he is avenged fully] [ψυχῆσί τε . . . τελευτήσαντες].
- 668, 28 (80, 3) stole and sold] [πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυνητάς οἱ εἰλωτες].
- 669, 8 (81, 2) as for rewards] [ἐδόθη].
- 669, 11 (81, 2) chariots and camels] ἵπποι ἄρματα κάμηλοι Stein.
- 669, 13(82, 1) tent] Μαρδονίῳ τὴν σκηνὴν καταλίπει.
- 669, 14 (82, 1) seeing it] [τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν].
- 669, 20 (82, 2) he was astonished] [τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ].
- 670, 3 (83, 2) all the teeth . . . of a single piece] [καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς
γνάθου] ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας [ἐξ ἑνὸς ὅστε] [καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς
γνάθου] ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μονοφυέας [ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας], τοὺς
τε προσθίους (Stein) καὶ (τοὺς) ἀπὸ τοῦ γομφίου.
- 670, 13 (85, 1) he vanished] τοιοῦτῳ ἠφανίσθη. οἱ δὲ . . . Καλλικράτης]
- 670, 15 (85, 1) three several graves] [ἔθα μὲν . . . Καλλικράτης]
Sitzler. τάφων ἐτάφησαν οἱ ἱρέες
- 670, 16 (85, 2) were buried] τάφων ἐτάφησαν οἱ ἱρέες [καὶ] ἡμεῖς].
- 671, 16 (87, 2) we gave ourselves [τὸν ἑαυτοῦ] [οὐδὲ μούνοι ἡμεῖς].
- 672, 4 (89, 2) the whole truth] [τῶν ἀγώνων] [καὶ] ἡμεῖς] erden.
- 672, 7 (89, 2) he disclosed nothing] [πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας]. rüger.
- 672, 21 (90, 1) their discomf[ort] [καὶ] (τὸ) ἐν Μυκάλῃ Krüger.
- 673, 9 (91, 1) Hegesistratus] [ὁ ξείνος ὁ Σάμιος] Gomperz.
- 673, 10(91, 1) by chance] [θεοῦ ποιούντος] [τοῦ] ἄλλοθεν προσῆγε.
- 673, 17 (92, 1) administered the [βαθρὰ] καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον προσῆγε.
- 673, 19 (92, 2) they sailed away] [μετὰ σφείων . . . ποιούμενος]. Stein . .
- 674, 10 (93, 4) [αὐτοῖσι] ἔφραζον] was declared unto them] [ἐπεῖτε ἐπειρώτων . . .
αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον] Kriiger [Εὐθύμιον]
- 674, 11 (93, 4) the keeper] [Εὐθύμιον] Kallenberg. [ἀπέπλεον
- 675, 22 (96, 2) they determined to go to the mainland] [ἀπέπλεον
ὅπως ἔωσι].

- 675, 30 (97) they came to Gseson] [παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτιέων ἱόν].
 676} 10 (98, 2) prepared gangways] [ἐς ναυμαχίην].
 676} 13 (98, 2) the ships of the barbarians] ὤρων (τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων)
 νέας.
 676, 22 (98, 4) by his fellow that hath heard it] [ἑνὸς δὲ οὗτος . . .
 τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι] Krttger.
 676, 26 (99, 1) preparing themselves for battle] [καὶ τοῖσι Ἰωσι
 παραιέσαντας].
 677, 27 (101, 2) of the same month] [μηνός . . . αὐτοῦ] Macan.
 678, 21 (102, 4) yet fought] [τοῖσι αἰεὶ . . . Ἑλλήνων].
 678, 29 (103, 1) captain of the men of Sicyon] Σικυωνίων [καὶ]
 στρατηγός Stein.
 679, 6 (104) But they did the very contrary] [ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν . . .
 ποίεοιεν].
 679, 9 (104) their bitterest foes] [κτείνοντες] Stein.
 679, 20 (106, 1) all the spoil] [τεῖχος ἀπασαν τὴν λήπην].
 679, 24 (106, 2) saying that] Ἰωνίης, ὅτι κη χρεόν.
 679, 30 (106, 3) to dispossess] [τὰ ἐμπόρια].
 680, 19 (107, 2) drew his fauchion against Masistes] [ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων]
 van Herwerden.
 680, 21 (107, 2) him, marked it] [ἐπιθέοντα] . . . [Ἄρταῦντεω]
 (Stein).
 680, 24 (107, 3) and of Xerxes] [ἐκσώξων . . . ἐκείνου].
 681, 3 (108, 1) did betroth to his own son] τῶν ἄλλων ἱπρήσσει† [τὸν
 γάμον τοῦτον].
 [πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι
 681, ~~αἰτήσασθαι~~ αἰτήσασθαι] which she had shewn him] [πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι
 αἰτήσασθαι
 681, ~~ἢ τὸ περ ἤτησε~~ ἢ τὸ περ ἤτησε] rather than the thing which she purposed] αἰτήσασθαι
 [πρήσσω].
 δὴ κού με
 681, 25 (109, 3) should thus be sure of [ἠεὶ πρήσσω].
 683, 3 (111, 5) Surely] δὴ κού με MSS. ἐπολιόρκεον εἶχον δέ
 683, ~~ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι~~ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι in his own household] [υἱοῖσι]. Σησιτὸν ταύτην . . . ἦν
 683, ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι . . . ὄμιλος ἐς γὰρ τὴν Σησιτὸν ταύτην . . . ἦν
 κεκομκώς. ἐτυράννευε δέ.
 684, 19 (116, 3) persuaded Xerxes] [δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον] van Her-
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 685, 14 (119, 1) they slew] [ἄλλω τρόπῳ] Gomperz.

685, 30 (120, 3) to pay to him an hundred talents] *νῦν ὧν ἄποινά οἱ*
 (MSS.) [*τάδε*] *ἔθελω* [*ἐπιθεῖναι*] *ἀντι* [*μὲν*] *χρημάτων . . . καταθεῖναι*
[τῷ θεῷ].

686, 15 (122, 2) by thee] *σύ* conjecture in some MSS.

686, 20 (122, 2) for riches] *σχόντες †πλέοσι† ἐσόμεθα*.

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- Chemmis (I) (Q 5), *Achmim*, city of Upper Egypt, 2. 915 (II), unidentified city and province of the Delta, 2. 165; (III), island at Buto, q.v., 2. 156.
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- Chersonēsus, the (Thracian) (F 2), *Gallipoli*, 'peninsula*' of Thrace inhabited by mixed Greeks and Thracians, 4. 137, 143; 6. 33-40,* 103-4, 140; 7. 22, 33, 585 8. 130; 9. 114-20.
- Chileūs, man of Tegea, 9. 9.
- Chilōn (I), Spartan statesman of 6th century B.C., one of the 'Seven Sages', 1. 595 7. 235; (II), another Spartan, 6. 65.
- Chios (F 1), *JEgem* island, 1. 18, 142, 160-1, 164-5; 2. 135, 178; 5- 33-4, 98, 6- 2, 5, 8, 15-16, 26-7, 31; 8. 106, 132; 9. 106.
- Choaspēs (N 7), *Kerhah*, eastern tributary of Tigris, 1. 188; 5. 49, 52.
- Chcreae, place near Eretria (D 4), exact site unknown, 6. 101.
- Choereātae, tribe in Sicyon, 5. 68.
- Chcerus, man of Rhegium, 7. 170.
- Chorasmians, *Khiva*, tribe of *Turk-estan*, 3. 93, 117; 7. 66.
- Chromius, an Argive, 1. 82.
- Cicones (E-F 1), Thracian tribe on iEgean coast, 7. 59, 108, n.o.
- Cilicia, Cilicians (M 7), area in SE. Asia Minor, 1. 28, 72, 74; 2. 17; 3. 90-1; 5. 49, 52, 108, 118; 6. 6, 43, 95; 7- 77, 90, 98; 8. 14, 68c, 100; 9. 107; C. Trachēa, the part opposite Cyprus, 2. 34.
- Cilix, a Phoenician, eponymous king of Cilicia, 7. 91.
- Cilia (G 3), city on NW. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149.

- Cimmerians, nomadic people from Scythia who devastated Asia Minor in 8th-7th century B.C., i. 6, 15-16, 103; 4. 11-13; 7. 20.
- Cimōn (I), an Athenian, father of Miltiades (II), q.v., 6. 34, 38-40, 103, 137, 140; (II), grandson of (I), 6. 136; 7. 107.
- Cindya (G 5), city of Caria near SW. coast of Asia Minor, 5. 118.
- Cniās, a Thessalian, 5. 63.
- Cnyps (J 8), near *Leptis*, river and oasis on Libyan coast, 4. 175, 19855.42.
- Cios (H 2), *Gemlik*, city on E. shore of Propontis, 5. 122.
- Cissia, Cissians (N 7), Elam, region around Susa in SW. Persia, 3. 91, 155, 158; 5- 49, 525 6- 119; 7- 62, 86, 210.
- Cithaerōn (C-D 4), range between Bceotia and Attica, 7. 141; 9. 19, 25, 38-9, 51, 56,69-
- Clazomenae (G 4), Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 16, 51, 14252. 178; 5. 123.
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- Cleander (I), Arcadian seer, 6. 835 (II), tyrant of Gela, 7. 154-5.
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- Cnidus (G 6), *Cape Crio*, Dorian city on coast of Caria in Asia Minor, 1. 144,17452. 17853. 13854.164.
- Cnoethus, man of Ægina, 6. 88.
- Cnōssus (E 7), city of N. Crete, v. Minos, 3. 122.
- Cobōn, man of Delphi, 6. 66.
- Codrus, mythical king of Athens, whose sons founded various Ionian cities, 1. 1475 5. 6559. 97.
- Ccenyra, place on E. coast of Thasos (E 1), unlocated, 6. 47.
- Cōgs, man of Mytilene, 4. 97; 5. 11,37-8.
- Cōkeus, a Samian, 4. 152.
- Colchians, Colchis (M 6), fabulous nation and country, identified with E. coast of Black Sea S. of Caucasus, v. Medea, 1. 2, 1045 2.104-553.9754.37,4057.79.
- Cōlias, *Hagios Kosmas*, cape of Attica near Phalerum (D 4), 8. 96.
- Colophōn (G 4), Ionian city near W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 14, 16, 142, 147, 150.
- Colossae (L 7), near *Denikli*, Phrygian city in central Asia Minor, 7- 30-
- Coloxais, mythical ancestor of Scythian royal tribe, 4. 5-7.
- Cōmbrla, unlocated city on W. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Compsatus (E 1), river flowing into lake Bistonis, q.v., 7. 109.
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- Corsica, Corsicans (J 6-7), 1. 165-7; j 7. 165.
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- Cranaf, alleged earliest name of Athenians, after eponymous king Cranaūs, 8. 44.
- Cranaspgs, a Persian, 3. 126.
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- Crāthian, v. Athena.
- Crāthis (I), *Akrata*, river in Achaia near Ægæ (C 4), 1. 1455 (II) (M 2), *Crate*, river in S. Italy near Sybaris, 1. 145; 5.45.
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- Crēmnl, 'cliffs', unidentified port in *Crimea* on the *Sea of Azov*, 4. 20; no.
- Crēstōn (J 6), ? *Cortona*, city in Umbria, 1. 57.
- Crestonael (C1), Thracian tribe, living in Crēstōnicē, 5. 3, 55 7. 124, 127.
- Crete, Cretans (D-F 7-8), 1. 2, 65, 171-35 3- 44, 595 4- 45, 151, 154, 161; 7.92, 99, 145, 169-71.
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- its name to the surrounding plain, 8.32.
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- Cronus, a Titan, father of Zeus, 8. 77-
- Crōphi, fabulous mountain in upper Egypt, 2. 28.
- Crossaea (C 2), western part of Chalcidice, named after former inhabitants, the Crossaei, 7. 123.
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- Cyanaeae, *Urek Jaki*, two rocky islands at entrance to Black Sea fabled to move and crush ships attempting to enter, became stationary after passage of the *Argo*, q.v., 4. 85, 89.
- Cyaxares, king of Media 7th-6th century B.C., 1. 16, 46, 73-4, 103, 106-7.
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- Dascyllum (H 2), *Eskil Kjoj*, city in NW. Asia Minor, capital of the Persian province of Phrygia, 3. 120, 126; 6. 33.
- Dascylus, a Lydian, father of Gyges, 1. 8.
- Dātis, Persian general, 6. 94, 97-8, 118; 7. 8£, 10b, 74; ? the same, 7.88.
- Datum (D 1), place near Ægean coast of Thrace, 9.75.
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- Daurisēs, Persian general, 5. 116-18; 121-2.
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- Delos (E 5), Ægean island, sacred as birthplace of Apollo and Artemis by Leto, 1.64; 2.170; 4. 33-556. 97-9, 118; 8. 132-35 9. 90, 96.
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- Dēmophilus, man of Thespia, 7. 222.
- DersæT, Thracian tribe between rivers *Nesta* and *Struma*, 7. no.

- Dērūsiael, tribe of the Persians, i. 125.
- Deucaliōn, the Greek Noah, survived flood, reigned over the germ of the Greek race in Thessaly, 1. 56.
- Diactoridēs (I), a Spartan, 6. 715 (II), man of Crannon, 6. 127.
- Diadromēs, man of Thespia, 7. 222.
- Dicaea (E 1), city on Ægean coast of Thrace, 7. 109.
- Dictyna, Cretan hunting and seafaring goddess, 3. 59.
- Didyma, v. Branchidae.
- Diinecēs, a Spartan, 7. 226.
- Dindymus (H 3), *Murad Dagħ*, mountain sacred to Cybebe, q.v., in W. Asia Elinor, 1. 80.
- Dlnomenēs, man of Gela, 7. 145.
- Diomēde, Greek hero in Trojan War, king of Argos, 2. 116.
- Dionysius, man of Phocaea, 6. 11-12, 17.
- Dionysophanēs, man of Ephesus, 9. 8+.
- Dionysus, the wine-god, son of Semele, q.v., by Zeus, 2. 49, 52, 145-6 j 3.1115 the god of tragedy, 5. 67; worshipped with orgies as Bacchus, 2. 81 j 4. 79; worshipped in Smyrna, 1. 150; in Byzantium, 4. 875 equated with an Ethiopian god, 2. 29; 3. 97; with Osiris, 2. 42, 47-9, 123, 144-5, 156; with an Arabian god, 3. 85 with a god of the Geloni, q.v., 4. 108; with a Thracian god, 5. 7; 7. 111.
- Dioscūri, 'sons of Zeus', Castor and Pollux (Polydeucēs), patrons of seafarers, 2. 43, 50; 6. 127.
- Dipaeēs (C 5), *Davia*, place in central Peloponnese, 9. 35.
- Dlthyrambus, man of Thespia, 7. 227.
- Dium (D 2), *Zographu* city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 22.
- Dobēres (C-D 1), Thracian tribe on the middle *Struma*, 7. 113.
- Dōdōna, Dōdōnēans (A 2), near *Jamrut* town of NW. Greece with oracle of Zeus, 1. 46; 2. 52-75 4. 33 5 9-93-
- Dolonci, Thracian tribe in the Chersonesus (F 2), 6. 34-6, 40.
- Dolopes (B 3), nation in SW. Thessaly, 7. 132, 185.
- Dōrians, division of Greek people, supposed to have originated in central Greece (v. Doris) and invaded Peloponnese (? 9th century B.C.), whence they peopled the S. Ægean islands and coastal cities of SW. Asia Minor, 1. 6, 28, §6-7, 139, 144, 171; 2. 171, 178; 3. 56; 5- 68, 72, 76; 6. 53-5; 7-9a, 93, 95, 99, 102; 8. 31, 43, 4-5-6, 73, 141.
- Dōrieus (I), Spartan of royal house, brother of Cleomenes, 5. 41-8; 7. 158, 205; (II), another Spartan of royal house, 9. 10.
- Dōris (C 3-4), territory in central Greece, 8. 31-2, 43, 66.
- Doriscus (F 1), near *Feredshik*, fortress on *Mgem* coast of Thrace, 5. 98; 7. 25, 58-9, 105-6, 108, 121.
- Dōrus, eponymous first king of the Dorians, son of Hellen, q.v., 1. 56.
- Doryssus, Spartan king, 7. 204.
- Dotus, a Persian, 7. 72.
- DropicI, tribe of the Persians, 1. 125.
- Drymus (C 4), *Glnhtā*, city in Phocis, 8. 33.
- Dryopis, Dryopes, former name and inhabitants of Doris, q.v., in central Greece, found in E. Peloponnese, Cyclades, and Ionia, 1. 56, 1465 8. 31, 43, 46, 73.
- Dymānātae, tribe in Sicyon, 5. 68.
- Dymē (B 4), *Karavostasi*, city in Achaia, 1. 145.
- Dyras, *Gorgopotamos*, rivulet formerly near, now tributary to, *Sperchius*, q.v., 7. 198.

- DysSrum, unidentified mountain on borders of Thrace and Macedonia, 5.17.
- Echecrates, a Corinthian, 5. 92b.
- Echemus, legendary king of Tegea, slew Hylius, q.v., 9. 26.
- Echestratus, Spartan king, 7. 204.
- Echldōrus (C 1), *Galiko*, river in Macedonia, 7. 124, 127.
- EchTnades (A-B 4), *Dragonera* and *Oxia*, islands at mouth of river Acheloiis, q.v., 2. 10.
- Ēdōnī, Edōnia (D 1), nation near Aegean coast of Thrace, 5. 11, 124; 7. no, 114; 9.75.
- Ēētiōn, a Corinthian, 1. 145 5. *gzb-e*.
- Egesta (J 3), near *Alcamo*, city in N.W. Sicily, 5. 46-7; 7. 158.
- Egypt, Egyptians, geography and history, 2. 1-182; 3. 1-39; other references, 1. 1-2, 5, 30, 77, 93, 104-5, 135, 140, 153, 182, 193, 1985 3. 42, 44-5, 47, 61-5, 88, 91, 97, 107, 129, 132, 139-40, 160; 4. 39, 41-5, 47, 53, 152, 159, 165-8, 180-1, 186, 200, 203-5; 6. 53-5, 605 7- 1-2 4-5, 7-8, 20, 63, 69, 89, 915 in the Persian forces, 4. 141; 6. 6; 7. 25, 34, 89, 97; 8. 17, 68c, 100; 9.32.
- Elaeus (F 2), *Eski Hissarlik*, city on W. shore of Hellespont, 6. 140; 7.22, 3359. 116, 120.
- Elatla (C 4), *Levta*, principal city in Phocis in central Greece, 8. 33.
- Eibō, unidentified island in the Delta, 2. 140.
- Eleōn (D 4), *Dritsa*, city in Boeotia, 5.4.3-
- Elephantinē (R 7), 'elephant town', Egyptian frontier city with *Sudan*, 2. 9, 17-18, 28-31; 3. 19-20 (actually on *Assuan Island*, but Herodotus appears unaware of this).
- Eleusis (D 4), city in E. Attica, celebrated for mystery worship of Demeter, q.v., 1. 30; 5. 74-6; 6.64,75; 8.6559. 19,27,65.
- Elis, Elians (B 4), city and country in N.W. Peloponnese, 2. 160; 3. 13254. 30, 148; 5.44-556.70, 127; 8.27,72-359.33,35, 37, 77-
- Elisyci, non-Greek nation settled in S. France, 7. 165.
- Ellopia, area around Histiasa (C 3) in N. Euboea, called after its inhabitants, the Ellopes, a Thessalian tribe, 8. 23.
- Enareēs, Scythian name for a race of effeminate, 1. 105; 4. 67.
- Enchelēs, legendary Illyrian tribe, 5. 6159.43.
- Eneti, tribe at head of Adriatic, the Veneti of the Romans, 1. 196.
- EnTpeus (B-C 3), *Tsanarlis*, river in Thessaly, 7. 129.
- Enneacrūnus, 'nine mouths*', spring on S. side of Acropolis at Athens, 6. 137.
- Eōn (D 1), city on coast of Thrace at *mouth of Struma*, 7. 25,107,113 5 8. 118, 120.
- Eordl (C 1), tribe in Thrace, 7. 185.
- Epaphus, son of Io, q.v., by Zeus, king of Egypt and ancestor of Danaüs, q.v., in Greek mythology, equated with Egyptian god Apis, the calf form of Osiris, q.v., 2. 38, 153; 3. 27-9.33,64.
- Ephesus, Ephesians (G 4), Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 26, 92, 142, 147; 2. 10, 106, 1485 5. 54, 100, 102; 6. 16, 845 8. 103, 105, 107.
- Ephialtēs, man of Malis, 7. 213-15, 218, 223, 225.
- Epicyles, a Spartan, 6. 86a, c.
- Epidamnus (AA 1), *Durazzo*, Greek city on E. shore of Adriatic, 6. 127.
- Epidaurus, Epidaurians (C 5), Dorian

- city state in E. Peloponnese, i. 146; 3. 50,52; 5. 82-4; 7.99; 8. 1,43,46,7259.28, 31.
- EpigonI, fairly late post-Homeric epic poem, not extant, relating the revenge of the 'descendants' of the Seven Heroes against Thebes, 4. 32.
- Epistrophus, man of Epidamnus, 6. 127.
- Epium (B 5), city in Elis in W. Peloponnese, 4. 148.
- Epizeïus, an Athenian, 6. 117.
- Epizephyrit, v. Locri
- Erasmus (C 5), river on borders of Laconia and Argolid, 6. 76.
- Erechtheus, mythical king of Athens, originally the local divinity of the Acropolis, 5. 82; 7. 189; 8. 44, 55-
- Eretria (D 4), Ionian city on W. coast of Euboea, 1. 61-2; 5. 57, 99, 102; 6. 43, 94, 98-102, 106-7, 115, 119, 127, 8. 1, 46; 9. 28, 31.
- Eridanus, fabulous river of NW. Europe, reputed source of amber, 3.115.
- Erineïis, chief city of Doris, q.v. (C 3-4), in central Greece, 8. 43.
- Erōchus, unidentified city in Phocis in central Greece, 8. 33.
- Erxander, man of Mytilene, 4. 97; 5-37-
- Erythīa, fabulous island off SW. Spain, 4. 8.
- Erythrae (I) (D 4), *ICatzuIa*, place in S. Bceotia, 9. 15, 19, 22, 25; (II) (F 4), *Ritriy* Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 18, 142; 6. 8.
- Eryx (J 3), *San Giuliano*, mountain and territory in NW. Sicily, 5. 43, 45.
- EryxS, woman of Cyrene, 4. 160.
- Etearchus (I), a Cretan, 4.154; (II), chief of *Siwah*, 2. 32-3.
- Eteoclēs, legendary king of Thebes, son of CEDipus, brother and foe of Polynices, q.v., 5. 61.
- Ethiopia, Ethiopians (I), the *Sudan*, 2. 11-12, 22, 28-30,42, 86,100, 104, 106, no, 127, 134, 137, 139-40, 146, 152, 161; 3. 17, 19-26,30,97,101,11454. 1975 7. 9, 18, 69, 90; (II), *Baluchistan*, 3. 94; 7. 70; (III), the *Tibboos* of equatorial Africa, 4. 183.
- Eubcea (I) (C-E 3-4), *Negropont*, large island off E. coast of Greece, 1. 1465 3. 9554. 33; 5. 31,775 6. 100, 1275 7. 176, 183, 189; 192; 8. 4-6, 8, 13-14, 19-20, 680, 69, 86; (II), unlocated city in E. Sicily, 7. 156.
- Euclldēs, man of Gela, 7. 155.
- Euesperides (K 8), *Bengasi*, city on coast of Cyrenaica, 4. 171, 198.
- Eumenēs, an Athenian, 8. 93.
- Eunomus, Spartan king, 8. 131.
- Eupallnus, a Megarian, 3. 60.
- Euphēmid, descendant of Euphēmus, a son of Posidon and companion of Jason in the Argo, q.v., 4. 150.
- Euphorbus, an Eretrian, 6. 101.
- Euphoriōn (I), an Azenian, 6. 127; (II), an Athenian, 2. 156; 6. 114.
- Euphrātēs (M - N 7), river of *Iraq*, 1. 180, 185-6, 191; 5. 52.
- EurTpus (D 4), narrowest, part of strait between Eubcea and mainland, 5. 77; 7. 173, 183; 8. 7, 66.
- Eurōmus (G 5), town in Caria, 8. 133,135-
- Europā, daughter of Agenor, q.v., carried off from Tyre to Crete by Zeus in the form of a bull, cf. Cadmus, 1.2, 17354.45, 147.
- Europe, the continent, including Asia N. of Caucasus-Caspian-Hindu Kush, 1. 4, 103, 2095 2. 16, 26, 33, 103; 3. 96, 115-165 4. 36,42,45,49, 89, 143, 198; 5. 1, 12; 6. 33,43; 7. 5, 8-10, 20, 33, 50, 54, 56, 73, 126, 148,

- 172, 174, 18558.51, 97, 108-9;
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- Euryanax, Spartan of royal house, 9.
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- Eurybatēs, an Argive, 6. 92; 9. 75.
- Eurybiadēs, Spartan admiral, 8. 2,
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- Euryclidēs, a Spartan, 8. 2, 42.
- Eurycratēs, Spartan king, 7. 204.
- Eurycratidēs, Spartan king, 7. 204.
- Eurydamē, Spartan woman, 6. 71.
- Eurydēmus, a Malian, 7. 213.
- Euryleōn, a Spartan, 5. 46.
- Eurymachus (I), a Theban, 7. 205;
(II), grandson of (I), 7. 233.
- Euryphōn, Spartan king, 8. 131.
- Eurypylus, a Thessalian, 9. 58.
- Eurysthenēs, Spartan king, son of
Aristodemus, founder of one of
the two royal houses, 4. 147; 5.
3956. 51-257.204.
- Eurystheus, mythical king of My-
cenae, imposed the labours* on
Heracles and invaded Attica in
vain attempt to seize Hyllus, q.v.,
and Heracles' other sons, 9. 26-7.
- Eurytus, a Spartan, 7. 229.
- Euthcenus, an Athenian, 9. 105.
- Eutyclidēs, an Athenian, 9. 73.
- Euxine sea, or Pontus Euxinus, or
Pontus, the *Black Sea* and the
regions around its coasts, es-
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- Evaenetus, a Spartan, 7. 173.
- Evagorās, a Spartan, 6. 103.
- Evalcidēs, an Eretrian, 5. 102.
- Evelthōn, king of Salamis in Cyprus,
4. 162; 5. 104.
- Evēnius, man of Apollonia, 9. 92-5.
- Exampaeus, name of a place on the
upper *Bug*, 4. 52, 81.
- Fair Shore (K. 3), *Caronia*, place on
N. coast of Sicily, 6. 22-3.
- Gadeira, *Cadiz* (cf. *Tartessus*), city
on Atlantic coast of Spain, 4. 8.
- Gassōn, place on Mycale, q.v., 9. 97.
- GalSpsus (D 2), city on coast of
Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Gallaicē, old name of Briantice, q.v.,
after former inhabitants, Gallaei,
7. 108.
- Gandarians, tribe in NW. *Afghani-
stan* (Gandhara), 3. 91; 7. 66.
- Garamantes, tribe in *Fezzan* in
Libya, 4. 174, 183-4.
- Gargaphia, spring by R. Asopus near
Plataea (C 4), 9. 25, 49, 51-2.
- Gavanēs, brother of Perdicces (I),
q.v., 8. 137.
- Gebeleizis, Thracian synonym of
Salmoxis, q.v., 4. 94.
- Gela (K 4), *Terra Nuova*, city on S.
coast of Sicily, 6. 23; 7. 153-6.
- Geleōn, eponymous ancestor of
Ionian tribe, Geleontes, reputed
son of Ion, q.v., 5. 66.
- Gelōn, man of Gela, ruler of that and
Syracuse, 491-478 B.C., 7. 145,
153-68.
- Gelōnī, tribe allied to the Scythians,
between lower *Don* and *Volga*, 4.
102, 108-9, 120, 136.
- Gelōnus (I), eponymous ancestor of
Geloni, 4. 10; (II), chief city of
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- Gephyraei, family settled at Athens
from Bceotia, 5. 55, 57-8, 61-2.
- Geraestus (D 4), *Cape Mandilo*, S.
extremity of Euboea, 8. 75 9. 105.
- Gergis, a Persian, 7. 83, 121.
- Gergithes (F 2), tribe in NW. Asia
Minor, remnant of Teucric, q.v.,
5.12257.43.
- Germanil, *Kerman*, tribe of the
Persians, 1. 125.
- Gerrhl, tribe of the Scythians, 4. 71.
- Gerrhus (I) (L 6), *Molochna voda*,
river in Scythia W. of *Don*, al-
leged by Hdt to be tributary of
the *Dnieper*, 4.19-20, 47, 565(11),
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- Geryōn, fabulous triple monster in far West whom Heracles slew to obtain his oxen, as the tenth 'labour', 4. 8.
- Getae, Thracian tribe S. of lower Danube, 4. 93-6; 5. 3-4.
- Gigōnus (C 2), *Smila*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Giligamse (K 8), tribe of *Marmarica* in Cyrenai'ca, 4. 169-70.
- Gillus, man of Tarentum, 3. 138.
- GindSnes (J 8), tribe in Libya W. of *Tripoli*, 4. 176-7.
- Glaucōn, an Athenian, 9. 75.
- Glaucus (I), leader of the Lycians, q.v., as ally of Troy in Trojan War, ancestor of the Lycian kingly house, 1. 147; (II), a Spartan, 6. 86; (III), celebrated metal-worker of Chios, 1.25.
- GITsās, *Sirtzi*, place in SE. Boeotia, 9-43.
- Gnūrus, a Scythian, 4. 76.
- Gōbryēs (I), a Persian, 3. 70, 73, 78; 4. 132, 134; 6.435 7.2, 5, 10g, 82, 97; 9. 41; (II), another, son of Darius, 7. 72.
- Geetosyrus, Scythian god equated with Apollo, 4. 59.
- Gonnus (C 2), town in NE. Thessaly, 7. 128, 173.
- Gordiās (I), founder of Phrygian kingdom, tyer of the 'Gordian knot', father of Midas (I), q.v., 1. 14; 8. 138; (II), son of Midas (II), member of Phrygian royal family in 6th century B.C., 1. 35-45.
- Gorg5, Spartan woman, 5. 48-51; 7. 239.
- Gorgōn, fabulous African monster, petrifying beholder, beheaded by Perseus, q.v., 2. 91.
- Gorgus, king of Saïamis in Cyprus, 5. 104, 11557.98; 8. n.
- Graces, deified spirits of fertility and thence of beauty, 2. 50; hill of the, unidentified hill inland of Leptis in Libya, 1/. Cinyps, 4. 175-
- Greece, Greeks, *passim*,
- Grinnus, king of Thera, 4. 150.
- Grynea (G 3), *Chifut Kaleh*, Æolian city in NW. Asia Minor, 1. 149.
- Gygæa, Macedonian woman, 5. 21; 8.136.
- Gyges (I), king of Lydia, founder of Mermnad dynasty, mid-7th century B.C., 1. 8-15, 93; (II), a Lydian, 6th century B.C., 3. 122; 5. 121.
- Gyndēs (N 7), *Diyala*, eastern tributary of Tigris, 1. 189-90, 2025 5.52.
- Gyzantes, Libyan tribe in E. *Tunisia*, 4. 194.
- Habrocomēs, a Persian, 7. 224.
- Habrōnichus, an Athenian, 8. 21.
- Hādēs, the underworld of the dead, 2. 122.
- Haemus (K - L 6), *Balkan*, mountain range in Thrace, 4. 49.
- Haliacmōn (B-C 2), *Vistriza*, river in Macedonia, 7. 127.
- Halicarnassus (G 5), *Budrum*, Dorian city on coast of SW. Asia Minor, 1. 1, 144, 175; 2. 178; 3.4, 7, 7.9959. 107.
- Hali'is (B5), 'fishermen', sea-coast town in E. Peloponnese, 7. 137.
- Halys (L - M 6-y), *Kizil Irmak*, principal river in Asia Minor, 1. 6, 28, 72, 75, 103, 130; 5. 52, 102; 7. 26.
- Hamilcar, Carthaginian general, 7. 165-7; confused with the god Melkart, 7. 167.
- Hanno, a Carthagian, father of Hamilcar, q.v., 7. 165.
- Harmamithrās, a Persian, 7. 88.
- Harmatidēs, man of Thespia, 7. 227.
- Harmocōdēs, a Phocian, 9. 17.
- Harmodius, Athenian tyrannicide, 5.5556. 109, 123.
- Harpagus (I), a Mede, 1. 80, 108-

- 13, 117-20, 123-9, 162, **164-5**, 168-9, 174-7; (II) > Persian general, 6. 28, 30.
- Hebrus (Fi), *Maritza*, river in Thrace, 4. 90; 7. 59.
- Hecatseus, a Milesian, v. introduction, p. xii, 2. 143; 5.36, 125-6; 6. 137.
- Hectōr, hero of Troy in Trojan War, eldest of king Priam's sons, 2. 120.
- Hegssander, a Milesian, 5. 125; 6. 137.
- Hegesicles, Spartan king, 1. 65.
- Hggesilatls (I), Spartan king, 7. 204; (II), a Spartan of royal house, also called Agis (I), 6. 65; 8. 131.
- Hēgesipylē, Thracian woman, 6. 39.
- Hegesistratus (I), an Athenian, 5. 945 (II), man of Elis, 9. 37-8, 41; (III), a Samian, 9. 90-2.
- Hēgētōridēs, man of Cos, 9. 76.
- Hēgiās, man of Elis, 9. 33.
- Helen, beautiful wife of Menelatis, q.v., abducted as child by Theseus, q.v., as wife by Alexander, q.v., which caused Trojan War, worshipped as goddess at Sparta, 1.3; 2. 112-20; 5.945 6.615 9.73.
- Helicē (B 4), city on coast of Achaia, I. 145.
- Helicōnius, v. Posidon.
- Hēliopolis (P 3), 'city of the sun (Ra)', NE. of Cairo, 2. 3, 7-9, 59, 63, 73.
- Heile, v. Athamas, 7. 58.
- Hellēn, eponymous legendary king of the Greek race (Hellenes) in Thessaly, 1. 56.
- Hellēspont, Heliēspontians (F 2), *Dardanelles*, 1. 57; 3. 905 4. 38, 76, 85-6, 89, 137-8, 144; 5. 1, 11, 13-14, 23, 33, 91, 103, 117, 122; 6. 26, 33, 43, 95, 140; 7. 6, 8b, 10b, 33, 35-6, 45, 54, 56-8, 78, 95, 106, 137, 147, 163; 8. 51, 87, 97, 107-11, 115, 117-18, 120; 9. 4-5, 66, 98, 101, 106, **114-155** whence Hellespontian wind, blowing from NE. in iEgean, 7. 188.
- Helōrus (L 4-5), *Tellaro*, river on E. coast of Sicily, 7. **154**.
- Hēphaestia (E 2), city on Lemnos, 6. 140.
- Hephaestopolis, a Samian, 2. **134**.
- Hēphaestus, god of fire and its uses, 8. 98; equated with Ptah, 2. 2-3, 101, 108, n o, 112, 121, 136, 141-2, 147, 151, 153, 176; 3. 37.
- Hēra, wife of Zeus, worshipped in Argos, 1. 315 2. 505 6. 81-2; on Samos, 1.705 2.178, 1825 3.123; 4. 88, 152; 9. 96; at Corinth, 5. 92g at Plataea, 9. 52-3, 61, 69.
- Hēracles, hero of prodigious strength, son of Alcmena, q.v., by Zeus, deified after his death, 2. 4-3-5. 145-6, 4- 8-10; 6. 535 7. 193, 198; 8. 43; reputed ancestor of the first Lydian royal house, 1. 7, 13-14, 91; of the Spartan kings, through his son Hyllus, q.v., 5. 43; 7. 204, 208, 220; 8. 114, 1315 9. 26-7, 335 equated with Egyptian god Shu or Chonsu, 2. 42-3, 83, 113, 145; with Phoenician Melkart, 2. 44; with a Scythian god, 4. 59, 825 worshipped on Thasos, 2. 45; in Attica, 6. 108, 116; at Thermopylae, 7. 176; supposed, on way to Geryon, q.v., to have erected the Pillars of H., *Straits of Gibraltar*, 1. 202; 2. 33; 4. 8, 42-3, 152, 181, 185, 196 } 8.132.
- Heraclides (I), man of Cyme, 1.158 5 ? the same, 5. 37; (II), a Carian, 5. 121.
- Hēraeum, 'temple of Hera*', city on W. shore of *Sea of Marmara*, near Perinthus (G 1), 4. 90.
- Hermēs, god of good fortune, heralds, & c., conductor of souls to the

- underworld, 2. 51, 1455 equated with Egyptian Thoth, 2. 138; with a Thracian god, 5. 7.
- Hermippus, man of Atarneug, 6. 4.
- HermiSn (C 5), *Kastri*, city on E. coast of Peloponnese, 3. 59 5 7. 6 j 8. 43, 72-359. 28, 31.
- Hermolycus, an Athenian, 9. 105.
- Hermophantus, a Milesian, 5. 99.
- Hermopolis (P 4), *Ashmunen*, city of Middle Egypt, 2. 67.
- Hermotlmus, man of Pedasa, 8. 104-6.
- Hermotybies, Egyptian warrior caste, 2. 164-5, 168; 9. 32.
- Hermus (G-H 4), *Ghiedix Chai*, river of W. Asia Minor, 1. 55, 805 5. 101.
- Hērodotus (I), the author, v, introduction, i. i (II), man of Chios, 8. 132.
- Hērophantus, man of Parium, 4. 138.
- Herpys, a Theban, 9. 38.
- Hēsiōd, Boeotian epic and didactic poet of 8th century B.C., 2. 53; 4. 32.
- Hestia, goddess of the hearth, 2. 50; identified with a Scythian deity, 4. 59, 127.
- Hestiaea (C 3), city and territory at N. end of Eubcea, 7. 175; 8. 23-5, 66.
- Hestiaēōtis (C 2-3), region of Thessaly, 1. 56.
- Hierōn, brother of Gelon, q.v., tyrant of Gela and later Syracuse, 7. 156.
- Hierōnymus, man of Acragas, 9. 33.
- Himera (K. 3), near *Termini*, city on NW. coast of Sicily, 6. 24; 7. 165.
- Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, q.v. 5. 55-7, 6256. 12357. 6.
- Hippiās, son of Pisistratus, q.v., tyrant of Athens, 527-510 B.C., I. 61; 5. 55, 62, 91-4, 96; 6. 102, 107-9, 121.
- Hippocldēs, an Athenian, 6. 127-9.
- Hippoclus, man of Lampsacus, 4. 138. _
- Hippocobn, half-brother of Tyndareus, q.v., whom he expelled and became king of Sparta until slain by Heracles, who restored Tyndareus, 5. 60.
- Hippocratēs (I), an Athenian, father of Pisistratus, 1. 59; 5. 655 6. 103; (II), another Athenian, 6. 131; (III), tyrant of Gela, 498-491 B.C., 6. 23; 7. 154-55 (IV), man of Sybaris, 6. 127.
- Hippocratidēs, Spartan of royal house, 8. 131.
- Hippolātis, cape of, supposed promontory between rivers *Bug* and *Dnieper*, origin of name unknown, + 53-
- Hippolochus, father of Glaucus, q.v., 1. 147.
- Hippomachus, man of Leucas, 9. 38.
- Hipponīcus, an Athenian, 6. 121; 7. 151.
- Histiaeus (I), a Milesian, 4. 137-9, 141; 5. 11, 23-5, 30, 35-6, 106-8, 124; 6. 1-6, 26-30, 46; 7. 10c; (II), a Carian, 5. 3757. 98; (III), a Samian, 8. 85.
- Hollow Road, suburban thoroughfare, SW. of Athens, 6. 103.
- Hollows, the (I), area on SE. or SW. coast of Eubcea, precise location unknown, 8. 13-14; (II) (F 4), *Koia*, bay on N. of Chios, 6. 26.
- Holy Way, the pilgrim road to Delphi through Bceotia and Phocis, 6. 34.
- Homer, epic poet, reputed author of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, composed not later than 8th century B.C., 2. 23, 53, 116-175 4. 29, 32; 5. 675 7. 161; v. Cypria, Epigoni.
- Hoplēs, eponymous ancestor of Ionian tribe, *Hoplētes*, 5. 66.
- Hundred Isles (F 3), *Moschonesia*,

- archipelago between Lesbos and mainland, i. 151.
- Hyacinthia, Spartan annual autumn feast of Hyacinthus, a local deity identified with Apollo, q.v., 9. 7, 11.
- HyampTa, *Phlembukos*, summit of Mount Parnassus (C 4), above Delphi, 8. 39.
- Hyampolis (C 4), city in E. Phocis, 8.28,33.
- Hyátae, tribe in Sicyon, 5. 68.
- Hybla (L 4), *Paterno*, Sicel town, near E. coast of Sicily, 7, 155.
- Hydamēs (I), a Persian, 7. 83 5 ? the same, 3. 70; ? the same, 7. 66; (II), son of (I), 6. 133, 7. 83, 135, 211, 215, 218} 8. 113, 118.
- Hydrea (D 5), *Hydra*, island off E. Peloponnese, 3. 59.
- Hyelē (L 1), *Castellamare di Veglia*, city on W. coast of S. Italy, 1. 167.
- Hylaea, 'wooded', an area W. of lower *Dnieper*, 4. 9, 18-19, 54-5, 76.
- Hyllēs, one of the three Dorian tribes, 5. 68.
- Hyllus (I), son of Heracles, q.v., eponym of the Hylles, q.v., ancestor of Spartan royal family, led Dorians in first, unsuccessful invasion of Peloponnese, 6. 525 7. 2045 8. 1315 9. 26} (II) (G-H 3-4), *Kum Chat*, northern tributary of river Hermus, 1. 80.
- Hymaēfs, Persian general, 5 116, 122.
- Hymēttus (D 4), *Telovuni*, hill in Attica, 6. 137.
- Hypachsel, alleged old name of Cilicians, 7. 91.
- Hypacryris, unidentified river E. of the *Dnieper* (? the *Kalanckak*), 4. 47, 55-6.
- Hypanis (L 5-6), *Bug*, river of Scythia, 4. 17-18, 47, 52-3, 81.
- Hyperanthēs, a Persian, 7. 224.
- Hyperboreans, 'beyond the N. wind*', fabulous people of the far North, 4. 13,32-6.
- Hyperoche, legendary Hyperborean maiden, 4. 33, 35.
- Hyrcānians, inhabitants of *Khorasan* in NE. Persia, 3. 117; 7. 62.
- Hyrgis, W. tributary of river *Don*, possibly *Krynka*, 4. 57, 123.
- Hyria (M 3), *Oria*, city in SE. Italy, 7. 170.
- Hyroeadēs, a Mardian, q.v., 1. 84.
- Hysiae, village in S. Boeotia between *Erythrae* (D 4) and *Platzae* (C 4), 5.7456. 10859. 15,25.
- Hystanes, a Persian, 7. 7.
- Hystaspeš (I), father of Darius (I), 1. 183, 209-10; 3. 70-1, 88, 14054. 83,915 5. 30,7356.98; 7. 1, 1077II, 224; (II), son of Darius, 7. 64.
- Hytennians, inhabitants of Hytenna, unlocated place in Lycia, 3. 90.
- Iadmōn, a Samian, 2. 134.
- Iālysus (H 6), near *Kremastos*, city on Rhodes, 1. 144.
- Iamidāe, prophetic family in Elis, descended from mythical Iamus, 5.44; 9- 33-
- Iāpygia, Iāpygians (N 1), the 'heel' of Italy, 3. 13854.9957. 170.
- Iardanus, mythical king of Lydia, master (or father) of Omphalē, by whom Heracles fathered a Lydian dynasty, 1. 7.
- Iātragorās, a Milesian, 5. 37.
- Ibanōilis, a Carian, 5. 37, 121.
- Iberia, Iberians, *Spain*, 1. 163; 7. 165.
- Icarus (F 5), *Nikargia*, island in mid-Ægean, 6. 955 whence the surrounding waters Icarian sea, 6. 96.
- Ichnae (C 1), town near coast of Macedonia, 7. 123.
- IchthyophagI, 'fish-eaters', Sudanese tribe above *Assuan*, 3. 19-25, 30.

- Ida** (F 2-3), mountain above Troy in NW. Asia Minor, 1. 151; 7. 42.
- Idanthyrus**, king of Scythia, 4. 76, 120, 126-7.
- Idrias** (G 5), part of Caria around Euromus, q.v., 5. 118.
- Iēnysus**, unidentified city on coast of S. Palestine, 3. 5.
- Iliad**, Homeric epic on an episode in the Trojan War, *v. Ilium, 2. 117.
- Ilissus**, brook in Attica, rising on Hymettus, q.v., 7. 189.
- Illthya**, goddess of childbirth, 4. 35.
- Ilium** or Troy, Trojans (F2), *Hissarlik*, city on E. shore of *Dardanelles*, its territory the Troad, object of legendary 10-year siege by Greeks, 1. 5; 2. 10, 117-18, 120, 14554. 19155-13, 26,94,12257.20,42-3,91,161, 17159.27.
- Illyria**, Illyrians (J-K 6-7), country around head of Adriatic, 1. 196; 4.495 8. 13759.43.
- Imbros**, Imbrians (F 2), *Embro*, island off Thracian Chersonesus, 5. 26; 6. 41, 104.
- Inachus**, legendary king of Argos, personification of the river Inachus, 1. 1.
- Inarōs**, Libyan prince who raised Egypt against the Persians, 465-454 B.C., 3. 12, 155 7-7-
- India**, Indians, 3. 38, 94, 98-106; 4.40,44; 5.35 7.9,65,70,86; 8. 11359.31-
- Indus**, river, 4. 44.
- Inō**, wife of Athamas, q.v., 7. 197.
- Intaphrenēs**, a Persian, 3. 70, 78, 118-19.
- Inyx**, small unlocated town in NE. Sicily, 6. 23-4.
- Iō**, mythical Argive princess, bore Epaphus, q.v., to Zeus, transformed by Hera into a cow, 1.1-2, 552.41.
- ISluc** (C 3), *Kastro Volo*, seaport in Thessaly, 5. 94.
- Iōn**, grandson of Hellen, q.v., eponymous ancestor of Ionians (I), 5. 665 7. 94; 8. 44.
- Ionian Gulf** or Sea, the lower Adriatic, 6. 127; 7. 20; 9. 92.
- Iōnians** (I), subdivision of Greek race, 1. 56, 139, 143; 5. 58,69; 7. 955 8. 44, 46, 48, 73; 9. 26; (II), inhabitants of Iōnia (F-G 4-5), central part of W. coast of Asia Minor, colonized by Ionians (I), 1. 6, 18, 26-8, 74, 76, 92, 141-3, 145-53, 157, 162-3, 167, 169-71, 174; 2. 1, 15,17, 69, 106, 152, 154, 163, 178; 3. 1, 39, 90, 122, 127, 4. 35, 89, 97-8, 128, 133-8, 140, 142; 5. 28, 30-1, 37, 49-50 97-8,100-6,108-10, 112, 115-17, 122-356. 1-3,7-18,22,26, 28, 32-3, 41-3, 86a, 95, 98; 7. 9a, ioc, 51, 94-5,191; 8.10,19, 22, 85, 90, 97, 109, 130, 132; 9. 90, 96, 98-9, 103-4, 106.
- Iphiclus**, father of Protesilaüs, q.v., 9. 116.
- Iphigenia**, daughter of Agamemnon, q.v., when about to be sacrificed by him in fulfilment of vow spirited away to Crimea, where worshipped as goddess by natives, 4- 103.
- Irasa**, unlocated place in Cyrenalca between Aziris, q.v., and Cyrene, 4. 158-9.
- Is** (O 7), *Hit*, city and asphalt spring in *Iraq*, 1. 179.
- Isagoras**, an Athenian, 5. 66, 70, 72, 74-
- Ischenouös**, man of iEgina, 7. 1815 8. 92.
- Īsis**, Egyptian goddess Hathor, equated with Demeter, 2, 41-2, 59,61,156,17654. 186.
- Ismaris**, unlocated lagoon on Aegean coast of Thrace between Stryme and Maronia, q.v., 7. 109.
- Ismēnius**, v. Apollo.

- Iss5dones, nation E. of *Urals* in SW. *Siberia* (cf. river *Iset*), i. 201; 4. 13, 16, 25-7, 32.
- Ister (J-L 6), *Danube*, 1. 202 5 2. 26, 33-4; 4. 47-51, 53>80, 89, 93, 97, 99-101, 118, 122, 128, 133-9, 141; 5. 910; 7-10c.
- Isthmus (C 4), of *Corinth*, 7. 139, 172-3, 175, 177, 207, 8. 40, 49, 56-7, 60a, 63, 71-2, 74, 79, 121, 123; 9. 7-13, 15, 19, 26-7, 81.
- Istria (L 6), *Istere*, Greek city at mouth of *Danube*, 2. 335 4. 78.
- Italy, 1. 24, 145; 3. 136, 138 5. 4. 15; 5. 43; 6. 127 58. 62.
- Itanus (F 7), *Erimopolis*, city in NE. *Crete*, 4. 151.
- Ithamitrās (I), a Persian, 7. 67; (II), another, 8. 1305 9. 102.
- Ithōmē (B 5), stronghold in *Mesenia*, q.v., 9. 35.
- Iyrcae, ancestors of the Hungarians, settled W. of *Urals* near *Term*, 4. 22.
- Jās5n, Thessalian, king of *Iolcus*, q.v., went in *Argo* to *Colchis* to fetch back golden fleece of *Phrixus** ram (v. *Athamas*), there married king's daughter *Medea*, 4. 1795 7-193-
- Keys of *Cyprus* (M 7), *Cap St. Andre*", NE. promontory of *Cyprus* and the adjacent islands, 5. 108.
- Labda, Corinthian woman, 5. *gzb-d*.
- Labdacus, king of *Thebes*, grandson of *Cadmus*, q.v., 5. 59.
- Labraunda (G—H 5), *Beypunar*, place in *Caria*, 5. 119.
- Labynētus (I), king of *Babylon*, *Nebuchadnezzar II*, 604-562 B.C., 1. 74; (II), king of *Babylon*, *Nabonid*, 556-538 B.C., 1. 77, 188.
- Lacedaemōn, city and territory in S. *Peloponnese*, the city also called *Sparta* (C 5), and the territory *Lacōnia*, *Lacōnian* (C 5-6) 5 'Lacedaemonians' refers to the inhabitants at large, 'Spartans*' to the privileged military ruling race, 1. 4, 6, 51, 56, 59, 65-70, 77, 82-3, 141, 152-3, 1745 2. 80, 113, 117, 1675 3. 39, 44-7, 54-7, 134, 148; 4. 77, 145-50, 178; 5. 3 38-42, 46, 48-51, 54-5, 63-5, 70, 72-3, 75-6, 90-3, 97; 6. 49-53, 55-6, 58-61, 63, 65-8, 70-2, 74-8, 81-2, 84-6, 92, 105-6, 108, 120, 1235 7-9 *passim*; v. *Zeus*.
- LacmSn (B 2), part of M t. *Pindus*, the dorsal mountain of *Greece*, 9. 93-.
- Laconia, v. *Lacedaemon*.
- Lācrinēs, a Spartan, 1. 152.
- Ladē (G 5), island (now embodied in mainland) off *Miletus*, q.v., 6. 7, 11.
- Lādīcē, woman of *Cyrene*, 2. 181.
- Lālus, legendary king of *Thebes*, unwittingly slain and succeeded by his son (*Edipus*, q.v., 4. 149; 5. 59-605 ? the same, 5. 43.
- LampitS, Spartan woman of royal house, 6. 71.
- Lampōn (I), an Athenian, 9. 215 (II), man of *Ægina*, 9. 785 (III), a Samian, 9. 90.
- LampSnium (F 3), *Æolian* city in NW. *Asia Minor*, 5. 26.
- Lampsacus (F 2), *Lapsaki*, city on E. shore of *Dardanelles*, 5. 1175 6. 37-8-
- Lāphanēs, an Azenian, 6. 127.
- Lapiths, race in *Thessaly*, who fought with the centaurs, 5. 92b.
- Lāodamās (I), king of *Thebes*, slain or driven out by the sons of the Seven Heroes against *Thebes* (v. *Epigoni*), 5. 61; (II), man of *Phocaea*, 4. 1385 (III), man of *Ægina*, 4. 152.

- Lāodicē, legendary Hyperborean maiden, 4. 33, 35.
- Līrlsa (C 3), *Larza*, city in Thessaly, 9. 1. 58.
- Lasonians, another name of the Cabales, q.v., 3. 90; 7. 77.
- Lāsus, man of Hermion, celebrated musician, 7. 6.
- Laurlum (D 4-5), hilly area in S. Attica with silver-mines, 7. 144.
- Lātlis (M 2), *Laino*, city in SW. Italy, 6. 21.
- Leagrus, an Athenian, 9.75.
- Learchus, man of Cyrene, 4. 160.
- Lebadla (C 4), near *Livadia*, oracular town in Bceotia (v. Trophonius), 8. 134.
- Lebasa, unknown city in Macedonia, 8. 137.
- Lebedus (G 4), *Levedos*, Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 142.
- Lectum (F 3), *Baba Burenu*, promontory in NW. Asia Minor, 9. 114.
- Leleges, pre-Greek inhabitants of iEgean archipelago, alleged earlier name of Carians, q.v., 1. 171.
- Lēmnos (E 2), *Stalimene*, island in N. Aegean, 4. 1455 5. 26-7; 6. 136-4057. 6; 8. 11,73.
- Leōbōtēs, Spartan king, 1. 655 7. 204.
- Le5cēdēs, an Argive, 6. 127.
- Leōn (I), Spartan king, 1. 65; 5. 39; 7. 204; (II), man of Trcezen, 7. 180.
- Leōnidēs, king of Sparta, 5. 415 7. 204-8,217,219-25, 228-9,233, 238-958. 15,21,71, 11459. 10, 64,78-9.
- Leontiadēs, a Theban, 7. 205, 233.
- LeontlnT (L 4), *Lentini*, city near E. coast of Sicily, 7. 154.
- Leōpreēs (I), a Spartan, 6. 855 (II), man of Ceos, 7. 228.
- Leōtychidēs (I), Spartan of royal house, 8.1315 (II), king of Sparta 491-469 B.C., 6. 65-9, 71, 73, 85-6; 8. 131; 9. 90-1, 98-9, 114.
- Lepreum (B 5), *Strovitziy* town in W. Peloponnese, 4. 1485 9. 28.
- Lerisae (G 4), *Burunjuk*, Aeolian city near W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149.
- Leros (F-G 5), *Mgean* island off SW. Asia Minor, 5. 125.
- Lesbos, Lesbians (F 3), *Mytilene*, large Aeolian island off NW. Asia Minor, 1, 23-4, 151, 160, 202; 3. 3954.61,975 5.26,9856. 5, 8, 14, 26-8, 3159. 106.
- Lētō, mother of Apollo and Artemis, q.v., identified with Egyptian goddess Uat, 2. 59, 83, 155-6.
- Leucas (A 3), *Santa Maura*, island off W. Greece, 8. 45, 475 9. 28, 31.
- Leucōn, unidentified place in Cyrenaica, 4. 160.
- Libya, the continent of Africa or, more narrowly, Africa W. of the Nile valley and N. of *Nigeria* and the *Sudan*; Libyans, the non-Greek inhabitants of Libya in the narrower sense, 1. 46; 2. 8, 12, 15-20, 22, 24-6, 28, 30, 32-4, 50, 54-6, 65, 77, 91, 99, 119, 124, 150, 1615 3. 12-13, 17,91, 96, 1155 4. 29, 41-5, 145, 150-205; 5.42-3; 7. 70-1, 86, 165, 184.
- Lichās, a Spartan, 1. 67-8.
- Lidē, unidentified mountain above Pedasum (G 5), 1. 175.
- Ligyans (I), unidentified nation in NE. Asia Minor, 7. 725 (II), Ligurians, inhabitants of the *Riviera*, 7. 165.
- Limenēum, place in territory of Miletus (G 5), 1. 18.
- Lindus (H 6), *Lindo*, city on Rhodes, 1.14452. 182; 53.4757. 153.
- Linus, hero of a Greek harvest-song, the vegetation-god, 2. 79.

- Lipaxus, city on coast of Chalcidice W. of Potidaea (C 2), 7. 123.
- Lipoxaīs, legendary ancestor of Scythian tribe, 4. 5-6.
- Llp8ydrium, *Karagufolesa*, hill-fort on Mt. Parnes in N. Attica, 5. 62.
- Lisae, city on coast of Chalcidice between Potidaea (C 2) and Therma (C 1), 7. 123.
- Lisus (E-F 1), stream on Ægean coast of Thrace, 7. 108-9.
- Locrl (I), of Opus (C 4), on E. coast of Greece opposite Euboea, 7. 132, 203, 207, 216; 8. 1, 66; 9. 31; (II), *Ozolae* (B 4) on N. shore of Corinthian Gulf, 8. 32; (III), *Epizephyril*, 'in the west' (M 3), *Motta di Burzano*, city on S. coast of Italy, 6. 23.
- LōtophagI, 'lotus-eaters', tribe in W. Tripolitania, 4. 177-8, 183.
- Loxiās, oracular name of Apollo, q.v., 1. 91.
- Lycarātus, a Samian, 3. 1435 5. 27.
- Lycia, Lycians (L 7), nation and country in SW. Asia Minor, 1. 28, 147, 171, 173, 176, 182; 3. 4,90; 4- 35.455 7- 92.
- LycidSs, an Athenian, 9. 5.
- Lycomedēs, an Athenian, 8. 11.
- Lycop5s, a Spartan, 3. 55.
- Lycophrōn, a Corinthian, 3. 50-3.
- Lycurgus (I), Spartan reformer, 1. 65-6; (II), an Athenian, 1. 59-60; (III), an Arcadian, 6. 127.
- Lycus (I), an Athenian, legendary eponymous king of Lycians, q.v., 1. 173j 7. 92; (II), Scythian of royal house, 4. 76; (III), *Kutshiik Menderes*, river in Phrygia, 7. 30; (IV) (M 6), *Kalamines*, river falling into Sea of Azov E. of Don 4.123.
- Lydia, Lydians (G-H 4), nation in W. Asia Minor, centred on Sardis, q.v., 1. 6-55; 69-94,103, 141,-2, 153-7, 171;2- 167; 3.90, 127; 4. 45; 5. 12, 49, 52, 101-2; 6. 125;7- 30-1,42,74-
- Lydiās (C i), *Mavro Nero*, river in Macedonia, 7. 127.
- Lȳdus, eponymous legendary king of Lydians, q.v., 1. 7, 171; 7. 74.
- Lygdamis (I), a Halicarnassian, 7. 99; (II), man of Naxos, 1. 61, 64.
- Lynceus, son of iEgyptus, q.v., sole survivor when his forty-nine brothers were murdered by their brides, DanaūV daughters, 2. 91.
- Lȳsagorās (I), a Milesian, 5. 30; (II), man of Paros, 6. 133.
- Lȳsaniās, man of Eretria, 6. 127.
- Lȳsiclēs, an Athenian, 8. 21.
- Lȳsimachus, an Athenian, 8. 79,95; 9.28.
- Lȳsistratus, Athenian seer, 8. 96.
- Macaē, tribe in Libya E. of Tripoli, 4. 175-6; 5. 42.
- Macednanc, term of unknown significance, applied to Dorians, q.v., in their earlier seats, 1. 56; 8. 43.
- Macedonia, Macedonians (B-C 1-2), semi-Greek nation and their territory in N. Greece, 5. 17-20, 945 6'. 44-5; 7. 9a-b, 25, 73, 127-8,131,173,185; 8. 34,115, 121, 127, 136-8, 142; 9. 4, 8, 31,44-5,89.
- Machlyes, tribe in NW. Tripolitania, 4. 178, 180.
- Macistius, v. Masistius.
- Macistus (B 5), town in W. Peloponnese, 4. 148.
- MacrSnes, nation in NE. Asia Minor, 2. 104; 3. 94; 7. 78.
- Mactōrium, unlocated city inland of Gela, 7. 153.
- Madyās, Scythian king, 1. 103.,
- Madytus (F 2), *Maito*, city on E. coast of Thracian Chersonesus, 7. 3359.120.
- Maeander (G-H 4-5), *Mendereh*, river in SW. Asia Minor, 1. 18, 161; 2. 10, 29; 3. 1225 5. 118-195 7- 26,30-1.
- Maeandrius (I), a Samian, 3. 123,

- 142; (II), son of (I), 3.123,142-855.27.
- Mseonians, alleged earlier name of Lydians, q.v., 1.757.74,77.
- Maeōtae, tribe on E. and N. of *Sea of Azov*, 4. 123.
- Maeōtis, lake (L - M 6), *Sea of Azov*, 1.1045 4. 3,20-1, 57, 86, 100-1, 110,116,120,123,133.
- Magdōlus, confusion between Megiddo (M 8) and Migdol (S 1), *Tell el Her*, 2. 159.
- Magnētes, MagnSsia (I) (C 2-3), nation and territory on coast of Thessaly, 7. 132, 176, 183, 185, 188,190,193; (II),*Inek Bazar* (G 4-5), nation and city in W. Asia Minor, 1. 1615 3. 90, 122, 125.
- Malea (C 6), *Malea*, SE. point of Peloponnese, 1. 825 4. 1795 7. 168.
- MalēnS, place near Atarneus, q.v., 6. 29.
- MalSs, an /Etolian, 6. 127.
- Mālians (C 3), nation inhabiting Mālis around head of Malian Gulf, 4. 335 7. 132, 196, 201, 213-16; 8. 31,43,66.
- Mandanē, mother of Cyrus (II), q.v., 1. 107-8, 111.
- Mandroclēs, a Samian, 4. 87-9.
- ManerSs, alleged Egyptian equivalent of Greek Linus, q.v., 2. 79.
- Manēs, legendary king of Lydia, 1. 9454.45.
- Mantineia (C 5), Arcadian city in central Peloponnese, 4. 161; 7. 20259.35,77.
- Maraphil, Maraphians, tribe of Persians, 1.125 5 4.167.
- Marathōn (D 4), *Vrana*, village in E.Attica, 1.6256.162-3,107-8, in 113, 116-17, 120, 132-3, 13657. 1,7;99-27,46.
- MardI, Mardians, tribe of Persians, 1. 84, 125.
- Mardonius, Persian general, 6. 43-5, 945 7. 5, 9-10, 82, 108, 121; 8. 26, 67-9, 97, 99-102, 107, 113-15, 126, 129-31, 133, 136, 140, 143; 9. 1-5, 12-18, 20, 23-4, 31-2. 37-49, 58, 61-4, 66, 70-1, 78, 82, 84, 89, 100-1.
- Mardontes, a Persian, 7. 805 8.130; 9. 102.
- Mareā (O-P 2), *Almiriya*, city W. of Alexandria, 2. 18, 30.
- Mariandfynl, tribe in Asia Minor on SW. shore of Black Sea, 1. 285 3.9057.72.
- Marians," unidentified tribe in NE. Asia Minor, 3. 945 7. 79.
- Maris (K 6), *Maros*, N, tributary (via R. *Theiss*) of the *Danube*, 4.48.
- Marōn, a Spartan, 7. 227.
- MarōnTa (E 1), *Maronia*, Greek city on Aegean coast of Thrace, 7. 109.
- Marsyās (I), silenus (wild man) defeated by Apollo in flute-playing and flayed by him, 7. 26; (II) (G - H 5), *China Chai*, river of SW. Asia Minor, 5. 118-19.
- Mascamēs, a Persian, 7. 105-6.
- Masistēs, a Persian, brother of Xerxes, 7. 82, 121; 9. 107-8, 110-13.
- Masistius, a Persian (also called Macistius), 7.79 5 9.20,22,24-5, 31.
- Maspil, tribe of Persians, 1. 125.
- Massagēs, a Persian, 7. 71.
- Massagetae, large tribe between Caspian and *Aral* sea, 1. 201, 204-1653.3654.11,17257.18.
- Mastyēs, a Paeonian, q.v., 5. 12.
- MatīēnI (I), tribe in central Asia Minor, E. of *Kizil Irmak*, 1. 725 7. 725 (II), tribe in *Kurdistan*, inhabiting MatīēnS, 1. 189, 2025 3.9455.49.
- Mattēn, a Phoenician, 7. 98.
- Mausōlus, a Carian, 5. 118.
- Maxyes, Libyan tribe in E. Tunisia, 4.191,193.
- Mazares, a Mede, 1. 156-7, 160-1.

- Mēcisteus, an Argive, brother of Adrastus, q.v., one of the Seven Heroes against Thebes, 5. 67.
- Mēcyberna (D 2), *Moli'vo*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Mēdēa, sorceress, daughter of king of *Ma*, q.v., married, taken to Greece and deserted by Jason, q.v., after which she returned to the East, 1. 2-3; 7. 62.
- Medes (I), inhabitants of Mēdia, or NW. *Persia*, supplied ruling dynasty of Medo-Persian empire, 710-560 B.C., 1. 16, 72-4, 91, 95-130, 134, 162, 185; 3. 64-5, 92, 126; 4. 1, 3-4, 12, 37, 405 5. 9; 6. 84; 7. 20, 40, 62, 86, 184, 210-11; 8. 89, 113, 130; 9. 31, 40; (II), synonymous with Persians, 1. 55-6, 206 54. 197 5 5. 77, 104, 1095 6. 9, 22, 24, 65, 67, 109, 112, 120; 7. 134, 136, 206-7, 226, 228, 239; 8. 5, 30-1, 34, 46, 65, 80, 114, 141; 9. 7, 17, 40, 42, 44, 46, 77.
- Megabatēs, Persian general, 5. 32-3, 35; ? the same, 7. 97.
- Megabazus (I), Persian general, 4. 143-4; 5. 1-2, 10, 12, 14-17, 23-4, 26, 98; 7. 108; ? the same, 6. 33; ? the same, 7. 22; ? the same, 7. 67; (II), another, 7. 97.
- Megabyxus (I), a Persian, 3. 70, 81-2, 153; 4. 43; (II), grandson of (I), 3. 160; 7. 82, 121.
- Megacles (I), an Athenian, father of Alcmeon, 6. 125; (II), another, son of Alcmeon, 1. 59-61; 6. 125, 127, 130-1; (III), grandson of (II), 6. 131.
- Megacreōn, man of Abdera, 7. 120.
- Megadostēs, a Persian, 7. 105.
- Megapanus, a Persian, 7. 62.
- Megara, Megarians (I) (C4), *Megara*, Dorian city-state, E. of Isthmus of Corinth, 1. 59; 5. 76; 8. 1, 45, 60a, c, 7459. 7, 14, 21, 28, 31, 69, 85; (II) (L 4), colony of (I) on E. coast of Sicily, N. of Syracuse, 7. 156.
- Megasidrus, a Persian, 7. 72.
- Megistiās, Acarnanian seer, 7. 219, 221, 228.
- Melampūs, legendary religious teacher, founded worship of Dionysus and a species of divination, 2. 49; 7. 221; 9. 34.
- Meiampŷgus, v. 7. 216 n.
- MelanchnlaenI, 'black-robed*', non-Scythian tribe around *Kharkov*, 4. 20, 100-2, 107, 119, 125.
- Melanippus (I), legendary Theban, defender of Thebes against the Seven Heroes, 5. 675 (II), man of Mytilene, 5. 95.
- Melanthius, an Athenian, 5. 97.
- Melanthus, descendant of Nestor, q.v., legendary king of Athens, 1. 14755.65.
- Melas, 'black' (I) (F 2), *Gulf of Saros*, W. of Thracian Chersonesus, 6. 41; 7. 58; (II) (F-G 1), *Kwvak su*, river flowing into head of (I), 7. 58; (III), rivulet falling into Malian Gulf W. of Trachis (C 3), 7. 198-9.
- Melibcea (C 3), *Paljokastro*, city on coast of Thessaly, 7. 188.
- Melissa, Corinthian woman, 3. 50; 5. 92g-
- Mēlos (D 6), *Mithy* island in S. Ægean, 8. 46, 48.
- Membliaratis, legendary Phoenician settler in Thera, q.v., 4. 147-8.
- Memnōn, son of 'Dawn', ally of Troy in Trojan War, later localized as king of Susa, thence called after him, 2. 106; 5. 53-45 7. 151.
- Memphis (P 3), *Gfoek*, capital of Lower Egypt, 2. 2-3, 8, 10, 12-14, 97, 99. 112, 114-115 115, 150, 153-4, 158, 175-65 3. 6, 13-14, 16, 25, 27, 37, 91, 139.

- Menarēs, Spartan of royal house, 6. 65, 7158. 131.
- MendS (C-D 2), *Kalandra*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Mendēs (I), Osiris in goat-form, equated with Pan, 2. 42, 46; (II) (Q 2), *TellRoba*, city and province in NE. Delta, 2. 42, 46, 166; whence Mendēšian arm of the Nile, 2. 17.
- Menelāiis (I), king of Sparta, husband of Helen, q.v., participant in Trojan War, 2. 113, 118-19; 5. 94; 7. 169, 171; (II) (L 8), haven of, near *Solium*, harbour on coast of E. Cyrenai'ca, 4. 169.
- Menius, a Spartan, 6. 71.
- Merbalus, a Phoenician, 7. 98.
- Mermnadae, Lydian family to which the house of Croesus, q.v., belonged, 1. 7, 14.
- Mero'ā, *Merawi*, capital of Ethiopia, 2. 29.
- Mesembria (I) (F 1), city on Ægean coast of Thrace, 7. 108; (II) (L 6), *Misivria*, city on W. shore of Black Sea in *Bulgaria*, 4. 93; 6. 33-
- Messāpia, the 'heel' of Italy, 7. 170.
- Messehē' (L 3), *Messina*, city in NE. Sicily, 7. 164.
- Messeñians (B 5), inhabitants of SW. Peloponnese, 3. 47; 5. 49; 6. 5259. 35, 64.
- Metapontum (M 1), *Metaponto*, city on S. coast of Italy near *Taranto*, 4. 15.
- Mēthymna (F 3), *Motivo*, city on Lesbos, 1. 23, 151.
- Mētiochus, an Athenian, 6. 41.
- Mitrodorus, man of Proconnesus, 4. 138.
- Mlcythus, man of Rhegium, 7. 170.
- Midās (I), legendary king, localized in Macedonia and in Phrygia (v. Silenus), 1. 14; 8. 138; (II), a Phrygian, 1. 35, 45.
- Miletus, Milesians (G 5), *Valatia*, principal Ionian city, near coast of SW. Asia Minor, 1. 14-22, 25, 46, 74-5, 92, 141-3, 157, 169-70; 2.-33, 159, 178; 3-395 4-78, 137-8, 141; 5. 11, 23-4, 28-30, 32-8, 49-50, 54, 6s, 92/, 97-9, 105-6, 120, 124-6; 6. 1, 5-10; 13, 18-22, 25-6, 28-9, 31, 46, 77, 8657. 8b, 10v59.97, 99, 104.
- Mll5, celebrated athlete of Croton, 3- 137-
- Miltiadēs (I), an Athenian, 6. 34-7, 103; (II), nephew of (I), Athenian general, 4. 137-8; 6. 34, 39-41, 103-4, 109-10, 132-7, 140; 7. 107.
- Milyae (L 7), nation inhabiting Milyas, mountainous region in SW. Asia Minor, 1. 1735 3. 90; 7- 77-
- Min, first human king of Egypt, Aha, c. 3400 B. C. 2. 4, 99.
- Mlnōa (J-K 4), *Torre di Capo Bianco*, city on SW. coast of Sicily, 5. 46.
- Minōs, legendary pre-Greek king of Crete, son of Zeus out of Europa, q.v., representing the dynasty of Cnossus, q.v., in 2nd millennium B.C., 1. 171, 173; 3. 122; 7, 169-71-
- Minyae (I), ancient inhabitants of Orchomenus in Boeotia, q.v., 1. 146; (II), legendary offspring of Argonauts with Pelasgians of Lemnos, q.v., 4. 145-8, 150.
- Mithradatēs, a Mede, 1. no, 121.
- Mitrā, Persian light-god, wrongly equated with the oriental love-goddess (v. Aphrodite), 1. 131.
- Mitrobatēs, a Persian, 3. 120, 126-7.
- Mnēsarchus, a Samian, 4. 95.
- Mnēsiphilus, an Athenian, 8. 57-8.
- Moeris, Egyptian king, probably Amenemhet III, 1849-1801 B.C., 2. 13, 101; supposed to have dug, actually regulated, the lake of the

- Fay urn*, hence called L. of M., 2. 4, 13.69, 148-9; 3.91.
- MoloTs, unidentified rivulet near Plataea (C 4), 9. 57.
- Moiossia, Molossians (A-B 2), nation in mountains W. of Thessaly, 1. 1465 6. 127.
- Molpagorās, a Milesian, 5. 30.
- Mōmemphis (P 2), *Char beta*, city in NW. Delta, 2. 163, 169.
- Mōphi, twin of Crophi, q.v., 2. 28.
- Moschians, tribe on SE. shores of Black Sea, 3. 94; 7. 78.
- Mossynoel (M 6-y), 'tower-dwellers', tribe on NE. coast of Asia Minor, 3. 94; 7. 78.
- Mūnichia, one of the harbours of the Piraeus, q.v., 8. y6.
- Mūrychidēs, a Hellespontian, 9.4-5.
- Mūsaeus, legendary poet, to whom a collection of prophecies was attributed, 7. 6; 8. 96; 9. 43.
- Mycalē (G 5), *Cape S. Manā*, promontory of W. Asia Minor opposite Samos, 1. 1485 6. 16; 7. 80; 9. 90, 96-101, 104, 107, 114.
- Mycēse (C 5), *Karveta*, city in E. Peloponnese, seat of Agamemnon, q.v., centre of mainland empire of later 2nd millennium B.C., 7. 202; 9.27-8,31.
- Mycerlnus, Egyptian king, Menkaura, 2. 129-33, 136.
- Mycl, tribe in *Mekran (Baluchistan)*, 3.9357.68.
- Myconus(E 5), *Æean* island, 6.118.
- Mycphoris, unidentified province in Delta, 2. 166.
- Mygdonia (C 1), part of Macedonia at head of Gulf of Therma, 7. 123-4, 127.
- Mylasa (G 5), *Melasso*, Carian city in SW. Asia Minor, 1. 1715 5. 37, 121.
- Mylitta, probably the feminine of Belus (I), Assyrian love-goddess (v. Aphrodite), 1. 131, 199.
- Myndus (G5), *Gumushli Liman*, Carian city on SW. coast of Asia Minor, 5. 33.
- Myrcinus (D 1), city near *Ægean* coast of Thrace, 5. 11, 23-4, 124, 126.
- Myriandic Gulf (M 7), *G. of Alexandria*, 4. 38.
- Myrlna (I) (G 3), *Kalabassari, Æolhn* city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149; (II) (E 2), *Kastro*, city on W. coast of Lemnos, 6. 140.
- Myrōn, man of Sicyon, 6. 126.
- Myrsilus, another name of Candaules, q.v., 1. 7.
- Myrsus (I), Lydian king, father of Candaules, 1. 7; (II), a Lydian, 3. 122J 5. 121.
- Mys, man of Euromus, 8. 133-5.
- Mysia, Mysians (G-H 3), country and nation in NW, Asia Minor, 1. 28, 36-7, 160, 171; 3. 90; 6. 28; 7. 20, 42, 74-5; 8. 106; 9. 3²).
- Mytilēnē (F 3), *Mytilene*, principal city on Lesbos, 1. 27,160; 2.135, 178; 3. 13-14; 4- 975 5- 11, 37-8,94-5; 6. 5-6.
- Myūs (G 5), *Afshar Kalessi*, Ionian city on SW. coast (now some way inland) of Asia Minor, 1. 142; 5.3656.8.
- Naparis, unidentified N. tributary of lower *Danube*, 4. 48.
- Nasamoēs, nomadic tribe of Libyan desert around Greater Syrtis, 2. 32-3; 4- 172,3, 175, 182, 190-Nathōs, perhaps *Tell Mokdam*, province in NE. Delta, 2. 165.
- Naucratis (P 2), *Nebireh*, Greek factory in NW. Delta, 2. 97, 135, 178-9.
- Nauplia (C 5), *Navplia*, port of Argos, q.v., 6. 76.
- Naustrophus, a Samian, 3. 60.
- Naxos, Naxians (I) (E 5), *Naxia*,

- Aegean island, 1. 64; 5. 28, 30-1, 33-4, 36-75 6. 95-65 8. 46; (II) (L 3), near *Taormina*^ city on NE. coast of Sicily, 7. 154.
- Neāpolis (I), unidentified city of Upper Egypt, 2. 91; (II) (D 2), city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Necōs (I), petty despot in Egypt 7th century B.C., 2. 152; (II), king of Egypt, grandson of (I), 2. 158-9; 4. 42.
- Nēleus, son of Posidon, obtained kingdom of Pylus, was father of Nestor, q.v., 5. 65.
- Neoclēs, an Athenian, 7. 143, 173; 8. no.
- Neōn (C 4), *Felitzā*, city in Phocis, 8. 32-3.
- Neon Tlchos (G 4), *Tanik Koi-Molhri* city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149.
- Nēreus, old man of the sea, father of 50 daughters, the water nymphs of the Mediterranean Sea, 2. 50; 7. 191.
- Nesāean plain, in Media, exact location unknown, 7. 40; famous for Nesāean breed of horses, 3. 106; 7. 4059.20.
- Nestōr, king of Pylus, q.v., wisest and oldest of the Greeks at Trojan War, 5. 65.
- Nestus (D-E 1), *Kara Su*, Thracian river, 7. 109, 126.
- Neurl, nation in *Volhynia* and *Podolia*, 4. 17, 51, 100, 102, 105, 119, 125.
- Nlcander, Spartan king, 8. 131.
- Nlcandra, priestess in Dodona, q.v., 2.55.
- Nlcodromus, man of iEgina, 6. 88-91.
- Nicolās (I), a Spartan, 7. 134; (II), grandson of (I), 7. 137.
- Nile, 2. 10-34, 93, 97, 99, 113, 124, 127, **138**, 149-50, 158, 179) 3-10; 5 4- 39, 42, 50, 53 5 worshipped as a god, 2. 72, 90.
- NlleQs, legendary Athenian, son of Codrus, q.v., and founder of Miletus, q.v., 9. 97.
- Nine Ways (Di), *Tent Koi*, place on R. Strymon, 3 miles from mouth, 7. 114.
- Nineveh (M - N 7), *Nimrud*, capital of Assyria from c. 1330-606 B.C., 1. 102-3, 106, 178, 193; 2. 150; 3- 155.
- Ninus, eponymous legendary king of Ninus (Nineveh), 1. 7.
- Nipsael, Thracian tribe near Black Sea coast, 4. 93.
- Nlsaea, *Kastro*, port of Megara (C 4), 1.59.
- Nisyrus (G 6), *Nikero*, island off SW. Asia Minor, 7. 99.
- Nitētis, Egyptian woman, 3. 1, 3.
- Nitōcris (I), legendary queen of Babylon, 1. 185; 2. 1005 (II), ? Neitakerti, Egyptian queen, 2.100.
- Noſs, unidentified S. tributary of lower *Danube*, 4. 49.
- Nōnacris (C4), Arcadian city, with spring of Styx, q.v., 6. 74.
- Nothōn, man of Eretria, 6. 100.
- Notium (G 4), Æolian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149.
- Nūdium, unlocated town in S. Elis (B 5), 4. 148.
- Nymphodōrus, man of Abdera, 7. 137-
- Nýsa, fabulous mountain where Dionysus, q.v., was reared, located in Ethiopia (I), 2. 146; 3. 97.
- Oak Heads, Athenian name for main pass over M. Cithaeron (C-D 4), 9-39-
- Oarizus, a Persian, 7. 71.
- Oarus (M - N 5), the *Volga*, wrongly stated to fall into *Sea of Azov*, 4. 123-4. '
- Oāsis (P 6), *Khargeh*, oasis of Libyan desert, 3. 26.
- Oaxus (E 7), *Axos*, city of central Crete, 4. 154.

- Ocean, fabulous river flowing round the earth, 2. 21, 235 4. 8, 36.
- Octamasadēs, Scythian king, 4. 80.
- Ocytus, a Corinthian, 8. 5, 59.
- OdomantI, Thracian tribe near M. Pangaeum, q.v., 7. 112.
- Odrysae, principal tribe of Thrace, centred around *Gulf of Burgas*, 4. 92.
- Odyssey, Homeric epic on home-coming of Odysseus (Ulysses) from Trojan War, 4. 29.
- CEa, unlocated place on *JEGina* (D 5), 5.83.
- CEbares (I), a Persian, 3. 85, 87—85 (II), another, 6.33.
- CEdipus, son of Laius, q.v., king of Thebes, blinded and exiled himself on discovery that he had unwittingly killed and succeeded his father and married and had children by his mother, Iocasta, 4. 14955.60.
- CEno'i, *Myupolis*, village in Attica on S. side of M. Cithaeron (C-D 4), on Thebes-Athens road, 5. 75.
- OEnone, former name of i*Egina, q.v., 8. 46.
- CEn5tria, the 'toe' of Italy, 1. 167.
- CEnussae (F 4), *Spalmatori*, five islets between Chios and mainland, 1. 165.
- CEobazus (I), a Persian, 4. 84; (II), another, 7. 68; (III), a third, 9. 115, 119.
- CEolycus, a Spartan, 4. 149 (v. n.).
- Oeroe, rivulet flowing into R. Asopus near Plataea (C 4), 9. 51.
- CEta (C 3), *Katavothra*, mountain on S. side of Malian Gulf, 7. 176, 217.
- Olbiopolites, v. Borysthene (II).
- Olēn, legendary psalmist of Delos, 4. ~ 35.
- Olenus (B4), Achaean city on *Gulf of Patras*, 1. 145.
- Oliatus, a Carian, 5. 37.
- Olophyxus (D 2), city on E. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 22.
- Olorus, Thracian prince, 6. 39, 41.
- Olympia (B 5), place in Elis where 'Olympic games' in honour of Zeus were held by all Greeks every fourth year, 1. 59; 2. 1605 5. 22,47, 715 6. 70, 103, 125-7; 7.170,206; 8.26,72,1345 9. 33, 81.
- Olympiodōrus, an Athenian, 9. 21.
- Olympus (I) (C 2), *Elimbo*, mountain between Macedonia and Thessaly, 1. 56; 7. 128-9, 172-3 5ⁿ (H 2), mountain in Mysia in N.W. Asia Minor, 1. 36, 43; 7. 74; whence Mysians, q.v., called OlympiēnI, 7. 74.
- Olynthus (C-D 2), *Hagios Mamas*, city in Chalcidice, 7. 122; 8. 127.
- OmbriC (Umbrians), nation regarded as inhabiting N. half of Italy, 1. 9454.49.
- Oneātae, tribe in Sicyon, 5. 68.
- Onēsilus, man of Salamis in Cyprus, 5. 104-5, 108, 110-15.
- Onētēs, man of Carystus, 7. 214.
- Onochōnus, unidentified river in Thessaly, 7. 129, 196.
- Onomacritus, an Athenian, 7. 6.
- Onomastus, man of Elis, 6. 127.
- Onūphis, province of Delta, 2. 166.
- Ophrynlum (F2), *Fren Koi*, city on E. shore of Hellespont, 7. 43.
- Opis (I), legendary Hyperborean maiden, 4. 355 (II) (N7), city on Tigris at confluence of Physcus (*Odorneh*), 1. 189.
- Opcea, Scythian woman, 4. 78.
- Opūs, v. Locri.
- Orbēlus (D i), mountain in Thrace E. of R. Strymon, 5. 16.
- Orchomenus (I) (C 4), *Scripu*, city in Boeotia, 1. 1465 8. 34; 9. 16; (II) (B-C 5), *Kalpaki*, city in Arcadia, 7. 20259. 28, 31.
- Ordēssus, unidentified N. tributary of lower *Danube*, 4. 48.

- Orestēs, son of Agamemnon, q.v., slew his mother Clytemnestra for murdering his father, i. 67-8.
- OresthTum (B 5), place in N. Laconia on road Sparta-Isthmus, 9. 11.
- Orgeus, man of Thasos, 7. 118.
- Oricus (AA 2), *Ericho*, harbour on E. shore of Adriatic, 9. 93.
- Oricus, a Scythian, 4. 78.
- Orlthya, daughter of Erechtheus, q.v., married to Boreas, q.v., 7. 189.
- Orcetēs, a Persian, 3. 120-9, 140.
- Oromedōn, a Cilician, 7. 98.
- Orōpus (D 4), *Oropo*, border-town between Attica and Boeotia on S. shore of Euripus, 6. 101.
- Orotalt, Arabian deity equated with Dionysus, 3. 8.
- Orpheus, legendary poet and musician, reputed founder of mystic rites of Dionysus, q.v., 2. 81.
- Orsiphantus, a Spartan, 7. 227.
- Orthocorybantians, unidentified tribe in NW. Persia, 3. 92.
- Orthōsia, *v. Artemis.
- Orus, son and successor of Osiris, q.v., 2. 144, 156.
- Osiris, Egyptian fertility-god, equated with Dionysus, q.v., 2. 42, 144, 156.
- Ossa (C 2), *Kisswuo*, mountain of NE. Thessaly, 1. 56; 7. 128-9, 173.
- Otanēs (I), a Persian, 3. 68-72, 80-3, 88, 141, 144, 147-9; 6. 43; ? the same, 7. 40; (II), another, 5. 25-6, 116, 123; ? the same, 7. 615 ? the same, 7. 62; (III), another, brother to Darius, 7. 82.
- Othryadēs, a Spartan, 1. 82.
- Ovens, near *Veneto*, cliffs on E. coast of Thessaly, below M. Pelium (C₃), 7. i88.
- Ozolae, v. Locri.
- Pactōius (H 4), *Sarabat*, S. tributary of river Hermus, 5. 101.
- Pactyans, Pactyica (I), tribe and region, exact location unknown, about *Azerbaijan*, 3. 93; 7. 67-8, 855 (II), NE. *Afghanistan*, 3. 102; 4. 44.
- Pactye* (F 2), *Hagios Georgios*, city on W. shore of *Sea of Marmara* on isthmus of Thracian Chersonesus, 6. 36.
- Pactyēs, a Lydian, 1. 153-6.
- Padaei, unidentified Indian tribe, 3. 99.
- Paeānia, village in Attica (D 4), SE. of Athens, 1. 60.
- Paeones, Paeonia (C-Di), country and tribe in SW. Thrace, 4. 33, 49; 5. 1-2, 12-15, 17, 23, 98; 7. 113, 124, 1855 8. 11559. 32.
- Paeonia, village in N. Attica at foot of M. Parnes, 5. 62.
- Paeoplae (D 1), branch of the Paeones, q.v., settled on lower Strymon and Angites, q.v., 5. 1557. 113.
- Paesus (F 2), city on E. shore of *Dardanelles*, 5. 117.
- Paeñ (F 1), Thracian tribe at mouth of river Hebrus, 7. n o.
- Paesus (B4), city in Arcadia, 6. 127.
- Pagasae (C 3), city in Thessaly at head of *Gulf of Volo*, 7. 193.
- Palēs (A 4), *Lixuria*, city-state on Cephallenia, 9. 28, 31.
- Palestine, 1. 105; 2. 106; 3. 91; 4- 395 7< 895 inhabitants, Palestinian Syrians, 3. 5; v. Syria.
- Pallas, v. Athena.
- Pallēnē (I) (D 2), *Kassandra*, promontory of Chalcidice, 7. 123; 8. 126, 128-9; 9- 285 (II) (D₄)> village in Attica, 8. 93; v. Athena.
- Pamlsus (B 3), *Vhanari*, river in Thessaly, tributary of Penius, 7. 129.
- Pammōn, man of Scyros, 7. 183.
- PamphŷIT, one of the three Dorian tribes, 5. 68.
- Pamphŷilians (L 7), nation on

- mid-S. coast of Asia Minor, i. 28; 3. 90; 7. 91; 8. 68r.
- P5n, god of flocks and wild nature, the awe of which inspired 'panic', 2. 145-6; 6. 105-6 5 equated with Egyptian Mendes, q.v., 2. 46, 145.
- Panaetius, man of Tenos, 8. 82.
- Panathēnaea, great festival of Athena, q.v., at Athens every fourth year, 5. 56.
- Pandlōn, legendary king of Athens, son of Cecrops, q.v., father of Ægeus and Lycus, q.v., 1. 173; 7. 92.
- Pangæum (D 1), mountain near Ægean coast of Thrace, E. of river Strymon, 5. 165 7. 112-13, 115.
- Pani5nium, temple of Posidon, q.v., on Mycale, q.v., where the Ionians (II) celebrated the Pan-iōnia, 1. 141-3, 148, 1705 6. 7.
- Paniōnius, man of Chios, 8. 105-6.
- Panitēs, a Messenian, 6. 52.
- Panopēs (C 4), *Agio Flasi*, city in Phocis, 8. 34-5.
- Panormus, harbour of Miletus (G5), 1. 157.
- Pantagnōtus, a Samian, 3. 39.
- PantaleSn, a Lydian, 1. 92.
- Pantarēs, man of Gela, 7. 154.
- Panthialael, tribe of the Persians, 1. 125.
- Panticapēs, unidentified river E. of *Dnieper*, 4. 18-19, 47, 54.
- PantimathI, unidentified tribe on S. or SE. shore of Caspian Sea, 3. 92.
- Pantitēs, a Spartan, 7. 232.
- Papaeus, Scythian deity equated with Zeus, 4. 59.
- Paphlagonians (L - M 6-7), nation on N. coast of Asia Minor, W. of *Kizil Irmak*, 1. 6, 28, 72; 3. 90; 7. 72.
- Paphus (L 7), city on W. coast of Cyprus, 7. 195.
- Papremis, same as Pelusium, q.v., city and province of NE. Delta, 2. 59, 63, 71, 1655 3. 12.
- Paraebatēs, a Spartan, 5. 46.
- Paralatas, name of the ruling tribe of Scythians, 4. 6.
- Parapotamil (C4), *Belissi*, city in Phocis, 8. 33-4.
- Parētacēnl, tribe of the Medes, 1. 101.
- Paricanians (I), tribe of central Persia, 3. 92; (II), tribe of *Baluchistan*, 3. 945 7. 68, 86.
- Parium (G 2), *Ketner*, city on S. shore of *Sea of Marmora*, 4. 138; 5. 117.
- Parmys, Persian woman, 3. 88; 7. 78.
- Parnassus (C 4), mountain range in central Greece, especially above Delphi, q.v., 8. 27, 32, 35-7, 39; 9. 31.
- Parōreātae (B 5), aboriginal tribe in W. Peloponnese, 4. 148; 8. 73.
- Paros, Parians (E 5), *Paro*, island in S. i*Egean, with marble quarries, 3. 57; 5. 28-31, 62; 6. 133-6; 8. 6j, ii 2.
- Parthenium (C 5), *Roino*, mountain above Tegea on Isthmus-Sparta road, 6. 105.
- Parthenius (L 6-y), *Chatisu*, river of Asia Minor falling into Black Sea, 2. 104.
- ParthT, tribe in *Khorasan*, NE. Persia, 3. 93, 117; 7. 66.
- Pasargadae, noble Persian clan, 1. 125 54. 167.
- Pāsiclēs, legendary Athenian, 9. 97.
- Pataecus, man of Gela, 7. 154.
- Pata'ici, Phoenician figure-heads, 3. 37.
- Patara (L 7), *Vatara*, Lycian city on SW. coast of Asia Minor, with oracle of Apollo, 1. 182.
- Patarbēmis, an Egyptian, 2. 162.
- Patiramphēs, a Persian, 7. 40.
- Patizlthēs, a Mede, 3. 61, 63.
- Patres (B 4), *Patras*, city on coast of Achaia, 1. 145.

- Patflmus (Q 2), near *Ismailia*^ city on E. of Delta, 2. 158.
- Pausaniās, Spartan of royal house, regent for Plistarchus, 480-469 B.C., 4. 81; 5. 32J 8. 35 9. 10, 12-13, 21, 28, 45-7, 50, 53-7, 60-4, 69, 72, 76, 78, 80-2, 87-8, 101.
- Pausicae, tribe on S. shore of Caspian Sea, 3. 92.
- Pauslris, Egyptian vassal king under Persia, 3. 15.
- Pedasum (G 5), town in Caria, 1. 175-65 5. 121; 6. 20; 8. 104.
- Pedičs (C 4), ZWl, city in Phocis, 8. 33-
- Pelargic wall, at Athens, ancient wall round edge of Acropolis, 5. 64.
- Pelagians, generic term for pre-Greek inhabitants of Greece and their real or supposed remnants in historic times, 1. 56-8, 146; 2. 50-2, 56, 17154. 1455 5.2656, 136-4057.94-558.44.
- PSleus, king of the Myrmidons in SE. Thessaly, married Thetis, q.v., and became by her father of Achilles, q.v., 7. 191.
- Pelium (C 3), *Tlessidi*, mountain in SE. Thessaly, 4. 179; 7. 129, 188; 8. 8, 12.
- Pella (C 1), *Alaklniy* chief city of Macedonia, 7. 123.
- Pellēn€ (C 3), *Zugra*, easternmost city of Achaia, 1. 145.
- Peloponnēse, Peloponnešians (B-C 4-6), *Morea*, 'island of Pelops', q.v., 1. 56, 61, 68, 145; 2. 171; 3- 56, 591 4-77, 161, 1795 5- 42, 74, 765 6. 79, 86a, 1275 7. 93-4, 137, 147, 163, 168, 202, 207, 228, 235-6; 8. 31, 40, 43-4, 49-50, 57, 60, 65, 68, 70-5, 79, 100-1, 141; 9. 6, 8-9, 19, 26-7, 39, 50, 73, 106, 114-
- Pelops, legendary ruler of Pisa, q.v., whither he came from Phrygia, father of At reus and grandfather of Agamemnon, q.v., 7. 8c, 11, 159.
- Pēlūsium (Q2), also *Daphnae*, *Paprēm̄is*, q.v., *Tell Defenneh*, NE. border fortress of Egypt, 2.15, 30, 106, 1415 whence 'mouth of P.', 'Pēlūsian mouth', the easternmost branch of the Nile, 2. 17, 154; 3. 10.
- Pēnelopē, mother of Pan, q.v., by Hermes, q.v., in Arcadia, 2, 145.
- Penlus (B-C 2-3), *Salambria*, principal river of Thessaly, 7. 20, 128-30, 173, 182.
- Penthylus, man of Paphus in Cyprus, 7. 195.
- Percalus, Spartan woman, 6. 65.
- Percōtē (F 2), *Er Dagh*, city on E. shore of Hellespont, 5. 117.
- Perdicēs, alleged Argive, founder of Macedonian royal house, 5. 225 8. 137-9.
- Pergamum, v. Ilium,
- Pergamus, fort on Thracian coast beneath M. Pangaeum (D 1), 7. 112.
- Periallus, Delphic prophetess, 6. 66.
- Periander, tyrant of Corinth, c. 625-585 B.C., 1.20, 23-4; 3.48-535 5-92f, 95.
- Periclēs, Athenian statesman, in office 460-429 B.C., 6. 131.
- Perilāūs, man of Sicyon, 9. 103.
- Perinthus (G 1), *Erekli*, city on N. shore of *Sea of Marmara*, 4. 90; 5. 1-2; 6. 3357.25.
- Perpherēs, legendary Hyperborean visitors to Delos, 4. 33.
- PerrhaebT, Perrhaebia (B-C 2), NE. part of Thessaly, 7. 128, 131-2, 173, 185.
- Persephonē, daughter of Demeter, q.v., symbolizing death and rebirth of vegetation, 8. 65 n.
- Persēs, son of Perseus, q.v., 7. 61, 150.
- Perseus, son of Zeus and Danaë,

- q.v., rescued Andromeda, q.v., from monster and through her son by him, Perses, the eponymous king of the Persians, became ancestor of their royal house; also slew Gorgon, q.v., 1. 125; 2. 915 6. 53-4; 7. 61, 150, 220; from connexion with Egypt, 'Watchtower of P.', *Cape Abukir*, 2. 15.
- Persia, Persians, the SE. part of modern *Iran* and its inhabitants, *passim*,
- Phaedymia, Persian woman, 3. 68-9.
- Phaenippus, an Athenian, 6. 121.
- Pharēs (D i), *Orphani*, fortress on Ægean coast of Thrace, 7. 112.
- Phalērum, roadstead of Athens, E. of Piræeus, q.v., 5. 63, 81; 6. 116; 8. 66-7, 91-3, 107-85 9. 32.
- Phanagorās, man of Carystus, 7. 214.
- Phanēs, man of Halicarnassus, 3. 4, 11.
- Pharandatēs, a Persian, 7. 795 9. 76.
- Pharbsethus (P 2), *Hurbli*, city and province in E. of Delta, 2. 166.
- Pharēs (B 4), *Kalamai*, Achaean city in N W. Peloponnese, 1. 145.
- Pharnacēs, a Persian, 7. 665 8. 1265 9. 41, 66, 89.
- Pharnaspēs, a Persian, 2. 15 3. 2; ? the same, 3. 68.
- Pharnazathrēs, a Persian, 7. 65.
- Pharnūchēs, a Persian, 7. 88.
- Phaselis (L 7), *Tekir Ova*, Dorian city on coast of Lycia, q.v., 2. 178.
- Phāsis (M 6), *Rion*, river falling into E. end of *Black Sea*, 1. 2, 1045 2. 10354. 37-8, 86; 6. 84.
- Phayllus, man of Croton, 8. 47.
- Phēgeus, legendary king of Tegea, 9. 26.
- Pheneticus (B 4), *Fonia*, city in N. Arcadia, 6. 74.
- PheretTma, woman of Cyrene, 4. 162, 165, 167, 200, 202, 205.
- Pherōs, 'Pharaoh', legendary king of Egypt, 2. i n .
- PhldSn, tyrant of Argos, 2nd half of 7th century B.C., 6. 127.
- Phigaila (B 5), *Pavlitza*, city in SW. Arcadia, 6. 83.
- Philæus, son of Ajax, q.v., legendary man of iEgina who became Athenian, 6. 35.
- Philagrus, man of Eretria, 6. 101.
- Philāōn, man of Saïamis on Cyprus, 8. 11.
- Philāūs, a Samian, 3. 60,
- Philippidēs, an Athenian, 6. 105-6.
- Philippus (I), man of Croton, 5. 47; (II), king of Macedonia, 8. 139,
- Philistus, legendary Athenian, founder of Miletus, 9. 97.
- Philitis, legendary Egyptian shepherd, probably representing Hyksos, or 'shepherd kings', 2. 128.
- Philocyprus, king of Soli in Saïamis, 5. H 3-
- Philocyōn, a Spartan, 9. 71.
- Phla, alleged island in lake Tritonis, q.v., 4. 178.
- Phlegra, older name of Pallene (I), q.v., 7. 123.
- Phllūs (C 4), city-state in NE. Peloponnese, 7. 202 ;, 725 9. 28, 31, 69, 85.
- Phōcaea, Phōcaeans (F 4), *Karaja Fokia*, Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 80, 142, 152, 162-7; 2. 106, 178; 6. 8, 17.
- Phōcis, PhSciens (C 4), nation in central Greece, 1. 46, 146; 6. 345 7. 176, 203, 207, 212, 215, 217-18; 8. 27-33, 35, 134; 9. 17-18, 31, 66.
- Phosbus, title of Apollo as sun-god, q.v., 4. 155; 6. 61.
- Phoenicia, Phoenicians, inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, q.v., 1. 1, 2, 5, 105, 1435 2. 44, 49, 54, 56, 79, 104, 112, 116; 3. 5, 6, 19, 37, 91, 107, 111, 136; 4. 38-9, 42, 44-5, 147; 5. 57-8, 108-9, 1125 6. 3, 6, 14, 17, 25, 28, 33, 41, 47, 104; 7. 23, 25, 34, 44, 89-90,

- 965 8. 85, 90-1, 100, 119; 9. 96; as inhabitants of Carthage, q.v., 2.3254. 197; 5. 4.657. 167.
- Phoenix (I), legendary eponymous king of Phoenicia, 6. 475 (II), rivulet near Thermopylae (C 3), 7. 176.
- Phormus, an Athenian, 7. 182.
- Phraortēs (I), a Mede, 1. 96; (II), grandson of (I), king of Media 7th century B.C., 1. 73, 102-3.
- Phratagūnē, Persian woman, 7. 224.
- Phricōnis, epithet of Cyme, q.v., r. 149.
- Phrixae, unlocated town in S. Elis, 4. 148.
- Phrixus, v. *sub* Athamas, 7. 197.
- Phronima, Cretan woman, 4. 154-5.
- Phrygia, Phrygians (L 7), nation in central Asia Minor, W. of *Kixil Irmak*, 1. 14, 28, 35, 40, 725 2. 2; 3. 90, 1275 5. 49, 525 7. 26, 30-1, 73; 8.1365 9. 32.
- Phr[^]nichus, Athenian playwright, 6. 21.
- Phr[^]ynōn, a Theban, 9. 15.
- Phthla (C 3), district of SE. Thessaly, inhabited by Achaeans (II), 1. 565 7. 132.
- Phthlus, son of Achaeus, legendary eponymous king of Phthia, q.v., 2. 98.
- Phyē, Athenian woman, 1. 60.
- Phylacus (I), local hero of Delphi, q.v., 8. 39; (II), a Samian, 8. 85.
- Phyllis, district around M. Pangaeum (D 1) in SE. Thrace, 7.113.
- Pleria, region around Gulf of Therma (C 1-2) in Macedonia, whence Pierians were driven to settlements E. of river Strymon (D 1), 4. 1955 7. 112, 131, 177, 185.
- Pigrās (I), a Paeonian, 5. 12; (II), a Carian, 7. 98.
- Pilōrus (D 2), city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Pindar, Boeotian lyric poet c. 522-452 B.C., 3. 38.
- Pindus (I) (A-B 1-3), the dorsal mountain of Greece, 7. 129; (II), town in Doris (C 3-4), 1. 56} 8.43.
- PTraeeus, port of Athens, with three harbours, Piraeus, Munychia, and Zea, 8. 85.
- Plrēnē, a spring in Corinth, q.v., 5. qz̄b.
- Plrus (B 4), *Kamenitxa*, river of NW. Peloponnese, 1. 145.
- Pisa, principal city of Elis, close to Olympia (B 5), q.v., 2. 7.
- Plsistratus (I), son of Nestor, q.v., 5. 65; (II), tyrant of Athens, 560-527 B.C. (with intervals), father of Hippias and Hipparchus, q.v., 1. 59-645 5. 55, 62-3, 65, 70-1, 76, 90-1, 93-45 6. 35, 39, 94, 102-3, 107, 121, 123; 7. 65 8. 52.
- Pistyrus (E 1), Thasian city on S. coast of Thrace, 7. 109.
- Pitane (I) (G 3), *Chanderlik*, Aelian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 149; (II), suburb of Sparta (C 5), 3. 55; 9-53-
- Plthagorās, tyrant of Selinus, q.v., 5.46.
- Pittacus, a Lesbian, one of the Seven Sages, c. 652-564 B.C., 1. 27.
- Pixōdarus, a Carian, 5. 118.
- Placia (H 2), city on S. shore of *Sea of Marmara*, 1. 57.
- Plataea, Plataeans (C 4), city-state in S. Boeotia, 6. 108, i n , 113 5 7. 132, 231, 233; 8. 1, 44, 50, 66, 1265 9. 7, 15-16, 25, 28, 30-1, 35-6, 38-9, 51-2, 61, 68, 72, 76, 78, 81, 83, 85-6, 89-90, 100-1.
- Platea (L 8), *Bomba*, island in *Gulf of Bomba off Cyrenaica*, 4. 151-3, 156, 169.
- Plinthina, Gulf of (O 1-2), bay to the W. of *Alexandria*, 2. 6.
- PItstarchus, king of Sparta, 479-458 B.C., 9. 10.

- PllstSrus, a Thracian deity, 9. 119.
- Plynus, harbour, *Gulf of Solium*, on frontier of Egypt and Cyrenaica, 4. 168.
- Pceclātis, legendary Phoenician, 4. 147.
- Pogon, port of Trcezen (C 5), 8. 42.
- Poliadēs, a Spartan, 9. 53.
- Polichnē (I), unlocated place on Chios (F4), 6. 265 (II) (D7), village in NW. Crete, 7. 170.
- Poiyās, man of Anticyra, 8. 21.
- Polybus, legendary king of Corinth or Sicyon, by whom Œdipus, q.v., was reared as a foundling, 5. 67.
- Polycratēs, tyrant of Samos, c. 532-522 B. C., 2. 182; 3. 39-46, 54-7, 120-6, 128, 131-2, 139-40, 142.
- Polycritus (I), man of *Mgma*, 6. 50, 735 (H), grandson of (I), 8. 92-3.
- Polydorus (I), king of Sparta, 7. 204; (II), legendary king of Thebes, son of Cadmus, q.v., and father of Labdacus, q.v., 5. 59.
- Polymnēstus, man of Thera, 4. 150, 155.
- Polynlcēs, son of Œdipus, q.v., expelled from Thebes by his brother Eteocles, q.v., brought the Seven Heroes against it, 4. 147; 6. 52; 9. 27.
- Pontus, v. Euxine.
- Porata (K - L 6), *Prutk*, N. tributary of lower *Danube*, 4. 48.
- Posldlum (I) (M7), *Posseda*, seaport on coast of N. Syria, 3. 91; (II) (D 1-2), Gulf of, bay to the E. of Chalcidice, 7. 115.
- Posidōn, the sea-god and earthquake-maker, 2. 43, 50; 7. 129; 8. 55; worshipped as Saviour, 7. 192; at the Isthmus, 8. 123; 9. 81; at Potidaea, 8. 129; as Heliconius on Mycale, q.v., 1. 148; equated with Scythian deity, 4. 59; with Libyan deity, 4. 180, 188.
- PosIdSnia (L 1), *Pesto*, city on W. coast of S. Italy, 1. 167.
- Posldōnius, a Spartan, 9. 71.
- Potidaea (C 2), *Kassandra*, city on W. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 1235 8. 126-9; 9. 28, 31.
- Praesus (F 7), city in E. Crete, 7. 170-1.
- Prasias, lake (C 1), *Butkova*, lake on mid R. Strymon in Thrace, 5. 15-17.
- Prāxilāiis, man of Halicarnassus, 9. 107.
- Prāxlnus, man of Trcezen, 7. 180.
- Prēxaspēs (I), a Persian, 3. 30, 34-5, 62-3, 65, 67, 74-6, 78; (II), another, 7. 97.
- Priam, legendary king of Troy at time of Trojan War, 1. 3-4; 2. 12057.43.
- Priēnē (G 5), *Samsun*, Ionian city near coast of Caria in SW. Asia Minor, 1. 15, 142, 1615 6. 8.
- Prlnētadēs, a Spartan, 5. 41.
- Proclēs (I), Spartan king, first of the junior royal house, 4. 147; 6. 525 8. 131; (II), tyrant of Epidaurus, 3. 50-2.
- Proconnēsus (G 1), *Marmara*, city on island in *Sea of Marmara*, 4. H-15 J 6. 33.
- Promenla, prophetess at Dodona, q.v., 2. 55.
- Promētheus, Titan, punished by Zeus for giving mankind fire, 4. 4-5.
- Pronasa, v. Athena.
- Propontis (G - H 1-2), *Sea of Marmora*, 4. 85; 5. 122.
- Prosōpltis, unlocated island in S. Delta, 2. 41, 165.
- Prōtesilatis, 'first of the people*', Thessalian hero, first to land and to be killed at Troy, 7. 33; 9. 116, 120.
- Prōteus, legendary king of Egypt, 2. 112-18, 121.
- ProthySs, Scythian king, 1. 103.
- Prytanis, Spartan king, 8. 131.
- Psammēnitus, king of Egypt 526-

- 525 B.C., Psamtik III, 3. 10, 14-15.
- Psammētichus (I), king of Egypt c. 666 B.C., Psamtik I, 1. 1055 2. 2, 28, 30, 151-4, 157-8, 161; II), a Libyan, 7. 7.
- Psammis, king of Egypt 601-595 B.C., Psamtik I, 2. 159-61.
- Psyllt, extinct tribe of Libyan coast on Great Syrtis, 4. 173.
- Psyttalla, *Lipsokutali*, islet between Salamis (D 4) and Attica, 8. j6, 95.
- Pteria (L - M 7), *Boghaz Kdi*, city and territory in Cappadocia in central Asia Minor, 1. 76, 79.
- Ptōtim (C 4), *Scroponeri*, place and mountain in Bosotia, 8. 135; v. Apollo.
- Pylae, local name of Thermopylae, q.v., 7. 201.
- Pylāgori, v. 7. 213-14 n.
- Pylus (B 5), *Navarino*, city on W. coast of Peloponnese, 1. 147; 5. 6557.16859.34.
- Pyrēnē, fabulous city in far West, representing vague knowledge of the Pyrenees, 2. 33.
- Pyretus, Greek name of Porata, q.v., 4.48.
- Pyrgus (B 5), town near W. coast of Peloponnese, 4. 148.
- Pŷthagorās (I), philosopher and mathematician, 2nd half 6th century B.C., founder of ascetic and mystic cult, 2. 81; 4. 95-6; (II), a Milesian, 5. 126.
- Pŷtheās (I), man of Abdera, 7. 137; (II), man of Ægina, 7.181; 8.925 ? another, 9. 78.
- Pŷthermus, a Phocsean, 1. 152.
- Pŷthia, title of the prophetess at Delphi, q.v., 1. 13, 19, 47, 55, 65-7, 85, 91, 167, 17453.57-8; 4. 15, 150-1, 155-7, 159, 161, 163-4; 5. 43, 63, 66-7, 79, 82, 90, 92^5 6. 34, 36, 52, 66, 75, 77, 86c, 123, 135, 139; 7. 140, 142, 148, 169, 171, 220; 8. 51; 9. 33-
- Pŷthius, a Lydian, 7. 27-8, 38-9.
- Pŷthogenēs, man of Zancle, 6. 23.
- Red Clod, imaginary place in Egypt; 2. in n.
- Red Sea, *Indian Ocean*, including *Arabian Gulf* and *Persian Gulf*, 1. 1, 180, 189, 202; 2. 8, 11, 102, 158-95 3- 9, 30, 93; 4- 37-42J 6. 205 7. 80, 89.
- Rhampsinitus, Rameses, legendary Egyptian king, 2. 121-2, 124.
- Rhēgium (L 3), *Reggio di Calabria*, Greek city at 'toe' of Italy, 1. 166-75 6. 235 7. 165, 170-1.
- Rhenaēa (E 5), *Megali Delos*, Ægean island near Delos, q.v., 6. 97.
- Rhodes (H 6), island off SW. Asia Minor, 1. 17452. 17857. 153.
- Rhodopē (D-E 1), *Rhodope*, mountain range in Thrace, 4. 49; 8. 116.
- Rhod5pis, Greek courtesan, 2. 134-5.
- Rhoecus, Samian architect, 6th century B.C., 3. 60.
- Rhcetlum (F 2), *Intepe*, city on E. shore of Hellespont, 7. 43.
- Rhypes (B 4), near *Lambiri*, Achæan city on S. shore of Corinthian Gulf, 1. 145.
- Sabac5s, Egyptian king, Shabaka, representing twenty-fifth dynasty (725-667 B.C.), 2. 137, 139, 152.
- Sabyllus, man of Gela, 7. 154.
- Sacae, powerful nomadic tribe of the *Pamir*, 1. 153; 3. 93; 6. 113; 7. 9, 64, 18458.11359.31, 71, 113.
- Sadyattēs, king of Lydia, 629-617 B.C., 1. 16, 18, 73.
- Sagartians, Persian tribe of *Kohistan* around *Tezd*, 1. 125; 3. 93; 7. 85.
- Sals (P 2), *Sa el Hagar*, city and province in Delta, seat of 26th

- dynasty, 2. 28, 59, 62, 130, 152, 163, 165, 169-70, 172, 175-6; but Saftic branch of Nile, 2. 17, is not *Rosetta* branch on which Saïs stands but easternmost but one, or Tanitic.
- SalamTs (I) (C-D 4), *Koluri*, island off SW. coast of Attica, 7. 90, 141-3, 166, 168; 8. n, 40-5f, 56-7, 60, 64-5, 70, 74-97, 121-2, 124, 126, 130; 9. 3-6, 19; (II) (M 7), near *Famagusta*, city on E. coast of Cyprus, 4. 162; 5. 104, 108, no', 113, 115; 8. 11.
- Salē, city near Doriscus (F 1), 7. 59.
- Salmoxis, a Thracian deity, 4. 94-6.
- Salmydēssus (L 6-7), *Midieh*, Thracian town on *Black Sea* coast of *Bulgaria*, 4. 93.
- Samius, a Spartan, 3. §§.
- Samos, Samians (F-G 5), *Samos*, Ionian island off W. coast of Asia Minor, 1. 70, 142; 2. 148, 168, 178, 182; 3. 26, 39-49, 54-60, 120-5, 142-50; 4. 43, 88, 95, 152, 162; 5. 27, 99, 112, 6. 8, 13-14, 22-5, 95; 7. 164; 8. 85, 130, 132; 9. 90-2, 96, 99, 103, 106.
- Samothracē (E 2), *Samothraki*, island off S. coast of Thrace, 2. 5156.47; 7. 108; 8.90.
- Sandanis, a Lydian, 1. 71.
- Sandōcēs, a Persian, 7. 194.
- Sanē (I) (D 2), city on the isthmus of the Athos peninsula, 7. 22-3; (II) (C 2), city on W. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Sapael (E 1), tribe on S. coast of Thrace, 7. no.
- Sapphō, Lesbian poetess 7th-6th century B. C. 2.135.
- Sarangae, tribe in *Seistan* in E. *Iran*, 3-93, 117; 7. 67.
- Sardinia, Sardinian, 1. 170; 2. 105; 5. 106, 124; 6. 2; 7. 165; whence Sardinian Sea, *Tyrrhenian*, 1. 166.
- SardTs (H 4), *Sart*, capital of Lydia, q.v., 1. 7, 15, 19, 22, 27, 29-30, 35. 43. 47-87, 69-70, 77-81, 84-6, 91, 141, 152-7; 2. 106; 3. 5, 48-9, 120, 126, 128-9; 4. 455 5- 11-13, 23,5, 31, 52-4, 73, 96,99-103, 105-6,108,116 122-3; 6- 1, 4-5, 30, 42, 101, 125; 7. 1, 8b, 11, 26, 31-2, 37, 41, 43, 57, 88, 145-6; 8. 105-6, 117; 9. 3, 107-8.
- Sarpēdōn (I), son of Europa, q.v., by Zeus, became king of Lycia, q.v., 1. 173; (II), grandson of (I), ally of Troy in Trojan War, whence 'headland of S.' (F 2), *Cape Paxi*, on S. coast of Thrace, 7. 58.
- Sartē (D 2), *Sykia*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Saspres, tribe in Armenia, 1. 104, no; 3.9454. 37,4057. 79.
- Sataspēs, a Persian, 4. 43.
- Satrae, Thracian tribe E. of upper Strymon (D 1), 7. 110-12.
- Sattagydae, tribe in *Afghanistan*, 3. 91.
- Sauius, Scythian king, 4. 76.
- Sauromatae, nation cognate with Scythians, settled E. of river *Don*, 4. 21, 57, 102, no, 116-17, 119-20, 122, 128, 136.
- Scaeus, son of Hippocofln, q.v., 5. 60.
- Scamander (F 2), *Mendere Su*, river flowing by Troy, 5. 65; 7. 43.
- Scamandrōnymus, man of Mytilene, 2.135.
- Scaptē Hylē, place not exactly located, on coast of Thrace opposite Thasos (E 1), 6. 46.
- Sciathus (D 3), *Skiatho*, island off SE. Thessaly, 7. 176, 179, 183; 8. 7, 92.
- Scidrus (L - M 1), *Sapri*, city on W. coast of S. Italy, 6. 21.
- Sciōnē (D 2), city on W. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123; 8. 8.
- Sclras, v. *Athena*.

- Scironian Way, *Kaki Scala*, cornice between Megara and Eleusis (C-D 4), 8. 71.
- ScitSn, a Greek, 3. 130.
- Scius (K. 6), *Iskar*, southern tributary of lower *Danube*, 4. 49.
- ScolopoTs, *Kelebesh*, place on Mycale, q.v., 9. 97.
- ScolotI, Scythians' name for themselves, 4. 6.
- Scolotus, legendary eponymous king of the Scythians, 4. 6.
- Scōlus, *Darimari*, Boeotian town on river Asopus (D 4), 9. 15.
- Scopadae, noble Thessalian family of Crannon, q.v., 6. 127.
- Scōpasis, Scythian chief, 4. 120, 128.
- Scylacē (H 2), city on S. shore of *Sea of Marmara*, 1. 57.
- Scylax (I), man of Caryanda, 4. 44; (II), man of Myndus, 5. 33.
- Scylēs, a Scythian, 4. 76-80.
- Scylliās, man of Scione, 8. 8.
- Scyrmiadae, Thracian tribe near *Black Sea* coast, 4. 93.
- Scyros (E 3), *Scyro*, iEgean island off Euboea, 7. 183.
- Scythēs (I), legendary eponymous ancestor of the Scythians, 4. 8; (II), man of Cos, 7. 163; (III), tyrant of Zancle, 6. 23-4.
- Scythia, Scythians, S. *Russia* between *Danube* and *Don* and its inhabitants, 1. 15, 73-4, 103-6, 130, 216; 2. 103, n o, 167; 3. 134; 4. 1-142; 5. 24, 27; 6. 40-1, 84; 7. *10a, c*, 20, 52, 59, 64.
- Sebennytyus (P z), *Sammanūd*, city and province of Delta, 2. 166; whence Sebennytyc mouth of Nile, 2. 17, 155.
- Sellnūs (J 4), *Selinunte*, city on SW. coast of Sicily, 5. 46.
- Sēlymbria (H 1), *Selwria*, city on NE. shore of *Sea of Marmara*, 6. 33.
- Semelē, daughter of Cadmus, q.v., mother by Zeus of Dionysus, 2. 145.
- Semlramis, Assyrian queen, wife of Rammanirari III (812-723 B.C.), 1. 18453.155.
- Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705-680 B.C.), 2. 141.
- Sēpia, unlocated place near Tiryns, q.v., 6. 77.
- Sēpias (C 3), *Cape St. George*, SW. extremity of Thessaly, 7. 183, 186, 188, 190-1, 1955 8. 66.
- Serbōnis, lake (Q-R 2), former lagoon E. of *Port Said*, 2. 6; 3. 5.
- Serlphus (D 5), *Serpho*, Aegean island, 8. 46, 48.
- Sermylē (D 2), *Ormilia*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Serrlum (Fi), *Cape Makri*, promontory on Aegean coast of Thrace, 7. 59.
- Sesōstris, king of Egypt, Senosret III of 12th dynasty, 2. 102-n, 137.
- Sēstus (F 2), *Ialova*, city on W. shore of Hellespont, 4. 14357. 33, 78; 9. 114-16, 119.
- Sethōs, unidentifiable king of Egypt, 2. 141.
- Sīcania, old name of Sicily, 7. 170.
- Sicās, a Lycian, 7. 98.
- SicelT, non-Greek inhabitants of N. Sicily, 6. 22-3; 7. 155.
- Sicily, 1.2455.43,4656. 17,22-4; 7- 145, 153, 156-7, 163-8, 170, 20558.3.
- Sicinnus, Athenian slave, 8, 75, 110.
- Sicyōn (C4), city-state in NE. Peloponnese, 1. 145; 5. 67-8; 6. 92, 126, 129; 8. 1,43, 72; 9. 28, 31, 102-3, 105-.
- Sldōn (M 8), *Sa'ida*, Phoenician city on Syrian coast, 2. 116, 161; 3. 136; 7.44,96,99; 8.67-8.
- Slgeurri (F 2), *Yenishahr*, city on E. side of j^eagan entrance to Hellespont, 4. 38; 5. 65,91,94-5.
- Sigynnae, fabulous nation N. of middle *Danube*^ 5.9.

- Sllēnus, a Phrygian wood and river spirit, imagined as a wild man, companion of Dionysus, q.v., 7. 26; 8. 138.
- Simōnidēs, iYvic poet (556—4.67 B.C.), 5. 102; 7. 228.
- Sindl (M 6), inhabitants of *Taman* peninsula, *Sindica*, between *Sea of Azov* and *Black Sea*, 4. 28, 86. *
- Sindus, near *Salonika*, city at head of Gulf of Therma (C 1-2), 7. 123.
- Singus (D 2), *Vorvuri*, city on coast of Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Sinōpē (L - M 6), *Sinob*, city on S. shore of *Black Sea*, 1. 76; 2. 34; 4. 12.
- Siphnos (E 5), *Siphno*, S. *Ægean* island, 3. 57-8; 8. 46, 48.
- Sriopaeones, the Pasones of Siris (I), q.v., 5. 15.
- Siris (I) (D 1), *Seres*, place in SW. Thrace, 8. 115; (II) (M 1), *Torre di Senna*, city on *Gulf of Taranto*, 6. 127; 8. 62.
- Siromitrās, a Persian, 7. 68, 79.
- SirSmus (I), king of Salamis in Cyprus, 5. 1045 (II), king of Tyre, 7.98.
- Sisamnēs (I), a Persian, 5. 25; (II), another, 7. 66.
- Sisimacēs, a Persian, 5. 121.
- Sitalcēs, Thracian king, 4. 80; 7.137.
- Sithōnia (D 2), *Longos*, peninsula of Chalcidice, 7. 122.
- Siūph, ? *Safi*, city near Sal's, q.v., 2. 172.
- Smerdis (I), son of Cyrus (II), *Bardiya*, 3. 30, 32, 61-9, 71, 74-5, 8857.78; (II), a Mede and magus, *Gaumata*, 3. 61-9.
- Smerdomenēs, a Persian, 7. 82, 121.
- Smila (C 2), *Smila*, city on W. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 123.
- Smindyridēs, man of Sybaris, 6. 127.
- Smyrna (G 4), *Izmir*, Ionian city on W. coast of Asia Minor, 1.14, 16, 94, 143, 149-50; 2. 106.
- SōcUs, a Corinthian, 5. 92-3.
- Sogdians, tribe in *Soviet Turkestan* around *Samarcand*, 3. 93; 7. 66.
- Soli (L 7), *Solia*, city on N. coast of Cyprus, 5. n.o., 113, 115.
- SoloTs, *Cape Ghir*, N W. extremity of Africa, 2. 32; 4. 43.
- Solōn, Athenian legislator and one of Seven Sages, c. 638-558 B.C., 1. 29-34, 8652. 1775 5. 113.
- Solyml, old name of Milyae, q.v., in Lycia, q.v., I. 173.
- Sōphanēs, man of Decelea, 6. 92; 9. 73-5-
- Sōsimenēs, man of Tenos, 8. 82.
- Sostratus, man of *Ægina*, 4. 152.
- Spaco, v. Cyno.
- Spargapises, chieftain of the *Massagetee*, 1. 211, 213.
- Spargapthes (I), Scythian king, 4. 76j (II), king of Agathyrsi, 4.78.
- Sparta, v. Lacedasmon.
- Sperchlus (B-C 3), *Ellada*, river of central Greece falling into Malian Gulf, 7. 198, 228.
- Sperthias, a Spartan, 7. 134, 137.
- Sphendalēs, place in N. Attica near Decelea (D 4), 9. 15.
- Stagrus (D 2), *Stavro*, city on E. coast of Chalcidice, 7. 116.
- Stentoris, lake (F 1), *Bori*, lagoon on i3fgean coast of Thrace at mouth of river Hebrus, 7. 58.
- Stenyclērus, unlocated place in Messenia (B 5), 9. 64.
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